

ABSTRACT

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Historic plantation sites continue to struggle with the legacy of slavery and black history, particularly concerning their significance in American culture. Although enslaved persons are erased from the contemporary landscape of Carroll Park in Baltimore, Maryland, the historical and archaeological record preserves their importance to the Carroll family and the plantation called Georgia or Mount Clare. I argue that historic preservation is a form of social justice when underrepresented historical groups are integrated into interpretations of historical house museums and landscapes. Enslaved blacks held essential roles in every aspect of Mount Clare from circa 1730 to 1817. They became culturally American at the intersection of race and status, not only through the practice of their own cultural beliefs and values, but those of elite whites, as well. Focus on white ancestors reveals only part of the history of Mount Clare: I demonstrate that blacks' own achievements cannot be ignored.

GRACIOUS BUT CARELESS: RACE AND STATUS IN THE HISTORY OF
MOUNT CLARE

By

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Abbreviations

Repositories

CPF	Carroll Park Foundation, Baltimore, MD
LOC	Library of Congress, Washington, DC
MSA	Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD
MdHS	Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD
MHT	Maryland Historical Trust, Crownsville, MD
MCMH	Mount Clare Museum House, Baltimore, MD
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC

Names or Titles within Citations

MHM	<i>Maryland Historical Magazine</i>
Dr. CC	Dr. Charles Carroll
CCB	Charles Carroll the Barrister
MTC	Margaret Tilghman Carroll

Chapter 1: Introduction

Blacks etched themselves into the history of the Chesapeake region well before Dr. Charles Carroll emigrated to America from Ireland by 1716, just as in freedom so did the descendants of the people he and his descendants enslaved.¹ Although blacks are erased from the contemporary landscape of Carroll Park in Baltimore, Maryland, the historical and archaeological record preserves their importance both to the Carroll family and the plantation called Georgia or Mount Clare (Figure 1). I argue that historic preservation is a form of social justice when historically underrepresented groups are integrated into interpretations of historical house museums and landscapes. Enslaved blacks held essential roles in every aspect of Mount Clare's operation from 1720 to 1817. They became culturally American at the intersection of race and status, through the practice of not only their own cultural beliefs and values, but those of elite whites. Focus on white ancestors reveals only part of the history of Mount Clare:

¹ A note on terminology: The specific geographic or tribal origins remain uncertain for the people enslaved at Mount Clare. Their homelands might have been located on the African continent, the West Indies, Brazil, or interstitial locations along slave trade routes to America. I acknowledge the ambiguity by using the term "black" instead of African or African American. I emphasize that slavery was imposed upon blacks, not chosen, through the term "enslaved" rather than slave and "slaveholder" or "enslaver" instead of master, mistress, or slaveowner. I employ the term "servant" only for hired or indentured persons of European descent.

Several men named Charles Carroll lived in the Maryland colony in the eighteenth century. They are believed to have been cousins or distant cousins who descended from kings in Ireland, and all moved in similar social, business and political circles. The men adopted monikers to identify each from the other. Personal papers, business records, and government documents inconsistently apply the monikers. I focus on Dr. Charles Carroll (1691-1755) and Charles Carroll the Barrister (1723-1783). Others included Charles Carroll the Settler (1660/1-1720), Charles Carroll of Annapolis (1702-1782), Charles Carroll of Carrollton (1737-1832), and Charles Carroll of Homewood (1775-1825). "Charles Carroll Esq." is used in records to identify any one of the men.

in the following narrative, I demonstrate that blacks' own achievements cannot be ignored.

Blacks held by Dr. Carroll and Charles and Margaret Tilghman Carroll lived at the plantation called Georgia or Mount Clare from about 1730 to 1817. A fraction of the acreage and the Carrolls' mansion is today preserved within a historic easement in Carroll Park in western Baltimore, Maryland. Park recreational facilities, urban housing development, and industrial complexes have absorbed the rest of the plantation acreage. In 1917, the Maryland Society of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America assumed stewardship of the mansion to create the Mount Clare Museum House. The central part of the mansion is the only above-ground feature preserved from the eighteenth century. Subsurface evidence may remain in the historic easement area, but the degree of disturbance identified by past archaeology suggests that it is in significantly compromised contexts. The Carroll Park Foundation became steward of the historic easement surrounding the mansion in 1991. It also assumed responsibility for the archaeological collections. The Foundation calls the landscape "Carroll's Hundred" to distinguish its work from that of the Maryland Society.² The two organizations work with Baltimore City to manage the property.

² The term "Carroll's Hundred" appears on the 1783 assessment for Middle River Lower Hundred to identify a Carroll property called Carrolls Island in other records (General Assembly House of Delegates (Assessment Record) Charles Carroll (Barrister), 1783, Middle River Lower Hundred, Baltimore County, p. 3, M871-17, MSA SM59-22.). Middle River Lower Hundred was located east of Baltimore on the Middle River. See *Baltimore County Hundreds and Boundaries* (online <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~mdbaltim/hundreds.html>, accessed October 29, 2009) and also Robert Wilkinson's map in Robert Barnes, *Guide to Research in Baltimore County*, 2nd ed. (Westminster: Family Line Publications, 1989, p. 111) for locations of hundreds in 1798. Mount Clare was not assessed in 1783, probably due to

The Maryland Society and the Carroll Park Foundation have made progress since 1917 and 1991, respectively, in black history interpretation. Neither organization has yet realized the full potential of the site to discuss blacks and slavery, and both use organizational politics to impede it. Organizations that ignore historical evidence, or cannot prioritize the inclusion of traditionally under-represented peoples, or promote and adhere solely to their own visions and beliefs, further the racist social projects that erased or diminished blacks from the landscape. Both organizations operate on thin resources, but methods and media for blacks and slavery are not necessarily time, money, or staff intensive. Recommendations in Chapter 8 set out some ways to assert the significance of blacks with few resources.

Social justice at Carroll Park can only come about if black history is made a priority along with the Carrolls and the reconstruction of historic structures. These statements are not easy for organizations like the Maryland Society or the Carroll Park Foundation to hear. But the fact remains that a visitor to the park today would learn very little about black history, and that problem does not exist independently of its stewards. One impediment to black history interpretation at Carroll Park is that the two organizations have not come to an agreement on the development of the landscape, use and exhibit of the archaeological collections, or the degree of emphasis to place on blacks and slavery. Another issue concerns the different agendas for the site. Interpretation at the mansion by the Maryland Society has, since 1917, focused on the Carrolls rather than all of those who lived and worked at the historic site.

settling Charles Carroll the Barrister's estate. The 1737 assessment refers to Georgia as "Dr. Carrolls quarter" in the Upper Hundred of Patapsco (Baltimore County (Tax Lists) Dr. Charles Carroll, Upper Hundred of Patapsco, 1737, MSA CM918-9, M1560-22.).

Opportunities to involve black history in permanent and temporary exhibits, special programs, publications, and docent tours have been repeatedly missed. Although the Carroll Park Foundation has re-established an orchard, exhibits or programs on black history are not as of this writing available on a permanent or daily basis to the public. The Foundation works with the Baltimore Talent Development High School, located north of Carroll Park in Harlem Park, to conduct educational programs with students using the archaeological collections. The collections, however, are in critical condition and are not supervised by an archaeologist. The Foundation is in the planning stages of reconstructing outbuildings and living history events that will emphasize black history. I do not dismiss the accomplishments of the two organizations thus far, but express concern about the pace of progress and the resulting implications for contemporary populations, particularly descendants of the enslaved community and Baltimoreans in general. Social justice sets a standard for inclusion that frames stewardship as opening a site for all, rather than using stewardship to maintain control of a site or collections or a vision for a place. It provides a framework for organizations to work together towards a cause of historic sites as being the heritage of all Americans.

Blacks are the missing key to the story at the mansion and the surrounding landscape: as slaves, their knowledge and skills fueled the plantation, qualified the Carrolls to be social elites, and influenced developments in American labor and social interactions. Today, even though the former plantation at Carroll Park is as much a site of black heritage as it is a white one, the legacy of racialized practices persists through the processes that omit black representation in its interpretation.

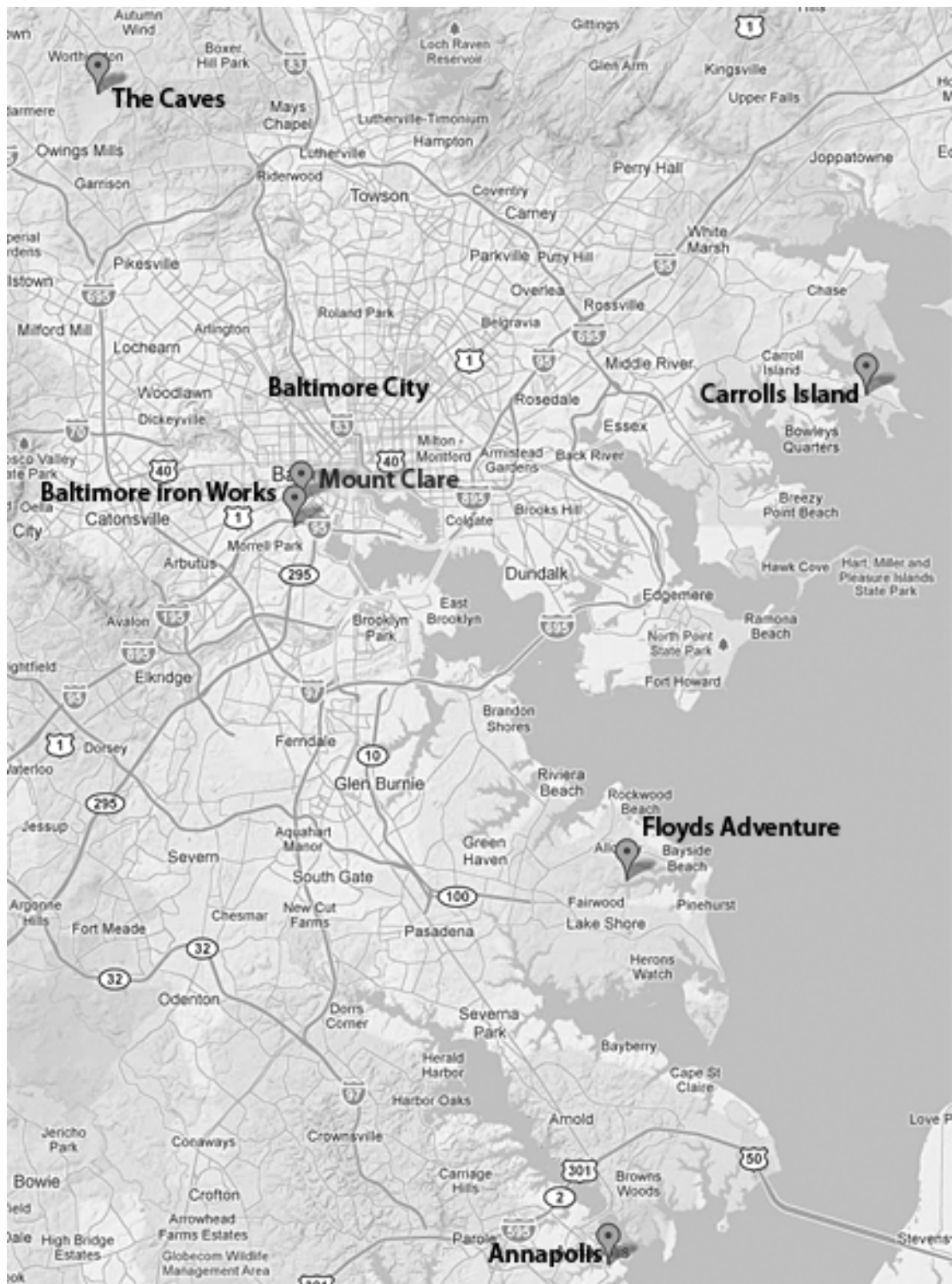


Figure 1: Mount Clare relative to other Carroll properties and the cities of Baltimore and Annapolis. GoogleMaps. 2009.

The omission of enslaved blacks from the interpretation of Mount Clare since 1917 constitutes the focus of the following narrative. Unlike for the Carrolls, no historical context for blacks at Mount Clare existed prior to this study. Site managers, as a result, had little information for talks, public programs, or exhibits. I learned about the gap in knowledge of enslaved blacks at Mount Clare while creating a walking tour on black heritage.³ The information then available was thin, poorly contextualized, or outright wrong. No one had gathered or assessed evidence of blacks in archival or archaeological records in a thorough or analytical way. Even the basics were absent, such as a compiled list of the number of slaves at Mount Clare over time. It took very little research to see blacks' involvement in every aspect of the Carrolls' lives. Integration of black history into Mount Clare will help site managers to extend the site's relevance to the African American communities that today constitute the majority of Baltimore's population.⁴

³ Teresa S. Moyer, *Museum Practicum: A Walking Tour of Mount Clare and Georgia in Carroll Park, Baltimore, Maryland* (College Park: Department of American Studies, University of Maryland), 2008. On file, University of Maryland.

⁴ Ethnographic research beyond the scope of this study is necessary to assess the relationships – potential and actual – between Mount Clare and African Americans today. The U.S. Census Bureau's *2008 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimate* for Baltimore indicates that at least 63.1 percent of the city identifies as black or African-American. Since the ranking tops at 63.9 percent, the actual percentage may be higher. During my visits to the Carroll Park, which offer a sample of typical use, African Americans use the entire park (sitting in cars in parking lots, walking dogs, playing games in fields, walking for exercise) recreationally except the historic easement section and mansion. I have only observed African Americans immediately around Mount Clare in their capacity as Baltimore park employees or walking the roadways. The Maryland Society conducts educational outreach with nearby Charles Carroll the Barrister Elementary School, while the Carroll Park Foundation works

To explore the legacy of slavery at Georgia or Mount Clare, I begin with a detailed examination of blacks' lives in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The knowledge and skills necessary to support everyday life at Mount Clare cross-cut the race-based status quo. Not only did blacks in slavery contribute to American cultural developments, but the Carrolls relied on them to be subject-area experts in plantation and household management. The traditional interpretive emphasis on the Carrolls at the expense of the people they enslaved thus inaccurately represents the overall significance of Mount Clare to the development of American culture. I next outline the erasure of black history from Mount Clare, particularly since 1917, as a racialized practice of European American historic preservation. My goal for the following study is a path for interdisciplinary studies of museology, archaeology, history, and cultural landscape studies to employ historic preservation for social justice. Such work fulfills the responsibility of contemporary scholars to confront and attempt to remedy the perpetuation of inequality in the past into the present.

Site Overview

The great-grandparents of the eldest blacks enslaved at Mount Clare in 1817 were born circa 1700, their children in the 1720s, their grandchildren in the 1740s, and their great-grandchildren in the 1780s. Their homelands are not known, but they may originate in west-central Africa or Barbados. Diasporic black communities lived in the Chesapeake region by the mid-1700s during the development of a stratified

with the Baltimore Talent Development High School. For both schools, European American and Latino or Hispanic students are minority populations in comparison with African American students by a dramatic margin.

society and tobacco plantations dependent upon slavery. Charles Carroll, Chirurgeon (a surgeon, or doctor), emigrated from Ireland to America by 1716. He settled in Annapolis where he became a slaveholder and practiced medicine. Dr. Carroll patented Georgia, now part of western Baltimore, in 1729. He and four partners formed the Baltimore Company in 1731 to establish the Baltimore Iron Works on the western part of Georgia. Blacks labored for the ironworks on company land as well as the land retained by Dr. Carroll on the eastern side of Georgia. Dr. Carroll amassed significant acreages in Baltimore County for ironworks, shipping, and milling enterprises. By 1737, eight enslaved persons lived on Georgia and nine at The Caves, another of Dr. Carroll's plantations (Figure 1).

Blacks held by the Carrolls at the mid-eighteenth century witnessed fundamental shifts related to status maintenance, the decline of tobacco, and the growth of black communities on and off the plantation. They were also affected by changes in the Carroll family. Dr. Carroll died in 1755. His son, Charles Carroll the Barrister, became one of the wealthiest men in the Maryland colony due to his property holdings, including slave ownership and the promise of income based on slave labor. Charles commissioned a summer home in 1760 on the Georgia tract and renamed it "Mount Clare" upon its completion. He married Margaret Tilghman, herself a wealthy landowner and slaveholder, in 1763.

The black populations at the Carrolls' properties grew by procreation and purchase. Their members maintained ornamental and kitchen gardens, orchards, and greenhouse plants; grain crops; animals and birds; and domestic work. Over fifty enslaved persons lived between the Carrolls' Baltimore County and Annapolis

properties, not including children or the very elderly, in 1773. During the Revolutionary era, the Carrolls resettled at Mount Clare as wartime activity heated up Annapolis. Enslaved blacks came into more regular contact with the Carrolls, particularly Margaret. Perhaps due to unsettled conditions raised by blacks' own beliefs about revolution and resistance, for the first time Charles placed advertisements to retrieve escaped persons.

After Charles died in 1783, Margaret chose among approximately seventy people to live with her at Mount Clare. The community was unique both for its size relative to other places in the Baltimore region and for Margaret's wealth in widowhood. Several blacks became free during Margaret's lifetime, but the remaining fifty at her death in 1817 were subjected to delayed manumission. A new black community came to Mount Clare with her husband's nephew, James Maccubbin Carroll, in 1818. Blacks formerly enslaved by the Carrolls went to new enslavers or were freed. By the mid-nineteenth century, only half of the blacks enslaved by Charles and Margaret had formally registered their freedom in court.

Physical evidence of blacks eroded from the landscape. Mount Clare was rented for most of the nineteenth century. The gardens and orchards declined and the outbuildings were eventually demolished. In 1890, Baltimore City purchased the property to create a city park. The Maryland Society of the National Society of the Colonial Dames in America reached an agreement with the city in 1917 to care for the mansion as a museum.⁵ The Maryland Society set to restoring, landscaping, and

⁵ Three societies in the United States call themselves "Colonial Dames." All are women-only organizations that rely on genealogical connections with the colonial era

furnishing the property as part of its mission to preserve historic houses in commemoration of its members' colonial ancestors. Situated within a city park, the house was open to the public as part historic house and part shrine. The Maryland Society began to mention African American history at Mount Clare in the 1980s and 1990s and hired professional museum staff. The Carroll Park Foundation became steward of the historic easement area surrounding the mansion in 1991. The Foundation is in the planning stages to restore the landscape to a Revolutionary era appearance with special emphasis on its African American past. Today, Carroll Park is at the center of debate over the development of the cultural landscape for tourism.

The Maryland Society and the Carroll Park Foundation have little information on enslaved blacks to guide their work. Available published histories on Mount Clare avoid black history. As a result, they tend to misrepresent the Carrolls, under-represent blacks, and distort everyday life. Historical architect Michael Trostel began working on his history of Mount Clare in 1974 under commission by the Maryland Society.⁶ Trostel's book remains a singular reference to the Carroll family and to the

for membership. The Mount Clare Museum House is associated with the National Society of the Colonial Dames in America (NSCDA). The NSCDA was founded in 1891 and is currently headquartered at the Dumbarton House in Washington, D.C. The Colonial Dames of America (CDA) was founded in 1890. It is headquartered in the Mount Vernon Hotel Museum and Gardens in New York, New York. The CDA has a chapter in Baltimore, Maryland. The National Society of Colonial Dames XVII Century has its Headquarters in Washington, D.C. It is specifically interested in seventeenth-century genealogy and history.

⁶ Michael F. Trostel, *Mount Clare: Being an Account of the Seat Built by Charles Carroll, Barrister, upon his Lands at Patapsco* (Baltimore: National Society of Colonial Dames of America, 1981), ix. Also see Annie Leakin Sioussat, "*Mount Clare*" *Carroll Park, Baltimore: An Historical Sketch Issued under the Auspices of the Maryland Society of the Colonial Dames of America*, (Baltimore: Maryland Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 1926) for a similar approach.

mansion's architectural context, but it neither engages with the significance of slavery in every aspect of the Carrolls' lives nor the character and culture of the community. Biographical accounts portray Dr. Carroll and Charles as energetic, likeable, innovative, and intelligent members of the wealthy colonial elite.⁷ Margaret Tilghman Carroll is presented as a wife and mother dedicated to the domestic female sphere.⁸ Kimberly Collins Moreno addresses Margaret's slaveholding and proposes black history as a line for future inquiry. Moreno, in particular, relates Margaret's manumission choices to her business acumen as an elite.⁹ Although recent print brochures still focus on the Carrolls, both the Mount Clare Museum House and Carroll Park Foundation websites address black history. The museum website includes pages on slavery and freedom in Maryland, freedom seekers, Baltimore, industrial slavery at the Baltimore Iron Works, runaway advertisements, and manumissions.¹⁰ My research, however, identified a number of inaccuracies and

⁷ For example, see W. Stull Holt, "Charles Carroll, Barrister: The Man." MHM 31: 112-126; Lilian Giffen, "Mount Clare, Baltimore," MHM XLII: 29-34; NSCDA, *Adventurers, Cavaliers, Patriots and Mount Clare: Home of Charles Carroll, Barrister*.

⁸ Joanna Tilghman Tamplin, "Chatelaine of Mount Clare," in *Behind the Maryland Scene: Women of Influence 1600-1800*, ed. the Southern Regional Committee National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland, and Dame Guests from other Maryland Committees, 95-103 (National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland, Southern Maryland Regional Committee, 1977) 95-103.

⁹ Kimberly Collins Moreno, *Mistress of Mount Clare: The Life of Margaret Tilghman Carroll 1742-1817* (master's thesis, University of Maryland, Baltimore County, 2004).

¹⁰ Mount Clare Museum House, *Slavery* (Mount Clare Museum House, 2007) Online: <http://www.mountclare.org/history/slavery.html> (accessed 9 October 2009).

misrepresentations in the webpages. The Carroll Park Foundation's website acknowledges the African American heritage of Mount Clare, but does not include information about it.¹¹ The following historical context frames black history at Mount Clare in order to improve and enrich knowledge about slavery and blacks' everyday and cultural lives.

Approaches to Black Slavery

Scholarship on black slavery in America debates questions of identity, power, and significance. Issue-based questions include: Do blacks' cultures in America reflect their places of origin? How did black culture and African American culture develop, and to what degree as a result of European American influences? Methodological questions include: How can scholars recover black voices from white-generated textual sources, or in sites controlled by whites? What does material culture purchased or owned by whites say about slavery or blacks? How do experiences from one plantation compare to another, or one region to another? How can black culture be evaluated by individual, group, community, generation? Questions of contemporary context include: Why is black history missing from white historical narratives when the sources clearly show daily interaction and interdependence? Who should do black history? When should inequality in the past be addressed in the present or future? Four categories of scholarly literature are particularly relevant to

¹¹ Carroll Park Foundation, Carroll's Hundred (Carroll Park Foundation, 2008), Online: <http://www.carrollshundred.org/index.html> (accessed 9 October 2009).

Mount Clare: the social construction of difference, slavery studies, Americanization processes, and contemporary activism in cultural fields through scholarship.

Black history at Georgia or Mount Clare shows that the social construction of difference organized everyday life around race and status. Social construction and racial formation are contemporary terms applied to the distant past to explain differences among peoples. Michael Omi and Howard Winant emphasize that race is not natural or inherent, but a concept that “signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies.”¹² Race – or, more accurately, racism – has a deep-seated history in the United States as an ideology or worldview. It has guided projects such as the ordering of state and civil society and its institutions, as well as human bodies and social structures.¹³ Of particular concern is the formation of race at the state level, where it is politically contested.¹⁴ One example is colonial law, which codified the dominant status of white elites over black chattel at Mount Clare.¹⁵ The upper and literate classes in the West considered

¹² Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the U.S.* (1986; New York: Routledge, 2nd ed., 1994), vii, 55.

¹³ Smedley traces the history of race as it affected Irish/English relations and English/African relations, among other groups, in terms of slavery. Audrey Smedley, *Race in North America*, 3rd ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 2007).

¹⁴ Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the U.S.*, vii and 56.

¹⁵ Ian Haney-Lopez argues that the courts codified “common knowledge” about race into law when science failed to do so. Law established physical differences, racialized meanings to physical features and ancestry, and transformations of ideas about race into material conditions that entrenched them in society. Ian Haney Lopez, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race*, 10th ed. (New York: New York University Press, 2006).

physical labor as a chore to be left to slaves, peasants, or servants.¹⁶ Race and status as social constructions held different meanings in different social and cultural contexts. Material markers evidence the contrasts between contexts, such as the Carrolls' purchase of tea versus ironworkers' overwork for bedding. Bedding purchased through overwork signaled status within the enslaved black ironworkers' community in a way that did not translate to the Carrolls' way of life as European American elites. On the other hand, tea was a luxury purchase that separated the Carrolls from enslaved black laborers, as well as most other European American colonials. Examples of projects of racial formation and social construction at Mount Clare include the management of slavery and freedom by colonial, state, and Federal law or, today, just as powerful if not more insidious, the exclusion of blacks from whites' history.

Historic plantation sites, like Carroll Park, are examples of modern projects of ongoing racial formation that appear to perpetuate past beliefs. A number of terms define the qualities of race-based attitudes in the present day. Racism is a belief that races exist and that members of one race are inherently inferior to those of another race. Racial prejudice is a set of learned ideas to evaluate a person of another race. Racial discrimination uses racial prejudice to treat a person unequally on the basis of racial affiliation. Ethnocentrism is the preference for one's own ethnic or national group. It is based in cultural attitudes and the presumption that one's own culture is

¹⁶ David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 51.

superior.¹⁷ The concepts are more comfortably identified in the past at plantations than today.

Racism became rooted in the seventeenth-century institutionalization of slavery. It reached ideological force in nineteenth-century scientific and social thought.¹⁸ The result removed responsibility and culpability for blacks' degraded circumstances from whites' racism and elitism and placed it on blacks. Race relations in history responded to many different factors. Among them were demography, ethnicity, space, land availability, geography, inter-cultural contact, commerce, agriculture and economic trends, ethnic community development, behaviors and logics as adaptive mechanisms, social stratification, population swell and density, and economic status.¹⁹ The intensification of the Atlantic slave trade, the economic and cultural role of plantation America in European society, and Enlightenment notions of human progress helped to instill racism in eighteenth-century America. Eighteenth-century thought posited that Africans' mental, moral, psychological and physical characteristics were born of environment. Roxann Wheeler demonstrates that eighteenth-century Europeans held an "elastic" and emergent concept of racial identity. For example, conceptions of Christianity, civility, and rank played a more significant role in Britons' self-assessment than physical attributes. Britons in England and America used "Africans" interchangeably with "Negroes" and "blacks"

¹⁷ Alden T. Vaughn, "Preface," *Roots of American Racism: Essays on the Colonial Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) ix.

¹⁸ Frederickson, *Black Image in the White Mind*, 322.

¹⁹ T.H. Breen and Stephen Innes, "*Myne Owne Ground*" *Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

for peoples imported to America and their America-born descendants. Europeans differentiated humans by complexion until about the third quarter of the eighteenth century. They believed that complexion resulted from climate, bodily humors, and anatomy; in other words, the outer appearance reflected inner states as a product of environment. Christianity played a significant role in their thinking. Christian semiotics, for instance, aligned “white” with goodness and purity and “black” with evil and sin. By the late eighteenth century, the body’s surface came to define racial identity.²⁰ Scientific thought in the nineteenth century encouraged racism by indicating that blacks were intellectually inferior to whites in order to justify white supremacy.²¹ Dr. Carroll expressed in a letter his belief that the “African, Grecian, and Roman Empires are no more” in discussion of his concern for his “family and country.”²² By this statement, Dr. Carroll demonstrated his bias predicated on British societal and cultural mores of civilization over contemporaneous African ones. Americans from Europe conceptualized Africa as a savage place outside the narrative of Western progress.²³ They came to use blacks’ skin color, facial features, and hair texture as classificatory characteristics of “natural slaves” and status differences.²⁴

²⁰ Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000) 2-7.

²¹ George M. Frederickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1971) 2.

²² Letter Book of Charles Carroll, 1716-1731, p. 106, MS 208, MdHS.

²³ James Sidbury, *Becoming African in America: Race and Nation in the Early Black Atlantic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007) 6.

²⁴ Davis, *Inhuman Bondage*, 53.

The relatively recent use of “white” or “black” for ethnic or racial groups obscures the origins and complexity of racist thought in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century attitudes.

Race and status at Mount Clare connect with anthropological questions in social history about the significance of underrepresented populations in the story of America. Social history engages with the stories of people other than white, European-descended men of means. It has also addressed individuals’ experiences and their agency. As a result, social history has changed the conceptual and methodological approaches to the past. Historians, for example, traditionally focused on the impacts of slavery in the South. A shift is taking place to defog national memory about slavery in the North and throughout the United States.²⁵ A methodological impact of social history is that textual methods are considered insufficient research tools. Material culture and oral history have grown in significance for their ability to shed light on the unrecorded elements of everyday life. Historians also consider the position of the source as well as gaps necessary to fill. An Africanist approach, for instance, looks at slavery from the perspective of peoples from the African continent through African-generated sources.²⁶ Scholars also seek

²⁵ James O. Horton and Lois E. Horton, *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community, and Protest Among Northern Free Blacks, 1700-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Gary B. Nash, “Forging Freedom: The Emancipation Experience in the Northern Seaport Cities 1775-1820,” in *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution*, ed. Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, 3-48 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983); Ira Berlin, *Generations in Captivity: A History of African American Slaves* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

²⁶ Gwendolyn Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

the hardest-to-find members of enslaved populations, such as children and women. They work against the tendency to focus on black males through examination of women's fights against racial oppression and their significance to black community development.²⁷ Critics of current approaches argue that focus on the individual misses broader trends, or that studies of slaveowners veer towards their sadistic tendencies and sensationalize slavery for dramatics.²⁸ One effect of anthropological social history the past is more accessible to contemporary populations by reaching all people, not just selected groups.

Anthropological approaches to history reveal the influence of the social construction of race and status over historical projects. Racism, prejudice, and ethnocentrism are, indeed, one set of explanations for the erasure of black history

²⁷ Focus on black women comes from Barbara Elizabeth Wallace, *"Fair Daughters of Africa": African American Women in Baltimore, 1790—1860* (Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles, 2001); Gloria Seaman Allen, *Threads of Bondage: Chesapeake Slave Women and Plantation Cloth Production, 1750-1850* (Ph. D., George Washington University, 2000); Cheryll Ann Cody, "Sale and Separation: Four Crises for Enslaved Women on the Ball Plantations 1764-1854," in *Working Toward Freedom: Slave Society and Domestic Economy in the American South*, ed. Larry E. Hudson, Jr. (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1994); as well as the interactions among black and white women as researched by Elizabeth Fox-Geneovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988). Studies of children include Marie Jenkins Schwartz, *Born in Bondage: Growing Up Enslaved in the Antebellum South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000) and Wilma King, *Stolen Childhood: Slave Youth in Nineteenth-Century America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995). Among the few projects on the elderly are Stacey K. Close, *Elderly Slaves of the Plantation South* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1997) and Leslie J. Pollard, "Aging and Slavery: A Gerontological Perspective," *The Journal of Negro History* 66, no. 3: 228-234.

²⁸ Discussed in, but not sanctioned by, Paul Ruffins, "The Peculiar Institution: New Trends and Controversies in Researching and Teaching Slavery," *Black Issues in Higher Education* 18, no. 7 (2001) 20-26.

from Mount Clare. Why were blacks not included in earlier historical studies? Except for archaeological evidence and court-registered freedom papers, I reviewed the same sources used by historians in the first third of the twentieth century to construct a history of Mount Clare. Why has no other scholar, volunteer, or student conducted such a study? Why is the clear historical majority population still under-represented in modern-day interpretations at Carroll Park? The main issue at stake is intent: to what degree have the twentieth-century managers of Carroll Park sought to further white interests over those of blacks? Unfortunately, little evidence is accessible at this writing. For example, the Maryland Society has its institutional archive at the Mount Clare Museum House. A microfilmed copy resides at the Maryland State Archives. Neither is available to the public.²⁹ The effect is that preservation historians cannot conduct research into the development of the Maryland Society, but also that the organization has something to hide. The archive has the potential to shed light on the importance of the Maryland Society to preservation in Maryland in relationship to broader national trends, especially where it stood on black history over time. The motivations and beliefs of women preservationists are part of the, at least of this writing, unexplained elements of the anthropological history of Mount Clare. The intent to erase black history from Mount Clare can, as a result, be inferred from its omission from contemporary site interpretations.

²⁹ My requests to view the archives and microfilm were repeatedly denied. The Maryland Society cites privacy as its reason to deny public access. The microfilm was deposited at a time when the Archives permitted private organizations to place restrictions on their collections. The Maryland Society stipulated that, as a condition of depositing the microfilm, it retained the ability to permit public access. The Archives no longer accepts collections at its publicly funded repository with stipulations on use. Prior agreements still stand.

Despite movements in slavery studies as a whole, much room remains in Maryland and at Maryland historic sites to illuminate blacks' experiences. One contribution of this study is guidance for interpreting scant textual and material evidence of historic plantation sites. I found no study that, like this one, rewrites a traditional white narrative of an eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century historic plantation in Maryland by focusing on blacks. Well-known sites like Williamsburg, Jamestown, Mount Vernon, and Gunston Hall in Virginia are examples of Chesapeake region plantations researched first for information on their European-descended owners and later for blacks.³⁰ Site-specific studies or revisions of histories that focus on black history tend to come from archaeological investigations, not historic houses or plantations.³¹ Broader studies address topics such as origins of slavery, manumission, colonization, and resistance in Maryland.³² Christopher

³⁰ For historical overviews of archaeology on Southern plantations, see Theresa Singleton, *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life* (San Diego: Academic Press, Inc., 1985) and "The Archaeology of the Plantation South: A Review of Approaches and Goals," *Historical Archaeology* 24 (1990) 4: 70-77; Charles E. Orser, "Toward a Theory of Power for Historical Archaeology: Plantations and Space." In *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States*, ed. Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter, Jr., 313-343. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington and London, 1988; Charles H. Fairbanks, "The Plantation Archaeology of the Southeastern Coast," *Historical Archaeology* 18, no. 1 (1984): 1-14.

³¹ For example, Sharon Ann Burnston, "The Cemetery at Catoctin Furnace, Md: The Invisible People." *Maryland Archaeology* 17, no. 2 (1981): 19-31 and Anne Elizabeth Yentsch, *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press) 1994. See R. Kent Lancaster, "Chattel Slavery at Hampton/Northhampton, Baltimore County," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 95, no. 4 (2000): 409-427 for a nineteenth-century assessment.

³² Darold D. Wax, "Black Immigrants: The Slave Trade in Colonial Maryland." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 73, no. 1(1978): 30-45; Ralph Cassimere Jr., *Origins*

Phillips and Steven Whitman provide important syntheses that examine the unique opportunities for blacks in slavery and freedom in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Baltimore City.³³ Baltimore County has been merged into these studies to some degree, but the relationship between the city and the surrounding countryside is an area for further investigation. My work contributes a site-specific test of Phillips's and Whitman's findings that assesses the applicability of their models for the Baltimore region to history on-the-ground. My research findings show that broad contextual histories of Baltimore should be tested against specific people, sites, and circumstances to understand how they do or do not apply.

Contextual studies in public history and post-processual archaeology orient black slavery around power, its expression and its performance, particularly in terms of dominance or invisibility. Contextual scholars seek blacks' cultural expressions in America. Study of ceramics, architecture, ritual, storytelling, family life, and other aspects of culture connect with broader trends in black history. Such work supports

and Early Development of Slavery in Maryland, 1633-1715 (Ph.D Dissertation, Louisiana State University in New Orleans, 1971); John Joseph Condon, *Manumission, Slavery and Family in the Post-Revolutionary Rural Chesapeake: Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 1781-1831* (Ph. D., University of Minnesota, 2001); Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland During the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985); LaTasha C. Gatling, *Living on the Line Between Slavery and Freedom: Prince George's County and Baltimore City, Maryland* (M.A. Thesis, Morgan State University, 2004); Robert Hall, "Slave Resistance in Baltimore City and County, 1747-1790." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 84 (1989): 305-18; Penelope Campbell, *Maryland in Africa: The Maryland State Colonization Society, 1831-1857* (Maryland Historical Society, [1971]).

³³ Christopher Phillips, *Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790-1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Stephen Whitman, *Challenging Slavery in the Chesapeake: Black and White Resistance to Human Bondage, 1775-1865* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2007).

blacks' agency, dismantles a monolithic "African slave", and recognizes slavery as a multifaceted experience.³⁴ Dell Upton argues for the study of plantations as a totality experienced in different ways by the blacks and whites moving through them, as well as whites of different status. Architecture across landscapes carved white-only or black-only spaces that reflected a status-oriented ideology. Whites, for example, determined the placement of entranceways or pathways at the main house, but blacks passed over them inside and outside.³⁵ But scholars have also determined from comparative studies that material culture points to centrally black cultural lifeways. Vessel shapes, food remains, beads, caches, and colonoware are typical markers of blacks at sites of slavery.³⁶ Ethnic markers work beyond material culture, such as the use of the terms "Negro" or "slave" in textual records. Such terms essentialize black identity on white terms by assigning a racial category rather than cultural or tribal

³⁴ Laurie A. Wilkie, *Creating Freedom: Material Culture and African American Identity at Oakley Plantation, Louisiana 1840-1950* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000); Terrence W. Epperson, "The Contested Commons: Archaeologies of Race, Repression and Resistance in New York City," in *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism*, ed. Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter, Jr. (Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 1999) and "Race and the Disciplines of the Plantation," *Historical Archaeology* 24, no. 4 (1991): 29-36.

³⁵ Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," In *Material Life in America, 1600-1860*, ed. Robert Blair St. George, 357-369 (Boston, Northwestern University Press, 1988).

³⁶ Leland Ferguson, "Looking for the 'Afro' in Colono-Indian Pottery," in *Archaeological Perspectives on Ethnicity in America: Afro-American and Asian American Culture History*, ed. Robert L. Schuyler, 14-28 (Farmingdale: Baywood Publishing Company, Inc., 1980) 14; John Solomon Otto, "Race and Class on Antebellum Plantations," in *Archaeological Perspectives on Ethnicity in America*, 133-143; Marsha C.S. Kelly and Roger E. Kelly, "Approaches to Ethnic Identification in Historical Archaeology," in *Archaeological Perspectives on Ethnicity in America*, 133-143.

affiliation. Textual and material “Africanisms” can carry their own problematic effects by turning the black slaves into fetishized objects, limiting agency, and locking them into racially-determined spheres. When placed into broader historical, geographical and material contexts, materials and terms can illuminate the conditions faced by blacks and restore texture to their experiences.

Blacks in America merged the culturally familiar with the culturally new. Assimilation, creolization, hybridization, and acculturation refer to the processes of Americanization by which blacks became distinguished culturally both from Europeans in America and from Africans in Africa. In this study, I use the term Americanization to emphasize that all cultural groups underwent adaptation and change in response to each other. Although the danger here lies in replacing one set of terms for another, I hold that the murky quality of “black” has interpretive value because it points to how much is not known about the cultural origins of the people enslaved at Mount Clare. Blacks in America encountered new languages, clothes, foods, architecture and buildings, and rituals from meeting Europeans and persons from other regions in Africa. Blacks born in successive generations in America had no memory of life in Africa, but only their Americanized culture of slavery enhanced by elders’ recollections and passed-down traditions.

Scholars of slavery and black history have investigated Americanization. Ira Berlin demonstrates that slavery was not a static and monolithic entity, but a process over time. Blacks wedged themselves into mainstream society during their first generation in captivity despite their status. They forged community identities as African Americans in the next generation and confronted the Revolutionary ideology

with the rest of colonial society.³⁷ Paul Lovejoy argues that Africans in America could not typically recreate African cultural and societal systems within the racialized political environment of colonial America.³⁸ Gwendolyn Hall finds that Africans continued to identify with their ethnic and regional cultural origins decades after they arrived in America. She calls for a more nuanced discussion of which Africans creolized rather than assume a consistent process for all.³⁹ Richard Price and Sidney Mintz emphasize that just as no monolithic African culture existed in Africa, neither did a single, unified enslaved black culture in America. Enslaved persons created a multitude of creolized cultures. Price and Mintz argue that the adaptive process took hold quickly due to an absence of pure African culture under oppressive conditions.⁴⁰ Michael Gomez attributes the formation of African American identity before 1830 to movement away from ethnicity towards race. He traces evidence from Africa to its manifestations in America to demonstrate that formation of a collective identity became organized around class.⁴¹ Such approaches demonstrate that blacks in America carved a place for themselves with a diasporic identity.

³⁷ Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity and Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

³⁸ Paul E. Lovejoy, "Identifying Enslaved Africans in the Diaspora," in *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy, pp. 1-29 (London: Continuum, 2000) 14-15.

³⁹ Hall suggests that the Igbo from the Bight of Biafra and Greater Senegambia clustered in the Chesapeake region on the basis of slave trade data. Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas*.

⁴⁰ Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1976).

Scholars examine debate in the black community about Americanization as a dichotomous, political choice between integration or black nationalism. From this perspective, Africans faced choices about replacing aspects of their identity with an American one. John Blassingame bases his analyses of slave culture on the principle that Africans retained solid senses of African self and culture and determinedly acted on them throughout their lives.⁴² Eugene Genovese argues that enslaved blacks constituted their own class that “laid the foundations for a separate black national culture while enormously enriching American culture as a whole.”⁴³ Mechel Sobel sees American culture as deeply influenced by intensive racial interactions. Southern culture emerged as a mixture of African and English values.⁴⁴ Philip Morgan asserts that enslaved blacks maintained aspects of homeland culture while fashioning a culture that adapted or responded to plantation life.⁴⁵ Nationalist work perceives distinctness in black culture that enabled enslaved and free persons to propel themselves and each other through slavery into freedom.

⁴¹ Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks; The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: University of South Carolina Press, 1998).

⁴² John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).

⁴³ Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972 [1974]) xv.

⁴⁴ Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987 [1989]).

⁴⁵ Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.)

Another approach seeks greater complexity in day-to-day decision-making. James Horton and Lois Horton argue that blacks focused on values that cut across human cultures, such as fair treatment, equality, and liberty. They see Africans as having strong feelings about the issues at stake, but, as they write, “lines were often quite fluid as opinions changed with shifting options.”⁴⁶ Others seek markers of acculturation through material culture or actions. Gerard Mullin sees resistance as a stage of a developmental acculturation process that set African Americans apart from newly-arrived Africans or New Negroes. He argues that enslaved persons became more difficult to control and outwardly rebellious as they acculturated to American life. The tasks assigned to a slave affected her or her acculturative experiences. Mullin asserts that an African became a New Negro when “his job replace[d] aspects of his heritage as a basic reference point for his reaction to slavery.”⁴⁷ The development of a black or African American identity may have drawn on the common experience of slavery as much as an understanding of cultural differences among tribes or places of origin. The increasingly clear assertion of an African American identity within European-dominated American life occurred through the documentation of churches, schools, and fraternal organizations by 1800.⁴⁸ In other words, blacks appropriated racial formation to develop projects to strengthen their positions in America. For sites like Mount Clare, a discussion about race and status is

⁴⁶ Horton and Horton, *In Hope of Liberty*, xii.

⁴⁷ Gerard W. Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 37-39.

⁴⁸ Sidbury, *Becoming African in America*, 6-7.

a missing key to help visitors understand human interactions on the cultural landscape. Although pushing slavery, race, and status to the forefront is not a traditional point of emphasis for historic preservation, these topics do point to the relevance of sites to contemporary populations.

Social justice through historic preservation points to the interplay between past and present cultural landscapes, particularly the cultural developments at the intersection of race and status. Leonie Sandercock calls it “insurgent preservation.”⁴⁹ J.E. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth use the term “dissonant heritage” to describe the evocative and difficult histories of oppressed or underrepresented peoples. The concept of dissonant heritage acknowledges that the creation of heritage is a contested and controversial process.⁵⁰ Descendants and invested groups are increasingly involved in the restoration of their heritage to contested landscapes. For Mount Clare, genealogical research continues in order to identify the enslaved families’ descendants past 1910. Historic preservationists, archaeologists, and public historians argue that contemporary populations must be involved in the discussion of significance and the process of preservation and resource management.⁵¹ Fath Ruffins

⁴⁹ Leonie Sandercock, “Introduction: Framing Insurgent Historiographies for Planning,” in *Making the Invisible Visible*, ed. Leonie Sandercock, 1-36 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

⁵⁰ J.E. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (West Sussex: John Wiley and Sons, 1996).

⁵¹ Cheryl J. LaRoche and Michael L. Blakey, “Seizing Intellectual Power: The Dialogue at the New York African Burial Ground,” *Historical Archaeology* 31, no. 3 (1997): 84-106; Gail Lee Dubrow, “Restoring Women’s History through Historic Preservation: Recent Developments in Scholarship and Public Historical Practice,” in *Restoring Women’s History through Historic Preservation*, ed. Gail Lee and Jennifer

and Maria Franklin, however, point to the relative lack of African Americans in the preservation of the past as mirrored by a scarcity of black preservation and archaeology professionals.⁵² Bringing the heritage of contemporary black communities into public space provides opportunities to examine the power of race over things and rights, as well as the ways race can simultaneously impact and seem invisible on the landscape.⁵³ The plantation landscape is a site of struggle, writes Terrence Epperson, “to define and control the meaning and significance of ideologies deployed against subaltern groups.”⁵⁴ Historic sites can both define social inequality in the past and serve to perpetuate inequality in the present by flattening conflict. Robert Schuyler points out that the archaeology of African Americans can be “unpalatable to the national mythology and the victims of that mythology” but is also about survival.⁵⁵ In these ways, the larger goal of “‘restorative social justice’ through civic engagement’”, to borrow Angel David Nieves’s phrase, requires professionals to

B. Goodman Dubrow, 1-14 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

⁵² Fath Davis Ruffins, "Mythos, Memory, and History: African American Preservation Efforts, 1820-1990," in *Museums and Communities*, ed. Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven D. Lavine, 506-611 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992); Maria Franklin, "Towards a Black Feminist-inspired Archaeology?," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 1, no. 1 (2001): 108-125 and "‘Power to the People’: Sociopolitics and the Archaeology of Black Americans," *Historical Archaeology* 31, no. 3 (1997): 36-50.

⁵³ Paul R. Mullins, "Racializing the Commonplace Landscape: An Archaeology of Urban Renewal Along the Color Line," *World Archaeology* 38 (2006): 60-71, 70.

⁵⁴ Epperson, "The Contested Commons," 172.

⁵⁵ Robert L. Schuyler, "Preface," in *Archaeological Perspectives on Ethnicity in America: Afro-American and Asian American Culture History*, ed. Robert L. Schuyler, pp. xii-xiii (Farmingdale: Baywood Publishing Company, Inc., 1980) vii-viii.

acknowledge and do something about the ideological schemes that keep the “other” in a marginalized and subordinate place.⁵⁶ Today, one approach to the relationship between race, status, and slavery works against presentism – meaning the tendency for contemporary understandings to shadow the past – to contextualize racial identity in its time. This is not to say, however, that contemporary scholars cannot use their work to justify their attitudes in the present, such as slavery was wrong.

Research Methodology

Interdisciplinary techniques culled from historical archaeology, public history, museology, genealogy, material culture studies, and cultural landscape studies teased the narratives of enslaved people from white-generated sources and artifactual material. My primary assumption was that every textual or artifactual source in some way referred to blacks at Mount Clare, even if they were not specifically mentioned or named. I used a similar approach to understand the historical societies that are the stewards of Carroll Park. The adding-up of bits of information within a broader site-based and regional context created a narrative about black history and its erasure from Mount Clare.

No textual sources written by blacks at Mount Clare have been recovered. References in the Carrolls’ personal papers and government documents enabled me to compile names, family relationships, jobs, and acts of resistance. More often the Carrolls’ papers track construction, gardening, and housekeeping and imply the roles

⁵⁶ Angel Nieves, “Memories of Africville: Urban Renewal, Reparations, and the Africadian Diaspora,” in *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*, edited by Katherine McKittrick and Clyde Woods (South End Press, 2007), 82.

of enslaved persons. My question for the texts was, “Where were slavery and blacks here?” Government documents for taxation or the census enabled me to evaluate the changing size and scope of the enslaved community. Manumission papers provided physical descriptions that connected with genealogical information from estate papers; in turn, I reconstructed family relationships. Other textual sources were newspaper advertisements, court records, and bank records. I recovered no new archival sources about life at Mount Clare: no plantation ledgers, bibles, or letters between the Carrolls, their families, and their associates. What is a new contribution, however, is my effort to find meaning in every mention of a slave or servant and to piece together disparate sources into a larger picture in combination with material and visual evidence.

Visual sources consisted of maps, plats, and photographs. Plats and one landscape painting offer the only graphic evidence for the eighteenth century. More graphic information is available in the nineteenth century through maps and lithographs. Photographic evidence indicates the appearance of the museum house and surrounding landscape in the twentieth century. No visual source located slave quarters or many outbuildings. Nonetheless, they situated buildings, gardens, and other features across the landscape and documented change over time.

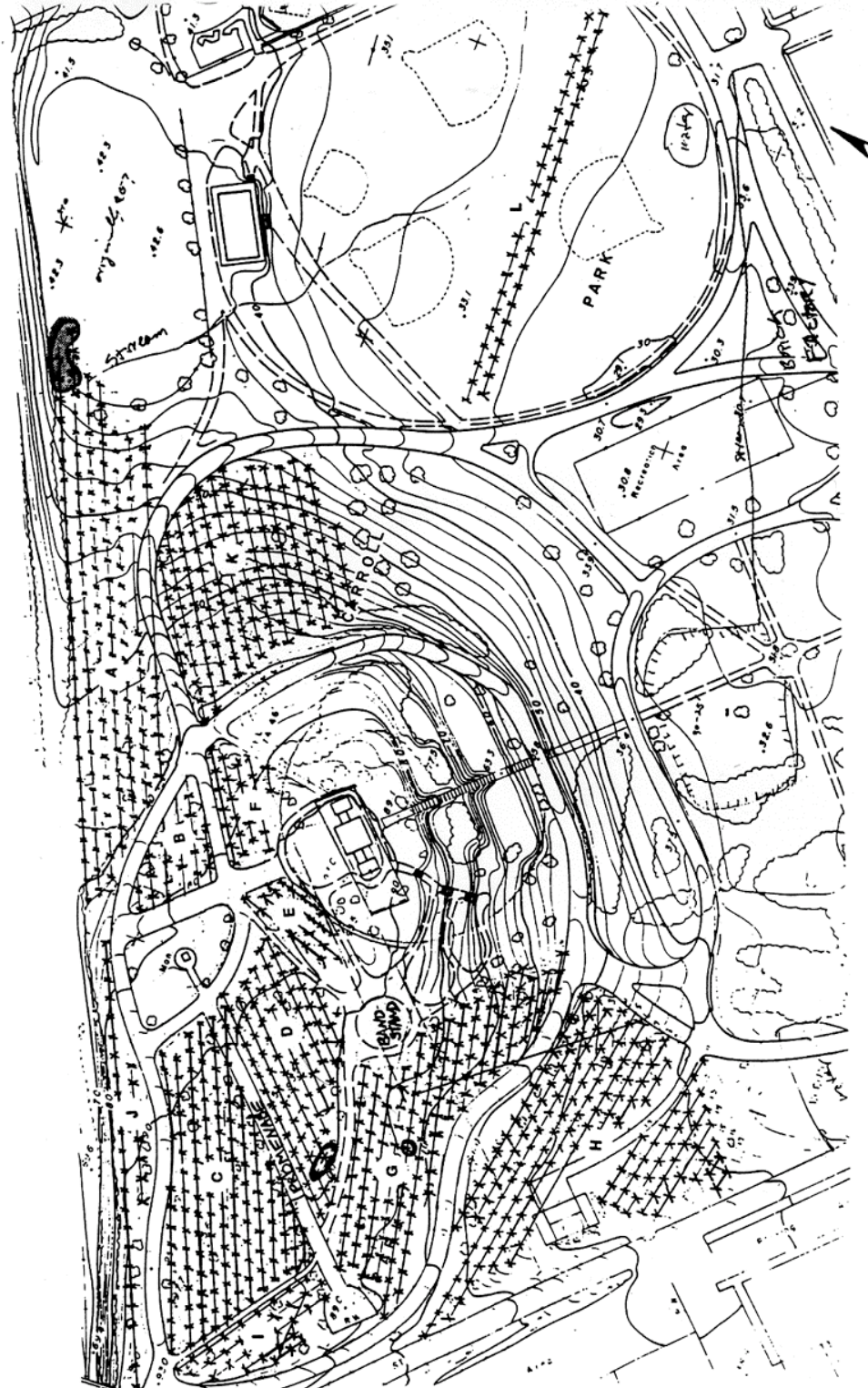


Figure 2: Overview of historic easement with “x” showing locations of archaeological test pits in 1984. The mansion is intersected by a diagonal road at the center of the image. Reproduced from Logan, *Report II*, 1993.

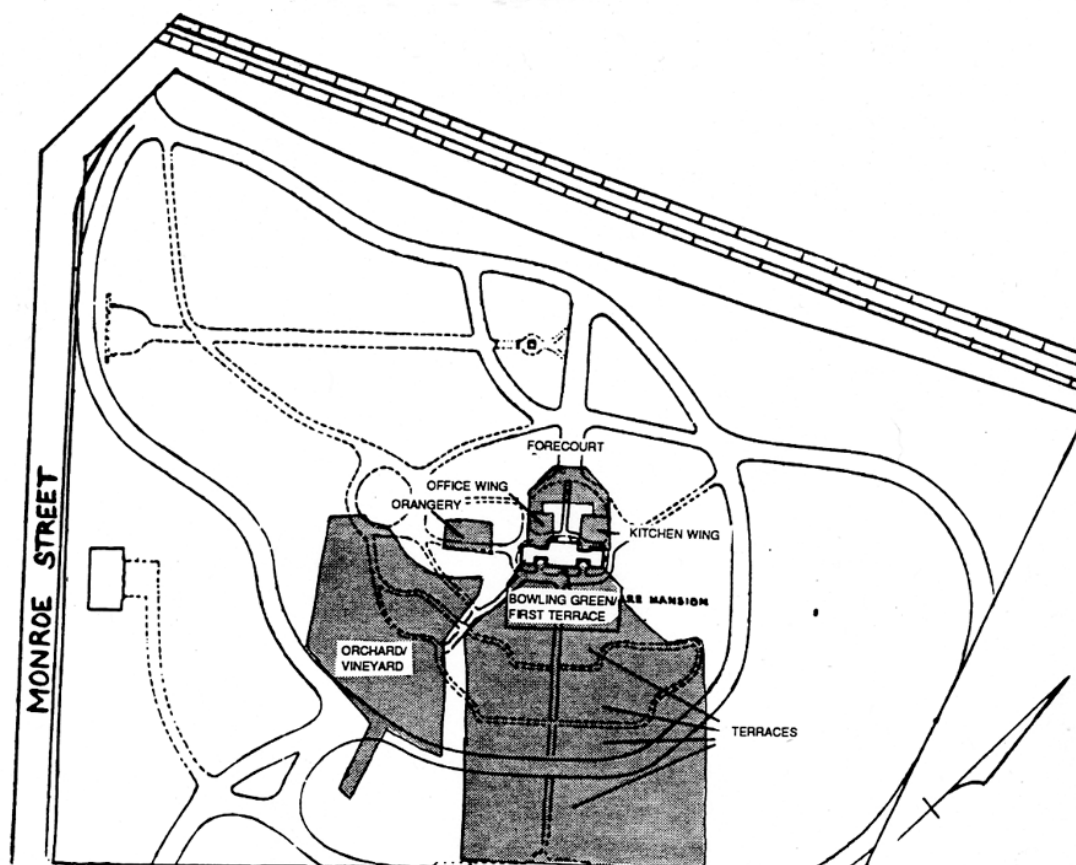


Figure 3: Locations of archaeological excavation near the mansion up to 1996. Reproduced from Logan, *Report II*, 1993.

Archaeological data provided information that was not available in textual or visual sources. Small finds pointed to the activities, knowledge, and beliefs of enslaved persons. Only the area within the historic easement at Carroll Park has been archaeologically investigated (Figures 2 and 3). Site contexts have been significantly disturbed. Eighteenth- and early-nineteenth century artifacts remain, but not necessarily in temporal, stratified layers from their period of use. My collections survey sought particularly salient markers of the enslaved black experience, as well as items that attested to the kinds of knowledge held by slaves to maintain the Carrolls'

lives and the plantation. Chesapeake archaeologists look to slave sites in the region for artifact and feature patterns that signal black culture. I queried the collection for artifacts such as beads or colonoware, as well as caches and concentrations of artifacts suggestive of work areas. I also evaluated objects purchased by the Carrolls, such as tableware, for connections between enslaved persons' tasks and elite status markers. Furthermore, the absence of artifacts or depositions of artifacts across the landscape proved to be important.

Comparative material from the Chesapeake region and beyond helped to explain my findings at Mount Clare or fill gaps. I drew on first-person accounts, place-specific studies, and historical overviews. Few place-specific studies in Maryland focus on black history. Historians at Hampton (now Hampton National Historic Site) in Towson, for example, have re-evaluated slaveholders' family papers and government documents. They focus on the nineteenth-century, when the evidence is strongest.⁵⁷ Such studies helped me to identify elements that might characterize Mount Clare as similar or different from other plantations.

Primary and secondary sources described the ways that contemporary groups interpret and manage Carroll Park today. I conducted research into the twentieth-century history of Mount Clare, particularly that of the Maryland Society. Manuscript collections yielded letters, newsletters, docent training packets, and other sources. Newspapers indicated current and past events at Carroll Park, such as public programs or exhibits. Tax records, advertisements, membership directories, meeting notices, death announcements, press releases, and special event announcements all

⁵⁷ Lancaster, "Chattel Slavery at Hampton/Northhampton, Baltimore County."

provided useful information. Histories commissioned by the Maryland Society about its history and that of Mount Clare provided information about the evolution of the site. As explained earlier, the Maryland Society does not of this writing permit researchers to access their archive due to privacy concerns. A request for interviews with current members went unanswered by members. Websites by the Maryland Society and Carroll Park Foundation offered additional insights.

Chapter Outline

The narrative follows a roughly chronological order. Chapter 1 has introduced the theoretical and methodological approaches of the project. Chapter 2 outlines the centrality of slavery and blacks to Dr. Charles Carroll's plans to create an interlocking plantation system of fields, mills, and ironworks. Chapter 3 addresses the transformation of Georgia to Mount Clare, a showpiece country plantation owned by Charles Carroll the Barrister and his wife Margaret, as a result of slave labor. Chapter 4 confronts the contradiction of the Carrolls as American patriots and slaveholders during the Revolutionary era. Chapter 5 discusses black life at Mount Clare within the context of white widowhood and the growth of opportunities for blacks in Baltimore. Chapter 6 addresses the circumstances faced by enslaved persons who were manumitted, freed, or sold after Margaret's death. Chapter 7 investigates the legacy of racism at historic house museums. The Conclusion sums up the narrative and offers recommendations for future interpretation of black history.

I contribute several new interpretations of the Carrolls and of Mount Clare based on the inclusion of blacks. First and foremost, I focus on the enslaved blacks

who lived and labored on the Carroll properties. No other study has compiled, evaluated, and synthesized the archival and artifactual evidence of their lives. The result is a broader, more inclusive, and more diverse picture of the racialized practices at the Carrolls' plantations. Second are the historical roles of blacks as the significance of Mount Clare changed in the Carrolls' minds. Blacks as slaves maintained the symbolic evidence of the Carrolls' social difference as elites. Without them, the Carrolls could not have undertaken the complex gardens, entertainments, or housekeeping activities necessary at Mount Clare for their public image. Third is the developmental sequence of the plantation. Earlier studies did not include evidence from the 1730s and before, or account for the planned role of Georgia among other enterprises Maryland-wide. Fourth is the relationships among the plantations in Baltimore County – relationships that are made meaningful as a result of blacks living and working on them. Focus on Georgia or Mount Clare alone obscures the codependence of the plantations and artificially raises the significance of one place above the others. Blacks' experiences at Mount Clare do not contribute solely to the history of one racial or ethnic group, to one place, or to one point in time. They, instead, speak to the heritage of all Americans and the role of slavery in the nation's past. This project underscores that looking at American history from the perspective of European-descended elites alone fails to meet contemporary ethics for equality and social justice.

The history of Georgia is rooted in topics that many people find difficult to talk about, even today. Sites like Carroll Park can facilitate conversation about the historical circumstances of race and race relations in the past and their legacy in the

present. A great deal was known about whites at Georgia, a little about blacks, but overall nothing was understood about their everyday interactions. As such, this project provides a better historical context for discussion of race at Georgia. Historical contexts fill in gaps in knowledge for museums and parks. They provide new perspectives on old problems. Some contexts open avenues for further research. But historical contexts also have a way of facilitating difficult conversations about race and racism. They offer front-line staff, such as interpreters or docents, a basis from which to feel confident about what they say. Visitors can ask for more information and get it. Administrators can use them to improve old exhibits and fundraise for new ones. All these reasons connect with a current ethic in museums and at historic sites to represent all people who lived at a place. Such an ethic draws on contemporary beliefs about citizenship and representation, but it also points to the recognition that a preserved cultural landscape is a forum for all voices to be heard.

Chapter 2: Slavery and Iron at Georgia

Blacks arrived at Georgia, later called Mount Clare, because of Dr. Charles Carroll and his vision for society and entrepreneurship. Dr. Carroll and his associates relied on the stratification of colonial society through black slavery to maintain status in the first half of the eighteenth century. His bringing of slavery into the family home and enterprises betrays both his mindset towards blacks and his plans for them. Today, the human cost and dynamics of enslaving blacks at Dr. Carroll's home and plantations are obscured at Carroll Park in favor of his success as a colonial elite. I make two primary arguments about the earliest period of slavery at Georgia in the following chapter. First, blacks on Dr. Carroll's agricultural and iron plantations grew familiar with the repercussions of race and status in America through their everyday lives and labors. Second, blacks helped to create the American-style labor system by pushing back against their enslavers. Both arguments are new to the interpretation of Mount Clare, but I also contribute detail that is absent in previous analyses of eighteenth-century ironworks as it relates to everyday interactions. Dr. Carroll's interactions with blacks on his agricultural and iron plantations demonstrate a top-down enforcement of societal order. Those enslaved to him, however, developed networks of kin and allies, and methods of resistance and of working their enslavers' expectations to their advantage. I demonstrate in the following chapter that blacks and Dr. Carroll shaped the terms of slavery together, not on equal ground, but through push-and-pull strategies that furthered each group's interests. This perspective demonstrates that blacks' imprint in the earliest developments at Georgia cannot be ignored in contemporary interpretations of the landscape.

Blacks in Early Maryland

Decades of work to distinguish blacks from Europeans shaped the form of slavery encountered by Dr. Carroll in early eighteenth-century Chesapeake region. Africans in America originated from the Ibo, Ewe, Bakongo, Serer, and many other cultural groups on the African continent. Europeans began to associate blacks with American slavery in the seventeenth century. In 1664, the Maryland Assembly declared “negroes” imported into the colony to be slaves for life. The Assembly took measures to separate Europeans from blacks and mulattoes in the 1670s and 1680s. The measures forbid blacks or mulattoes to marry interracially, assemble without whites present, participate in the militia, or carry weapons. Ralph Cassimere explains that an important distinction emerged between labor and the enslaved body by the late seventeenth century. An individual’s labor was of limited value, but the body offered significant potential wealth at resale. A slave became a valuable part of an estate because he was more than the means of acquiring wealth, but wealth itself. As a result, blacks assumed sub-human status in the eyes of enslavers.⁵⁸ The distinction became particularly important in the construction of the gentry class. Alan Kulikoff’s examination of labor within racialized class formation in the Chesapeake region shows that slavery helped to distinguish the gentry during class struggles among whites.⁵⁹ Blacks were not complacent. They negotiated with slaveholders for

⁵⁸ Ralph Cassimere Jr., *Origins and Early Development of Slavery in Maryland, 1633-1715* (Ph.D Dissertation, Louisiana State University in New Orleans, 1971) 3-7, 10-11, 27, 29, 101-103, 133, 143-144.

advantages and improved circumstances for themselves and their families, escaped, and practiced culture. Kulikoff demonstrates that Chesapeake culture became defined by struggles within and between African and European groups.⁶⁰ Free blacks in Virginia, as shown by T.H. Breen and Stephen Innes, extricated themselves from bondage, became landowners and parents with free children, and enjoyed societal rights akin to whites of similar stature. Their abilities became sharply curtailed by 1700.⁶¹ In these ways, experiences of struggle, domination, and adaptation characterized free and enslaved blacks' experiences in the Chesapeake region by the time Dr. Carroll emigrated from Ireland to America about 1716.⁶²

Plantation slavery developed between 1650 and 1750 in America. Europeans and blacks could both be considered servants at first. Europeans racialized labor because several factors came together in Maryland: increased reliance on tobacco, a labor gap due to fewer Europeans emigrants in America, and recognition of the connection between tobacco and status. Black slavery provided an answer in

⁵⁹ Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1986).

⁶⁰ Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 11-12.

⁶¹ T.H. Breen, and Stephen Innes, "Myne Owne Ground" *Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980) 3-6, 10, 18.

⁶² The circumstances of Dr. Carroll's emigration are not known. He was distantly related to other Carrolls who already lived in Maryland; one of them may have funded his venture and helped him upon arrival. Noel Ignatiev traces the identification of the Irish as white in beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. Ignatiev's analysis suggests that Dr. Carroll, as a wealthy man who was willing to convert to Protestantism from Catholicism, did not have the difficulties of later Irish immigrants in establishing themselves in America. Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (Routledge, 1996).

Europeans' minds to these issues.⁶³ Importation of human chattel increased. Darold Wax estimates that least 1,800 Africans were taken to Maryland between 1700 and 1708, and another 1,330 between 1720 and 1749.⁶⁴ By 1750, America-born blacks were increasingly the majority among enslaved populations in the Chesapeake. Male-to-female ratios evened out and women began bearing children at younger ages than their immigrant mothers. Settled family life gave rise to a more autonomous culture.⁶⁵ Lorena Walsh points out that relatively few models of creolization have been developed for the 1740-1775 period in comparison to the nineteenth century. Later models inadequately explain circumstances of the second quarter of the eighteenth century, when Africans met African Americans.⁶⁶ Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century uses for race to distinguish among people in society set the groundwork for events at Georgia.

Dr. Charles Carroll and Slavery

Dr. Carroll lived in Annapolis while amassing property in the Baltimore and western Maryland regions.⁶⁷ Over the coming decades, black slavery enabled Dr. Carroll to

⁶³ Cassimere, *Origins and Early Development of Slavery in Maryland*.

⁶⁴ The fragmentary nature of existing records, however, implies much larger numbers. Darold D. Wax, "Black Immigrants: The Slave Trade in Colonial Maryland." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 73, no. 1(1978): 32-33, 35-36, 38.

⁶⁵ Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove*, 136, 145.

⁶⁶ Lorena S. Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997) 134-135.

gain his footing as a doctor, tobacco planter, land speculator, industrialist, merchant, and ship builder.⁶⁸ Dr. Carroll's records indicate the details and breadth of slavery in his everyday life. He hired out a woman for three months to another Annapolitan in 1716. He also treated blacks and slaveholders in his medical practice.⁶⁹ After obtaining permission in 1727 to build a shipyard and wharf in Annapolis, Dr. Carroll commissioned ships that transported flour and iron to Barbados and Great Britain. Enslaved persons probably built the ships and loaded the cargo. Nothing in Dr. Carroll's records shows that the ships carried slaves, he acquired slaves directly from Barbados as opposed to within the colony, or that he had a plantation in the islands.⁷⁰ Annapolis became Dr. Carroll's base of operations as an important disembarkation point while he looked beyond the city for other opportunities to expand wealth and standing.

⁶⁷ Land Office (Certificates, Patented, BA) Blacks, Patented Certificate 1425, 3 October 1729, MSA S1190-19, MdHR 40,004-1351/1425. CCB began an index to the Baltimore County lands, starting with Mount Clare. See: A List of Patents and Deeds Relating to My Land at Mount Clare, Folder "1759, Financial Records: [Baltimore Company?]," Box 8, MS 219, MdHS; R. Bruce Harley, "Dr. Charles Carroll – Land Speculator, 1730-1755," MHM 56: 93-107.

⁶⁸ W. Stull Holt, "Charles Carroll, Barrister: The Man." MHM 31: 112-126.

⁶⁹ The unnamed woman was hired out to Edward Smith of Annapolis. "Extracts from Account and Letter Books of Dr. CC," 18: 201; William Fitz Redmond was charged L6 for his "Negro womans Board, & Chyrurgicall Aplycations" and Robert Myre Sr. L8 for medicines used to treat servants. "Extracts from Account and Letter Books of Dr. Charles Carroll," 18: 204.

⁷⁰ Maryland State Assembly, *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly 1727-1729*, vol. 36, pp. 20 and 71; Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade database, Emory University, 1999. Accessed 16 February 2009. Online: <http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces>; Ralph Clayton, *Cash for Blood: The Baltimore to New Orleans Domestic Slave Trade* (Baltimore: Heritage Books, 2002).

Dr. Carroll patented Georgia in 1729. The property encompassed over two thousand acres of gentle hills covered in black and white oaks. Its marshy coastlines skimmed the Middle Branch of the Patapsco and Gwynns Falls. Georgia was rich in timber and iron ore; the Patapsco was deep enough for shipping; and Gwynns Falls offered plenty of waterpower for milling.⁷¹ Dr. Carroll purchased additional properties to create a strategic system of exploitable resources and transportation networks for himself and his two sons, Charles and John Henry. Dr. Carroll patented The Caves in 1738 (surveyed 1734) in the Green Spring Valley and Carrolls Island on the Gunpowder River in 1746 (surveyed 1744).⁷² By the 1740s, blacks were explicitly a form of currency in Dr. Carroll's business transactions. Dr. Carroll sold slaves⁷³ and collected them when mortgagers defaulted on their loans.⁷⁴ For these and other reasons, blacks were integral to Dr. Carroll's plans.

⁷¹ Land Office (Certificates, Patented, BA) Blacks, Patented Certificate 1886, 11 July 1732, MSA S1190-26, MdHR 40,004-1876/1950. Georgia consisted of: a resurvey of eight tracts of land in Baltimore, including Black Walnut Neck (1664, Hugh Hensey), Howard's Chance (1668, John Howard), Milhaven (1695 to John Mercer), James's Park (1700, James Carroll), Monmouth Green (1702, John Bale), Gill's Outlet (1717, John Gill), Barley Hills (1728, Charles Carroll), Discovery (1729, Charles Carroll and Co.) (Land Certificates 1658-1766, p. 23, MS 210, MdHS.)

⁷² Thomas Clagett to Blacks, 26 September 1730, *Provincial Court Land Records 1724-1731*, vol. 697, p. 461, Archives of Maryland Online; Baltimore County Circuit Court (Patent Record), Charles Carroll, Caves, 1770 acres, 1738, Patent Record EI 5, p. 359, MSA 1582; Baltimore County Circuit Court (Patented Certificates) Doctor Charles Carroll, Carrolls Island, 334 acres, 1746, Patented Certificate 942, MSA S1190-13, MdHR 40,004-901/975.

⁷³ The advertisement by the new enslaver of John Stokes or John Collins indicates that Dr. Carroll formerly owned him. John was a 28-year-old mulatto fiddler. Run Away, *Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis], 6 September 1745.

Blacks' skills and cultural knowledge from their homelands dovetailed with labor and life in Maryland. They arrived in Maryland with experience as farmers, ironsmiths, cattle herders, weavers, boatmakers, healers, architects, cooks, and more. Such knowledge and skills were useful in America, but blacks practiced them under the techniques devised by Europeans to enforce work discipline. Men at Georgia planted crops, busted rock, felled trees, and built structures in groups overseen by white men. Enslaved blacks in America tended to work in gangs instead of individually in a mixture of "New Negroes" and more experienced slaves. Overseers watched and goaded them to work; sometimes an enslaved person was made foreman and received special privileges. Enslaved persons might also be encouraged to have families in order to tie them to a place.⁷⁵ Common ground on material goods as code for status also helped blacks to acclimate to Chesapeake culture. Elites in West Africa and America both had chairs, tables, raised bedsteads, and fine textiles. Ordinary West African and Chesapeake households had similar contents in the early eighteenth century: one or two pots for cooking, wooden bowls or trays for eating, mortars to grind corn and grain, simple bedding on the floor, stools for seats, and storage such as

⁷⁴ In 1747, Dr. Carroll claimed "some Negroes and household goods" due to him by Stephen Higgins. Dr. CC to Thomas Catton, 5 April 1747, Letterbook 1742-1752, p. 161, MS 208, MdHS. Dr. Carroll already confiscated an unspecified number of people when he called in Mary Wolsen's debt. Although Dr. Carroll left to Wolsen which slaves to use as payment, he specifically mentioned "Mulatto Nell and Negro Girl Moll" as still being in her possession. Wolsen's debt, minus the enslaved persons already captured by Dr. Carroll, was L180. Dr. CC to Mary Wolsen, 18th 9or 1749, Letterbook 1742-1752, p. 237, MS 208, MdHS; Dr. CC to Mary Wolsen, 18th 9or 1749, Letterbook 1742-1752, p. 237, MS 208, MdHS.

⁷⁵ Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 324-325; Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove*, 83-85.

chests or baskets.⁷⁶ Africans in America observed the ways that material culture conveyed status, not the least of which their subordinate one. Familiar tasks and material codes thus helped to acclimate blacks to life in the Chesapeake, but slavery created conditions that were entirely new to them.



Figure 4: Relative location of the Baltimore Iron Works (identified by a black square towards the bottom of the image) to Mount Clare. Plan of Baltimore by Fielding Lucas, Jr., 1836. Library of Congress.

The Baltimore Iron Works

⁷⁶ Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove*, 102

Dr. Carroll had planned for an ironworks since at least 1730, including lobbying in England to open iron trade with Maryland.⁷⁷ Dr. Carroll with other Maryland gentrymen named Daniel Dulany, Benjamin Tasker, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, and Daniel Carroll formed the Baltimore Company in October 1731 to create the Baltimore Iron Works.⁷⁸ All the partners had extensive land holdings and relied on plantation slavery to build wealth. Dr. Carroll conveyed 1,600 acres of Georgia to the west of Gwynns Falls to the Baltimore Company in 1731 for L540. He released the tenements for L125 plus five years' rent at L26 per annum. The eastern section of Georgia remained in Dr. Carroll's ownership.⁷⁹

The first Baltimore Iron Works furnace was on Charles Run, today south of Washington Boulevard on the west side of Gwynns Falls (Figure 4).⁸⁰ Urban development built over the historic ironworks site in the twentieth century. Stonemasons from Virginia built two furnaces and three forges, possibly with slave labor supplied by the partners. Each partner, including Dr. Carroll and later his son Charles Carroll the Barrister, owned a fifth share of the company's property –

⁷⁷ Johnson, "The Baltimore Iron Company Seeks English Markets: A Study of the Anglo-American Iron Trade, 1731-1755." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (1959) 29, 41-42 and "The Genesis of the Baltimore Ironworks." *Journal of Southern History* 19, no. 2 (1953) 157-158.

⁷⁸ Baltimore Company, Agreement of Copartnership, 1 October 1731, MS 2018, MdHS.

⁷⁹ Messrs Charles and Daniel Carroll, et. al, 1731, vol 1716-1731 of Charles Carroll. Letterbook and Business Account 1716-1769, 3 vols, MS 208, p. 14,

⁸⁰ John McGrain, *From Pig Iron to Cotton Duck: A History of Manufacturing Villages in Baltimore County*. Vol. 1 (Towson, MD: Baltimore County Heritage Publication, 1985) 11.

including slaves – and received a fifth of the product to turn into profit. Each provided a fifth supply of food, cooking implements, clothes, and necessities. Dr. Carroll’s eastern portion of Georgia existed separately from the Baltimore Iron Works, but supported Dr. Carroll’s share of supplies to the iron plantation.

The integral roles of Dr. Carroll, and later, his son Charles Carroll the Barrister, in the iron industry conveyed their sanction of slavery. The Baltimore Iron Works was, indeed, unusual among Chesapeake-region iron companies for the size and scale of its slave population.⁸¹ Indentured or convict servants were European-born, but enslaved persons were homeland-born, black born in America, and mulatto. The enslavement of blacks and servitude of indentured Europeans made the operation possible, while the success of the enterprise helped to enmesh Maryland industry in slavery.

Histories of iron industry in the Chesapeake tend to ignore the significance of blacks.⁸² Keach Johnson focuses tightly on Dr. Carroll and his Baltimore Company

⁸¹ The Principio Iron Works was the first furnace constructed in Maryland, but its owners did not live in the area. Ronald L. Lewis, *Coal, Iron, and Slaves* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1979), 23 and “Slavery on Chesapeake Iron Plantations Before the American Revolution.” *The Journal of Negro History* 59, no. 3 (1974), 243.

⁸² Michael Robbins focuses on the historical development of Principio and economic significance to the Maryland iron industry. Michael W. Robbins, *Maryland’s Iron Industry During the Revolutionary War Era: A Report Prepared for the Maryland Bicentennial Commission* (Annapolis: The Commission. 1973). General works likewise concentrate on the owners of the ironworks, who were invariably white and of means. Such studies address the locations of ironworks in colonial America, the techniques of iron making, and the effects of each on the development of skilled labor forces. Robert B. Gordon, *American Iron, 1607-1900* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001) and Arthur C. Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1973).

partners. Johnson argues that the partners became increasingly powerful as the vanguard of colonial enterprise partly due to their diversified and innovative approaches to investment.⁸³ He, however, avoids the partners' systemic dependence on slavery and the significance of blacks at a cornerstone in American industrial history. Ronald Lewis's examinations of slavery in Chesapeake region extractive and ironmaking industries pay particular attention to the mechanisms of everyday life. He argues that enslaved persons exerted more influence over their conditions and lives than historians previously assumed.⁸⁴ Lewis, in contrast to Johnson, demonstrates that blacks matter to the history of iron plantations. Other scholars focus on the impact of African culture on European ironworks in America. Jean Libby argues that enslaved persons transferred traditional African ironworking technologies into western Maryland ironworks.⁸⁵ Another perspective comes from James Pennington (1807-1870), a first-rate blacksmith on a nineteenth-century agricultural plantation in western Maryland. Pennington's autobiography details his sense of power over his enslaver due to his skills. He does not, however, connect his personal training with

⁸³ Johnson, "Genesis of the Baltimore Ironworks," 162; Johnson, "Baltimore Company Seeks English Markets," 40-41, 162.

⁸⁴ Lewis, *Coal, Iron, and Slaves*, 8-9; Lewis, "Slavery on Chesapeake Iron Plantations," 249. Kamoie's study of the Tayloe family ironworks in Virginia or Dew's analysis of Buffalo Forge in Virginia seek balance between enslaver and enslaved to make the point that Africans were integral to ironworks operations. Laura C. Kamoie, *Irons in the Fire: The Business History of the Tayloe Family and Virginia's Gentry, 1700-1860* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007) and Charles B. Dew, *Bond of Iron: Master and Slave at Buffalo Forge* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994).

⁸⁵ Jean Libby, *African Ironmaking Culture Among African American Ironworkers in Western Maryland, 1760-1850* (M.A. Thesis, San Francisco State University, 1991).

ironmaking in Africa.⁸⁶ Although first- or second-generation blacks in America were enslaved at the Baltimore Iron Works, a connection to specific African traditions cannot be identified.

Ironmaking was backbreaking work, and blacks were involved at every laborious stage from construction of the industrial complex to moving the product to ships for transport. Enslaved blacks worked alongside convicts, indentured servants, and hired black and white hands. They held positions as smiths, carpenters, founders, finers, fillers, miners, and cooks.⁸⁷ All these positions required skill to be productive, efficient and, perhaps most of all, safe. Furnaces and forges were constructed on hillsides. They were in blast for a few months at a time. A ramp or bridge went up the hill from a wagon road to the top of the furnace, where fillers filled – or charged – the furnace from the top with alternating layers of charcoal, ore, and limestone. Before the furnace could go into blast, colliers made hardwood chips of charcoal to fuel the furnaces and forges. The master miner “raised the mine.” He drilled a hole into the iron ore bed, packed the hole with black powder, and set it alight to explode the ore loose. Miners loaded the ore into carts; they could raise a half-ton of ore per day. Waggoners moved the ore in carts to stockpiles near the furnace. Men moved between work as woodcutters or colliers and miners depending on the needs at the time. Air or blast furnaces had high chimneys of about thirty feet tall for draft.

⁸⁶ James W. C. Pennington, *A Text Book of the Origin and History, &c. &c. of the Colored People* (Second ed. Original edition Hartford: L. Skinner, Printer, 1841. Detroit: Negro History Press, 1969) and *The Fugitive Blacksmith; Or, Events in the History of James W. C. Pennington, Pastor of a Presbyterian Church, New York, Formerly a Slave in the State of Maryland, United States* (3rd ed. Reprinted from 1850 edition. Westport: Negro Universities Press, 1971).

⁸⁷ Johnson, “Slavery on Chesapeake Iron Plantations,” 244.

Bellows operated by furnace keepers and powered by a water wheel pushed “blasts” of air into the furnace to maintain a high temperature. The same process took place at the forge, where reheated pig iron was shaped into bars. Founders regulated the furnace. They made sand molds and cast molten iron in the casting house at the base of the furnace stack. Molten iron was tapped twice a day from the furnace to the casting house. The iron passed into a long sand trench, called a sow, and its side trenches, called pigs. Finers and hammermen pounded the reheated pig iron into bar iron using a 500-pound forge hammer operated by a waterwheel. The furnace lining would eventually burn out. Operations shut down while a new interior was built.⁸⁸

The furnace at the Baltimore Iron Works was in blast only half of each year because the woodcutters, colliers, and miners did not, could not, or would not supply enough charcoal and iron to run the furnace more. Self-pacing may explain the difference between Dr. Carroll’s estimates for the necessary number of slaves and the increasing number of workers held by the Baltimore Company. Laborers accumulated charcoal and iron ore in summer and fall until the reserve was sizable enough to run the furnace. The furnace required about five hundred fifty loads of charcoal and nine hundred tons of iron ore to run for five months. The result was an average of fifteen

⁸⁸ Keach Johnson, *The Establishment of the Baltimore Company: A Case-Study of the American Iron Industry in the Eighteenth Century* (Ph.D Diss. State University of Iowa. 1949), 89-90; Lewis, “Slavery on Chesapeake Iron Plantations,” note 10; Susan E. Winter, “Antietam Furnace: A Frontier Ironworks in the Great Valley of Maryland.” In *Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake*, ed. P.A. Shackel and B.J. Little, pp. 205-218 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 210. Antietam Furnace did use slave labor, which makes the remains of the furnace an African-American archaeological site. The size of the furnace and its production of ironware, however, distinguishes the operation from the Baltimore Iron Works.

tons of pig iron per week.⁸⁹ Enslaved female cooks worked with rations of corn, salted pork, beef, and molasses.⁹⁰ Such work transformed blacks with no experience in large-scale industrial work into laborers with the considerable knowledge and skill necessary both to participate in the program desired by the Baltimore Company and to resist it.

The Baltimore Iron Works was organized at a time of expansion of the American colonial iron industry. A shift from wage European to enslaved black labor fueled the trend. Dr. Carroll became ironworks manager in January of 1731.⁹¹ His planning responsibilities included a calculation of hands, including slaves. The Baltimore Company, like the owners of the Principio Iron Works, saw slavery as the answer to a shortage of free and indentured laborers and the cost of wages.⁹² European convict and redemptioner laborers were considered unruly and unreliable.⁹³ Dr. Carroll drew on the experiences of ironmasters at the Principio Iron Works near modern Havre-de-Grace, Maryland and others in Pennsylvania and Virginia.⁹⁴ His

⁸⁹ Johnson, *Establishment of the Baltimore Company*, 110.

⁹⁰ Charles Carroll of Carrollton to the Baltimore Company, with replies, 28 October 1767, MSA M 4214-4715; Richard Croxall to Charles Carroll and Company, 27 April 1768, MSA M 4214-4723; Account and receipt, December 1735 to 7 April 1736, MSA 4215-4885.

⁹¹ “Things to be performed by Dr. Carroll if agreed with as manager,” c. 1730s, Folder “[1730s] Baltimore Company,” Box 6, MS 219, MdHS.

⁹² Robbins, *Principio Company*, 127; Johnson, “Baltimore Company Seeks English Subsidies,” 32; Lewis, *Coal, Iron, and Slaves*, 227.

⁹³ Robbins, *Principio Company*, 129.

first prospectus calculated the contracting of six slaves for six months for L20 per month and the purchase of twenty-six slaves at L30 apiece. He calculated that ten would work as cutters, four as mine diggers, four as colliers, two in the “flatts” (flatboats, used to bring ore to the furnace by water), two at the furnace, and two at the sloop; and that two would be women (likely cooks).⁹⁵ Another list calculated the charges on one thousand tons of metal. It included fifty-five slaves at a cost of L30 per head and “3 years wages” at L15 per head, by which he meant food and supplies. He also calculated L15 per each of the estimated ten white hands.⁹⁶ Dr. Carroll asked friends where he could find slaves at low cost. In 1732, one respondent indicated that men and women cost L20 in Williamsburg, Virginia.⁹⁷ Lewis notes that insufficient evidence remains to gauge the profitability of slave labor on industrial plantations. What mattered, however, was that entrepreneurs like the Baltimore Company partners

⁹⁴ Dr. Carroll drafted questions that Carroll Esq. included in his letter to Clement Plumsted, an ironmaster in Philadelphia. Charles Carroll [Esq.?] to Clement Plumsted, 18 February 1730, p. 7 and Clement Plumsted to Charles Carroll of Annapolis, 20 April 1731, p. 8 vol. 1, MS 65, MdHS; Johnson, “Genesis of the Baltimore Ironworks,” 165.

⁹⁵ Dr. Carroll’s math is incorrect. He provides a total of twenty-six, but the itemized lists do not add up to that number. The inconsistency is preserved here. “Cost of a Furnace 24 by 26 foot square,” Folder “1730s? Financial Records: Baltimore Company,” Box 8, MS 219, MdHS.

⁹⁶ “Estimate of Charges and Profit on the Works,” Folder “1730s, Financial Records, Baltimore Iron Company,” Box 8, MS 219, MdHS. Elements of this and other documents date the discussion to the mid-to-late 1720s. Conversions to 2008 dollars: L30 = \$6,262, L15 = \$3,131, L20 = \$4,175. Eric Nye, *Pounds to Dollars Historical Conversion of Currency* (University of Wyoming: Department of English), Online: <http://uwacadweb.uwyo.edu/numimage/Currency.htm>, accessed 20 December 2009.

⁹⁷ Patricia Ann Carlson, “William Parks, Colonial Printer, to Dr. Charles Carroll.” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 86, no. 4 (1978): 408-412. 409.

believed that slaves were preferable to hired workers.⁹⁸

Blacks at Georgia and The Caves provided Dr. Carroll's share of supplies for blacks and indentured servants at the Baltimore Iron Works. They felled trees and moved timber by water to the landings; harvested hundreds of bushels of corn and wheat each year; and tended pigs and processed the meat to feed ironworkers.⁹⁹

Twelve people lived on Georgia in 1737: eight unnamed slaves plus Moses Maccubbins, Alexander Drummer, Jacob Lewis, and Barty Fuller.¹⁰⁰ Their main job was to cut thousands of cords of wood for the Baltimore Iron Works, for which Dr. Carroll was credited in financial accounts.¹⁰¹ Nine unnamed slaves and William Lewis lived on The Caves.¹⁰² In the 1740s, slaves and servants worked at the shipyard

⁹⁸ Lewis, *Coal, Iron, and Slaves*, 8.

⁹⁹ Stephen Onion to Charles Carroll, Esq., 16 July 1737. Folder "1737 June-July, Correspondence: [Baltimore Company?]" Box 6, MS 219, MdHS; Dr. Carrolls Account with the Baltimore Company 1745 to 1747, Folder "1748, Financial Records: Baltimore Company," Box 8, MS 219, MdHS; Dr. Carroll Baltimore Company Account 1741/42, "Folder 1742 October-December, "Financial Records: Baltimore Company," Box 8, MS 219, MdHS.

¹⁰⁰ Baltimore County (Tax Lists) Upper Hundred of Patapsco 1737, MSA CM918-9, M1560-22.

¹⁰¹ Moses Maccubbins appears on Baltimore Iron Works registers in the expectation of supplying cords of wood in 1736. Account, 1736, vol. 3, p. 36 and Copy of List, 1736, p. 54, vol. 3, MS 65, MdHS; Dr. Cha. Carroll Company Account, 1741, Folder "1741 January-July, Financial Records: Baltimore Company," Box 8, MS 219, MdHS. "Moses Mackubins" was expected to provide 50 cords of wood over the summer. Amount of Cordwood in Stock and Expected, 1737/1738, Folder "1738, Financial Records: Baltimore Company," Box 8, MS 219, MdHS.

¹⁰² Baltimore County (Tax Lists) Back River Upper Hundred 1737, MSA CM918-2, M1560-16.

at Carroll's Point, where timber from Georgia was taken to build ships.¹⁰³ The locations of their quarters are unknown.

Peopling the Baltimore Iron Works

Blacks who labored at the Baltimore Iron Works came from the partners' plantations, were purchased, or hired from local slaveowners.¹⁰⁴ Each partner contributed "six able hands," meaning slaves, at the outset to clear wood. Seven blacks enslaved by Dr. Carroll went to the ironworks in 1731/32. Health was immediately an issue: one of Dr. Carroll's seven slaves replaced a man named Billy who died in August 1731. The partners purchased "negroes" beginning in May 1732 at a cost of L20 apiece. By December each company owner was supposed to contribute thirteen enslaved persons for jobs such as cutting wood or farming corn.¹⁰⁵ If all five partners contributed their quota, the enslaved population would have more than doubled in size from thirty in

¹⁰³ Michael F. Trostel, *Mount Clare: Being an Account of the Seat Built by Charles Carroll, Barrister, upon his Lands at Patapsco* (Baltimore: National Society of Colonial Dames of America, 1981), 6; Dr. CC to William Black, 2 January 1746, Letterbook 1742-1752, p. 141, MS 208, MdHS. Dr. CC to CCB, 30 August 1754, p. 131-132; Dr. CC to CCB, 8 May 1754, pp. 122-124, Letterbook 1752-1755 and 1755-1769, MS 208, MdHS.

¹⁰⁴ Lewis, *Coal, Iron, and Slaves*, 22-23.

¹⁰⁵ Minute Book, Baltimore Company, p. 5, Folder "1732-75, Minutes: Baltimore Company," Box 6, MS 219, MdHS. When Each of the Co. Sent Their Negroes or Servants to the Workes on Patapscoe, Folder "1733, Employee Records: Baltimore Company," MS 219, MdHS. Conversions to 2008 dollars: L20 = \$4,175. Nye, *Pounds to Dollars*.

1731/32 to sixty-five by the winter of 1732/33. Forty-three slaves worked at the iron works in 1734, plus thirty-eight white employees and additional seasonal laborers.¹⁰⁶

Blacks purchased by Dr. Carroll in 1730 and 1731 may have worked on his Baltimore properties or the ironworks. In October 1730, Olliver (age 30) and Nann (age 32) were acquired along with a copper still, a feather bed and furniture, six steers, three cows and calves, and a bay horse for L81.¹⁰⁷ In March 1731, Dr. Carroll purchased Coffee, Tom, and Jemmy for L90 in addition to ropes for traces, grubbing hoes, plows and plow irons, plows for horses, “2 Collars of Tootte,” a bucket and pail, stock lock, hilling and weeding hoes, and a small hatchet. Whether or not they are the same Coffee, Tom, and Jemmy in Baltimore Company records remains unknown.¹⁰⁸

Each partner placed between seven and fifteen enslaved blacks at the ironworks at the beginning of a year to work for nine years, eleven months. Over the course of a year, the number of new slaves diminished, as did their term. By the end of the year, one new slave would be introduced to work one year, nine days, four

¹⁰⁶ Baltimore Iron Works, List of persons employed, 30 April 1734, (MdHS 219, Box 6), MSA M 4215-4825; Lewis, *Coal, Iron, and Slaves*, 23.

¹⁰⁷ Baltimore County Court (Land Records) John Townsend to Charles Carroll, Chyrurgeon, 14 October 1730, Liber IS L, folio 23, MSA CE 66-16. Conversion to 2008 dollars: L81 = \$15,727. Nye, *Pounds to Dollars*.

¹⁰⁸ Mssrs Charles and Daniel Carroll, et. al, 1731, Letter Book of Charles Carroll, 1716-1731, p. 13-14, MS 208, MdHS. Charles Carroll and his son Daniel enslaved a woman named Coffee at the ironworks. List of Taxables Returned Belonging to the Baltimore Company, 1733, Folder “1733-34, Employee Records: Baltimore Company,” Box 6, MS 219, MdHS. Conversion to 2008 dollars: L81 = \$18,921. Nye, *Pounds to Dollars*.

months, and twenty-one days.¹⁰⁹ Dr. Carroll placed seven men and one woman into service on March 1, 1731 to work nine years, eleven months. Four more individuals went on June 20, 1732 to work four years, five months, and fourteen days. On March 6, 1732, one person was pushed to work one year, five months and the other nine months and four months and twenty-one days. No records after 1733 remain to show if the system was refreshed with new people.¹¹⁰ The Baltimore Company partners may have cycled enslaved blacks between the ironworks and their private property, where the work was not as strenuous.

Blacks at the Baltimore Iron Works were inventoried by name in the early years. The enslaved population in 1733 included twenty-six people: (illegible names indicated by “or”) Hart, Tom, James Lesser or Larson, James, May, Coffe, Peter, Cesar, Johny, Bath or Bash or Bush, Captain, Joe, Munday Betty, Harrys Betty, Harry, Sampson, Tom, Toms Bess, Jemy or Jerry, Jack, Frank, Calibay, Toby, Dick, Valentine, and Flora.¹¹¹ The 1734 inventory lists thirty-four people, which included

¹⁰⁹ 1731 Daniel Dulany Esq. to Negroes to be put into the work of agreement and their work hereafter stated to 31st July 1733; 1731 Dr. Charles Carroll to Negroes to be put into the work of agreement and their work hereafter stated to 31st July 1733, Folder “1733, Employee records: Baltimore Company,” Box 6, MS 219. MdHS.

¹¹⁰ Blacks, Account of time worked by negroes, 31 July 1733, Box 6, MS 219, MdHS.

¹¹¹ List of Taxables Returned Belonging to the Baltimore Company, 1733, Folder “1733-34, Employee Records: Baltimore Company,” Box 6, MS 219, MdHS. Daniel and Charles Carroll of Annapolis’s personal inventory indicates which of the total belonged to them: Bush or Bath or Bash, Long Harry, Caine, Dick, Poplar Jones, Boy Jack, Betty, Coffee, and Hannah. Chas and Danl Negroes at the Iron Works, Folder “1733, Employee records: Baltimore Company,” Box 6. MS 219. MdHS; Account of taxables at the works, 1733 (MdHS, MS 219, Box 6), MSA M 4215-4819. The

almost all the names on the 1733 list plus several new workers. Jack was a blacksmith. The miners at Gorsuch Bank were Colonell, Bush, Guilamalew (?), Coffee, Cezar, Jack, James, and Nero. Hanna cooked for them. Dick Junior, Dick Senior, and Hannah were at Gorsuch Plantation. Their roles were not specified, but Tom was the carpenter. Nephew, Frank, Quame, Qua, Calebay were miners at one part of Howards Bank and Lucy was the cook. At another part of Howards Bank were the colliers Hart, Coffe, James, Charles, Tom, Man, Poplar Rom, Toby, Philip, and Cezar, plus Betty the cook. The woodcutters at that part of Howards Bank were Harry, Peter, Jo, Sampson, Valentine, and Captaine. Also there were Ross the basketmaker, Bendax, Francie the cook, and Peter (a hired slave).¹¹² Flora was a cook at the lower house, Betty at the upper house. John was a working boy.¹¹³

An undated inventory of who worked where indicated that Dr. Carroll owned four enslaved workers at the complex: Jemmy was a smith at the furnace, Tom's and Tony's positions are not specified, and Guy was a forge carpenter.¹¹⁴ Perhaps Guy built the forge for bar iron completed by 1738.¹¹⁵ Thirty-nine people were enslaved at

discrepancy between 1733 and 1734 may relate to when the fiscal year fell. A similar list does not remain for Dr. Carroll.

¹¹² Account of persons employed at the Baltimore Iron Works, 30 April 1734; A List of Taxables, 1733, Folder "1733-34, Employee records: Baltimore County," Box 6, MS 219, MdHS.

¹¹³ Account of Persons Employed at the Baltimore Iron Works, continued, 1734 (MS 219, Box 6), MSA 4215-4825.

¹¹⁴ At the Furnace, n.d., Folder "n.d. Employee Records: Baltimore Company," Box 6, MS 219, MdHS.

¹¹⁵ Johnson, "Genesis of the Baltimore Ironworks," 174.

the Baltimore Iron Works in 1736.¹¹⁶ Forty-two slaves over age sixteen and forty-three hired white men worked at the iron works by 1737 as part of a ninety-six-person work force.¹¹⁷ The Baltimore Company enslaved one hundred fifty people at the height of its operations in 1764 in addition to hiring wage employees and slaves from local whites. By 1785, when the partners began selling off the company, two hundred people were still enslaved.¹¹⁸ The enslaved population included males and females of all ages and kin networks. Comparison of the inventories shows that several small families lived at the Baltimore Iron Works. Many blacks became skilled laborers, and while a few individuals died or escaped each year, the partners' initial calculations for slaves were insufficient.

Blacks may have received medical care from Dr. Carroll in the early years of the ironworks. Although health was a primary concern of enslavers, blacks used medicine to assert control over their own bodies even as Europeans applied their medical practices to them. They treated themselves with plants, roots, charms, ceremonies, and other practices carried to the New World.¹¹⁹ Enslaved persons at the Baltimore Iron Works received medical attention from European doctors for ailments

¹¹⁶ Copy of List, 1736, vol. 3, p. 54, MS 65, MdHS.

¹¹⁷ Baltimore County Court (Tax List) Patapsco Upper Hundred, 1737, M1560-22, MSA CM918-9. The tax list counted all slaves over age 16.

¹¹⁸ Lewis, *Coal, Iron, and Slaves*, 23.

¹¹⁹ Ywone Edwards-Ingram, "African American Medicine and the Social Relations of Slavery," In *Race and the Archaeology of Identity*, ed. Charles E. Orser, Jr., pp. 34-53 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2001) 34-41; Sharla M. Fett, *Working Cures: Healing, Health, and Power on Southern Slave Plantations* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 4-5 and see Chapter 3.

including blisters, dysentery, illnesses of “New Negroes” during their seasoning in America, digestive problems, skin ulcers, and venereal disease.¹²⁰ Such ailments evidenced the extremely hard labor, poor nutrition, lack of warm housing, and meager living conditions to which Dr. Carroll and the Baltimore Company subjected them.¹²¹ Skeletal remains of first-to-second generation West Africans at Catoctin Furnace in Frederick County, Maryland showed signs of fracture, stress injury, arthritic breakdown of neck joints, rickets, softened bones, stunted growth, poor teeth, and infection due to malnutrition and hard labor. The average age at death was between 36.7-41.7 for men and 33.1-35.25 for women.¹²² Dr. Carroll himself, however, remained relatively robust until his death at age sixty-four, except for arthritis.¹²³ A cemetery has not been found for the Baltimore Iron Works.

No regular doctor attended to the Baltimore Company slaves and servants. Manager C. Daniell wrote in October 1734 about the “death of a negro man called Nero, he was ailing about three days complaining of a pain in his breast, his wife is

¹²⁰ Dr. Carroll’s Acct as Phisick, 1733, Folder “1733 January-July, Financial Records: Baltimore Company,” Box 8, MS 219, MdHS.

¹²¹ Alexander Lawson to Charles Carroll esq., 21 March 1737, vol. 3, p. 82, MS 65, MdHS.

¹²² Sharon Ann Burnston, “The Cemetery at Catoctin Furnace, Md: The Invisible People,” *Maryland Archaeology* (1981) 17:2, pp. 19-31; Jennifer Olsen Kelley and J. Lawrence Angel, “The Workers of Catoctin Furnace,” *Maryland Archaeology* (1983) 19:1, pp. 2-17.

¹²³ CCB showed evidence of anemia, possibly as a result of malaria, and arthritis. John Henry Carroll’s bones suggested pneumonia and/or pleurisy. Margaret’s bones showed no malady. All were buried in shrouds. Richard J. Dent, S. Elizabeth Ford, Richard Hughes, *Archeological Excavations at the Carroll Family Tomb in Saint Anne’s Church Yard, Annapolis, Maryland*, 10 November 1984.

very much out of order, Jack the Smith and favor of all other of the negroes also, I hope they will do well, a line from you to the doctor to make more frequent visits would be of service.”¹²⁴ Several enslaved persons fell ill in December 1734 with violent pleurisy. Hazzard and Coffee died. Colonell recovered, but his wife Hannah did not. Harry, Man, and Poplar also got better. One white worker also died.¹²⁵ At the same time, Jemy complained of knee pain and took off work due to a cold. The winter of 1737 brought the deaths of Dick, Long Jamy, Short Jamy, Quamey, and Robin as well as two white servants.¹²⁶ A doctor attended to Dick in early August 1737, but he also died.¹²⁷ Although feigned illness was a common mode of resistance, wintertime at the Baltimore Iron Works demonstrated the very real consequences of sickness.¹²⁸ The power of enslaved persons’ deaths lay in the pressure it placed on the Baltimore Company to keep the living alive and relatively well.

The Baltimore Iron Works furnaces were in blast by November 1734. The thousands of tons of pig iron sent overseas were a direct result of slave labor; the first shipment included two hundred ninety-two tons. The Baltimore Company shipped

¹²⁴ C. Daniell to Charles Carroll Esq., 25 October 1734, Vol. 2, p. 15, MS 65. MdHS.

¹²⁵ Hazzard had worked at the ironworks for two years. He was enslaved to Benjamin Tasker. Coffee was a New Negro. Charles Daniel to Charles Carroll Esq., 6 December 1734, p. 26 and Stephen Onion to Charles Carroll Esq., 16 December 1734, p. 29, vol. 2, MS 65, MdHS.

¹²⁶ Alexander Lawson to Charles Carroll Esq., 21 March 1737, vol. 3, p. 82, MS 65, MdHS.

¹²⁷ Stephen Onion to Charles Carroll, Esq., 7 August 1737, Folder “1737 August Correspondence: [Baltimore Company],” Box 6, MS 219, MdHS.

¹²⁸ Fett, *Working Cures*, 169-200.

almost two thousand tons of iron to England by 1738. Between 1734 and 1737, twenty percent of Maryland's and Virginia's output and twenty percent of the total iron went from the colonies to England.¹²⁹ Later, British merchants also handled the sale of slaves and the indenture of convicts to the Baltimore Company's partners.¹³⁰ Johnson estimates that the partners shipped five hundred tons of pig iron to England per year by the early 1750s. Dr. Carroll's exports of iron to England totaled two hundred forty-five tons in 1750-1752. Each partner's income was about L400 sterling per year, and each fifth share worth L10,000. In 1770, a tenth share was worth L7,000. The operation included a furnace, three forges, tracts of land, indentured and hired servants, slaves, horses, cattle and other flock, as well as thousands of acres of land rich with ore and timber.¹³¹

Resistance and Freedom

Laborers at the Baltimore Iron Works used their understanding of violent punishment, escape, and capture in the American labor system to resist their enslavers and overseers. For instance, Baltimore Company records noted the high demand but short supply of slaves, the risks of working or punishing slaves beyond certain limits, and

¹²⁹ Johnson, "Genesis of the Baltimore Ironworks," 174-177.

¹³⁰ Johnson, "Baltimore Company Seeks English Markets," 45. CCB to William Anderson, 24 February 1767, MHM 37: 60; CCB to William Anderson, 10 September 1767, MHM 37: 416.

¹³¹ Johnson, "Genesis of the Baltimore Ironworks," 157 and n. 2; Advertisement, "To Be Sold," Virginia Gazette, Ad Date: 31 May 1770. Conversions to 2008 dollars: (1752) L400 = \$77,379, L10,000 = 1,934,476, (1783) L7,000 = \$1,139,824. Nye, *Pounds to Dollars*.

the centrality of laborers' attendance and skill to productivity. If the managers and owners knew these things, so must have their laborers. Baltimore Iron Works managers expected the laborers to obey three tenets of the American labor system: follow orders, be productive, and stay in place. Blacks at the Baltimore Iron Works and other plantations resisted by temporary or permanent escape, work pacing, feigning illness, and refusal in large numbers to work after a traumatic event. Lewis argues that the daily operation of iron industries constituted a three-way system "founded less on brute force than on forced compromise." Blacks pushed authority enough to receive advantages and gain space within acceptable bounds; employers yielded without losing control altogether; and slaveholders worked to protect and profit from their property.¹³² Enslaved laborers worked the system to their advantage for self-preservation, to maintain dignity within themselves and their communities, and to resist the impacts of racism.

Existing records suggest that enslaved blacks received harsher punishment and experienced less stability than indentured or convict laborers. Dr. Carroll distrusted the work force and encouraged disciplinary action. He wrote in 1732 that, "We have two negros here perfectly useless and only a [burden], to wit one of those bought by you of Woodward and that boy of Mr Dulanys which was with the Smith, and if Mr Dulany will not change him he must be sold and so must the other ... I find that in common things none here are to be trusted without a watchfull [sic] Eye & Strict hand."¹³³ The clarity of Dr. Carroll's attitudes suggests that he sanctioned a

¹³² Lewis, *Coal, Iron, and Slaves*, 82.

“strict hand” approach on his personal plantations, as well. Stephen Onion, the ironworks manager during the 1730s, “corrected” misbehaving workers. After one incident, he ordered the “Overseers to let none of the Hands under their care go abroad on Sundays.”¹³⁴ All laborers, despite race or status, were subject to similar expectations and punishments, but the status of slaves as property meant that slaveholders could destabilize their lives more easily through sale or removal. The strategy of enslaved black laborers remains unknown. Perhaps laborers who acted useless on purpose took the chance that being sold or removed to a partner’s private plantation would improve their circumstances. Laborers may not be trustworthy in Dr. Carroll’s view because they stole to support themselves and their families when their enslavers gave too little to sustain life with substance or dignity. Physical violence and other forms of punishment were everyday aspects at the Baltimore Iron Works, and they proved the impetus for disobedience to find freedom.

“Correction” was one tipping point for escape, but other reasons included dislike of an overseer or to force a laborer’s reassignment. Beatings, shackles, and collars enforced managers’ decisions about who should work where, and with whom, if enslaved laborers disagreed.¹³⁵ Laborers escaped from the brutal conditions at the Baltimore Iron Works. Surviving newspaper advertisements suggest that escaped

¹³³ Dr. CC to Charles Carroll, Esq., 9 November 1732, vol. 1, p. 33, MS 65, MdHS.

¹³⁴ Stephen Onion to Charles Carroll, Esq., 1 July 1734, vol. 1, p. 87, MS 65, MdHS.

¹³⁵ Stephen Onion to Charles Carroll Esq., 29 September 1734, Vol. 2, p. 5; Stephen Onion to Charles Carroll Esq., 24 January 1735, vol. 2, p. 48; Stephen Onion to Charles Carroll Esq., 30 January 1735, vol. 2, p. 52; Stephen Onion to Sir, 18 June 1738, vol. 2, p. 78; Stephen Onion to Charles Carroll Esq., 24 January 1735, vol. 2, p. 48, MS 65, MdHS; Johnson, *Establishment of the Baltimore Company*, 78; Lewis, “Slavery on Chesapeake Iron Plantations,” 244.

persons stayed in the Baltimore area in the 1730s, but by the 1750s also headed to Pennsylvania. Only men were sought; no evidence remains that women escaped. Gerald Mullin has argued that experience in manipulating whites at ironworks gave blacks the confidence to leave.¹³⁶ Caesar escaped in 1754, “a New-Negro man, about 25 years of age, very tall, and can speak but very few words of English.”¹³⁷ A nineteen-year-old mulatto man named Ben fled with two white convict men in May 1764.¹³⁸ The escape of blacks and European laborers together shows that interracial cooperation trumped racial divides when mutually beneficial opportunities arose. The Baltimore Company advertised for the return of indentured or convict servants and more rarely for slaves. They placed a higher bounty on escaped whites than blacks.¹³⁹ Dr. Carroll advertised for indentured servants, but paid agents to find black runaways and report their locations.¹⁴⁰ In addition, slaves were tortured for information. Richard

¹³⁶ Gerard W. Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).

¹³⁷ Advertisement, “Eighteen Pistoles Reward,” *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 12 September 1754.

¹³⁸ Advertisement, “Baltimore, February 24, 1764,” *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 8 March 1764.

¹³⁹ Stephen Onion to Charles Carroll Esq., 23 March 1734, vol. 1, p. 75, MS 65, MdHS; Advertisement, Baltimore County (Maryland). *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 30 November 1752; Advertisement “Baltimore, February 24, 1764,” *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 8 March 1764.

¹⁴⁰ See *Maryland Gazette*: John Plat or Platt (convict, ran from Carroll’s Quarter near Baltimore Iron Works on Patapsco, 16 November 1752, no. 393 and 30 November 1752, no. 395), Edward Lee or Edward Mortimer (ran from Baltimore Iron Works station at Gorsuch Point, 19 July 1734, no. 71), Mary Rider (convict, 19 April 1749, no. 208), Samuel Milburn and William Blayden (convicts, 26 June 1751, no. 322). Abstracted in Karen Mauer Green, *The Maryland Gazette, 1727-1761: Genealogical*

Croxall wrote in 1748 that, “Doc. Carroll’s negro has been well corrected but confesses no more than before, have set up advertisements about the house were you ordered.”¹⁴¹ In one case, Stephen Onion sent “Negro Johny” with Richard Croxall to retrieve a white man.¹⁴²

Other forms of working the system were born from necessity, such as overwork or theft. The Baltimore Company supplied cheap cloth, buttons, hats, nails, sugar, molasses, rum, and salt from England.¹⁴³ Such items mixed with daily food rations and supplies, but they also stocked the company store. Overwork was a common practice at Chesapeake region iron plantations. Laborers who worked additional time earned credit at the company store, where they might buy furniture, clothing and shoes, bedclothes, and other items. Writes Lewis, “The overwork system was intended to make the industrial slave a disciplined and productive worker by merging his physical and economic interests with those of the ironmaster. In turn, this would reduce the need for physical coercion, which would do more harm than good

and Historical Abstracts. Frontier Press. 1990. Also, William Jones (servant, 9 July 1743, *Pennsylvania Gazette*); John Roberts to Blacks, 4 May 1747, Folder “1747 May-December, Correspondence: [Baltimore Company],” Box 7, MS 219, MdHS; Accounts, Chas Carroll of Carrollton and Benjamin Tasker, 1748-1750, Folder “1750, Financial Records: Baltimore Company,” Box 8, MS 219, MdHS.

¹⁴¹ Richard Croxall to Charles Carroll Esq. 16 May 1748. Folder “1748 January-May Correspondence: [Baltimore Company],” Box 7, MS 219, MdHS.

¹⁴² Stephen Onion to Charles Carroll Esq., 1 July 1734, vol. 1, p. 87, MS 65, MdHS.

¹⁴³ Invoice, 7 November 1737, Folder “1737 September-December, Correspondence: [Baltimore Company],” Box 6, MS 219; Letterbooks of Doctor Charles Carroll, MS 201, MdHS.

to the ironmaster's aim of producing as much iron as possible."¹⁴⁴ Hires and slaves may have taken bits of iron to barter in Baltimore for liquor and clothes.¹⁴⁵

Inventories show the items purchased through overwork, such as Scipio's blanket or the crocus bed, two blankets, and rug shared by Captain and his wife Flora with their two children. Nephew the basketmaker had a tomahawk, a knife, and a wedge. Sampson and Nephew shared a crocus bed and two blankets.¹⁴⁶ No indication remains that overwork led to cash-in-hand for blacks or that it provided opportunities to purchase freedom. Rations and overwork could not, however, supply enough supplies or food. An indentured servant named Thomas Plivy and a slave called Anthony were jailed in the spring of 1771 for robbing a store. The goods were found in their possession. William Hammond was dismayed. Anthony was the smith and, wrote Hammond, "we shall feel the loss of Anthony's time very much, I cannot tell how we can carry on the Forge business without him."¹⁴⁷ Although overwork aimed to conform laborers more closely to American labor, enslaved persons did not necessarily conform to the Baltimore Company program. Resistance through

¹⁴⁴ Lewis, *Coal, Iron, and Slaves*, 159 and 163; Lewis, "Slavery on Chesapeake Iron Plantations," 246.

¹⁴⁵ McGrain, *From Pig Iron to Cotton Duck*, 16.

¹⁴⁶ Inventory of Store Goods and Stock, 1736, Folder "1736 Baltimore Company Inventory of Store Goods," Box 12, MS 219, MdHS.

¹⁴⁷ William Hammond to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 15 March 1771, MSA M 4218-5008 Item No. [4741]; Replies of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 1771, Mar. 17, Charles Carroll, Barrister, and Walter Dulany, appended. MdHi, MS 2243. Film No.: MSA M 4214-4742 Item No. [4742] I found no record of a court case to prosecute the men.

behavior, escape, or theft undermined the Baltimore Company's attempts to correct blacks into obedience.

Slavery and the Carroll Empire

The enslavement of blacks was key to Dr. Carroll's vision of a network of iron and agricultural plantations to form a diversified investment scheme. He wrote to his son Charles in 1753 that, "If such a work was to be gone upon by any other Person not possessed as I am of the situations servants slaves and other suitable Necessaries, it is not the sum of three times seven hundred pounds and for five years that would enable him to purchase land erect and carry on a furnace and forge and bring in the bar iron by land carriage the distance I mention of mine."¹⁴⁸ Dr. Carroll aimed for his ironworks, mills, and fields across Baltimore County and western Maryland to be a self-supporting system with enslaved blacks at the center.

Dr. Carroll took out writs of condemnation in 1744 for ironworks in eastern Baltimore on a branch off the Back River. The property was in the vicinity of Carrolls Island and was acquired at about the same time. Dr. Carroll sold the property to the Principio Company in September 1751 due to the "stringency of the times."¹⁴⁹ The colony was experiencing an economic downturn, but the particular circumstances surrounding the furnace complex are unclear. Dr. Carroll submitted an order in

¹⁴⁸ Dr. CC to CCB, 2 February 1753, Letterbook1752-1755 and 1755-1769, p. 60-64, MS 208, MdHS.

¹⁴⁹ It was near Kingsbury furnace on the west side of a branch of the Back River. Extracts from "Iron Making in the Colony of Maryland 1720-1782, A Sketch of the Principio Company," p. 3. In Vertical File, "Iron Works in Maryland," MdHS; Johnson, *Establishment of the Baltimore Company*, 280.

September 1746 to his merchant in London for cloth, shoes, hats, construction tools, and other items. He cancelled it a few months later.¹⁵⁰ The similarity of the order's contents to those for the Baltimore Company suggests that Dr. Carroll planned to purchase slaves to labor at the Back River ironworks. Perhaps his inability to afford slaves – the lynchpin of the plan – scuttled the project altogether.

Dr. Carroll tried again in 1748. He took out a patent to build a furnace on Gwynns Falls opposite the Baltimore Iron Works furnace. It would be “a furnace for running pigg iron from the ore with a forge and mill and other conveniences agreeable to said art.”¹⁵¹ Michael Trostel believes that a memorandum in Dr. Carroll's papers outlines the kinds of buildings he planned for it on Georgia. He expected the complex to include a furnace “24 by 26 feet Square” and a “good framed house 50 feet long 20 feet wide, stack of chimneys with 4 fire places,” “Ware house, Stables &c Kitchen,” and “Cole houses & Corn Room.”¹⁵² Trostel connects the list with building supplies ordered by Dr. Carroll in November 1749 and his comments on paying for the supplies in July 1751.¹⁵³ The lack of archaeological artifacts dating to

¹⁵⁰ Dr. CC to William Black, 1 September 1746, Letterbook 1748-1752, pp. 127-132; Dr. CC to William Black, 4 December 1746, Letterbook 1748-1752, p. 136, MS 208, MdHS.

¹⁵¹ Dr. CC to Daniel Dulany and Company, 25 January 1750, Letterbook 1748-1752, p. 293 and Dr. CC to Daniel Dulany and Company, 26 January 1750, Letterbook 1748-1752, p. 295, MS 208, MdHS; Indenture, Dr. CC to Daniel Dulany and Company, 30 January 1750. Box 3, MS 219, MdHS.

¹⁵² “Cost of a Furnace 24 by 26 foot square,” Folder “1730s? Financial Records: Baltimore Company,” Box 8, MS 219, MdHS.

¹⁵³ Trostel uses the dimensions of the basement to support his assertion. My research, however, indicates that it is just as possible that the memo applies to Dr. Carroll's

before the mid-1750s at the Mount Clare mansion, and the refined artifact types found, may suggest that the memorandum reflects Dr. Carroll's plans for western Maryland rather than Georgia. The complex drew on Chesapeake vernacular trends of basements, close placement of domestic buildings to the main house, activity-specific structures, and perhaps separation of Europeans' from blacks' living quarters.¹⁵⁴ Separation of blacks from Europeans through building race-specific structures reflected social attitudes beginning in the late seventeenth century.¹⁵⁵ In January 1750, Dr. Carroll's partners in the Baltimore Company demanded that he tear down the furnace. They permitted him to run it once to recover some of the construction costs. Dr. Carroll then converted the site into a merchant mill.¹⁵⁶ Enslaved laborers

own forays into ironworks on Carrolls Island (patented 1746) or in Western Maryland. Trostel, *Mount Clare*, 6-7, 20-22.

¹⁵⁴ Dell Upton, "Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia." In *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, 315-335 (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 320.

¹⁵⁵ Terrance Epperson, "A Separate House for the Christian Slaves, One for the Negro Slaves." In *Race and the Archaeology of Identity*, edited by Charles E. Orser, Jr., pp. 54-70.

¹⁵⁶ Dr. CC to Daniel Dulany and Company, 25 January 1750, Letterbook 1748-1752, p. 293 and Dr. CC to Daniel Dulany and Company, 26 January 1750, Letterbook 1748-1752, p. 295, MS 208, MdHS; Indenture, Dr. CC to Daniel Dulany and Company, 30 January 1750. Box 3, MS 219, MdHS; Johnson, *Establishment of the Baltimore Company*, 238-241. The mill stood just north of modern Washington Avenue and was later known as the Mount Clare Mill. Another mill stood approximately a quarter mile above where Gwynns Run met Gwynns Falls. It was known as Millington Mill in the nineteenth century. Roads allowed for carts laden with products to cross Georgia to market. A main road began at a ford at the Mount Clare millrace and ran northeasterly through swampy and low ground along Gwynns Falls until leveling out above the future site of the Mount Clare mansion to head east into Baltimore. Marye, "Old Garrison Road," part 2, p. 222, note 23 and pp. 224-225. The location of the two mills and outbuildings are mapped on a plat dating to 1826,

already on Georgia likely worked the furnace. Dr. Carroll gave no indication that he acquired additional persons or that he anticipated financial trouble.

Thus thwarted by the Baltimore Company, Dr. Carroll purchased property in Frederick County on the Monocacy River for a furnace, plus property in between it and Georgia for a forge and quarters, in the early 1750s. “[I]t would require my whole plantation at Patapsco,” he wrote, “as two or three teams must be kept to bring in the bar iron there to be shipped and would so require other quarters where I have meadows and conveniences to keep teams at the force and the furnace [...]”¹⁵⁷ Slaves were integral to the scheme. Dr. Carroll indicated in a prospectus sent to his son Charles in London to drum up investors there,

That the agent here be directed as soon as he can conveniently do it to get young Negro lads to put under the smiths carpenters founders tinners and fillers and also to get a certain number of able slaves to fill the furnace hoist the bridge raise ore and cart and burn the same. Wood cutters may for some time be hired there. There should be but two master colliers one at the furnace another at the forge with a suitable number of slaves or servants under each who might coal in the summer and cut wood in the winter.¹⁵⁸

Although Dr. Carroll died in 1755 and Carroll the Barrister did not pursue the western ironworks, Dr. Carroll presaged major iron operations in western Maryland and their use of slavery.¹⁵⁹

see: Baltimore County Court (Ejectment) Nicholas Carroll et. al vs. James Carroll, March/September 1826, MSA C2042-165. In 1750, Dr. Carroll laid out a higher and drier route. Marye, “Old Garrison Road,” part 2, 241.

¹⁵⁷ Dr. CC to CCB, 2 February 1753, Letterbook 1752-1755 and 1755-1769, p. 60-64, MS 208, MdHS.

¹⁵⁸ Proposal to erect a furnace, Dr. CC, 14 February 1753, Letterbook 1752-1755 and 1755-1769, pp. 68-74, MS 208, MdHS.

Georgia saw some reorganization at this time in anticipation of its role as an endpoint for products from the Frederick County ironworks. Dr. Carroll settled his younger son John Henry in 1753 “at Patapsco to build a merchant mill there, and make it a center for my Business, to have Taylor shoemakers and other Supplys for my Quarters there under his Care and Management and allow him one moiety of any Profits.”¹⁶⁰ Within a few months, John Henry was living in a “batchelor’s house” and Dr. Carroll had commissioned the mill and a bakehouse for bread for ships.¹⁶¹ While this makes it sound like he was setting up John Henry on Georgia, he may have meant another property. In 1753, Dr. Carroll gave him Floyds Adventure on Bodkin Creek at the southwestern coast of the mouth of Patapsco, and all the improvements thereon.¹⁶² No evidence remains about John Henry’s slaveholding.

Today, Georgia is the best-preserved Carroll plantation, which obscures its historical significance relative to the others in modern memory. The Caves was the prize among the Carroll properties in Baltimore County for its ore deposits, rich limestone land, location, buildings, and size. Blacks at The Caves grew tobacco; cared for cattle, horses, sheep, mares, and colts; and farmed the land for a mill on the

¹⁵⁹ Among them were the Antietam Furnace (est. 1761 on the west side of South Mountain), Mt. Aetna Furnace (on Antietam Furnace), Frederick Forge and Keep Trieste Furnace (est. c.1764 at the mouth of the Antietam Creek), Hampton Furnace (est. c. 1765 near Emmitsburg), Green Spring Furnace (c. 1768, near Fort Frederick), and Catocin Furnace (est. 1744, north of Frederick). Frye, “Antietam Furnace,” 207-208.

¹⁶⁰ Dr. CC to CCB, 2 February 1753, Letterbook, v. 2, pp. 60-64, MS 208, MdHS.

¹⁶¹ Dr. CC to CCB, 15 May 1753, Letterbook, v. 2, pp. 82-83, MS 208, MdHS.

¹⁶² Dr. CC to John Henry Carroll, 15 September 1753, *Provincial Court Records 1749-1756*, vol. 701, p. 400. Archives of Maryland Online.

property. In 1749, Dr. Carroll gave The Caves to his eldest son, Charles. The transfer of ownership included fifteen slaves named Jack, Major, Will, Jenn, Pompey, Tom, Sam, Harry, Sabina, Pris, Debb, Bett, Mary, Nelly and Jacky.¹⁶³ Only Sabina, Deb, and Nell may have remained there in 1773, while Tom and Will may have been sent to Mount Clare.¹⁶⁴ Black farmers at The Caves may have been the only tobacco farmers across the Carroll properties. Dr. Carroll was not a tobacco planter by the 1750s, but he managed shipments from The Caves and commissioned a ship to rent to tobacco shippers.¹⁶⁵ In 1751, Dr. Carroll described Charles's holdings as "a seat of very good land here, and two good plantations with a dozen working hands."¹⁶⁶ Black farmers managed by two overseers grew tobacco that dried in two tobacco houses and a barn constructed in 1752. At the same time, they witnessed the fundamental shifts in plantation management in the 1750s as a result of fluctuating tobacco prices. They were pressed to work iron and farm grain as a result.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ Dr. CC to CCB, 17 April 1749, *Provincial Land Records 1744-1749*, vol. 700, p. 568. Archives of Maryland Online.

¹⁶⁴ The suggestion goes on the 1749 and 1773 lists alone – the commonness of the names may be misleading.

¹⁶⁵ Dr. CC to Mssrs Cheston and Sedgley, 30 June 1753, Letterbook, vol. 2, pp. 87-88; Dr. CC to CCB, 4 October 1753, pp. 107-108; Dr. CC to CCB, 9 July 1754, pp. 129-130; Dr. CC to Mssrs. John Newbury and Co., 29 August 1754, pp. 130-131. Letterbook, vol. 2, MS 208, MdHS.

¹⁶⁶ Dr. CC to William Black, 18 August 1751, MS 208.1, MdHS.

¹⁶⁷ "Your overseers Richard and Patrick promise to have all your tobacco ready for Judd and to do all they can for you." Dr. CC to CCB, 24 July 1752, MS 208.1, MdHS. Four hogsheads of tobacco were shipped to England in 1751 from Charles's quarter, 7 in 1752, and 14 in 1753. Dr. CC to CCB, 12 September 1754, Letterbook,

Blacks' learning of American labor systems supplied the wealth for the Carrolls' elite, European Americans status in the Maryland colony. In 1755, changes in the Carroll family reshaped tasks for blacks at Georgia. John Henry died intestate in 1754.¹⁶⁸ After his son's death, Dr. Carroll evaluated his own and Charles's estates and wrote to him in England: "your own Estate in Lands Slaves & Stock is worth 2000ll Sterl and if exposed to Sale would bring the money if [Tobacco] bore a price and upon Valuation of my own Estate in Lands Slaves Debts by Bond Mortgages & other permanent Estate amounts to 10000ll Sterl. & 5000ll Current money wherein is included a List of Debts on Mortgages & Land Security 818ll Sterl & 4000ll Current money."¹⁶⁹ An itemized list has not been preserved to the present day. Aubrey Land calculates that 3.9 percent of planters between 1750-1759 had estates above L1,000.¹⁷⁰ Dr. Carroll passed away in 1755, leaving Charles with thousands of acres of land, slaves, and a warehouse and wharf in Annapolis.¹⁷¹ Charles became one of the wealthiest men in the colony.

vol. 2, pp. 134-135, MS 208, MdHS; Dr. CC to CCB, 2 February 1753, Letterbook 1752-1755 and 1755-1769, pp. 60-64, MS 208, MdHS.

¹⁶⁸ *Maryland Gazette*, 21 February 1754.

¹⁶⁹ Dr. CC to CCB, 8 May 1754. Letterbook 1752-1755, MS 208, MdHS. Conversions to 2008 dollars: L2000 = \$378,088, L10,000 = \$1,890,439, L5,000 = \$945,220, L818 = \$ 154,638, L4,000 = \$ 756,176. Nye, *Pounds to Dollars*.

¹⁷⁰ Aubrey C. Land, "Economic Base and Social Structure: The Northern Chesapeake in the Eighteenth Century," *The Journal of Economic History* 25 (1965) no. 4: 653.

¹⁷¹ Prerogative Court (Wills) [Dr.] Charles Carroll of Annapolis, 14 September 1754, Liber WB29, folio 503, SR4423-2, MSA SM-43. Dr. Carroll directed his executors not to enter a probate or account of sale into the public record. No final calculation of slaveholding can be determined. Charles's sister, Mary (Carroll) Maccubbin inherited slaves, livestock and land from her uncle Richard Bennett in 1749. Bennett stipulated

Blacks and whites shaped slavery together as a cultural practice at the intersection of race and status. Such work did not take place on equal footing as seen in Dr. Carroll's early history in Maryland and particularly at the Baltimore Iron Works. It, however, had significant effects. Although Europeans enforced the distinction between races that perpetuated slavery, they failed to destroy blacks' determination to shape lives for themselves in America beyond their enslavers' constraints. The story of pushing back against oppression is an important part of the history of Mount Clare that is not told on-site today. Enslaved persons knew that the Carrolls and their elite associates relied on them for wealth. They recognized the leverage of their attitudes and healthy bodies over enslavers, and used escape, work pacing, family and skill expertise to resist domination. Push-and-pull strategies enabled blacks to influence slavery. But such measures only went so far. Ultimately, blacks were unsuccessful in freeing themselves from Dr. Carroll and, as a result, produced a vast family fortune for Dr. Carroll that shaped the next stage of Georgia's history.

that they should go to her younger brother, John Henry, if she died. Prerogative Court (Wills), Richard Bennett, 1749, Liber 28, folio 466, SR 4422-2, MSA SM16-41.

Chapter 3: The Creation of Mount Clare

The Mount Clare mansion is today the only above-ground remnant of the showpiece plantation envisioned by Charles Carroll the Barrister and executed by enslaved blacks. Georgia transformed into Mount Clare as a result of the everyday interactions that wove together the lives of blacks and elite whites. In Chapter 3, I argue that enslaved blacks acquired literacy in white elites' cultural expressions while retaining their own. I demonstrate that gardens, clothes, and architecture were the material manifestations of what blacks learned about race and status in America and its effect on their lives. Blacks at Mount Clare – be they within the mansion, in the fields or mills, or even further away at the Baltimore Iron Works – made the landscape into a site of black heritage. The mansion today is interpreted in terms of the Carrolls, but represents a much broader story of the Carrolls' relationships with enslaved persons and indentured whites.

Blacks' role on Georgia in the supply line for the Baltimore Iron Works probably continued after Dr. Carroll's death until the completion of a mansion commissioned by his son Charles. Construction of the mansion began in 1756. After its completion in 1760, Charles renamed the property "Mount Clare" or "the Mount." A kitchen stood to the east of the residence. Other landscape features probably included barns, a necessary house, woodshed, slave quarters, kitchen garden, and a small orchard. Visitors and residents accessed the mansion on a road from the north side of the mansion a quarter-mile northwest to the Frederick Turnpike, an east-west road from Baltimore to Fredericktown. Charles brought servants or slaves from his Annapolis house to Mount Clare by the fall of 1760 to join the laborers already in

residence.¹⁷² Charles may have inherited some of them from his father, Dr. Carroll, and they brought their experiences in slavery from Annapolis to Baltimore.

Charles's slaveholding expanded in 1763 after marrying Margaret Tilghman. Margaret grew up in Talbot County surrounded by slavery. Her father, Matthew Tilghman, inherited Bay Side (now known as Rich Neck Manor) and approximately one hundred four persons from his cousin and adoptive parent Matthew Tilghman Ward in 1741. Margaret Ward, Matthew Tilghman Ward's wife, enslaved thirty-seven people at the time of her death in 1746 (Appendix A). She left them and the bulk of her estate to Matthew Tilghman's two young children, Margaret Tilghman and Matthew Ward Tilghman. Margaret Ward specifically bequeathed to Margaret a seventeen-year-old mulatto girl named Eve.¹⁷³ Eve may be "Old Eve" listed on Margaret's estate inventory in 1817.¹⁷⁴ Margaret assumed the entire inheritance upon her brother's death in 1753. Ten years later, in 1763, slaves constituted part of Margaret's dowry according to Charles's last will and testament. No remaining records detail the terms. The increased size of Charles's larger orders for cloth and nails in 1760 and 1763 reflected the need to house and clothe a population growing by his marriage, procreation, and possibly purchase. Margaret inherited no slaves

¹⁷² Trostel, *Mount Clare*, 13 and 19.

¹⁷³ Talbot County Register of Wills (Wills, Original) Margaret Ward, 1746, Box 25, Folder 10, MSA C1926-31, MdHR 9053-25-1/36. Talbot County Register of Wills (Inventories) Margaret Ward, 1747, Liber JB and JG4, folio 51, CM1029-5, MSA WK594-595-2. [Liber 25, folio 145]

¹⁷⁴ Eve does not appear on CCB's 1773 inventory.

after her parents' deaths in 1790 and 1794.¹⁷⁵ Slavery and the concept of slaves as property was a matter of fact in Margaret's upbringing. It acclimated her to the dynamics of slave interactions with elites and to the expectations for a plantation mistress.

Cheryl Ann Cody's refinement of Herbert Gutman's pattern of slave family construction, destruction, and dispersal fits enslavement practices at Mount Clare by the Carrolls. In the first stage, Charles constructed a labor force based on slaves collected by his father, through marriage to Margaret, and possibly by purchase. During his middle age, the slave population stabilized, expanded through natural increase, and developed families and kin networks. If the Carrolls' twin daughters had survived into adulthood and married, the slave community would likely have experienced instability as its members were distributed as marriage gifts and dowries. The final phase occurred when Charles, then Margaret, died. Blacks were dispersed through gift, sale, or estate division. The process fractured families and kin networks. Economic and legal forces as set by the Carrolls, the colony, and the state prevailed over the maintenance of families during periods of fracture and dispersal, but mothers and children or freed fathers and children were kept together.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ Talbot County Register of Wills (Wills) Matthew Tilghman, 1787, Liber JB4, folio 125, WK 569-570-4, MSA CM1041-4. Ann Tilghman died in 1794. She indicated that her slave Matt ("son of Francis Jones") should be freed within six months of her decease. (Talbot County Register of Wills (Wills) Ann Tilghman, 1794, Liber JB4, folio 315, WK 569-570-4, MSA CM1041-4.)

¹⁷⁶ Cheryl Ann Cody, "Sale and Separation: Four Crises for Enslaved Women on the Ball Plantations 1764-1854," in *Working Toward Freedom: Slave Society and Domestic Economy in the American South*, ed. Larry E. Hudson, Jr. (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1994), 119-121.

Blacks at Mount Clare pushed back against the Carrolls as interpreted from patterns between Charles's orders and his comments on enslaved persons. Charles specified in a 1760 order to England that the frame of a hand lantern "made strong and the glass well fixed in as our Negroes see negligent in carrying them about of night."¹⁷⁷ He ordered a reinforced saddle for Margaret in 1764 because "our Servants here are Careless" and "our workers here are but bunglers at repairing."¹⁷⁸ He complained in a 1765 order: "I would have the Kitchen [roasting] Jack made of the Sort Least Liable to be out of order as our Negro Cooks and Servants are but Careless and Rough Handlers of any thing that may be Trusted to their Care."¹⁷⁹ Beginning in 1766, Charles requested the best of common work tools: "1 Dozen best Scythes," "1 Dozen best Sickles," "6 good grind stones," "4 Best Curry Combs without Brushes."¹⁸⁰ Perhaps Charles believed that purchasing the best would remove an excuse from resisting productivity and work. Of course, better tools are easier and more efficient to use, as laborers must have known, or perhaps they burnished Charles's image as someone who had so much money that he could afford premium goods even for slaves. The orders show that kitchen cooks, farmers, gardeners, and

¹⁷⁷ CCB to William Anderson, [--] September 1760, MHM 32: 367-368 and continued in MHM 33: 187-188.

¹⁷⁸ CCB to William Anderson, 4 October 1764, p. 285 and CCB to William Anderson, 10 November 1764, p. 292, Letterbook 1755-69, MS 208, MdHS.

¹⁷⁹ CCB to William Anderson, 17 November 1765, Letterbook 1755-69, p. 303, MS 208, MdHS.

¹⁸⁰ See, for example, CCB to William Anderson, 29 October 1766, MHM 36 (1941): 32.

grooms enacted crimes on property to undermine both Charles and Margaret.¹⁸¹

Charles interpreted enslaved persons' damages to property as character traits. Perhaps operating under the guise of clumsiness or idiocy enabled blacks to use elite whites' negative attitudes against them. Acts of resistance suggest that enslaved persons appropriated the Carrolls' things and attitudes to their advantage.

The creation of black identities involved learning – but not necessarily accepting – that enslaved persons and slaveholders experienced domestic space and social rituals in different ways. Housing, food and food preparation, gardens, and religious beliefs mark the differences between the Carrolls and the people they enslaved, but also opportunities for cultural education on both sides.

Housing and Architecture

Housing enacted the formal social convention among elites that architecture should reinforce the distinctions between the enslaved and the enslaver.¹⁸² By the mid-eighteenth century, slaveholders preferred to house blacks in a racially segregated area, the slave quarters, away from the main house. The slave quarter became a black place in the minds of enslaved persons and enslavers.¹⁸³ Examples of mid-eighteenth-

¹⁸¹ The term “crimes against property” comes from Franklin and Schweninger (John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger, *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 2) to discuss acts of resistance by enslaved blacks on their enslaver's belongings.

¹⁸² Dell Upton, “Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia.” In *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, 315-335 (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1986).

century slave quarter sites at Northampton and Poplar Grove in Maryland and at Montpelier, Rich Neck, and Monticello in Virginia exemplify the contrast in housing for slaves and elites. Plantation owners lived in large, multi-roomed, two-story, brick structures. Slave quarters consisted of one-or-two-room, timber structures, sometimes with a brick chimney, in which multiple activities overlapped in interior spaces and spilled into the yards. Enslaved blacks also slept in kitchens, basements, barns, and sheds.

The location of slave quarters on Mount Clare is unknown. The 1798 tax assessment lists several old, dilapidated wood frame or log houses that could have housed blacks in the 1760s. They were one-story structures measuring between 16-by-11 feet and 32-by-22 feet. Likely locations for the houses included areas downhill to the east of the mansion, by the Mount Clare mill, and/or north of the Frederick-Baltimore road near the fields. The mansion at Mount Clare, in contrast to the frame houses, was brick with plaster inside and large glass windows for ventilation and light. It had separate rooms for different purposes, such as a dining room and bedrooms. Renovations to the mansion in the second half of the eighteenth century underscored the Carrolls' desire to formalize the social distinctions between themselves and the people they enslaved.

Laborers' production at the Baltimore Iron Works helped to fund architectural changes to the mansion in the 1760s. The Baltimore Company partners aimed to

¹⁸³ John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993) 154-155 and "Not Mansions ... But Good Enough: Slave Quarters as Bi-Cultural Expression," In *Black and White Cultural Interaction in the Antebellum South*, ed. Ted Ownby, pp. 89-114 (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993), 93-96, 114.

sustain their wealth by expanding production and cutting long-term costs through slavery. Iron production peaked in 1764 and the Baltimore Company sought additional workers to enslave in November 1766 and January 1767. The partners sought unskilled laborers to save money. They wanted twenty-four men between the ages of fifteen and twenty, who were well-seasoned “negroes” or American-born.¹⁸⁴ Slaves born in America tended to speak English, had survived exposure to illnesses and diseases, and had been introduced to European work discipline. The partners thus preferred blacks familiar with European American culture and whose hardiness as an investment had already been tested. In August 1767, Charles Carroll of Annapolis suggested purchasing slaves in Virginia, where “young country born negroes” could be purchased “for cheap” at “L25 or 30 sterling.” One co-owner cautioned against the plan “this side of winter” because “we shall probably have them all to cloath [sic] with goods bought here for it is very uncertain whether our goods will come in time from England.” Charles agreed to the plan if slaves could be bought for the terms quoted.¹⁸⁵ He authorized L200 to purchase slaves from merchants in London on the Baltimore Company account in September 1767.¹⁸⁶ A Baltimore Company

¹⁸⁴ Minute Book, The Baltimore Company, pp. 19-23, MS 219, MdHS.

¹⁸⁵ Charles Carroll of Annapolis to Walter Dulany with replies appended, 29 August 1767, MSA 4214-4708. By way of comparison, skilled persons enslaved by Principio were sold at auction in 1785 for between L5 shillings for those over age 60, L62 for a forty-year-old collier, and L175 for a fourteen-year old with unspecified knowledge. Michael W. Robbins, *Maryland's Iron Industry During the Revolutionary War Era: A Report Prepared for the Maryland Bicentennial Commission* (Annapolis: The Commission. 1973), 130.

representative traveled to a sale at Rock Creek in March of 1768. All the persons for sale, however, were very old or very young: two-thirds were age eight or under.¹⁸⁷

The expansion of industrial slavery thus subsidized the material evidence of Charles's status relative to, and because of, the people whom he enslaved.

Charles was evidently confident enough in the future generation of income from the Baltimore Iron Works as well as from renting property and lending money that he commissioned extensive renovations to the mansion at Mount Clare. Hyphens were built to connect the mansion to Charles's office in the new west wing and the kitchen in the renovated east wing. The kitchen and office buildings extended northward to frame a courtyard or forecourt.¹⁸⁸ Analysis of the archaeological collections shows an absence of eighteenth-century materials at the forecourt, which indicates that it was either not used as a workspace or laborers were careful to leave little trace of their activities. The architectural changes developed as plans went into motion for elaborate gardens. Mount Clare came to have the six essential parts of a country estate as described in garden books: a pleasure garden, kitchen garden, fruit garden, nursery, flower garden, and greenhouse. Changes to the house and surrounding landscape required black hands, but farmers in the fields also saw major changes. Charles shifted the field laborers from tobacco to grain farming and iron

¹⁸⁶ CCB to William Anderson, 24 February 1767, MHM 37: 60; CCB to William Anderson, 10 September 1767, MHM 37: 416. Conversions to 2008 dollars: L20 = \$2,934, L200 = \$29,433. Nye, *Pounds to Dollars*.

¹⁸⁷ Richard Croxall to Charles Carroll and Company, 12 March 1768, with replies, MSA M 4214-4720.

¹⁸⁸ Trostel, *Mount Clare*, 33-35.

production by 1766.¹⁸⁹ Wheat and other grains required attention at planting and harvest but in between required less maintenance than tobacco. Blacks at Mount Clare, as at other plantations of wealthy gentrymen, thus acquired greater skill differentiation than required at middling or poor plantations. Areas around the mansion, in particular, took on new meaning as the Carrolls forced blacks into a subordinate status in order to maintain their own preferred lifestyle.

The 1767 East Wing

The east wing at Mount Clare expanded substantially in the late 1760s as the domestic epicenter where enslaved cooks learned about European American elites' cultures while practicing their own. A two-story, two-room brick kitchen was built by 1767.¹⁹⁰ Similar structures from other Southern plantations had one room for enslaved persons and one for the kitchen on the ground floor.¹⁹¹ Perhaps kitchen staff lived in one of the rooms or up above. A new passage into the house kept kitchen and serving staff from going out-of-doors to deliver food and retrieve dishes. It also put slavery

¹⁸⁹ CCB to William Anderson, 29 October 1766, Letterbook, vol. 2, p. 315, MS 208, MdHS.

¹⁹⁰ Trostel, *Mount Clare*, 21, 35, 49; George Logan and John L. Seidel, *Mount Clare's Kitchen: 1986 Archaeological Research at Carroll Park (18BC10K)* (Baltimore: Carroll Park Restoration Foundation, Inc., April 1995, on file, BC 105, MHT), Figure A-3.

¹⁹¹ Michael W. Robbins, *Maryland's Iron Industry During the Revolutionary War Era: A Report Prepared for the Maryland Bicentennial Commission* (Annapolis: The Commission, 1973), John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 50-62.

more out-of-sight. A washhouse also stood in the east wing.¹⁹² The Carrolls hired a female European servant from their London merchants to oversee “Cooking Pickling Preserving and the other Requisites for a House keeper”¹⁹³ and, presumably, slaves. Margaret supervised her and the kitchen operations in a common role for the plantation mistress. Her familiarity with the processes of cooking everyday and fancy dishes is shown step-by-step in her recipe book.¹⁹⁴ Blacks in the east wing learned about elites’ domestic culture while imposing their own, whether their enslavers knew or not.

Sometime after the brick kitchen was completed circa 1767, a clear, colorless quartz crystal about four inches across was buried at the doorway between the northern and southern rooms.¹⁹⁵ The crystal had been heavily reworked or reshaped. The burial, or cache, also contained one small sherd apiece of a Chinese export porcelain tea bowl, a plain buff-glazed refined stoneware tea bowl, and a press-molded colorless glass vessel, as well as wrought iron nails. The artifacts date to the timber structure that stood before the brick kitchen, but the burial took place within

¹⁹² Trostel, *Mount Clare*, 38.

¹⁹³ CCB to William and James Anderson, 21 July 1768, Letterbook, vol. 2, p. 346 and 356, MS 208, MdHS.

¹⁹⁴ Margaret Tilghman Carroll, Account Book, 1815-1821, MS 2751, MdHS.

¹⁹⁵ Archaeologists who excavated the kitchen in 1986 saw the crystal as an oddity and cataloged it as a rock. George Logan recognized its significance in 1995. He believed that the crystal was intentionally buried near a corner of the earlier, timber structure based on his knowledge of caches in Annapolis. Logan and Seidel, *Mount Clare’s Kitchen*, 25 and 34-35.

the 1767 kitchen.¹⁹⁶ Archaeologists did not take a soil sample, so possible inclusions of vegetal matter remain unknown. The inclusion of the pre-1767 artifacts with the crystal may not have been intentional. If not, perhaps the crystal was buried hurriedly when no whites were watching.¹⁹⁷ Another cache may have been buried at the south room hearth. The hearth consisted of layers of wine bottle glass and oyster shell. Blue and white ceramics were found among the layers, but their context was not recorded. The crystal suggests that broader spiritual practices took place within the black community at Mount Clare. Mark Leone and Gladys-Marie Fry estimate that eighty-three percent of charms that can be found archaeologically were worn on the body and seventeen percent put in the ground.¹⁹⁸ The crystal shows that enslaved persons

¹⁹⁶ Comparison of stratigraphy at the buried crystal with filled-in postholes from the timber structure preceding the 1767 kitchen established a chronology. Postholes mark a wall and either the northeast or northwest corner for a timber structure. They were filled when the structure was demolished. Large pieces of the two tea bowls and glassware found with the crystal, plus another Chinese export porcelain tea bowl in a different pattern, were pushed with fill into the holes. The construction of the new kitchen both sealed evidence of the earlier structure in place and dated the artifacts to before 1767. Flooring was removed, a hole made, and a few scattered artifacts from the earlier period were pushed into the burial. The stratigraphic sequence of the burial is opposite the postholes. The stoneware teacup appears in the top layers of the postholes, but it is found in the bottom of the hole containing the crystal. It suggests that soil associated with the top layer of the postholes became the bottom layer of the hole for the crystal.

¹⁹⁷ The archaeological collections for the terraces contain quartz. Some examples appear to be flakes from cores, while others show no evidence of human manipulation. Additional research might determine compositional similarities or differences between quartz samples found across the landscape.

¹⁹⁸ Mark P. Leone, Gladys-Marie Fry, Timothy Ruppel, "Spirit Management among Americans of African Descent, In *Race and the Archaeology of Identity*, edited by Charles E. Orser, Jr., pp. 143-157 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2001).

practiced protective charms at the mansion, but also that the Carrolls' Episcopalian affiliation did not displace blacks' spiritual beliefs.

Buried caches appear in quarters, work buildings, and living/working structures dating from the seventeenth well into the nineteenth century in the Chesapeake region. Caches have been found throughout the United States beyond the Chesapeake, such as at the Levi-Jordan plantation in east Brazoria, Texas and Andrew Jackson's nineteenth-century plantation, the Hermitage, in Tennessee.¹⁹⁹ They tend to be found in corners, thresholds, and hearths or arranged across a space in a cosmogram. Caches include common objects like buttons, ceramics, pins, wire, and nails appropriated from European American culture. Crystals are more unusual. Organic or degradable items, such as spices, fabric, or urine, are lost archaeologically. Such items had multivalent properties in that they meant one thing to Europeans in Americans but at least two to enslaved persons: their value to enslavers and their appropriated significance as spiritual symbols.

The caches, however, have been controversial. Some archaeologists interpreted them as gaming pieces, objects collected and buried by children or rodents, or as curios. They believed that the caches were accidental and meaningless, rather than intentional and purposeful. Doubters also felt that too little evidence remained at each site to explain an African spiritual connection.²⁰⁰ Scholars tend to

¹⁹⁹ A.E. Russell, "Material Culture and African-American Spirituality at the Hermitage," *Historical Archaeology* 31 (1997) (2):63-80; Carol McDavid, "Archaeologies That Hurt; Descendants That Matter: A Pragmatic Approach to Collaboration in the Public Interpretation of African-American Archaeology," *World Archaeology* 34, no 2 (2002) 303-14.

agree on four general points: first, the caches were created intentionally by blacks; second, they represent homeland traditions practiced in America; third, they consist of available materials appropriated from European American contexts and refashioned for a black spiritual purpose; and fourth, the practices respond to situations taking place in America, like slavery, that also have broad humanistic precedents, such as the need to be protected.²⁰¹ The preponderance of evidence today shows that spiritual traditions were perpetuated in black identities in America, and the appropriation of European American material culture marked the resilience of the traditions.

Comparison of the Mount Clare crystal with caches from Annapolis and African and West Indian traditions suggests its meaning to the person who buried it. The Annapolis-to-Baltimore connection is important because Charles took enslaved domestic laborers from his Annapolis house to Mount Clare. Caches dating to 1790-1820 were found in a ground story workspace in the east wing of Charles Carroll of Carrollton's house in Annapolis. They were buried between two entryways in the northeast corners.²⁰² Other caches in Annapolis were recovered from the Slayton House, Maynard House, and Brice House.²⁰³ Caches dating to the mid-nineteenth

²⁰⁰ Frank D. Roylance, *The Sun* [Baltimore, Md.] 19 November 1994: 1B-2B.

²⁰¹ Christopher Fennell, "Conjuring Boundaries: Inferring Past Identities from Religious Artifacts," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 4 (2000) no. 4: 281-313.

²⁰² George C. Logan, *Archaeology at Charles Carroll's House and Garden and of His African-American Slaves* (Historic Annapolis Foundation, N.d.), 2; Laura J. Galke, "Did the Gods of Africa Die? A Re-Examination of a Carroll House Crystal Assemblage." *North American Archaeologist* 2000 21(1): 19-33.

century have been recovered at the James Brice House in the east wing at a doorway between a kitchen and laundry.²⁰⁴ The assemblages are similar to African Bakongo Mnkisi (plural for nkisi). The Bakongo are from western-central Africa, or the Bight of Biafra, which today includes Cameroon, Gabon, Congo, Angola, and Zaire. Michael Gomez estimates that half of the African population in Maryland and Virginia originated in the Bight of Biafra, with people also coming from the Gold Coast, Senegambia, and other place.²⁰⁵

Caches in America demonstrate the use of mkisi by enslaved West Africans in America under the belief that good fortune and misfortune resulted from humans manipulating spirits. Crystals drew on the power of ancestors' spirits to wield control and influence. Burying crystals activated charms or protected them from unauthorized uses. The caches may also point to the Igbo of southeastern Nigeria on the basis of slave trade patterns from Africa to Virginia, ethnographic studies, and material culture analysis.²⁰⁶ Some Sierra Leone tribes place transparent objects above or below

²⁰³ Mark P. Leone and Gladys-Marie Fry, "Conjuring in the Big House Kitchen: An Interpretation of African American Belief Systems Based on the Uses of Archaeology and Folklore Sources," *Journal of American Folklore* 112 (445):372-403. 1999.

²⁰⁴ Matthew David Cochran, "Hoodoo's Fire: Interpreting Nineteenth Century African-American Material Culture at the Brice House, Annapolis, Maryland," *Maryland Archaeology* 35, no 1 (1999): 25-33; James Harmon and Jessica Neuwirth. *Archaeological Investigations at the James Brice House (18AP38): A National Historic Landmark Site*. Annapolis, Maryland. Report prepared for the Historic Annapolis Foundation, 2000.

²⁰⁵ Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks* (Chapel Hill: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 150.

²⁰⁶ Patricia M. Samford, *Subfloor Pits and the Archaeology of Slavery in Colonial Virginia* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007), 8-9.

entryways as a symbol of ancestral protection over those who walked through.²⁰⁷ Perhaps a cook at Mount Clare buried the crystal to activate its powers of protection over kitchen laborers against Margaret and her hired servants. Not all Africans in America practiced these traditions, and whites' reactions ranged between bemusement, fear, and dismissal. Gomez finds, as well, that Christianized blacks considered conjuration to be a hoax but accepted the validity of associated practices, such as dreams, visions and medicines.²⁰⁸ Evidence in the nineteenth century of the involvement of blacks from Mount Clare in Christian churches suggests that religious beliefs drew on multiple influences.

A bone bead was also recovered from the mansion kitchen, but its significance, if any, to blacks at Mount Clare remains unclear. Beads in Africa adorned the body and hair as jewelry, as well as ceremonial and everyday clothing. They conveyed social and symbolic meanings about wealth, marital status, and affiliation; and rites of passage, myths, and religious groups. Charms and amulets worn on the body included beads to protect and empower the wearer.²⁰⁹ Did the bead have the same significance for blacks at Mount Clare? Glass beads are often recovered from sites identified with enslaved blacks, as are beads made from bone, ivory, clay, and other materials. No glass beads appear in the Mount Clare artifact assemblage until the mid-nineteenth century. The material and construction of the

²⁰⁷ Logan, *Archaeology at Charles Carroll's House and Garden*.

²⁰⁸ Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 288.

²⁰⁹ Linda France Stine, Melanie A. Cabak, and Mark D. Groover, "Blue Beads as African-American Cultural Symbols," *Historical Archaeology* 30 (1996) 3: 53-54.

bone bead suggests that it was made in America from available materials. Why are no glass beads found at Mount Clare? Could the bone bead represent a generation removed from the trans-Atlantic trade or isolated from African American trade channels in the New World. Does it suggest the inability to participate as consumers in the American economy due to geographic location, cultural isolation, or from not being permitted to overwork or be hired out? Were black cooks after the 1760s practicing homeland traditions, or are no other beads in the archaeological record simply because none were lost? If the bone bead at the mansion kitchen does represent homeland culture in America, it suggests two things: first, that the origin or material of a bead was less important than the cultural practices that beads supported and second, that the role of beads was too significant to abandon.

The person who buried the crystal may have also witnessed the merging of blacks' and European Americans' foodways at Mount Clare. Maria Franklin argues that enslaved blacks asserted a collective racial and cultural identity by using available ingredients to reproduce traditional practices.²¹⁰ Michael Twitty suggests that, rather than view food as a way Africans were acculturated to America, Africans made foods the way they thought they should taste.²¹¹ The gentry's integration of African ingredients into their meals marked one merging of two cultures in

²¹⁰ Maria Franklin, "The Archaeological Dimensions of Soul Food: Interpreting Race, Culture, and Afro-Virginian Identity," In *Race and the Archaeology of Identity*, edited by Charles E. Orser, Jr., pp. 88-107 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2001), 89, 97-99.

²¹¹ Michael Twitty, *Fighting Old Nep: The Foodways of Enslaved Afro-Marylanders 1634-1864* (2006), 13 and 20.

America.²¹² Many Europeans who spent time in Barbados, Jamaica, and Antigua acquired a taste for the spicy, African-based food of the Caribbean. Black cooks learned to cook European American dishes that adopted African or Caribbean ingredients.²¹³ Charles began ordering mace, cinnamon, nutmeg, and cloves only after he and Margaret married.²¹⁴ One of Margaret's favorite recipes was a turtle of calf's head: a concoction of tripe, head, feet, tongue, and heart heavily spiced with mace, cayenne, pepper, and onions. Where Margaret acquired a taste for the dish is unknown. The recipe and its ingredients were popular in the eighteenth century and may reflect the influence of African-inspired cooking on her table. Millet and buckwheat found archaeologically in the kitchen may have been ground into flour and made into bread, or used as-is in dishes. Perhaps the absence of peanuts, okra, cowpeas (or black-eyed peas), and sesame seeds around the mansion kitchen suggests that the Carrolls were not open to African foods unless they controlled their introduction to the table.

Margaret's recipe book demonstrates the kinds of European and European American dishes that black cooks learned to make. Peaches from the orchard were made into peach cordial and currents into wine. Baked goods included muffin bread, lemon cheesecake using lemons from the greenhouse, puddings and waffles made with rice; cheesecakes and puddings made with almonds, butter, eggs, bread, and

²¹² Mary Tolford Wilson, "Peaceful Integration: The Owner's Adoption of His Slaves' Food," *The Journal of Negro History* 49 (1964), no. 2: 116.

²¹³ Twitty, *Fighting Old Nep*, 13 and 20.

²¹⁴ CCB to William Anderson, 2 September 1763, MHM 33, 378-380. The same four spices were ordered at least once every year in the years thereafter.

wheat flour; and macaroons.²¹⁵ Maryland, unlike the Carolinas and Georgia, did not depend on rice as a kitchen staple. Margaret's recipes reflected creolized French/American cooking with rice in desserts, rather than the appearance of African dishes on an American table.²¹⁶ Rice was fed to invalids, such as Abraham in 1809 at The Caves, and baked into treats like pudding and waffles. Rice and coconut are other African or Caribbean foods that mark the broad influence of trans-Atlantic slavery on American kitchens.

Copious amounts and varieties of food surrounded blacks at Mount Clare between the Carrolls' everyday meals and lavish dinners, fruit orchards, hothouse citrus, vegetable gardens, and foods stored in the press house, barns, and icehouse. The ornamental gardens and fields grew several different kinds of grass, as well as rye, scotch barley, and lucerne (alfalfa) for animals.²¹⁷ Orchards of plum, pear, peach, and cherry trees as well as grape vines were established.²¹⁸ The Carrolls obtained apple seeds or seedlings within the colony.²¹⁹ Perhaps blacks, like slaves at other

²¹⁵ Margaret Tilghman Carroll, 1742-1817, Account book, 1815-1821, MS 2751, MdHS.

²¹⁶ See Karen Hess, *The Carolina Rice Kitchen: The African Connection* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992) for discussion of the African influence and the ways rice was integrated into American recipes. Hess follows rice to access culture and history in order to show the ways that foodways amalgamated from a source material.

²¹⁷ CCB to William Anderson, 17 November 1765, 70-71 and CCB to William Anderson, 29 October 1766: 338-341 in MHM 36 (1941); CCB to William Anderson, 3 November 1766, MHM 36 (1941), 333-334.

²¹⁸ CCB to William Anderson, 27 July 1767, MHM 37 (1942): 65-68.

²¹⁹ Account Book (1767-1786), MCMH.

plantations, did not wait for permission to avail themselves of the orchard fruits, flours, and table leftovers. Frederick Douglass wrote that the fruits at Wye plantation were a constant temptation to the young and old alike. Colonel Edward Lloyd finally coated the fence around the garden with tar and ordered the chief gardener to whip anyone caught wearing it.²²⁰ Cooks, chambermaids, and waiters may have had more plentiful and nutritious meals than field workers.²²¹ Small children who stayed with their mothers at the kitchen might also have had improved health.²²² It is tempting to believe that the Carrolls' wealth and the size and diversity of the Mount Clare plantation sustained the enslaved population during tough economic times, and that a trickle-down effect meant that slaves always had enough food. Wilma A. Dunaway posits that blacks on large plantations fared better during times of economic hardship than their counterparts on middling or poor plantations due to the greater variety, availability, and nutrition of food. Dunaway's hypothesis is based on her finding that middling and poor planters in Western Maryland and Appalachia squeezed food rations for slaves during lean times.²²³ Although the economy fluctuated during this

²²⁰ Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave. Written by Himself* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1845), 15-16.

²²¹ Charles Ball, *Slavery in the United States: A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Charles Ball, a Black Man, Who Lived Forty Years in Maryland, South Carolina and Georgia, as a Slave Under Various Masters, and was One Year in the Navy with Commodore Barney, During the Late War* (New York: Published by John S. Taylor, 1837), 279; Theodore Weld, *American Slavery As It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses* (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1839), 31.

²²² George P. Rawick, *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1972), 57; Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass, Written by Himself* (Boston: De Wolfe & Fiske Co., 1892), 21.

period,²²⁴ the Carrolls did not seem to run into financial difficulties or deep debt.

Food rationing, however, may have buffered the Carrolls at the expense of the black community.

Blacks' labor in the mansion gardens was only part of their food-growing work. "Peoples gardens" – as a traveler to The Caves called them in 1809 – were common on Southern plantations. The people enslaved at Mount Clare probably had their own.²²⁵ Farming produce supplemented enslaver's rations. Part of the yield might be sold at market or to enslavers. Gardens also fulfilled emotional needs for independence and a sense of ownership, as Eugene Genovese argues based on slave testimonies and slaveholders' accounts.²²⁶ Blacks required both the time to tend to their own areas, and seeds or seedlings to plant. No record remains of which crops enslaved persons grew on the Carrolls' properties. Charles Ball, who lived on several Maryland plantations, remembered that common crops were pumpkins, potatoes, melons, onions, cabbages, and cucumbers.²²⁷ Perhaps blacks acquired seeds or cuttings from the Carrolls' kitchen garden. It contained beds of broccoli, asparagus,

²²³ Wilma Dunaway, *The African-American Family in Slavery and Emancipation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 102.

²²⁴ Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 87-89 and 128-130.

²²⁵ Douglas Carroll, *Families of Dr. Charles Carroll (1691-1755) and Cornet Thomas Dewey (160?-1648)* (Brooklandville, Md., Copy on file, Maryland Historical Society), 30.

²²⁶ Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972 [1974]), 535-540.

²²⁷ Ball, *Slavery in the United States*, 138-139, 142, 167-168; Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, 64-65.

celery, turnips, early white cabbage, purple or red cabbage, sorrel, parsley, borage (for cool tankards of wine or cider), cauliflower, six-week and split peas, and beets. Kale or collards, thyme, mustard, and other greens were also grown.²²⁸ Blacks also used wild plants to diversify their diets and avoid dependence on one particular crop, such as maize.²²⁹ Blacks' gardens may have had ornamental or artistic properties, as well.²³⁰ Thus, not only did blacks at Mount Clare labor to fill the Carrolls' table, but worked off hours to fill their own.

Slaveowners and overseers decreed food rations for the enslaved. Franklin has defined the foodways of slavery as a place-, time-, and resource-specific entity that responds to the common need to eat and the "conditions and constrictions" of poverty, rationing, and surveillance.²³¹ Weekly rations might be distributed at overseer's houses, smoke houses, or corn houses.²³² A weekly ration for a Southern

²²⁸ Charles Carroll the Barrister to William Anderson, 2 April 1765, MHM 34, 202; Cheryl Holt, *Mount Clare Kitchen Floral and Faunal Analysis*.

²²⁹ Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 141-142, 186-187. Morgan emphasizes, however, that slaves' gardens in the Lowcountry and Chesapeake were different. Lowcountry gardens, for example, tended to cultivate a wider range of plants, and a broader range of African varieties, than Chesapeake gardens.

²³⁰ African-American yards as investigated in the twentieth-century may be evidence for traditions. See Ywone C. Edwards, "'Trash' Revisited: A Comparative Approach to Historical Descriptions and Archaeological Analysis of Slave Houses and Yards," In *Keep Your Head to the Sky: Interpreting African American Home Ground*, edited by Grey Gundaker, 245-271 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2008).

²³¹ Maria Franklin, "The Archaeological Dimensions of Soul Food: Interpreting Race, Culture, and Afro-Virginian Identity," In *Race and the Archaeology of Identity*, edited by Charles E. Orser, Jr., pp. 88-107 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2001), 89, 97-99.

working slave typically included a peck of corn, three-to-five pounds of bacon, and a half-pint to a quart of molasses.²³³ Bread, peas, potatoes, and milk might replace or supplement part of the total.²³⁴ Meat constituted a treat or a reward. It was also offered at Christmastime.²³⁵ The quantity of food depended upon the distributor, but it was never sufficient to fuel hard labor and could not be relied upon from week-to-week. The recollections of blacks enslaved at other Southern plantations provide insight on the possible composition of rations at Mount Clare. Josiah Henson ate corn meal, salt herrings, a little buttermilk in summer, and vegetables raised in gardens.²³⁶ One of John Thompson's masters allowed each person a peck of corn, two dozen herrings, and about four pounds of meat. Slaves under eight years of age received nothing. Another master gave meat once per month. One overseer provided one meal per day, consisting of corn bread and two salted herring, while the master was away.²³⁷ Charles Ball received one salt herring per day and a peck of corn per week to grind with a hand mill. Meat was regularly available when the pigs were killed in

²³² Ball notes in his description of the layout of one southern plantation that the corn crib and potato house was located near the overseer's house. Ball, *Slavery in the United States*, 119-120, 139-140.

²³³ Theodore Weld, *American Slavery As It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses* (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1839), 32.

²³⁴ Frederick Law Olmstead, *A Journey into the Seaboard Slave States* (London: Mason Brothers, 1861), 693-694.

²³⁵ Dunaway, *The African-American Family in Slavery and Emancipation*, 104; Weld, *American Slavery as It Is*, 98.

²³⁶ quoted in Twitty, *Fighting Old Nep*, 21.

²³⁷ John Thompson, *Life of John Thompson* (Worcester: John Thompson, 1856), 17, 44, and 75.

December. After then, only bacon was provided unless it, too, was scarce. Fish supplemented his springtime rations.²³⁸ A nineteenth-century study by abolitionists showed that slave rations tended to be less in quantity than provided (at least, on paper) to soldiers and convicts.²³⁹

Blacks at Mount Clare faced similar circumstances. Charles Willson Peale's landscape painting shows what may be an overseer's house south east of the mansion. The placement of the overseer's house and smoke house close to the mansion suggests that safeguards were in place to prevent theft.²⁴⁰ A cornhouse sat away from the mansion in 1798, possibly near a mill. The "peoples gardens" at The Caves suggest that the Carrolls expected enslaved persons to provide in part for themselves. Hunting likely supplemented rations and garden produce. Gwynns Falls and the Patapsco River provided fish, while the land around them held animals to hunt or trap. Evidence of the area's bounty comes from Charles's purchase of gunflints and fishing gear from London. The equipment may have been for his use, hunting parties, or enslaved persons.²⁴¹ Pigs were raised for bacon and pork. Fowl, such as chickens or turkeys, were probably also grown. The extent of grain farming at Mount Clare suggests that oats, rye, and wheat in addition to corn played an important dietary role. Handmills were included in Margaret's estate inventory, but blacks may also have

²³⁸ Ball, *Slavery in the United States*, 26.

²³⁹ Weld, *American Slavery as It Is*, 31.

²⁴⁰ The overseer's house is shown in Peale's 1775 painting. The smoke house and cornhouse are listed on the 1798 assessment.

²⁴¹ Charles Carroll the Barrister to William and James Anderson, MHM 37 (1942): 65-68.

received flours or ground grain from the Carrolls' mills.²⁴² The lean realities of plantation rations meant carbohydrate-heavy diets lacking in protein, minerals, and vitamins, particularly for those working away from the mansion and its kitchen and gardens.

Today, the east wing built in 1908 and outlines of the 1767 kitchen present places to integrate enslaved cooks and their children into the interpretation of the kitchen. The 1908 wing is furnished in an eighteenth-century style with ceramic tableware, cooking implements, spinning wheel, and wooden furniture. Docents should talk about the buried crystal and its context in colonial history or the preparation of foods and spices with African and Barbadian precedents in Margaret's recipe repertoire. Such topics highlight the everyday interactions at Mount Clare and emphasize that the Carrolls depended on enslaved blacks to maintain their plantation and status. They also emphasize the meeting of cultural knowledge from African and Barbadian homelands with European ones.

The 1767 West Wing

²⁴² My conclusion is found thus: Margaret calculated that the total of corn, rye, wheat, and oats would support the Caves for the period between May 9 and August 1, 1809. A total of 110.5 bushels of corn was at the farm, mill, or owed to the Carrolls. Margaret calculated that 45 bushels of corn would be left on August 1, which brings the total down to 65.5 bushels, or about 262.4 pecks. Slaves and enslavers at other plantations reported a peck of corn per working hand, per week as a standard ration. Presuming that in 1809 there were roughly the same number of working hands at The Caves as in 1812 as per Nicholas Carroll's inventory (27 people over age 8), who would all work the 12 weeks between May and August 1, equals a need for about 324 pecks. Inclusion of the mill in Margaret's discussion suggests that at least part of the corn was intended for human consumption. The substantial gap in calculation between available and needed corn suggests that other grains supplemented the enslaver-supplied corn.

Renovations in the late 1760s included the construction of a west wing off the mansion. Whereas the east wing focused on domestic tasks, the west wing underscored the Carrolls' business and political activity and wealth. It included an office for Charles next to the main house, a shed, and a greenhouse or orangerie. A pinery – a specialized hothouse for pineapples – was under development in 1770.

The west wing supported garden activities to the west of the mansion. Gardening at Mount Clare intensified in the spring and summer beginning about 1765. A nineteenth-century writer calculated the western garden alone as three hundred feet square.²⁴³ Blacks worked in the ornamental gardens to the south of the mansion. Charles Willson Peale's painting of Mount Clare circa 1775 illustrates the extensiveness of the gardens. They also mowed the bowling green and may have stood by while the Carrolls and their guests played games. Like the forecourt, the bowling green was kept clear of debris and showed little sign of being a workspace.²⁴⁴ Over the course of each year, blacks planted, weeded rows, pruned, repotted plants, transplanted, divided, and weatherized the plants and trees. Margaret oversaw the gardens surrounding the mansion as seen in her orders through Charles to

²⁴³ William Henry Darlington (Brandywine Guards, Co. A, 1st Pa. Reserves). 24 July 1861 [West Chester Village Record: 7-30-1861]. Pennsylvania Reserve Volunteer Corps. Online. Accessed 14 February 2008.

²⁴⁴ J. Gary Norman, "An Example of Inference in Historical Archaeology: Reviewing the Options at Mount Clare," (Presented at the 53rd Annual Meeting of the Eastern States Archaeological Federation, 2 November 1986) discusses the dimensions of the bowling green. Enslaved Africans maintained the bowling green and attended to players. Charles ordered bowls and tacks in 1760; perhaps the scythes or sickles cut the bowling green grass. The bowling green measured about 43 feet wide by 106 feet long and extended across the south side of Mount Clare. Charles Carroll the Barrister to William Anderson, -- September 1760, MHM 32: 367-368 and continued in MHM 33: 187-188.

England for seeds and cuttings. She received assistance from a series of hired or indentured Europeans between 1767 and 1783. Former slave Charles Ball noted that the plantation gardener received help from up to a dozen enslaved men and boys in the summer.²⁴⁵ At Mount Clare, the enslaved gardeners received no salary, but a European gardener hired in 1774 made L25 per year.²⁴⁶ Despite similar expertise, the payment of salary to whites quantified their racial and status differences from enslaved blacks.

Study of Chesapeake gardens has focused on the symbolic roles of ornamental gardens in elites' location in the social order. Visitors to the Mount Clare grounds placed their admiration with the Carrolls, who afforded the gardens, rather than those who actually created and tended them.²⁴⁷ Their statements reflected a value of elites to erase laborers from the production of status. Enslaved blacks, however, were integral to the maintenance of gardens that spoke to both their own and their enslavers' status. Elizabeth Kryder-Reid writes that gardens were more than displays of wealth or mastery over nature, but "inherently political statements because of an integral link between power and nature in the Lockean theory of society, a theory that

²⁴⁵ Charles Ball, *Fifty Years in Chains, or, The Life of an American Slave* (New York: H. Dayton; Indianapolis, Ind.: Asher & Co., 1859), 138-139

²⁴⁶ Entry for 25 July 1774, *Account Book (1767-1786)*, MCMH. Conversions to 2008 dollars: L25 = \$3,367. Nye, *Pounds to Dollars*.

²⁴⁷ See, for example, Mary Ambler, "Diary of M. Ambler, 1770," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 45 (1937); Barbara Wells Sarudy, *Gardens and Gardening in the Chesapeake* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1998), 49; George Washington to Margaret Carroll, 16 September 1789, Image 39; George Washington to Margaret Carroll, 22 November 1789, Image 63; and George Washington to Margaret Carroll, 14 October 1789, Image 53, Letterbook 17, Series 2, George Washington Papers 1741-1799, Library of Congress.

was accepted as a basic principle of Enlightenment rationalism in the colonies.”²⁴⁸

Charles Carroll of Carrollton’s garden removed evidence of the production of the garden in order to further a myth of his identity. Evidence of the slaves and workmen who created the garden were erased so that only Carroll would remain on the landscape as the provider of a bounty with no origin.²⁴⁹ William Paca’s rationalization of nature to create a garden naturalized his role in the existing social order. Mark Leone has argued that elites used ostentatious gardens to reinforce their claims on leadership and right to govern when challenged in the years leading to the American Revolution.²⁵⁰ William Beiswanger has shown that Thomas Jefferson used his gardens as an outlet for imagination.²⁵¹ The danger in focusing on whites’ motivations, however, is that it removes enslaved persons’ agency: the possibility that they imprinted gardens with their own mastery, pride, responsibility, or decision-

²⁴⁸ Kryder-Reid, “Landscape as Myth,” 136.

²⁴⁹ Kryder-Reid, “Landscape as Myth,” 140.

²⁵⁰ Mark P. Leone, “Rule by Ostentation: The Relationship Between Space and Sight in Eighteenth-Century Landscape Architecture in the Chesapeake Region of Maryland,” In *Method and Theory for Activity Area Research: An Ethnoarchaeological Approach*, edited by Susan Kent, pp. 604-633 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987) and “Interpreting Ideology in Historical Archaeology: Using the Rules of Perspective in the William Paca Garden in Annapolis, Maryland,” In *Ideology, Power, and Prehistory*, edited by Daniel Miller and Christopher Tilley, pp. 25-35 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

²⁵¹ William L. Beiswanger, “The Temple in the Garden: Thomas Jefferson’s Vision of the Monticello Landscape,” In *British and American Gardens in the Eighteenth-Century*, edited by Robert P. Maccubbin and Peter Martin, pp. 170-202 (Williamsburg: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, 1983).

making. The gardens at Mount Clare did prove the Carrolls' status, but they were still as much black spaces as they were white.²⁵²

Orangeries held symbolic value for the gentry as a display of control over nature and of cultural mastery.²⁵³ They provided an outlet for elites to explore science and invention and expand their worldview. But, moreover, they demonstrated the ability of gentry to *afford* such control as well as the number of laborers necessary to design, implement, and manage them. Anne Yentsch explains that elites developed gardens and associated structures to demonstrate that they could do things that few others could. Orangeries became increasingly grand, glass-filled structures that fell into the gentry's niche market. The Calverts built a 10-by-10-foot orangerie in Annapolis circa 1730; it was built over in the 1770s.²⁵⁴ Margaret's relatives, the Lloyds, built an immense glass-walled orangerie at Wye House on Wye Island near Easton in Talbot County in the early 1770s amid upgrades to the gardens. It was completely rebuilt between 1784-86.²⁵⁵ Enslaved blacks lived in quarters on the north

²⁵² An object, possibly a bead, recovered from the terraces may have belonged to an enslaved black. It was a fired, red clay, octagonally-shaped bead with burnished sides. The bead requires additional investigation in other collections to call it a bead.

²⁵³ For an analysis of the orangerie at Mount Clare see Dennis J. Pogue, Esther C. White, and Christy E. Leeson, *Archaeological Investigations at the Mount Clare Orangerie, (18 BC 10B)* (Baltimore City, Maryland: Prepared for the Carroll Park Foundation, Inc., 2000). Pogue et. al focus on archaeological findings and provide background history on the Carrolls, but do not address the relationships to blacks.

²⁵⁴ Anne Elizabeth Yentsch, *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 113-130.

²⁵⁵ John E. Blair, Matthew D. Cochran, and Stephanie N. Duensing. *Draft: Phase II Archaeological Testing on Wye Greenhouse (18TA314), Talbot County, Maryland,*

side of the Wye green house from the 1790s until the 1820s or 1830s. Assemblage of ceramics, faunal remains, personal items associated with clothing present are archaeologically similar to finds at the Long Green slave quarter.²⁵⁶ Information does not remain on if or how frequently Margaret visited Wye. Margaret's own orangerie influenced George Washington: he sought her advice in preparation to construct one at Mount Vernon and later accepted fruit trees from her.²⁵⁷ Enslaved persons may have tended the firebox to heat the orangerie at Mount Clare during cooler months, but where they lived or slept inside the structure is unknown. Washington, however, attached a slave quarter to his orangerie. Perhaps his refinement of Margaret's orangerie reflects his criticism of her operation. It might also indicate that the shed in-between the office and the orangerie at Mount Clare's west wing housed caretakers of the orangerie and its plants.

Studies of plantation gardens and orangeries tend to focus on the plantation mistress and her psychology rather than the role of slavery. Carmen Weber, for example, argues that Margaret's orangerie was a place for her to control nature and, by extension, her own life.²⁵⁸ Susan Buonocore argues that gardening served a therapeutic function for Rosalie Stier Calvert, mistress of Riversdale Mansion in

Archaeology in Annapolis, report on file at the University of Maryland, College Park. 2008, p. 48-49, 137, 150. Used with permission.

²⁵⁶ Blair, et. al, *Draft: Phase II Archaeological Testing*, 157.

²⁵⁷ Trostel, *Mount Clare*, 78-79.

²⁵⁸ Carmen A. Weber, "The Greenhouse Effect: Gender-Related Traditions in Eighteenth-Century Gardening," In *Landscape Archaeology: Reading and Interpreting the American Historical Landscape*, eds. Rebecca Yamin and Karen Bescherer Methany, 32-51 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996).

modern Riversdale, Maryland, who gardened to escape depression, anxiety, and physical ailments. Enslaved persons and a hired gardener assisted with heavy labor in her garden.²⁵⁹ Charles mentioned his wife's favor for gardening, but no information has been recovered about the effects of managing slaves in the garden and orangerie on Margaret.

Flowerpot sherds along the east side and the northwest corner of the orangerie and at the garden terraces and orchard speak to enslaved black gardeners who moved the pots and tended the plants within them. Similar pots date to the eighteenth century at Monticello.²⁶⁰ Potters coil-built and wheel-turned the flowerpots from red or buff clays. It is more likely that the Carrolls purchased the flowerpots from local potters than a pottery manned by enslaved blacks existed on-site. The suitability of clay deposits at Mount Clare to bricks suggests that vessels were not made on-site. Clay vessels require different kilns, composition of clays, and skills than bricks.²⁶¹ The

²⁵⁹ Susan C. Buonocore, "*Within Her Garden Wall*": *The Meaning of Gardening for the Republican Woman, Rosalie Stier Calvert and the Gardens of Riversdale (1803-1821)*. Volumes in *Historical Archaeology* 35, edited by Stanley South (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1996), i-ii, 109.

²⁶⁰ The gardening pots were coil-built, thick-walled, red- or buff-colored earthenware clay vessels with a rolled rim and smooth body. They might also have a double roll or bump beneath the rim. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, ceramic pots made on engine-turned lathes became popular. They featured shallow, thin, parallel lines on the body near the rim made by holding a comb to the clay as the wheel turned. Other pots had a inverted bead design made by pressing a roulette wheel over one or both of the rolls at the rim. (James Goodwin, "Flowerpots of Mount Vernon's Upper Garden 44FX762/43," Mount Vernon Archaeology Department, September 2005).

²⁶¹ John Kille, personal communication, 2009.

flowerpots at Mount Clare provide a way for contemporary interpreters to discuss what constitutes elite white or enslaved black material culture.

Even though enslaved blacks may not have manned a pottery at Mount Clare, the flowerpots may constitute a ceramic marker of black life at elites' plantations, just as colonoware does. Colonoware is a ceramic type commonly associated with blacks at Southern plantations.²⁶² No African American colonoware has been recovered in Maryland.²⁶³ Within the context of places such as Mount Clare, flowerpots may also be a marker of black enslavement when found in relationship to factors such as the enslavers' elite status and ornamental gardens on plantations. Flowerpot sherds from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries exist copiously in the Mount Clare archaeological assemblage, but colonoware is not represented at all. Why is there no colonoware in the assemblage? Perhaps blacks at Mount Clare did not carry such

²⁶² Leland Ferguson's studies of colonoware typify it as an unglazed, low-fired, thick walled, hand built, red earthenware type. Colonoware vessels are globular and may have thick handles, foot rings, or foot stands. Some vessels show evidence of makers marks or cosmographic symbols, such as an X etched into the base. Leland Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground* (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), xxxv, 27-28, 44-46. Colonoware is a ceramic associated with Native American and African American sites dating from the seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. It was first archaeologically identified in the Chesapeake region and then the southeastern coast, but examples are also found in the Caribbean and throughout America. Colonoware has been at the center of debates about the influence of Africans and Indians on each other; who produced the vessels, and where; the continuance of African craft and food traditions in slavery; and the value of ceramic typologies in archaeologies of ethnicity (Singleton and Bograd, "Looking for the Colono in Colonoware," 4-6, 8-9).

²⁶³ Pieces of Native American colonoware, however, have been identified (Rebecca Morehouse, personal communication, 2009). Note, however, that colonoware identification is subject to interpretation by the artifact cataloger. Artifacts within the Mount Clare collection have been cataloged as colonoware. Based on my assessment, however, they are not. Some are glazed, while others are clearly flowerpots when compared with other artifacts in the collection.

cultural knowledge with them, or were disabled from ceramics by a lack of appropriate clay and equipment. Or perhaps it existed in the slave quarter, but the Carrolls did not welcome or require cooking wares other than those they purchased for their house. Where did the flowerpots come from? How do they relate to the interactions between all gardeners at Mount Clare? If enslaved persons built flowerpots at elites' plantation gardens and orangeries, they may demonstrate a meeting point of blacks' gardening knowledge with elite whites' cultural expressions.

An unmodified cowrie shell was archaeologically recovered from the orangerie area. Unfortunately, it comes from a very disturbed context. The shell, however, can be interpreted within a global context as a single object that represents the mechanisms that brought blacks to America. Cowries figured in economics and trade as currency during the African slave trade and ballast in ships moving between Africa, the Caribbean, and America. Africans in Africa and America used cowrie shells ceremonially in weddings and buried them in caches. Cowrie shells appear archaeologically at slave quarters, such as in the late eighteenth century at Mulberry Row at Monticello as protective charms. Games also used cowrie shells.²⁶⁴ Although the precise meaning of the cowrie shell cannot be determined, it holds symbolic

²⁶⁴ Jan S. Hogendorn, *The Shell Money of the Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 1-4. The shell may also been part of a natural history collection at Mount Clare. Calcified bones and fossils were recovered from the office archaeological sites. African Americans were not the only ones on plantations to inscribe cowrie shells with cultural significance. Bernard Herman notes that elites collected exotic items, such as cowrie shells, as social capital in their presentations of self (Bernard Herman, *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City* (North Carolina Press, 2005)).

significance as an interpretive object for the global significance of the slave trade as it came to Mount Clare.

Slavery and gardens were co-dependent signals of the Carrolls' view of their role in Chesapeake society. The relative disarray of the gardens in the mid-nineteenth century reflected a shift in priorities for the significance of Mount Clare and slavery in managing the family's status. Artifactual debris accumulated everywhere on the landscape beginning in the 1830s, when the Carrolls' heirs abandoned the mansion to renters who did not enslave blacks. The debris suggests that the connection between status maintenance, gardening, and slavery was broken. Nails, buttons, and minie balls evidence encampments of Civil War soldiers at Camp Carroll. Ceramics, alcohol bottles, pig bones, and bullet casings indicate recreational activity by the Baltimore Scheutzen Association until about 1890. Blacks' presence during the Carrolls' tenure is marked in the execution of the landscape design: in the sculpted terraces, planting holes, and lawn maintenance. It reflects adjustment, but not necessarily acceptance, to European Americans' dictation of appropriate uses for spaces, labor regimen, and knowledge of ornamental garden practices.

Cloth and Clothing

Cloth industry and the wearing of clothes were two additional ways that enslaved blacks adjusted to status and race in America. England placed severe restrictions on the manufacture of hats, cloth, and shoes in America during the colonial period. Both Dr. Carroll and Charles reluctantly purchased their "peoples Cloths in the Country"

when shipments failed to arrive ahead of winter.²⁶⁵ Charles placed one order per year in the 1760s to London that included cloth, sewing notions, accessories, and other supplies for enslaved blacks. Slaveholders preferred to purchase cloth from abroad because it was less expensive than in the country, then rationed it. During the Revolution, making cloth became fashionable on plantations as a form of independence from Britain.²⁶⁶ Limitations by England on colonial cloth and hat production before the war placed blacks at a prescient disadvantage when the war began. Blacks could adapt to cloth shortages in the 1770s by intensifying their practice of skills acquired well before then. The black horseman with Charles in Charles Willson Peale's 1775 painting wears a white shirt and vest. Eddenborough and Jack Lynch both wore clothing made from country-made cloth when they escaped in 1777 and 1780.²⁶⁷ Their garb may suggest that a clothmaking industry had developed on the Carrolls' plantations that replaced or supplemented clothing purchased from abroad.

Blacks acquired and mastered spinning and weaving as a result of the development of Mount Clare. Slaveholders rationed blacks' attire or used it to reward and encourage good behavior, to celebrate events, and as uniforms for house wear.

²⁶⁵ Dr. Charles Carroll to Samuel Hyde, 9 September 1734, MHM 24: 63.

²⁶⁶ Shane White and Graham White. "Slave Clothing and African-American Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." *Past and Present* 148: 149-186, 166; Gloria Seaman Allen, *Threads of Bondage: Chesapeake Slave Women and Plantation Cloth Production, 1750-1850* (Thesis (Ph. D.) George Washington University, 2000), 143-144, 154-55, 167-170.

²⁶⁷ Runaway Advertisement, *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Press date: 19 August 1777, Ad Date: 15 August 1777; Runaway Advertisement, *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Press date: 11 July 1780, Ad date: 10 July 1780.

Enslaved blacks might also receive hand-me-downs.²⁶⁸ Charles's orders tended to include a piece of grey fearnought for waistcoats and coats; two pieces of blue half thick for waistcoats, jackets, or petticoats; a piece of matchcoat or striped duffel for blankets or heavy coats; two dozen blue and white check handkerchiefs or bandanas; various types of linen; several pieces of white or brown oznabrigg; and one dozen each of men's best felt hats, ordinary hats, and double worsted hats.²⁶⁹ Oznabrigg was typically used for field hands' clothing, while fearnought and other fabrics uniformed butlers and liverymen. In contrast, Charles special ordered outfits for himself and Margaret made in Europe from fine materials. He may have purchased needles, thread, flat brass buttons, hats, bandanas, and pins as gifts as well as for everyday use. Charles's father's associates James Carroll and Charles Carroll of Carrollton gave similar items to the people they enslaved to reward good behavior.²⁷⁰ Unlike their records, nothing in Charles's records specifies who received the items, when, or why. No information remains on which plantation received each part of the order to understand if preferential treatment was extended to any group. Blacks filled in the gaps left by their enslavers' rations by fashioning straw hats, dresses and skirts, aprons, women's cloth hats, infant slings, children's clothes, and other items.

Blacks became better able to clothe themselves as they made Mount Clare more self-sustaining in the mid-1760s. Colonial cloth production catered to "down

²⁶⁸ Allen, *Threads of Bondage*, 96-97.

²⁶⁹ Invoice, 6 August 1767, Letterbook, vol. 2, p. 534, MS 208, MdHS; CCB to William Anderson, Summer 1768, transcribed in Trostel, *Mount Clare*, 43-46.

²⁷⁰ Charles M. Flanagan, *The Sweets of Independence: A Reading of the "James Carroll Daybook, 1714-21,"* (Thesis, Ph.D, University of Maryland: 2005), 50.

market” demand, meaning that it supplied slaves and servants whose clothing was of lower quality than planters.²⁷¹ Flax crops and sheep at Mount Clare and The Caves yielded linen and wool beginning in the mid-1760s. Wool was used for winter clothes.²⁷² Four pairs of wool cards, plus stock locks and padlocks for sheep pens to secure the animals, were ordered in 1764. Sheep and wool operations expanded two years later after Charles ordered twelve more pairs of wool cards plus six sheep shears and additional padlocks. The wool cards were probably distributed across the Baltimore County plantations.²⁷³ In 1768, Charles ordered an indentured European servant from merchants in London to tan and curry leather: “Moderately well it will do for me as I shall only want him to Dress my Leather for Negro ware [...]”²⁷⁴ The English servant and possibly others may have trained enslaved blacks in leatherwork. By 1817, an enslaved black man was identified as a shoemaker according to Margaret’s estate inventory.

Enslaved blacks learned European-American elites’ logic concerning clothing. Uniforms of the butler, maid, and personal valet reflected the wealth of the person served, rather than the slave. They might also receive hand-me-downs from

²⁷¹ White and Graham, “Slave Clothing and African-American Culture,” 166; Allen, *Threads of Bondage*, 143-144, 154-55, 167-170.

²⁷² Ball, *Slavery in the United States*, 60.

²⁷³ CCB to William Anderson, 6 October 1764, MHM 34 (1939): 187; CCB to William Anderson, 29 October 1766, MHM 36 (1941): 338-341.

²⁷⁴ CCB to Sedgley Hilhouse and Randolph, 28 January 1768, MHM 38: 182. See Account Book (1767-1786) at the MCMH for transactions of hides sent for tanning and payments for common and fancy shoes.

mistresses.²⁷⁵ Frederick Douglass observed that blacks who worked in the house “constituted a sort of black aristocracy” in their health, dress, and manner.²⁷⁶ Blacks who worked inside Mount Clare or appeared alongside the Carrolls in public received uniforms of better quality and more colorful cloth than those who worked other places across Georgia. Livery uniforms were made of ticking or coarse fustian (both sturdy cotton or cotton/linen fabrics) lined in scarlet shalloon (a type of twill), with scarlet twist trim. Livery and butler coats might have come from “colored kersey with trimmings.”²⁷⁷ Charles’s order for six pairs of men’s strong thread stockings, three pairs of boys’ thread stockings, and one dozen pairs of women’s blue yarn hose may have clad butlers, housekeepers, liverymen, cooks, and jockeys.²⁷⁸ Archaeology at Carroll Park recovered the flat brass buttons ordered from London only in the area immediately surrounding the mansion.²⁷⁹ They may suggest that blacks working as

²⁷⁵ Linda Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America* (Williamsburg and New Haven: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and Yale University Press, 2002), 132; White and White, “Slave Clothing and African-American Culture”; Jack Schwartz, “Men’s Clothing and the Negro.” *Phylon* 24(3): 221-231; Allen, *Threads of Bondage*, 86-89.

²⁷⁶ Douglass, *Life and Times*, 67.

²⁷⁷ CCB to William Anderson, [--] September 1760, MHM 32: 367-368 and continued in MHM 33: 187-188; CCB to William Anderson, 2 September 1763, MHM 33, 378-380; CCB to William Anderson, 29 October 1766, MHM 36 (1941): 338-341.

²⁷⁸ Invoice, 6 August 1767, Letterbook, vol. 2, p. 534, MS 208, MdHS; CCB to William Anderson, Summer 1768, transcribed in Trostel, *Mount Clare*, 43-46.

²⁷⁹ A shovel test pit survey throughout the historic easement area recovered no flat brass buttons.

liverymen or butlers wore more formal clothes than gardeners, but also that they only wore these costumes in the mansion vicinity.

Blacks also maintained the Carrolls' genteel image of social superiority through laundering clothes. Women executed and oversaw washing of linens and underclothes, a laborious and never-ending sequence of soaking, scrubbing, bucking (a bleaching process using lye from ashes), stain removal, beating, drying, and ironing. Outer clothes, such as gowns, were spot-cleaned or professionally laundered on a more infrequent basis.²⁸⁰ Washing, sewing, buttonmaking, and clothing repair may have taken place between the orangerie and the office until the west wing was demolished in 1870. Although a wash house was in the east wing, the water pump stood at the west wing near archaeological concentrations of buttons, pins, and sewing notions in between the orangerie and a shed that may have housed its caretakers. The buttons range from center-hole bone discs, to four- or five-hole bone buttons, to flat metal, to glass and porcelain. Launderers may also have made buttons as shown by holes punched in an oyster shell and a rib bone found in the orangerie vicinity.

Blacks dyed cloth in the Mount Clare kitchen in array of colors, most notably blue. Dyers woad and fig blue dye was used at Mount Clare to color cloth beginning in the mid-to-late 1760s into the nineteenth century.²⁸¹ Gloria Allen has found that blue was a common color worn by enslaved persons starting in the mid-seventeenth

²⁸⁰ Donahue, *Eighteenth Century Chesapeake Clothing*, 51-54.

²⁸¹ George Logan and John L. Seidel. *Mount Clare's Kitchen: 1986 Archaeological Research at Carroll Park (18BC10K)* (Baltimore: Carroll Park Restoration Foundation, Inc. April 1995), 21.

century on Chesapeake plantations to differentiate the status of servants and slaves. Home production of woad and indigo supported the color scheme. People who worked in the fields were more likely to wear colorless or undyed clothing. Allen believes that the color blue evoked two meanings. In African heritage, blue referred to the color of the sky or nobility. In the colony, however, it evoked bondage.²⁸² Charles's orders to London underscore Allen's interpretation. He typically ordered clothing colored blue such as stockings, coat cloth, and bandanas. Dyers in the Mount Clare kitchen also used pokeberry and sorrel to make red or purple dye as well as yarrow, St. Johnswort, pear, and lamb's quarters for yellow.²⁸³ Who received these clothes and cloth, and for what purpose, remains unknown.

Blacks made Mount Clare into the showpiece plantation that emphasized the Carrolls' status in colonial America. Today, the obfuscation of blacks in the interpretation of Mount Clare perpetuates elite values of the past into the present. The reality, however, is that blacks left impacts throughout the mansion and the landscape immediately surrounding it. Those impacts are important to talk about today because they are integral to the story of Mount Clare. Even though the Carrolls dictated the relationship of status to race, they relied on enslaved blacks to maintain their elite image by acquiring knowledge and skills in household and landscape maintenance. The Carrolls may have restricted food, clothing, and the movements of slaves, but blacks pushed back through the practice of homeland traditions and crimes against property. As a result, the transformation of Georgia into Mount Clare is as much

²⁸² Allen, *Threads of Bondage*, 115-116, 118.

²⁸³ Holt, *Mount Clare Kitchen Floral and Faunal Analysis*, Table 3.

about the development of enslaved blacks' cultural knowledge at the intersection of race and status as it is about the Carrolls' world as elites.

Chapter 4: Slavery and Revolution

During the Revolutionary era, the thirteen colonies overthrew the power of Great Britain to become a self-governing republic. Armed conflict began in 1775 and ended in 1781, with the Declaration of Independence in 1776 stating the sovereignty of the new nation that Great Britain recognized in 1783. American life became characterized by broad intellectual and social shifts that spoke to debates about the traditional social hierarchy. One debate concerned the role of black enslavement in the new republic. Individual liberty and chattel slavery constituted a paradox during the Revolutionary era debate about the future of the Maryland colony. Men such as Charles Carroll the Barrister used slavery rhetoric to characterize their status under English rule while keeping slaves to support their own status in the colony. In the following chapter, I argue that race and status during the Revolutionary era played out at Mount Clare in a growing awareness of human rights among blacks. Furthermore, I confront the memory of Charles Carroll the Barrister as a patriot of the American Revolution in terms of his slaveholding, a topic that is not addressed in the current interpretation of Mount Clare. It addresses the significance of slaveholding to his status in the government during an uptick in the number of recorded escapes from his Baltimore County plantations. Enslaved blacks and elite whites experienced the Revolutionary era in ways that reflected the differences among their lives.

Slavery qualified European American colonists' rhetoric on liberty and equality. Black slavery expanded in Maryland until the mid-eighteenth century, when the number of owners and slaves continued to increase but the percentage of persons owning slaves dipped. Slaves constituted a smaller proportion of a wealthy planter's

personal property than persons who held smaller estates; the value of slaves increased substantially during the eighteenth century because slaves became harder to obtain as a result of war and monopoly control, while laws codified the value of slaves.²⁸⁴ Blacks, however, saw freedom as their right and sought to eliminate slavery in their own lives and as an institution.

The enslavement of blacks constituted one marker of status that signaled, according to European elites, their ability and right to lead the colony during the Revolutionary era. In addition to slaves and land as property, the gardens, orangerie, multiple and grand houses, foodways, clothing, and decorative artifacts among which the Carrolls lived signaled their status. In October 1768, Lord Baltimore offered positions on His Lordship's Council to Charles and to Margaret's father Matthew Tilghman in an effort to gain their loyalty to the colonial government. Both men refused, but the offer suggests that they, like other conservatives, were torn between competing personal and business interests.²⁸⁵ The Carrolls' ongoing consumption practices and business relationships with Britain further betrayed their position between competing personal and political allegiances. In May 1769, Charles and others signed a letter announcing the formation of a non-importation association that advocated colonial self-taxation.²⁸⁶ He, however, continued to import wine, cheese, fine clothing, and jewelry from Britain through the American merchants Wallace,

²⁸⁴ Sharrer, *Slaveholding in Maryland*.

²⁸⁵ Sharpe to Lord Baltimore, 31 October and 28 November 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 550-51, 557.

²⁸⁶ Scott McDermott, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton: Faithful Revolutionary* (New York: Scepter Publishers, 2002), 94.

Davidson, and Johnson in Annapolis and Joshua Johnson in England until the war began.²⁸⁷

Charles and Margaret traveled to London in the summer of 1771. The purpose of their visit was to see friends and family – and to shop.²⁸⁸ Charles placed orders with Joshua Johnson, an American merchant in London and the “Johnson” of the Wallace, Davidson, and Johnson mercantile company. With Charles and Margaret were two enslaved men named Adam and Frank, who escaped shortly before the Carrolls left for Maryland in May 1772.²⁸⁹ Adam and Frank fell on hard times within a few months. Adam began to call on Johnson, who agreed to facilitate Adam’s return to Maryland. Adam and Frank likely knew Johnson’s name, where to find him, and

²⁸⁷ Maryland State Papers (Scharf Collection) Charles Wallace to Charles Carroll (Barrister), 29 November 1770, MSA S1005-134-17528 MdHR 19,999-120-024. Maryland State Papers (Scharf Collection) John Morton Jordan to Charles Carroll (Barrister), 10 February 1771, MSA S1005-134-17506 MdHR 19,999-120-003. Maryland State Papers (Scharf Collection) Charles Wallace to Charles Carroll (Barrister), 24 November 1771, MSA S1005-134-17505 MdHR 19,999-120-002. The account included the order on 26 September 1769 for four bunches of garnets, one set silk mitts, and one backgammon table; on 30 September, four sets of gauze thread stockings; on 19 October, six tablecloths and one necklace; on 23 October, three dozen porter; on 8 November, two sets Norway doe gloves; on 22 November, two hair pins and one Marquisett; on 11 December, one black satin bonnet; on 12 December, one cap 39/6 and ditto 17; on 1770 March 10, four fig blue and one hank silk, six dozen shirt buttons. The total due was L22.0.1. Also: Chancery Court (Chancery Papers, Exhibits) Wallace, Davidson & Johnson, Order Book 21 November 1773-16 November 1775, April 1774, no page, MdHR 1520, MSA S528-28.

²⁸⁸ Joshua Johnson to the firm, 4 June 1771, p. 1. “Joshua Johnson's Letterbook: 1771”, Joshua Johnson's Letterbook 1771-1774: Letters from a merchant in London to his partners in Maryland (1979), pp. 1-23. Online: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=38787>. Date accessed: 07 July 2008.

²⁸⁹ *Maryland Gazette*, 17 September 1772.

that he and Charles were in regular contact by accompanying Charles to their meetings. Johnson wrote to Charles in August 1772,

Sir, This I expect will be delivered you by your Man Adam who comes out in Capt Bishoprick at the request of Mr. Anderson and self, he cal'd on me several times while I was out of town, on my return he cal'd when I saw him, he look'd very thin and simple. I asked him the reason of his leaveing [sic] you he ans.'d me in general that he was very sorry for what he had done, that it was not an act of his own but rather the preswaitions [sic] of bad people whom he has since found only ment [sic] to mislead him and that he would most willing by return to your sirvice [sic] if I would procure him a passage and promise you would forgive him, I told him I thought you would but that I would consult Mr. Anderson whom I expected had some instructions from you respecting him and appointed the next morning for him to meet Mr. Anderson at my house. Mr. Anderson told him you would forgive and restore him to favour again on which he agreed to return to you and we got every necessary done which Mr. Anderson will fully inform you of, he was not in the best condition either in Pocket or Health which compel'd us to get assistance for him. The part I have acted I hope will meet with your approbation and that you will fulfil [sic] my promise.

If I can be of any assistance in forwarding the other [Frank] to you, you may rely on it, from what I can collect from this he is on the shift and as the winter approaches its more than probable I shall have a visit from him. I congratulate you and Mrs. Carroll on your return to Maryland and am with my respectfull compls. To your lady, Joshua Johnson.²⁹⁰

²⁹⁰ Chancery Court (Chancery Papers, Exhibits), Joshua Johnson to Charles Carroll, Esq. Barrister, Wallace, Davidson, and Johnson Letterbook 1, 19 August 1772, p. 96, MSA SM 79-37. Also see Joshua Johnson to Lloyd Tilghman, 19 August 1772, p. 96-97.

The kind tone runs throughout Johnson's letters about Adam as it does in all his correspondence. Perhaps Adam went to Johnson because he thought he might act as his advocate on the basis of their interactions in the company of the Carrolls. Adam feared to face Charles, so Johnson asked Charles Wallace to go with him. He took a letter to Wallace that read,

The bearer of this [the letter transcribed above] is Mr [Charles] Carroll's Adam who, by ill advisers, left his master here. He has since commenced a penitent and put himself under Mr Anderson's and my direction in procuring his return. He has signified to me that he is ashamed to face his master on which I promised you would go with him and which promise I beg you will fulfill. I have done this with an intent to serve Mr Carroll [barrister] and the poor devil and shall be happy to hear that it meets with his approbation. I know your compassion for the unhappy and willingness to relieve which makes it needless to apologise for this trouble.²⁹¹

Frank, however, did not contact Johnson. Johnson updated Charles in April 1773: "I could have wished to been able to give you some agreeable news about Frank at this time but have not collected more than that he is in Service at the West end of the Town should I be able to do anything for you with him you may depend on it."²⁹²

Adam does not appear on 1773 inventories of Charles's properties, unless he is identified as "Abram." Perhaps Charles sold Adam, sent him to the Baltimore Iron

²⁹¹ Charles Wallace per Capt. Wallace, 19 August 1772, p. 46. Joshua Johnson's Letterbook: 1772 (July - Dec), Joshua Johnson's Letterbook 1771-1774: Letters from a merchant in London to his partners in Maryland (1979), pp. 40-56. Online: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=38789>. Date accessed: 20 June 2008.

²⁹² Chancery Court (Chancery Papers, Exhibits), Joshua Johnson to Charles Carroll, Esq. Barrister, Wallace, Davidson, and Johnson Letterbook 1, 10 April 1773, p. 155, MSA SM79-37.

Works, or to another plantation as punishment. Or maybe Charles reinstalled him as a personal manservant. Who persuaded Adam to flee? Why? What persuaded him to return? Why escape in Europe, rather than America? No information remains among Charles's papers to explain what happened upon Adam's arrival in Maryland. Adam and Frank are the first recorded escapes from the Carrolls, but they were not the last.

Economic depressions occurred on a frequent basis into the 1770s as a result of fluctuating tobacco prices and in response to credit availability. Planters purchased blacks in the hopes of improving their status; instead, many caught themselves in a credit bind.²⁹³ A lack of details on the Carrolls' finances in the early 1770s makes difficult an assessment of whether or not the trend applied to them. Charles did not write of financial worries in his personal papers, and merchant companies did not complain about unpaid bills like they did those of his friends. Just before Charles's death in 1783, he intimated to a friend that three-fourths of debts owed to him were repaid under the Debt Act.²⁹⁴ His finances may thus have been more solvent than his contemporaries.

Charles purchased and hired blacks during the pre-war years. Thomas Hammond sold him a boy for L10 in December 1770. He bought a woman for L13 from Thomas Rossiter via Captain William Macgachen in September 1774.²⁹⁵ No

²⁹³ Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 87-89 and 128-130.

²⁹⁴ John Ridout indicated in a letter that the estate was financially secure: "He had told me when I was last at his House been paid off under the Debt Act three fourths of the Debts due him but he left a very fine Estate." Quoted in Trostel, *Mount Clare*, p. 67.

record indicates whether they were new arrivals to America or came from inside the country. The slave trade at that time took Africans from the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone to the West Indies, then to America.²⁹⁶ Charles also hired blacks for short-term work. His accounts are unclear on which individuals were free or hired from other enslavers, or where they were put to work. Two men hired in the summer of 1774, however, demonstrate his propensity to pay blacks and whites on different scales. Charles agreed to pay “molatto Joe” L0.35.0 per month for two months. On the other hand, he agreed to pay L25 per year to the gardener Thomas Young. He also hired men from other slaveholders, such as Jack from William Ridgeley in 1774. In 1777, he hired two enslaved persons from another slaveholder for L20 for a year. He also hired “Negro Joe” and “Negro Sam” in February 1782 for a period of eight months. They may have been free blacks. Two laborers at Charles’s house in Annapolis may have been free or had an arrangement to overwork. Charles purchased Hager for L100 and Beck for L75 as part of an exchange in 1781. In November 1780, however, he had agreed to pay Hager L 0.20.0 and Beck L 0.15.0 per month to work at the house. Hager and Beck worked for Charles until his death in 1783. Charles’s executors paid Hager for two years and six months of wages for the period between 28 October 1780 and 18 April 1784. Beck left to find work in Annapolis after putting the kitchen in order.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁵ Account Book (1767-1786), MCMH. Conversions to 2008 dollars: L10 = \$1,628, L13 = \$2,117. Nye, *Pounds to Dollars*.

²⁹⁶ The Transatlantic Slave Database.

The Carrolls made Mount Clare their nearly year-round residence in the early 1770s as the tenor of Annapolis changed ahead of the war. The move brought them into more regular interaction with blacks who lived and worked in the Baltimore region. An assessment in 1773 accounts for people over age sixteen at Mount Clare and The Caves. Living at Mount Clare were eighteen blacks named Abram, Dick, David, Charles, Nick, Guy, Timbole, Jingo, Harry, James, Christmas, Ned, Will, George, Charles, Pugg, Lucy, and Tom. Three white males also lived there, possibly Charles, an overseer, and a gardener.²⁹⁸ The predominance of male names at Mount Clare suggests that hard labor in timbering and farming there continued to supply the Baltimore Iron Works and regional milling enterprises. Lucy worked inside the mansion as shown in correspondence at Charles's death in 1783. Twenty blacks were at The Caves: Sandigo, Millegro, Nedilent, Leslee or Leelee, Deb, Easter, Sue, Nell, Sabinah, Toby, Monster, Natt, Isaac, Mill, Moll, Peg, Cate, Dina, and one more person whose name is illegible. Four white men also lived on the property.²⁹⁹ Several names from Dr. Carroll's gifting of The Caves to Charles in 1749 appear on the 1773 assessment. Will and Tom were recorded in 1773 at Mount Clare, while Sabinah, Debb, and Nelly remained at The Caves. They were at least twenty-seven years old in 1773. Records have survived neither for Charles's house in Annapolis Hundred nor

²⁹⁷ Account Book (1767-1786), MCMH. Conversions to 2008 dollars: L0.35.0 = \$47, L25 = \$3,368, L20 = \$2,694, L100 = \$15,298, L75 = \$11,473, L0.20.0 = \$32, L0.15.0 = \$24. Nye, *Pounds to Dollars*.

²⁹⁸ Baltimore County Court (Tax List), Charles Carroll (Barrister), Middlesex Hundred, 1773, M1560-9, MSA CM918-21.

²⁹⁹ Baltimore County Court (Tax List), Charles Carroll (Barrister), Back River Upper Hundred, 1773, M1560-2, MSA CM918-14.

Carrolls Island in Gunpowder River Lower Hundred. An assessment in 1783 offers a rough estimate of enslaved persons at those places: ten at Carrolls Island and three in Annapolis. The combination of records indicates the Charles enslaved around fifty people over age sixteen in 1773; it is likely that children and elderly persons lived with them, as well.



Figure 5: Charles Willson Peale's painting of Mount Clare circa 1775. Reproduced in Trostel 1981.

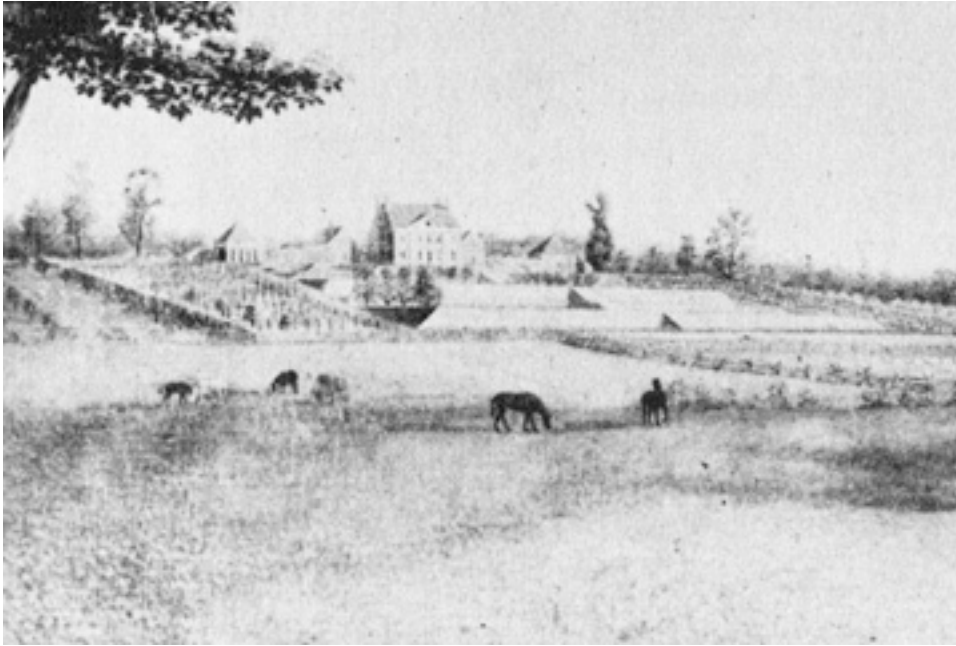


Figure 6: Detail of Mount Clare and surrounding gardens.



Figure 7: Detail showing a black groomsman and Charles Carroll the Barrister. Both face the viewer. An unidentified house stands left of the groomsman's head.

Charles Willson Peale's landscape painting of Mount Clare captures part of what enslaved persons saw circa 1775 (Figures 5 and 6). Orchards grew to the west of Mount Clare and terraced gardens stepped south towards the Middle River. Horses grazed meadows on the flat land between the terraced gardens and the river. Enslaved persons tended them; indeed, a black groomsmen accompanies Charles and his riding partner (Figure 7). The inhabitants of the house in the distance beyond the groomsmen are not known. From west to east at the mansion complex stood a shed, then the orangerie, office, main house, kitchen, wash house, and a small shed (possibly a necessary house). Structures identified as "old" or "fit for fuel" in 1798 may have stood in the 1770s in the fields and at the mills. They included a frame cowhouse (21 by 16, one story), stone blacksmith shop (53 by 24, one story), log house (30 by 24, one story), stone house (16 by 14, one story), frame structure (47 by 20, one story), frame barn (38 by 22, one story), stone stable (45 by 24, one story), log house (32 by 22, one story), frame stable (24 by 16, two story), stone potato house (15 by 12, one-half story), log house (28 by 16, one story), a brick cooper shop (16 by 13, one story), and a log house (18 by 16, one story).³⁰⁰ Old "negro houses" on Nicholas Carroll's 1798 assessment for The Caves included two log structures

³⁰⁰ Maryland State Papers (Federal Direct Tax) Baltimore County, Middlesex Hundred, Nos. 2833-3147: Particular List of Dwelling Houses, Particular List of Lands, Lots, Buildings, and Wharves, M3469-7, MSA SM56-29. George Washington's records include blacksmithing of horseshoes, plows, axes, keys, hammers, loom irons, and mill work (S. Fiona Bessey and Dennis J. Pogue, "Blacksmithing at George Washington's Mount Vernon," Mount Vernon).

measuring 16 by 20 and one of 20 by 36.³⁰¹ The combination of the 1773 assessment with Peale's painting sets the scene for the Revolutionary era at Mount Clare.

Revolution, Liberty, and Slavery

Adam's and Frank's example of a bold escape in Europe was followed by other blacks in America. Escape was not an easy decision or an easy undertaking. Violence to personal liberty – be it physical, emotional, and ideological – was the overarching motivation. Escape constituted a means of protest as a condemnation of slavery and the abuse of blacks for the benefit of enslavers. Abolitionist William Still's records of runaway slave testimony indicate that some individuals escaped after prolonged physical and mental abuse by slaveowners. Others absented themselves after disagreements with their enslavers over the ability to visit family and threats of being sold or sent away. In other cases, families escaped in order to preserve the unit. Many people expressed their conviction that enslavement was simply wrong.³⁰² Gerard Mullin asserts that reactions to abuse represented resistance to slavery, not simply token acts.³⁰³ Today, runaway advertisements are displayed in the orientation room at the Mount Clare Museum House. Visitors learn that blacks did, indeed, escape and

³⁰¹ Maryland State Papers (Federal Direct Tax) Baltimore County, Back River and Middle River Upper Hundreds, Nos. 999-1499: Particular List of Dwelling Houses; Particular List of Lands, Lots Buildings, and Wharves; Particular List of Slaves, M 3469-2, MSA SM56-2.

³⁰² Still, *Underground Railroad*, 99-100, 136-137, 160-161, 172, 413; John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 104-131.

³⁰³ Gerard W. Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 135.

that Mount Clare is on the National Park Service's Network to Freedom Register.³⁰⁴

The advertisements reflect broader anti-slavery sentiments and contradictions during the Revolutionary era.

Individual liberty and chattel slavery formed a central paradox in Maryland during the Revolutionary Era. Struggles in Maryland included a radical social revolution by non-landowners, free blacks, and others to overturn the narrow control of the legislature by white, wealthy landowners. Although elites ultimately remained in control, agitators threatened the preservation of social order in a way that resonated for decades after the war.³⁰⁵ Colonial American political theory held that a few held the power over the many and that the basis of a government's power was the populace's voluntary surrender of the individual's rights to the leaders of society.³⁰⁶ From the perspective of colonial elites, the theory included slaves as among those subservient to leaders.

Charles aligned himself with other wealthy gentlemen in the conservative faction of the Country party. The conservatives advocated for peaceful protest against British economic policy. They employed tactics such as voluntary compliance with

³⁰⁴ National Underground Railroad: Network to Freedom, Online: <http://www.nps.gov/history/ugrr/list.htm> (accessed 12 December 2007). The Mount Clare Museum House website includes a section on freedom seekers, but does not place the advertisements in context. Mount Clare Museum House, Freedom Seekers, Online: http://www.mountclare.org/history/slave_freedom.html and also Runaway Ads Posted by Charles Carroll, Online: http://www.mountclare.org/history/slave_runaway.html (accessed 18 October 2009).

³⁰⁵ David Curtis Skaggs, "Maryland's Impulse Toward Social Revolution." *The Journal of American History* 45 (1968) no. 4: 785-786.

³⁰⁶ Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (1967), 59.

trade boycotts, petitions, and diplomacy. Charles served on the Senate from 1775 to 1783. He was among the few men in Maryland who qualified for the Senate on the basis of property. The property requirements were twice for senators as they were for members of the House of Delegates.³⁰⁷ Of course, Charles aimed to protect his own interests since he and the Baltimore Iron Works had traded in Britain for decades. The other faction of the Country party consisted of landowners who were not as wealthy as the gentry. They believed in direct action, even violence, through public protest by crowds. Radicals' actions garnered more attention and response from Britain – for good or for ill – than the conservatives' tactics. Everyday people found themselves gaining political power. In June 1774, Charles was among other representatives of Maryland counties at the first Provincial Convention. He served until 1776, and resigned when the radical inclinations of his constituents proved incompatible with his own belief in a peaceful approach to good government.³⁰⁸ In addition to the conservative and radical factions were colonists who remained loyal to the proprietor and supported British rule. The tensions between first, the proprietor and colonists and second, the gentry and less wealthy (but also European and European-descended) Americans characterized the political struggles within Maryland.

No evidence remains on the way blacks at Mount Clare sided. David Brion Davis notes that Western society never became entirely comfortable with slavery. The slave as both human and object always created tension that, in turn, became fodder

³⁰⁷ The Senate was more conservative than the House (L. Marx Renzulli, *Maryland: The Federalist Years* (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1973), 23-24.

³⁰⁸ Trostel, *Mount Clare*, 70-71.

for an intellectual debate over slavery and antislavery. Winthrop Jordan finds that the Revolution brought about awareness for the first time of American prejudice, its foundation in physical differences between whites and blacks, and its significance as an obstacle to emancipation.³⁰⁹ Duncan MacLeod sees that the Revolution “was a crucial stage in the development of the debate over slavery and race; that it promoted a real concern over the nature and significance of slavery; and that out of that concern grew a consciously racist society.”³¹⁰ Jessica Millward shows that the Revolutionary era was a formative period for family life and domestic institutions among blacks in Maryland. Increasing numbers of documented escapes from slavery and manumissions suggest a nexus point between family, freedom, and power. The American Revolution, Millward writes, “contributed to a liberation consciousness among enslaved blacks and was a catalyst for political protest.”³¹¹ Benjamin Quarles argues that the American Revolution constituted the first, large-scale slave rebellion.³¹² John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger demonstrate that escapes constituted open defiance of enslaved blacks to slavery. It forced white society to

³⁰⁹ Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Towards the Negro* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968).

³¹⁰ Duncan J. MacLeod, *Slavery, Race, and the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 8.

³¹¹ Jessica Millward, *'A Choice Parcel of Country Born': African Americans and the Transition to Freedom in Maryland, 1770-1840* (Thesis (Ph. D.) University of California, Los Angeles, 2003).

³¹² Benjamin Quarles, “The Revolutionary War as a Black Declaration of Independence,” In Ira Berlin and Ronal Hoffman, eds., *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1986); and *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961).

recognize and attempt to contain black agency through the development of laws, punishments, and violence.³¹³

No letters or correspondence reveals Charles's attitudes towards black slavery during the Revolutionary era. They may instead be gleaned from associations with people and committees in Maryland during the war; indeed, perhaps Charles's lack of individual specificity signaled his support for slavery as a natural condition of Chesapeake life. A Committee of Correspondence in Maryland consisted of Charles Carroll the Barrister and Matthew Tilghman, John Hall, Samuel Chase, Thomas Johnson, Jr., Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and William Paca. They or any three of them were empowered to represent Maryland at the Continental Congress in December 1774. All the men were slaveholders who seemed not to recognize the irony of slavery rhetoric in their public statements. They published in newspapers that,

As our opposition to the settled plan of the British administration to enslave America, will be strengthened by an union of all ranks of men in this province, we do most earnestly recommend, that all former differences about religion or politics, and all private animosities and quarrels of every kind, from henceforth cease and be for ever buried in oblivion; and we intreat [sic], we conjure every man, by his duty to God, his country, and his posterity, cordially to unite in defense of our common rights and liberties.³¹⁴

³¹³ John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger, *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

³¹⁴ Annapolis, 15 December 15, *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 21 December 1774.

Charles is credited with framing Maryland's declaration of rights and constitution, which was signed on July 3, 1776.³¹⁵ The document focused on the creation of a state government and emphasizes the rights of free men within the state, particularly the qualifications to hold office or to vote. From the position of historical retrospect, several points within the document demonstrate that independence was narrowly conceived. Points included: "[A]ll government of right originates from the people ... instituted for the good of the whole"; the "people of this state ought to have the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government and police thereof"; and "the inhabitants of Maryland are entitled to the common law of England."³¹⁶ Enslaved blacks did not count as "people" or "inhabitants." Interestingly, neither Charles's remaining letterbooks and correspondence, nor Maryland papers contain his thoughts on the conflict or reflections on slavery and independence. Furthermore, to prepare for war and wean Maryland's reliance on England, the Convention agreed to increase flocks of sheep and promote the manufacture of woolens in the process; to raise as much flax, hemp, and cotton as each planter and farmer could to increase the manufacture of linen and cotton.³¹⁷ Citizens were required to contribute grain to feed the soldiers. The degree to which Charles contributed supplies from his personal plantations to the war effort remains unclear.³¹⁸

³¹⁵ Edward Papenfuse, Alan F. Day, David W. Jordan, and Gregory A. Stiverson, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635-1789*, Vol. 1:A-H (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 195-197.

³¹⁶ Maryland's Declaration of Independence, 3 July 1776, MSA SC 4560-1.

³¹⁷ Annapolis, December 15, *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 21 December 1774.

Charles's political involvement in the American Revolution intersected with the threat of blacks to the institution of slavery and to his side. He served on the Council of Safety in 1775 and 1776. The Council was one body concerned with the problem of fugitive slaves joining the British against Americans. They expressed fears of slave uprisings.³¹⁹ Such fear was based on precedent in Virginia. The governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, offered blacks their freedom if they volunteered for his militia. The Council feared that Eden would make a similar offer.³²⁰ Perhaps blacks at Mount Clare and at the Carroll's Annapolis house gained insider knowledge by serving Charles and his associates as they discussed current events.³²¹

Enslaved and free blacks throughout the colonies faced tough choices between joining the Continental army, the British army, or staying in their communities. Blacks in the North had more social leeway than their Chesapeake counterparts, and they agitated en masse for rights and abolition for decades prior to the war.³²² White

³¹⁸ It remains unclear because the state records do not always specify which Charles Carroll.

³¹⁹ Maryland State Papers (Maryland State Papers, Index) Benjamin Rumsey to Governor, 25 August 1777, MSA S 989-327, MdHR 4561-69; William Paca to Governor, 26 September 1777, MSA S 989-354, MdHR 4562-01; Thomas Stone to Governor, 9 December 1777, MSA S 989-339, MdHR 4561-81; George Cook, November 1783, Deposition, MSA 0990-6-127 MdHR 4644-02.

³²⁰ Blacks who were caught were severely punished by white Americans or by the British. Dunmore proved that the promise of freedom was a ruse upon selling blacks into West Indian slavery. McDermott, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, 116-117.

³²¹ State papers indicate that Charles held meetings at Mount Clare. Samuel Godman to CCB, 6 May 1776, MSA S 1004-1-578 MdHR 6636-1-61A.

³²² James O. Horton, and Lois E. Horton, *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community, and Protest Among Northern Free Blacks, 1700-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 55.

Americans, particularly in the South, were uncomfortable with blacks joining the Continental army and being armed to defend the freedom of slaveholders. Rumors circulated that the British were encouraging blacks to rebel. In July of 1775, General George Washington ordered no blacks to be enlisted in the Continental Army. By November, Lord Dunmore declared freedom for all slaves who took up arms for the British. His proclamation responded to a desperate need in the British army for soldiers, not to antislavery sentiment. Tens of thousands – up to 100,000 by one estimate – escaped from slavery to join an army, while others took the moment to flee amid the disruption.³²³

During this time, two men escaped from enslavement by the Carrolls. The August, 1777 advertisement for Eddenborough read:

FIVE POUNDS Reward³²⁴
Ran away from the subscriber, a Negro man, called
EDDENBOROUGH, a cooper by trade, about 50 years
of age, a little lively fellow, active walk, speaks quick,

³²³ Horton and Horton, *In Hope of Liberty*, 55-60;

³²⁴ Runaway Advertisement, *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Press date: 19 August 1777, Ad Date: 15 August 1777. Conversions to 2008 dollars: L5 = \$732. Nye, *Pounds to Dollars*. I found another source of information but cannot confirm whether it refers to Carroll the Barrister, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, or Charles Carroll of Carrollton. It reads: “In Council Baltimore 24th Sepr 1777/ Sir, We have issued the Commissions to the Officers of Captain Grahame's Company, as you requested. If, as we imagine, the Fleet is gone quite clear of you, so that Negroes &ca may not probably follow it, we would have the Militia discharged. We write to Mr Carroll's Agent in Annapolis about the Mulatto Man & Boat; if they belong to Mr Carroll, you'll be pleased to deliver them, if they do not belong to him, we request you'll have them secured and advertized; The Musquetts &ca we esteem the Property of the Persons who took them and would either have them divided, or sold and the Money divided amongst them, as they may agree. Benja Mackall Esqr Lt of We are &ca Calvert County.” (Council of Safety to Benjamin Mackall, Journal and Correspondence of the Maryland Council of Safety, January 1-March 20, 1777, Vol. 16, p. 384).

and with a little of the Negro accent, bald upon the upper part of his head; Had on a country linen shirt, tow linen trousers, country cloth waistcoat, old shoes, an old straw hat; It is suspected that he is harboured about Baltimore Town, or in the neighborhood. Whoever brings him to the subscriber, shall have Forty Shillings, if taken in this or in Anne Arundel county, and if in any other county the above reward, and reasonable charges.

CHARLES CARROLL

Mount Clare, Aug 15, 1777

An advertisement in 1780 for Jack Lynch read:

FOUR HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD³²⁵

Mount Clare July 10, 1780

RAN away, from the subscribers island plantation, at the Mouth of Gunpowder, about the beginning of this month, a mulatto slave, called JACK LYNCH, down look, is an artful rogue, speaks slow, and appears to be very mild. Had on and took with him, a blue broadcloth coat, country cloth jacket, one Irish linen shift, two country linen ditto, one pair of country linen trousers, a pair of half-worn shoes, with buckles, an old country made hat, and has lately had a breaking out on his head. Whoever brings him to the subscriber, or secures him, so that he may get him again, shall have the above reward, and reasonable charges.

CHARLES CARROLL

The two advertisements raise a number of questions. Did only two people ever escape from the Carrolls' Baltimore plantations during Charles's lifetime? If so, why? Why did Charles place the advertisements? Did they have anything to do with blacks joining the war? Charles's papers do not discuss any escapes or reveal his tipping point for placing advertisements. Slaveholders did not always pursue runaways or

³²⁵ Runaway Ad, *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Press date: 11 July 1780, Ad date: 10 July 1780. Conversions to 2008 dollars: \$400 = \$6,480. *Six Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a U.S. Dollar Amount, 1774 to Present*. Online: <http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/>, accessed 20 December 2009.

advertise an escape. Dr. Carroll, for example, tended to hire bounty hunters. Placement of an advertisement was influenced by the ability to afford it, the proximity of the plantation to a town with a newspaper, and the value of the enslaved person to the owner. Enslavers also strategically placed advertisements as a scare tactic to dissuade additional escapes.³²⁶ Charles's residences in Baltimore and Annapolis were within close proximity to several different newspapers. He had the wealth to afford advertisements. Did Charles, like his father, hire bounty hunters? Did he rely on Baltimore's eyes and ears to produce tips? Did blacks tend to return on their own accord? Even as they raise questions, Eddenborough's and Jack Lynch's advertisements may provide some clues.

Both advertisements suggest some flexibility in enslaved blacks' movements. Former slaves John Thompson and James Pennington have explained that an absence of a few days was not unusual. Men were commonly permitted to leave on Saturday evening to visit their families on other plantations until Monday morning.³²⁷ They might use illness as an excuse not to return until Tuesday. As a result, alarm did not rise for an absence until Wednesday.³²⁸ Margaret's estate inventory shows that Jack had relatives at Mount Clare in 1817. Perhaps Charles was accustomed to Jack being absent as a result of visiting relatives. Eddenborough may have had friends or family

³²⁶ Lathan A. Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements: A documentary history from the 1730s to 1790*. Vol. 2: Maryland (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1983), xiv; Patricia Bradley, *Slavery, Propaganda, and the American Revolution* (University Press of Mississippi, 1999), 25-44.

³²⁷ Pennington, *Fugitive Blacksmith*, 5.

³²⁸ Thompson, *Life of John Thompson*, 76.

willing to hide him in Baltimore, which was why Charles noted the city as a place to look. Enslaved persons moving around Baltimore is further supported by an advertisement for a carpenter named Aaron Pulley. One of Margaret's overseers placed the advertisement in June 1799. Aaron, too, had been gone several days: "He left home on Thursday last, and was seen at the races; he often frequented Fell's-Point." The overseer warned masters of ships not to take him on.³²⁹ Both Eddenborough's and Jack's outfits were similar to others who escaped slavery to join the Continental army, but the commonness of the clothes provides no definitive answer.³³⁰

Impacts on the Baltimore Iron Works

During the Revolution, labor became scarcer as free laborers joined the Continental Army. Iron laborers were exempt from enrollment in southeastern Pennsylvania, but the practice was only discouraged in Maryland and Virginia.³³¹ Charles Carroll of Carrollton argued to his partners in 1773 that they should purchase forty or fifty more slaves rather than hire workers.³³² The company agreed to purchase ten convicts and

³²⁹ *Federal Gazette* [Baltimore, Md., published as *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*], 15 June 1799, vol. X, iss. 1744, p. 4.

³³⁰ See, for example: Advertisement, 2 July 1781, *Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis, Md]; Advertisement, 14 November 1782, *Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis, Md]; Advertisement, 17 March 1778, *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* [Baltimore, Md].

³³¹ Robbins, *Principio Company*, 113.

³³² Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Gentleman. 8 December 1773. Folder "1773 Correspondence: Baltimore Company." Box 6. MS 219. MdHS.

twenty negroes, five of each group at a time. Perhaps based on past experience, they emphasized the need for healthy, country-born negroes between 15 to 22 years old. On 11 July 1774, the partners agreed at a meeting at Mount Clare to purchase ten slaves between 16 and 25 years old. On 30 March 1775 they agreed that each partner holding a fifth share should contribute one young, country born “negro wench” not exceeding 24 years old.³³³ Clement Brooke complained to the partners when no slaves were acquired by April. Charles retorted, “My two negroes have been some time sent to the works and I have a negro woman ready to send according to our last agreement. Mr. Brook writes me of the 11th that he has purchased 500 bushels of corn for the works in my account to [ill.]”³³⁴ Charles’s contributions of slaves did not necessarily work out. Brooke again urged the partners to supply slaves in 1783 because the business was suffering, in part because several slaves sent in the previous year were unfit. He wrote, “The lad sent in by Mr. Carroll, Barrister in June 1782, very unfit for business, a negro wench from the same 5th sent to Mount Royal Forge Mr Franklin complains of as having a bad leg.” Brooke again emphasized the preference for young and able men, as “bad hands are a burden.”³³⁵

Unlike other ironworks, which strove to be self-sufficient, the owners of the Baltimore Iron Works contributed quotas of provisions. Lewis suggests that the

³³³ Minute Book, 24 January 1731, Box 6, MS 219, MdHS; Clement Brooke to Gentlemen, 4 February 1774. Folder “1774 Correspondence: Baltimore Company,” Box 7, MS 219, MdHS.

³³⁴ Clement Brooke to Charles Carroll and Company, 10 April 1775, with replies, MSA M 4214-4751.

³³⁵ Clement Brooke to The Baltimore Company, 7 August 1783, MS 1228, MdHS.

internal bickering of the owners trickled into each of them attempting to undercut their assigned quota.³³⁶ Perhaps the deprivation of laborers' needs at the Baltimore Iron Works helped to sustain the partners' own plantations during the lean war years. The Baltimore Iron Works managers pleaded to the owners for food for the starving workers and animals. Manager Clement Brooke wrote to the owners in 1775 that he could not do his job unless the partners supplied more slaves and more corn.³³⁷ The expansion of the work force enabled the Baltimore Company to sell iron towards the war effort.³³⁸ Charles was paid L4.12 at least twice by the Council of Safety for iron manufactured by enslaved blacks and others.³³⁹

By the late eighteenth century, blacks often constituted a larger percentage of the skilled laborers than they did unskilled.³⁴⁰ The iron industry declined just after the American Revolution, but recovered and expanded until after the Civil War.³⁴¹ Large-scale use of slave labor supported the iron industry in the Chesapeake region. The Baltimore Iron Works, however, was not part of this general trend. Several factors

³³⁶ Lewis, *Coal, Iron, and Caves*, 150.

³³⁷ Clement Brooke to Gentlemen. 10 April 1775, Folder "1775 Correspondence: Baltimore Company," Box 7, MS 219, MdHS.

³³⁸ Maryland State Papers (Scharf Collection) Charles Carroll Esq. and Company to Robert Alexander, Receipt dated 1 September 1787 for transactions in August 1766 and October 1755, MSA S1005-97-14420 MdHR 19,999-089-089.

³³⁹ George Gordon to Council of Safety, 3 July 1776, MSA S 1004-6-662 MdHR 6636-6-18E Location: 1/7/3/27. Conversions to 2008 dollars: L4.12 = \$601. Nye, *Pounds to Dollars*.

³⁴⁰ Lewis, "Slave Labor in the Chesapeake Iron Industry," 408.

³⁴¹ Robbins, *Maryland's Iron Industry*.

likely contributed to its demise. The seizure of shares belonging to Loyalists after the American Revolution and the failure to produce competitively put the Baltimore Iron Works in dire straits by the 1780s. Baltimore Company records decrease, but the end of the Principio Company suggested some possibilities. The Principio Company began to collapse in the mid-eighteenth century due to dwindling timber resources for charcoal and the aging of its enslaved workforce. After the American Revolution, the Maryland General Assembly confiscated all British property in the state, including that of the Loyalist partners of the Principio Company. Over one hundred thirty-six enslaved persons were auctioned with the company's assets.³⁴² The Baltimore Company faced similar challenges. Carroll the Barrister died in 1783, leaving an entire one-fifth of company ownership to his heirs. Nicholas Carroll, not James Carroll, became part owner and Margaret received a third of his Baltimore Company income for her lifetime.³⁴³ The fracture of shares among heirs became more common over the late eighteenth century, which seemed to dissolve any remaining internal coherence of the company's management. In 1785, one-fifth share was advertised for sale, meaning a fifth of two hundred slaves along with one furnace, two forges, over twenty-eight thousand acres, and other stock. About 7,000 to 8,000 acres near Baltimore were slated for sale as individual lots.³⁴⁴ Daniel Dulany's share was

³⁴² Lewis, *Coal, Iron, and Slaves*, 22.

³⁴³ Nicholas Carroll to Margaret Carroll, Articles of Agreement, 6 July 1792, p. 83, Baltimore County Court Chattel Records 1791-1794, Baltimore County Court, MS 2865.1, MdHS.

³⁴⁴ Advertisement, "To Be Sold," *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, Ad Date: 27 February 1785, Post Date: 9 March 1785. Slaves were also sold with the property as per The

confiscated due to his Loyalist ties. Robert Carter sold his share in 1787. The dissolution of the company had disastrous effects on the community of enslaved persons. Blacks were sold as partners peeled away from the company or as their holdings were seized. Sales “shredded families” as men, women, and children were sold.³⁴⁵ By 1798, the Baltimore Company enslaved no one.

Two Ends to Two Eras

Charles died at Mount Clare in March 1783, months before the signing of the Treaty of Paris that brought an end to the American Revolution. Charles freed no one in his last will and testament, nor did he leave blacks any clothing or gifts.³⁴⁶ His obituary called him an “Indulgent Master,” a phrase reflecting elites’ beliefs that their treatment of slaves was generous considering slaves’ social location. Blacks, however, did not necessarily share Charles’s or his friends’ beliefs that they received more than they were due. Although Charles stipulated that his executors not probate his estate, the 1783 tax assessment provides information on his wealth for all

Pennsylvania Gazette, 5 July 1770. Vertical files, Mount Clare Museum House. To Be Sold, 26 February 1785. Maryland Gazette [Annapolis, Md.], 10 March 1785.

³⁴⁵ Bezis-Selfa, *Forging America*, 141-142.

³⁴⁶ Baltimore County Register of Wills (Wills), Charles Carroll, 1783, Liber WB3, folio503. CR72,241-1, MSA CM188-3. He wrote, “and as my dear wife may probably incline to have in her share of my negroes those or some of them which came to me by Intermarriage with her and their increase I direct and order that she may take the whole or so many and such of time as she may chuse [sic] to have in her said moiety or half part of my personal estate and that she shall further have during her natural life the use of all such of my House servants as may happen not to be included therein but it is intended that the increase shall not be considered as part of the use but to be taken and received into the residue of my estate.”

properties but Mount Clare (Table 1).³⁴⁷ Mount Clare likely included a comparable number of blacks to The Caves because the two plantations had held a similar number of slaves in 1737 and 1773. If so, Charles enslaved approximately one hundred fifteen people in 1783 on his personal property. He was also accountable for a fifth share of the thirty-one people enslaved at the Baltimore Iron Works.³⁴⁸

Table 1: Charles Carroll’s Slaveholding in 1783, Mount Clare Excepted

	Annapolis ³⁴⁹	Value	The Caves ³⁵⁰	Value	Carrolls Island ³⁵¹	Value
Males and females under age 8	5	46	13	130	10	100
Males or females age 8-14			7 (males)	175	2	50
Males age 14-45			7	530	2	140

³⁴⁷ “An act to raise the supplies for the year seventeen hundred and eighty-three.” *Hanson’s Laws of Maryland 1763-1784*, November session 1782, Ch. VI, vol. 203, p. 329, Archives of Maryland Online. The act stipulated a tax of 25 shillings per L100 worth of property, including slaves according to age, black cattle, and crops, to be paid in Maryland paper money.

³⁴⁸ Middlesex Hundred. Baltimore County, Assessment Record, 1783. General Assembly House of Delegates. M 871. SM59. MSA.

³⁴⁹ General Assembly House of Delegates (Assessment Record) Charles Carroll (Barrister), 1783, Annapolis Hundred, Anne Arundel County, M871-11, MSA SM59-1. Conversion to 2008 dollars: L1527 = \$204,295. Nye, *Pounds to Dollars*.

³⁵⁰ General Assembly House of Delegates (Assessment Record) Charles Carroll (Barrister), 1783, Middle River Upper Hundred and Back River Hundred, Baltimore County, p. 3, M871-17, MSA SM59-22. Conversion to 2008 dollars: L5729 = \$766,473. Nye, *Pounds to Dollars*.

³⁵¹ General Assembly House of Delegates (Assessment Record) Charles Carroll (Barrister), 1783, Middle River Lower Hundred, Baltimore County, p. 3, M871-17, MSA SM59-22. Conversion to 2008 dollars: L3007 = \$402,301. Nye, *Pounds to Dollars*.

Females age 14-36	1	60	10	60	3	180
Males over age 45 or females over age 36	1	40	8	120	3	75
Total	7	146	45	1015	20	545
Total assessed		1527		5729		3007

Charles enabled Margaret to choose among two groups of slaves towards her half part of his personal estate. The first included blacks brought by Margaret into the marriage and their children; these individuals likely lived at Mount Clare already. Blacks at The Caves and Carrolls Island appear to have been folded into the Maccubbin brothers' inheritances. The second group constituted house servants beyond the first group. Their children, however, became part of the residue of Charles's estate. In addition, Charles left to his clerk Francis Fairbrother of Annapolis "the negro woman named Sue and all her children or increase that woman I mean who now lives with him."³⁵² Charles gave Margaret life tenancy on either his Annapolis or Mount Clare properties. She chose Mount Clare. He left her a third part of the residue of his real estate, a full moiety of lands sold after his death, a half part of his personal estate, and household effects from Annapolis. Slaves helped to buffer widows from poverty, but other forms of passed-down wealth such as land and monetary assets proved to be more reliable supports.³⁵³ Charles left the rest of the

³⁵² According to the 1783 assessment, Fairbrother enslaved three children under eight years old, one male or female eight to fourteen, one male age fourteen to forty-five, and one female age fourteen to thirty-six. By the 1790 census, however, Fairbrother's household included no slaves or freedpersons. Annapolis Hundred. Assessment Record, 1783. General Assembly House of Delegates. M 871. SM59. MSA.

estate to his nephews, Nicholas and James Maccubbin, provided that they change their names to Carroll.

Enslaved women helped to resolve household loose ends. Lucy, who had lived at Mount Clare since at least 1773, boxed Fairbrother's coffee pot and books to send him in Annapolis.³⁵⁴ Fairbrother reported on Beck in Annapolis: "Beck is still here and has put the Kitchen in good order and otherwise behaves herself well. She intends to venture out in a few days and thinks she shall be able to get her living. I shall keep my eye on her motions and inform you of them."³⁵⁵ Charles therefore opted at death to perpetuate slavery in Maryland and the concept of human chattel.

The American Revolution, as Stephen Whitman puts it, "made slavery into a problem," by which he means that all Americans found themselves thinking more about the institution and the moralities of slaveholding.³⁵⁶ The era brought major shifts for blacks in the Chesapeake region. Thousands of blacks from Maryland and Virginia served in armies, were kidnapped as booty, and escaped from masters. Blacks in the 1770s and 1780s engaged with the evangelical movement of the Methodist and Baptist churches and created independent black churches. The movement also persuaded some whites that slavery was un-Christian. That, along

³⁵³ Kathleen Fawver, "Gender and the Structure of Planter Households in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake," *Early American Studies* (Fall 2006): 455.

³⁵⁴ Francis Fairbrother to Margaret Carroll, 3 November 1783: "I received the box you sent by Lucy in vollunts boat containing the coffee pot and my books all safe."

³⁵⁵ Douglas Carroll, Families of Dr. Charles Carroll (1691-1755) and Cornet Thomas Dewey (160?-1648) (Brooklandville, Md. (Copy on file, Maryland Historical Society), 26.

³⁵⁶ Whitman, *Slavery and the American Revolution*, 20.

with ideological doubts brought in the contradiction of fighting for white liberty but keeping black slavery, led to increasing numbers of manumissions. Agricultural conditions, such as tobacco-depleted soil, along with post-war economic depression caused additional disruption in the practicality of slavery.³⁵⁷ The war spread the intellectual groundwork to end slavery during the Civil War almost a hundred years later. But in the short term, elites such as Margaret Carroll and her relatives felt their positions as elite slaveholders to be safe. At least through the end of the eighteenth century, they felt a (perhaps misplaced) sense of political mastery and used their power to entrench slavery more deeply into the Southern half of the republic.

Americans qualified for leadership and committee positions in the Maryland government based on wealth and landownership. Gentrymen such as Charles relied upon enslaved blacks to build and maintain the labor-dependent aspects of their wealth. As a result, the enslaved persons' labor enabled Charles to take part in the American Revolution and be remembered in history as an American patriot. No record remains to suggest that he or Margaret felt internal conflict over slavery. And yet his enslavement of dozens of people across personal properties and continued partnership in the Baltimore Iron Works suggests that his conservative political stance related at least in part to his desire to maintain slavery and a divided racial system in America. Blacks and Margaret faced her widowhood in a changed and destabilized America as debates about the future of slavery and freedom swirled about them.

³⁵⁷ Richard S. Dunn, "Black Society in the Chesapeake 1776-1810." In *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution*, edited by Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, 49-82 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 50-51.

Chapter 5: White Widowhood

Over the next thirty-four years, Margaret's elitism and racism structured everyday life at Mount Clare. The fact that Charles left slaves to Margaret suggests confidence in her ability to manage them or to choose individuals who could on her behalf.

Margaret and enslaved persons are today presented as people of their time: individuals caught in a societal system over which they had limited control. Margaret was to men of her race and status a shy, intelligent person who became warm and caring as new people became known to her.³⁵⁸ Her personality, however, may have appeared in another way to enslaved persons or to white hires.³⁵⁹ Margaret's particular and status-conscious voice often seeped into Charles's correspondence in the form of requests or complaints. She wanted the best consumables, like tea, and she and her husband articulated the specific qualities and types of persons whom they sought as white servants. Margaret's practices show that she personally sought to distance herself from all other walks of life, particularly that of black slaves, by wealth management, consumption, and keeping current with trends. Today, however,

³⁵⁸ Charles Carroll of Carrollton to CCB, 3 December 1771, MdHi, MS 203.2, p. 19. Film No.: MSA M 4193-497 Item No. [497].

³⁵⁹ Margaret left no indication of the attributes she preferred in the people she enslaved. Correspondence in 1802, however, is suggestive. Margaret confided in an acquaintance that "it is extreme[ly] difficult to meet with young women near this town with [ill.] and capacity – if they have lived in town long enough to learn anything their morals are corrupted, and they are generally so fond of gossiping that you can scarce but keep them at home." Margaret Carroll to Mrs. Ellicott, 30 March 1802, Henry Maynadier Fitzhugh Family Collection, 1698-1902. M11760, MSA SC 4688-13.

visitors to Mount Clare learn only of her identity as an elite woman concerned with the domestic sphere. Blacks are erased from her life, except at the time of her death. None of Margaret's records and few letters remain from this period, but government documents provide demographic information about who lived at Mount Clare. During Margaret's widowhood, more information than ever before comes to light about blacks at Mount Clare. Family relationships, life cycles, skill expertise, and other identifying characteristics give shape to enslaved individuals. The following chapter explores the post-Revolutionary era at Mount Clare from between 1783 to 1817 within the contexts of white widowhood and Baltimorean trends in African American life.

Slavery and White Widowhood

Blacks and Margaret lived in the same historical time but experienced it in different ways through distinctive outlets. Black feminism and double consciousness offer a frame for the period on the basis of improved information about individual blacks, families, and their roles at Mount Clare relative to earlier times. Double consciousness suggests that blacks' knowledge of European American elites' practices bridged black and white life on plantations. W.E.B DuBois observed double consciousness in two ways. The first, as he wrote, was "always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity." The second involved having two identities -- "Two warring ideals in one dark body" -- one American and the other being a person of

color.³⁶⁰ For places like Mount Clare, one way that double consciousness may have manifested in the internalization of the Carrolls' expectations for conduct and labor discipline.

In a related way to the duality of double consciousness, black feminists emphasize that black women and white women experience the world in different ways as a result of their races.³⁶¹ Elizabeth Fox-Genovese emphasizes that women's

³⁶⁰ W.E.B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Dover, [1903] 1994), 2-3.

³⁶¹ Audrey Lorde argues that white American feminist theory fails to approach difference between women and thus fails to acknowledge oppression (Audre Lorde, *An Open Letter to Mary Daly*, page 66-71. Crossing Press: Berkeley, 1984.). Patricia Hill Collins reflects that white feminist movements address middle class white dilemmas, but fail to engage with the lived experience of black women. Collins insists that black women's experiences are unique because they are grounded in an Afrocentric approach and in the role of "outsider within", for example, as a domestic worker or within white feminism (Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990). bell hooks relates women's struggles and resistance in the present as grounded in slavery. She argues that the stereotype of black women as sexually depraved, immoral and loose had its beginnings in the slave system but represented a misinterpretation of black women's strategies for survival (bell hooks, *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*. Boston: South End Press, 1991). Ruth Frankenberg appropriates feminisms of women of color to argue that race affects the experiences of white women (Ruth Frankenburg, *White Women, Race Matters*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1993). Barbara Smith reminds that, even though black feminism can reveal the intensity of all women's oppression, white women should not claim black women, their writing, or their vision as their own. Smith reminds white women to maintain vigilance about their ignorance of their own racism (Barbara Smith, "Towards a Black Feminist Criticism" (1977), in Elaine Showalter, ed., *The New Feminist Criticism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), pp. 168-85.). Kimberle Crenshaw uses intersectionality to address the failure of antiracist and feminist discourses to interact. She sees black feminism as having reshaped the conceptualization of violence against black women, changing it from expressions of private matters or aberrations or deviance to forms of dominance (Kimberle Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color" *Stanford Law Review* (1991) 43 :1241-99.). Maxine Baca Zinn and Bonnie Thornton Dill draw on "multiracial feminism" as a conceptual framework to assert that gender is constructed by interlocking inequalities, or, following Patricia Hill Collins, a "matrix of domination." The matrix idea conveys

gendered experiences vary depending on race and class in the contexts of their societies, communities, and the historical periods in which they lived.³⁶² The fact that Margaret, but not the women she enslaved, could marry and then live as a widow with substantial property is one illustration of Fox-Genovese's point. Deborah Gray White finds that, "ideas about women went hand in hand with ideas about race" in the antebellum South so that, "Women and blacks were the foundation on which Southern white males built their patriarchal regime."³⁶³ Black feminists' analyses of slavery grounds the analysis of blacks' lives within white widowhood as constructed and contrived rather than natural.

Historical studies of white widows as slaveholders demonstrate the interactivity between white and black women's histories. Kathleen Fawver indicates that slave management forced white widows to merge their traditional feminine roles and expertise with traditionally male ones.³⁶⁴ Inge Dornan concurs, finding that they shed the image of the pitiable widow in order to establish control and discipline. Widows successfully managed and even expanded upon their deceased husbands' estates. They gained new legal power to enter the business world while acting on their

that people experience multiple systems of race, class, gender, and sexuality simultaneously, but in different ways depending on their social location (Maxine Baca Zinn and Bonnie Thornton Dill, "Theorizing Difference from Multiracial Feminism." *Feminist Studies* (1996) 22:321.).

³⁶² Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 29.

³⁶³ Deborah Gary White, *Ar'n't I a Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1985/1999), 58.

³⁶⁴ Kathleen Fawver, "Gender and the Structure of Planter Households in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake," *Early American Studies* (Fall 2006): 442-470.

feminine duty to act as trustee of property for the next generation.³⁶⁵ Margaret, for example, demonstrated intellectual and business acumen to sustain her wealth while keeping Mount Clare in trust for James Maccubbin. Kirstin Wood concludes that Southern widows endorsed the social order, even as they worked among social categories as slaveholders. She writes that, “Widowhood increased slaveholding women’s determination to defend the wealth, connections, social standing, and legal protections that slaveholders enjoyed.” White widows tended to be conservative and endorse gender, race, and class inequality. They, however, demonstrated that feminine dependence could be a source of power when linked to racial and economic privilege.³⁶⁶

Combining these arguments and findings supports an image of segregated women at Mount Clare, but the lack of evidence leaves questions about what defined their interactions. Did female field laborers at Mount Clare have a lesser status in Margaret’s mind than women who worked in the house? Did women with whom she was more familiar receive benefits that others did not? Margaret employed whites as buffers between herself and enslaved blacks. How did overseers, personal servants, and housekeepers fare in the widowhood dynamic?³⁶⁷ Slavery at Mount Clare

³⁶⁵ Inge Dornan, “Masterful Women: Colonial Women Slaveholders in the Urban Low County.” *Journal of American Studies* 39, no. 3 (2005), 387.

³⁶⁶ Kirsten E. Wood, “Broken Reeds and Competent Farmers: Slaveholding Widows in the Southeastern United States, 1783-1861.” *Journal of Women’s History* 13, no. 2 (2001): 43 and 50.

³⁶⁷ Thomas Wooten may have been an overseer at Mount Clare in 1797. Applicants for a 15-acre parcel of pasture were to inquire of him at Mount Clare. Advertisement,

signaled Margaret's desire to justify white elites' societal position at a time when increasing class stratification in the Chesapeake region felt threatening.

Mistresses did not hold power equal to the plantation master during his lifetime, but Margaret may have acted as a "deputy husband" – an active partner in plantation management who was confined by her gender to a subordinate role.³⁶⁸ Wives were frequently promoted from plantation deputy to manager upon their husbands' deaths. Margaret supervised operations at Mount Clare as well as The Caves in the early nineteenth century. Blacks freed from plantation slavery characterized the role of plantation mistresses as focused on the domestic domain. Contemporary on-site interpretation and guides to Mount Clare discuss Margaret as the interior decorator of Mount Clare, a mother, and a wife rather than a plantation manager or slaveholder of one of the largest enslaved populations in Baltimore County. On-site, a main point of Margaret's uniqueness derives from her success as a gardener as measured by the attention her work received from George Washington.³⁶⁹ Richard, an enslaved black identified as a gardener on Margaret's estate inventory, receives no similar credit.

Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser [Baltimore] 7(1177), 17 August 1797, p. 4.

³⁶⁸ Ball, *Slavery in the United States*, 57-58.

³⁶⁹ Joanna Tilghman Tamplin, "Chatelaine of Mount Clare." In *Behind the Maryland Scene: Women of Influence 1600-1800*, ed. Southern Regional Committee National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland, and Dame Guests from other Maryland Committees, 95-103 (National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland, Southern Maryland Regional Committee, 1977), 95-103.

Interpretation of Margaret avoids the contradiction and the racialized historical processes that accompany it. Blacks are erased. In the fall of 1984, museum chairman Eugenia Calvert Holland wrote that, “Those of us who are members of the House Committee have a charming historic personage to emulate. She was a lady of refinement and gentle manners, a woman of property, informed, direct and gracious. I refer to Margaret Tilghman Carroll: bride, wife and widow of Charles Carroll, Barrister – First Lady of Mount Clare.”³⁷⁰ Feminist museologists such as Gaby Porter argue that such interpretations serve to perpetuate gender inequality in the present by basing it in the past.³⁷¹ Focus on Margaret’s relationship to architecture, furniture, and entertaining also serves to focus white women’s experiences on a selected aspect of the domestic realm without contextualizing those experiences within the atmosphere surrounding slavery. A contextualization of Margaret’s life among other women on the plantation, such as servants and enslaved persons, would promote an understanding of the ways that race, ethnicity, and class influence women’s experiences in the past and present.

Blacks at Mount Clare were in a unique situation for the Baltimore region due to their community’s size in addition to Margaret’s wealth and widowhood. The persistence of slavery seemed assured in the years following the American Revolution. The enslaved population of Baltimore County and Baltimore City

³⁷⁰ Newsletter, *The Clarion*, September 1984. Folder “Colonial Dames, Clarion Newsletters 1978-1986.” Eliza Coale Funk Papers, circa 1758-2004. Box 4 of 7. Series III: Eliza Coale Funk: Activities and Organizations, MS3065, MdHS.

³⁷¹ Gaby Porter, "Seeing Through Solidarity: A Feminist Perspective on Museums." In *Theorizing Museums*, edited by Sharon and Gordon Fyfe MacDonald, 105-26 (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1996).

increased by sixty percent between 1790 and 1810. The number of slaves in Baltimore City nearly quadrupled to 4,672. Over the next two decades, slavery declined slowly but steadily until 1830, when the trend accelerated and the free population of Baltimore increased.³⁷² In 1790, Margaret enslaved forty-seven people over age sixteen at Mount Clare. She was the seventh largest slaveholder in Baltimore County and Baltimore City. William Hammond ranked first with one hundred fifty slaves and Nicholas Carroll placed sixth with forty-nine. After Margaret, the next two largest slaveholding women held twenty-five and twenty persons. The great majority of Baltimore County and Baltimore City households contained less than five or no slaves in 1790. The few free black households headed by women tended to consist of under five persons and no slaves.³⁷³

By 1798, only three female heads of household – all white – were also slaveholders in Baltimore County. Margaret enslaved thirty-six people, twenty-one of whom were between twelve and fifty years old. Her total property was assessed at \$15,467.52 – more than the other women’s properties combined. Wealth on the 1798 assessment was calculated from slaves, plate, horses, black cattle, sheep, land, houses and other structures (such as mills). Eleanor Croxall enslaved twenty-seven people

³⁷² Stephen Whitman, *The Price of Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in Baltimore and Early National Maryland* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 9-11.

³⁷³ The men in between Hammond and Carroll were Charles Ridgeley (117), James Franklin (84), Annias Divas (74), and James Gittings and Phillip Chamberlain (55 apiece). Nicholas Carroll’s census information for The Caves was listed under Christopher Turnpaugh, the overseer. The women were Eleanor Croxall [incorrectly listed as Croxtell] and Susannah Buchannan. Department of Commerce, *Heads of Families of the First Census*, Baltimore City and Baltimore County.

between 12 and 50. Her property was assessed at \$4,977.75.³⁷⁴ Sarah Smith enslaved forty-five people, seventeen between twelve and fifty years old. Her three properties were assessed together at \$5,724.79.5. In 1804, slaves constituted forty-seven percent of the total value of Margaret's personal property but fourteen percent of her total holdings.³⁷⁵ The statistic demonstrates both the centrality of human chattel to Margaret's class standing and that she as much depended upon land for wealth. The relative scarcity of white women as heads of households in comparison with black women, combined with the rarity of white women holding over twenty slaves, demonstrates the unique position in which blacks lived at Mount Clare.³⁷⁶ Blacks witnessed the changing of Margaret's role in widowhood and recognized the social score she faced; indeed, white widowhood highlighted the dependence of an elite woman's social standing on her difference from a black slave.

Material Goods and Social Ceremonies

³⁷⁴ 1798, Baltimore Co: Eleanor Croxall in Soldiers Delight Hundred enslaved 27 people, 12 between 12 and 50. Her "sundry tracts" included one frame dwelling house 62 by 18 with piazza 62 by 8, one frame kitchen 54 by 16, one stone milk house 12 by 12, one story, one frame milk house one story 12 by 12, one frame smoke house 16 by 16 one story, one frame negroes quarter one story 18 by 18, one log negroe quarter one story 20 by 18. The assessor assessed her house at 500. Also a carriage house, barns, houses, corn houses, etc. all worth 4337.50. Conversions to 2008 currency: \$15,467.52 = \$279,370. *Six Ways to Calculate*.

³⁷⁵ Baltimore County Commissioners of the Tax (Assessed Persons List) Margaret Carroll, 1804, CR 39,605-10, MSA CM 1204-1.

³⁷⁶ No 1800 census remains for Baltimore County. It would provide names of black female heads of households with which to compare to the 1798 assessment. If the 1800 census is recovered, the comparison would further illuminate the differences of experience between Margaret and black women.

Material goods constituted one way that enslaved blacks were set apart from elite whites, but also the knowledge embodied in their double consciousness. Barbara Carson, Suzanne Spencer-Wood, and Diana Wall have found correlations between the complexity of tableware and social categories as they relate to white women in particular.³⁷⁷ Their analyses suggest that social teas and entertaining enabled Margaret to consume and to display wealth. Bridget Heneghan argues that the whitewashing of material goods in the early nineteenth century reflected a conscious and deliberate need among whites to push blackness or darkness away from themselves in order to segregate and expel black slavery.³⁷⁸ Laurie Wilkie, on the other hand, looks at the significance of large amounts of mismatched teawares at slave and tenant farmer sites. She believes that they do not signal blacks' mimicry of elites' social practices; instead, she interprets a preference for bowl shapes as a signal for African-style foods and medicines as continuing into the early twentieth century.³⁷⁹ Wilkie, however, can base her findings on the analysis of areas where

³⁷⁷ Barbara G. Carson, *Ambitious Appetites: Dining, Behavior, and Patterns of Consumption in Federal Washington* (Washington, DC: American Institute of Architects Press, 1990); Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, "Diversity and Nineteenth-Century Domestic Reform: Relationships Among Classes and Ethnic Groups," In *Those of Little Note*, ed. Elizabeth M. Scott, 175-208 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994); Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood and Scott D. Heberling, "Consumer Choices in White Ceramics: A Comparison of Eleven Early Nineteenth Century Sites," In *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology*, edited by Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, 55-84 (New York: Plenum, 1987); Diana de Zerega Wall, *The Archaeology of Gender: Separating the Spheres in Urban America* (New York: Plenum, 1994).

³⁷⁸ Bridget T. Heneghan, *Whitewashing America: Material Culture and Race in the Antebellum Imagination* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2003), 4-5.

³⁷⁹ Laurie A. Wilkie, *Creating Freedom: Material Culture and African American Identity at Oakley Plantation, Louisiana 1840-1950* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State

white enslavers did not live. No such site is known for Mount Clare. Material goods, particularly table settings and clothing, provide a way to consider the intersections of race and status at Mount Clare.

Enslaved women who worked in the kitchen and in the main house would have been aware of the complex social rituals expressed through material culture but technically ineligible to participate in them. Mount Clare had a dining room, a use-specific space possible in wealthier and larger homes. Elites created elaborate rituals laden with meaning that insiders knew to follow, but would reveal the relative ignorance of outsiders. Complex and labor-intensive meals also became popular among wealthy elites in the mid-eighteenth century. Meals came to require special sauces, multiple courses, trimmings, and other elaborate expressions of luxurious abundance.³⁸⁰ The Carrolls were also ahead of the curve in terms of table manners. In 1764, Charles ordered table knives and forks, but forks did not catch on in America until the late eighteenth century. Charles and Margaret ordered sets of Chinese export porcelain and creamware tableware in graduated sizes; forks and knives; and serving dishes for soup or sides or main dishes from London and in America. The amount of porcelain recovered archaeologically from the mansion area in comparison with other ceramic types indicates that the Carrolls ate from expensive, fine tableware on a

University Press, 2000), 145-147, 170-171. Another interpretation, however, is that bowl shapes are stronger than flat ones. Plates may appear less frequently not because of Africans' cultural preferences, but because bowls were all that were left to pass.

³⁸⁰ Ann Smart Martin, "'Fashionable Sugar Dishes, Latest Fashion Ware' The Creamware Revolution in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake." In *Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake*, Shackel and Little, eds. Pp. 169-187.

regular and frequent basis.³⁸¹ It also suggests that blacks learned white elites' social ceremonies and values, such as the meaning of formal versus informal place settings, the appropriate use of different ceramic patterns, and the service requirements for entertaining or everyday dining. Diners in the early nineteenth century sat down to large serving dishes along the center of a table. Smaller dishes, sauce containers, and pickle dishes sat among them. Water decanters stood at the corners. After the meal, a dessert course was set out, then women and men separated into their own after-meal socializing. Blacks were involved in setting up the table, moving furniture in the house to accommodate large parties, and cleaning up afterwards.³⁸²

Margaret's complaints about the quality of tea signaled her social location and agitation to separate herself from the less wealthy. Tea-drinking became more accessible to all groups in the mid-eighteenth century in the colony. Tea ceremonies took place in homes among family and a few others. Etiquette manuals of the post-Revolution era did not advise on tea in reflection of its home-oriented role. Tea in the nineteenth century included more parts: a tea table, tray or waiter or tea board, teapot, cream jug, sugar bowl and tongs, cups, saucers, teaspoons, a tea urn, a stand for the urn or pot, slop bowl, canister, strainer, spoon tray, and plates for snacks. A genteel tea required the right settings and enough for each tea-taker as well as the knowledge

³⁸¹ Diagnostic artifacts from the kitchen and orangerie included: Chinese export porcelain dating 1770s to 1805, fragments of English white saltglazed stoneware plates (1740s-1776), creamware plates and punch bowl (1762-1820), English pearlware bowls and shell-edged plates (1783-1830). Norma A. Baumgartner-Wagner, *Archaeology at Mount Clare*. 1981.

³⁸² Carson, *Ambitious Appetites*, 40-48, 61, 129.

to practice the ceremony.³⁸³ Enslaved blacks acquired knowledge of tea ceremonies and their social meaning in the process of setting up the tea service, preparing snacks and beverages, or serving Margaret and her guests. Did enslaved persons at Mount Clare adopt aspects of prejudices regarding table ceremonies? Did they choose or prefer particular vessel forms in connection with foodways or other practices? Information for interaction at the mansion provides a way to consider the relationships between enslaved workers and white elites.

Clothing and clothmaking constituted an experience shared with other plantations. Nineteenth-century slaveholders reported cloth and clothing rations that may apply to Mount Clare. Robert Collins advised two suits of cotton for spring and summer, two suits of woolens for winter, four pairs of shoes, and three hats per year. Collins observed that neatness was important to enslaved blacks and brought pride and self-respect. He saw clothing as a way to foster good behavior.³⁸⁴ One Southern plantation owner allotted each adult field hand seven yards of oznabrig, three yards of check, three yards of baize, and a hat each October. Another provided two cotton shirts, two pairs of pants, a pair of shoes, and a woolen jacket each year in the fall.³⁸⁵ Mistresses worked with enslaved women to spin thread, weave and dye cloth, and sew clothing.

Cloth and clothing were made at Mount Clare and The Caves. Margaret's niece, Eliza Tilghman Goldsborough, more frequently supplied clothing to blacks

³⁸³ Carson, *Ambitious Appetites*, 28-29.

³⁸⁴ Collins, reprinted in Olmstead, *A Journey into the Seaboard Slave States*, 694.

³⁸⁵ Roi Ottley, *Black Odyssey* (New York, 1948), 127 and 266.

who worked inside the house than to field laborers during the year. She paid enslaved women small sums for extra spinning and weaving.³⁸⁶ It is likely that the women at Mount Clare had a similar arrangement. Advertisements for some blacks who escaped from slavery demonstrated that they mixed-and-matched European and African tastes to create a highly-conscious, consumer-aware, hybrid style. Clothing used to express personal style provided freedom within racism and subordinate status in colonial and antebellum society.³⁸⁷ Aaron Pulley cut a colorful sartorial picture relative to Eddenborough or Jack Lynch when he escaped from Mount Clare in 1799: “His clothes were a bottle green, coarse cloth coat, a nankin coatee, a orange colored cotton waistcoat, with purple stripes in it, lead colored cassimere breeches, nankin waistcoat and breeches, cotton stockings, a pair of shoes, a new hat, and white shirts.”³⁸⁸ At least some of Aaron’s clothes probably came from Mount Clare or The Caves. Flax was grown behind the barn at The Caves in the early nineteenth century, and probably before then. Women gathered it.³⁸⁹ Moses, the weaver, wove flax at The

³⁸⁶ Eliza was Margaret’s favorite niece, a guest at Mount Clare, and Margaret gave her the notebook. It is tempting to assume that Eliza’s practices were condoned by Margaret and taught to her. Margaret Tilghman Carroll, 1742-1817. Account book, 1815-1821. MS 2751. MdHS.

³⁸⁷ Shane White and Graham White. “Slave Clothing and African-American Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.” *Past and Present* 148: 149-186; Jack Schwartz, “Men’s Clothing and the Negro.” *Phylon* 24(3): 221-231.

³⁸⁸ Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser [Baltimore, Md], 15 June 1799, vol. X, iss. 1744, p. 4.

³⁸⁹ Baltimore County Register of Wills (Inventories) Margaret Tilghman Carroll, Liber 30, folio 539, MSA CM 155-30, WK 1068-1069-1.

Caves into linen for trousers and other clothes.³⁹⁰ Eight-to-ten hand spinners had to work to keep a weaver occupied full-time,³⁹¹ which suggests that Moses had help. His equipment included a loom and gears, three flax spinning wheels, three yarn wheels, an iron pot, an unfinished loom with two flax hackles, a cut reel, and an old copper boiler.³⁹²

Architecture and Tension

Margaret underscored the uniqueness of blacks at Mount Clare by using her wealth to assuage social tension. The revival of business and trade after the American Revolution precipitated a building boom that intersected with trends towards increased privacy, specialized uses for spaces, and restlessness between classes and races. Elites like Margaret renovated their homes to create distance between their families and domestic laborers. Such distance aimed to ameliorate class and racial friction of the post-Revolutionary era in everyday interactions as it grounded the conceptual social location of slaves in physical places. Margaret commissioned a number of architectural changes in the 1780s and 1790s to structure the interactions between herself, family and guests, slaves, and hires at the mansion. Some changes to the mansion were precipitated by Margaret's desire to "freshen" it and its appearance.

³⁹⁰ Author unknown, *Journal of Trip from Annapolis to The Caves*. MS 1873. MdHS. Transcribed in Carroll, Jr., Douglass. *Families of Dr. Charles Carroll (1691-1755) and Cornet Thomas Dorsey (165?-1648)*. Brooklandville. On file, MdHS.

³⁹¹ Allen, *Threads of Bondage*, 118.

³⁹² Baltimore County Register of Wills (Inventories) Margaret Tilghman Carroll, Liber 30, folio 539, MSA CM 155-30, WK 1068-1069-1.

Others repaired damage sustained in a fire on May 18, 1790.³⁹³ The alterations effectively made Margaret and her guests, enslaved persons, and hired workers less visible to each other.

Margaret commissioned eight-foot-wide service passages on the far sides of the kitchen and office wings to move service entrances away from the main house. Call bells in the kitchen wing provided additional privacy and distance from Margaret and her guests from house servants. A larder was built off the hyphen between the dining room and kitchen wing. It had a fireplace and could have served as servants' or slaves' quarters. The scullery became known as the pantry. A number of changes were made inside the main house, as well. Margaret changed her husband's office into a drawing room to have the three principle rooms necessary for late eighteenth-century, large-scale entertaining: a room for playing cards, a dining room, and a dancing room.³⁹⁴ Enslaved persons would have adapted to the re-structuring of their movements and, indeed, gained more privacy in the process. Unfortunately for the interpretation of black history today, the wings were demolished in 1870. The architectural alterations overall demonstrate the ability of conservative, wealthy elites to physically delineate their social sentiments.

³⁹³ The "right wing" of Mount Clare "was entirely consumed, and much valuable furniture considerably damaged; by the exertions of a number of the inhabitants of this town, the left wing and body of the building were preserved. The fire was communicated by a spark falling from the chimney on the roof." The "right wing" was Charles's former office, which stood to the right of the main house as viewed from the Frederick Turnpike Road. Baltimore, May 18. *The Pennsylvania Packet, and Daily Advertiser* [Philadelphia, Pa], 25 May 1790, Issue 3530, p. 3.

³⁹⁴ Trostel, *Mount Clare*, 79-80.

Changes to the mansion were complete by 1798, but quite a few buildings beyond the mansion were in disrepair. Of the thirty-six enslaved persons, twenty-one of them were between 12 and 50 years old. All were taxable. The 1798 federal assessment provides a detailed list of farm and house structures within two acres of the mansion and beyond the two acres. Unfortunately, no plantation layout map situates them. Comparison of the 1798 assessment with Margaret's 1817 estate inventory provides a few clues.

The mansion complex contained Margaret's residence and wings. It included from west to east: a brick addition (18 by 12, one story), a brick shed (39 by 24, one story), a brick green house (the orangerie, 26 by 26, one story), the brick service passage to the office or drawing room (28 by 8, one story), a brick and stone office or drawing room (51 by 21, one story), Margaret's residence (46 by 36, two story, with piazza 18 by 8), the brick kitchen (34 by 18, one story), the service passage to the kitchen (28 by 8, one story), a brick addition (14 by 12, one story), a brick wash house (26 by 26, one story), and a brick shed (39 by 24, one story). A smoke house and a milk house (both 20 by 20, stone, one story) stood near the complex, probably at the east wing to be near the kitchen. Bacon, smoked beef and tongues, and hams were kept in the smokehouse.³⁹⁵ Hired women likely lived in the attic garret bedchambers or slept in Margaret's room. Hires and enslaved persons may have lived

³⁹⁵ Baltimore County Register of Wills (Accounts of Sale) Margaret Tilghman Carroll, Liber WB 6, folio 441, MSA CM 125-6, CR 9513-1. The contents of the greenhouse are not listed in Margaret's estate inventory. They included lemon and orange trees, various plants and flowers, and flowerpots. Poppleton's map of Baltimore counterpoints my interpretation. Poppleton situates two small structures near the west wing and one at the east wing.

in other spaces with fireplaces, such as the kitchen, pantry, orangerie, and basement.³⁹⁶ The “sheds” in the wings of the mansion may also be code for quarters.

Other locations for buildings listed on the 1798 assessment are more difficult to place. Plantation support buildings tended to cluster near the mansion and near work areas, such as fields and mills. Some of the structures kept sheep, horses, cattle, and pigs or were processing areas for hides, wool, and meat. Structures in the vicinity of the mansion at Mount Clare may have included a stone ice house (25 by 16), stone stable (25 by 25, one story), stone cornhouse (18 by 16, one-half story), a press house for juices and wine (45 by 34, one story), a frame house (16 by 11, one story), and an old frame cowhouse (21 by 16) to supply the meat house and milk house. The Mount Clare Mill complex may have consisted of a miller’s house, an old frame (44 by 16, one story) with a brick shed addition (44 by 16).³⁹⁷ Farm buildings probably stood north of the mansion on the other side of the turnpike amid fields of wheat and rye. The farming complex included barns, stables, and frame structures to protect wood or act as staging areas. They might have included an old stone blacksmith shop (53 by 24, one story), a log house (fit for fuel, 30 by 24, one story), a stone house (16 by 14, fit to fall, one story), a frame structure (15 by 15, one story), an old frame structure (47 by 20, one story), an old frame barn (38 by 22, one story), and an old stone stable (45 by 24, one story). Enslaved persons on Chesapeake plantations often lived near

³⁹⁶ Trostel, *Mount Clare*, 25 and 80.

³⁹⁷ The press house may have been a distillery. George Washington’s Mount Vernon had a distillery for wheat and corn near the mill. Perhaps a similar arrangement was at Mount Clare. Eleanor E. Breen and Esther C. White, “A Pretty Considerable Distillery’: George Washington’s Whiskey Distillery,” Mount Vernon.

where they worked and in farm buildings. “The Quarter” furnishings were listed in 1817 as a cot and bedstead, table and chairs. Also nearby were a bathing tub, an old table, and a tea kettle and frying pan. Perhaps an old log house (32 by 22, one story), an old frame stable (24 by 16, two story), an old stone potato house (15 by 12, one-half story), an old log house (28 by 16, one story), and an old brick cooper shop (16 by 13, one story) stood by the other mill. A two-story brick mill house (26 by 26, two story) and a stone mill house (50 by 46, three story) sat west of the mansion.³⁹⁸

Blacks may have worked between Margaret's two mills and the grain fields with white millers and their assistants.³⁹⁹ One more old log house (18 by 16, one story) may have stood near them, or perhaps it was the house pictured in Charles Willson Peale’s painting of Mount Clare. Figures 8 and 9 show the layout of the northern mill complex. Although James Carroll may have expanded it after Margaret’s death, the layout provides a sense of the components of a milling complex.

³⁹⁸ Changes to the Mount Clare Mill occurred by 1819: Policy #6033, 1 October 1819. Box 3, Record of Policies E, Baltimore Equitable Society Insurance Records. MS 3020.

³⁹⁹ Advertisement, *Federal Intelligencer* [Baltimore, Md], vol. III: 433, published 24 March 1795); Advertisement, *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser* [Baltimore, Md.], 22 September 1797, vol. 7, iss. 1208, p. 4. American agricultural production took on considerable importance in Europe in the 1783-1815 period due to war, famines, and population growth. The Carroll mills were among the fifty merchant mills within eighteen miles of Baltimore in 1799. Beginning in 1815, and continuing for the next eleven years, Baltimore surpassed all other American markets in its flour inspections. Oliver Evans’s patented automated mill provided technological advantages. Sharrer, however, fails to connect Baltimore milling and flour production with Africans living in the region. Sharrer, “The Merchant Millers,” 142-144 and *Flour Milling and the Growth of Baltimore*.

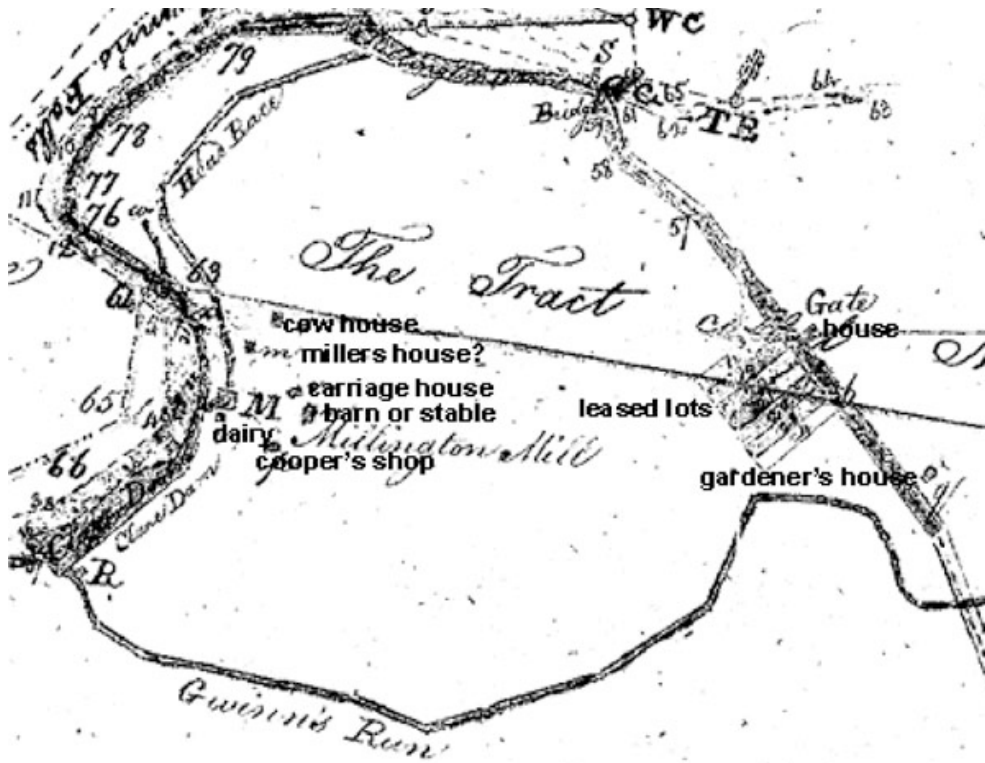


Figure 8: Millington Mills in 1826. Maryland State Archives.

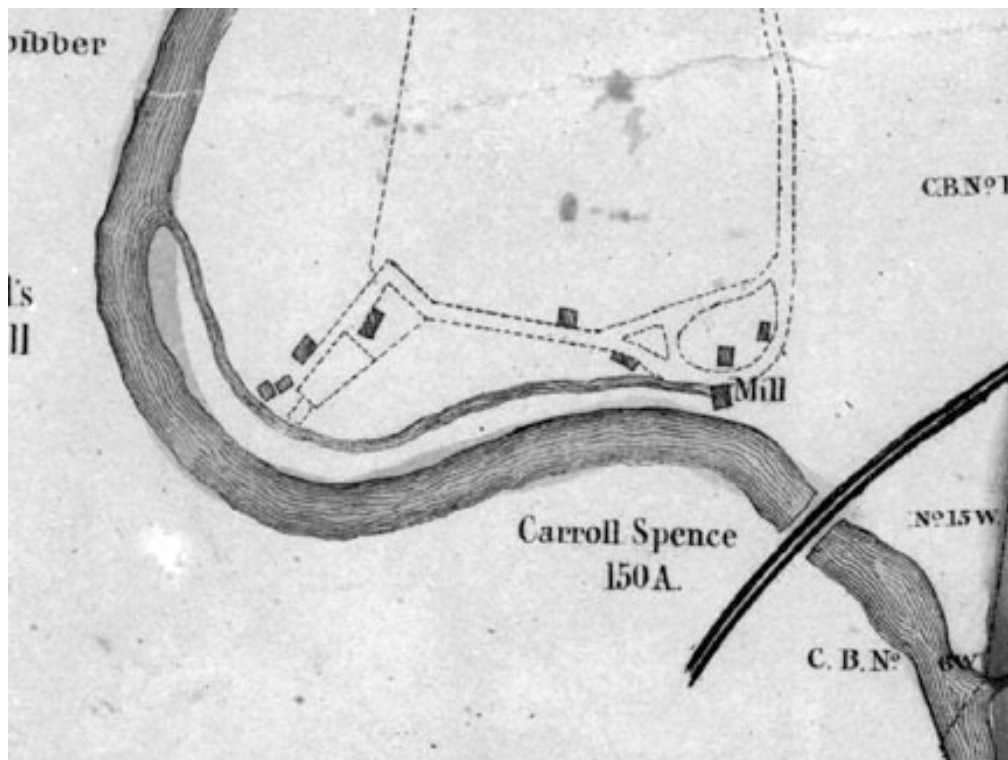


Figure 9: Millington Mills in 1856 with identical layout to 1826. J.D. Scott, City of Baltimore. surveyed by Simon J. Martenet, C.E. 1856. Library of Congress.

The assessor did not identify which buildings were slave quarters or overseers housing for any property in Middlesex Hundred. Tax records used many different terms for slave housing, such as cabin, hut, quarters, house, double house, dwelling house, or Negro house.⁴⁰⁰ Assessors in other Baltimore region hundreds did identify slave quarters. Quarters at The Caves were clustered within two acres of the main house. They were “2 old negro houses, log, each 16 by 20 feet – 1 ditto, 20 by 36.”⁴⁰¹ Nicholas Carroll enslaved thirty-seven people at The Caves in 1798, and the thirty-six people enslaved at Georgia may have experienced similar living arrangements. The twenty-seven persons enslaved by Croxall lived in “one frame negro quarter one story 18 by 18” and “one log negroe quarter one story 20 by 18.”⁴⁰² Eighteenth-century slave quarters tended to be small, one-room post-in-ground, wooden structures. The number of people per quarter varied greatly as reported by former slaves, ranging from 260 slaves in 38 cabins to 29 slaves in a long shed to 27 cabins

⁴⁰⁰ Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 107-110.

⁴⁰¹ Maryland State Papers (Federal Direct Tax) Baltimore County, Back River and Middle River Upper Hundreds, Nos. 999-1499: Particular List of Dwelling Houses; Particular List of Lands, Lots Buildings, and Wharves; Particular List of Slaves, M 3469-2, MSA SM56-2.

⁴⁰² Maryland State Papers (Federal Direct Tax) Baltimore County, Middlesex Hundred, Nos. 2833-3147: Particular List of Dwelling Houses, Particular List of Lands, Lots, Buildings, and Wharves; Particular List of Slaves. Maryland State Papers. M3469-7. MSA SM56-7.

for 100 slaves.⁴⁰³ One estimate places 5.2 slaves per structure as an average.⁴⁰⁴ The sizes also varied, which complicates the overall picture.

By the mid-nineteenth century, a building boom in slave quarters throughout the South had resulted in larger, better-constructed buildings. Slaveholders believed that upgraded housing could coerce slaves into good behavior and disguise the oppressive aspects of slavery.⁴⁰⁵ Quarters included a wide variety of architectural configurations, construction materials, and sizes. They might stand near the slaveholder's house, in clusters, or spread across the landscape.⁴⁰⁶ John Vlach argues that shotgun-style houses in the South are a legacy of African and Caribbean cultures in America. He suggests that enslaved persons "made sense of their new environment by transforming it so that it resembled a familiar pattern."⁴⁰⁷ He also believes that slave quarters gave enslaved persons a measure of assurance and control over their

⁴⁰³ John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 159. Blassingame draws from slave autobiographies and biographies for the numbers.

⁴⁰⁴ Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman. *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1974), 115-116.

⁴⁰⁵ John Michael Vlach, "'Snug Li'l House with Flue and Oven': Nineteenth-Century Reforms in Plantation Slave Housing." *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 5, Gender, Class, and Shelter (1995): 118-129.

⁴⁰⁶ John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

⁴⁰⁷ John Michael Vlach, "The Shotgun House: An African Architectural Legacy." In *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, edited by Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, 58-78 (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 76.

lives.⁴⁰⁸ The location of slave quarters away from the mansion appeared to be a longstanding practice at Mount Clare to distance blacks from whites.

Lifetimes at Mount Clare

Thirty-two enslaved blacks lived at Mount Clare in 1804, forty-four in 1813, and forty in 1817. Margaret placed the ten people she enslaved in 1817 at The Caves after Nicholas Carroll's death in 1812.⁴⁰⁹ Comparison of the numbers over time demonstrates the ways that infant mortality, skill acquisition and labor, family life, and freedom took shape at Mount Clare in terms of life stages and gender.

Infancy

Infant mortality was common among all women in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Status may have provided Margaret with advantages such as

⁴⁰⁸ John Michael Vlach, "Not Mansions ... But Good Enough: Slave Quarters as Bi-Cultural Expression," In *Black and White Cultural Interaction in the Antebellum South*, edited by Ted Ownby, pp. 89-114 (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993), 114.

⁴⁰⁹ Nicholas Carroll died in 1812, leaving significant debt and a complicated estate. Margaret inherited a share of Nicholas Carroll's land, but not slaves. Anne Arundel County Register of Wills (Testamentary Papers), Nicholas Carroll, 1812, Acc. 4767-105-1/55, MSA C149-123. Two people on Nicholas' inventory – Abraham or Abram and Fanny – may have been purchased by James Carroll, as they are listed on a tax statement in 1832. The Carrolls Island population was probably sold. The enslaved population listed in 1812 and 1817 at The Caves does not appear to overlap. Nicholas C. Carroll, son of Nicholas Carroll, enslaved 45 people at The Caves in 1813. They managed 13 horses, 70 black cattle, 48 hogs, and 58 sheep. James Carroll kept enslaved persons near the old forge and grist mill, and on the property called Mud Bank. Baltimore County Commissioners of the Tax (Assessment Record) Margaret Carroll or James Carroll, District 1, 1813, p. 5. C277-4. MdHR 12,502. Baltimore County Commissioners of the Tax (Assessment Record), Nicholas Carroll, 1813, District 7, p. 163, C277-4. MdHR 12,502. See Appendix B.

prenatal nutrition and no expectation to work up to childbirth, but her twin daughters still died in infancy. The seven enslaved children assessed in 1804 can all be tracked to 1817. Newborns, however, may not appear on tax assessments.⁴¹⁰ James, son of “Richard and Dorithea Garrit” (later Garrett) was born on September 27, 1803 and baptized on July 20, 1804 at Margaret’s church, St. Paul’s Parish.⁴¹¹ Two aspects suggest that the baptism was a special privilege for the Garrits: first, most of the few “colored” infants baptized at St. Paul’s belonged to freepersons and second, James is the only baptized infant in St. Paul’s records associated with Mount Clare.

James Garrett’s case suggests that Margaret’s estate inventory accounts indirectly for infant deaths. Dolly and Henny bore children about every two years, but space exists between a few of their children’s births. Just as Dolly’s son, James (b. 1803) might have fallen between William (b. 1802) and Thomas (b. 1806), another child might have been born between Thomas and Sampson (b. 1811). Henny may have lost children between the births of John (b. 1806) and Jim/Sam (b. 1812), or between Jim/Sam and Bill (b. 1816). Other explanations, however, exist. Women practiced birth control and committed infanticide; they miscarried or their nutrition was too poor to carry to term. Husbands or partners lived on other plantations, escaped, or were sold away.⁴¹² Considering Margaret’s own losses, how did she treat

⁴¹⁰ I charted the names and demographic ages of blacks listed on Margaret’s 1817 estate inventory backwards into tax assessments and census records for 1790, 1800, 1804, and 1813. It presented no gaps between people alive in 1817 and demographics for the earlier eras.

⁴¹¹ Bill and Martha Reamy, *Records of St. Paul’s Parish* (Westminster: Family Line Publications, 1988), vol. 2, p. 29.

enslaved infants' births and deaths? How did the mothers react? Or if infant mortality was lower than demographic analysis suggests, why? What conditions at Mount Clare and the Baltimore region were conducive or detrimental to the survival of infants into childhood? Such questions tap into why infants play a significant role in black history at Mount Clare. Any joy associated with motherhood and the creation of families was tempered with the lack of control over the fates of children. Enslaved mothers at Mount Clare bore children who automatically became human chattel – the fundamental difference between their experiences and those of Margaret.

Childhood and Prepubescence

Blacks during their childhood through prepubescence gained knowledge and skills in power relations and everyday tasks at Mount Clare. Infants who lived became part of the push-pull for power between their parents and enslavers. Historical studies of enslaved children focus both on the economic incentives for slaveholders to provide for infants as well as children's lives within enslaved families and culture. Marie Jenkins Schwartz sees them as occupying, “an unusual position in that two sets of adults valued them, laying claim to their economic worth and attaching an emotional significance to their presence.”⁴¹³ Mistresses' roles extended throughout the domestic

⁴¹² The relationship between Henny and her husband John Lynch may be one example of changing relationship statuses between men and women. Henny bore her first child, Maria, when John was ten years old. John's age at the time suggests that he was not Maria's biological father. Henny's next child was born eight years later to John, and then a child every two years thereafter. The timeline suggests that Maria's father was not part of Henny's life, but the reason is unknown.

⁴¹³ Marie Jenkins Schwartz, *Born in Bondage: Growing Up Enslaved in the Antebellum South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 8.

life of enslaved persons. White women might babysit enslaved children, advise on health care, and socialize them in European American standards for morality and proper conduct. Their involvement created tension with black mothers.⁴¹⁴ Which, if any, of these relationships are unknown for Mount Clare. Perhaps, however, Dolly Garrett named her daughter Margaret after her slaveholder. Margaret was one of the small children who went to live with freed parents after Margaret Tilghman Carroll's death.

The number of children under age eight at Mount Clare almost doubled in the nineteenth century: seven in 1804, ten in 1813, and thirteen in 1817.⁴¹⁵ Small children often grew up alongside their parents in kitchens or fields. Perhaps the china dolls, marbles, and game pieces dating archaeologically to after 1817 around the mansion suggest more ephemeral antecedents made of cloth, straw, stones, or buttons. Some of the toys may have come from Margaret. Gifts, attention, special dispensations, and teaching of social standards exacerbated tensions between enslaved parents and their children's enslavers.⁴¹⁶ Parents, argue Eugene Genovese and Herbert Gutman, took advantage of opportunities that came to their children as a result of slaveholders'

⁴¹⁴ Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1985/1999), 50-51.

⁴¹⁵ After Charles's death in 1783, the enslaved population at The Caves and Carrolls Island became property of Nicholas Maccubbin Carroll. The number of children declined over time at The Caves: thirteen children in 1783, four in 1812, and five children in 1813. A correlation is unclear between the two places. Margaret enslaved two children at The Caves in 1817, but the number then enslaved by Nicholas C. Carroll is not known. Ten children lived at Carrolls Island in 1783 and none in 1812.

⁴¹⁶ See Wilkie, *Creating Freedom*, 149-151 for examples from Oakley Plantation.

paternalistic or maternalistic attitudes.⁴¹⁷ Margaret's direction in her will to place children with their parents whenever possible may reflect such taking of opportunities, but also her feelings for the children and belief in the benefit of stability brought by parents.

Cared-for and nurtured children were more likely to survive to adulthood and become working hands. Thomas L. Webber finds that mid-nineteenth century Southern enslaved children spent their youngest years with other slaves before working fields beginning around age eight.⁴¹⁸ Wilma King believes that they were "children without childhoods" as a result of their experiences with separation and despair.⁴¹⁹ James Pennington, for example, described his parents' inability to give enough attention as robbing him of a social circle.⁴²⁰ The grooming of children began as early as possible. Older children learned to be house servants and were apprenticed to learn trades.⁴²¹ Healthy children who became used to laboring contributed to

⁴¹⁷ Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon, 1974). Genovese argues that slaveholders and the enslaved bonded in familial terms as the basis of his discussion of paternalism. Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom 1750-1925* (New York: Pantheon, 1976).

⁴¹⁸ Thomas L. Weber, *Deep Like the Rivers: Education in the Slave Quarter Community 1831-1865* (New York: Norton, 1978).

⁴¹⁹ Wilma King, *Stolen Childhood: Slave Youth in Nineteenth-Century America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).

⁴²⁰ James W. C. Pennington, *The Fugitive Blacksmith; Or, Events in the History of James W. C. Pennington, Pastor of a Presbyterian Church, New York, Formerly a Slave in the State of Maryland, United States*. 3rd ed. Reprinted from 1850 edition (Westport: Negro Universities Press, 1971), 2.

⁴²¹ Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 212.

production on plantations and to the enslaver's wealth.⁴²² Information from other plantations indicates that boys and girls conducted lightweight tasks, tended farm animals, conducted housework or errands, and babysat.⁴²³

The number of enslaved male and female youngsters aged eight-to-fourteen remained stable at Mount Clare with five in 1804 and six in 1813 and 1817. If young boys did tend animals at Mount Clare, they were responsible for twelve horses, forty-two black cattle, fifty-one hogs, and twenty-nine sheep in 1804.⁴²⁴ By 1813, however, youths tended similar numbers of horses (12) and cattle (49), but half as many hogs (24) and no sheep.⁴²⁵ They may also have looked after chickens, turkeys, geese, and other birds and animals.⁴²⁶ Children and youths absorbed skills and knowledge from their parents and enslavers about everyday plantation maintenance as well as the power relations that typified relationships between elites and slaves.

Adulthood

⁴²² Schwartz, *Born in Bondage*, 3-5.

⁴²³ White, *Ar'n't I a Woman?*, 92.

⁴²⁴ Ball, *Slavery in the United States*, 196; Baltimore County Commissioner of the Tax (Assessment Record), Margaret Carroll, Middlesex and Patapsco Lower Hundreds, 1804, CR39,605-2. MSA CM1203-2.

⁴²⁵ Baltimore County Commissioners of the Tax (Assessment Record) Margaret Carroll, 1813, p. 5. MSA C277-4.

⁴²⁶ The faunal record indicates the consumption of beef, fish, turkey, chicken, pork, and possibly goat due to the deposition of sawed bones in the vicinity of Mount Clare. These bones cannot be dated to identify eating trends over time.

Blacks' roles became delineated by sex with the onset of puberty and as physical ability merged with expertise in aspects of plantation management. Men age 14-45 and women age 14-36 were the highest valued groups at Mount Clare and other Carroll plantations. The number of women age 14-36 changed significantly from five in 1804 to eight in 1813 and then by half to four in 1817. On the other hand, the male population was larger, more consistent in size, and more valuable. Fourteen men were at Mount Clare in 1804, fifteen in 1813, and twelve in 1817. They outnumbered women about 3:1. Margaret may have purchased men when natural increase did not produce enough males. Jacob Hall and William Coney, for example, appear unrelated to the rest of the Mount Clare population.

Age at first child, absence or presence of fathers, marriage, and years between children demonstrate that black mothers at Mount Clare had a typical experience of enslaved persons and families. Women aged 14-36 tended to work in fields or the mansion, but they carried the additional weight of childbearing. Childbirth decreased the life expectancy of women and their ability to work full-time and, in turn, made purchasing them more of a gamble for enslavers. A few women go missing between the 1804 and 1813 assessments for Mount Clare; one explanation is that they died in childbirth. Enslavers encouraged women to bear children, sometimes with inducements such as gifts, free time, lighter workloads, or freedom.

Enslaved women in the South typically had their first child by age nineteen or twenty, waited a few years for another child, and beginning with the second bore children about every two and a half years.⁴²⁷ The patterns hold for black women at

Mount Clare as seen by comparing two generations of mothers in 1817. Of the older generation, Dolly bore her first child at age twenty and her second about three years later. Henny had her first at age nineteen. Dolly's daughters bore their first children at ages seventeen and twenty. Henny's eldest daughter birthed her first at age seventeen. If the younger generation mothers were married, the fathers and the unions were not recognized in Carroll records. Dolly's and Henny's marriages to men at Mount Clare, however, were recognized. The evening-out of the male/female ratio by the late eighteenth century improved the regularity of family units; indeed, the Garrett and Lynch families grew by a child every two-to-four years. The regularity of births suggests that the families had some stability. They may also indicate that Dolly, Richard, John, and Henny held positions specific to or unique for Mount Clare in comparison to The Caves or Carrolls Island, such as cooks or gardeners.

Mothers such as Mary or Sukey at Mount Clare, like many other enslaved women, raised their children together due to the absence of their children's fathers on a day-to-day basis. On the other hand, Margaret did assign adult women to work apart from their children. Mary's young son Jerry lived at the Caves while she was at Mount Clare with her other son in 1817. Perhaps Mary moved in-between the plantations but not always with her children. Fathers' interaction with their children might be curtailed by their living on another plantation, or they might be sold away, find their visits to other plantations rationed, or escape. Both John Blassingame and Deborah Gray place homeland culture in America by noting that matriarchical

⁴²⁷ White, *Ar'n't I a Woman?*, 98, 100-105.

childbearing was a cultural tradition in Africa.⁴²⁸ The cultural tradition may have been familiar, but in America it was dictated by forces beyond black mothers' control.

Another characteristic of members of the mid-life demographic was that they encountered the least stability. Mid-life individuals were most likely to escape, be sold or hired out. By 1804, six men age 14-45 and one woman age 14-36 are unaccounted for. One boy age 8-14, two women age 14-36, and three men age 14-45 are missing in 1813. By 1817, no men between the age of 32 and 43 lived at Mount Clare (the possible exception is Moses, who was ill). What became of them?

A few blacks became free. Aaron Pulley, who escaped in 1799, may account for one of the men absent in 1804. Another explanation is that free or self-emancipated blacks joined the British during the War of 1812. In 1813 and 1814, an "exodus" of blacks shook slavery and caused panic among enslavers even though by war's end many slaves remained on plantations.⁴²⁹ Whether or not any enslaved persons escaped from Mount Clare to join the British remains unknown, but no exodus took place. Margaret enslaved fifteen males between 14 and 45 in 1813.⁴³⁰ Manumission was another path to freedom. Margaret freed Henry Harden in 1815.⁴³¹ Were other men released before Margaret's death? If so, how did they earn money to

⁴²⁸ Blassingame *The Slave Community*, 79; White, *Ar'n't I a Woman?*, 64-66, 69.

⁴²⁹ Cassell, "Slaves in the Chesapeake Bay Area and the War of 1812," 152, 155.

⁴³⁰ Baltimore County Commissioners of the Tax (Assessment Record) Margaret Carroll, 1813, p. 5. C277-4. MdHR 12,502.

⁴³¹ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) Henry Harden, 8 April 1818, p. 16, MSA C-290-1.

purchase freedom, or what was the inducement to Margaret for their release? Many widows hired out slaves as porters, deliverymen, or in trade labor as a source of income.⁴³² For example, Margaret hired out Milly, a girl between the ages of 14 and 26, according to the 1800 assessment for Baltimore City. She had seven slaves in the city as per the 1800 census, but no one there by 1810.⁴³³ Were they typical? Or did Margaret's wealth and a desire to maintain the plantation prevent more people from working off-site? Many blacks from other sites hired themselves out, with or without permission. Black men earned small amounts of cash by overwork around Mount Clare.⁴³⁴ Other inducements were more subtle. Unpleasant attitudes, threats, and drunkenness pushed enslavers to decide whether to place advertisements to sell a slave or allow a person to purchase freedom.⁴³⁵

Males age 32-43 and women before bearing children were most likely to escape slavery or be freed as shown by the records for Mount Clare. One anomaly is Nell Williams, who was seventeen years old at freedom in 1795. She may also have managed to secure freedom for her children. Henny was two years old at the time, but

⁴³² Dornan, "Masterful Women," 389-391.

⁴³³ 1800 U.S. Federal Census, Baltimore City, Baltimore, Maryland, 1800. Roll 9, p. 161. Milly was hired out to F. Hollingsworth. Baltimore City Assessor (Tax Records) Margaret Carroll, 1800, RG 4, Series 2, p. 76; Baltimore City Assessor (Tax Records) Margaret Carroll, First District, 1808-1810, RG 4, Series 2, p. 449; Baltimore City Assessor (Tax Records) Mrs. Carroll (widow), 1813, RG 4, Series 2, p. 73, Baltimore City Archives.

⁴³⁴ 24 Jun 1786: Negros Jack, Moses and Bobb to cash in full for 3 days work – 0.7.6. Account Book (1767-1786), MCMH.

⁴³⁵ See Robbins, "Power Among the Powerless" for discussion on the experiences of Margaret McHenry, who was faced with transporting slaves to Philadelphia from Baltimore after her husband James accepted a political appointment.

Fanny was not born until 1804.⁴³⁶ What motivated Margaret to free Nell? Were Henny and Fanny her daughters? Was Nell's freedom purchased by a family member? Or did it have to do with the liquidation of the Baltimore Iron Works? The remaining partners of the Baltimore Company manumitted several adults and children around the same time as company land was being sold.⁴³⁷ Escape, joining the military effort, and manumission are three ways that enslaved blacks at Mount Clare became free during Margaret's lifetime.

The Elderly

Few men remained on the plantation to reach the 45+ age demographic. They and women 36+ lent stability and institutional knowledge for each generation.⁴³⁸

Grandparents cared for their grandchildren in the absence of parents who had been

⁴³⁶ George H. Sumwalt [?] appeared for Nell and Fanny. Nell was about 53 years old, light complexion, 5 feet 2 ½ inches tall, with a small scar on the back of her left hand near the wrist. Fanny was about 28 years old, dark complexion, 5'1 ½" tall, no notable marks or scars. Baltzer Schaffer appeared for Henny, who was described as about 39 years old, light complexion, 5' 2 ½" tall, and having scar on the underlip under the right corner of the mouth. Nell Williams, p. 59; Fanny Cooper, p. 215; Henny, p. 235. Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom, 1830-1832), MSA C-290-2. Nell registered with Fanny Cooper and Henny in 1795. Nell was about seventeen years old in 1795 and Henny two years old, but Fanny was not born until about 1804.

⁴³⁷ Charles Carroll of Carrollton and others to Jacob Gilliard, 26 June 1792, p. 78; Charles Carroll and others to Negro Nat Rice and Others, Manumission, 25 March 1794, p. 305; and Charles Carroll and others to Negro Joe Jacobs and Others, Manumission, 25 March 1794, p. 306, Baltimore County Court Chattel Records 1791-1794, Baltimore County Court, MS 2865.1, MdHS. Baltimore Company, Division of Stock [26 March] 1805, Vertical file, MdHS; Moreno, *Mistress of Mount Clare*, 57-58.

⁴³⁸ White, *Ar'n't I a Woman?*, 114-115.

sent away to work, sold, or who had passed away.⁴³⁹ Elders played important roles in the development of community and the memory of homeland culture. Stacey Close and Leslie Pollard argue that West African cultures provided context for older or elderly persons in the New World as they faced racism and oppression as slaves. Elderly blacks passed knowledge of African traditions, social practices, and lifeways to younger generations. Stories and folktales – told in African languages when the storyteller’s knowledge remained – were infused with references to animals and foodways in Africa and teachings about African culture. The passing of cultural knowledge came with an ethic for generational respect and community loyalty.⁴⁴⁰

Adult mortality at Mount Clare is difficult to gauge. Nicholas Carroll enslaved thirty-one people at The Caves in 1812, ten of whom were about sixty years old or older.⁴⁴¹ Upon James Carroll’s death at Mount Clare in 1832, seven of the nineteen people he enslaved were over fifty-five, and three were seventy-five years old.⁴⁴² One estimate of slave mortality calculates that over a third of enslaved persons reached age fifty by 1850. By 1860, the number had increased to half of all enslaved

⁴³⁹ Frederick Douglass lived with his grandmother until called to work in the fields. He describes his affection for her and the pain of being separated. (Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, 2.)

⁴⁴⁰ Stacey K. Close, *Elderly Slaves of the Plantation South*. New York and London: Garland Publishing. 1997; Leslie J. Pollard, “Aging and Slavery: A Gerontological Perspective.” *The Journal of Negro History* 66(3): 228-234.

⁴⁴¹ Ann Arundel County Register of Wills (Testamentary Papers), Nicholas Carroll, 1812, Box 105, Folder 36, MSA C149-123, Loc. 1/4/9/41

⁴⁴² Baltimore County Register of Wills (Inventories) James Carroll, 23 March 1832, Liber 45, folio 118, MSA WK 1075-1076-2. (check this citation)

persons.⁴⁴³ Margaret enslaved one “verry old” woman named Eve in 1817, but the population overall appears to be relatively young compared with that enslaved by her nephews. Why? Did Margaret manumit during her lifetime to avoid a large, aging workforce? Or did she send older people to live at The Caves? No explanation remains.

Choices and Manumission

Margaret faced a number of decisions concerning enslaved blacks and her personal property towards the end of her life. Slavery declined in the Baltimore region as the number of enslaved persons grew beyond the demand for enslaved laborers rather than freed blacks or indentured or working whites. Short-term hiring became more attractive and cost-effective than enslavement. A Maryland law passed in 1817 aimed to restrict slaves “being permitted to act as free.” It both penalized slaveholders for allowing their slaves to go “at large” in order to hire themselves out and anyone who hired such slaves. The penalty was up to twenty dollars per month. The law took effect in April 1819.⁴⁴⁴ Other factors were more influential for Margaret during her lifetime.

Baltimore-region planters were moving away from slavery as a way to build capital as burgeoning industrial development offered a more stable investment. Margaret developed her own wealth through real estate and banking, but not industry.

⁴⁴³ Close, *Elderly Slaves of the Plantation South*, 45 and 50.

⁴⁴⁴ A supplement to the act, entitled, an Act to prevent the inconveniencies arising from Slaves being permitted to act as free. Ch. 104, p. 657. Vol. 141, p. 658. Archives of Maryland Online.

Slaveholders found the support of slaves increasingly difficult with diminishing return on their investment. They became less financially able to support their own families as slavery became a burden without significant financial compensation. Enslaved individuals and families at Mount Clare were not a “burden” to Margaret in this way because she was elderly and had no family of her own to support. Planters ceased to bequeath enslaved persons to their descendants, but instead directed their executors to sell them. Margaret had no children to whom to pass enslaved persons – her family members already held sizable slave populations.⁴⁴⁵ Although Margaret maintained Mount Clare for James Carroll, the next owner, she neither owned the property nor passed on the people she managed upon it during widowhood. Margaret bequeathed household furniture, clothing, and jewelry to her female relatives and “liquidated” slaves and other property to give them cash. No material goods were left to enslaved persons in Margaret’s will.

A number of legal issues shaped the possibilities for the manumission of Carroll slaves. Chapter 6 establishes that most of the people enslaved by Margaret were not freed immediately, but were offered the promise of freedom in the future. Legislation regulated the terms of manumission to prevent a slaveowner from evading the support of a freedperson during his or her lifetime. Manumission laws protected the public from the responsibility of caring for destitute freedpersons while providing a mechanism to limit manumission.⁴⁴⁶ The Maryland Assembly passed an act in 1752

⁴⁴⁵ Phillips, *Freedom’s Port*, 23 and 27-28.

to prevent freed disabled or superannuated slaves from becoming a burden to society after emancipation. It limited manumissions to enslaved persons under fifty years old who could work to support themselves. It prohibited manumission by last will and testament, requiring instead that manumissions could occur only by deed recorded in the county court. Furthermore, the law required all free blacks to register with the court.⁴⁴⁷ An act passed in 1796 repealed the 1752 act and restored slaveowners' ability to manumit by last will and testament on the provision that the freedperson be less than forty-five years old and able to maintain a livelihood. It furthermore required that deeds of manumission be recorded at the court in order to prove freedom.⁴⁴⁸

Other social pressures may have influenced Margaret's thinking. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese's and Eugene Genovese's dissection of antebellum Southerners' pro-slavery ideological thought shows that slavery doctrine transcended race. It provided answers to the problem of ordering society in terms of labor and capital.⁴⁴⁹ Margaret's perpetuation of slavery through delayed manumission may suggest her shared belief in the naturalness of slavery, but also that it was an untenable practice. Slavery

⁴⁴⁶ Benjamin Joseph Klebaner, "American Manumission Laws and the Responsibility for Supporting Slaves," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 63 (1955) 4: 443-453.

⁴⁴⁷ An Act to prevent disabled and superannuated Slaves being set free, or the Manumission of Slaves by any last Will or Testament. June 1752, Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1752-54. Archives of Maryland Online, vol. 70, p. 56.

⁴⁴⁸ An act relating to negroes. December 1796. Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1796. Chapter 67. Vol. 105, p. 249.

⁴⁴⁹ Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, *Slavery in White and Black: Class and Race in the Southern Slaveholders' New World Order* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

became less socially palatable and manumission became more fashionable. Elite men such as Robert Carter and George Washington – with whom Margaret had corresponded and admired – manumitted slaves. They inspired other men of less status to manumit, as well. Philip Morgan explains that splitting families as an effect of manumission gave George Washington pause because of the kin networks that extended across his plantations into neighboring plantations.⁴⁵⁰ Considering Margaret’s request that young children go with their parents, she may also have had difficulty with splitting families.

Margaret was undoubtedly aware of tensions surrounding slavery within the Episcopal Church. The Church, unlike Quakers or Methodists, supported slavery by not disavowing it outright. Kenneth Carroll has shown that the call to free slaves based on religious arguments appeared to attack the morality of large landowners in the church.⁴⁵¹ Margaret was a member of St. Paul’s Parish in Baltimore. Its records do not describe the congregation’s debates on or feelings about slavery, but many of its white members were slaveowners. Blacks were afforded limited participation in church activities. Over half of the new owners of former Carroll slaves attended church at St. Paul’s.⁴⁵² Members of St. Paul’s were among a group of men who

⁴⁵⁰ Philip D. Morgan, “‘To Get Quit of Negroes’: George Washington and Slavery.” *Journal of American Studies* 39 (2005) 3, 403-429, p. 427.

⁴⁵¹ Kenneth L. Carroll, “An Eighteenth-Century Episcopalian Attack on Quaker and Methodist Manumission of Slaves.” *MHM* 80 (1985) 2: 139-150.

⁴⁵² Edward J. Coale, William Gibson, William Smith, Nicholas Brice, Eleanor Dall, Ashton Alexander, George Roberts, James Carroll, Henry Brice, and George Lindenberger appear in St. Paul’s records. Although these people are listed in connection with their family members’ baptisms, marriages, burials, and church

founded the “Maryland Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and the Relief of Free Negroes, and Others, Unlawfully Held in Bondage” in 1789. Slaveowners could not be members of the society, and only men are listed as actors.⁴⁵³ Margaret’s gender and her slaveholding disqualified her no matter what her beliefs on abolition and emancipation. The influence of the Maryland Society or church leaders over St. Paul’s Parish and Margaret’s thinking in 1817 is unknown. Bishop James Kemp was against slavery but recommended delayed manumission to free slaves. In 1816, he reminded the parishes to include blacks in their religious instruction.⁴⁵⁴ Few freed or enslaved blacks were baptized or married at St. Paul’s in comparison with whites. No blacks were buried in the graveyard.⁴⁵⁵ More detailed information about the manumission of slaves at Margaret’s death is discussed in the next chapter.

business, no such ceremonies are noted for the persons they enslaved. Henry Payson, John Short, Alexander Robinson, Frederick Jakes, N.G. Maxwell, do not appear in the St. Paul’s records. Unclear due to handwriting if John McClellan, James L. Hawkins could be James. D. Hawkins appeared in St. Paul’s records. Reamy, *Records of St. Paul’s Parish*, vol. 1 and 2.

⁴⁵³ Maryland Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and the Relief of Free Negroes, and Others, Unlawfully Held in Bondage. *Constitution of the Maryland Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery*. Baltimore: Printed by William Goddard and James Angell, 1789.

⁴⁵⁴ Mary Klein and Kingsley Smith. “Racism in the Anglican and Episcopal Church of Maryland.” Presented at the Tri-History Conference (National Episcopal Historians and Archivists; the Historical Society of the Episcopal Church; Episcopal Women’s History Project), June 24-27 2007, Williamsburg, VA. Online: <http://www.ang-md.org/history-racism.php>.

⁴⁵⁵ Francis F. Beirne, *St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore: A Chronicle of the Mother Church* (Baltimore: Horn-Shafer, 1967).

Margaret's attitude toward race and betterment may, on the other hand, be suggested by her support of the St. Paul's female charity school. Margaret left two lots in Baltimore to St. Paul's for the school. The school was organized in 1799 to educate young, orphaned or disadvantaged girls in reading, writing, needlework, and other tasks. Girls were then bound out by the school to work.⁴⁵⁶ Margaret's support of uplift for white disadvantaged girls did not carry to enslaved blacks at Mount Clare as suggested by differences in literacy. The older generation was illiterate, but not their children according to census records. Dolly Garrett's daughter Margaret was enslaved as a small child, but she and her children learned to read and write by the mid-nineteenth century. Jacob Hall built his family as an older man. He and his wife were illiterate, yet their children were not.⁴⁵⁷ Although former slaves may have concealed their literacy from census enumerators, government documents chart a trend for increasing and more reliable literacy among generations removed from enslavement by the Carrolls.

Margaret does not appear to have provided material uplift to blacks, either. Margaret gave specific instructions on the distribution of her property to family members, but left nothing to blacks. Margaret bequeathed her common clothing to "hireling" Mary Browning. She did not specify any items for enslaved persons. Comparison of two nineteenth-century inventories, however, suggests that Margaret gave her everyday ceramic tableware and stoneware mugs to enslaved persons before

⁴⁵⁶ Beirne, *St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore: A Chronicle of the Mother Church*, 46-47.

⁴⁵⁷ United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1850. M432.

her death. An inventory dating to the turn of the century omits the most valuable household goods, such as the china ordered from England and her jewelry. It includes, however, sets of queensware (or creamware) and blue and white plates and dishes, mugs, a redware coffee pot and sugar dish, and water jugs in stoneware, redware, and “brown” that are not listed in Margaret’s 1817 estate inventory. Items associated with tea and alcohol, such as tea services or wine glasses, are accounted for on the 1817 inventory. Margaret appears to have considered bedclothes, clothing, and furniture to belong to the people she enslaved, as they were not inventoried at her death.

White widowhood emphasized the differences between enslaved blacks and white elite females. Margaret sustained her wealth and added to it. She commissioned architectural changes and social ceremonies to support her position while allowing outbuildings and quarters used by blacks to fall into disrepair. The image of Margaret cannot exist without an understanding of her slaveholder status.

Chapter 6: Into Freedom

Upon Margaret's death in 1817, the fifty people she enslaved at Mount Clare and The Caves were one step closer to freedom.⁴⁵⁸ For most of them, however, freedom did not come for years, if at all. Margaret left all her "Negroes and Slaves" to the executors of her estate, Henry Brice and Tench Tilghman, Jr., "in trust that they will set them all free at such ages and in such Terms as they deem best under all circumstances having a view to a provision for the Comfortable support of the aged and infirm with which duty my Executors are charged."⁴⁵⁹ The one exception was "the Negro boy Tom," whom Margaret gave to Charles Ross of Annapolis to serve until age thirty-one.⁴⁶⁰ Tracing what happened next to blacks from Mount Clare and The

⁴⁵⁸ Margaret Carroll passed away on March 14, 1817 at age 76. *Baltimore Patriot* [Baltimore, Md.], 21 March 1817, vol. IX, issue 65, p. 2. See Appendix C. The Mount Clare Museum House website states incorrectly that Margaret's inventory lists the people she enslaved at the Baltimore Iron Works and their skills. Not only does her inventory say no such thing, but the Baltimore Iron Works did not exist as a slaveholding entity by 1817. See Mount Clare Museum House, *Industrial Slavery: The Baltimore Iron Works*, Online: http://www.mountclare.org/history/slave_industrialworks.html (Accessed 18 October 2009).

⁴⁵⁹ Only Henry Brice appears to have acted as executor. Samuel Cole and Richard Lewis inventoried Margaret's property. Baltimore County Register of Wills (Wills) Margaret Carroll, 20 March 1817, WB 10, p. 297, CR 72,244-2 MSA. Henry Brice (1777-1842) was one of Charles Carroll's nephews. Brice acted as business agent for Margaret until her death, but was also active as city commissioner and acted on city committees in various capacities. His papers do not remain. Tench Tilghman's existing papers do not address Margaret Carroll or his executorship.

⁴⁶⁰ Census records for 1820 indicate several white and free black heads of household under the name Charles Ross. Tom is not in the Anne Arundel County manumission records. Jerry M. Hynson, *Maryland Freedom Papers*, vol. 1, Anne Arundel County, Westminster, MD: Family Line Publications, 1996.

Caves shows that, contrary to popular belief, manumission did not mean instantaneous or automatic freedom upon Margaret's death. Manumission, instead, referred to the promise of freedom at some point in the future. Margaret's executors freed some people at once, but kept the majority in slavery for many more years. Fewer than half registered their freedom in court as per the law, oftentimes years after when Margaret's executors specified their freedom to begin. Others either lived free without registering in court or were never freed. Manumission thus was not a benevolent act, as is currently suggested to visitors to Mount Clare today, and Margaret's last will and testament did not guarantee freedom.

Comparison of Margaret's estate papers with court-registered freedom papers demonstrates the complexity, in practice, of manumitting the people enslaved at Mount Clare and The Caves. The early nineteenth century also yields more information than ever before about the demographics of the enslaved population and their individual identities. Ironically, the perspective and motivations of Margaret and her executors are shadowed at a time when the identities of first-generation freedpersons from Mount Clare and The Caves are revealed. Blacks become less erasable in modern interpretations of the site as more personal information becomes available. The names, kin relationships, surnames or new names, ages, and descriptions are preserved in Baltimore County court records, but remain hidden in the interpretation of the site.⁴⁶¹ In the following chapter, I trace what happened after

⁴⁶¹ No manumissions by Dr. Carroll, Carroll the Barrister, or Margaret were recorded among the land records of Baltimore or Anne Arundel counties. Other kinds of deed books or chattel records are lost for this period. Preserved records are: Chattel Records (Baltimore County Court, C298-2, MSA) 1763-1773; Chattel Records (MS

Margaret's death to the people she enslaved and how her executors carried out manumission. I propose answers to questions about why Margaret manumitted, suggest reasons for the registration of blacks to the court records, reconstruct their identities, and outline the circumstances into which they entered after Mount Clare.

Between 1790 and 1820, the population of Baltimore exploded as the enslaved population grew by almost four times and the white population by three times.

Enslaved persons in Baltimore shifted from half of the black population in 1800 to fifteen percent by 1840.⁴⁶² Frederick Douglass wrote about his visits to Baltimore from Maryland's Eastern Shore around this time. He observed,

2865, MdHS) 1773-1788; Chattel Records (MS 2865.1, MdHS) 1791-1794; Chattel Records (Baltimore County Court, C298-3, MSA) 1800-1801; Certificates of Freedom (Baltimore Register of Wills, CM280-1, MSA) 1805-1830; Chattel Records (MS 2865, MdHS) 1811-1812; Chattel Records (Baltimore County Court, C298-4, MSA) 1813-1814; Certificates of Freedom (Baltimore County Court, CM 821-1 to -7, MSA) 1806-1816, 1830-1832, 1832-1841, 1841-1847, 1841-1848, and 1848-1851 (pp. 1-26 only); Miscellaneous Court Records (Baltimore County Court, CM 1, MSA) 1729-1851. In the miscellaneous court records, only freedpersons linked with the names Margaret Carroll or Henry Brice and Tench Tilghman could conclusively be identified as formerly enslaved at Georgia Plantation. None of the new owners as per Margaret's estate account of sale appeared in court to testify. The persons formerly enslaved at Georgia, however, may have been sold again and manumitted by those owners without acknowledgment of Margaret Carroll's will. The Maryland Colonization Society also recorded manumissions, but no manumissions for former Carroll slaves appear. Jerry M. Hynson, *Maryland Colonization Society Manumission Book 1832-1860*, v. 3, Westminster: Willow Bend Books, 2001. Runaway dockets for Baltimore remain from 1831 through 1864. None of the individuals documented appear to be from enslavers of individuals formerly at Georgia; then again, these records begin fourteen years after the dispersal of the enslaved community. Baltimore County Court (Runaway Docket) 1831-1832, CR 79,169-1, MSA CM1351-1 and Baltimore County (Runaway Docket) 1832-1836, CR 79,169-2, MSA CM1352-2. See Appendix D.

⁴⁶² Barbara Elizabeth Wallace, *"Fair Daughters of Africa": African American Women in Baltimore, 1790—1860* (Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles, 2001), 88-90.

... a marked difference in the manner of treating slaves, generally, from which I had witnessed in that isolated and out-of-the-way part of the country where I began life. A city slave is almost a free citizen, in Baltimore, compared with a slave on Col. Lloyd's plantation. He is much better fed and clothed, is less dejected in his appearance, and enjoys privileges altogether unknown to the whip-driven slave on the plantation. Slavery dislikes a dense population, in which there is a majority of non-slaveholders.⁴⁶³

Slavery peaked in Baltimore in 1810 and declined afterwards. After the War of 1812 and the depression that followed, the transition from enslaved to free labor became amplified due to a number of factors. The number of men enslaved in the industrial or craft labor sector tapered off in the 1820s. Free labor became cheaper and slaves were less able to extract concessions from employers or owners. The expanding Southern cotton market and development of Western territories refocused the slave trade away from Maryland. All these factors led to a decrease in enslaved men in Baltimore, but an increase in women in domestic positions.⁴⁶⁴ By 1830, according to Stephen Whitman, “four-fifths of Baltimore’s blacks were legally free, the largest group of free people of color in any U.S. city.” Their proportions were in stark contrast to rural Maryland, where one-quarter of the black population was free.⁴⁶⁵ Still further away, enslaved persons constituted 90 percent of the black population of Charleston, 79 percent in Richmond, 55 percent in New Orleans, and 79 percent in Washington, D.C. in 1840.⁴⁶⁶ Slavery became a geographically southern phenomenon as the northern

⁴⁶³ Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (New York. 1855), 115,

⁴⁶⁴ Wallace, *Fair Daughters of Africa*, 88-90.

⁴⁶⁵ Whitman, *Price of Freedom*, 1.

⁴⁶⁶ Wallace, *Fair Daughters of Africa*, 87.

states began to abolish it.⁴⁶⁷ Nonetheless, slavery still existed at places like Mount Clare, which had an established population tied to the maintenance of elite status.

Historians' assessments of freepersons address their lives and livelihoods in Baltimore City, rather than the hinterland, and their strategies from enslavement to freedom. Stephen Whitman finds that the spread of slavery coexisted with manumission, and they each may have temporarily reinforced the existence of the other. Baltimore, however, had a much higher rate of manumission than rural areas in the state.⁴⁶⁸ Christopher Phillips examines the ways that social, industrial, and labor forces in Baltimore both shaped the African American community and were met by motivations from within it to succeed.⁴⁶⁹ Whitman and Phillips, however, focus their analyses on surviving archival record groups rather than trace the process from enslaver's death to freedom. Manumission, when investigated from site-to-site, may demonstrate the complexity of the process, as seen at Mount Clare. Mariana Dantas asserts that blacks in the Baltimore region shaped an environment beneficial to themselves through support of demographic and economic growth, renegotiation of urban labor arrangements, shaping of urban social structures, and influence over occupation and ownership of urban land.⁴⁷⁰ Seth Rockman focuses on labor and employment by free and enslaved blacks in Baltimore. He argues that the everyday

⁴⁶⁷ Whitman, *Price of Freedom*, 2

⁴⁶⁸ Whitman, *The Price of Freedom*, 5.

⁴⁶⁹ Christopher Phillips, *Freedom's Port*.

⁴⁷⁰ Mariana L. R. Dantas, *Black Townsmen: Urban Slavery and Freedom in the Eighteenth-Century Americas* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2008), 3.

struggles of people like the low-wage black workers of Baltimore became the foundation for the American working class.⁴⁷¹ Such analyses, however, to build on information available about Baltimore rather than the surrounding county on the basis of existing historical documents, rather than comparison of the documents to site-specific cases. They are not necessarily generalizable to the enslaved population of Mount Clare unless they were hired out or until they moved to the city in freedom. Nonetheless, the movement of Lynch, Garrett, and Harden family members into Baltimore in freedom demonstrates the pull of the city to free blacks or to those permitted flexible arrangements by their enslavers' estate executors.

Historians agree both that the communal effort of blacks as a group and in families pushed them out of slavery and placed them on improved, but not equal, footing with others in America. Mary Beth Norton, Herbert Gutman, and Ira Berlin argue that the development of black families amid a larger struggle for political independence and self-definition during the Revolutionary era enabled African American society and culture to emerge and for the black family to define the extent of black autonomy. Families not only passed names and occupations from generation to generation, but established social stability and family integrity which proved fundamental to black cultural responses to domination. These responses included negotiating with masters for freedom, self-purchase or purchase of family members, and fundamentals of black cultural responses to domination, such as the choice of escape or staying in place.⁴⁷² At Mount Clare, the best evidence of family cohesion

⁴⁷¹ Seth Rockman, *Scraping By*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2009.

comes between 1783 and 1817 as government or court records better document demographics and individuals.

Freedom “Deemed Best”

Manumission became more frequent in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Planters in the colonial era tended to keep slaves and land in the family for their productive value.⁴⁷³ Testamentary manumission and delayed manumission – meaning the promise of freedom at a future date with a last will and testament as the manumitting document – was a common practice in Maryland in the early nineteenth century. The situation at Mount Clare, however, demonstrates that manumission did not necessarily ensure freedom or mean that it came soon after a slaveholder’s death. Margaret’s wording in her last will and testament placed the future of the enslaved community at Mount Clare and The Caves into her executors’ hands. But where did her wishes end and her executors’ actions begin? Margaret charted no specific course of action in writing for Brice and Tilghman to indicate that she felt strongly enough about freeing the slaves to dictate the terms. Brice and Tilghman ultimately determined the terms they “deemed best” based on legal parameters, age, salability, and kin networks. Brice saw that the terms were carried out for some but not all blacks, usually belatedly, until his death in 1842.⁴⁷⁴ Manumission at Mount Clare and

⁴⁷² Mary Beth Norton, Herbert G. Gutman, and Ira Berlin. “The Afro-American Family in the Age of Revolution.” In *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution*, edited by Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, 175-191 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 175.

⁴⁷³ Carr, “Inheritance in the Colonial Chesapeake,” 169-170.

The Caves was thus not a benevolent act, but a practical way to recoup Margaret's investment in slavery and leave cash to her relatives, rather than the slaves they could not support.

Blacks in the post-Revolutionary era found that enslavers were more willing to liquidate their assets and emancipate rather than pass slaves to family members. Blacks from Mount Clare and The Caves were atypically manumitted considering the size of the population to be freed relative to the status of their enslaver. Whitman shows that slaveholders of three or fewer people in Baltimore City were three times as likely to manumit than slaveholders who possessed seven or more.⁴⁷⁵ John Condon, Jr. demonstrates that the most reliable manumitters in Anne Arundel County were women with fewer than twenty slaves who did not grow tobacco, hired out slaves, freed on a selective basis, and stipulated delayed manumission.⁴⁷⁶ Margaret's manumission choices, however, aligned best with those of other wealthy elites who looked beyond slavery for investments. Phillips argues that planters in Baltimore County turned away from slavery as a means to build capital. Planters, instead, directed their inheritors to sell the slaves and invest the profits in more stable

⁴⁷⁴ The Mount Clare Museum House website includes a section on manumission. It discusses delayed manumission, but inaccurately characterizes how Margaret's will was carried out. Mount Clare Museum House, Mount Clare Manumissions, Online: http://www.mountclare.org/history/slave_manumissions.html (Accessed 18 October 2009).

⁴⁷⁵ Whitman, *Price of Freedom*, 105, 109.

⁴⁷⁶ John Joseph Condon, *Manumission, Slavery and Family in the Post-Revolutionary Rural Chesapeake: Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 1781-1831* (Thesis (Ph. D.) University of Minnesota, 2001), 114, 118.

outlets.⁴⁷⁷ Who was freed and when, or who was sold and under what terms, shows that Margaret's executors freed individuals who would have been difficult to sell and kept in slavery many who were not.

Liquidation of Margaret's property was one goal, but it was tempered with more humanistic attempts to keep families together under good terms. Delayed manumission protected slaveowners' financial interests while appeasing ideological discomfort with slavery.⁴⁷⁸ Enslavers saw it as incentive for enslaved persons to provide reliable service.⁴⁷⁹ Kim Moreno explains that Margaret liquidated her land and slaves into cash for her female relatives.⁴⁸⁰ From this perspective, Margaret reinforced the status of other elite white women by squeezing as much as possible from her slavery investment. Brice managed the sales of enslaved persons. No advertisements appeared of slave sales from Margaret's estate.⁴⁸¹ An auctioneer sold Margaret's jewelry. Perhaps private sales helped enslaved men and women to avoid some of the indignity that occurred at public auctions. Slave sales took place at auction blocks and hotels, inns, and taverns as facilitated by auctioneers, agencies,

⁴⁷⁷ Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, 28.

⁴⁷⁸ Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, 41-42.

⁴⁷⁹ Whitman, *Price of Freedom*, 105, 109.

⁴⁸⁰ Kimberly Collins Moreno, *Mistress of Mount Clare: The Life of Margaret Tilghman Carroll 1742-1817* (Master's thesis, University of Maryland, Baltimore County, 2004), 60-65.

⁴⁸¹ I found no advertisements for sales of Margaret's property in the year after her death. Not all newspapers have been preserved from the era. Advertisements of slave sales did not always give a name of the deceased, but referred interested readers to the newspaper office for more information.

and intelligence offices. Blacks were stripped, groped, and assaulted by potential buyers looking to assess their physical capabilities.⁴⁸² Of course, similar acts may have taken place at Brice's sales.

Brice appears to have freed some, or all, of eight adults by 1820 or permitted them to live as free. Manumission law prohibited the release of enslaved persons over age forty-four.⁴⁸³ Four people were identified as forty-four years old in Margaret's estate inventory: Jerry, Nat, Jacob, and Dolly. It is unknown whether they were actually forty-four years old, or if the executors assigned their ages in order to free them. What happened next to Jerry, Nat, and Jacob is lost. Dolly and her husband Richard assumed the last name "Garrett." The 1820 census recorded them as free, even though Dolly did not register in court until 1840.

Others among the eight freed by Brice may have purchased freedom or were of age. Freeing slaves at age thirty-one was a holdover from an eighteenth-century custom.⁴⁸⁴ Margaret's executors noted John Lynch's age as thirty-one years old. His wife, Henny, was forty. The 1820 census indicated that they were free, but John did not record his freedom in court until 1821. Eve may be the elderly, free woman living with them. Perhaps John had arranged to purchase his and his wife's freedom from

⁴⁸² Ralph Clayton, *Cash for Blood: The Baltimore to New Orleans Domestic Slave Trade* (Baltimore: Heritage Books, 2002).

⁴⁸³ Whitman, *Price of Freedom*, 102.

⁴⁸⁴ Whitman, *Price of Freedom*, 102. Conversions to 2008 currency: \$300 = \$5,011, \$120 = \$2,004, \$175 = \$2,293, \$200 = \$3,341, \$220 = \$3,675, \$100 = \$1,670. *Six Ways to Compute the Relative Value*.

Margaret. The freedom of eight adults thus was based on legal parameters coupled with questions of salability due to age.

The rest of the enslaved population at Mount Clare and the Caves was subjected to delayed manumission. Brice sold twenty-nine people with a term remaining in slavery over the course of ten days between April 1817 and February 1818.⁴⁸⁵ Twenty people from Mount Clare and The Caves were sold in April alone. They brought the consistently highest prices of the entire group. Each man was sold for \$300, mothers with children for \$120 or \$175, and women without children for \$200 or \$220. The one exception was Jacob Hall. He was sold for \$100 to Eleanor Dall, the only woman to purchase slaves from Margaret's estate. Sales beginning in May 1817 brought between twenty and fifty percent less per person than in April 1817 when compared by age and gender. Why the disparity? Perhaps the timing of the sales was wrong for seasonal agricultural, craft, or industrial labor. Or maybe work at The Caves demanded the hardest laborers, which explains the premium rate. On the other hand, the tasks necessary for Mount Clare were unusual due to Margaret's elite status and, as a result, the lack of applicability may have reduced the slaves' value at resale.

Brice assigned years of freedom to blacks from Mount Clare that were a few years later than for blacks at The Caves. Brice stipulated freedom for most women at age twenty-eight and a few at age twenty-five. The age at freedom for males was more variable, ranging from age 28-36. Females between ages 7-20 and males

⁴⁸⁵ Youths from the Garrett and Lynch families were the last to be sold in October 1817 and February 1818. The reason is unknown.

between 7-22 constituted the highest-valued demographic for sale due to their ability to labor and their time yet in slavery. As a result, they experienced the most destabilization in terms of families being broken apart. For instance, 44-year-old Jerry may have been freed, but his 13-year-old and 12-year-old sons were sold to two different men. Five members of the Garrett family ages 9-23 were sold – all but two to different enslavers. The four Hardens went to four new enslavers spread across the Baltimore region.

Blacks often arranged with executors to assume possession of children until their children's enslavers called for them. The arrangement meant that freedpersons bore the costs of childraising instead of the children's enslavers.⁴⁸⁶ Richard Garrett and John Lynch may have struck a bargain with Brice to keep at least part of their families together. Richard accepted his two children aged six and four. John Lynch took his three children aged five, two or three, and two. Brice did not apply a consistent cut-off for children's ages. Unlike Richard's six-year-old, John's daughter of the same age was sold to Nicholas Brice but may have lived with her father as per the 1820 census. More enslaved persons from Mount Clare than The Caves were successful in keeping their families together and free.

Several small children were sold with their mothers to a new enslaver. Among them were Mary and her four-year-old and infant; Kitty and her two-year-old; and Suckey (at The Caves) and her daughter. In one case, the child may have been freed even though the parent remained in slavery. Sukey was sold, but her four-year-old

⁴⁸⁶ Whitman, *Price of Freedom*, 122.

daughter was not; instead, she may have been a freed child living with an enslaved parent. Sukey's six-year-old son, however, was sold to another slaveholder.⁴⁸⁷

Neither Margaret nor her executors clearly specified a year of freedom in the estate papers for several small children in 1817. They also failed to account for offspring born to women in slavery. Children not assigned an end date were legally slaves for life. A Maryland law passed in 1810 stipulated that the offspring of a female slave would remain enslaved after the mother's manumission, unless the manumittor stipulated a term of service, an age of release, or other contingency for the child.⁴⁸⁸ Manumitted children often had a long wait for emancipation – if it came at all. Edward Coale purchased Maria and her three-year-old son together. Maria's son was not freed or assigned a year of manumission, but Brice did appear in court in 1841 to rectify the issue and register his freedom. Six-year-old Nelson was to wait twenty-two years – until 1839 – to be free according to Margaret's estate inventory. Two-year-old Matilda was to be free in 1840 after twenty-three years. Phillips has calculated that, of manumissions registered in the Baltimore court between 1790 and 1830, fewer than a third of people age eighteen and under were immediately freed.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁷ Census records for the Richard Garrett family in 1820 indicate that Sukey and her four-year-old may have lived with her parents.

⁴⁸⁸ Session Laws, 1809. An Act to ascertain and declare the condition of such Issue as may hereafter be born of Negro or Mulatto Female Slaves, during their servitude for Years, and for other purposes therein mentioned. Passed 7 January 1810. Took effect on 1 February 1810. Chapter CLXXI, November. Laws of Maryland. An act to ascertain and declare the condition of such Issue as may hereafter be born of Negro or Mulatto Female Slaves, during their servitude for Years, and for other purposes therein mentioned. Session Laws 1809. Ch. CLXVIII, vol. 570, p. 118. Archives of Maryland Online.

Several children were not assigned a year of manumission and, as a result, were legally slaves for life even though they lived as free by 1820. Brice resolved the issue for then- three-year-old Robert Hall, four (or five)-year-old Margaret Garrett, or two (or three)-year old William Lynch by testifying for them in court in the early 1840s. Four other children, including family members of Margaret and William, are unaccounted for. Small children thus were vulnerable to remaining slaves for life due to executor error, be it accidental or on purpose.

Blacks at Mount Clare and The Caves escaped one immediate worst-case scenario: being ripped from their families and familiar Baltimore surroundings to labor in the South. All their new enslavers lived in the Baltimore region, but could have sold blacks at a later time and ignored their years of manumission.⁴⁹⁰ An act entitled “A Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade” became effective on January 1, 1808. It outlawed the foreign import of slaves but permitted sales within the United States. The closing of the international slave trade reconfigured the slave trade within America. Supply of enslaved persons now came from within the country in response to demand. Western expansion and Southern cotton agriculture opened new markets for slave labor. The relocation of around one million enslaved persons between 1789 and 1864 codified the domestic slave trade in the antebellum era. Baltimore was one

⁴⁸⁹ Phillips, *Freedom’s Port*, 44.

⁴⁹⁰ Slave Manifests of Coastwise Vessels Filed at New Orleans, Louisiana, 1807-1860, Port of New Orleans, RG 36, United States Custom Service, Collector of Customs at New Orleans, NARA. <http://www.archives.gov/genealogy/heritage/african-american/slave-ship-manifests.html> Cannot be known for sure if slaves from MC were sent south from 1808-1822, but remaining records do not include any of the last names of enslaved persons at MC. This has been partly transcribed here: <http://www.afrigeneas.com/slavedata/manifests.html>

of the major ports for coast-wide trade, along with Alexandria, Norfolk, Richmond and Charleston, for cities along the gulf coast. New Orleans, in particular, became a major hub for slave trade activity.⁴⁹¹ Which, of any, enslaved persons from Mount Clare or The Caves relocated as a result of these trends is unknown. Relocation may explain why many men from Mount Clare are not found on Maryland census records or city directories up to Emancipation.

The deaths of George Lindenberger and Eleanor Hall provide additional information on the people from The Caves and Mount Clare who were sold under delayed manumission. Lindenberger died in 1820. He advanced the year of freedom for the people he purchased from The Caves between two and eight years earlier than proposed by Brice (Table 2).⁴⁹² He stipulated for “Negroes under twenty five years of age to serve till they respectively attain the age of twenty five years, and then to be free, also all my other Negroes for the term of three years after my decease, and then to be free.”⁴⁹³ No one was auctioned in 1821 with other parts of Lindenberger’s

⁴⁹¹ Charles H. Wesley, “Manifests of Slave Shipments Along the Waterways, 1808-1864.” *The Journal of Negro History* 27, no 2 (1942): 155-174, pp. 156, 159-160, 173; Walter Johnson, *Soul By Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 4-7.

⁴⁹² Baltimore County Register of Wills (Inventories) George Lindenberger, 6 December 1820, Liber 32, folio 434, WK 1069-1070-1, MSA CM 155-32. The other persons enslaved on Lindenberger’s estate, however, met different fortunes. Three individuals – Hetty or Kitty (age 30), Sambo (age 5), and Abraham (age 4) – were slaves for life. One person, Levi (no age listed), was to be free on January 1, 1821, a few days after the inventory of Lindenberger’s estate. Two others also had terms left in slavery: Jane, age 10 for 6 years and Davy, age 3 for 18 years.

⁴⁹³ Baltimore County Register of Wills (Wills) George Lindenberger, October 1820, Liber 11, folio 185, CR 72,245-1, MSA CM 188-11.

property, meaning that they all remained enslaved to his wife, Eliza.⁴⁹⁴ Only three individuals registered their freedom in court; those who did appeared from six to sixteen years after the year to be freed. Eleanor Dall’s husband left slaves to her upon his death. She petitioned the court in 1814 for permission to sell two of them because they did “not seem disposed to serve her faithfully.” She felt that selling the two men would be in “the best interests of the estate.”⁴⁹⁵ Perhaps they were the two men that she sold out of the state for \$250 two weeks before she purchased Jacob Hall. Dall also released an enslaved woman to James W. Mitchell for \$80 at about that time.⁴⁹⁶ Dall passed away in 1829.⁴⁹⁷ Jacob Hall does not appear on her estate inventory.

Table 2: Terms of Enslavement, 1817 to 1820 George Lindenberger

Name	Year to be freed, 1817 terms	Age, 1817 inventory	Year to be freed, 1820 terms	Years to serve	Age, 1820 inventory	Term difference	Year of freedom papers
Jerry	1825	20	1823	3	25	-2	

⁴⁹⁴ Baltimore County Register of Wills (Accounts of Sale) George Lindenberger, Liber WB 8, folio 217, CR 9513-3, MSA CM 125-8.

⁴⁹⁵ Eleanor Dall, 8 May 1814, Schweninger Collection, vol. 4239-14, p. 56. M 11025. MSA.

⁴⁹⁶ Baltimore County Commissioners of the Tax (Transfer Book 1814-1823), Eleanor Dall, p. 58, MSA C 431-1.

⁴⁹⁷ Death Notice, Eleanor Dall. *Baltimore Patriot* [Baltimore, Md.] 34, iss. 100, 24 October 1829, p. 2. Jacob Hall is not mentioned in a court case brought by the enslaved woman, named Maria. See Richard W. Gill and John Johnson, *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Court of Appeals of Maryland*. Vol. IX, Baltimore: John D. Toy. 1840, pp. 174-180. Note, however, that an Elinor Dall headed a free black family in 1820. She was a different woman. Baltimore Ward 12, 1820Roll: M33_42; Page: 538; Image: 272. U.S. Census. NARA.

Jim [[James Harden]]	1833		1828	8	17	-5	1844
Sam	1835	10	1830	10	15	-5	
Harry	1825	22	1823	3	25	-2	1829
Frederick	1832	13	1827	7	18	-5	
Paul [Polly] [[Ireland]]	1833		May be "Alley" 1825/39	5	39	-8	1839

Even though James Carroll, the next resident of Mount Clare, brought in a new group of slaves, the earlier residents may have stayed as tenant farmers or workers. His son James Jr. may have purchased Samuel Harden in order to help his father manage Mount Clare. Samuel purchased a cow from Margaret's estate for \$7, the same rate-per-cow paid by whites.⁴⁹⁸ The 30-year-old man on James's 1818 tax assessment may be Samuel.⁴⁹⁹ James Carroll's 1820 census includes thirty-six slaves as well as four free males age 14-26, one free male age 26-45, two free males age 45 and above, and three free females age 45 and above.⁵⁰⁰ Considering that the Garretts and Lynches appeared separately on the 1820 census, they may not have been living on Mount Clare as free.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁸ Baltimore County Commissioners of the Tax (Transfer Book 1814-1823), Margaret Carroll, 1817, pp. 62-64. MSA C431-1.

⁴⁹⁹ Election District 1 (1818), p. 32. Assessors Field Book. Baltimore County Commissioners of the Tax, MSA CM1289-1.

⁵⁰⁰ James Carroll, U.S. Census 1820, Ward 12, Baltimore, Series M33, Reel 42, Page. 276.

⁵⁰¹ George Logan found thirteen correlating first names on the 1817 inventory and James Carroll's records from 1825-1830 and 1832-1833. He believes that these thirteen people were free and received small cash payments in exchange for marketing or odd jobs. (George Logan, *Interpreting Slave Life at Mount Clare*:

Families in Freedom

Manumission was not clear-cut for the people enslaved at Mount Clare and The Caves. The date of freedom in Margaret's papers, the year actually freed, and the year of court registration were three different circumstances for blacks at Mount Clare and The Caves. Local directories and census records suggest that a few Hardens were freed in Baltimore County in the early nineteenth century, but that the people manumitted by Margaret in 1817 may have been the first of the Garrett and Lynch families to be free. Questions remain about the choice of last names. No evidence exists that any former slave took the Carroll name. White families named Garrett, Lynch, and Harden lived in the Baltimore region, but their connections to blacks at Mount Clare remains unknown. The following sections compile manumission information on the families in freedom. Together, they demonstrate a wide range of futures for the people enslaved by the Carrolls, but that family played an important role in the transition whenever it could. The movement of Lynch, Garrett, and Harden family members into Baltimore in freedom demonstrates the pull of the city to free blacks or to those permitted flexible arrangements by their enslavers' estate executors.

Harden Family

Searching for a Silent Majority. Paper presented at the Society for Historical Archaeology Conference, Washington, D.C., January 4-8, 1995.) Unfortunately, my comparison of names among documents demonstrates errors in Logan's preliminary work. Nonetheless, it is worth remembering that the circumstances Logan proposed may have existed to some degree at Mount Clare.

Free blacks with the last name Harden or Hardin lived in Baltimore by the late nineteenth century. They may have been related to Hardens enslaved by the Carrolls. Abraham Hardin or Harding (spelling intentional) and another free person lived in Baltimore Town in 1790. By 1810, Betsy (Betsy?) Harden with another free person resided in Baltimore Ward 1 and a Mrs. (or possibly Wm.) Harden and seven others lived in Baltimore Western Precincts 3. Hardens lived on Mount Clare and the Caves: Henry, Ephraem, Sam, James, and Milley. Henry Harden was manumitted on August 18, 1815 and recorded his freedom in the court on April 8, 1818 at age 42. His complexion was light and he stood 5'9 ½" tall.⁵⁰² The city directory for 1822-1823 identifies a Henry Harden as a minister of the Gospel who lived on Pearl Street at the west side south of Lexington.⁵⁰³ Milley was slated to be free in 1825, but registered with the court on March 29, 1832. She was about 31 years old, 5 feet 3 ¼ inches tall, with a light complexion and a large scar on her right arm above the elbow.⁵⁰⁴ She is not the Milly sent to work in Baltimore in 1800. James Harden was to be free in 1833 by Margaret and 1828 by George Lindenberger. In 1835-36, a James Harden worked as a sawyer and lived at 1 State Street Court according to the city directory. His freedom papers in 1844 identify him as age 40, with a light complexion, 5' 9" tall, and a scar on his right cheek.⁵⁰⁵ No freedom papers remain for other Hardens, if they

⁵⁰² Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) Henry Harden, 8 April 1818, p. 16, MSA C-290-1.

⁵⁰³ Keenan, C. *Baltimore Directory for 1822 and 1823* (Baltimore: C. Keenan, 1822).

⁵⁰⁴ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) Milly, alias Milly Harden, 29 March 1832, p. 50. MSA C 290-2, MDHR 40,131-2.

ever existed. Sam was supposed to be free in 1823 and Ephraem in 1824. A Samuel Harden was a laborer living on Saratoga Street on the south side east of Pearl in 1822-23.⁵⁰⁶ The records detail physical characteristics, such as the Hardens being light-skinned and the men were tall in comparison to others enslaved by Margaret, and provide information on their work as freepersons.

Garrett Family

Thirteen members of the Garrett family lived at Mount Clare in 1817 and at least one transferred his knowledge and skills from slavery into freedom to earn an income. Richard worked as a gardener at Mount Clare. He was about fifty years old in 1817. His wife, Dolly, was about forty-four. Richard's children Sampson (age six) and Margaret (age four) were released to him. His eldest daughter, Sukey was sold with her four-year-old daughter, but her six-year-old son went to a different slaveholder. Hetty/Kitty (age 20 or 26) and her son (age two) were sold together. Richard's sons Richard (age nine), Henry (age seventeen), and William (age fifteen) were also sold.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁵ Murphy, *Baltimore Directory for 1845*. Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) James Harden, 4 June 1844, p. 57, MSA C 290-5.

⁵⁰⁶ A Samuel Harden helped at the Abolition Society soup house in 1820. Future research is necessary to identify whether he was associated with the Hardens from Mount Clare and the Caves, or a white Methodist family named Harden. *Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser*; 01-03-1820; XV:1,p.1; Keenan, *Baltimore Directory for 1822 and 1823*. C. Keenan. 1822. A Samuel Harden was a class leader for the Methodist Church in Baltimore between 1830 and 1833. Note that there were other Hardens – Mary Ann Harden, etc. *Methodist Records of Baltimore City, Maryland* By Henry C. Peden, Jr.

The family assumed the last name Garrett. Richard was a laborer in 1819 and lived on Pennsylvania Avenue, west of Montgomery according to the city directory.⁵⁰⁸ The 1820 census listed his family as free: Richard (a man age 26-45), Dolly and another woman (two females age 26-45), Margaret and another girl (two females under 14), and Sampson (one male under 14).⁵⁰⁹ Richard worked as a gardener and continued to live on Pennsylvania Avenue in 1824.⁵¹⁰ In 1830, Richard (one male age 55 and under 100) lived with Dolly (one female age 55 and under 100) and possibly Sampson (one male of ten and under 24).⁵¹¹ On April 13, 1830, William and Henry received their freedom papers. They were supposed to be freed in 1828 and 1830, respectively. Only their heights were noted – 5’3” and 5’7”.⁵¹² A William Garrett was a sawyer who lived at 8 Salisbury Alley in 1845.⁵¹³ Sukey and Hetty/Kitty both registered in the court on May 29, 1832. Sukey was supposed to be free in 1822 or 1823 and Hetty/Kitty in 1825. Sukey was age 39 in 1832 with a dark

⁵⁰⁷ Baltimore County Register of Wills (Inventories) Margaret Tilghman Carroll, Liber 30, folio 454, MSA CM 155-30, WK 1068-1069-1; Baltimore County Register of Wills (Inventories) Margaret Tilghman Carroll, Liber 30, folio 539, MSA CM 155-30, WK 1068-1069-1; Baltimore County Register of Wills (Accounts of Sale) Margaret Tilghman Carroll, Liber WB 6, folio 441, MSA CM 125-6, CR 9513-1.

⁵⁰⁸ Jackson, *The Baltimore Directory*.

⁵⁰⁹ Richd Garrett, 1820, Baltimore Ward 12, Baltimore, Maryland. 1820 United States Federal Census. Roll M33_42, p. 531. NARA.

⁵¹⁰ Baltimore City Directory 1824.

⁵¹¹ Richd Garrett, Baltimore Ward 12, Baltimore, Maryland. 1830, Baltimore Ward 12, Baltimore, Md. 1830 United States Federal Census, Roll 54, P. 455. NARA

⁵¹² Baltimore County Court (Miscellaneous Court Papers), William Garrett and Henry Garrett, Case no. 366, 13 April 1830 MSA C 1-70.

⁵¹³ Murphy, *Baltimore Directory for 1845*.

complexion, 4'10 ¾" tall, and had no notable marks or scars.⁵¹⁴ Hetty/Kitty was age 37, dark complexion, 5'3 ¾" tall, with a small mole on left side of her nose.⁵¹⁵ In 1836, two men named Thomas Garret (spelling intentional) lived in Baltimore. One was a dyer who lived at Sterling Street north of Monument. The other was a laborer who lived at Howard Street extended.⁵¹⁶ Margaret registered in the court in 1840. Brice had not stipulated a year of freedom for her in 1817. She was age 27, dark complexion, 5'3" tall, with a scar on the right side of her head.⁵¹⁷ She married William Bordley (or Boardley), who was a brickmaker. They lived at 1 N. Amity Street in 1845.⁵¹⁸ Richard passed away sometime before the 1840 census. On September 29, 1840, Dolly and her son Thomas received their certificates of freedom. Dolly was about age 70, dark complexion, 5'2" tall, no noticeable marks or scars.⁵¹⁹ While Brice testified for Dolly, John H. Ing appeared for Thomas, who was freed because, "[Thomas] ought to have been manumitted in the year eighteen hundred and seventeen, with others, but [was] omitted." Thomas was about 36 years old. He had a

⁵¹⁴ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) Sukey, 29 May 1832, p. 213, MSA C 290-2, MDHR 40,131-2. .

⁵¹⁵ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) Kitty, 29 May 1832, p. 213, MSA C 290-2, MDHR 40,131-2. .

⁵¹⁶ Matchett, *Baltimore Director for 1835-6*.

⁵¹⁷ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) Margaret alias Margaret Bordley, 14 April 1840, MSA C 90.

⁵¹⁸ Murphy, *Baltimore Directory for 1845*. Baltimore Ward 16, Baltimore, MD. Seventh Census of the United States, 1850. Washington, D.C.: NARA, M432_286, p. 148.

⁵¹⁹ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) Negro Dolly alias Garrett, 29 September 1840, p. 215, MSA C 290.

dark complexion and was 5'5 ½" tall with a small scar on right side of his mouth and a crooked middle finger on the left hand.⁵²⁰ Dolly passed away between 1850 and 1860 at about 80 years old.⁵²¹ Seven Garretts total registered with the court, a larger proportion than the Lynch or Harden families, which suggests that Brice knew where to find them and was in touch.

Lynch Family

Like the Garretts, the Lynch family's male head of household appears to have transferred his labor skills in freedom. The Lynch name first appears associated with the family enslaved by the Carrolls in 1780 in a runaway advertisement for Jack Lynch, a 35-year old mulatto man.⁵²² Jack may have been John Lynch's father, brother, or uncle. Another Lynch, named Bill (age 25), was enslaved by Nicholas Carroll at The Caves until 1812. In 1817, John was in his early thirties. His age placed him in a grey area between the age at which Margaret's executors intended to free the slaves or sell them at reduced cost for a few years of labor. Margaret's executors did not evaluate him for sale, which suggests that they freed him. John "accepted" his young children Sam, Bill, and Henny from the executors of Margaret's estate.⁵²³ The Lynch family lived as freedpersons by 1820, even though none of them

⁵²⁰ Baltimore County Court (Miscellaneous Court Papers) Thomas Garrett, Case no. 248, 29 Sept 1840, p. 216, MSA C1-90.

⁵²¹ 1850 census

⁵²² Runaway Ad, Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser, Press date: 11 July 1780, Ad date: 10 July 1780.

were registered as free in the court. John worked in agriculture. Living with him were Henny (one woman age 26-45); John, Ned, Sam, and Bill (four males under age 14); Harriet and Henny (two females under age 14); and possibly Eve (one female over 45).⁵²⁴ The circumstances of the children's and their mother's freedom is unclear. John, Ned, and Harriet had been sold to Nicholas Brice, a judge in Maryland. They did not go to live with him. John's and Henny's oldest son, George, was about thirteen years old in 1817. He was sold to John Short, whose occupation is unknown.⁵²⁵ Henny's daughter Maria and her son Robert (later Robert Hall) were sold to Edward Coale, a businessman.⁵²⁶

Relief must have come in 1821, when John received his freedom papers. He was described as a "bright black" man who was 35 years old.⁵²⁷ His wife Henny passed away before 1830, when the census recorded John's household as including four males age 24-36, John (one male age 36-55), one female under age 10, and Henny (one female age 10-24). Of John's and Henny's children, only Bill registered

⁵²³ Baltimore County Register of Wills (Inventories) Margaret Tilghman Carroll, Liber 30, folio 454, MSA CM 155-30, WK 1068-1069-1; Baltimore County Register of Wills (Inventories) Margaret Tilghman Carroll, Liber 30, folio 539, MSA CM 155-30, WK 1068-1069-1; Baltimore County Register of Wills (Accounts of Sale) Margaret Tilghman Carroll, Liber WB 6, folio 441, MSA CM 125-6, CR 9513-1.

⁵²⁴ John Lynch, 1820 Census, Ward 11, Series M33, Roll 42, Page 242.

⁵²⁵ John Short, 1820; Census Place: Baltimore Ward 4, Baltimore, Maryland; Roll: M33_42; Page: 180.

⁵²⁶ Sukey and her child were also sold to Coale. It is unclear which of the women and their male children were within Coale's household in 1820. Edward J. Coale, 1820; Census Place: Baltimore Ward 6, Baltimore, Maryland; Roll: M33_42; Page: 310.

⁵²⁷ Baltimore County Court (Miscellaneous Court Papers) John Lynch, Case no. 328, 14 December 1821. MSA C 1-53, MdHR 50,206-707/714.

with the court. Brice testified for Bill (alias William Lynch) and his nephew Robert (alias Robert Hall) on March 1, 1841. Bill was about age 27, 5'5" tall, light complexion, with a scar on his right eyebrow.⁵²⁸ Robert was about age 27, dark complexion, 5'5 ½" tall, with two scars on his left cheek and four scars on his forehead.⁵²⁹ They were the last two persons freed by Brice.⁵³⁰ John Lynch was a laborer who lived at 48 Centre Street in 1845.⁵³¹ A Robert Hall lived in Baltimore as of 1850 with his wife Jane, their children, and a relative named Harriet Lent. All could read and write and all were born in Maryland.⁵³² The executors may have divided the Hall family, if Jacob Hall was Robert Hall's father. Jacob Hall was in his late twenties when purchased by Eleanor Dall on April 24, 1817 on the condition that he would be free in 1819. Jacob did not register with the court, and if or when he was freed remains unclear.⁵³³

Others

⁵²⁸ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) Bill (son of Henny) Lynch, alias William Lynch and Robert Hall (son of Maria), 1 March 1841, p. 221, MSA C 290-3, MdHR 40,131-3.

⁵²⁹ Baltimore County Court (Miscellaneous Court Papers) Robert Hall, Case no. 272, 1 March 1841, MSA C 1-92, MdHR 50,206-1103/1111.

⁵³⁰ John Lynch, 1830; Census Place: Baltimore Ward 11, Baltimore, Maryland; Roll: 54; Page: 438.

⁵³¹ Murphy, *Baltimore Directory for 1845*.

⁵³² Baltimore Ward 12, Seventh Census of the United States, 1850. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration. Roll M432_285, p. 280.

⁵³³ Three freedmen named Jacob Hall lived in Baltimore County in 1820. U.S. Census 1820, Baltimore, Md. Roll M33_41; Page: 201 and 207.

Additional blacks did not have family connections and may not have had the same kinship supports as the Garretts, Lynches, and Hardens. Harry Davis and Harry Graham received their freedom papers on May 29, 1829, four years after their 1825 manumission date. Harry Davis was described as a “dark black man.” Harry Graham was “bright black,” about 31 years old, 5’ 7” tall, [illegible description], and a large scar and stiffness of middle finger on the right hand.⁵³⁴ Polly (alias Polly Ireland) registered on May 27, 1839, even though she was free in 1833. Polly was described as about 26 years old, 5 feet 3 inches tall, with a scar on her left eye bone.⁵³⁵ None appear in city directories to indicate their vocations in freedom.

Registering Freedom

State law required all freepersons to register with the court. Only twenty-one blacks from Mount Clare or the Caves did. Brice testified on behalf of all but four, three of whom were manumitted before 1817, which suggests that he ultimately held control over whose freedom became official and whose did not. Brice, a slaveholder himself, had previously ensured the freedom of a slave he manumitted when the new owner failed to release the man.⁵³⁶ The registrations of people from Mount Clare and The

⁵³⁴ Baltimore County Court (Miscellaneous Court Papers) Harry Davis and Harry Graham, Case no. 339, 29 May 1829, MSA C 1-68, MdHR 50,206-861/871.

⁵³⁵ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) Negro Polly alias Polly Ireland, 27 May 1839, p. 136. MSA C 290-3, MdHR 40,131-3.

⁵³⁶ Baltimore Ward 11. Fourth census of the United States, 1820. Washington, D.C.: NARA, 1820. Roll M33_42, p. 433.) Manumission, Henry Brice to Ned Hill, p. 266. Chattel Records, Baltimore County. C-298-3. MSA. Brice sold Ned Hill to Samuel Rideout of Annapolis to serve for seven years beginning 1 January 1797. Hill was

Caves occurred anywhere from within one to thirty-seven years after the year of freedom indicated in Margaret's estate papers. Only one person from Mount Clare registered with the court in the same year as he was freed. The circumstances raise a number of questions: Did the blacks at Mount Clare know their years of freedom and if so, how and when? How did Brice know where to find them? Did he provide papers to some people specifying freedom such that they were counted as free in the 1820 census? Why did they not register with the court, and what compelled freedpersons to do so over time?

A scofflaw view of registration may explain why fewer than half of the people manumitted by Margaret registered with the court, but equally likely is that they were never freed at all. Christopher Phillips argues that freedpersons, at least in early national Baltimore, did not register because they did not need freedom papers in everyday life. The size and reach of the free and enslaved population throughout Baltimorean life engendered a less stringent racial atmosphere than in rural areas. Racial control measures, such as checks for official freedom papers, were not enforced. Baltimore officials and courts repeatedly turned away cases testing the requirement to hold freedom papers. With no enforcement of the law, ex-slaves and others in Baltimore did not see registration with the court or freedom papers as important.⁵³⁷ Brice's death in April of 1842 may have had the effect of locking a number of persons into slavery by removing their advocate. Former slave John

sold to Thomas B. Randall of Baltimore, but was never manumitted as Brice intended. Brice set the date of Hill's freedom as 2 January 1804. The document was signed 19 August 1800.

⁵³⁷ Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, 64-65.

Thompson described a man on a plantation who had been sold for a term and continued to work, though free, for eighteen months after his term was expired. His administrator was seventy-five miles away and the man had no way of contacting him to say that he was still in bondage. The master whipped him for fancying himself free and as a warning to anyone else who might think the same.⁵³⁸

The end of a person's term of delayed manumission did not mean surety in the future or freedom from the fear of being re-enslaved. Free blacks were kidnapped and transported out of Maryland. Slaves were "seduced from the service of their masters and owners" and removed from the state. Kidnappers stole children to sell in distant places as slaves for life. In 1817, the Maryland Assembly strengthened the restriction on the sale of slaves entitled to freedom after a period of years either out-of-state or to persons who were not Maryland residents. The penalty was jail for up to two years. The law, however, included provisions to enable sellers to sell slaves out of the state. Sellers were required to register a bill of sale with identifying features of the slave, as well as documentation that the purchaser acknowledged a slave's remaining term until freedom.⁵³⁹ Eleanor Dall's sale of slaves in 1817 is an example of someone close to the Mount Clare black population who exercised her legal ability to sell chattel out of Maryland.

Tracking the manumission records of blacks from Mount Clare and The Caves may provide an explanation for the court registration trigger. Maryland law required

⁵³⁸ Thompson, *Life of John Thompson*, 21-22.

⁵³⁹ An Act to prevent the unlawful exportation of Negroes and Mulattoes, and to alter and amend the Laws concerning Runaways. Ch. 112, Lib. TH. No. 6, fol. 1. 1817. Passed Feb. 3, 1818. Vol. 192, p. 2109. Archives of Maryland Online.

free blacks to register with the court, but the former slaves of Mount Clare did not comply until events compounded in Maryland to create additional need. Eight people registered in 1832. Three of them were freed in 1795: Fanny Cooper, Nell Williams, and Henny. Nell appeared in court on April 11, Fanny on May 29, and Henny on May 31.⁵⁴⁰ That same year, Brice testified on March 29 for Milley Harden; on May 4 for Samuel and William Coney; and on May 29 for Sukey and Hetty/Kitty.⁵⁴¹ Three people registered in court in 1840; two per year in 1830 and 1841; and one per year in 1818, 1821, 1829, 1839, and 1844 (after Brice's death). Statistically speaking, Brice appears to have pushed registration at salient points, particularly 1832, which were times when whites took particular action.

Organizations such as the American Colonization Society (organized in 1817) developed as a conservative white response to the perceived threat of free blacks to society. Pushing against blacks' freedom in America provided a means to maintain the moral authority of social conservatives. Characterization of free blacks by conservative whites as morally lax, dangerous, and a draw on society rallied those whites threatened by the muddied hierarchical order brought by their increasing numbers after the Revolution. Colonization of blacks from America in Africa aimed to exorcise the black threat to conservative white control as masked in missionary,

⁵⁴⁰ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom, 1830-1832) Nell Williams, p. 59; Fanny Cooper, p. 215; Henny, p. 235. MSA C 290-2, MdHR 40,131-2.

⁵⁴¹ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) Milly, alias Milly Harden, 29 March 1832, p. 50; Negro William and Negro Samuel, 4 May 1832, p. 96; Negro Kitty, 29 May 1832, p. 213, and Negro Sukey, 29 May 1832, p. 213, MSA C 290-2, MDHR 40,131-2. It is also of note that James Carroll passed away in 1832, but no further connection can be made with Brice or the registrations on the basis of available evidence as to whether his death was a catalyst.

fundamentally Christian action.⁵⁴² Slave uprisings – both actual and the fear of – influenced social sentiment towards blacks. On February 28, 1799, “two negro men, criminals” working “on the edge of Mrs. Carroll’s woods, near Baltimore city, on Pratt-street” murdered their sentinel. One man was caught immediately. The other man, named Emanuel, escaped across the turnpike bridge. Nicholas Reynolds, the overseer of convicts working the road, entreated the public to apprehend Emanuel, “as he is a blood-thirsty fellow.”⁵⁴³ The Maryland State Colonization Society met in early 1831 to address the perceived problem of free and manumitted blacks. Nicholas Brice, brother of Henry Brice, presided over the meeting of prominent whites who voted to establish a colony on the African coast for free blacks.⁵⁴⁴ Penelope Campbell has written that the Society, “needed only to prove itself capable of alleviating the tension growing between the two races and of altering the racial balance in favor of the whites.”⁵⁴⁵ Its task was made more urgent in whites’ minds by Nat Turner’s rebellion in August 1831. Turner led a group of enslaved persons in Southhampton County, Virginia, where they murdered sixty whites. Turner’s Rebellion inspired a movement in Maryland to regulate the freedom of free blacks through their movements and by preventing future manumissions.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴² Frederickson, *Black Image in the White Mind*, 6.

⁵⁴³ Advertisement, *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser* [Baltimore, Md], 6 March 1799, vol. X, iss. 1658, p. 4.

⁵⁴⁴ Campbell, *Maryland in Africa*, 16-17.

⁵⁴⁵ Campbell, *Maryland in Africa*, 41.

⁵⁴⁶ Campbell, *Maryland in Africa*, 35.

A series of acts passed by the Maryland Assembly beginning in 1831 limited the freedom of freedpersons in Maryland. It passed an act in March 1832 that assigned the removal of freedpersons from Maryland to Liberia to a Board of Managers consisting of Society members. The act required each county to compile a census of its free African American population so the Board of Managers could identify individuals to return to Africa. No list remains for Baltimore City and Baltimore County, if one was ever drawn. The law provided for the limited residence of African Americans in the state and their forcible expulsion at the end of a time limit.⁵⁴⁷ Free blacks were subject to arrest if they refused to leave the state. Exceptions were made. A provision in the act allowed the state's orphan court or Baltimore city court to grant a permit on an annual basis to any ex-slave to remain in the county if he or she could produce testimony of exceptional good conduct and character.⁵⁴⁸ Drawing on earlier acts, the law allowed a manumitted slave to remain in the state, but it was the responsibility of the manumittor to ensure that the slave would not become a burden to society.⁵⁴⁹ Another act passed in June 1832 restricted the liberty of blacks in Maryland and sought to prevent more free blacks or slaves from

⁵⁴⁷ Maryland Historical Society, *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Papers of the Maryland State Colonization Society*, Philadelphia: Rhistoric Publications, 1970 p. 3.

⁵⁴⁸ Campbell, *Maryland in Africa*, 38-39.

⁵⁴⁹ "An act relating to the People of Color in this state." Passed 12 March 1832, *Session Laws, 1831*, Chapter 281, vol. 213, p. 343. Archives of Maryland Online. An act passed the following year protected enslaved persons who received manumissions before 1831. "A supplement to an act, entitled, An act relating to People of Colour in this State," Passed 22 March 1832, *Session Laws 1832*, Chapter 296, vol. 547, p. 354. Archives of Maryland Online.

settling in the state.⁵⁵⁰ While the laws appear to have applied specifically to newly freed persons, it engendered the need to document those freed before 1831. Perhaps Brice testified for blacks manumitted by Margaret in response to these trends.

Life After the Carrolls

The Garretts, Hardens, Lynches, and others in freedom faced familiar entanglements as in slavery that took generations to untwist. Freedpersons from Mount Clare lived during a time of explosive growth in Baltimore. Shipyards, mills, forges, furnaces, hotels, and other kinds of businesses grew. Employment offered, in turn, opportunities for family life, skill specialization and diversification, and community development.⁵⁵¹ Black men, in particular, took opportunities in seaport cities not only in Baltimore, but Philadelphia, Boston, and New York. Cities offered jobs to freedpersons as well as better chances of finding marriage partners and engaging in a large community of individuals with similar life experiences. Eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Baltimore encouraged close social interaction among demographic groups due to its population density. Men in Baltimore found work in maritime trades, as brickmakers, shoemakers, tailors and artisans, while women took domestic employment as housekeepers, washerwomen, seamstresses, and cooks. Their combined incomes were equally important in the survival of free black households.⁵⁵²

⁵⁵⁰ Campbell. *Maryland in Africa*, 39.

⁵⁵¹ Charles G. Steffen, "Changes in the Organization of Artisan Production in Baltimore, 1790 to 1820," *William & Mary Quarterly* 1979 36(1): 101-117.

⁵⁵² Baltimore City directories underscore the kinds of work performed by

The ability of blacks to find work as hired-out slaves or independent workers rattled Marylanders who supported slavery.⁵⁵³

Gender also played a role. Wallace's findings on gender disparity in Baltimore and Maryland suggest that individuals sent to new owners in Baltimore County were more able to find partners and create families than those in the city. Perhaps the trend explains why no women's names from Mount Clare appear as heads of households in nineteenth-century Baltimore City directories. Baltimore County and Maryland in general had slightly more male than female slaves of all ages. Females, however, greatly outnumbered males in Baltimore City; in 1830, the ratio was almost two-to-one. The disparity resulted from the import of females into Maryland and the export of males into the Lower South.⁵⁵⁴

Individuals who transitioned from slave to free mixed in Baltimore with blacks relocated from other regions. The combination of changing status with experiences of others may have helped Americanize blacks in Baltimore. Gary Nash suggests that acculturation accelerated in freedom for persons who came to Northern cities from plantations. Nash's evidence is in freedpersons' choice of common English names rather than the African, Grecian, or defamatory ones chosen for slaves by masters.⁵⁵⁵ Arguably, however, freedpersons used markers of citizenship modeled

freedpersons. Christine Daniels, "'Getting His (Or Her) Livelyhood': Free Workers in Slave Anglo-America, 1675-1810," *Agricultural History* 1997 71(2): 125-161; Nash, "Forging Freedom," 10-11, 15-16.

⁵⁵³ Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 47-49.

⁵⁵⁴ Wallace, *Fair Daughters of Africa*, 24-29.

⁵⁵⁵ Nash, "Forging Freedom," 20-26.

and understood by whites to integrate themselves into society in ways shaped by the African American experience. The roots of class formation in the antebellum era relate to the ways slavery and racial identity influenced the definition of class identity for all Americans. Leslie Harris began her study from the point that “the experiences of slavery and emancipation in colonial and early national New York City, and the ways New Yorkers interpreted those experiences, influenced the shape of labor relations there and the attitudes of blacks and whites toward black workers and their labor.”⁵⁵⁶ She argues that, “class distinctions among blacks affected arguments about black community, particularly as expressed through political activism against racism and slavery.”⁵⁵⁷ Scholars such as Paul Mullins, Terrance Epperson, and Laurie Wilkie have argued that African Americans combated racism by using material culture to define their senses of self and manipulate whites’ conceptualizations of them. Their work suggests the kinds of material practices Africans from Mount Clare performed in the mid-nineteenth century and beyond. Former slaves over the course of generations of freedpersons extricated themselves from white households to live in nuclear families in ethnically-clustered neighborhoods. Freedpersons organized for racial uplift in churches, schools, abolitionist societies, and mutual aid societies.

The Harden family may have held a particularly important role in racial uplift in Baltimore. Henry Harden held a leadership role in the African Methodist Church (A.M.E.) in Baltimore. His story is significant because it demonstrates that blacks enslaved by the Carrolls led movements in racial uplift and freedom. Put another way,

⁵⁵⁶ Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery*, 4.

⁵⁵⁷ Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery*, 9.

enslavement by the Carrolls inspired blacks to empower themselves and their brethren. The Great Awakening swept America beginning in the 1740s as an evangelical movement centering on the idea of Christian equality. Evangelicalism gave birth to a religious and cultural movement among enslaved persons as an organized and communal means to exercise control, assert independence, and resist white authority. Men, in particular, could gain status and authority within and beyond the black community. Richard Allen, the leader of the A.M.E. Church in the late eighteenth century, condemned the hypocrisy of white Methodists and refused to allow Christianity to be identified as a white religion. African customs and beliefs filtered through and meshed with Biblical teachings as blacks met to dance, sing, and listen to preachers.⁵⁵⁸ A.M.E. churches and preachers aided the escape of enslaved persons beginning in the late eighteenth century along what became known as the Underground Railroad.⁵⁵⁹

Blacks participated in Methodist services in Baltimore until whites became uncomfortable worshipping with them in 1786 and 1787.⁵⁶⁰ Henry Harden and the other fathers of the Baltimore A.M.E. church began meeting in 1796 in a boot-blackening cellar and then at each other's homes.⁵⁶¹ They rented a building at Fish

⁵⁵⁸ Raboteau, "The Slave Church in the Era of the American Revolution," 194, 196, 205-207, 209. Also see Whitman, *Challenging Slavery in the Chesapeake*, 135-154; Wallace, *Fair Daughters of Africa*, Chapter 3.

⁵⁵⁹ LaRoche, *On the Edge of Freedom*, 72-75.

⁵⁶⁰ Handy, *Scraps of African Methodist History*, 13-14; Smith, *Biography of Rev. David Smith*, 18, 20, 26.

⁵⁶¹ Handy, *Scraps of African Methodist History*, 26.

Street (now Saratoga) near Gay Street in 1797 and consecrated it “Bethel.” After several months, they could no longer pay the rent and moved Bethel’s classes and praise services from house-to-house.⁵⁶² Harden lived on Raybourg and New Alley in the early nineteenth century, perhaps at the residence of someone to whom he was hired out by Margaret. Church leaders met there to discuss purchasing the building on Fish Street.⁵⁶³ Harden may have by that time approached Margaret to see about his freedom. Rev. David Smith wrote that Harden was among several men whose owners were persuaded to release them: “religious reformation made this class of men and women better servants, and by their good behavior many of them became free.”⁵⁶⁴ Harden was manumitted on August 18, 1815.⁵⁶⁵

Harden continued to be active in the A.M.E. church as a freedman. He attended the 1816 convention in Philadelphia that formally organized the A.M.E. Church.⁵⁶⁶ He succeeded Daniel Coker as preacher-in-charge at Bethel in 1817 and assumed responsibility for Bearhill, Frederick Road, Mt. Gilboa, Sculltown and Fells Point. Brice testified for Harden in court in 1818, when he was 42 years old, to register his 1815 manumission, which suggests that Brice knew him prior to

⁵⁶² Handy, *Scraps of African Methodist History*, 1 and 14.

⁵⁶³ Handy, *Scraps of African Methodist History*, 26.

⁵⁶⁴ Smith, *Biography of Rev. David Smith*, 20.

⁵⁶⁵ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) Henry Harden, 8 April 1818, p. 16, MSA C-290-1.

⁵⁶⁶ Handy, *Scraps of African Methodist History*, 1; Smith, *Biography of Rev. David Smith*, 32.

Margaret's death.⁵⁶⁷ Harden was appointed book steward for the circuit and elected and ordained as a church elder at the 1818 conference in Baltimore.⁵⁶⁸ Harden twice appears in church records as promoting unity. He placed a resolution at the 1819 conference in Baltimore to prohibit members from disloyalty or sowing discord against the A.M.E. church.⁵⁶⁹ The resolution reflected his concern that white Elders would learn the business of their meetings and act against the members. In 1821, he brought a motion to include the Eastern Shore of Maryland in the Baltimore Conference. Harden was assigned to lead the new A.M.E. church on Mott Street in lower Manhattan, New York in 1820. The congregation numbered twenty-nine people – mostly women – and Harden enlarged its membership on a weekly basis.⁵⁷⁰ Harden's activities become unclear beginning in the early 1820s. The 1822-1823 edition of the Baltimore directory placed Henry Harden in Baltimore. Harden was "expelled" from the church in 1830⁵⁷¹ and withdrew in 1834.⁵⁷² He does not thereafter appear in church records, census records, or city directories. No obituary or year of death has been recovered.

⁵⁶⁷ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) Henry Harden, 8 April 1818, p. 16, MSA C-290-1.

⁵⁶⁸ Smith, *Biography of Rev. David Smith*, 38-39.

⁵⁶⁹ Handy, *Scraps of African Methodist History*, 55-56.

⁵⁷⁰ Handy, *Scraps of African Methodist History*, 63.

⁵⁷¹ Dorothy Porter and Dorothy Burnett Porter, *Early Negro Writing, 1760-1837*, 197.

⁵⁷² John Jamison Moore, *History of the A.M.E. Church in America, Founded 1796 in the City of New York*. 387.

Blacks formerly enslaved at Mount Clare and The Caves experienced profound adjustments after 1817. One of them was the adjustment to the promise of freedom at a future date, rather than freedom immediately upon Margaret's death. Some individuals went to new owners and to new places, others kept families together, and others engaged with opportunities available in the city. Together, they demonstrate the complexity of the transition from slavery to freedom, from the life of individuals enslaved by a wealthy white widow to freedpersons entering newly charted waters of class and race as African Americans.

Chapter 7: Slavery and Historic House Museums

The preceding chapters demonstrate that, despite the erasure of slavery and black history from interpretations of life at Mount Clare, the stories of the Garretts, Lynches, Hardens, and others cannot be erased from history. Historic sites throughout the United States preserve racial fissures in society by focusing on elite whites rather than the interaction among all residents. In the following chapter, I address the legacy of racialized practices as they do or do not manifest in the interpretation of the former Mount Clare plantation. I argue that the legacy of slavery at Mount Clare involves the conscious invisibility of blacks in the site's history, particularly the process of who can control it, and why. It is an important part of the site's history. I begin with an overview of Mount Clare between Margaret's death in 1817 and the beginning of the site's management by the Maryland Society in 1917. I continue with an outline of the relationship of the Maryland Society to the late-nineteenth to mid-twentieth-century preservation movement, specifically the use of historic houses to commemorate white ancestors. I then address the problem of avoiding black history in historic houses. The Mount Clare Museum House, the historic easement area, and the rest of Carroll Park can be different from other historic sites where black history continues to be avoided. They, instead, can set the standard in Maryland historic house museums' permanent interpretations for a revised history that acknowledges head-on the significance of race and status in the development of American culture.

Mount Clare, 1817-1917

After Margaret passed away in 1817, physical evidence of slavery and blacks began to erode away from Mount Clare. The showpiece plantation of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries became threatened when the Carroll family's requirements for the landscape and slavery changed. The expanding western boundary of Baltimore, industrial development along Gwynns Falls, and attitudinal shifts towards race and status in American life all had impacts on the layout, function, and meaning of Mount Clare. In the process, physical evidence of slavery and blacks' lives became less apparent, which enabled European-American preservationist groups to claim the landscape as theirs alone.

A new enslaved black community moved with James Maccubbin Carroll to Mount Clare circa 1818. James paid for repairs to "the quarter," the mansion, and the barn in 1822 as well as kitchen improvements.⁵⁷³ He hired a gardener and maintained the property as Margaret had.⁵⁷⁴ At the same time, Baltimore City was eyeing Mount Clare as seen in the city grid overlay in Poppleton's map of 1818 (Figure 10). In 1828, James offered the newly formed Baltimore & Ohio Railroad a ten-acre parcel on the northeast corner of his property for a depot. Railroad construction cut off access from Mount Clare to the Frederick Turnpike. A new driveway was built between Mount Clare and the new Washington Turnpike south of the house. The B&O Railroad purchased fifteen acres from James in 1830 to expand the railroad

⁵⁷³ The quarter had 311 [measurement not recorded] of mason and 23 perches of quarry. Jacob Sedden to James Carroll Jr., Bill for work, 2 February 1822, Folder "1815-22, James Carroll, Jr. (1791-1873) Papers," Box 10, MS 219, MdHS.

⁵⁷⁴ James Carroll Account Book, 1813-1869, p. 97.

complex.⁵⁷⁵ The track may have precipitated a rearrangement of structures and uses for the landscape. Nothing in James's correspondence with the B&O, however, details any changes or their effects. Like Carrolls before him, James's death in 1832 affected blacks at Mount Clare, but the historical record is silent on the details. James enslaved twenty-one people in 1832, but no account of sale was registered in court to indicate what happened to the people inventoried as part of his estate.⁵⁷⁶

James's son, James Jr., inherited Mount Clare. He twice hired Sam Harden, whom he purchased from Margaret's estate.⁵⁷⁷ James Jr. may have lived at the mansion from 1832 until 1836, when he began to rent it out. No information remains on all the renters' occupations at Mount Clare, other than the mansion became a boarding house by mid-century.⁵⁷⁸ The uses for the landscape changed considerably beginning with James Jr.'s ownership. According to census records and slave

⁵⁷⁵ Baltimore County Court (Land Records) James Carroll to The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, Liber WG208, folio 448, WK1186-1187-1, MSA CE66-258.

⁵⁷⁶ See Appendix E. No account of sale was registered with the court to indicate if James's executors sold the slaves, and who purchased them.

⁵⁷⁷ He also hired Jerry Johnson, but I could not determine if he was the same Jerry listed in Margaret's probate record. James Carroll Account Book 1813-1869, p. 82, MS 217, MdHS.

⁵⁷⁸ William McPherson lived at Carrolls Point 1826-1836; worked at Mount Clare 1832- 1836, moved into the "Mount Clare house" and worked the property to 1852. Subsequent renters: Fisher H. White (1852), Thomas Atkinson (1853), J. Storm (1854), Thomas Donahue (April-September 1854), George Sugden (October 1854-May 1867) (James Carroll Account Book 1813-1869, pp. 61, 146, 216 and 5, 27, 29 MS 217, MdHS.). An 1853 assessment lists Mount Clare, a two-story house on Washington Road, a brick mill; a two-story brick house on Carrolls Point, and two, two-story frames on Carrolls Point. Carroll Jr. leased 22 acres plus the Mount Clare Mill to W.E. Woodyard in November 1853. Assessment, 1853, Folder "1853-54, James Carroll Jr. (1791-1873), Papers," Box 10, MS 219. MdHS.

schedules for 1850 and 1860, the renters did not have slaves. Archaeological evidence shows that refuse accumulated across the property as enslaved blacks and white servants no longer maintained the gardens and orchards.

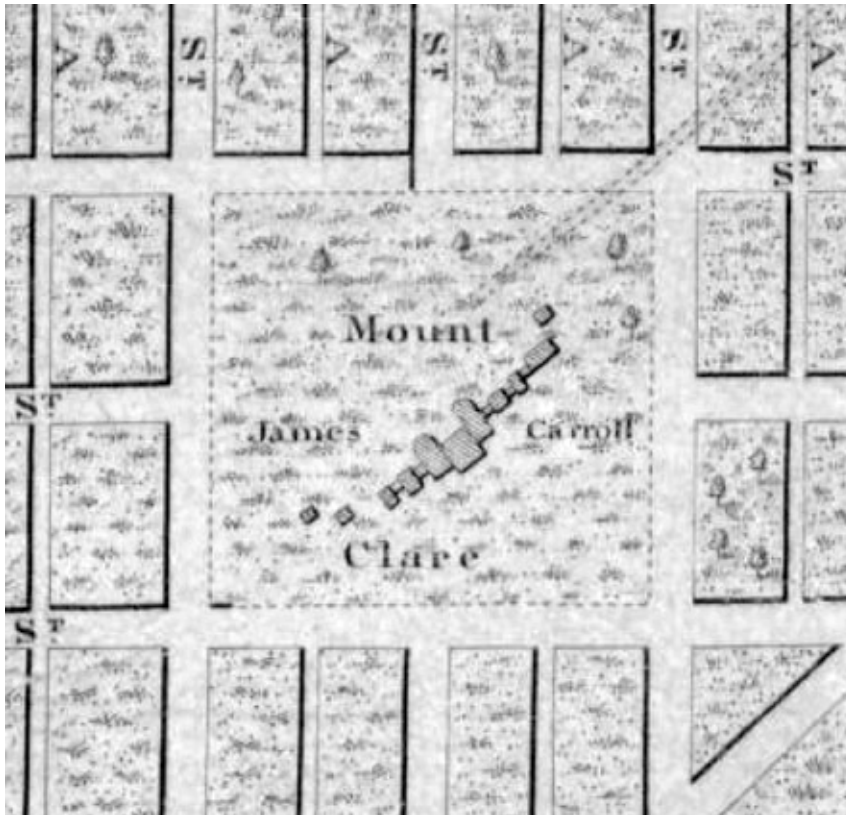


Figure 10: Detail from Plan of the city of Baltimore, T.H. Poppleton, 1818. It shows the proposed city grid. The Frederick Turnpike enters the frame diagonally from the northeast.



Figure 11: Scott's map of the city of Baltimore. Simon J. Martenet, C.E. 1856. It shows the Baltimore and Ohio Railway to the north and a new driveway from the south.



Figure 12: Military map showing Camp Chesebrough, Baltimore Co., Md. Chief Eng., 8th Army Corps, by Geo. Kaiser, Pvt. 10th N.Y. Vols., 1863.

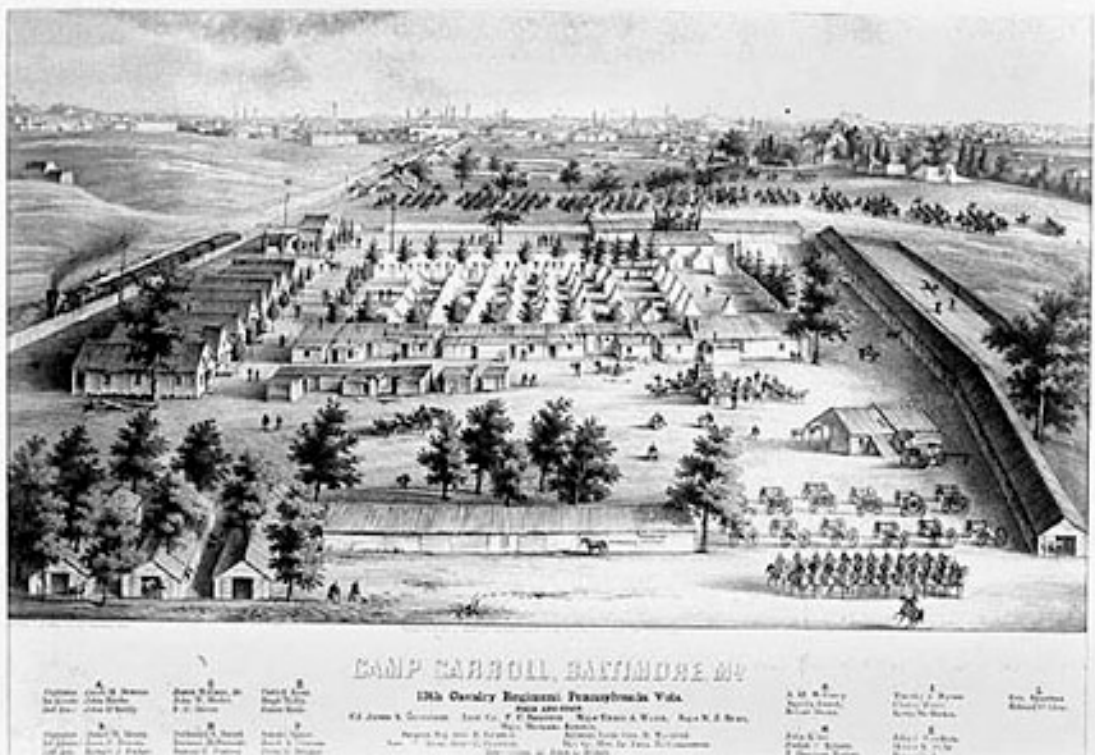


Figure 13: Camp Carroll. E. Sachse and Co. 1862. Enoch Pratt Free Library. The lithographer faces east towards Baltimore. The railroad is to the left, while the mansion is in trees to the right side of the frame.



Figure 14: Detail of Sasche print showing the mansion and dependencies.

Federal troops camped on James Carroll's property from 1861 through the Civil War in two places. Their camp near the mansion was called Camp Carroll or

Camp Chesebrough (Figures 12 and 13).⁵⁷⁹ Another camp was located near the Millington Mill. Signage near the Mount Clare Museum House discusses Camp Carroll but not slavery as a cause of the war. It does not mention African American life in Baltimore during wartime. Both topics demonstrate the continuing relevance of black history to Mount Clare in the nineteenth century.

Maps and lithographs may depict slave quarters and work buildings near the mansion. Maps from 1818 and 1856 and an 1862 lithograph show a building just east of the mansion's east wing (Figures 10, 11, 13). Perhaps it was the "quarter" renovated in 1822, but it might also have been a garage or barn to serve the new driveway. The 1862 lithograph shows one two-story and two one-story structures in a field further east of the mansion (Figures 13 and 14). The location is just north of the frame structure depicted in Charles Willson Peale's painting in 1775. A brickyard replaced the structures by 1869 (Figure 15). The structure to the east of the east wing may have been torn down (Figure 16). If the structures were slave quarters, no clear evidence dates their location prior to the mid-nineteenth century. Unfortunately, archaeology is unlikely to contribute more information. Late nineteenth-century landmoving carved away the area shown in the 1818, 1856, and 1862 images to the east of the east wing. Development of Carroll Park beyond the historic easement has built over subsurface evidence of structures in the east field. If the structures were slave quarters, they raise questions about the timeline for housing blacks at Mount Clare. Were the structures among the eighteenth-century landscape features? Did the

⁵⁷⁹ Michael F. Trostel, *Mount Clare: Being an Account of the Seat Built by Charles Carroll, Barrister, upon his Lands at Patapsco* (Baltimore: National Society of Colonial Dames of America, 1981), 91-100.

situation of quarters change relative in position to the mansion? If so, why? What was the impact of changing attitudes about race and status in Baltimore? Did soldiers camped at Camp Carroll and Camp Millington further erase evidence of slavery by using wooden structures for fuel or housing? The structures and/or their sites shown in mid-century images may date to Charles and Margaret's residency, or represent changes in the property layout due to land sales or construction of the railroad or brickyards.



Figure 15: Mount Clare in 1869. Sachse. Library of Congress.

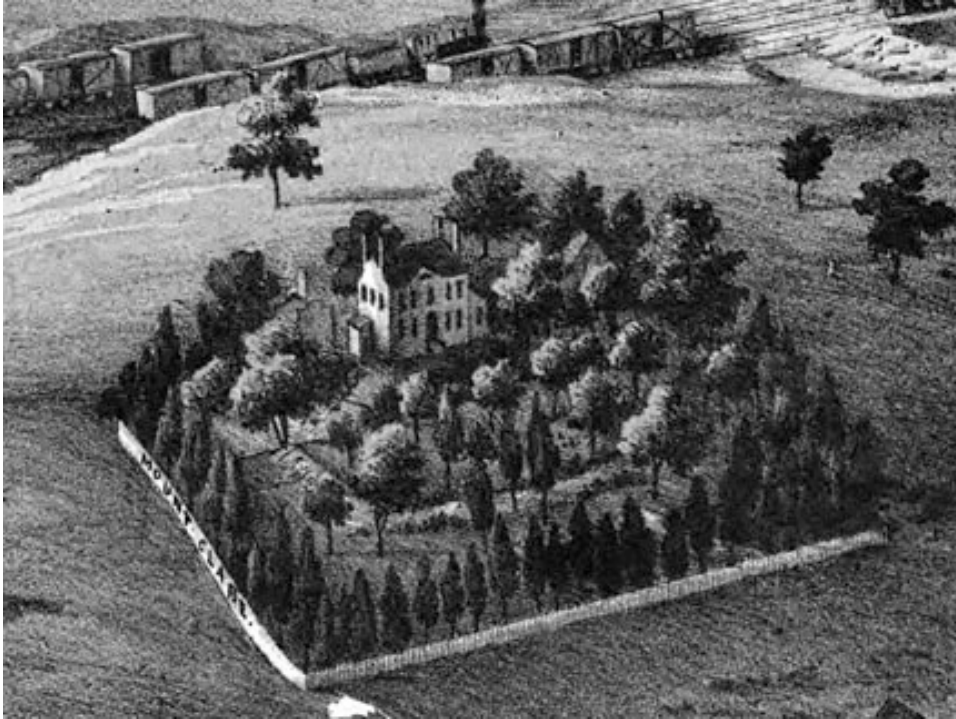


Figure 16: Detail from Sachse's 1869 map.

Further erasure of black history resulted from changes to the house to suit renters whose interests lay in the promotion of European ethnicity. James Jr. rented fifteen acres of Mount Clare plus the mansion to a German social club called the West Baltimore Schuetzen Association as a clubhouse and recreational park in 1870.⁵⁸⁰ The Schuetzens equipped the mansion with a shooting range, ten-pin alley, drinking hall, and bandstand. The Maryland Society chafed a century later at the “ignominy of [Mount Clare’s] use as a public beer garden” in contrast to “what had once been the elegance and gentility of a gracious Colonial home.”⁵⁸¹ The writer

⁵⁸⁰ Baltimore City Superior Court (Land Records) James Carroll to West Baltimore Schuetzen Assoc., Liber GR448, folio 19, MSA CE 168-496, MdHR CR 4725-1.

made no elusion to slavery, which would have complicated her image of Mount Clare, perhaps due to a lack of above-ground evidence to challenge it. The Schuetzens demolished the dilapidated dependencies in 1873 and constructed a two-story kitchen to replace the east wing. Archaeologically-recovered pig bones, beer bottles and glasses, and bullet casings attest to the Schuetzens' entertainments.



Figure 17: The mansion after the Scheutzens demolished the wings and before Baltimore City commissioned new ones. Hughes Collection, MdHS.

⁵⁸¹ National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland, *Mount Clare: Home of Charles Carroll, Barrister* (National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland, 1971), 1 and 16.



Figure 18: The mansion with new wings built by Baltimore City. Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress. 1958.

Only the central part of the original mansion remained by the time the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore purchased the mansion and twenty acres from James Carroll Jr.'s heirs in 1890 for a public park as part of the City Beautiful movement (Figure 17).⁵⁸² The landscape was elided with the Carrolls rather than all people who had lived and worked there. Frederick Law Olmsted was hired in 1903 to redesign Carroll Park and other Baltimore parks. The wings currently flanking the mansion were constructed in 1908 as bathhouses and locker rooms (Figure 18).⁵⁸³ Olmsted's

⁵⁸² Baltimore City Superior Court (Land Records) Sally W. Carroll & c. to Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, 8 November 1890, Liber JB 1318, folio 1, MSA CR 5117-1, CR 5117-2.

attitudes towards slavery, however, influenced his plans. He despised slavery and believed in the equality of all races, but believed that equal rights were to be earned through proper education and a productive role in society. He envisioned his urban parks as a means to improve equality and society as well as individual morality and the mind. The Olmsted plans, including baseball fields, outdoor gymnasiums for men and women, basketball courts and a wading pool, were complete by 1915.⁵⁸⁴ The Olmsted features became central players in ongoing racial divisions at Carroll Park as ballfields, golf courses, pools, and other areas became segregated terrain. The tensions between Olmsted's beliefs and the way the park's Olmsted features structured segregationist policy is another important element of black history in Carroll Park.

Women and the Preservation Movement

The erasure of black history from historic sites such as Mount Clare dovetailed with the rise of historic preservation led by upper- and middle-class European American women in the late nineteenth century. Black women did not have the same political or financial power to organize historic houses on the same scale as whites, despite work within the community towards racial, moral, and mental uplift. They joined and organized literary and intellectual societies, mutual aid societies, civic leagues, and civil rights organizations.⁵⁸⁵ Preservation groups, however, do not seem to have

⁵⁸³ Trostel, *Mount Clare*, 100.

⁵⁸⁴ James E. Wells III, *The Historical Geography of Racial and Ethnic Access Within Baltimore's Carroll Park: 1870-1954* (Master's thesis, Ohio University, 2006), 54.

existed. Black women could not publicly claim former plantations as their heritage, or own property, and many did not have the resources to devote to the maintenance of aging structures. A question remained in the black community, as well, over the degree to which slavery should be remembered. Did the black community in Baltimore want to distance itself from slavery and its racialized stigma? What were the attitudes towards preserving ancestors' homes and workplaces? Who remained from the enslaved population at Mount Clare to care, or remember?

White women's actions and ideologies in the nineteenth century focused on the nostalgic memory of a colonial past as part of the broader Colonial Revival movement.⁵⁸⁶ The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association began work in 1853 to save George Washington's Mount Vernon. White women organized the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities in 1889, the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1890, the National Association of the Daughters of the Confederacy (now the United Daughters of the Confederacy) in 1894, as well as other social groups. The National Society of the Colonial Dames in America (NSCDA) was founded in 1891. The groups sought to commemorate the sacrifices and contributions of their ancestors – all white men – to the nation.⁵⁸⁷ Patriotic organizations ignored

⁵⁸⁵ "Baltimore: Civic, Union, and Mutual Aid Associations," in *Organizing Black America: An Encyclopedia of African American Organizations*, edited by Nina Mjagkij (New York: Garland Publishing, 2001), 87-92.

⁵⁸⁶ See in particular, Hosmer, Jr., *Presence of the Past*; James M. Lindgren, "A New Departure in Historic, Patriotic Work': Personalism, Professionalism, and Conflicting Concepts of Material Culture in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." *The Public Historian* 18, no. 2 (1996): 41-60; and West, *Domesticating History*.

⁵⁸⁷ Charles Bridgham Hosmer, *Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States before Williamsburg* (New York: Putnam, 1965), 57;

African American and Native American history other than to acknowledge that their ancestors owned slaves or fought indigenous peoples.⁵⁸⁸ They were just as reticent towards European immigrants. House museums found a niche by providing, as Pamela West puts it, “a shared ancestral home and sacred heritage.”⁵⁸⁹ It also, West argues, “confirmed that the rescue of ‘sacred’ historic houses was within the proper, domestically based ‘sphere’ of woman’s activity.”⁵⁹⁰ Black women were not figured into the preservationist sphere.

Women preservationists organized themselves around efforts to promote the contributions of their European American ancestors to the nation. Kinship, indeed, constituted a primary basis for exclusion. The women shared hereditary connections and interests in the archives, artifacts, and historic properties that evidenced them. Part of the erasure of black history from Mount Clare resulted from the agenda of preservationists to preserve a specific perspective on the past. The Maryland Society of the NSCDA organized in 1892 to commemorate “the brilliant achievements of the founders of this great Republic, to the end that the women as well as the men of this land may be stimulated to better and nobler lives” by collecting “manuscripts,

Patricia West, *Domesticating History: The Political Origins of America's House Museums* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1999), 36.

⁵⁸⁸ Barbara J. Howe, "Women in the Nineteenth-Century Preservation Movement." In *Restoring Women's History through Historic Preservation*, ed. Gail Lee and Jennifer B. Goodman Dubrow, 17-36. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 30.

⁵⁸⁹ West, *Domesticating History*, 3.

⁵⁹⁰ West, *Domesticating History*, 36.

traditions, relics, and mementoes of bygone days for preservation.”⁵⁹¹ The 1895 constitution stipulated that membership,

... shall be composed entirely of women who are descended in their own right from some ancestor of worthy life who came to reside in an American Colony prior to 1750, which ancestor or some one of his descendants, being a lineal ascendant of the applicant, shall have rendered efficient service to his country during the Colonial period, either in the founding of a commonwealth, or of an institution which has survived and developed into importance, or who shall have held an important position in the Colonial government, and who by distinguished services shall have contributed to the founding of this great and powerful nation. Services rendered after 1783 not recognized.⁵⁹²

Eligible women descended from Maryland ancestors who held positions as Provincial Officers; members of Assemblies, Conventions, and Committees; were part of the Judiciary; or were involved in military or naval contingents. Such positions were unavailable to blacks – and many whites – in the colonial era. The membership criteria remain similar to the late nineteenth century; the NSCDA welcomes members from all ethnic or religious backgrounds.

Preservation organizations developed at a time when African Americans remained disenfranchised from society. Histories of preservation, however, tend to exclude efforts by African Americans and the ways their work differed operationally and ideologically from European Americans. Fath Davis Ruffins and Paul Ruffins

⁵⁹¹ Maryland Society of the Colonial Dames of America, *Constitution and by-Laws of the Maryland Society of the Colonial Dames of America* (Baltimore: Guggenheimer, Weil, and Co., 1892), 5-6.

⁵⁹² National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, *Constitution and Eligibility Lists of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America* (Baltimore: Guggenheimer, Weil, and Co., 1895), 10-11.

demonstrate that museums and cultural institutions have a long history in African American life. The first African American literary and historical society was founded in Philadelphia in 1828. The first African American historic house was Frederick Douglass's home, Cedar Hill, in Washington D.C. Douglass's wife and community members established his home as a museum to celebrate great men who worked against the odds. Carter G. Woodson founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1915 to be the first nationwide preservation organization.⁵⁹³ Much more common, however, were museums, libraries, or collections developed by whites on African and African American history. Even more common, as in the case of Mount Clare, were historical societies that preserved the homes of white ancestors whose use of slavery made them politically evident in national developments. Ignoring the contributions of all people to the national effort preserved a race-based status quo supported by the lack of representation of blacks at historic sites.

Some traditionally white women's organizations, such as the Daughters of the American Revolution or the United Daughters of the Confederacy, have been publicly called out as discriminatory and racist. The NSCDA has received no such accusations. The DAR's "white performers only" policy justified the exclusion of Marian Anderson, an African-American contralto, from performing at Constitution Hall in Washington, D.C. in 1939.⁵⁹⁴ In 1985, Lena Lorraine Santos Ferguson and her

⁵⁹³ Fath Davis Ruffins and Paul Ruffins, "Recovering Yesterday," *Black Issues in Higher Education* (1997) 13: 25, 16; Women of European or African heritage did work together, but the fraught history between whites and/or blacks influenced them to promote their own races according to internal rules

⁵⁹⁴ "DAR Explains Action on Singer," *New York Times* [New York, NY] 19 April 1939, p. 25.

two sponsors claimed that the DAR denied her membership on the basis of race. Ferguson told a *Washington Post* reporter that, "The reason I kept pursuing it is I wanted to prove that if this organization stands for what it says it stands for – honoring people who served in the revolution – I should be able to join."⁵⁹⁵ The DAR now forbids discrimination on the basis of race. Essie Mae Washington-Williams, the biracial daughter of former U.S. Senator Strom Thurmond, applied for membership in the USDC based upon her father's lineage. Washington-Williams explained that she did not see the organization as explicitly racist as popular sentiment makes it to be. She saw, instead, an opportunity for encouraging dialogue as both a white and a black person.⁵⁹⁶ Newspaper accounts of Ferguson's and Washington-Williams's experiences note that a handful of African Americans were members with the DAR or the USDC. African Americans today are eligible to be members in the Maryland Society through hereditary relationship to prominent elite whites. No information has come to light of mixed race offspring of Dr. Charles Carroll or Charles Carroll the Barrister. No evidence exists that any blacks from Mount Clare took the last name "Carroll." I am unaware of any African American members of the Maryland Society.

Historic house museums are receiving more attention for their racial legacies. Scholars working on analyses of white supremacy are turning a spotlight on organizations that make historic preservation part of their agenda. Euan Hague, Edward H. Sabesta, and Heide Beirich have recently placed the USDC among other

⁵⁹⁵ Ronald Kessler, "Sponsors Claim Race is a Stumbling Block; Black Unable to Join Local DAR," *Washington Post* [Washington, D.C.], 12 March 1984, A1.

⁵⁹⁶ Shaila K. Dewan and Ariel Hart, "Thurmond's Biracial Daughter Seeks to Join Confederate Group," *The New York Times* [New York, NY] 2 July 2004, p. A13.

Southern organizations that comprise the neo-Confederacy movement. Their research compiles accusations of racism from historians such as James Ferguson.⁵⁹⁷ Ken Chujo argues that organizations like the DAR racialized nationalism.⁵⁹⁸ Their work demonstrates that a racial divide persists in hereditary organizations and, by extension, that the focus on white history at historic sites perpetuates it. Developing black history at the historic sites under their purview is an important step to counter such charges, if they wish. The stewards of Carroll Park face a choice: Should they continue apace and potentially face charges of white supremacy, or demonstrate that its members are different? The Maryland Society and the Carroll Park Foundation do want to present a broader and more inclusive history, and the above context on black history provides a way to do so.

Historic Houses and Consensus History

Problems in the interpretation of black history are not unique to Mount Clare. A theme among historic houses is discomfort with topics that challenge white supremacy, such as enslaved persons' agency. Historic house museums promulgated the invention of an immutable American past by the European-American middle class and bourgeois, who felt threatened by social instability.⁵⁹⁹ The founding mothers of historic house museums practiced what is today known as traditional or consensus

⁵⁹⁷ Euan Hague, Edward H. Sabesta, and Heide Beirich, eds. *Neo-Confederacy: A Critical Introduction* (University of Texas Press, 2008.)

⁵⁹⁸ Ken Chujo, "The Daughters of the American Revolution and Its Attitude toward African Americans." *Transforming Anthropology* 13, no. 2 (2005): 160-64.

⁵⁹⁹ West, *Domesticating History*, 2 and 43.

history. Traditional history seeks to cull one true, official, and authoritative reality from all the information about the past. Its dependence on textual sources, like government documents or business papers, supports a focus on politics and economics and forefronts the people best represented in those sources. As a result, traditional history tends to represent best the roles of elites, whites, and men in the American past. It promotes social unity, the continuity of existing institutions, and loyalty to the status quo.⁶⁰⁰ Traditional history dominates the interpretation of Mount Clare, even though black history is more evident today than when the Maryland Society became steward in 1917. It focuses on the Carrolls as exceptional members of colonial society, power and privilege, and architecture and furnishings of the main house at the expense of those who made it happen: enslaved and free blacks, or indentured or hired servants.

The Maryland Society was typical of organizations in historic house preservation, particularly in the way traditional history combined with colonial revivalism to erase blacks. The Maryland Society focused on renovating and furnishing Mount Clare upon becoming its steward in 1917. At that time, Baltimore's population had expanded greatly due to immigration from abroad and population movements from within America. The Maryland Society incorporated Mount Clare into projects with immigrants, but whether or not African Americans were included or permitted inside Mount Clare is not clear from available records. Alvin Brunson calculates that ninety percent of African Americans in Baltimore lived along

⁶⁰⁰ John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 13

Pennsylvania Avenue by 1920, which is near but not adjacent to Carroll Park.⁶⁰¹

Stuart Hobbs argues that history museums appealed to northeastern Americans of English descent at a time when they felt that immigrants threatened their culture.⁶⁰²

He writes that, “Colonial revivalists used architectural and decorative forms from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to create a mythologized past characterized by honest artisan labor and graceful living among beautiful objects.”⁶⁰³ Such was the case at Mount Clare, where members created a myth of the Carrolls while furnishing and restoring the house. In the early 1920s, Mount Clare’s Board president, Emilie McKim Reed expressed gladness for a clean house lit with electric lights and wished they could “make the little room on the first floor into a library and next make the old dining room beautiful.”⁶⁰⁴ Correspondence thanked members for their donations of furnishings, yet urged patience at seeing them arranged in the house. The Committee on Americanization (later Patriotic Service) started with the care of immigrants who

⁶⁰¹ Alvin Brunson, “The Avenue: The Legacy of Historic Pennsylvania Avenue,” *ChickenBones: A Journal*, Online: <http://www.nathanielturner.com/avenueinbaltimore.htm>.

⁶⁰² Bonnie Hurd Smith, “Women’s Voices: Reinterpreting Historic House Museums.” In *Her Past around Us: Interpreting Sites for Women’s History*, edited by Polly Welts Kaufman and Katharine T. Corbett, 87-101 (Malabar: Kreiger Publishing Company, 2003), 89.

⁶⁰³ Stuart D. Hobbs, “Exhibiting Antimodernism: History, Memory, and the Aesthetized Past in Mid-Twentieth-Century America,” *The Public Historian* 23, no. 3 (2001), 54.

⁶⁰⁴ Letter, Emilie McKim Reed to Annie L. Sioussat, [no date]. Folder “ND Annie L. Sioussat Corr. Emilie McKim Reed”. Leakin-Sioussat Papers, c.1650-c.1960, MS 1497, Maryland Historical Society. The date of the letter is established by the Reed’s term from about 1917 until the early 1920s.

stopped on their way West over the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Sioussat wrote in 1920 that,

Mount Clare continues to be a joy – and serves many ends not usually attained by an old Colonial mansion – as the population outside of Carroll Park hill -- its beautiful terraces made long ago by the Barrister consists of great rarities of foreign form – and we like to see how the house and its relics attracts them and how they wander in and out of its historic walls with a sense of inclusion in its ownership which is the best ground work for their Americanization.⁶⁰⁵

The project continued into 1929 as Sioussat wrote,

Mount Clare is more beautiful than ever – its doors are open to the pilgrims who come in increasing numbers to enjoy its charms, while its gate bears today the legend of our estate properly inscribed thereon. It has retained its stateliness in the midst of the foreign population and proves both inspiration and education to them.⁶⁰⁶

For women preservationist-reformers through the first third of the twentieth century, uncritical patriotism provided a guiding framework to address the rapid social changes of urban areas.

Colonial revivalists created a useable past to address their concerns without challenging the system.⁶⁰⁷ The result ultimately painted an inaccurate caricature of the

⁶⁰⁵ Draft, Historians Report [1920]. Folder “Colonial Dames Historian Reports (ALS),” Box 22. Leakin-Sioussat Papers, c.1650-c.1960, MS 1497, Maryland Historical Society.

⁶⁰⁶ Circular Letter of the Historian, March 1929. Folder “Colonial Dames Printed Material” Box 22. Leakin-Sioussat Papers, c.1650-c.1960, MS 1497, Maryland Historical Society.

⁶⁰⁷ Harvey Green, "Looking Backward to the Future: The Colonial Revival and American Culture," In *Creating a Dignified Past: Museums and the Colonial Revival*, edited by Geoffrey L. Rossano, 1-16 (Savage, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1991), 15.

Carrolls. Historian and genealogist Annie Leakin Sioussat codified the approach in her historical sketch of Mount Clare, which was published by the Maryland Society in 1926. The sketch, indeed, informed historical accounts a quarter-century later.⁶⁰⁸ No explanation of evidence of slavery is presented, even though her sources contained it. Sioussat framed Mount Clare as an oasis in the swift destruction brought by modern life. She began the history with a romanticized discussion of the “red men” who traveled through the region before focusing on Charles Carroll and his plantation.⁶⁰⁹ Charles was characterized as a hard-working patriot: "a strong patriotic example for those who come after, of the days when purity of life and political probity were the ideals and guiding principles inherited from the earlier days."⁶¹⁰ Charles’s home in Annapolis, she wrote, had “long lost its identity and only the mansion of Mount Clare remains to the best of uses as his memorial and a shrine in which may be found, not articles collected here and there, presumably of the period, but the veritable furnishings and worldly gear, silver, etc., remain in the place for which they were purchased from London.”⁶¹¹ Sioussat did not discuss slaves or slavery, but instead documented the refurbished interior, architectural features and landscaped setting at Mount Clare, of which the Colonial Dames were quite proud. Sioussat’s history

⁶⁰⁸ Mary F. Pringle Fenhagen (*A History of the Maryland Society of the Colonial Dames of America*. n.p.: n.p., [1951], 10-11) notes that her work draws heavily from Sioussat’s 1926 historical sketch of Mount Clare.

⁶⁰⁹ Annie Leakin Sioussat, *"Mount Clare" Carroll Park, Baltimore: An Historical Sketch Issued under the Auspices of the Maryland Society of the Colonial Dames of America* (Baltimore: Maryland Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 1926), 1.

⁶¹⁰ Sioussat, *"Mount Clare" Carroll Park, Baltimore*, 15.

⁶¹¹ Sioussat, *"Mount Clare" Carroll Park, Baltimore*, 13.

reflected the Maryland Society's lack of interest in the full story of the Carrolls and the development of Mount Clare.

Carroll Park Recreation

Racist practices in the recreational areas of Carroll Park reflected the segregation of history at the Mount Clare Museum House and throughout the city. In 1923, Baltimore Parks and Recreation developed a municipal golf course to the west of Monroe Street on one hundred two acres formerly of Mount Clare. All the golf courses in Baltimore were "White only" until the public protests of the Monumental Golf Club of Baltimore, an African American organization. The Park Board granted African Americans access to Carroll Park beginning on September 1, 1934. Wells writes that the Park Board did not believe, "that an increased African American presence in the area would adversely impact the white neighborhoods of southwestern Baltimore in any significant way" due to the industrial character of the landscape surrounding the golf course. White residents of southwestern Baltimore, however, successfully persuaded the Mayor to ask the Park Board to reverse its decision.⁶¹²

African American golfers were given exclusive use of the Carroll Park golf course in 1936. On May 6, 1942, the Board of Parks and Recreation removed stipulations that prohibited blacks from golfing anywhere but at Carroll Park. White golfers protested, and the stipulations were reinstated in June. Court cases brought by African Americans in 1942 and in 1947 successfully argued that the Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed their right to equal access and facilities on Baltimore's golf

⁶¹² Wells, *Historical Geography*, 10, 57-58.

courses.⁶¹³ The Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (proposed 1866, ratified 1868) provided equal rights for all people, but allowed segregation to persist by leaving the determination of the method of equality to the states. Full racial integration of all Baltimore golf courses took place in 1951.⁶¹⁴ Descendants of slaves organized the fight for desegregation, such as Juanita Jackson Mitchell (an enslaved daughter of Charles Carroll, father of Charles Carroll of Carrollton), members of the NAACP, and golfers who, unlike their enslaved forebears, had the expendable income to afford golf.⁶¹⁵

The Park Board's policies incited racial violence in Carroll Park. Anyone could use the eastern portion of Carroll Park surrounding the Mount Clare Museum House, but the Park Board's segregationist policies restricted its uses by blacks. The wading pool was white-only. Only one ethnicity could use a ball field at a time. Park officers were instructed to dismantle any interracial games. In October 1940, a 19-year-old African American man died from a stabbing wound incurred during a fight between gangs of whites and blacks.⁶¹⁶ Some whites believed that they had, writes Wells, a "natural dominance over the park." In the 1940s, gangs from the poor, white neighborhood to the north of Carroll Park between Wilkens Avenue and Lombard

⁶¹³ *Durkee v. Murphy*, 181 Md. 259, 29 A.2d 253, 255; *Law v. Mayor and City Council of Baltimore et al.*, Civ. A. No. 3837, United States District Court for the District of Maryland, 78 F. Supp. 346; 1948 U.S. Dist; *Baltimore Golf Unrestricted*, Washington Post [Washington, D.C.], 19 June 1948, B2.

⁶¹⁴ Wells, *Historical Geography*, 11.

⁶¹⁵ Smith, *Here Lies Jim Crow*, 119-23, 125, 162.

⁶¹⁶ Wells, *Historical Geography*, 72.

Street were particularly intent on driving out blacks.⁶¹⁷ Prompted by *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954), which challenged segregation in public places, the Park Board opened all its parks to all races. Whites in the local neighborhoods were disgusted.⁶¹⁸

No information is currently available about the Maryland Society's reaction to segregation in Carroll Park. Nonetheless, the bowling green at the Mount Clare Museum House offers one place to discuss the differences between then and now. Enslaved blacks under the Carrolls' tenure tended the lawn and stood by as the Carrolls entertained guests with bowling games. The ability of African Americans one hundred fifty years later to play the game, and agitate for rights on the basis of their status, marked fundamental shifts in American society.

Civil Rights and African American Museums

Women's patriotic organizations gained continued ideological vigor from World War I and II, even as war diverted resources from historic preservation to the wartime economy and support effort. After the wars, suburban expansion and federal urban renewal policies – themselves rooted in racism – instigated the destruction of old city sections. The loss of historic structures and the histories they represented – namely those of white, elite personages – instilled concern in preservationists.⁶¹⁹ On the other

⁶¹⁷ Wells, *Historical Geography*, 72.

⁶¹⁸ Wells, *Historical Geography*, 74.

⁶¹⁹ Howe, "Women in the Nineteenth-Century Preservation Movement," 28. Mount Clare was named a National Historic Landmark in 1970. In the 1920s and 1930s, many cities faced tough economic times. As a result, the term "elite" refers in the era to descendants from old-line families with roots in the colonial era. Membership in

hand, few African American museums existed before the 1950s and 1960s – the era of the Civil Rights, Black Power, and Black Consciousness movements – when more than ninety African American museums were established in America. Community leaders versed in civil rights developed the new museums under the aegis of truth-telling. Many were, as Ruffins and Ruffins phrase it, “motivated by the need to create positive cultural myths and institutions.”⁶²⁰ Social history grew out of representation politics to contest traditional constructions of the past. Historians became interested in conflict, diversity, and multiple perspectives. Curators realized that they did not have sufficient artifactual evidence to support social history exhibits and, as a result, would have to look at their collections in new ways.⁶²¹ Although traditional history persisted in the interpretation of places like Mount Clare, broader trends in museum practices placed pressure on the Maryland Society to shift direction.

The Civil Rights era meant that African Americans became better represented in American cultural institutions. More African Americans entered the museum profession. Museum administrators realized that minorities were a part of American culture and they expected to see something of themselves during museum visits. Bigger institutions funded by Federal money or endowments had greater resources

the elite class expanded from bloodline to include those who had accumulated wealth through land and slaves, power in local and national politics, kinship ties, and loyalties to promote shared interests (Stephanie Yuhl, *A Golden Haze of Memory* (Chapel Hill, NC and London, UK: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 7).

⁶²⁰ Ruffins and Ruffins, “Recovering Yesterday,” 16.

⁶²¹ Spencer A. Crew and James E. Sims. "Locating Authenticity: Fragments of a Dialogue," In *Exhibiting Cultures*, edited by Ivan and Steven D. Lavine Karp, 159-75 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991); Theresa Singleton, “Commentary: Facing the Challenges of a Public African-American Archaeology,” *Historical Archaeology* 31 (1997) 3: 146.

than private societies to improve the representation of African Americans in historical projects. Large museums implemented exhibits devoted to African American history, but did not necessarily integrate black and white history. The Smithsonian Institution established the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum in 1967 and staged black history-oriented exhibits at the National Portrait Gallery and the National Museum of American History.⁶²² Colonial Williamsburg factored the eighteenth-century African American population into its interpretative programs beginning in the late 1970s. Rex Ellis pushed for the “Other Half” tour to “complete the story” of the town because “even though someone else might have designed it, certainly somebody black helped build it.”⁶²³ Before then, a visit to Colonial Williamsburg reinforced the idea that blacks participated minimally in colonial society.⁶²⁴ Development of black history has continued at Colonial Williamsburg, including a reenacted slave auction in 1994 and tours and exhibits to the present.⁶²⁵ Members of the public are also pushing back against dominant white narratives through contributions of oral history or DNA

⁶²² Ruffins and Ruffins, “Recovering Yesterday,” 16. A corollary to the increased representation of blacks in museum professional positions is the force of black museum employees to fight exhibits that they find offensive. See, for example, controversy over the Back of the Big House exhibit at the Library of Congress. “News and Views: Black Employees Shut Down Library of Congress Slavery Exhibit,” *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* (1996), 58.

⁶²³ Rex M. Ellis, “Interpreting the Whole House.” In *Interpreting Historic House Museums*, edited by Jessica Foy Donnelly, 61-80 (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira, 2002), 69.

⁶²⁴ Zora Martin, “Colonial Williamsburg -- a Black Perspective.” In *Museum Education Anthology*, edited by Susan K. Nichols, Mary Alexander, and Ken Yellis, 83-85 (Washington, DC: Museum Education Roundtable, 1984. Reprint, June 1973).

⁶²⁵ Michael Janofsky, “Mock Auction of Slaves: Education or Outrage?,” *New York Times* [New York], 8 October 1994, p. 17.

evidence. Homecomings have taken place at Somerset Place Historic Site in Crenshaw, South Carolina; Monticello, Virginia; and the Levi Jordan Plantation in Texas.⁶²⁶ The appendices and tables of this project were designed to aid the ancestors of the Garrett, Lynch, Harden, Bordley, and Hall families with research into their families' enslaved ancestors and assert their ancestors' significance at Mount Clare.

Stewards of Carroll Park continued to focus on the Carrolls into the 1970s and 1980s and, in the process, avoid slavery and blacks. A 1971 publication by the Maryland Society stated, "The history of Mount Clare was a happy one for nearly a hundred years. The Georgian mansion ... offered beauty and serenity to the family who lived there in an atmosphere of elegance and plenty."⁶²⁷ Michael Trostel's history of Mount Clare published in 1981 reiterated Sioussat's traditional history approach with greater depth on the Carrolls and the house itself. He, again, missed an opportunity to identify blacks in the story. Docents' training manuals from 1978 through 1987 focused on architecture, decorative furnishings, and the "great men" of the Carroll family. They discussed notable men who visited Mount Clare a few times

⁶²⁶ Dorothy Spruill Redford, *Somerset Homecoming: Recovering a Lost Heritage* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2000); Eric Gable, "Cultural Studies at Monticello," In *New Museum Theory and Practice*, ed. 109-125 (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006) and Lois E. Horton, "Avoiding History: Thomas Jefferson, Sally Hemings, and the Uncomfortable Public Conversation Over Slavery," In *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*, eds. James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, pp. 135-149 (New York, The New Press, 2006); Carol McDavid, "Descendants, Decisions, and Power: The Public Interpretation of the Archaeology of the Levi Jordan Plantation," *Historical Archaeology* 31, no. 3 (1997):114-131.

⁶²⁷ National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland, *Mount Clare: Home of Charles Carroll, Barrister* (National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland, 1971), 1.

if ever, such as Charles Willson Peale or George Washington, but not the enslaved blacks living there year-round who constituted the majority population for the entirety of the plantation's history. Docents received room-by-room descriptions of the furnishings, including the date of manufacture, origin, and which Carroll owned each item. They learned about "typical" eighteenth century costumes, meaning the fashionable garb worn by Margaret Carroll and other wealthy women.⁶²⁸ A 1987 docent manual advised that, "Mount Clare was the scene of gracious entertaining on the part of the Carroll family, and it is our privilege to extend that graciousness to our twentieth-century guests. Long after most of the factual details have faded, the memory of a warm welcome will persist if we are properly interpreting Charles and Margaret Carroll's lives at Mount Clare."⁶²⁹

Since the 1990s, however, the Maryland Society and Carroll Park Foundation have sponsored special events on black history. They have included a speaker series, a Juneteenth celebration, and talks for Black History Month.⁶³⁰ But the effort has not been consistent. Exhibits by the Maryland Society on eighteenth-century clothing, funerary practices, teapots, and other topics have not included information on blacks.

⁶²⁸ National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland, Inc. Mount Clare (1754) Docent Information Packet. September 1978; National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland, Inc. Mount Clare (1754) Docent Information Packet. March 1984; National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland, Inc. Mount Clare (1754) Docent Information Packet. September 1987. Eliza Coale Funk Papers, circa 1758-2004. Series III: Eliza Coale Funk: Activities and Organizations. MS3065. MdHS.

⁶²⁹ National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland, Inc. Mount Clare (1754) Docent Information Packet. September 1987. Eliza Coale Funk Papers, circa 1758-2004. Box 4 of 7. Series III: Eliza Coale Funk: Activities and Organizations. MS3065. MdHS.

⁶³⁰ Best Bets, 19 June 2003; Skurnik, 18 June 2003.

They would have been improved by information about blacks' clothing, roles in table service, and the effects of Carroll deaths on the community. Docents still rarely discuss slavery or the black population. The effect is a failure to acknowledge that the Carrolls' experiences cannot be generalized for all people who lived at Mount Clare. Expected to impart the grandeur of an elite family's fabulous life, the docents' tours obfuscated the ways that enslaved blacks were woven throughout the Carrolls' existence.

Black History and Preservation

Carroll Park is an example of a place where historic preservation can further social justice by de-erasing blacks from its history. Social justice through historic preservation means that all voices in the past are represented in the contemporary interpretation of a place. It emphasizes that all visitors as members of American society have the equal right to see their ancestors' contributions to the making of the nation represented in site interpretations. It underscores a contemporary value for equal representation and anti-discrimination among Americans, such that the erasure of traditionally under-represented groups from history is unacceptable. Places like Carroll Park also demonstrate that broad changes in society are slow to impress at historic sites. The following discussion outlines research into the lack of black history interpretation at historic sites and outlines ways that the site stewards of Carroll Park might better integrate black history into their programs.

The erasure of black history from historic sites is common, even today. Museums tend to be conservative because they fear that visitors will turn from

difficult history.⁶³¹ Avoiding the interpretation of conflict is tantamount to condoning the actions of the past. Emphasis on positive or light elements of the Carrolls' lives, such as furniture or parties, constructs a particular and one-dimensional view of whites at Mount Clare. Slavery is, comparatively, a stain on the memory of a family that the Maryland Society wishes to venerate. But avoiding difficult history or conflict also means that visitors to Mount Clare do not learn about empowering or positive elements of the site's black history, such as success in their struggles for freedom and equality. Slavery constituted a form of cultural trauma that shaped African American identities, such that the dramatic loss of identity led to new collective identities at times of crisis. The memory of the trauma is a form of history that shapes African American identity in changing or generational ways over time.⁶³² The deconstruction and construction of identity constitutes part of the way that contemporary visitors can learn about the making of American culture. The interpretation of history as racially integrated is furthermore important because it confronts visitors' stereotypes, preconceived notions, and discomfort.⁶³³ Such presentations emphasize that the development of America has not been easy or completely dictated by whites. Presenting a rounder, more nuanced view of slavery

⁶³¹ Edward Chappell, "Museums and American Slavery," In *I, Too, Am America* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 247.

⁶³² Ron Eyerman, "The Past in the Present: Culture and the Transmission of Memory." *Acta Sociologica* 47, no. 2 (2004): 159-169.

⁶³³ Fath Davis Ruffins, "Mythos, Memory, and History: African American Preservation Efforts, 1820-1990," In *Museums and Communities*, edited by Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven D. Lavine, 506-611 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 572.

and blacks at Mount Clare explores the complexity of the black experience and makes the landscape of greater relevance to contemporary groups.

African Americans may expect to see something of themselves at historic sites, but their ancestors are not necessarily well-developed in site interpretations. Eric Gable and Richard Handler observed that interpretive programs at Colonial Williamsburg tended to frame black history around positive views of white enslavers and to reduce blacks to their monetary value.⁶³⁴ A 2002 survey of museum plantations and sites in the American South found that only black-run sites and a handful of white-run sites adequately addressed slavery. The majority ignored or trivialized slavery and black labor, preferring instead to focus on owners and interior decoration. Jennifer L. Eichstedt and Stephen Small see these places as racialized rather than racist, meaning that even well-meaning people can perpetuate racially oppressive systems as normal by using language that neutralizes the charged atmosphere of race-based slavery.⁶³⁵ E. Arnold Modlin concluded from his analysis of Southern historic house tours that docents continue to marginalize slavery by deflecting the discussion of slavery, trivializing it, or segregating facts and artifacts to remote locations.⁶³⁶

⁶³⁴ Richard Gable and Eric Handler, *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 103-115.

⁶³⁵ Jennifer Eichstedt and Stephen Small, *Representations of Slavery: Race and Ideology in Southern Plantation Museums* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2002), 12. For similar conclusions see Butler, et. al, who interviewed visitors to Laura Plantation outside New Orleans, Louisiana. They found that foreign visitors outranked both American whites and blacks in their interest in slavery (Butler, David, Perry L. Carter, Owen J. Dwyer. "Imagining Plantations: Slavery, Dominant Narratives, and the Foreign Born." *Southeast Geographer* 48, no. 3 (2008): 288-302.).

Another study, however, found that African Americans do place significant trust in museums. Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelan found that on a scale of one to ten in a national sample of four ethnic groups, museums (8.4) ranked above family accounts (8.0) as trustworthy sources of information about the past.⁶³⁷ African Americans, however, ranked family accounts higher than museums, while White Americans ranked museums higher. Museums ranked highest in trustworthiness across all divisions of age, gender, education, and income.⁶³⁸ Even though African Americans do place trust in museums over many other sources, what about the tendency of historic sites to insufficiently talk about black heritage? Why, indeed, should African Americans trust the Maryland Society and the Carroll Park Foundation to tell the truth about their ancestors' contributions to American culture?

The tendency of preservation to layer history on physical remnants of the past presents a major opportunity for Mount Clare to discuss both black history and its erasure over time. The preservation of the plantation supplies an ideological symbol, a tourist destination, a mnemonic device, a theatre of memory.⁶³⁹ Old messages are not erased, but added to, so that the past can be interpreted in different ways.⁶⁴⁰ For

⁶³⁶ E. Arnold Modlin Jr., "Tales Told on the Tour: Mythic Representations of Slavery by Docents at North Carolina Plantation Museums." *Southeast Geographer* 48, no. 3 (2008): 265-287, 269.

⁶³⁷ Roy Rosenzweig and David P Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 235.

⁶³⁸ Rosenzweig and Thelen, *The Presence of the Past*, 245-247.

⁶³⁹ Jessica Adams, *Wounds of Returning: Race, Memory, and Property on the Postslavery Plantation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 56.

example, the history of women in preservation at Mount Clare is part of the story to tell. Barbara Howe argues that historic structures preserved by women should have women's preservation efforts as part of their story of significance.⁶⁴¹ In a similar way, Max Page and Randy Mason assert that a national story for preservation exists, but it is not necessarily the most important story when compared with local practices.⁶⁴² The history of women's preservation in the Chesapeake region provides important context for the erasure of black history from Carroll Park. Women preservationists have controlled the racialization of historic sites and the ways that Americans remember or think about the past. Race, as argued by David Blight, is central to the ways that Americans remember or forget.⁶⁴³ One place to discuss the issue is in front of a Maryland Society member's reproduction of Charles Willson Peale's landscape of Mount Clare. The reproduction is displayed in an upstairs bedroom with a laminated detail of Peale's painting nearby. Comparison of the two shows that the artist of the reproduction changed the groom's skin color from brown to white and erased the house beyond the mansion, which may have housed blacks or an overseer.

⁶⁴⁰ Cynthia Mills, "Introduction," In *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women Art and the Landscapes of Southern Memory*, edited by Cynthia and Pamela H. Simpson Mills, xv-xxx (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), xxv-xxvi.

⁶⁴¹ Barbara J. Howe, "Women and Architecture," In *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women's History*, edited by Page Putnam Miller, 27-62 (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), 27.

⁶⁴² Max Page and Randall Mason, "Rethinking the Roots of the Historic Preservation Movement," In *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States*, edited by Max Page and Randall Mason, 3-16 (New York, NY and London, UK: Routledge, 2004), 8.

⁶⁴³ Blight focuses on the Civil War and the ways that race and slavery inspired fracture and reunion. See David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Harvard University Press, 2001).

It offers an opportunity to acknowledge that the stewards of Carroll Park are trying to change its traditional interpretation and be more inclusive.

Blacks' experiences in the history of Mount Clare are muted in the present. Women's preservation by hereditary organizations has a tradition in historic house museums to avoid difficult history. Their focus, instead, has been on architecture and material things, as well as an image of the past that is gracious and civilized. Passing along such an image, however, perpetuates in the present the racialized practices of the past to disenfranchise blacks from claiming a place as theirs. Although physical traces of black history have eroded from the landscape since the 1830s, site stewards today have a responsibility to stop the process from going any further.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Although the historical record preserves clear evidence of slavery and blacks at Mount Clare, the impacts have been erased from the landscape and from its interpretation. The goals of the preceding narrative have been twofold: first, to demonstrate that significant evidence remains of blacks' lives and their impacts at Mount Clare and second, that a legacy of slavery is the erasing or ignoring of the evidence in the management and interpretation of historic plantations. In the process, I have drawn on archival and material evidence from Mount Clare along with comparative evidence from other places to argue that blacks became American by practicing culture at the intersection of race and status. Blacks' cultural knowledge of their own community and that of elites enabled them to become specialists in trades like shoemaking or gardening, to gain advantages for family members, and to work the slavery system to their advantage whenever possible. By restoring the history of the Garretts, Hardens, Lynches and others to Mount Clare, my purpose has been rooted in the uses of historic preservation for social justice, meaning the ability of historic sites to extend the rights of society to all people through representation in site narratives.

Over the course of this project, comparison of historical studies of the Carrolls and Mount Clare with original documents and material culture has shown the measures taken by scholars to ignore, erase, or diminish slavery and blacks from Mount Clare. The fact is that any discussion of Mount Clare and the Carrolls is incomplete without an analysis of the significance of enslaved persons. Enslaved persons were actively involved in every aspect of the Carrolls' lives; indeed, they

qualified the Carrolls to be elite members of American society. Blacks lived on the property to supply timber and food to the Baltimore Iron Works on behalf of Dr. Charles Carroll. He created wealth from their labor and planned extended ironworks operations through it. His son, Charles Carroll the Barrister and his wife, Margaret Tilghman, relied on slave labor to secure their position in colonial society. Enslaved persons made Mount Clare into a showpiece plantation with a grand mansion, elaborate gardens, and cared-for domestic items. But they also practiced homeland traditions in America, such as religion, while learning the cultural values and ceremonies of elite whites. Enslaved blacks established familial networks and technical specialties, such as gardening, that extended into freedom. Although Margaret and her executors provided for the manumission of blacks, few were freed outright. Most were sold to new slaveholders to maximize the inheritances left to Margaret's family members. Those who did live free, however, became part of the black community in Baltimore who worked various trades and supported families. Although no new documents or information, other than archaeological data or the analysis of court-registered freedom papers, have come to light since the early twentieth century, little black history is told in Carroll Park today.

Changes to traditional interpretations can be difficult, as can the administrative structures that sustain outdated ways of operating. Baltimore City, the Maryland Society, and the Carroll Park Foundation all face severe resource problems, including limited staffs and budgets. The integration of black history does not have to be expensive, or require more staff to accomplish. For example, new habits are free, such as language choices in docent tours. Reconstruction of the mansion complex to

the mid-eighteenth century, on the other hand, is resource-intensive and unsupported by the archaeological or historical evidence. Although the stewards of Carroll Park have traditionally worked independently of each other, collaboration and pooling of resources would provide a way to move the interpretation of black history forward. Baltimore City, too, has relied on the Maryland Society and the Carroll Park Foundation to care for its properties. The City, in particular, must recognize that as owner of the landscape, house, and archaeological collections, not to mention representative of the city's majority population, it can force the issue of black history interpretation.

Over the course of my research, black history content and places for its interpretation became apparent that could help the site stewards shift course. Among them are ways to talk about black history, when and where to talk about enslaved persons, and products for future development. Overall, all the site stewards must be in the habit of representing all people who lived on the landscape at every opportunity, and work together to further the improvement of black history interpretation. Moving the interpretation of black history forward must be a priority of the site's stewards.

Five recommendations are:

First, pay attention to language. Be aware of the effect of language in spoken and written information about activities at Mount Clare, particularly the uses of the passive voice. Visitors who visit the site today may hear, for example, "Charles Carroll the Barrister commissioned Mount Clare and it was completed in the 1760s" or "Margaret Carroll kept a recipe book of foods that were prepared for guests." Use of the active voice for the Carrolls, but the passive voice for blacks, keeps slavery and

racism hidden from view. The effect is to uphold an eighteenth- and early-nineteenth century status quo that does not reflect contemporary values or the Baltimore of today. Docents' language, or not talking about black history at all, can be symptomatic of discomfort with sensitive topics. Genealogy, family life, and gardening are a few topics that might help docents to feel more comfortable, as long as sensitivity is exercised that the experience of blacks differed from those of elite whites. The Maryland Society and the Carroll Park Foundation might consider workshops with an outside consultant versed in African American history interpretation to improve comfort with the topics and techniques of discussion, but also to coordinate their language.

Second, channel language about enslaved blacks at Mount Clare into special exhibits and programs as a matter of course. Recent exhibits, such as those on colonial-era clothing and teapots, have not engaged with blacks' perspective. Evidence from sources such as advertisements, archaeology, and orders to England provides information to build out future exhibits. Exhibits on clothing, for example, should include information about oznabrigg cloth, the different kinds of buttons, and the garb worn by escaped persons. As another example, in October the Maryland Society hosts a viewing of Charles Carroll the Barrister to commemorate his death in 1783. A worthwhile addition would be to mention that his death created instability in the black community as its members waited to hear about their futures. On a larger scale, black history month events should focus on specific information about Mount Clare. Exhibits and special events are a primary attraction for visitors. Integrating

black perspectives into them can enrich the telling of the Mount Clare story while broadening interest in the site.

Third, implement a walking tour about black history that includes the mansion and the landscape surrounding it. Points on the tour should include slavery just east of the mansion where slave quarters may have stood, manumission in Margaret's bedroom where she passed away, traditional practices in the kitchen as evidenced by the crystal and cache, gardening at the orangerie and orchard, clothing care in between the orangerie and shed, escapes to freedom at Charles's office, among others. Baltimore, the site of the Baltimore Iron Works, and the golf course are other farther-off but important places to mention. My walking tour for Carroll Park is available for use, and the preceding narrative updates and improves the information within it. Both the Carroll Park Foundation and Maryland Society have made movements towards their own tours. A walking tour might be self-guided through a pamphlet or a binder for visitors to borrow, or it might be expanded to include outdoor signage and docent tours.

Fourth, use the archaeology to help interpret everyday life at the plantation. The site stewards must work together to include archaeological artifacts in the museum exhibits. The artifacts evidence the relationships between race and status as they contributed to culture at Mount Clare. Place the artifacts in a contextually-appropriate location, such as displaying the crystal in the kitchen with a script about its significance to the people of Mount Clare and possible relationships to Annapolis and Africa. Modern flour, millet, and dyers woad might be displayed to start conversation about the roles of enslaved persons in the cultivation, harvest and

milling of grains, the use of non-European cooking styles to feed the Carrolls, and the significance of clothmaking and dyeing. If funding becomes available, create outdoor signage and incorporate images of archaeological artifacts into the text. To give one example, images of sewing and buttonmaking materials would explain the activities between the office and orangerie.

Fifth, open institutional research opportunities. The Maryland Society and the Carroll Park Foundation should remove the restrictions to the research materials in their care. For decades, the Maryland Society has played an important role in historic preservation, but researchers have been unable to access the institutional records in its archive. By protecting its history, the Maryland Society also leaves the impression that its members have something to hide. The Carroll Park Foundation has been working to fulfill the promise of the archaeological collection, but the collection is endangered and difficult to access. Baltimore City must furthermore recognize its responsibilities where the Mount Clare archaeological collections are concerned. The archaeological collection represents its African American constituents' heritage and, as a result, deserves resources towards its proper curation. Restrictions on collections have hindered the progress of integrating the interpretation of black history for decades.

Site managers today present more information than ever before about black history at Mount Clare. Unfortunately, site interpretations poorly characterize escapes to freedom, Margaret's manumission of slaves, and other topics within either the history of Mount Clare or the broader context of black history. Visitors learn about the Carrolls and their house and possessions, but many gaps are left in everyday

operations. The effect is that blacks do not matter in the history of Mount Clare, which the preceding narrative demonstrates to be patently false. The omission of enslaved blacks from the interpretation of historic house sites undermines the significance of human struggle against adversity, the values of democracy, and the power of humanity. Black history is American history, and Mount Clare is a site of black heritage.

Appendices

Appendix A: Enslaved Persons Listed in Margaret Tilghman Ward's Estate Inventory in 1747

Margaret Tilghman Ward bequeathed enslaved persons at Grasses and Law House Plantation to Margaret Tilghman (Carroll) and her brother Matthew Ward Tilghman.⁶⁴⁴ Some of these individuals may have gone with Margaret to live in Annapolis or Baltimore County upon her marriage to Charles Carroll the Barrister.

Negroes at Grasses

Sarah	an Old woman	0
Abraham	24	50
Charles	22	50
Tom	19	50
Matthew	an Old Man	15
Jenny	25	45
Kate	30	45
Peg	5	20
Billey	2	10
Adam	an Infant	5

Negroes at Home Plantation (Law House Plantation)

Jemmy	54	5
Harry	28	60
Adam	24	50
Dick	35	50
Jo	34	50
Ned	45	50
Jacob	13, 4 foot 8 ins high	45
Soll	12, 4 foot 10 ins high	45
Jere	12, 4 foot 5 ins high	40
Ambrose	10, 4 foot 3 ins high	38
Daniel		35
Phill	8, 4 foot high	30

⁶⁴⁴ Talbot County Register of Wills (Inventories) Margaret Tilghman Ward, 1747, Liber IB and IG 4, folio 51, MSA CM1029-6, CR 41126.

Jem	5, 3 foot nine ins high	30
Rose	50	28
Peggy	45	40
Doll	28	50
Eve	17	50
Moll	10, 4 foot 6 ins high	38
Ibby	60, gouty	5
Frank	58	20
Mabell	20	50
Beck	9, 4 foot high	30
Nan	9, 4 foot 1 in high	30
Jen	5, 3 foot 3 ins high	25
Peg	3, 2 foot 6 ins high	20
Rachel Cancer in her lip	18	35
Old Rachel		

Appendix B: Enslaved Persons Listed in Nicholas Maccubbin Carroll's Estate Inventory, 1812

Nicholas Maccubbin Carroll held blacks at The Caves and Carrolls Island, which he inherited from Charles Carroll the Barrister, upon his death in 1812. The tables below transcribe information only from his estate inventory for Baltimore County.⁶⁴⁵ The notes point to individuals who may appear on the assessment of The Caves in 1773. No such record remains for Carrolls Island. No account of sale was recorded for Nicholas's estate in the Baltimore Court.

The Caves

Name	Age	Value	Notes
Nathaniel Cole	59	40	On 1773 list?
Young Nate	34	350	
Old Tom (blacksmith)	60	40	
Jerry Guy (very infirm)	60	--	
Isaac (very infirm)	60	--	On 1773 list?
Ned Island	30	300	
Sheyler (carpenter)	28	375	
Nick (carpenter)	28	375	
Abraham	24	350	
Adam	36	300	
Moses (weaver)	39	300	
Bill (infirm)	23	250	
Bill Lynch	25	350	
Toby	21	350	
Jack Mitchel	21	350	
Little Jack	18	350	
George Guy	16	300	
Charles (infirm with white swelling on his foot)	17	150	
Beck	60	--	
Sophia	60	--	Sabinah on 1773 list?
Ester	60	--	On 1773 list?
Katy	60	--	
Sally wife of Jerry (infirm)	40	--	
Milly with her male infant at the breast	23	250	Daughter of Mill on 1773 list?
Robert son of Milly	3	75	

⁶⁴⁵ Ann Arundel County Register of Wills (Testamentary Papers) Nicholas Carroll, Box 105, Folder 36, MSA C149-123, Loc. 1/4/9/41.

Jenny with a female infant at the breast	22	250	
Fanny	25	250	
Rachel child of Fanny	5	75	
Polly	80	--	

The Island

Name	Age	Value
Jacob	60	40
Deb	55	30
Joshua	30	350
Samuel	26	350
Charles	30	350
Lloyd	21	350
Jacob	18	350
Moses	17	350
Jerry	22	350
Milly	30	225
Luck an idiot	16	--
Polly	12	125

Appendix C: Margaret Tilghman Carroll's Estate Inventories and Account of Sale, 1817

Two versions remain of Margaret Tilghman Carroll's estate inventory. One is the original, and the other reflects registration in court. The following table compiles information from them both as well as the account of sale.⁶⁴⁶

Mount Clare

Name	Age on Inventory	Age – Acct of Sale	Notes
Richard	50		Gardener
Dolly	44		Richard's wife
Suckey	23		Richard's daughter
Nelson	6		Suckey's son
Betsy	4		Becky, Suckey's daughter
Kitty or Hetty	20	26	a.k.a. Kitty
James	2		Hetty's son
Henry	17		Richard's son
William	15		Richard's son
Tom	11		
Richard	9		
Sampson	6		Richard's son
Margaret	5	4	Richard's son
John Lynch	31		
Henny	40		John Lynch's wife
Maria	21		
Robert	3		Maria's son
George	13		John Lynch's son
John	11		John Lynch's son
Ned	7		
Harriett	6		
Jem	5		a.k.a. Sam, John Lynch's son
Bill	3		John Lynch's son

⁶⁴⁶ Inventory of the Personal Property of Margaret Carroll, Series D, Reel 4, p. 50, Hollyday Papers, Records of Ante-bellum Southern Plantations from the Revolution through the Civil War, MS 1317, MdHS; Baltimore County Register of Wills (Inventories) Margaret Tilghman Carroll, Liber 30, folio 454, MSA CM 155-30, WK 1068-1069-1; Baltimore County Register of Wills (Inventories) Margaret Tilghman Carroll, Liber 30, folio 539, MSA CM 155-30, WK 1068-1069-1; Baltimore County Register of Wills (Accounts of Sale) Margaret Tilghman Carroll, Liber WB 6, folio 441, MSA CM 125-6, CR 9513-1.

Henny	2		John Lynch's daughter
Eve	Verry old		
Jacob Hall	29	28	
Mary	27		
Daniel			Mary's son
Jerry	4		Mary's son, a.k.a. Jerry Larson
Ephraim	23	30	Ephraim Harden
Jerry	44		
Archibald	13		Jerry's son
Sam	12		Jerry's son
Nat	44		
Sam	25		
Moses			Had consumption
Sam Harding	36	30	
William Coney	23	25	
Jacob the shoemaker	44		
Harry	22		

The Caves

Name	Age on Inventory	Age – Acct of Sale	Notes
Suckey	22		
Matilda		2	Suckey's daughter
Jerry	20		
Milley	17		a.k.a. Milley Harden
Jem	12		a.k.a. Jim
Sam	10		
Harry	22		
Frederick	13		
Poll	9		Polly
Jerry	5		Mary's son

Appendix D: Families and Manumission

Appendix D compares information from Margaret Tilghman Carroll's estate papers with manumission papers recorded in the Baltimore County Court. It is unknown whether the purchasers resold or otherwise retained blacks from Mount Clare and The Caves until freedom. The list is organized by family.

Garrett Family at Mount Clare

Name	Age in 1817	Purchaser or Parent	Year / Age to Be Free	Year Freedom Documented	Description at Freedom
Sukey	23	Edward J. Coale	1822/1823, age 29	29 May 1832, may refer to Sukey at the Caves	age 39, dark complexion, 4'10 ¾" tall, no notable marks/scars ⁶⁴⁷
Nelson	6	William Gibson	1839, age 28		
Betsy/Beckey	4	to Sukey	n.d.		
Hetty/Kitty	20/26	Henry Payson	1825, age 28/34	29 May 1832	age 37, dark complexion, 5'3 ¾" tall, small mole on left side of nose ⁶⁴⁸
James	2		n.d.		
Henry	17	Jno. McClellan	1828, age 28	13 April 1830	5'3½" tall ⁶⁴⁹
William	15	Wm. Smith	1830, age 28	13 April 1830	5'7 ½" tall ⁶⁵⁰
Tom/Thomas	11	Charles Ross, Annapolis	age 31	29 September 1840	age 36, dark complexion, 5'5 ½" tall, small scar on right side of

⁶⁴⁷ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) Sukey, 29 May 1832, p. 213, MSA C 290-2, MdHR 40,131-2.

⁶⁴⁸ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) Kitty, 29 May 1832, p. 213, MSA C 290-2, MdHR 40,131-2.

⁶⁴⁹ Baltimore County Court (Miscellaneous Court Papers), William Garrett and Henry Garrett, Case no. 366, 13 April 1830. MSA C 1-70, MdHR 50,206-883/893.

⁶⁵⁰ Baltimore County Court (Miscellaneous Court Papers), William Garrett and Henry Garrett, Case no. 366, 13 April 1830. MSA C 1-70, MdHR 50,206-883/893.

					mouth, crooked left middle finger ⁶⁵¹
Richard	9	William Gibson	1836, age 28		
Sampson	6	to Richard	n.d.		
Margaret	5/4	to Richard	n.d.	14 April 1840	age 27, dark complexion, 5'3" tall, scar on right side of head ⁶⁵²
Richard	50				
Dolly	44		n.d.	29 September 1840	age 70, dark complexion, 5'2" tall, no noticeable marks/scars ⁶⁵³

Lynch Family at Mount Clare

Name	Age in 1817	Purchaser / Parent	Year / Age to Be Free	Year Freedom Documented	Description at Freedom
John Lynch	31		n.d.	14 December 1821	bright black, age 35 ⁶⁵⁴
Henny	40				
Maria	21	Edward J. Coale	1824, age 28		
Robert (Hall)	3		n.d.	1 March 1841	age 27, dark complexion, 5'5 1/2" tall, two scars on left cheek, four

⁶⁵¹ Baltimore County Court (Miscellaneous Court Papers) Thomas Garrett, Case no. 248, 29 September 1840, MSA C 1-90, MdHR 50,206-1085/1094.

⁶⁵² Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) Margaret alias Margaret Bordley, 14 April 1840, MSA C 90, MdHR 50,206-1085/1094.

⁶⁵³ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) Negro Dolly alias Garrett, 29 September 1840, p. 215, MSA C 290-3, MdHR 40,131-3.

⁶⁵⁴ Baltimore County Court (Miscellaneous Court Papers) John Lynch, Case no. 328, 14 December 1821. MSA C 1-53, MdHR 50,206-707/714.

					scars on forehead ⁶⁵⁵
George	13	John Short	1832, age 28		
John	11	Nicholas Brice	1834, age 28		
Ned	7	Nicholas Brice	1838, age 28		
Harriet	6	Nicholas Brice	n.d.		
Jim/Sam	5	to John Lynch	n.d.		
Bill/William	2/3	to John Lynch	n.d.	1 March 1841	age 27, 5'5" tall, light complexion, scar on right eyebrow ⁶⁵⁶
Henny	2	to John Lynch			
Old Eve	very old				

Jerry's Family at Mount Clare

Name	Age in 1817	Purchaser / Parent	Year / Age to Be Free	Year Freedom Documented	Description at Freedom
Sam	12	Nicholas Brice	1833, age 28		
Jerry	44				
Archibald	13	George Roberts	1832, age 28		

Mary's Family at Mount Clare and The Caves

Name	Age in 1817	Purchaser / Parent	Year / Age to Be Free	Year Freedom Documented	Description at Freedom
Mary	27/ 26	James L. Hawkins	1820, age 29		
Daniel	?		n.d.		

⁶⁵⁵ Baltimore County Court (Miscellaneous Court Papers) Robert Hall, Case no. 272, 1 March 1841, MSA C 1-92, MdHR 50,206-1103/1111.

⁶⁵⁶ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) Bill (son of Henny) Lynch, alias William Lynch and Robert Hall (son of Maria), 1 March 1841, p. 221, MSA C 290-3, MdHR 40,131-3.

Jerry (Larson)	5/4	James L. Hawkins	1844, age 31		
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Suckey's Family at The Caves

Name	Age in 1817	Purchaser / Parent	Year / Age to Be Free	Year Freedom Documented	Description at Freedom
Suckey	22	Nathaniel G. Maxwell	1823, age 28	Sukey at Mount Clare?	
Matilda	2		1840, age 25		

Harden Family at Mount Clare and The Caves

Name	Age in 1817	Purchaser / Parent	Year / Age to Be Free	Year Freedom Documented	Description at Freedom
Ephraem	23/30	Ashton Alexander	1824, age 30/37		
Sam	36/30	James Carroll, Jr.	1823, age 42/36		
Milley	17	Henry Brice	1825, age 25	29 March 1832	age 31, 5' 3¼" tall, light complexion, large scar on right arm above elbow ⁶⁵⁷
Jim/James	12	George Lindenberger	1833, age 28	4 June 1844	age 40, light complexion, 5' 9" tall, scar on right cheek ⁶⁵⁸
Henry			8 August 1815	8 April 1818	age 42, light, 5'9 ½" tall ⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁷ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) Milly, alias Milly Harden, 29 March 1832, p. 50, MSA C 290-2, MdHR 40,131-2.

⁶⁵⁸ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) James Harden, 4 June 1844, p. 57, MSA C 290-5, MdHR 40,131-5.

⁶⁵⁹ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) Henry Harden, 8 April 1818, p. 16, MSA C 290-1, MdHR 40,131-1.

Other Individuals at Mount Clare or The Caves

Name	Age in 1817	Purchaser / Parent	Year / Age to Be Free	Year Freedom Documented	Description at Freedom
Jacob Hall	29/28	Eleanor Dall	1819, age 31		
Sam/ Samuel	25	Alexander Robinson	1822, age 30	4 May 1832	age 43, dark complexion, 5'4 3/4" tall, no notable marks ⁶⁶⁰
Nat	44				
Moses					
William Coney	23/25	Frederick Jakes	1824, age 30/32	4 May 1832	age 34, dark complexion, 5'7 3/4" tall, scar under left eye ⁶⁶¹
Jacob	44				
Harry (Davis)	22/23	James L. Hawkins	1825, age 30	29 May 1829	a "bright black," age 31, 5'7" tall, large scar and stiffness of middle finger on right hand ⁶⁶² (may be Harry Graham)
Jerry	20	George Lindenberger	1825, age 28		
Sam	10	George Lindenberger	1835, age 28		
Harry (Graham)	22/23	George Lindenberger	1825, age 28	29 May 1829	a "bright black," age 31, 5'7" tall, ill., and a large scar and stiffness of middle finger

⁶⁶⁰ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) William and Samuel, 4 May 1832, p. 96, MSA C 290-2, MdHR 40,131-2.

⁶⁶¹ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) William and Samuel, 4 May 1832, p. 96, MSA C 290-2, MdHR 40,131-2.

⁶⁶² Baltimore County Court (Miscellaneous Court Papers) Harry Davis and Harry Graham, Case no. 339, 29 May 1829, MSA C 1-68, MdHR 50,206-861/871.

					on the right hand ⁶⁶³ (may be Harry Davis)
Frederick	13	George Lindenberger	1832, age 28		
Poll/Paul/Polly (Ireland)	9	George Lindenberger	1833, age 25	27 May 1839	age 26, 5'3" tall, scar on left eye bone, raised in Baltimore ⁶⁶⁴
Fanny Cooper ⁶⁶⁵			1795, born 1804	1832	age 28, dark complexion, 5'1 ½" tall, no notable marks/scars
Nell Williams ⁶⁶⁶			1795, age 16	1832	age 53, light complexion, 5'2 ½" tall, small scar on back of left hand near the wrist
Henny ⁶⁶⁷			1795, age 2	1832	age 39, light complexion, 5' 2 ½" tall, scar on underlip, under the right corner of mouth

⁶⁶³ Baltimore County Court (Miscellaneous Court Papers) Harry Davis and Harry Graham, Case no. 339, 29 May 1829, MSA C 1-68, MdHR 50,206-861/871.

⁶⁶⁴ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom) Negro Polly alias Polly Ireland, 27 May 1839, p. 136. MSA C 290-3, MdHR 40,131-3.

⁶⁶⁵ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom, 1830-1832) Fanny Cooper, p. 215. MSA C 290-2, MdHR 40,131-2.

⁶⁶⁶ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom, 1830-1832) Nell Williams, p. 59. MSA C 290-2, MdHR 40,131-2.

⁶⁶⁷ Baltimore County Court (Certificates of Freedom, 1830-1832) Henny, p. 235. MSA C 290-2, MdHR 40,131-2.

Appendix E: Persons Enslaved by James Carroll

The table below compares information from an undated list of slaves on James Carroll's property with his estate inventory from 1832. Comparison of the documents suggests that the undated list can reasonably be dated to 1823, when a tax assessment was taken for the county. The eldest blacks on the 1832 inventory may not be listed in 1823 because they were not taxable.

1823 – 21 people ⁶⁶⁸	1832 – 19 people ⁶⁶⁹
	Richard, age 75
Henry, age 35 Abram, age 35 Joseph, age 40 Anthony, age 40 Robert, age 35 Peter, age 35 (died 1829 ⁶⁷⁰) James, age 23	Henry, age 40 (at mill) Abraham, age 40
Charles, age 19	Charles Brown, age 28 Bill, age 16 Tom, age 14
Joe, age 10 Lloyd, age 4 Alexander, age 4 James, age 2	Joe, age 20 Lloyd, age 13
	Lib, age 75 Priss, age 75 Old Priss, age 80 Charity, age 55
Fanny, age 30 Rachel, age 20 Mary, age 20 Hannah, age 35	Fanny, age 44
Lydia, age 9	Libby, age 18?

⁶⁶⁸ n.d. 700 acres of Land. Folder “n.d. James Carroll (1762-1832)”, Box 9, MS 219, MDHS.

⁶⁶⁹ Baltimore County Register of Wills (Inventories), James Carroll, 1832, Liber 45, folio 118, MSA CM155-45, WK1075-1076-2.

⁶⁷⁰ “A Coroner’s Inquest was held on Saturday afternoon near Booth’s Gardens, West Baltimore Street over the body of Peter Moore, a coloured man of about 50 years of age, slave to James Carroll, of Mount Clare. Verdict of the jury: ‘Death by Intemperance.’” “Coroner’s, Saturday.” *Baltimore Patriot* [Baltimore, Md.], 28 July 1829, vol. 34, iss. 24, p. 2.

Eliza Jane, age 8 Elizabeth, age 6 Mary, age 2 Louisa, (6 mos)	Betsy, age 16 Trecy, age 10 Sophy, age 8 Becky, age 6 child of Fanny's at the breast
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Abbreviations for Repositories

CPF	Carroll Park Foundation, Baltimore, MD
LOC	Library of Congress, Washington, DC
MSA	Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD
MdHS	Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD
MHT	Maryland Historical Trust, Crownsville, MD
MCMH	Mount Clare Museum House, Baltimore, MD
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC

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- Carroll, Charles, 1737-1832. Papers 1749-50-ca. 1896. MS 1225. MdHS.
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Carroll Park Foundation.
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