

MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

JOURNAL OF MARYLAND HISTORY AND CULTURE

FALL/WINTER 2022



**DISCOVER THE ICON
WHO REVOLUTIONIZED
WOMEN'S FASHION
IN AMERICA.**



Claire

Mcc**C**ardell

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About the Cover Image

Portrait of the Howard Family Women, half-plate daguerreotype by unknown photographer, 1850s. Maryland Center for History and Culture, H. Furlong Baldwin Library, Cased Photograph Collection, CSPH 071. The portrait sitters were originally identified as women related to the Howard family, but new research has revealed that they are likely the daughters of Benjamin Chew Howard (1791–1872), a Baltimore politician and Maryland Representative in the United States Congress.

In 2020, the Maryland Center for History and Culture (MCHC) received a federal Save America's Treasures grant to support the conservation of nearly 300 daguerreotypes from the H. Furlong Baldwin Library's Cased Photographs Collection. Over a period of two years, the Conservation Center for Art & Historic Artifacts (CCAHA) in Philadelphia performed conservation treatment—reducing dust particles, surface soil, and washing the glass plates to produce crisper and clearer images of individuals captured during the early years of photography. They also provided photographs of the collection in each stage of conservation, producing over 4,000 images. The project was completed in the winter of 2022–2023, after which the collection returned to MCHC and images of all daguerreotypes in their conserved state were added to the Digital Collections portal.

In addition to the conservation work performed by CCAHA, H. Furlong Baldwin Library staff contributed to the project in other meaningful ways. Senior Reference Librarian Francis P. O'Neill researched the genealogical and biographical backgrounds of the portrait sitters using census records, newspapers, city directories, and reference volumes. The information he gathered was published alongside the images in the Digital Collections portal, bringing their stories to life and filling in gaps in the historical record. However, some stories still remain hidden.

A sizeable number of the newly conserved daguerreotypes are unidentified, having no documentation on the portrait sitter or photographic clues that would lead to a positive identification; but some images, like that of the Howard family women, give the researcher a bit more information. A genealogical search of women born into the Howard family and of appropriate age for the 1850s portrait revealed a number of likely candidates, most notably the daughters of Benjamin Chew Howard. The son of John Eager Howard, who was a Maryland revolutionary and member of Congress, Benjamin Chew Howard married Jane Grant Gilmore in 1818 and had several children, including six daughters who lived beyond infancy. Thanks to a digitized portrait of Juliana McHenry Howard Tyson (1830–1909) published online by the American Civil War Museum, the woman in the center of the daguerreotype was successfully identified as one of the daughters. Furthermore, an undated group portrait of Benjamin Chew Howard's family in the H. Furlong Baldwin Library's collection contains three of the same women pictured in the daguerreotype, although none are identified by name.

This new research paves the way for new discoveries into the daguerreotype collection. With the entire collection now digitized and available online, anyone has the opportunity to contribute information, and perhaps identify one more nameless face from the archives.

Mallory Harwerth
Special Collections Archivist
Maryland Center for History and Culture

To learn more, visit these links:

Digitized daguerreotypes in MCHC's Digital Collections:
mdhistory.org/digital-resource/genreform/daguerreotypes

Finding Aid:
mdhistory.libraryhost.com/repositories/2/resources/177

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

JOURNAL OF MARYLAND HISTORY AND CULTURE

FALL/WINTER 2022



From the Editor

MARTINA KADO, PHD

Dear readers,

WE ARE EXCITED TO SHARE that our Publications team has a new member: Christopher Redwood joined us in July 2023 as Publications Manager. Christopher is a graduate of the Rochester Institute of Technology, where he earned an undergraduate degree in Printing Management and Publishing. Much of his experience to date is in the nonprofit sector, where he managed marketing communications and produced publications for associations, health policy think-tanks, scholarly journals, and public television. This is Christopher's inaugural issue as managing editor of *Maryland Historical Magazine*, in addition to his broader editorial and publishing responsibilities within our organization. We are delighted to have him on the team and look forward to new projects.

In this issue we feature Robert F. Bailey's article "Physically Unfit and Psychologically Undesirable': The Struggle to Desegregate Maryland State Parks, 1950–1956." Focusing on the building of Sandy Point State Park as the first Maryland state park with purposely built segregated facilities, the article follows the efforts of the Baltimore Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund to legally challenge the state's segregation policy. In Mr. Bailey's words, "Maryland was one of the last states to create purposely built segregated facilities in its state parks and ended up providing the legal basis for ending the practice nationwide." Looking toward 2024 as Maryland's Year of Civil Rights, the Maryland Center for History and Culture will continue to honor and acknowledge those who participated—and participate—in the long civil rights struggle in Maryland. We invite our readers to visit our semi-permanent exhibition *Passion & Purpose: Voices of Maryland's Civil Rights Activists* and explore our related public programs this season at mdhistory.org/events.

In her article “Charles Carroll of Carrollton and the Enslaved Families at Doughoragen Manor in Post-revolutionary Maryland,” Mary Clement Jeske addresses the contradiction between Charles Carroll of Carrollton’s place in American history as a signer of the Declaration of Independence and the historical record of several hundred people he enslaved in his lifetime, specifically on Doughoragen Manor in Ellicott City. While the fact that Carroll enslaved people is unfortunately not a novelty, it is Dr. Jeske’s meticulous combing through public record, the Carroll family ledgers and personal papers that delivers the deeply human mosaic of families and kinship among those Carroll enslaved. Readers will be pleased to know that the Maryland Center for History and Culture will resume the publication of *A Patriarch and His Family in the Early Republic: The Papers of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 1782–1832* in 2024.

Our third article shares a wonderful curiosity about Maryland’s ties to Japan. “A Rice Plant (Almost) Grows in Greenbelt” by Edward R. Landa describes *MOMI-1999*, the 36-foot steel sculpture of a grain of rice that was donated in 1999 to the Eleanor Roosevelt High School (ERHS) by the Yokohama Suiran High School (YSHS) in Japan. According to Mr. Tetso Ogawa, who teaches at ERHS, the sister relationship between the two schools started in 1989, making it one of the longest-lasting in the United States. The link between the schools is none other than the sculptor himself, Mitsuaki Tanabe, who graduated from YSHS. Tanabe’s sculptures, which thematize biological diversity, have a presence on multiple continents, including Asia, Australia, Europe, and North America with Maryland as a noteworthy site in this global community.

If the daguerreotype image on the cover of this issue seems familiar, it is because it is related to the cover image for issue 112.1 (Spring/Summer 2017), which featured Charles and Elizabeth Phoebe (Key) Howard’s children, 1845–1851. Both daguerreotypes are from our Cased Photographs Collection and exemplify the conservation and preservation work that is integral to MCHC’s mission. Our Special Collections Archivist Mallory Harwerth describes the recent Save America’s Treasures grant project that enabled us to conserve and digitize about 300 daguerreotypes in the H. Furlong Library’s collection. The research and discovery that happens as our team identifies information and individuals associated with each daguerreotype is just as exciting as ensuring that these invaluable images are available to future generations of patrons and researchers.

For information on how to submit to the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, please visit mdhistory.org/publications/mdhs-magazine.





“Physically Unfit and Psychologically Undesirable”: The Struggle to Desegregate Maryland State Parks, 1950–1956

BY ROBERT F. BAILEY

IN MARCH 1952, the Maryland State Planning Commission published its *Master Plan: Maryland State Parks and Recreation Areas*, in partnership with several state agencies, including the State Department of Forests and Parks (DF&P). In it, the Planning Commission presented its vision for how state-owned parks and recreation areas would be built over the coming decades. The plan promised a “new progressive era in the State’s system of recreation areas.” The 90-page *Master Plan*, Maryland’s first comprehensive state park plan, outlined much of the Maryland State Park system that exists today. Instead of carving parks out of existing state forests, the plan identified notable historic sites and natural features, considered the proximity of population centers and population growth trends, and anticipated demands in order to fashion a coherent, cohesive, and planned public park system. However, who exactly made up “the public” depended upon where the proposed parks were located.¹

Given the ubiquity of racial segregation in Maryland at the time, the plan’s text is remarkably “color-blind.” It makes no mention of race or segregation. Only the illustrated maps in the *Master Plan* reveal that this was indeed a plan for Black and white Marylanders, but on a segregated basis. According to the maps, all proposed parks outside of Western Maryland that featured swimming beaches were to include two beach areas, two access roads, and two sets of swimming and bathing facilities. This plan in many ways encapsulates how segregation was often addressed in Maryland in the decades before the *Brown* decision and the Civil Rights Act. While segregation was a constant and stark reality for African Americans, for white people it existed in the background. It was ever present, but often

Robert F. Bailey (MA in American history from SUNY Binghamton) is an historic resources planner with the Maryland Park Service, where he assists with exhibition writing and design. He is the author of *Maryland’s Forests and Parks: A Century of Progress* (2006) and is an authority on the history of Maryland’s state forests and parks as well as the Civil War in Maryland. Mr. Bailey can be reached at robertfbailey3@gmail.com.

unspoken of, if even acknowledged, with many white Marylanders perhaps finding comfort in the knowledge that segregation in Maryland was not as thorough and as rigid as it was in the Deep South.²

The 1952 *Master Plan* was compiled during a period of transition in which state officials were grappling with how Maryland's state parks would be built and operated, and who would be allowed access to certain areas. Prior to this, Maryland's state parks were largely planned and built with only white patrons in mind. However, only five months prior to the report's publication, the Commission of State Forests and Parks, at the behest of DF&P, resolved that all future Maryland state parks would be built with racially segregated recreational facilities. This policy clarification was in response to an increasingly vocal civil rights movement taking shape in Baltimore and elsewhere, and state officials' trepidation of allowing Blacks and whites to share swimming and bathing facilities. However, thanks to the efforts of the Baltimore chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), with assistance from the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDF), only two officially segregated state parks in Maryland were ever built, and none were legally segregated after 1955.³

Sandy Point State Park, constructed in the early 1950s, became the first Maryland state park where purposely built segregated facilities were constructed and where the newly clarified segregation policy was implemented. This policy was largely driven by fear: fear that desegregated beach and bathing facilities would attract riotous and unruly visitors, and fear that large numbers of Black beachgoers would drive white, middle-class patrons away. As the Maryland Attorney General C. Ferdinand Sybert wrote, "the feeling and emotion in the State Maryland . . . run higher in inter-mixing of races in bathing facilities than possibly any other field of human relations except miscegenation." After the NAACP took the Commission and the DF&P to federal district court over their segregation policy, state officials fought all the way to the Supreme Court to retain it. In the end, however, *Lonesome v. Maxwell* and its sister cases (*Dawson v. Mayor and City Council of Baltimore* and *Isaacs v. the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore*) proved to be for public parks what *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* was for public education: it provided the legal basis for ending legalized racial segregation in public parks and beaches across the United States. Together these cases were among the first where federal courts applied the principles established in *Brown* to areas outside of public education, thereby affirming that the precedent of "separate but equal," set by *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896, was indeed overturned. Fears of violence, at least in this instance, proved unfounded as Sandy Point State Park was desegregated without incident, though Black patrons went on to dominate the park's beach visitation in the decades that followed. In perhaps an ironic twist, Maryland was one of the last states to create purposely built segregated facilities in its state parks and ended up providing the legal basis for ending the practice nationwide.⁴

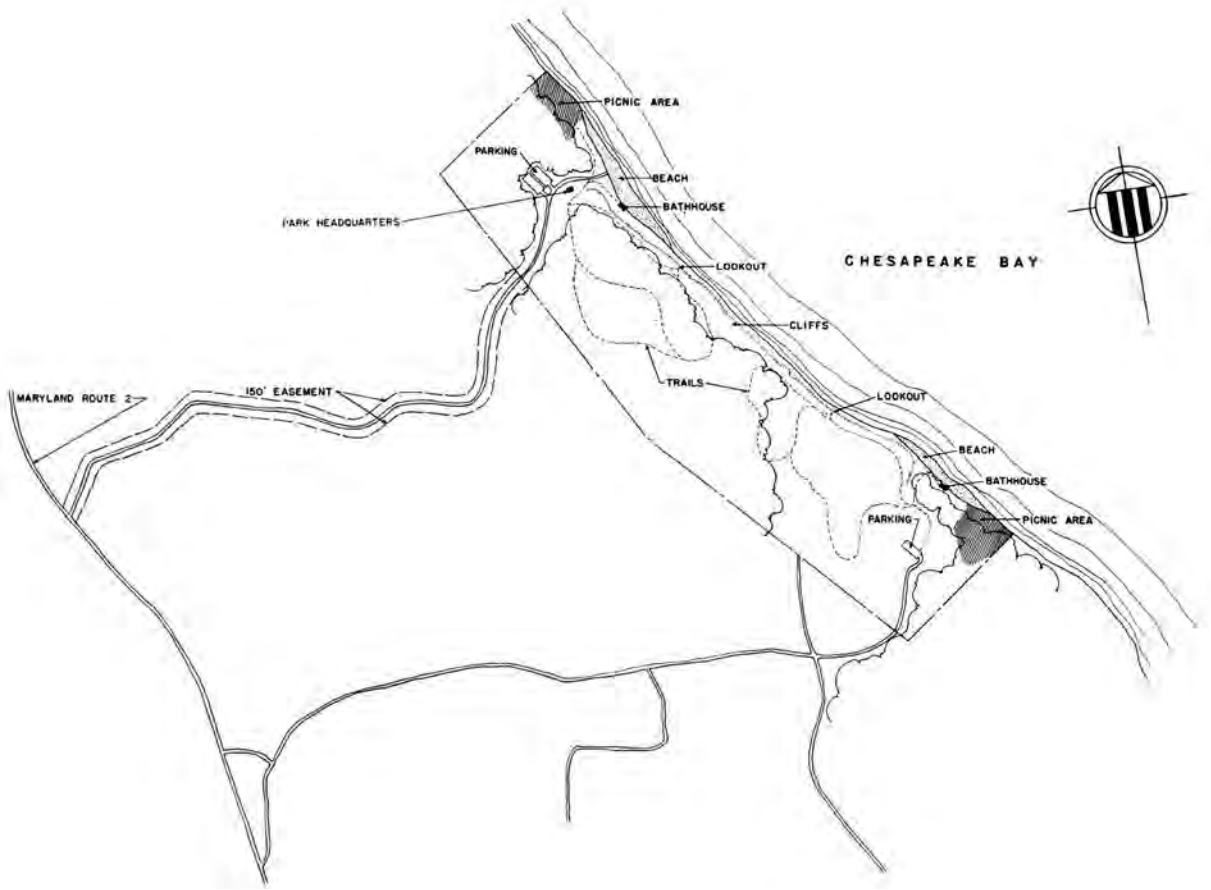


FIGURE 1. This map from the 1952 *Master Plan* is a proposed Calvert Cliffs Forest Recreation Area that illustrates how Maryland State Parks outside of Western Maryland could have been developed if the Department of Forests & Parks retained its segregation policy. Maps for proposed parks at Rocks, Elk Neck, Point Lookout, and Trappe also included redundant parking, picnicking, and bath facilities.

Source: Maryland State Planning Commission

This article explores how Maryland’s state forest/park management agency and/or commission (it took several forms over the years) approached race relations and segregation during the first half of the twentieth century. Their approaches culminated in the formal adoption of an official state park segregation policy in 1951, which was then applied to Patapsco State Park and Sandy Point State Park. In order to better contextualize the struggle for civil rights in Maryland’s state parks within a longer history of activism, this article considers the NAACP’s efforts to desegregate Sandy Point State Park in the case of *Lonesome v. Maxwell* between 1952 and 1955.⁵

In recent years, historians have increasingly identified parks, beaches, swimming pools, amusement parks, and other recreation areas as key public spaces where the struggle for equal rights was waged. Perhaps the most comprehensive study to date is Virginia W. Wolcott’s *Race, Riots, and Roller Coasters: The Struggle over Segregated Recreation in America*. In Maryland, scholars have primarily focused their attention on the segregation of Baltimore City’s parks and recreation areas. Two notable studies include Sara Patenaude’s “Playing Fair: The Fight for Interracial Athletics in Baltimore”

and James E. Wells, Geoffrey L. Buckley, and Christopher G. Boone’s “Separate but Equal? Desegregating Baltimore’s Golf Courses.” Despite the important role that the Sandy Point case had in laying the groundwork for legal desegregation, not only in Maryland but throughout the United States, the case has mostly received cursory attention from scholars—with one exception. William E. O’Brien details the case’s importance as part of his larger study of the civil rights movement and segregation in state parks in *Landscape of Exclusion: State Parks and Jim Crow in the American South*. This article complements O’Brien’s work by focusing specifically on and further detailing the story at Sandy Point.⁶

Race and Segregation in Maryland’s State Forests and Parks before 1951

Throughout much of the history of Maryland’s state-managed forests and parks, records on race and segregation (formal or informal) are murky—it is a “hidden history.” Surviving records from the State Board/Department of Forestry, the DF&P, and the Department of Natural Resources (in its early years) do not reveal commissioners or department directors vociferously promoting and defending institutionalized segregation. There were no grand speeches. Official records such as annual reports, newsletters, press statements, and surviving correspondence are silent on the matter. Most commissioner board meeting minutes and other key documents that could be illuminating are presumed lost. On the rare occasion that racial matters were addressed in public, words were chosen carefully, and extenuating circumstances were cited as excuses for discrimination. Park administrators and commissioners, even as their own staff enforced segregation and planners planned additional segregated parks across the system, proclaimed to the Black press and equality advocates that the parks were technically not segregated. Only federal court records from the Sandy Point case provide insight into how the leaders of the Commission and the DF&P viewed segregation: they frequently blamed others, including each other, for foisting segregation upon them while defending it as an important tool to prevent racial disorder.

Maryland’s state parks began in the early twentieth century as recreation areas within state forest reserves. One of the key figures who helped create the first modern public lands in Maryland and the agency to administer them was Robert Garrett, an open and ardent segregationist. Garrett and his brother John, both grandsons of former Baltimore & Ohio Railroad president John Work Garrett (who served as the railroad’s president from 1858 to 1884), donated nearly 2,000 acres of Garrett County land to the state of Maryland in 1906. This donation was contingent upon the legislature organizing a forestry board to manage it and promote scientific forest management across the state. The legislature obliged and Garrett went on to serve on the State Board/Department of Forestry from its beginnings until 1929. A former Olympian and member of Baltimore’s progressive elite, Garrett helped expand the State Board/

Department of Forestry's purview to include providing recreation areas within its forest reserves. The most notable of these was Patapsco State Park near Baltimore City. Originally established in 1907 as Patapsco State Forest Reserve, the park is generally recognized as Maryland's first unofficial state park. Garrett also went on to serve as chairman of Baltimore City's Recreation and Parks Board, where he held the line maintaining strict segregation in all city-run parks and recreation leagues for decades. In 1948, he was the primary defendant in one of the key federal segregation cases that (for a time) upheld segregation in public recreation—*Boyer v. Garrett*. This controversial stance did not dampen his status as an important contributor to the statewide forestry and parks movement, as he was welcomed as a guest speaker during DF&P's fiftieth anniversary celebration in 1956.⁷

Despite Garrett's presence on the Forestry Board, the person who set the tone from 1906 to 1942 was Fred W. Besley, Maryland's first state forester. The son of transplanted Northerners, Besley was born and raised in Northern Virginia after Reconstruction. He went on to obtain a forestry degree from Yale and worked for the US Forest Service in the American west for a few years before leading Maryland's State Board of Forestry. Besley developed a reputation for almost unilaterally promoting forest conservation and is generally recognized as an influential figure in the history of Maryland environmental conservation. During his thirty-six-year tenure, Besley transformed a nascent forestry board with little money, little enforcement power, and roughly 2,000 acres of public forest land into a fully-developed department with paid staff, dozens of forest wardens, well-rehearsed forest education programs, a mature forest-fire fighting network, and more than 117,000 acres of publicly-owned forest and park land. Both politically savvy and able to stay above the political fray, Besley shifted his forest conservation policies with the prevailing political winds. His views on race and segregation, however, are unclear. It is likely that in this regard, Besley was a product of, and largely abided by, the prevailing social order of his time. It can be safely assumed that he saw little benefit to addressing racial inequity, and he was never forced to reckon with it.⁸

Besley and his assistant foresters were avid amateur photographers, and the surviving ample photographic record perhaps best captures the racial makeup of state forest and park visitors during his tenure. Among the hundreds of photographs taken after 1919, few (if any) African Americans are visible in the images of picnickers, swimmers, hikers, and campers. Due to slow camera shutter speeds, nearly all the photographs are posed or staged. The images doubled as public relations photos that presented an idealized, sanitized, and predominantly white-middle class vision of how the parks were intended to appear by their promoters. Most visitors captured on film were healthy, physically fit, properly dressed for the period, and appeared to be enjoying themselves as they spent their free time away from urban life. Given Garrett's role in creating Patapsco as an informal "city park," it is likely that the same segregation policy he advocated in the city was also practiced at Patapsco State Park. If African Americans

patronized Patapsco and other forest reserves, they were rarely photographed. The only exceptions this author found to date include images of African Americans working in the lumber industry, a photo of a Black man sipping coffee with his white coworkers at a Depression-Era work camp at Patapsco in 1932, and of Black Civilian Conservation Corps crew members working in Southern Maryland a few years later.⁹

Despite optimistic rhetoric to the contrary, the National Park Service largely deferred to “local custom” when it came to building state park facilities for African Americans during the New Deal. In the Deep South, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) largely built state parks with only white visitation in mind. On rare occasions when they built parks for African Americans, they were typically smaller and provided fewer amenities. In Maryland, state officials appear not to have insisted on segregated park facilities. This was not because they envisioned integrated parks, but because African American visitors were not considered at all. Most of the CCC-built recreation areas were in state forests in Western Maryland, where the African American population was small. The CCC constructed only three recreation areas outside of Western Maryland: Patapsco Forest Reserve/State Park outside of Baltimore; Elk Neck State Park in northeastern Maryland; and Milburn Landing in Pocomoke River State Forest (later State Park) on the Lower Eastern Shore. In the case of Elk Neck and Pocomoke, the segregated social order was maintained through violence (or the threat of harm). In all these cases, state (and perhaps federal) officials likely assumed that there would be little need to account for African Americans, either due to low population counts or because accommodating Black patrons would upset the social order, or both. Only Patapsco and, to a lesser extent, Gambrill in Frederick County were located near urban centers with substantial numbers of African American residents. Historian William O’Brien notes that “the work of the [National] Park Service, encouraged by the pressure and support of African American interest groups, planted the seed of consideration in the [Southern] region’s state park agencies.” The degree to which this was true varied from state to state. In Maryland, pressure to provide equal accommodations eventually manifested in hardening segregation lines.¹⁰

In Maryland, some segregation practices were codified into law, as seen in case of intrastate steam-powered passenger trains and ships; however, segregation was most often enforced by social custom. Until 1951, the state’s forest and park system fit into the latter category: African Americans were neither formally banned nor welcomed. It is reasonable to assume that state officials who managed the forests and parks simply followed the prevailing social order. During this period, Maryland’s state forests and parks were largely created for “whites only”; accommodating Black patrons was not considered. Therefore, when Black residents began to visit Patapsco State Park, perhaps as early as 1940, they were unofficially “permitted” by the authorities and surrounding communities to congregate exclusively in one area. Patapsco hosted nearly half the Maryland State Forest and Park annual visitation at this time. This unofficial segregated area, known then as the Carver Memorial Area, attracted little media



FIGURE 2. This modern map shows the location of most Maryland's State Parks and Forest Recreation Areas (FRA) as they existed in 1952. 1) Swallow Falls FRA; 2) Herrington Manor FRA; 3) New Germany FRA; 4) Fort Frederick State Park; 5) Washington Monument State Park; 6) Gathland State Park; 7) Gambrill State Park; 8) Patapsco State Park; 9) Sandy Point State Park; 10) Elk Neck State Park; 11) Wye Oak State Park; and 12) Milburn Landing FRA. (Base map layer is *National Geographic World Map*, developed by National Geographic and Esri, created December 13, 2011. Forest and Park location numbers added by the author. Sources: National Geographic, Esri, Garmin, HERE, UNEP-WCMC, USGS, NASA, ESA, METI, NRCAN, GEBCO, NOAA)

attention. For at least a decade, African Americans may have regularly visited this area without incident.¹¹

The “whites only” planning bias is perhaps best exemplified in a passage written by Melvin E. Scheidt (of the State Planning Commission) and Karl E. Pfeiffer (assistant state forester), who, in an effort to promote a proposed new bayside state park along the Chesapeake, wrote in 1945: “The Park will be run in an orderly, quiet way which will attract *a desirable class of people, including those professional people visiting the area because of their interest in conservation.* This should help to establish a tone to the whole development in the County, especially in the areas adjacent to the Park, which could not help but be beneficial to the County” (italics added by author). Granted, this passage was part of a campaign to convince local residents that a new state park in their midst would be beneficial. Yet, this campaign was made by white, educated, middle-class government bureaucrats speaking the same language of the residents who held sway, along with the park patrons they most identified with and whom they preferred to see in Maryland's state parks.¹²

Segregation limited the number of recreational opportunities for African Americans in Maryland to a handful of Black-owned private beaches and amusement parks. Despite this, Black-owned beaches such as Carr's and Columbia became profitable businesses that provided places where Black culture thrived and offered refuge from otherwise hostile racial environments. Still, most privately owned beaches and amusement parks were designated for "whites only." The advent of segregated public parks and beaches, however, gave civil rights advocates and lawyers a comparatively easy target in which to advocate desegregation. If everyone was forced to pay taxes, how could any taxpayer be denied equal access to a tax-supported facility? So, the Baltimore chapter of the NAACP led the fight to end segregation in public parks. They initially concentrated their efforts in Baltimore City; however, with the opening of Sandy Point State Park in 1952, they expanded their efforts to include the state.¹³

"Coney Island on the Bay"

Sandy Point State Park was born out of a decade-long effort to establish a centrally located bayside state park along the Chesapeake Bay. Elk Neck, the first bayside state park established in 1936, was too remote to attract significant visitation. Two other state-managed developed beaches and swimming areas, located on lakes at New Germany and Herrington Manor Forest Recreation Areas, were in remote Garrett County. From 1940 to 1947, the State Planning Commission, later in partnership with the DF&P, embarked on a fruitless effort to acquire and build a beachfront state park in either Lusby or Drum Point in Calvert County. Ultimately, the Maryland legislature was unwilling to provide the DF&P with the power to condemn the property, the local community mounted an opposition campaign, and the price per acre proved higher than anticipated.¹⁴

This setback did not last long. In June 1948, William H. Labrot, a well-connected politician, businessman, and sportsman, offered to sell part of his Holly Beach farm at Sandy Point to the state for \$160,000. Located at the far eastern tip of the Broadneck Peninsula in Anne Arundel County, Sandy Point was (and is) only a few miles north of Annapolis and within an hour's drive of Baltimore and Washington, DC. Seeing this as an ideal location, Labrot asked the *Baltimore Sun*, "What better setting in which to exhibit to the people of this State and the thousands of tourists who would be attracted to such a project the things nature has provided to make this State great in material wealth?" Labrot suggested that state officials consult with well-known New York urban planner Robert Moses on how to best develop the property's potential. State officials, with funds appropriated for the failed Calvert County acquisition effort on hand, leapt at Labrot's offer. Led at the time by Governor William Preston Lane Jr., the Maryland Board of Public Works approved the property's acquisition in August. However, formal acquisition was delayed for several more months while a title search and survey were completed. Finally, in January 1949, the state formally accepted the

679.8-acre property. Consummated on February 2, 1949, the Labrot tract came with no stipulations regarding the property's use. Labrot, however, never saw how the state utilized his former property: he died unexpectedly on April 1, 1949.¹⁵

Despite hopes for establishing a "Coney Island on the Bay," the state settled on a much less ambitious vision. Because State Senator Wilbur R. Dulin objected to the state spending lavishly on a public beach that would compete with private beaches, both Governor Lane and the legislature proved tight-fisted in funding Sandy Point's construction. After purchasing the property, state officials only had \$90,000 left in their acquisition budget to develop the site. In his 1950 budget, Governor Lane only offered an additional \$250,000 in construction funds—considerably less than the \$1,625,000 suggested by the DF&P and the \$1 million recommended by the State Planning Commission. Regardless of the paltry appropriation and the park's limited scale, this project was still ambitious by DF&P standards.¹⁶

Building State Parks: A Multi-Agency Effort

In 1935, the first state parks in Maryland were designated apart from state forests. Six years later, the State Department of Forestry was rebranded as the State Department of Forests and Parks (DF&P). The legislature set up a quasi-independent commission of men connected to forestry and agriculture to create regulations, rules, and policies for the reorganized department. The commissioners were appointed by the governor on staggered four-year terms, which somewhat isolated the commission from the influence of the governor and the state legislature. The commission created rules, regulations, and policies for the DF&P, and it appointed the department's director. This bureaucratic change coincided with Besley's retirement. His successors, Joseph F. Kaylor (director) and Henry C. Buckingham (state forester), were also professional foresters—not park professionals. The addition of "parks" to the agency title was largely superficial. The department largely remained a forest conservation agency, with state parks managed as a side responsibility alongside its more established and familiar function: promoting forest conservation and management.

The DF&P was ill-equipped to design and build a park on the scale envisioned for Sandy Point. Therefore, the task of designing and building Sandy Point was placed in the hands of the Department of Public Improvements (DPI), with the DF&P and the State Planning Commission largely playing advisory roles. Perhaps taking Labrot's advice, the DPI hired a New York firm, Andrews & Clark, to design the park. The firm had experience building parks on Long Island and in Michigan. The State Department of Correction supplied inexpensive incarcerated laborers for rudimentary construction, while private contractors were hired to build the park's more complicated elements. A correctional camp managed by the Maryland House of Corrections was built on a western portion of the property. The Department of Health was consulted to design sanitation and sewage facilities. According to the

Baltimore Sun, “the development of this park calls for a program of cooperation greater than any other publicly financed enterprise now being carried on by the State of Maryland.” Initially, state officials hoped to open the park by the Fourth of July 1950. This proved too ambitious, however, and the park was not officially opened until July 1952. According to the *Baltimore Sun*, the public was granted access to the grounds on a non-segregated basis during construction.¹⁷

A joint DF&P and State Planning Commission study for the failed Calvert County bayside park had envisioned more than a beach park. The study’s authors recommended that the bayside park include a marina, boating facilities, campgrounds, a tree nursery, a nature and wildlife preserve, and a biological research station and training center. These elements, however, had been envisioned for a much larger property than Sandy Point’s modest acreage. Still, an early concept map indicates that the park’s planners had attempted to squeeze many of these elements into the comparatively tight space. These elements were still on the table in October 1949. The early plan did not include segregated facilities.¹⁸

By March 1950, however, there were major changes to the park’s design. The professional park planners likely realized that Sandy Point would function as a “day-use park” rather than a “destination park.” Sandy Point’s close proximity to Annapolis, Baltimore, and Washington, DC, made providing overnight accommodations unnecessary, and the park’s relatively small size rendered the conservation elements impractical. Therefore, the campgrounds, tree nursery, nature preserve, and biological research station and training center were removed in favor of large parking lots, picnic areas,

FIGURES 3A and 3B. An early concept plan (this page) compared to the final *Master Plan* (opposite page) shows that, initially, Sandy Point State Park was not intended to be segregated. However, as professional park planners fully developed the park’s plans, segregated facilities were added.

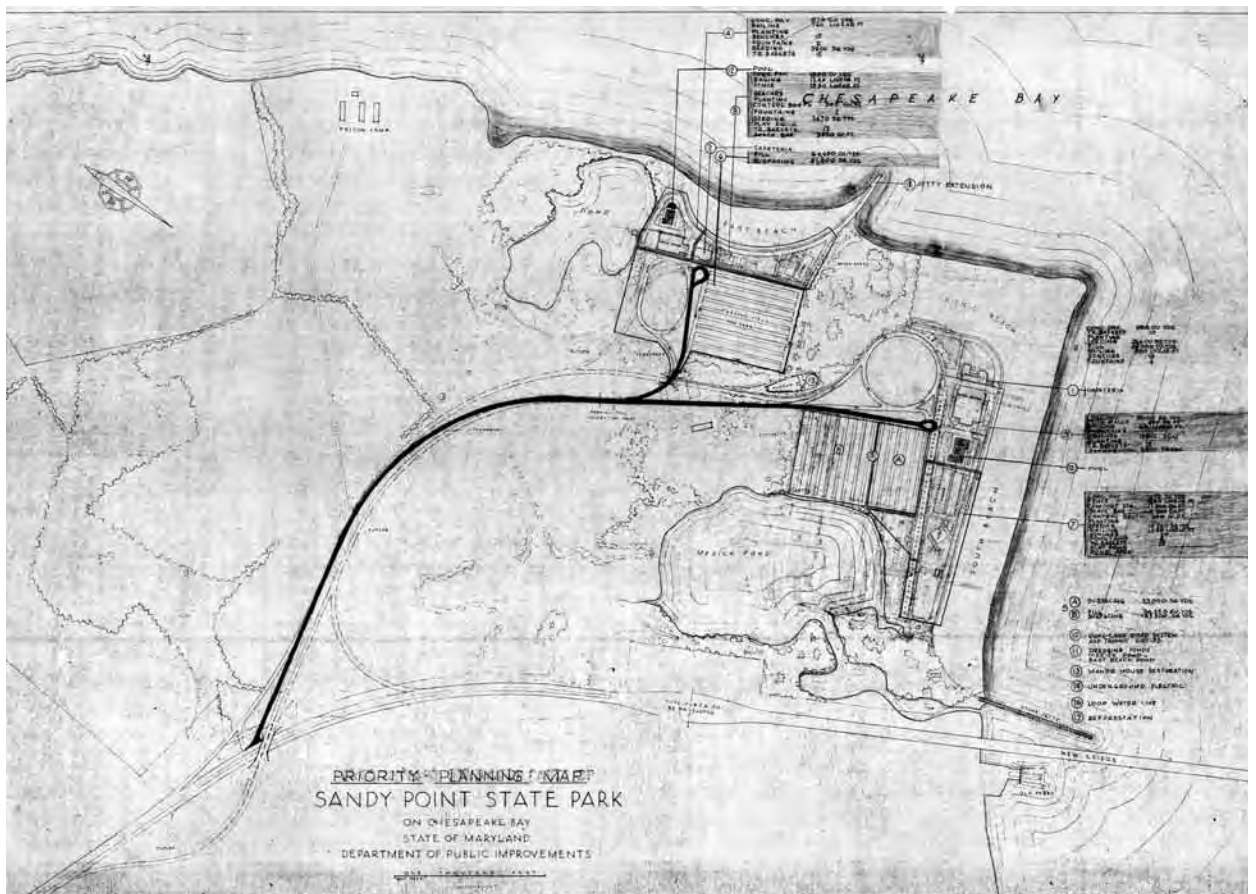
Both images are courtesy of the Maryland State Archives, MSA_SC6361_1_2-0001 (this page) and SC5458_62_20-0002 (opposite page)



swimming pools, a boating lake, and graceful circular roadways. The park was designed to exclusively accommodate patrons traveling by automobile (to this day, this is the most practical way for family groups to travel to and through the park). Only the early nineteenth-century Sandy Point plantation house would be retained as a museum. Most significantly, the park plan now included segregated beaches, bathing facilities, picnic grounds, and parking areas. Prior to designing the park, the DF&P attempted to obtain the blessing of Governor Lane to build segregated facilities, though it is unclear if the governor ever consented. "Plans were made by the Department of Public Improvements to provide separate and equal facilities on the South and East Beach of Sandy Point State Park. These included exact duplication of bath houses, concessions, and other features whereby it was humanly possible to convert."¹⁹

With the plans largely complete, construction of Sandy Point State Park proceeded quickly. By January 1951, Governor Theodore R. McKeldin had succeeded Lane. The new governor quickly added more funds to build the park, though still considerably less than the State Planning Commission and the DF&P had hoped. Eventually, over \$700,000 was allocated to construct Sandy Point, including upgrades to the East Beach

FIGURE 3B.



made during the subsequent first legal battle with the NAACP. The new governor, however, appears to have made no effort to halt the construction of segregated facilities. Meanwhile, strong currents and a major storm were making it difficult for state engineers to establish a sustainable segregated beach on the peninsula's eastside.²⁰

The NAACP, the Black Press, and a New Segregation Policy

In 1950, the *Baltimore Afro-American* newspaper and the Baltimore chapter of the NAACP began to focus more attention on Maryland's lack of official segregation policy in state parks, starting with Patapsco State Park. In early July, a group of sixty-five Black children arrived at Patapsco around 10 am with the understanding that they did not need a reservation. However, upon arrival, they were asked to move to the park's "colored area." The group leader was frustrated to learn that the colored areas was five miles away in an unmaintained area that lacked picnic tables and grills. The *Afro-American* demanded that DF&P leadership explain why Black children were being forced to relocate to the Black area in a park that was officially not segregated. State Forester (and Deputy Director) Buckingham claimed that the area to which the children were denied access had already been reserved by white patrons. He further stated that the Commission of Forest and Parks would meet shortly afterwards to clarify the agency's segregation policy, though it is unclear if any policy changes or clarifications were announced.²¹

The department's policy appears to have remained unchanged. Fourteen months later in September 1951, *Afro-American* staff writer Rufus Wells encouraged his readers to utilize the state's "sparsely used" public land. "Maryland's colored citizens are failing to make full use of the 118,000 acres of forests, parks and recreation areas provided by the state. This conclusion was made after a tour of State recreation areas during the peak vacation season failed to produce a single colored person making use of the facilities." When Wells asked several park superintendents why African American visitation was nonexistent, they concluded that "I guess it is because they just don't know that the parks are open to them." It is unclear how park staff would have responded if large numbers of African Americans heeded Wells' call, but if the Black experience at Patapsco (and later Sandy Point) is any indication, they would have likely found them to be considerably less "open" than advertised. But, nevertheless, because the DF&P and commission refused to make a clear policy, the *Afro* made the case that the door for African Americans was, indeed, open.²²

With the *Afro* encouraging its readers to visit Maryland's state parks, and Sandy Point's segregated beaches taking shape, the DF&P's leadership requested that the Commission of State Forests and Parks officially clarify its policy on segregation. The commission at this time consisted of Sydney D. Peverley (chairman), Bernard I. Gonder, H. Lee Hoffman, J. Miles Lankford, and J. Wilson Lord. On November 19, 1951, at a regularly scheduled meeting, the commission passed the following resolution:

Whereas the Department of Forests and Parks has been given the administration of the Sandy Point State Park and whereas the Department of Forests and Parks finds it has a need for two units on the Sandy Point State Park, the Department officials are hereby authorized to operate same as separate and equal facilities. Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Department of Forests and Parks of Maryland that all facilities be developed for both white and colored in keeping with the present policies of the State of Maryland regarding recreation facilities.²³

During the subsequent trial, both Kaylor and Sandy Point State Park Superintendent Joseph Henderson blamed the commission for the segregation policy; however, the resolution indicates that the DF&P leadership requested the segregation policy. Regardless, while the first half of the resolution specifically pertained to Sandy Point State Park, the last sentence indicates that all subsequent parks going forward would be developed on a segregated basis. This policy was reflected in part of the 1952 *Master Plan*. The redevelopment of Patapsco State Park, which commenced shortly after Sandy Point's completion in July 1952, also included a developed segregated area.

Legal arguments in the subsequent court case stated that the DF&P's motivation for establishing a segregated swimming beach was to prevent racial conflict. Perhaps the racial violence that took place in Washington, DC, in 1949, when both the federal and municipal governments had attempted to desegregate city swimming pools, influenced this decision. Regardless, the prospect of having racially-mixed swimming and bathing facilities finally compelled both the DF&P and the commission to declare an explicit segregation policy.²⁴

Meanwhile, during Sandy Point's construction, an unidentified state employee wrote a letter to Lillie May Carroll Jackson, President of the Baltimore chapter of the NAACP, advising her that state funds were being used to create a segregated beach at Sandy Point. Jackson's daughter, Juanita Mitchell, who would go on to serve as a key witness on the NAACP legal team in the forthcoming lawsuit, traveled to the park while it was under construction. "We found that the State had a beautiful sandy beach at Sandy Point for white people . . . and had a mud hole on the side of the bay where you didn't have any nice sand—just a mud hole—which would be for Blacks. So, we found that the letter was accurate."²⁵

Jackson appealed to Governor McKeldin to "remove segregation in the use of public facilities, and to stop this waste of taxpayers' money." McKeldin was a frequent attendee of Black churches and the first major Maryland politician to openly voice sympathy for the African American community. During his tenure as Baltimore's mayor, he had formed a strong working relationship with Baltimore's Black community, and Jackson in particular. He had leaned on Black voters in his run for governor in 1950, with 79 percent of the city's Black voters supporting him. The late journalist and historian C. Fraser Smith noted that McKeldin's willingness to embrace civil rights made



FIGURE 4. Juanita Jackson Mitchell, photograph by Paul S. Henderson, June 1952.

Maryland Center for History and Culture, H. Furlong Baldwin Library, Baltimore City Life Museum Collection, Paul S. Henderson Photograph Collection, HEN.03.12-007

him a revolutionary figure: “He was the first major Maryland politician to break entirely with the politics of Governor [Thomas] Swann, [University of Maryland] Dean [John P.] Poe, and all the others in the pantheon of discrimination.” Still, as the Sandy Point case illustrates, there were limits to how far McKeldin was willing to go: Jackson’s protests went unheeded.²⁶

In March 1952, McKeldin’s own Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations contacted Commission of State Forests and Parks Chairman Peverley expressing concern about the segregated facilities planned for Sandy Point. DF&P Director Joseph Kaylor responded on the commission’s behalf by stating that the act from the Maryland legislature funding the park’s construction “stipulated specifically that the Park was to be planned with equal but separate facilities for Negroes,” and therefore, “the Department was bound by the Legislation and had no discretion in the matter whatsoever.” The Commission on Interracial Problems then asked for a copy of the legislation. It is unlikely a copy of the legislation was ever produced given no such legislation was ever passed. As noted earlier, the park segregation policy was created at the discretion of the Commission of State Forests and Parks.²⁷

The DPI moved forward with constructing Sandy Point’s segregated facilities as planned, though without the swimming pools and circular roadways. The park’s South Beach area was designated for “whites only,” and the East Beach area for “Negros.” The

East Beach area's size correlated with the overall size of the African American population in Maryland during this period, which stood at 16.6 percent in 1950. The whites-only beach was over a half-mile in length and oriented in a southeasterly direction that offered a full view of the (then new) Chesapeake Bay Bridge. The Blacks-only beach, roughly 1,000 feet long, was oriented in a northeasterly direction, away from the Bay Bridge (though still visible) and toward the Sandy Point Shoal Lighthouse. Initially, the bathhouses in the East Beach area were also substantially smaller than the South Beach. The DF&P leadership noted that storms in the spring of 1952 battered both park's beaches, but washed away considerably more sand from the East Beach. It was clear that the East Beach would require expensive jetties and groins to protect the beach sand from the bay's currents. These elements had not been built in time for the park's grand opening in July, and no effort was made to replenish the missing sand.²⁸

With the statement, "well, boys, it's a success—let's go," McKeldin officially dedicated the new Sandy Point State Park in a brief ceremony on Wednesday, June 25, 1952. Feeling betrayed by the governor that they had supported, Black members of the Maryland Freemasons declared "war on Jim Crow" within a week of the park's opening. Dr. Willard Allen stated that it was "disgraceful that McKeldin dedicated one half of the park for white people, and the other half to colored somewhere in the woods."²⁹

The beaches, bathhouses, and picnic grounds officially opened to the public on a segregated basis the following Tuesday, July 1. Several members of the Baltimore chapter of the NAACP, including Milton Lonesome, who was a reporter for the *Afro-American*, Alvin Graham, Beatrice Martin, Marion J. Downs, his daughter Karleen, Bowen Jackson, his children Christine and Lilly Mae, and Bowen's sister Juanita Mitchell drove down from Baltimore that day to seek access to the South Beach area. When they arrived at Sandy Point, they were met by Director Kaylor, who denied them access to the South Beach and personally escorted them to the East Beach. Sandwiched between a swamp and a prison camp on one side and an undeveloped area on the other, the beach was bisected by a low-hanging powerline, and the sand was littered with rocks and glass. The bath and concession facilities were considerably smaller. The group took pictures of the East Beach area, including of their children attempting to play on the beach. On a second visit with state officials on July 11, Mitchell reported that she "fell knee deep into the soft wet sand and mud on the East Beach." Nathan Smith, director of the Department of Public Improvements, advised Mitchell and other members of the NAACP that "The Lord wasn't quite as good to the East Beach as he was to the South Beach. It's going to take us time to catch up."³⁰

Very few African Americans visited the East Beach in 1952. Of the 9,759 patrons who visited Sandy Point's beaches that summer, only 114 visited the East Beach. The few who visited the East Beach area during the segregation period did not recall it being a pleasant experience. George Phelps told the *Annapolis Capital* in 1988, "It was a beach—but you wouldn't want to go swimming there. One beach was like the Annapolis Hilton and the other was like Clay Street today [a run-down street]." Sam

FIGURE 5.
Commission of
State Forests and
Parks Director
Joseph Kaylor
turning away the
soon-to-be-plaintiffs
on the opening
weekend of Sandy
Point State Park.

Published in
the *Baltimore
Afro-American*,
July 10, 1952.
Courtesy of
the Afro-American
Newspapers Archives



Gilmer, who later served on the Annapolis City Council, asked “Why should we not have the right to use a first-class beach? It was always separate, but it was never equal. It was a muddy swamp.”³¹

Segregation at Patapsco State Park

While Sandy Point was being planned and constructed, the Maryland State Planning Commission, working in partnership with both the Commission of State Forests and Parks, and DF&P, published ambitious plans for the future development of the state’s largest and most heavily visited state park: Patapsco. These plans anticipated that demand for park and recreation areas, which had already risen precipitously in the post-World War II years, would grow exponentially. The *Development Plan for the Patapsco River Valley*, published in 1950, called for increasing the park’s size by thousands of acres and developing many recreation areas along a 26-mile corridor between Baltimore City and Sykesville. Like the statewide *Master Plan* published two years later, the *Development Plan* for Patapsco made no explicit mention of segregation.³²

The DF&P lost no time in executing the plan. It purchased hundreds of acres, then began developing new picnic areas in Avalon, Glen Artney, Orange Grove, Hilton, and Hollofield almost simultaneously. Ultimately, much of the land was acquired, but the ambitious development was never realized.³³

After Sandy Point was (initially) “completed” in 1952, the DF&P and the DPI shifted their attention to building developed picnic areas and campgrounds in Patapsco State Park. These included new pavilions and picnic areas in Hollofield, Orange Grove,

and Hilton. The new Hilton area near Catonsville was purposely built for African Americans. Located atop the bluff, Hilton follows the pattern established at Sandy Point—where parks were likely to attract both swimming and Black visitors, either segregated bathing and beach facilities were planned or segregated areas were located far away from the water. Kaylor informed members of the Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations that the new facilities at Hilton “compared favorably with any areas in the entire park system.” Apart from the lack of river access, this statement was likely true, as present-day shelter 201 in Hilton is nearly identical to contemporary shelters 300 at Hollofield and 106 in Orange Grove. It can be argued, however, that African Americans faced worse discrimination at Patapsco than at Sandy Point, as access to the park’s resources was more limited and unequal. Hemmed in at Hilton, African Americans were denied access to much of the park’s trail network, the overlooks at Hollofield, Buzzard’s Rock, and Ilchester as well as access to the river which bore the park’s name. Even though segregation was practiced in Patapsco, it played no role in the forthcoming legal struggle at Sandy Point. Nevertheless, its segregated facilities offer a glimpse into how state officials would have developed more Maryland State Parks had the legal landscape remained unchanged.³⁴

Lonesome prior to Brown

On August 8, 1952, eight members of the Baltimore chapter of the NAACP who were denied entry to Sandy Point’s South Beach on July 1 brought a lawsuit to the United States District Court for the District of Maryland, arguing that the “Negro” facilities on the East Beach were unequal when compared to the “whites only” facilities on the South Beach. In an affidavit that accompanied the suit, Dr. Roscoe C. Brown of New York University declared the East Beach “physically unfit for use and psychologically undesirable.” “As a professional recreation specialist,” Brown wrote, “it is my opinion that exclusion of persons from public recreation facilities on the basis of race harms members of minority groups.” The group’s lawyers, Linwood G. Koger Jr. and Tucker R. Dearing, argued that the separate facilities were in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, which states that “No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.” Juanita Mitchell, an important member of the legal team, technically served as a witness in the Sandy Point case. Both Koger Jr. and Dearing had also brought lawsuits against the city of Baltimore for segregation practices at Fort Smallwood Park in a separate case, *Dawson v. Mayor and City Council of Baltimore* (1951 to 1955).³⁵

Since the 1930s, the Baltimore chapter of the NAACP remained active in positioning lawyers to challenge segregation laws, including Thurgood Marshall. All three lawyers—Koger Jr., Dearing, and Mitchell—were recent graduates of law school (Koger



FIGURE 6. In taking the State to court, Marion J. Downs and Bowen Jackson included their children as plaintiffs/appellees. Here, those same children, Karleen Downs, Christine Jackson, and Lilly Mae Jackson, attempt to play on the segregated East Beach in 1952. Published in the *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 8, 1952. Courtesy of the Afro-American Newspapers Archives

Jr. and Mitchell, University of Maryland, 1950; and Dearing, Howard University, 1949). Koger Jr., the son of Linwood G. Koger Sr., an accomplished lawyer who had served as President of the Baltimore chapter of the NAACP from 1927 to 1930, went on to participate in several civil rights cases before turning to real estate. Mitchell, thanks to her upbringing, was already an experienced and seasoned civil rights advocate. Born and raised in rural Virginia, Dearing worked to integrate a labor union before serving in the military during World War II. He moved to Baltimore in 1952 and began working with Mitchell. Both Mitchell and Dearing went on to lengthy careers serving as civil rights lawyers for the Baltimore chapter of the NAACP. Joining the team was Jack Greenberg, a young Jewish American from New York, who had risen quickly in the NAACP's ranks. He was the only white member of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDF), which featured some of the most accomplished figures in the civil rights movement. He went on to serve as co-counsel with Thurgood Marshall in the watershed civil rights case *Brown v. Board of Education in Topeka, Kansas*. Greenberg's presence compelled the Association of Southeastern State Park Directors to denounce Koger Jr., Dearing, and Mitchell as puppets of the National

NAACP: "Court action in Maryland is backed by Attorneys of the [NAACP] from New York, with local colored Attorneys as fronts."³⁶

The defendants in the case were the members of the Commission of State Forests and Parks, DF&P Director Kaylor, and Sandy Point State Park Superintendent Henderson. Kaylor served as director of the DF&P from 1942 to 1963. A trained forester, Kaylor oversaw the department's transition from a primarily forestry-oriented agency into one in which parks received comparable attention. Henderson was a recent graduate of Syracuse University. His appointment as Superintendent of Sandy Point was his first major assignment after being hired by the DF&P in 1951. Amidst the legal struggle over segregation, Henderson coincidentally hired the agency's first female lifeguard, Joan Earle, for the summer of 1953. The commission was represented by its chairman, Sydney D. Peverley. A prosperous banker and lumberman from Bel Air, Peverley had served on the commission since its inception in 1941, having risen to its chairmanship in 1949.³⁷

Because this initial legal action took place prior to *Brown v. Board of Education*, the separate but equal legal precedent set by *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896 still stood. It was within this legal framework that Federal Judge William Calvin Chesnut approached this case. As he later wrote in his final opinion, "the existing constitutional law on the subject, though, at the present time, is that segregation is the policy of the State, and when it is adopted by the State, it is still constitutional provided that the facilities for the different races is substantially equal." Moreover, he noted that a "very similar question [presumably *Brown v. Board of Education*] is pending now in the Supreme Court of the United States and has been pending for many months." Therefore, this case hinged upon the question of whether or not the East and South Beach areas were "substantially equal." This was not Chesnut's first foray into civil rights in recreation. He had previously ruled in favor of segregation in cases involving Baltimore's golf courses and Fort Smallwood Park. In those cases, he ordered city authorities to either make the segregated facilities "substantially equal" or alternate days in which Blacks and whites were granted full access. Perhaps because the bathhouses and beaches were so clearly unequal at the outset, Chesnut provided the state's attorneys additional time to develop convincing reasons why he should not issue an injunction preventing the state from segregating the park. This delayed the trial by several weeks.³⁸

In their written statement, submitted to the court on September 30, Maryland Attorney General Hall Hammond and his assistant Robert M. Thomas acknowledged that the East Beach was in poor condition. Blame for the poor condition of the beach was attributed to severe storms that swept through the area during the spring of 1952, which directly impacted the East Beach more than the South Beach. Hammond and Thomas stated that engineers had already studied the problem and promised that it would be resolved prior to the park's reopening in the summer of 1953. The solution was to build a jetty (or groin) perpendicular to the shoreline, immediately west of the East Beach. Otherwise, they contended that the state had, in fact, provided equal

though separate facilities, by arguing that the East Beach area's size was proportional to Maryland's African American population. The state attorneys also implied that the primary reason for having segregated facilities were their connection to swimming and bathing by pointing out that when the beaches were unguarded and the bathing facilities were closed, the park grounds were not (technically) segregated.³⁹

During the hearing, Judge Chesnut asked the state attorneys to confirm if there were any laws in Maryland that governed segregation at Sandy Point's beach. The assistant attorney general responded, "As far as I know, your Honor, there isn't any statute." Chesnut then asked Superintendent Henderson if there would be consequences if the park closed both beaches until the East Beach repairs were completed. Henderson's statements reveal the crux of the issue from the perspective of the white state officials. Henderson replied, "I know of no obligation the State of Maryland has to furnish a private beach for its citizens. It would be better to close it to avoid any unpleasantness." When NAACP attorney Jack Greenberg asked Henderson what the effects were when the beach was unsegregated in the offseason, Henderson replied that white women remained in their cars and that there was not much "contact."⁴⁰

Meanwhile, Lillie May Jackson met with Governor McKeldin to discuss the possibility of withholding emergency funds from making improvements to the East Beach. Jackson had hoped that if the governor withheld emergency funding from the Commission State of Forests and Parks, it would compel them to drop its segregation policy and desegregate the park. McKeldin, however, reminded Jackson that "You know, I have to get elected," implying that if he openly endorsed desegregation at public beaches, he would become a one-term governor. Juanita Mitchell later recalled, "Now this was one of the times when Governor McKeldin didn't have courage." McKeldin informed Jackson that unless a court order prevented him from using emergency funds to upgrade the East Beach, he was prepared to use those funds if a court found that the beaches were unequal.⁴¹

By May 1953, Judge Chesnut had not ruled in the case, but scheduled a hearing on June 2 to determine if the state had made a sufficient effort in upgrading the East Beach area. Meanwhile, in anticipation of large crowds, the DF&P opened the beach and bathing facilities a week prior to Memorial Day weekend on a segregated basis. Joseph Kaylor, in the DP&F newsletter, *The Old Line Acorn*, predicted that 1953 would be "the greatest season in the history of Maryland State Parks and Forests." State officials, however, had failed to carry out their promises to address the muddy East Beach.⁴²

The hearing on June 2 did not go well for the defendants. As Chesnut later stated, "on the evidence that was presented on June 2nd . . . I found, as a matter of fact, that the facilities for white people and colored people, that is, with respect to the South Beach for white people and East Beach for colored people, were not equal." Chesnut further remarked that it was "quite unlikely . . . that there would be a substantial change in the situation for several months." Two days later, Chesnut issued a preliminary injunction stating that until the park's facilities were made "substantially

equal,” the park must either integrate, rotate days which white and Blacks could use the entire park, or simply close the park down. He wrote that the defendants “are immediately and preliminarily enjoined and restrained from excluding any person solely on account of race and color from facilities at South Beach of Sandy Point State Park and Beach.”⁴³

Immediately following Chesnut’s ruling, Governor McKeldin asked both the DPI and the DF&P to submit reports on the current conditions at Sandy Point. He did not offer comment on the court’s ruling. McKeldin received letters demanding that he request that the Forest and Park commissioners reopen Sandy Point on a non-segregated basis. One letter, by the Baltimore Ethical Society, stated “We suggest to Governor McKeldin that he now give dynamic meaning to his frequently voiced reverence for human dignity by requesting the Commission of State Forests and Parks to open Sandy Point to all people.”⁴⁴

Instead, McKeldin chose to distance himself from the Sandy Point controversy. He wrote in a letter on June 12, 1953, “I did not plan Sandy Point Park, and it was not planned by my administration.” He placed the onus on the Commission of State Forests and Parks to address the issue. “I cannot arbitrarily order or prescribe anything for this or any other park. Under our laws it is operated by the Commission of Forests and Parks. The fact that the members serve for five-year, overlapping terms is indicative of the autonomy intended for it by the creating Legislature.” McKeldin’s assessment of his limitations is technically true. He had little control over the commission (and at that point had likely appointed only one member, if any) and the department director, and the state’s attorney general was (and still is) elected separately from the governor. Still, McKeldin had easily unseated former Governor Lane by 15 percent in the 1950 election, and his position on civil rights was no secret. Perhaps McKeldin felt that tactically equal access to swimming beaches was not where he wished to fight aggressively for civil rights. Nevertheless, McKeldin’s soft stance lends weight to his critics, one of whom noted that “McKeldin was a flashy governor and a first-class con artist. He did lots of things, but he was the kind of person who would go to Lillie May Jackson’s church and make beautiful speeches, conning everybody and giving just enough to keep you happy.”⁴⁵

While McKeldin publicly stayed on the sidelines, he gave Peverley and Kaylor the leverage they needed to act decisively by quietly allocating emergency funds to upgrade the East Beach. Faced with the choice of integration, alternating “white” and “Black” days, or closing the park, they chose the last option. On June 5, the day following Judge Chesnut’s injunction, the DF&P revealed that the park’s sewage system had critically failed and that the park would be closed indefinitely. Kaylor told the *Baltimore Sun*, “Not having other sanitary facilities, it appears the best thing to do is to close the park for an indefinite period.” All visitors who traveled to the park by automobile were turned away the next day and the following weekend. Kaylor noted, “We are losing a lot of money in revenue while Marylanders are losing use of their park.”⁴⁶



FIGURE 7. African American workers, possibly incarcerated persons from the Sandy Point correctional camp, unearth the damaged sewage pipe that was used as an excuse to close the park following Judge Chesnut's injunction in June 1953. Courtesy of the Afro-American Newspapers Archives

The sewage system failure was not a fabrication, but it was also unlikely critical enough to have closed the park under normal circumstances. Correspondence between Governor McKeldin and DPI Director Smith elaborated on the sewage problem in detail, and the department's annual report listed \$11,730.77 in expenses to "reconstruct water and sewer lines" in the park. That cost, however, paled in comparison to the \$167,763.57 expended for "additional funds for completion of bathhouses and beach improvements" and "construction of parking areas." These additional expenses were, of course, the actual reason for the park's closure: to provide a time window for state officials to enlarge the East Beach bathing facilities, replenish the beach sand, and enlarge the parking lots. As the NAACP had done many times since the early 1930s, it had compelled segregationists to expend exorbitant amounts of money to make facilities and accommodations "substantially equal" to avoid integration.⁴⁷

State officials, construction contractors, and incarcerated laborers (many of whom were Black) worked quickly to rebuild the East Beach area in an effort to have it ready by the Fourth of July weekend. *The Old Line Acorn* boasted that it had learned "from reliable sources" that the park "will be open and all facilities in operation on July 4." The East Beach area upgrades, however, may have still been under construction by early July. Despite this, the state requested a hearing on July 2 to ask Judge Chesnut to vacate the injunction, contending that the East Beach area facilities were "equal if not superior to those found on the South Beach." Several key state officials, including McKeldin, and the plaintiffs were invited to inspect the park facilities on July 3. In

response to the state officials' contention that the East Beach facilities were equal to, if not superior, to the South Beach, Juanita Mitchell told the *Afro-American*, "That is not true. . . . During the inspection tour there were workmen with tractors and bulldozers still at work on East Beach. We've got pictures to prove it." Furthermore, the jetties had not been built. The judge was under the impression that the plaintiffs were willing to vacate the injunction once the inspection tour was completed. Upon finding out that he had been mistaken, Chesnut granted the plaintiffs several days to file a response and ended the hearing.⁴⁸

Faced with the prospect of substantial loss of Fourth of July gate revenue, desperate state officials and lawyers tracked down the NAACP lawyers outside the courtroom. They beseeched the NAACP to vacate the injunction. Koger Jr. and Mitchell responded by stating that if the park was reopened on a desegregated basis, "We will gladly agree to an order vacating the injunction." The state officials, including Peverley, Kaylor, and Assistant Attorney General W. Giles Parker, collectively replied, "No." Sandy Point State Park remained closed for another week. The NAACP lawyers contended that the state attempted to pin the blame for the park's closure on them. In response, Koger Jr. issued a statement, "I requested Mr. Peverley to open all beaches and facilities at Sandy Point to everyone regardless of race. We are not asking the Governor or his Commission to close the beaches, but to open them on an unsegregated basis to everyone."⁴⁹

On July 6, the NAACP filed their response affidavit, and a new hearing was held the next day. The East Beach bathhouse was now substantially larger, though still slightly smaller than the South Beach. The beach, while still the same size, had tons of new sand trucked in, spread, and manicured. The Department of Public Improvements Assistant Director Garrett O. Billmire advised the judge that the new jetties would be built in the fall of 1953. Koger Jr. complained that he and his key witnesses, notably Dr. Roscoe C. Brown, had been denied permission to inspect the park. The judge was not pleased by this and was unimpressed by the state officials' explanations. At the 10 am hearing on July 9, Judge Chesnut ordered that all parties exit the courtroom, visit both beaches, and return by 2 pm to continue the hearing. Both Koger Jr. and Dr. Brown acknowledged that the East Beach was overall improved, but the footing in the East Beach swim area was still difficult, the picnic area was still inferior, and the jetties had not been built. Brown even cut his foot in East Beach water. Judge Chesnut brushed these concerns aside and rescinded the injunction. "My finding is that facilities are not only substantially but in fact equal and I think the State has done an excellent job in equalizing the facilities." Chesnut advised that if the plaintiffs ever felt that the facilities at Sandy Point had reverted to being unequal in the future, they could renew the motion to reinstate the injunction. Foreshadowing things to come, Chesnut noted that ongoing cases before the Supreme Court might result in a change in segregation laws. Sandy Point State Park reopened on July 13 on a segregated basis. Judge W. Calvin Chesnut, age 80, retired shortly after rescinding the injunction.⁵⁰

FIGURE 8.
Three beachgoers walking along the “whites only” South Beach in August 1953, after Sandy Point reopened as a segregated park. Photograph by A. Aubrey Bodine, August 1953.

Maryland Center for History and Culture, H. Furlong Baldwin Library, Baltimore City Life Museum Photograph Collection, A. Aubrey Bodine Collection, B1283-1



Lonesome after Brown

On May 17, 1954, the US Supreme Court overturned the legal precedent of “separate but equal” in *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. This watershed moment in American legal history provided the NAACP legal team with a new basis for arguing against the segregated facilities at Sandy Point. Within two weeks of the *Brown* ruling, on May 28, the same plaintiffs and their legal team of Koger Jr., Dearing, and Greenberg filed a second lawsuit in Federal District Court. This time, the case was heard alongside *Dawson v. Mayor*, a case involving segregated facilities in Fort Smallwood park, a Baltimore City-managed park in Anne Arundel County, as well as *Isaacs v. Mayor*, a case involving segregated public swimming pools in Baltimore City. Like before, the lawsuit was brought against Joseph Kaylor, Joseph Henderson, and the Commission of State Forests and Parks. The commission’s membership, however, had

changed. It was now chaired by R. Brooke Maxwell. Peverley, the previous commission chair, had not been reappointed. The commission's membership was now composed entirely of McKeldin appointees, though many members, including Hoffman, Lankford, and Lord, were long-time appointees who had served under previous administrations. Maxwell was a familiar face to the Baltimore chapter of the NAACP. Hired as Baltimore's first city forester in 1913, Maxwell had been tied to Baltimore City's Department of Recreation and Parks for decades. He served as Director of Baltimore's Department of Recreation and Parks from 1945 to 1959, while simultaneously serving as chairman of the Commission of State Forests and Parks starting in 1953. Similar to Kaylor and Henderson, Maxwell in Baltimore had served in a position where he enforced the segregation policies of a semi-autonomous independent board.⁵¹

Thanks to *Brown v. Board of Education*, the legal landscape had been transformed. This time around, the NAACP legal team conceded that the facilities in the East and South Beach areas were substantially equal. This round hinged on whether simply maintaining facilities segregated by race made them inherently unequal, and thus were a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. The second case's hearing was held on June 22, 1954. The complainants' legal team argued that the existence of the segregated facilities was a violation of their clients' constitutional rights. With Chesnut retired, President Dwight D. Eisenhower had appointed Judge Roszel Cathcart Thomsen to a seat on the US District Court for the District of Maryland in March 1954.

During the trial, the state argued that *Brown* only applied to educational institutions, and that it was the state's legal right to impose segregation in order to prevent "disorder." Assistant Attorney General Parker stated "Now, I think there is no dispute . . . that this Department felt that it is necessary to do this because they might fear there might be some disorder or something of that sort, but of course there is no statute requiring it, and I don't believe there is anything to prevent them from requiring segregation other than in the public schools." Parker stated that there were no segregated facilities managed by the DF&P outside of Sandy Point's East Beach area. "The other State Parks are operated on a free-for-all basis." This, of course, was not true. The NAACP lawyers, however, did not challenge Parker on this claim and Judge Thomsen took him at his word, and this was reflected in his opinion.⁵²

On July 27, Thomsen surprised many by ruling in favor of the state and dismissing the NAACP's case. In a lengthy opinion in which he laboriously revisited many previous rulings, he determined that *Brown* had only applied to educational institutions, and that segregation at recreational facilities, if they were "equal," could continue. Thomsen wrote, "*Brown v. Board of Education* did not expressly overrule all of *Plessy v. Ferguson* nor say that the 'separate but equal' doctrine may not be applied in the fields of transportation or recreation." In his view, "*Boyer v. Garrett* is still the law of this circuit," and "neither the Supreme Court nor the Fourth Circuit has held that the objectives sought to be attained by the regulations in these cases are not proper governmental objectives sufficient to justify the segregation of the races at public beaches,



FIGURE 9.
A 1954 publicity
photograph showing
the wide and sandy
"whites only" South
Beach.

Courtesy of the
Baltimore Sun

bath houses and swimming pools, provided the regulations are reasonable and the facilities inherently as well as physically equal."⁵³

Thomsen further stated that African Americans were content with segregation in Maryland. "At the present stage of social development in the State of Maryland, most (but not all) Negroes are more relaxed and feel more at home among members of their own race than in a mixed group of Negroes and whites; the same is true of whites. I have never heard this statement denied, and it was not denied by counsel for plaintiffs at the hearing in this case." It is unclear how Judge Thomsen concluded that most African Americans felt "more at home among members of their own race." Nevertheless, he praised the state's progress in bringing down many barriers imposed by segregation. "The State of Maryland and its citizens have steadily broadened the permissible and customary fields of interracial activities." He went on to cite the state's ending of segregation in public transportation in 1951 and several examples in primary, secondary, and higher education. Moreover, Thomsen felt that the state's fear of racial violence was justified. "The degree of racial feeling or prejudice in this State at this time is probably higher with respect to bathing, swimming and dancing than with any other interpersonal relations except direct sexual relations."⁵⁴

The *Afro-American* ridiculed Thomsen's opinion by questioning his ability to understand the English language. Comparing Thomsen's ruling with the Supreme Court's ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the *Afro-American* noted that "Chief Justice Earl Warren, using language an eighth grade child could understand, took only 11 pages to write the decision abolishing segregation in public education. Newly appointed Judge Roszel C. Thomsen, in an effort to narrow that historic May 17 decision, takes 31 pages of tortured, legalistic verbiage to conclude that the doctrine of 'separate but equal' still applies to public recreation. But the more he unwinds it, the more he winds it up."⁵⁵

In December 1954, the NAACP appealed to the Richmond Federal Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit to overturn Judge Thomsen's ruling, arguing that continued segregation at Sandy Point was based on the now discredited "separate by equal" doctrine. During this phase of the trial, Robert L. Carter and Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP LDF joined the appellants' legal team, with Carter making oral arguments before the court (with Koger Jr. and Dearing) and Marshall coauthoring legal briefs. Assistant Attorney Parker and Assistant City Solicitor Francis X. Gallagher made oral arguments on behalf of a lengthy list of state and city attorneys and representatives, including Attorney General C. Ferdinand Sybert and City Solicitor Thomas N. Biddison. Arguments before the US Appellate Court were held on January 13 in Charlotte, North Carolina.⁵⁶

On March 14, 1955, the three-judge panel of John J. Parker, Morris Ames Soper, and Armistead Mason Dobie (who had previously upheld "separate but equal" in *Boyer v. Garrett*), ruled in favor of the NAACP. The tribunal stated that it is "obvious that racial segregation in recreational activities can no longer be sustained as a proper exercise of the police power of the state" and "that segregation cannot be justified as a means to preserve the public peace merely because the tangible facilities furnished to one race are equal to those furnished to the other." State Senator Harry A. Cole, the first African American elected to the body, said "The court has taken another step toward making democracy a living and active working doctrine and as such goes farther toward stemming the tide of communism in this country. The significance of this decision can be felt with ease by its speedy implementation." Conversely, Edgar A. Kalb, owner of several private beaches on the Chesapeake Bay, encouraged the Maryland General Assembly to pass legislation exempting private beaches from the court's ruling.⁵⁷

Both the state of Maryland and the city of Baltimore then appealed to the US Supreme Court. This allowed the state to continue to operate Sandy Point as a segregated park during the summer of 1955. Meanwhile, a proposal to sell Sandy Point State Park to a private entity, which had initially been floated by State Senate Finance Committee Chairman Louis Goldstein in April 1953, quietly went nowhere in committee. Goldstein stated that his intention to sell the park was to provide additional revenue for the state. It is unclear if he was motivated by the segregation issue, or if he was seeking to appease private beach operators who opposed the state operating a competing beach.⁵⁸

In a brief jointly filed by the Maryland Attorney General, Baltimore City Solicitor, and others, they stated (rather indignantly) that *Brown v. the Board of Education* and

similar cases have “furnished a springboard from which attacks have been launched upon other areas of state and municipal action not fairly within this court’s decision,” and “it is submitted that in vital and sensitive areas such as that involved in the present case, state officers should not be left to grope and wonder as to the scope and application of this court’s decision.” In echoing language used by Judge Thomsen, they argued that segregated facilities were “in accordance with the long-standing policy which has existed in the State of Maryland that separation of races is normal treatment in the State,” and that “the feeling and emotion in the State of Maryland . . . run higher in inter-mixing of races in bathing facilities than possibly any other field of human relations except miscegenation.”⁵⁹

The Supreme Court refused to hear the defendants’ appeal; on November 7, 1955, it unanimously affirmed without comment the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals’ ruling. This affirmation, coupled with a similar ruling from the Fifth Circuit regarding golf courses in Atlanta (*Holmes v. The City of Atlanta*) and several subsequent federal cases that followed in short order, effectively ended legalized segregation on public beaches and in public parks in the United States. This was one of the first instances in which the court applied *Brown* outside the field of education. Lillie May Jackson stated, “We are as happy as can be.” Governor McKeldin, who had not been willing to pressure either the Commission or Department of Forests and Parks to desegregate Sandy Point, now openly stated that he saw no reason why the state should not go along with the Supreme Court’s ruling. “Officials of the State of Maryland have never to my knowledge questioned the supremacy of the United States Constitution or the interpretations of that document by the Supreme Court of the United States. I see no reason to do so now.” The *Washington Post* noted that “It should have been obvious from the time that the Fourteenth Amendment became part of the Constitution. The final recognition erases an ugly stain from the American escutcheon.” The Baltimore City Board of Recreation and Parks voted unanimously to end segregation at its facilities eleven days later. The Commission of State Forests and Parks voted the same with one abstention on November 29, adopting the motion “to accept for immediate implementation the directive of the Supreme Court in respect to integration in State parks.”⁶⁰

Desegregation and Afterward

Since the Supreme Court’s decision was handed down in November 1955, DF&P officials hid behind the technicality of not having an official policy on race during the off-season. Therefore, Sandy Point was officially desegregated when the beach and bathing facilities officially opened on Memorial Day 1956. That day, a few Black patrons were reported to have utilized the South Beach without incident. Belying experiences elsewhere, no racially motivated incidents were reported that day or subsequently, proving that the fears of racial violence were, at least in this instance, unfounded. However, concerns about the park becoming largely a “Black beach” were realized. Prior to desegregation, only eight percent of the park’s patrons were Black. After integration, both



FIGURE 10. Lillie May Carroll Jackson, President of the Baltimore chapter of the NAACP, congratulates Linwood Koger Jr. after Judge Calvin Chesnut issued a preliminary injunction June 4, 1953. Also pictured, from left to right, are lawyers Jack Greenberg and Tucker Dearing, witness Dr. Roscoe Brown of New York University, and plaintiffs Bowen Jackson and Beatrice Martin. Published in the *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 13, 1953. Courtesy of the Afro-American Newspapers Archives

park beaches developed a reputation for being “Black beaches.” Agency photos of the South Beach taken in July 1960 and July 1970 support this contention, yet a survey conducted by Maryland DNR in the mid-1970s showed that only about half of the park’s visitation was, indeed, Black. This visitation breakdown, however, failed to distinguish between beach visitors and recreational boaters. Former Maryland State Forest and Park Superintendent Rick Barton, who directed Maryland State Parks from 1990 to 2007, was employed at Sandy Point in the summer of 1977. He stated to the author in an informal interview that most beach visitors were dark-skinned, if not Black, and most recreational boaters were white. “I was asked several times that summer ‘what beach is the white beach?’ and my response was always that the sand is the same color on all Sandy Point beaches.” This trend is consistent with park visitation trends in Baltimore City parks, many of which saw white visitation decline “almost to the vanishing point” after desegregation. It appears that the same racism that drove suburban “white flight” also influenced Sandy Point’s visitation pattern in this period.⁶¹

Like Maryland, the former border states of Kentucky and West Virginia desegregated their parks immediately in the wake of the *Lonesome* ruling. This, however, stood in contrast to the states in the former Confederacy. Taking their cue from *Brown II*, these states interpreted “with all deliberate speed” as a justification for desegregating “gradually,” and continued to operate strictly segregated state park systems. Similar

legal cases were held in federal court over two other state parks, Seashore State Park in Virginia and Edisto State Park in South Carolina, shortly after the Appellate Court had ruled in favor of the NAACP in April 1955. Anticipating a similar verdict, both parks were closed for several years. Georgia attempted to get around *Lonesome* by turning several parks over to private concessionaires to get around being “public.” It was not until the early 1960s, particularly in the wake of another legal case, *Watson v. City of Memphis* in 1963, that most Southern states began to quietly desegregate their parks. Despite segregationists routinely citing fears of unrest and violence as a justification for maintaining segregation, there were relatively few racially driven confrontations following the desegregation of each state park system.⁶²

Maryland’s DF&P complied with the Supreme Court’s ruling, largely without comment. Not only did period agency publications fail to acknowledge the significance of this historic moment, they also failed to mention the segregation issue at all. Amidst celebrating the DF&P’s fiftieth anniversary and Fort Frederick’s 200th, the agency’s newsletter, *The Old Line Acorn*, focused on painting an uplifting picture of the agency’s history, including welcoming long-time segregation advocate Robert

FIGURE 11. After Sandy Point State Park was desegregated in 1956, African Americans flocked to the South Beach, as shown here in this June 30, 1961, photograph by Earl Mentzer. Courtesy of the Maryland Department of Natural Resources, Maryland Conservation Agency Museum, Offutt Johnson Collection



Garrett. Only the opening of Sandy Point's boating lake (Mezick Pond), along with the park hosting the agency's company picnic in July, merited any mention in the departmental newsletter. The same was true of the Board of Natural Resources annual reports in 1956 and 1957.⁶³

Meanwhile, after being forced to coordinate with other agencies and contractors to design and build their parks, the DF&P leadership sought a partial remedy by hiring its first true park professional, William R. Hall, as superintendent of state parks, in 1954. Hall, a landscape architect and a veteran of the Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission, did not last long—resigning abruptly two years later. This left the DF&P to plod along for several more years with mostly professionally trained and educated foresters in its leadership and field ranks. The foresters proved adept at acquiring forest and park acreage, but they made no further attempts to develop or build another park on the scale of Sandy Point. It was not until 1964, when Spencer P. Ellis, a trained landscape architect, took the director's reins that the DF&P truly acquired the capacity to design and develop parks in-house. As if to make up for lost time, several parks on the scale of Sandy Point were planned and developed between 1964 and the early 1970s. Because nearly all developed park areas were built before or after the DF&P's segregation policy, only Patapsco and Sandy Point retain any remnants of formerly segregated facilities. Thanks to the efforts of the NAACP, all the segregated park facilities illustrated in the 1952 *Master Plan* never came to pass.

In the mid-1970s, DNR's Capital Programs Administration made plans to rebuild much of Sandy Point's developed facilities. The park had changed little since 1953, save for a new picnic area, the addition of a public boat launch in 1960, and the closing of the correctional camp in 1966. A detailed *Master Plan for Sandy Point State Park in Anne Arundel County, Maryland*, published in December 1975, called for replacing the bathhouses and boating facilities, building larger paved parking lots, and introducing pavilions, ballfields, playgrounds, and a youth-group camping area. These plans were carried out as funding allowed between the late 1970s and early 1990s. True to form, the new park *Master Plan* made no mention of the park's segregated past, and because the park's original structures were not considered historic at the time, no effort was made to preserve them. Today, the two original beaches remain, but no traces of the controversial bathhouses are visible. Only the water-treatment plant and the water tower survive from the original park, though several older pre-park structures, including the early nineteenth-century plantation house, still stand. The original jetties, key to holding the tons of sand trucked onto the East Beach during its June–July 1953 closure, were built sometime between 1953 and 1957, but replaced in the early 1970s. However, the Hilton Area at Patapsco Valley State Park still retains much of its 1950s' appearance. The area's main pavilion, Shelter 201, still stands and is still rented out to the public, though most visitors are likely oblivious of its segregated origins.⁶⁴

Maryland, one of the last states to create purpose-built segregated facilities in its state parks, proved to be the catalyst that ended the practice nationwide. *Lonesome v.*

Maxwell and its sister cases (*Dawson v. Mayor* and *Isaacs v. Mayor*) provided the legal basis for ending legalized racial segregation in public parks and beaches across the United States. A segregation policy driven by fear of racial conflict proved unnecessary, though large volumes of Black beachgoers compelled many white, middle-class patrons to stay away. Just as the DF&P rarely made comments about its segregation policy during segregation, its officials completely avoided the subject afterward. This relatively peaceful desegregation story at Sandy Point of course belies the challenges and staunch (and sometimes violent) resistance civil rights advocates faced on other fronts in the years that followed.

NOTES

1. *Master Plan: Maryland State Parks and Recreation Areas* (Baltimore: Maryland State Planning Commission, March 1952), vii.
2. For a more nuanced discussion on “color-blind” racism, see Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2022); Maryland State Planning Commission, *Master Plan*, 59, 61–62, 64; David Hackett Fisher, “The Maryland Design: Toward the Cultural History of a Border State,” *Becoming Southern Writers: Essays in Honor of Charles Joyner*, eds. Vernon Burton and Eldred E. Prince (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2016), 96. Fischer’s essay attempts to explain and contextualize Maryland’s border state status as a place where extremes were often (though not always) able to coexist.
3. Letter from Joseph F. Kaylor, DF&P Director, to Hall Hammond, Attorney General (September 22, 1952) (on file with the US District Court for the District of Maryland). Letter was presented as “Exhibit 1” at the first trial, *Lonesome v. Maxwell*, on June 2, 1953. It was read verbatim in the trial proceedings by W. Giles Parker, pp. 27 and 68 and the letter was filed as evidence. See *Lonesome v. Maxwell*, 123 F. Supp. 193, 27/68, Civ. No. 5965 (4th Cir. 1954).
4. Sybert et al., Jurisdictional Statement at 18, in *Mayor and City Council of Baltimore City v. Dawson*, and *Maxwell v. Lonesome*, 220 F.2d 386 (4th Cir. 1955) (No. 232); V. P. Franklin, “Introduction: *Brown v. Board of Education*: Fifty Years of Educational Change in the United States,” *The Journal of African American History* 90, no. 1–2 (Winter/Spring 2005): 3–4.
5. Patapsco State Park was renamed Patapsco Valley State Park in 1975. In this article, the park will be referred to by its historic name: Patapsco State Park; Initially the defendant in *Lonesome v. Maxwell* was identified as *Peeverley* (*Lonesome v. Peeverley*). However, the defendant’s identity was tied to the chairman of the Commission of State Forests and Parks, which changed from Sydney D. Peeverley to R. Brooke Maxwell in late 1953. Therefore, for the sake of simplicity and to avoid confusion, the case is referred to as *Lonesome v. Maxwell* throughout this narrative and in all citations.
6. Virginia W. Wolcott, *Race, Riots, and Roller Coasters: The Struggle over Segregated Recreation in America* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Sara Patenaude, “Playing Fair: The Fight for Interracial Athletics in Baltimore,” *Maryland Historical Magazine* 107, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 175–202; James E. Wells, Geoffrey L. Buckley, and Christopher G. Boone, “Separate but Equal? Desegregating Baltimore’s Golf Courses,” *Geographical Review* 98, no. 2 (April 2008): 151–170. *Dawson v. Mayor and City Council of Baltimore* is thoroughly discussed in Patenaude’s “Playing Fair”; William E. O’Brien, *Landscape of Exclusion: State Parks and Jim Crow in the American South* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016), 130–131, 133.

7. Patapsco State Park was founded as a state forest reserve in 1907. It is generally considered Maryland's first unofficial state park. Located southwest of Baltimore City along the main branch of the Patapsco River, the forest reserve grew into a "park" frequented by urban middle-class whites in the early decades of the twentieth century. To learn more about the park's early period, see Geoffrey L. Buckley, Robert F. Bailey, and J. Morgan Grove, "The Patapsco Forest Reserve: Establishing a 'City Park' for Baltimore, 1907–1941," *Historical Geography* 34 (January 2006): 87–108; Patenaude, "Playing Fair," 188; *The Old Line Acorn*, March 1956.
8. Robert F. Bailey, *Maryland's Forests and Parks: A Century of Progress* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2006), 19. The most complete biography of Fred W. Besley can be found in Geoffrey L. Buckley's *America's Conservation Impulse, A Century of Saving Trees in the Old Line State* (Chicago, IL: The Center for American Places at Columbia College Chicago, 2010). This work also covers the career of R. Brooke Maxwell.
9. Most of the Board of Forestry's pre-1919 photograph collection was lost in a fire, when the original McCoy Hall burned at the old Johns Hopkins University campus in November 1919; A photograph of a Black man sipping coffee with his white coworkers during lunch hour at employment relief operations in Patapsco State Forest (December 1932) can be viewed at the Maryland State Archives: MSA SC 3933-1-324 Besley-Pfiefer Photograph Collection, 1932, 33/02/04/17.
10. O'Brien, *Landscape of Exclusion*, 44–45. It should be noted that when the segregated federal Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) program arrived in Maryland in 1933, all the camps that served on Department of Forestry land were white except for camps in Cedarville and Doncaster State Forests in Southern Maryland, where the sight of African American young men working in large groups (or "gangs") would not have concerned the local white population. In Maryland, the CCC leadership placed some African American camps on federal-managed lands, such as near Carderock on the future C&O Canal National Historical Park. Colleen Esther Walter also noted that at least two African American companies were stationed in Western Maryland in 1936–37 and 1941. See Colleen Esther Walter, "Conserving Memory: The Civilian Conservation Corps in Western Maryland," (unpublished master's thesis, University of Maryland, Baltimore County, 2011), 75–76, 84–85. For more on African Americans in the CCC, see John A. Salmond, "The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Negro," *The Journal of American History* 52, no. 1 (June 1965): 75–88; According to 1940 federal census data, the Black population in Allegany, Garrett, and Washington Counties stood at 1.5 percent, <0.1 percent, and 2.6 percent respectively. Only Frederick County, home to Gambrill State Park and part of Washington Monument State Park, had a substantial Black population, which still only accounted for 8.2 percent. This stood in stark contrast to Worcester County, site of the Milburne Forest Recreation Area, where the Black population stood at 31.4 percent; There were 15 total CCC camps on State Forest land during the New Deal, however, many were primarily focused on forest conservation projects. This was particularly true of the camps at Cedarville and Doncaster; O'Brien, *Landscape of Exclusion*, 45.
11. The relationship between segregation and the civil rights movement in Maryland is thoroughly discussed in C. Fraser Smith's *Here Lies Jim Crow: Civil Rights in Maryland* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008); George H. Callcott, *Maryland and America, 1940 to 1980* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985) is also informative; In 1947, the first year that statistics are available for individual state forest and parks, 297, 425 people visited Patapsco State Park. Therefore, Patapsco alone accounted for 45 percent of overall Maryland State Forest and Park visitation of 658,047. *Maryland Board of Natural Resources, Fifth Annual Report*, 1948, 88; "Scout Leaders' Study Courses Set Saturday," *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 8,

1940. The article discusses a Boy Scout group holding an event at the Patapsco State Forest Reserve. Though the racial identity of the scout group is not identified, it can be assumed that since the article was published in the *Baltimore Afro-American*, the scouts were African American.
12. Melvin E. Scheidt and Karl E. Pfeiffer, *Supplemental Report on the Selection of a Site for a Bayside State Park* (Baltimore, MD: Maryland State Planning Commission, 1945), 20.
 13. The most comprehensive history of private Black beaches is Andrew W. Karhl, *The Land was Ours: African American Beaches from Jim Crow to the Sunbelt South* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012). Beaches specific to the Chesapeake Bay region have been covered by many local histories, most notably by Patsy Mose Fletcher in *Historically African American Leisure Destinations around Washington, DC* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2015).
 14. The effort to establish a bayside park in Calvert County is documented in *Maryland Board of Natural Resources, Fifth Annual Report*, 1948.
 15. "Development of Park Is Pictured by Labrot," *Baltimore Sun*, July 12, 1948; "State Action Expected on Labrot Park Site," *Baltimore Evening Sun*, August 31, 1948; "State to Buy Site for Bayside Park," *Baltimore Sun*, January 25, 1949; Anne Arundel Circuit Court (Land Records): 1949-1949, JHH 526, p. 0006-12, MSA CE 59-870; "W. H. Labrot Dies of Heart Attack," *Miami News*, April 2, 1949.
 16. "Maryland Acts to Get Labrot Tract Option," *Washington Post*, June 30, 1948; "Coney Island on the Bay," *Baltimore Sun*, October 2, 1949; "Sandy Pt. State Park Project Hits New Hurdle," *Baltimore Sun*, January 7, 1949; "\$16,373 Bond Issue Is Asked by Lane," *Frederick News*, March 16, 1949.
 17. "Coney Island on the Bay," *Baltimore Sun*, October 2, 1949; According to an article in the October 2, 1949, edition of the *Baltimore Sun* ("Coney Island on the Bay"), incarcerated laborers initially traveled daily from Solomons Island before a permanent camp was constructed. The correctional camp at Sandy Point operated from 1949 until 1966. It was located west of the East Beach in the present-day Youth Group area. These camps were used to "depressurize" incarcerated persons nearing the end of their sentences prior to their release. The incarcerated were hired out to local farms and businesses or other government agencies, where they were encouraged to learn new skills, such as how to operate intricate machinery. It is unclear if the incarcerated laborers were ever assigned to work at Sandy Point State Park after the park officially opened. DF&P leadership frequently lobbied for the camp to be removed, and the Department of Corrections complied in 1966. Interestingly, the "temporary" correctional buildings proved long-lived, as the park frugally converted them into office space and concession storage. The buildings served in this capacity into the 1990s. After a new office building was built, the former prison barracks were finally razed in about 2000, having served the park for twice as long as they had served the Department of Corrections; "Sandy Point Park Visitors Exceed 600 Despite Weather," *Baltimore Sun*, August 20, 1951; "State Opposing Park Injunction," *Baltimore Sun*, September 24, 1952.
 18. Scheidt and Pfeiffer, *Site of a Bayside State Park*, 2-3; "Coney Island on the Bay," *Baltimore Sun*, October 2, 1949.
 19. "Bayside Park," *Baltimore Sun*, March 28, 1950; Letter from Joseph F. Kaylor, DF&P Director, to Hall Hammond, Attorney General (September 22, 1952) (on file with the US District Court for the District of Maryland). Letter was presented as "Exhibit 1" at the first trial, *Lonesome v. Maxwell*, on June 2, 1953. It was read verbatim in the trial proceedings by W. Giles Parker, and the letter was filed as evidence. See *Lonesome v. Maxwell*, 123 F. Supp. 193, 27/68, Civ. No. 5965 (4th Cir. 1954).

20. Department of Public Improvements, *Maryland Builds: Report of the Department of Public Improvements of the State of Maryland, for the period of January 1, 1953 to December 31, 1954* (Baltimore, MD: State of Maryland, January 1955), 77, 89, 96, 104.
21. "Practice at Patapsco Park Belies Free Racial Policy," *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 8, 1950.
22. "Md. State Parks Open to All," *Baltimore Afro-American*, September 8, 1951.
23. *Maryland Manual, 1951-52* (Baltimore, MD: Hall of Records Commission of the State of Maryland): 76; Letter from Kaylor to Hammond (Sept. 22, 1952).
24. Wolcott, *Race, Riots, and Rollercoasters*, 77-87.
25. Juanita Jackson Mitchell and Virginia Jackson Kiah, audio interview by Charles Wagandt, January 10, 1976, OH 8097 McKeldin-Jackson Project, Oral Histories Collection, H. Furlong Baldwin Library, Maryland Center for History and Culture, Baltimore, MD, mdhistory.org/resources/juanita-jackson-mitchell-and-virginia-jackson-kiah-interview-1976.
26. "Ask State to Halt Beach Construction," *Baltimore Afro-American*, February 22, 1952; Callcott, *Maryland and America*, 150; Smith, *Here Lies Jim Crow*, 100-112.
27. *Annual Report of the Commission of Interracial Problems*, (January 1953), 18-19. In an undated and unattributed statement, which appears to summarize an exchange at the hearing between Assistant Attorney General W. Giles Parker, NAACP lawyer Linwood G. Koger Jr., and Commission of State Forests and Parks Chairman Sydney D. Peverley, Peverley states that the commission had passed a resolution on a segregated basis and that he doubted the policy would change. This summary is in Governor McKeldin's general files at the Maryland State Archives, MSA S1041-1231.
28. Hall Hammond and Robert M. Thomas' answer to complaint in Appendix to Brief for Appellants at 26a, *Dawson v. Mayor and City Council of Baltimore City* (No. 6903, and *Lonesome v. Maxwell* (No. 6904), 220 F. 2d 386 (4th Cir. 1955).
29. "Md. Masons Open War on Jim Crow," *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 12, 1952.
30. "Governor McKeldin Dedicates New Sandy Point State Park," *Baltimore Sun*, June 26, 1952; Koger Jr. and Dearing's answer to complaint in Appendix to Brief for Appellants at 21a-22a, *Dawson v. Mayor* (No. 6904); Juanita Mitchell Affidavit, *Lonesome v. Maxwell*, August 8, 1952, 4/17, Civ. No. 5965 (4th Cir. 1954).
31. Statistics provided by Park Superintendent Joseph Henderson in the court proceedings on *Lonesome v. Maxwell*, June 2, 1953. See *Lonesome v. Maxwell*, 123 F. Supp. 193, 46/87, Civ. No. 5965 (4th Cir. 1954); "The Dark Days," *Annapolis Capital*, February 28, 1988.
32. State Planning Commission, *Development Plan for the Patapsco River Valley Park* (Baltimore, MD: Maryland State Planning Commission, October 1950), 10.
33. Board of Natural Resources, *Annual Report, Maryland Board of Natural Resources* (1954), 81.
34. *Annual Report of the Commission of Interracial Problems and Relations to the Governor and General Assembly of Maryland* (January 1954), 31.
35. "Beach Areas Held Unequal," *Baltimore Sun*, August 9, 1952; Patenaude, "Playing Fair," 193. The story of segregation in Baltimore City parks is further discussed in James E. Wells et al., "Separate but Equal": 151-170.
36. Callcott, *Maryland and America*, 146-148; "Rights Warrior Honored," and "Juanita Jackson Mitchell and the Civil Rights Dynasty," *Baltimore Sun*, July 12, 1992; *Minutes of the 13th Annual Meeting of the Association of Southeastern State Park Directors*, October 14, 1954, 12. Georgia Archives, Directors Subject File, 030-0-011, Box 1, Accession 2988-01.
37. "Beach Areas Held Unequal," *Baltimore Sun*, August 9, 1952; "NAACP Asks Race Ban End at

- Sandy Point,” *Washington Post*, August 10, 1952. Several newspaper accounts inaccurately reported the Department of Forest & Parks as defendant, when in fact it was the Commission of State Forests and Parks. *Maryland Manual*, 1951–52: 76; Joseph Henderson obituary, *Baltimore Sun*, May 24, 2015; “Of Anne Arundel Aquatics, She Gives Them the Ride Back,” *Baltimore Sun*, August 10, 1953; “Chairman Named,” *Baltimore Evening Sun*, December 21, 1949.
38. Appendix to Brief for Appellants, Opinion of Judge Chesnut at 32a, *Dawson v. Mayor and City Council of Baltimore City* (No. 6903), and *Lonesome v. Maxwell* (No. 6904), 220 F. 2d 386 (4th Cir. 1955); Patenaude, “Playing Fair,” 190, 193; “State Must Defend Sandy Point Policy,” *Baltimore Afro-American*, September 20, 1952.
 39. “State Gets More Time on Segregation Suit” *Baltimore Sun*, September 19, 1953; “State Opposing Park Injunction,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 24, 1952; Appendix to Appellants’ Brief, Hammond Thomas, 26a–28a.
 40. “Judge Chesnut’s Order Abolishes Separate Beaches,” *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 13, 1953.
 41. Juanita Jackson Mitchell and Virginia Jackson Kiah, audio interview by Charles Wagandt, January 10, 1976, OH 8097 McKeldin-Jackson Project, Oral Histories Collection, H. Furlong Baldwin Library, Maryland Center for History and Culture, Baltimore, MD, mdhistory.org/resources/juanita-jackson-mitchell-and-virginia-jackson-kiah-interview-1976.
 42. “Sandy Point Park Opening Set Saturday, Week Early,” *Washington Post*, May 21, 1953; *The Old Line Acorn*, June 1953.
 43. Appendix to Brief for Appellants, Opinion of Judge Chesnut at 29a–30a, *Dawson v. Mayor and City Council of Baltimore City* (No. 6903), and *Lonesome v. Maxwell* (No. 6904), 220 F. 2d 386 (4th Cir. 1955); “Judge Chesnut’s Order Abolishes Separate Beaches,” *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 13, 1953.
 44. “Sandy Point Report Asked by McKeldin,” *Washington Post*, June 5, 1953; Gilbert Banfield et al. to Theodore R. McKeldin, June 3, 1953. Letter on file in the Maryland State Archives, Special Collections, sc5458-58-10068.
 45. McKeldin to Meredith W. Badger, June 12, 1953. Letter on file in the Maryland State Archives, Special Collections, sc5458-58-10068; Judge John R. Hargrove in Smith, *Here Lies Jim Crow*, 198.
 46. “Sandy Point Park Closed Indefinitely by Sewer Trouble,” *Baltimore Sun*, June 6, 1953; “Guards at Sandy Point Turn Hundreds away from Park,” *Baltimore Sun*, June 8, 1953.
 47. Nathan L. Smith to McKeldin, June 10, 1953. Letter on file in the Maryland State Archives, Special Collections, sc5458-58-10068; Department of Public Improvements, *Maryland Builds*, 96. According to the DPI annual report, \$99,501.12 was expended for “Additional funds for completion of bath-houses and beach improvements,” and \$64,262.45 was expended for “Constructing parking areas”; Wells et al., “Separate but Equal”: 159.
 48. *The Old Line Acorn*, June 1953; During his testimony and cross examination at the July 7, 1953 hearing, Garrett O. Billmire of the Department of Public Improvements noted that Governor McKeldin had personally visited the park on July 3. But see trial minutes (July 7, 1953), *Lonesome v. Maxwell*, 123 F. Supp. 193, 17/138, Civ. No. 5965 (4th Cir. 1954); “State Holds Out for Jim Crow Beach,” *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 11, 1953.
 49. “State Holds Out for Jim Crow Beach,” *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 11, 1953.
 50. During his testimony and cross examination at the July 7, 1953, hearing, Billmire noted that the jetties would be built in the fall of 1953. But see trial minutes, *Lonesome v. Maxwell*, 123 F. Supp. 193, 22/145, Civ. No. 5965 (4th Cir. 1954); Appendix to Brief for Appellants, Opinion of Judge Chesnut at 31a, *Dawson v. Mayor and City Council of Baltimore City* (No. 6903); and

- Lonesome v. Maxwell* (No. 6904), 220 F. 2d 386 (4th Cir. 1955); Trial minutes (July 9, 1953), *Lonesome v. Maxwell*, 123 F. Supp. 193, 97–98/218–219, 100–101/221–222, Civ. No. 5965 (4th Cir. 1954); “Judge Orders Reopening of Sandy Point,” *Washington Post*, July 10, 1953.
51. “Sandy Point Segregation Ban Sought,” *Baltimore Sun*, May 29, 1954; Paul D. Naylor, along with Maxwell, were the only new commission members. *Maryland Manual*, 1955–56 (Baltimore: Hall of Record Commission of the State of Maryland, 1955): 82.
 52. Appendix to Brief for Appellants, Excerpts from Transcripts and Proceedings at 41a–42a, *Dawson v. Mayor and City Council of Baltimore City* (No. 6903), and *Lonesome v. Maxwell* (No. 6904), 220 F. 2d 386 (4th Cir. 1955).
 53. Opinion of Judge Thomsen at 34, 41, *Mayor and City Council of Baltimore City v. Dawson*, and *Maxwell v. Lonesome*, 220 F.2d 386 (4th Cir. 1955) (No. 232).
 54. *Ibid.*, 40–41.
 55. “NAACP to Appeal Thomsen’s Ruling,” *Baltimore Afro-American*, August 7, 1954; “Unconstitutional: How We Took Defeat on Beach Cases Last July,” *Baltimore Afro-American*, March 26, 1955. Also cited in Patenaude, “Playing Fair,” 194.
 56. “Md. Race Ban Challenged in 2 Appeals,” *Washington Post*, December 31, 1954; “U.S. Appeals Court Ends State, City Beach Segregation,” *Baltimore Afro-American*, March 16, 1955.
 57. Opinion of the Appellate Court at 23, in *Mayor and City Council of Baltimore City v. Dawson*, and *Maxwell v. Lonesome*, 220 F.2d 386 (4th Cir. 1955) (No. 232); “Segregation Ruled Out at Beaches,” *Baltimore Sun*, March 15, 1955.
 58. “Delegates Kill Pet Projects Sent Over by State Senators,” *Baltimore Sun*, April 8, 1953; “Sandy Point Won’t Be Sold,” *Baltimore Afro-American*, April 16, 1955.
 59. Sybert et al., Jurisdictional Statement at 12–13, 18, *Mayor and City Council of Baltimore City v. Dawson*, and *Maxwell v. Lonesome*, 220 F.2d 386 (4th Cir. 1955) (No. 232).
 60. O’Brien, *Landscape of Exclusion*, 133; Franklin, “Introduction: Brown v. Board,” 4; *Baltimore Afro-American*, March 5, 2005. The article quotes Larry S. Gibson, Professor of Law at the University of Maryland and author of *Young Thurgood: The Making of a Supreme Court Justice* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2012); “Assent Noted by McKeldin,” *Baltimore Sun*, November 8, 1955; “Equal but Separate,” *Washington Post*, November 9, 1955; “Action Gets Unanimous O.K. Twice,” *Baltimore Sun*, November 19, 1955; “Segregation in Parks Ends,” *Baltimore Sun*, November 30, 1955.
 61. “2 Public Beaches Open First Time on Integrated Basis,” *Baltimore Sun*, May 31, 1956; Maryland Department of Natural Resources, *Master Plan for Sandy Point State Park in Anne Arundel County, Maryland* (December 1975): 9; Wells et al., “Separate but Equal”: 167.
 62. O’Brien, *Landscape of Exclusion*, 108–109, 133–144.
 63. *The Old Line Acorn*, June 1956 and September 1956; Maryland Board of Natural Resources, *Annual Report, Maryland Board of Natural Resources* (1956): 80–103; Maryland Board of Natural Resources, *Annual Report, Maryland Board of Natural Resources* (1957): 86–III.
 64. “Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, Sandy Point State Park,” Maryland Historic Trust, October 2003; The Department of Public Improvements does not list jetty construction as an expense at Sandy Point State Park during any of the years between 1952 and 1960. See Department of Public Improvements, *Maryland Builds*, Annual Reports from this period. Aerial photography in *historicaerials.com* indicates that the jetties were in place by 1957. The *Baltimore Sun* reported on October 13, 1968, that the original jetties had ceased to function properly and would be subsequently replaced.

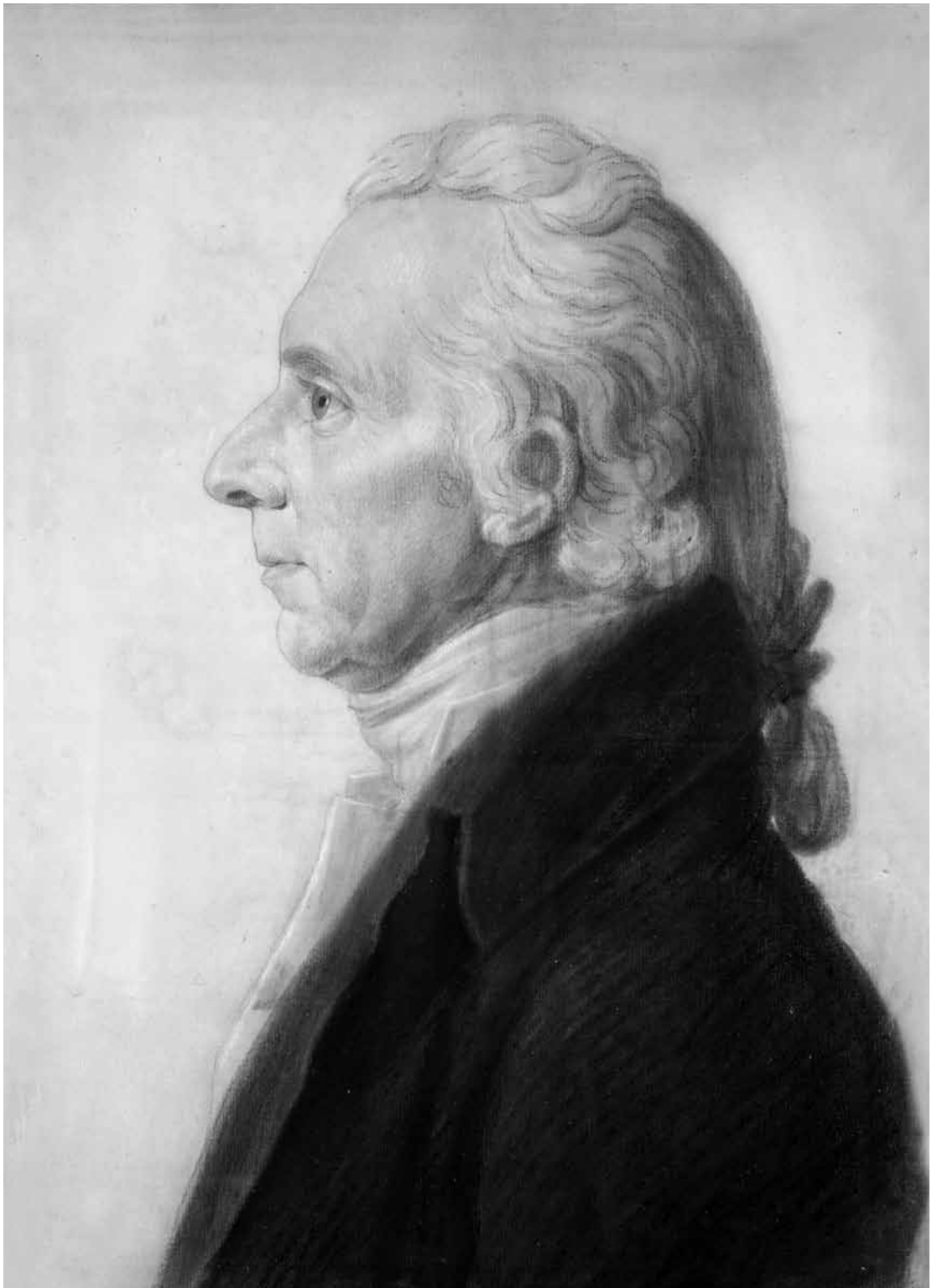


FIGURE 1. *Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, charcoal and white chalk drawing on paper by Charles Charles Balthazar Julien Févret de Saint-Mémin, 1804.

Maryland Center for History and Culture, H. Furlong Baldwin Library, Works on Paper, 1926-8-1

Charles Carroll of Carrollton and the Enslaved Families at Doughoragen Manor in Post-revolutionary Maryland

BY MARY CLEMENT JESKE

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, died peacefully in his sleep on November 14, 1832, at the age of ninety-five. Carroll, patriarch of one of Maryland's wealthiest families and counted among the largest landholders in the state, was the only Catholic signer of the Declaration, a faith that barred the family from participation in the political life of the colony until the American Revolution. During the years following independence, Carroll enjoyed a distinguished political career, serving both in the United States Senate and the Maryland Senate. Although he had retired from politics in 1801, Carroll was not forgotten. Revered locally as Maryland's "first citizen," he was nationally celebrated, especially after the deaths of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson (both on July 4, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the vote to sever America's ties with England), as the last remaining link with "that illustrious race of statesmen, philanthropists and patriots, the founders of American Independence, and the benefactors of the world."¹

At Carroll's death, tributes of respect and honor venerating the memory of Maryland's distinguished first citizen came from all quarters. Maryland's governor ordered a public day of mourning, with flags flown at half-mast and a thirteen-gun salute at sunrise, noon, and sunset. The Baltimore County Court adjourned, and the mayor and City Council of Baltimore adopted a period of mourning to honor the "signal public services and spotless life of the deceased" who had "pledged his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor" to the cause of liberty. In neighboring Pennsylvania, the Select and Common Councils of the city of Philadelphia—"the very spot where Independence

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was declared”—adopted resolutions deploring the Signer’s death as a “public calamity, which breaks asunder the last human tie which bound the republic to that assembly of its fathers.” Carroll’s “long life of honored usefulness” was “proof of the favor of heaven to the nation,” and his “unsullied character and pure example” were a “treasure of inestimable value bequeathed to his grateful countrymen.” In the nation’s capital, President Andrew Jackson announced a day of national mourning, with all government offices to be closed as a mark of the respect to this “monument of our Nation’s birth-day.”²

None of the many tributes to the last Signer mentioned that Carroll, one of the wealthiest men in the country, and perhaps the wealthiest in Maryland, had throughout his long life been the enslaver of hundreds of men, women, and children. In fact, he was one of the largest owners of human property in the state. When he died, Carroll held in bondage more than three hundred fifty persons, all carefully enumerated in the inventory of his personal estate made shortly after his death. The authors of the honors paid the Signer apparently saw no contradiction between the source of his great wealth—enslaved labor—and his contributions to the cause of liberty and equality for the new nation. Nevertheless, Carroll’s son-in-law Richard Caton evidently felt compelled to insert this touchy subject into his reply to the tribute from the Philadelphia Select and Common Councils (which was subsequently printed in the *Baltimore Gazette*) taking the opportunity to mention “one trait of character in the history of Mr. Carroll’s life which is not known generally.” Although he held “many slaves,” Carroll had in fact “bitterly lamented the existence of slavery,” which, in Caton’s telling, “British laws and policy had rooted in Maryland,” a common defense for slavery introduced by Thomas Jefferson as early as 1776 in an enumeration of grievances against the mother country.³

Carroll would “gladly have adopted any means by which the country could have been relieved from the evil, without inflicting a greater one in the attempt.” In fact, Caton claimed, Carroll had in 1797 introduced a bill in the Maryland Senate for the gradual abolition of slavery, though no record of such a bill exists in the Maryland legislative journals. If adopted, the measure “would nearly have extinguished slavery in Maryland” by the time of Carroll’s death, Caton asserted. But “unhappily, the law did not prevail.” Carroll was thus stuck with an institution that he did not create and could not abolish thanks to another familiar defense of slavery: the inherent racial inferiority of enslaved and free Black people.⁴

Somewhat at odds with his supposed abolition proposal, Carroll had never been “an advocate for letting loose on society a race of beings, who nine out of ten, are incapable of providing for themselves . . . and he thought no one had a right to do an evil to society by such a measure.” Caton concluded the exoneration of his father-in-law with yet another classic trope in the annals of American enslavement: he was a kind, benevolent master. Carroll “did all that could be done to the African race whilst in servitude; he had them protected with humanity: and he elevated their characters by



FIGURE 2.
Richard Caton,
son-in-law of Charles
Carroll of Carrollton,
lithograph by Edward
Weber & Company,
1835–1845, based on an
oil on panel by Charles
Volkmar [Wolkmar].

Maryland Center for
History and Culture, H.
Furlong Baldwin Library,
Portrait Vertical File

religious instruction, which was daily administered by persons appointed for that purpose. The children of his colored families were daily congregated and taught their catechism, and received moral instruction.”⁵

There is nothing remarkable in Caton’s defense of his father-in-law, which comprises many of the classic arguments promulgated by the enslaving aristocracy in the decades after the American Revolution in defense of an institution seemingly at odds with the ideals of liberty and equality espoused during the struggle against Great Britain. Like his compatriots, Carroll was supposedly the victim of a system that had been forced on the colonists by the British, a system that many would have preferred to abolish. But they believed that they faced an insurmountable problem in the existence of the large population of Blacks already living among them—about seven hundred fifty thousand enslaved and free in a total population of nearly four million at the time of the first census in 1790, whom they deemed inherently racially inferior and unable to care for themselves. By their reasoning, the enslaved population was incapable of freedom, leaving enslavers no choice but to continue exercising “benevolent authority” over their enslaved “families” in exchange for their labor.⁶

While it is not clear why Caton felt compelled to attempt an exoneration of his father-in-law, as none of the tributes to the deceased Signer even vaguely alluded to his human property, in the long run his efforts proved immensely effective in shaping the narrative put forth by Carroll's early biographers and, indeed, have continued to influence writers grappling with the Signer's legacy well into the twenty-first century. Following Caton's lead, early biographies describe Carroll as a kind, benevolent master who viewed the people he enslaved as "family," treated them well, and had a sincere concern for their welfare. In her two-volume *Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, published in 1898, Kate Mason Rowland describes the loyal enslaved servant "Old Patrick . . . a fine specimen of the courteous, well-bred, kind-hearted, and loyal servant of the house, which the system of domestic slavery in America produced, and which 'emancipation' has banished from the continent." In his 1932 study, Joseph Gurn declared that "if all the slaves in the Southland were treated as well as [Carroll's], there would have been little cause for complaint. His interest in the welfare of the colored folk was as sincere as it could well be, and nothing would have pleased him better than the discovery of some practical method whereby the slaves of America might be set free." To prove his point, Gurn found it "imperative" (and apparently sufficient) to quote Richard Caton's defense of Carroll in its entirety. Ellen Hart Smith further expanded on this theme in 1942, asserting that "ever since he had come into his inheritance he had wanted to set his people free." Carroll was of course not responsible for slavery, Smith noted (again echoing Caton), which had been forced on the colonists by the British king. But as much as he wanted to free the people he enslaved, he knew that "simple abolition would not do" and that it would have been "self-indulgent" to set free a people incapable of caring for themselves.⁷

These studies cite Carroll's supposed bill for the gradual abolition of slavery as evidence of his commitment to that cause. While Carroll did briefly evince some support for gradual abolition (discussed more fully below), there is, as noted above, no evidence for such a bill in the legislative records. As further evidence of Carroll's support for gradual abolition, all of these authors point to his involvement in the American Colonization Society (ACS)—an association that Caton omitted to mention in his vindication of his father-in-law. Caton might not have wished to draw attention to Carroll's support for ACS, an organization viewed with suspicion by enslavers in the Deep South, who feared it harbored abolitionist sympathies. On the other hand, ACS—and Carroll specifically—drew criticism from northern abolitionists, who believed that the true aim of the organization was to protect enslavement by ridding the country of free Blacks.⁸

In any case, while Carroll's name is listed as president of the newly organized and short-lived Maryland auxiliary of the ACS in 1827, and he was elected as second president of the national organization in 1830, both appear to have been strictly figurehead positions. Carroll was ninety when he was named president of the Maryland branch in 1827 and ninety-three when he was chosen president of the ACS in 1830. There is no



FIGURE 3. Doughoragen Manor, drawn and engraved by J. B. Longacre from a painting by Field, n.d. New York Public Library, the Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Print Collection, digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47da-f76f-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99

evidence to document Smith's assertion that he "gave his time and energy without stint" to ACS; and in fact, Carroll never once mentioned the organization in his voluminous correspondence. Furthermore, Carroll's support (however limited or extensive) for the ACS, the aim of which was not anti-slavery or abolition, but the removal of free Blacks to Africa, does not serve as evidence of any commitment to the cause of gradual abolition. While Smith asserts that with the ACS Carroll "saw opening before him the way in which he could free all his own slaves," she fails to explain why he did not then in fact do so.⁹

More recent biographies, such as Scott McDermott's and Bradley Birzer's, are less defensive of Carroll. Making use of Carroll's correspondence, McDermott offers a somewhat fuller view of him as an enslaver. Both he and Birzer note (again relying on Caton) Carroll's supposed introduction of a bill for gradual emancipation, emphasize his support for the ACS, and assert (taking a cue from Smith) that Carroll manumitted many of the people he enslaved. Evidence for the latter comes from Carroll's manumission of a number of people enslaved at Poplar Island, a Carroll property in the Chesapeake Bay, in 1817. While it is true that Carroll did manumit the enslaved at Poplar Island (generally after lengthy additional terms of service), the reasons were complex and not indicative of a general policy followed at other Carroll properties, particularly Doughoragen Manor, where the great majority of those who he enslaved lived and worked.¹⁰

All of these studies contain some elements of truth: Carroll did at one time demonstrate some affinity for gradual abolition; he did manumit some of those he enslaved; and he supported the ACS. However, all of these accounts are woefully incomplete. None situate these events within a broader context or adequately explore the full contours of Carroll's practice of enslavement over time, and all rely heavily on Richard Caton as a primary source of information and of the narrative that they present. Most significantly, none of Carroll's biographers have utilized the extensive corpus of primary source documents relating to the people whom Carroll enslaved over the long, fifty-year course of his tenure as patriarch of the family and lord of the manor. Nor have any earlier biographers attempted to offer even a rudimentary overview of the enslaved population itself, such as how many there were, where they lived, how their lives were organized and how they changed over time, or any insight into the experiences of the hundreds of people who labored for the family during the five decades Carroll ruled supreme.¹¹

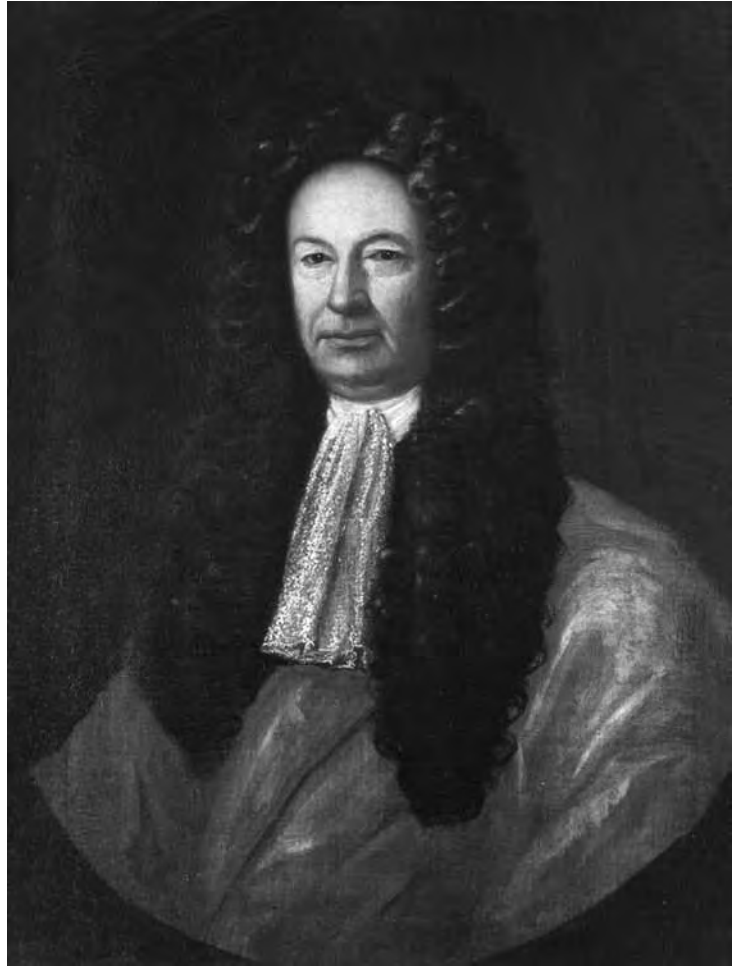
The goal of the present work, then, is to examine all available evidence—Carroll's correspondence and the journal he kept at Doughoragen Manor, his overseers' correspondence, ledgers, and account books, as well as church records and census data pertaining to the hundreds of men, women, and children enslaved by the Carroll family. Utilizing these sources, it has been possible to construct a comprehensive view of enslavement, primarily at Doughoragen Manor, the family's principal plantation, during the years following the Revolutionary War, beginning with Carroll's assumption of his role as patriarch of the family upon the death of his father in 1782 and continuing until his own death fifty years later in 1832.

* * *

In contrast to Caton's successful effort to create a positive narrative of his father-in-law as an enslaver and thereby shape the Signer's legacy, Carroll himself during his lifetime never felt the need to justify or rationalize his ownership of human chattels, nor did he ever seriously question the institution of slavery itself. Carroll may well have "bitterly lamented the existence of slavery," but he nevertheless demonstrated little moral uncertainty or personal conflict about holding hundreds of people in bondage. While Carroll never felt the need to justify his ownership of human property, he no doubt would have agreed with Caton's assessment of himself as a benign, paternalistic master who did the best he could for his "people." The Carrolls prided themselves on the good treatment of the people they enslaved, ensuring that they were adequately fed, clothed, housed, and cared for in what they considered a fair exchange for their labor. Carroll's father, known as Charles Carroll of Annapolis, once asserted that the people he enslaved lived "as well as any Plantation Negroes & [I] think I can safely say no Man in Maryland Can shew in proportion to Our Number, Such likely well looking Slaves." In a similar vein, Carroll of Carrollton later claimed that his "poor slaves . . . are thought more intelligent than slaves generally in Maryland," certainly far

FIGURE 4.
Charles Carroll the
Settler (grandfather
of Charles Carroll of
Carrollton), oil on
canvas possibly by
Justus Engelhardt
Kuhn, 1700–1720.

Maryland Center for
History and Culture, H.
Furlong Baldwin Library,
Paintings and Miniatures,
1948.22.1



superior to the “mass of population in the south american states a mixed & motley breed of Indians and negroes and the progeny of the creoles.”¹²

Had he wished to offer a defense of himself as an enslaver, Carroll might well have argued not that the slavery system had been imposed upon the colonists by the British, but that it had been thrust on him by his own forebears. The nucleus of the estate that Carroll of Carrollton inherited began with his grandfather, known as Charles Carroll the Settler, who by the time of his death in 1720 had become one of the wealthiest men in the colony, with thousands of acres of land and 112 enslaved people. The Settler’s eldest surviving son, Charles of Annapolis—Carroll of Carrollton’s father—in turn built his inheritance into an even larger fortune. By January 1764, his estate included, among other property, forty thousand acres of land and “285 Slaves on my different Plantations.”¹³

Having been sent as a boy of ten to be educated in Europe, not until he returned to Maryland in 1765 at the age of twenty-seven did Carroll of Carrollton confront the

reality of the enslaved labor that had created and sustained his family's wealth. But even had he wished to, Carroll, the illegitimate offspring of a liaison between his overbearing, demanding father and docile mother—a poor relation who lived in the family's household—was in no position to question the established regimen of enslavement he encountered on his return. Having devoted much of his early life striving to prove himself a worthy heir, he unquestioningly embarked on learning the management of the well-established and smooth-running estate that he would inherit at his father's death in 1782. Thus Carroll might well have argued, had he felt the need, that he had been thrust into a system he had not created.¹⁴

After his father's death, which coincided with the end of the Revolutionary War, Carroll assumed management of the family estate, which he dutifully intended to protect, increase, and in turn pass on to *his* only son and principal heir, known to later generations as Charles Carroll of Homewood. Unlike his father and grandfather, who had been excluded by anti-Catholic legislation from participation in politics, Carroll of Carrollton was able, thanks to changes wrought by the Revolution, to retain adherence to his Catholic faith while holding public office. Attention to his public duties did not, however, prevent Carroll from taking an active role in the management of his landed estate, as evidenced by the surviving segments of the farm journal he kept during the months he spent at Doughoragen Manor each year (generally from May to October).

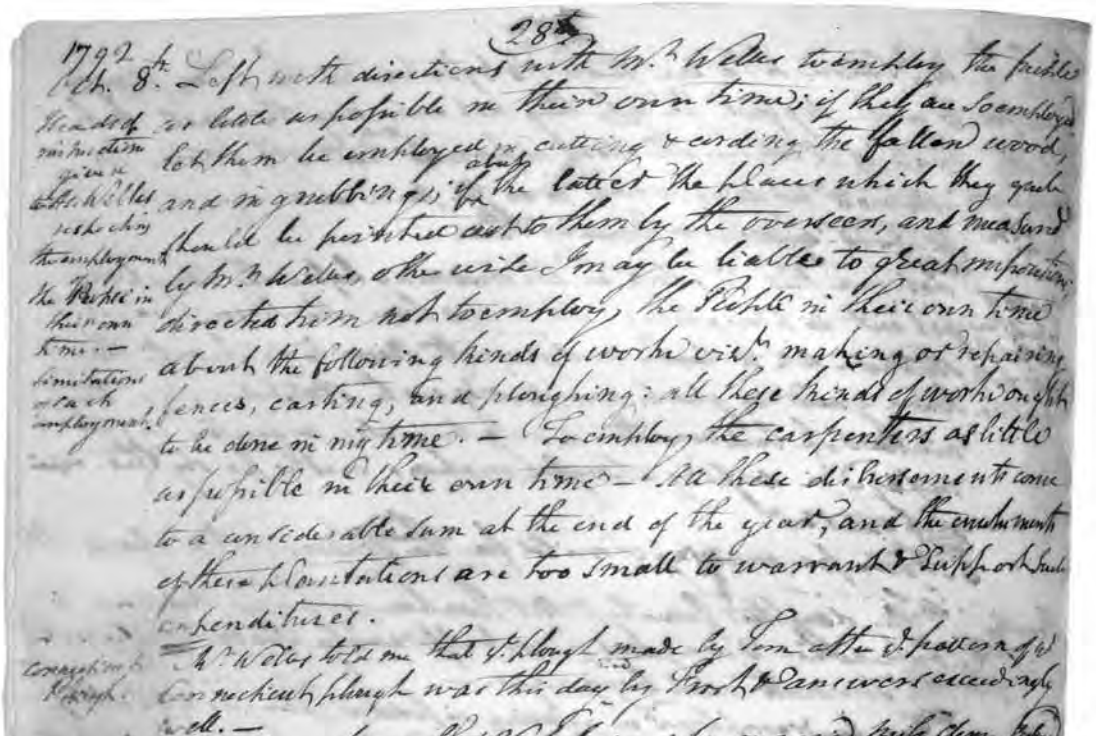


FIGURE 5. Excerpt from the journal of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, page 28, 1792.

Maryland Center for History and Culture, H. Furlong Baldwin Library, Charles Carroll Journal , MS 209

Although he employed a resident manager to oversee the plantation, Carroll's journal attests to the close oversight he exercised over every aspect of life on the manor.

His near-daily entries record a detailed account of the routine activities of his "people" and other workmen, tenants, and overseers; memos about work completed, pending, and contemplated; notes regarding his correspondence, visitors to the manor, neighboring planters, debtors who owed money, land and people to be bought or sold, crops growing and harvested and so on, as well as regular observations about the weather, which he monitored with an obsession that reveals how attuned he was to the agricultural rhythms that underlay his wealth. Surviving sections of the journal have been found only for a short period—most of the years from 1792 to 1802, plus a brief extract for 1788—but other correspondence indicates that his attention, if not recorded as fully, did not wane over time. Indeed, his letters to William Gibbons, resident manager from 1822 until after Carroll's death, document his extraordinary supervision of all aspects of work and life on the manor even as he aged into his eighties and early nineties, still engaged as he passed well beyond the normal life expectancy of the time.¹⁵

Following the Revolutionary War and the death of Carroll of Annapolis, agricultural life on the manor continued much as it had in previous decades. While Carroll continued to grow tobacco, he significantly reduced his dependence on that staple, with production declining by about half, from between ninety and one hundred hogsheads per year during the 1770s to just forty to fifty hogsheads annually by 1784. Of course, it was the enslaved workers living on Doughoragen Manor who actually performed the agricultural labor, engaging nearly year-round in the time-consuming and often back-breaking work of producing a tobacco crop: planting the seedlings in the spring, deworming, topping, suckering, harvesting, hanging, curing, and eventually packing into hogsheads for shipment. Field hands also planted, tended, and harvested grains, grasses, and other crops; tended livestock; ran the mills; built and repaired hogsheads for the tobacco, carts, barns, mills, and other farm structures; dug ditches and wells; and performed a myriad of seemingly endless other tasks, all under the watchful eye of the lord of the manor, who once complained that "I observe that it is late in the morning before the ploughmen get out to ploughing." A sampling of Carroll's journal entries attests his close attention to life on the manor. "The hands employed in planting Tobo. this morning: yesterday the ditchers & masons gangs were employed about repairing damage done To the fish ponds: Harry & Edmund repairing the trunks; the other carpenters in putting up water gates[.]" "This day they will finish cutting down the wheat & Rye: The latter a good crop; the former a very indifferent one; much injured by the rust & scabb owing to its being sowed too late." "The Ditchers for 3 or 4 days past have been employed in cleaning out the race to the overshoot—Masons setting a kiln of lime[.]" "Ditchers yesterday & to day threshing: masons mending insides of the chimnies at the different houses: field hands gathering apples." His observations thus fill page after densely written page, year after year.¹⁶

Since the enslaved workers on Doughoragen Manor left no written accounts, the contours of their lives must be pieced together, as best as possible, from other sources.

Like his father, Carroll presumably saw to it that his “people” were adequately provided with the necessities of life, at least to the extent necessary to perform their labor. His annual orders to his merchant firm in London regularly included large amounts of cloth for those he enslaved and medicines (perhaps at times capable of more harm than good, but with the latter intent) for use at the manor. Surviving distribution lists for 1795–1796 and most of the 1820s record the regular issuance of linen, other cloth (most likely wool, woven at the manufactory on the manor), flannel, blankets, shoes, stocking, hats, and great coats. Little specific information about food rations survives, but they included corn, hog meat, and the products of the garden patches allotted to each family. Some of the enslaved workers appear to have raised poultry, and they regularly foraged on the manor for small wild game, chestnuts, and honey. Whiskey was generously supplied at harvest (between three and four barrels—150 to 200 gallons—during the 1801 harvest, for example, when the entire manor population numbered fewer than two hundred people) and on other occasions—and less frequently—hard cyder, rum, and wine. Carroll retained a doctor to care for the sick among the enslaved, and his manager regularly recorded the purchase of honey, sugar, tea, whiskey, and even port wine for the use of sick people.¹⁷

While obviously constrained in many ways, the enslaved people on the manor appear to have enjoyed some degree of liberty in their daily lives. Sundays were a recognized holiday, and Carroll or the manager or overseers occasionally decreed other “holy days” for unspecified reasons, perhaps work well done or the completion of the harvest. Enslaved people did extra work in their “own time” and received cash compensation (and occasionally whiskey) for a variety of tasks, such as “firing tobacco,” minding the lime and coal kilns, “burning coal,” and cutting wood for the kilns, for which they were paid by the cord. On one occasion, the manager paid Abraham “for cutting out the People’s clothes” and on another for “for cutting out 11 pr Trousers,” and carpenter Harry for “Making Mr. Caton a Clothes Press.” Hillary was paid for “looking for a stray horse,” Ben for “looking for a stolen horse,” and Groom Jacob on numerous occasions for “groomage” of mares “put to the Jack,” a reference to mares put to the stud on the manor. The blacksmiths, however, were “not to work at their trade in their own time” but should instead be employed “in cutting wood for coal.” Carpenters were permitted to ply their trade for outside clients in their free time, but Carroll specified that they were not to use “my plank in their own work. They must get plank from those for whom they work.” In addition to compensation for extra work, the farm manager regularly recorded payments to the enslaved residents for honey, beeswax, eggs, pullets, rabbits, pheasants, and partridges that they evidently produced or otherwise procured in their free time. On the other side of the equation, the enslaved sometimes paid the manager for extra cloth, wheat, or plank, the latter perhaps to improve their dwellings or for tradesmen’s use in their own work.¹⁸

Those who were enslaved at Doughoragen Manor appear to have moved about without much impediment, and there is nothing to suggest that they were in any way

confined at night. At one point, Carroll instructed his manager that “Dancing at nights must not be suffered and I desire Mr Dean to put a stop to them. I am sure they lead to theft & drunkenness.” Whether or not it proved effective, Carroll’s decree itself indicates that the people he enslaved had both the energy and freedom to engage in nocturnal social gatherings. On at least one occasion, a group left the manor altogether. One Sunday in September, Vachel, masons Watt and Frank, Abraham, Hilary, and John Connor, all enslaved at the manor, “went without leave to Annapolis,” returning on their own the next day. There is no indication that the wayward wanderers were disciplined for their transgression, which seems to have been the lack of advance permission rather than the trip itself. On another occasion, Suckey came to Doughoragen from Annapolis Quarter (Carroll’s 822-acre farm near Annapolis) “complaining of being ill used” by the overseer there “for taking half dozn peaches,” suggesting that Carroll’s “people” believed their grievances would receive a fair hearing. Carroll does not record his response to this incident, but two days later Suckey set off for Annapolis carrying a letter to the offending overseer. Evidently the people Carroll enslaved could travel long distances—some thirty miles separated Annapolis and Doughoragen—without interference.¹⁹

Carroll seems to have seriously considered complaints of abuse, but at the same time there were limits to his willingness to take action. After hearing reports that “Vach. Dorsey . . . drinks hard, & uses the People ill,” Carroll directed his manager to “enquire into the truth of this information & to inform me the results of his enquiry.” It is not clear if Dorsey, who lived near the manor, was employed by Carroll, and there is no further reference to the charges against him. When two girls who had been sold returned to the manor in 1795 complaining of abuse from their new owner, Duncan Shipley, Carroll wrote to “persuade him to sell these girls times to some one else.” But at the same time, he also directed Shipley “to come & take away his 2 negro girls,” and he expressed some skepticism at the girls’ claim to have run away on account of “being cruelly used as they say.” In the end, though, Shipley did agree to sell at least one of the girls to a third party. Several years later, Carroll expressed similar reservations upon receiving complaints against Caleb Sears, the overseer at Annapolis Quarter. Carroll requested his son-in-law Robert G. Harper to investigate, but cautioned that “the negroes may complain without much reason,” warning that someone who hoped to replace Sears might have “instigated” them. Carroll, who was spending the winter in Baltimore due to the presence of the British in the Chesapeake Bay, was loathe to visit Annapolis himself. “The winter is set in; my bed chamber at Annapolis is without a carpet, and bed without curtains, which are at the Manor[.] I do not chuse to run the risk of taking cold at my advanced age by a trip to Annapolis in such weather as we now have . . . unless Sears conduct should render my going there absolutely necessary.” What seemed most important to Carroll was not the well-being of his enslaved dependents, but the inconvenience of finding a replacement for Sears: “indeed it would be difficult to meet at this season of the year with one whom I could trust with the

management of the farm & the articles in Sear's house & cellar." Although Carroll admitted that the overseer might not always treat the enslaved people well—"he may stint them in their food & be passionate"—nevertheless, he reasoned, "I really believe Sears is honest & sober, two very essentials qualities in an overseer." Ultimately Carroll decided on the basis of Harper's investigation that his intervention was not needed. In Carroll's view, Sears was not abusive enough to disrupt the work of the farm or foment serious discord and disorder among the enslaved workers, and he retained his post for many years.²⁰

If maintaining a well-ordered, productive work environment required attention to complaints of abuse, it also, on occasion, necessitated (or so Carroll believed) the discipline of errant enslaved workers. There is no evidence to suggest the existence of a jail or other place of detention on the manor, as reported in some accounts at other plantations, but whippings were, on seemingly rare occasions, employed as a means of discipline. Few references to corporal punishment appear in Carroll's papers, the most notable being advice given to his son, Charles of Homewood, when he injured himself with his own whip while disciplining his enslaved gardener, Izadod. "Let me recommend to you never to strike a servant in anger," Carroll admonished his son. Nor should Homewood ever administer the punishment himself: "when your negroes commit a fault deserving punishment, and to [not] be over looked, take them to Homewood have them stript and tied up and make Ben in yr presence give them 25 lashes well laid on: if the fault is a heinous [one] 39 lashes should be inflicted. Cor[r]ect but seldom but wh[e]n you do correct, let not the correction be a trifling one . . . Izadod must have done something very wrong to have put you into such passion." The following year, when Homewood's personal enslaved servant William ran away, Carroll urged his son to forgive the transgression while threatening William with "39 lashes" should it be repeated. Izadod's transgression and William's motive for running away are not known, but Homewood's addiction to alcohol, which eventually destroyed his marriage and upended Carroll's plans for the succession of the family estate, might well have played a role in these events. At the time, Homewood's alcoholism still remained hidden from his father, who does not seem to suspect excessive drinking as a factor, but the younger Carroll's erratic behavior suggests that periodic episodes of abusive violence might have occurred in the years before his addiction spiraled out of control and into public view.²¹

There are only two recorded instances of Carroll himself ordering the physical punishment of one of his enslaved. The first involved a conflict between two enslaved men, the details of which are not known, other than that Carroll believed "Moses has behaved outrageously and without the least provocation to Tom according to Tom's account and I believe it to be true & if so, I desire Mr Dean to direct Daniel to give Moses 15 lashes well laid on." If Moses were not punished, there would be "no peace in the family, continual broils & fighting among my [. . .] will infalibly be the consequence of impunity in this case." The other incident occurred shortly after the death

of Carroll's son, when one of Homewood's enslaved, Ben, related what Carroll deemed to be a "gross falsehood" concerning an enslaved woman, Bett, and thereafter "absent[ed] himself from the Folly without leave." No additional details survive, but the coincidence of Homewood's death together with his previous history suggests that the "falsehood" Carroll clearly did not want to believe might well have concerned his son's behavior. In any case, he directed the overseer that once recovered, Ben was to receive "a good whipping" which "he richly deserves." Carroll's grandson, who inherited Ben, instead decided to sell him, a resolution Carroll agreed was preferable to sending him back to the manor. Years earlier, Carroll himself had consented, against his "own judgement," to allow his son-in-law to assume possession of a carpenter named Bill, "a fellow of such violent character" that Carroll believed he "deserves to be sent to Georgia & made an example of." On the whole, the small number of recorded episodes of corporal punishment suggest that the threat of the lash itself, combined with the ever-present fear of sale, probably mitigated the need for physical violence to maintain discipline under Carroll's regime.²²

Not only does it appear that physical violence was rarely needed to keep the people Carroll enslaved in line, but only a handful of his hundreds of bondsmen are known to have run away in the five decades after the Revolutionary War. The first was John Conner, "a Mulatto Man" about twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age when he ran off in 1787. Conner might have been the son of a white father (from whom he perhaps derived his surname) and an enslaved mother. Frances, an enslaved woman living on Doughoragen Manor in 1773 with a son, John, of about the right age, but no husband, is a likely candidate. Before running off, Conner, a skilled carpenter and a "good workman," had declared that he was a "freeman" and thus possibly motivated by the belief that he was wrongfully enslaved. Soon recaptured, he remained working on the manor until at least 1799, after which he disappears from the record.²³

During the 1790s, three other enslaved people attempted to escape Doughoragen Manor. Hail, a shoemaker, ran away in 1793 but was apprehended and remained enslaved until 1806, when Carroll reported that "Poor Hail my shoemaker died yesterday evening." Brice, an ox driver then twenty-eight years old, absconded in September 1795 with a horse but was later recovered and remained on the manor until at least 1808, by then married to an enslaved woman named Patience. Molly's Jack, also an ox driver, ran away at least three times—in 1794, 1795, and 1797—only to be recovered each time. Perhaps Jack, who was in his mid-thirties, had a wife or family on Kent Island, where Carroll "supposed" he had gone when he ran off. There is no further mention of him after 1797, and when Carroll compiled a list of people living at Doughoragen Manor in 1819, Jack was gone, having died, successfully run away, or been sold in the intervening years—a period for which few documents survive pertaining to those enslaved by Carroll.²⁴

Two enslaved men employed as servants in the households of, respectively, Carroll's son and daughter, also ran away. As noted earlier, Carroll of Homewood's personal

servant, William, possibly in response to an episode of violent rage similar to that inflicted on Izadod, ran away in 1809. Homewood threatened to sell William to Georgia when recovered, but later relented, perhaps at the urging of his father, who warned that “You never will meet with a faultless servant.” Although returned to toil in Homewood’s household for many years, William, later known by the surname Ross, eventually secured his freedom. Sent to Philadelphia in 1816 with Homewood’s wife, Harriet, when she permanently separated from her abusive husband, William, his wife, Becky, and their two children were freed after a period of indenture. They remained in Philadelphia, where they headed a free Black household as late as 1850.²⁵

The other enslaved house servant to flee worked for the family of Carroll’s daughter Catharine “Kitty” Harper, whose reportedly harsh treatment of enslaved servants dated back to her childhood. When Carroll sent eleven-year-old Kitty to Europe in 1789 for her education, a “very valuable & trusty Servant,” an enslaved woman named Jemima, accompanied her as chaperone as far as London, where they stayed for a time at the home of Carroll’s commercial agent, Joshua Johnson. During their sojourn with the family, Johnson’s fourteen-year-old daughter, Louisa Catherine (the future wife of President John Quincy Adams), was appalled: “the treatment of that Slave by her young Mrs. was a thing we could not comprehend as we had always been severely punished for improper conduct to Servants this matter produced many unpleasant scenes while the woman staid between us young people.” Despite Kitty’s abuse, Jemima did not take the opportunity of her stay in London to attempt an escape from bondage. It is not known how Jemima felt about making the hazardous voyage across the Atlantic, or if her feelings were even considered, but it is not surprising that she willingly returned (aboard one of Joshua Johnson’s ships) to her home and family rather than attempt to make a new life for herself in a strange land. Decades later, an enslaved man named Tom, who worked in the household of the by-then-married Kitty Harper, had no such reservations. While traveling with the family in the northern states during the summer of 1810, Tom seized the opportunity to make his escape. To add insult to injury, a few months later the audacious Tom cockily wrote to one of Carroll’s servants in Annapolis, “saying he was happy, & doing very well, desires his love to his Old Master Carroll, & complumints [*sic*] to the rest of the family, he was about sailing for England . . . desires all the Girls, that were in love with, to console themselves with another being.” No doubt Tom intended his missive to reach his former mistress, who upon learning of it angrily fumed “What an ungrateful, worthless fellow, there is not one of them on Earth, Can be trusted; they have no gratitud[e].”²⁶

Aside from these two house servants, who did not live at Doughoragen, there is no record of any enslaved people fleeing the manor from the time of Jack’s last recorded attempt in 1797 until the departure in 1825 of Ben, who was actually the property of Carroll’s recently deceased son. A few years later, in June 1828, twenty-seven-year-old Harry Jones and forty-year-old George Hawkins ran away together. Carroll offered a reward for both, which he increased in August of that year for the capture of George,

FIGURE 6.
Advertisement by Charles
Carroll of Carrollton's
manager at Doughoragen
Manor offering a reward
for the return of two men
enslaved by Carroll.

Baltimore Gazette,
July 5, 1828

20 DOLLARS REWARD FOR EACH.—Run-
away on the 21st inst. from the farm of the
Honorable Charles Carroll of Carrollton, on Elk
Ridge, Anns Arundel County, State of Maryland,
two negro men, for which if taken in this State
the above reward will be given, if out of the State
the sum of 50 dollars will be paid for each or
either of them.

One of them named Geo. Hawkins is about 40
years old, near 6 feet high, slender made, very
black, his eyes are tolerably white and his teeth
more so, he speaks slow and in an humble tone,
had on when he went off a striped waistcoat and
roundabout and white Osnaburg trowsers.

The other named Harry Jones is about 27 years
of age, 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high of a dark Copper
colour and very chunky made, when speaking to
him he is apt to look down or sideways, he is re-
markably strong necked and broad between his
shoulders. Any person taking the above negroes
will be paid on their delivery at Richd. Caton
{Esq's. office, in Baltimore.

BARNET DEAN,
je 26 d Manager at Carroll's Manor.

who had been “seen last on the Hanover Turnpike Road about 23 miles from Baltimore.” It is not known if either man was apprehended, but both were gone from the manor by the time Carroll died four years later. Little is known about Harry, but George left behind a wife, Fanny, and their seven children, who ranged in age from about one to fourteen. The final enslaved person known to run off, Paul Addison, a mulatto house servant, reportedly got drunk and was lured away, Carroll’s granddaughter Emily McTavish believed, by “a run away slave boy in Pennsylv[ania who] makes it his business to get as Many as he can away.” After Paul was recovered north of Frederick, near the Pennsylvania border, Emily (who by this time was managing the elderly Carroll’s household) planned to hire him to a ship captain sailing for France, fearing that if returned to the manor “he might induce others to do the same.” It is not clear if Emily carried through with her threat, but if so, Paul had returned to the manor by the time Carroll died a year later, when Emily claimed him as her property.²⁷

The fact that so few people are known to have attempted to escape bondage—ten in the fifty years bracketing the deaths of Carroll of Annapolis and Carroll of Carrollton—might be interpreted as evidence, as surely Carroll would have liked to believe, that they were happy and content with their lot, and that Carroll was indeed, as Caton claimed, a benign, even beloved master. It is possible that for some who were enslaved, the comparatively moderate work regimen (relative to the cotton and sugar plantations of the Deep South and the Caribbean), adequate subsistence, and limited violence on the manor acted as a deterrent, particularly when weighed against the uncertainties of escape and the harsh realities confronting free Black people. But two other notable factors contributed to keeping the enslaved workers in place. All of the runaways had

one thing in common: all were men, and only one—George Hawkins—is known to have had a family on the manor at the time he escaped. John Conner, Hail, Brice, and Molly's Jack all lived alone on the manor in 1795, and indeed Jack might have run away precisely because his wife and family were living too far away—on the other side of the Chesapeake Bay—for regular visits. William Ross was probably unmarried at the time he fled (he did eventually marry, but his children were not born until several years later), and Tom, who sent regards to all the heartbroken belles, was clearly unattached. Nothing is known about Harry Jones, but Paul Addison had no wife or children living with him at the time of Carroll's death. Only George Hawkins had a family, a family that paid a price for his actions.²⁸

George himself might have secured his freedom by running away, or he might have been recovered and then sold, but in either case he was gone from the manor by the time of Carroll's death four years later, leaving his wife without a husband and his children without a father, and himself, even if free, deprived of ever seeing his family again. It was a high price, one that most enslaved people with family ties were unwilling to make, and most of those on Doughoragen Manor were enmeshed in extensive kin networks, with a majority of adults (unlike most of the runaways) married and living with their spouses and children on the plantation. Furthermore, a failed escape attempt carried another potentially high cost: the threat of sale out of Maryland, to Georgia or other states in the Deep South, a threat so dreadful even to contemplate that it no doubt deterred many from considering the possibility. Even a successful escape might have consequences for those left behind. Although no direct link can be proven, a few years after Carroll's death, his grandson, who inherited the Hawkins family, sold Fanny Hawkins and three of her children to John S. Skinner of Baltimore, who planned to ship them from that port to an unknown destination. By 1835, the remainder of the Hawkins family were also gone from the manor.²⁹

Kinship was in many ways the central feature of life on Doughoragen Manor. By the time of the American Revolution, family relationships on the manor were many generations deep, a sprawling network of parents and children, grandparents, grandchildren, aunts, uncles, cousins, and even great-grandparents and their descendants. The oldest resident in 1773, when Carroll of Annapolis compiled a comprehensive inventory of the enslaved people at Doughoragen, "Battle Creek Nanny," was about seventy-eight years old. She was the mother of Ned and carpenter Harry and grandmother to Harry's children Abraham, Clara, and Harry. Nanny's sister, Hannah, was no longer living, but her sons, James, Jack, and Benjamin, were all married with numerous children themselves, the great-nieces and -nephews of Nanny, and varying cousin relationships to Harry, his siblings, and children. Nanny had died by 1795, but another elderly matriarch, Sukey, who was born about 1710, presided over the even larger extended Joice family that included more than twenty children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren by the time she died in 1796—counting only her direct descendants through the female line. Numerous others descended through her sons, not

to mention cousins, nieces, nephews, and so on, altogether comprising a huge network of family relationships that connected and sustained the enslaved on the manor.³⁰

Nanny and Sukey's extended kin networks were not unique. Nearly every single one of the 330 enslaved residents at Doughoragen Manor in 1773 was linked through complex and multilayered kin networks that structured their living and work environments. Eighty-eight percent of enslaved residents (289 persons) at the manor in 1773 lived in some type of family unit. Most (255; 77 percent) lived in family groups consisting of children living with at least one parent, and the majority of these family groups (71 percent) were what is today considered a typical nuclear family consisting of a husband and wife and their children. Other family units, headed by only one parent, were primarily children with mothers whose husbands lived elsewhere on the manor or at other Carroll properties, had died, or are not otherwise identified in the record. A few families consisted of children living either with a widowed father or grandparents, while two young couples did not yet have any offspring. Given this high concentration of family groups, it is not surprising, but nevertheless worth noting, that 95 percent of children aged fifteen or younger lived with at least one of their parents.³¹

With very few exceptions, those individuals who did not live with some other family members did not lack kin ties on the manor. Only eight of the forty-one who lived alone—a mere two percent of the 330 people enumerated in 1773—did not have some identifiable family connections on the manor. The other thirty-three could be identified as part of extended family networks. Some were widows whose children lived elsewhere with their own families, or men living apart from their wives and children. Many were young adults between the ages of fifteen and thirty who no longer lived with their parents but who had not yet married. Another small group of unmarried people over the age of thirty (ten of the total 330) might have had spouses who were not enslaved by the Carrolls. Overall, the enslaved population at Doughoragen was remarkably successful at finding marriage partners on the manor. Of the 127 enslaved persons at Doughoragen who were age twenty or older in 1773, eighty-seven (68 percent) were either married to another of Carroll's enslaved or were the widow or widower of a deceased manor resident. At least a few of those over age twenty who were not married in 1773 are known to have later found partners on the manor.³²

Less is known about the enslaved families on the manor in the decades following the Revolutionary War. No detailed inventory comparable to the one compiled by Carroll of Annapolis in 1773 has been found, but a list of linen and shoes distributed by the overseer in 1795–1796 provides information about the 187 people then living on the manor, including names, family relationships, and general age categories based on the amount of linen received. Although the enslaved population at Doughoragen Manor had declined in number, family ties were still a central feature of life on the plantation. About 70 percent of residents in 1795 lived in family groups of children with at least one parent (or in a few cases, grandparents), and a majority (88 percent) of these were nuclear families comprising a married couple and their children. The presence of these

family groups had declined in comparison to that found two decades earlier (77 percent in the 1773 enumeration) but was still remarkable considering the tremendous reduction in the number of enslaved people living on the manor (a subject discussed at length below).³³

Although marriages among the enslaved had no legal basis under Maryland law, it is clear that Carroll at least tacitly recognized the validity of these unions. He regularly makes reference to husbands and wives—“Davy Nelly’s husband,” “Minta old Jacob’s wife,” “Jenny Ralph’s wife,” “Suckey Michael’s wife”—and couples are labeled as such in surviving enumerations and distribution lists, as are parent-child and other family relationships. Carroll not only recognized, but (based on admittedly scant information) seems to have encouraged his bondsmen to marry. “I had much rather that Christopher should marry than live as he does,” Carroll wrote regarding an enslaved man living in the household of his son. “I shall therefor give my consent to his marrying the girl Hariot.” Carroll’s concern centered not so much on Christopher’s well-being, but rather on how Christopher’s behavior might reflect on his owner, piously declaring that “immorality should be discountenanced as much as possible by masters of families.” On another occasion, he agreed to see if the wife of gardener Izadod “can be possibly spared” so that she might join her husband at Homewood. “I know and experience the inconvenience of a seperation of a man from his wife,” he wrote with apparent empathy, but then added “Izadod as you observe will under pretence of seeing his wife be making frequent trips to the Manor, by wh[ich] he will loose [*sic*] time and possibly acquire bad habits—I suspect he has already contracted some, an itch for play and cock fighting; if he is not restrained from these practices, he will acquire a fondness for ardent spirits, and then will be good for nothing.” Similarly, when Charles Carroll of Homewood’s wife, Harriet, planned to take the wife of an enslaved man, Abraham, on a visit to Philadelphia, Carroll requested that she not do so, promising to furnish another woman in her place. “I find it very inconvenient to seperate the wives from their husbands; it renders the lives of both very uncomfortable, particularly of the husbands,” he added, again displaying some apparent empathy for the lives of his “people.” As with Izadod, however, he then went on to express other, less benevolent motives: “besides there is loss of time when they go to see their wives and at particular seasons their labour here and attendance are absolutely necessary, and if not permitted to visit their wives at the stated times allowed to them, they grumble, and become discontented.” In short, Carroll encouraged marriages among people he enslaved not so much out of concern for the well-being and happiness of his bondsmen, but as a means of maintaining a well-ordered and productive labor force, while at the same time reinforcing his self-image as a benevolent master upholding the moral standards of his extended “family.”³⁴

While Carroll recognized and encouraged marriage among the people he enslaved, it is not known if his consent was required. Christopher, an enslaved servant mentioned earlier, who belonged to Carroll but worked in the household of his son, was

probably a unique case. It seems unlikely, and there is no evidence in Carroll's journal or other papers to suggest that the lord of the manor concerned himself with the choice of partners among the vast majority of the people he enslaved. No information has been found to document how such marriages were formalized, if at all, but it is possible that a Catholic priest presided over these unions. No clergyman lived at Doughoragen Manor, but a number of different priests periodically visited to tend to the spiritual needs of Carroll and his family. During the 1790s, the Reverend Francis Beeston regularly conducted religious services at the private chapel at Doughoragen Manor. He also administered the sacrament of baptism to at least some of enslaved children during his visits. For example, on June 22, 1794, during a stay at Doughoragen, Beeston baptized Frances, the daughter of Dick and Kate, who had been born on June 13, and upon his return there in July and August, he baptized five additional enslaved children. Altogether, the registers from St. Peter's Church in Baltimore, where Beeston served as rector from 1793 to 1809, record the baptisms of ten children enslaved by Carroll; it is likely there were other such rites performed at Doughoragen Manor that were not recorded. Between 1793, when the first mention of the baptism of a child enslaved by Carroll appears in the register, and Carroll's death in 1832, Beeston and his successors baptized at least thirty-nine people who were enslaved by members of the extended Carroll family. Although there is evidence for at least some baptisms, no marriages among the enslaved are recorded in the Catholic marriage registers for this period, and there is no mention in Carroll's journal or correspondence of any rituals to solemnize their unions.³⁵

While the evidence of baptisms lends credence to Richard Caton's assertion that Carroll looked after the spiritual needs of his "people," his claim that the children enslaved on the manor "were daily congregated and taught their catechism, and received moral instruction" appears exaggerated. The priests who did visit the manor came only about once a month, and then only during the months that Carroll was in residence (May to October). When he sought, unsuccessfully, to procure a priest to live with him at his Annapolis mansion and at Doughoragen Manor, moving between the two residences as he did, Carroll made no mention of the spiritual needs of the people he enslaved, but rather sought "a person of some literature, & of a mild & chearful temper in short a companionable man, to relieve those solitary hours, which I shall frequently experience in the absence of my children & grandchildren, for as I advance in years I feel less a disposition to go into company." While the enslaved were presumably free to participate in the services held at Doughoragen, it does not appear to have been a requirement that they accept Catholicism or even attend mass. A visitor to the manor in 1828 praised the singing of the twenty or so enslaved people at a service he attended, but noted that the chapel was almost empty, as "nearly all of the negroes however have deserted the old faith, and turned methodists."³⁶

While life on the manor—labor routines, discipline, and the centrality of family ties and kin networks—continued much as it had for those who were enslaved in the

decades after Carroll of Annapolis's death, the decades after the Revolutionary War also brought new challenges and some significant changes. During the immediate postwar years, revolutionary ideals of liberty and equality, and (in the Upper South) reduced dependence on enslaved laborers and a corresponding decline in the price of enslaved humans, caused many to question the future of slavery and even led some to emancipate the people they enslaved. In the northern states, a much smaller enslaved population and less dependence on slave labor made it easier to actualize these ideals; by 1804 all states north of Maryland either abolished slavery or set in motion eventual emancipation. In the Chesapeake region, a much larger enslaved population, greater dependence on enslaved labor, larger potential for financial losses, and racist fears of a large free Black population made it more difficult even for those opposed to slavery to abandon the institution.³⁷

In Maryland, anti-slavery sentiment flowered briefly during postwar years. In 1789, anti-slavery advocates founded The Maryland Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and the Relief of Poor Negroes and Others Unlawfully Held in Bondage, which in 1789 petitioned the Maryland General Assembly to enact a gradual emancipation law. No legislation passed or even came to a vote, but in 1789 the legislature did consider a bill, introduced in the Maryland Senate by Nicholas Hammond, for the gradual abolition of slavery. No details of Hammond's proposal survive, but it seems likely that this was the bill Caton later claimed that Carroll had introduced in 1797. According to Caton, the terms of this bill were that the "State should buy up all the female children, educate them for freedom and usefulness, and bind them out, to be free at twenty-eight years of age." At some point (vaguely unspecified) "all males, and others under forty-five years, were to be free." There is no record of any abolition bill in the legislative journal for 1797, and none introduced by Carroll during years he served in the Maryland Senate (1782–1801). Carroll did, however, serve as head of the Senate committee that considered Hammond's bill in 1789, and as such he requested the House of Delegates to appoint a joint committee to discuss the measure. The House refused, and the bill never came to a vote.³⁸

The legislature's failure to pass a bill for the abolition of slavery did not preclude individual enslavers (including Carroll, had he been so inclined) from freeing their bondsmen, though without the economic compensation from the state called for in the bill outlined by Caton. Carroll did in fact manumit a small number of people during the postwar years, in most cases in return for cash payments; that is, he allowed a small number of people he enslaved to purchase—or others to purchase for them—their freedom. In October 1792, for example, after John Londringer, a free man working at Doughoragen Manor, married an enslaved woman, Nelly, Carroll "promised to sell [her] to him for £36 curr[enc]y." Four years later, Carroll executed a deed of manumission to the "mulatto girl named Nelly now married to John Lendringger." Londringer continued to work on the manor until at least 1802 but apparently never succeeded in paying off his note for Nelly's purchase. He died insolvent in 1811, still

indebted for more than £25 to Carroll, who wrote off the unpaid balance as a loss. What happened to Nelly after Londringer's death is not known.³⁹

A year after his agreement with Londringer, Carroll "promised Daniel Mahon that I would sell his wife & child to him for £50 curr[enc]y ready money provided my daughter could provided [*sic*] herself with another girl to take care of her children." Daniel was himself at the time held in bondage to Reverend John Ashton, a Jesuit priest and Carroll kinsman who had earlier served as the family's chaplain, but he managed to secure his freedom in 1805. Six months later, in March 1806, Carroll manumitted and "set free one Mulatto woman named Nancy the wife of Daniel Mahoney, also her two children named Anna and Charles." Carroll's earliest documented manumission occurred before that of either Nelly Londringer or Nancy Mahoney, when in 1789 he freed "a certain mulatto woman named Milley and her two Daughters Anna and Kitty." There is no mention of Milley in Carroll's correspondence, nor does the farm journal for that year survive, and the record itself offers no explanation for granting the family's freedom. Unlike the Londringer and Mahoney manumissions, the record does not mention a payment received or due, nor is there any reference to either Milley's husband or the father of her children. Considering the timing—Carroll was widowed in 1782—and the absence of either husband or purchase money, it is possible that Milley might have been an enslaved concubine, but there is no concrete evidence of such an arrangement.⁴⁰

The largest manumission of enslaved persons on Doughoragen Manor took place in 1799 in connection with a freedom suit initiated by a man named Charles Mahoney. Like his brother Daniel, Mahoney was enslaved not by Carroll but by the Reverend John Ashton, who was by then the manager of the Jesuits' "mission" (plantation with enslaved residents) at White Marsh in Prince George's County, near present-day Bowie. During the decades following the Revolutionary War, freedom suits—legal actions brought by persons challenging their enslavement—briefly flourished, based not on the premise that slavery as an institution was wrong, but rather that specific individuals were wrongfully held in bondage. Because an enslaved person's status descended through matrilineage, suits generally succeeded when they were able to establish descent from a free woman. After a large number of those suits proved successful, lawmakers imposed conditions that reduced and then virtually eliminated any chance of success. In his suit, Charles Mahoney claimed that his great-great-grandmother Ann Joice was an indentured servant wrongfully enslaved by Carroll's great-grandfather Henry Darnall. Carroll's own enslaved servant, Sukey (ca. 1710–1796), who also descended from Ann Joice, was apparently the grandmother of Mahoney, described in court documents as "the son of Nelly, who was the daughter of Mr. Carroll's Sue."⁴¹

To avoid the expense of potential legal suits initiated by Sukey's offspring, Carroll promised to grant freedom to her descendants in the event Mahoney won his case. Sukey herself did not live to witness the event: she died in 1796, having spent more than eight decades enslaved by the Carroll family. But when a jury declared Mahoney

a free man in May 1799, Carroll freed twenty-three of Sukey's descendants, including three sons—Jacob, a gang leader, Moses, a miller, and John, a shoemaker—and two daughters, Nanny, a nurse, and Fanny, a cook. Carroll also freed the children—male and female—of Nanny and Fanny, and those of their daughters, but not the offspring of Sukey's sons or grandsons—that is, only the descendants through the female line. Shortly after the Mahoney verdict, Carroll noted in his journal that “Joiner Daniel & Rezin”—sons of Nanny—“left me this day.” But the Court of Appeals later overturned the Mahoney decision and ordered a new trial, which in 1802 reversed the earlier verdict. At least two of the men Carroll freed (Daniel and his brother John, both carpenters) were later able to purchase their own freedom, and Samuel Hopkins of Baltimore paid Carroll \$200 to free their uncle, John Joice. Carroll subsequently sold the above-mentioned Rezin to a third party, with the understanding that he could work to purchase his freedom. But the remainder of those briefly liberated by the Mahoney case probably returned to labor on Doughoragen Manor, where several slaves with the surname Joice still lived at the time of Carroll's death.⁴²



FIGURE 7. Annie, who was born Anne Eliza Joice and later married George Addison, was a descendant of Sukey, the progenitor of the enslaved members of the Joice family whom Charles Carroll of Carrollton briefly freed in 1799 as a result of the the freedom suit *Mahoney v. Ashton*. Annie's great-grandmother Cate, the daughter of Sukey, was among those Carroll freed in 1799, but was reenslaved when the original verdict was reversed in 1802 and continued to live at Doughoragen Manor until her own death about 1823. Annie was born into slavery and remained enslaved to the Carroll family until the Civil War.

(Information derived from the author's ongoing research into the enslaved families at Doughoragen Manor).

Armstead Moore Webb, “Annie Addison (fl. ca. 1842–1920), cook for the Webb family, formerly enslaved by the Carroll family, Doughoregan Manor, Howard County,” ca. 1910. Maryland Department Photograph Collection. Courtesy of Enoch Pratt Free Library, Maryland State Library Resource Center

Aside from the unusual manumissions associated with the Mahoney case, later reversed, the available evidence indicates that Carroll manumitted only a tiny number of his enslaved population at Doughoragen Manor, and all but three of those manumissions (Milley and her daughters) involved the purchase of the enslaved's freedom, rather than emancipation on moral grounds or out of any principled opposition to slavery. Carroll's willingness to abide by the court's decision in the Mahoney case in no way indicates opposition to slavery itself. The freedom suits, based on the premise that the Mahoneys were wrongfully enslaved, did not attempt to challenge the legitimacy of human bondage. Although Carroll was at that time in the process of reducing his enslaved labor force, he was not pleased at the prospect of losing valuable property without compensation. One scholar who has studied the Maryland freedom suits has even suggested that Carroll's son-in-law Robert G. Harper, who joined Ashton's defense team after the Court of Appeals vacated the original verdict, possibly manufactured evidence to ensure that Carroll retained possession of his Joice-descended slaves.⁴³

Although Carroll was willing to manumit only a small number of people without compensation, during the decades following the American Revolution, he embarked on a concerted effort to reduce the number of enslaved people at Doughoragen Manor. Carroll never explained his rationale for this decision, but several factors likely converged in the postwar years. Like many other planters in the Chesapeake region in the years following the war, Carroll found himself with a "surplus" number of enslaved workers, due in part to a shift from tobacco to grain cultivation, which required far fewer laborers year-round. But while the change in the crop mix on Doughoragen Manor no doubt contributed to creating a "surplus" of bondsmen, Carroll, like other Chesapeake planters, faced a much larger and more significant problem in the extraordinary natural growth of his enslaved population, a dilemma that would only increase over time without intervention. During the decade after 1764, when Carroll of Annapolis reported "285 Slaves on my different Plantations," the total number of enslaved people that he claimed as property grew at an astonishing rate. Ten years later, 330 people lived at Doughoragen Manor, 26 at Poplar Island, 17 at the Annapolis Quarter, and 13 "House Servants" at the Annapolis mansion. Altogether, 386 people lived at these four properties, an increase of 101 over the 285 just a decade earlier. Of these 386 people, nearly one-third (126) were under nine years of age, that is to say, born after 1764, confirming that this astounding growth—35 percent in a decade—was the result of natural increase rather than purchase.⁴⁴

Over the course of the next decade, the population continued to grow, most particularly at Doughoragen Manor, where the number of enslaved grew from 330 people in 1773 to 416 a decade later—an increase of 86 people (26 percent). Of those 416 people, 124 were under eight years of age (born 1775 or later) and another 68 were between the ages of eight and fourteen, at least some of whom were likely also born after 1773. As in the earlier period, 1764–1773, it is again evident from the large number of young people that the increase in the enslaved population on the manor between 1773 and 1783 was due to natural growth rather than purchase.⁴⁵

The problem of a “surplus” enslaved population in the years following the Revolutionary War was not unique to Carroll, but was endemic to Maryland and the entire Upper South (Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, and North Carolina). In 1799, George Washington himself complained that he had “more working Negroes by a full moiety, than can be employed to any advantage in the farming system.” At the same time that many planters were making the transition from tobacco to grain cultivation, decreasing their labor needs, the growth of the enslaved population as a whole followed the same trajectory as that of the Carrolls. During the twenty-year period between 1770 and 1790, the enslaved population of the Upper South grew from 322,854 to 520,969, an increase of 61 percent, nearly the same rate of growth witnessed at Doughoragen Manor between 1764 and 1783. After the war, growth within Maryland continued at the same rate, with the enslaved population increasing from 63,818 in 1790 to 103,036 in 1810.⁴⁶

Even had Carroll not reduced tobacco production on the manor, he would have been unable to make use of the increased enslaved population without bringing more land under cultivation, but the Carrolls acquired no significant additional landholdings between 1764 and 1783, when their enslaved population grew by 64 percent, from 285 to 468. And rather than increase the acreage worked by enslaved laborers, during the 1780s and 1790s Carroll moved in the completely opposite direction, removing the people he enslaved from various quarters at Doughoragen Manor in order to replace



FIGURE 8. Doughoregan Manor, Manorhouse Road slave quarters, photograph by Delos H. Smith and E. H. Pickering, 1936.

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, md0293

them with white tenant farmers. The Carrolls had a long and very profitable experience with tenancy on their other large landholding, Carrollton Manor, an approximately twelve-thousand-acre tract in Frederick County between the Monocacy and Potomac Rivers, some fifty miles west of Doughoragen. Before the Revolution, the Carrolls had also leased land on Doughoragen Manor to a small number of tenant farmers, but evidence indicates that not much acreage was being rented there. After his father's death, however, Carroll of Carrollton in 1784 began to place more tenants on the manor in lieu of enslaved laborers. In June of that year, he advertised several tenements for lease on Doughoragen Manor, and in December he instructed a local surveyor to lay out additional land for leaseholds. By 1792, the number of tenants had more than tripled, and the total acreage leased—4,337¼ acres—accounted for slightly more than one-third of the approximately twelve thousand acres that comprised Doughoragen Manor and contiguous tracts.⁴⁷

Carroll's shift in favor of tenancy, despite his inability to effectively utilize the ever-growing number of enslaved laborers, indicates that his aim was not merely to eliminate those who were not needed, but to "whiten" the overall composition of the manor population. Though unwilling to free the people he enslaved, Carroll, perhaps influenced by the anti-slavery ideology of the post-Revolutionary period, apparently wanted to dissociate himself from the institution of slavery and reduce his dependence on enslaved laborers in preference to free tenant farmers. Much of the anti-slavery ideology of the post-Revolutionary years in fact focused not on the moral repugnance of slavery, but rather on the undesirability of a large Black population, whether free or enslaved. Whatever his motives, Carroll made his intentions clear when executing a deed for the lease of a fulling mill on the manor in 1797. Although it stipulated that the tenants renting the mill were required to produce enough cloth to clothe the enslaved residents at Doughoragen, the lease also included a provision for increasing the rent once Carroll had reduced the total number of enslaved residents to "fifty of both sexes." His stated goal, therefore, was not just to eliminate the "surplus" and scale back to pre-Revolutionary numbers, but to remove nearly all of the enslaved laborers from the manor.⁴⁸

Long before explicitly stating his intentions in that 1797 deed, Carroll began the drastic winnowing of the manor's enslaved population that would decimate the families at Doughoragen. He never achieved his goal of "fifty of both sexes," but in three short years following the assessment of 1783, the number of people enslaved on the manor fell precipitously. From a peak of 416 in 1783, the number declined by May 1786 to just 252, a loss of 164 people—about 40 percent of the population. A decade later, a list of linen and shoes distributed to the enslaved residents of the manor for the winter of 1795 and summer 1796 included the names of only 187 people, and over the course of the next two decades the numbers continued to fall, although at a slower rate. By the time of the second federal census in 1800, only 182 enslaved persons are enumerated at Doughoragen Manor, a number that reached its lowest point ten years later, when the 1810 census listed just 176 enslaved persons at Doughoragen.⁴⁹

The tiny number of recorded manumissions, in conjunction with evidence from other manuscripts and occasional notations in Carroll's farm journal, indicates that most of the enslaved people who were removed from Doughoragen Manor after 1783 were sold to new owners rather than freed either through purchase or manumission. No law required the sellers or purchasers to publicly record these transactions, and other than the few manumissions noted above, none have been found to document the sale of Carroll's bondsmen. Nevertheless, evidence from his journal and other documents confirms that between 1792 and 1800, Carroll sold at least eighty people living at Doughoragen Manor as part of two large transactions made in 1792 and 1799–1800. In addition to those eighty, a number of Carroll's journal entries pertain to other individuals. In September 1792, for example, he noted that "Mr Caton told me that Yiezer would take Lydia at £30, & Steenson Heditha @ £45." A few weeks later, John Eager Howard purchased Suckey and "Imagined he should also take Nelly at the Folly." The following year Doughoragen manager Ashbel Welles obtained bonds "for negroes Sold," and on leaving Carroll's employ, he purchased an enslaved man, James, for £75. The following spring, Daniel Carroll of Hunting Ridge (no known relation) "applied for 2 girls for his sisters in law from 10 years of age & upwards to 15," indicating that purchasers viewed Carroll as a potential source of supply.⁵⁰

The two large transactions for which evidence survives each involved the sale of forty people. In August 1792, Carroll referred in his journal to a "List of negroes for sale," and two years later, in September 1794, he noted that he had sold forty persons since the middle or end of 1792. The second known transaction occurred at the end of the decade, when in November 1799 Carroll advertised for sale "Upwards of Fifty Valuable Slaves, men, women, boys and girls." Three months later, on February 12, 1800, his clerk compiled a list of forty "Negroes Sold on Dougheragen Manor Since December the 2d 1799." Given that information about these transactions, for which no recorded bills of sale have been found, exists only due to the chance survival of a few pieces of evidence (Carroll's journal for particular years and the 1800 list of people sold, found at the New-York Historical Society), it seems more than likely that many more sales occurred than these eighty or so that can be documented. Indeed, most likely the dozens, possibly hundreds, of people who left the manor between 1783 and 1810 were sold to new enslavers.⁵¹

Aside from the forty people enumerated on the 1800 list and the handful of references scattered in Carroll's journal, little evidence survives to help identify by name the large numbers of people most likely sold from Doughoragen Manor during this period. However, an analysis of the people still resident on the manor in 1795 compared with those enumerated in 1773 provides some information about the people who left and a sense of the tremendous fracturing of family groups that occurred. By 1795, the number of residents on the manor had not only declined from 330 to 187, but the loss was actually much greater, since about half of the 1795 residents were born *after* the 1773 compilation. Thus, fewer than one hundred of the 330 manor residents

Negroes for Sale.

To be Sold on Carroll's manor, in Anne Arundel county, on Monday, the 9th of December next, if fair, if not the next fair day, UPWARDS of FIFTY VALUABLE SLAVES, men, women, boys and girls. The men consist of carpenters, wheel wrights, black smiths, grooms, and field hands—They will be sold on a credit of three years; bonds with approved security must be given to bear interest, from their dates. The interest must be paid annually, if not so paid the bonds will be put in suit before the expiration of the above mentioned credit. At the same time will be sold two valuable Studs, and several work Horses. Also a number of Black Cattle.

Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.
Dougheragen manor, Anne Arundel county, November 8th, 1799. 51—

FIGURE 9. Advertisement by Charles Carroll of Carrollton offering "Negroes for Sale" at Dougheragen Manor.

The Centinel of Liberty, and George-Town and Washington Advertiser, November 19, 1799

NEGROES FOR Sale.

To be Sold on Carroll's manor, in Anne Arundel county, on Monday, the 9th of December next if fair, if not the next fair day, UPWARDS of FIFTY VALUABLE SLAVES, men, women, boys and girls. The men consist of carpenters, wheel wrights, black smiths, grooms, and field hands—They will be sold on a credit of three years; bonds with approved security must be given to bear interest, from their dates. The interest must be paid annually, if not so paid the bonds will be put in suit before the expiration of the above mentioned credit. At the same time will be sold two valuable Studs, and several work Horses. Also a number of Black Cattle.

Charles Carroll, of Carrollton,
Dougheragen manor,
Anne Arundel county,
November 8th, 1799.

in 1773 were still living there two decades later, meaning that some 240 people were gone. Because almost all of those living in 1773 who survived until 1795 could be identified on the earlier list, it has been possible, conversely, to identify by name those present in 1773 who were missing two decades later. Some of these had no doubt died of old age, but after eliminating anyone who would have been at least fifty in 1795, it is possible to identify about 175 people who would still have been living on the manor had they not fallen victim to the terrors of sale and separation from family, friends, and all that was familiar.⁵²

Based on available evidence, Carroll appears to have refrained from separating husbands and wives through sales. In a few cases, entire families (parents and children) living together in 1773 were gone, as for example Ned and Deborah and their young children, Rose, Moses, Gregory, and Lacky; Adam, Minta, and their son Patrick; and Clem, Cecilia, and their children Monica and John—all of whom, parents and children, would have been under fifty in 1795. Moses, Rachel, and all six of their children—Solomon, Constance, Winifred, Ignatius, Bidley, and Christian—were gone,

though in this instance the somewhat older parents might have succumbed to death rather than sale. Perhaps Carroll sold all of these families as units, with the intention that they not be separated, though in fact he would have had little control over their ultimate disposition after sale, as illustrated by the example of the enslaved carpenter Rezin and his family. Rezin, as noted earlier, was one of the descendants of Ann Joice, who was freed temporarily in 1799 as a result of the Mahoney case. After freeing Rezin, Carroll sold Rezin's wife, Flavia, and the couple's four children to Richard Ridgely of Anne Arundel County. When the Mahoney verdict was reversed in 1802, Carroll sold Rezin to Ridgely as well, with the stipulation that the family be freed if they could reimburse their purchase price. Before they could do so, however, Ridgely sold the family to Dr. William Mathews, who in 1811 threatened to sell the family to Georgia traders. Flavia's father, "yellow" Harry, an enslaved carpenter, appealed to Carroll to prevent the sale. To his credit, in November 1811 Carroll agreed to give Mathews \$140 for Flavia "out of compassion for the woman & the father." But his compassion fell tragically short of the couple's children, whom, he declared, "I consider as a meer incumbrance: I would not have them as a gift." Aside from Carroll's chilling lack of empathy for his former bondsman's family, this incident highlights the difficulties facing enslaved persons who attempted to purchase their own or their family's freedom when given the opportunity even if—as in this particular case—they possessed some marketable skills. It also emphasizes Carroll's limited control over an agreement he had brokered once the party to the contract (Rezin) had been sold to a new enslaver.⁵³

In general, it was much more common for some rather than all family members to leave the manor. A groom, Jacob, his wife, Sall, and their son, Jonathan, still lived on Doughoragen in 1795, but their daughters Elizabeth, Pulcheria, and Fanny, did not. Likewise, three of Charles and Rose's children remained, but the parents and three daughters—ironically named Faith, Hope, and Charity—and a son, Maurice, did not. Carpenter Harry and his wife Sophia were still on the manor with their sons Harry and Abraham and the next generation of grandsons, but their daughter, Clara, age seventeen in 1773, was gone. Far more individuals than families left the manor between 1773 and 1795, indicating that while in some cases Carroll may have sold entire families, he had no compunction about separating children from their parents. Perhaps Carroll should be commended for not tearing apart husbands and wives (possibly to reinforce his own positive self-perception), but no doubt the separation of parents from a child was equally painful for the victims.⁵⁴

The list of forty people sold in 1799–1800 confirms that Carroll sold people both individually and as families. Thirty-one of the forty people on the list were part of seven different family groups, but nine (22 percent) were sold separately, four of whom were under the age of fifteen. Scattered entries in Carroll's farm journal also confirm the sale of individuals, and the casual mention of these transactions suggests no hint of reluctance or remorse. In addition to the sales at Doughoragen Manor discussed previously, in August 1792 Carroll informed his manager at Annapolis Quarter that "I would sell Jem & Joe for £45 each ready money—would sell the girls Lila & Bett on

3 years credit on bond with good security for £40 each: also would sell [Jarr's?] eldest daughter." No bills of sale confirm any of these transactions—further evidence that sales of Carroll's enslaved do not appear in the public record.⁵⁵

An analysis of the enslaved population on Doughoragen Manor in 1795, when compared to 1773, supports the conclusion that Carroll did not separate enslaved husbands and wives through sale. The percentage of people living in family groups declined only slightly, with parents and their children living together still being the predominant organization. What is most striking is the altered gender composition of the manor residents. In 1773, women outnumbered men on the manor, but by 1795 there were nearly 1.5 men for every woman. This skewed ratio is concentrated almost exclusively among those individuals living alone who were (as far as can be determined) under age forty but old enough to live independently of their parents—that is, old enough to marry but apparently unable to find a partner on the manor. In 1795, this particular cohort consisted almost exclusively of unattached men. This imbalance indicates that Carroll sold more enslaved women than men, a conclusion supported by the sales noted in Carroll's farm journal, most of which sales were of female slaves. This pattern is also consistent with Carroll's stated objectives. Had he primarily sought income from the sale of his enslaved, he likely would have sold male hands, which generally fetched higher prices, and retained the women to give birth to the next generation. But as Carroll's primary aim was to reduce, and possibly eliminate, the enslaved population from the manor, the sale of women was a rational choice, removing not only the enslaved, but their potential future offspring as well.⁵⁶

Little is known about the fate of the enslaved people who left the manor during these decades. The 1799–1800 sales were to local purchasers, all but one within Maryland. The majority of those sold went to new owners in Baltimore (twenty-one), nine went to Anne Arundel County, five to Frederick County, and four to Montgomery County. The only out-of-state sale, of nine-year-old Joe, was to nearby Washington, DC. Most of the sales mentioned in Carroll's farm journal appear to be local as well. John Eager Howard of Baltimore bought Suckey, and Carroll sold a number of women—Heditha, Lydia, Madge, and Sophia—to different purchasers in the city. A few of the sales were for a period of years, after which the person was to be freed, but in most cases there is no mention of a term, and the sales appear to have been absolute. Aside from these few records, nothing has been found to document the presumed sale of most of the dozens of people who vanished between 1783 and 1810. Perhaps the majority were sold as families, for limited periods of time, and to local purchasers, but it seems unlikely that Carroll could dispose of so many people locally, when many other Maryland planters were likewise pruning their enslaved forces. Maryland had become a net exporter of enslaved people by 1800, and Georgia traders were operating in the state as early as the 1790s.⁵⁷

Even if they remained in state, sale could and usually did mean permanent separation from family and friends who no longer lived in the immediate vicinity. As one historian has noted, distances within Maryland might have been far less than to

Louisiana, but were still “enormous in human terms.” Just twelve short miles on the Eastern Shore was sufficient to make Frederick Douglass and his mother “virtual strangers.” People sold from Doughoragen Manor to Baltimore or elsewhere in Maryland, now bound to new enslavers and work regimens, would have little opportunity to see parents, siblings, and other relations left behind at Doughoragen, even if the distance was relatively short. What is certain is that at some level the sales must have affected everyone on the manor. Everyone lost someone—parents, children, grandchildren, aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews, cousins. Because everyone was connected to kin networks, such numerous sales could only decimate those networks. Not only did everyone actually lose multiple family members, the sales no doubt evoked terror into the hearts of those who had escaped, at least temporarily, the wrenching separation from community and the terrors of the unknown. Who would be next? Where would they be sent? What would the new enslaver be like? Would one ever see their friends and loved ones again?⁵⁸

Sometime after the enslaved population at Doughoragen Manor reached its nadir in 1810, Carroll altered course, halted the removal of manor residents and allowed the enslaved population to grow unchecked during the next twenty years. Nowhere does Carroll even acknowledge, let alone articulate, the reasons for this change, but the results speak for themselves. By 1819, a list Carroll compiled that year names 198 enslaved people living on Doughoragen, along with thirty-seven free Black people. Accounts of cloth given to enslaved manor residents during the 1820s confirm an increase in the number of enslaved persons, with the number rising gradually over the course of the decade from about 220 to 280. The 1830 census data for Carroll reports a slightly higher figure (307), which may include some house servants who moved back and forth between the manor and Baltimore, while the 1833 inventory of Carroll’s estate identifies 290 enslaved residents of Doughoragen Manor. Regardless of the precise figures, it is clear that after 1810, Carroll abandoned his efforts to reduce the manor population. Based on the 26-percent rate of growth that occurred between 1773 and 1783, the 176 enslaved people on the manor in 1810 would, by 1830, have increased to 279, a figure remarkably close to the number enumerated in the clothing lists, the 1830 census, and Carroll’s inventory.⁵⁹

One possible motive for Carroll’s change of course after 1810 focuses on the never-ending needs of the patriarch’s financially dependent, ever-expanding family. During the decade after 1810, it became increasingly clear that his alcoholic son was incapable of assuming any responsibility for the management of his own affairs, while Carroll’s two sons-in-law were hopelessly mired in debt. Once described by his feckless son as the “Treasurer of All his Family and their Children,” Carroll provided a generous annual stipend to the families of each of his children, as well as gifts, loans, and advances on their inheritances. Although he initially intended for his only son to inherit the bulk of his estate, after 1810 Carroll began to develop a revised strategy based on the needs of the large and growing families of all of his children. Thanks to the booming

cotton industry in the Deep South and its insatiable demand for labor, human property—an increasingly profitable liquid asset in the eyes of enslavers—might well have featured in Carroll’s strategic plans. Allowing the enslaved population to grow on Doughoragen Manor promised to create future wealth and future inheritances for the patriarch’s many voracious dependents. Carroll might not have viewed the once again increasing population in such calculating terms, but human property nevertheless represented a secure, easily transferable investment that would be available and accessible if needed. Especially after the panic of 1819 and the subsequent bank failures, which horrified the conservative Carroll, investment in enslaved humans, with their rising prices and ready market, could have appealed to the aging patriarch.⁶⁰

At the same time, the increasingly organized and visible interstate trade that made human chattels so valuable also made it harder to ignore the cruel realities of the widespread traffic or to believe that people sold locally would remain in the state. Carroll, who demonstrated some sympathy, however tenuous, with the anti-slavery impulse of the post-Revolutionary years, might well have found participation in the interstate trade of humans just too unpalatable. Lending credence to such an interpretation of his motives, Carroll had earlier urged his son not to sell his wayward servant to Georgia, and he did make an effort to save Flavia, if not her children, from sale to Georgia dealers. More significant, however, were the complicated steps he took in 1817 to prevent the out-of-state sale of the descendants of the enslaved on Poplar Island who had been leased to a tenant farmer, William Sears, in 1783. Shortly after Sears’ death, Carroll in 1817 executed deeds granting delayed manumission, generally after a lengthy additional term of work, to the thirty enslaved people then living on Poplar Island, undoubtedly the descendants of those originally leased to Sears. Generally, masters used the promise of eventual freedom to ensure the hard work and loyalty of people they enslaved during a set period of time in a changing urban environment, but Carroll did not intend to retain ownership of the people granted future freedom while they worked out their terms and thus had nothing to gain in work or loyalty through delayed manumission. His aim, therefore, appears to have been to prevent the sale out of state of the “manumitted” people whose remaining terms he subsequently sold to new enslavers. Thus when John Sears of Talbot County purchased the terms of a number of the “manumitted” people, he simultaneously executed a bond to Carroll stipulating that the “said negroes, or any of them shall not be carried nor sold out of the State nor sold for transportation out of the State, nor sold to any person not a bona fide resident of the State.”⁶¹

It is possible that Carroll also began to implement a similar delayed manumission strategy at Doughoragen Manor. Although most of the people living at Doughoragen Manor in 1819 were still enslaved, there were also a large number of free persons enumerated on Carroll’s “list of negroes on Doughoragen & of free negroes & at the Folly” compiled that year. According to Carroll’s accounting, there were 198 enslaved and thirty-seven “free negroes” then living on the manor. Nothing in Carroll’s papers or

correspondence provides any further information about these people—where they came from, why they were allowed to live on the manor, or what happened to them—and they appear to have been gone by the time of the 1830 census, when there were no free Black people enumerated at Doughoragen. Perhaps no longer willing to sell people, but still desiring to limit the manor population, Carroll began to grant freedom to some people after a period of service. If so, however, the practice appears to have been short-lived, as the enslaved population continued to increase at a rate consistent with natural growth throughout the 1820s.⁶²

In granting delayed manumission to the enslaved on Poplar Island, and perhaps to a select group at Doughoragen, Carroll might have been influenced by the Maryland Jesuits, who were among the largest enslavers in the state. Educated at Jesuit schools in Europe and cousin to John Carroll, a former Jesuit and America's first Catholic bishop, then archbishop, Carroll had close connections to the Jesuits—the only clergymen ministering to the needs of Catholics in Maryland before the Revolution—throughout his life. Like the larger Catholic Church, the Jesuits had not supported the brief anti-slavery movement in Maryland nor espoused any moral opposition to slavery. Indeed, for more than two decades, the Maryland Jesuits actively fought the numerous freedom suits (including the one brought by Charles Mahoney) that threatened their ownership of human property. But in 1814, they adopted a resolution to sell the enslaved workers on their plantations for a term of years, “after which they should be entitled to their freedom,” a plan similar to the one Carroll adopted at Poplar Island three years later. The Jesuits had not, however, suddenly experienced a conversion to the cause of abolition. Rather, worn down by the freedom suits, the difficulty of governing enslaved workers and managing their plantations, and concerned about the unprofitability of their operations, they hoped to replace their enslaved workers with free, white tenant farmers—just as Carroll had envisioned on Doughoragen Manor. If implemented, it would have been one of the largest manumissions in the nation. However, the Jesuits did not actively move to carry out the resolution and retreated altogether with its repeal in 1820, resigned to the existence of slavery. Years later, they attempted to resolve their financial difficulties and to extricate themselves from slavery with the sale of nearly three hundred men, women, and children to Louisiana, in the process sundering family ties that stretched back generations.⁶³

Whatever Carroll might have once thought about the future of slavery, after 1820 he too became resigned to its continued existence. During the debates in Congress over the admission of Missouri to the Union in 1820, Carroll dismissed the proceeding as “such a waste of time” that he suspected something other than slavery to be the real cause. “The ardor & perseverance with which the debate is pursued gives room to suspect that something else than the exclusion of slaves from the Missouri State is at the bottom.” After the Missouri Compromise was adopted, he expressed exasperation at any continuing debate on the subject. “Why keep alive the question of slavery? it is admitted by all to be a great evil let an effectual mode of getting rid of it be pointed out, or let the question sleep for ever.”⁶⁴

Like the Jesuits, Carroll also retreated from whatever—if any—impulse he once had to abolish slavery, even from his own plantation. On the one hand, allowing the enslaved population at Doughoragen Manor to increase naturally during the 1820s was preferable to selling people to unknown futures, but it ultimately did nothing to bring to an end the institution, which continued to grow until abolished through the violence of the Civil War. Had he been so inclined, Carroll might have freed a majority of his bondsmen (those not older than forty-five, the legal age of manumission), if not immediately, then after a period of further service. But terms of service were mentioned for only six of the people enumerated in his 1833 inventory, then aged eleven to nineteen and bound to serve until the age of thirty, when presumably they would be freed. All six were the children of William Joice, probably one of those briefly freed by the Mahoney case in 1799, but William himself was enumerated to be enslaved for life. Had he wished to do so, Carroll could at his death have manumitted some of his “people” through his will, but he elected to free just one person: his waiting man, Bill, who was to be paid an annuity of \$50 a year for life, and be permitted, if he chose, to live out his life on Doughoragen Manor. Carroll also directed that Bill’s mother, Julia, who was past the age of legal manumission, “be allowed to live on Doughoragen Manor, during her life, and be provided for and supported by my grand-son Charles Carroll.” Julia, then age seventy-two, is valued in Carroll’s inventory at one cent. She lived on the manor, still technically enslaved, until her death in 1834, but there is no further mention of Bill, who was probably too old for manumission by the time Carroll’s will, written in 1825, went into effect.⁶⁵

Aside from the one person manumitted by his will and the six people with terms of service, the remaining 355 men, women, and children enumerated in Carroll’s inventory were to be enslaved for life. Sixty-four were too old, but given his great wealth, Carroll could with little sacrifice have freed the remaining 291, half of whom were younger than sixteen. Altogether, these 291 people were appraised at just over \$52,000, a tiny fraction of Carroll’s entire estate. The value of Carroll’s personal property, including stocks, money, enslaved people, livestock, utensils, crops, furniture, plate, and outstanding debts, was more than \$700,000, excluding debts that the appraisers deemed either doubtful or “desperate” (uncollectible). The amount of doubtful and desperate debts together (\$74,000) actually exceeded the appraised value of all of the 361 enslaved people in Carroll’s inventory (\$56,510), including the elderly and the six with terms of service. Carroll’s personal property accounted for less than half of his entire estate, which, including extensive real estate holdings in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York, totaled more than \$1.6 million in 1833 (approximately \$1.6 billion in 2023 dollars). Carroll’s entire enslaved force at his death thus comprised a mere 3.5 percent of his wealth—no great sacrifice had he wished to set his “people” free.⁶⁶

By the time he died in 1832, Carroll had for fifty years—since his father’s death in 1782—been the sole owner and arbiter of the lives of hundreds of human beings, initially those inherited from his father and then over time their descendants. Carroll may well have “bitterly lamented the existence of slavery” as his son-in-law claimed, but by

12

Patsy Soice daughter of William	}		
Soice to serve till she arrives to the		15	do 90
age of 30 years			
Nancy Soice daughter of William	}		
Soice to serve till she arrives to		13	do 90
the age of 30 years			
Matilda Soice daughter of William	}		
Soice to serve till she arrives to		11	do 75
the age of 30 years			
Charles Chase		36	do 300
Thomas Soice aged about		33	years 350
Oridget Soice his wife		29	do 340
Nelly Soice her child		11	do 100
Fattery Soice her child		7	do 100
Magdalen Soice her child		6	do 160
William Soice her child		3	do 40
Morris Parker		58	do sickly 20
Patsy Parker his wife		60	do 1
Julia Parker her child		25	do 250
Isabella daughter of Julia Parker		3	do 25
William son of ditto		1	do 20
Gleem Totts Blacksmith		44	do 350
Nachel Cook		77	do 01
Levi Cook his son, blind in one eye		35	do 50
Mathew Cook his son		32	do 300
Patience Cook		60	do 25
Ben Clark		45	do 100
Maria Clark his wife		55	do 25
John, otherwise called Amos Reynolds		30	do 350
James Bungep, lame		31	do 200
Maria Bungep his wife		27	do 220
Alexander Bungep her child		3	do 30
Henry Bungep her child		2	do 30
Thomas Soice, Blacksmith a cripple		73	do 01
Agnes Soice his daughter		25	do 200

FIGURE 10.
 Excerpt from the
 inventory ledger of
 Charles Carroll of
 Carrollton's estate,
 1833-1834,
 pages 12 and 13,
 detailing a number
 of enslaved
 persons owned by
 the deceased.

Maryland Center for
 History and Culture,
 H. Furlong Baldwin
 Library, MS 205

13			
Tom, child of Agnes Toice	8	do	100
George, child of Agnes Toice	3	do	20
Joe Addison, wheelwright	80	do	40
Catharine Addison his wife	59	do	100
Henry Addison his son	32	do	350
Mathias Addison, son of Catharine Addison	18	do	400
Prokey Addison, daughter of Catharine Addison	21	do	250
Denah Addison, daughter of Catharine Addison	18	do	200
Milly Addison, daughter of Catharine Addison	12	do	150
Edward Addison, wheelwright	13	do	250
Nancy Culvert	55	do	200
Becky Culvert her daughter	17	do	200
Burney Culvert her son	11	do	150
Henry Culvert her daughter	10	do	30
Godfrey Culvert her son aged about 8 years			100
Dianna Culvert her daughter	5	do	50
Edward Culvert her son	4 months		20
Moses Addison, a cripple	45 years		1
George Addison, cooper, lame in shoulder	37	do	250
Ab Addison, sickly	39	do	50
John Caspel, one leg	50	do	01
Jacob Caspel, his son	17	do	250
Mary Caspel, his daughter	5	do	100
Burney Caspel, his son	5	do	30
Henry Hart, carpenter	50	do	150
Petsy Hart, his wife, sickly	42	do	50
James Hart, his child rough car- penter	24	do	450
Henry Hart, his child, a little blind	17	do	100
Bill Hart, his child	15	do	250
John Hart, his child	12	do	150

the end of his life he had freed only a miniscule number of people and done nothing to bring about an end to the system itself. Shortly after the American Revolution, he supported—to the extent that he headed a Maryland Senate committee considering the measure—a bill for the gradual abolition of slavery over an extended period of time and with compensation to enslavers, but as it never came to a vote, his actual position is uncertain. He was willing to sell their freedom to a few fortunate individuals able to procure the purchase price; he agreed to abide by the outcome of the Mahoney case; and he stipulated eventual freedom to the enslaved residents of Poplar Island after additional terms of service to new enslavers, but otherwise, with only one known exception, he was not willing to manumit any of the people he enslaved without compensation. At the same time, he sought to distance himself from the institution of slavery and “whiten” the labor force on the manor through the use of tenant farmers. To do so, and reduce the burgeoning enslaved population, he was apparently willing to sell large numbers of people, separating children from parents and individuals from their web of kin relations, severing them from their homes and the world they had known. He later changed course and allowed the population to resume its natural growth, but by then much damage had been done. Had the 416 people living on the manor in 1783 continued to reproduce at the same rate as during the previous decade, as many as thirteen hundred people would have been living at Doughoragen by the time Carroll died.

No doubt to his mind, Carroll did, as Caton argued, the best he could under the circumstances. To be fair, it would have taken tremendous courage and a clear sense of purpose to challenge the system of slavery. Even during the immediate postwar years, anti-slavery advocates in Maryland never enjoyed the support of a majority of the white population, and by the end of the eighteenth century, the dwindling movement encountered increasing hostility. On a more personal level, Carroll—inculcated from youth with his family’s strong belief in the sanctity of property rights and the need to defend those rights from a threatening world, beginning with their loss of land and status in Ireland to the threats facing them as Catholics in pre-Revolutionary Maryland—would have found it extremely difficult to part with property whose accumulation and protection was so essential to preceding generations. Especially considering his illegitimacy and once precarious place in the succession, Carroll no doubt felt it a sacred duty to preserve and pass on the estate he had inherited. Nor could he have looked for leadership from the Catholic Church, which generations of Carrolls had supported and clung to at great cost. Unlike the Quakers, the Catholic Church put forth no principled or moral opposition to slavery; indeed, the Maryland Jesuits continued a decades-long struggle to defend their human property from innumerable freedom suits.⁶⁷

Whatever his own reservations about slavery, in the end, Carroll simply handed the problem off to the next generation. In his will, he divided the people who were enslaved at Doughoragen Manor among various grandchildren—one-third to each of

the three branches of his family—without stipulating either that families be kept together under new ownership or that people not be sold out of state. Perhaps Carroll trusted that his grandchildren would do the right thing, but for the enslaved, the prospect of distribution among new owners, with uncertain futures, was no doubt profoundly unsettling, if not terrifying. Carroll's grandson, Charles of Doughoragen, the son of his deceased only son Charles of Homewood, ended up with most of the enslaved people at Doughoragen Manor, whom he purchased from the other legatees. Before long, however, he too apparently discovered that he had more workers than needed and began selling off people to new owners. But he still continued to enslave large numbers of people at his death in 1862, all specifically identified as "slaves for life" in his will, even as the Civil War was already underway. Reminiscent of his uncle Richard Caton's defense of Carroll of Carrollton three decades earlier, Doughoragen claimed in his will that he had "always regarded Slavery as a great evil," but an evil for which enslavers were "not responsible . . . considering that God in his wisdom placed them here, and permitted them to be introduced." Like his grandfather, Doughoragen inherited a system he did not create, but nevertheless insisted that he did his best for his people, "who are as a mass, better cared for and happier than if they were free and providing for themselves." Eighty years had passed since Charles Carroll of Carrollton assumed his role as patriarch of the family, but from the perspective of those who were enslaved, little had changed. Nevertheless, despite Doughoragen's apparent obliviousness, just three years after his death, at the conclusion of a bloody and divisive conflict, the Thirteenth Amendment formally abolished slavery in the United States, at long last eradicating a system that the Carrolls had for decades claimed to despise, but always lacked the will or resolve to bring to an end, even within the limited—though for their enslaved property, vast—world under their own dominion.⁶⁸

NOTES

1. *Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, November 16, 1832. At his father's death in 1782, Carroll's properties consisted of two large estates of about twelve thousand acres each: his principal dwelling plantation, Doughoragen Manor in Anne Arundel (now Howard) County, about ten miles west of Baltimore, home to the majority of the enslaved laborers, and Carrollton Manor, in Frederick County to the west, worked by tenant farmers; a dwelling mansion in Annapolis, where the family spent the winter months; an 822-acre farm near Annapolis known as Annapolis Quarter; and 1,000-acre Poplar Island in the Chesapeake Bay. The spelling of Doughoragen varied over time and by author of contemporary documents; the spelling (Doughoragen) used throughout this article (with the exception of quotations) is that used consistently by Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Ronald Hoffman, Mary Clement Jeske, and Sally D. Mason, eds., *A Patriarch and His Family in the Early Republic: The Papers of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 1782–1832*, 4 vols. (Baltimore, MD: Maryland Center for History and Culture, forthcoming), 1:5, and passim; Ronald Hoffman, Sally D. Mason, and Eleanor S. Darcy, eds. *Dear Papa, Dear Charley: The Peregrinations of a Revolutionary Aristocrat, as Told by Charles Carroll of Carrollton and His Father, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, With Sundry*

- Observations on Bastardy, Child-Rearing, Romance, Matrimony, Commerce, Tobacco, Slavery, and the Politics of Revolutionary America*, 3 vols. (Chapel Hill, NC: published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, VA, the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, and the Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 1:344n2; 2:484n10.
2. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 3:2334–36; *Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, November 16, 1832; Daniel Feller, Thomas Coens, and Laura-Eve Moss, eds., *The Papers of Andrew Jackson*, vol. 10, 1832 (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2016), 569.
 3. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 3:2334, 4:2377–90; *Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, December 19, 1832; Steven Deyle, *Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 25.
 4. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 3:2334.
 5. *Ibid.*
 6. *Return of the whole number of persons within the several districts of the United States, according to "An act providing for the enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States," passed March the first, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one* (Philadelphia, PA: Printed by Joseph Gales: no. 23 South Third street, 1791), 5.
 7. Kate Mason Rowland, *The Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 1737–1832. With His Correspondence and Public Papers*, 2 vols. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1898), 2:102; Joseph Gurn, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 1737–1832* (New York: P.J. Kennedy & Sons, 1932), 268–70; Ellen Hart Smith, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942), 266–70. Lewis A. Leonard, *Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton* (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1918), 218, also cites Carroll's supposed abolition bill, but offers no further discussion of the slavery issue.
 8. Scott McDermott, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton: Faithful Revolutionary* (New York: Scepter Publishers, 2002), 243–44.
 9. Smith, *Charles Carroll*, 270; McDermott, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, 243; *The African Repository, and Colonial Journal*, 3 (October 1827): 251. Carroll also contributed financially to the ACS. Eric Robert Papenfuss, *The Evils of Necessity: Robert Goodloe Harper and the Moral Dilemma of Slavery* (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1997), 551n11.
 10. McDermott, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton*; Bradley J. Birzer, *American Cicero: The Life of Charles Carroll* (Wilmington, DE: ISI Books, 2010). Thomas O'Brien Hanley, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton: The Making of a Revolutionary Gentleman* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1970) offers no analysis of Carroll as an enslaver, but he does note that his correspondence includes "no remarks in support or in rationalization of the institution" (176). The Poplar Island manumissions are discussed more fully below.
 11. Ronald Hoffman and Sally D. Mason, *Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland: A Carroll Saga, 1500–1782* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2000), offers a more extensive analysis of the family's enslaving practices, but focuses primarily on Carroll of Carrollton's father, Charles Carroll of Annapolis. Their study ends with the death of Carroll of Annapolis in 1782 and does not consider enslavement on Doughoragen Manor over the long course of Charles Carroll of Carrollton's tenure as patriarch of the family.
 12. Hoffman, Mason, and Darcy, eds., *Dear Papa, Dear Charley*, 2:294; Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 3:2088.
 13. Hoffman and Mason, *Princes of Ireland*, 111; Hoffman, Mason, and Darcy, eds., *Dear Papa, Dear Charley*, 1:343.

14. Hoffman and Mason, *Princes of Ireland*, chapter 4, passim.
15. For a discussion of agricultural production on the manor during the 1770s under the direction of Charles Carroll of Annapolis, see Hoffman and Mason, *Princes of Ireland*, 235–64. The surviving sections of Carroll of Carrollton's farm journal—a fragment for 1788 and complete segments for the years 1792–1796 and 1799–1802—are published in *Patriarch*. A selection of Carroll's correspondence with William Gibbons is published in *Patriarch*; the unpublished letters can be found in William Gibbons Letterbook, 1824–29, Papers of the Carroll Family, 1684–1838, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
16. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 1:86, 345, 398, 421, 551, 559, 572.
17. See for example Carroll's order to Wallace, Johnson, and Muir, March 20, 1783, in Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 1:21–29; Doughoragen Manor Account Book, 1787–1803, Howard County Historical Society, Ellicott City, MD, passim; Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 2:872. Distribution lists for 1795–1796 and 1822 are published in *Patriarch*, 4:2351–56, 2368–74; other lists for the 1820s can be found in the Doughoragen Manor Ledger, 1819–34, Howard County Historical Society, Ellicott City, MD.
18. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 1:206, 414, 570; Doughoragen Manor Account Book, passim.
19. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 1:626, 2:811–12, 3:2007.
20. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 1:560, 575, 2:1368, 1370.
21. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 2:1146, 1187.
22. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 2:1047, 3:1936, 2015; Carroll to William Gibbons, April 15, 1825, William Gibbons Letterbook, 1824–29, Papers of the Carroll Family, 1684–1838, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
23. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 1:579–80n27. Conner's declaration of freedom coincided with and was likely influenced by a number of successful freedom suits in Maryland, discussed below.
24. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 1:368–69n154, 443n51, 482–83, 493, 573, 647n3, 2:1083, 1163.
25. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 2:1526n3.
26. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 1:224–25, 269, 2:796, 1226–27; Judith S. Graham, Beth Luey, Margaret A. Hogan, and C. James Taylor, eds., *Diary and Autobiographical Writings of Louisa Catherine Adams*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 1:25.
27. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 3:2160, 2270, 2271n7.
28. "Acct of Shoes given out for the Winter 95 and summer 1796," and Slaves Enumerated in the Inventory of CCC's Estate, 1833, in Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 4:2351, 2353–54, 2381–82, 2388.
29. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 3:2160n5.
30. "A List of Negroes—on Doohoregan Manor taken in Family with their Ages Decr. 1, 1773," Hoffman, Mason, and Darcy, eds., *Dear Papa, Dear Charley*, 3:1571–81.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. "Acct of Shoes," 1795–96, in *Patriarch*, 4:2351–56.
34. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 1:560, 563, 572, 627, 2:839, 1059, 1163.
35. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 1:518–19n76.

36. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 3:1570; John C. Dann, ed., “‘Tossing about among woods & mountains, and strange people’: Henry D. Gilpin’s Account of Travel to Maryland and Western Pennsylvania in the Fall of 1828,” *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle* 1 (1985): 30.
37. T. Stephen Whitman, *Challenging Slavery in the Chesapeake: Black and White Resistance to Human Bondage, 1775–1865* (Baltimore, MD: Maryland Historical Society, 2007), 19; Deyle, *Carry Me Back*, 8.
38. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (Baltimore, MD: J.B. Piet, 1879), 3:306–7; William G. Thomas III, *A Question of Freedom: The Families Who Challenged Slavery from the Nation’s Founding to the Civil War* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2020), 37; *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Maryland* (Archives of Maryland Online: Legislative Records), Nov. sess., 1789, 5, 17–18, 21, 26 (aomol.msa.maryland.gov/html/legislative.html); Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 3:2334.
39. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 1:370n165; Anne Arundel County Land Records, NH#8:87, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD.
40. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 1:412; Anne Arundel County Court, Manumission Record, 1797–1807, folios 257–58, 269, Anne Arundel County Land Records, NH#4:160, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD.
41. For a fuller discussion of the Mahoney case, see *Patriarch*, 1:720n2; Thomas, *A Question of Freedom*, 86–117; and Eric Robert Papenfuse, “From Recompense to Revolution: *Mahoney v. Ashton* and the Transfiguration of Maryland Culture, 1791–1802,” *Slavery and Abolition* 15, no. 3 (1994): 38–62.
42. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 1:697–98, 720n2.
43. Thomas, *A Question of Freedom*, 114.
44. Carroll did not specify the distribution of the 285 enslaved people in 1764, but they were dispersed among the same four properties—Doughoragen Manor, the Annapolis mansion, Annapolis Quarter, and Poplar Island—as they were a decade later, in 1773–74. “List of Negroes on Doohoregan Manor 1773,” “List of Negroes on Poplar Island taken 18th Feby. 1774,” “List of Negroes—House Servants at Annapolis—taken the 4 July 1774,” and “List of Negroes at Annapolis Quarter taken 11 July 1774,” in Hoffman, Mason, and Darcy, eds., *Dear Papa, Dear Charley*, 3:1571–84.
45. The 1783 assessment enumerates children under eight and children ages eight to fourteen. Some portion of the latter must also have been born after 1773, adding to the 124 known children born since the 1773 enumeration. The Carrolls’ correspondence indicates that on rare occasion they might purchase a slave with a particular skill, but there is no evidence of any large-scale purchases—further confirmation that the growth was due to natural increase. Assessment of 1783, Anne Arundel County, S1437, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD.
46. Deyle, *Carry Me Back*, 22; Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 369.
47. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 1:355n52; Mary C. Jeske, “Autonomy and Opportunity: Carrollton Manor Tenants, 1734–1790” (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 1999). The population figures for 1783 include those enslaved at Poplar Island (15), Annapolis Quarter (18), Annapolis mansion (19), and Doughoragen Manor (416) for comparison purposes with the total population in 1764 of 285 at those same properties (for which separate totals are not available).
48. Whitman, *Challenging Slavery*, 60; Anne Arundel County Land Records, NH#8:650–53, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD. Carroll’s support of the American Colonization

- Society, which shared a similar goal on a larger scale (removal of free Black people to Africa), dovetails with his plans for Doughoragen Manor.
49. The number may have increased somewhat between 1786 (252, based on Carroll's journal entry) and 1790, when the first federal census showed Carroll with 316 enslaved in Anne Arundel County, a figure that likely included those enslaved at both the Annapolis mansion and Annapolis Quarter, as there is only one entry for Carroll of Carrollton. Whatever the actual number at Doughoragen in 1790, by May 1792 it had fallen to 260 and continued downward until at least 1810. 1800 Federal Census, Anne Arundel, Maryland, M32, 9:74; 1810 Federal Census, Anne Arundel, Maryland, M252, 14:67; "Acct of Shoes," 1795–96, in Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 4:2351–56.
 50. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 1:336, 343, 388, 415. The decline in the number of enslaved persons at Doughoragen Manor cannot be attributed to distribution among Carroll's offspring. None of his three children had married or established an independent household before 1787, when his daughter Mary married Richard Caton, so they cannot account for the major population decrease that occurred between 1783 and 1786. Carroll's correspondence indicates that he did later occasionally gift enslaved people to his children, but the 1800 census shows the Catons enslaving just ten individuals, and Carroll's son, Homewood, enslaving three. Carroll's daughter Kitty had not yet married, but ten years later there were twelve people enslaved in the Harper household. 1800 Federal Census, Baltimore, Maryland, M32, 171–72; 1810 Federal Census, Baltimore, Maryland, M252, 215.
 51. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 2:332, 509, and "A List of Negroes Sold on Dougheragen Manor Since December the 2d. 1799 by Mr Carroll," 4:2358–59; *The Centinel of Liberty, and George-Town and Washington Advertiser*, November 22, 1799.
 52. The 175 includes only people on the manor in 1773; probably at least 100 people born after the 1773 compilation were also sold between 1783 and 1796. Assuming a 26-percent growth rate (the rate at Doughoragen 1773–83), the 330 slaves at Doughoragen in 1773 would have increased to 524 by 1793, so the 187 remaining in 1795 indicate a loss of at least 337 people.
 53. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 3:1251, 1252n2, 1268. Rezin might have returned to Carroll's employ on Doughoragen, where an enslaved man of that name worked until at least 1822; the fate of Flavia and their children is not known. Distribution List, November 1822, in Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 4:2371.
 54. "Acct of Shoes," 1795–96, in Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 4:2351–56.
 55. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 1:329, and "List of Negroes Sold 1799," 4:2358–59.
 56. In 1773 there were 155 males to 174 females (and one unknown); by 1795 there were 109 males to 76 females (and 2 unnamed children whose gender could not be determined).
 57. "List of Negroes Sold 1799," in Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 4:2358–59; Deyle, *Carry Me Back*, 44.
 58. Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 27–28.
 59. A List of Enslaved and Free People on Doughoragen Manor, 1819, and Slaves Enumerated in the Inventory of CCC's Estate, 1833, in Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 4:2360–66, 2377–90; 1830 Federal Census, Anne Arundel, Maryland, M19, 53:145.
 60. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 3:1925; Mary Clement Jeske, "Charles Carroll of Carrollton and the Creation of the 'Three American Graces,'" *Maryland Historical Magazine* 110, no. 2 (Spring 2015): 196–203.
 61. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 1:517n61; Talbot County Land Records, JL#39:189–93, 296–303, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD; T. Stephen Whitman, *The*

- Price of Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in Baltimore and Early National Maryland* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 1, 24, 61–63, 72–81. Carroll had disposed of all of the people enslaved at Poplar Island by the time of his death, presumably on the same terms as those sold to Sears, but no deeds have been found to document those transactions.
62. The 1820 census confirms the presence of 43 free Black individuals at Doughoragen, but none are listed in 1830. 1820 Federal Census, Anne Arundel, Maryland, M33, 41:383; 1830 Federal Census, Anne Arundel, Maryland, M19, 53:145; Enslaved and Free People on Doughoragen Manor, 1819, in Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 4:2366.
 63. Thomas, *A Question of Freedom*, 186–87, 270–97.
 64. Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 3:1797, 1814.
 65. CCC, Last Will and Testament, Sept. 2, 1825, Second Codicil to Will, Jan. 5, 1830, and Slaves Enumerated in the Inventory of CCC's Estate, 1833, in Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 4:2377, 2425, 2435.
 66. Slaves Enumerated in the Inventory of CCC's Estate, 1833, in Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 4:2377–90; Charles Carroll estate inventory, 1833–1834, MS 205, H. Furlong Baldwin Library, Maryland Center for History and Culture, Baltimore, MD; Edward C. Papenfuse, "Charles Carroll of Carrollton: English Aristocrat in an American Setting," in Ann C. Van Devanter, ed., *Anywhere So Long As There Be Freedom: Charles Carroll of Carrollton, His Family & His Maryland* (Baltimore, MD: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1975), 57; "Purchasing Power Today of a US Dollar Transaction in the Past," MeasuringWorth, 2023 (measuringworth.com/ppowerus).
 67. Whitman, *Challenging Slavery*, 66–72. For the Carrolls' worldview, see Hoffman and Mason, *Princes of Ireland*, passim.
 68. CCC, Last Will and Testament, in Hoffman, Jeske, and Mason, eds., *Patriarch*, 4:2414; Will of Charles Carroll of Doughoragen, March 12, 1861, and "Servants on Farm," in *Charles Carroll's Estate*, Homewood Museum, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD.



Maryland

MISCELLANY

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FIGURE 1. The 26-foot-long (11 meter) *MOMI-1999* sculpture at the entrance to ERHS. The long extension protruding from the seed is an anatomical representation of an awn (*nogi* in Japanese). The rough texture was created in stainless steel by Tanabe's signature electrical arc, air gouging method. The seed depicted here has just germinated; the vertical, polished-steel segment represents the shoot (in botanical terminology, for a young plant such as this, the *coleoptile*), while the curved segment represents the root (in botanical terminology, more precisely called the *radicle* at this early stage).

Photograph by the author, October 30, 2021



A Rice Plant (Almost) Grows in Greenbelt

BY EDWARD R. LANDA

IN 1999, A 1.5-METRIC TON, STAINLESS-STEEL SCULPTURE of a rice seed arrived from Japan at Eleanor Roosevelt High School (ERHS) in Greenbelt, Maryland. For even a casual observer, the monumental scale of this artwork begs the question: why rice as the subject matter, and why is it at a suburban Maryland high school?

To answer the second question, this gift from sculptor Mitsuaki Tanabe (1939–2015) was to honor the tenth anniversary of the sister school/student exchange program that ERHS began with Suiran High School in Yokohama in 1989. Tanabe had given Yokohama Suiran High School, the school he had attended, a similar sculpture in the mid-1990s.

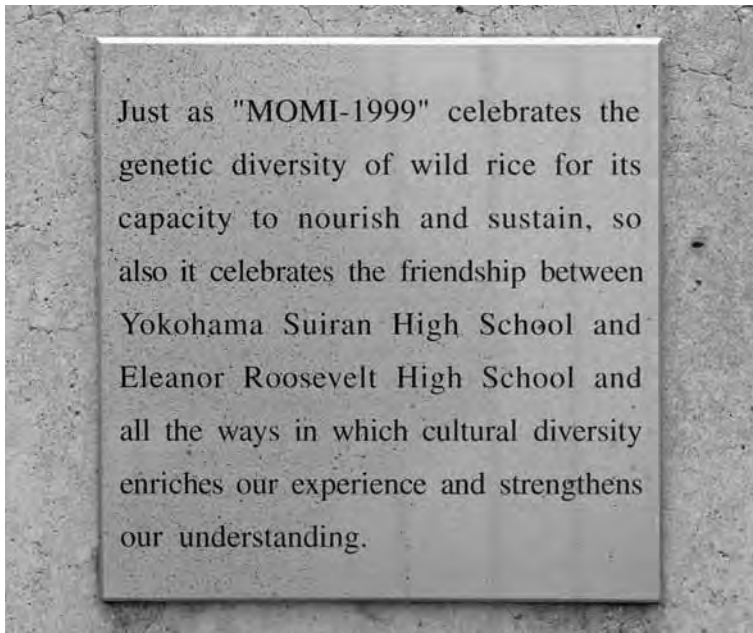


FIGURE 2. Plaque on the pedestal of the *MOMI-1999* sculpture at the Eleanor Roosevelt High School, Greenbelt, MD. Photograph by author, October 21, 2021

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FIGURE 3. Mitsuaki Tanabe's *MOMI(2)* sculpture at Yokohama Suiran High School in Yokohama, Japan. The sculpture was unveiled in the mid-1990s in honor of the school's 80th anniversary.

Photograph from July 2021 by the artist's son, Takamitsu Tanabe, and reproduced here with permission



The answer to the first question—why rice?—lies in the sculptor's passion for using images of wild rice as a call to protect wetlands throughout the world. Tanabe was a world-renowned artist who worked in metal, wood, plastic, and outcropping rock, often on an epic scale. He graduated from Tama Art University in Tokyo in 1961, and later came to the United States to study under the famous sculptor and designer Isamu Noguchi. Tanabe's sculptures have included representations of scallops, centipedes, leeches, snakes, lizards, birds, and elephants, but in terms of continuity of theme and variety of expressions, nothing matches his series depicting unhulled rice seeds (in Japanese, *momi*), begun in the late 1980s. While his early work focused on cultivated rice, his dialog with geneticist Yoichiro Sato caused him to shift to the wild rice motif, with its distinctively long awn (the bristle-like "whisker" structures seen in grain heads that aids in seed dispersal) or *nogi* in Japanese. The stiff, rough-surfaced, elongated awn of wild rice acts to enhance attachment to, and deter predation by, animals.¹

Tanabe's *MOMI* sculpture series was designed to rally public support for the in-situ conservation of wild rice, using his art to raise consciousness about the loss of wetland habitat worldwide and the need to tap into the wild-rice gene pool via plant breeding programs in order to increase rice crop yields and thereby feed an ever-growing world population. He began this project when the international community and the environmental movement was just starting to see biodiversity as a major issue. For example, in 1988, United Nations Environment Programme convened the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Biological Diversity, which culminated in the adoption of the 1992 Convention on Biological Diversity. Tanabe moved comfortably among members of the international plant breeding community, often attending scientific conferences as the only artist present. The interactions were two-way, and he was a welcomed guest and collaborator at rice research institutes in India, Thailand, and the Philippines. The International Rice Research Institute, located outside of Manila, was one of the major players in *The Green Revolution* of the 1960–1980 era, and its visitor center has a 7.5-ton painted-wood sculpture of a sprouting seed of rice, created by Tanabe in 1994. A 2008 *MOMI* is at the headquarters of the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization in Rome.²

Undoubtedly the least visited, yet most prescient and foreboding, sculpture in Tanabe's *MOMI* series is inside the Svalbard Global Seed Vault—the so-called "Doomsday Vault"—located above the Arctic Circle and designed to preserve seeds in the event of a global catastrophe. The seed vault is owned by Norway and managed in cooperation with the Nordic Genetic Resource Center and the international non-governmental organization the Crop Trust. Tanabe's *MOMI* at the site is of similar design to that at the Eleanor Roosevelt High School, but weighs only seven kilograms and is only 1.2 meters long (as compared to 1,500 kilograms and eleven meters respectively at ERHS). Today, Mitsuaki Tanabe's legacy is preserved at the Hiyoshi-no-Mori Garden Art Museum near Yokohama.³



FIGURE 4. Mitsuaki Tanabe was a world-renowned sculptor who worked in metal, wood, plastic, and out-cropping rock, often on an epic scale. He graduated from Tama Art University in Tokyo in 1961, and later came to the United States to study under Isamu Noguchi. The photograph features Mitsuaki Tanabe (left) and Isamu Noguchi (right), 1972, likely at Noguchi's villa in Kamakura City, Kanagawa Prefecture, Japan. Collection of Takamitsu Tanabe, Mitsuaki's son, reproduced here with permission

A sculpture donated to the United States that focused on rice biodiversity and the wild- and domesticated-rice gene pool would have logically been placed at a university or agricultural research center in a major rice-producing state, such as Arkansas, California, or Louisiana. While there is evidence of some commercial rice production in Virginia and Maryland during colonial times, it is very limited today. Wild rice, rich in protein and complex carbohydrates, does, however, find a perfect habitat in the Chesapeake Region's tidal waterways. Prince George's County is the home of two

major agricultural research institutions: the University of Maryland, College Park, and the US Department of Agriculture/Beltsville Agricultural Research Center, yet neither factored into the location chosen for this gift from Japan. Rather, based solely on a decade-long sister school program, a high school in Greenbelt became home to the only *MOMI* sculpture in the United States and Canada.⁴

For more than two decades, we have had a visually striking, thought-provoking sculpture at the nexus of science and art, with a global legacy and a compelling environmental narrative hiding in plain sight, in the shadow of the Baltimore-Washington Parkway. The well-worn adage of the environmental movement—“Think globally, act locally”—takes on renewed vigor when viewed through Tanabe’s lens and by the sculpture’s placement in a less-than-obvious location such as Greenbelt, Maryland. Art can often spark dialog when a wholly science-based approach might fail. If nothing else, knowing that a companion piece exists in the Doomsday Vault should give us all pause.

Author Acknowledgments

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NOTES

1. A wealth of information on Tanabe can be found in English on the website portwave.gr.jp/tanabe, accessed July 5, 2022. See also Naoki Takeda, 武田直樹. *Chōkokuka Tanabe Mitsuaki: paburikku ato 21-seiki* [Sculptor Mitsuaki Tanabe: Public Art 21st Century] (Tōkyō: Kōjin no Tomosha, 1995).
2. Ibid.
3. Svalbard Global Seed Vault, Crop Trust website, accessed July 10, 2022, croptrust.org/our-work/svalbard-global-seed-vault. On the specifications of the Svalbard *MOMI*, see portwave.gr.jp/tanabe/english/itou/200910.html. Hiyoshi-no-Mori Garden Art Museum’s holds a permanent exhibition of Tanabe’s work; additional information is available on the museum’s website, in Japanese, hiyoshinomori.com, accessed July 10, 2022.
4. Tim Carman, “Rice grown in Maryland? Farmer sees a future that doesn’t involve flooding,” *Washington Post*, December 17, 2013, accessed July 9, 2022, washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/food/rice-grown-in-maryland-farmer-sees-a-future-that-doesnt-involve-flooding/2013/12/16/e4b6ccee-523a-11e3-9e2c-e1d01116fd98_story.html. For an example of current rice production in Charles County, Maryland, see Rice, Next Step Produce website, accessed July 9, 2022, nextstepproduce.com/dry-goods/grains/rice. On the *MOMI* that came to Greenbelt, email to author from Takamitsu Tanabe, March 26, 2022.

BOOK REVIEWS

William Still: The Underground Railroad and the Angel at Philadelphia. By William C. Kashatus. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2021. 368 pages. Cloth, \$39.00; paperback, \$32.00; eBook and ePub, \$25.99.)

“Almost no one knows about the Black abolitionist William Still,” lamented *The New Yorker* writer Kathryn Schultz in 2016.¹ That is beginning to change. Two biographies about Still have been published recently, part of a new wave of historiography about freedom seekers and the abolitionist movement: Andrew Diemer’s *Vigilance: The Life of William Still, Father of the Underground Railroad* (Knopf 2022); and the subject of this review, William C. Kashatus’s *William Still: The Underground Railroad and the Angel at Philadelphia*.

Contrary to public opinion, Still was not the father of the underground railroad, nor was he considered such an angel by a new generation of Black civil rights activists in post-civil war Philadelphia. He was the conductor of the Underground Railroad (UGRR) in Philadelphia in the 1850s as well as one of its principal archivists and its inaugural historian. He helped hundreds of enslaved men, women, and children escape bondage in the 1850s, kept careful records of their journeys, and wrote a heavyweight memoir that preserved their stories. Approximately one-half of the nearly one thousand fugitives who Still helped escape came from Maryland; hence, he was an important figure in Maryland’s clandestine network of antienslavement and abolitionist mutual aid, and the stories he preserved shed light on the motives, pathways, and fate of Maryland’s antebellum freedom-seekers.

Born in New Jersey in 1821, William Still was the youngest of Levin and Charity Still’s twenty-one children. His parents escaped enslavement on Maryland’s Eastern Shore years before but had to leave behind two of their children, Levin Jr. and Peter. William moved to Philadelphia in 1844, met his wife Letitia there, and got a job as clerk for the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society (PASS). One summer day in 1850, William’s long-lost brother Peter walked in to the PASS office looking for their mother. A courageous Quaker abolitionist named Seth Concklin soon tried to rescue Peter’s wife and children from bondage in Alabama. They got as far as Indiana, where slave-catchers intercepted them. Concklin drowned under suspicious circumstances as he was being transported to Alabama for trial. Peter eventually purchased his family’s freedom.

1. Kathryn Schultz, “The Perilous Lure of the Underground Railroad,” *The New Yorker*, August 15, 2016, [newyorker.com/magazine/2016/08/22/the-perilous-lure-of-the-underground-railroad](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/08/22/the-perilous-lure-of-the-underground-railroad), accessed June 20, 2023.

As head of the PASS Vigilance Committee, Still orchestrated the Underground Railroad in Philadelphia throughout the 1850s in defiance of the Fugitive Slave Law. The PASS fed, clothed, housed, and protected enslaved persons who escaped to the city. Most continued north, and many ended up in Canada. Some wrote letters back to friends and loved ones left behind. John Thompson, for example, assured his mother, “I am now a free man Living By the sweet of my own Brow not serving another man & giving him all I Earn.” Still regularly interviewed enslaved persons fleeing bondage and took down their testimonies, creating a valuable archive of freedom-seekers’ oral history of enslavement (105).

One of Kashatus’s most valuable contributions is his systematic analysis of the data collected by Still. (The data is presented in a formidable 56-page appendix, but it’s also available in a more useful, electronic form.²) Most of the people escaping enslavement came from the Chesapeake region (Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, and Washington, DC), close in proximity to Philadelphia and accessible by land and sea. They often traveled in small family groups, and many traveled at least part of the way by water. This finding complements new research into the “maritime dimensions of the underground railroad.”³

The stream of enslaved persons fleeing bondage to Philadelphia slowed in the late 1850s. During the Civil War, Still shifted from the railroad business to manufacturing stoves and selling coal. He made a lot of money, became a philanthropist, and advocated for Black civil and political rights. Still was active in the movement to desegregate the city’s streetcars, but he clashed with the younger generation of Black civil rights activists in Philadelphia, led by Octavius Catto who was gunned down by a white assailant during election-day violence in 1871. Still and other Black northerners fought against northern racism as well as southern slavery, but their struggle did not end with abolition. Still’s major achievement in the years between the overthrow of the practice of enslavement and his death in 1902 was the publication of several editions of his magnum opus, *The Underground Rail Road*, a 780-page compendium of the stories he collected from enslaved persons who turned up on his doorstep in Philadelphia—haggard and raw from their ordeal. Still’s book is a monument of nineteenth-century Black abolitionist historiography.

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2. Nick Sacco, “For the Cause of Freedom: William Still and Abolitionist Data Collection,” *Muster: How the Past Informs The Present*, January 17, 2023, journalofthecivilwarera.org/2023/01/for-the-cause-of-freedom-william-still-and-abolitionist-data-collection/, accessed June 20, 2023.
 3. Timothy D. Walker, ed., *Sailing to Freedom: The Maritime Dimensions of the Underground Railroad* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2021).

Vigilance: The Life of William Still, Father of the Underground Railroad. By Andrew K. Diemer. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2022. 432 pages. Hardcover, \$30.)

In 2005, Fergus M. Bordewich in *Bound For Canaan: The Underground Railroad and the War for the Soul of America* (New York: Amistad) rectified the general lack of knowledge about the courageous efforts of William Still (1821–1902) and others to aid and abet people escaping enslavement in their quest for freedom; many, with Still’s assistance, fled to Canada. Yet until now, no one had written the full biography William Still deserves. The inaccuracies about his life began with his obituaries. An example is Still’s death notice in the *Baltimore Sun*: “Ex-slave Leaves a Fortune.” It points to his accumulated wealth and calls attention to Still “as the Father of the Underground Railroad,” but is wrong about almost everything else (*Baltimore Sun*, July 15, 1902).

As late as 1996, a Dayton, Ohio, newspaper published a grossly inaccurate tribute to Still under an unidentified photograph of Frederick Douglass.⁴ While the article did note that Still was a Black man in Philadelphia who had helped 649 people escape enslavement before the Civil War, it failed to mention that Still had Black associates and donors in Ohio. Through a careful search of the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, Andrew Diemer, a history professor at Towson University, found the proof in a curious advertisement. In 1850 William Pinn, a formerly enslaved farmer whose son would become the first Black lawyer in Stark County, Ohio, sent William Still a proposal for raising money for his local station of the Underground Railroad that included a commission to Still and his Committee of Vigilance:

“Green Corn in All Seasons” . . . prepared in a way suitable for preservation, and then dried and shelled. It is considered a Luxury fully equal, and by many even superior to the roasting ear of summer. . . . Orders . . . may be left with William Still, at the Anti-Slavery Office.
Pennsylvania Freeman, February 21, 1850.

In the introduction to *Vigilance: The Life of William Still, Father of the Underground Railroad*, Diemer writes that “Still was a seemingly ordinary man who did extraordinary things.” This well-researched and absorbing text proves that there was little ordinary about the man. Hired as a servant and elevated to the status of clerk to a society devoted to the abolition of slavery, he became the distinguished agent of a Vigilance Committee devoted to assisting enslaved people in their efforts to escape to freedom. The stress for Diemer and for Still is on the words “their efforts.” Still set out to help the fleeing individuals help themselves. He advocated for their educational betterment and civil rights, including integration of public transportation in Philadelphia, which he began before the Civil War and continued until the goal was achieved after the war.

4. *Dayton Daily News* (Dayton, Ohio), January 31, 1996, 54.

Diemer is balanced in his assessment of Still, pointing out his weaknesses as well as his strengths. He carefully, and more fully than other scholars, documents the controversies and divisions in the abolitionist movement. He makes it clear that there was no single definition of an abolitionist, with goals ranging from compensatory freedom to fomented rebellion. While primarily a Garrisonian, Still believed in participation in the political world and advocated the right to vote, a right Black people lost in Pennsylvania in 1838 and did not regain until 1870. Diemer also documents the apparent contradiction in Still's support of re-settlement of fugitives in Canada with his intense opposition to colonization in Africa. Within the Black community there were deep divisions over colonization, with some Black ministers not only supporting the idea of immigration to places like Maryland in Liberia, but causing controversy within their congregations that in one case in Baltimore turned to violence over the issue.

Much of how Still actually accomplished what he did in piloting freedom seekers is shrouded in intentional mystery caused by fear of endangering the operations of the Underground Railroad. In his lifetime he was effective at self-promotion, even if it was in the interest of advancing opportunity and status for those he shepherded to freedom. As Diemer points out, "In a country where Black men had to do better, had to work harder, had to be smarter than their white countrymen in order to achieve the same success, each case of individual success was a blow to the system that made it difficult for Black men to prosper" (308).

Still did personally prosper while proving a widely recognized, if at times controversial, leader among abolitionists before the Civil War. He also promoted the careers of other Black leaders such as Frances Ellen Watkins and Mary Ann Shadd. During the war he profited from his contract as an officially sanctioned sutler selling provisions to Black troops. During and after the war he also continued his advocacy of civil rights, temperance, and education. When he died of Bright's disease in July of 1902, he was honored with praise throughout the Black community. While the white newspapers, including the *Baltimore Sun*, garbled the facts of his life, the *Baltimore Afro-American* provided a succinct and accurate account of his accomplishments that he would have appreciated. It was headlined "Noted Abolitionist Dead. William Still, Author of the 'Underground Railroad' and Clerk of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society Passes Away."⁵

While Diemer's biography is comprehensive and eminently readable, an even greater contribution lies in the sources he points to in his footnotes. They provide the potential for future scholarship in fulfillment of William Still's intent to elevate the stories of the lives of the freedom seekers he assisted and the Black community that moved them along on their journeys. Who were they, and what more can we learn about the whole of their lives? Professor Diemer's text and footnotes point to new sources to be explored. Still kept records, contributed letters and articles to countless newspapers, and left a book filled with insights into the lives of hundreds of persons fleeing enslavement.

5. *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 19, 1902.

In 1872 when his more than 800-page book *The Underground Railroad: A Record* was published, William Still did not include all the details of the lives of the fugitives or fully document who helped them along their way to freedom. But with Still's book and Diemer's richly footnoted narrative as guides, much more can and should be pursued to illuminate the life stories of those who benefited from having known and worked with William Still—not only those whom he sent on their way to freedom, but also those Black leaders along the route who supplied housing, transportation; and like William Pinn, sent the “Green Corn in All Seasons” to support their efforts.

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Cultivating Empire: Capitalism, Philanthropy, and the Negotiation of American Imperialism in Indian Country. By Lori J. Dagggar. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2023. 264 pages. Hardcover and eBook, \$45.00.)

Through intersections of the Civilization Program, the emergent market economy, and settler colonial aspirations for the greater Ohio Country,⁶ including present-day Ohio and Indiana, Lori Dagggar astutely weaves an intricate narrative of Indigenous agency and the insidious motivations of what she terms *speculative philanthropy*. To this end, Dagggar highlights the settler colonial motives in the region, wherein their interests “involved both a desire (which could be performative or grounded in a sense of paternalism) to promote the welfare of others as well as a drive to acquire economic, territorial, moral, or spiritual capital” (5).

By integrating the narrative of Native dispossession with the market revolution, Dagggar shifts the narrative in important directions to showcase “how Indigenous dispossession and the development of railroads and canals were intertwined, with that intertwining often dismissed under the guise of benevolence and progress” (11). Miami, Wyandot, Delaware, and Shawnee people are not merely victims in Dagggar's narrative, rather, they are active participants in Euro-American negotiations, strategically engaging with missionaries and speculators to support their own agendas, even while shaping and facilitating “the very policies that sought their dispossession” (15).

Cultivating Empire is divided into three parts: the first establishes the precedents of missionary-imperial efforts with Native groups from the colonial era into the 1790s; the second details the Civilization Program of the Early Republic and settler movements into the Ohio Country; and, finally, the third examines speculative philanthropy and its intersections with race, empire, and the expanding American republic nationally and globally. Dagggar utilizes the records of Society of Friends (Quaker)

6. The former name of this Ohio region, ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Ohio_Country.

missionaries in Philadelphia and Baltimore (from the colonial era through the nineteenth century) in examining the role that these missions played in interpersonal politics within Native communities, even as US Indian agents entered these spaces and sought to establish control.

The author often examines “small moments” to showcase Native agency and control, and how it shifted over time. For example, Daggar details a 1791 dinner between Quaker John Parrish for treaty negotiations with the Haudenosaunee and several of the allied nations of the Ohio Country where Parrish spoke out of turn and frustrated the Oneida chief, Good Peter, by talking about the business of the treaty during the meal—a violation of Native protocol. Good Peter rebuked Parrish and, by doing so, made “plain that Native leaders held the upper hand, that they would dictate the terms of diplomacy” (48). Nineteenth-century discourses of usefulness and the Friends’ adoption of Civilization Program efforts, however, allowed speculative philanthropy to employ educational reform that “in the name of ‘useful knowledge’ and usefulness’ was deeply connected with ideas of labor, laziness, and vice” (84).

The Baltimore Friends were prompted by a “sense of duty or benevolent impulse, economic motivations, as well as a quest to accumulate moral capital” to seek philanthropic ends in both Baltimore and the Ohio country (84). Prominent Friends in these efforts included Philip E. Thomas (eventual president of the B&O Railroad) and leading flour businessmen Elisha Tyson and Elias Ellicott. Influenced by their experiences in the diverse urban economy of Baltimore, the Friends looked to educational reform and poor relief as a way to exhibit their status and to gain political power. They took these perspectives with them to the Ohio Country, where Tyson lamented Native “laziness,” seeking to implement agricultural and industrial education to resolve this issue.

In this, one can see elements of benevolent racism and classism as missionaries, humanitarians, manufacturers, federal agents, and Native people met in spaces of capital, the market, and socio-cultural endeavors. To that end, the mission complex incorporated the Ohio Natives into the market economy and allowed for areas of power as consumers, while encouraging Native peoples to disengage with other avenues of trade and commerce—most importantly, the British.

With Ohio and Indiana’s statehood and a surge in settler population, Ohio Natives found that their partnerships with missionaries needed to be even more selective than in previous years. For example, in Wapakoneta, the Shawnee chose to partner with George Johnston “for economic investment purposes . . . their engagement was selective, purposeful, and grounded in their own sense of economy and exchange” (128).

In the end, however, all settler efforts were situated in dispossession. While Daggar’s narrative is rooted within this reality and foreshadows removal, the author analyzes the complicated connections of communities to the market economy and to the Civilization Program. By doing so, Daggar situates the Ohio Country into the broader

narrative of nineteenth-century US history in a powerful fashion, as all too often the focus is only on removal rather than the *process* of removal *and* the myriad agents and actors within these events that took place over long periods of time, rather than in one single definitive moment.

Kristalyn Shefveland
University of Southern Indiana

High School Basketball on Maryland's Eastern Shore: A Shore Hoops History. By Mitchell Northam, foreword by Paul Butler. (Self-published: Northam Journalism, 2022. 392 pages. Paperback, \$14.99.)

Mitchell Northam, a Caroline County native, journalist, and member of the US Basketball Writers Association, seeks to honor his home region for its athletic contributions. As a fellow local sports enthusiast, it is exciting to see a new piece of scholarship that brings to light the oft-ignored contributions of those communities.

“If there was an Eastern Shore basketball museum, that’s what I would expect it to be like. . .”

The author contends that the book will not provide a complete history of the topic, but it does provide a wealth of detail spanning over 100 years of organized basketball. Stories and statistics were primarily culled from a vast array of newspaper archives, but also incorporating interviews and other first-hand evidence observed by the author.

Some readers may be familiar with the more publicized heroics of Baltimore or Washington, DC-area athletes. Much has been said about the historically prominent high school programs at both Dunbars (Baltimore and Washington, DC), Dematha, and Northwestern which produced numerous collegiate and professional basketball players.⁷ Northam takes us across the Bay Bridge expanding that narrative by introducing numerous hoop heroes from the Shore.

The author also credits the many coaches and administrators who championed the game. That group includes legends like Butch Waller, who coached at Wicomico High School and has been a constant presence in the Shore coaching community since the 1960s. Others including longtime Colonel Richardson High School’s leader Morgan Merrill, as well as female coaches Brenda Jones and Gail Tatterson Gladding, are given significant treatment for their unique contributions.

The author examines the limitations of women’s sports on the Shore prior to Title XI. Expanding opportunities opened the door for Jones to rack up 266 victories with her teams at Snow Hill High School, and later leading the Salisbury University “She

7. For more on that region’s superstars, readers may explore *The Boys of Dunbar* or Carmelo Anthony’s 2021 memoir *Where Tomorrows Aren’t Promised*.

Gulls.” Gladding started during her amateur career but also went on to be one of the first signings of the fledgling Women’s Basketball League until it folded in 1981.

Northam does not shy away from some of the less pride-inducing aspects of the Shore’s history. He spends considerable time acknowledging the impact of segregation on fair competition, as well as future opportunity in collegiate and professional athletics for African Americans. In “The Shore’s Overlooked Black High Schools” chapter, we learn of the exploits of star such as Levi Fontaine (a future NBA draft pick). The author details how Fontaine’s Somerset High School team was still a segregated Black institution into the late 1960s despite the *Brown v. Board* case having been settled nearly 15 years earlier. While this was not an unusual situation in some areas of Maryland, it is still worth illuminating specifically how prejudice impacted communities in different ways.

Within the exhaustive compendium of accomplished names, a few stand out for their national significance in other fields. Baseball Hall of Famer Harold Baines is lauded for his multi-sport acumen. Future US senator Paul Sarbanes had played for Wicomico High School before going on to Princeton, and a distinguished political career.

One particularly sad story that garnered national attention in the modern era involves Carlton Dotson. The Hurlock native and North Dorchester High School graduate led his team to a 1999 state championship. Dotson was able to earn a scholarship to play at Baylor University. There he became engaged in an unfortunate series of events, ending in the death of his teammate Patrick Dennehy. After purportedly calling the FBI to confess to the crime, Dotson was arrested near Chestertown. He pled guilty and was sentenced 35 years in Texas where he remains imprisoned. Interested readers may also want to check out the 2017 Showtime documentary *Disgraced*.

Another interesting section focuses on the experience of Allen “Skip” Wise, whose career took him from Baltimore’s revered Dunbar program to Eastern Correctional Institution in Westover. The former Clemson star who spent time in the ABA and NBA had his career stunted by drug addiction. However, his imprisonment at ECI in the late 1980s led to a fortuitous meeting with another former star. Greg Bozman from Crisfield had also squandered multiple opportunities to play college ball. He returned to the Shore to take a job as a corrections officer after injuries put an end to his athletic career. The two men connected and bonded over their shared love of the game. Bozman and Wise went on to start a pick-up league in the prison, making something positive out of the circumstances that neither thought they’d be in after the glory of early success.

A “Best of the Rest” chapter rounds out the end of the book, after giving attention to some of the more recent stars. As referenced earlier, the book is rather encyclopedic and the author could have been more selective in what details to include. An index also would have been helpful especially for those in search of particular relations (familial or school) in their own research. Overall, Northam has provided a useful addition to

the canon for Maryland sports history. With this work he has assured that the accomplishments of Eastern Shore's many hoops legends will never be forgotten again.

David Armenti
Maryland Center for History and Culture

Well of Souls: Uncovering the Banjo's Hidden History. By Kristina R. Gaddy. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2022. 304 pages. Cloth, \$30.00.)

Refreshing musicology is found in *Well of Souls: Uncovering the Banjo's Hidden History*. It reads almost like historical fiction as characters come to life from different times and different places, yet the writing is based on solid primary and secondary source materials, including the important “may have” and “might have” qualifiers when conjectures are offered to connect the facts. Sure, that sounds abstract, but I love this book—let me tell you why.

Kristina R. Gaddy explores varied places in *Well of Souls* to learn about the history of the banjo. These vignettes consist of twenty-nine chapters, chronologically ordered over nearly 200 years, that introduce the reader to the people, earliest surviving documents, and images associated with the banjo in the Western hemisphere. The author punctuates these chapters towards the middle and end of the book with two interludes and a “coda,” all of which serve to summarize and respond to the overall story as it unfolds: from the rarified earliest references to the mid-1800s as the amount of evidence begins to skyrocket. She takes the reader first to Jamaica in 1687, when the English scientist Hans Sloane arranged for a musician to copy out several pieces performed by enslaved persons there. By 1707 this music was published along with detailed drawings of early banjos and other African instruments. Ensuing chapters take us to Martinique (1694), New York (1736), Maryland (1758), Suriname (1773, 1850, and 1855), England (1787), and New Orleans (1819 and 1850), among other stops.

Among Gaddy's themes are banjo nomenclature (strum-strump, creole-bania, banger, merry-wang, and other similar and non-similar variants), racial associations and insurrections, structural changes in the instrument itself, its centrality to the minstrel stage, and “hillbilly” (later “country”) music. Most importantly, the reader gains a better understanding of the banjo's spiritual/religious significance in dance as well as in the design of the instrument.

The author's focus is early banjo history, wisely wrapping up before, in what Karen Linn aptly described as the “elevation” of the banjo into amateur, white use at the end of the nineteenth century.⁸ Gaddy also skips over early jazz, traditional Irish music, and crossover uses such as that by Béla Fleck. Luckily, at the end of the book, we are taken to current times and the resurgence of banjo traditions among Black performers. Gaddy considers this development to be a long overdue response to white appropriation.

8. Karen Linn, *That Half-Barbaric Twang* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1991.)

Another departure from strict musicological writing is the author's clear sympathy for the enslaved; she often reminds the reader that enslavement was a dark and depraved practice. This is not a digression but an essential feature of the banjo's history and why so little has been recorded about its earliest known appearances in the New World.

Overall, *Well of Souls* unfolds with a tremendous amount of factual information, intertwined through the stories of living persons both white and Black. Spilling over into economic history, demographics of the African diaspora, church history and other sub-fields, Gaddy successfully cobbles together a story not told before, except in disparate pieces.

As a specialist in Maryland's music history, I especially enjoyed the chapter focused on that colony in 1758, despite its brevity. It concerns correspondence between James Hollyday, of Redbourne, on Maryland's Eastern Shore, and his niece, Sally, in London. Hollyday had shipped her a banjeau (a French spelling). Sally was delighted with the gift, showing it off to others and seeking local instruction on it. While her uncle referred to this banjo as "rude," Sally was captivated and found it to be a "great curiosity and . . . a good figure as it lays on the harpsichord" (45). The chapter serves to situate the increasing number of references to banjos by this time, including within colonial newspaper advertisements for runaway slaves.

Some chapters, like chapter IX on Voodoo practices, at first seem tangential when reading; yet such backstories are wrapped into later, convincing explanations of religious aspects on top of those seemingly light and secular. The cumulative structure of *Well of Souls* makes for good reading, especially when certain characters reappear in later chapters. Equally, I like that Gaddy establishes connections to Louis Moreau Gottschalk, Dan Emmitt, and the authors of the pivotal 1867 publication *Slave Songs of the United States*.

The only shortcomings are that I wish the book were longer, and, without a bibliography, it was hard to keep track of the many sources spread over 350+ endnotes. Gaddy's research was clearly deep and thorough, regardless.

Kristina R. Gaddy closes her book's epilogue with these words:

I wrote this book because I came across new information I thought needed to be shared, but my real hope is that you, reader, find a mystery in it that needs to be solved, or realize that you can provide an insight that I haven't, and that this work and research continues (229).

So, banjo scholarship must continue, and the field is indebted to Gaddy for bringing preexisting work along as far as she did. I heartily recommend *Well of Souls* to scholars in a variety of fields, and to anyone else with a genuine curiosity about African culture and its role in enriching American music history.

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We Are Worth Fighting For: A History of the Howard University Student Protest of 1989. By Joshua M. Myers. (New York: New York University Press, 2019. 289 pages. Cloth, \$30.00.)

In *We Are Worth Fighting For*, Joshua Myers tells the story of a relatively unknown student protest at Howard University that occurred in the spring of 1989. Catalyzed by the appointment of the late Lee Atwater (the Republican political consultant behind the Willie Horton commercial) to Howard University's Board of Trustees, the protest culminated with the occupation of the university's administration building and prodded Atwater to resign. Yet, as Myers shows, much more lay behind the student protest, most significantly, divergent views over the mission of Howard University, the "mecca" of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs).

Myers breaks his book into three parts. Part I explores the forces that gave rise to the 1989 student protest. Drawing on an extensive array of secondary sources, Myers examines the long history of student activism at Howard beginning with the opponents of mandatory participation in the ROTC in the mid-1920s (which led to the resignation of the university's last white president, James Durkee), all the way to the major wave of demonstrations that took place in the latter half of the 1960s. These protests, writes Myers, focused on the "quest for relevant intellectual space in which to solve problems faced by Black communities around the globe" (19). Myers then analyzes the rise of neoliberalism and its deleterious impact on Black people in America and around the world. Myers ends Part II with a brilliant discussion of hip-hop. In combination with the presidential campaigns of Jesse Jackson, the influence of the Nation of Islam—Louis Farrakhan visited Howard University frequently during the 1980s—and the anti-apartheid movement, hip hop created the space for student activism to grow, and nurtured its message, epitomized by the rap group Public Enemy's song, "Fight the Power."

Building on tens of oral histories, student and national newspapers, and an assortment of other source material, Myers zooms in on the student takeover in Part II of his book. He begins by describing the formation of Black Nia F.O.R.C.E. (BNF), which organized and led the protests. Established initially as a study group, students who joined BNF began to imagine a university different from the one they attended. Rather than measuring success by the money that their graduates made, they believed Howard (and other HBCUs) should make it their mission to foster self-determination and Black liberation. Hence, for example, they pushed for mandatory Afrocentric courses for all Howard students. BNF's officers included Ras Baraka, the son of the artists and activists Amiri and Amina Baraka, and Alicia Silver, whom Myers describes as a natural born leader. Building coalitions with other progressive student organizations, BNF planned a protest for Charter Day, the same day that a famous protest had taken place at Howard in 1968. While Howard President James Cheek responded constructively to many of the students' demands, he adamantly defended Atwater's appointment, asserting that the decision was his and not theirs to make. He also contended that Atwater's nomination

would pay financial and political dividends. BNF countered that giving “outright racists and racist institutions” a “seat at the table” represented a step too far (124).

Time and space prevent a lengthy delineation of what follows; suffice it to say that upwards of 3,000 students occupied the main administration building for three tense days. One key moment came when then-Washington, DC, Mayor, Marion Barry, a veteran of the civil rights movement of the 1960s, countermanded the police chief’s order to forcefully take back the building. Garnering support from outsiders, the confrontation culminated with the arrival of Jesse Jackson and the attorney Donald Temple, who negotiated a “covenant,” and Atwater’s surprising announcement that he would resign from the board. Cheek resigned as president not long afterwards.

The *Washington Post* called the 1989 protest at Howard “an awakening for Black America from its slumbers” (161). In Part III, Myers presents a good deal of evidence to support this view. A wave of protests and uprisings took place at other HBCUs often around similar demands, including neighboring Morgan State University and Bowie State University. Activists at both HBCUs and HWCUs pushed for the creation and/or enhancement of Black studies programs and curricula. At Howard, Silver and Baraka became the president and vice president of the student government. As student-body leaders, they demanded greater transparency in governance and educational reform. For instance, they pushed for an Afrocentric education. This placed them at the forefront of the culture wars since conservatives, and many liberals, promoted a much narrower vision of education that emphasized STEM and professional programs. Myers suggests that the greatest accomplishment of Baraka and Silver in the wake of the occupation was the convening of the first Hip-Hop Conference, where activists and entertainers promoted Black ownership of the industry. This conference became an annual occurrence at Howard.

Myers should be especially applauded for delving deeply into this relatively unexplored phase of the Black freedom struggle. It may be premature to claim that the 1989 protest at Howard represented a turning point. Nonetheless, Myers’ work provides a road map for others, including students of the mid-Atlantic region, to follow.

Peter Levy
York College

America’s Original Sin: White Supremacy, John Wilkes Booth and the Lincoln Assassination. By John Rhodehamel (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2021. 471 pages. Cloth, \$27.95.)

Readers looking for a fresh interpretation of Abraham Lincoln’s assassination will enjoy John Rhodehamel’s new book on the topic. Rhodehamel, the former curator of American History at the Huntington Library and the author of several books on

George Washington as well as Lincoln and Booth, brings a wealth of research to bear on American history. He approaches the topic through a dual biography that takes frequent side trips into the history of the Civil War and the emancipation.

Building on Terry Alford's recent biography of Booth, Rhodehamel highlights the role of racism and proslavery ideology in the assassin's motivation. These values, Rhodehamel argues, combined with an egomaniacal quest for fame to drive Booth to murder Lincoln; Booth "was killing for his country and for the white race, and he killed with the expectation that the killing would make him a hero" (3).

Rhodehamel argues that Booth's upbringing as the son of a famous actor imbued him with a sense of privilege that resonated with the white supremacist attitudes of his neighbors in Bel Air, Maryland. Born in 1838 as the ninth of ten children, John Wilkes Booth joined his brothers in following their father's profession. By 1860 he had become a top-billed performer in his own right, playing the same Shakespeare characters that had made his father's career. Raised with the trappings of gentility in a slave state, toasted by wealthy theater-goers, and encountering African Americans mostly as servants and laborers, Booth identified with the planter aristocrats of the South rather than the aspiring middle-class of the North.

In contrast, Lincoln, 29 years older than Booth, grew up in a poor farming family on the Kentucky and Indiana frontiers. Learning early about the ways slavery had limited opportunities for poor farmers in Kentucky, Lincoln valued equal opportunity over inherited privilege and viewed hard work as an intrinsically rewarding path to success. That outlook inclined Lincoln not only to strive for his own advancement, but also to oppose slavery, the most contradiction of the nation's founding values. Acquiring schooling whenever he could, Lincoln pushed his way into the law and politics in Springfield, Illinois, the state capital. After serving a term in Congress as a Whig and taking a brief hiatus from politics, Lincoln re-emerged in the mid-1850s as an advocate for the Republican Party, whose 1856 campaign slogan "Free soil, free labor, free men," aligned with Lincoln's values and life experience.

After narrating the rise of each man, Rhodehamel devotes several chapters to the Civil War years. He mixes general accounts with Booth's and Lincoln's firsthand experience of the war's main themes. Here, the author sides with historians who view the Civil War as a clash of civilizations, one grounded in slavery and the other freedom. The Confederacy fought for slavery, as exemplified in the speeches of secessionists such as Georgia's Alexander Stephens, who called slavery the "cornerstone" of the Confederacy. Under the grip of a proslavery "paranoid fantasy" (132), secessionists dismissed Lincoln's promise to protect slavery in states where it existed as a lie intended to buy time for slave insurrection and racial equality. Booth echoed these sentiments in his private writings and conversations with friends and family.

Rhodehamel's account follows the well-worn narrative of the North's gradual shift from fighting merely to put down the rebellion to pursuing emancipation as well as reunion. Republicans, led by Lincoln, gradually abandoned attempts at compromise

over slavery because the enslaved forced the issue through escapes, and slaveholders shunned every offer of compensated emancipation. The process stimulated the North's antislavery majority to take more decisive action. In this respect, "Lincoln's personal journey toward emancipation can stand as a kind of recapitulation of the progress of the nation as a whole toward freedom and equality" (114).

The final third of the book zeroes in on the assassination plot. Rhodehamel provides an engrossing account of the conspirators and their plans intertwined with growing worries among Lincoln's associates about threats to his life. Readers visit the alleyways, boarding houses, and barrooms where the plot unfolded. They learn about the quirky characters that aided, often reluctantly, an increasingly zealous Booth. Close-up descriptions of Lincoln's murder and the attempt on the life of Secretary of State William Henry Seward round out this section. Readers will find measured judgments on several contentious issues, such as Confederate officials' complicity in the plot (they played a role, but did not direct it), Booth's intention to murder Lincoln as opposed to kidnapping him (Booth changed plans late in the saga), and the various conspirators' levels of guilt.

The book concludes by speculating on what might have been. Ironically, Booth, who had hoped for vindication by killing the president, elevated Lincoln from a contentious leader of the fractious North to its martyred saint, cementing him as the personification of the Union's cause into perpetuity. However, without the skilled leadership that Lincoln had exerted, the campaign to guarantee civil rights for African Americans faltered in the hands of Lincoln's virulently racist successor Andrew Johnson. Perhaps, Rhodehamel suggests, Lincoln could have done more to wring concessions from white southerners to secure Black rights had he lived. On this score, Booth's homicidal act "had not won Southern independence, but it had helped to insure the persistence of white supremacy" (417).

Scholars will quibble with some of the book's assertions. Booth's mid-1850s support for the Know Nothing Party would have aligned him with Maryland's moderates rather than its hardcore proslavery supporters, who found a home in the state's Democratic Party. The clash of civilizations narrative has many critics, as does the interpretation of Lincoln always leaning towards freedom. Similarly, recent histories of Stephen A. Douglas and popular sovereignty paint a more nuanced picture of northern Democrats than indicated by the author's claim that "all Democrats, wherever they made their homes, supported slavery in the territories under certain circumstances" (137). However, these issues are up for debate, and Rhodehamel recognizes that scholars disagree over Lincoln's intentions. As someone who teaches Civil War history, non-specialist friends sometimes ask me to recommend an engaging book on the subject. Without hesitation I would advise them to read *America's Original Sin*, an engrossing account of one of the greatest tragedies in American history.

Frank Towers
University of Calgary

O Say Can You Hear? A Cultural Biography of "The Star-Spangled Banner." By Mark Clague. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2022. 352 pages. Hardcover \$28.95; softcover, \$19.95.)

Mark Clague has written an enticing blend of history, culture, and musicology. Topics range from the anthem's use as an incitement to violence in early America to its role as a patriotic rallying cry, a paean to abolition, and a vehicle to protest racial and social injustice. The melody, he notes, has spanned four centuries and is among the most recognizable in the world, comparable to Beethoven's "Ode to Joy" and the French national anthem, "La Marseillaise."

Clague, an associate professor of American culture and musicology at the University of Michigan, claims that "The Star-Spangled Banner" tells the story of America. His book explores the anthem from various perspectives—leveraged as civic pride and protest action, deployed in wartime and in diplomacy, and performed widely in public—and how it became a "contested symbol and political weapon" (160). Clague explains the genesis of the song's lyrics and music, telling his story thematically and eschewing the chronological approach of Marc Ferris' *Star-Spangled Banner: The Unlikely Story of America's National Anthem* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014) and other works.

First is the familiar tale of Francis Scott Key's confinement aboard a British warship in the Patapsco River, from which the Georgetown lawyer watched the British bombardment of Fort McHenry that inspired him to pen his four famous verses. The two following chapters examine the melody's origins—especially appreciated by those steeped in the rudiments of musicology—and the numerous versions and arrangements of the song that have appeared over the decades. Clague reminds us that, while Key wrote the lyrics to "The Star-Spangled Banner," the music evolved from the tune of "Anacreon in Heaven," written around 1753 for a gentlemen's club in London.

The anthem has been a platform for social protest: the raised, gloved fists of Tommie Smith and John Carlos during the US anthem at the 1968 Olympic medal ceremony, Jimi Hendrix's 1969 pyrotechnic guitar performance at Woodstock, and Denver Nuggets guard Mahmoud Abdul-Rauf's 1996 refusal to stand as it was played. It has also served as a platform for legendary or infamous vocal performances in professional sports venues, including those of Roseanne Barr and Whitney Houston. More recently, Clague tells us, the Black Lives Matter movement helped tie the anthem's third verse, with its words "hireling and slave," and its slaveholding author to slavery. In 2016 the movement was linked to the protests by National Football League players and San Francisco 49ers quarterback Colin Kaepernick, who took a knee during the anthem to protest police oppression of Black people.

Our nation's political history can be charted via performances of "The Star-Spangled Banner." The anthem became fodder for particular causes, notably war, which, brings out patriots, both authentic and false, and Clague writes that "war cemented the bond

between song and flag, music and nation” (86). During the Civil War it helped recruit Union troops and inspire them into battle. Oliver Wendell Holmes Sr. wrote a fifth verse in 1861 that transformed the song into an abolitionist anthem depicting slavery as the cause of that conflict. “The Star-Spangled Banner” helped celebrate naval victory over Cuba in the Spanish-American War, and, by the time the nation entered World War I, it had become embedded into our cultural memory.

By 1917, the US Army’s performance of “The Star-Spangled Banner” at military rituals had established it as the de facto national anthem, by which time it had become a powerful national symbol, overtaking “America the Beautiful” and “Hail Columbia.” Congress designated the song as our official national anthem in 1931 but failed to specify which of two versions in use at the time would be official. Given the association with slavery in verse three, Clague suggests Congress could designate Key’s version, deleting the offensive third verse and elevating the fourth into the third position. An entirely new anthem, he notes, would be fraught with difficulty, with politically polarized Americans not likely to agree on a new one and copyright right issues arising.

Extremists across the political spectrum have exploited the anthem. In 2015, protesters vandalized a statue of Key in Baltimore, calling out verse three’s offensive words, “no refuge could save hireling or slave,” and using red and black spray paint to deface the statue’s base. Former president Donald Trump appeared in a performance of it by jailed January 6 insurrectionists in April 2023.

Marc Ferris discusses the Congressional efforts in the 1950s to designate one version of “The Star-Spangled Banner” as the official one, a perspective that Clague omits. Vehement divisions emerged between veterans, pacifists, anti-nationalists, foreign-policy hawks, and those who just disliked the song. Maryland, home of the battle that inspired “The Star-Spangled Banner” and the man who wrote it, commemorated its 150th anniversary at the 1964 New York World’s Fair.

Clague offers examples of how singing incited violence in early America by drowning out the speech of political opponents—with today’s social media an all-too-familiar analog. He delves into the complexity of Key’s posture on slavery—an enslaver who freed his slaves and represented enslaved Black people in court.⁹ This remarkable book illuminates much about the lyrics and tune about which we know so little, but that together make a song we know so well.

Charles W. Mitchell
Parkton, MD

9. Those wishing to learn more can visit The Star-Spangled Banner Music Foundation, starspangledmusic.org.

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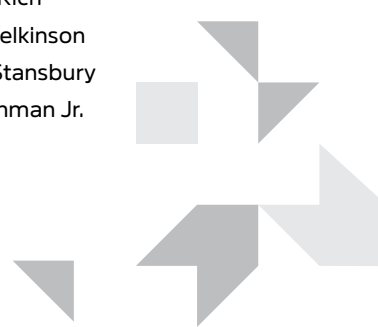
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