National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Ethnographic Program
Northeast Region

Tracing Lives in Slavery: Reclaiming Families in Freedom

An Ethnographic Solution to a Historical Problem

Special Ethnographic Report
Hampton National Historic Site
Towson, MD

A NEW COMMANDMENT I GIVE UNTO YOU, THAT YE LOVE ONE ANOTHER, AS I HAVE LOVED YOU. JOHN XIII-34

OF THE SAME MIND ONE TOWARD ANOTHER

BE PERFECT, BE OF GOOD COMFORT, BE OF ONE MIND, LIVE IN PEACE, AND THE GOD OF LOVE AND PEACE SHALL BE WITH YOU. II COR XIII-11

THIS CERTIFIES, THAT

Dennis Gross. of Towson and

AND

Bella Harris. of Towson.

WERE BY ME UNITED IN

MARRIAGE

According to the ordinance of God and the Laws of the State of Marryland. at Towson. on the 3. day of March. 187

Mrs Ellen Harris.

Rev. Robert H. Wilson

Rev Robt H. Wilson

ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT
HAMPTON NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

Principal Investigator
Cheryl Janifer LaRoche, PhD
(University of Maryland)

Prepared under cooperative agreement with
The University of Maryland - College Park

Northeast Region Cultural Anthropology Program
National Park Service
Washington, D.C.

MAY 2020

PROJECT OVERVIEW

For the more than 70 years that Hampton has been a National Historic Site, the lives of the people who were enslaved there have been poorly understood and under-researched. The intent of this project was to trace into contemporary times, specifically the enslaved either immediately or gradually manumitted, or set free, by the codicil to the will of Charles Carnan Ridgely in 1829. Ridgely, 15th governor of the state of Maryland, owned at the time of his death Hampton mansion and surrounding plantation lands in addition to hundreds of enslaved workers. The project's Principal Investigator sought approval to expand the research to include a broader discussion of slavery and forced labor at Hampton. The expanded narrative includes those who had gained freedom through escape from slavery and those who were forced to wait to gain their freedom through Maryland's general emancipation in 1864.

The research relies primarily on genealogical, ethnographic and cartographic methods. Through solid historical research buffered by electronic resources and social media sites, we have pieced together several heretofore unrecognized intermarried and intertwined families enslaved at Hampton. Building on the primary source data compiled by Dr. R. Kent Lancaster and contextualized by the Historic Resource Study of Robert Chase and Elizabeth Comer, this project was able to trace the lives of those enslaved at Hampton—follow them out of slavery and begin to understand their lives in freedom. To our great surprise, we have been able to identify hundreds of descendants across the generations. We followed them to the communities immediately surrounding Hampton, to Baltimore and across multiple states.

The report is a collection of eight essays written by the multidisciplinary Ethnographic Team, as we came to call ourselves. Not only is this an ethnographic study of the people emancipated from Hampton and their descendants but also an illustration of the rigors of the research journey.

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CHAPTER ONE

TRACING LIVES IN SLAVERY—
RECLAIMING FAMILIES IN FREEDOM

Cheryl Janifer LaRoche, PhD
Principal Investigator
Hampton NHS Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Project

INTRODUCTION

Hampton was once one of Maryland's largest plantations, holding approximately 377 enslaved individuals in 1829.[1] One overriding theme in the interpretation of slavery at Hampton National Historic Site (NHS) focused on the codicil to the will of Hampton's second owner, Maryland's fifteenth governor, Charles Carnan Ridgely. The will provided for both immediate and gradual manumission of the enslaved workers at Hampton upon the governor's death in 1829. In the Scope of Work for this Hampton Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Project, the National Park Service's (NPS) original research direction focused on the people manumitted upon the death of the governor. NPS was interested in locating their descendants. Local stories always mentioned, without much evidence,

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[1] EOA arrived at this final count at the end of the project, gathered from all sources consulted and includes approximately 40 manumissions not previously recorded but for which there exist either Liber records or manumission certificates on file at the Maryland State Archives. This accounts for the various discrepancies in the numbers cited throughout this volume and is more aligned with the headlines of the time that claimed 400 had been manumitted. See *The Portsmouth Journal and Rockingham Gazette*, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, August 22, 1829, p. 1 and *The Connecticut Courant*, Hartford, CT, August 11, 1829, p. 3.; R. Kent Lancaster, "Chattel Slavery at Hampton/Northampton, Baltimore County," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* Vol. 95, No. 4 (Winter 2000), p. 410. In his published article, Lancaster estimated that there were at least 339 enslaved at Hampton. Throughout his notes, however, the number of enslaved that are accounted for as it related to their geographic location and fate varies from 311 to 339.

that the Black population in nearby East Towson, Sandy Bottom and Lutherville, Maryland had its genesis at Hampton Plantation in Towson, Maryland. NPS sought to answer the question often asked by visitors, “What happened to them after emancipation?” This study answers that question.

At the outset of the project, we quickly realized, however, that telling a narrowly defined story that began with manumission without acknowledging the vastness of the Ridgely family slaveholding enterprises across the land and over the centuries would constitute a disservice to all those children, women, and men held in bondage by the extended Ridgely family across multiple generations, both before the 1829 manumission and after, encompassing those enslaved by the next generation up to 1864.

The Hampton National Historic Site (NHS), located about 10 miles north of downtown Baltimore, now occupies approximately 62 acres of the original 25,000-acre estate. The site history stretches from the colonial era to World War II, from White Marsh to Northampton Ironworks to much of Baltimore County. At its historic height in the 1820s, the Ridgely family owned the Hampton plantation and the Northampton and other ironworks in addition to tens of thousands of acres of land. As one of the largest slave holding operations in the state of Maryland, Hampton helped set the tone and convention for planters across the state. The Ridgelys owned Hampton through six individual owners and developed a domestic, agricultural and industrial enterprise based on enslaved, indentured and free labor.

The history of labor at Hampton encompasses the narratives of enslavement, immediate and delayed manumission, term slavery, so-called benevolence, economic collapse, enterprising success, and, eventually, emancipation and freedom. The century of sustained economic gains realized through the unpaid labor of Hampton’s enslaved laborers remains unacknowledged. In addition to several slave quarters scattered across the landholdings, the enterprise included quarries, iron furnaces and forges and a furnace farm; mills, orchards, and barns; and prized livestock: horses, dairy cows, hogs and merino sheep.

This study begins with slavery at Hampton mansion, Northampton furnace, several farms, and other Ridgely enterprises which consumed all types of enslaved labor: industrial, agricultural, animal husbandry as well as domestic. Enslaved laborers were also employed in the Ridgely's many mercantile endeavors. Now reduced to a little more than sixty-two acres, Hampton NHS preserves the Ridgely family mansion, with its gardens, orchards, landscaped grounds and orangery, in addition to stone slave quarters, stables, a farm or overseer's house, barns and surrounding lands that enable park visitors to explore and discover the central role that Hampton played through over two hundred years of American history.

Hampton plantation represented a large, Southern-style, cash crop plantation in a state that otherwise was moving away from large planting enterprises. The orchards, ironworks, coal mining, marble and limestone quarries, mills, and mercantile interests that the estate encompassed were all fueled and supported by enslaved workers, and after emancipation, paid laborers. Their labor on the vast farm and other holdings produced corn, hay and dairy products. There was once a race track on the property—this is one of the families that brought horseracing to Maryland. Jockeys and grooms helped care for the Ridgelys' Thoroughbreds. Coachmen and footmen facilitated family travel. There were beef cattle and hogs, race horses and merino sheep, and poultry of all kinds. Enslaved women were cooks, laundresses and midwives, dairy maids and needle workers and attended to the personal demands of the family. The Ridgely children were tended to and accompanied by enslaved children at Hampton whose obedience and completion of assigned tasks ensured a small gift at Christmas time. This large Black community was connected to Hampton by birth and marriage, kinship and labor. The EOA study sought to understand who had been enslaved at Hampton and the material conditions of their lives before attempting to follow them and subsequent generations into freedom.

Progenitors, Col. Charles Ridgely and his son, sea captain Charles Ridgely, often called The Builder, amassed the family fortune through operation of the Northampton Ironworks beginning in the1760s. Their heirs later maintained operation of the ironworks into the 1830s although there is disagreement about exactly when the endeavor ceased production. This and other industrial enterprises, such as the supporting mills and limekilns, are not encompassed by the 62 remaining acres interpreted by NPS. Yet, they were the source of the Ridgely wealth, operating under successive generations of Ridgely owners or their relatives. The operation survived and thrived on a work force of enslaved laborers, indentured servants, convict laborers and free laborers.

The development of an ironworks at Northampton during the colonial and revolutionary eras followed the trends of industrial development in Maryland, but Northampton was also unique; it employed convict labor and indentured servants at higher numbers, and for a longer period of time, than did other ironworks in the surrounding area. The ironworks supplied much of the iron needed for the success of the American Revolution. It also provided the foundation of the fabulous Ridgely wealth that enabled the building of Hampton mansion and sustained six subsequent generations of the family.

By all accounts, Northampton was a brutal place and escapes of the indentured and convict laborers as well as the enslaved laborers represented an ever-present problem. The convicts and indentured servants either escaped alone or with one another but did not cross the racial divide by escaping with enslaved laborers at Northampton. This brief study of the ironworks explores industrial slavery in a border state. Industrial slavery at the Northampton ironworks produced particularly arduous and harsh conditions. Both convict laborers and enslaved laborers suffered from a dangerous and grueling work environment, further undermined by poor diet and low nutrition. Expanding the scope of this ethnographic study, widened the angle of view of slavery beyond the sixty-two or so acres now under the control of the NPS, yielding a fuller, more complex reckoning.

The nature of chattel slavery at Hampton depended to a remarkable degree on the personality and attitudes of the owner at the time. The enslaved resisted their bondage by escaping to freedom and did so at higher rates when the power of their enslavers was disrupted by historical events. Higher rates of escapes from slavery can be detected, for instance, when the enslaved experienced uncertainty and doubt about their fate after Governor Ridgely's death in 1829 and again during the turmoil of the Civil War. After the governor's death, his son John Ridgely responded to these escape attempts by rigorously seeking the return of his enslaved workers through the payment of high prices to slave catchers, thus tightening slavery's grip on the Hampton plantation even after the governor's emancipation provisions. The plantation also experienced racial tumult, tension, and unrest, as evidenced by slave escapes, punishment of enslaved workers, allegations of slaveholders fathering enslaved children by the women they held in slavery, and surrounding interracial violence in Baltimore City and the state of Maryland. For example Eliza - Eichelberger Ridgely, John's wife, in her declining years lived in mortal dread of slave insurrection and violence.[2]

This study brings Northampton's labor structure into sharp relief and connects it to the parallel development of agricultural slavery that was operating in tandem at Hampton plantation. The lives and work of laborers engaged in a massive industrial as well as agricultural enterprise were geared toward expanding colonial markets and capitalism in addition to fulfilling the personal needs of the Ridgely family.[3] The business enterprises of the Hampton plantation and the Northampton ironworks offer a clarifying window into a partnership fused between agricultural and industrial slavery. According to historian John Bezis-Selfa, Northampton thus joined the ranks of an industrious revolution, in which industrial slavery "enabled the United States to become the first of the early modern colonies to industrialize and join the developed world."[4] Eight similar

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[2] Robert T. Chase and Elizabeth Comer, "On The Border Of Freedom And Slavery: The Hampton Plantation, The Northampton Ironworks, and The Transformation of Labor, 1740-1948" (Historic Resource Study, National Park Service, 2014); Scott S. Sheads, Compiler, FARM MANAGERS, RUNAWAY SLAVES & INDENTURED SERVANTS, 1743-1858, Hampton National Historic Site, NPS, 2015; Lancaster, "Chattel Slavery," p. 424.

[3] On the ways in which commoditization and commercialization in the American colonies shaped political culture that spurred the American Revolution, see T.H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). On colonial trade in the Chesapeake, see Paul H. Giddens, "Trade and Industry in Colonial Maryland, 1753-1769," *Journal of Economic and Business History,* (4/1932), pp. 522-533.

[4] For historians who have advanced the argument that slavery was central to America's industrial development, see Jonathan Prude, "Capitalism, Industrialization, and the Factory in Post-Revolutionary America," in *Wages of Independence: Capitalism in the Early American Republic,* ed. Paul A. Gilje (Madison, WI: Madison House, 1997); Joyce E. Chaplin, *An Anxious Pursuit: Agricultural Innovation and Modernity in the Lower South, 1730-1815* (Chapel Hill, NC: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Mark M. Smith, *Mastered by the Clock: Time, Slavery, and Freedom in the American South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 1997); Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800* (London: Verso, 1997); John Bezis-Selfa, *Forging America: Ironworkers, Adventures, and the Industrial Revolution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), p. 1.

ironworks operated near the banks of the Big Gunpowder River, northeast of Baltimore.[5] This is the wealth that slavery wrought.

As directed by the NPS, the foundation of this report centers on Charles Carnan Ridgely's 1829 manumission of Hampton's enslaved workers. Within weeks of his death, laudatory headlines blared, "A TRULY GLORIOUS DEED" and that the governor has, "*by his last will and testament* EMANCIPATED ALL HIS SLAVES." Indeed, in some aspects, the governor was mirroring the convention of his time in the northern states. Two years earlier, New York State completed 25 years of gradual emancipation that had stretched from 1799 to 1827 at the end of which, all the enslaved went free.[6]

The Hampton NHS Historic Resource Study by Robert Chase and Elizabeth Comer, *On the Border of Freedom and Slavery: The Hampton Plantation, the Northampton Ironworks, and the Transformation of Labor, 1740-1948* found that the governor's manumission was not so much an act of "altruism," as previous scholars have surmised, but was instead tied to the Panic of 1819 and a tumultuous decade of economic recession. The 1829 manumission, however, is also recast in this study in its more proper terms, as a "delayed manumission" that kept most of the enslaved in bondage for decades while ensuring that their progeny would also remain enslaved until they reached the Ridgely's legally stipulated manumission ages of 28 for males and 25 for females. There was no end date. This is an important distinction between narratives that stress immediate manumission from Governor Ridgely's 1829 will and the conclusion of this report, which stresses, instead, that the dictates of the will created "term slaves" who experienced processes of delayed manumission. The codicil granted immediate manumission to anyone between the ages of 25 for women and 28 for men up to the age of 45; infants under the age of 2 were freed with the parent. It amounted to

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[5]On the iron industry of the Upper Chesapeake, see Ronald L. Lewis, *Coal, Iron, and Slaves: Industrial Slavery in Maryland and Virginia, 1715-1865* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979); Keach Johnson, "The Genesis of the Baltimore Ironworks," *Journal of Southern History* 19 (1953): 157-79; Michael Warren Robbins, "The Principio Company: Iron-Making in Colonial Maryland, 1720-1781" (PhD diss., George Washington University, 1972); Charles G. Steffen, "The Pre-Industrial Iron Worker: Northampton Iron Works, 1780-1829," *Labor History* 20 (1979): 89-110.

[6] *The Portsmouth Journal and Rockingham Gazette*, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, August 22, 1829, p. 1; *The Connecticut Courant*, Hartford, CT, August 11, 1829, p. 3.

approximately 100 people freed immediately, a little less than a third. Anyone held in slavery who was older than 2 years of age but younger than 25 or 28 was distributed among the Ridgely heirs and held in slavery until they reached the mandatory age. Children were separated from parents, families destroyed; husbands were forced to leave wives behind and wives had to leave their children and their parents toiling in slavery. The delayed manumission process meant that the enslaved would remain in a kind of perpetual familial bondage as long as the institution of slavery existed. This scheme insured that the most productive years of their reproductive capacity for women and the most viable and vital years of physical capacity for men benefited the slaveholder. With each succeeding generation, women under the age of 25 gave birth to children who had to be left behind in slavery–passing on the condition of "term slavery" from one generation to the next. Gradual manumission left children without parental guidance, leaving the slaveholder as the parental figure to normalize slavery and inculcate subservience, ignorance and obedience into the child.

Upon the death of the governor in 1829 and under the conditions of the codicil to his will, all of the enslaved people who were waiting out their term, i.e. older than 2 years of age and younger than 25 or 28, were distributed among his heirs as were the various landholdings. Enslaved workers not freed outright by the will remained at plantations, principally at White Marsh, Cowpens, Epsom and Perry Hall, all once part of the vast Ridgely landholdings. More research investigating the ties between Hampton and these plantations, particularly the adjacent Cowpens and Epsom plantations (now Goucher College), inherited by one of the governor's daughters, might also reveal the complex communities that developed at the associated sites, while also providing a glimpse into the ways in which the Ridgely slaveholding and family enterprises overlapped.[7]

One key moment of echoing importance stands out in the immediate aftermath of the 1829 manumission. In that moment, John Ridgely, one of the governor's sons and third owner of Hampton, was faced with a choice: he could run Hampton as a small farm with free labor, or he could return the estate to slavery as a plantation. Although rarely

[7] See List of Ridgely Heirs, Appendix A.

stressed in the analysis of Hampton, by drawing in part on his wife's fortunes, John Ridgely renewed his commitment to slavery through a large purchase in 1841 of 21 enslaved workers consisting of three enslaved families. John Ridgely forged a mixed economy of enslaved and free laborers to better navigate moments of economic downturn, similar to the aftermath of the 1819 panic. Ridgely remained committed to the institution of slavery throughout the Civil War. During the conflict, the family was divided in its loyalties, but the secessionist actions of Charles Ridgely, son of John Ridgely and fourth owner of Hampton, compromised the family interests and brought federal troops to inspect Hampton at least twice during the war.

RESEARCH STRATEGIES

In 2018, Hampton celebrated its 70th anniversary year as a National Historic Site. Not only was Hampton the first property acquired by the National Park Service on the basis of its quintessential Georgian architecture and architectural significance, Hampton Hall was also the impetus for the formation of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Yet, less than a handful of the hundreds of people we have informally queried were aware of the site's existence, let alone its relevance.

It came as a disappointment but no surprise that, to date, no direct accounts of slavery have been found written by anyone enslaved at Hampton. Among the voluminous records, none contain first-hand descriptions of the realities of slavery at the Historic Site. Although literacy in slavery was not denied by law in Maryland, slaveholders took an anti-literacy stand that strenuously and sometimes violently discouraged education among the enslaved through custom and by convention. Ridgely descendant Henry White's *Memoir* briefly touches on the subject:

> I still remember the younger ones, who at that time were beginning to hear of freedom and of the possibilities of education, coming to me at times privately with little primers, and asking me to explain the spelling of certain words, or the meaning of certain combinations of letters, which they could not understand; begging me at the same time not to let any of

> my elders know that they had done so, as it was one of the principles of slavery that they should not be taught to read or write.[8]

At Hampton, even young children knew in those late times at the dawn of the Civil War that literacy was forbidden, yet highly desirable.

Later census records confirm the lack literacy among the first generation manumitted by the Governor's will. Succeeding generations, however, diligently ensured literacy and education for their children. Since we do not have the voices from slavery at Hampton, we have relied on multiple sources to illuminate the stories we have uncovered. By piecing together clues and evidence, marrying oral histories to documentary sources, through census data and naming practices, and by mapping the landscape, this study has been able to more richly document the lives of the enslaved. We have followed them and their descendants out of slavery to freedom, traced descendants across the twentieth century, and found and interviewed living descendants in this, the first quarter of the twenty-first century. We have been both overwhelmed and overjoyed by the process and by our success.

A detailed study of census records, obituaries and cemetery records, inventory lists, account books, escape ads and newspaper articles with the aim of following former Hampton enslaved workers after emancipation, has yielded valuable interpretative data. In some instances, those freed by the governor's will and by emancipation in 1864 were recorded in account books as staying at Hampton to work for wages.[9] Even though tracking the new freedmen and women, most of whom left Hampton plantation, has proved difficult, time consuming and painstaking, we have been able to locate descendants in East Towson, Sandy Bottom and Lutherville in Baltimore County, Maryland as well as Baltimore City and the states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and California and tie their lives back to Hampton.

One major revelation of the study has been the heretofore unrecognized interrelatedness of the enslaved population at Hampton. Once we worked out family groupings, we realized that large families, complex familial relationships and intermarriages

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[8] *Henry White Memoir*, c. 1925 typescript copy, Hampton NHS curatorial research files, p. 9.
[9] *John & Charles Ridgely, Ledger of Wages*, 1836-1870.

among the enslaved cemented family bonds during slavery and sustained them in freedom. The terms of the 1829 will ensured an unending perpetuation of servitude for the children born of these unions even after the governor's death. Aunts and uncles could substitute for absent parents, brothers and sisters knew one another. We do not have any record of parents returning to visit the children left behind in slavery although we have one instance of a father, gardener Daniel Harris, purchasing his young daughter out of slavery.[10] It is documented that several formerly enslaved families lived near the farms of Ridgely heirs, possibly to be close to enslaved family members as well as employment.

We have been able to construct extensive family trees and charts based on a multitude of sources beyond the census.[11] We discovered that naming and the choices of first and middle names during slavery rather than surnames among the enslaved yielded invaluable connections to contemporary families. Children were named for beloved uncles or cherished grandmothers. Surnames could prove unstable for a number of reasons—marriage, lack of control over the assigning of surnames and voluntary name changes—especially as it pertains to escape from slavery.

At Hampton, naming practices have proved to be a powerful, effective, recognizable tool for binding families across time and space. Naming patterns were so consistent that in many instances, we were able to develop an informal verification just by reviewing first and middle names that repeated across family lineages as revealed in the charts. This marker was so strong, it enabled Principal Investigator Cheryl LaRoche to recognize the name Ambrose Brown (Batty) in a newspaper clipping provided by a descendant of the Batty family of Pennsylvania. Immediately she was able to tie the name back to the numerous documents she had seen at Hampton. This major breakthrough facilitated understanding an important yet unknown and unanticipated family connection. Naming practices sustained and perpetuated family interrelationships. Naming emerged as an important topic to consider because it revealed the important issues pertinent to the construction personal as well as family identities.

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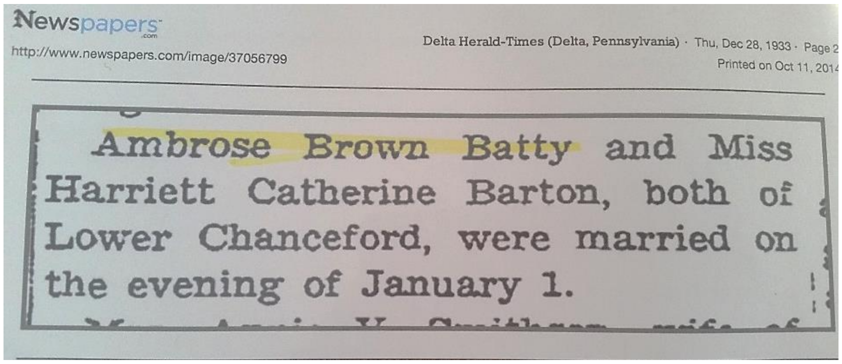
[10] Harris purchased his 4-year-old daughter Mary in 1831 from Harry D. G. Carroll, and manumitted her immediately.

[11] See Weidman, "From Dry Documents to Full Lives," Appendices C-F, this volume.


Newspapers

http://www.newspapers.com/image/37056799

Delta Herald-Times (Delta, Pennsylvania) · Thu, Dec 28, 1933 · Page 2

Printed on Oct 11, 2014

Ambrose Brown Batty and Miss Harriett Catherine Barton, both of Lower Chanceford, were married on the evening of January 1.

Figure 1.1 Newspaper announcement of Ambrose Brown Batty's marriage

Even as families moved away in freedom, because of the terms of the governor's will, the new freedmen and women were at times compelled to remain nearby since their family members, often their children, parents or spouses remained enslaved at Hampton. A branch of the Batty family of Pennsylvania remained behind in East Towson.[12]

If a person was older than 45 years old, they could not be freed because of Maryland State Law, so their advanced age meant they were forced to spend the remainder of their lives at Hampton or with one of the governor's heirs. We do know of one instance, however, where one elderly person, 55-year-old George Batty, was able to find freedom and remain with his family in Lower Chanceford and later York, Pennsylvania although the circumstances of his freedom are poorly understood.[13]

RESULTS OF THE ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

The ethnographic study relied heavily on the work of Goucher history professor Dr. R. Kent Lancaster and the Historic Resource Study (2014) by Robert Chase and Elizabeth Comer for its historical scaffolding. Institutional knowledge derived from informal interviews and conversations with curator Gregory Weidman, from ranger William Curtis and from ranger A. Anokwale Anansesemefo provided nuance and insight. Their institutional knowledge in combination with their facility with the primary sources allowed the Ethnographic Team to bridge the numerous historical chasms and

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[12] See John Whitfield, "Out of the Shadows of History," Appendix M, this volume.

[13] See John Whitfield, "Out of the Shadows of History," this volume.

silences around slavery at Hampton. Various scholars have contributed significant studies and important pieces of that history. This ethnographic study represents the first extended narrative focused on slavery, forced labor, and freedom at Hampton through the enslaved people that enabled the Ridgelys' domestic, agricultural and industrial enterprises from inception, through the colonial era to the final moments of slavery in Maryland. The financial legacy extended to the end of the Second World War for the Ridgely family while slavery left unattributed disparities to be discovered and deciphered.

This report departs from more traditional ethnographic studies. Each member of the Ethnographic Team researched discrete aspects of the Hampton story. The breadth of their inquiries and the quality of their research opened vistas of knowledge far beyond what we could have imagined at the outset. Rather than a continuous historical narrative, this report presents the resulting essays contributed by each individual author. Each essay may contain additional augmenting input, where appropriate, from the Principal Investigator, Cheryl LaRoche. In several cases Weidman and/or LaRoche uncovered additional information at the end of the project that would inform one of the essays. These essays, therefore reflect final edits for which the Principal Investigator takes full responsibility if called into question. We acknowledge varying, sometimes conflicting styles, and some repetition due to different disciplinary styles and overlapping research on different aspects of a topic.

For purposes of this report, Gregory Weidman fulfilled dual roles. As the curator at Hampton NHS, she provided institutional knowledge, especially of documentary sources, based on her years of experience. After the death of our lead consultant, Patsy M. Fletcher, Weidman also took greater responsibility for the genealogical research and was invaluable in connecting the Hampton documentary evidence to living descendants. By combining her institutional knowledge and access to documents and use of social media and other contemporary resources with the research protocol developed by the project, her paper, "From Dry Documents to Full Lives: Discoveries From Historic Archival Materials And Documentary Sources" provides both an overview of the project and functional examples of the methods that made the project such a surprising success.

Camee Maddox-Wingfield, Ph.D. may have had the most challenging assignment among the Hampton Ethnographic Team members, as we came to call ourselves. After compiling the Comprehensive List of names which became our guiding research document, we discovered that fully a quarter of the names on the list were women with no last names; for more than half of those, an apostrophe followed by their child's name connoted motherhood, i.e., Milly's Eliza. With the idea that these women would be impossible to research, LaRoche initially instructed the team to eliminate these names for analysis of the Comprehensive List.[14] This left a list composed of all those with surnames but the Principal Investigator quickly understood that she had eliminated—silenced—many of the women and the children enslaved at Hampton. We decided to reintegrate the list. Maddox-Wingfield's essay reflects the fruitful results of her painstakingly difficult and confusing work. With a laudatory attention to detail, she has produced, "The Power of the Apostrophe: Analyzing possessive prefix names to determine family relationships and kin groupings at Hampton Plantation." Her patient and persistent work reveals how much information can be extracted from the barest of sources. In looking more closely at Maddox-Wingfield's work at the close of this project, Weidman made the truly remarkable discovery and connection that Camee Maddox-Wingfield's family is related by marriage to the Wicks family, one of the families manumitted by the governor and researched for Maddox-Wingfield's study.[15]

Team member John Whitfield brought us our first success. Using traditional archival and documentary research methods, his research outcomes connected us to the Batty and Spencer families in York, Pennsylvania. A tip from Pennsylvania researcher Tim Niesen connected the project to the living descendants of the Batty family through Neicy—Myra DeShields-Moulton. I had the privilege of visiting the family to tell them that we had located their ancestors who had been enslaved at and manumitted from Hampton. Neicy is a genealogist who had compiled generations of family research but had not been able to penetrate the family origins in Maryland. She was elated that all her years of genealogical study and work were being put to service in such a dramatic way! John Whitfield's essay, "Out of the Shadows of History: The Batty and Spencer Families" connects the contemporary families in York, Pennsylvania to Northampton Ironworks which reinforced

[14] Initially, this also eliminated men with no last names.

[15] See Weidman, "From Dry Documents to Full Lives," Appendices F, this volume.

our position that it was imperative that the research and analysis extend beyond the approximately 62 acres of Hampton NHS.

Much of the success of this study derived from landscape studies that enabled the researchers to successfully trace the lives of Hampton's newly freed men and women across the land as well as through the census. Mapping Intern Nora Holzinger compiled our maps and helped give spatial dimension to the project. Her essay, "Written on the Land: Locating Freedom" traces Ridgely landholdings and describes the circumstances that rooted the enslaved and the descendants to the land.

We are deeply grateful that lead historical and genealogical consultant, Patsy M. Fletcher was able to complete a draft of her essay before her death in 2018. Fletcher's "Bright Dreams: Descendants of Manumitted and Emancipated People of Hampton" relied on solid genealogy research methods to follow the Cummins, Sheridan and Toogood families from slavery at Hampton to freedom and community in specific Baltimore neighborhoods and surrounding locales in Maryland and Washington, D.C.

Towson University anthropology professor Samuel G. Collins' essay, "Living in the Post-Plantation: Hampton Historical Mansion in the Context of Baltimore County Development" added contemporary perspectives by investigating how race continued to function as a factor in the area surrounding Hampton and in Baltimore County in the years following Emancipation. Collins' essay interrogates the racial covenants imposed when Ridgely land was sold off to form the existing neighborhoods surrounding Hampton NHS. His work explains the mechanisms of racial exclusion that helped maintain Baltimore County as a mostly white space.

Lastly, The Ethnographic Team was fortunate to have Philip J. Merrill, African American Heritage Consultant at Nanny Jack & Company Archives, join our ranks. Once we realized that many of those manumitted from Hampton had moved to Baltimore, his knowledge of the city, its history and its neighborhoods, became invaluable. His essay, "Beyond Hampton's Reach: Seton Hill Historic District, MD to Old West Baltimore Historic District, MD to Lincoln University, PA," ties together numerous research threads to reveal the geographic range and breadth of accomplishment attained after manumission.

Together, the essays that form this report bring new light to the aftermath of slavery and the reactions to freedom of the descendants of those manumitted who moved from slavery at Hampton to productive lives in freedom. Their contemporary families bind the past, present and future.

The Ethnographic Team was able to use ArcGIS Story Maps to effectively tell some of the family stories through images and documents. That small team of Nora Holzinger and Veronica Carr was led by Imania (Grace) Price. Once LaRoche realized for the first time the utter vastness of the slave holding operations of the various Ridgely income-producing enterprises, she began asking about a labor narrative at Hampton NHS only to discover that there was none. Drawing on images curated at Hampton, waysides at various identified sites of labor, and account books, in addition to contemporary imagery by Team members, we introduced a labor narrative at Hampton using Story Maps that covered industrial, agricultural and domestic slavery at Hampton in addition to animal husbandry. Story Maps are an effective tool for making accessible large amounts of information for public engagement.[16]

Tilghman Davis was the first person the team—largely through the initial work of Weidman—was able to follow out of slavery at Hampton and into freedom in Baltimore. We pieced his life together for one of the four Story Maps produced by the Team.[17] As a result of the extensive genealogy research produced by Batty descendant Deshields-Moulton in combination with the documentary evidence provided by John Whitfield and LaRoche's site visit, the team also produced a Story Map about the Batty family.[18]

We are particularly grateful to descendant Rick Cummings who was long familiar with the genealogy of his great-grandmother Eliza Davage's side of the family from Perry Hall plantation. He was taken by surprise, however, when LaRoche phoned him to

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[16] "Forced Labor at Hampton" StoryMap, https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=acba518f81254ed790a159e68323d3e0

[17] "Tilghman Davis" StoryMap, https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=e9522c155a6a474b86bc64ce79560b4e

[18] "Batty Family" StoryMap, https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=c2b89726fd1041d8916f693e52208e21

introduce herself, inform him about the project and tell him that we had identified the enslaved side of his great-grandfather Henry Cumming's family. Rick Cummings and his cousin Louis Hudnell knew of their illustrious family history. We provided, to the extent that we knew them, the details of their family's connections to slavery at Hampton. Price and the Ethnographic Team produced a Story Map for the Cummings family, one of Maryland's most historically significant African American families.[19]

As the Principal Investigator, my work touched every phase and aspect of the project. Five years ago, while researching the Underground Railroad, it became clear that family history was the future of Black History.[20] Piecing the Hampton's enslaved families back together has been illuminating across multiple topics and themes. The research process had to satisfy the questions outlined in the Scope of Work, in addition to recovering the humanity of the enslaved and honoring living descendants.

Team members had the privilege of interviewing the descendants once we discovered who they were and where they were located. Those interactions will remain among the highest moments of the project. Mr. John Gross contacted the Ethnographic Team after a relative of his read a newspaper article in the *Baltimore Sun* about "Tracing Lives," the public symposium the project held at Towson University. The project findings mentioned Mr. Gross's suspected relative, famed coachman Nathan Harris.[21] As we would come to learn, Mr. Gross—now in his mid-seventies—is a descendant of a large, intertwined Hampton family; he is Isabella Harris Gross' grandson and Nathan Harris' great-grandson. Fortunately, he remembered the names and birth dates of his relatives and corrected mistakes recorded in the census records. Together, Mr. Gross, Philip Merrill and

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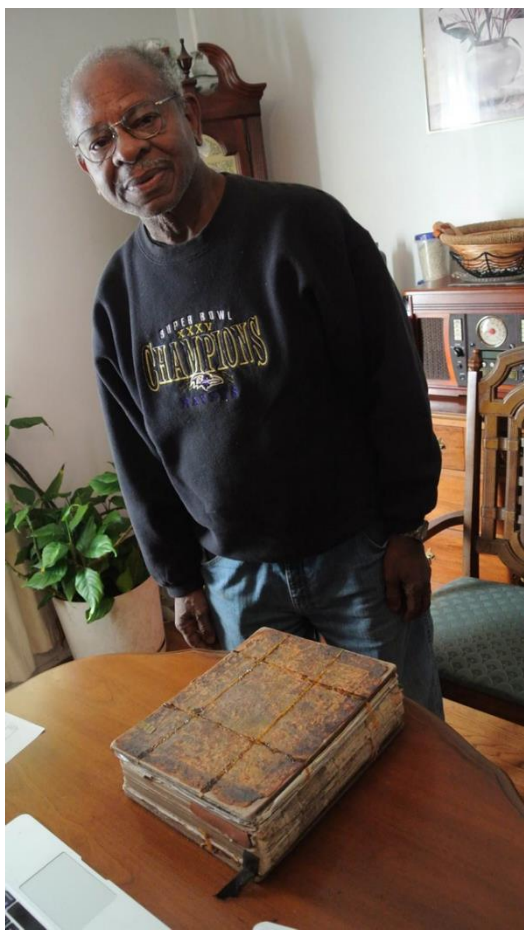
[19] "Cummings Family" StoryMap, https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=706f1755cdbc445383ab857a159c21ed

[20] Cheryl Janifer LaRoche, *Free Black Communities and the Underground Railroad: The Geography of Resistance* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014).

[21] "Tracing Lives, Slavery to Today: Maryland's Hampton Plantation," Symposium, Hampton Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Project, Towson University, October 26, 2018; Mary Carole McCauley, "Starting to talk about slaves 'as real People,'" *The Baltimore Sun*, October 26, 2018, p. 1, 11. See also Julie Scharper, "An Honest Reckoning," Winter 2020, National Parks Conservation Association, https://www.npca.org/articles/2389-an-honest-reckoning accessed April 21, 2020.

LaRoche discovered one of the most important documents while opening an unexamined family bible and found Mr. Gross' grandparents' marriage certificate inside, witnessed by great-grandmother Ellen Davis Harris! The Gross family is descended from both the Harris and Davis families, among Hampton's long standing families in both slavery and freedom.[22]

Another descendant of important Hampton families (the Browns, Battys, and Humphreys) connected to the project via a circuitous route also as a result of the public symposium at Towson University. Weidman was contacted by Charlie Davis, an ecologist from the Irvine Nature Center in Owings Mills, MD who had attended the symposium and knew of a colleague, Charles Brown, who knew he had family ties to Hampton.



[22] See Appendix D, "Harris Gross Family Chart," Gregory Weidman "From Dry Documents to Full Lives," this volume.

Figure 1.2. Mr. John Gross with his family bible

Of all of the people interviewed, Mr. Charles Brown was the only person who knew from his family history, told to him by his great-grandmother, Fanny Brown (Johnson), that he had a connection to Hampton plantation. His is a fascinating story. Prompted by the 1977 television series, *Roots*, Mr. Brown began asking his great-grandmother, who lived to 110 years of age, about their family origins. Fanny Brown grew up at Hampton plantation and told him of the family connection to Hampton and that “Aunt Nancy” was buried in the Crypt at Hampton. A little sleuthing on Weidman’s part quickly confirmed the connection since Nancy (Brown) Davis is the only African American buried in the Hampton family cemetery. Nancy Davis, a long-time, much beloved household worker at Hampton both in slavery and in freedom, was the older sister to Fanny Brown’s father. Mr. Brown is also a distant cousin to Mr. Gross and both are part of the extensive intermarried African American Harris-Gross-Brown family that was connected during slavery days and remained connected in freedom.[23]

For all the family histories and hundreds of living descendants we have been able to uncover, there remain, still, numerous families for whom we simply could not find conclusive information. Common names—Anderson, Jones and Smith, the Johnsons and Williams, plus Lee and Howard, to name a few—proved too ubiquitous, time consuming and confusing to trace within the timeframe of the project. Future researchers will find, we hope, that we have provided a template and left the raw materials for the dynamic unfolding of more stories of slavery and freedom at Hampton National Historic Site.

[23] Charles Brown Interview, August 15, 2019; Personal Communication, Gregory Weidman, July 12, 2019. See Harris-Gross Family Chart.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF RIDGELY HEIRS

Name	Location
Col. Charles Ridgely	*Purchased "Northampton" tract*
1-Capt. Charles Ridgely (Rebecca Dorsey)	Builder/Ironworks/ship captain
2-Gov. Charles Carnan Ridgely (Priscilla Dorsey)	Hampton
3-John Ridgely (Inherits after Gov.) (Eliza Eichelberger Ridgely) (2) John Ridgely and Eliza were the second largest holder of slaves in Baltimore County.	Hampton
4-Charles Ridgely/Margaretta Sophia Howard	Hampton

Other Heirs, Husbands, Wives, Children and Grandchildren

Harry Dorsey Gough Carroll (widower of Eliza Ridgely) **Perry Hall**
James and Achsah Ridgely Carroll
Mount Clare
Henry and Harriett Ridgely Chew **Epsom**
Charles and Mary Ridgely Dorsey

Lyde Goodwin
Pleasance Goodwin
Susanna Goodwin
William Goodwin

Prudence Gough

Rebecca Ridgely Hanson

Achsah Holliday
John Robert Holliday

George and Prudence Ridgley Howard **Waverly**
James Howard (widower of Sophia Ridgely Howard) **Cowpens**

Rachel Lux
William Lux

David Ridgely **White**
Marsh
Margaretta Howard Ridgely
Stevenson and Priscilla Ridgely White

APPENDIX B

ArcGIS Story Maps

Hampton Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Team

The Batty Family

Loop: https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=c2b89726fd1041d8916f693e52208e21&autoplay

Non-loop:
https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=c2b89726fd1041d8916f693e52208e21

Forced Labor at Hampton

Loop: https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=acba518f81254ed790a159e68323d3e0&autoplay

Non-Loop:
https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=acba518f81254ed790a159e68323d3e0

Tilghman Davis

Loop: https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=e9522c155a6a474b86bc64ce79560b4e&autoplay

Non-Loop:
https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=e9522c155a6a474b86bc64ce79560b4e

The Cummings Family

Loop: https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=706f1755cdbc445383ab857a159c21ed&autoplay

Non-Loop:
https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=706f1755cdbc445383ab857a159c21ed

CHAPTER TWO

FROM DRY DOCUMENTS TO FULL LIVES: DISCOVERIES FROM HISTORIC ARCHIVAL MATERIALS AND DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

Gregory R. Weidman, Curator, Hampton NHS, EOA Project Liaison

I. INTRODUCTION

Background -This paper grew out of this writer's initial role as the National Park Service's staff liaison to Ethnographic Overview and Assessment (hereinafter EOA) Project for Hampton National Historic Site. The key facet of this role was to provide access for EOA Team members to historic documentary resources and archival materials at Hampton NHS and other major collections of site-related papers, particularly at the Maryland Historical Society and at the Maryland State Archives. This role was important because of the vast, indeed nearly overwhelming amount of documentary sources related to Hampton estate and Ridgely family across three centuries. The EOA team would need guidance to be successful, particularly given the limited time frame of the EOA project and the need to target the most pertinent and useful sources among all these millions of pieces of paper.

From working with the records related to Hampton for over 20 years, the writer was a key source of institutional memory with the most comprehensive knowledge of documentary sources on the current NPS staff. Over the years, work on projects as diverse as Historic Furnishing Plans, the Historic Resource Study focusing on labor at the estate, both temporary and long term exhibitions (e.g., on the Civil War at Hampton, interpretive exhibits in the Farm House and Slave Quarters), cataloging collection objects and archives, and numerous other endeavors has led to familiarity with the pertinent documentary sources that might be germane to the EOA. For years, even while investigating totally unrelated topics, the writer has made note of a wide variety of potential sources of useful information on the lives of the enslaved at Hampton.

A more intangible asset is knowledge and understanding of character, personalities, activities, and interests of the Ridgely family and their wider circle, gained through many years of study and familiarity with the documentary sources. These characteristics clearly impacted the lives of the enslaved, whether the religious convictions of the Methodist daughters of Gov. Charles Carnan Ridgely (1760-1829) of Hampton, who influenced their father to write the manumission codicil to his will, or the personal piety of Eliza Ridgely (1803-1867) and her great interest in the Sunday School movement, which led her to hire a minister to look to the spiritual care of the enslaved at Hampton and to encourage her daughter "Didy" Ridgely to lead a Sunday School class for the enslaved children at Hampton. Such information helps us gain a fuller understanding of the motivations of the slaveholders and the daily lives of those who labored here.

Highly important and groundbreaking previous research into Hampton records related to chattel slavery conducted in the 1990s and early 2000s by Dr. R. Kent Lancaster, retired chair of the Department of American History at Goucher College, formed the basis from which the EOA team's investigations could begin. Dr. Lancaster's systematic and detailed work was seminal and led to numerous research notes, summaries, papers, and publications.[1] Dr. Lancaster compiled highly useful transcriptions and annotated lists, especially those based on the 1829 and later estate records of Gov. Charles Carnan Ridgely which chronicled the manumission of many of nearly 350 enslaved individuals owned by the Ridgelys. Information included sex, ages (where known), monetary values, by whom the enslaved were inherited until they attained ages to be freed, and the date of potential manumission. The research documents Dr. Lancaster created formed the initial framework onto which new and more detailed information discovered during the EOA project could be grafted.

[1] Hampton NHS holds copyright to Dr. R. Kent Lancaster's research notes and papers and the electronic copies of these.

Goals of Current EOA and How to Address Them - Although Dr. Lancaster's lists, notes, and papers provided very valuable information derived from a large group of documents, his work largely did not address some of the main purposes of the current study. Among the chief goals of the EOA for the park were to discover what happened to the formerly enslaved, both those who were manumitted by Gov. Ridgely's will in 1829 and later, and those freed by Emancipation in 1864. Visitors to the park frequently ask interpreters what happened to the formerly enslaved, where did they go after being freed, and what did they do? Although Lancaster's work did provide some preliminary family groupings, previous efforts had not emphasized this nor the nature of family groups and familial relationships, another goal of the current study. During the EOA, additional investigations addressed questions such as what specific work did the enslaved do and how many people did it take to run the mansion, frequent questions by the visitors which needed answers.

Finding this new information among the documentary records, even those previously surveyed, was key to finding answers to these historical questions and, most importantly, to assist in locating individuals currently living in the communities around Hampton, a vital target of the EOA. To do this, a researcher has to not only be familiar with the breadth and depth of the existing related historical sources and archives, they have to look at them from a fresh point of view, with the new goals in mind. Even if a researcher has studied a group of pertinent records before, going back with the new topics and goals in mind to ferret out formerly obscure or seemingly unimportant information can be crucial to the study. In some cases, the answers to specific questions were literally "hiding in plain sight," surely seen by previous researchers but perhaps not deemed germane to their primary efforts.

II. THE SOURCES

The "Layer Cake" Approach - A further key element of this renewed focus on the records related to the enslaved at Hampton is to be able to "layer" the information found in numerous and sometimes quite different types of records to get a fuller picture of the individuals and families being studied. This means combining both major sources with obviously important information with minor ones that may provide small but significant clues. It also means looking at traditional types of documentary resources: estate records, probate inventories and account books, for example, as well as bills and receipts, diaries and correspondence, etc. These were combined with both a broader range of documents including private family manuscripts, maps and atlases and particularly photographs and records available through modern genealogical websites: census records, city directories and cemetery and vital records in addition to military records, etc. Especially in attempting to find modern day descendants of those individuals enslaved at Hampton—a daunting task requiring a great deal of investigative work and persistence—researchers must broaden their perspective and be willing to check totally non-traditional contemporary resources, such as Google, White Pages and Facebook.

As highlighted by the brief and not comprehensive summary of sources above, the investigation of any subject of historical interest related to the Hampton estate is never a matter of too little information for researchers to review, it is almost always an issue of too much. However, though business records related to the Hampton enslaved are numerous, these sources give only limited information on their personal lives, and documents created by the formerly enslaved themselves are extremely scarce. Time limits on the current project when combined with the wealth of information discovered over the past two years means that even more investigations can be conducted in the future, as will be noted in the conclusion of this paper.

<u>Two Key Families</u> - The next sections of this paper will highlight and describe the most important documentary sources by focusing on research into two very important families of enslaved individuals owned by the Ridgelys. The two examples were selected as noteworthy examples from the two different principal periods of enslavement at Hampton—the individuals and families owned by Governor Charles Carnan Ridgely (1760-1829) and those owned by his son John Ridgely (1790-1867). Through intensive searching in nearly two dozen individual sources, we have been able to discover living descendants of both these families. Family trees have now been established, in one case covering no less than eight generations over a span of approximately 243 years from the eighteenth to twenty-first century. In reviewing each of these families and their history, the wide variety of documentary sources consulted will be illustrated and the

type of information each of these sources provides will be discussed. This review will also demonstrate the process of how the layering of information from all these diverse sources can lead to a much fuller picture of individuals and families and their progress over time.

III. THE DAVIS/BROWN FAMILY SEARCH

From One Individual, Eight Generations - Although from the later generation of enslaved individuals at Hampton (those owned until Emancipation by John Ridgely, third "Master" of Hampton), one particular family is useful in showing the variety of sources and the progression of research and can thus serve as a model. The investigation into this family has also resulted in the discovery of the most living descendants to date. The family was originally selected for detailed research because the key figure is the most well-known enslaved individual ever to live at Hampton, Nancy Davis (1833-1908). At the beginning of the study, the following was already known:

- that Nancy Davis is the only African American buried in Ridgely family cemetery at Hampton, as shown by her surviving gravestone and numerous published accounts

- what she looked like as a young woman through a widely circulated *carte-de-visite* photo identified by a family member who knew her[2]

- her image in later snapshots with some of the same, then-adult family members[3]

- the work she performed, based on information in memoirs and diaries of family members, both as an enslaved worker and later as a paid employee[4]

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[2] HAMP 19799.

[3] HAMP 20312.

[4] James McHenry Howard, *Memoirs of the Ridgelys of Hampton* (annotated typescript copy by Helen West Stewart Ridgely, 1894, HAMP 21686, Hampton NHS; photocopy on file, HAMP VF 2385.001) hereinafter *Howard Memoirs*. The handwritten original of this manuscript remains with

- a newspaper clipping of her obituary saved by the family [5]

- additional information on her husband, Louis/Lewis Davis, and other close family members derived from a Ridgely family memoir[6]

- details of her character and temperament from the same memoir[7]

- Nancy's beneficial influence on later generations of the Ridgely family, especially on a member who went on to perform missionary work in Liberia, founding a school for girls.[8]

With all this helpful information to start, it was possible to begin to fill in, then to enhance and expand the information on not just Nancy Davis but on her entire extended family. To do this, an extensive number of Ridgely family related documentary sources and genealogical resources were consulted, then blended with key information from interviews conducted by other EOA team members. Although Nancy herself never had children or direct descendants, we were nevertheless able to uncover a larger family of in-laws, cousins, nieces, and nephews down to modern times. The following information highlights the major sources used in this investigation.

Memoirs and Diaries - Of this type of document, perhaps the single most important source of information related to the enslaved at Hampton is the *Memoirs of the Ridgelys of Hampton*, written in 1894 by James McHenry Howard (1840-1918), fondly known as Uncle Jim in the family. Howard was the half-brother of Margaretta Sophia Howard Ridgely (1825-1904), wife of Charles Ridgely (1830-1872), fourth owner of

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the Ridgely family (photocopy on file, HAMP VF 2720.019; typed transcription by Mary Elizabeth Walter, 2007). Page references for Howard's *Memoirs* in these notes will be to the original manuscript copy except as noted. See also 1908 Diary of Helen Ridgely, 1874.

[5] HAMP 2823.

[6] *Howard Memoirs*, pp. 223-235.

[7] *Howard Memoirs*, pp. 225-229.

[8] This was Margaret Sophia Ridgely (1869-1948), the daughter of slave owners Charles and Margaretta Howard Ridgely.

Hampton. Uncle Jim and Margaretta had both been raised at Cowpens, the farm next to Hampton to the east. Many of the enslaved workers there had been those bequeathed to their father James Howard, a son-in-law of Gov. Charles Carnan Ridgely. The governor's daughter Sophia had been married to Howard before her death in 1828. Uncle Jim was the unofficial family historian who spent a great deal of time at Hampton in the second half of the nineteenth century. He was also an unreconstructed Confederate who had gone to Virginia during the Civil War to serve in the Confederate army. His lengthy family memoir contains numerous references scattered throughout the narrative to various enslaved individuals who interacted with Ridgely family members and their friends and relations. He also included a separate section at the conclusion of the memoir, beginning with the words "It seems to me in finishing my account of this family, to make some mention of a few of the servants who remained faithfully and resisted the natural tendency to assert their independence."[9] These pages provide important information on the family connections of various members of Nancy Davis' family. Despite his Confederate sympathies, some of Uncle Jim's reminiscences are respectful and even affectionate, though many others clearly exhibit his prejudices.

James McHenry Howard's description of Nancy Davis, who was then still employed at Hampton, is lengthy and very complimentary: "She is very observant and ready and witty and when she pleases, can put on the stately manners of a Dutchess [sic]."[10] He had known Nancy since childhood when she "used to have charge of my brothers and myself, as she was a big girl when we were little children, and as she has passed all her life with the family & has in the course of it had charge at times of the children of three generations . . ."[11] For this EOA project, however, it is Uncle Jim's notes about Nancy's family connections that are most important. He specifically states that her father was Ambrose Brown, "our old market man at Cowpens" and that her husband was Louis/Lewis Davis.[12] He gives additional details on Nancy's sister-in-law Ann Davis, wife of a free man Jack Williams; another sister-in-law Caroline Davis, married to Hampton

[9] *Howard Memoirs*, p. 223.

[10] *Howard Memoirs*, pp. 225-227.
[11] *Howard Memoirs*, p. 229.

[12] *Howard Memoirs*, p. 225.

waiter Thomas Brown, who as a son of William Brown, the Cowpens coachman, was Nancy's first cousin; brother-in-law Tilghman Davis; and the Davis siblings' father Bill Davis, including details of his funeral during the 1860s.

Other Ridgely diaries provide some additional information about the enslaved at Hampton. Helen West Stewart Ridgely (1853-1928), the fifth mistress of Hampton, was an inveterate diarist, keeping them most years from 1873 until 1909. Her 1908 diary includes important passages on Nancy Davis based on their longtime relationship.[13] It specifically highlights who Nancy was most devoted to in the Ridgely family, namely Margaretta Howard Ridgely, Capt. John Ridgely (1851-1938, Helen's husband) and Margaret "Margie" Ridgely (1869-1948), John's youngest sister who became a missionary in Liberia largely due to Nancy's influence. The 1908 diary also supplies interesting details about Nancy Davis's final days, death, and funeral.

Another important diarist with direct knowledge of slavery at Hampton of Eliza "Didy" Ridgely (1826-1894), daughter of Eliza Eichelberger Ridgely and John Ridgely. While not directly connected to the story of Nancy Davis' family, Didy's different journals—two from her early teenage years and one from the early 1850s when she was a young widow—illuminate some aspects of the life experiences of enslaved workers at Hampton, especially the children who often accompanied Didy, her relatives, and friends on activities and excursions. She also provides information on a few individuals, such as "little Caroline" Davis (b. 1837), who was made to clean out the cage for Didy's new pet squirrel "Bunny" in 1842, or Eliza (almost certainly Eliza Wells, b. 1833[14]) who was reported to have subsequently killed the squirrel. Didy's adult diary provides quite a lot of information on her interactions with the "servants," both white and black, and with the scripture and Sunday school classes she taught. A few of those enslaved at Hampton

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[13] 1908 Diary of Helen Ridgely, HAMP 1874.

[14] See listings in Eliza E. R. Ridgely, *Servants Clothing Book 1835-1854*, Maryland Historical Society, MS. 691, Ridgely Account Books; hereinafter *Servants Clothing Book.*; daughter of Fanny, sister of Amanda.

are mentioned by name, including specific mention of Harriet Hawkins and the birth of her youngest child, Louisa, in 1853.[15]

The autobiographical memoir of Henry White (1850-1924), Didy's son, eldest of Eliza and John Ridgely's grandsons, provides no information on specific individuals but rather commentary on slavery in general and on the Civil War and its effect on the Ridgely family in particular.[16] A farm journal kept by Charles Ridgely in 1852-53, now in the Hampton archives, details the daily tasks on the farm, providing additional insight into the labor required of the enslaved workers.[17]

<u>Account Books kept by Ridgely Family members</u> - Across the generations, the Ridgelys were excellent record keepers who kept meticulous accounts of their financial transactions, expenditures and of the activities essential to the running of the estate. Numerous examples of these records are preserved in the Maryland Historical Society's MS. 691, Ridgely Family Account Books, with several important additional books in the collections at Hampton NHS and the Maryland State Archives. Germane to the current study of the Davis family and other individuals enslaved in the post-1829 period are those principally kept by John Ridgely (possibly in the hand of a business manager) and his son Charles, and those kept by John's wife, Eliza Eichelberger Ridgely. John and Charles' accounts document their sphere, the staffing and running of the estate, paying for the labor to operate the farm, and for other essential related expenses.[18] Eliza's accounts principally record information related to her significant responsibility to see to the clothing of the estate's large enslaved workforce.[19]

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[15] *Journal of Eliza (Didy) Ridgely White*, May 1853 to April 1854, HAMP 44987.

[16] *Henry White Memoir*, c. 1925 typescript copy, Hampton NHS curatorial research files.

[17] *Charles Ridgely Farm Journal*, HAMP 14711. See Appendix Q.

[18] John Ridgely, *Account Book*, 1829-1835; John and Charles Ridgely, *Ledger of Wages*, 1836-1870, Maryland Historical Society, MS. 691, Ridgely Account Books.

[19] *Servants Clothing Book* and John and Eliza Ridgely, *Farm Account Book*, 1850-1864, Maryland Historical Society, MS. 691, Ridgely Account Books; hereinafter *Farm Account Book*. Eliza's personal account books, one at the MdHS and one at Hampton, have notations related to the purchase of fabric for clothing, but do not bring to light much information related to specific enslaved individuals.

Two account books of John Ridgely's list payments to paid laborers in the 1830s-1860s. The earlier volume, John Ridgely *Account Book*, 1829-1835,[20] has accounts for several free Black workers who were formerly enslaved by his father, Gov. Charles Carnan Ridgely. These records are more related to research into this earlier group of enslaved individuals rather than later ones owned by John Ridgely, and are thus not as germane to Nancy Davis and family. However, the 1830s account book is invaluable in tracking individuals from a number of important families enslaved by his father and only recently freed, e.g., Harris, Sheridan, Norris, Williams, Horner, Wicks, etc. The names are plainly listed with the title "Negro" before the given name, helping to identify the individuals for interest to this study. Some of these freed paid workers had close relatives who were still enslaved at Hampton, for example Abe Horner's son Josh, who later used the surname Howard.[21] The account book kept by John and his son Charles during his father's declining years is the one of importance related to the Davis family, as will be described later.[22]

Two very important account books kept by Eliza Ridgely in her own hand are both preserved in MdHS MS. 691: *Servants Clothing Book* 1835-1854 and *Farm Account Book* 1850-1864, which very thoroughly document the provision of clothing to the enslaved generally twice a year (late spring, late fall) from 1835-1864. In the mid-1830s to early 1840s, the *Servants Clothing Book* was organized by name of servant, with a listing for several years beneath; after c. 1842, Eliza recorded the clothing given by date, with the list of the enslaved organized by sex and age. These are essential documents for ages, family connections, births of children and the identity of their mothers, and some aspects of work. Individuals in both the *Servants Clothing Book* and *Farm Account Book* can be carefully followed to see if they are crossed out or no longer recorded, i.e., died, sold, ran away. The *Servants Clothing Book* sometimes specifies which were house "servants" vs. farm "servants," thus helping to answer one of the key questions posed to the EOA project. Notations on an individual's pages sometimes note

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[20] John Ridgely, *Account Book*, 1829-1835, MdHS MS. 691.

[21] Much to the consternation of the Ridgelys and their in-laws the Howards.

[22] John and Charles Ridgely, *Ledger of Wages*, 1836-1870, MdHS MS. 691.

the hand-me-downs given to favored house servants such as head waiter Mark Posey. The *Farm Account Book* is later very useful for showing attrition in numbers during the Civil War, including the four young men who immediately ran away in May 1861 when Civil War started. The *Farm Account Book* also has information on topics such as the production of food at the farm, especially hams and dairy products. Neither book consistently records last names of the enslaved, but this problem is largely overcome by other documents (see Christmas Gift List discussion below).

Records in Eliza Ridgely's two account books are the principal source for a spreadsheet the author created giving the names and family connections of mothers and children.[23] Possible connections to fathers and other family members are also noted. We now know the names of almost every child born at Hampton over the final 30-year period of slavery at Hampton.

<u>The "Hawkins Servants"</u> - Returning to the search for Nancy Brown Davis and her extended family, the records in Eliza Ridgely's *Servants Clothing Book* give very specific details on the purchase of some 21 individuals comprising three nuclear families who were purchased by John Ridgely in the spring of 1841. These individuals were purchased from the estate of one James L. Hawkins of Frederick County and Baltimore, a banker who became notorious for embezzling huge sums of money in 1840-1841.[24] Settling his debts required him to sell his enslaved workers on his plantation "Oakland" near Petersville in southwestern Frederick County, Maryland. On a page titled "1841/A Memorandum of Hawkins Servants" in the *Servants Clothing Book,* Eliza Ridgely neatly lists the three families: the Gullys, the Humphries, and the Davises. Each individual's age is listed, even the specific birth date on March 16, 1795 of father Jim Gully, and the names of the children's parents. Though no trace of the Gullys by that surname has yet been found post-Emancipation,[25] the other two families would become very important to the later history of Hampton. Very fortunately for the ability to track the individuals in this

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[23] See Appendix G, Maddox-Wingfield, “The Power of the Apostrophe,” this volume.

[24] *Baltimore Sun,* February 24, 1841.

[25] See discussion of Gully family, Fletcher, this volume.

large group for several years after 1841, Eliza Ridgely recorded clothing allotments for the group of "Hawkins Servants" separately from the others enslaved at Hampton. Importantly, she sometimes noted the Davis family members' offspring at Hampton in later years.

It was necessary to confirm that the information in the *Servants Clothing Book* about the Davis family who were "Hawkins Servants," as Eliza Ridgely termed them, were the same individuals pertinent to Nancy and her story. The two key clues which confirmed this were both in the Howard *Memoir*, giving us a perfect example of "layering" disparate sources. First, as previously noted, the memoir mentions Nancy's husband Louis Davis, Louis' father Bill, and several siblings. All the names match the "Hawkins Servants" Davis family. Another small clue is a marginal note added after the main narrative in the memoir was written, on page 228 of the text opposite the page that gives Nancy's life history.[26] This note states, "Hawkins – Catoctin furnace in Fredk Co," which is about 20 miles north of James Hawkins' plantation.

In 1841, the Davis family, into which Nancy Brown of Cowpens would later marry, consisted of father William/Bill Davis, mother Susan—later called by the nickname Sukey—Davis, and their seven children (Lloyd, b. c. 1825; Harriet, b. 1827; Ellen, b. 1831; Louis, b. 1833; Ann, b. 1835; Caroline, b. 1837; William, b. c. 1839[27]). The *Servants Clothing Book* later records the birth of the two youngest Davis children, Tilghman (March 1843) and Susan (October 1849).[28] Equally important, Eliza Ridgely later lists the dates of three children born to daughter Ellen Davis (1847, 1848, 1849). Later notations in the *Servants Clothing Book* give the names of Ellen's three oldest children (Harriet, Emma, Bill) with somewhat modified birthdates (1848, 1849, 1850).

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[26] *Howard Memoirs*; even pages used for marginal notes; main text on odd numbered pages.

[27] Baby William was omitted from Eliza's first listing of the children, but she includes him subsequently. This may be because he was sickly and died in 1844.

[28] Notably, though Dr. R. Kent Lancaster previous research noted the purchase from the Hawkins estate and the first names and ages of the children based on a receipt, it did not fully or accurately record the parentage.

The father of these and several more children was discovered and will be discussed below.

The Christmas Gift List - Obviously, these account books provide a wealth of information about Ridgely provision of clothing to the enslaved and the names of the enslaved and formerly enslaved laboring at Hampton before and some even after 1864. The dense information in Eliza Ridgely's two books recording the clothing allotments are not perfect, however, in that surnames are often used only sporadically or sometime omitted entirely. Fortunately for our study, a very rare and significant manuscript written by another Ridgely family member greatly helps to answer some of these mysteries and helps to clarify many family relationships and life events, especially related to the numerous children enslaved at antebellum Hampton. That document is "Christmas Gifts of the Colored Children of Hampton given by E. Ridgely" in which John and Eliza Ridgely's daughter Eliza, called "Didy" (1828-1894), recorded gifts given to the enslaved children of Hampton over the period from 1841-1854.[29] As an adolescent, Didy was likely tasked by her mother Eliza to perform this family custom, one which—though rare—was known in other well-to-do slaveholding southern families.

Didy Ridgely at age thirteen even described the event in her diary in December of 1841:

> Friday 24th December 1841
>
> After dinner we went up to Hampton. Mary and Lizzy Evans came up with me and Hugh Birckhead with Brother. At night we read the new Christmas gift books and fixed some of the servants Christmas gifts.
>
> Christmas Saturday 25th December 1841
> We were up early, looked at the stocking and the good things it contains and after breakfast, I gave the large servants their gifts and then we fixed the room and a whole troop of little servants came in. When they had received their presents, we sent them away and then went down into the yard to shoot firing crackers.[30]

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[29] HAMP 14733. The two Christmases that the family spent in Europe in 1846 and 1847 are omitted. The timing is interesting in that the first year coincides with the year of the acquisition of the large group of 14 children from the Hawkins estate.

[30] *Journal of Eliza (Didy) Ridgely White*, May 1853 to April 1854, HAMP 44987.

Didy's gift list enumerates the specific toys given each year, but there are also details that note when a child first receives gifts, or became too old for toys, or died. For example, Alice Posey, daughter of highly favored head waiter Mark Posey and Rachel, was recorded by Didy as being her "first protégé" in 1845, but she died while Didy was away in Europe for two years in 1846-1848. Also of interest are the notes about children receiving no toys, such as Eliza Wells (discussed earlier) who Didy believed had killed her pet squirrel in 1841, or being put out of the house for "bad behavior," which in at least one case, Augustus Gibbs, may have contributed to his running away. Most germane to the story of the Davises, however, and to research on several other families is Didy's listing of surnames in almost every case, with the notable exception of Milly's children (See Maddox-Wingfield, this volume). One can then match up the information in the *Servants Clothing Book* with the Christmas list to provide last names for a number of individuals. This of course is crucial when trying to follow an individual in later records once they were freed.

<u>Annotations from the 1890s</u> - <u>Connections Confirmed</u> – One of the most important sources for the family connections of the enslaved of the 1830s and later at Hampton, and of the Davis family in particular, are annotations made in two of the Ridgely family account books, *Servants Clothing Book*, 1835-1854 and *John & Charles Ridgely, Ledger of Wages*, 1836-1870. This author first noted the marginalia in the John Ridgely *Account Book*, 1829-1835, over a decade ago while researching furnishing plans for Hampton; additional notes were discovered in the *Servants Clothing Book* more recently while working with the researchers preparing the Hampton Historic Resource Study (2014).[31] In 1894-1895, Eliza Ridgely III (1858-1894), eldest granddaughter of John and Eliza Ridgely, made a number of marginal notes in these two of her grandparents' account books.[32] Despite their very useful information, previous researchers had not transcribed or even mentioned them in previous research

[31] Robert T. Chase and Elizabeth Comer, *On the Border of Slavery and Freedom: The Hampton Plantation, the Northampton Ironworks, and the Transformation of Labor, 1740-1948* (Historic Resource Study for Hampton National Historic Site), Towson, MD: Hampton National Historic Site, National Park Service, 2014.

[32] John Ridgely, *Account Book*, 1829-1835, MdHS MS. 691; John and Eliza Ridgely, *Farm Account Book*, 1850-1864, MdHS MS. 691.

documents, papers or reports. The source of information for the majority of these notes comes from Nancy Davis herself, then age 61-62, as several of the notes specifically state "so says Nancy Davis 1894." Some notes are specific recollections of Eliza III herself, who would have particularly recalled the formerly enslaved who continued to work at Hampton post-Emancipation. The majority of Nancy's comments are about members of her extended family, though there are a few other comments on unrelated individuals. These notes are absolutely crucial to being able to confirm connections within Nancy's large family of in-laws and, when combined with the information in the *Howard Memoirs*, helps to flesh out generations of the Davis/Brown family tree.[33]

The first important connection in the Davis family that is confirmed by Eliza III's annotations is the husband of Ellen Davis. Eliza Ridgely's *Farm Account Book* had listed an "Ellen Harris" in the mid-1850s, a woman who was mother of several young children. We suspected but could not prove that this was Ellen Davis of the Hawkins Servants and speculated that her spouse might have been Nathan Harris, who could be identified as a house servant and carriage driver based on records in the *Servants Clothing Book*. It was Eliza Ridgely III's annotations that finally confirmed our suppositions, written on the page from the early 1850s in the *Servants Clothing Book* which recorded "Ellen's children." The note states, "Nathan's wife, so says Nancy Davis."[34] In John & Charles Ridgely, *Ledger of Wages* showing the payment of wages post-Emancipation, Nathan's identity and profession are confirmed by Eliza Ridgely III on the page titled "Negro Nathan Harris" listing payments for work in 1864. Her notes state "Famous driver of four horses—left Hampton after the Civil War. Some of children are now at Towson (E. R. 1895)." This is further confirmed by the comments about Nathan, no surname recorded, by Uncle Jim Howard: "Nathan the driver who used to handle the four in hand so skillfully as to command the admiration of the people of Baltimore was among those missing when I came home after the war was over."[35] The great importance of confirming the

[33] See Appendix C.
[34] *Servants Clothing Book*.

[35] Howard *Memoirs*, p. 153. See below for further information on where Nathan Harris went after the war; See also Julie Scharper, "An Honest Reckoning," Winter 2020, National Parks Conservation Association, https://www.npca.org/articles/2389-an-honest-reckoning accessed April 21, 2020.

identities of this particular couple, which led to tracking their descendants through time, will be described later in this paper.

The Sam Brown Story - Another highly important family connection of Nancy Davis not known previous to the current EOA research is the identity of Sam Brown, listed in the *Servants Clothing Book* and *Farm Account Book* from 1835 until 1861. Thanks to one brief marginal note, we can now fill in the history of an enslaved individual whose life began before the American Revolution and whose descendants were living over 100 years later and are living today. It was already known from Uncle Jim Howard's memoir that Nancy Davis' maiden name was Brown, daughter of Cowpens "market man" Ambrose Brown, and niece of Ambrose's brother William who was the father of Thomas Brown, husband of Nancy's sister-in-law Caroline Davis.[36] Given that Brown is an extremely common surname, however, there was no definitive reason to connect the Brown brothers at Cowpens to Sam Brown enslaved at Hampton. It was also known from Kent Lancaster's research into John's Ridgely's purchases of slaves that the Sam Brown in the clothing account books had been purchased in 1830 from Charles Dorsey, Ridgely's brother-in-law.[37]

It seemed likely that Sam Brown was probably the oldest male slave at Hampton in the post-1829 era because he is always listed first among the men receiving clothing in both the *Servants Clothing Book* and *Farm Account Book*. Furthermore, the list appears to be roughly by age in descending order, so that the younger men are at the bottom of the list, but before the list of male children.[38] The big clue, which led to both confirmation and further information, was found in the Clothing Account Book on the page from the 1830s for the clothing given to Sam Brown. Eliza Ridgely III's penciled note next to Sam Brown's name reads: "Nancy Davis says Sam her father's grandfather

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[36] Howard *Memoirs*, pp. 233-235.

[37] Dr. R. Kent Lancaster, "John1" research notes, c. 1995; Curatorial Files, Hampton National Historic Site. Dr. Lancaster doesn't seem to have made the connection that Charles Dorsey's Sam Brown who he sold to John Ridgely was the same person Dorsey and his wife Mary Ridgely Dorsey had inherited from Gov. Ridgely's estate the previous year.

[38] This is confirmed by the names of the children moving up onto the bottom of the adult list with the passage of time.

she thinks 1894." Additional research indicates that Sam is most likely Ambrose Brown's father, not grandfather.[39] Nevertheless, given that being either Ambrose's father or grandfather would take him back into the eighteenth century, we could now piece together that the Sam Brown at Hampton from the time of purchase by John Ridgely in 1830 till his death around 1861 is the same Sam Brown then age 54 (thus b. 1775) and valued at $150 in Gov. Ridgely's 1829 estate records. This same Sam was inherited by Mary Ridgely and Charles S. W. Dorsey as residuary heirs who were given enslaved individuals too old under Maryland state law, i.e. over age 45, to be freed. John Ridgely had then purchased old Sam, who had already been living at Hampton and is recorded in that location in 1829,[40] just a few months later in January 1830 for $200. Information discovered later during the EOA research phase by team members investigating enslaved head gardener Dan Harris, freed by the 1829 manumission, will add even more details to this part of the family history.[41]

<u>The Search Continues Online</u> - Ridgely family manuscripts provide extensive notes on some of the enslaved families of Hampton such as the Davis/Browns and even some aspects of their lives post-Emancipation. In the attempt to bring these Hampton related families into the twentieth and ideally the twenty-first century, the researcher must move away from the Ridgely family documents and manuscripts and proceed with what is essentially standard genealogical research. Today, much of that can be conducted online, especially with regard to several standard groups of records. Among the key record groups available online that illuminated numerous additional details about the descendants of not only the Davis family purchase in 1841 but also numerous other individuals enslaved at Hampton are:

- US and state census records
- City Directory records

[39] See information about Sam's wife Betsy Howard (b. 1787). Since Ambrose Brown was born around 1800-1805, he then must be Sam and Betsy's son rather than grandson. Other possibilities include Betsy being a second wife and that Sam fathered a son with another woman c. 1790, who then fathered Ambrose only about 15 years later.

[40] "An inventory of Negroes, Stock, and etc. at Hampton Farm taken on the 2nd of February 1829," G. Howard White Papers, Hampton National Historic Site, MS 1003.

[41] See Maddox-Wingfield, “The Power of The Apostrophe,” this volume.

- Cemetery and other death records
- Military records

Before discussing specific examples of how these various records added many details to the story of various Davis family members, several caveats are in order. The historical records from the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries come with certain issues and biases. Census takers are notorious, especially in the late nineteenth century but also as late as 1930, for not caring about accurate spelling of names, particularly names of African Americans. Also, though the spelling of Davis is never a problem per se, other family names can be spelled in a remarkable number of ways (see the Sheridans, or equally difficult, the Humphrey/Humphreys/Humphries/Umphrey/Umphries, etc. clan). Because the subjects of our interest themselves may be unable to read or write, a frequently imposed status often listed on the census records, the spelling of the name was then at the whim of the census taker in any given year. When working with online genealogical search engines, the researcher must be prepared to check all these different spellings in the search engine. They must also be prepared to check very carefully that the name they've found in a record is actually for the person they are searching for, which is especially true for more common names.[42] One must be prepared to consider and often accept wide discrepancies and phonetic, barely recognizable spelling.

The census recorders were even more cavalier with ages and birth years. There are many instances that EOA project researchers have discovered where ages can be off by 5-10 years, yet we feel certain we are looking at the correct record for a specific family, based on matching names of several children, matching occupations, correct addresses, etc. The census taker may have simply looked at the individual they were recording and guessed about their age. Some of this issue with ages is also related to the accurate knowledge of the formerly enslaved individuals, who may themselves be uncertain about the exact year of their birth.[43] And women of every color in the past have

[42] An example of this problem for even an uncommon name will be noted in the discussion of Henry Cummins in-laws.

[43] For example, some of the formerly enslaved from Hampton reported their age as "unknown" to the census taker in 1900.

sometimes been known to lop a few years off their ages when asked by the census taker.[44]

Davis and Allied Families in Census Records - Because of the ongoing close connection of various members of the Davis/Brown family to the Ridgely family at Hampton, the initial search in census records included a review of the records from 1870-1930 for the individuals listed as residing on or adjacent to the Hampton estate itself. There one finds Nancy Davis listed in 1870 and 1880,[45] her husband Louis/Lewis in 1870; her sister-in-law Anne Davis Williams in 1870 and 1880; and Nancy's cousin Thomas Brown, spouse of Caroline Davis, in 1870 and 1900, while Caroline herself is recorded nearby in Towson in 1870 and 1880. Checking the near neighbors of a particular residence can also be very important in establishing or confirming connections.

Even though he is recorded only two times, Davis sibling Tilghman (1844-1906) is a good example of census records providing considerable basic information that becomes the basis for further investigation. Tilghman is known from Ridgely account books to have worked at Hampton immediately after Emancipation.[46] After having dodged the census taker in 1870, Tilghman had by 1880 taken up residence in Baltimore City, where his family was to remain through at least the second decade of the twentieth century. Listed as "Tilman" in the 1880 census, along with wife Elizabeth (1859-c.1914) and eldest son Theodore (1879-lv. 1905), the Davises were by then living on Rose Street in southeast Baltimore. By 1900, they were located in their more long term location of the Mount Vernon neighborhood, at 712 Tyson Street only about two blocks distance from Ridgely family residences. The detailed 1900 listing shows that Tilghman and Elizabeth had been married in 1877 and by 1900 had had a total of eight children, six of whom were living. Five of the children, Theodore, Elizabeth, Anna, and William,

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[44] This happened in records for the researcher's own family.
[45] Nancy was listed in Margaretta Howard Ridgely's townhouse on Park Avenue in Baltimore City in 1900.

[46] John and Charles Ridgely *Ledger of Wages*, 1836-1870, MdHS MS. 691.

named for his grandfather, and Edward, were then living with their parents.[47] In both census records, Tilghman's profession is listed as "coachman," an occupation confirmed in the recent remarkable discovery of his coachman's livery in the collection of costume material donated by the Ridgely family to the Maryland Historical Society in 1944. His name is sewn inside![48]

Baltimore City Directories - Continuing with Tilghman Davis as an example of the kind of research that was performed for both various Davis family members and numerous other individuals, Baltimore City Directories can be key to tracking the formerly enslaved and their families through time. Perhaps as many as half of the workers who had been enslaved by the Ridgelys moved into Baltimore City once freed. The city, renowned as the largest community of free Blacks in the United States prior to the Civil War, offered both a large support network and better economic opportunity. After the war, African Americans established schools, churches, and political, civic, charitable, fraternal, and benevolent organizations, all of which supplied support for the recently emancipated.[49]

With regard to the Baltimore City Directories, the racist attitudes of the time actually have a benefit for those now researching the lives of African Americans, because their listings are very easy to distinguish from those of their white neighbors. Until the mid-1880s, the alphabetical listings for African American individuals are in a separate section titled "Colored Persons," particularly helpful when tracing people with common last names. By 1887, the names of African Americans are designated with an asterisk, a practice which continues until the early 1920s, though with less consistency in the final years. Another aspect of the directories for the researcher to be aware of is the change in the numbering system for individual buildings in 1886, to try to have a more

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[47] Subsequent City Directory research has shown that they had another son, Samuel, listed as a laborer living in the family home on Tyson Street in 1898.
[48] Information courtesy of Norah Worthington MdHS Costume Collection researcher, 2018. See Norah Worthington, "Hidden in Plain Sight: Uncovering the Livery of Tilghman Davis and Thomas Brown," in *Spectrum of Fashion* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2019), p. 41-54, specifically p. 44. Also see "Tilghman Davis" Story Map, https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=e9522c155a6a474b86bc64ce79560b4e

[49] See Fletcher, "Bright Dreams" and Merrill, "Beyond Hampton's Reach," this volume.

orderly and consistent pattern from street to street. Fortunately, the 1887 directory lists both the old and the new number for each residence. The new number, generally the same as exists today, can thus help to locate an earlier address.

Coinciding with his appearance in the US Census records, Tilghman Davis first appears in the Baltimore City Directory records in 1880, at 21 Rose Street.[50] Typically, his name is variously listed as Tilghman or Tilman, though he is consistently recorded as a coachman. By 1883, he had moved to the area where he continually resided for most of the next 22 years, Mount Vernon. Though his main residence seems to have been on Tyson Street, the narrow "alley street" running north and south between Park Avenue (where the Ridgelys had a townhouse) and Howard Street, he is listed for two years (1894 and 1895) somewhat farther into west Baltimore on Hoffman Street. He is also occasionally listed at 864 Park Avenue, which is actually the address of Margaretta Ridgely's town residence. The exact year of Tilghman's death is now known to be 1905, thanks to Nora Holzinger's research into Baltimore City Death Records 1875 -1972.[51] His widow Elizabeth continues to be listed until 1914, as does son William (1892-lv. 1914).

<u>Newspapers</u> - The next major public source used in the search for Davis family members was in newspapers available through search engines online.[52] Though brought into the process considerably later than more widely available records, they turned out to be invaluable in several cases, most particularly in the family investigated in the later section of this paper. In general, the newspapers tend to be more helpful for individuals living in Baltimore City rather than in the county. This was not the case with Tilghman Davis, however, who was virtually unrecorded by the Baltimore papers.[53] In contrast, a number of key citations were available for his brother-in-law Nathan Harris, husband of

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[50] Tilghman Davis' residence in the 1870s remains a mystery, since he doesn't appear in the 1870 census and does not appear in any Hampton related documents after the late 1860s. It seems most likely that he remained in Baltimore County, but further investigation will be needed.

[51] Baltimore City Health Department.

[52] These include Newspapers.com and newspaperarchive.com.

[53] Although the *Baltimore Afro American* newspaper is now searchable online, no listings have been located.

Tilghman's sister Ellen mentioned extensively above. First, census records had confirmed that the couple continued to live in District 9 of Baltimore County, near Govanstown south of Towson on York Road. The records also filled in the names of the couple's children born after they were freed and had left Hampton.

The earliest newspaper notice about Nathan Harris is from summer 1864,[54] when he is listed among those drafted by the Union Army. Nathan, who was born around 1820 or possibly earlier, is listed as a slave who was overage and therefore did not have to serve. As noted before, Nathan was by profession a driver, and the later newspaper notices confirm this and his continued involvement with horses post-Emancipation. By the 1870s, he owned his own stable on Woodbourne Avenue, near York Rd., a location just south of Govanstown, MD. A thoroughbred stallion, "Glamorgan," was standing for the season at Nathan's stable in 1877.[55] In 1880, the notice of a horse for sale notes that he may be seen by inquiring of Nathan Harris at famed Pimlico Racetrack.[56] A sadder bit of family history was recorded in 1874, when Nathan and Ellen's daughter Kate, then age 16, died in a fire at the family home on Woodbourne Avenue.[57] The newspaper notice nevertheless notes of Nathan that he had "belonged to the Ridgelys, previous to the abolition of slavery, and was well known." Nothing more is learned of Nathan himself, though a much younger Nathan Harris, probably not a close relation, in Towson was frequently in trouble with the law in the 1890s. This last comment is mentioned to advise the researcher to take care to be certain that the name you find in the newspaper is the correct individual.

Maps and Atlases - For this project, historic maps and atlases were important in locating the areas and contexts of the newly freed former residents of Hampton. Obviously, Baltimore City maps from the second half of the nineteenth century can be used to locate street names recorded in the census or city directories, especially those

[54] *Baltimore Sun*, August 1, 1864.

[55] *Baltimore Sun*, June 14, 1877.

[56] *Baltimore Sun,* May 25, 1880.

[57] *Baltimore Sun*, March 2, 1874.

that may have changed names over time and for the small alley streets that typically were populated by African Americans.[58] Atlases can be useful for residents of Baltimore County, especially the *Atlas of Baltimore County, Maryland*, published by G. M. Hopkins in Philadelphia in 1877.[59] The highly detailed maps of each election district plus an extensive number of small towns and city neighborhoods also record the names of the property owners. Although few African Americans owned property at this time, they can often be found in 1870 or 1880 Census records living near a white landowner and can thus be located geographically.

An example of information from an atlas for the Davis family would be that of Harriet Davis (1827-lv. 1870) and her husband Tom Smith (1820-lv. 1870) who are recorded in 1870 in the 13th District of Baltimore County, in the southwest corner of the county far from Hampton and Towson. They and Harriet's niece Susan Harris (1853-lv. 1870) are listed as domestic servants working for one Robert Fowler, a commission merchant, and his wife Susan and their large family. The 1877 Hopkins Atlas map of the 13th district of Baltimore County clearly shows "Harvest Home," the large estate then owned by Mrs. Robert Fowler located on the south side of Wilkins Avenue, just west of St. Agnes Hospital. Where the Smiths went after the 1870s is currently unknown, largely due to the very common name of the head of the household.[60]

<u>Cemetery and Death Records</u> - These vital records of course can be crucial to locating not just specific individuals and their life dates, but to finding more extensive family connections. Websites such as "Find-a-Grave" provide both search engines and lists of those buried. One can also focus on review of the individual websites of African American cemeteries, Mount Auburn in Baltimore and Pleasant Rest in Towson, for example, and compilations of those buried in the smaller rural cemeteries by

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[58] Many of these small streets have disappeared or been renamed, so the researcher should check both online sources and published sources in the MdHS and Enoch Pratt libraries.

[59] Available in reprint.

[60] Given Tom's desire to move far from Hampton, it seems possible that they may have moved out of state.

genealogical researchers.[61] Online searches brought to light the gravestone of family matriarch Ellen Davis Harris was located in Pleasant Rest in Towson, the cemetery close to the former African American neighborhood of Sandy Bottom. The stone notes her death date as 1911.[62] As will be noted below, the connection of the Harris family to Pleasant Rest in later generations was subsequently confirmed.

For individuals who are later descendants of Hampton's enslaved individuals, basic vital records such as Social Security records can add crucial information such as life dates and location at the time of decease. The researcher may be able to compare the birth date on such records to help determine if the record found could be for the correct individual. For example, Tilghman Davis' youngest son Edward is noted in the 1900 Census as having been born in October 1894. This agrees with a Social Security record of an Edward Davis of Baltimore whose 1980 death record also lists that date. This alone cannot be considered absolutely conclusive, however, given the large number of African Americans in Baltimore with the surname Davis.

Team Cooperation: - Input of related information from other team members can be crucial and lead to pulling together the documentary with oral information from interviews and result in major discoveries. Most initial primary research on Davis family had ended with no living descendants found and most individuals traced no later than early twentieth century. Then came the breakthrough, with an inquiry from Principal Investigator and team leader Dr. Cheryl J. LaRoche in early August 2018 regarding Daniel Harris, a man formerly enslaved by Gov. Ridgely who is now renowned as the first free Black to own property in East Towson. Through recent oral interviews, Dr. LaRoche had found information suggesting a possible link between Daniel Harris and one Isabella Harris, a daughter of Ellen Davis and Nathan Harris of Hampton. Though this connection with the earlier Daniel Harris cannot yet be confirmed, the oral history taken by Louis Diggs in the late 1990s on which the information was based gave

[61] See cemetery records transcribed by Louis S. Diggs at the Historical Society of Baltimore County.

[62] The online photograph of the grave marker suggests there was originally an age at time of death noted on it. Viewing the stone in person might clarify this information.

extremely important clues to the identity of Isabella Harris' spouse and to her later life in East Towson.[63]

Following up on and expanding on Dr. LaRoche's initial checking of census records and combining this work with additional research into newspaper and cemetery records, confirmation was found that the Isabella/Belle Gross living in Towson in the early twentieth century, married to Dennis Gross and mother of a large family children, was Isabella, daughter of Ellen Davis and Nathan Harris who was born at Hampton in 1862. The key discovery was the gravestone of a grandson of Isabella Gross' in Pleasant Rest Cemetery in Towson. This man had the very distinctive family name of Harris Davis Gross (1932-1973), clearly confirming the connection to Isabella's parents and reaffirming the eponymous or namesaking practices uncovered by EOA. Continuing the cooperative sharing of information among EOA team members points also to the importance of previous research by key local historians. Dr. LaRoche found notes from an oral history interview with a granddaughter of Isabella and Dennis Gross that had been conducted by Louis Diggs in the late 1990s[64] and provided a wealth of additional information on the Gross family, including the names of several living members of the younger generation who can now be shown to be descendants of Ellen Davis and Nathan Harris of Hampton.[65]

The information discovered during the EOA research phase by team members investigating Dan Harris and Patsy Fletcher researching the large Sheridan/Sherdan/Sherdine family led to important discoveries related to the Davis/Brown family. They identified Sam Brown's wife as Betsy Howard, who was also sister-in-law of Hampton enslaved laborer Rezin Sheridan, spouse of Amelia Howard,

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[63] Louis S. Diggs, *Since the Beginning: African American Communities in Towson* (Uptown Press, 2000).

[64] Diggs, "Remembrances of Rae Gross Thompson" in *Since the Beginning*, pp. 74-77.

[65] One of those descendants subsequently shared Isabella Harris and Dennis Gross' 1890 marriage certificate with Dr. LaRoche. The certificate records the presence of Mrs. Ellen Harris as witness. (See report cover.)

manumitted in 1829.[66] Born in 1787, Betsy's age thus indicates that she and Sam are likely parents rather than grandparents of Ambrose and William Brown of Cowpens, who were probably born about 1805-1815. Nancy Davis's slight mistake in suggesting that Sam was her father's grandfather is understandable, given that Sam would have been over 80 when she was a young woman working at Hampton in the mid-1850s and later. Sam Brown died at Hampton at the venerable age of about 86 in c. 1861.[67]

The detective work of the EOA team members, particularly John Whitfield, tracking the Batty family, principally enslaved at the Northampton Furnace before being either freed or inherited by Charles Carnan Ridgely's son-in-law James Howard at Cowpens, led to confirming the identity of Nancy Brown Davis' mother, a key mystery at the beginning of the project. Information in the Howard *Memoirs* when combined with Gov. Charles Carnan Ridgely's estate records led to the early realization that Nancy had to be the daughter of one of four women inherited by James Howard in 1829. These were Polly Batty (b. 1813), Sally Batty (b. 1811), Bett Groover (b. 1815), and Rachel ? (b. 1813), all of whom were living at Cowpens at the same time as Ambrose Brown, Nancy's father, and who would have been of child bearing age in 1833 when Nancy was born. It was suspected that one of the two young women of the Batty family might be Nancy's mother, and this was eventually confirmed by the discovery by LaRoche of a Batty family member living in Pennsylvania in the mid-nineteenth century who was named in honor of Ambrose Brown. Given the propensity of numerous individuals studied to name children after grandparents, aunts, uncles, brothers, sisters, etc., and the uniqueness of the name Ambrose, this seemed to strongly point to Polly or Sally Batty as Nancy's mother.[68]

The final confirmation of the Brown/Batty connection came when the writer checked for Ambrose Brown in the 1850 Census records and found him recorded in

66 The Howard sisters were discovered in court records by EOA team members to also be sisters of Dan Harris of Towson.

67 The page for clothing distribution in May 1861 in the *Farm Account* Book notes "died" next to Sam Brown's name.

68 See John Whitfield, “Out of the Shadows of History,” this volume.

Baltimore County living with wife *Polly* and five children aged 10 and under.[69] She had been listed on the Comprehensive List of Names and freed from enslavement at Cowpens in 1838 by terms of Gov. Charles Carnan Ridgely's will, though five-year-old Nancy had to stay behind. Notably, in 1850 the Brown family is living next door to Rezin Sherden/Sheridan (b. c. 1805, noted above) and his large family, including wife "Milly," i.e. Amelia Howard Sheridan, Ambrose's aunt. Both residences are recorded very near Epsom, the farm immediately south of Hampton owned by Henry Banning Chew, another son-in-law of Governor Ridgely.

The Final Step in Finding Descendants - After layering the information from the numerous documentary sources noted above, there is an additional step that can prove crucial in finding living descendants with the hope of being able to contact them. This involves the most up-to-date research methods not available twenty years ago but crucial today. Finding living descendants of the enslaved at Hampton had been identified from the beginning of the EOA project as a key goal. To do this, the contemporary researcher has to use contemporary methods that are not traditional sources for scholarly research. This includes using sites such as Google, Facebook, Linked-In, and White Pages. Governmental sites also provide useful information using new technologies. Baltimore County government's site, for example, provides GIS maps that can help in the search for property owners in historic African American neighborhoods such as East Towson. It was through use of all these modern tools and resources, combined with the more traditional research detailed above, that numerous living descendants of the Davis and Brown families of Hampton have now been located.

IV. THE CUMMINS/CUMMINGS SAGA

Contrast to the Davis Family Investigation - The next family analyzed as an example of the sources and steps necessary to locate the families of those enslaved on the Hampton estate dates from an earlier period and is related to the gradual manumission by the estate of Gov. Charles Carnan Ridgely beginning in 1829. At the

[69] Following the first public presentation of this paper in October 2018, a living descendant of one of these children of Ambrose and Polly Brown, Charles R. Brown, Jr. was discovered and interviewed. See Davis-Brown Family Chart.

outset, this research was made more difficult than that for the later period because of the need to find the individuals still living at the time of the 1850 and later censuses and other records such as city directories. These sources become more useful as time progresses. Rather than the fairly substantial information already known about Nancy Davis and her immediate family, there was very little known about the target family of next example. For most part, Charles Carnan Ridgely's probate records provide only names, monetary value, some approximate ages, and location at the time of his death. However, by marshalling the sources enumerated above, it is possible to go from only names on a list, quantified in the same way as a piece of livestock would be, to being able to flesh out the remarkable story of an entire family that rose to great prominence, and one for which there are living descendants today.

Why this family was selected - Given the extraordinary difficulty of tracking individuals with common last names (e.g., Brown, Johnson, Williams, etc.) through the historical records of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and time constraints on this type of genealogical research, work for the EOA focused primarily on family groups and some individuals who had relatively distinctive last names. If these individuals lived in large groups at a particular farm, these were deemed even better to try to track. These groups brought at least some hope to the task of transforming dry lists in probate records into something much more meaningful. The goal, as with the latter group freed by Emancipation in 1864, was to answer the public's key questions regarding what happen to those enslaved at Hampton once they were freed, where did they live, what did they do, and what connections might they have to local communities in the present. Basically, the Cummins family was one of the first the writer investigated because it was not a common name, all family members were in one place, and the coherent group of fifteen individuals were likely all related. The placement of the name near the top of list alphabetically was a factor as well. Other members of the EOA were simultaneously piecing this family history together.

Initial Information - In Charles Carnan Ridgely's estate inventory, the members of the Cummins family were all at White Marsh farm in 1829.[70] The inventory records

[70] G. Howard White Papers, Hampton NHS, MS 1003.

values but no ages, although relative value can help to determine an approximate age. Young children have much lower monetary values. Other records, principally later manumission records, suggest ages for some but not all. Of the total group of fifteen individuals named Cummins, six were male. These individuals were chosen to be investigated first since females change surnames if they marry and are thus harder to track. Also, males are more likely to be heads of household in later census and city directory records. Of the six males with surname Cummins living at White Marsh estate in 1829—Aaron, Henry, Isaac, John, Simon, Wesley—their relative values indicate that all but Simon and Isaac were children. This was a potentially positive development, because it meant that the odds were greater that these individuals would still be alive to be listed in the more detailed later record groups such as the 1860 Census and Baltimore City Directories. Their location at the White Marsh estate, inherited in 1829 by Charles Carnan Ridgely's second surviving son, David Ridgely (1798-1848), especially its close proximity to Perry Hall plantation, will later be shown to be significant.

In further pursuing information on members of the Cummins family in very similar fashion to the steps listed for the Davis family above, there was almost immediate success through records available in online search engines. Henry Cummins soon became the focus of investigations as the individual for whom the most complete information quickly emerged in the records. At the beginning of the research, he was merely a name on an inventory page having a very modest value of $30 and listed between two other Cummins children, Aaron and John.[71]

<u>US Census Records</u> - In the US Census for 1860, an unusual listing in Baltimore City records the proprietors, staff, and guests residing at a large hotel in the fashionable 11th Ward. There, listed next to each other, are Aaron and Henry Cummings, recorded as ages 30 and 28. Due to the somewhat unusual first names, it was felt these certainly must be the same Aaron and Henry Cummins listed at White Marsh recorded on Gov. Charles Carnan Ridgely's 1829 inventory when very young boys, probably brothers (see below). As noted previously, the slight variation in spelling is to be expected, as is the

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[71] Inventory of the Property of Charles Carnan Ridgely of Hampton, 1829, p. 55, G. Howard White Papers, Hampton NHS, MS 1003.

small discrepancy in age.[72] Based on their presence in Charles Carnan Ridgely's probate records in 1829 and that they continued to be enslaved afterwards, they were likely two or slightly older in 1829 since they were not freed with their parents. Thus, given their low value ($30), it is likely that they were born around 1826 and 1827 respectively. Additional research would show that Henry was still recorded at White Marsh at the time of David Ridgely's death in 1846.[73] By terms of Gov. Ridgely's will, they would have been freed at age 28, thus around 1854 and 1855. A further interesting detail from the 1860 Census is the young man listed immediately after Henry Cummings, one George Davige, a surname of significance discussed below.

The next major US census record to shed light on Henry Cummins/Cummings is from 1880,[74] by which time Henry, said to be 50 years old, had married a woman named Eliza, had several children, and established a profession as a cook. The name of his eldest son (Aaron, 15) confirms the very close connection to the elder Aaron from White Marsh and at the hotel in 1860. The other children are recorded as Harry (14), Ida R. (12), Charles (10), Frances (8), and Carroll (5).[75] Also important to the details of the Cummings family history are the presence in the household of several of Henry's in-laws, including his mother-in-law, Sydney Davige (65), sisters-in-law Sophia (30) and Charlotte Davige (28), and brother-in-law Charles Davige (26). The family was then living in the 2nd precinct of the 12th Ward, the precise address subsequently clarified by City Directory research as 16 Bolton Street (see below).

[72] The census taker may not have asked the Cummings siblings directly how old they were, and someone else provided an approximation. It is also possible that Aaron and Henry themselves did not know the exact year of their births.

[73] David Ridgely probate inventory, information on slaves transcribed by Dr. R. Kent Lancaster. See Dr. R. Kent Lancaster, "David," research notes, c. 1995; Curatorial Files, Hampton National Historic Site.

[74] The 1870 listing for Henry Cummings and family was not found until much later, due to a significant misspelling of the surname by the census taker.

[75] The choice of the name Carroll seems to be a very interesting and possibly significant reference to the last name of the owner (Harry Dorsey Gough Carroll) of Perry Hall plantation where Eliza Cummings was born.

The next surviving US Census (1900) shows that many members of the Cummings family continued to live together, now at 1234 Druid Hill Avenue.[76] All the individuals noted above (excepting daughter Frances and son Carroll, both of whom had died in the mid-1890s, and Sydney and Sofia Davige) are in residence with the addition of son Harry's wife Blanche, Henry and Eliza's daughter Estelle F. Cummings (26) and youngest son William O. Cummings (18). What is truly remarkable about this record, however, are the occupations listed for Henry and Eliza's children. Aaron worked as a messenger for the Post Office, Harry S. is a lawyer—an extraordinary accomplishment for this time period—Ida is a "kindergardeness," Estelle is a school teacher, and William is still in school at age 18. It was this information that immediately broadened the research beyond a traditional genealogical search, when it was clear that the Cummings family had made very significant strides beyond slavery in a single generation and had a remarkable story to tell.[77]

Baltimore City Directories - Before detailing the full history of this highly noteworthy family, it is important nevertheless to return to the search in the key basic records. As noted previously, the racist nature of the Baltimore City Directory listings in this time period are actually of great of benefit to the contemporary researcher attempting to track the families of the formerly enslaved. Separate listings for "Colored Persons" made locating Henry Cummings, the chef, very straightforward. Research into Baltimore City Directories for Henry Cummings traces his path through the Mount Vernon neighborhood and north eventually into Marble Hill with the passage of time. His profession is consistently recorded as "cook" beginning in 1865
when he was living with his Davige in-laws on Tyson Street. The family residence gradually moves north through Mount Vernon, recorded at six different addresses, with favored streets being Tyson, Eutaw, and Biddle before arriving at their principal longtime residence on Druid Hill Avenue by 1900. The locations are very nearby the most

[76] This house had a storied history and eventually became known as “Freedom House,” before being demolished by the Bethel A.M.E. Church in 2015.

[77] See Fletcher, “Bright Dreams,” Merrill, “Beyond Hampton’s Reach,” and “The Cummings Family” Story Map, https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=706f1755cdbc445383ab857a159c21ed, this volume.

prosperous white neighborhoods in the city, which were following a similar northward trajectory at the time. One can see movement across neighborhoods, in traditional African American neighborhoods in Mount Vernon, the wealthiest area in city, and the adjacent districts to the immediate northwest. In all, Henry and family traveled a total distance of only about a mile and a half from their first residence on lower Tyson Street.

The City Directories further shed light on the issue with the Cummins/Cummings name, and there is a racial component here too. Throughout the 1860s and most of the early 1870s, all the individuals whose name is spelled "Cummins" with no "g" are listed in the section listing "Colored Persons," whereas all the white people with that last name are recorded as "Cummings." This distinction is for the most part eliminated for the directories of the later 1870s and 1880s, where Henry consistently spells his name with a final "g."

Newspapers - The *Baltimore Sun* contained a surprising amount of information for formerly enslaved Henry Cummings, even in the early years of his residence in the city. The notices include social announcements such as his marriage to Eliza Jane Davage on November 26, 1863. The wedding ceremony was performed by Rev. Tilghman Jackson of Asbury M. E. Church. Other, more surprising aspects of Henry Cummings life were also deemed newsworthy and demonstrate an interest in politics and public life that would come to influence his son Harry. The *Baltimore Sun* records that in September 1879 Henry Cummins had been elected as a delegate to the Maryland's Republican Party nominating convention from the 12th election district of Baltimore City.[78] Three months later, he is listed as serving on the Grand Jury for the United States District Court in Baltimore, along with nineteen men, three of whom in addition to Henry are noted as "colored."[79] These seem to be notable accomplishments for an African American just 15 years after the abolition of slavery in Maryland. In later years, the newspapers also note the family's strong connection to Metropolitan Church, where both Henry's children and Davage in-laws sang in the choir.

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[78] *Baltimore Sun,* September 3, 1879.

[79] *Baltimore Sun,* December 3, 1879.

Seeking to flesh out more of Henry Cummings' personal history and his longtime career as a cook, the newspapers when combined with important early secondary sources on Baltimore history, shone additional light on his training as a young man. The proprietors of the hotel where Henry worked in his first years of freedom were very well known in the community for the quality of the restaurant fare. William Guy was a renowned hotelier and proprietor of Guy's Monument House on the west side of Battle Monument Square. Throughout the 1850s, descriptions of banquets catered by Guy and the remarkably sophisticated and lavish food served fill the newspapers.[80] The hotels Guy and his successors ran, Henry's continued place of employment for years, were deemed worthy of description in John Thomas Scharf's landmark work *History of Baltimore City and County* (1881).[81] This was the setting in which Henry Cummings was trained and learned his skills as a chef, which would help to support his remarkable family for four decades.

Beginning with the basic records on the genealogical websites, primarily census, city directory, and cemetery listings, the large Cummings family could be tracked to the heart of most prosperous African American neighborhood in late nineteenth, early twentieth century Baltimore, today called Marble Hill and centered on Druid Hill Avenue. Multiple generations of the Cummings family continued to live together or in close proximity to each other in the neighborhood that was a focus of African American life in Baltimore. Expanding the search on the younger generation of the Cummings to newspapers and basic Google searches immediately produced a great quantity of information. It became readily apparent that Harry Sythe Cummings (1866-1917), Henry and Eliza's second son, became truly famous in his day, very possibly the most well-known African American in the city of Baltimore at the time.

<u>Harry Sythe Cummings, a Landmark Figure</u> - Harry Sythe Cummings's amazing career and legacy is chronicled in newspaper articles, not just from Maryland but across the county. A search on a large national newspaper website for Harry Sythe Cummings

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80 *Baltimore Sun*, December 20, 1852.

81 John Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Baltimore: 1881), p. 516.

yielded an astonishing total of over 1,100 "hits" from locations as far flung as St. Johnsbury, Vermont; Topeka, Kansas; Sioux Falls, South Dakota and Eugene, Oregon. To explain this remarkable circumstance, it is necessary to step back and review Harry's notable life and career. His education was the foremost priority of his mother Eliza Jane Davage Cummings, who worked hard as a seamstress and running a boarding house to assist chef Henry in providing for the family.[82] After attending local public schools, Harry graduated at age nineteen from Lincoln University in Chester County, Pennsylvania, a very important institution of higher learning for African Americans since its founding in 1854.[83] After that Harry "read law" in Baltimore but then took an even more significant step. Along with classmate Charles Johnson, he became the first African American to graduate from the University of Maryland Law School in 1889.[84] He was admitted to the bar that year, as noted in an article titled "Colored Men at the Bar" published in the *Helena Weekly Herald* describing the promising young African American lawyers of Baltimore.[85]

Harry's career and achievements grew rapidly from this auspicious beginning. Perhaps encouraged by his father's early foray into Republican Party politics, at the young age of 24 in 1890, he ran successfully for the City Council in Baltimore, thereby becoming the first African American to serve on that body. Elected to the First Branch of the City Council from the 11th District, as the *Baltimore Sun* noted on November 5, 1890, he had "the distinction of being the first colored man to hold an elective office in Maryland." He was reelected a number of times in 1891, 1897, and 1907-1917, by which time he represented the 17th Ward. Often using his position to advocate for and promote education for African American students, he became very active in Republican politics for the state of Maryland as well as Baltimore city, speaking to enthusiastic crowds wherever he went. It should be noted that the articles in the newspapers noting his

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[82] Eliza Jane Davage Cummings obituary, *Baltimore American*, May 29, 1913.

[83] See Philip Merrill, "Beyond Hampton's Reach," this volume.

[84] History for Finding Aid, Harry Sythe Cummings Photograph Collection, PP240, MdHS Special Collections.

[85] *Helena Weekly Herald*, October 17, 1889.

activities in this realm sometimes deplore the influence of a Black man in the Republican Party and claim it will lead Democratic victories in elections.[86]

Harry S. Cummings gained the pinnacle of his national political recognition when he was asked to deliver a seconding speech for President Theodore Roosevelt at the 1904 Republican Party Convention in Chicago. Harry's picture appeared in newspapers across the country, in company with other leading Republicans. This notable event again caused extensive commentary across the nation, some very positive: "Prolonged applause greeted the introduction of Harry S. Cummings, a [N]egro from Maryland."[87] Southern papers, however, had little good to say: "Cummings earned the good will of the convention by cutting his speech short."[88] The thinly veiled racism and sarcasm of *The Morning Post,* Raleigh, North Carolina that greeted Harry's achievement in visiting the White House a few months later is noteworthy.

> This was [N]egro day at the White House. The president received by appointment Harry S. Cummings, the colored attorney from Baltimore who seconded his nomination in Chicago . . . The conference was one of the most extended that has taken place at the White House in a long while, and many statesmen had to cool their heels in the reception hall of the executive office while Mr. Roosevelt entertained his black visitors in the private office of the President.[89]

Harry S. Cummings' political importance continued right up to the time of his early death in 1917, when newspaper accounts detail the long list of notable politicians and prominent citizens, both Black and white, who attended his funeral.[90] He was buried at Mount Auburn Cemetery in south Baltimore, a historic African American cemetery where family members of his and later generations can also be found.

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[86] See for example *Baltimore Sun*, March 9, 1905.

[87] *Topeka Daily Capital*, June 24, 1904.

[88] *The Morning Post*, Raleigh, NC, June 24, 1904.
[89] *The Morning Post*, Raleigh, NC, October 12, 1904.

[90] *Baltimore Sun*, September 11, 1917.

Importance of Special Collections - Though newspapers clearly are a rich source of key information, more personal documentation on Harry Sythe Cummings's life was found in the Special Collections of the Library at the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. Cummings family papers and memorabilia greatly enhanced the details of his and his family's history.[91] Items related to Harry's political career included his handwritten drafts of the 1904 Republican Convention speech and, more affecting, the personal thank you note to Harry from President Roosevelt, who deemed his remarks "excellent in every way." The envelope for the note also contained the president's calling card, which in effect issued an open invitation to Harry to visit the White House, clearly an honor which he subsequently accepted. In addition to handwritten copies of Harry's speeches and legal documents, the collection contained papers rich in family details such as a 1990 "Family Sketch," other biographical data, and lengthy obituaries.

Notably, one of the obituaries in the Cummings Papers at MdHS, not available through online searches, describes the life of Harry's remarkable mother Eliza.[92] In addition to raising and seeing to the education of her eight children, she ran a boarding house and took in lodgers at the family's residences so that those children could go on to higher education. She was very active both in her church, Metropolitan M. E., and in a number of local organizations which sought to enhance the welfare and education of Baltimore's less fortunate African American citizens. Following in the family's tradition of political activism, she even delivered speeches across the eastern half of the country in support of amendments to enhance and protect the rights of Black citizens.

In addition to giving crucial details of Eliza's life, the obituary also records brief but key information about her husband Henry, who had begun life as a slave owned by Gov. Ridgely at White Marsh.[93] Of Henry, Eliza's obituary comments, "Her husband was

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[91] Harry Sythe Cummings, Sr. Papers, MdHS MS. 2961.
[92] *Baltimore American*, May 29, 1913.

[93] Several newspaper articles repeat the comment that Harry's grandparents had started life as slaves but imply that his parents had both been born free. While this is true of his mother Eliza, his father had indeed been born enslaved. The error probably comes from the fact that he was manumitted in the mid-1850s well before Emancipation and had been living as a free Black in Baltimore for over a decade when his son was born.

famous in his day as one of the best Maryland cooks, and for years was employed at Guy's by the Gilmore's [sic]. She was left a widow in November 1906."[94] In the "Family Sketch" manuscript mentioned above, one of Henry's grandchildren noted that his specialty as a chef was the historic Maryland favorite terrapin.[95] The 1958 obituary of Harry's highly accomplished sister Ida C. Cummings was a goldmine of genealogical information also, particularly in giving the married names of her several surviving nieces. It was this information, when combined with online searches that led to the discovery of several living descendants of Henry Cummings.

Treasured Family Photos - Among the most important holdings related to the Cummings family at the Maryland Historical Society is the Harry Sythe Cummings Photograph Collection, PP240. Though containing only 27 items, these images bring to life the individuals that the documents describe. Harry S. Cummings photo had been widely published, and given his renown during his lifetime, these were not surprising. The Maryland Historical Society's collections also preserve images of Harry's wife, children, siblings, and colleagues. Most remarkable, however, are the surviving formal studio photos of his parents Henry and Eliza Davage Cummings and his grandmother Sidney Hall Davage (c. 1817-1896), born enslaved at Perry Hall plantation, adjacent to White Marsh. For the researcher first looking at the cabinet card image (c. 1891) of Henry Cummings himself, a clear eyed older man with calm gaze, a bald head, and full mustache and beard, the story at last seemed complete. To be able to put a face to the name of the young enslaved child who at the beginning was only known by his relatively insignificant monetary value was a powerful moment.

An Extraordinary Generation of Children - Harry S. Cummings remarkable life, only briefly summarized here, is clearly worth at least a dissertation or perhaps a book, but his very accomplished siblings deserve to receive some additional notice as well. As noted in the obituary of their mother, Eliza, the Cummings children had a record of higher education that would probably exceed that of the majority of white families in the later nineteenth century. All the boys except the youngest, William O., attended at least

[94] *Baltimore American*, May 29, 1913.
[95] MdHS MS. 2961, Harry Sythe Cummings, Sr. Papers.

some college, with brother Charles G. (1870-1924) also graduating from Lincoln University, then Drew Theological Seminary.[96] He went on to become a prominent minister in northern Virginia.[97] Carroll Cummings (1875-c. 1895) unfortunately died while attending college.[98] Henry and Eliza's eldest son, Aaron M. (c.1865-1932) began working for the US Post Office around 1890, eventually becoming the first Black postal service supervisor in Baltimore.[99] Sisters Ida and Estelle graduated from local public high schools, and Ida later graduated from what is now Morgan State University. She became that school's first female trustee, among numerous other boards of charitable organizations.[100] Promotion of early education was paramount to her, and she is widely recognized as the first African American kindergarten teacher in Baltimore City. Estelle also taught in the local public schools for years and married Joseph S. Fennell, a leading African American pharmacist in Baltimore.

As noted previously, Aaron M. Cummings had been named for his uncle, Henry's brother Aaron, who had been present with him at White Marsh at the time of Gov. Charles Carnan Ridgely's death in 1829. After his listing as a domestic servant working alongside his brother Henry at William Guy's hotel in Baltimore in the 1860 Census, Aaron drops from Maryland records. He may, however, be the Aaron Cummings who can be traced through later adult life in Philadelphia through city directory records. That Aaron is listed by the mid-1870s as a waiter, carver, and cook in the Pine Street neighborhood of south central Philadelphia. Most importantly, his death certificate in October 1898 records that he was born in Baltimore and would be returned there for burial. There is also an Aaron Cummings, possibly Henry's brother, recorded in the 1870

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[96] See Fletcher, “Bright Dreams,” this volume.

[97] For additional details on this branch of the family, see the Charlene Hodges Byrd Collection at the National Museum of African American History and Culture, Smithsonian, Washington, DC. Mrs. Byrd was the granddaughter of Charles G. Cummings and his wife Grace Shimm.

[98] *Baltimore American*, May 29, 1913. His name, that of the owners of Perry Hall when his grandmother Sidney Hall Davage was freed, is noteworthy also.

[99] History for Finding Aid, Harry Sythe Cummings Photograph Collection, PP240, MdHS Special Collections.

[100] 1940 US Census.

US Census as living in West Chester, PA. This Aaron is listed as a laborer who was born in Maryland in 1827, and by 1870 had a wife Lydia and six-year-old son, John S., born in 1864. Unfortunately, the Aaron listed later in the Philadelphia City Directories and who was eventually buried in Baltimore, seems to have avoided the census taker in 1880. Further detailed research in Philadelphia records might turn up additional information or family members.[101]

The Hall/Davage Family of Perry Hall - Another significant part of the Henry Cummings story is the history of his wife Eliza Jane Davage's family. Eliza herself was born free in Baltimore in 1843, a year after the marriage of her parents, Charles Davage/Davidge and Sidney Hall. Sidney was born into slavery around 1816 or 1817 at Perry Hall plantation. Similar to the manumission of Gov. Ridgely's enslaved workers, those at Perry Hall were freed at certain ages based on the 1808 will of Harry Dorsey Gough, original owner of the Perry Hall estate. According to Cummings family history, Sidney was the daughter of Esther Hall, recorded in the inventory of Gough's estate as the "fine girl" Easter valued at $30. She was six years old in 1808 and noted as having 19 years to serve, thus would be free in 1827.

Much of this information about Easter/Esther Hall first came to light in 1980, when a rare and highly significant landscape painting of the slave quarters at Perry Hall was brought to the Maryland Historical Society by its owners, Harry S. Cummings, Jr. and his sister Louise Cummings Dorcas, both children of Harry Sythe Cummings.[102] According to the Cummings siblings, the painting had been given to their ancestor, Esther Hall, when she was manumitted through the will of Harry Dorsey Gough of Perry Hall. They also had a copy of the manumission record of their great grandmother,

[101] Another, younger Aaron Cummings (c. 1841-lv. 1890) is recorded in census and military records (1850-1890) in Fawn Township, York County, PA. This location is immediately north of the Maryland state line and is adjacent to other locales where some Hampton enslaved workers moved after being freed. This York County Aaron Cummings was a farmer who served in the renowned 54th Massachusetts Regiment during the Civil War, fighting in several battles and being wounded before his release from service in August 1865. Further research might uncover a connection to families such as the Cummins of White Marsh or the Battys and Spencers.

[102] The author was present when the Cummings siblings brought in the painting, met them, and learned the history first hand but their connection to Hampton was yet to be understood.

Sidney Hall Davage, Esther's daughter.[103] In 1981, the painting was featured, along with other views of Perry Hall owned by Harry Dorsey Gough's descendants, in a major exhibit on the works of renowned landscape painter Francis Guy at the Maryland Historical Society. The Cummings siblings subsequently sold the painting to the MdHS, and several years later donated the Cummings family papers and photographs plus a painted Baltimore Empire chair, c. 1830, apparently owned by Esther Hall.[104]

The connection of Henry Cummings' in-laws to Perry Hall is actually very closely connected to the Ridgelys of Hampton as well. The wife of Harry Dorsey Gough, the first owner of the Perry Hall estate, was none other than Gov. Charles Carnan Ridgely's sister, Prudence Carnan. The Goughs only child and heir was Sophia Gough, who married James Maccubbin Carroll of Mount Clare. To confirm the intensity of the Gough-Ridgely connection, three of Sophia Gough and James Maccubbin Carroll's children married three of Gov. Charles Carnan Ridgely's children: son James Carroll, Jr. married Achsah Ridgely; son Harry Dorsey Gough Carroll, inheritor of Perry Hall, married Eliza Ridgely and daughter Prudence Gough Carroll was John Ridgely's first wife. John was thus married to his first cousin once removed, who had been named for her grandmother (John's aunt). Although John was later the third master of Hampton following the deaths of his older brother and father, at the time of his marriage to Prudence he lived at and managed White Marsh farm, adjacent to Perry Hall to the southeast.[105] Given the exceptionally close connections between the owners of the two plantations, it seems very likely that there also could be close connections between the enslaved workers as well.

Through all avenues listed above, from census records to city directories to cemetery records to newspapers to family manuscripts and photographs and, finally, even to Google and Facebook, a full family tree for the Cummings family across seven

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[103] A copy of this document is in the museum files of the MdHS, along with a copy of an informational note written by their first cousin, Joyce Ethel Cummings Hodges, in 1969. The original manumission documents is in Baltimore city records.
[104] The first owner of the chair (MdHS # 1998.37.1) may have been Sidney Hall Davage, rather than her mother.

[105] Howard *Memoirs*, p. 107.

generations and down to the current day could at last be assembled. The journey through all these sources had progressed from a single name on a page listed with only a monetary value to a fully realized human family for whom a great many details were known.[106]

Conclusion and Future Directions - Even the detailed account of the search and findings related to two large families of enslaved individuals that has been shared in this paper does not necessarily contain all the information that was discovered about each and every individual in those families. Additional details have been incorporated into the Comprehensive List of Names Spreadsheet and exist in project files and notes. Furthermore, significant information has been found relating to dozens of other individuals and families who were formerly enslaved at Hampton, and this too is now available on the Comprehensive Spreadsheet and project records. These findings do tend to be more heavily weighted toward the less common surnames and to the male individuals, who are less problematic to track through the records. Nevertheless, a remarkable amount of historic documentation of a group of people for whom very little was known at the beginning of the EOA has now been brought to light and can serve as both a springboard to future study and a major source of information to share with the public.

To list just a few of the numerous potential topics for future investigations related to the EOA, it would be important to begin with pursuing the histories of additional families and individuals past the late nineteenth and early twentieth century records.[107] Given the large number of names investigated, there was simply not sufficient time to work with all the more recent record groups for everyone. Additional research could bring to light more living descendants and more connections to local communities and constituencies for Hampton. More thorough searching of the *Baltimore Afro American* newspaper needs to be conducted now that an online search engine has been found.[108]

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[106] See Appendix E.
[107] The sons of Jim Pratt (see next page) would be a perfect example of research to pursue.

[108] One search engine found but too late to be incorporated in current study. Also, it is difficult to search for full names.

This could be particularly important in helping both to trace families in the twentieth century and to track women. Given that the current first phase of the EOA focused mainly on investigation of primary sources, secondary sources, genealogical files, and other resources at institutions such as the MdHS, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore County Historical Society, and local genealogical groups should also be more thoroughly mined. Finally, as mentioned previously, a full biography of Harry S. Cummings and his highly noteworthy family would be a great contribution to both African American studies and the political history of Baltimore.

Questions Answered and New Stories to Tell - From the very inception of the EOA for Hampton NHS, it was deemed a key goal to be able to address questions about the enslaved that visitors frequently ask and to enhance the general interpretation of the site with new and more detailed information. In the past, if a visitor asked basic questions such as how many slaves did it take to run the Mansion or what specific tasks did they perform, interpreters could only give vague or non-specific answers. Similarly, to the typical inquiry about "Where did the freed slaves go when they left Hampton?" previously the interpreters might have suggested East Towson, but there was no actual proof if this were true or not, or information to suggest other locales. Now, however, all these questions can be answered quite accurately and specifically, based on the recent investigations of the EOA team and the resulting discoveries. Furthermore, interpreters will be able to personalize the information regularly shared with visitors to Hampton, such as giving specifics of some of the later lives of the individual children recorded on the Christmas Gifts list.

Hampton staff will also be able to add names to the African American faces seen in some of Hampton's best known historic images which can now be identified. These include the interior photograph showing the Dining Room, c. 1895, with head waiter Thomas Brown (c. 1843-c. 1903) going about his daily chores, or farm laborer Jim Pratt hauling wood in a wheelbarrow outside the East Hyphen around the same time.[109] It is in

[109] Thomas is seen in HAMP 20285 in album HAMP 4151 and HAMP 44284 in album HAMP 14824; Jim Pratt is seen in HAMP 44219 in album 14824. As noted above, Thomas was the husband of Caroline Davis who was renowned in the Ridgely family for the quality of the butter she made. See Howard *Memoirs*, p. 233. See also "Forced Labor at Hampton," Story Map, https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=acba518f81254ed790a159e68323d3e0

fact nothing short of remarkable that so much evidence is now known about an individual such as Jim Pratt (1834-1902), one of the many enslaved farmhands on the estate. Due to extensive documentation and research, we now know where and when he was born—autumn 1834 at Hampton—and the names of Jim's parents, siblings, wife, children, nieces and nephews. We know what clothes and Christmas gifts he was given as a child and later as an adult. We know his work history including many of the years that he worked as a paid laborer at Hampton through the 1870s and 1890s. We have a detailed description of him provided by Uncle Jim Howard who knew him throughout his life: "Of the servants at the Quarters who remained with the family [after the Civil war] . . . one of them named Jim Pratt is still [1894] upon the farm as a laborer & though getting old is one of the hardest workers that have been upon the place. When a younger man he took pride in eclipsing any hired hand in the harvest field, and in forking hay he generally succeeded in breaking down any rival."[110] Research in the local newspapers even provided more details and a conclusion to Jim's story, in a brief article titled "Colored Woman was Well Known."

> Laura Pratt, wife of James Pratt, colored, who was buried Saturday at Towson, was well known about Towson for many years. She was about seventy years old and was formerly a slave, belonging to the late George Gill, of Mantua Mill, Worthington Valley. She was the mother of 22 children [!] and has four sons living.[111]

The article continued, “James Pratt her husband, who was a slave and belonged to the Ridgely estate, is very sick and is cared for by members of the Ridgely family. The colored woman died at the home of her brother, Loudon Franklin, in Baltimore, where she had recently gone to reside.”[112]

The EOA project has thus brought to light a number of distinctive and interesting stories of individuals which can be incorporated into tours and special programs and

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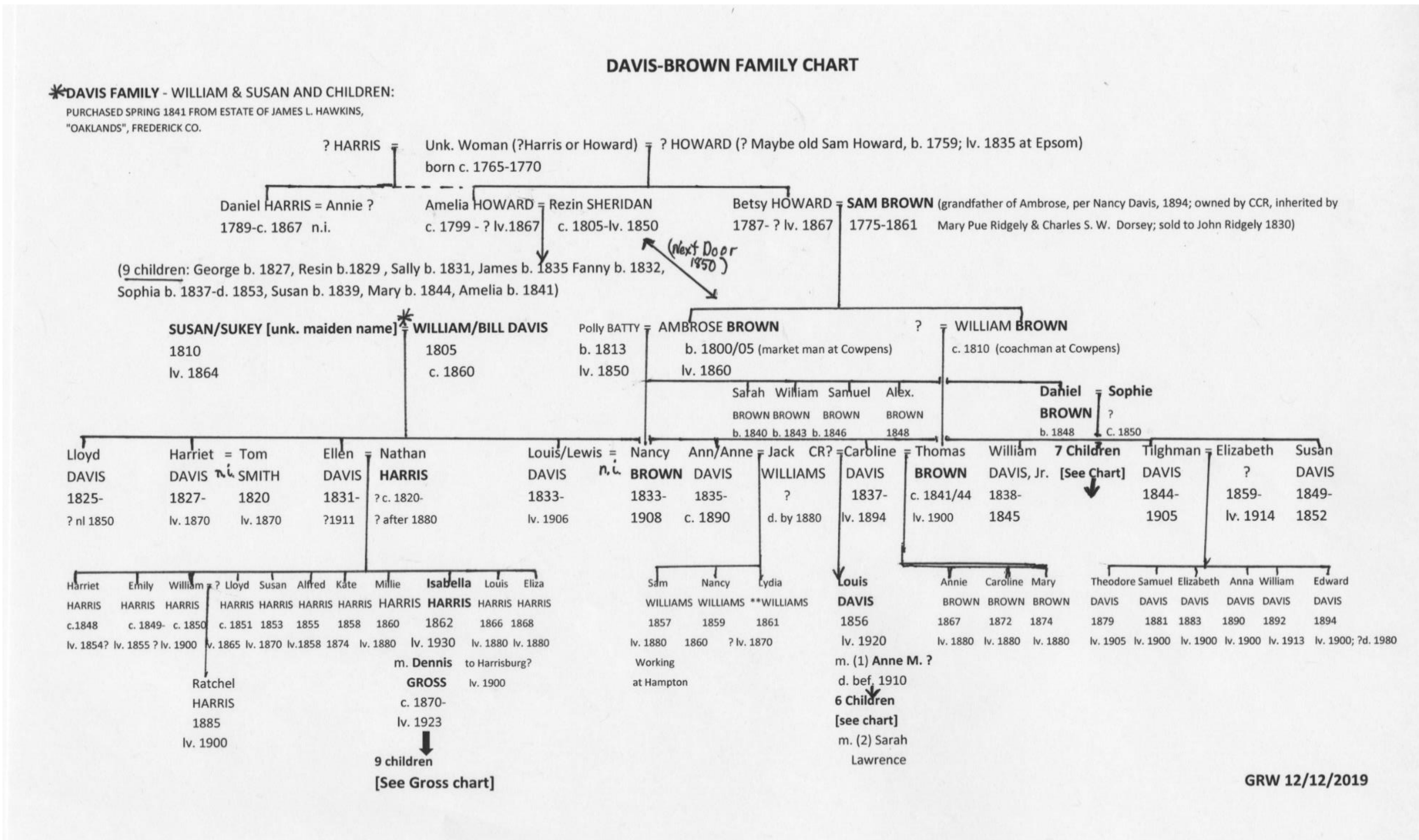
[110] Howard *Memoirs*, p. 233.

[111] The 1900 census notes that Laura and Jim had been married 40 years and had 19 children, four of whom were living.

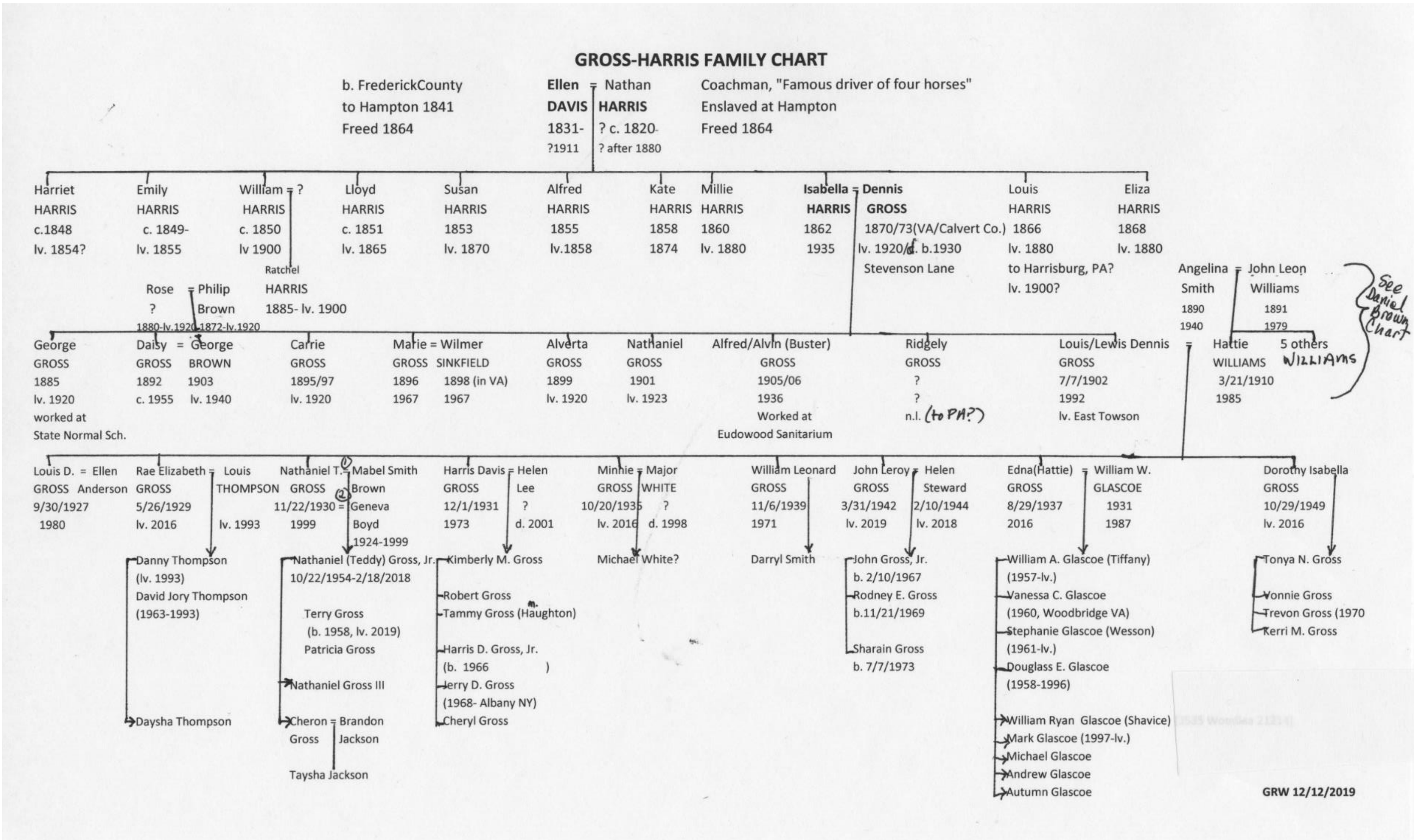
[112] *Baltimore Sun*, January 27, 1902.

thereby help to flesh out what life was like for both enslaved and free African Americans in Maryland. Such personal stories are for this author what has been most gratifying about the Hampton NHS EOA project as a whole. To take very basic information from old documents, build them into frameworks, and at last fill them out in such a way that the names become transformed into fully formed individuals with families, descendants, livelihoods, neighborhoods, places of worship, and communities has been its own reward. No longer just meaningless names on a dusty page, they have now come to life and can tell us their stories and teach us a great deal about the past.

APPENDIX C

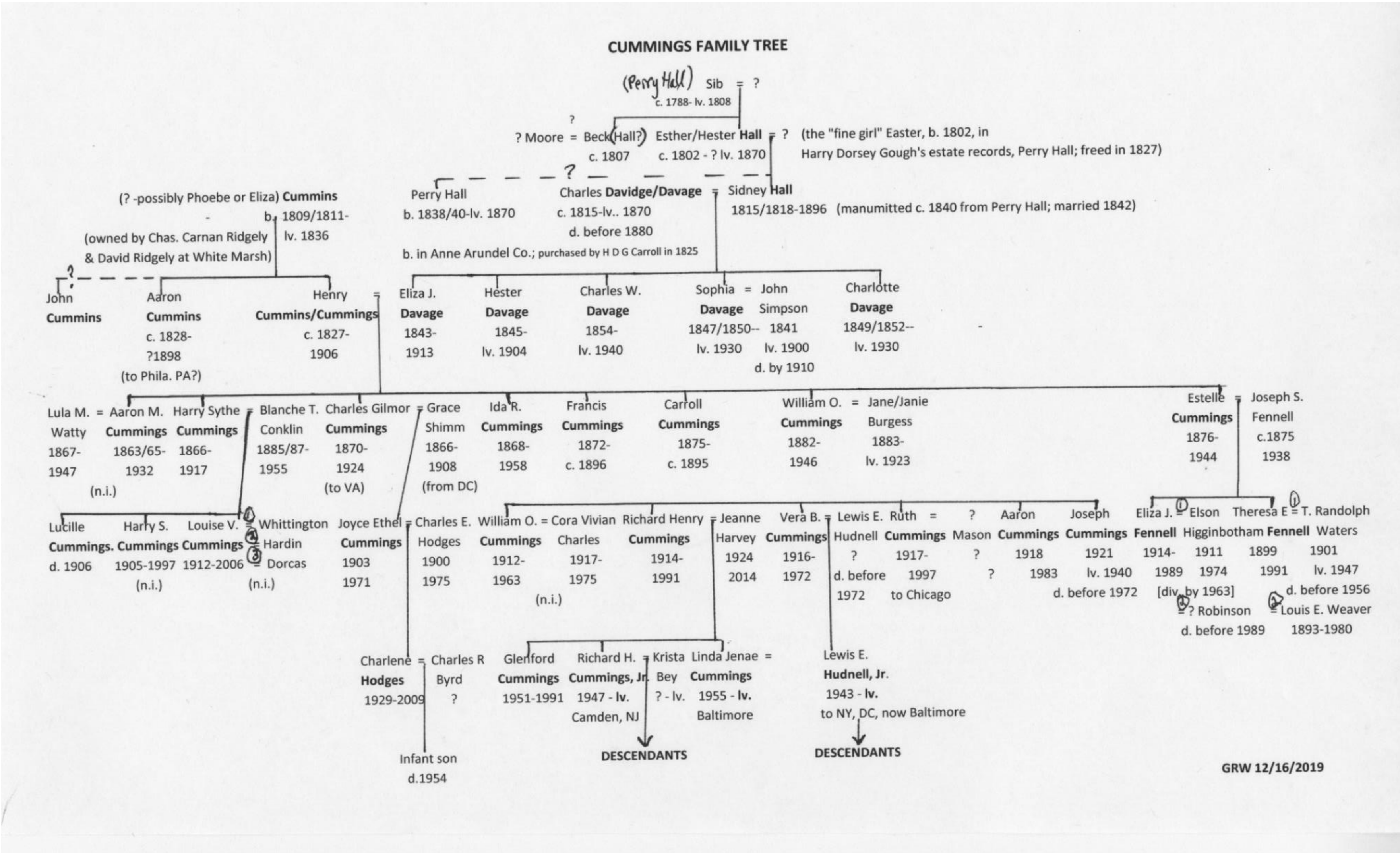

DAVIS-BROWN FAMILY CHART
*DAVIS FAMILY - WILLIAM & SUSAN AND CHILDREN:
PURCHASED SPRING 1841 FROM ESTATE OF JAMES L. HAWKINS,
"OAKLANDS", FREDERICK CO.
? HARRIS =
Unk. Woman (?Harris or Howard) = ? HOWARD (? Maybe old Sam Howard, b. 1759; lv. 1835 at Epsom)
born c. 1765-1770
Daniel HARRIS = Annie ?
1789-c. 1867 n.i.
Amelia HOWARD = Rezin SHERIDAN
c. 1799 - ? lv.1867
c. 1805-lv. 1850
Betsy HOWARD = SAM BROWN (grandfather of Ambrose, per Nancy Davis, 1894; owned by CCR, inherited by
1787- ? lv. 1867
1775-1861
Mary Pue Ridgely & Charles S. W. Dorsey; sold to John Ridgely 1830)
(Next Door 1850)
(9 children: George b. 1827, Resin b.1829 , Sally b. 1831, James b. 1835 Fanny b. 1832,
Sophia b. 1837-d. 1853, Susan b. 1839, Mary b. 1844, Amelia b. 1841)
SUSAN/SUKEY [unk. maiden name] *= WILLIAM/BILL DAVIS
1810
lv. 1864
1805
c. 1860
Polly BATTY = AMBROSE BROWN
b. 1813
lv. 1850
b. 1800/05 (market man at Cowpens)
lv. 1860
? = WILLIAM BROWN
c. 1810 (coachman at Cowpens)
Sarah William Samuel Alex.
BROWN BROWN BROWN BROWN
b. 1840 b. 1843 b. 1846 1848
Daniel = Sophie
BROWN ?
b. 1848 C. 1850
Lloyd
DAVIS
1825-
? nl 1850
Harriet = Tom
DAVIS n.i. SMITH
1827- 1820
lv. 1870 lv. 1870
Ellen = Nathan
DAVIS HARRIS
1831- ? c. 1820-
?1911 ? after 1880
Louis/Lewis = Nancy
DAVIS n.i. BROWN
1833- 1833-
lv. 1906 1908
Ann/Anne = Jack
DAVIS WILLIAMS
1835- ?
c. 1890 d. by 1880
CR? = Caroline = Thomas
DAVIS BROWN
1837- c. 1841/44
lv. 1894 lv. 1900
William
DAVIS, Jr.
1838-
1845
7 Children
[See Chart]
Tilghman = Elizabeth
DAVIS ?
1844- 1859-
1905 lv. 1914
Susan
DAVIS
1849-
1852
Harriet Emily William = ? Lloyd Susan Alfred Kate Millie Isabella Louis Eliza
HARRIS HARRIS HARRIS HARRIS HARRIS HARRIS HARRIS HARRIS HARRIS HARRIS HARRIS
c.1848 c. 1849- c. 1850 c. 1851 1853 1855 1858 1860 1862 1866 1868
lv. 1854? lv. 1855 ? lv. 1900 lv. 1865 lv. 1870 lv.1858 1874 lv. 1880 lv. 1930 lv. 1880 lv. 1880
m. Dennis
GROSS
c. 1870-
lv. 1923
to Harrisburg?
lv. 1900
Ratchel
HARRIS
1885
lv. 1900
9 children
[See Gross chart]
Sam Nancy Lydia
WILLIAMS WILLIAMS **WILLIAMS
1857 1859 1861
lv. 1880 1860 ? lv. 1870
Working
at Hampton
Louis
DAVIS
1856
lv. 1920
m. (1) Anne M. ?
d. bef. 1910
6 Children
[see chart]
m. (2) Sarah
Lawrence
Annie Caroline Mary
BROWN BROWN BROWN
1867 1872 1874
lv. 1880 lv. 1880 lv. 1880
Theodore Samuel Elizabeth Anna William Edward
DAVIS DAVIS DAVIS DAVIS DAVIS DAVIS
1879 1881 1883 1890 1892 1894
lv. 1905 lv. 1900 lv. 1900 lv. 1900 lv. 1913 lv. 1900; ?d. 1980
GRW 12/12/2019

Appendix D



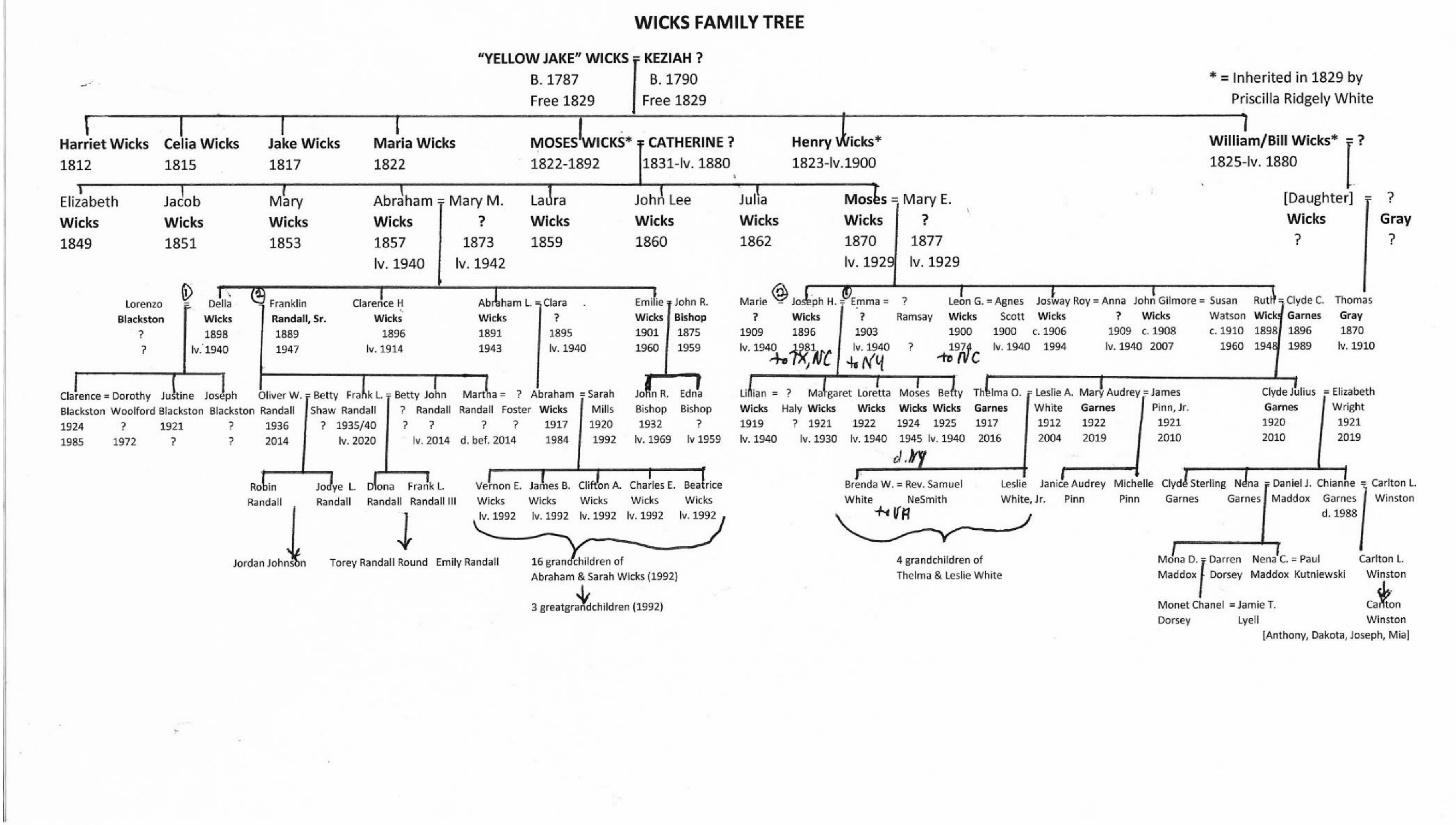
GROSS-HARRIS FAMILY CHART
b. FrederickCounty
to Hampton 1841
Freed 1864
Ellen DAVIS 1831- ?1911
Nathan HARRIS ? c. 1820- ? after 1880
Coachman, "Famous driver of four horses"
Enslaved at Hampton
Freed 1864
Harriet HARRIS c.1848 lv. 1854?
Emily HARRIS c. 1849- lv. 1855
William HARRIS c. 1850 lv 1900
?
Ratchel HARRIS 1885- lv. 1900
Lloyd HARRIS c. 1851 lv. 1865
Susan HARRIS 1853 lv. 1870
Alfred HARRIS 1855 lv.1858
Kate HARRIS 1858 1874
Millie HARRIS 1860 lv. 1880
Isabella HARRIS 1862 1935
Dennis GROSS 1870/73(VA/Calvert Co.) lv. 1920/d. b.1930 Stevenson Lane
Louis HARRIS 1866 lv. 1880 to Harrisburg, PA? lv. 1900?
Eliza HARRIS 1868 lv. 1880
Rose ? 1880-lv.1920
Philip Brown 1872-lv.1920
Angelina Smith 1890 1940
John Leon Williams 1891 1979
See Daniel Brown Chart
George GROSS 1885 lv. 1920 worked at State Normal Sch.
Daisy GROSS 1892 c. 1955
George BROWN 1903 lv. 1940
Carrie GROSS 1895/97 lv. 1920
Marie GROSS 1896 1967
Wilmer SINKFIELD 1898 (in VA) 1967
Alverta GROSS 1899 lv. 1920
Nathaniel GROSS 1901 lv. 1923
Alfred/Alvin (Buster) GROSS 1905/06 1936 Worked at Eudowood Sanitarium
Ridgely GROSS ? ? n.l. (to PA?)
Louis/Lewis Dennis GROSS 7/7/1902 1992 lv. East Towson
Hattie WILLIAMS 3/21/1910 1985
5 others WILLIAMS
Louis D. GROSS 9/30/1927 1980
Ellen Anderson
Rae Elizabeth GROSS 5/26/1929 lv. 2016
Louis THOMPSON lv. 1993
Nathaniel T. GROSS 11/22/1930 1999
Mabel Smith Brown
Geneva Boyd 1924-1999
Harris Davis GROSS 12/1/1931 1973
Helen Lee ? d. 2001
Minnie GROSS 10/20/1935 lv. 2016
Major WHITE ? d. 1998
William Leonard GROSS 11/6/1939 1971
John Leroy GROSS 3/31/1942 lv. 2019
Helen Steward 2/10/1944 lv. 2018
Edna(Hattie) GROSS 8/29/1937 2016
William W. GLASCOE 1931 1987
Dorothy Isabella GROSS 10/29/1949 lv. 2016
Danny Thompson (lv. 1993)
David Jory Thompson (1963-1993)
Daysha Thompson
Nathaniel (Teddy) Gross, Jr. 10/22/1954-2/18/2018
Terry Gross (b. 1958, lv. 2019)
Patricia Gross
Nathaniel Gross III
Cheron Gross
Brandon Jackson
Taysha Jackson
Kimberly M. Gross
Robert Gross
Tammy Gross (Haughton)
Harris D. Gross, Jr. (b. 1966)
Jerry D. Gross (1968- Albany NY)
Cheryl Gross
Michael White?
Darryl Smith
John Gross, Jr. b. 2/10/1967
Rodney E. Gross b.11/21/1969
Sharain Gross b. 7/7/1973
William A. Glascoe (Tiffany) (1957-lv.)
Vanessa C. Glascoe (1960, Woodbridge VA)
Stephanie Glascoe (Wesson) (1961-lv.)
Douglass E. Glascoe (1958-1996)
William Ryan Glascoe (Shavice)
Mark Glascoe (1997-lv.)
Michael Glascoe
Andrew Glascoe
Autumn Glascoe
Tonya N. Gross
Yonnie Gross
Trevon Gross (1970
Kerri M. Gross
GRW 12/12/2019

APPENDIX E



CUMMINGS FAMILY TREE
(Perry Hall) Sib = ?
c. 1788- lv. 1808
?
? Moore = Beck (Hall?) c. 1807
Esther/Hester Hall = ? c. 1802 - ? lv. 1870
(the "fine girl" Easter, b. 1802, in Harry Dorsey Gough's estate records, Perry Hall; freed in 1827)
?
(? -possibly Phoebe or Eliza) Cummins b. 1809/1811- lv. 1836
(owned by Chas. Carnan Ridgely & David Ridgely at White Marsh)
Perry Hall b. 1838/40-lv. 1870
Charles Davidge/Davage c. 1815-lv.. 1870 d. before 1880
b. in Anne Arundel Co.; purchased by H D G Carroll in 1825
= Sidney Hall 1815/1818-1896 (manumitted c. 1840 from Perry Hall; married 1842)
?
John Cummins
Aaron Cummins c. 1828- ?1898 (to Phila. PA?)
Henry Cummins/Cummings c. 1827- 1906
=
Eliza J. Davage 1843- 1913
Hester Davage 1845- lv. 1904
Charles W. Davage 1854- lv. 1940
Sophia Davage 1847/1850-- lv. 1930 = John Simpson 1841 lv. 1900 d. by 1910
Charlotte Davage 1849/1852-- lv. 1930
Lula M. Watty 1867- 1947 = Aaron M. Cummings 1863/65- 1932 (n.i.)
Harry Sythe Cummings 1866- 1917 = Blanche T. Conklin 1885/87- 1955
Charles Gilmor Cummings 1870- 1924 (to VA) = Grace Shimm 1866- 1908 (from DC)
Ida R. Cummings 1868- 1958
Francis Cummings 1872- c. 1896
Carroll Cummings 1875- c. 1895
William O. Cummings 1882- 1946 = Jane/Janie Burgess 1883- lv. 1923
Estelle Cummings 1876- 1944 = Joseph S. Fennell c.1875 1938
Lucille Cummings. d. 1906
Harry S. Cummings 1905-1997 (n.i.)
Louise V. Cummings 1912-2006 = (1) Whittington (2) Hardin (3) Dorcas (n.i.)
Joyce Ethel Cummings 1903 1971 = Charles E. Hodges 1900 1975
William O. Cummings 1912- 1963 = Cora Vivian Charles 1917- 1975 (n.i.)
Richard Henry Cummings 1914- 1991 = Jeanne Harvey 1924 2014
Vera B. Cummings 1916- 1972 = Lewis E. Hudnell ? d. before 1972
Ruth Cummings 1917- 1997 to Chicago = ? Mason ? ?
Aaron Cummings 1918 1983
Joseph Cummings 1921 lv. 1940 d. before 1972
Eliza J. Fennell 1914- 1989 [div. by 1963] = (1) Elson Higginbotham 1911 1974 (2) = ? Robinson d. before 1989
Theresa E Fennell 1899 1991 = (1) T. Randolph Waters 1901 lv. 1947 d. before 1956 (2) = Louis E. Weaver 1893-1980
Charlene Hodges 1929-2009 = Charles R Byrd ?
Infant son d.1954
Glenford Cummings 1951-1991
Richard H. Cummings, Jr. 1947 - lv. Camden, NJ = Krista Bey ? - lv.
Linda Jenae Cummings 1955 - lv. Baltimore =
DESCENDANTS
Lewis E. Hudnell, Jr. 1943 - lv. to NY, DC, now Baltimore
DESCENDANTS
GRW 12/16/2019

APPENDIX F



WICKS FAMILY TREE
"YELLOW JAKE" WICKS = KEZIAH ?
B. 1787
Free 1829
B. 1790
Free 1829
* = Inherited in 1829 by Priscilla Ridgely White
Harriet Wicks 1812
Celia Wicks 1815
Jake Wicks 1817
Maria Wicks 1822
MOSES WICKS* = CATHERINE ?
1822-1892
1831-lv. 1880
Henry Wicks* 1823-lv.1900
William/Bill Wicks* = ?
1825-lv. 1880
Elizabeth Wicks 1849
Jacob Wicks 1851
Mary Wicks 1853
Abraham Wicks 1857 lv. 1940 = Mary M. ? 1873 lv. 1942
Laura Wicks 1859
John Lee Wicks 1860
Julia Wicks 1862
Moses Wicks 1870 lv. 1929 = Mary E. ? 1877 lv. 1929
[Daughter] Wicks ? = ? Gray ?
Lorenzo Blackston ? ? = Della Wicks 1898 lv. 1940 = Franklin Randall, Sr. 1889 1947
Clarence H Wicks 1896 lv. 1914
Abraham L. Wicks 1891 1943 = Clara ? 1895 lv. 1940
Emilie Wicks 1901 1960 = John R. Bishop 1875 1959
Marie ? 1909 lv. 1940 = Joseph H. Wicks 1896 1981 = Emma ? 1903 lv. 1940
to TX, NC
to NY
? Ramsay ?
Leon G. Wicks 1900 1974 = Agnes Scott 1900 lv. 1940
to NC
Josway Roy Wicks c. 1906 1994 = Anna ? 1909 lv. 1940
John Gilmore Wicks c. 1908 2007 = Susan Watson c. 1910 1960
Ruth Wicks 1898 1948 = Clyde C. Garnes 1896 1989
Thomas Gray 1870 lv. 1910
Clarence Blackston 1924 1985 = Dorothy Woolford ? 1972
Justine Blackston 1921 ?
Joseph Blackston ? ?
Oliver W. Randall 1936 2014 = Betty Shaw ?
Frank L. Randall 1935/40 lv. 2020 = Betty ? ?
John Randall lv. 2014
Martha Randall ? d. bef. 2014 = ? Foster ?
Abraham Wicks 1917 1984 = Sarah Mills 1920 1992
John R. Bishop 1932 lv. 1969
Edna Bishop ? lv 1959
Lillian Wicks 1919 lv. 1940 = ? Haly ?
Margaret Wicks 1921 lv. 1930
Loretta Wicks 1922 lv. 1940
Moses Wicks 1924 1945
d. NY
Betty Wicks 1925 lv. 1940
Thelma O. Garnes 1917 2016 = Leslie A. White 1912 2004
Mary Audrey Garnes 1922 2019 = James Pinn, Jr. 1921 2010
Clyde Julius Garnes 1920 2010 = Elizabeth Wright 1921 2019
Robin Randall
Jodye L. Randall
Diona Randall
Frank L. Randall III
Vernon E. Wicks lv. 1992
James B. Wicks lv. 1992
Clifton A. Wicks lv. 1992
Charles E. Wicks lv. 1992
Beatrice Wicks lv. 1992
Brenda W. White = Rev. Samuel NeSmith
to VA
Leslie White, Jr.
Janice Audrey Pinn
Michelle Pinn
Clyde Sterling Garnes
Nena Garnes = Daniel J. Maddox
Chianne Garnes d. 1988 = Carlton L. Winston
Jordan Johnson
Torey Randall Round
Emily Randall
16 grandchildren of Abraham & Sarah Wicks (1992)
3 greatgrandchildren (1992)
4 grandchildren of Thelma & Leslie White
Mona D. Maddox = Darren Dorsey
Nena C. Maddox = Paul Kutniewski
Carlton L. Winston
Monet Chanel Dorsey = Jamie T. Lyell
Carlton Winston
[Anthony, Dakota, Joseph, Mia]

CHAPTER THREE

THE POWER OF THE APOSTROPHE: ANALYZING POSSESSIVE PREFIX NAMES TO DETERMINE FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS AND KIN GROUPINGS AT HAMPTON PLANTATION

Camee Maddox-Wingfield, Ethnographer, UMBC

INTRODUCTION

Analysis of the possessive-prefix name form found in Hampton records to determine family relationships, and more specifically, parent-child relationships, has been one approach that has produced astounding results in our study of the Hampton Estate. This work involved analyzing a Comprehensive List of Names of those who were enslaved at the Ridgely Plantation across time. The main focus of this analysis was on names of the enslaved, almost all women and their children, which were recorded using a possessive prefix, an apostrophe (i.e. Betty's Mary), in order to draw some conclusions about previously unclear or unrecognized family groupings and kin networks. It is no surprise that from one plantation setting to another, incomplete recordkeeping of enslaved workers' identities was the norm, oftentimes omitting surnames and in many cases using only the diminutive form of first names.[1]

[1] After compiling the list of names of those enslaved at Hampton's Ridgely plantation, we discovered 177 names that began with a possessive prefix (presumably parent-child relationships). Forty possessive prefix names were used with an apostrophe to indicate the parental (mostly maternal) line, but the parent's surname was not included (e.g. Milly's Grace). In some cases, however, the child's surname was identified (e.g. Milly's Elisha Hogan).

Additionally, common names occurred at high frequencies on a single plantation, to the extent that surname omission made it difficult if not impossible to distinguish one person from the next. Such patterns of incomplete recordkeeping pose a specific set of obstacles for conducting historical and genealogical research. Because of these obstacles, this project traversed new methodological terrain with regard to familial relationships and kin networks. The challenges prompted the development of an effective strategy for filling the voids of family groupings based on the possessive-prefix name form. For this approach we compiled and subsequently analyzed a Comprehensive List of Names that we referred to by a working title of “Master List” data set which we changed because of the connotation of the term “master.” The list allowed us to draw connections and conclusions of probable family relationships when the apostrophed name form had been used. At the outset of the project, we did not expect or recognize the critical function this strategy would serve. By combing every conceivable document beyond the standard lists, we discovered a surprising number of surnames. Some first names were used repeatedly with an apostrophe—generally the mother’s name and preceded another first name—almost always the child’s name—but the majority of these name pairings did not include a surname. Furthermore, most of these apostrophed names were women, revealing the important gendered implications of this grammatical practice for this area of historical research. The analytical approach used in this study led us to recognize great meaning in the apostrophe and make sense of the possessive-prefix, without which a significant part of Hampton’s narrative would remain unanalyzed.

In 1978, historian Carole Merritt wrote an article arguing for the systematic study of source material to reconstitute slave family structures, and offered a critique of the idea that family composition under slavery cannot be closely examined, due to the abundance of incomplete or seemingly unreliable records. According to Merritt’s argument, this assumption that family life under slavery “must remain obscure” should

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Of the 175 children’s names that were attached to a possessive prefix, we have been able to determine and/or confirm the families of 92 (52.6%). This has also helped to identify duplicate entries on our list; for example Milly’s Elisha Hogan and Lish Hogan are both on the list.

be abandoned because it “discourages investigation and results in contin[u]ed ignorance of African-American history.”[2] She urged researchers to consider approaches that systematically link records to one another, and to individuals, in order to retrieve information about the identities of the enslaved, and to reconstitute single families and groups of families. Merritt goes on to suggest that aspects of one’s identity can be revealed to varying degrees through the analysis of estate records, such as wills, inventories, shoe receipts, clothing lists, and the like. Methodological and analytical approaches must be developed to draw from these sources in an interconnected manner.[3]

In this report, I describe the approach used in our analysis of possessive-prefix names, beginning with the process of generating and compiling the Comprehensive List data set and then subsequently identifying those names with an attached possessive-prefix. Close examination of those apostrophed names and the names of possible kin yielded astounding results in clearing up discrepancies, filling voids, and reconstructing family histories, pulling them from anonymity and achieving some degree of continuity in seemingly fractured or unclear family groupings. I then briefly consider the question of names in plantation accounts and probate records, naming practices, and I interrogate the problem of inadequate and/or incomplete recordkeeping. I explain in greater detail the possessive-prefix form, and the functions it served in the practice of plantation recordkeeping of identities of Hampton’s enslaved workers and families. Following this overview, I provide a selection of compelling examples from our analysis in order to illustrate the critical importance of this approach.

I conclude this report by discussing the question of “possession” and ownership as they relate to the record of mother-child relationships, and the impetus to claim one’s right or access to their kin. By looking at the function of the apostrophe and the possessive-prefix form through a critical lens, we can interpret this kind of analysis as enslaved women’s (re)claiming of loved ones whose identities were reduced to chattel

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[2] Carole Merritt, "Slave Family History Records: An Abundance of Material," *Georgia Archive* 6 no. 1 (1978), p. 16, https://digitalcommons.kennesaw.edu/georgia_archive/vol6/iss1/4/ accessed April 21, 2020.

[3] Ibid: 17-18.

property in the Ridgely slaveholdings. The apostrophe as the possessive-prefix provides an additional layer of identity and familiarity, and restores a sense of agency in the reproductive labor of these women whose records pronounce the belonging and membership of their kin. I also offer here a critique of the negligence in overlooking records that seem to be incomplete and unusable, and the fact that so many families' narratives could be erased without a closer look at the function of possessive-prefix names, highlighting the great power of the apostrophe in plantation records.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND ANALYTICAL APPROACH

Compiling the Comprehensive List Data Set

The discovery of frequently used apostrophed names in Hampton's records emerged while the Comprehensive List data set of names was being tabulated, although Kent Lancaster had compiled such separate lists in his decades long primary source research of Hampton records. At the genesis of this project, the first task was to review all lists of names of Ridgley's slaveholdings from a variety of sources, and aggregate them into a comprehensive list in an excel spreadsheet. Although we were aware of the insinuation of the term "master" and the misunderstandings it could potentially cause, "Master List" seemed to be the best term to represent the aggregation of names from multiple sources in one single spreadsheet document. The electronic spreadsheet format provided a multitude of functions that would aid in the analysis, especially sorting and searching. We consulted a range of sources and documents to generate this list of names, including the Historic Resource Study by Robert T. Chase and Elizabeth Comer, titled *On the Border of Freedom and Slavery: The Hampton Plantation, the Northampton Ironworks, and the Transformation of Labor, 1740-1948*.[4] We also consulted the files created by Dr. R. Kent Lancaster, based on his years of research into a wide variety of primary sources related to Hampton's enslaved: account books, clothing records, probate records, escape ads, and other archival materials.[5] As the project advanced, our

[4] See Chase and Comer 2014.

[5] Many Lancaster research documents, now owned by Hampton NHS, were the basis for or were

team added data from other records and archives found along the way, such as diaries, wills, manumission certificates, and censuses, and we often consulted orally with Park staff at Hampton to draw insight from their institutional memory and knowledge.

We have benefited greatly from the previous reports of Lancaster, and Chase and Comer that informed our work. Chase and Comer's Historic Resource Study, Tables 1, 3, 4, 11, and 17, based on Lancaster's work, were helpful lists with which to begin compiling the Comprehensive List. *Table 1: Slaves and Servants of Colonel Charles* is a set of 35 names of those owned and enslaved by Colonel Charles Ridgely at the time of his death in 1772.[6] This list of enslaved ranged from age 1 to age 70. Those who were bequeathed to his grandchildren at the time of his death are found in *Table 3: Listing of Enslaved Bequeathed to Extended Family in Colonel Ridgely's Will*.[7] This list also includes the names "Toby" and "Daniel," labeled as "founders" at the forge who were bequeathed to Colonel's son Captain Charles Ridgely and his other children Achsah, Rachel, and Pleasance.

The next set of names retrieved from the Historic Resource Study were drawn from *Table 4: 1773 Tax List of Captain Ridgely's Enslaved Laborers and their Locations* which comprised the names of 13 laborers from the time Hampton was established. These individuals were recorded as the property of Hampton mansion's builder and first owner sea Captain Charles Ridgely.[8] All of these individuals from *Tables 1, 3,* and *4* of the Historic Resource Study were recorded without surnames and in most cases with only the diminutive form of their first names such as Bob, Tom, Joe, etc., or nicknames.

The number of Ridgely slaveholdings increased around 1780-1781 through the War for Independence. Captain Ridgely added to his workforce by purchasing enslaved laborers from former loyalist competitors whose property was confiscated by Maryland law. He purchased 35 males, as well as their wives and children. The investment in

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used by but not specifically cited in Chase and Comer, especially as tables and appendices.

[6] *Table 1*, pg. 28 in Chase and Comer 2014.

[7] *Table 3*, pg. 30 in Chase and Comer 2014.

[8] *Table 4*, pg. 31 in Chase and Comer 2014.

human chattel grew with the dependence on families, rather than a reliance on slave trading, to replenish the enslaved workforce, and keeping families together reduced the likelihood of escape.

By 1783, Captain Ridgely owned nearly 100 enslaved individuals, but we retrieved only the names of eleven of them from the HRS, particularly those named in his will to bequeath to his wife when he died in 1790, and then later to his nephew Governor Charles Carnan Ridgely, who owned Hampton between 1790-1829. Once again, these names are without surnames, and are nicknames/diminutives.[9] The Captain's will also mentions the names of three who were to be manumitted at the time of Captain's death: Esther, Coachman Jack, and Phebe, daughter of Pompey.[10] Captain Ridgely's nephew Charles Carnan Ridgely, who later assumed the political office of Governor in 1815, inherited the family operations at Hampton including the ironworks after the Captain's death in 1790. By 1798, Charles Carnan Ridgely owned 196 enslaved workers.

Over the course of our study, as we consulted different resources, our list of names grew exponentially. We integrated names from the 1829 manumission list of Governor Ridgely as they were appended in the Historic Resource Study.[11] Names from documents known as the "Christmas List," derived from "Christmas Gifts of the Colored Children of Hampton given by E. Ridgely," the "Shoe List," derived from "Accounts of Shoes Given Out," escape/runaway ads, and "Ridgely Slaves 1829," the list of those purchased by John Ridgely following his inheritance of the Hampton Plantation after the Governor's death were also tabulated in the Comprehensive List.[12] Many names from

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[9] The Principal Investigator developed an extensive list of nicknames/given names primarily for women, with a few men's names, that helped us identify duplicates or clarify individuals when a given name was used.

[10] The will of Captain Charles Ridgely, cited in Chase and Comer 2014, pg. 109-110.
[11] See Appendix 1: List of Enslaved and Years Manumitted by Governor Ridgely's 1829 Wi*ll*; Chase and Comer 2014, pg. 292 repeated from Dr. R. Kent Lancaster "Ridgely Slaves 1829."

[12] Christmas List, 1841-1854, HAMP 14733; Shoe List, 1810-1828, MSA, White Papers; Escape ads from Scott S. Sheads, "Farm Managers, Runaway Slaves & Indentured Servants, 1743-1858," Hampton National Historic Site, Towson, MD, 2015 and from additional newspaper advertisements sometimes signed by heirs, overseers or farm managers rather than by a Ridgely;

the 1829 manumission did include surnames, but in some of the records that appeared after this, last names were again excluded. Table 11, "Children Permitted to Leave" in the Historic Resource Study included names of parents who were manumitted by Governor Ridgely's 1829 will, who had children under the age of 2 and were given the right to take those children with them into freedom.[13] Lastly, Table 17, "Enslaved Runaways and Rewards" included those whose names appeared in *Baltimore Sun* escape ads from the Hampton estate.[14]

As the list grew, it was necessary to develop a legend with codes and abbreviations, which indicated each list and source that was consulted for our spreadsheet. We also found it necessary to produce a "User Guide" with instructions and suggestions for navigating the list. Our spreadsheet included "List Codes" which would indicate for users which list contained the name, and "Status Codes" to inform users of that person's last recorded status (e.g. escaped, bequeathed to families, manumitted, etc.). Our spreadsheet also included dates of birth for entries whenever that information was available, and in many cases, birth dates were inferred based on the ages that were recorded in 1829 in Governor Ridgely's will or on other manumission documents. As a reminder that we were dealing with human chattel, several of the lists contained an entry that recorded the person's value. This entry served as another notation that helped us distinguish people with the same first name but no last name.

By the time we finished compiling the list, we ended up with 806 name entries.[15] Some of these entries were later discovered to duplicates, and some of these duplicates were the result of possessive-prefix names that became double entries. The next task was to draw from the institutional knowledge of the NPS staff about major family groupings on our list with extended kin networks and figure out how to make sense of

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the *Servants Clothing Book,* 1835-1854 and *Farm Account Book*, 1854-1864, Ridgely Family Account Books, MdHS MS. 691.

[13] Table 11, Chase and Comer, p. 164.

[14] Table 17, Chase and Comer, p. 229.

[15] The number changes as the list is refined, duplicates identified and corrected, and omissions rectified and certificates of freedom discovered.

names that were listed as possessive-prefixes noting possible parent-child relationships. Though our Comprehensive List data set and the conclusions drawn from the possessive-prefix analysis are not perfect, they are important developments and an improvement from what existed before undertaking this work.

The following section explains possessive-prefix naming in plantation records, and places this practice in conversation with the existing scholarship on namesaking patterns in plantation contexts. It also describes the analysis of apostrophed names as a strategy for determining family groupings and genealogy and uncovering the gendered significance of this methodology.

OVERVIEW OF NAMING AND RECORDKEEPING IN SLAVE RECORDS

Scholarship on Naming Practices and their Relationship to the Black Family under Slavery

Limited and incomplete records of the names of enslaved individuals and their identities tend to leave researchers uncertain, confused, or even daunted by the task of tracing Black lives and their descendants from slavery to the present. The practices with which slaves' names were recorded in plantation files were variegated, inconsistent, and abstruse, careless and oftentimes unreliable, as the preservation of slaves' identities was not a priority, and therefore details lacked formal attention. David E. Paterson writes about the challenge with indexing slaves' names, noting that "the archival records of slavery were written almost exclusively by members of the slavemaster class from *their* perspective of slaves as property," rendering those records incomplete, and the identities of those who were enslaved fragmented.[16] Inaccurate or inconsistent spelling variations, omission of surnames, overuse of diminutive name forms, and inexact dates of birth pose significant challenges for researchers committed to tracing African American family history and genealogy. Even as we have come to highly value and find increasing usefulness in such sources, neglectful recordkeeping certainly served to

[16] David E. Paterson, "A Perspective on Indexing Slaves' Names," *The American Archivist*, 64 (Spring/Summer), pp. 132-142, p. 134.

further dehumanize and depersonalize those designated as property and forced into labor. Close examination of names, and the contexts in which names appear, however, can lead researchers to fascinating results concerning the identities of the enslaved and their conjectured kin, even when surnames are unavailable.

Scholarship on African American naming traditions gives insight to how family ties were reinforced and retained through the inheritance of first names, resulting in the duplication of commonly held names on a given plantation, or in a given family grouping. Naming children after one's kin, both immediate and extended, biological and fictive, allowed groups of families to keep track of their relatives.[17] This would hold great importance due to the threat of forced separation. Herbert Gutman's influential book *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom: 1750-1925* is a major contribution to this topic. In his analysis of a slave birth register from a plantation in South Carolina, Gutman ascertained that enslaved children were often named for blood kin, especially father, aunts, uncles, and grandparents.[18] Beyond merely keeping track of one's relatives, this practice solidified one's belonging to an enlarged enslaved kin network, connecting the names of infants born into slavery not only to their parents and parents' parents, but also to their deceased siblings, their parents' siblings, and their cousins. Gutman writes, "such naming practices reveal an attachment to a familial 'line' and suggests the symbolic renewal in birth of intimate familial experiences identified with a parent or grandparent."[19]

Adding to this perspective on the topic of naming patterns, in *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory & the Foundations of Black America*, Sterling Stuckey explains such traditions as having a sacred function, identifying one's soul "with the souls of ancestors . . . Parents name children after relatives, heightening the spiritual significance of their

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[17] James Ciment, *Atlas of African American History* (New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2007), p. 43.
[18] These patterns have been supported by other studies. See Handler and Jacoby 1996 writing about Barbados, and Cody 1987.

[19] Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom: 1750-1925* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976), p. 95.

names, all the more after the death of a relative." Stuckey goes on to describe this as "seeking renewal and approbation from the spirit of the dead."[20]

The practice of recording names in plantation records represents another area of scholarship that contextualizes the possessive-prefix analytical approach, particularly when distinctions were required to differentiate one individual from another. The namesaking patterns that duplicated names from one generation to the next in a given family inevitably produced potentially identical names introducing the need among authorities of the slave-owning class to distinguish between individuals. Paterson describes distinctions used in recordkeeping as "suffixed name discriminators," "prefixed name discriminators," and "prefixed size, color, and age discriminators." Formal naming practices use "junior," or "III," for example, as suffix indicators for male lineage but there are no such distinguishing indicators for women.[21]

John C. Inscoe provides examples of double names, or "two-word names," explaining that distinctions were required for two enslaved individuals sharing the same given name. Sometimes the two-word names identified the type of labor performed, such as "Blacksmith Isaac." Sometimes a descriptive of physical attributes was used, such as color complexions "Yellow Sam" and "Black Joe," or names with the prefix "crippled" or "lame," to note one's physical impairments. Age descriptives were used before some names, like "Young" and "Old" or "Big," "Great" and "Little." Hampton records contained physical and racial descriptions such as "Gr. for Great," "little," "child," "dark," "yellow" and "mulatto," among other descriptives. "The cook" was the only occupational descriptor for women; "founder" was one occupational indicator for men. "Lame," or "strong" or "sickly" indicated observable physical impairments for men.

Inscoe's discussion extends to include the use of possessive forms in recordkeeping and helps to frame the approach employed in the research on Hampton. Even though studies of naming for family members rarely point to children being named

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[20] Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory & The Foundations of Black America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 195.
[21] Paterson, David E. 2001 "A Perspective on Indexing Slaves' Names." The American Archivist, 64 (Spring/Summer), pp. 132-142, see pp. 137-140.

for their mother, and Gutman's thesis asserts that in most cases it was the father that passed down their given name, the analysis of the possessive-prefix helps to confirm the dyadic connection and makes family continuity more explicit in the records. In his critique of Gutman's claim that the names of enslaved mothers were rarely passed on to their daughters, Inscoe writes that there were exceptions, and goes on to argue that:

> a more likely means by which a mother's name was perpetuated was in the possessive form attached to a child's name, such as Binah's Toby or Moll's Hagar. Such usage often served to distinguish between children of the same name and the mother's name was usually dropped as the child grew up. Occasionally, in the case of a daughter, the possessive form was dropped and became simply a double name, so that Sally's Ann became Sally Ann.[22]

Research on plantation records in Barbados reveal a similar pattern of mother-child relationships, as argued by Handler and Jacoby.[23] Inscoe also mentions that some possessive forms indicated other types of relationships beyond parent-child, such as spouses. Newell Niles Puckett refers to the use of "maternal descriptives" that were used as secondary names for distinction purposes. "Secondary names became almost a necessity on the larger plantations."[24] He also describes the use of physical characteristics, personal traits, occupation, age (young and old), and other examples of secondary names for distinction.

In order to closely examine the function of the possessive-prefix name form in Hampton's records, I began by listing all entries from our data set that included a possessive-prefix in a separate document, and conducting searches in the data set for all parent possibilities according to the recorded dates of birth. This helped to determine whether a parental relationship was possible. In many cases, entries with the possessive-prefix did not carry a surname, so this involved further investigation,

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[22] Inscoe, John C. 1993 "Generation and Gender as Reflected in Carolina Slave Naming Practices: A Challenge to the Gutman Thesis." *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 94(4): 252-263, p. 258.

[23] Jerome S. Handler and JoAnn Jacoby, "Slave Names and Naming in Barbados, 1650-1830." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53(4): 685-728, p. 688.

[24] Puckett, Newbell Niles 1990. In *Mother Wit from the Laughing Barrel: Readings in the Interpretation of Afro-American Folklore*, edited by Alan Dundes. pp. 172-173.

conjecture and speculation. Certain family groupings were difficult to conclude because if there was a surname, it was a common surname that had the potential to be held by multiple distinct families (i.e. Brown). Notes from this analysis are excerpted here to illustrate the methodological process of drawing conclusions about family relationships through investigation of possessive-prefix names.

> Notes, June 29, 2017:
>
> Mary Brown could be the possessive-prefix entry “Betty’s Mary,” born in 1818. Mary Brown is listed on the Shoe List with the surname Brown, which she shares with Betty (Betts?) Brown, who is also on the Shoe List. Governor’s 1829 list has a “Big Bett Brown” born in 1787. So Mary Brown could be “Betty’s Mary,” which is listed without a surname as a separate entry on the list. Or she could be “Ann’s Mary” which is also found in the Governor’s will (manumission list?).
>
> Same situation with Susan Brown and Big Bett Brown. There is a possessive-prefix entry for “Betty’s Susan” with no surname. Is “Betty’s Susan” the same person as Susan Brown?

By analyzing the dates of birth of “Big Bett” (Betsey) Brown (b. 1787), “Betty’s Mary” (b. 1818), and “Betty’s Susan” (b. 1815), I was able to deduce that these were the same people as Susan Brown (b. 1815), and Mary Brown (b. 1818). By figuring out that Mary Brown belonged to Big Bett Brown, I was left with the question of the possessive-prefix “Ann’s Mary” (b. 1826), who we later found out was the daughter of a Hampton gardener by the name of Daniel Harris (b. 1789). Daniel Harris purchased her freedom in 1831, and as there was also an Ann Harris (b. 1793) on our list, I deduced that Ann must have been partnered with Daniel Harris, and together they had Mary.

Without this kind of analysis, we would have been left wondering whose daughter is Mary Brown, given the various possibilities, more than one possessive prefix with the name Mary and no surname, more than one Ann, more than one Betty, multiple entries with the surname Brown, etc. The Comprehensive List data set included a total of 48 names used as a prefix with an apostrophe, and a total of 175 entries had names that were preceded by one of these possessive-prefixes. Examples below from Hampton’s records featured prominently in our analysis and helped to bring us closer to completion of the family narratives of these Hampton laborers.

EXAMPLES OF CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM THIS INVESTIGATION

Milly

The name Milly started out and concluded as one of the more riveting puzzles of the possessive-prefix analysis/challenge. As mentioned above, there were 48 possessive-prefix names used with an apostrophe, and the name Milly stood out with the greatest number of attachments/attached kin. Of the 175 names that were attached

Name	DOB	Value	Source List
Milly's Elisha Hogan Elisha/Lish Hogan	1817	150	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records Shoe List
Milly's George	1817	100	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records
Milly's Priss	1819	75	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records
Milly's Fanny	1820	100	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records
Big Milly's Sall	1821	20	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records
Milly's Sam	1821	20	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records
Milly's Bill	1822	100	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records
Milly's Bill Brown	1822	100	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records
Milly's Dan	1820 or 1822	100	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records
Big Milly's Ann Potter	1823	70	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records Shoe List
Milly's Tamar	1823	70	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records
Milly's Tom	1836		John Ridgely Slaves
Milly's Alick (Aleck, Elick)	1838		John Ridgely Slaves Christmas Gift List Escape Ads
Milly's Abraham	1839		John Ridgely Slaves
Milly's Jane	1845		John Ridgely Slaves
Milly's Grace	1853		John Ridgely Slaves

Milly's Eliza	ca. 1855		John Ridgely Slaves
Milly Tom	before 1841		Christmas Gift List
Milly Grace	before 1854		Christmas Gift List

Table 1.1 Millys

to a possessive-prefix in our Comprehensive List, 19 were attached to the name "Milly," making it clear that we were dealing with multiple mothers with the name Milly across time. Even multiple births in the same year could not be relied on as a distinguishing feature because the birth of twins could have been a factor.

The 19 entries displayed in Table 1.1 reflect Comprehensive List data input to determine the identities of the possessive prefix "Milly" and form conclusions about family relationships. The first task was to closely analyze the 19 entries associated with the oft-used name, particularly dates of birth and source documents where their names were recorded. Information was also obtained by drawing from the institutional knowledge of Park (NPS) personnel. The close analysis of "Milly" possessive-prefix entries allowed us to locate duplicates and rectify errors in the data set. The research also led us to identify three distinct Milly's and infer twelve mother-child dyads out of 19 possibilities.

Milly Hogan: Milly Hogan, who is found on the Shoe List, but for whom there is no recorded date of birth, is the mother of Elisha Hogan, b. 1817. There is also a Lish Hogan logged as a separate entry on our Comprehensive List, and this version of his name is also found on the Shoe List along with the names Milly Hogan and Elisha Hogan. With this analytical method, the recording of the surname Hogan was somewhat straight-forward and made it less difficult to identify this parent-child relationship.

Amelia "Milly" Sheredine (née Howard): The second Milly whose children we were able to identify in our analysis of possessive-prefix names is Amelia "Milly" Howard Sheredine, b. 1799. Amelia, whose name was recorded in our source lists with the diminutive "Milly" Sheredine, was married to Rezin Sheredine/Sheridan/Sheridan (b. 1792). Both Milly and Rezin were of lawful age and were manumitted in 1829 with Governor Ridgely's will; Milly continued working at Hampton as a paid laborer. Other relatives of Milly Sheredine at Hampton include brother Dan Harris, b. 1789, and sister Betsey Howard Brown, b. 1787 (whose name appears again later in this chapter).[25]

[25] See Fletcher, "Bright Dreams," this volume.

Initially we inferred that Milly's George (b. 1817), Milly's Priss (b. 1819), Milly's Fanny (b. 1820), Milly's Dan (b. 1820 or 1822), Big Milly's Sall (b. presumably Sally, b. 1821), Milly's Bill (b. 1822), and Milly's Sam (1821 or 1825) are all the children of Milly and Rezin Sheredine. However, Weidman noted that in the Feb. 1829 inventory of Hampton in the G. Howard White Papers—recorded before Gov. Ridgely died—"Little Milly" is listed as the mother of Dan, Fanny and Tamar. "Big Milly" is Bill's mother and presumably Sally's. Just plain "Milly," who could be either, is mother of George, Priss, and Ann*.* George, Priss, Dan, and Sam were bequeathed to George Howard in Governor's will. To further add to this confusion, the Comprehensive List data set has an entry for Anny (Ann) Potter (b. 1809) who was manumitted in 1834. The six-year-old "Milly's Ann Potter could easily be her daughter although that leaves us wondering about how to account for the Milly prefix.

There are some possibilities to further consider regarding Milly Sheredine's offspring. It is recorded in the 1850 Census that Fanny and Sally are both daughters of Milly and George Sheredine. Epsom studies show Fanny and Sally working for Henry Chew at Epsom at the time of manumission, but were hired out at some point.[26] Fanny was hired out to George Howard, and Sally was hired out to James Amos. The name recorded as "Milly's Bill Brown" may be a duplicate of Milly's Bill, as they share the 1822 date of birth. Another possibility to consider, similar to Milly's Ann Potter, is that Bill Brown was indeed Betsey Brown's son, and that there is some yet-to-be- determined reason for recording them as Milly's, although this would conflict with some of the information concerning Betsey and Sam Brown's children (see below).

Post-1829 Milly: The Milly that emerged post-1829 was purchased by John Ridgely, and appears in the *Servants Clothing Book,* 1835-1854 and *Farm Account Book*, 1854-1864, although we never see a surname attached to her. Milly's Tom (b. 1836), Milly's Aleck/Elick/Elich(?) (b. 1838), Milly's Abraham (b. 1839), Milly's Jane (b. 1845-46), and Milly's Grace (b. 1853), all appear to be the children of this particular Milly and also the

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[26] Hannah Lane, "I do not know my father" " I have lost my mother" " My children are scattered in every direction," Goucher College, 2017.

property of John Ridgely, as the estate's record books document.[27] We determined that two entries, "Tom Milly" and "Grace Milly" were duplicate entries of Milly's Tom and Milly's Grace.

Although the research on "Milly" possessive-prefix names led our analysis of potentially 12 mother-child relationships, a number of names remain confusing and unresolved. Conclusions have not been made for Milly's Eliza and Milly's Ann Potter and we continue to look more deeply at the Milly dilemma.

Harriet

As was the case with Milly, the name Harriet appeared several times as a possessive-prefix in the Comprehensive List data set. Nine names were attached to the possessive-prefix "Harriet's." The identities and families of four different Harriet's were analyzed to determine seven mother-child relationships.

Harriet Cromwell: Harriet Cromwell (b. 1804) is the mother of John Cromwell (b. 1828). Both names appear on the Shoe List as well as the Governor's 1829 will. The recording of the last name Cromwell made it possible to determine this parent-child relationship, and consider possibilities regarding Harriet Cromwell's partner and kin. The Comprehensive List includes a girl by the name of Sophia Cromwell, b. 1824, but it is unclear whether this was Harriet's daughter or the daughter of a different Cromwell family member.

The Comprehensive List contains the name John Cromwell, b. 1789 who would be a senior to Harriet's John Cromwell, as well as Stephen Cromwell and Richard Cromwell, both of whom have dates of birth in or around 1791. John,

Name	DOB	Value	Source List
Harriett's Nance	1826	30	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records
Harriet's John Cromwell	1828	5	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records Shoe List

[27] Ridgely Family Account Books, MdHS MS. 691; *Christmas List, 1844, HNHS*.

Harriet's Abraham	1833		John Ridgely Slaves
Harriet's Alfred	1833		John Ridgely Slaves
Harriet's Harriet	1836		John Ridgely Slaves
Harriet's Sarah Hawkins	1841		John Ridgely Slaves
Harriet's Mary Hawkins	1845		John Ridgely Slaves
Harriet's Joe Harris	1853		John Ridgely Slaves
Harriet's Louisa Hawkins	1853		John Ridgely Slaves

Table 1.2 Harriets

Stephen, and Richard Cromwell all appear in the Governor's 1829 manumission, and at that time had values ranging from $250-$300. There is also Gabriel Cromwell (b. circa 1804) and found on the Shoe List, as well as in the Maryland archives records as being slated for manumission by the Governor's 1829 will, although he is not included in the manumission list that is appended in Chase and Comer 2014. This is probably the Gabriel (no last name) listed on the February 1829 inventory of the Hampton home farm as 23 years of age and the Gabriel listed later that year in the Governor's estate inventory valued at $300. At first inherited by Harriet and Henry Chew, he later worked for the Chews at Epsom farm as a paid laborer.

Although there is a grave headstone with the name Gabriel Cromwell at Pleasant Rest Cemetery in Sandy Bottom neighborhood, Towson, MD, this is most likely the grave of a younger Gabriel Cromwell, born c. 1837, who appears in 1900 Census records of the Towson area. This younger Gabriel might be the son or nephew of the enslaved Gabriel Cromwell. It is not clear whether any of these men with the Cromwell surname were partnered with Harriet Cromwell, or if they were siblings. The Cromwell Family matriarch is presumed to be Old Betty Cromwell (b. 1749) who was bequeathed to Henry and Harriet Chew at Epsom in the Governor's will at the age of 80 years old.

Harriet Hawkins: Interestingly, Harriet Hawkins appears on the Shoe List of 1827-1828, but no one else with the surname Hawkins appears there, nor do they appear in Governor's 1829 will. According to our records of John Ridgely's slaveholdings, Harriet Hawkins first appears in clothing lists in 1835, but she was most likely owned by John

Ridgely throughout the 1820s. With the surname Hawkins, it is inferred that Harriet's Sarah Hawkins (b. 1841), Harriet's Mary (b. 1845), and Harriet's Louisa Hawkins (b. 1853) are the children of this particular Harriet.[28] She also had a son by the name of Nelson Hawkins (b. 1843). This analysis helped confirm the identity of "Harriet's Mary" whose entry in the Comprehensive List did not include a surname. The date of birth recorded for Harriet's Mary (1845) matched that of Mary Hawkins, which appears as a separate entry. Thus, Mary Hawkins and Harriet's Mary are duplicate entries.

Interesting details about the life of Harriet Hawkins emerged during Dr. R. Kent Lancaster's investigations in the late 1990s. It was revealed by Harriet Hawkins' descendants to Dr. Lancaster and Hampton NHS staff that Harriet Hawkins is also the mother of Charles Hale Brown, who is believed to have been John Ridgely's son born in 1825. The fact that she worked as a house servant, that she received special clothing, that her surname was used in written accounts and she is mentioned more frequently than other house servants, that she received close medical attention while ill, and that her enslaved son Charles Hale Brown was sent to Boston as a teenager for an education and manumitted by John Ridgely at the age of 22, all reveal that Harriet Hawkins and her son were singled out among people enslaved by John Ridgely, and point to the conclusion that she was in a sexually exploitative power dynamic with John Ridgely.[29]

Harriet Harris, Sr.: Harriet Harris, Sr., born circa 1815, had two children who were identified through the analysis of possessive-prefix names. The first appears as "Harriet's Alfred" born 1833, who has been confirmed as her son Alfred Harris. The name Alfred Harris appears as a separate entry in the list of John Ridgely's slaveholdings, so this has been determined as a duplicate entry of Harriet's Alfred. The second child appears as "Harriet's Harriet" born 1836, who has been identified as Harriet Harris, Jr., also a duplicate entry of the possessive-prefix form. "Harriet's Harriet" highlights the use of double naming, and naming practices whereby children were named for close and extended family members. While this would indeed create

[28] These connections are confirmed by later 1880 census records.
[29] Hampton NHS Research Vertical Files, # 2735.004; Chase and Comer, pp. 214-215.

confusion without the recording of surnames, this naming practice reflects a common tradition in enslaved communities, hence the frequent appearance of common names (like Harriet) appearing in our data set. This entry of "Harriet's Harriet" is not to be confused with yet another Harriet Harris born in 1848 (now labeled as Harriet Harris, III for distinguishing purposes), who appears on the same source list of John Ridgely's slaveholdings and has been identified as the daughter of Ellen and Nathan Harris. A final piece of this puzzle is "Harriet's Joe Harris" born 1853, who is the son of Harriet Harris, Jr., and the grandson of Harriet Harris, Sr.

In our data set, the use of "Sr." for the Harriet Harris born in 1815, "Jr." for her daughter Harriet Harris born in 1836, and "III" for the Harriet Harris born in 1848 to Ellen and Nathan Harris has helped us to reconcile and distinguish the three Harriet Harris's that existed at Hampton at overlapping time periods. It also helped us to illustrate that Harriet Harris, Sr. is possibly the sister of Nathan Harris because he named two of his own children (Alfred and Harriet discussed below) after her children. It is also possible that Harriet III was named for her mother's sister Harriet Davis who married Tom Smith.

Upon first look at this set of possessive-prefix names, there appeared to be a perplexing group of possible family members that would be too complicated (or complex) to resolve. This challenge was due to the high occurrence of the name Harriet in our full Comprehensive List data set, and the large number of possessive-prefix names including the name Harriet, some without a recorded surname, and some having nothing to do with the Harris family line. Moreover, there are a number of names with the surname Harris that appear in our data, and it is not clear that they are all related. While it is most likely the case that Harriet Harris, Jr. is the sister of Nathan Harris as discussed in the following section, there is also room to speculate that Harriet Harris's family line is somehow related to Dan Harris and Ann Harris (discussed above). We have compiled extensive family trees to help alleviate the problem.[30]

Coda for Harriet: In our research, two names attached to the possessive-prefix Harriet remain unresolved. The first is "Harriet's Nance" (b. 1826) and the second is "Harriet's Abraham" (b. 1833). Hampton curator Gregory Weidman believes Harriet's Abraham (b.

[30] See Appendices C-F.

1833) is an error since Harriet's son Alfred was born in 1833.[31] Either or both of them could be the children of Harriet Cromwell (b. 1804), Harriet Wicks (b. 1812) (the daughter of Keziah Wicks discussed below), or additional children of Harriet Harris, Sr. (b. 1815). Harriet Harris, Sr. could not have been Nance's mother. She was unlikely to have been a mother at age 11, plus she was not owned by Gov. Ridgely.

Ellen (Davis) Harris and Nathan Harris

This particular family grouping comprises a set of overlapping/intersecting intermarriages and family relationships. We begin with the earliest generation, the William-Susan "Sukey" Davis union and then move to their offspring. Williams Davis, Sr. (b. 1805) is the progenitor of the Davis clan that arrived at Hampton in 1841 through John Ridgely's large purchase of enslaved families and workers as he continued to reestablish slavery at Hampton. Davis, Sr. was brought to Hampton with his wife Susan "Sukey" Davis (b. 1809) and their children Lloyd Davis (b. 1825), Harriet Davis (later Smith) (b. 1827), Ellen Davis (later Harris) (b. 1831), Louis/Lewis Davis (b. 1833), Anne Davis (later Williams) (b. 1835), Caroline Davis (later Brown) (b. 1837), and William (Bill) Davis, Jr. (b. 1838). While at Hampton, William Sr. and Susan had two more children: Tilghman Davis (b. 1848) and Susan Davis, Jr. (b. 1849).

Although there are multiple examples of intermarriage involving this family among those enslaved at Hampton, for this discussion we will focus on the union of Ellen Harris (née Davis) (b. 1831) and Nathan Harris, whose exact date of birth is unknown, probably 1815-1820. Analysis extends to their eleven children, Ellen's sister Harriet Smith (née Davis) (b.1827), Harriet Harris, Sr. and her offspring, and the larger Davis clan. There were a number of points to consider and connections to draw out when analyzing this family. This kinship group presents the most compelling case reflecting the tradition of naming children after close relatives and extended families, hence the repetition of several names found in this grouping.[32] Family groups and

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[31] See Eliza E. R. Ridgely *Servants Clothing Book 1835-1854*, Maryland Historical Society, MS. 691.
[32] Relying on the institutional knowledge of Gregory Weidman, combined with Kent Lancaster's

women bearing several offspring also represent the mechanisms by which the Ridgelys maintained and perpetuated slavery at Hampton.

Davis daughter Ellen eventually married Nathan Harris and together they had 11 children. Among their 11 children, 7 appeared somewhere in the records with the possessive-prefix form attached to the name Ellen, and some appeared with the surname Davis, Ellen Harris's maiden name. Consider, for example, the entry "Ellen's Harriet Davis," born in 1847 and listed on Kent Lancaster's "John Ridgely's Slaves." We originally transcribed the names from Kent's list without understanding that this way of phrasing the name occurred because Dr. Lancaster knew Ellen was a Davis and added the surname.[33] The same Harriet is recorded on the list as Harriet Harris with the birth date 1848. As explained above in the summary of Harriet Harris, Sr., this particular Harriet Harris, III is the eldest child of Ellen and Nathan Harris who was likely named for her relative, Harriet Harris, Jr. from her father's side, *and* her aunt Harriet (Davis) Smith, who is Ellen's sister. These examples make it clear that apostrophed names, intermarriages, and the use of the same names through multiple generations resulted in a very confusing research challenge.

Name	DOB	Source List	Duplicated As
Ellen's Harriet	1847/1848	Servants Clothing Book	Harriet Harris
Ellen's Emma	1848/1849	Servants Clothing Book	Ellen's Emma Nathan's Emily
Ellen's Bill	1849/1850	Servants Clothing Book	Billy Harris Nathan's Bill
Ellen's Susan	1853	Servants Clothing Book	Susan Harris b. 1853
Ellen's Kate	1858	Farm Account Book	

work revealed several minor inaccuracies derived from Lancaster's "John Ridgely's Slaves" document. Data in in Table 1.3 was not originally transcribed from the information in the primary sources but was reanalyzed and corrected using, the *Servants Clothing Book* and *Farm Account Book*.

[33] Curator Gregory Weidman could not find any original document where this exact phrase is used; she's called "Ellen's Harriet" without the Davis in the Servants Clothing Book and "Harriet Harris" in the 1854 list of girls and later "H. Harris" or "Harriet H." in the Farm Account Book. She's called "Harriet Harris, Jr." on Didy's Christmas List.

E.'s Cora	1860	Farm Account Book	Could also be Eliza's or Esther's
Ellen's Isabella	ca. 1863	Farm Account Book US Census 1880	

Table 1.3 Ellens

A second example found on John Ridgely's list is "Ellen's Emma" born in 1848, also noted by Lancaster as a Davis. Emma appears twice more on this same list as "Ellen's Emma," and again as "Nathan's Emily." This illustrates the use of Emma as the diminutive of Emily and the inconsistency of using the surname Davis. The third child, "Ellen's Bill" born 1849, also appears as Billy Harris and Nathan's Bill, creating three entries in the data set for the same child of Ellen and Nathan Harris. Knowing that Bill and Billy are diminutive forms of William, and that Ellen Harris's father is William Davis, Sr., it is inferred that Bill Harris was named for this grandfather, and for Ellen's younger brother William Davis, Jr. who died at the young age of six years old.

Confusion swirled around Lancaster's listing of "Ellen's Susan Davis?" which again sent Weidman back to the primary documents from which Dr. Lancaster had compiled his lists. We first had to realize that Sukey was a common diminutive form of Susan and that Bill and Susan "Sukey" Davis's youngest daughter was Susan Davis, born in October 1849. Their daughter Ellen Davis Harris and husband Nathan mentioned above also had a daughter Susan born in 1853, named in honor of her grandmother and aunt. Little Susan Davis is noted in the Christmas List as "Dead" in the column for 1852, so there was only one child Susan alive at Hampton afterwards.[34] In such instances, birth dates and the sometimes listed values assigned to people as chattel become critical distinguishing descriptives that helped researchers sort through complicated identities.

This particular Susan Harris is not to be confused with the other set of Susan Davis' who also appear on the list of John Ridgely's slaves. The Susan "Sukey" Davis (b. 1809) is Ellen's mother, and the other Susan Davis, Jr. (b. 1849) is Ellen's youngest sister who passed away in 1852 at the age of three. Thus, Ellen and Nathan's daughter

[34] "Johnsslaves" Kent Lancaster files; *Christmas List*.

Susan Harris was named for her grandmother Susan "Sukey" Davis, Sr. and her aunt Susan Davis, Jr. who died just before she was born. The fact that at least three distinct Susan's tied to the surname Davis, all related and owned by John Ridgely, lived at Hampton during overlapping time periods certainly leaves a perplexing trail of identities to track and decipher, and our work demonstrates that it can be achieved through close and careful re-examination of primary records and the possessive-prefix function.

Similar to the entry "Ellen's Susan Davis?" the list of John Ridgely's slaves which was compiled by Dr. Lancaster and published by Chase & Comer also contains an entry for "Ellen's Isabella (Davis)?" with a question mark. Isabella Harris (b. 1862) appears in the 1880 census with her parents Ellen and Nathan Harris, and also appears in *Farm Account Book*, confirming that she is one of Ellen and Nathan's 11 children. The question mark appears in her entry with the surname Davis for the same reason that it appears in the entry for "Ellen's Susan Davis?"[35] As we were to later learn, tracing the life of Isabella Harris allowed researchers a major break-through in connecting this enslaved family to their present-day living descendants.[36]

The other children born to Ellen and Nathan Harris are "Ellen's Kate," also known as Kate Harris (b. 1858) who died in a fire in 1874, as well as Lloyd Harris, born sometime between 1850 and 1852, and Alfred Harris (b. 1855) and Millie Harris (1860). In the post-Emancipation years, Ellen and Nathan Harris also had a son Louis. Children Lloyd and Lewis were both named for their uncles, Ellen's brothers Lloyd Davis and Lewis Davis, and child Alfred was named for the relative on Nathan Harris's side, Harriet Harris, Sr.'s son Alfred Harris (b. 1833).

Betsey Brown and Betty Knight

In the Comprehensive List data set, there are six names drawn from the Governor's 1829 will that are attached to the possessive-prefix names "Betty," "Gr.

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35 The "?" indicates that Dr. Lancaster had accurately traced the Davis relationships but apparently without definitive verification.

36 See Weidman, "From Dry Documents," this volume.

Betty," and "Bett." Through close examination of the Governor's 1829 manumission list to figure out possible parent-child relationships, two women who were owned by Governor Ridgely were found with the names Big Bett Brown and Great Betty Knight, both of whom have dates of birth in 1787. These women both have physical or age-related descriptive prefixes attached to their names, as this practice in naming and recordkeeping served a distinguishing function when a given name was held by multiple inhabitants of a plantation. On November 5, 1829, John Ridgely attested to the identity of Betsey Brown who was 42 at the time of Charles Ridgely's death in July of that year. He again signed an affidavit on September 17, 1829 attesting to the identity of 42 year-old Betsy Knight.[37]

Name	**DOB**	**Value**	**Source List**
Betty's Susan	1815	130	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records
Betty's Mary	1818	50	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records
Betty's Harriet	1821	200	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records
Bett's John	1823	100	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records
Gr. Betty's Rachel	1825	40	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records
Bett's Jim	1825	20	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records

Table 1.4 Bettys

"Big Bett" was used also as the diminutive nickname of Betsey Brown elsewhere in the record, including the descriptive prefix of "Big." It is inferred that "Betty's Susan" (b. 1815) and "Betty's Mary" (b. 1818) were the daughters of Betsey Brown because records indicate that she had two daughters by the names of Susan Brown and Mary Brown, both of whom later worked at Epsom for the Chew Family. In the entries for "Betty's Susan" and "Betty's Mary" in the Governor's probate records, both girls are shown to have been bequeathed to Henry and Harriet Chew. It is not clear why the name "Betty" was used as a possessive-prefix for a woman whose given name appears

[37] "Testimony of John Ridgely Relative to Betsy Knight," Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Certificates of Freedom, 1820-1829, C3085-1, Maryland State Archives.

as “Betsey” on the manumission list in Maryland State Archives, but it is safe to speculate that this may have been an error with little attention paid to the inconsistency in spelling or that both Betty and Betsey were used as interchangeable diminutive names.[38]

It is not likely that the entries for “Bett’s John” (b. 1823) and “Bett’s Jim” (b. 1825) also refer to Betsey Brown’s children. Neither Jim nor John Brown appear on any list of names. This essay attempts to decipher names with possessive prefixes therefore other possible names were not carefully analyzed for this study. Late in our research a Betsey Sinclair was added to the Comprehensive List. Born in 1807, Betsy Sinclair is of childbearing age and could possibly be the mother of Bett’s Jim and/or John. We know from Betsey Brown that use of the possessive apostrophe did not always signal the absence of a surname.

It is inferred that “Gr. Betty’s Rachel,” b. 1825 is the daughter of Great Betty Knight because of the use of the abbreviation “Gr.” recorded in the Governor’s manumission list. This small detail in the possessive-prefix made it possible to distinguish between Big Bett Brown and Great Betty Knight, without which both

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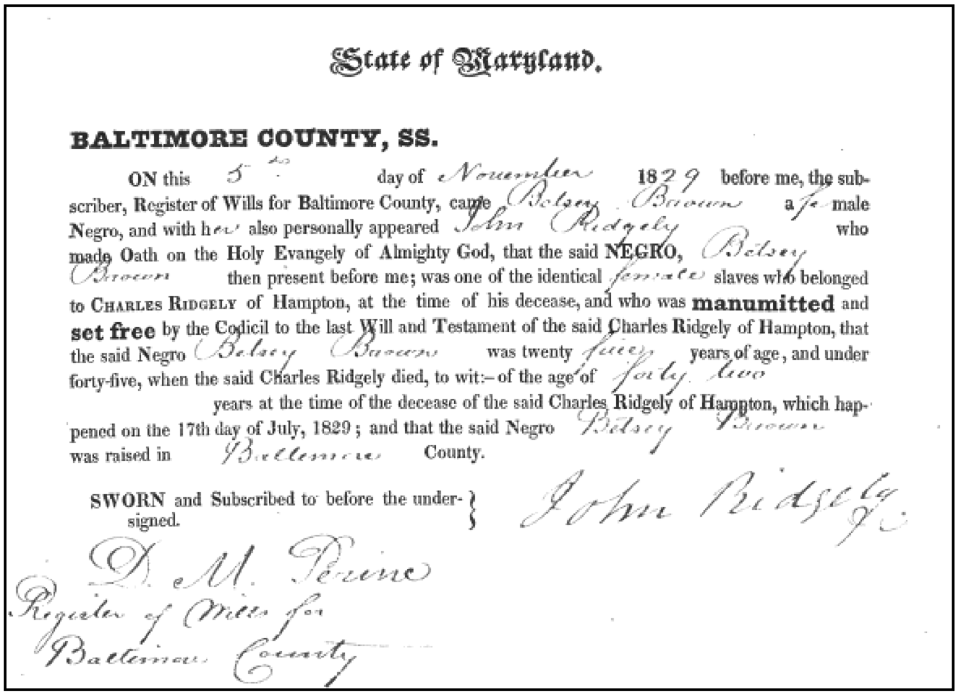
[38] “Testimony of John Ridgely Relative to Negro Betsey Brown,” Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Certificates of Freedom, 1820-1829, C3085-1, Maryland State Archives, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/coagser/c3000/c3085/000000/000001/000000/000087/pdf/mdsa_c3085_1_87.pdf



State of Maryland.

BALTIMORE COUNTY, SS.

ON this 5th day of November 1829 before me, the subscriber, Register of Wills for Baltimore County, came Betsey Brown a female Negro, and with her also personally appeared John Ridgely who made Oath on the Holy Evangely of Almighty God, that the said **NEGRO,** Betsey Brown then present before me; was one of the identical female slaves who belonged to Charles Ridgely of Hampton, at the time of his decease, and who was **manumitted** and **set free** by the Codicil to the last Will and Testament of the said Charles Ridgely of Hampton, that the said Negro Betsey Brown was twenty four years of age, and under forty-five, when the said Charles Ridgely died, to wit:—of the age of forty two years at the time of the decease of the said Charles Ridgely of Hampton, which happened on the 17th day of July, 1829; and that the said Negro Betsey Brown was raised in Baltimore County.

SWORN and Subscribed to before the undersigned.

John Ridgely

D. M. Perine
Register of Wills for
Baltimore County

Figure 2.1 Manumission Certificate for Betsey Brown, Maryland State Archives

women would have been considered as possibilities. In the February 1829 inventory of the Hampton home farm, “Gr. Betty” (age 42) is recorded along with “Gr. Betty’s Mary” (11) and “Gr. Betty’s Rachel” (4).Though it is not confirmed that Great Betty Knight had a daughter by the name of Harriet, it can be speculated that “Betty’s Harriet” born 1821 is her child. It would not be a surprise if Rachel had a sister with the name Harriet, because in 1848, Rachel had a daughter whom she named Harriet, and given what we know about the practice of naming after close relatives, this is a possibility to keep in mind. These relationships became clearer after Rachel’s children appeared in the records of Epsom farm, when she, as a young girl, was inherited by Harriet and Henry Chew following Governor Ridgely’s death.

Keziah

When analysis of the Comprehensive List and possessive-prefix names first began, our data consisted of two different Keziah’s who were close in age and were enslaved at Hampton during the same time period. The first is Keziah/Kesiah Wicks,

Name	DOB	Value	Source List
Keziah's Harriet Wicks	1812	200	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records Shoe List
Keziah's Celia Wicks	1815	130	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records Shoe List
Keziah's Jake	1817	150	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records
Keziah's Mariah	1822	80	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records
Keziah's Moses	1822	100	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records
Keziah's Henry	1823	50	Gov. Ridgely Probate Records
Keziah's Bill	1825		Gov. Ridgely Probate Records
Keziah's William	1825		Gov. Ridgely Probate Records

Table 1.5 Keziahs

born 1790, and the other Kiz/Kizz Anderson, born 1793, whose given name is recorded as Kesiah in the manumission records at the Maryland State Archives. In the Comprehensive List data set, eight entries appear with the possessive-prefix Keziah. Probate records show Keziah Wicks is at Hampton, but Kiz Anderson is at the Furnace.

In addition to the probate inventories and other records made following Governor Ridgely's death in July 1829, an inventory of the enslaved at the Hampton home farm was taken earlier that year in February. This record lists the following eight children as "Keziah's": Harriet (17), Ben (17), Celia (14), Jake (12), Maria (7), Moses (7), Henry (6) and William (4). Unlike families such as the Battys and Sheridans, who during the settlement of the estate to the various heirs were kept together for the most part, Keziah's eight children were divided among four different owners. Harriet, Maria, and Jake were inherited by James Howard; Moses, Henry and William by Priscilla White; Celia by James Howard; and Ben by Charles S. W. Dorsey.

It was not difficult to determine that "Keziah's Harriet Wicks"(b. 1812) and "Keziah's Celia Wicks"(b. 1815) were daughters born to Keziah Wicks, owing to the availability of the recorded surname with the possessive-prefix Keziah in Governor Ridgely's manumission list. "Keziah's Jake"(b. 1817) is found in the Comprehensive List data set as it is recorded in the Governor's manumission list, but appears again as "Yellow Jake Wicks," drawn from the Shoe List. There is an older man by the name of Jake/Jacob Wicks, born 1787 and listed in the Maryland State Archives manumission certificates, who is most likely the husband of Keziah Wicks. Thus, it can be inferred that "Keziah's Jake," born in 1817 was named for his father with the same given name. The Shoe List contains the name "Yellow Jake Wicks" which may refer to Keziah's young son.

The entries for "Keziah's Bill" (b. 1825) and "Keziah's William" (b. 1825) are duplicates, and there is a William Wicks of the same age who is found in the 1880 Towson census. Thus, it is inferred that "Keziah's William/Bill" is a child of the Wicks Family. Other Wicks children include "Keziah's Mariah" (b. 1822), "Keziah's Moses" (b. 1822) and "Keziah's Henry" (1823). Even though these children do not appear with the surname Wicks in probate records or the appendix of the Historic Resource Study from which we drew our data on the Governor's 1829 manumission list, other sources record their names with the surname Wicks.[39] For example, there is a Moses Wicks in the 1850 and 1860 census, living next to or on the Epsom estate working for the Chew family.[40]

Keziah (Kiz) Anderson (b. 1793) who married Sam Anderson (b. 1795) had four children of her own, none of whom appear with the possessive-prefix Keziah. All four children can be found with the surname Anderson in the 1829 Furnace Inventory.[41] Their names are Peter Anderson (b. 1818), Lloyd Anderson (b. 1823), Jim Anderson (b. 1825), and Susan Anderson (b. 1828), who was freed with her parents in 1829 manumission because she was under the age of 2. The other children were inherited by Harry D. G. Carroll at Perry Hall plantation.

Catharine "Kitty" Johnson

[39] Chase and Comer 2014; derived from Dr. Lancaster's files,

[40] This Moses is the correct age. By 1860, he has a wife Catherine and five children, including a son Jacob named in honor of his brother Jake.

[41] G. Howard White Collection, Hampton NHS.

The story of Catharine “Kitty” Johnson is a fitting way to conclude the example summaries on the important function of the possessive-prefix in analyzing parent-child relationships in the context of plantation slavery. Although the question of Kitty Johnson and her offspring did not emerge from a frequent occurrence of her name as a possessive-prefix as it did for other mothers in our data set, it does illuminate the power with which a family narrative can be reconstructed through close examination of such records where the possessive-prefix is used.

The identities of Kitty Johnson’s children were not readily discernible at the start of our analysis because the surname Johnson appears 20 times in the Comprehensive List data set, and many of those entries do not include dates of birth. What was most striking about this group of names is that one of the entries was recorded as “K Johnson’s Child” and included no date of birth. That child was recorded in the will as having been bequeathed to James Howard. The only person to match the first name initial “K” with the surname Johnson would be Kitty, so it was inferred that the unidentified child was hers. The challenge would be to figure out this child’s given name elsewhere in the data set, and determine whether or not the child had siblings born to Kitty Johnson among the Johnson kin group. Our analysis of archival documents concerning this family led us to some interesting conclusions.

Upon discovery of more details surrounding Kitty Johnson’s manumission, and that of her husband’s, a compelling story emerged; one that speaks to the significance of a mother’s claim to her children as it can be constructed and retold through the analytical approach of the possessive-prefix. This approach helps to recover important narratives from obscurity and transmit stories about family life under slavery, particularly as they relate to a mother’s love and protection of her children.

Catharine Johnson (b. 1806) was married to a man by the name of William “Bill” Johnson, Sr. who was about 20 years her senior (b. 1786). Although we are unclear about the name change, Bill Johnson was also known as Bill Bussey and was manumitted by the Governor’s will in 1829, and permitted to take one of his young children by the name of Tom Johnson, who was under the age of 2, with him to freedom.[42] This was unusual because, as stated in the will, infant children were to be released to their mothers, so it seems that an exception was made by the heirs of Governor Ridgely's will to allow Tom to go with his father. According to Hampton curator Weidman, Billy Bussey was Governor Ridgely's body servant and thus may have been given more lenient consideration. Kitty was not to be manumitted until 1831, and was bequeathed to residuary heir James Howard with an unnamed child. In sorting this out, Weidman noted that two listings in the primary sources for Kitty Johnson record that she had a very small daughter Eliza (in probate inventory noted above) and that she and a child of unknown name (but probably baby Eliza) were bequeathed to James Howard. It is speculated that Bussey did not take his son with him out of slavery at the time he was granted permission because he wanted to wait until Catherine's 1831 manumission, and that it was a strategy to secure the right to do so from the heirs so that Tom, who by then would have been older than two years old, would be free to go at the time that Catharine gained her freedom.

That Tom Johnson was the child to be released to Bill Johnson, Sr. conflicts with the information provided in the Historic Resource Study. The HRS reports that the child permitted to leave with Bill Johnson, Sr. was a child by the name of Bill Johnson, Jr.[43]

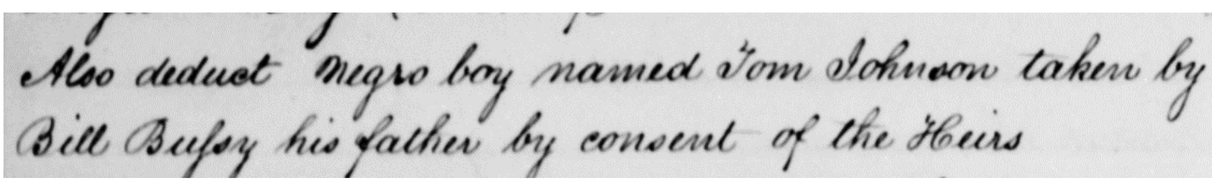

Also deduct Negro boy named Tom Johnson taken by
Bill Bussy his father by consent of the Heirs

Figure 2.2 Charles Ridgely (of Hampton) Account of Sales, p. 46, MSA

The original Account of Sales inventory explicitly states, however, that this child is named Tom. It reads: "Also deduct Negro boy named Tom Johnson taken by Bill Bussey his father by consent of the heirs."[44] A second child of Kitty Johnson and Bill Bussey is daughter Eliza Johnson who was also under the age of 2 at the time of manumission. In

[42] Accounts of Sale, October 1829, p. 46, #134, Maryland State Archives. In the 1859-1864 Farm Account Book, Bill Bussey was living at Hampton and still used the last name Bussey.
[43] Chase and Comer, 2014: 162-163.

[44] Accounts of Sale, October 1829, p. 46, #134, Maryland State Archives.

the 1829 probate inventory, there are three enslaved individual who are noted in the margin as working at Perry Hall (where the Governor's daughter Eliza had lived). They are Kitty Johnson, Richard Johnson, and Eliza Johnson. Kitty is valued at $200, Richard at $40, but Eliza, who must have been a very small child, is only valued at $10. This is likely the mother-daughter pair inherited by James Howard.

Archival documents show that when Kitty received her freedom in 1831, she worked with the court in an effort to reclaim her children. Catharine Johnson's Certificate of Freedom details that in 1831 she is set free by the Codicil to the last Will and Testament of Charles Ridgely, taken and filed January 8, 1831 and certificate granted the same day. She was 25 years old at the time. On February 26, 1831, Catharine filed a declaration, an excerpt of which reads:

> Whereas Charles Ridgely of Hampton, by the Codicil to his last will and Testament . . . direct that if any of his female slaves shall at the time of their becoming actually free by the provisions contained in said Codicil have a child or children at that time under two years of age, in such instances the mother shall have the choice of taking [with?] her and keeping such child or children until such age as their own right to freedom accr[ues?]
>
> And whereas Catherine Johnson is one of the female slaves who belonged to the said Charles Ridgely of Hampton at the time of his decease, and who has since become free under the codicil to the said deceased's will, and had at the time of her becoming free two children under two years of age, to wit: Eliza and Thomas.
>
> Now know ye, that I the said Catherine Johnson in pursuance of the power given to me by the provisions of the said Codicil, do hereby declare that I have choosen to take and do hereby take the two said children, untill such age, as their own right to freedom, respectively accures, agreeable to the conditions and provisions mentioned in said Codicil. Given under my hand and seal this 26th day of February 1831.
>
> Catherine Johnson [her mark][45]

[45] See Appendix H for original document, "Declaration of Catherine Johnson by Charles Ridgely of Hampton, C-3085-2-22, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/coagser/c3000/c3085/000000/000002/000000/000022/pdf/mdsa_c3085_2_22.pdf accessed April 23, 2020.

CONCLUSION

In and through the stories of Catherine Johnson and others whose records exemplify the insight garnered by the possessive-prefix name form, we can view possessive-prefix records as a way of capturing familial attachments and reclaiming "possession" of one's kin, a more humanizing alternative to the chattel of a slave owner. It can be viewed as a tool of resistance to the "dehumanizing status designation as property" (Lindsey and Johnson 2014:187). We already have a general understanding that slave owners relied on women's reproductive labor as a way of replenishing the work supply, and Bonnie Thornton Dill's work on women and kinship reminds us that "the mother-child tie was basic and of greatest interest to the slave owner because it was essential to the reproduction of the labor force."[46] We must not overlook the importance of this mother-child tie revealed in possessive-prefix records, not only for what they tell us about the master's assets and wealth generated by a replenished labor supply, but for what they represent in the narrative and legacy of a family network. Historian Stephanie Camp discusses how women were devoted to family responsibilities and connected to community in ways that often hindered them from fleeing slavery and abandoning their children.[47] The refusal to abandon one's children is especially evident in Kitty Johnson's story.

Although this research did not resolve each query we had regarding records with the possessive prefix, this work makes productive intervention in historical and genealogical research approaches. In some cases, we may not know with any certainty

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[46] Bonnie Thornton Dill, "Fictive Kin, Paper Sons, and Compadrazgo: Women of Color and the Struggle for Family Survival." In Families in the U.S.: Kinship and Domestic Politics. Edited by Karen V. Hansen and Anita Ilta Garey (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998). See also Jones, Jacqueline 2010 "Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family, from Slavery to Present" for a discussion of women's reproductive labor under slavery.

[47] Stephanie M. H. Camp, *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women & Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), pp. 36-37.

whether the possessive-prefix represented something other than a parent-child relationship. Could they be spouses? Certainty about dates of birth would have to rule out such possibilities. Although convention indicates the contrary, could they represent other types of relationships, such as those formed by adoptive means when a child was separated from immediate family/biological parents? Could we consider that some of the names used as possessive-prefixes were actually extended kin, like aunts or grandmothers? These are all important considerations.

As the above examples and discussions demonstrate, this detailed work based on primary documents, oral history, conjecture and deductive reasoning prompts us to think about family identities and attachments in ways that go beyond mere recordkeeping. In their discussion of the sexual lives and erotic subjectivities of enslaved black women, feminist historians Treva B. Lindsey and Jessica Marie Johnson argue that “instead of depicting enslaved and free women of color as once again becoming the property of someone else, scholars must challenge themselves to write fully actualized, erotic, historical subjects.”[48] Though our work at Hampton does not center on the erotic subjectivities of enslaved black women, the analysis of the possessive-prefix attests to the reproductive labor of these women, and further humanizes the emotional and affective work of making and maintaining a family under slavery. The work carried out here is about seriously “interrogating possibilities” in the archives, to borrow the expression from Lindsey and Johnson, and bringing these possibilities to the narrative in order for these women’s “interior lives … to matter” in the legacy of the Hampton estate.[49] Partial or incomplete records, complicated and confusing as they may be to analyze, should not be neglected or discourage research on the family life of the enslaved in a plantation’s history. These stories would be lost without a methodical examination of possessive-prefix names and possible familial connections.

[48] Lindsey, Treva B. and Jessica Marie Johnson 2014. “Searching for Climax: Black Erotic Lives in Slavery and Freedom” *Meridians: feminism, race, transnationalism* 12(2): 169-195, p. 190.

[49] Ibid, p. 187.

APPENDIX G

<table>
<tr>
<td>Milly’s Bill Brown, b. 1822
Milly’s Dan, b. 1822
Milly’s Eliza
Milly’s Ann Potter, b. 1823
Milly’s Priss, b. 1819
Milly’s Tamar, b. 1823

Cass’ Charles, b. 1816
Cass’ Jim, b. 1813

Harriet’s Abraham, b. 1833
Harriet’s Nance, b. 1826

Dinah’s Nell, b. 1825
Dinah’s Henry, b. 1827
Dinah’s Maria, b. 1837
Dinah’s Mathilda, b. 1837

Eliza’s Aquilla, b. 1828
Eliza’s Isabella

Amanda’s Kenny

Ann’s Bill, b. 1828

Maria’s Cill (error for Maria’s Bill?)

Catey’s Charles

Charlotte’s Lewis, b. 1826
Charlotte’s Mark, b. 1816

Rachel’s James, b. 1822
Rachel’s Sam, b. 1813

Charity’s Child Boston

Sal’s Polly, b. 1818
Sal’s Jim, b. 1828

Sarah’s Ellen, b. 1825

Jenny’s Jim
Julia’s Brown, b. 1827</td>
<td>Hannah’s Ketty, b. 1823
Hannah’s Phill
Hannah’s Phoebe, b. 1826
Hannah’s Daniel

Luce’s John, b. 1824
Luce’s Lueazer, b. 1828

Henry’s Dianah, b. 1805
Henry’s Mary, b. 1825

Lucy’s Keony
Lucy’s Eliza, b. 1827
Lucy’s Ellen, b. 1828

Hagar’s George

Sall’s George, b. 1816

Nancy’s Mill, 1817
Nance’s Levi, b. 1823
Nance’s Smith, b. 1817

Amy’s Nell, b. 1826
Amy’s Henry
Phebe’s Henry, b. 1825*
Bosley’s Jemmy, b. 1748

Simon’s Lewis

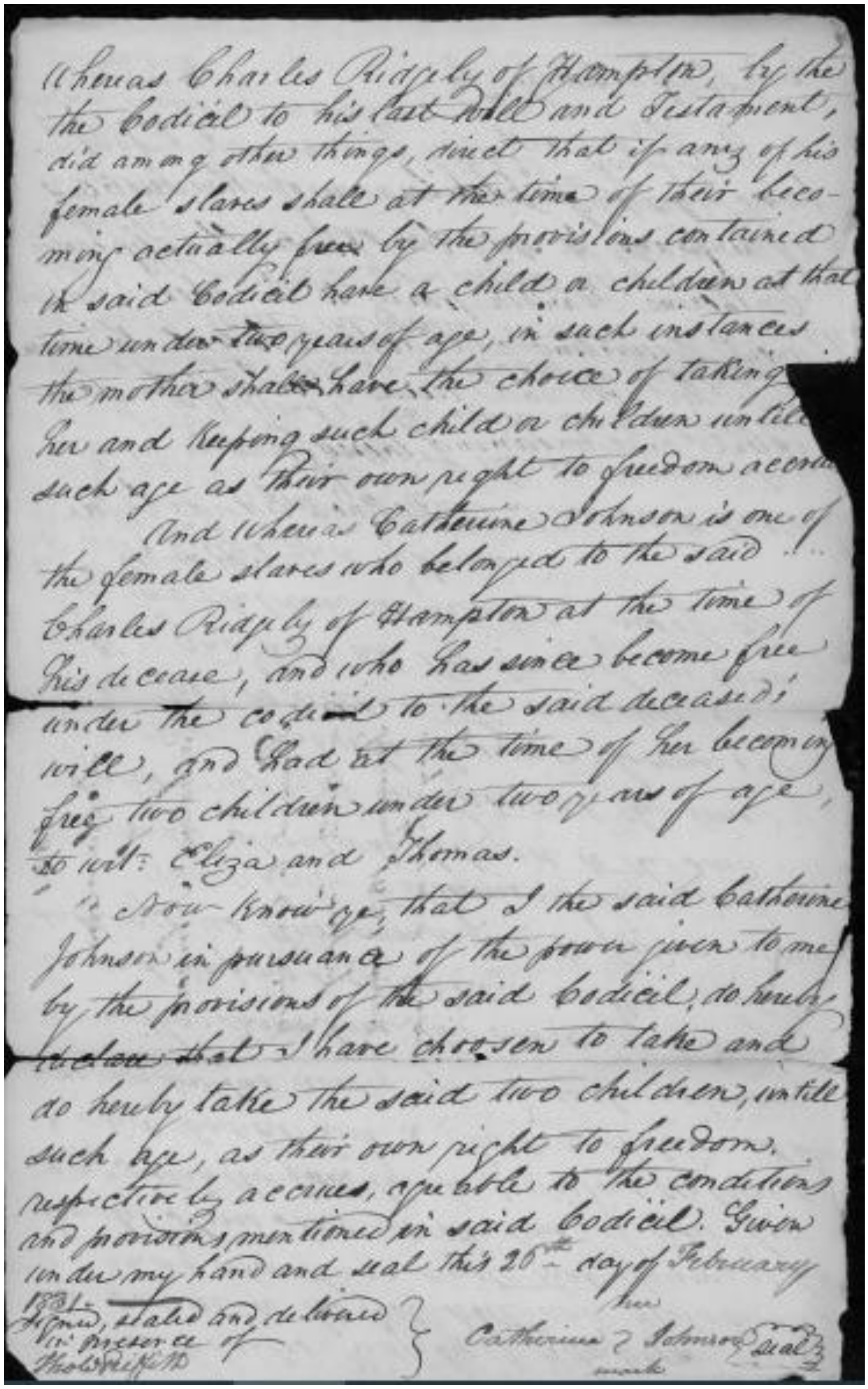
Juliet’s Rachel, b. 1828

Matthew’s Richard, b. 1816

* She is listed at Hampton in 2/1829 inventory; probably died before probate inventory was taken 6 months later; Henry went to Epsom.</td>
</tr>
</table>

APPENDIX H

Declaration of Catherine Johnson by Charles Ridgely of Hampton



Whereas Charles Ridgely of Hampton, by the
the Codicil to his last will and Testament,
did among other things, direct that if any of his
female slaves shall at the time of their beco-
ming actually free by the provisions contained
in said Codicil have a child or children at that
time under two years of age, in such instances
the mother shall have the choice of taking
her and keeping such child or children until
such age as their own right to freedom accru
And Whereas Catherine Johnson is one of
the female slaves who belonged to the said
Charles Ridgely of Hampton at the time of
his decease, and who has since become free
under the codicil to the said deceased's
will, and had at the time of her becoming
free two children under two years of age,
to wit: Eliza and Thomas.
Now Know ye, that I the said Catherine
Johnson in pursuance of the power given to me
by the provisions of the said Codicil, do hereby
declare that I have choosen to take and
do hereby take the said two children, until
such age, as their own right to freedom
respectively accrues, agreeable to the conditions
and provisions mentioned in said Codicil. Given
under my hand and seal this 26th day of February
1831.

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of [illegible]

Catherine her X mark Johnson (Seal)

CHAPTER FOUR

OUT OF THE SHADOWS OF HISTORY: THE BATTY AND SPENCER FAMILIES

John Whitfield, Independent Researcher

INTRODUCTION

The evidence of American slavery is to be found in abundance at historic sites both public and private throughout the United States and its territories. Nowhere is this more in evidence than at the Hampton National Historic Site located in Towson, Maryland.

One factor which makes this site unique occurred in July 1829 after the death of Governor Charles Carnan Ridgely. According to a codicil in his will over 300 enslaved Africans were to be freed based on age and gender. These Africans became exodus families who, after a lifetime of forced labor for Ridgely and his family, were completely forgotten, excluded from the serious narrative of the daily events which shaped the history of this place of enslavement. Little research on their personal lives and struggles has been completed, in fact, according to one historian, one of the families which is the focus of this presentation, he claimed, would never be located.

This paper will examine the lives of members of the George and Esther Batty family and Rebecca Spencer as they lived enslaved under Charles Carnan Ridgely and later in freedom. Manumissions did occur among the extended Ridgely family and the manumission of enslaved Africans at the death of a slaveholder was not unique. In fact one example of this occurrence in Virginia will be cited, but neither should it be assumed that this act reflects a demonstration of humanity. According to the Ridgely will, enslaved women between the ages of 25 and 45 and men between 28 and 45 years of age, essentially individuals beyond their prime, were to be freed immediately.

One among that number was Esther Batty age 41, known as Hetty, a mother of at least four boys and three girls and enslaved at the Ridgely's Northampton Furnace. Also included was Rebecca, or Beck, Spencer who at the time of her manumission in 1830 was in the household of one Adam Waltermeyer. These two families are examples of those who left the state of Maryland after their manumission. The paths and methods of travel which were available to them will also be examined. Their lives and experiences are critical to further understanding the story of human bondage in America especially at the Hampton National Historic Site.

Experience in this type of research has shown that very little can be assumed regarding the movements of Africans after either manumission or later universal Emancipation. For individuals tasked with relating to the general American public, largely ill-educated in this phase of American history, the task may be daunting. While it has been claimed these Africans left little in the way of written descriptions of their lives, there exists a considerable body of evidence regarding their experiences. Additionally, comparative narratives by other formerly enslaved African Americans not only mirrored those of the Batty and Spencer families and others enslaved by the Ridgely family but offer descriptive insight into the world they inhabited alongside their captors.[1]

Geographically, the parameters of the quest for these families will encompass the border areas between Maryland and Pennsylvania but also considers how generations of both families intermarried and created new lives. This quest will begin at the time the families were manumitted and continue for at least three generations in freedom. Historians have occasionally referred to the two decades following the War of 1812 in American history as the "Era of Good Feeling," but for the millions of enslaved Africans in America, it was, at a minimum, the polar opposite. Throughout Maryland human bondage had been recognized by statute and custom for two centuries and had, in fact, been the basis for enormous public and private wealth within colonial, state and later interstate commerce.

[1] Kent Lancaster, Slavery at Hampton, https://www.nps.gov/hamp/learn/historyculture/slavery-at-hampton.htm accessed April 23, 2020.

Maryland, as one of the older original colonies, had more experience with human bondage than the budding states of the Mississippi delta and elsewhere farther south. It has been posited by some historians that the practice of slavery was "different" in Maryland than elsewhere and that the institution did not follow the pattern of "Gone with the Wind" which may be assumed to suggest that in Maryland slavery was less harsh, or so say those who benefited from that labor. For Africans enslaved at Hampton and the satellite properties which had been owned by the Ridgely family for nearly two centuries, it was for many the first and last place they would ever know. Those "places" were centers of wealth for the Ridgely's, particularly the furnace and forge, which will be examined later, and to a lesser degree the agricultural enterprises which included the cultivation of livestock grains, particularly corn and oats and the milling of the same.[2]

The Ridgely family held an interest in other iron works and mills. Their complex centered on Hampton manor which served as a center of operations for the family enterprise and included properties shared by the seven daughters and two sons of Gen. Charles Ridgely: David Ridgely's White Marsh Farm, Henry Banning Chew's Epsom Farm, Harry Dorsey Gough's Perry Hall, James Howard's properties and others. While these family extensions will not be explored here, it is important to establish that the Ridgely name alone did not define the extent of the enterprise nor the families connected with them nor the people enslaved by them.[3]

Following the lead of Goucher College in examining slavery at the hands of the Chew family, enslaved Africans documented to have been on these extended family concerns ultimately will have to be examined in view of the emerging knowledge of relationships either familial or social and the geographic locations in which they lived over time. The names listed for those manumitted over a period of three decades may only begin to explain the nature of their lives in bondage and freedom in Maryland and

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[2] 1870 US Census of Agriculture, District 9, Baltimore County, University of Maryland, College Park, Internet Archive. [database on-line] Accessed 8/29/2018. After the Civil War, Hampton Farm was valued at $300,000 and produced, with African labor, 2,500 bushels of corn and 1,030 bushels of oats. The 1860 Federal Slave Census identified six slave houses at Hampton. Some, if not all, of these were probably still in use after the Civil War.

[3] See "List of Ridgely Heirs," Appendix A.

beyond. The geographic areas explored for this study include three MCD's [Minor Civil Divisions]: Baltimore County Election District 2 1820-1840, Election District 9 1850-1870, and Baltimore City Ward 12 1860-1870. These areas provided the initial location focus for biographical research in Maryland.

With this in mind, the following questions will be explored:

1. Who were the slaveholding families that interacted with the Ridgely family and to whom were the enslaved hired out?

2. What was the nature of their labor? There is no such thing as "common" labor. Almost all labor involves some degree of accumulated skill.

3. Once free, those manumitted had relatives still in bondage. What was the nature of their interactions particularly across state borders?

THE MANUMISSIONS OF SAMUEL GIST

A comparative event may offer some further insight in understanding some of these questions. In 1815, a decade before the death of C.C. Ridgely, the will of a Virginia slaveholder of nearly 300 Africans was probated. Samuel Gist, an Englishman by birth, had stipulated in his last will and testament in June 1808 that all slaves held by him would be free and that they would be endowed with his "land, stock and equipment of all sorts." His idea was that the Africans would continue to live on the various properties which he owned and "take upon themselves the management and Cultivation of my said Estates" and to share in the profits. Gist allegedly had a utopian vision of a free community, in Virginia, where the formerly enslaved could prosper after his death. However, the laws of the state of Virginia, just as Maryland, were not encouraging to free Africans remaining within the state. Gist family's entreaties to the state to allow the formerly enslaved to remain in Virginia were rejected. Consequently, an arrangement was made with the courts to purchase land in southern Ohio, an ostensibly free state, whereby they would migrate to freedom.[4] The settlement of plantation debts interfered

[4] Virginia Magazine of History and Biography Vol. 104, no. 4 (Autumn 1996) pg. 456-480.

with the migration plan but by 1831 the removal had been completed. However, facing opposition for the creation of an independent community in Ohio, from both public and private entities, the systematic loss of the set aside land resulted. Although the motivations and stipulations differed greatly between Gist's manumissions and Governor Ridgely's, they both triggered a migration of the dispossessed. In the case of the manumitted at Hampton, those who made it to southern Pennsylvania would experience much the same but apparently never returned to their places of enslavement in Maryland. There are some clues as to the reasoning behind Ridgely's codicil to his will but the impact upon the family's primary money-making industry, iron manufacturing, could be measured in terms of loss of labor.

INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY

Furnace, Forge and Slavery

The success of the new American republic from its inception was tied to two factors: its capacity to create capital and its capacity to make war. Both factors deeply depended upon African slave labor for its content and substance. In the case of the Ridgely family, its empire between 1760 and 1860 was indicative of how these factors produced wealth and preserved the nascent American empire. Manufactured commodities provided the foundation of Maryland's economy.

Sea Captain Charles Ridgely, uncle to the governor, built on the wealth inherited from his father, also Charles Ridgely, frequently referred to as Col. Ridgely. Vast family land holdings contained natural resources necessary for pig iron production, including wood, limestone used for flux and iron ore deposits. Ridgely furnaces and forges and the pig iron produced by these operations largely during the American Revolution provided the foundational wealth for both Hampton Mansion and the family fortune. The fortunes amassed from the labor of enslaved workers allowed Maryland's gentry to dominate colonial politics and propelled some to national prominence. In that capacity, Governor

Ridgely served as Maryland's 15th governor. Under his reign, coal imported from regional mines proved more efficient than lumber and limestone in refining iron ore.

Northampton Furnace was the location for smelting and the forge for fabrication. The narrative regarding labor at the Northampton Forge, heretofore, had been that at the establishment of the furnace and forge in 1760, only free white laborers were used, including convicts, indentured servants and others bound to service. However, historical evidence suggests an earlier use of enslaved labor at Northampton Furnace and others owned by Charles Ridgely. In addition to ubiquitous use of slave labor at furnaces and forges in the state, the iron working industry benefited from the specific expertise of enslaved Africans. An ethnographic and archaeological study conducted by the National Park Service identified 65 iron foundries in the Chesapeake region of Virginia and Maryland using the labor of 4500 enslaved Africans during the same period as the founding of Northampton Furnace and Forge.[5]

Revealed in the NPS study were three elements which may have been present at many iron furnaces in the south. First, that enslaved Africans were selected to work in the iron industry based on their prior experience. In 1761, the following runaway slave advertisement was published in the *Maryland Gazette*: "Imported in 1760, so that he scarcely speaks any English, but can work at the Smith's trade, having been employed in his own Country in that way."[6] How many Africans were thereby found as forge blacksmiths may never be known. Northampton's 1829 inventory did list, however, includes a man named Will Corry as a "smith" and his value was $350, possibly an annual rate for hire, which was greater than anyone else listed but he may have been a white indentured laborer.

The second element is found at the Oxford Iron Works at the Virginia Furnace in Campbell County, Virginia. The owner of the operation "encouraged enslaved men to

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[5] African American Heritage & Ethnography, Iron workers, Park Ethnography Program, https://www.nps.gov/ethnography/aah/aaheritage/Chesapeake_furthRdg6.htm accessed April 15, 2020.

[6] Maryland Gazette (Green), Annapolis, August 27, 1761.

train their sons and other young male relatives in the ironworking trade."[7] Regarding the generational transfer of knowledge and skills, numerous cases have been documented to include various vernacular artisans. One well-known example was famed North Carolina furniture maker Thomas Day who taught his sons the craft. For a lesser known case, historians claimed Missouri chairmaker William Kunze learned his craft from a German farmer. Research later refuted that argument confirming that his father William Sharp had taught him the fine art of chair making. Both examples were during the antebellum period and speak to the intergenerational transfer of artisan knowledge.

The last element discussed in the study was the role of women and children at iron furnaces. An excavation conducted at the slave cemetery at Catoctin Furnace in Frederick County, MA found that half of the interments were women with an average age of 34.6 years and estimated to have died around the year 1800. The study reported evidence of the transference of ancient African customs surrounding ironworking and the multi-gender participation in the smelting process. Among Bantu-speaking people master ironworkers held social prominence and in the 13th century, Mali iron masters, esteemed members of their society, even offered council to public leaders.

The Baltimore Iron Works, situated west of Mont Clare manor and the home of a branch of the Carroll family of Baltimore, was founded in 1731. The ironworks also gained prominence during the 18th century and continued for decades. The two stone forges were one of the largest such ventures in colonial America and at its height of production workers included 42 enslaved Africans in a work force of 94 persons. Africans were listed in a variety of duties as miners, colliers, sawyers, cooks, and blacksmiths. Part owner, Dr. Charles Carroll instructed in 1753, "get young Negro lads to put under the Smith Carpenters Founders Finers & Fillers as also to get a certain number of slaves to fill the Furnace, Stock the Bridge, Raise Ore & Cart and burn the same . . . with a Suitable Number of Slaves or Servants under Each who might Coal in the summer and Cut wood in the winter."[8] To clarify the text, founders, also known as foundrymen, were

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[7] African American Heritage & Ethnography, Iron workers, Park Ethnography Program, https://www.nps.gov/ethnography/aah/aaheritage/Chesapeake_furthRdg6.htm.

[8] NPS Ethnographic Program: African American Heritage and Ethnography: Ironworkers, African Nation Founders Learning Resources Center. Undated, Accessed 8/29/2018. This study focused primarily on furnaces in Virginia and Maryland.

tasked with creating the fires and insuring the proper melting of the ore, essentially the entire process from start to finish. Fillers were responsible for charging charcoal, iron ore and limestone as flux material, like welding, into the tunnel head of the furnace. Finers worked to remove impurities from the final product.

Younger children used mules to transport material to and from the forge. Famed educator Booker T. Washington recalled riding a mule with sacks of corn to the local mill when he was under 10 years old. This would explain the usefulness of the youngest enslaved children at the forge. On antebellum census entries where occupations were first listed, sometimes the notation "BS" or blacksmith striker would be entered. At Northampton, these boys would have included Jim and Ephraim Batty, who were possibly twins, Henry Heath, Bob and Bill Williams and Jake Johnson. Surprisingly, only one pair of hand bellows are listed on the inventory. There were also 11 mules accounted for which would have been the primary means of transporting ore.

Housing had to be provided for all. Wagons, tools, machinery and other equipment had to be cared for. In addition to the foundrymen, carpenters, blacksmiths, and wheelwrights, plus cartwrights, millers and sawyers were required and helped make iron plantations perhaps "the most self-sufficient large economic unit in America.[9] Indian corn grown at the Furnace farm fed the workers.[10] Products of the furnace were used at the forges in the production of salable goods, shovels and other implements. Based on the 1820 Census of Manufactures approximately 50 men would be engaged at Northampton in furnace and forge operations in Baltimore County Maryland during the time of the Hampton iron production operations.[11]

Northampton Iron Furnace and Forge

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[9] African American Heritage & Ethnography, Iron workers, Park Ethnography Program, NPS https://www.nps.gov/ethnography/aah/aaheritage/Chesapeake_furthRdg6.htm.

[10] The Northampton Furnace, Hampton, Notes on Hampton Mansion, Part II http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/hamp/notes/part2.htm

[11] 1820 Census of Manufacturers, National Archives.

During the 1760's members of the Ridgely family controlled two furnaces. Charles Ridgely began construction of Northampton Furnace and two forges along the Great Gunpowder River in 1762. The nearby Nottingham Furnace on Whitemarsh Run had been owned by loyalist sympathizers and was auctioned by the state in 1781. Ridgely purchased the furnace along with 58 of its enslaved workmen.[12] The site contained the Furnace, Casting House, Bridge and Wheel Houses all built of stone.

The earliest record of escape from Northampton Forge was of a young man named Penny in 1778. Although originally committed to using white indentured laborers, by 1781, "Ridgely committed himself to slave labor. Escape and resistance inevitably follow that decision. An enslaved sailor named Spencer escaped twice in 1781 and again in 1786; his second attempt may have been successful.[13]

By the 1790s, the Northampton furnace utilized 46 Blacks and 16 whites, or a workforce that was about 75 percent Black. Between 1819 and 20, 1500 tons of iron ore and 120,000 tons of charcoal were produced at a cost of $20,000 by historical calculator (not accounting for inflation), approximately $419,000 in 2018. The revenue produced, however, was at least $100,000, valued at approximately 2.1 billion in today's dollars. The pig iron castings produced were invaluable to the Ridgely export industry through the port city of Baltimore. The final entry on the manufacture census was a statement by Richard Green as to the character of the furnace and its owner Charles Ridgely:

> This establishment is furnished by its principal proprietor with nearly all its materials, laborers & etc. otherwise it would do a losing business under the pressure of the existing times.
>
> Signed,

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[12] *Sale Book of Confiscated British Property, 1781-85*, Hall of Records.

[13] Furnace Inventory, G. Howard and Gene White Papers, Hampton NHS MS. 1003 (HAMP 22791); "Penny" and "Spencer," Legacy of Slavery in Maryland, Maryland State Archives, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5400/sc5496/runaway_advertisements/pdf/17780526mjba2.pdf; https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5400/sc5496/runaway_advertisements/pdf/17810710mjba3.pdf and https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5400/sc5496/runaway_advertisements/pdf/17860317mjba2.pdf accessed April 15, 2020; Census of Manufactures 1820, The National Archives, Washington, DC.

Richard Green

Manager for Charles Ridgely of Hampton[14]

In other words, the various Ridgely ventures, holdings and operations, farms and agricultural endeavors allowed Charles Ridgely to wholly provision his furnace operations.

The Census of Manufactures in 1820 [see Appendix] revealed through a series of questions, posed to the manager Richard Green, the productivity and labor at Northampton. At least 50 men were counted in 1820 at Northampton Furnace. Additionally, the population census for that year enumerated 59 enslaved Africans held by the firm Ridgely, Howard and Lux at Northampton with Richard Green listed with other employees living near Gen. Charles Ridgely of Hampton. After the folding of Northampton Forge around 1830 agricultural pursuits began to predominate on what became known as the Old Forge Farm. Richard Green would go on to own and manage furnaces in Howard and Harford counties. At least two Africans, Spencer and the jockey Bateman, who escaped from Northampton in the 18th century, had been purchased from Harford County, Maryland where many forges and furnaces were located. The economy of life for enslaved Africans appeared to differ to a lesser extent than at the Ridgely's agricultural plantations. Records from the 1820s at Northampton reveal evidence of woodchoppers at the furnace that included an entry for a man listed as "Negro Enoch" and another for "Negro Jem Aires." We learn that during 1820 "Enoch purchased an extra 120 pounds of pork and 5 ¼ bushels of meal for his family, totaling $21.20.[15] Based on the workforce found at many furnaces such as Northampton, one can determine from this list those who worked at the forge and those who worked on the farm or in some other capacity.

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[14] 1820 US Census of Manufactures, Baltimore County District 2, pg. 115.

[15] Joseph Singewald, "The Iron Ores of Maryland" (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1911), [database on-line] accessed August 29, 2018; Montclair.org/history/baltcompany.html accessed 8/30/2018; Ronald L. Lewis, *Coal, Iron, and Slaves: Industrial Slavery in Maryland and Virginia 1715-1865* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1979), pp. 161-62. For an undetermined period, enslaved Africans at Northampton furnace were allowed payment in cash or given a plantation store credit for "overwork" beyond assigned duty. Some authors have suggested that this was a ploy to discourage sabotage to the industry due to flight. There exists in the Maryland State Archives at least seven runaway ads for escapes from Northampton Furnace between 1778 and 1788.

By 1829 there were 18 iron furnaces in Maryland, four of which, including Northampton, were in Baltimore County. Northampton Furnace with its supported forges, including the Long Cam forge and another at Gunpowder Falls, sat approximately three miles north of Towson, MD on the Spring Branch of Paterson Run on the Patapsco River. Built by Charles Ridgely and his sons John and sea Capt. Charles Ridgely, this enterprise was operated by the firm of Ridgely, Howard and Lux under the later management of Ridgely cousin Henry Howard who oversaw the Northampton operation. These establishments supported a series of forges built within a few miles of Hampton some of which were still in operation by 1829. That year, Capt. Ridgely's nephew, Governor Ridgely, employed 50 men, at least half of whom were enslaved under Richard Green the manager at Northampton. The forge was located directly between the York Road and the North Central Railroad, both well-known avenues for escape from slavery. The Gunpowder Forge was retained under the ownership of Robert Howard until 1860. As late as 1856 this foundry produced 1100 tons of forged iron during the blast season.[16]

At the death of the Governor, the property estate inventory of the Northampton Forge taken in 1829 included 11 members of the Batty and Spencer families ranging in ages from 2 yrs. to 54 yrs. old. They were listed in the manner accorded by custom and law in Maryland and elsewhere in the slaveholding South along with livestock and various inanimate possessions.[3] On the 1829 Forge inventory, each person and each item listed as property tells a story. For example, the order of individual Africans listed, their ages and their values to the Ridgely family, informs as to the forced labor which each experienced. Hett or Esther Batty, one of the subjects of this inquiry, was the oldest female at age 40 and quite possibly the cook for the enslaved and others at the forge. There was in addition to the usual cooking implements, an item called a "spider" which referred to a strainer used in retrieving food. One man, Dick Fisher has his name and value marked out; at age 56 he may have died or may have been too old to be of value.

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[16] G. Howard and Gene White Papers, Hampton NHS MS 1003 (Hamp 22791); Joseph T. Singwald, Jr., *The Iron Ores of Maryland: With an Account of the Iron Industry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1911).

Three men, one age 60 and two aged 54, including George Batty, were valued at $50 suggesting their age and perhaps physical condition were factors in determining their value to their captors. Another man, also aged 54, had a note next to his name, suggesting the names of the individuals to whom he was possibly hired at this time, either M. Bank or Talbott. Teenage boys with the strength of youth were listed possibly as strikers, or those who actually hammered the iron into implements; the young men would also operate the bellows to keep the forge fires burning and would have assisted blacksmith Will Corry.[17]

On the 1829 list were 22 enslaved Africans between the ages of 14 and 60 who would have worked at the forge in that year. Godfrey Ashburn, listed on the 1829 inventory, was one of the last persons to escape from the furnace when he made his attempt in October 1829, a few months after the governor's death. Records of nine more escapes survive today covering a period up to 1831 by which time the Northampton Furnace was either out of blast or otherwise no longer in operation. These escapes were the last in a 40 year-long pattern of escapes from the furnace. The inventory list is further revealing in that some would escape and be captured but still attained freedom such as Godfrey Ashburn. Escapes had increased during the year of the manumissions; 12 people escaped from the forges owned by the Ridgelys and one from Hampton.[18]

The 11 members of the Batty and Spencer families enslaved at Northampton Forge in 1829 form the basis for this research into families manumitted during this time period and the conditions of their lives in slavery and freedom. Another member of the family, Louisa Batty, wife of James "Jim" Batty and manumitted in 1842, will be included. By examining the existing records of manumission, the US Census and supporting examples, these families can be traced into freedom. The following are biographical sketches which illustrate their lives.

The Batty Family

[17] Furnace Inventory.

[18] 1820 US Census of Manufactures, Baltimore County District 2, pg. 115.

The 1829 manumission list compiled from the will of Charles Carnan Ridgely provides the foundation for locating those Africans formerly enslaved and those who could later be identified as having been enslaved at Hampton during the decades before the Civil War. The progenitors of the Batty family included George and Esther "Hetty" Batty, born ca. 1775 and 1780 respectively. George and Esther Batty first appear on record as human property listed at Northampton Furnace in 1829 along with six of their children and correspond to George and Hett on the Ridgely manumission list. The work of the family would have contributed to the enormous wealth enjoyed by generations of the Ridgely family. According to the codicil to the Governor's will, George, at the age of 54 years old, was too old to qualify for manumission. He was, instead, willed to the widower James Howard through his wife and Ridgely heir, Sophia Gough Ridgely Howard of Cowpens. Most of the Batty family was bequeathed to James Howard including Ephraim, Polly or Poll, Sall, James "Jim" and Sam.

Torn from his wife but living in slavery among his younger children, George Batty initially had to stay behind in slavery. George's wife, Hetty (identified in the records as Esther) received her freedom at 41 years old along with their 1 year-old granddaughter, Louisa. Perhaps an exception was made since the grandmother and child rather than mother and child were released from slavery. The young granddaughter may have been the child of James and Louisa Batty who are identified in the will. Little Louisa does not appear to have survived her early childhood.

We cannot speculate about how the grandmother, with her grandchild, would have managed together in freedom after a lifetime of slavery only to face freedom alone and without the men of their family for support, protection and companionship. Ephraim, Hetty and George's eldest son, most likely reunited with his mother after his own emancipation almost ten years later on New Year's Day 1838. He and his brother George were the children born in slavery to George and Esther. Few details are known about their time at the furnace or about their lives in slavery.

George Batty **(**b. ca. 1775-d. ca. 1853): George Batty was born in Maryland, possibly Baltimore County, between 1775 and 1779 based on his age on the final inventory at Northampton Forge and later on the 1850 Federal Census in York County, Pennsylvania where he eventually lived in freedom. George Batty, being one of the oldest enslaved at the furnace suggests that he would have had a great deal of experience in blacksmithing or at other furnace work. At his age he would no longer have worked in fabrication but in maintaining the furnace with coal and iron ore or hauling ingots.

Three possibilities exist for George Batty's exodus from Maryland to Pennsylvania. First, a free African in the age range of Batty is listed under James Howard in 1830, thus making his departure easily achieved since the Hampton estate and the Epsom Farm lay less than a mile east of the York Road and about three miles west of what was the North Central, later the Susquehanna, Railroad line. Both were well-known routes to safer haven in the north. The second involves a record of escape in March 1832 in which a man named George Battees was listed as a runaway but with no other identifying descriptors. Subsequently released five days later; he may have been discharged to farmer Levi Hipsley who figures prominently in the USCT enlistment of Samuel Batty, son of Maria Batty. In the instance of James Howard, he received or leased a number of individuals who had been enslaved by his father-in-law C.C. Ridgely. Consequently, it was James Howard, widower of Sophia Ridgely Howard d. 1828, who was the witness for a number of Ridgely manumissions. Finally, the family may have paid some nominal amount and simply purchased the elder patriarch's freedom. Whatever the case may be, George Batty and his family eventually end up in Peach Bottom, Pennsylvania where branches of the family still live today.[19]

Because relationships were not listed in the Federal Census until 1880 the order in which individuals are listed in a household presents an inferred relationship. In this case the relationship between George and Esther Batty as husband and wife. The use of a surname among enslaved Africans is less common than among those who were free, but at the forge each person listed had a family surname. We know that George Battee was at the forge at the end of 1829. There is neither a record of manumission nor a confirmed incident of escape for George Batty nor any record of self-purchase, yet, in 1836 he is listed on the School Assessment Tax List for Peach Bottom Township, York

[19] "George Battees," Jail Runaways, Legacy of Slavery in Maryland, MSA, http://slavery2.msa.maryland.gov/pages/Search.aspx accessed April 15, 2020.

Co. Pennsylvania. The data suggest that, given the short window between the forge list and the York County tax list, Batty was in Pennsylvania for two or three years before he was listed on the York County tax roll. Having not owned real property but only a cow and some personal household items, it would have been a few years before the elder Batty would have been noted on the tax list. It is likely that George Batty made his way out of slavery along the directly adjacent York Road or by the North Central Railroad, both of which interconnected with the Northampton Forge and Hampton plantation. By tracing the tax roll for York County further both he and his eldest son Ephraim Batty are listed in 1850. George disappears from the tax assessment after 1852 suggesting his death the next year in 1853. George Batty was probably married to his wife Esther or Hetty while still on the Ridgely Plantation. The couple's children will be listed with their mother Esther Batty.[20]

Esther "Hetty" Batty (b. ca. 1780-d. ca. 1850s): Esther Batty, born in Baltimore County, Maryland was one of ten enslaved women listed at Northampton forge in 1829. She was the wife of George Batty based on the inferred relationship of listing, age and prior listing on the forge inventory of 1829. Among her children also listed at the forge were Jim or James Batty, Ephraim, Sam, Pol or Polly, Sal or Sally and 11/2 yr. old Louisa [perhaps the daughter of Louisa Batty, wife of Jim Batty. Given Esther Batty's age, she may have been the cook at this forge and well acquainted with the kitchen tools listed on the inventory. It would have taken the 25 hogs listed to feed the families at the forge. Children such as Sally or Polly would have assisted their mother in food preparation and fire making in the kitchen.

Esther and little Louisa were the only two Battys to be emancipated immediately upon the death of the governor in 1829. Her manumission papers were dated May 10, 1830. Another son, George Batty (Jr.) (b. ca. 1812) was freed per will in 1840 by James Howard. This George Batty might be a member of what may be referred to as the "Baltimore branch" of the Batty family. Only further research will reveal the extent of the

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[20] Baltimore County Jail (Runaway Docket 1831-32), Maryland State Archives, Legacy of Slavery (MSA C 2063); School Tax Assessment List 1836-37, York County Circuit Clerk; 1840 US Census, Peach Bottom Twp., York County, PA; 1850 US Census, Peach Bottom Twp., York County, PA; 1860 US Census, Lower Chanceford Twp., York County, PA.

family bonds which existed between the Maryland branches of the family and the Pennsylvania branch. Esther was listed on the 1850 Census in Peach Bottom Twp., York County, PA with her husband, son Ephraim, daughter-in-law Louisa Batty, and grandchildren.[21] Both Esther and George are absent from the 1860 Census and may be presumed to be deceased.[22]

Ephraim Batty (b. ca. 1812-d. ca. 1880s): Ephraim or "Eph" Batty was born in Baltimore County, MD around 1812 and may have been the twin brother to James "Jim" Batty. He was found on the Northampton Forge inventory in 1829 and possibly assisted the blacksmith Will Corry, charging the furnace with coal and ore or any other laboring activities at the forge and furnace. He was manumitted per the Ridgely will on New Year's Day 1838 while enslaved by James Howard.

Ephraim Batty was deposed in 1864 in the matter of his sister-in-law's son, his nephew, Alexander Batty's Civil War service pension application. Although he may have been in York County earlier, Ephraim Batty was located on the Peach Bottom and Lower Chanceford Township, York County, PA tax assessment lists from 1850 to about 1883. During this period Ephraim worked as a farm laborer in the household with his sister-in-law Louisa Batty and her children. His death may have occurred between that last date and 1890.[23]

James "Jim" Batty (b. ca. 1812-d. 1859): Born in Maryland with the rest of his family, Jim Batty appeared on the inventory at Northampton Forge in 1829. He was 17 years old in 1829 was likely a blacksmith striker to blacksmith Will Corry or with another blacksmith. He may have also been a teamster hauling ore, coal and other materials to and from the furnace. Although no record of his manumission exists, under the terms of the codicil to the Governor's will, Jim Batty would have received his freedom in 1840 at

[21] Inferred relationships based on prior census and supporting documents.

[22] 1860 US Census, Lower Chanceford Twp., York County, Pennsylvania; MSA-Certificate of Freedom 5/10/ 1830 C289-1; Certificate of Freedom 1840, 3085-3, Legacy of Slavery, Maryland State Archives.

[23] US Civil War Pension Index: General Index to Pension Files [database on-line]; Mother's Pension Application for Alexander Batty, Ancestry.com accessed 8/30/18; MSA-Certificate of Freedom 1/1/1838, C3085-3. York County, Pennsylvania Tax Assessment List 1850-1880.

the age of 28. There is the possibility that Jim Batty could have escaped and joined his family in York, PA. It is not clear if James Howard was as relentless a slaveholder as John Ridgely in tracking down escapees and dragging them back into slavery. According to the 1840 Federal Census for Peach Bottom, York Co. PA, a male of his age is in the George Batty family household. It is likely that Jim Batty is the male aged 24-35 listed. At present there is no certificate of freedom for Jim Batty but this was not unusual and was especially the case for those manumitted after 1829. Jim Batty is documented to have died in Feb. 1859. In a deposition by his widow, Louisa Batty, in York County in 1864 for her deceased son Alexander's Civil War pension, Louisa testified that her husband Jim, and father of Alexander, had died in 1859.[24]

Louisa Batty (b. ca.1814-d. July, 1903): Born in Baltimore County, MD, Louisa Batty and her husband Jim Batty were the parents of at least seven children, two born in Baltimore County and five in York County, Pennsylvania. Little Louisa Batty who was freed in 1829 but did not survive her early childhood is possibly her child. Two of the elder Louisa's children, Lewis M. and George M. Batty were born in bondage, under James Howard, in 1838 and 1841. These two sons appear only on the 1850 Federal Census and may have been deceased by 1860. The remainder, including Alexander, Ann F., Elizabeth, Lucinda and finally Ambrose[25] were born in freedom in Pennsylvania.[26]

Louisa was held by Mrs. CSW Dorsey in 1830; her daughter Little Louisa, age 1 ½ was listed at the forge and would have been eligible for freedom if her mother had

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[24] US Civil War Pension Index: General Index to Pension Files [database on-line]; Mother's Pension Application for Alexander Batty, Ancestry.com accessed 8/30/18.

[25] Following a naming pattern evident across multiple enslaved families at Hampton, Ambrose appears to have been named for his uncle, Ambrose Brown who was married to Polly Batty who remained in Maryland. The practice of giving first and middle names to honor close relatives, aunts and uncles continued into freedom and is sometimes discernable in contemporary naming patterns. See LaRoche, "Tracing Lives"; Weidman "From Dry Documents" and Maddox-Wingfield, "The Power of The Apostrophe," this volume.

[26] "Descendants of George Batty," Batty Family documents, courtesy of and Produced by Neicy DeShields-Moulton, 10 May 2018.

been of eligible age. Since she was not, it appears that the infant was permitted to leave with her grandmother Hetty. The elder Louisa was enslaved at the plantation of James Howard, son-in-law to C.C. Ridgely at the time of her manumission in January 1842. By February 1859, she was nearly destitute following the death of her husband. Her last child with Jim Batty was her son Ambrose born in York County in 1857. In her 1864 deposition for a mother's Civil War pension Louisa Batty's living circumstances were recounted: "Louisa Batty has no other grown son surviving [after her son Alexander's death in 1864], her oldest son now living [Ambrose Batty] is only about seven years old, small for his age and delicate and sickly in health." The deposition continued:

> Louisa Batty, who is poor, owning no real estate of any kind and not over fifty dollars' worth of personal property consisting of a bed, stove and a few other indispensable articles of house furniture; nor has she any other means of support or income from any source.

Before his enlistment Louisa's eldest son, Alexander Batty, supported his mother and three younger siblings, a relative John A. Batty recounted Alexander's work in 1864:

> . . . in the summer of 1861 [John A. Batty] was hired with Nathaniel Scott a rich farmer of the Mc Call's Ferry . . .[where] Alexander Batty worked a great deal of days labor at the same place during harvest and other times . . . during the winter of 1862 [Alexander] chopped wood . . . on the hill near Mc Call's Ferry. [John A. Batty] saw Alexander Batty buy grain, meat, groceries and other necessaries which he paid for out of his earnings and which he took home to his mother for her support.[27]

The men had enlisted in the Civil War together in Lancaster, PA on February 26, 1864.

Ephraim Batty and Nancy Jane Batty [wife of John A. Batty] were also deposed in support of Louisa's pension claim. Nancy Jane Batty recalled that during the Civil War she was present at a meeting in Lancaster, PA when Alexander "gave the money to Ephraim who carried it to his mother." Alexander noted that his mother "should use the money as she wanted it; that Nancy Jane Batty living in the neighborhood . . . had arrived at home the night previous and saw the money he [Ephraim] had brought home, to wit: one hundred and fifty dollars . . ." Furthermore, John Batty would discuss family

[27] Ancestry.com US Civil War Pension Index: General Index to Pension Files [database on-line] Mother's Pension Application for Alexander Batty. Ancestry.com. Accessed 8/30/18.

money matters with his nephew. The soldiers sent money home during this time. John would send money to his wife, Nancy Jane and Alexander to his mother, Louisa. In 1880 Louisa Batty visited her grandson Henry Kane and his family in Towsontown, Md. which supports the continuity of familial relationships between York County, PA and Baltimore County, Md. Louisa continued to receive a service pension until her death in July 1903.[28]

Sam Batty (b. ca. 1819-?): Ten-year-old Sam was listed by surname on the 1829 Furnace Inventory as a member of the Batty family also listed at that time at Northampton Forge and Furnace. Children of this age were used to care for animals, grounds maintenance and some inventory handling. The mortality of children on slave plantations was notorious and well-documented; Hampton would be no exception.[29]

James Howard who received most of the Batty family members was also bequeathed Sam Batty who became eligible for emancipation in 1847. There is, however, a Samuel Battee in jail dockets for February 1833 belonging to James Howard and a Sam Balty is listed in jail dockets for January 1837 with James Howard as the alleged owner. Apparently, Sam may have attempted to escape twice, once when he was around the age of 14 and a second time when he was around age 20. James Howard did pursue him. Apparently, Battee/Balty/Batty was captured each time and released into Howard's custody on February 21, 1833 and again on January 5, 1837. Unfortunately, we have no further details about either the escape attempts or the subsequent reenslavement.[30]

Sam Batty was not listed later in a household with other Batty family members in Pennsylvania. He may have remained in Towson with his inferred sister Maria Batty and

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[28] White Papers Hampton NHS, 1829 Northampton Furnace List; US 1840 Census, Peach Bottom Twp.; US Civil War Pension Index: General Index to Pension Files [database on-line] Mother's Pension Application for Alexander Batty, Ancestry.com accessed August 30, 2018.
[29] White Papers, Northampton Furnace List.

[30] Slave Jail Records for Samuel Battee--Docket No: 293. Fled State: Maryland, Source Volume: 1832-1836. Notes: James Howard, Baltimore, Md. Released 21 February 1833; Slave Jail Records for Samuel Balty—Runaway Docket No. 140, MSA C 2064-2 Baltimore City and County Jail, Source Volume: 1836 – 1850, Maryland State Archives. Samuel Balty was discovered by the PI during the final editing process when she noticed a Samuel "Balty" (Batty) on a recently transcribed 1829 Heirs List and searched that name on the Maryland State Archives website.

formed part of a nucleus of that family's branch which remained in Towson. Following the pattern of naming children after relatives, Maria later had a son also named Samuel who went on to serve in the Civil War. The younger Samuel Batty was born ca. 1846/47 was listed as a waiter in 1870 Census in Baltimore City. In all likelihood this was perhaps the Samuel Batty, laborer, who was living on Union St. in Baltimore City in 1872-74. By the 1880 Census he is listed as a laborer now living in Towson.

Polly Batty (b. ca. 1814-?): Polly Batty was nearing 16 years old when the governor died in 1829. Her value on the forge inventory in 1820 suggests her child bearing value and that of a furnace laborer; women were found to be laborers at furnaces in other Maryland locations.[31] Polly was of prime childbearing age and would not be eligible for freedom for another nine years when she more than likely would have children. Under the terms of the will, any children born in the intervening years between 1829 and 1836 would not have been eligible for freedom.

Polly's relationship to the Batty family remains unclear. Polly may have been a daughter of George and Esther Batty. Subsequently, she married Ambrose Brown, laborer at Hampton. We now know that their child, Nancy Brown [Davis], born in 1833, had to be left behind in slavery. The given name of Ambrose Brown for Louisa's son, her last child with Jim Batty, is actually Ambrose Brown Batty, in all likelihood named for his uncle. As was true for Sally and Maria Batty, these Battys were never listed in a census household together.[32]

Sally Batty (?): No age is given, and little is known about Sally Batty except that she is listed on the 1820 furnace inventory, however her value is marked out and the word "blank" is written instead of an age. Sally might be deceased or temporarily located away from the furnace.[33]

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[31] White Papers, Northampton Furnace List.

[32] See Weidman, "From Dry Documents" and Appendix C, Brown-Davis Family Chart, this volume.

[33] White Papers, Northampton Furnace List.

Maria Batty (b.ca. 1826-d. ca.1880-1890): Unfortunately for Maria Batty, she was three years old when the governor died in 1829, just beyond the age for infants to be allowed to go free with their mothers. Therefore, she would have spent to following 22 years in slavery. She may have been a daughter of George and Esther Batty but would have to remain separated from her possible family and loved ones until 1851. Based on a genealogical trace, she remained in Towson until her death in the last decades of the nineteenth century. One of her sons, Samuel Batty (previously discussed) (b. 1846) served during the Civil War in the USCT and was enumerated with her and two other sons, Thomas and John in the 1880 Census in Towsontown, MD. Reginald T. Beattie, a later generation version of the surname Batty, a grandson of John Andrew Batty, was married in Towson, MD shortly before his embarkation to Morocco during WWII. His marriage there suggests that a family connection between those Battys who remained in Maryland, particularly in Towson, and those in York, PA may have continued over the decades.[34]

The Spencer Family

Rebecca Goodman Spencer (b. ca.1802-?): Rebecca Spencer was 28 years old when the governor died and was eligible for immediate emancipation under the terms of the codicil to his will. She and her presumed son Bill are listed on the 1829 inventory at Northampton Furnace. Rebecca or "Beck" Spencer is another example of female labor in an extremely dangerous enterprise. At the time of her manumission per the Ridgely will Rebecca or Beck Spencer was enslaved by Adam Waltermeyer in Baltimore County possibly by hiring contract; Rebecca Spencer is listed by age and as free in the Waltermeyer household in 1830.

Rebecca was married to Richard or Nick Spencer while enslaved in Maryland, as her last name would imply, and is first noted as a female age 24-35 on the 1840 Census in Lower Chanceford Township, York County, PA. Like the Battys, she chose to make Pennsylvania her home after emancipation. Her husband was listed as age 36-54. An

[34] White Papers, Northampton Furnace List; 1860 US Federal Census, District 9, Baltimore County, Maryland; 1880 US Federal Census, Towsontown, Baltimore, Maryland, p. 300 A.

older female age 55-99 is also listed; she may have been the mother of either Rebecca or Nick Spencer. Their daughter Margaret would marry USCT soldier Alexander Guy who died of disease at the end of the war. Margaret Spencer Guy's widow's pension application would later illustrate the personal experience of one member of the Spencer family in York County before the Civil War.[35]

William Henry Spencer **(**1844-1915): William Spencer, son of Richard and Rebecca Goodman Spencer, was among the first generation of his family born in freedom in Pennsylvania. Growing up in York County, PA, he shared in the growth of his family along with his two elder sisters, Elizabeth (b. 1820 MD) and Sarah Rebecca (b. 1839 PA). William joined Company K, 25th USCT in 1864; he married Elizabeth Barton in 1865. His daughter Katherine Spencer married Thomas Beattie, son of William J. Batty and Elizabeth Stevenson Batty.

EXODUS TO PENNSYLVANIA

The formerly enslaved African families surnamed Batty and Spencer were part of the nucleus of a free African society within the locale of Peach Bottom and Lower Chanceford Townships in York County, PA between 1830 and 1840. The destination for these families lay along what had become a familiar and easily accessible route. The York Road and the North Central RR line were conduits for both freedom seeking Africans and American travelers from the vicinity of Baltimore City, County and what was then Towsontown, MD, northeast to the village of York, York County, PA. Equally important was the presence of what period maps identified as the Colored Methodist Meeting House, located a few miles south of Hampton plantation. With the element of abolitionism deeply embedded in their religious ideology, the African Methodist Episcopal congregation would have utilized the geographic and inter-local network to assist freedom seekers.

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[35] White Papers, Northampton Forge List. US 1830 US Federal Census, District 1, Baltimore County, Maryland, p. 41.

As with most elements of the underground movement for freedom in antebellum America, there is little documentation on the operational activities in the various locales of the system. At one time or the other all American colonies and states of the American republic were participants, either directly or indirectly, in human slavery. The remnants of the practice coagulated in the geographic and historical southern states in the decades before the Civil War. The Society of Friends, Quakers, were sometime slaveholders with their neighbors, but proved to be catalysts for the containment of the institution in Pennsylvania which led to gradual emancipation in that state in 1780, making the state an attractive destination for freedom seekers.

Before the War for Independence, tax assessment records for York County, Pennsylvania revealed that a third of industrial proprietors and another third of residents either were slaveholders or leased Africans for a predetermined annual period. Heavy industries in the state including mills, iron foundries, mines and timber farming were the primary consumers of slave labor. Subsequent historians have obfuscated the use of slave labor by infusing the existence of contract labor or establishing its use in the historical context of slavery to circumvent conflicting views on the use of slave labor.

In York County, by 1790, out of a population of 37,747 there were 499 enslaved Africans and 837 who were free. Despite the number of free Africans, York County was not a safe refuge for those escaping bondage. State and local court cases demonstrated the fluidity with which Maryland and Virginia slaveholders sought freedom seekers in Pennsylvania under the 1793 Fugitive Slave Act. Various county ordinances intended to restrict the movement of free and enslaved Africans were enacted in York during the early 1800s, allegedly to abate the friction between abolitionists and neighbor-state slaveholders. Such conflict in the state led to the conflagration at Christiana in 1851.[36]

In the book *The Underground Railroad in York County, Pennsylvania: The Ground Swallowed Them Up*, author Scott Mingus identifies multiple court cases of escape from the Charles Carnan Ridgely estate during the early 1800s. In one instance, a teenage girl named Betty or Bet escaped from Hampton Plantation during July-August

[36] Mingus, Scott L. *The Ground Swallowed Them Up: Slavery and the Underground Railroad in York County, Pennsylvania* (York, PA: York County History Center, 2016).

1814. After a furtive first escape, Betty successfully fled to Peach Bottom Township in York County, PA. Betty followed a tow path along the Susquehanna River, as had many others, but was ultimately captured. But with assistance, Betty had crossed the river into Lancaster County. There the local magistrate recognized the claim of the Ridgely plantation agents and determined Betty to be a runaway slave.[37]

Two decades later, Elisha Parks, the Ridgely overseer, advertised the escape of a woman named Sarah, in 1835. Ridgely offered a reward of $100 if taken outside of the state or $50 if arrested within Maryland. Another freedom seeker named Charles, also fled from the Ridgely owned Northampton ironworks. Recounted from the work entitled "Resistance to Slavery in Maryland: Strategies for Freedom" by Dr. Cheryl LaRoche, this escapee was successful in his flight to freedom. In the 1820's, the frustrations of slave catchers in their largely unsuccessful efforts led to a series of kidnappings of free Africans in York County. The incidents arising from these actions led the state legislature in 1826 to enact a law "to prevent kidnapping" and make such activity to "sell, transfer, or assign, purchase, or take any [N]egro or mulatto for that purpose" a felony.[38]

From Hampton to York: The Batty and Spencer Families in Freedom

York County had been a well-known destination and the York Road well-travelled for decades by the time of the Ridgely manumissions. Undoubtedly, the "grapevine telegraph" among those enslaved at Hampton and elsewhere in Baltimore County ensured that success of many escape ventures would be successful. The proximity of the Colored Methodist Meeting House, about five miles southeast of Hampton plantation and the free and enslaved parishioners may have also been a contributing factor in supporting freedom seekers as many African Methodist congregations did. Although the term "Exoduster" was popularized in the mid-South and mid-West in the 1880's, it equally applied to those African Americans who migrated in freedom from Maryland to Pennsylvania before the Civil War.

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[37] Mingus, *The Ground Swallowed Them Up*, pp. 22-23.

[38] Mingus, *The Ground Swallowed Them Up*, pp. 38-39.

As the York Road was adjacent to Northampton Forge this path, though often watched by slave patrols, would have been the most likely route of escape for the Batty and Spencer families. Particularly, for the families in question, a route which extended across the southeastern portion of York County in the vicinity of the Peach Bottom ferry. According to author Scott Mingus, one of the routes inland from the Susquehanna River was known as “the Pilgrim’s Pathway” on St. Peter’s Creek. Since Peach Bottom Township was the earliest known location for both families in Pennsylvania, this crossing may have been their entrance into the county in the 1830s.[39] The experiences of these exodus families still resonate with us today.

***The Batty Family*:** The progenitors of the Batty family in York County included George and Esther “Hetty” Batty. In 1830 there were nearly 300 persons of African descent in the county out of a population of 4,208. The earliest record for the Batty family in York County is 1836 when George Batty was found on the York County School Tax Assessment list. An individual might not be listed on a tax list for a few years after entering the county unless perhaps they owned real estate. Consequently, it is conceivable that George, Jim or Ephraim could have been present in York County, Pennsylvania several years before their appearance on either tax or census lists.

The family is again listed on the 1840 Census in Peach Bottom Township, York County with five members of the family listed under the name George Baty who was engaged in agriculture. Two individuals age 55-99 may be identified as George and Esther. One male age 24-38 may be identified as Ephraim Batty who was manumitted in 1838. Ephraim would be listed on the 1850 tax assessment for York County. Next listed was a female age 10-23 and a male child under 10 years of age. The female might have been one of the Batty girls listed at the forge including Polly, Sally, or the infant Louisa; Maria remained in Maryland based on later census research. The child under ten years would correspond to John Andrew Batty later listed on the 1860 Census in York County at age 30 and born in Pennsylvania. His parentage cannot be confirmed but he is the

[39] Mingus, *The Ground Swallowed Them Up*, p. 171.

first child confirmed to have been born in freedom in Pennsylvania. This would further promote the earlier arrival of the Batty family in the state.

At least 115 African males born in York County, PA enlisted in the USCT during the Civil War. Among them were John A. Batty and Alexander Batty both men among the first generation in their family born free in Pennsylvania. Alexander (b. 1844) was the son of Jim and Louisa Batty. Both Alexander and John Batty enlisted in the 32nd Regiment USCT. Alexander would succumb to illness during his service in 1864. His mother Louisa's application for her son's pension would provide some insight into family structure and their experience in York County before the Civil War. Just as many African males who enlisted from the county were farm laborers, as was John Batty's occupation upon enlistment. Farming proved to be the exclusive occupation in which most of the Batty family males engaged before and after the Civil War. After Nancy Batty's death in July, 1903, her son Ambrose Batty remained in Lower Chanceford Township until his death in 1930. Over the years John Andrew Batty became involved with civic affairs through a veterans' organization. In 1884, in Peach Bottom Township John A. Batty became the chaplain of Miller Post No, 412 an African American chapter of the Grand Army of the Republic in York County.

York County was never the safe haven to which many free Africans fled during the decades preceding the Civil War. Many whites had lived during the period when slavery had been legal in Pennsylvania and racial animus still predominated within the state and particularly in the border counties with Maryland. In August 1914, 16 year-old John Batty, grandson of Louisa Batty and son of Ambrose, was assaulted by a group of drunken transmission linemen while walking home in his neighborhood of Sunnyburn in what today would be considered a hate crime. As a Civil War veteran and farmer, John A. Batty was well-known in his section of the county. His wife Nancy Jane Spencer (d. 1898) was the daughter of Richard and Rebecca Spencer formerly enslaved at Northampton Forge in Baltimore County, MD. John and Nancy Jane Spencer Batty were examples of the intermarriage between exodus families from slavery. John A. Batty survived his wife by almost 20 years passing away on January 23, 1899.[40]

***The Spencer Family*:** Although further research will be needed, the Spencer family progenitors in York County, PA appear to be Richard “Nick” Spencer and Rebecca “Beck” Goodman Spencer. Richard and Rebecca Spencer, possibly, became acquainted in Maryland through hiring out nearby or on the Ridgely properties. At age 27, Beck was listed at Northampton Furnace Inventory and was eligible for immediate freedom. There is also a listing for a 2 year-old child, Bill Spencer. The list is chronological, oldest to youngest, first males, then females, with their children last. Mothers are not listed with their children. Bill is the youngest on the Furnace list, although he is listed with the females, and comes just before the mules and mares. The name appears to have been written over and was transcribed on the later 1829 Inventory List as Bett and listed as a female. We defer to the original Furnace Inventory and have identified the child as Bill Spencer.[41] Although the child was listed as 2 years old, it is unclear whether or not he was granted freedom; there is no freedom certificate for him and no record of him being bequeathed to any of the heirs and no record of him on any subsequent Hampton lists, i.e. Christmas, or clothing lists. A manumission date of 1852 on transcribed lists, which would have been the date that a 2 year-old female would have been manumitted, may have been a mathematical calculation rather than a documented fact.[42]

Upon her freedom Rebecca Spencer remained for an unknown period in the household of Adam Waltermeyer, who was the witness at the time of her freedom. This evidence suggests, as does that of the Battys’ that the marital relationships of the couples existed before the 1829 manumissions. Because the child has a surname, we

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[40] The Delta Herald (Delta, Pennsylvania), March 7, 1884, Newspapers.com [on-line database] accessed April 18, 2018; Delta Herald-Times, August 21, 1914, Newspaper.com [on-line database] accessed April 18, 2018; Find-a-Grave, [on-line data base] Ancestry.com; Nancy Jane Batty d. 1898; John A. Batty 1831-1899, Ancestry.com; Pennsylvania Death Certificates 1906-1966 [on-line data base], Ambrose Batty d. 1930 accessed August 30, 2018.

[41] Listed as Bill on CCR1829 Furnace Inventory, also listed as Bett on CCR inventory list.

[42] R. Kent Lancaster, “The Ridgely Slaves 1829,” see http://faculty.goucher.edu/eng211/HAMP_The_Ridgely_Slaves_1829.htm accessed April 27, 2020.

speculate that Bill Spencer may have been Beck's son. Beck Spencer would have been of prime child-bearing age and later naming practices of the family tend to support this supposition.

This family is first recorded in York County, PA on the 1840 Federal Census. The family in exodus included Nick aged 36-44, Rebecca 24-35, one female under ten Sarah Rebecca [based on the 1850 Census], one male under ten, Bill, and one unconfirmed female under ten. Also unconfirmed is a female aged 55-99 who may have been the mother of either Richard or Rebecca. The child Bill listed on the Furnace Inventory may have died later as another William H. Spencer, age five is listed with the family in 1850.

Family clusters of Spencers and Battys on the 1860 Federal Census were directly adjacent to each other. Furthermore, one household surnamed Guy included Margaret F. Guy nee' Spencer, daughter of Richard and Rebecca Goodman Spencer. Margaret Spencer's death certificate includes her mother's maiden name of Goodman as well as her father's name Richard Spencer. Margaret, born in Maryland was one of two females under 10 in the household of Nick Spencer in 1840.

The genealogical line followed in the Spencer family is that of William Henry Spencer, son of Richard and Rebecca Goodman Spencer. William Spencer was a boatman, not an uncommon occupation, on the ferry river crossings which surrounded the southern York County area. Richard Spencer and his family resided for several years next to two canal lockkeepers who lived where they worked—on the canal—in this case the Susquehanna Canal, built between 1836 and 1840. Nearby, McCall's Ferry was one of many important river crossings on the Susquehanna River and an Underground Railroad crossing site that was an active transit on the freedom road. Because of the prominence of river commerce in this section of the county, ferry operators were not uncommon occupation. Richard Spencer, a laborer, may have also worked on the canal or as a lime burner; an occupation found among his neighbors. A lime burner was engaged in burning limestone in kilns to produce calcium carbonate used as flux in iron furnaces, fertilizer for farmers, brick mortar or used by tanners in removing hair from animal skins.[43]

William H. Spencer registered for the Civil War draft in 1863. He gave his age as 24, or the year 1839 and Maryland as his place of birth. This was his earliest, personal reporting of date and place of birth. Corporal William Henry Spencer served in Co. K 25th USCT, enlisting in Philadelphia in February 1864.[44] Another comrade in the 25th Regiment, Lewis Washington Dorsey, was also a boatman and reportedly an Underground Railroad conductor through the Peach Bottom district during the latter part of the 1850s.[45] After his service, William returned to Lower Chanceford to engage in farming along with other family members. Industry in and near the town of York expanded during the decades of the late nineteenth century attracting numbers of men from the farming districts of the county.

One community, referred to as Slab was a locale where the Batty and Spencer families lived during the last decade of the century. The majority of African Americans in Lower Chanceford were farm laborers, but not all as the following excerpt from the pension application of Margaret Spencer Guy for her deceased husband Corporal Alexander Guy demonstrates: "Alexander Guy was a tanner by trade before enlisting in US service, deponent frequently saw him at work at the tannery of Mr. [Henry] Still about two miles from Mc Call's Ferry . . ."[46]

Alexander Guy, born in New Jersey, married Margaret Spencer on May 1, 1854 in the Borough of York, PA. The officiant was Rev. Bazell Mackall of the A.M.E Church

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[43] Cheryl Janifer LaRoche, "Resistance to Slavery in Maryland: Strategies for Freedom," NPS Network to Freedom 2007, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/ugrr/discover_history/upload/ResistanceMDRpt.pdf accessed April 25, 2020; 1850 US Census, Lower Chanceford Twp., York County, Pennsylvania, pg. 212 A.

[44] Ancestry.com. US Civil War Pension Index; General Index to Pensions [database on-line] William H. Spencer. Accessed 8/30/18.

[45] US-Colored-Troops-from-York-County-website-no-notes.pdf, York History Center. org, https://www.yorkhistorycenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/US-Colored-Troops-from-York-County-website-no-notes.pdf accessed April 25, 2020.

[46] Widow's Pension, Alexander Guy, 1864, US Civil War Pension Index.

and the head of the local congregation. Rev. Mackall was linked to the Underground Railroad by the circumstance of his presence in Lower Chanceford. Rev. Mackall was subsequently assigned to Ithaca, New York a well-documented center of abolitionist activity, where he remained until his death in 1884.[47]

Nearly all of the members of both the Batty and Spencer families, from the nineteenth and early twentieth century period, are interred in the River Hills Cemetery of Lower Chanceford Township; 17 Batty family interments and eight of the Spencer family. This cemetery consists of burials, primarily of African descent, after the Civil War. The cemetery originated with the Mount Olive A.M.E. Church congregation before the Civil War and was known as the Mount Olive Cemetery; other names for the cemetery include Black Diamond or Batty's Chapel Cemetery.

In 1914, Catherine (Kate) M. Spencer, daughter of William H. and Elizabeth Barton Spencer married Thomas Batty, son of John A. and Nancy Spencer Batty, making the second marriage in two generations between the Batty and the Spencer families.[48] The descendants of the Batty and Spencer families who were enslaved at Hampton have been found and confirmed near Towson, MD and in York County, PA. As late as 1930 their descendants were living on York Road in District 9 of Baltimore County. Over the course of the project, the Batty descendants in Towson have been located and interviewed.[49] The Africans enslaved at Hampton plantation were either manumitted through the stipulations in the will of C.C. Ridgely or escaped at some point from bondage in Baltimore County, MD. Further research and analysis on their descendants and their remembrances would enhance the knowledge of those enslaved and impact of the enslavement on the descendants.

METHODOLOGY

[47] US Civil War Pension Index, General Index to Pensions [database on-line] William H. Spencer, Ancestry.com, accessed August 30, 2018; Widow's Pension, Alexander Guy, 1864, US Civil War Pension Index.

[48] "George Batty Descendants." Courtesy of descendant Neicy DeShields Moulton on file with C. LaRoche.

[49] See Appendix L.

The foundation for conducting the research on this biographical project was based on three primary elements of genealogical research. The identification and confirmation, by all names known, of the subjects to be researched. This included the identification of all associated slaveholders, by whom they were held or hired. Next, the determination of the geographic areas where the subjects were found and the chronological periods associated with their residence. Finally, the determination of family relationships where they could be confirmed by civil records or inferred based on surname, proximity and associative documents. We also had access to Batty family descendants who provided genealogy records which allowed us to cross-check and confirm certain inferred relationships.

It has often been assumed by historians that enslaved Africans left no written record or that their geographic location went undocumented, because of intentional or perhaps unintentional action. Neither are true. Because Africans who were enslaved were considered chattel property, a variety of records were generated depending upon the geopolitical authority tasked with the responsibility for taxation and enumeration. Because of the "3/5ths Compromise" embedded in the US Constitution, the latter was extremely important to slaveholders. Many of the tax records and documents associated with freedom escapes are still extant. The most important of these is the Census of Slave Inhabitants for 1850 and 1860. Because this research was conducted remotely, a series of on-line sources were consulted which, fortunately, yielded a substantive degree of information. These included county tax lists, federal special census schedules, maps and published works. The US Federal Population Census, for both free and slave inhabitants, provided the backbone for identification and confirmation of all individuals associated with this project. A more complete survey of Civil War pension applications would have yielded more formal and informal information on the lives of the enslaved but was unavailable due to procedural difficulties. Regardless, the pension files offered vital information, for some individuals, in lieu of death records during a historical period when such records were not kept. The focus has been on continuous lines of genealogical descendants who offered the most in experiential information. In this case, it was the descendants of George and Esther Batty and Richard and Rebecca Spencer.

To augment and complement the knowledge of the experiences of enslaved Africans held by the Ridgelys, a similar example was used in addition to an examination of known slave labor sites at iron furnaces and forges in Maryland and nearby Virginia. Acknowledging the overwhelming desire for freedom held by enslaved Africans and the awareness of the proximity of two major interstate freedom routes to the Ridgely properties, a broad range of escape was considered. The York Road or later the Old York Road, to York County, PA, lay between Hampton plantation and the Ridgely's Northampton Furnace. Additionally, the North Central Railroad line, later the Susquehanna R.R. offered a more direct, though precarious, path to freedom in Pennsylvania. County tax assessment lists helped to fill identification and residence gaps in confirming families in freedom, along with miscellaneous records with the Maryland State Archives on-line database. Consequently, an enclave of freedom seekers, born in Maryland and Virginia, both manumitted and escapees were found in York County and elsewhere in Pennsylvania.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

An abundant degree of archival documents and other compiled information exists on the hundreds of enslaved Africans held by the Ridgely family. The examination of the lives of the known members of the Batty and Spencer families demonstrates that there does exist a credible volume of personal information on Africans who did not merit mention by the slaveholding community or otherwise provide a cause for notation or remembrance elsewhere. There is also ample evidence of interaction between free and enslaved Africans within the districts covered during the project particularly in what might be considered enclaves of free Africans.

As research moves forward it is recommended that a listing of Africans enslaved by Charles Ridgely be produced which shows the enslaved in situ at the time of Ridgely's death. By removing the family names and placing them in an alphabetical list the power of the family structure along with other "chattel" is lost, thereby thwarting a more complete understanding of their lives in slavery. First, examination should also be conducted on every African, found by name, to be living in a Ridgely household on a given census date; there are many examples of this. Those found living in the household should be interpreted in the period during which they lived.

Second, all free Africans found on the Federal Census living within the tax district of the Ridgely's between 1830-1860 should be identified. These individuals should then be cross-referenced with Africans named in various archival collections, White Papers, Chew Papers, original probated wills and associated documents of slaveholders related to the Ridgely's, etc. There is also considerable and remarkable continuity between the Towsontown of the nineteenth century and the Towson of the twentieth century in terms of former employment relations and occupations within the greater Baltimore area.

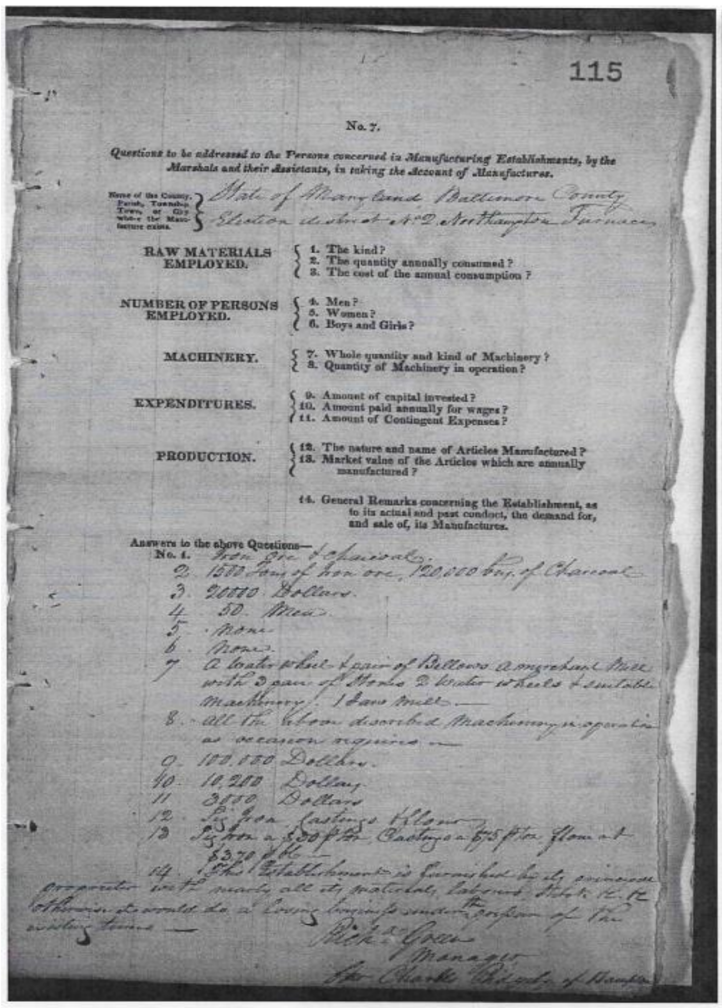
A third note about a late discovery. It would appear that Sarah Elizabeth Pierce, who was not racially identified in the 1860 Census, was most likely an African born in Maryland (ca.1826). She is listed with a two-year-old son born in Pennsylvania residing in the household with Beck Spencer. Sarah Elizabeth Pierce was, most likely the Bett[50] Spencer listed on the Forge Inventory in 1829 although the relationship to Beck Spencer, at present, is undetermined. Mrs. Pierce died in York Co. in 1916. This relationship warrants further research particularly since the confusion between "Bill" and "Bett" Spencer on the Furnace Inventory has not been resolved.

Finally, African Americans surnamed Batty living in Baltimore today should be identified and an interview list created. The research plan should include a focus on any connections found between Batty families in Maryland and those in Pennsylvania. There may still be other branches of this distinctively surnamed family yet undiscovered who may have a connection to enslavement under the Ridgelys. Much more research should be explored into mortality and other vital records. Within these are the most poignant testimony for lineage. The communities in which these Africans lived in freedom are a fertile environment for historical research into the events which shaped their lives and essentially the future of Maryland.

[50] Bett is one of the nicknames for Elizabeth.

APPENDIX I

The 1820 Census of Manufactures



115

No. 7.

Questions to be addressed to the Persons concerned in Manufacturing Establishments, by the Marshals and their Assistants, in taking the Account of Manufactures.

Name of the County, Parish, Township, Town, or City where the Manufacture exists. State of Maryland Baltimore County Election district No. 2 Northampton Furnace

RAW MATERIALS EMPLOYED.
1. The kind?
2. The quantity annually consumed?
3. The cost of the annual consumption?

NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED.
4. Men?
5. Women?
6. Boys and Girls?

MACHINERY.
7. Whole quantity and kind of Machinery?
8. Quantity of Machinery in operation?

EXPENDITURES.
9. Amount of capital invested?
10. Amount paid annually for wages?
11. Amount of Contingent Expenses?

PRODUCTION.
12. The nature and name of Articles Manufactured?
13. Market value of the Articles which are annually manufactured?

14. General Remarks concerning the Establishment, as to its actual and past conduct, the demand for, and sale of, its Manufactures.

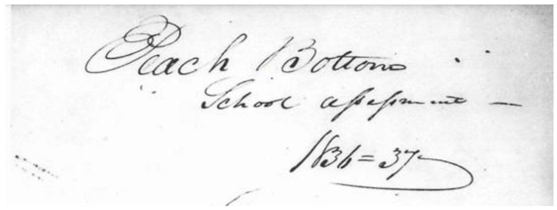
Answers to the above Questions—
No. 1. Iron Ore & Charcoal.
2. 1500 Tons of Iron ore, 120,000 bu. of Charcoal
3. 20000 Dollars.
4. 50. Men
5. None
6. None.
7. a water wheel & pair of Bellows a merchant Mill with 3 pair of Stones 2 water wheels & suitable Machinery. 1 Saw Mill —
8. all the above described Machinery in operation as occasion requires —
9. 100,000 Dollars.
10. 10,200 Dollars
11. 3800 Dollars
12. Pig Iron Castings & Flour
13. Pig Iron a $30 p ton Castings a $75 p ton Flour at $3.70 p bbl —
14. The Establishment is furnished by its own proprietor with nearly all its materials, labour [illegible] & [illegible] otherwise it would do a losing business under the pressure of the existing times —

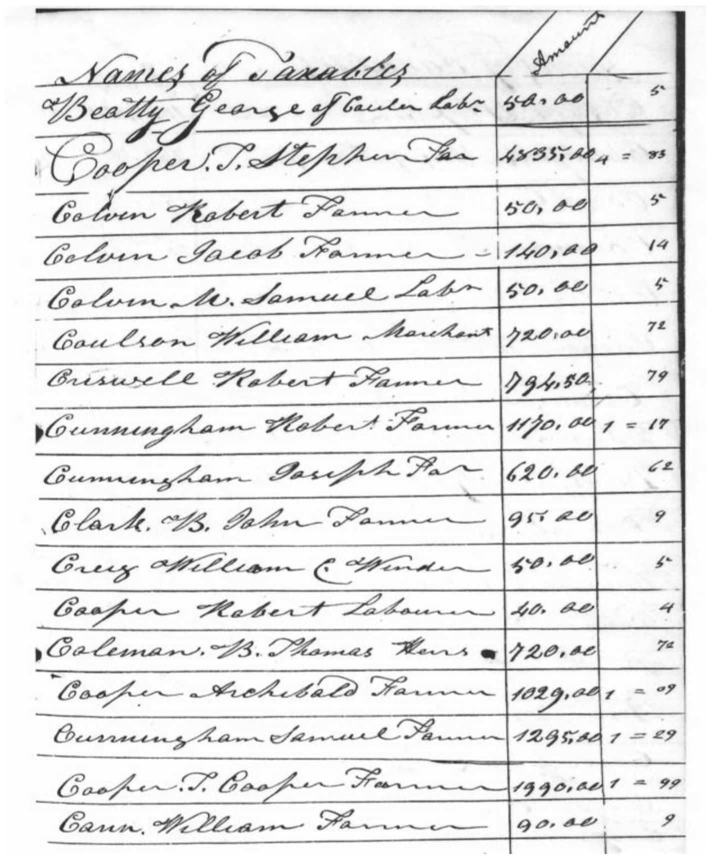
Richd Green
Manager
for Charles Ridgely of Hampton

The 1820 Census of Manufactures provides a glimpse of the cost of production at the Northampton Furnace in a clear and organized view based on a series of standard questions regarding material, volume, cost and labor. The fifty men listed as labor at the furnace is reflected in a wage value for the calendar year 1819-1820 of $10,200. The value assigned to the enslaved women, men and labor age children [age 8 +] in 1829 was just over $6,000 which is over half of the cost of labor nine years earlier; not included are wages paid to free African labor at the furnace.

APPENDIX J

York County, Pennsylvania School Tax Assessment 1836-1837


Peach Bottom
School assessment —
1836=37



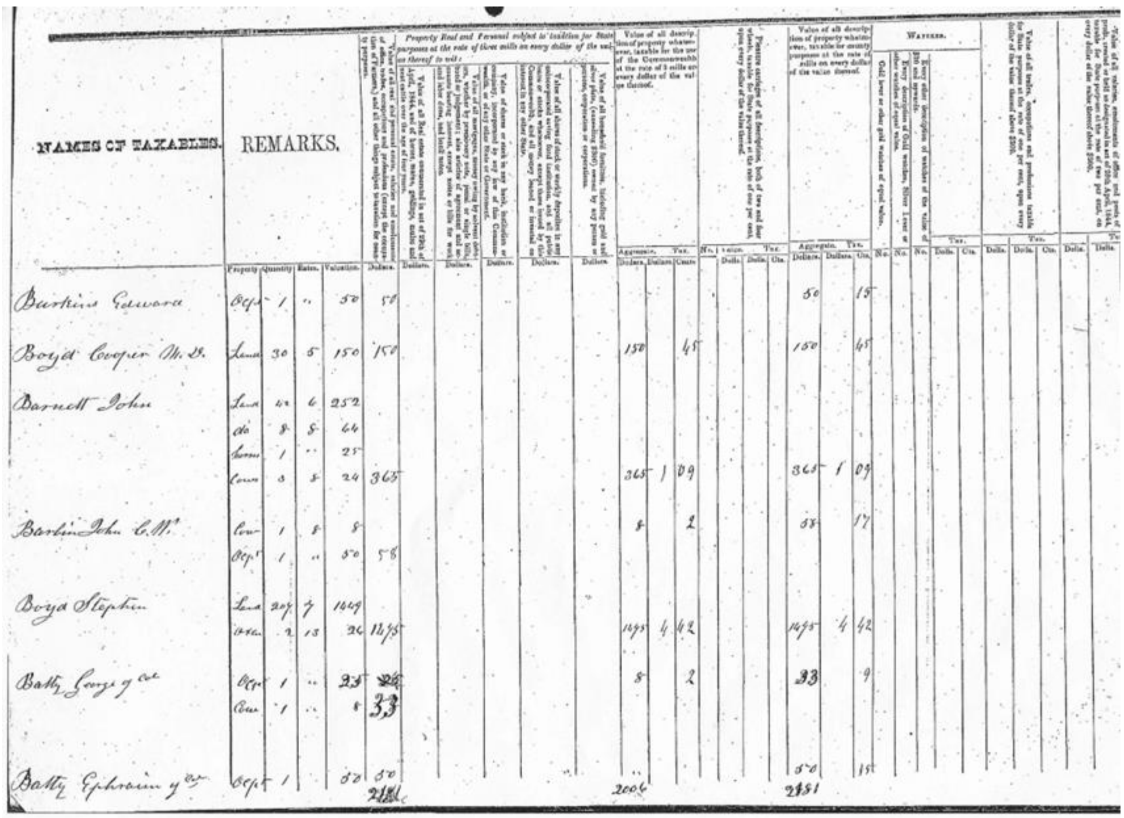
Names of Taxables	Amount	
Beatty George of Color Labr	50.00	5
Cooper T. Stephen Far	4835.00	4 = 83
Colvin Robert Farmer	50.00	5
Colvin Jacob Farmer	140.00	14
Colvin M. Samuel Labr	50.00	5
Coulson William Merchant	720.00	72
Criswell Robert Farmer	794.50	79
Cunningham Robert Farmer	1170.00	1 = 17
Cunningham Joseph Far	620.00	62
Clark B. John Farmer	95.00	9
Creig William C Winder	50.00	5
Cooper Robert Labourer	40.00	4
Coleman B. Thomas [illegible]	720.00	72
Cooper Archibald Farmer	1029.00	1 = 09
Cunningham Samuel Farmer	1295.00	1 = 29
Cooper T. Cooper Farmer	1990.00	1 = 99
Cann William Farmer	90.00	9

The 1836-37 School Tax Assessment for Peach Bottom Township, York County, Pennsylvania is a snapshot of adult males over 21 years of age in the township annually. George Batty [spelled Beatty], first on the page is listed as a man "of color" with personal and property value of $50. This was the standard valuation for a householder who did not own real property. This is the earliest documentary evidence for George Batty in Pennsylvania although his family is not represented in the listing. Given the frequency with which the canvass was taken, George Batty could have been in the state at an earlier date

APPENDIX K

York County, Pennsylvania Tax Assessment 1850


Peach Bottom Township
Triennial Assessment
For 1850, 450



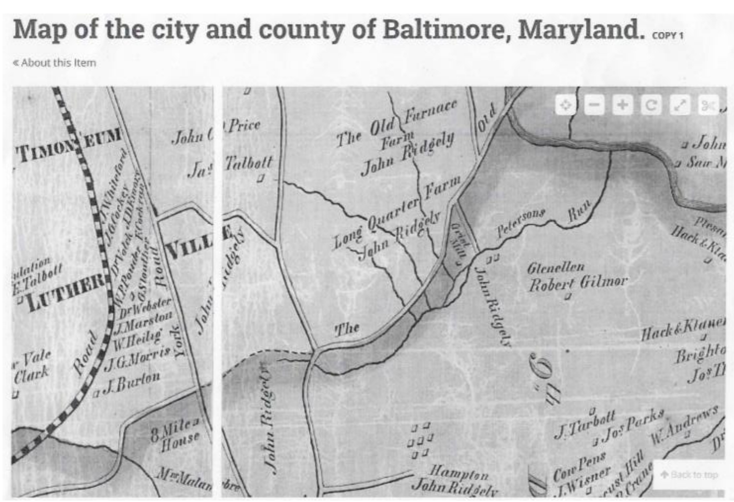
NAMES OF TAXABLES.	REMARKS. Property	Quantity	Rates	Valuation	Dollars	Aggregate Dollars	Tax Dollars	Tax Cents	Aggregate Dollars	Tax Dollars	Tax Cts.
Burkins Edward	Ocp	1	..	50	50				50		15
Boyd Cooper M. D.	Land	30	5	150	150	150		45	150		45
Barnett John	Land	42	6	252							
	do	8	8	64							
	horse	1	..	25							
	Cow	3	8	24	365	365	1	09	365	1	09
Barlin John C.M.	Cow	1	8	8		8		2	58		17
	Ocp	1	..	50	58						
Boyd Stephen	Land	207	7	1449							
	Oxen	2	13	26	1475	1475	4	42	1475	4	42
Batty George y col	Ocp	1	..	25	~~25~~	8		2	33		9
	Cow	1	..	8	33						
Batty Ephraim y col	Ocp	1		50	50				50		15
					2181	2006			2181		

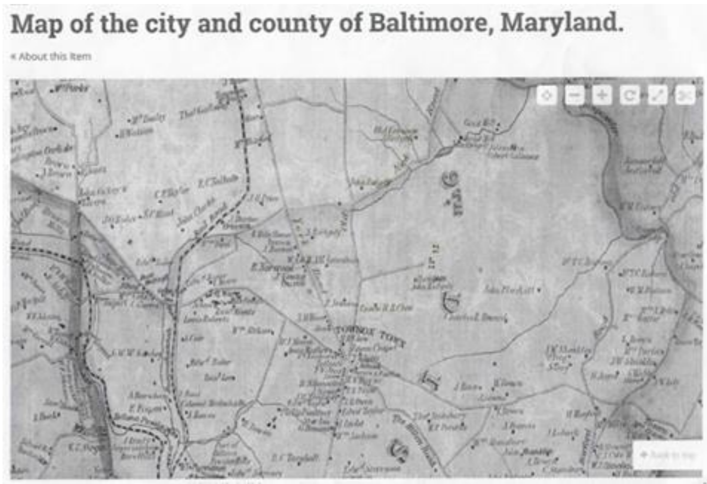
The 1850 York County Triennial Tax Assessment lists both George and Ephraim Batty as men "of color" establishing their residence in the township. The only personal property listed is a cow for George Batty valued at $33. The 1850 Federal Census corroborates their residence in the county along with their family during 1849-1850. The previous years of the 1840's have not been examined for an earlier date of residence for Ephraim Batty; Ephraim was free per the Ridgely will in 1838 allowing for his presence in Pennsylvania in 1840 as shown on the 1840 Federal Census.

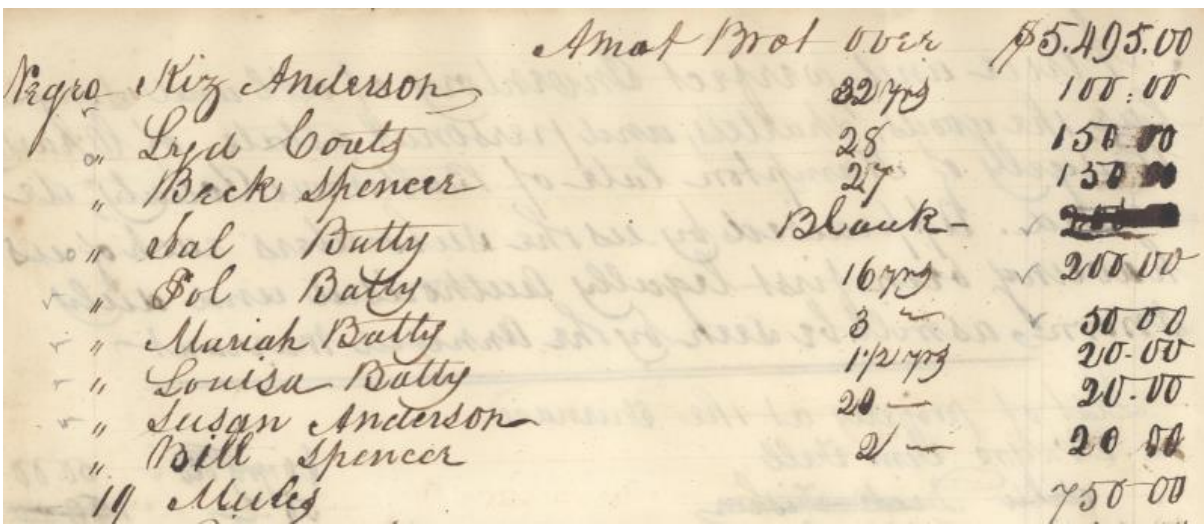
APPENDIX L

1857 Map of Baltimore County, MD

The 1857 Map of Baltimore County, Maryland displays in moderate detail the five properties owned in the county by John Ridgely, Esq. within the 9th Election District of Baltimore County, Maryland; also included on the map's border is a depiction of Hampton Manor with its dual wings. A grouping of seven structures is shown at Hampton although this may not be an actual representation. Adjacent properties and the Epsom Farm are identified; an enlarged lot owned by John Ridgely is located several miles south. The Old York Road bisects the Ridgely properties of the Old Forge and the larger manor property. The J.C. Sidney Map of 1850 presents a slightly alternative view of the spatial distances between Hampton and other properties .







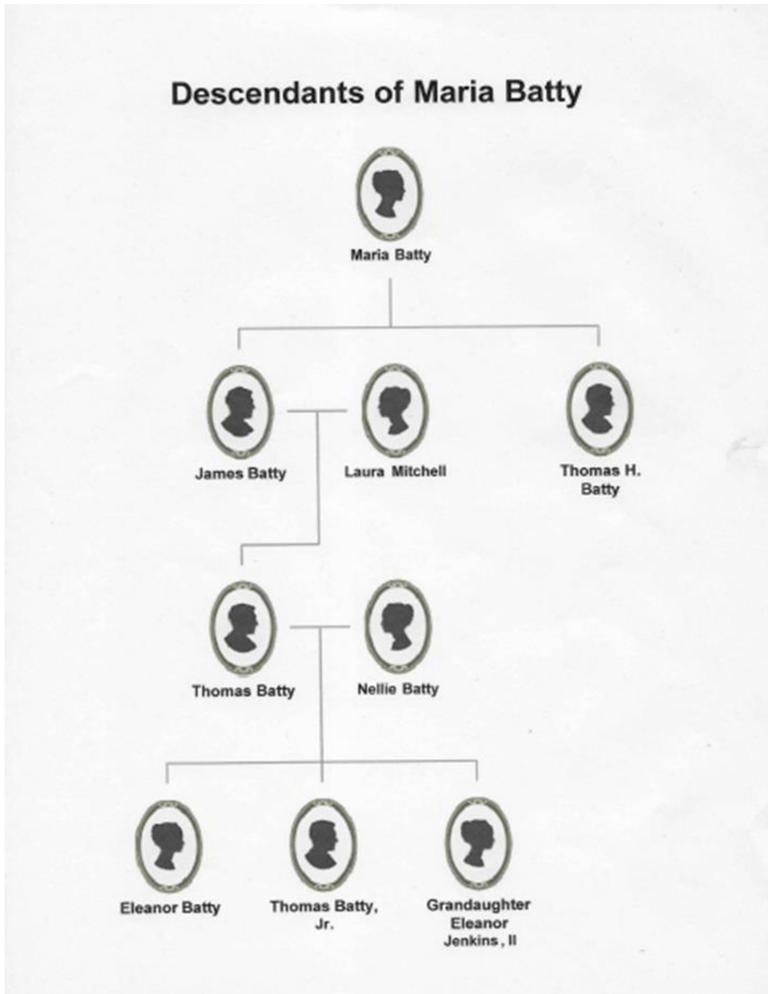
	Amot Brot over		$5.495.00
Negro	Kiz Anderson	32 yrs	100.00
"	Lyd Couts	28	150.00
"	Beck Spencer	27	150.00
"	Sal Batty	Blank –	[illegible]
"	Sol Batty	16 yrs	200.00
"	Mariah Batty	3 –	50.00
"	Louisa Batty	1/2 yrs	20.00
"	Susan Anderson	20 –	20.00
"	Bill Spencer	2 –	20.00
10	Mules		750.00

APPENDIX M

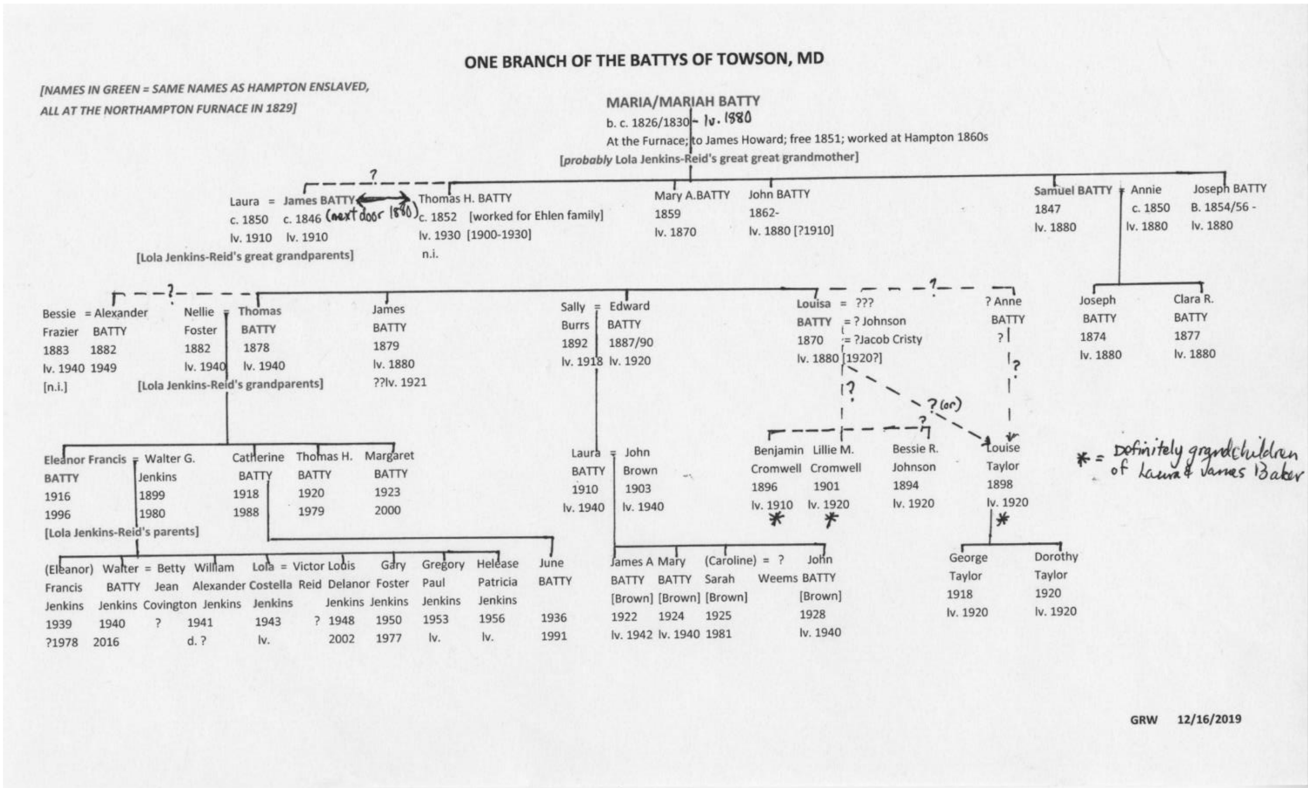
Excerpt from Furnace Inventory, 1829

APPENDIX N

Battys of Towson, MD



APPENDIX O


ONE BRANCH OF THE BATTYS OF TOWSON, MD
[NAMES IN GREEN = SAME NAMES AS HAMPTON ENSLAVED, ALL AT THE NORTHAMPTON FURNACE IN 1829]
MARIA/MARIAH BATTY
b. c. 1826/1830 - lv. 1880
At the Furnace; to James Howard; free 1851; worked at Hampton 1860s
[probably Lola Jenkins-Reid's great great grandmother]
?
Laura = James BATTY c. 1850 c. 1846 lv. 1910 lv. 1910
(next door 1880)
[Lola Jenkins-Reid's great grandparents]
Thomas H. BATTY c. 1852 [worked for Ehlen family] lv. 1930 [1900-1930] n.i.
Mary A.BATTY 1859 lv. 1870
John BATTY 1862- lv. 1880 [?1910]
Samuel BATTY = Annie 1847 c. 1850 lv. 1880 lv. 1880
Joseph BATTY B. 1854/56 - lv. 1880
Bessie = Alexander Frazier BATTY 1883 1882 lv. 1940 1949 [n.i.]
Nellie = Thomas Foster BATTY 1882 1878 lv. 1940 lv. 1940
[Lola Jenkins-Reid's grandparents]
James BATTY 1879 lv. 1880 ??lv. 1921
Sally = Edward Burrs BATTY 1892 1887/90 lv. 1918 lv. 1920
Louisa = ??? BATTY = ? Johnson 1870 = ?Jacob Cristy lv. 1880 [1920?]
? Anne BATTY ?
Joseph BATTY 1874 lv. 1880
Clara R. BATTY 1877 lv. 1880
?(or)
Eleanor Francis = Walter G. BATTY Jenkins 1916 1899 1996 1980
[Lola Jenkins-Reid's parents]
Catherine BATTY 1918 1988
Thomas H. BATTY 1920 1979
Margaret BATTY 1923 2000
Laura = John BATTY Brown 1910 1903 lv. 1940 lv. 1940
Benjamin Cromwell 1896 lv. 1910 *
Lillie M. Cromwell 1901 lv. 1920 *
Bessie R. Johnson 1894 lv. 1920
Louise Taylor 1898 lv. 1920 *
* = Definitely grandchildren of Laura & James Baker
(Eleanor) Francis Jenkins 1939 ?1978
Walter = Betty BATTY Jean Jenkins Covington 1940 ? 2016
William Alexander Jenkins 1941 d. ?
Lola = Victor Louis Costella Reid Jenkins 1943 ? lv.
Delanor Jenkins 1948 2002
Gary Foster Jenkins 1950 1977
Gregory Paul Jenkins 1953 lv.
Helease Patricia Jenkins 1956 lv.
June BATTY 1936 1991
James A BATTY [Brown] 1922 lv. 1942
Mary BATTY [Brown] 1924 lv. 1940
(Caroline) = ? Sarah Weems [Brown] 1925 1981
John BATTY [Brown] 1928 lv. 1940
George Taylor 1918 lv. 1920
Dorothy Taylor 1920 lv. 1920
GRW 12/16/2019

APPENDIX P

Spencer Family Chart

Family Group Record

Submit Form

Husband: Richard "Nick" Spencer ☐ Other Spouses

Born 1791	Place Maryland	Buried	Place
Died 1880s	Place ?	Married	Place
Father Unknown		Mother Unknown	

Notes / Sources
1840 US Federal Census; 1850 US Federal Census

Wife: Rebecca Spencer ☐ Other Spouses

Born 1780	Place Baltimore County, Md.	Buried	Place
Died 1880s	Place Peach Bottom Township, York County, Pa.	Married	Place
Father Unknown		Mother Unknown	

Notes / Sources
1829 Northampton Furnace Inventory, Hampton NHS; Maryland State Archives Certificate of Freedom 1830; 1860 US Federal Census, York County, Pa.

Children

1. Name: Elizabeth Spencer — Sex

Born 1820	Place (Inferred) Baltimore County, Md.	Married	Place
Died ?	Place	Spouse	

2. Name: Sarah Rebecca Spencer — Sex

Born 1839	Place York County, Pa.	Married	Place
Died ?	Place	Spouse	

3. Name: William Henry Spencer (Corp. Co. K 25th USCT) — Sex

Born 1844	Place York County, Pa.	Married 1865	Place York County, Pa.
Died 1915	Place Lower Chanceford Township, York County, Pa.	Spouse Elizabeth Barton	

4. Name: — Sex

Born	Place	Married	Place

CHAPTER FIVE

WRITTEN ON THE LAND: LOCATING FREEDOM

Nora Holzinger, Mapping and GIS Intern

INTRODUCTION

The complete history of the Hampton plantation is not located solely in the mansion, but also in the thousands of acres that the Ridgely family once owned in Baltimore County and beyond, as well as in the enslaved Africans forced to work the land. Those lands reveal the dynamic intersection between the land, the enslaved, and the slave-owning family, a complex network of shifting relationships absent from the historical narrative presented by Hampton National Historic site.

By erasing the enslaved, particularly their labor, from the landscape, Hampton National Historic Site obfuscates the means by which the Ridgely's accumulated and maintained wealth and luxury. Such intellectual dishonesty results in an uneven and incomplete representation, preventing a full understanding of the history of not just Hampton, but also Towson, Baltimore City and Baltimore County. Confronting the legacy of slavery, the effects of which are visible in the lives of the descendants, is an initial step in healing intergenerational trauma that began in slavery.

The following work explores the lives of the enslaved and how they interacted with the land. The scope of this particular work focuses only on the lands and people in Baltimore City and Baltimore County, though the Ridgely's also held property in other parts of Maryland. Locating the various worksites, placing the enslaved workers on those work sites, as well as following their journey into freedom, opened the door for further interpretation of their life stories. Primarily using census records from 1840-1900, we attempted to follow the enslaved as they moved away from Hampton. Our research in this area in particular was bolstered by maps, city directories and newspaper clippings of obituaries. In using these methods, a challenge soon presented itself. With many of the enslaved having common surnames, we had to employ certain discretionary measures to ensure that the correct people were being identified. One of the most difficult, yet yielding the most information, was to understand family groupings and relationships as well as occupations. These details could then be cross-referenced and validated through multiple sources to ensure the person listed in the census was in fact the right person.

Three distributional trends emerged from locating the people in identified areas. Most of the formerly enslaved remained within a 50-mile radius of Hampton. They moved primarily in intergenerational family groups, to historically Black communities. Former Hampton captives also seemed to concentrate in a few distinct Black communities, allowing for additional levels of identification, since many of those freed from Hampton and their families lived next door or down the street from one another. By examining the geographic distribution of those formerly enslaved by the Ridgelys across space both within and outside of the plantation, we began piecing together the details of their lives. The interconnectedness of physical and cultural landscapes provided a starting point for exploring the institutions with which former Ridgely slaves and their descendants may have interacted.

RIDGELY LANDHOLDINGS

Owning thousands of acres in Baltimore County, and hundreds of enslaved people, the Ridgely family developed several successful business ventures that depended and survived on chattel slavery. The landscape, both built and natural, formed the basis for understanding the lives and day-to-day activities of the enslaved. Examining these landscapes, where they fall on modern maps, provides necessary context when trying to locate people in freedom.

While publically available narratives of labor at Hampton focus on white convict and indentured servants as a significant labor force at the plantation, guidebooks and written literature and special tours discuss the enslaved people who have always been present at Hampton, and their presence would only intensify across the generations. In particular, the third owner of Hampton, Governor Charles Ridgely, bought thousands of acres of land and several business ventures. Examining those lands has made identifying and situating family groupings possible, understanding what their daily lives would have been, including labor and social relationships, and understanding relationships as they left Hampton. As was common in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, parcels of land were identified by name. In the context of this research, the parcel names are not crucial, however, they will be listed when they are known. Parcel names are sometimes referenced in the Ridgely papers.

Colonel Charles Ridgely (1702-1772)

Colonel Charles Ridgely, a grandson of immigrant Robert Ridgely, planted the seed of what would become the family fortune, buying land and people to build a massive industrial and agricultural operation. Taking advantage of colonial land grants, the Colonel began purchasing land around major waterways like the Gunpowder River, tidewater Patapsco River and the Chesapeake Bay.[1] The Ridgely's acquired contiguous land tracts, purchased over a period of several years in the mid-eighteenth century, dispersed north-to-south down the center of Baltimore County and into what was to become Baltimore City. Baltimore Town was emerging as the commercial hub of the state; the port provided the means for shipping agricultural and industrial goods to domestic and international markets. For decades, the Port of Baltimore would remain the only deep-water port in the region, allowing the Ridgelys to grow their participation in international markets.

Colonel Charles Ridgely, known as the Colonel, first purchased a parcel named "Howard's Timber Neck" in 1727.[2] The parcel comprised 200 acres on the Middle Branch of the Patapsco River, land later resurveyed to include "Brotherly Love" and renamed "Ridgley's Delight." From this point forward the Ridgely family and those they enslaved began leaving their obvious indelible mark on the Baltimore area and a hidden imprint on

[1] Anne C. Edmonds, "Landholdings of the Ridgelys of Hampton 1726-1843" (Master's thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 1959).
[2] Ibid.

the surrounding Black communities. Immediately west of Oriole Park at Camden Yards, Ridgley's Delight is now a neighborhood in southwest Baltimore City. Numerous schools, apartment complexes and roads bear the Ridgely name or the names of Ridgely heirs, across Baltimore County. From his purchase of Ridgely's Delight, which served as the headquarters for the nascent industrial plantation, the Colonel began, in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, acquiring contiguous tracts of lands above the tidewater, typically untamed wilderness.

The remoteness of the land worked in the Colonel's favor; the wilderness provided materials for the ironworks and for constructing the plantation's infrastructure. Rich in natural resources, the area provided vast quantities of timber for charcoal and construction, as well as fertile soil for agricultural pursuits.[3] The nearby mine banks produced high quality ore, and iron production became a profitable enterprise in the Chesapeake region.

With the 1745 purchase of the 1,500-acre plot "Northampton," and adjacent properties, the Colonel created a 2,000 acre estate that would be given to his son sea captain Charles Ridgley in 1760, along with surrounding lands that fed the forges at the furnace, totaling about 7,000 acres.[4] Within two years of its purchase, both the furnace and plantation were churning out iron products and hogsheads of tobacco destined for export from the City.[5]

With the establishment of the Northampton Iron Furnace in 1761, clearing the outlying Ridgley properties near the Gunpowder River became more important, in order to fuel the furnaces. The Gunpowder River lands were "Haile's fellowship" and "Ridgely's Conclusion," parcels chosen for their rich mineral deposits and proximity to running

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[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid; Sherry H. Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).

[5] Robert T. Chase and Elizabeth Comer, "On The Border Of Freedom And Slavery: The Hampton Plantation, The Northampton Ironworks, and The Transformation of Labor, 1740-1948" (Historic Resource Study, National Park Service, 2014).

water.[6] These lands in addition to “Oakhampton” and “Hampton Court,” extended from the Monkton area in the north, down the Dulaney Valley and the Jones Falls south into Baltimore Town.

Enslaved laborers dispatched to these lands from the Colonel’s house in Ridgely’s Delight in Baltimore Town, worked in revolving groups of about ten to thirteen men. They traveled back and forth between the more established Patapsco River lands where their families lived and the Gunpowder River lands they were clearing, a distance of about ten miles. The working conditions at this time were difficult. The Colonel writes in his Daybook, that he had to send several jackets to the men doing the clearing so that they would not freeze to death during the harsh winter.[7] Forced migration to worksites for seasonal work meant deprivation from resources that would have been more readily available closer to home. The distance from the slave owner would have had its own ramifications, as the indentured servant overseers were given essentially free reign to treat the enslaved people as they wished without the slave owner available to intercede. The headquarters was located on the Patapsco River properties: “Ridgley’s Delight,” “Wilmott’s Range” and “Rich Neck.” In modern times these are the properties located in Baltimore City. Northampton and the Hampton Plantation are located in the Lutherville/Towson area (see Figure 3.1). Not much is known about this original property in Town Baltimore, however Baltimore’s early history can provide some insight into how that area might have appeared.

Until the mid-1750s, the small village of Baltimore Town contained 25 houses, and was primarily a tobacco farming area and port for exporting tobacco and grain.[8] The first iron furnace in Maryland, Principio Ironworks, a later Ridgley acquisition, had opened in 1715 and had been producing iron goods since its opening. By the early-1760s~~,~~ the city had expanded, increasing from 25 houses to 564, bolstered by an economy hungry for wheat and iron. In 1761, the Colonel and his two sons founded their

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[6] Ibid.

[7] Daybook 1746-1747, Box 1, Dec. 8, 1747, Ridgely Account Books, MDHS.
[8] Olson, *Baltimore*.

own furnace and forge, Northampton Ironworks, as did several other members of the Baltimore merchant class.[9]

At his death in 1772, the Colonel's 11,000 acres encompassed much of Baltimore County, especially in what is now the Lutherville/Timonium/Towson area, and almost the entire area that is now Loch Raven Reservoir (see Figure 3.1). By this time the Colonel owned 38 enslaved Africans.[10] Typically, they were listed only by first name and perhaps by birth year, making it difficult to follow them in the years after the death of the Colonel, though some individuals were identified through later records. Those enslaved by the Colonel toiled at the furnace, cleared land, worked in the home of the Colonel in Baltimore Town, and in the agricultural operations.[11]

The Colonel had dispersed much of his landholdings to his family while he was still living. His will addressed about 2,800 acres distributed among his five children and grandchildren.[12] Outside traditional patrilineal inheritance patterns, the Ridgely family followed the European tradition of entail, or giving the first male heir the majority of the land and enslaved workers. For the purpose of this research, the focus rests with primary heirs, even though significant acreage and enslaved people were distributed to children, nephews, and grandchildren. The Colonel's buying and selling of land during his lifetime and reliance on cheap indentured or enslaved labor laid the foundation for the next generation to further develop and expand the family's properties. The labor as well would change from unskilled to more specialized labor tasks, with the emergence of the three labor spheres: industrial, agricultural, and domestic.

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[9] Lynne Dakin Hastings, *Hampton National Historic Site Guidebook* (Towson: Historic Hampton, Inc. for the National Park Service, 1986); Edmonds, "Landholdings"; Chase and Comer, "On The Border Of Freedom And Slavery; Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*.

[10] Will of Colonel Charles Ridgley, 1772, Liber 3, f.55, Baltimore County, Maryland State Archives, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

[11] Ridgely Papers. Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

[12] Edmonds, "Landholdings."

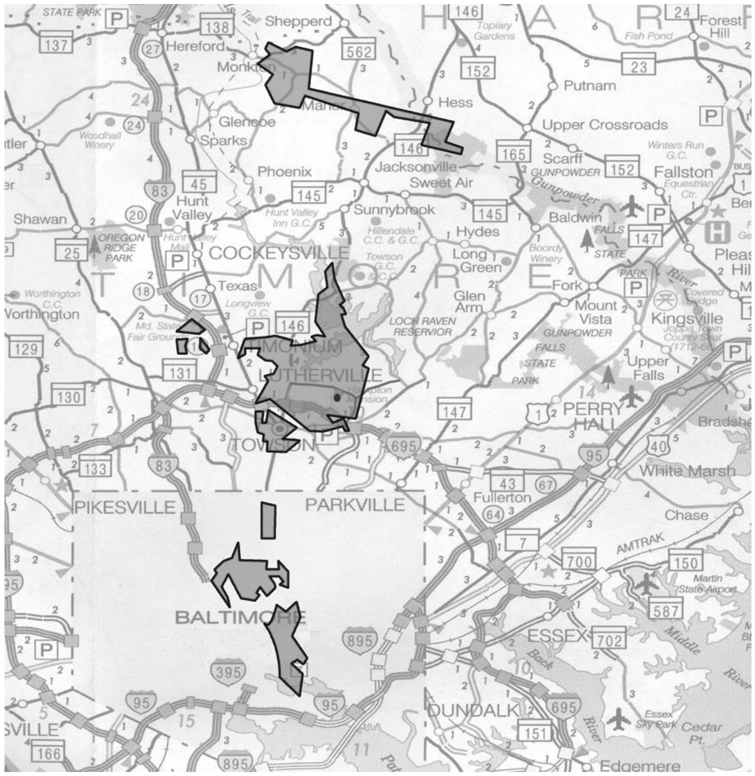


Figure 3.1 Property owned by Colonel Charles Ridgely, 1772

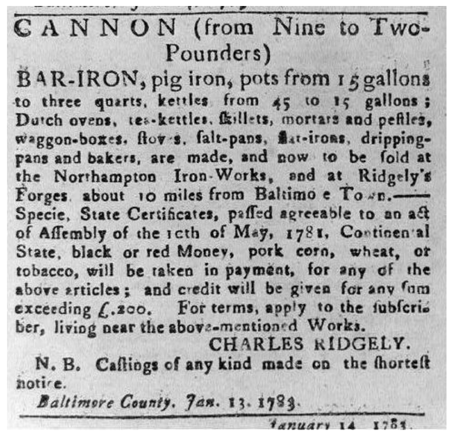
Sea Captain Charles Ridgely (1733- 1790)

Sea captain Charles Ridgely, the younger of Colonel Ridgely's two sons, initially received from his father 2,000 acres of Northampton and one-third interest in the ironworks, and continued to purchase lands until his death in 1790.[13] This included land in Baltimore County, other ironworks, and townhouses and lots in what is now Baltimore City, specifically the central business district and Fells Point. The first of these acquisitions was a competitor ironworks in the eastern part of the county.

The foundation of the Ridgely wealth came from iron production by indentured and enslaved workers before and during the American Revolution. Under sea Captain Charles Ridgely's ownership, the family realized great profit during the Revolutionary War. The fledgling American government needed massive amounts of iron products

[13] Will of Captain Charles Ridgley, 1790, Liber 3, f.450-481, Baltimore County, Maryland State Archives, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

such as munitions and ordnances, camp kettles, round shot and cannons. Although the Ridgelys had been shipping pig iron to England, they sided with the Continental Army and profited from the expanding market for iron products generated by the war.[14] Furthermore, the halting of the English trade in pig iron allowed the Ridgelys to save money by only shipping products domestically.



CANNON (from Nine to Two-Pounders)

BAR-IRON, pig iron, pots from 15 gallons to three quarts, kettles from 45 to 15 gallons; Dutch ovens, tea-kettles, ſkillets, mortars and peſtles, waggon-boxes, ſtoves, ſalt-pans, flat-irons, dripping-pans and bakers, are made, and now to be ſold at the Northampton Iron-Works, and at Ridgely's Forges about 10 miles from Baltimore Town.—— Specie, State Certificates, paſſed agreeable to an act of Aſſembly of the 10th of May, 1781, Continental State, black or red Money, pork corn, wheat, or tobacco, will be taken in payment, for any of the above articles; and credit will be given for any ſum exceeding £.200. For terms, apply to the ſubſcriber, living near the above-mentioned Works.

CHARLES RIDGELY.

N. B. Caſtings of any kind made on the ſhorteſt notice.

Baltimore County, Jan. 13. 1783.

January 14 1783.

Figure 3.2 **Northampton Iron Works Advertisement, *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Jan. 13, 1783, LOC**

In 1780, in the midst of the War, the US government confiscated the Principio Company and Nottingham Company ironworks from their British loyalist owners. The Captain bought portions of these lands, located at the confluence of the Gunpowder River, Middle River and Chesapeake Bay, now the White Marsh area. While much of the Principio Company was dispersed at auction, the Captain did purchase ten enslaved men as well as 1,000 acres.[15] As numerous escape ads reveal, he also had to contend with the same problem that had confronted his father, the escape of his enslaved workers as well as indentured servants. In the late 1770s and 1780s, numerous newspaper advertisements seeking the return of runaways from the Northampton Furnace, expose the very difficult and dangerous conditions at an ironworks.[16]

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[14] Hoyt, "Captain Ridgely's London Commerce"; Hastings, *Hampton*.
[15] Edmonds, "Landholdings."; Chase and Comer, "On The Border Of Freedom And Slavery."

[16] Scott S. Sheads, "Farm Managers, Runaway Slaves & Indentured Servants, 1743-1858," Hampton National Historic Site, Towson, MD, 2015.

The Captain bought the ironworks of the Nottingham Company, along with 51 enslaved workers, consisting of 25 men, 6 women, and 20 children in addition to 4,414 acres of land that included a parcel labeled "White Marsh Farm." The farm supplied provisions to the workforce at the forge.[17] The enslaved workers from the Nottingham Company were advertised as skilled laborers—blacksmiths, colliers, forge men, and carpenters—although there were also people who worked the farm.[18]

Ridgely wealth derived as a result of the war is generally accounted for by noting the enormous increase in the price of iron. The Ridgely's dependence on convicts, indentured servants and enslaved laborers also brought huge financial gains that are rarely explicitly acknowledged as contributing to the economic advantages that fueled the family's staggering wealth. Cheap and free labor combined with rising prices yielded the extra revenue that gave Captain Ridgely access and the opportunity to purchase confiscated British lands at bargain prices.[19] After the War for Independence ended, Ridgely used these earnings to build his country house now known as Hampton Mansion at the southern end of his Northampton property on one of the highest hills in Dulaney Valley. After taking seven years to complete the Georgian structure, he lived in the home a mere 18 months after its completion.

Beyond the focus on ironworks, the Ridgelys also concentrated on cultivating cash crops, grain and tobacco as well as livestock at Northampton. A 1783 tax assessment enumerated 117 enslaved workers on his lands in the Middle River and Back River areas, corresponding to White Marsh plantation.[20] During this time, grain surpassed tobacco as the primary cash crop of the Chesapeake region. A multitude of tasks were necessary during the off-season. The enslaved worked in the orchards and dairy, cared for livestock; they spun wool, made and repaired shoes, repaired and

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[17] Edmonds, "Landholdings."

[18] Chase and Comer, "On The Border Of Freedom And Slavery."

[19]For example, in 1766, the Ridgelys collected five dollars per ton, while in 1782, they earned seven pounds per ton, Hastings, *Hampton*, pp. 4-5.

[20] Edmonds, "Landholdings."

maintained wagons and performed other skilled labor such as tanning and blacksmithing.[21]

While the ironworks company run by Ridgely was the legal owner of a portion of the enslaved work force, as Chase and Comer observe, “the slippery nature of enslavement meant that the lines demarcating enslaved labor for the Company and Ridgely’s personal slaves were often blurred,” and there was most likely overlap in labor.[22] According to the company’s records, the Captain personally owned 23 of the slaves working at Northampton (roughly half); 14 belonged to the company and five were hired out by nearby slave owners.[23]

By the time of his death in 1790, the Captain had amassed more than 24,000 acres of land (see figure 3.3).[24] The Captain had started the construction of the Hampton mansion in 1783 and it was completed shortly before his death. Having no children of his own, the Captain bequeathed his estate to his nephew, Charles Ridgely Carnan, and three great nephews, Charles Ridgely Goodwin, Charles Ridgely Sterett, and Charles Ridgely Goodwin, and required his nephews to change their surnames to “Ridgely.”[25] His will also stipulated that certain among the enslaved were to be freed. Esther, Jack and Phebe were to be immediately manumitted and their life-long care was to be maintained by Charles Carnan, who had received the majority of the lands as the primary heir—12,000 acres, the mansion and the ironworks.[26] Governor Ridgely, as Charles Carnan came to be known, also inherited the majority of the people held in slavery at Hampton, about 70 individuals. The Captain’s wife, Rebecca Dorsey Ridgely, and the other nephews were bequeathed the remaining acreage.[27]

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[21] Chase and Comer, “On The Border Of Freedom And Slavery,” p. 82.

[22] Ibid, p. 47.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Edmonds, “Landholdings”; Chase and Comer, “On The Border Of Freedom And Slavery.”

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

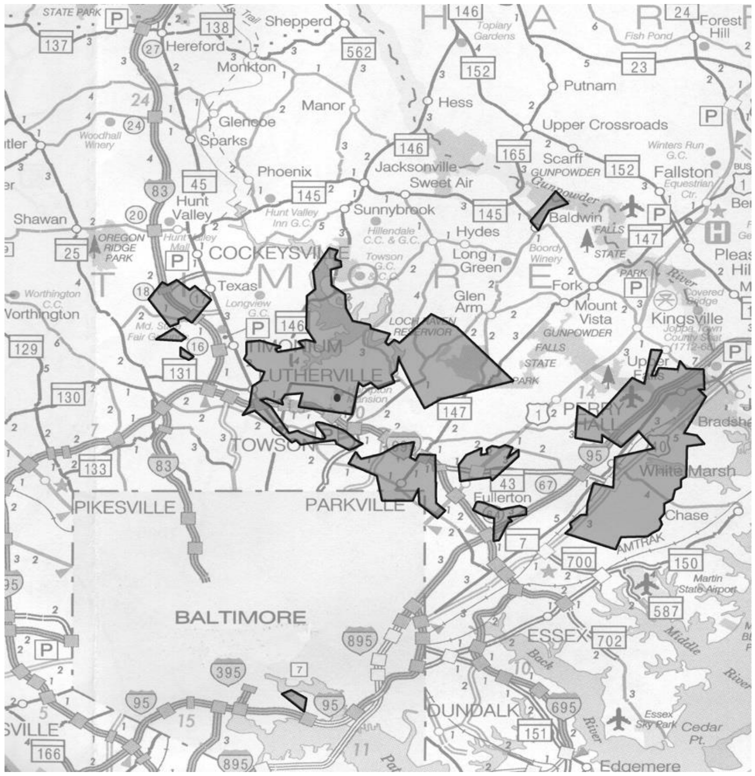

Figure 3.3 Property owned by Captain Charles Ridgely, 1790

Governor Charles Carnan Ridgely (1755-1829)

Governor Charles Carnan Ridgely would go on to amass a large portfolio of properties and business enterprises, growing his enslaved workforce to several hundred people. After receiving his inheritance from his uncle the Captain, Governor Charles Carnan Ridgely bought out the other interests at Northampton Ironworks to become sole owner, and bought back Epsom and Dulaney's Park, parcels that had once belonged to the Captain but were in the possession of other family members.[28] The Governor also expanded his holdings in Baltimore City. From his uncle, he inherited three lots located in the central business district west of the Jones Falls, as well as purchasing additional

[27] Ibid.

[28] Edmonds, "Landholdings."

lots from family members. Baltimore functioned as the primary residence of the Ridgelys until the mid-nineteenth century.[29]

These lots were in the center of town, specifically on Frederick and Gay Streets, where the Governor's principal residence was located. In all, the Governor had 18 lots in Baltimore City at the time of his death, as well as two townhouses, and Smith's Wharf.[30] On the 1822 Poppleton Map, Smith's Wharf is listed as being directly east of the Gay Street dock, in the Inner Harbor (see Figure 3.4).[31] This map indicates two long rectangular warehouses on the wharf, one of which was Ridgley's Iron Store. The wharf, purchased in 1809, was where the Ridgelys sold the bar iron and finished goods from the forges.[32] The sales record also list iron patterns and bushels of stone and coal, both of which are listed as being "worked up at the forges."[33] The warehouses were sold after the death of the Governor in order to settle his estate, and they were entirely destroyed during the great Baltimore Fire of 1904.

The recession and instability after the Panic of 1819 significantly impacted the profit margins from the sale of agricultural and iron products.[34] However, Governor Charles Carnan Ridgely owned Hampton at "the height of Ridgely success." During this time (1790-1829) Ridgely landholdings were at their largest, as was the number of enslaved people working there.[35] In fact, at the time of his death the Governor had one of

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[29] Ibid.

[30] Will of Captain Charles Ridgley, 1790, Liber 3, f.450-481, Baltimore County, Maryland State Archives, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

[31] Poppleton, Thomas H, Joseph Cone, and Charles Peter Harrison. *This plan of the city of Baltimore*. [Baltimore, Commissioners, 1822] Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/77691538/.

[32] "Account Sales 1832-1833: Sale Bar Iron at Ridgely's Iron Store", Ridgely Papers. Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore

[33] Ibid.

[34] Chase and Comer, "On The Border Of Freedom And Slavery."

[35] Ibid.

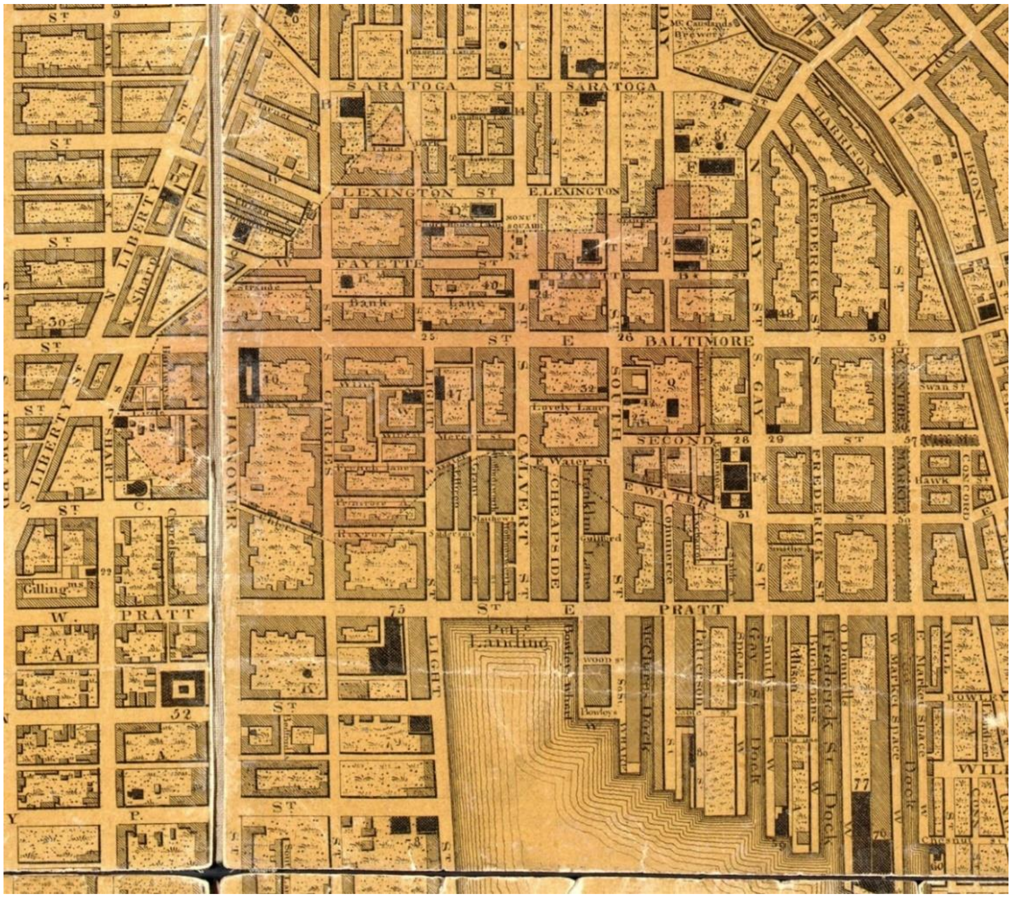

Figure 3.4 Poppleton's 1822 Map

the largest number of enslaved workers in the state of Maryland, topping out at 339 enslaved in 1829, with the Hampton plantation alone holding 104 people in bondage.[36] Other plantations around the Chesapeake mirrored Hampton's increase in slaveholding, generated by the increase in demand for grains and tobacco.[37] Despite this upsurge, the work performed by enslaved laborers remained basically the same, from domestic labor, to caring for livestock and racehorses, to transporting the Ridgelys, to farming and industrial work.

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[36] Ibid. The Lloyds of Wye in Talbot County owned over 1,000 enslaved across several farms during Gov. Ridgely's time. The database of names of those enslaved by the Lloyds has over 2,800 listed. 104 is the specific number listed in the 1829 inventory of just the Hampton home farm.

[37] Ibid.

After the time of Governor Ridgely's death in 1829, the family fortune was in decline, with much of the wealth appropriated to settle the estate. What was left, including enslaved people, was divided among his nine heirs. After his death, the Ridgley

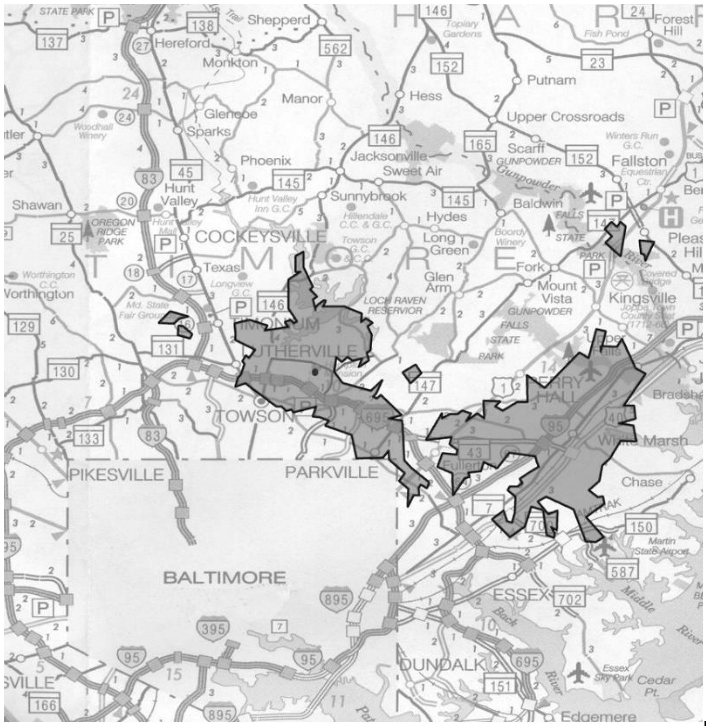

Figure 3.5 Dispersal of Property owned by General Charles Ridgely of Hampton at his Death

family wealth would never reach the heights achieved during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. During his lifetime the Governor gave away 5,000 acres of land to his immediate family while retaining 23,000 acres (see Figure 3.5).[38] Despite achieving all the trappings of success, the Ridgley family fortune would continue to wane throughout the nineteenth century. After the death of Governor Ridgely, the Northampton Ironworks, a major source of Ridgely income, closed. The last records of operation from the furnace date to 1829 but historians disagree on the accuracy of the assertion that 1829 was when the business closed for good, though it had unquestionably closed by the early 1840s.[39]

[38] Edmonds, "Landholdings."

With the imminent closure of the primary source of income for the family and the need to equitably divide the estate, an auction held in fall 1829 settled the estate, sold property, household items, livestock, and nearly all the farming implements.[40] What was left of the governor's estate was divided among his sons and daughters, or their surviving husbands. The contents of the will, however, would send shockwaves through the family; first was the conditional terms attached to the Governor's son, John Ridgely's (1790-1867) inheritance. John was to receive the main estate at the Hampton home farm, including the mansion and furnace lands, about 4,000 acres. However, there was a proviso that stated the division of land was conditional for ten years during which time John had to demonstrate his ability to maintain the estate.[41] To complicate the matter further, nearly all the farming implements had been auctioned during the estate sale. The second surprise was the codicil to the will that triggered a gradual manumission process for the enslaved inherited by the other heirs. The codicil left John Ridgely without inheriting enslaved workers from his father and most likely was driven by an intention to lessen the economic burden of maintenance of an enslaved work force. The governor also may have been influenced by the beliefs of his Methodist daughters, primarily Sophia Howard. He wrote the codicil two weeks after her death. At this time, slavery in Maryland in general was declining, as temporary and seasonal labor became more cost effective than owning and maintaining an enslaved workforce.[42]

The codicil manumitted enslaved women between the ages of 25-45 and men 28-45, and children under the age of two of the nearly 340 people the Governor owned. Seventy-four adults and 17 children were freed immediately in 1829, the others would be freed upon reaching the stipulated ages.[43] In accordance with Maryland law, people over

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[39] The 1843 map by surveyor Joshua Barney refers to the ironworks buildings as the "Old Furnace" and "Old Coal House." See HAMP 21905.

[40] Ibid. The estate sale was not caused by the closure of the ironworks; it would have happened anyway in order to divide property among the numerous heirs.

[41] Edmonds, "Landholdings"; Baltimore County, Wills, Liber 12, f. 239.

[42] Chase and Comer, "On The Border Of Freedom And Slavery"; There are three independent accounts of the period—one from a son-in-law in the early 1830s, one from a former slave in the 1850s, and one from a family historian in the 1890s—who support this assertion.

the age of 45 could not be freed, nor could they be sold. Tantamount to an admission of the injustice of slaveholding, the will also directed that the enslaved over 45 years of age should "enjoy the rewards and benefit of their own labor," and be "kindly treated and provided comfortably during their old age."[44] Families were separated as parents and infants could leave, but children over the age of two had to remain in slavery for their entire youth and robust years of their adulthood. With their children, close family members and aged grandparents left behind in slavery at the surrounding holdings of Ridgely heirs, the freed people often found it a necessary economic and social strategy to remain at the plantation as paid workers. The gradual manumission process left nearly 250 enslaved people, divided among the heirs.

The division of enslaved workers corresponded to the lands that the heirs had been given, except for John Ridgley who was not included in the division of enslaved workers. David Ridgley, the Governor's younger son, received half of the Nottingham Company lands and White Marsh Farm, and the 37 people that were enslaved there. The rest of the land, including the other half of Nottingham Forge, was divided among the Governor's seven daughters, totaling about 9,391 acres and several lots in Baltimore City.[45] Of the seven, three are of primary importance for this work: James Howard, widower of Sophia Ridgely Gough, of Cowpens, Harriet Ridgely and Henry Banning Chew of Epsom and Eliza Ridgely and Harry Dorsey Gough Carroll of Perry Hall.[46] Furthermore, in late May 1830 the Maryland General Assembly noted Priscilla (Ridgely) White and her brother David Ridgely as incorporated by the name Ridgely Iron Company.[47] Edmonds attributes the massive division of land among eight daughters as

[43] These numbers vary from essay to essay depending on the discoveries at the time written and may continue to change slightly. Infants, for example, have been more difficult to trace.

[44] Will of Captain Charles Ridgley, 1790, Liber 3, f.450-481, Baltimore County, Maryland State Archives, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

[45] Edmonds, "Landholdings."

[46] Daughter Priscilla Hill Ridgely White married to Stevenson White; Mrs. Harry D. G. Carroll, Mrs. James Carroll, Mrs. Charles S. W. Dorsey, Mrs. Henry Banning Chew, Mrs. George Howard, Mrs. James Howard, Mrs. Stevenson White.

[47] *Laws Made and Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1836), p. 80. https://books.google.com/books?id=TQRRAQAAMAAJ&pg=RA3-PP110&lpg=RA3-PP110&dq=ridgely+rolling+mills&source=bl&ots=yLBAu7Z7pm&sig=ACfU3U3-

the cause of the "ebb" of Ridgely wealth. Since married women were prevented from owning property independently, much of the lands were legally deeded to their husbands or were to be held as "tenants in common."[48]

A power struggle over the ownership of the family businesses ensued, as the various heirs attempted to take control of the ironworks and forges. Eventually the Ridgely heirs petitioned the Orphan's Court to resurvey and redistribute the lands.[49] As a result, ownership of the enslaved people laid out in the Governor's will was slightly altered over a period of several years. Significant sites of labor, primarily plantations, were now belonging to a single heir, rather than as tenants in common. A point of contention in the division of will was the reshuffling of ownership of enslaved workers, especially those who were over the age of 45.[50]

Changes to the heirs' inheritance likely moved the enslaved either closer to or farther from freed family members as was true for adults who were hired out or were moved from their original sites of labor. In a letter to his family in Pennsylvania, Henry Banning Chew wrote of an enslaved man who "has been sickly & who objected greatly going to Elk Ridge, his wife lives a few miles from me. George [Howard] not thinking he was of any value said any one who pleased might have him. I took him & he is doing as much work as any hand I have."[51] These few sentences reveal the complex spatial and social relationships the enslaved people navigated in order to maintain important family connections. Forced migration and displacement initiated by the death of the Governor was continued by the reevaluation of the moved people to different sites of labor, which could be counties apart. While the man referenced in the letter could not cohabitate with

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[48] Will of Captain Charles Ridgley, 1790, Liber 3, f.450-481, Baltimore County, Maryland State Archives, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

[49] Chase and Comer, "On The Border Of Freedom And Slavery"; Edmonds, "Landholdings."

[50] Chew Family Papers; Correspondence - Henry B. Chew to Benjamin Chew, Jr. (1828 -1829); Box 275, Folder 21; Epsom Farm Friday Night 13 Nov. 1829

[51]Chew Family Papers; Correspondence - Henry B. Chew to Benjamin Chew, Jr. (1828 -1829); Box 275, Folder 21; Epsom Farm Friday Night 13 Nov. 1829.

his wife, remaining in the area would allow him some semblance of a relationship with her, a relationship that would be disrupted if he had allowed himself to be moved to Elk Ridge.

The Orphan's Court proceedings would not end until well into the 1840s. However, it appears that the enslaved were notified of the manumission plans in the codicil not long after the Governor's death. According to Henry Banning Chew's letters to his father, it was Charles Dorsey who informed the enslaved workers at the forges that they were to be set free, but that he was to settle the estate and thus has, "by law a right to keep them for 12 months & that he was determined they should continue at work just as they were for nerly [sic] until all the stock of Pig [illeg.], etc. was worked up, if they behaved well he would pay them wages, if not he would pay them nothing but punish them severely."[52] In part, Dorsey is referring to the process of settling the estate, which would be drawn out several years. Nevertheless, it was reported that all the enslaved people at the forges "between 25 & 28 to 45 has left the Forges with every thing they could lay their hands on."[53] Thus began the first waves of migration resulting from the gradual manumission.

MIGRATION & HEIRS' LANDHOLDINGS

With the closing of the furnace and forges and dispersal of the large tracts of land, as well as re-division of the estate, the enslaved had to move to lands given to the Ridgely heirs as indicated in the estate records. According to Chew's records, several of the younger enslaved workers listed as coming from the forges traveled to his farm at Epsom. People were moved between sites as industry closed and agricultural pursuits took precedence. At the same time, the people freed by the Governor's will were left with few options but to return and work for wages at the site of their former enslavement.

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[52] Chew Papers; Correspondence - Henry B. Chew to Benjamin Chew, Jr. (1828-1829); Box 275, Folder 21; Baltimore Tuesday 4 August. 1829
[53] Ibid.

The gradual manumission process played a role in the pattern of migration in a number of ways. First, manumission of people over the age of 25 and 28 left the heirs with a workforce of very young children and elderly adults. The heirs tried to extract value from these workers by hiring them out, triggering another form of migration. Gradual manumission also tied the freed people to the plantation, as many stayed for employment and to stay close to family members who remained enslaved. Third, the gradual manumission process and the Governor's death meant that enslaved people were moved between sites, which would affect where their free family members would have gone in order to stay near them. Lastly, several workers at the furnace as well as at the Hampton home farm chose to escape at the moment of the Governor's death rather than stay and risk the uncertainty such events inevitably caused. Escapees who knew that eventual freedom was at hand strove for a more immediate guarantee.[54]

John Ridgley (1790-1867)

The Governor's older living son, John Ridgely, inherited the 4,000-acre Hampton estate (see Figure 3.5), without the necessary tools to maintain it. With no farming implements or enslaved workers, John had to devise a way to meet the 10-year provision in order to keep control of the lands. He had to hire people as early as 1829, the same year he was starting to buy enslaved individuals. Account books list 61 people hired during his tenure as owner of Hampton.[55] John Ridgely continued to purchase slaves up until 1841, purchasing 67 individuals, which increased to 82 by 1850. John Ridgely moved from having no enslaved workers in 1829 to being one of the largest slaveholders in the state and the second largest in Baltimore County.[56] As those newly enslaved by John Ridgely were not subject to the Governor's codicil, they remained enslaved through the Emancipation Proclamation, finally receiving their freedom by act of the Maryland Legislature in November1864, a few months before general emancipation through ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment.

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[54] Sheads, "Farm Managers, Runaway Slaves."
[55] Kent Lancaster, "Slaves bought after John Ridgely inherited in 1829", unpublished research reports and notes, Hampton NHS.

[56] Chase and Comer, "On The Border Of Freedom And Slavery;" Farm Account Book, 1878.

Many of the paid laborers John Ridgely hired had once been enslaved by his father, and many had family members that were still enslaved at nearby plantations.[57] The records kept by John Ridgely on the hirings give only limited insight into exactly what year the workers started at Hampton, knowing exactly when they returned or what they might have done in the meantime remains to be discovered. The account books do reveal, however, that even some of the enslaved purchased by John returned to Hampton as paid workers after being freed in 1864.[58]

Epsom Farm records also provide valuable insight into the new labor dynamic process between enslaved and free workers. "Epsom" is a combination of parts of "Northampton," "Ridgely Conclusion," "Stone's Adventure," and "Stansbury's Disappointment" and is located in modern-day Towson, as the campus of Goucher College. Having been the residence of the Governor's eldest son Charles Carnan Ridgely, Jr. until his death in 1819, Epsom Farm was passed on to Harriet and Henry Banning Chew through the Governor's will. Primary sources available through Goucher College, reveal that Epsom Farm had dynamics similar to Hampton between enslaved, formerly enslaved, and paid workers. Epsom, with the enslaved people held in bondage there, was primarily an agricultural concern, producing cereal crops, dairy products, and livestock sold at the major markets in Baltimore City, such as the Lexington and Broadway Markets.

After the resurveying of the Governor's estate, Henry and Harriet Chew received the farm and 18 enslaved people. Henry Banning Chew wrote regarding the matter: "I drew 18 valued at $1000, a better lot than some but not as satisfactory as I should have wished. It is rather provoking it had so happened that I was forced to take a farm in order to provide for the negroes."[59] Chew continued on to complain about the quality of people he acquired: "Among the negroes allotted to my share there are 3 old & 5 under 7, which of course are useless and will give me plague and trouble. I drew one girl a capital Cook having 5 years to serve."[60] This is probably Anne Potter, the only 20-year-old in the list of

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[58] Chew Family Papers.
[59] Chew Family Papers; Correspondence - Henry B. Chew to Benjamin Chew Jr. (1828-1829); Box 275, Folder 21; Balto. Thursday night 22d Oct. 1829

enslaved received by the Chews from the estate. Many of the people Chew inherited were "term slaves," in that they were to be freed when they reach the requisite ages, as well as slaves who were too old to be freed under Maryland law. Part of his dissatisfaction was the lack able-bodied enslaved workers for the manual farm labor.

Chew's displeasure was often directed towards the older people remaining in slavery at Epsom. His list included Old Betty (80), Old Sam (70) and Old Jack (64), the same number of elderly that the other heirs received. Chew, and likely the other heirs, considered these older people to be burdens, and since they could not be legally freed or sold, the heirs had to maintain them. However, the heirs did not hesitate to hire them out to other slaveholders, despite the Governor's will, which stated that the enslaved over 45 years of age should "enjoy the rewards and benefit of their own labor," and be "kindly treat[ed] and provided comfortably during their old age."[61] In another letter to his father in Philadelphia, Chew writes,

> He [an enslaved person] as well as others over 45 all think that they are not obliged to continue as slaves having heard that the old fool in his Will directed that they should have the benefit of their own labour [sic] etc., which you know is contrary to law. Some of the family who had such as were likely never to be of services to them imprudently hired them & sold them to their relations as some trifling sum say $1 or 5$ to get rid of the expense & trouble of maintaining them. Who are valuable over 45 now want the same kind of privilege such as I cannot afford having 3 who are completely useless & a great number of children not a <u>dead</u> but <u>living</u> expense to me.[62]

Henry Chew was looking to offload the enslaved that were unable to work particularly since the Governor's manumission caused the heirs to receive a large number of children, with the youngest only three years old. It was important, in the eyes of the heirs, to extract some kind of benefit from the slaves they were given. Later on, Chew

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[60] Ibid.

[61] Chew Papers; Correspondence - Henry B. Chew to Benjamin Chew, Jr. (1828-1829); Box 275, Folder 21; Baltimore Tuesday 4 August. 1829; Will of Captain Charles Ridgley, 1790, Liber 3, f.450-481, Baltimore County, Maryland State Archives, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

[62] Chew Family Papers, Correspondence, Henry B. Chew to Benjamin Chew Jr. (1828-1829), Box 275, Folder 21. Balto., Thursday night, 22d Oct. 1829.

would add four more people to his plantation; an elderly man, a 27-year-old laborer and two small children.[63]

The division of his enslaved workers would be a never-ending source of consternation for Chew, who at some points, struggled to manage the farm.[64] In his letters, Chew alludes to a previous conversation with his father in which the elder Chew suggested that the smaller children be hired out or given as gifts, in order to lift the burden off Henry.[65] Eventually Chew did take this advice, as he hired out several of the children he received, sending them to unknown locations, in some cases never to return. And for those children he could not hire out, Chew put them to work as he could, even those as young as six or seven years old. As Chew describes,

> I have a boy only 13 years old I can & do trust with my ox cart hauling corn from the field from mile distant. Another 10 years old is the only male house servant I have. My sixes and sevens are hauling corn etc., my fourth old laid [sic] by a man 64 yrs old has apparently become attached and is my horstler [sic] takes care of my horse & gig & brings water from a spring a ½ mile off for drinking water.[66]

In a period during which there were not many enslaved able-bodied adults available to work, the children became a key source of labor. However, as can be seen in Chew's letters, the work they could do was quite limited given their young age.

Not only did Chew receive children from his inheritance, but the enslaved women that he inherited gave birth to children of their own while they were held at Epsom. Due to the terms of the gradual manumission, children who were born to enslaved mothers and were over the age of two when the mother reached the age of manumission were to remain enslaved. This ensured that as long as slavery was legal, the heirs would have a

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[63] Chew Family Papers, Correspondence, Henry B. Chew to Benjamin Chew, Jr. (1828 -1829), Box 275, Folder 21. Epsom Farm, Friday Night, 13 Nov. 1829.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Chew Family Papers, Correspondence, Henry B. Chew to Benjamin Chew, Jr. (1828-1829), Box 275, Folder 21. Epsom Farm, Friday Night, 13 Nov. 1829.

workforce. However, Chews' letters reflect his displeasure at having to maintain so many children that he could not put to work, and the continued reproduction on the farm only meant that more children could be in his charge. However, newly manumitted workers from Hampton who had family members still enslaved at Epsom, such as Betty Brown and her child Susan, returned to work at Epsom as paid laborers.

The family disruption that resulted from gradual manumission could be negotiated as the freed people returned to the sites where their family members were enslaved. There are also instances of parents working at Epsom or Hampton until they could purchase the freedom of their child, which Chew mentions as a method of getting rid of the children too young to work.[67] There is also evidence of movement between work sites post-manumission. People found work when and where they could. Switching between nearby worksites could be related to having family members enslaved at either one or both Hampton and Epsom and possibly Cowpens. Chew's records contain the wages received by free workers at Epsom.[68]

Decisions to continue working at the plantation or leave were influenced by the relationship to the land and the labor, complicated by discriminatory legal codes that opened the door for harassment. Geographic familiarity provided stability in familial relationships, but also relative security, as the newly freed lived in an area where they were known, had existing social networks, and access to relative economic stability through employment by their former owners. Initially, some of the freedmen and women were dependent on their former owners.

In addition to performing tasks they most likely also performed during enslavement, workers rented cabins from their employers, bought food and supplies from them, and tenant farmed on their land. In this way, manumission and the gradual manumission process effectively tied manumitted people back to the plantation, further incentivizing them to remain in the same geographic region, if not at the same piece of land. However, not all the formerly enslaved returned to the plantation. For example, the

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[67] Chew Family Papers; Correspondence - Henry B. Chew to Benjamin Chew, Jr. (1828 -1829); Box 275, Folder 21; Epsom Farm Friday Night 13 Nov. 1829.

[68] Kent Lancaster, "HIRED", N.d. TS, unpublished, Hampton National Historic Site.

1830 census indicated that John Toogood (b. 1794), freed in 1829, lived in Baltimore City's 11th Ward and moved around the city in the years following.[69] Jerry Coates (b. 1793), another person freed in 1829, was living on Forest Street, south of Orleans in 1840.[70] However, prior to 1850, people commonly remained on or near the plantation, rather than moving away.

After 1850, those freed from Hampton moved farther from the plantation. By locating them and following their next steps, we have the ability to begin to piece together what their lives may have been like. Deeply intertwined physical and cultural landscapes provide a starting point as we identify the cultural institutions with which the former slaves interacted. We can identify what neighborhoods they lived in, what churches they may have attended, schools where they may have matriculated, and where other family members moved. All of these can provide insight into the lives and lineages of the formerly enslaved.

LOCATING FREEDOM

By cross-referencing census records for Baltimore City and County, city directories, cemetery records and previous information on African American settlements and neighborhoods, the team attempted to locate the formerly enslaved people in the Baltimore area. Of course there were several challenges faced in this task, as dozens of people with common names such as "Brown," Davis" and "Harris" filled the search results. To determine which of several people of the same approximate age and name were the correct person, we began by looking at the other details listed on the document in question; family members, occupation, their neighbors, and where they were living. From there we could eliminate people one by one, and in some cases easily identify the person, and sometimes entire families of people freed by the governor's will were located in a single household.

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[69] United States Census, *United State Census 1830,* [United States 1830] United States Census Bureau.

[70] R.J. Matchett, *Matchett's Baltimore Directory* (Baltimore, 1842).

Usually, census records, a principal source of exact addresses along with city directories, did not have the street names in the margin; the city Wards and County districts had to be cross-referenced with the ward or district maps and then a modern map. This was typically done using multiple map layers on a standard GIS application like Google's My Maps (Figure 3.6). From there, the exact or approximate addresses were then plotted on a Google Map created by the Ethnographic Team. It was important to take into account the renumbering of residences on Baltimore streets that occurred in 1886 and was reflected in the 1887 City Directory, since the post-1887 numbers are those in existence today.

In tracking those freed from Hampton across the region, three trends emerged. First, the majority remained within a 50-mile radius of the plantation; second, intergenerational family households moved and lived together, and third, freedmen and women often moved to communities that are now known to be historically African American communities. By analyzing census data for both Baltimore County and City, it was possible to locate a number of the people that were formerly held in slavery by the Ridgely's. We located the approximate or exact location of about 100 people, but do not have dates of residence for several of them. A good number of the people located were found in multiple census years, allowing their movements to be tracked across both time and space. Of those people, with a few notable exceptions, everyone appeared to move back and forth between Baltimore City and County.

Baltimore City, having the largest population of free African Americans of any US city before the Civil War, was known as a haven for free Blacks, as well as a hub for employment, but finding numerous freed men and women there was not initially anticipated by NPS.[71] For the people we could find in Baltimore City, we were able to locate exact addresses for many; the census takers had recorded the street names in the margins or they were listed in the city directories consulted. From this information, it was possible to map the distribution of these people on a modern map of Baltimore City. In doing so, we found that the majority of people were clustered in the Downtown, Mount Vernon neighborhoods, as well as in West Baltimore. The map is color coded by year,

[71] Olson, *Baltimore*.

with each color representing a census year, 1850 to 1900. Some of the points illustrate how a person moved across the city from decade to decade. In these records, we were able to find entire households of people freed from Hampton.

The Hawkins family, for example, was found living at Madison Avenue in the Mount Vernon neighborhood during the 1880s.[72] The building at the time was known as "the Shirley House," a thirty-room boarding house. Living in the same building are Harriet Hawkins (mother of Charles Hale Brown) and her other children Nelson, Sarah, and Louisa (Hawkins) Wicks and her daughter Willie Wicks. Both the Wicks and the Hawkins are former Ridgley families, and in this census listing we can see that they

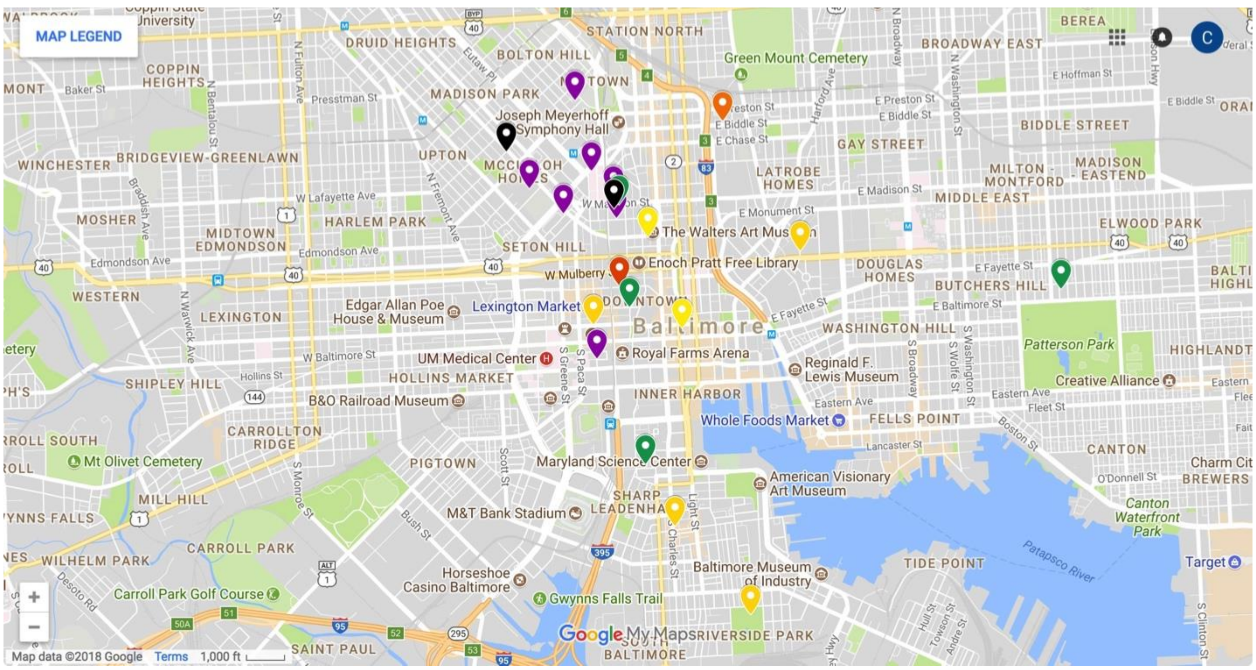

Figure 3.6 Google Maps "My Maps," *Hampton Ethnographic,* Nora Holzinger

Legend

1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900

[72] United States Census, *United State Census 1880,* (United States 1880) United States Census Bureau.

had intermarried and were living in a multi-generational household in the city. The census lists the Hawkins-Wicks family as working in domestic trades, as housekeepers and seamstresses. Harriet herself has the more prestigious occupation of dressmaker, and son Nelson was a prominent caterer.

For others who migrated to Baltimore and lived in the Mount Vernon area, working in domestic positions was common, however, living in boarding houses was not. Living in alley houses was more the norm. Alley houses can be found across the city, mainly in the areas that were built up before the 1910 acquisition of the outlying suburbs.[73] Alley houses, typically two-story four-room houses, were about half a lot deep and often sat behind the houses on the main Street—maybe a modern car's width. Such houses allowed lower income workers to live nearby and walk to their jobs.[74] Constructed in between major streets, these modest sized homes were sometimes built with certain types of workers in mind, like railroad workers in West Baltimore or dockworkers in Fells Point. Many alley streets in Mount Vernon were the location of carriages houses for the wealthy, where carriage drivers and grooms would reside in upstairs rooms. In the late-nineteenth century, Tyson Street alley, located in Mount Vernon and running parallel to Howard Street, had been home to several people emancipated from Hampton. In the 1870s, James Sheridan (b. 1820) was living at 808 Tyson St., and Henry Cummings was living at 45 Tyson St.[75] In 1900, Tilghman Davis (b. 1848) was living on Tyson Street at number 712.[76] In the census, typically at least one person in the household was employed as a domestic worker.

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[73] Olson, *Baltimore*, p. 117.

[74] Gary Scott review, "Baltimore's Alley Houses, Homes for the Working Poor since the 1780s" by Mary Ellen Hayword, *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship,* National Park Service. Vol. 7, no. 2: 109-111. https://home1.nps.gov/CRMJournal/Summer2010/Summer2010.pdf

[75] United States Census Bureau, "1870 Census," United States Census Bureau 1870.

[76] United States Census Bureau, "1900 Census," United States Census Bureau 1900. See Tilghman Davis Story Map, https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=e9522c155a6a474b86bc64ce79560b4e

West Baltimore emerged as another popular area of the city for generations of descendants from Hampton. West Baltimore contained a grouping of neighborhoods including Sandtown-Winchester, Upton and Seton Hill, Bolton Hill, and Druid Heights, once the premier Black society district in Baltimore City. This area was home to notable later figures, including Thurgood Marshall, Cab Calloway, Parren Mitchell, and Mae Carroll Jackson. Towards the end of the nineteenth century racial turnover created conditions in the housing market that allowed wealthy Blacks to move into the stately homes of West Baltimore. Baltimore's double-edged sword of housing segregation allowed wealthy African Americans to move to improved accommodations, but prevented the middle and lower classes from owning and renting adequate housing. This process eventually resulted in the redlined and divested neighborhoods seen today in both East and West Baltimore (See Figure 3.7).

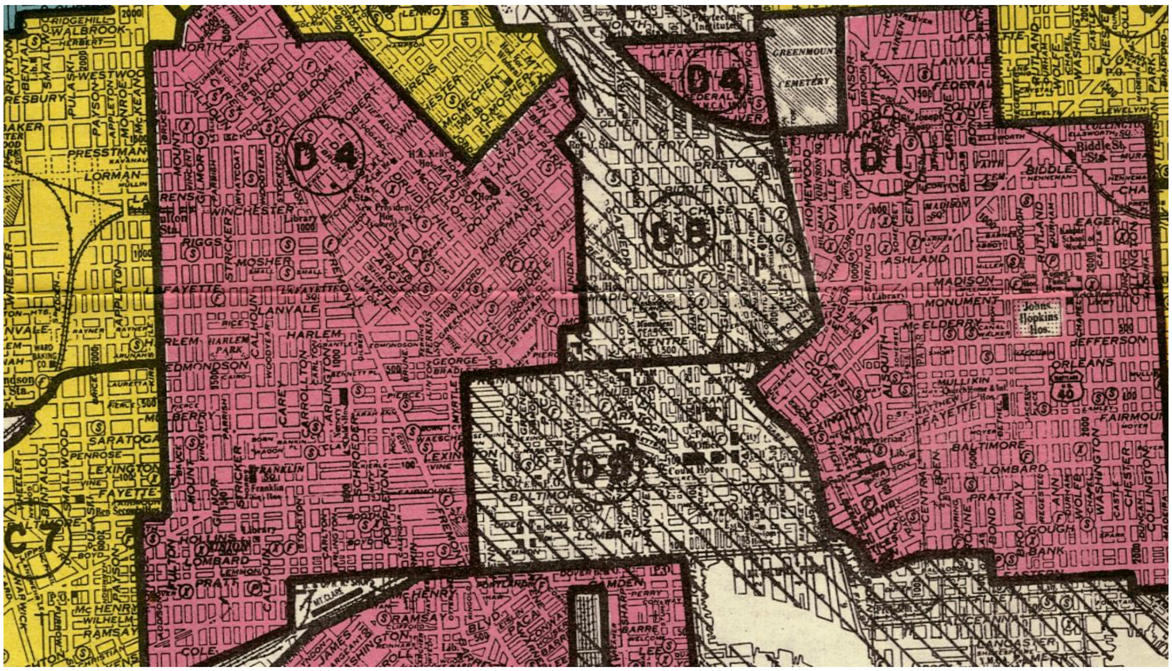
The process of ethnic turnover in Baltimore relied upon suburbanization of the late nineteenth century to create opportunities for the most wealthy of the Jewish merchant and manufacturing class to move into houses formerly owned by the white Christian gentry. The rate of racial turnover was then exacerbated by the ups and downs of a housing market affected by the imagined racial consequences of allowing Black and Jewish people into neighborhoods. Thus wealthy Black Baltimoreans were able to move into the large mansions and row homes. West Baltimore, which became an upper class Black enclave, provides an excellent example of how the racial geography of the city changed over the decades.

In 1860, just prior to the Civil War, Baltimore had the largest free Black population of any US City.[77] During this time, Blacks were primarily concentrated in alley dwellings located behind larger townhouses on the main streets. The homes on Eutaw Place, built in the 1880s for Baltimore's aristocracy, were soon encroached upon, purchased by the moguls of German Jewish manufacturing and merchant classes. Longstanding anti-Semitism in Baltimore and suburbanization lead to Christians migrating out of the Eutaw Place area. Around this same time, Black people were

[77] Antero Pietila, "Not in My Neighborhood" (Chicago: 2010).

moving into housing along Pennsylvania Avenue and the neighborhoods just off Pennsylvania.[78]

Around 1910, McCulloh Street became the dividing line between Black and white neighborhoods, with the Black side to the west and the white to the east and along the blocks leading to Eutaw Place. The Baltimore City Council passed legislation that



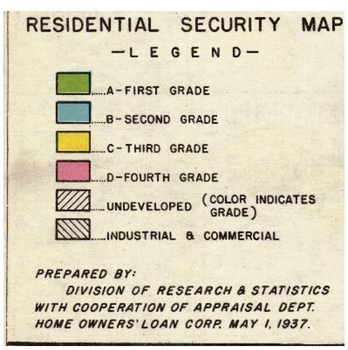


Figure 3.7 Residential Security Map of Baltimore, MD, 1937
https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/32621

designated every block as either Black or white and became the first civic body in the United States to enact a racial segregation order. Ordinance No. 610 was passed “for

[78] Ibid.

preserving order, securing property values and promoting the great interests and insuring the good government of Baltimore City."[79] The legislation stated that a white person could not move to a block that was more than half Black and vice versa, with the exception of live-in servants. A short while later in 1913, Black people began to move from Pennsylvania Avenue to McCulloh Street towards Lafayette Square as whites left the inner city for suburban neighborhoods.[80] Fulton Avenue then became the longstanding dividing line between the races, until it was finally crossed in the 1920s. With the color line down, the city leaders then instituted racially restrictive covenants and new zoning laws to maintain residential housing segregation. Then in 1933, only a few years after the Great Depression, The Home Owner's Loan Corporation (HOLC) created the infamous redlining maps at the behest of Roosevelt administration, which lead to decades of divestment and decay of Black neighborhoods, including the once thriving West Baltimore area (Figure 3.7) that had been home to some Hampton descendants.

Baltimore County is another major area where the newly freed from Hampton and their descendants found refuge. While there are numerous historic African American communities in Baltimore County, many of which are on or near Ridgely landholdings, Hampton's freedmen and women primarily moved to the Towson area, East Towson, Lutherville, and Sandy Bottom. Lutherville is situated northwest of Hampton and Towson, and Sandy Bottom is located near the intersection of York Road and Bosley Ave, in Towson. All three areas were once part of the Ridgely landholdings or were adjacent to Ridgely lands (Figure 3.8).

A letter written after emancipation by Charles Ridgley, son of John Ridgley, observed that many Black people had moved to Towson and that on some occasions he had seen the people freed from Hampton in that area.[81] US Census records also support the assertion that the newly emancipated were living in Towson, or at least in that

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[79] Baltimore, MD, Ordinance 610, (December 19, 1910); Alexandra S. Stein, "Mapping Residential Segregation in Baltimore City." Senior Theses, Trinity College, Hartford, CT 2011. Trinity College Digital Repository, p. 10, https://commons.trincoll.edu/cugs/files/2014/11/Stein-Alexandera-11-Mapping-Residential-Segregation-in-Baltimore-City.pdf

[80] Garrett Power, "Apartheid Baltimore Style: the Residential Segregation Ordinances of 1910-1913," *Maryland Law Review*, Vol. 42, Issue 2, 1983, pp. 289-332.

[81] Chase and Comer, "On The Border Of Freedom And Slavery."

district. Several locations in East Towson and the larger Towson area continually reappeared in oral interviews and documents regarding the movements of those who lived out their lives in freedom nearby. At one time or another, they called Pennsylvania Avenue, Lennox Avenue, Hillen Road, and Schwartz Avenue, all important areas for Towson's Black community, home. We have, indeed, located descendants of several Hampton families in Towson.[82]

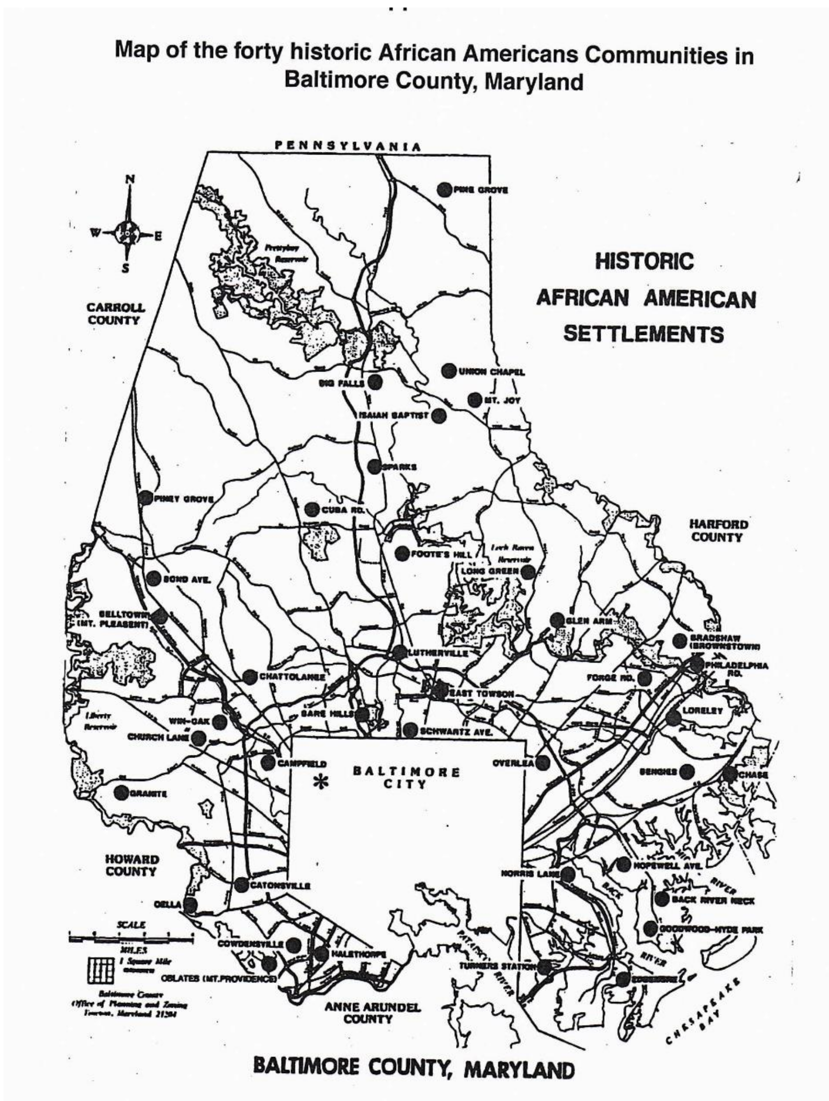

Figure 3.8: Map from Baltimore County Office of Planning and Zoning (Towson, MD)

[82] Diggs, *Since the Beginning*.

Pennsylvania Avenue and Lennox Avenue lie at the heart of East Towson. Several community members who gave oral interviews to Louis Diggs about their family history in the area are listed as living on these two streets, but they have a longer history. Not only were we able to connect families from East Towson, through Louis Diggs' work we connected the oral histories to the documentary record. We have identified the Batty, Brown, Davis, Harris, Williams and Gross families and hundreds of their descendants.

The Jacob House, previously located 347 Pennsylvania Avenue, was built in 1840 by an unnamed freed slave. Reportedly, the house had been the slave quarters on the grounds of Hampton and was home to several generations of freed slaves recently emancipated in East Towson. We were thwarted in our efforts to research this site more deeply due to the death of a key local historian, Mike Miller, whose family has historical ties to the site. Discovering the origins of the Jacob House ranks high on our list of suggested future research directions. Part of the house burned in 1999 and what remained was moved to 300 Lennox Ave in 2010 and turned into a museum.[83] Visitors can view exhibits that provide insight into what a life of freedom would have been like in East Towson.

Hillen Road runs roughly north/south, parallel to Loch Raven Boulevard from Towson into Baltimore City. In September 1853 Daniel Harris (b. 1789), emancipated from Hampton in 1829, bought a plot of land from Benjamin Payne on Hillen Road in what is now Towson, which he would retain until his death around 1868.[84] Dan Harris is thought to be the first Black landowner in the Towson area and this purchase is considered to the start of the East Towson community although local history dates the history and origins to the early nineteenth century. In 1869 a colored school and church

[83] Nayana Davis, "East Towson Celebrate Opening of Jacob House," Towson Patch 26 June 2011. Accessed July 26, 2018. https://patch.com/maryland/towson/east-towson-celebrates-opening-of-the-jacob-house

[84] Kent Lancaster, "Daniel Harris" N.d. TS, unpublished, Hampton National Historic Site.

were established on Harris' property along Hillen Road.[85] Both buildings can be seen on the 1898 Bromley Atlas.[86]

Schwartz Avenue, located just off York Road, straddles Baltimore County and Baltimore City. The first Black person to purchase a lot on Schwartz Avenue was Isaac Taylor, however it is unknown whether he ever built a house on the property.[87] Elizabeth Sheridan, wife of George Sheridan (b. 1817) and manumitted from the Ridgley's in April 22, 1848, was the first person to purchase a house there in 1876, though she had rented the house for six years prior to purchasing.[88] The dwellings at 417 and 437 Schwartz Avenue were once an African American schoolhouse, built in the early twentieth century.[89] The location at 437 Schwartz Avenue began serving as a school in the 1920s.

The area also attracted African Americans not from the Towson area or Ridgley holdings. The establishment of East Towson as a Black community, and the good life it offered, served as a draw for people from other parts of the state and country. East Towson as a joyous, welcoming, safe community echoed across our conversations and interviews. Oral histories also illustrate the importance of the plantation and the mansion as an employer to generations of Black residents in the area. Even for those who were not descended from Hampton's freed people, the plantation played a prominent role in everyday life.

CONCLUSION

[85] Louis Diggs "Outline historical Development of East Towson" n.d., T.S.

[86] G.W. Bromley & Co., *Plan of Towson,* n.d.

[87] Louis Diggs, "History of Schwartz Avenue," Since the Beginning: African American Communities in Towson, accessed July 26, 2018, http://www.louisdiggs.com/sincethebeginning/.

[88] Schwartz Avenue African American Survey District, Maryland Inventory of Historical Properties form. Maryland Historical Trust; United States Census 1880

[89] Schwartz Avenue African American Survey District, Maryland Inventory of Historical Properties form. Maryland Historical Trust; United States Census 1880

Tracing the lives of the people manumitted from Hampton plantation in 1829 by the codicil to will of Governor Charles Carnan Ridgely has been the focus of the Hampton Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Team. Mapping and following the newly freed men and women through the landscape proved one of the most effective tools when combined with oral histories and the documentary record such as census records, city directories and obituaries.

We thought it important to first lay out the Ridgely family's landholding, business enterprises and long history of using enslaved laborers before focusing on the manumission, and then detailing John Ridgely's participation in slavery after the death of the governor. Carefully outlining the terms of the codicil to the will exposed the hardships that accompanied freedom—the separation of families, employment insecurity and uncertainty about living arrangements.

Although Baltimore was known as a haven for free Blacks before the Civil War and continued as the home of several large free Black communities in the decades that followed, the City Council, nevertheless, passed the first neighborhood segregation ordinance in the United States in 1910. This Ordinance in combination with the redlining practices present in the City in the 1930s combined to ensure that a life in freedom would offer its own set of challenges. Despite these impediments to living a life unencumbered by racism and racist policies, the descendants of those once held in slavery at Hampton thrived, educated their families and attained stability. Following the trajectory from slavery—to manumission—to freedom, connecting documentary records to oral histories, and locating and interviewing living descendants has expanded the Hampton narrative around slavery beyond the 1829 manumission and extends the historical connections into the twenty-first century.

APPENDIX Q

List of Tasks from Farm Journal

FARM TASKS:

Clearing straw from barn yard	picking up stones in the meadow behind the mule stable
Taking wheat to town	cleaning out a gully
Threshing wheat	putting up straw in a long rick
Hauling wood to house – lots of that	plowing field
Hauling wood to smoke house	cleaning wheat
Sending hay to town	sending corn to town
Cleaning wheat	cleaning lofts
Ricking straw	burning chimneys
Spreading hay over barnyard	hauling wheat to granary
Fencing the straw rick	thrashing machine?
Shelling corn	fishing across the falls
Treading out wheat	repairing barn
Covering upper ice house w straw	hauling wheat to various places
Repairing fences	breaking stone
Sowing seeds	clearing manure from old haystacks
Planting trees	cleaning stables
Filling gullies	hauling compost
Sewing plaster	hauling sand
Picking out seed corn	grubbing (Harvesting potatoes)
Mending floodgates	cleaning water pipes to stable
Fixing drainer of the gardener’s house	hauling hay to cows
Turning out cows in field	hauling material for “grape border”
Shearing sheep	dig ditch for pipes

Helping masons
Cutting clover
Lots of moving and hauling
Ricking wheat
Pulling weeds
Turning over hay
Clearing fence rows
Cleaning barns
Filling ditches in garden
Mending road
Sowing guano
Cutting fodder
Picking apples
Making cider
Putting up fodder house
Filling wood house with coal
Hauling coal to kiln
Cleaning cellar
Putting up horse bower
Curing hams
Making lard & cutting up sausage meat
Filling kiln w stone
Cleaning Hampton house cellar
Hauling sods to grape border
orchard
Hauling wood from apple orchard
Fixing old hog pen for mares
orchard
Fanned wheat
Hauling gravel

hauling coal from town
cutting orchard grass
cradling
cutting timothy
hauling lime
cocking hay
cutting oats
harrowing
mowing lawns
cutting corn tops
drilling wheat
cross harrowing
spreading manure
shocking hay
clearing potato patch
pulling ears
sent wagon to town for bricks
lofting and husking corn
killing hogs
cover pipes in cellar
hand threshing oats
cutting down apple trees
spreading lime
hauling trees to plant in
cutting down elm wood
burned corn stalks in peach
mending road

CHAPTER SIX

BRIGHT DREAMS: DESCENDANTS OF MANUMITTED AND EMANCIPATED PEOPLE OF HAMPTON

Patsy M. Fletcher, Historical Consultant

> Poor dusky children of slavery, men and women of my own race—the transition from slavery to freedom was too sudden for you! The bright dreams were too rudely dispelled; you were not prepared for the new life that opened before you, and the great masses of the North learned to look upon your helplessness with indifference—learned to speak of you as an idle, dependent race. Reason should have prompted kinder thoughts. Charity is ever kind.
>
> --Elizabeth Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*

INTRODUCTION

Nicholas and Dinah Toogood, emancipated slaves of John Ridgely of Hampton, defied the pronouncement of Ms. Keckley (Keckly) who valiantly founded a contraband relief organization in Washington, DC. While some may not have known what to do once free, many of Hampton's manumitted and emancipated did know how to care for themselves; they burst through the fetters of servitude, embracing what freedom had to offer. Seventy-year-old Nicholas and his 60 year-old wife Dinah were no exception. They moved some 13 miles away to Baltimore City around 1865 into a community that was one of the most active in the struggle for civil rights where they lived until their passing over ten years later. Living mostly alone, they worked as laborer and laundress but attended the Orchard Street Church (Methodist Episcopal) where they were witness to speeches, conferences, educational achievements and other gatherings by the nation's most ardent seekers of full rights for African Americans.

This research seeks to explicate some of the ways that the now free people lived their lives. Through the review of Hampton Plantation's archives (HNHS), files at the various Baltimore City, County, and Maryland historical societies, federal and local census records, historic newspapers, maps, and other sources, the stories of several post-slavery families are pieced together illuminating their bright dreams—for family unity, community, property ownership, and respectability.

SUMMARY OF HAMPTON PLANTATION HISTORY

Hampton has a unique yet commonplace story in Maryland and United States history. Founded in the 1740s, Hampton Plantation, in its day, boasted a mansion that was considered the largest building of its type in America. The plantation utilized enslaved, indentured, and free labor to run its vast empire of thousands of acres that contained ironworks, shipping, agricultural, horticultural, winery, and even horse-racing enterprises. It was one of the largest slaveholding operations in the state; the enslaved of African descent numbered almost 400.[1]

A codicil to the will of Governor Charles Carnan Ridgely, John Ridgely's father, is one of the most discussed aspects of Hampton's history and involvement in slavery. According to the age stipulations in the will, 94[2] people received outright freedom as hundreds of others had to wait until they reached the designated ages outlined in the will. While manumission was a growing trend among many Maryland slaveholders during the antebellum period, an insightful study by Chase and Comer, finds that Gov. Charles Carnan Ridgely's 1829 manumission of his slaves was not so much an act of "altruism" or tied to the religious persuasions of his daughters, as previous scholars have surmised. Instead, the manumission was tied to the Panic of 1819 and the resultant tumultuous decade of economic recession. Chase and Comer recast the 1829 manumission as a "delayed manumission" that kept most of the people in bondage for decades while ensuring that their progeny would also remain slaves until they reached the Ridgelys' legally stipulated manumission ages of 28 for males and 25 for females.

[1] "Statement of Work," *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, Hampton National Historic Site*, Attachment A, September 2014.

[2] This number varies and may continue to change as more Freedom Certificates are found. See LaRoche, "Tracing Lives," fn. 1, this volume.

Chase and Comer posit that this was an important distinction between narratives that stress immediate manumission from Governor Ridgely's 1829 will and the conclusion that the will's dictates created "term slaves," who experienced processes of delayed manumission. But, as stated, this termed release process meant that the enslaved would remain in bondage—passing on the condition of "term slavery" from one generation to the next.[3]

John Ridgely, the natural heir to the seemingly righteous Governor Charles Carnan Ridgely, was left with an ailing plantation and almost no labor. Initially, he hired enslaved workers held by his siblings to continue to work for Hampton and its interests. However, his second marriage to his cousin, the wealthy Eliza Eichelberger Ridgely, enabled him to purchase almost 80 workers by 1840s only to have them emancipated in 1864 by the new state constitution. The Toogoods were among this latter group.

Maryland's reluctance to manumit sometimes grew out of paternalistic attitudes--i.e., that Negroes could not or would not be able to care for themselves if free, leaving that responsibility to fall on white society and government. Despite the state's continued practice of slavery throughout the Civil War, Maryland, as a border state, remained loyal to the Union. At the end of the War, once the Emancipation Proclamation was enacted, the Freedmen's Bureau was set up ostensibly to assist with their welfare. Although the Bureau was to work with the newly freed in the Confederate states, it was permitted to open offices in Maryland. The area became flooded with missionaries from private organizations intent on addressing the needs of the new citizens such as marriage, education, or helping to reunite sundered families, while the occupying military forces concerned itself with violence and re-enslavement prevention and enfranchisement.

PUTTING THE DREAM IN MOTION

[3] Robert T. Chase, PhD and Elizabeth Comer, "On The Border Of Freedom And Slavery: The Hampton Plantation, The Northampton Ironworks, and The Transformation of Labor, 1740-1948," 2014, pp. 5-4.

But what of the formerly enslaved of Hampton and its numerous enterprises? Ridgely family hired some of the freed people. Many, though, went off on their own, setting up small communities in Baltimore County or joining the urban population of Baltimore City, seeking to extricate themselves from the orders and domination of slaveholders, and to live with some autonomy.[4]

Despite of these many challenges and stumbling blocks, across the project, a few enslaved and manumitted families were identified and traced to the twentieth century. That is the story that we tell. From the research findings, it was evident that those families, once free, worked at fulfilling the promise of freedom, leading lives that realized their dreams—marriages, homes and land ownership, naming children after relatives, holding paid jobs, attaining education, building spiritual communities, achieving sexual autonomy, and a right to enjoy leisure. For some of the newly freed, participation in protecting and maintaining their civil rights were equally important aspects of their lives. They desired self-determination.

Naming

At Hampton, there is some evidence that the enslaved may have had a measure of control over naming; there are sons named as juniors and women whose daughters bear their first names. To what extent the Ridgelys allowed their bondspeople to name their own children is unclear. But the numerous examples of the lack of last names among the enslaved demonstrate the extent of white male privilege in the naming and denying enslaved men, women, and children last names. One of the first acts that the

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[4] Robert F. Engs*, Freedom's First Generation: Black Hampton, Virginia 1861-1890*, (New York: Fordham Press, 2004). Since Ridgelys owned property in Baltimore, and spent winters there, several of the enslaved servants accompanying them would have become familiar with the city, places to reside, and employment opportunities in the growing industrial nature of the local economy. Harry Dorsey Gough, one of the Ridgely heirs, for example, owned a large residence on Bank Street at least until the 1840s. Col. John Edgar Howard, another heir, succeeded in acquiring the land on behalf of the city to develop a park at Charles and Monument Streets. The labor required to clear the land, lay the boulevard, secure materials for the Washington Monument and then erect it in the midst of tastefully landscaped setting was most likely completed by the enslaved, but would have also brought knowledge of Baltimore to the enslaved workers and its advantages and perhaps extra wages. Robert Gilmor Jr., "Recollections of Baltimore,'' *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Fall/Winter 2016, pp. 298, 300.

former bondspeople took on was the naming of themselves and their children. After emancipation and manumission, it would appear that parents were relying on a recognizable naming pattern. In freedom, many children were called by an older relative's name, such as a grandfather or a beloved aunt, rather than merely as "Sukey's Tilghman," for example, as noted in Hampton records. This tendency to use the mother's first name to differentiate among the children, complicates our ability to identify nuclear families and successive relationships.[5]

This project, to chart the paths of the newly manumitted or emancipated into the twentieth century, provided additional challenges. The dearth of surnames to attach to the reoccurring given first names was among the most difficult stumbling blocks—there were many successions of the same name. One would think that last and first names of many Hampton Black people were "apostrophe." The project is still in the process of tying people to one another, uniting families through archival and anecdotal records.

While copious daily and inventory records exist, few, except shoe and clothing lists, actually identify which of the enslaved performed what tasks or even what life was like for them. Simultaneously, Hampton's slaveholding history was airbrushed, and the estate and family presented as a gracious, industrious, albeit paternalistic, household embodying remnants of bygone heroic days.

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[5] Re: naming: per Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery: 1619-1877* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), p. 140, "Slaves used naming practices to solidify family ties threatened with rupture, naming children after fathers and grandfathers… [M]any slaves took surnames, for the sake of family unity as well as family dignity," surnames they frequently kept to themselves; Wilma King, *Stolen Childhood: Slave Youth in Nineteenth-Century America*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), pp. 6-8, 150, "female children received their grandmother's name more frequently than their own mother's name."

Figure 4.1 "John Ridgely, Jr., Jane Rodney Ridgely and Servant," Hampton National Historic Site website, https://www.nps.gov/museum/exhibits/hampton/exb/people/John_Ridgely_Jr/HAMP22491_JohnRidgelyJr_JaneRidgely_servant.html accessed April 29, 2020 .

Disappointingly, except for the elision of a few offspring of white Ridgely males and Black bondswomen, Ridgely family genealogy is presented intact and detailed and available on an otherwise engaging website. For the most part, the history of their laborers, enslaved and free, is ignored to the point that as late as 1948 when the last of the Hampton masters gave over the significantly reduced plantation to the National Park

Service, the Black man helping them move out of the house though photographed is not even named (Figure 4.1). To this day, he is labeled as "servant" though with a small bit of research, he could have been identified either as Edward Holmes or Robert Crump, both of whom had worked in the Ridgely household for at least ten years.[6]

Marriage

Besides naming themselves, the solemnization of marriages was also sought. Though slave marriages with owner consent were considered legal in Maryland by law in 1767, ten years later in 1777, Daniel Dulany, prominent Maryland jurist, wrote that Africans could not marry because they were property of their owners. Matrimony in Cis-hetero relationships assumed that husband and wife belonged to each other. This position was adopted thus making wedlock between slaves illegal and ensuring white wealth via autonomy over Black bodies, their offspring, and continued denial of civil rights.[7]

Though the Freedmen's Bureau encouraged matrimony in the 1860's, several of Hampton's people were already claiming to be legally married. According to Henry White, John Ridgely's white grandson, writing a family memoir in the early twentieth century, his grandmother Eliza E.R. Ridgely showed concern about religion for those she enslaved. She briefly provided church services in the attic of the Hampton carriage

[6] Sleuthing the 1948 image of the Ridgelys leaving the plantation with the unidentified Black man carrying their luggage: per the U.S. Department of Census 1940 census, there were 4 servants enumerated with John Sr. and Jane Ridgely: Selina Devlin (white, 70, housekeeper, born Nova Scotia); Anna Benson (60, cook, b. MD); Thomas Holmes (45, butler, b. VA); and Edward Crump (37, houseman, also b. in Virginia). But also listed with the Ridgelys ten years earlier in 1930 were Crump, (21 as the chauffeur); Holmes, (31, butler); and, Devlin, (60, housekeeper). Two others were in the household – Maria Taylor (57, cook); Mamie Brooks (43, chambermaid). All noted as servants and "col" [colored] except for Devlin, 60. More work will have to be done to find the name of the Black man and to see if any "servants" were descendants of the original 1829 group. Based on photo analysis alone and relative ages, P. I. Cheryl LaRoche believes the image could be of 45-year-old Thomas Holmes. See: https://www.nps.gov/museum/exhibits/hampton/exb/people/John_Ridgely_Jr/HAMP22491_JohnRidgelyJr_JaneRidgely_servant.html

[7] Morris Radoff, ed., The Old Line State, Annapolis, 1971, 100; Tera Hunter, *Bound in Wedlock* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017), pp. 67-70.

house under the direction of a white minister (Figure 4.2). She also oversaw funerals and weddings in the great hall of the mansion.[8]

Although the Hampton records do not elucidate the details or even the number of persons provided weddings and funerals in the "big house," we know that on some plantations it was traditional to offer weddings around the Christmas holidays when

Figure 4.2 The Carriage House at Hampton

seasonal agricultural work was generally at a low.[9] Though White wrote that neither he nor his grandmother realized these marriages conducted in the mansion and by a minister were not considered valid at the time, research reveals many were accepted as lawful. Certainly, most enslaved took their marriages seriously. The Johnson/Gully family was one such instance.

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[8] R. Kent Lancaster, "Chattel Slavery at Hampton/Northampton, Baltimore County," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* Vol.95, No. 4 [Winter 2000] citing n. 14) 'Negroes Cloathing [sic] 1782-87', Special Collections, (G. Howard White Papers) MSA SC 1898, passim; Henry White, "Memoirs," pp. 418-19; Anne Davis Williams was funeralized in Hampton Hall upon her death in 1890.

[9] King, *Stolen Childhood*, p. 63.

Gully/Johnson: Dreams of Marriage, Preservation of Family Ties and Pursuit of Civil Rights: The HNHS records show that Esther Gully came from a family with roots at Hampton stemming from John Ridgely's 1841 purchase of enslaved workers.[10] Esther was born in 1829, most likely in Frederick County. At some point Esther took the surname Baker; she was then referenced in the Ridgely records as Esther Baker. There was a Henry Baker enumerated in the plantation records but no other information is known about their possible relationship except that Esther had at least two children who went by the Baker surname.

Esther's next four children carried the Johnson surname. Further complicating the matter, Esther appears to have been a nickname for Hester, by which she was also known. In 1864, when she filed a military widow's pension for herself and her four younger children, she was now Hester Johnson, stymying our initial search.[11] In the application, she states that she was the wife of Franklin Johnson, a free man of color, and that he was father of her youngest four children. The births were verified by Catherine (Kitty) Gully who was enslaved at Hampton and served as midwife but who was most likely Esther's mother as well. Hester and Franklin's marriage was carried out on December 24, 1856 in Hampton mansion by a white Presbyterian minister, R. C. Galbraith, who according to Ridgely family history provided the religious services for the enslaved at the behest of Eliza Ridgely.[12] Esther/Hester Gully Baker Johnson was successful in her Widow's Pension claim.[13] Her marriage was accepted as valid by the U.S. Military.

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[10] One source says the Gullys came in 1834. Family members were purchased in 1841 from a Frederick County slave holder named James Hawkins to settle his debts; Jenny Masur, "Hampton Slave Purchases," HNHS, 1995.

[11] Hester Ann Baker Johnson, "Claim for Widows Pension", US Sanitary Commission, available at www.fold3.com/image/307966733. Her children by Johnson and age at filing in 1864: Frances, 8/7/54 (10); Elizabeth, 10/9/56 (8); Rachel, 7/16/61 (3); and, Franklin, 5/1/64 (<1).

[12] Ibid. www.fold3.com/image/307966735. The claim states that they were married at Hampton. When it was learned that Galbraith himself may be associated with a woman of African descent, his tenure was eventually cancelled. The 1860 and 1880 federal census records show Galbraith's spouse as white.

[13] Ibid. www.fold3.com/image/307966748, Johnson enlisted March 31, 1864 and was assigned to Company G 39th Regiment US Colored Infantry. However, he died of disease on September 24, 1864 at the General Hospital in Philadelphia.

Though not much more is yet known about the Johnsons prior to Franklin Johnson joining the U.S. Colored Troops, he was a free man and a member of the John and Eliza Ridgely household at least in 1860! He lived at Hampton Plantation along with the loyal Davis/Brown family and possibly his own father, a man named William Johnson who was twice the age of Frank and may have been the William Johnson Sr. manumitted in 1829.[14]

Without further information, it is concluded that Hester Baker was Esther Gully. Hester had as witnesses in her widow's pension claim, Catherine Gulley mentioned previously, James Gulley and Edward Humphrey, also from John Ridgely's 1841 purchase. In a subsequent claim, Jane and John Sheridan of Towson attested to their acquaintance with the Johnson family.[15] Maintaining close connection with one's family seemed evident in those who rallied behind Hester—this daughter, sister, cousin and friend—to secure means of support for herself and her children. In doing so, they assisted in her insistence for her rights as a widow of a veteran.[16]

Family Ties and Migration from Hampton to Towson and Baltimore

Sheridans (et al): Eight Sheridans were held in slavery at the time of Charles Ridgely's death. Four of them, Henry, John, Milly and Rezin fell within the age ranges stipulated in the will and were manumitted in 1829. Juliet, George and James were left behind in slavery until they reached the age of 25 for women or 28 for men. Similar to the Gully/Gulleys, the Sheridans remained connected, post-manumission and emancipation.

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[14] Franklin's name is not on the manumission list though he may be the Frank Johnson listed as being paid wages from 1836 on, "Slave Surnames and Place Names for Genealogists, 9/95 incomplete," HNHS.

[15] January 1868 claim for increase in pension. www.fold3.com/image/307966792-5. She and her family had moved back to the County per the claim form and her character was attested to by Jane M. Sheridan and John E. Sheridan. These were most likely a white family who lived nearby in Towson.

[16] Hester A. Johnson was found on the 1920 census at the age of 95, living with a daughter Annie M. Whyte, aged 48. Hester is noted as a widow who had seven children with only one still living. They resided on Livingston Street in Baltimore.

One of the new freedoms was the possibility of keeping one's family together. As stated, Milly Sheridan seemed to have been the matriarch of the family once enslaved at Hampton. She was manumitted in 1829 per the will of Governor Ridgely as was George Sheredine.[17]

Hampton records indicate that Milly was assigned to the dairy (Figure 4.3). During this period, Chesapeake Maryland economy was shifting from tobacco to grain production and becoming increasingly more industrial with iron forges, assisted by improved transportation through the installation of trains. Men and women had to become more versatile. The kind of jobs they ended up performing largely influenced the course of their lives.[18]

In the dairy, Milly would be expected to churn the milk, produce clabber or soured milk, perhaps distribute portions to the various sectors of the house and work areas. Other women who would have worked the forges and furnaces were exposed to dangerous and arduous tasks— lime burners, miners and molder. They carried and

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[17] The last name Sheridan was spelled variously as Sheridin, Sheridine, Sherdon, Sherden, Shearden. Sheridan is the preferred version for this paper, however, the other versions are noted as found in the records. "Slave Names…"

[18] Jessica Millward, *Finding Charity's Folk: Enslaved and Free Black Women in Maryland*, 8; Occupations at Hampton, Kent Lancaster Papers, HNHS; "Varieties of Slave Labor," Dairies were used to keep milk at a cool even temperature. After about ten hours the cream would rise to the top of the milk pans. It was then collected and churned into butter, a task that was usually assigned to young girls. See also E.H. Pickering, Photographer, *Historic American Buildings Survey*, September 1936 SOUTH AND EAST ELEVATIONS - Hampton, Dairy, 537 1/2 Saint Francis Road, Towson, Baltimore County, MD https://www2.gwu.edu/~folklife/bighouse/images/xi3.jpg, accessed 8/28/2018.

Figure 4.3 Hampton Dairy. Courtesy HNHS

washed coal and suffered burns and lost limbs. Most of the numerous Hampton absconders ran from these industrial endeavors.[19] In spite of the various job skills learned and taken on by enslaved women and men, once free, the gendering of poverty became more evident with women consigned to the bottom of the economic scale. Black men fared a little better. Though they were now free, people of color were denied equal access to equitable pay. Few occupations or enterprises were open to them.

After freedom, Milly did not move far from Hampton to set up her own household. An 1885 "Remembrance" places her not far from the dairy. "[N]ear Epsom Church, on the slope of the hill in a corner of Chew's woods an old log house [was] occupied for a long time by a colored woman named Milly Sheridan."[20] Chew's Woods

[19] Millward, *Finding Charity's Folk*, p. 9

[20] Thomas H. Taylor, "A Schoolboy's Remembrance of Towsontown Nearly Half A Century Ago," *Maryland Journal*, May 1885.

Figure 4.4 Hopkins Atlas, 1878 showing the location of the Hampton Dairy, Chew Property at Epsom Farm, Epson [sic] Chapel (circled) and approximate location of Chew's Woods south of Hampton. Epsom Chapel once sat on Joppa Road where it intersects with Virginia Avenue.[21] LOC

was on the northern border of Towsontown at Epsom Farm.[22] Since the 1830 federal census only identified the head of household by name and the remaining residents by age range and gender, it was difficult to determine who exactly was living with her and their possible kinship connections.

On the copious Ridgely lists, Milly's children were first identified as possessives of Milly, i.e., "Milly's Priss" or "Milly's Dan," making it difficult to determine definitively the actual family composition. Only two Millys were listed with surnames, Milly Hogan and Milly Sheridan. We have little information and no birthdate for Milly Hogan. In comparing the census data with scant birth lists, one can surmise who might have been with her in 1830. If Milly was 25 in 1829, then one can guess that she was born in 1803 or 04. If the

[21] "Ninth District," *Atlas of fifteen miles around Baltimore, including Anne Arundel County, Maryland*, Griffith Morgan Hopkins, Jr. Philadelphia, 1878.

[22] Chew's Woods stretched north from Joppa Road in Towson, an area where the tracts were subsequently used for the Towson Town Center and Edenwald, the Sheraton Hotel and adjacent buildings.

birthdates on the list below are reasonably accurate and complete, then she must have been giving birth at 13 or 14. That may have been more typical at Hampton than not.[23]

Milly’s George, b. 1817
Milly’s Elisha Hogan, b. 1817*
Milly’s Priss, b. 1819
Milly’s Fanny, b. 1820
Big Milly’s Sall, b. 1821
Milly’s Sam, b. 1821
Milly’s Bill Brown, b. 1822
Milly’s Dan, b. 1822
Milly’s Eliza
Milly’s Ann Potter, b. 1823
Milly’s Tamar, b. 1823[24]

Table 1.6 Milly’s

As stated, per the 1830 federal census, a Milly Shearden was living in District 2 of Baltimore as a free woman of color, age between 24 and 35. There were three others in her household—two boys under the age of 10, and a girl/woman aged between 10 and 23. Enumerated nearby are other free families of color with familiar albeit ubiquitous, last names – Williams, Johnson, Meads.

[23] It is thought that enslaved women started having children around 19 years of age. Deborah Gray White, *Ain’t I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South*, Revised edition, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999).

[24] The compilation of Christmas gifts to enslaved children from 1841-1854.

By 1860 census, Milly may have become Amelia, age 58, found heading a household with Fannie and Sophia ages 28 and 23; and with Mary Brown age 14, Amelia Brown, 10, George, 8, Sophia 6, Mary, 3, and Elizabeth, 1. The elder Sophia, and Mary, and the younger Amelia and Elizabeth are described as mulattoes.[25] They were enumerated in the Lauraville post office of the 9th District of the County not far from Ridgely properties of White Marsh and the Hampton Farm.[26]

A George, found on the 1870 census for Towson, is shown as a 56-year-old mulatto working as a drayman and worth $4000. He was enumerated with Elizabeth Sheridine, a 45-year-old mulatto who was noted as “keeping house.” George is likely Milly’s son, and one of the two boys under 10 found with Milly 1830 as “free colored.” As for Elizabeth, she may have married into the Sheridan family or be related in some other way. With the commonality of names and the obscure evidence of connection, ties were difficult to establish.

In 1876, an Elizabeth Sheridan was the first African American to purchase land on Schwartz Avenue in Towson where she had rented the previous six years according to oral history.[27] Counter to the habit of census takers to simply classify most Black men as laborers and women as laundresses, unskilled and unprepared for a life of freedom as declared by Keckley, Elizabeth is noted as “keeping house” while her husband, a 56-years-old George was listed in 1870 as a drayman, and had accumulated some wealth

[25] 1860 Federal Census for Lauraville. The age given for Fannie (Frances) is about ten years later than the date of her birth per the Ridgely lists. There was also an Amelia around the same age as Milly who may have been a sister.

[26] By 1877 Hopkins map of the county, Lauraville was cited in the 12th District. The change is remains to be researched.

[27] MD Register, BA-3046, "Schwartz Avenue African American Survey District." The history of the district dates from the purchase of one-and-a-quarter acres of land by Daniel Harris in September 1853. This is believed to be the first documented African-American landholding in Towson, and is among the oldest such ethnic enclave in Baltimore County. By 1927, the community was ninety-five percent improved with single-family dwellings, social buildings, a

for the times. This set of Sheridans had at least two children, who were Mary, 25 years old, in 1870, and George, 18 years old.[28]

This subset of Sheridans also exemplifies values and desires of newly freed. The fact that Elizabeth is keeping house is reflective of life-style aspirations of post-antebellum Blacks. She still may have been taking in laundry or working out of the home as a caterer or seamstress, however, the preference was that the wife/mother stay out of the labor force and in the home taking care of the children. As stated by Sharon Harley, "Although members of the black community knew the history and necessity of black women's contribution to the household income, they did not whole heartedly support this activity. A married woman especially if she had young children, and who did not work for wages, was a positive reflection of her husband's ability to provide for his family."[29] At the very least, as a drayman George owned a wagon and a horse or two to make his deliveries, which represented significant means.[30]

Additionally, one of the "dreams" particularly for women was the ownership of land. Certainly Elizabeth Sheridan fulfilled that goal. Through female benevolent societies, churches and other organizations where women could assume leadership positions, a primary aim was the purchase land, for themselves or for their institutions, no matter how small the parcel. Ownership represented economic and personal independence.

As learned from the research undertaken, even with the paucity of material on Hampton's enslaved families, it is clear that, in the words of Deborah Gray White:

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school, and religious structures. Many of the current homeowners and tenants living in the neighborhood are descendants of the first African-American residents. BA-2564 East Towson African American Survey District Towson, Baltimore County 1869-1940 BA-2564.
East Towson African American Survey District Towson, Baltimore County 1869-1940.

[28] It is unclear, though, in 1860 if they are related to the Sheridans of Hampton.

[29] "When Your Work is not Who You Are: The Development of a Working-Class Consciousness among Afro-American Women", ed. Darlene Clark Hine, Wilma King, Linda Reed, *"We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible: A Reader in Black Women's History"*, Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing, 1995, p. 28.

[30] A drayman was a person who delivered goods and products. It was one of the more lucrative businesses that Blacks were permitted to own.

> freedom demanded as much courage as had slavery…freedpeople [drew] on lessons learned in slavery. With all blacks under assault, both men and women had to be providers. Both had to protect their children, fight for their rights as citizens, and aggressively protect their bodies and the integrity of the black family.[31]

Though Baltimore (and the state of Maryland for that matter) had the largest free Black population before and after the Civil War, violence against them was an ever present threat especially following emancipation. Now that the economic value in holding slaves had been rendered null and there was no real reason to care about the life and health of their human property, white people were free to brutalize the freedmen with almost no repercussions. Once further inquiry is conducted especially into the violence, so-called apprenticeship system and peonage—all ruses by many former slaveholders to maintain free labor—and there is confirmation of Sheridan relationships, we will have a more accurate picture of the fate of the Hampton people.

What we do know is that a younger George (Sherdon), the first generation born out of slavery, joined the Navy during the Civil War, another indication that Black people did not shy away from showing patriotism and exercising their civil rights even while the larger society conspired to take away those same rights. Enlisting on February 17, 1864, at age 30, he served as a landsman on four different Union vessels including the well-known Commander Perry gunboat and the Maratanza, a steamer converted to a gunboat (See Figure 4.5).[32] A landsman, the lowest Navy rank was usually assigned to new recruits with little or no experience at sea. Landsmen performed menial, unskilled work aboard ship.

Prior to and after the war, this George worked in Baltimore as a caulker and later as a shucker. Among his neighbors were Black people of various professions: porters, waiters, whitewashers, brick makers. George is consistently listed as a mulatto. In the

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[31] Deborah Grey White, *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999) p. 177.

[32] https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-sailors-detail.htm?sailorId=SHE0023

1870s he lived on Front Street in Baltimore City with George and Julia Sherdan who had been emancipated according to the Governor's will, George in 1848 and Juliet in 1830.[33]

Sherdon, George H.

PLACE OF BIRTH:
Baltimore, Maryland

AGE:
30

COMPLEXION:
Negro

OCCUPATION:
Caulker

HEIGHT:
5' 6"

PLACE OF ENLISTMENT:
Baltimore

DATE OF ENLISTMENT:
Feb 17, 1864

TERM OF ENLISTMENT:
1

RATING:
Landsman

DETAILED MUSTER RECORDS:

Date	Vessel
Jun 30, 1864	Victoria
Mar 31, 1864	Comm. Perry
Jul 1, 1864	Comm. Perry
Dec 31, 1864	Maratanza

Figure 4.5 "Sherdon, George H." *Adapted from Sheridan Muster Record.*

A 53-year-old Julia (Juliet) Sheridan is found on the 1860 census living with daughter Keziah, age 23. In the household is 5-year-old Lattora Dowsey (Dorsey). The three are designated mulatto. The question arises in this and other instances—who fathered (or perhaps mothered) the interracial children? While much research has gone into attempting to identify family groupings, the paternity of many listed as mulatto may

[33] 1850, 1860, 1870 Censuses; Baltimore City Directory, 1870s; https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-sailors-detail.htm?sailorId=SHE0023.

be a function of simply classifying according to skin color but more likely the pairing of a woman of color with a white man.[34]

Juliet (Julia) and family were living in Baltimore City by 1860. Per the 1868 *Woods City Directory*, Julia resided at 23 Jefferson Street—no occupation was provided. George the elder is listed as a laborer. By the 1870 census, Julia is listed as a 70-year-old living with a 30-year-old George whose occupation is listed as "laborer." In the household are the Mason family of six mulattos headed by John and Catherine in their 30s.[35] The 1873 City Directory entry has George (the elder), George H. (the younger), and Julia living together. George the younger was noted again as working as a shucker.[36]

There are other Sheridans for whom further research must take place to determine exactly how they are tied to one another after manumission and emancipation. Here are just a few.

- Henry Sherdan, shoemaker, 1829 manumitted.
- Daniel Sherdan, dam supervisor, 1784.[37]
- Emilia (17) and Samuel (19) Sherdin on **1850** Census in the First District living with Ruth (56) and Abraham Charms (30). Ruth and the Sherdins are noted as mulatto.
- Samuel and Emily Sheridan are found on the 1860 census as a married couple heading a household with Amelia (1), Ruth Charms (still 55), and Alice Charms (12). A Moses Charms was on the Ridgely's 1870 HAND list.

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[34] PI Note—We have not investigated paternity for the children of any of the apostrophed named mothers without surnames.

[35] *Woods Baltimore City Directory*, 1860-1920. Maryland Archives Online

[36] Though this George was noted as age 30 when he enlisted in the Navy in 1864, he is most likely the 18-year-old in the 1850s living with free family of color, the Derrys. His occupation was listed as caulker. He is most likely the same George listed in the 1870 census as age 30.

[37] Very late in the project, the PI found a Certificate of Freedom for a "Daniel Sherdon" who was freed in 1848 at the age of 28 ½. His relationship to the Sheridans will also need to be researched.

- Rezin Sheridan (grandson of the manumitted Rezin Sheridan perhaps) on the 1870 census living with a Jacob Wisner, a Quaker, as a 13-year-old farm laborer. Rezin, the elder, may have been Milly's husband and the second Rezin, one of the two boys in her 1830 household.
- Another puzzle is that in the 1870 Wisner household, a farmer of significant means contained 5 young people ages between 12 and 15, another of whom is a Sheridan, Jacob, age 14, working as laborers or servants, one of whom was white. There were no adult Blacks. This leads one to question that these children were victims of the inhumane apprenticeship system white slave holders adopted to address their post-emancipation labor shortages?
- A younger Daniel, a 20-year-old mulatto, lived with Elizabeth and William Simms. This may be the same Daniel in 1860, age 30, in the Cockeysville home of Ashrie Stevenson (65). Also, in the home is 30-year-old mulatto Arnetta (Harriett) Sheridan. The males most likely worked as millers.

    - In 1871, the city directory shows a Mrs. Elizabeth Simms living on Burgundy, the same street where a Hester Johnson is listed in 1867.[38]
    - Could Daniel also be the one on Exeter Street in 1871 working as a laborer and sharing an address with a Harriett Sheridan, seamstress?

- James and James Sherdan were listed in the *Woods City Directories* of 1868 and 1871. One James was an oysterman living on Tyson Street. The other was a waiter with a residence on Monument, bordering the park facilitated by Gough. At the
  same Monument address in 1868 was a Sarah Sheridan, laundress.[39]

Landownership

[38] *Woods*, 1871.

[39] Separated by race then Integrated 1883-84, thereafter denoted by asterisks

Thus far, we have seen families achieve some dreams of freedom. To be able to marry, to name oneself and their children, to live independently, to keep one's family close, to own property, and to earn money for their own labor, were sought vigorously by the former Hampton bondspeople. Other goals included spiritual worshipping in the company of fellow people of color and joining the movement to secure the freedoms promised by the Constitution.

Finding a Community of Faith and Activism

Toogood Family: The eye-catching name Toogood stuck out from the numerous lists totaling almost 400 people enslaved by the Ridgely family beginning in the mid-eighteenth century to the Civil War. Toogood was particularly noticeable as it was one of the few last names on those lists delineating among other things who received shoes or Christmas gifts! It also stood out among the surnames of some of the other enslaved – Sheridine/Sheridan/Sherdon, Cromwell, Wick, and the ubiquitous Smith, Brown and Davis.

Five Toogoods emerged from the Hampton records: Agnes, Daniel, Dinah, John and Nicholas. John was the only Toogood on the list of 1829 manumissions. He was apparently 35-years-old. He had been on the 1827 Shoe list while Daniel and Agnes were on the Christmas gift lists, 1841 and 1843 respectively. Agnes was noted as having died by 1847 according to Ridgely records, which contained no other personal information about her. Daniel disappeared from Ridgely records around 1844.

Nicholas Toogood and Dinah Toogood, whom we learn are husband and wife, did not appear in the records until 1844 when John Ridgely ruled the empire. Dinah, though, may have been a member of the earlier slave force. A "Dinah" with an apostrophe as a last name, along with several children simply identified, for example, as "Dinah's James" or "Dinah's Maria" and so on, were noted as enslaved in the 1830s.

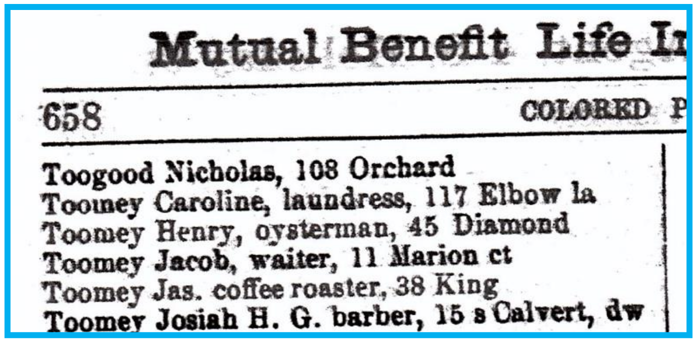
A story about Nick Toogood from a family history written in 1895 by one of the Howard Ridgely relatives elucidates some of what we learned. The Toogood story as presented by the Whites was a rare but derisive anecdote of the Hampton enslaved found in the vast linear feet of Ridgely records.

A tale told by James McHenry Howard, a Ridgely relative, identifies Nick and Dinah as slaves and gives some insight into Nick. "Old Nick," as he was called in the account, worked as a handyman, but was fond of playing sick to get out of work. At the same time, he was charismatic and "was a sort of spiritual leader among the darkies on the place & if anything in the way of religious ceremonial or worship was going on, Old Nick was sure to have a prominent place." In leading mourners of the burial of "Bill Davis—one of the best negroes' ever on the place & the progenitor of a fine strain," Nick struck a favorite hymn—one that he normally sang as he called hogs to feed at the troughs. Unfortunately, for the procession, when the pigs heard and recognized his voice, they came running scattering the mourners![40]

The search for information about Dinah and Nicholas as free people started with city directories, censuses, tax records, and newspapers beginning 1864, the date the Maryland constitution emancipated all enslaved people of the state. Previous researchers had assumed that Hampton's newly freed would have remained nearby, close to Hampton (or Perry Hall or White March, other Ridgely plantations) in the county, and many did. But Nicholas moved to Baltimore in an area later called Seton Hill. Three years following Maryland Emancipation, Nicholas was found in the *Woods's City Directory* living at 108 Orchard Street and working as a laborer. Dinah was a laundress. And they lived there for the next 17 years! (Figure 4.6)[41]

[40] James McHenry Howard, *Memoirs of the Ridgelys of Hampton* (annotated typescript copy by Helen West Stewart Ridgely, 1894, p. 157, HAMP 21686, Hampton NHS; photocopy on file, HAMP VF 2385.001).

[41] The agency of these two elderly former slaves to relocate to Baltimore is curious. Moving to Orchard Street, one of the prominent sites of Black culture was a radical undertaking. Dinah was alleged to have been a cook for Harry Dorsey Gough in the 1830s per Edgar Carroll. If true, then she may have had occasion to work in the home of his brother whose home was located on Bank Street. See fn.4. Also on Orchard Street, familiar names appeared as residents at various times: ex. Harriet Sheridan, 1873-74, Lucretia Simms, 1868.



Mutual Benefit Life In
658 COLORED P
Toogood Nicholas, 108 Orchard
Tooney Caroline, laundress, 117 Elbow la
Toomey Henry, oysterman, 45 Diamond
Toomey Jacob, waiter, 11 Marion ct
Toomey Jas. coffee roaster, 38 King
Toomey Josiah H. G. barber, 15 s Calvert, dw

Figure 4.6 "Nicholas Toogood," *Woods Baltimore City Directory*, 1868

The 1870 Census confirms the Nicholas Toogood household. The first identifiable roster of formerly enslaved persons appeared in 1870. Nick is 80 years old and Dinah is 70. A young woman, a 30- year-old named Charlotte Toogood, is the only other member of the household. According to the 1873 city directory Charlotte continued living with them and her occupation noted as chambermaid. An Amos Toogood was also at the same address where he had been from 1871-1873, his employment noted as laborer. He was also listed on the 1870 census in a different household as a 46-year-old seaman with a 17-year-old daughter, Laura.[42] The 1880 census finds an 85-year-old Diana [sic], an 82-year-old (?) Charlotte, Nancy, 25, and daughter of one of the women, and 8-year-old granddaughter Georgeanna Brogden. Dinah passed away in 1885, her death noted in the *Baltimore Sun*.[43]

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[42] 35-year-old Thomas Toogood, private waiter, and Henrietta (32) keeping house, and two children are enumerated on the 1870 census as well. Two households away from Thomas was a family with the last name Charms, which listed: Jarrett (39), a porter in a store, Rachel (37) who is keeping house, and four children.

[43] The *Baltimore Sun*, 3/30/1885 provided notice that 80-year-old Mrs. Diana Toogood had passed away. The age given for Charlotte in the 1880 census is also probably wrong or recorded incorrectly. Per Maryland Death Index, Nicholas passed away Jan. 12, 1879.

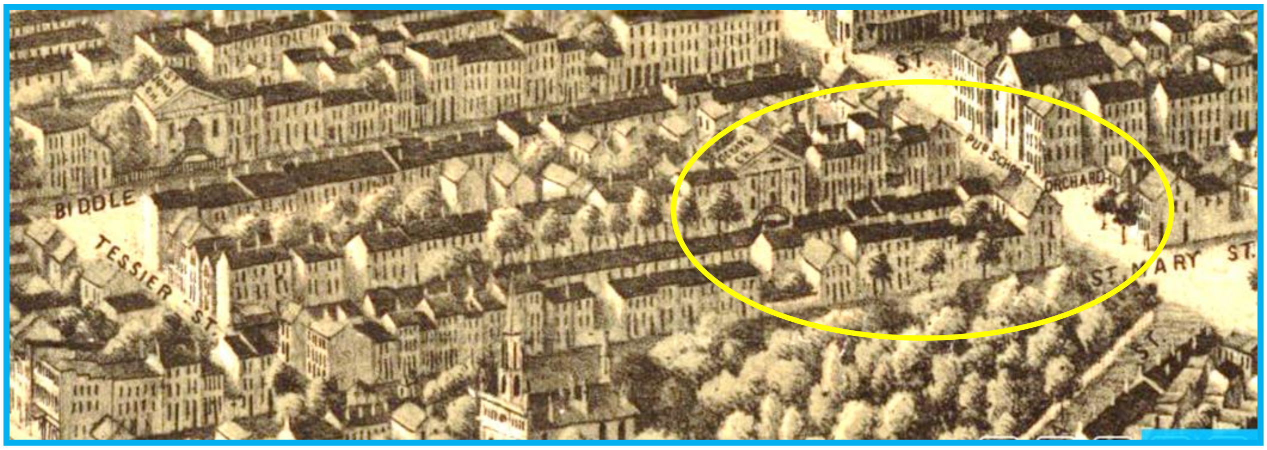

Figure 4.7 Orchard Street, 1869, includes Orchard Street Church, St. Mary's Chapel, and Universal Progressive
School, Sachse Panoramic Map, Baltimore 1869. LOC

Orchard Street was a center of Baltimore's free Black community. The Orchard Street ME Church figured heavily in Baltimore's African American history. It was said to have been a heavily used station on the Underground Railroad. It also housed an early school for Blacks and served as a lyceum hosting local and regional organizational rallies and fundraisers.

Located at 510 block Orchard, four blocks from Nick and Dinah, the Orchard Street Church, formed in 1825, later renamed Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal Church, was Baltimore's second oldest Black congregation. Its building, dating from 1837, is the oldest standing structure built by African-Americans in the city of Baltimore and is now on the National Register of Historic Places. According to the 1868 directory, Orchard Street Church was one of 13 Black churches in the city.[44]

Orchard Street was also the location of St. Mary's Chapel, which began to minister to African American Catholics in the building's basement through the African American Order, the Oblate Sisters, which in turn formed the basis of the later Black Catholic congregation, St. Francis Xavier. A National Historic Landmark, St. Mary's

[44] [Additions made in 1853, 1865, and 1882.] The church was founded in 1825 by Truman Le Pratt, a West Indian former slave of Governor John Eager Howard. It now houses the offices of the Baltimore Urban League and, formerly known as Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal, Metropolitan United Methodist Church was the first to move—leading a ceremonial march from their old church on Orchard Street to their new church at Lafayette Square in 1928.

Seminary Chapel, whose address is now North Paca Street in the Seton Hill neighborhood, is the oldest Roman Catholic seminary in the United States.[45]

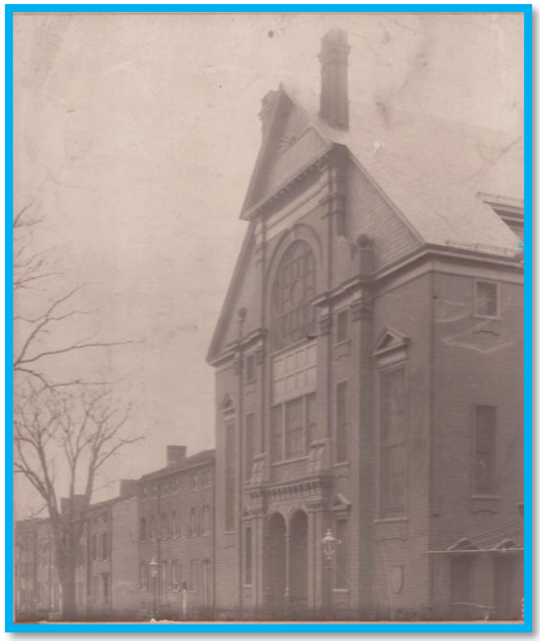

Figure 4.8 Orchard Street Church, Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal Church, 1890, Courtesy Nanny Jack & Co. Archives

The church's activist role would have brought many prominent advocates for racial equality and political power past the Toogood's door. Nick and Dinah's residency on Orchard Street situated them amid a thriving post-Civil War African American community. They perhaps participated in the Colored Conventions and voiced their desires for fair and equitable treatment and their just due. One of the church's well-known parishioners and neighbor of the Toogoods was Rev. Samuel Green of the Eastern Shore who gained some stature for having been imprisoned for five years for possessing a copy of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The Universal Progressive School Institute for African-descended orphans was also located on the 500 block of Orchard. Later it was the address of Baltimore's first Black dentist, and the first Black hospital, Provident,

[45] "St. Mary's Seminary Chapel" National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form, National Park Service, https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/GetAsset/NHLS/71001046_text accessed April 30, 2020.

whose first class of trained nurses would graduate in a ceremony held at the Orchard Street Church.

In 1864, The Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People formed to create an organized system of Black schools—to bring in financial aid and recruit teachers as Maryland's constitution failed to do so. Opening 25 schools between 1864 and 1870, seven in the city—one was on Orchard Street and another in Biddle Alley, a nearby center of Black life. The association had enrolled almost 2500 students city-wide at its peak.[46] Across town the Douglass Institute became a central meeting place for African Americans, and in partnership with Orchard Street Church, hosted important gatherings such as the Border States Colored Convention in 1868 to promote civil and political rights for all Marylanders.

The Nick and Dinah domicile location provokes questions. There were several other Toogoods who may or may not have been related to Nicholas or Dinah or to other formerly enslaved at Hampton. However, there are as yet few connections identified or from which to make reasonable conclusions. Names such as John, Thomas, Austin, Henrietta, Mary, Annie, and Caleb Toogood appeared in the city directory and the *Afro-American* newspaper over the next decades. Many seemed to have thrived. Most lived at the same addresses for several years. Some became active in the church and their communities. One was an officer in the Colored Independent Order of Odd-Fellows. One married the daughter of a supervisor at the *Afro*. Another trained as a Tuskegee Airman. Yet another became a magician of some note based mainly in Atlantic City. A few, though, seemed to have issues with the law if what was reported in Baltimore's German newspaper could be believed.[47]

The elderly Toogoods survived slavery to spend their last years as freed persons in a vibrant community engaged in self-help and attainment of the rights of its once

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[46] "First annual report of the Baltimore Association, for the moral and educational improvement of the colored people," Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People, 1865; Baltimore Normal School Account Book, 1870, Maryland Historical Society, 1908.

[47] Patsy Fletcher wrote this paragraph but had not cited it before she died in 2018. The PI has decided to let it stand without citation.

enslaved residents. As members of the church, they had to have been involved in some activities. The January 1879 obituary for Nicholas stated that his funeral services were held at Orchard Street Church where he had been a member. Dinah continued to reside on Orchard Street at least through 1885.[48]

A Henry Toogood who may have been Dinah's son, born 1827, was found on an 1841 ship manifest headed to New Orleans for sale. His age was given as 18 and the shipper/owner as James F. Purvis.[49] Research shows Purvis as president of Howard bank and as a broker. [See Appendix U] Henry's relation to Nick and Dinah has not yet been sussed out. We learn that he appears in Baltimore in the 1840s.

Struggle for Post-Victorian Respectability and Accomplishment

Cummins/Shimm Family: Some of the people affected by the codicil to the Governor's will were enslaved by various Ridgely heirs until they reached the stipulated ages. Of the 16 Cummins enslaved by the Ridgelys, only Fanny, John and Rebecca received their freedom in 1829. Those left behind in slavery were mainly consigned to David Ridgely at White Marsh and included Henry Cummings, who reached the age of 28 in 1855. Henry married Eliza Davage from the Perry Hall line of Ridgely descendants. That union produced seven children, many of whom went on to prominence in various fields.

By 1902, a 3rd generation of Cummins, Charles Gilmor Cummins, had gone from working as a laborer, to being educated at Lincoln University in Philadelphia, and leaving the Baltimore area to become a prominent minister in a United Methodist Church in

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[48] Orchard Street was eventually cut off for thoroughfare construction; West Center Street (Rt. 129); UMMC Midtown campus; HNHS File *Baltimore Sun* (?) January 14, 1879. Census.

[49] National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Washington, D.C. Slave Manifests of Coastwise Filed at New Orleans, Louisiana, 1807-1860, Microfilm Serial, M1895, Microfilm Roll :9 per 1867 census, 1860; 1863 *Woods City Directory.* From K. Lancaster and in New White Papers evidence that Charles S. W. Dorsey and his two nephews, Samuel W. Dorsey and Thomas Dorsey, have transferred slaves to a plantation in Madison County Mississippi and some legal arguments having to do with indebtedness of these three in this endeavor (dated 1836). **Of possible interest as to whether Ridgely slaves were transferred to Mississippi.** (Published in Maryland Historical Magazine, vol. 95, #4 Winter 2000. Copyright. Used by permission.) Chattel Slavery at Hampton/Northampton, Baltimore County by R. Kent Lancaster, Professor Emeritus at Goucher College Research Volunteer at Hampton National Historical Site.

Alexandria, VA.[50] His own *bona fides* though would have rivalled that of the woman he married in July 1902, Grace Shimm.

Grace Ella Shimm, born around 1865, was said to have descended from Admiral Horatio Nelson through a great-grandfather, Phillip Nelson. However, the dates for Nelson's life and the birth of Phillip, Nelson's putative son, and granddaughter Sarah are incongruent, casting doubt on their relationship to Lord Nelson.[51] The family claimed, though, to have been free people of color from Philadelphia. Grace's father, William Y. Shimm, was a barber. He was also active in the Republican Party once moving to Washington, D. C.

In any event, Grace, her mother, Sarah A. Thomas (1843-1885), and her sister, Erminie Florence (1867-1936) were all teachers in the District of Columbia colored schools, considered the best Black school system in the country. Sarah is credited with instituting a vocational curriculum to Hillsdale School in the Barry Farm community. A certain amount of status accrued to those in the education field. Grace's career in the school district and her standing in DC's Black elite seemed firm and successful from the few newspaper accounts found. For example, she performed at a special commemoration of Robert Gould Shaw at a reunion in 1890 of colored veterans. In 1891, she read passages from the Bible as part of the introduction at 15th Street Presbyterian Church of attorney and former Congressperson John Mercer Langston who was speaking about temperance. Her sister, Erminie Florence Shimm (sometimes spelled Ermine in error) seemed to be equally active. In one newspaper account, she was lauded for presenting a photograph of a young Frederick Douglass to his newly-preserved home, Cedar Hill. [52]

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[50] Charles' middle name has been spelled with and without the "e" at the end. There was a prominent white Baltimore Countian last-named "Gilmor" who may have influenced the naming (see fn 5). But for the sake of consistency, the paper will use "Gilmor."

[51] Lord Nelson died in 1805; Phillip was born according to the family lore in the mid-nineteenth century; his granddaughter, Sarah, was born in 1843! We have no date yet for the birthdate of Phillip's daughter (and Sarah's mother) Catherine. The account came from an uncredited narrative found in the Maryland Historical Society Ridgely files.

[52] *Evening Star, 12/18/1890; Washington Post,* 4/6/1891, 6; Evening Star (Published as THE EVENING STAR.) - July 28, 1892, 6; *Afro-American*, 1933, 11. See also https://www.revolvy.com/page/Grace-Shimm-Cummings.

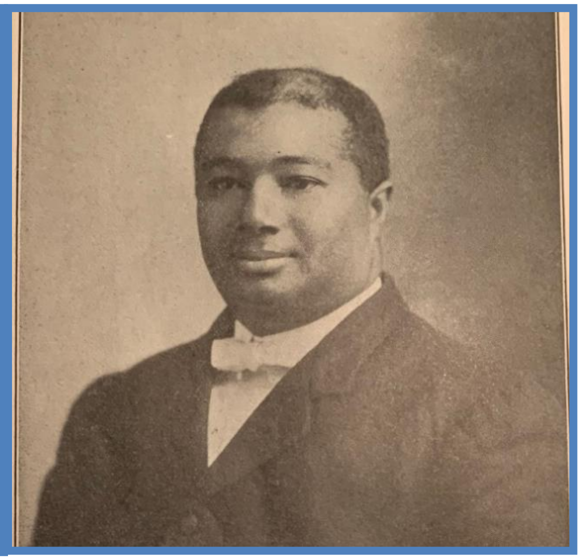

Figure 4.9
Grace Shimm Cummings, 1900

Figure 4.10
Rev. Charles Gilmor Cummings, 1904

Courtesy Nanny Jack Inc.

The wedding of the scions of good, respectable Black families on July 9, 1902 was an event not be missed. It was also the dream of many of the newly freed. The officiant of the Shimm/Cummings marriage was the well-known activist and theologian, Rev. Francis Grimke, at his church, the 15th Street Presbyterian in Washington. The best man was Aaron, the brother of the groom. The reception took place that evening at the Shimm family home at 746 13th Street SE in DC. The following evening a reception was held in Baltimore at the 1234 Druid Hills Avenue home of the groom's parents, Henry and Eliza Cummings.[53]

[53] *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 12, 1902, p. 1.

Figure 4.11 Shimm Family Home in Washington, DC.

Grace and Charles lived in Alexandria, VA where his church was located. The appointment to Roberts Chapel, the oldest African American church structure in Alexandria and the site on one of the oldest existing schools, later, Roberts Memorial United Methodist Church, was a prestigious one (Figures 4.12-13).[54] Roberts was the setting of the first African American conference of the Methodist Church. Cummings, considered a prominent minister, participated in several auspicious gatherings and events.

Sometime between 1904 and 1910, the family left Alexandria for Asbury Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore. Though she passed away in 1910, Grace was living in Baltimore when the census for that year was taken. She was listed as age 44 and born in Pennsylvania along with Charles, identified as a minister aged 40, and their daughter, 6-year-old Joyce Ethel. In the household was also a 65-year-old boarder who worked as a cook at a hotel.[55]

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[54] *Richmond's Directory of Alexandria Directory* for 1903 and 1904 show the address as 614 S. Washington Street. When the new building was completed in 1834, the address was 606 S. Washington, which it is today. The parish house address became 614 S. Washington. Roberts is considered the oldest African American church structure in Alexandria and the site on one of the oldest existing schools. It is listed on the Virginia Landmarks Register and the National Register of Historic Places.

[55] The *Woods Baltimore City Directory* lists Cummings at the same address as the church – 1830 E. Eager Street, https://www.fold3.com/image/232 2594. A different minister was there by 1913, *Coleman 1st Colored Professional, Clerical, and Business Directory of Baltimore City, First Annual*

Figure 4.12
Roberts Memorial United Methodist Church

Figure 4.13
Roberts Church Parsonage and home of Newlyweds
Courtesy Javier Barker

This living arrangement—of nuclear family and other relatives or unrelated boarders—was common among the liberated and formerly freed. The families discussed in this paper exhibited the same pattern. Co-living helped fulfill the dream of a home of their own home by enabling survival on their meager pay, help with childcare or even work, and by saving money to purchase their own property or house. But underneath it all, may have been in response to or an attempt to recover from the trauma of family break-ups that occurred during slavery—the desire to keep your people close to you.

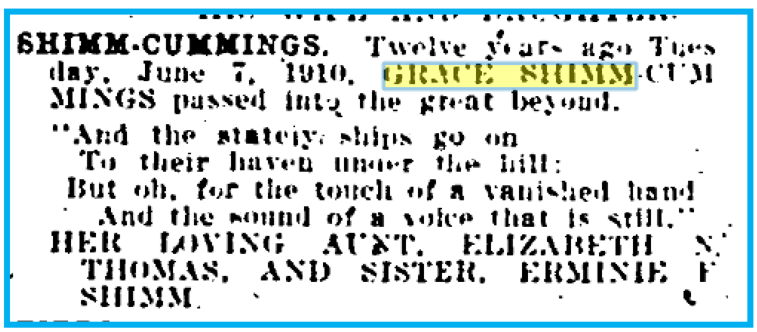
Charles, who sometimes went by C. Gilmore, remarried after Grace passed away. On June 26, 1912 in Greensboro, NC, he married Rosa Catherine Bearden of Greensboro, the grandmother of famed artist Romare Bearden. At the time, Cummings was pastor of Asbury Methodist Church there.[56]

Edition 1913-1914, Vol.494, aomol.msa.maryland.gov/html/officials.html*.* The newspaper account of Grace's passing in 1910 gives her age as 44 which would put her birth at 1864.

[56] Charlene Hodges Byrd collection, National Museum of African American History and Culture, Smithsonian, https://nmaahc.si.edu/object/sova_nmaahc.2010.26 accessed May 1, 2020.

In the meantime, the fourth generation of Cummings, Joyce Ethel, appears to have left Alexandria altogether upon her mother's passing. She is listed in the 1920 census as 14 years of age and living in the Cummings family house on Druid Hill. Also in the household was Ida Cummings, prominent educator, 40; Charles and Charlotte Davage in their late 60s, and Sophie D. Simpson, 70. All were classified as mulattoes. Ethel was still domiciled in Baltimore per the 1940 census, the most current census available, living with Charles Hodges, her husband, a teacher, and 11-year-old daughter, Charlene.

A gesture that demonstrated the esteem held for Grace within her family, was the tribute paid every year following Grace's death, initially by aunt Elizabeth N. Thomas and by sister Erminie who carried on the tradition with Grace's daughter Ethel. On the anniversary of Grace's passing, a notice was printed in the local Washington newspaper *Evening Star*. Hodges continued the practice after Erminie passed in 1934.[57]


SHIMM-CUMMINGS. Twelve years ago Tuesday, June 7, 1910, GRACE SHIMM-CUMMINGS passed into the great beyond.

"And the stately ships go on
To their haven under the hill;
But oh, for the touch of a vanished hand
And the sound of a voice that is still."

HER LOVING AUNT, ELIZABETH N. THOMAS, AND SISTER, ERMINIE F. SHIMM.

Figure 4.14 Memoriam for Grace Shimm, *Evening Star,* June 7, 1922[58]

FINAL WORDS

[57] *Evening Star* (Washington (DC), District of Columbia) (Published as The Sunday Star.) - June 7, 1931, p. 7.

[58] *Evening Star*, June 7, 1930, A7 – another example of the "In Memorium" to Grace.

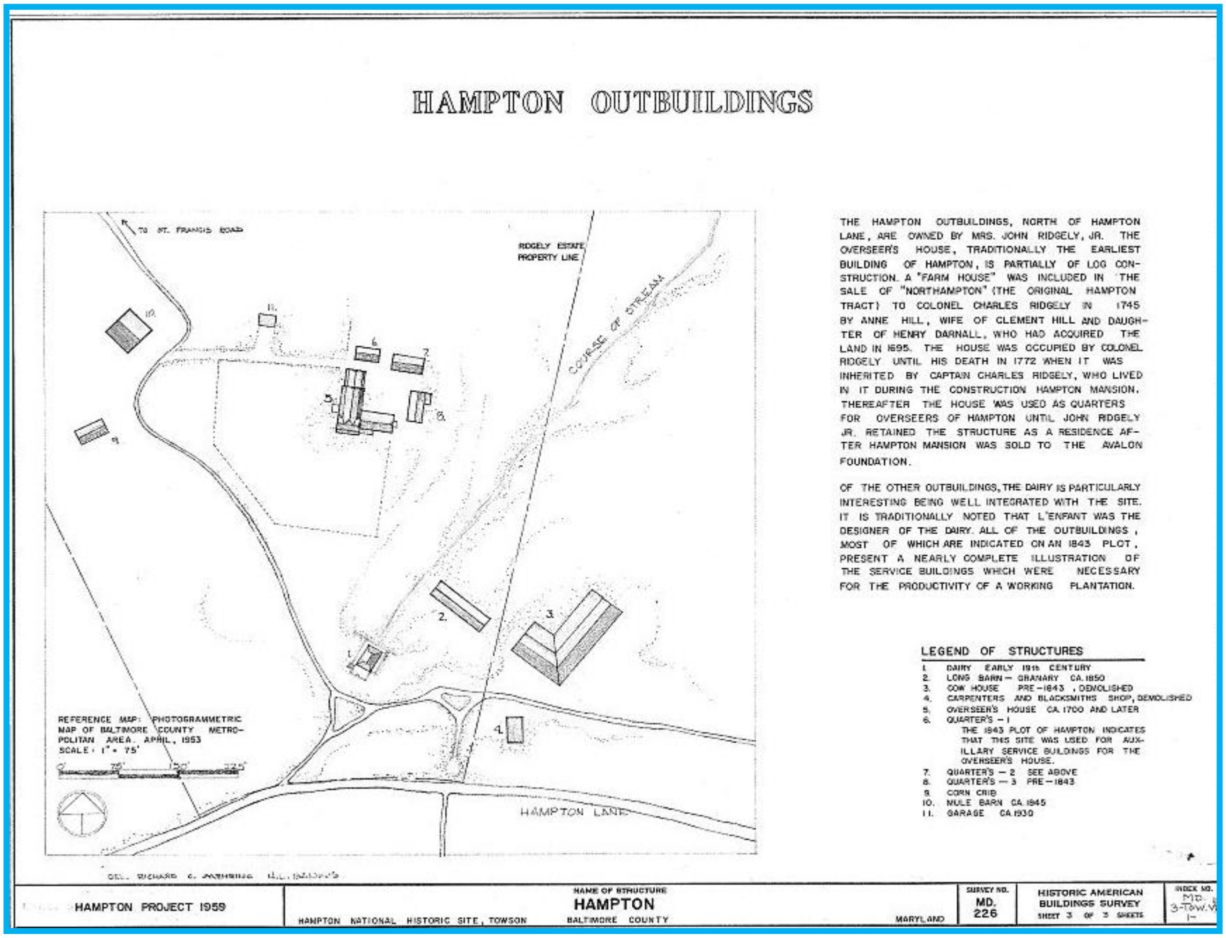
The preliminary results of the available documentary research of the families after freedom clearly support the desire of most individuals to be close to family. As we continue to suss out the stories of the progeny of the Ridgely bondspeople of Hampton, we give life to them beyond so many lists, bills of sale, and wry anecdotes. We give them humanity and we honor them.

In the words of Frederick Douglass:

> My answer to the question: What shall be done with the four million slaves if emancipated: shall be alike short and simple: Do nothing with them but leave them like you have left other men, to do with and for themselves . . . We ask nothing at the hands of the American people but simple justice, and an equal chance to live; and if we cannot live and flourish on such terms, our case should be referred to the Author of our existence.[59]

[59] DOUGLASS' MONTHLY, MARCH 1862, VOL. IV, N0. IX, pp. 614-615, Anacostia Museum Archives, Smithsonian, https://transcription.si.edu/view/13144/ACM-2007.19.22_06 accessed May 1, 2020.

APPENDIX R



Legend of Structures:

1 Dairy
2 Long Barn - Granary
3 Cow House – Pre-1843, Demolished
4 Carpenter's and Blacksmiths Shop, Demolished
5 Overseer's House ca. 1700 and Later
6 Quarter's – 1; by 1843 used as Auxiliary Service Building for Overseer's House
7 Quarter's – 2
8 Quarter's – 3
9 Corn Crib
10 Mule Barn ca. 1845
11 Garage ca. 1930

APPENDIX S

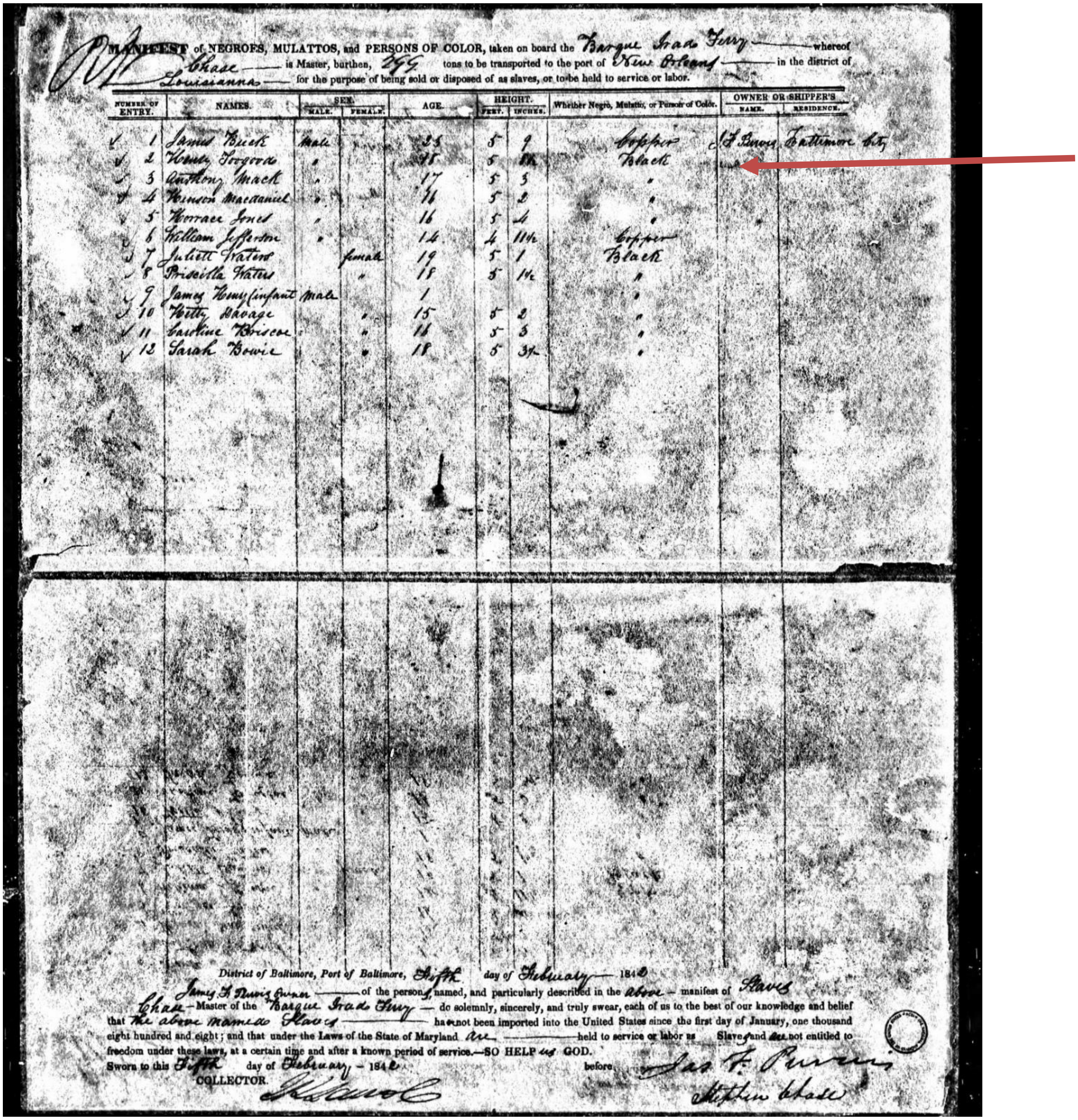
Quarters No. 3, in 1959; appears to have been inhabited.
Lanny Miyamoto, Photographer September 1959,HABS, LOC

APPENDIX T

Overseers house with 1948 addition. This the building referred to as the farmhouse into which the Ridgelys moved after the sale of Hampton to the National Park Service.
Lanny Miyamoto, Photographer, September 1959 for HABS, LOC

APPENDIX U

“Manifest of NEGROES, MULATTOS, and PERSONS OF COLOR”



MANIFEST of NEGROES, MULATTOS, and PERSONS OF COLOR, taken on board the Barque Iraď Ferry whereof Chase is Master, burthen, 299 tons to be transported to the port of New Orleans in the district of Louisianna for the purpose of being sold or disposed of as slaves, or to be held to service or labor.

NUMBER OF ENTRY.	NAMES.	SEX.		AGE.	HEIGHT.		Whether Negro, Mulatto, or Person of Color.	OWNER OR SHIPPER'S	
		MALE.	FEMALE.		FEET.	INCHES.		NAME.	RESIDENCE.
1	James Buck	male		25	5	9	Copper	J. F. Purvis	Baltimore City
2	Henry Toogood	"		48	5	[illegible]	Black		
3	Anthony Mack	"		17	5	3	"		
4	Henson MacDaniel	"		16	5	2	"		
5	Horrace Jones	"		16	5	4	"		
6	William Jefferson	"		14	4	11½	Copper		
7	Juliett Waters		female	19	5	1	Black		
8	Priscilla Waters		"	18	5	1½	"		
9	James Henry (infant	male		1			"		
10	Hetty Davage		"	15	5	2	"		
11	Caroline Briscoe		"	16	5	3	"		
12	Sarah Bowie		"	18	5	3½	"		

District of Baltimore, Port of Baltimore, Fifth day of February 1842

James F. Purvis Owner of the persons named, and particularly described in the above manifest of Slaves Chase Master of the Barque Iraď Ferry do solemnly, sincerely, and truly swear, each of us to the best of our knowledge and belief that the above named Slaves have not been imported into the United States since the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight; and that under the Laws of the State of Maryland are held to service or labor as Slaves and are not entitled to freedom under these laws, at a certain time and after a known period of service.—SO HELP us GOD.

Sworn to this Fifth day of February, 1842 before

COLLECTOR.

Jas F. Purvis

Stephen Chase

Manifest showing Henry Toogood, aged 48, and Hettie Davage, aged 15, being shipped to Louisiana. The date is February 5, 1842?

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CHAPTER SEVEN

LIVING IN THE POST-PLANTATION: HAMPTON HISTORICAL MANSION IN THE CONTEXT OF BALTIMORE COUNTY DEVELOPMENT

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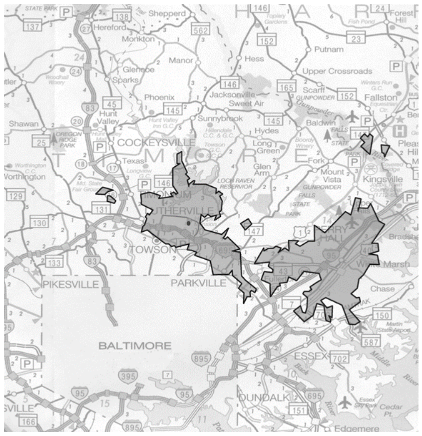
It's December 2016, and I am attending the annual Hampton National Historic Site yuletide celebration—held 2 weeks before Christmas in order to better approximate Christmas celebrations of the Ridgely family in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The event shares much in common with similar festivities held in the nearly 400 tourist plantations in the United States—docents in costume, period music, faux-candle lighting. At one point, I follow my children upstairs and meet one of the park rangers I'd spoken with at an organizational meeting for our ethnographic project of Hampton. He waved me over to a closed door. "We don't usually show people this," he said, opening the door for me to enter, "It's the servants stairs—they're too dangerous for people to go up and down on." And, indeed, the stairs were narrow, winding and treacherous. Added to the original mansion by Charles Carnan Ridgely (aka Governor Ridgely), the stairs, and the expanded service spaces they accessed, are literally an afterthought. And, yet, they are consistent with at least historic trends in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century: the diminishing role of white, indentured servants in plantation labor, and the coalescence of "race" as a classificatory system ideologically grounded in white supremacist ideologies. "For instance, construction of a secondary stairway was a frequent way of denying white and black physical equality by isolating and segregating physical movement up and down steps" (Winterthur, 65). In this sense, the stairs foreshadow the segregated growth of Baltimore during the late nineteenth century, a growth premised on segregation and *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

This paper originates in an ongoing Ethnographic Overview and Assessment project at Hampton National Historic Site in Towson, a suburb just over the city boundary of Baltimore. Our work has focused on identifying the descendants of people enslaved at Hampton, and has taken us to many of the historic, African American neighborhoods in Baltimore County. The connections, however, have not been easy to establish.[1] But those difficulties are not just bumps in the road; instead, they constitute a legacy of Hampton in the present.

In some ways, Hampton in the present resembles the stairwell. As the plantation has dwindled in size from 25,000 acres in the early nineteenth century to its current 63 acres, the site—with its diverse enterprises—has diminished to the house itself and a small farm across the street with two, small buildings that housed the enslaved (See

[1] Despite the difficulties, the Ethnography Project team has been successful in finding over one hundred descendants of Hampton enslaved individuals to date.



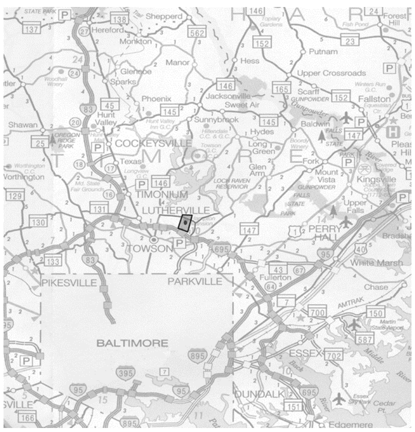


Figure 5.1 Hampton Map, 1829 Figure 5.2 Hampton Map, 1948

Figures 5.1 and 5.2). As at other tourist plantations, much of the emphasis at Hampton is on the main house itself, with its elaborate Georgian architecture, period furnishings—although there are also excellent programs that address the lives at Hampton. But what tourists don't see at the site is the immensity of enterprise that sustained it and, accordingly, white supremacy in general during Hampton’s heyday. Like the servant’s stairs, the ironworks, cattle raising, horse wrangling and agriculture are invisible—now part of the Baltimore County suburbs themselves.

The picturesque “village” for the enslaved is an ideological artifact that no doubt belied the squalor of quarters elsewhere in the sprawling plantation. Close to the plantation house, quarters for the enslaved had to meet a decorative standard—to be shown off to visitors, and to reflect the grandeur of the plantation house (Vlach 1995).

Farther away, this kind of "beneficent" paternalism could drop away, and, as was the case in other plantations across the south, the enslaved would be quartered in windowless, one-room shacks.

If the plantation once sprawled out over 25,000 acres by the 1820s and is now confined to 63, what happened to the other 24,937? These lands were parceled out to successive generations of Ridgelys, who in turn by the twentieth century sold the plats over and over again to the developers who built Baltimore County into a suburb that exceeds its city's population. In the process, the connections of these subdivisions and communities to the original plantation have disappeared, with Hampton maintaining an etiolated presence through place names.

And there are "Hamptons" and "Ridgelys" everywhere in Baltimore, all in a curious style that evokes history, but without context. For example, Ridgely Middle School adopted the Ridgely family crest, the stag, as its symbol and mascot. A suit of armor donated by the Ridgely family sits in the middle school's library, but there is no signage nor explanation to contextualize these traces in the history of US slavery. Down Charmuth Road, still on the original grounds of the plantation, sits "Hampton Elementary School"—this time with no other allusion to Hampton plantation. In southwest Baltimore, the neighborhood of "Ridgely's Delight" references Colonel Charles Ridgely's residence that used to stand there. East of Hampton, "Ridgely" again appears in names of parks and subdivisions in Parkville, Carney, White Marsh and Perry Hall. Liberian names in Loch Raven Village originate with the missionary experience of Margaretta Ridgely (1869-1949), who served there for nearly 30 years.

Figure 5.3 Traces of Hampton in Place Names and Signs: Ridgely Middle School

More to the point, the plantation has become part of white Baltimore County, an area of wealthy suburbs that stands in contrast to the majority African American Baltimore City to its south. This process of transformation from slaveholding plantation to white-washed suburb is both a continuing legacy of race in Baltimore County and a demonstration of the relevance of Hampton National Historic Site for our contemporary understanding today. On the other hand, ignoring this historical context impacts the area in several ways. First, it obscures the role and significance of Hampton National Historic Site in the present. Second, and in a related way, the reduction of Hampton to its plantation home site contributes to a vision of Baltimore County as a predominantly white space—a “terra nullius”—an empty, uninhabited space, that was founded by whites in the suburban “flight” after World War II, and one that ideologically and politically stands opposed to Baltimore City. Accordingly, this paper looks to the ways Hampton was part of a process that contributed to both, and one that continues to shape the fates of the Baltimore region today.

This paper is part of a growing emphasis on the regional and transnational connections of plantation homes in the United States. As Antoinette Jackson stresses in her research on plantations in Georgia and Florida, we need to go “beyond the interpretative boundaries” of the plantation house to include the other spaces where the plantation has salience in people's lives (Jackson 2011: 450). And the opposite is also true. The plantation house—and by extension, other spaces ideologically coded as 'white'—need to be interpreted in the context of African Americans, the continued salience of race and racism and the legacy of slavery itself.

Ultimately, the goal of reinterpretations of Hampton should be to call into question the ways visitors are encouraged to identify with the white owners, who, after all, are the most well-documented. Given this, the house and its lavish furnishing are interpreted with reference to the Ridgely family, as extensions of their personalities and as their lasting legacies. As Mooney (2004: 54) confesses:

> It is very difficult, even for architectural historians versed in social history, not to be seduced by the beautiful architecture, gardens, and objects that are encountered on most house tours, and that seduction often translated into admiration for its owner.

Indeed, an earlier guidebook (Hastings 1986) describes Hampton plantation as a "fairy tale success story"—and it was, but one borne on the backs on the enslaved. Indeed, the interpretation of quarters for the enslaved is fraught, if for no other reason than the persistence of racism in the United States. Looking at the "then" of historic interpretation is simultaneously the "now" of inequality and segregation in a thoroughly racialized United States. While the well-preserved quarters across the street from Hampton present rich opportunities for site interpretation, they are also—given the frame of contemporary race relations—open to misinterpretation and to misappropriation by site visitors.

As other authors have pointed out, slave quarters near the plantation house were ideological constructions. "Third, when we find substantial slave dwellings, they are adjacent to the big house and seem to have been designed to complement the orderly, aesthetic appeal of the master's house" (Mooney, 59). Other quarters for slaves closer to fields or to industrial sites have long since disappeared. At Hampton, the much more poorly constructed spaces in other parts of the plantation, sometimes described as "barracks," are no longer extant; the growth of Baltimore County has absorbed all of the sites where Hampton's enslaved once labored. Since most of Hampton's enslaved lived in these, the mid-nineteenth century "model village" across Hampton Lane, deriving from the European concept of the *ferme ornée,* or ornamental farm, cannot help but give a false impression of antebellum life.

At the same time, this paves the way for the (re)interpretation of Hampton Plantation as a white space, one that, for most of the twentieth century, hosted weddings, receptions, a tearoom, flower and horse shows (*Baltimore Sun* articles). In this way, Hampton was re-appropriated as a place to stage white privilege, but with a difference. Now, it could be understood in this ideological frame as a white space only. The lives and identities of the enslaved that made the plantation economy possible have been erased, if not from the historical record, then from the historical practice of plantation tourism. And while our ethnographic investigation follows Jackson's research trajectory in the search for communities and their connections to Hampton, this also applied to urban spaces, with the understanding that the ghosts of Hampton haunt the suburban streets of Baltimore County today.

In 1860, Maryland had the highest population of free African Americans in the United States and the city of Baltimore had the highest numbers within the state (Abe 2005: 21).[2] In Baltimore County, people lived in small, nearly self-sufficient communities scattered throughout the county in the interstitial spaces between the plantations that covered Maryland until after the Civil War. This population was large enough to pose a challenge to white supremacy during the Reconstruction. In the first election in Baltimore County since the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, Towson's African Americans were largely blamed for a surprise Republican victory that momentarily challenged the pro-South Democrats. As a result, the town voted to repeal its incorporation in order to disenfranchise its African American minority vis-à-vis local elections. Towson is still an unincorporated county seat—one of only a few of its size, and one that has everything to do with Reconstruction-era racial politics. Other tactics—part of a white supremacy toolkit throughout much of the United States—included lynching and various forms of physical intimidation. In addition, white supremacists targeted areas of life in the County that were more integrated—e.g., the Jeffersonian's attempts to break up the bars and

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[2] "Free African American Population in the US, 1790-1860," https://www.ncpedia.org/sites/default/files/census_stats_1790−1860.pdf

speakeasies of Towson that they called the “Great Black Way” in Towson in the 1920s (*Baltimore Afro-American* 1928: 10).

Whatever the tactic, however, whites identified the African American population in Baltimore County as a population in need of control and expulsion. In segregated Baltimore County, African American students were sent to the city for high school, with Towson finally getting its first African American high school (Carver) in 1945. In addition, the County refused to develop low-income housing, giving up millions of dollars from Housing and Urban Development as a result (Brooks, Rockel and Hughes 1979: 394). If you needed public housing, in other words, you had to move to the city—a strategy still pursued by the Baltimore County Council today, despite successful legal challenges that have forced Baltimore County to offer more affordable housing and to force landlords to accept Section 8 housing vouchers (Donovan 2016).

Finally, Baltimore County pursued an active program of discriminatory zoning that forced African Americans from their communities. The widespread practice, referred to by Rabin as “expulsive zoning,” involved the sudden re-zoning of residential neighborhoods into industrial and commercial zones, leading to either diminished quality of life for community residents, increased taxes, or both (Pietila 2012; Rabin 1989). With regards to African American communities, the goal was to force people to move away—to Baltimore City or elsewhere. Despite all this, 39 of these small communities still exist, though each is challenged by the County’s continued pursuit of development as a racially inflected “growth machine” (Logan and Molotch 1987). These of pockets of resistance notwithstanding, the “white-washing” of Baltimore County has been largely successful, and, as Pietila (2012: 217) notes, “An astonishing 83 percent of white growth occurred outside the city while 83 percent of the black growth occurred within the city.” Today, Baltimore County is the most segregated County in Maryland, with a great majority African Americans in the County living in the west of the County along the Liberty Road corridor in Woodlawn and Randallstown.

NEIGHBORHOODS SURROUNDING HAMPTON

Figure 5. 4 Traces of Hampton in Place Names and Signs: The Hampton subdivision in Baltimore County

Hampton

The prototype for post-war Baltimore County development has been the Hampton subdivision itself. As agriculture became less profitable and Hampton's fortunes waned, John Ridgely, Jr. (1882-1959) worked with his father, Captain John Ridgely (1851-1938), to form the Hampton Development Company (founded 1929) in order to subdivide and develop acreage around Hampton Mansion for suburban homes. Although stymied by the Depression and World War II, Hampton steadily grew in the post-War era as a white enclave, keeping non-whites out both through private covenants and through a zoning policy that limited development to two residences per acre.

Like Guilford and Roland Park, two "streetcar suburbs" to the south now within the borders of Baltimore City, the Hampton Company adopted restrictive covenants:

> At no time shall the land included in said tract or any part thereof, or any building erected thereon, be occupied by a [N]egro person or person of [N]egro extraction. This prohibition, however, is not intended to include the occupancy by a [N]egro domestic servant or other person, while employed in or about the premises by the owner of occupancy of any land included in the said tract.

The racial restriction was supplemented with zoning restrictions.

> There shall not be erected, permitted or maintained upon any of the land in said reach, any building other than private dwelling houses, each

> dwelling being designated for occupation by more than one family and no more than one family and no more than one dwelling erected upon it.

Racially restrictive covenants were, of course, invalidated by the Supreme Court's 1948 *Shelly v. Kraemer* decision, but the legality of restrictive zoning has survived legal challenges. And while restrictive zoning seemed more of an economic consideration, the overall tendency of these restrictions was to buttress racial segregation in a country like the United States where race and class track together. Without much of the capital—and without access to the lending institutions enjoyed by whites—many suburban developments maintain de facto racial covenants today (Freund 2007).

Consonant with the restrictive covenants, Hampton neighborhood remains a suburban development of large homes that sprawl across acreage. There are no apartments, townhomes nor duplexes. In addition, the neighborhood has neither bus stops nor sidewalks—despite the presence of both just across Dulaney Road in Lutherville. Residents are meant to drive in and out of their neighborhoods, and the various tradespeople who serve them as landscapers and contractors are likewise meant to drive in and out of these affluent streets. Children here attend public schools (Hampton Elementary and Ridgely Middle School) that have disproportionately low percentages of African American students (14% and 9%, respectively) that are well below demographic averages for Baltimore County, where African Americans make up more than 26% of the population. In addition, many households send their children to private schools, including Notre Dame Preparatory Academy, an all-girls Middle and High School located just east of Hampton Mansion in the Hampton subdivision and stands on land that was once part of the Ridgely landholdings. Summers might be spent at the Hampton Pool Association, a private swim club that was part of an exodus of white people from public and forcibly integrated pools in the 1960s (Wiltse 2007).

Today, the subdivision has just over 500 residents, 1.48% of whom identified as African American in the 2010 census. Indeed, despite growing diversity in first-tier suburbs in Baltimore, Hampton is one of four World War II-era suburban communities in the County with a white population of over 90 percent (Vicino 2008: 77).

Sandy Bottom

It was always thought that Sandy Bottom was the site of a cluster of slave quarters for Hampton plantation, in the general area that is now along York Road near the intersection of Bosley Avenue in Towson. In the wake of emancipation, though, many oral histories collected by local historians say that it was the formerly enslaved themselves who founded the community. At Sandy Bottom's (spiritual) center is Mount Olive Baptist Church—built on land that had come from Samuel Pinkerton (1821-1897), and his daughter, Julia Ridgely Pinkerton (1884-1900), though there does not appear to be a familial connection to the Ridgelys. The area was originally part of the greater Northampton tract owned by Governor Ridgely until 1829 and subsequently his heirs.

As in other historic African American communities in Baltimore County, the homes there seemed to have been initially owned by residents, although, as time went on, many sold these properties to white landlords, who rented out the largely unimproved properties until after World War II (Khalid 1990). Nevertheless, Sandy Bottom remained a stable community for decades, and in 1947 it became the site for Baltimore County's first African American high school, Carver High School, despite the protests of many white residents in Towson ("Fresh Opposition to School Seen," *Baltimore Sun*, 8/29/47, p. 26).

But the post-war period brought emphasis both on suburbanization and on "urban renewal" in older parts of Baltimore County. At the center of this were a series of corrupt politicians sitting on the Baltimore County Council, who sold off zoning in new developments to unscrupulous developers. In 1955, Sandy Bottom was both re-zoned for commercial uses and targeted for "public improvements" to its plumbing and sewage. The resulting higher tax assessments and the cost of the improvements drove landlords to demolish the community and, in an example of what has been called "expulsive zoning," forced African American residents to relocate (Brooks et al 1979). At this threat to their livelihoods, landlords complained, including one with multiple properties:

> Here are twelve colored families denied living facilities, just because some assessor, who has not even gone down to look at the property, has

authority to use whatever assessment formula has been designed for this section. It has been zoned commercially.

This particular neighborhood has been residential for years. Why assess these houses as commercial units when they are still residential? Would it not be more equitable to wait until they are used commercially before taxing on this basis? Or is this a method used to force the colored people from this area? (Emig 1955: 12).

Figure 5.5 Mount Olive Baptist Church Parsonage: the last, surviving home in Sandy Bottom

There was extensive commercial development along York Road after mid-1950s in the area that was formerly Sandy Bottom. The land along what is now Kenilworth Avenue passed into various hands, eventually becoming commercial properties on one side of the street, and high density apartments on the other. A police station and fire station on the corner of Kenilworth and Bosley, though, were moved in the 1970s for the construction of the Baltimore County Detention Center (completed in 1982). A substantial addition to the jail was planned in the late 1990s, and completed almost a decade later in 2006, even though there was substantial opposition to the expansion within Towson (*Baltimore Su*n, 6/20/2001).

Baltimore County has the second largest incarcerated population in Maryland, a state whose prison population is over 70% African American—the highest percentage in the United States (Nellis 2016). There are almost 800 beds in the detention center, and many prisoners work for the State in prison labor for “Maryland Correctional Enterprises.” State agencies—including universities—are legally obligated to purchase furniture and office supplies from prison labor, if the MCE offers them.

Figure 5.6 The Carver Center

Following the forced integration of Baltimore County schools (officially in 1956), Carver became a two-year vocational high school, but attendance at the school declined. In the 1980s, it became the Carver Center for Arts and then, in 1992, a magnet high school. Finally, in 2012, Baltimore County was able to build a new school for the aging physical plant, which was demolished in 2014. The new school was re-named "The George Washington Carver Center for the Arts and Technology," as an acknowledgement of its segregated past. But, over the intervening decades, the demographics of Carver have shifted—from an African American high school in the 1940s to a school with a 28% African American student body today.

East Towson

Although some neighborhood historians have dated the community to 1802, most historians place the beginnings of East Towson to 1853 when Daniel Harris, formerly enslaved by Governor Charles Ridgely at Hampton, purchased acreage along Hillen Road. Following this, Towson was at least partly settled by people formerly enslaved at Hampton. After Emancipation, drawing on assets provided by the Freedmen's Bureau, Harris allowed his land to be used for the timber school building and the present Mt. Calvary Church on Hillen Road which also trace back to the Harris landholdings (McGrain 2017).

Figure 5.7 Site of African Church and School, Atlas of fifteen miles around Baltimore, including Anne Arundel
County, Maryland. LOC.

In any case, the neighborhood grew rapidly after Emancipation at the end of the nineteenth century. St. James African Union Methodist Church dates from 1881, and counts among its early pastors Reverend Charles A. Williams. With such a common name, tracing possible connections to the Charles Williams, owned by Gov. Ridgely and was at White Marsh, inherited by David Ridgely but with few other details, will be difficult.

By the 1920s, the neighborhood was almost 90 percent developed with detached homes that were mostly owned by residents. This ownership—one preserved in some cases by the conditions of the previous generation's wills—has proven extremely important to East Towson's continued existence as a historic, African American community. From the beginning, as many residents note, white officials and developers have tried to take East Towson for their own purposes.

In the early 1960s, Spiro Agnew was Baltimore County Executive and had unveiled a redevelopment project for Towson that involved building a bypass through East Towson—a smaller scale version of the interstates that were built through African American neighborhoods across the United States, including the "highway to nowhere" in West Baltimore. However, only half of the bypass was built on the west side of Towson, and East Towson was spared. The threat of redevelopment, though, kept speculators from buying up East Towson from its existing residents, and the core of the neighborhood remained unchanged even as shopping malls and office buildings went up around it. Since the 1980s, however, a renewed emphasis on development has again threatened the continued existence of the neighborhood.

In order to spur growth in Towson, many of the zoning regulations have been relaxed. In particular, the Baltimore County regulations requiring a set amount of open space for every development has been relaxed for Towson, an exception that has led to the development of more high density commercial and residential areas (*Baltimore Sun* 3/24/2015).

Even with the abandonment of the eastern spur of the Towson bypass, the neighborhood was encroached upon by businesses and government. At the corner of Virginia and Chesapeake, for example, homes were replaced by the building that was eventually to be Baltimore County's District Court building (now closed). Between Pennsylvania Avenue and Joppa Road, a highrise condominium, "The Ridgely," went up in 1960, spurred by the construction of Interstate 695 to the north. Several houses in East Towson—especially along Pennsylvania—have been demolished, and either been re-developed or await re-development.

Figure 5.8 Traces of Hampton in Place Names and Signs: The Ridgely

One home at 437 East Pennsylvania included as a kitchen, a nineteenth-century log cabin built between 1850 and 1880. An East Towson community historian and activist, Mike Miller, traced the cabin, known as the Jacob House, back to his great-great-grandmother, Eliza Jane Wilson, who moved to East Towson after her manumission (Dang 2000). Other members of the community trace the house to a Sarah Jane Johnson, who had been emancipated from the nearby Stevenson plantation to the south. The house at 437 was demolished, but the log cabin was saved in 2000, and after a period in storage in a farm house in Pennsylvania, it was restored and re-assembled next to the Carver Community Center, which had served as a school for East Towson residents from 1939.

In 2012, Evergreene Homes, a development company based in Virginia, approached the Delaware-based owner of another log cabin in East Towson—the Historic Parker House—to sell the land to them for a townhouse development (*Baltimore Sun* 10/24/2014). The owner sold, and relocated the African American-made home to Fairmount Avenue at the eastern edge of East Towson, and Evergreene went through the process of getting permits for a 34-unit luxury townhouse complex in the midst of East Towson—just one block from St. James African Union Methodist Protestant Church. Despite pushback from East Towson's African American community and from the North East Towson Improvement Association, the Towson Mews project pushed ahead into 2016, and in 2017 the first townhomes went up for sale.

Figure 5.9 Jacob House. Courtesy of Philip J. Merrill, Nanny Jack & Co. Archives

The homes, which average 400K-500K, are well above average prices for homes in East Towson which is estimated at $250,000 by Redfin. There were no units set aside for "affordable housing"; Kevin Kamenetz—then County Executive—suggested in interviews that a retirement community across the street offering some affordable units was enough affordable housing for the area (Pacella 2016). Moreover, the townhouse development carries its own restrictions with regards to alterations and design, in addition to general restrictions in Towson which, for example, limit the number of unrelated people who may reside together in a house (Hare 2009: A3).

As a gesture to the community, the developer—Evergreene Homes—donated money to the newly constructed "Adelaide Bentley Park," next to Ms. Bentley's house on East Pennsylvania, and to Towson Manor Village Park, which is south of East Towson. Through the Ethnographic Project, we have discovered that *Mrs. Bentley (now deceased) is a sister–in-law of a descendant of a Hampton enslaved worker.* David Marks, the County Councilman who had announced the project in 2014, said it would help to preserve the East Towson neighborhood by placing a barrier of costly homes between the African American neighborhood and the encroaching commercial development in downtown Towson. "'That's going to be a nice project,' he said, 'I think it will actually help cushion the community from some of the commercial development'" (*Baltimore Sun* 10/24/2014).


Figure 5.10 Towson Mews project at the entrance to East Towson

The other gesture from the developers was a sign that was finally installed at the corner of East Towsontown Boulevard and Virginia Avenue, reading: “Historic East Towson: Founded by Freed Slaves/ From the Hampton Estate,/ East Towson Grew To Become A Vibrant,/ Largely African American Community.”

Despite efforts to preserve the neighborhood—along with several successes—many of the families who once lived in East Towson have moved away, some to Baltimore City, others out of the area altogether. The Northeast Towson Improvement Association sponsors a yearly “Come Back to East Towson Day” that features free food and entertainment for former residents. Nevertheless, as one interlocutor told us, “White people have moved in. For me, it’s that they’re moving in left and right.”

Houses in the neighborhood have been recently sold, or sold and flipped, some by descendants of original residents. For example, 317 Lennox Avenue was reportedly built by Samuel S. Williams, a pastor at the African Union Methodist Protestant Church. As previously noted, searching for Williams descendants once enslaved by Governor Charles Ridgely in the early nineteenth century is a task for future researchers. The house was passed down to Samuel Williams in 1949, to Sally (Williams) Hanks in 1975, eventually sold out of the family in 2002—and later flipped for almost twice its 2002 value in 2004 (Multiple Listing Service records). Other homes along Lennox, Jefferson and Pennsylvania avenues have undergone similar perturbations, although the median price the East Towson is still considerably less than that of surrounding area code (21286), where the median is between 300K and 400K.

Loreley

Loreley is a historic, African American community in the eastern part of Baltimore County within the boundaries of Philadelphia Road, Allender Road and Loreley Road, northeast of White Marsh. One of the two small sections is situated between Philadelphia Road and the B & O Railroad, the other is located east of Pulaski Highway along Loreley Road. Although most of the homes date from the early twentieth century, the church—Asbury Methodist—could date from as early in the 1830s. A "Colored Meeting House" is depicted on J.C. Sidney and P. J. Browne's 1850 map of Baltimore City and County. The oldest grave in the cemetery dates to 1870. The community locates its origins to local ironworks including the Ridgelys' White Marsh Plantation and to the Ridgely Forges ironworks on the Gunpowder River (Diggs 2005; MHT BA-3124, BA-357). As a neighborhood newspaper reported,

> Many worked for Charles Ridgely at his iron works furnaces producing everything from nails to steamships that were to be loaded onto cargo ships destined for the Chesapeake Bay via the Gunpowder, Bird and Back Rivers. (Hegelsom 1991).

However, when I mentioned this to people at the Baltimore County Historical Society, archivists were quick to disagree. "There's no proof of any connection," they told me. Whatever the case, Loreley still exists, but "McMansion" development around White Marsh mall threatens the dozen, extant homes that make up the community.

The homes in Loreley cluster around three institutions: Asbury Methodist Church, a schoolhouse (formerly Colored School #2) and the Union of Brothers and Sisters Fords Asbury Lodge #1, an association formed in 1872 to help formerly enslaved people. Each of these has been challenged over the last thirty years, a period that has seen rapid development in White Marsh. Census data shows a 12% increase in population between 2000 and 2010, with projections into 2016 showing a continued increase in population and in median household income. At the same time, the percentage of African Americans in the 21162 zip code is projected to decrease from 6% to 5% of the population.

In 2003, the State Highway Administration had store developers widen Philadelphia Road to within a few feet of the historic school—thinking that it was an abandoned structure. Eventually, it was moved to accommodate the widened road (Davis 2006). After renovation, the school has become a community center.

As with East Towson, some of the homes along Loreley Avenue have been sold outside of the community, either to flipping companies or to landlords who continue to rent the properties. But the largest threat to the community is the encroachment of high-end residential development that continues to drive housing prices in White Marsh and Nottingham, which, like their counterparts in Towson, average prices several hundred thousand dollars more than the homes at the core of the Loreley community.

CONCLUSIONS

As George Lipsitz has noted, "the racial projects of American society have always been spatial projects as well" (2007: 17). This confluence of race and place-making is one thread of continuity that unites the plantation and the city, and following this path down through segregation, redlining and exclusionary zoning is vital to an understanding of what could be called the technologies of white supremacy (Welsh 2018).

We tend to see a sharp break within antebellum and post-Civil War racist practices, between slavery and Reconstruction. But we can follow a common thread as well—the repressive, spatial regulation of African Americans and African American bodies has been practiced over the course of US history. In terms of urban development, the interim steps were the racially restrictive covenants that forbid African American residents in neighborhoods, and "sundown towns" that allowed African Americans in for work, but forced them out after sundown. Both of these reduce African Americans to their labor, continuing some of the racial violence from before emancipation through to the emergence of the twentieth century suburb.

The narrative of postwar suburbanization in the U.S. has usually been one of economic opportunity, the GI Bill and the FHA loans that allowed working class, white families to move into suburban neighborhoods—ultimately to the destruction of the urban cores they (and the policy-makers that enabled them) left behind. But what this study has suggested is that the scale and scope of suburbanization in the United States required an ideological regime of forgetting: forgetting the plantations from which the suburbs were carved, forgetting communities of free African Americans who lived in the interstices of slavery. Forgetting, in other words, the repressive regimes which enabled the suburban dreams of postwar whites.

But placemaking is also about memory and narrative; here, we can see the technologies of white supremacy arrayed against memories of free African American communities. Through this placemaking, northern and eastern Baltimore County became naturalized as a "white space." Two examples, each about a sign. As you drive north on Dulaney Valley Road, you pass a contemporary sign for the Hampton neighborhood: "Historic Hampton/ Est. 1930." Farther up Dulaney near the Loch Raven reservoir, an historical marker for Northampton Furnace:

> Built in 1759 by Charles Ridgely (the Elder) of Hampton and two sons, the iron foundry operated for 70 years on Spring Branch of Patterson's Run. It furnished cannon and shot for the Revolution as well as other supplies: "300 kettles" were ordered by the Council of Safety July 15, 1775. "Premature discharge" of cannon tested in 1780 killed Captain John Fulford and "dreadfully wounded" others. The furnace stack is now submerged near here in Loch Raven.

The first sign places the origins of Hampton in the twentieth century, neatly erasing 150 years of history that enabled the subdivision in the first place. The second resurrects history, but it is a history of "great men"—Charles Ridgely and sons—who, according to the marker seem to have operated the furnace all by themselves during its decades as a working foundry. Both signs construct a highly selective history, ideologically shorn of references to enslavement and, by extension, to a past that might challenge the white hegemony that still buttresses the subdivisions that range along the site of the plantation.

And yet, there are counter-memories and forms of placemaking that connect contemporary African Americans to a past and, ultimately, to Hampton National Historic Site itself. Both the memory of connection and its suppression imbricate the Plantation in structures of racism. But they also gesture to a possibility for critique in the mobilization of counter-narratives that stress African American identity and history amidst the ideological construction of a white "virgin land."

In other words, it is not too much to suggest that the entrenched racism that enabled plantation labor likewise enabled suburban development. As Freund (2007: 7) points out, the tendency in studies of postwar suburban development have stressed economic and racial factors as both meaningful frames for understanding suburbanization—but ultimately separable. That is, we consider the growth of suburbs according to an economic system that allowed whites easy access to credit, but the implication has been that, under a more equitable system, suburbs would be more integrated. Of course, that assumption is belied by other forms of economic discrimination which have limited African American access to capital and credit, but this essay has advanced another idea, namely that the suburbanization of Baltimore has proceeded under a racial calculus with roots in the antebellum period, one premised on the control and, ultimately, the erasure of African Americans from the landscape (Kaplan and Valls 2007).

Hampton National Historic Site is uniquely positioned to address this. Generated within the racial system of the plantation, and practiced across Baltimore County, the racialized practices at Hampton spill out onto the policies that followed the Hampton estate's demise. The restrictive covenants that ensured that Hampton (the neighborhood) would continue to be a white space were replicated in communities across Baltimore County. And even after racial covenants were declared unconstitutional, a combination of restrictive zooming and a refusal to provide public housing or to accept housing vouchers has meant that people without the means to purchase a home in Baltimore County will have little choice than to move elsewhere—oftentimes substandard housing in Baltimore City.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR HAMPTON:

1. Much of the northern and eastern parts of Baltimore County were part of the vast Ridgely estate. The site needs to interpret the legacy of Hampton in the development of the county. People who are living in Baltimore County are simultaneously confronting the legacy of Hampton Plantation in the planning and zoning of Baltimore County development. One way to examine this legacy is through the history of the Hampton development itself as a segregated suburb that, despite historical elisions, still refers back to the antebellum practice.

2. A larger project would be to map contemporary Baltimore County onto the many plantations that made up Baltimore County.

3. Continue investigating African American communities in northern Baltimore County for their relationships to Hampton.

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Chapter Eight

Beyond Hampton's Reach: Seton Hill Historic District, Md to Old West Baltimore Historic District, Md to Lincoln University, Pa

Philip J. Merrill, African American Heritage Consultant
Nanny Jack & Company Archives

I had the pleasure and privilege of meeting Dr. John Hope Franklin, the preeminent historian of African American history and culture in the modern day. An engaging conversationalist, Dr. Franklin was easy to talk with. It was not until years after our meeting that I discovered one of his great quotes: "We must go beyond textbooks, go out into the bypaths and untrodden depths of the wilderness, travel and explore and tell the world the glories of our journey." The majority of my work embodies the essence and spirit of this quote.

Over the years I have enjoyed experiences both as a spectator visiting family and friends and/or as a history consultant, working with historic places and neighborhoods. This paper is a simple roadmap to learning about the Cummings descendants of the enslaved from Hampton and their connections to two historic communities: Seton Hill Historic District and Old West Baltimore Historic District and to Lincoln University, the nation's oldest degree granting institution of higher learning for African American males.

This work will identify a sampling of plentiful artifacts that were used to create the largely unknown story of the two nearby communities where the Cummings lived, worked, and died and the university where they received their education. Many scholars reference these artifacts as material culture, or artifacts; collectors often refer to it as memorabilia, and the average person commonly knows it as “stuff.” Whatever it is called, it often provides the path for higher learning.

Buildings, cemeteries and headstones, funeral programs, books and yearbooks, cancelled bank checks, photographs and church programs, directories, and an assortment of other items are artifacts that are associated with the Cummings family. These artifacts not only offer an in-depth look into this family but also offer the opportunity for interdisciplinary learning and connectivity to a person, place or thing.

Learning history can be extremely boring and non-relevant to contemporary society. Therefore, the ability to bring some lively activities to it makes history more interesting to the masses. For this reason I frequently utilize my five step process that is useful for a successful artifactual journey with African American history. The National Park Service will be able to benefit from utilizing this five step method.

FIVE STEPS TO A SUCCESSFUL ARTIFACTUAL JOURNEY:

Prefatory note:

Each of the five steps requires a great deal of investigative research, patience, perseverance, and often determination. Running into brick walls and roadblocks and falling into a rabbit hole are to be expected with navigation.

Step I: Exploration and Discovery

Often referred to as the hunting and gathering phase of information, this step can be at times overwhelming because of the large volume of content available. It is important to select an artifact that is relevant to your project. The secret is to focus and not detour in any way, shape or form. For example, when searching in newspaperarchives.com or newspapers.com, it is easy to be swayed into other topics that are interrelated, but not necessarily primary to your research. You can make a notation to yourself to revisit the research at a later date, but do not go far afield and clutter your exploration.

Step II: Engagement Through Oral Interviews

If you are able to locate a descendant that is knowledgeable and willing to cooperate, oral history can add a level of understanding that you cannot get from the census, directories, newspaper research, or even to the extent of primary source material. An important note is that some descendants are not willing to cooperate or cannot shed any new or informative information about their relatives. Also, much like with exploration and discovery, descendants can provide an abundance of information that can be overwhelming. The important thing to remember is to flesh out the information relevant to your current topic because the descendant often provides an abundance of extraneous information that will lead you far afield.

Step III: Storytelling

This step encompasses the ability to craft and implement a well-organized story which should be placed in proper context and palatable to a wide audience. If you were the audience, would the story be educational and entertaining? Good storytelling provides the audience with the necessary information to help them understand a particular topic while keeping them engaged at the same time.

Step IV: Distribution

In order to spread the word with a new or under-researched project, this step must be utilized in as many ways as possible, including the standard methods such as press releases, lectures, exhibits, and presentation as well as the forever changing digital and social media platforms, to disseminate information. For example, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, YouTube, and podcasts help to distribute your research to a wide reaching global audience. In addition, it is important that National Park Service Rangers and volunteers are being educated on this new, groundbreaking information that will allow them to digest, utilize and interpret the experiences of the descendants of the enslaved from Hampton.

Step V: Institutional Advancement

Indirectly, as a consequence of its completion, the research project can assist the Hampton National Historic Site in telling a complete story of the journey of the descendants of the enslaved into two historic communities within the Baltimore Metropolitan Area and Lincoln University in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. This last step is an ongoing process because as more information is discovered on a regular basis, it is paramount that it is used for institutional advancement. According to the National Park Service's website, the organization aims to "help Americans establish a personal connection to National Park Service parks and programs . . . and find meaning and value in the mission of the National Park Service." Seventy years after the establishment of Hampton as a national historic site, it is imperative to address these topics of diversity and inclusion within the narrative of the enslaved and their various descendants. This step can also be used to establish relevance, diversity, and inclusion in the interpretation from the National Park Service.

SETON HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT, BALTIMORE, MD

Although Seton Hill Historic District was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1975, today its significant nineteenth century African American connections are largely undervalued. In addition, there has also been a lack of fully grasping its connections to Old West Baltimore and beyond. These connections have not been placed in the proper context to highlight the migratory pattern of African American families from one community to another. Various prominent family surnames, like the Cummings, Hemsleys, and Bishops, are tracked as they first appear in Seton Hill and over the next few generations, begin the migration to Old West Baltimore. The Seton Hill Historic District needs to be reinterpreted through a different lens that includes the significance of the African American community.

One of the criterion for placement on the National Register of Historic Places is architectural significance. Seton Hill is architecturally significant as one of Baltimore's earliest intact row house neighborhoods: roughly bounded by Orchard Street, Franklin Street, Monument Street, Eutaw Street, and Pennsylvania Avenue. This EOA project highlights the buildings that were occupied and or visited by African Americans post-Civil

War, including the enslaved and their descendants from the Hampton National Historic Site.

When connecting people to place, the data, the research, the interpretation, and the artifacts in multiple ways highlight the legacy of the Honorable Harry S. Cummings (1866-1917) and his family. The Cummings are descendants from an enslaved family owned by the Ridgelys at the Hampton plantation.[1] The core of this huge estate is now the Hampton National Historic Site, designated in 1946. Some members of the Cummings family migrated to Seton Hill and eventually to Old West Baltimore. Harry S. Cummings' maternal line is descended from Sidney Hall, who was born in c. 1815 as a slave at the Perry Hall plantation in eastern Baltimore County, Maryland. On the National Register for Historic Places Nomination Form for Perry Hall Mansion, there is no mention of the enslaved, which is where we first encounter Sidney Hall. She is manumitted in 1840, married Charles Davage in 1842, and had five children, one of whom was Harry S. Cumming's mother, Eliza Jane Davage. In the 1880 United States Federal Census, Sidney Davage was living at 295 Eutaw Street with her daughter, Eliza and her husband, Henry and the six Cummings children, including Harry.[2] This address, 295 Eutaw Street, was on the edge of what became known as Seton Hill Historic District. In 1886, the street numbers in Baltimore changed, and 295 Eutaw Street became 935 Eutaw Street.[3] This would have allowed them to walk to the Orchard Street Church at 512 Orchard Street. Seton Hill Historic District is a hub of African American activities, including church, entrepreneurism, fraternal organizations, education, civil rights activity, the establishment of Provident Hospital, an all-black hospital, and other facets of nineteenth century African American life in Baltimore.

Orchard Street Church

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[1] For additional information on the Cummins/Cummings family during enslavement, see Weidman, "From Dry Documents and Fletcher, "Bright Dreams," this volume. See also, The Cummings Family Story Map, https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=706f1755cdbc445383ab857a159c21ed

[2] The family would eventually total eight children.

[3] This location is now covered by the buildings of the University of Maryland Medical Center Midtown Campus, formerly Maryland General Hospital.

From enslavement to freedom, the church has been a focal point within the African American community. It has been used as a refuge, community center, Sabbath School, and a gathering place for local, regional, and national figures of prominence. The Orchard Street Church at 512 Orchard Street was no different.

It appears that the Orchard Street Church was created in 1825 by Truman Pratt, who was formerly enslaved. In the 1840s, the church had two prominent ministers: William Watkins and John Fortie. Watkins was an abolitionist and teacher of national prominence and the uncle of noted abolitionist, writer and suffragist Frances Ellen Watkins Harper. Fortie was a teacher and businessman of wealth and prestige who educated Isaac Myers, a labor leader, high ranking Masonic leader, and founder of the Chesapeake Marine Railway Dry Dock Company, which employed black shipbuilders.

The Davage/Cummings family was able to immerse themselves into this cohesive African American church and community. Eliza Jane Davage Cummings, suffrage leader, was a founder of both the Aged Men and Women's Home and the Empty Stockings Club, a Christmas gifts delivery event for the community's underprivileged. Later in the Old West Baltimore section, we'll learn about Ida R. Cumming's activism in clubs, which emanated from her mother's involvement in the two aforementioned groups. With more time and concentrated research, we might be able to uncover other connections to enslaved descendants of the Hampton National Historic Site to Seton Hill Historic District, in addition to families such as the Toogoods who also lived on Orchard Street.[4]

Reverend John Alexander Holmes, the church's longest known leader who pastored the church for 19 years, clearly must have been an influence on his parishioners' lives to inspire them to be activists in the larger community. For example, he was the Vice President of the Baltimore Steamboat Company and he opened up the church doors to the community at large. The church hosted the Colored Sunday School Union of Baltimore meetings, the first commencement of the Nurses Training School of Provident Hospital, and the Empty Stockings Club, started by Eliza J. Cummings. Social,

[4] See Fletcher, "Bright Dreams," this volume.

moral, and spiritual uplift was relatively common within the underreported network of African American community life.

Figure 6.1 Orchard Street Church. Courtesy of the Nanny Jack & Company Archives

Afro American Ledger

You learn about the Cummings' legacy through the *Afro American Ledger*. The newspaper, which was established in 1892 by John Henry Murphy, Sr., a former slave, was the leading voice of the Black community. The *Ledger* was a merger of three different publications: Murphy merged his publication, *The Sunday School Helper*, with the *Ledger,* published by Rev. George Freeman Bragg, pastor of Baltimore's St. James Episcopal Church, and the *Afro-American*, published by Rev. Dr. William M. Alexander, pastor of Baltimore's Sharon Baptist Church. In 1916, the name of the publication was changed to the *Afro American Newspaper.*

For a little over two decades starting in 1920, the *Afro American Newspaper*, the oldest African American family owned and operated newspaper in the country, was headquartered at 628 North Eutaw Street. From the mid-1890s forward, the *Afro American* gave readers an intimate look at Black Baltimore and beyond through the lens of the African American. The Black owned newspaper was one of the most necessary and respected sources of information pertaining to Black lives in Baltimore and across the country. The newspaper provided detailed and in-depth accounts to help its readers remain connected to the larger world.

For example, the *Afro American Ledger* helped to establish the far reaching network of Harry S. Cummings' national prominence. In a November 20, 1915 *Afro American Ledger* article, Cummings is cited as a close friend of Dr. Booker T. Washington. In addition, various articles mention the activities of Harry's siblings, including noted educator and clubwoman Ida Rebecca Cummings. In a 1926 *Afro American* article, Ida is listed as the founder of the Frances Ellen Watkins Harper Temple No. 429 where she served as the organization's Daughter Ruler for 31 years. These are just two examples of the bevy of articles written about the activities of the Cummings family. For more activities involving the Cummings family, the *Afro American Ledger* is a great source.

The newspaper allows the National Park Service and others the ability to pull together various types of material culture and interpret them to illustrate their connections to the Cummings family. In the Seton Hill Historic District, the Afro headquarters is a prime example of how an artifact can be used to illuminate the legacy of the descendants of the Cummings family. More than likely, with additional research, other formerly enslaved individuals and their descendants will be uncovered and some of their information would be highlighted in the *Afro American*.

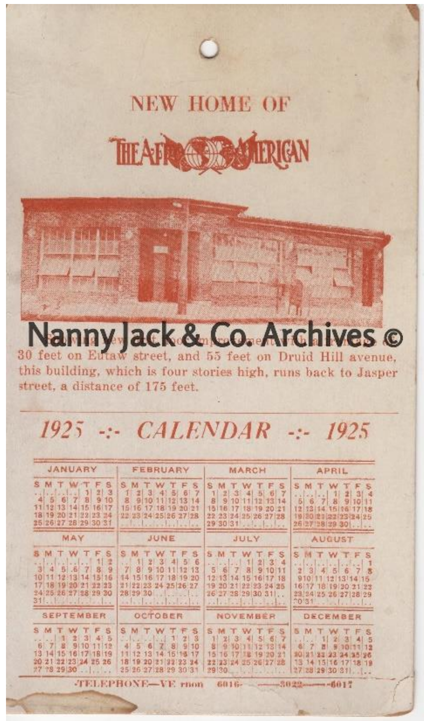

Figure 6.2 1925 *Afro American* Calendar. Courtesy of the Nanny Jack & Company Archives

Fraternal Organizations

Honorable Harry S. Cummings was very active in benevolent and fraternal societies such as the Knights of Pythias, Odd Fellows, and the Masons. Within the Seton Hill Historic District was the headquarters of the Grand United Order of Sons and Daughters, Brothers and Sisters of Moses (also referred to as G.U.O.S.D.B and S of M.), which was located at 608 N. Eutaw Street. Cummings was also aligned with this important East Coast African American benevolent group which was within his community. At this point, we can definitively state that Orchard Street Church members were actively engaged in program and in support of G.U.O.S.D.B and S. of M.

Figure 6.3 Grand United Order of Sons and Daughters, Brothers and Sisters of Moses
Courtesy of Nanny Jack & Co. Archives

OLD WEST BALTIMORE NATIONAL HISTORIC DISTRICT

In his 1909 book, *The Story of the Negro*, Booker T. Washington, noted educator, author, orator, and advisor to presidents, once said of the African American population of Baltimore:

> So far as I know there is no city in the United States where the coloured people own so many comfortable and attractive homes to proportion to the population, as in the city of Baltimore. In what is known as the Druid Hill district of the city, there are, perhaps, fifteen thousand coloured people. For fifteen blocks along Druid Hill Avenue nearly every house is occupied or owned by coloured people. In the later part of the nineties Dr. R. M. Hall, who is one of the oldest coloured physicians and one of the wealthiest coloured men in Baltimore, moved into 1019 Druid Hill Avenue. He was almost the first coloured man to make his home upon that street. Since that time the white people who lived there have moved out into the suburbs and the coloured people have moved in to take their places. I have been told that fully 50 percent of the coloured people on Druid Hill

> Avenue own their homes, though, so far as I know, no systematic investigation has been made of the facts.[5]

This area that Booker T. Washington praised is part of the Old West Baltimore National Historic District, which was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 2004. The historic district is primarily a rowhouse neighborhood of approximately 175 city blocks. It is roughly bounded by North Avenue, Madison Avenue, Dolphin Street, Franklin Street, Hoffman Street, Fremont Avenue, and Fulton Avenue. It encompasses the neighborhoods of Harlem Park, Sandtown, Upton, Druid Heights, and Madison Park.

In March 2018, Governor Larry Hogan stated at a news conference in Sandtown Winchester that 23 buildings would be demolished immediately and the vacant lot would be turned into a park. In 2016, Hogan launched a $75 million demolition effort called Project CORE (Creating Opportunities for Renewal and Enterprise) and officials promised to tear down 4,000 properties in four years. There is a sense of urgency to document the buildings that the Cummings were connected to in Old West Baltimore because of displacement, gentrification, and the $75 million demolition effort. An example of the urgency was the 2015 demolition of the longtime Cummings residence located at 1234 Druid Hill Avenue. The Cummings family resided here from 1901 until 1958, where Ida R. Cummings died.

On the same right hand (southwest) side of Druid Hill Avenue, several doors away from the longtime family residence is 1318 Druid Hill Avenue, the last residence of Harry Cummings. Harry, his wife, Blanche Conklin and their children, Louise and Harry, Jr. moved to this new address about 1912. The middle child, Lucille, did not live long enough to move to this address; she died in 1906.

The Cummings lived in what could be termed the epicenter of this historic district where they were interacting with everyone from former colored Civil War soldiers to civil right activists to leading pastors of various denominations and the like. Although one could establish the fact that Harry S. Cummings was an elite figure, he nonetheless remained firmly entrenched in both worlds as he interacted with various individuals, both

[5] Booker T. Washington, *The Story of the Negro* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), p. 257.

prominent and common, within the Black community. A highly regarded attorney and city councilmember, it is clear that his finger was on the pulse of the community and it allowed him to interact with educators, pastors, bankers, Pullman porters, and entrepreneurs.

Figure 6.4 The Demolition of 1234 Druid Hill Avenue (building on the right).
Courtesy of the Nanny Jack & Company Archives.

Although Cummings rose to great heights as seen within the community, his determination for success is all the more impressive because of his family's humble beginnings coming out of enslavement at Hampton and Perry Hall.

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY, PA CONNECTION

In the early 1880s when Harry Cummings was ready for high school, the Black Baltimore community had no viable opportunity for higher education so he found his way to Lincoln University in Oxford, Chester County, Pennsylvania. Henry and Eliza Cummings, Harry's parents, were early active members of Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church. The church's early pastors, including Rev. William T. Carr, Rev. Reading Beatty Johns and Rev. Charles E. Hedges, were graduates of Lincoln University in Oxford, PA. Carr was the earliest Lincoln University graduate; he graduated in 1864, during the Civil War when the college was still known as Ashmun Institute.

Lincoln University was founded as the Ashmun Institute in 1854 by Presbyterian minister, John Miller Dickey, as the nation's first historically black degree granting institution of higher learning. The institution was established to provide "higher education in the arts and sciences for male youth of African descent." In 1866, it was renamed Lincoln University, in honor of President Abraham Lincoln, who was assassinated in 1865.

In the Special Collections of the Langston Hughes Memorial Library at Lincoln University, archival evidence was uncovered that illustrates that there was a pipeline from the Old West Baltimore community, which includes Madison Street Presbyterian Church, to Lincoln University. For example, Dr. Isaac Norton Rendall, president of Lincoln University, corresponded with Lincoln graduates in the 1870s who would recommend talented youth from Baltimore to matriculate at Lincoln. In one particular letter, Rev. Dr. Garnett R. Waller and Warner T. McGuinn were recommended for acceptance to the university on the recommendation of a proud graduate. There's a strong possibility that 16-year-old Harry S. Cummings was recommended by a member of Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, due to its early contingency of pastors who are Lincoln University graduates.

However, Harry was not the only Cummings to matriculate at Lincoln University. Charles Gilmor Cummings, Harry's younger brother, graduated from Lincoln University in 1895, and Carroll A. Cummings was listed in the Lincoln University Sophomore Class in the 1895 University Catalogue. Unfortunately, he did not graduate because he died that same year. In addition, Harry S. Cummings, Jr. graduated from Lincoln University in 1927.

Through many of his endeavors, Harry Cummings stayed closely connected to his alma mater, Lincoln University. For instance, his law partner Warner T. McGuinn, graduated from Lincoln in 1884. Rev. Reuben H. Armstrong, the pastor who officiated Cummings' marriage to Blanche Teresa Conklin at Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church in 1899, graduated from Lincoln University in 1877. In 1902, Cummings returned to his alma mater where he delivered the annual address of the Garnet Literary Association at the university's commencement. In February 1903, Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church hosted a "Lincoln University Night" which Lincoln University graduates and their families were invited to attend. Rev. Francis James Grimke, an 1870 Lincoln University graduate, preached that night. Grimke also officiated the marriage of Rev. Charles Gilmor Cummings to Grace Shimm.

When Cummings died in 1917, he was funeralized at 1318 Druid Hill Avenue by Rev. Leonard Z. Johnson, an 1898 Lincoln University graduate. Among the prominent individuals who attended his funeral were Rev. Daniel G. Hill, Sr., an 1886 Lincoln University graduate and pastor of the historic Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore. In 1910, Hill relocated his congregation to Druid Hill Avenue, a few doors down from the Cummings family residence at 1234 Druid Hill Avenue and Harry S. Cummings' residence at 1318 Druid Hill Avenue. Other significant Lincoln University graduates who attended the funeral include Rev. John T. Colbert, class of 1901 and William T. Carr, M.D., class of 1886. This is yet another example of the Lincoln University alumni support network. Furthermore, it reinforces the notion of the significance of the poorly researched African American network of descendants of the formerly enslaved.

On the hallowed grounds of Lincoln University, there is a memorial tablet inside the historic Mary Dodd Brown Chapel. The plaque reads as follows: "A memorial presented to the trustees, the President, and the faculty of Lincoln University in commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the graduation of William T. Carr, Physician, Harry S. Cummings, Sr., Lawyer, Daniel G. Hill, Minister, of Baltimore, Maryland. This tablet is affectionately dedicated by the members of their families."

In addition to the memorial tablet, in 2001, a mural was commissioned with the Maryland Institute College of Art, the Marble Hill Community Association, and Nanny Jack & Company to portray Harry Cummings, two other Lincoln University alumni, and three other community leaders within Old West Baltimore. The mural is within walking distance of the Cummings' residences. Most recently, on November 1, 2018, the Baltimore City Council renamed a building at 401 E. Fayette Street, known as the Municipal Employees Credit Union (MECU) Building, to the Councilman Harry S. Cummings Building.

CONCLUSION

Before this project began, descendants of the enslaved from the Hampton Plantation were thought to only have migrated to Lutherville, East Towson and Sandy Bottom. However, after extensive research and the utilization of artifacts from the Nanny Jack & Company Archives, we see that the descendants moved beyond these areas and created and utilized a strong sense of connection within their own African American communities. Over the course of the Hampton NHS Ethnographic Project, additional descendants of the enslaved at Hampton surfaced at wider geographical distances, and more are yet to be discovered.

> "History is our collective memory, a source of wisdom and strength we can draw on when we need it. And, we need it now more than ever, precisely because the challenges we face are so complicated and intractable," said Stephanie Meeks, the president of the National Trust. "We can't possibly navigate these challenges wisely without some sense of perspective, and some help from the past. With so many forces dividing us, preservation is one of the few things that brings us together—as a nation, as communities, and as people."[6]

[6] Stephanie K. Meeks, "Why Preservation Matters," Remarks at the Saving Places Conference, Denver, 2011.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A report of this scope could not have been successful without generous help and support. I have already mentioned Gregory Weidman from the National Park Service but we were also fortunate to have the help and guidance of ranger Anokwale Anansesemefo and the institutional knowledge of ranger William Curtis. Towson University generously supported the project. Team member Matthew Durington arranged for the school to provide space at the University for our mid-project review and, most importantly, for our public symposium in June of 2018. Towson University President Kim Schatzel opened the symposium and welcomed the public. We are grateful for that crucial support. I would also like to thank the Historic Preservation program in the School of Architecture and the Department of Anthropology at the University of Maryland, College Park for their support.

Goucher College professor Tina Schiller led her student researchers for a project that explored Epsom, the plantation adjacent to Hampton once a part of the Ridgely holdings. Their work, which she generously shared, helped us understand the fate and dispersal of some of those enslaved among the Governor's heirs. Matthew Durington and archaeologist Elizabeth Comer facilitated a field walk over focused on the ruins of the limekiln on Goucher's campus.

Institutional support from Baltimore County Historical Society, especially Ann Blouse, helped us identify relevant Baltimore County historical resources. Maya Davis and Chris Healy of the Maryland State Archives helped us navigate the manumission records and the "Legacy of Slavery in Maryland" website. We are particularly grateful to the Maryland Historical Society for facilitating access to their voluminous Ridgely holdings. Teri Rising, Baltimore County Department of Planning, met with us to assist in providing maps and planning documents that helped us understand the transformation of the land from Ridgely plantation holdings to segregated suburban estates.

The work of local historians propelled the success of this project into the twenty-first century. We are deeply indebted to Louis Diggs and grateful for his years of

dedicated research into local Black communities in Baltimore County. In particular, his book *Since the Beginning: African American Communities in Towson* (Uptown Press, 2000) became our touchstone. Stories that were of only passing interest at the beginning of the project took on deeper and deeper meaning as we began to trace the lives of those once enslaved at Hampton, follow them into freedom in East Towson, Baltimore and elsewhere, and then connect them to the stories in Diggs' books, which ultimately led us back to Hampton. One must read and reread, analyze and reanalyze, visit and revisit documents as the work progresses. Deriving meaning is iterative.

Historic Preservationist and official Baltimore County historian, John McGrain stands along with Mr. Diggs as another invaluable local resource. His understanding of the development of East Towson and surrounding lands enabled us to sort through the history of local migration and its myriad causes.[7] Likewise, Donna Hollie contributed her time to review our Comprehensive List of Names and facilitated our meeting with retired State Archivist Ed Papenfuse at The Baltimore City Archives in the quest for plats and maps of Hampton.

The Towson community, particularly the St. James AUMP Church Community, the oldest Black congregation in Towson, graciously agreed to speak with us and provide whatever interviews we needed. Sandra Douglass and her son Antoine were the first individuals to contact us about working with the project and contributed their research time and kept us informed about local Baltimore County genealogy meetings and activities. Susan Pollonaise also contributed her time to help us review Civil War documents and film our final presentation. Thank you to Veronica Carr, part of the Ethnographic Team, for her contributions. Betty Merrill extended warm hospitality as she kindly opened her home for research visits. Thank you, too, to Carolyn Adams for providing materials and contacts for our research into Lutherville connections to the project.

Neicy DeShields Moulton of the Batty family generously made her genealogy and family research available. She also hosted Dr. LaRoche and made her home available

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[7] John McGrain, *250 Candles for Towson: Documents and Memoirs*, Historical Society of Baltimore County, 2018.

for her visit to York, PA. Mr. Gross of the extended Harris-Brown family has been an invaluable treasure. He gave his time and knowledge and provided family documents as necessary. From the Cummings family, Rick Cummings opened his home and made every effort to satisfy our queries. His cousin Lewis Hudnell offered much encouragement along with his interview. Lola Jenkins Reid found us and alerted us to her possible family connections to the Towson branch of the Batty family, which proved to be the case. We also were fortunate to glean much information from Charles Brown as mentioned in the text. We also interviewed Ruth Hall and members of the church.

Over the course of the project we lost a few key community members and collaborators. I truly regret that we will not have the opportunity to visit with Mike (Michael) Miller again. He passed in 2018. Over time, I suspect that it will more than likely come to be discovered with further research that he has a family connection to Hampton. Lola Jenkins Reed, mentioned above, and Adalaide Bentley—the mayor of East Towson—also passed away in 2020. We cannot say enough about the loss of our consultant, Patsy Fletcher. We are grateful that we had the opportunity to interact with each of them before they passed.