

## CONCLUSION

*The places I was searching for were the ones that spoke of the early, enduring trauma of slavery that shaped America, shattered America, and in a sense created America, too: the trauma of slavery. I wanted to see how people today live with the memories of that difficult past in places still haunted by it, to hear the stories they tell -- and to listen for the stories told, often in the merest whisper, by the places themselves.*<sup>265</sup>

This thesis successfully presents a historical geography that celebrates and resurrects voices latent in Baltimore County's landscape for more than 140 years. As noted in the foregoing quote, the county's pre-Civil War farm buildings and landscapes, mills, forges, and other sites are places latent with these stories, awaiting transmission to today's visitors. Buildings and sites often speak volumes. For example, the museum staff at George Washington Parke Custis's Virginia homesite – Arlington House – relies on what the buildings say silently to schoolchildren as they are taken from the elegant main house to the dark and dank slave quarters. This simple process, along with hands-on activities that replicate the many unpleasant tasks the slaves were forced to perform, improves the childrens' understanding of how the slaves' daily work was indispensable to supporting the plantation operations, and how different were the lives of the slaves from the lives of their owners.<sup>266</sup>

This thesis presents many dramatic stories of escape, since those stories are more readily accessible, yet people's everyday lives, struggles, and contributions are equally worthy of study and honor. After all, it was a brave feat merely to survive slavery, let alone to carve out a meaningful life at a time when farms were auctioned along with unthinkingly inhumane reference to "the stock consisting of Slaves, Horses, Cows, Oxen, the farming utensils...."<sup>267</sup>

---

<sup>265</sup> Adam Goodheart, "Facing the Slave Past: Historic Sites Grapple with America's Greatest Shame," *Preservation* 53, no. 5 (Sept./Oct. 2001): 37.

<sup>266</sup> Karen Byrne, "The Power of Place: Using Historic Structures to Teach Children About Slavery," *Cultural Resource Management* No. 3 (2000), 9-10.

<sup>267</sup> *Baltimore American*, April 28, 1835.

The thesis touches on only a minute fragment of the sometimes exciting but forever tragic story of slavery in Baltimore County. It links these stories to known buildings and sites through the partial development of a map that was never before drawn, a map of the county's antebellum African-American cultural landscape. By examining geographic, demographic, and cultural patterns, the historical geography approach prompts recognition that the slave landscape and community extended beyond the slave cabin – to the main house, to other farms, to free black communities, to the city, and sometimes to freedom in Canada or elsewhere. Other similar studies and programs are underway that demonstrate the benefits of historical geography for unveiling information about America's slave past. The University of Virginia's internet site, "The Geography of Slavery" allows historians to generate maps portraying various dimensions of runaway slave activity in the region.<sup>268</sup> Additionally, the Maryland State Archives' recently launched Underground Railroad internet site organizes much of its research data around mid-nineteenth century maps.<sup>269</sup>

These types of historic and newly-created maps aid Maryland state and county historians in studying the paradoxical situation of slavery and freedom in Baltimore County, where, as explained in Chapter I, geography played a significant role in the county's development within the Tidewater region. The county's hilly terrain above the fall line made the county unattractive to the colonial gentry who preferred to locate their slave-based tobacco farms on the flat, sandy coastal plains that predominated in the Tidewater landscape. The county remained a relatively unsettled backwater through the tobacco boom years, only to rush ahead in the early nineteenth century as a center of industry and wheat production. Whereas industry provided employment opportunities for the city of Baltimore's growing free black population, various forms of slavery persisted in both the city and the county. County farmers were unwilling to relinquish slaves even though the cultivation of wheat was less labor-intensive than tobacco. Many persisted in holding small numbers of slaves. Likewise, a notable number of both county and city residents continued to hold at least one slave, possibly as an investment, or more likely as a status symbol.

Chapter II recognizes that extant slave quarters and other slavery sites in Baltimore County are historically significant as physical evidence of early- to mid-nineteenth century slave quarters, but also notes that they represent only a small fraction of the types of housing that existed during the slavery era. Most of the log, frame, and other types of housing in this warm and humid Southern climate disappeared over time through rot or disuse and will need to be researched through archaeological methods. Chapter II also presents an archaeological story of tremendous importance in county history with the belated realization that elements of West African culture survived within

---

<sup>268</sup> Thomas Costa, "The Geography of Slavery," University of Virginia's College at Wise, 2003, <http://www.vcdh.virginia.edu/gos/index.html> .

<sup>269</sup> Maryland State Archives, "Beneath the Underground Railroad: The Flight to Freedom, and Communities in Antebellum Maryland," <http://mdslavery.net>.

Baltimore County slave life at Fort Garrison when it was used a slave quarter. Future county research efforts and policy decisions should focus on how to institute archaeological programs and protective regulations that can build on the potentials learned from the excavations at Fort Garrison. Future action should also focus specifically on improving the documentation and protection of the county's fifteen extant slave quarters.

Chapters III and IV present the major elements of the African-American antebellum cultural landscape beyond the slave cabin, illustrating the many complexities of a society where free blacks and slaves lived, worked, and worshiped side-by-side. The distribution of the sites discussed in the text is mapped in the African American Cultural Atlas (Figures 11-14) and is detailed in Appendix I.

Obviously, this thesis can only be the beginnings of a project to create these missing maps and to use this type of research grid for extending recognition and protection to important county resources that have gone too long unrecognized. Many other layers of information such as personal data, transportation routes, or dietary information, can be added to this type of atlas to give new insights about multiple relationships among slavery sites, free black communities, or possible escape routes. Then, beyond just better understandings – the better to tell the stories – the new insights might be applied to bolster the county's ability and justification for requiring preservation of these endangered sites.

The African-American Cultural Atlas (Figures 11-14) not only produces new research data, but also serves as an effective way to organize and present the data related to the extant sites. More importantly it illustrates their significance as components of this rapidly disappearing cultural landscape. This landscape needs to be understood as one in which the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. The parts are dispersed, sometimes comprised of layers of information in the soils at slave sites, and sometimes comprised of both ordinary and extraordinary buildings, as well as building fragments. The creation of the atlas presents these elements as parts of an untold history that is both beautiful and horrific, a history that unknowingly survives to date, and a history that will not survive into the future unless the elements of this landscape are identified, documented, and protected. This atlas clearly demonstrates the many benefits of historical geography.

However, critics of historical geography have noted that "most historical geography is strictly antiquarian in its purpose," and that "historical geographers seldom even attempt to present the past in such a way that we gain powerful insights on our own culture and values through comparison with a 'distant mirror.'"<sup>270</sup> Indeed, the matter of what these known stories and latent stories might say about contemporary culture remains a subject for another thesis. At a minimum, however, the bits and pieces from life in

---

<sup>270</sup> Jeanne Kay and J. Hornsby, "On Articles by Meinig, Jordan, and Hornsby: The Future of Historical Geography in the United States," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 80, No. 4 (Dec. 1990): 618.

antebellum Baltimore County included in this thesis, stories both horrific and beautiful, can instill an acute awareness that today's stories of exploitation, repression, and genocide throughout the world are all too similar to a past that we thought was safely behind us. We each face the choice to be part of the silent population that does not take action against these crimes, or to be like those unheralded accomplices of runaway slaves.

## Appendix I. ATLAS STUDY SITES TABLE

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00008	Blunt Farm	Slavery; Frame; circa 1798; 1798 Eleanor Walters, 8 slaves: 1823 Captain Alexander Walters, 10 slaves (E. D. # 6); Quarrying; Runaway, <i>Sun</i> , 8/16/1860, "Dinah"
00009	Mt. Welcome Retreat	Slavery; Stone; circa 1780s; 1850 Lemuel Offutt, 17 slaves (p. 469-471); Slavequarters stone ruin; Quarrying; Runaway, <i>Sun</i> 10/13/1857, "Ross and John Beall;" slave quarters
00011	Griffith's Adventure	Slavery; Frame/stone; circa 1750s; 1823 John Worthington, Sr. 35 slaves (E.D. # 6); 1850 John Worthington Jr., 13 slaves (p. 469); Quarrying
00012	Noah Worthington House	Slavery; Stone; circa 1830; 1823 Noah Worthington with part of Thomas Worthington estate, 23 slaves (E.D. # 6); 1850 Noah Worthington, 21 slaves (p. 471)
00015	Choate House	Slavery; Stone; circa 1809; 1850 Richard Choate, 5 slaves (p.461)

*Sources:* Unless otherwise noted, sources for slave data are the "1798 Federal Tax List," the "1823 County Tax List" (including the site's Election District number), and the "1850 Census Slave Schedule" (including the page number of the slaveowner as listed in the CD-ROM and the original copy at the National Archives). (See footnotes 3, 12, and 13, respectively.) For property title data see footnote 258.

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00022	Chapman House	Slavery; Stone; circa 1782; 1798 Thomas Dickson owner rented to Thomas Sykes with 0 slaves; 1823 William Chapman, 1 slave (E.D.# 6) ; 1850 William Chapman, 3 slaves (p.467-469)
00025	John Humphrey House	Quaker; Stone; circa 1743; owned by Hartley family 1743-1867; MHT Form notes "Quaker-oriented Hartley family"
00033	Fort Garrison	Slavery; Stone; circa 1693; 1798 Robert North Carnan, 22 slaves; 1823 Robert Carnan, 24 slaves (E.D.# 2); Building used as slave quarters
00044	Atamasco	Slavery; Frame; circa 1754; 1798 Charles North Carnan, 28 slaves
00045	Greenspring	Slavery; Circa 1760s; Stone/frame; 1798 Ellin Moale, "log negroe house, one story 20' X 12" John & Robert Moale, 11 slaves total; 1850 Robert North Moale, 13 slaves (p.457); slave quarters

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00059	Bloomfield	Slavery; Brick; circa late 1700s; 1798 Samuel Worthington, 31 slaves, "a log house for negroes, 16' X 24''"; 1823 Charles Worthington owner, 19 slaves; 1850 Richard Johns Worthington, 20 slaves (p. 453); Runaway p. 250 L. Windley "Saucy" and "Jack" p. 274
00062	Weisburg Inn	Slavery; Brick/log; circa 1810; 1798 Byrum (Bryam), 0 slaves at log portion which is pre-1810; 1850 Pleasant Hunter, 2 slaves (p. 487)
00070	Pot Spring	Slavery; Stone; circa 1803; 1823 William McMackin, 13 slaves (E.D.# 2); 1850 Alexander Tyson, 0 slaves; stone slave quarters
00079	Oakland	Quaker; Stone; circa 1823; 1823 and 1850 owner Mordecai Price listed as a Quaker in National Register District Nomination
00080	Gunpowder Friends Meeting House	Quaker; circa 1866 (replaced after fire);

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00089	Stone Hall	Slavery; Stone; circa 1798; 1798 Thomas Gist, 6 slaves; 1823 Thomas H. Gist, 25 slaves (E.D.# 2); 1850 W. C. Gent, 13 slaves (p.483); Runaway 8/31/1840 <i>Sun</i> , "Ed Buller"
00092	Loveton	Slavery; Brick w/stucco; circa 1840; 1850 Thomas Love, 15 slaves (p. 505); Stone slave quarters demolished
00094	Hayfields	Slavery; Stone/brick; circa 1810; 1823 Nicholas Bosley, 14 slaves; 1850 John Merryman 7 slaves (p. 487); Runaway, <i>Sun</i> 4/17/1840, "James" and "Alice"; Stone slave quarters
00095	Regulation	Quaker; Stone; circa 1798; Abraham Scott II, English Quaker settled here in 1765; 1798 Abraham Scott assessed for mill, barn and two stone houses, 0 slaves; 1823 and 1850 Thomas Scott, 0 slaves; milling
00102 /02771	Long Island / Merrick Log House	Slavery: Stone/log; circa 1783; 1850 Thomas Risteau , 15 slaves (p. 523); Runaway, <i>Sun</i> 2/2/1863, "R. Gray;" slave quarters



MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00103	Hampton	Slavery; circa 1770s; 1829 Charles Carnan Ridgeley approximately 350 slaves manumitted by his will that year; 1850 John Carnan Ridgely, 77 slaves; Runaway, 6/26/1778 p. 205 L. Windley; iron production; slave quarters
00106	Manor Glen	Slavery; Stone; circa 1780s; 1783 Elijah Bosley, 20 slaves; 1798 Ezekiel Bosley, 5 slaves
00107	Eagle's Nest	Slavery; Late 1700s; 1798 Thomas Marsh, 18 slaves; 1823 Joshua Marsh, 18 slaves (E.D.# 2); 1850 Captain Joshua Marsh, 20 slaves (p.527)
00108	Cambria	Slavery; Stone; circa 1775; 1798 Richard Britton, 24 slaves; MHT Form in Office of Planning notes a slave quarters at base of hill near public road; Runaway, <i>Sun</i> 9/22/1840, "Lewis"
00111	Sweet Air (Quinn)	Slavery; Brick; circa 1750; 1798 Henry Hill Carroll, 19 slaves; 1850 Eliza A. Morrison, 3 slaves (p. 519)

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00112	Clynmalira	Slavery; Brick; circa 1824; 1850 Henry Carroll, 30 slaves (p. 521)
00120	Oakland	Slavery; Frame; circa 1798-1810; 1850 T. (sic) Pearce House, 1 slave (p. 509)
00135	Jericho Farm	Quakers; Stone; circa 1770s; Quaker Elisha Tyson; milling
00138	Prospect Hill	Slavery: Brick; circa 1796; 1798 Thomas Ringold, 12 slaves; 1823 John Hunter, 15 slaves; 1850 Moses Miller, Mennonite, 0 slaves; slave quarters
00139	Gittings Choice	Slavery; Stone; circa 1800-1825; 1798 James Gittings, 50 slaves, "negro house;" Runaway, <i>Sun</i> 8/18/1849, joint advertisement (See Appendix II.)
00168	Folly Quarter	Slavery; Frame/stone; circa 1770s; 1798 William Baisemen, 9 slaves; 1823 William and Thomas Basemen, 9 slaves (E.D. # 6); 1850 Silvester Basemen, 3 slaves (p. 449);slave quarters formed part of main house, altered

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00169	Belmont	Slavery; Brick; circa 1800-1825; 1823 Charles Worthington, 19 slaves (E.D. #7); 1850 Edward Worthington, 13 slaves (p. 453); Slave Quarters; Runaway, <i>Sun</i> 1/6/1858, "Jim Bell " who made it to freedom as recorded in Still's book p. 438
00171	Stamford	Slavery: Brick; circa 1798; 1783 land owned by Brian Philpot slaveowner; 1823 Brian, Edward, and/or Elizabeth Philpot with 45 total slaves
00173	Locust Hill	Slavery; Stone; circa 1785; 1823 Hickman Johnson, 12 slaves (E.D. # 7); 1850 Elijah Johnson, 11 slaves (p. 455)
00174	Shawan House	Slavery; Brick; circa 1820s; 1850 Samuel Worthington, 14 slaves (p. 487)
00184	Kenilworth	Slavery; Brick; circa 1824-1834; 1850 George Jessop, 7 slaves (p. 505); Runaway, <i>Sun</i> 9/27/1861, "Massa" a "Mulatto girl"

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00189	Strawberry Hill	Quakers; Stone; circa 1811 by Amos Ogden (Maryland House of Delegates in 1805); 1823 owner Quakers Thomas and Beal Price
00192	Tanyard Farm	Quakers; Stone; circa 1824; Jesse Scott, 1850 Griffith and Scott Tanyard or Jesse Scott, Jr.
00200	Stella Maris Farmhouse	Slavery; Stone; circa 1757; 1850 William Bosley of John, 4 slaves (p. 489)
00208	Schmuck House	Slavery; Stone; circa early 1800s; 1841 John Green with one slave (MHT Inv. Form)
00219	Rockland	Slavery; Stone; circa Early 1800s; Col. William Fell Johnson hired slave from John T. Worthington; Runaway, <i>Sun</i> 9/13/1855, "Mary," Mulatto

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00236	Edward Day House	Slavery; Stone; circa 1820s; 1823 Joseph R. Ford, 14 slaves; 1850 William Y. Day owner, 4 slaves (p. 535); Runaway, <i>Sun</i> 10/18/1854, "John Gibson"
00250	Roslyn	Slavery; Stone; circa Early 1800s; 1850 David Sterett Gittings, 8 slaves (p.535); quarters photograph at Maryland Historical Society
00251	Chilham House	Slavery; circa late 1700s; 1798 Ananias Divers, 9 slaves; 1823 Benjamin Buck, 8 slaves (E.D. # 2); 1850 Robert Taylor, 2 slaves (p. 497)
00264	Perry Hall Mansion	Slavery; Brick; circa 1770s; extensive fire damage H.D.G. Carroll 42 slaves (E.D. # 2)
00267	Echo Farm	Quakers; Stone; circa 1812; at times used for Quaker meetings

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00279	Pork Forest	Slavery; Stone; circa 1818; earliest log house replaced; 1798 owner Matthew Johnson, 1 slave; 1823 Charity Johnson, 1 slave (E.D.# 4) 1850 James Johnson, 2 slaves (p. 511)
00286	Littlecote	Slavery; Stone; circa 1800; Slave Quarter for the Summerfield Estate (BA 00137).
00360	Onion-Rawl House	Slavery; Stone/frame; circa late 1700s; 1798 William Onion, 5 slaves; 1823 Elizabeth Onion, 7 slaves; 1850 John W. Onion, 2 slaves (p. 533)
00373	Young Jacob's Choice	Slavery; Stone; circa 1801; 1850 Luke B. Ensor, 1 slave (p. 485); Runaway, "James Watkins", 1844 (See published narrative)
00377	Stoddard Manor	Quakers; Stone; circa 1830; William Henry Price, Quaker (MHT form)

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00382	Winnaford Farm	Slavery; Brick; circa early 1800s; 1850 Thomas Gorsuch, 8 slaves (p. 525); Runaway, <i>Sun</i> 8/28/1849, 6 slaves from other nearby farms
00384	Affinity	Slavery; Stone; circa early 1800s; 1823 Charles W. Risteau and John Risteau, heirs, 8 slaves (E.D. # 2); 1850 James Burton, 6 slaves (p. 535)
00389	Milford Meadows	Slavery; Brick/Stone; circa 1795; 1850 Eugene Post, 1 slave (p. 465)
00391	T. Piersol House	Slavery; Stone; circa mid 1800s; 1850 John Piersol, 1 slave (p. 511)
00410	Fruitful Valley	Slavery; Brick; circa 1803; 1850 John Johnson Merryman, 1 slave (p. 515)

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00412	Springfield	Slavery; Frame/stone; circa early 1800s; 1798 Edward Pierce, 532 acres, 9 slaves; 1823 William F. Pearce, 13 slaves (E.D. #2); 1850 W.F. Pearce, 5 slaves (p. 509)
00422	Price-Fisher House	Quakers; Stone; circa 1798; Daniel Price to son, Joel, to son Isaac, Quakers (MHT form)
00426	Thistledown Farm	Quakers; Stone; circa Early 1800s; Members of Gunpowder Meeting (MHT form)
00438	Ensor's Spring Garden Farm	Slavery; Stone; circa 1805-1820; 1850 Daniel Bosley, 7 slaves (p. 485)
00439	Pear Hill	Quakers; Stone; circa 1802 when James Mason married daughter of Abraham Scott of Regulation



MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00442	Jonathan J. Scott House	Quakers; Stone; circa 1823; Johnathon J. Scott owner in 1823
00449	Smallwood	Slavery; Stone; circa early 1800s; 1798 Edward Hall, 7 slaves
00524	Land of Promise	Slavery; Stone; Circa 1830-1849; 1850 Joshua Bosley, 5 slaves (p. 531)
00530	Beachmont Farm	Slavery; Stone; Circa late 1700s; 1798 James Gittings, Sr., Esq. 50 slaves
00558	L.L. Louis House	Slavery; Stone; Circa 1830; 1850 Rachel Bossom, 8 slaves (p. 541)

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00582	Orebanks	Slavery; Stone/Log; circa 1818; 1850 Abraham Ensor, 2 slaves (p. 485)
00604	Frank B. Russon House	Slavery; Frame: circa 1845; 1850 Davis Powell, 7 slaves (p. 521)
00611	Gwynn-Bacon-Durkee	Slavery; Stone; circa 1798; 1798 William Gwynn, 1 slave
00617	Martin Fugate House	Slavery; Stone; circa 1798; Slave quarters for the Sparks family after left Fugate ownership (MHT Form)
00814	Oakdene	Slavery; Stone; circa 1790s; 1798 Captain John Cockey, 6 slaves, negro house 16 x 20 ft., frame;" 1823 Joseph C. Cockey, 5 slaves; 1850 Frederick Harrison, Jr. 3 slaves (p. 481)

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00819	Linfield Log House	Slavery; Log; circa 1790s; 1850, John Ensor, son of George, 3 slaves (p. 483)
00898	Guild House	Free African American; circa 1845; Jack Cox owned this as a freed slave; <i>Md. Journal</i> 12/5/1868
00972	Chatsworth	Slavery; Stone; circa 1830; D.B. Banks owner; Runaway, <i>Sun</i> 11/14/1857, "Stephen Brown."
00992	Maryland Line Hotel	Slavery; Brick; circa 1805; 1850 E.Bell, 5 slaves (p. 515); Runaway, "Elijah Shaw," 1858 p.471 W. Still
01113	Bellevue	Slavery: Brick; circa mid-1800s; 1850 John T. Johns, 24 slaves (p. 455)

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
01114	Bloomsbury	Slavery; Brick; circa 1798; 1798 Ann Cradock, 2 slaves; 1823 John Tolley Worthington, 53 slaves (E.D. # 7); 1850 owned by the Geists, a Mennonite family, 0 slaves.
01118	Dover House	Slavery; Stone; circa 1824; 1850 Richard Johns, 21 slaves (p. 453); Runaway, Sun 3/5/1863, Maria.
01128	Western Run Farm	Slavery; Stone; circa 1831-1850; 1850 Benjamin Wheeler, 1 slave (p. 505)
01158	Douton's or Dowden's Chapel	Free African American Site
01177	Piney Grove Church	Free African American Site

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
01218	Lynch House	Slavery; Frame: circa 1823; 1850 Patrick Lynch, 7 slaves (p. 501) or William Lynch, 2 slaves (p. 501)
01559	St. John's Church	Free African American Site
01721	Buckingham	Quakers; Stone; circa 1820s; Quaker Elisha Tyson built and bequeathed to son Jesse Tyson
01754	Gays Good Fellowship	Slavery; Stone; circa early 1800s; 1810 U.S. Census Isaac and Catharine Amos, 12 slaves; 1820 U.S.Census, 9 slaves; 1823 Catharine Amos, 3 slaves
01846	Scott-Andrew House	Slavery; Frame; mid-1700s; 1737 Daniell Scott with "Scott's Improvement," quarter, 2 slaves; 1798 Dr. John Simpson, eight tenants, 0 slaves; 1823 Lewis H. Giese, 0 slaves; 1850 Mrs. Elizabeth Tolly Kinghorn, 0 slaves

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
01895	Haystack Farm	Slavery; Stone; circa 1798; 1798 Aquila Hall, 39 slaves; 1850 John Mast, a Mennonite, 0 slaves
01932	Serendipity	Slavery; Stone: circa 1800-1810; 1783 Benjamin Wilson, 8 slaves; 1798 Benjamin Wilson, 11 slaves; 1823 Benjamin Wilson, 9 slaves (E.D. # 2)
02183	Bazil Methodist Church.	Free African American Site.
02184	Plinlimmon	Slavery; Frame; circa 1800; 1798 John Pindell owned land, log dwelling, 9 slaves; 1850 Richard H. Owen, 11 slaves (p. 461)
02299	John's Rest	Slavery; Stone/frame: Circa 1810-25; 1860 John Baldwin, 9 slaves noted in B.C Inventories, JLR 5:291; Runaway, <i>Sun</i> 8/18/1849, "Gassaway, Charles and Henry"

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
02418	Chilly Hollow	Slavery; Stone; circa 1800-38; 1818 Dennis A. Smith, 2 slaves (E.D. # 1)
03042	Worthington Barracks	Slavery; Ruins; Archaeological Site (See Chapter II.)

## Appendix II. RUNAWAY SLAVE ADVERTISEMENT TABLE

---

BA 00008 Blunt Farm  
*Baltimore Sun*, 16 August, 1860

\$50 REWARD - Ran away from the subscriber, living in Baltimore County, Md., on the night of the 10<sup>th</sup> instant, a MULATTO WOMAN, named DINAH, about 28 years old, 5 feet 1 or 2 inches in height, sway backed, and advanced in pregnancy. The above reward of \$50 will be paid for her delivery to me, or secured in jail so that I get her. Address A. BLUNT, Woodstock, B & O R.R.

---

BA 00009 Mt. Welcome Retreat  
*Baltimore Sun*, October 13, 1857

\$500 REWARD-RUN AWAYS AND HORSE THIEVES.- Ran away from the subscriber, living in Baltimore county, Md., Brothers, ROSS and JOHN BEALL; the former left on the night of the 11<sup>th</sup> instant, taking with him on Chestnut Sorrel MARE, the property of his master. Ross has a dark complexion, nearly black, about 23 years of age, about five feet six or seven inches in height, and has a down look when spoken to. John left on the 10<sup>th</sup> instant, and also took a Horse belonging to a neighbor. He is 18 years old, about five feet ten inches in height, black complexion, smiles when spoken to, showing very white teeth. I will give the above reward of \$500 for the apprehension of both, or \$250 for either one of them, to be secured in jail so that I get them again. Communications addressed to

LEMUEL OFFUTT,  
Woodstock Post office  
Baltimore and Ohio Railroad

---

BA-00089 Stone Hall  
*Baltimore Sun*, 31 August, 1840

TWENTY DOLLARS REWARD-Ran away on the night of the 23d inst. a DARK MULATTO BOY, about 19 years of age, 5 feet 10 or 11 inches high, large bone, gangling made, has a monkey look, has a small scar over the right eye, he calls himself EDWARD BULLER, had on a straw hat, linen-pantaloon, gray domestic roundabout, with the sleeves well worn, and cotton shirt; his mother lives on the farm of John P. Snoden, Anne Arundel Co., she goes by the name of May Bull. Any person apprehending said boy and lodge him in jail, shall receive the above reward and all reasonable expenses paid.

WILLIAM C. GENT  
Baltimore Co. near the Spring



BA 00094 Hayfields  
*Baltimore Sun*, April 17, 1840

TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD - Ranaway from the subscriber, living in Baltimore county, on Saturday night, the 4<sup>th</sup> inst. a negro man, named JAMES, about 25 years of age, about 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, very stout and very black, is lively in conversation, and of mirthful and cheerful disposition. Also, went off with James, a yellow woman, named ALICE or ELSY, far advanced in pregnancy, about 22 or 23 years of age is a bright yellow woman has a blear in one of her eyes, has with her a child about three years old who is very smart and when called by his names (Joe) appears to know it. A reward of \$200 will be given for the apprehension and security of said slaves so that I get them again or a proportional reward for either of them.

NICHOLAS M. BOSLEY

---

BA 00102 Long Island  
*Baltimore Sun*, February 2, 1862

\$50 REWARD.-Ran away from the subscriber, on the 3d of January, 1863, my Negro Boy, REDDEN GRAY, 16 years of age, five feet ten inches high; a dark mulatto of slender make, and tall for his age; large eyes, and the whites of them very white; speech coarse, thick and rather quick; had on when he left grey mixed jacket, and pantaloons of home-made cloth, and a black slouch hat. He was traced to Washington, D.C. The above reward will be paid for his commitment to the Baltimore jail.. Apply to or address

THOMAS C. RISTEAU,  
Cub Hill Postoffice, Baltimore county, Maryland

---

BA 00108 , Cambria,  
*Baltimore Sun*, September 22, 1840

THIRTY DOLLARS REWARD-Ran away from the subscriber on the 14<sup>th</sup> instant, a mulatto boy names LEWIS, about 18 years of age, five feet six or seven inches high, slender made, with long bushy hair- his features are small; had on a blue roundabout jacket, an old pair of Pittsburgh cord pantaloons and old black hat--without shoes. I will give \$10 if taken in Baltimore County , or the above reward if taken any where else so that I can get him again. Any information may be directed to St. James' post office, Baltimore co, MD. JOHN S. CURTIS, on the old York Road near Slade's Tavern.

---

BA-139, BA-382, BA-2229  
*Baltimore Sun*, August 18, 1849

TWELVE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD,-Ran away from the subscribers, living on Long Green, Baltimore county, on the night of the 11<sup>th</sup> of August, SIX NEGROES: Henry Gassaway, mulatto, aged 46 years, 5 feet 7 inches high: Charles Gassaway, light brown, 23 years of age, 5 feet 7 inches: Henry Gassaway, boy, 12 years of age, a light brown: Ben Bordley, 26 years of age, black, 5 feet 10 inches: Harry Boardly, 28 years of age, black, 5 feet 10 inches: Caleb Rollins mulatto, 26 years of age, 5 feet 10 inches. The above reward will be given to any person or persons who will apprehend and secure them in jail so that the owners may get them again. Two Hundred Dollars will be given for any one of the above runaways.

JOHN BALDWIN  
THOMAS GORSUCH  
J. HILLEN JENKINS  
JAMES GITTINGS

---

BA-00169 Belmont  
*Baltimore Sun*, January 6, 1858

ARRIVAL FROM PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD.

"Jim Belle"

\$100 REWARD. - Ran away from the subscriber on Saturday night, Negro Man JIM BELLE. Jim is about five feet ten inches high, black color, about 26 years of age, has a down look; speaks slow when spoken to; he has large thick lips, and a mustache. He was formerly owned by Edward Stansbury, late of Baltimore county, and purchased by Edward Worthington, near Reisterstown, in Baltimore county, at the late Stansbury's sale, who sold him to B.M. and W.L. Campbell, of Baltimore city, of whom I purchased Jim on the 13<sup>th</sup> of June last. His wife lives with her mother, Ann Robertson, in Corn Alley, between Lee and Hill streets, Baltimore city, where he has other relations, and where he is making his way. I will give the above reward, no matter where taken, so he is brought home or secured in jail so I get him again.

ZACHARIAH BERRY of W.  
near Upper Marlboro Prince George's county, Md.

---

BA-00184 Kenilworth  
*Baltimore Sun*, September 27, 1861

\$50 REWARD -Ran away from the subscriber, on Monday night, 16<sup>th</sup> instant, a handsome MULATTO GIRL, MASSA, 21 years of age, medium height, rather slender and neat, with a variety of clothing. It is thought she has been conveyed or made her way to this city. It is probable she will endeavor to hire as a nurse or waiter. The above reward will be given if so secured that I get her again.

GEORGE JESSOP,  
Cockeysville, P.O. Baltimore County

---

BA 00219 Rockland  
*Baltimore Sun*, September 13, 1855

\$500 REWARD - Ran away, on September 9<sup>th</sup> from the residence of Co. Wm. F. Johnson, near Brooklandville Post office, Baltimore county, where she was hired, my mulatto Girl called MARY. Said girl is supposed to be about 22 years of age, five feet five inches in height, slender made, and rather sad features. She took a variety of clothing. She is the daughter of a mulatto preacher by the name of Singelton Hughes and left in company, it is supposed, and three servants of Mr. Robert Denison. The undersigned will pay the above reward, provided said mulatto slave is captured and secured so that she may be delivered to me, anywhere in the State of Maryland.

JOHN T. WORTHINGTON  
Post office at Reisterstown, Balto. Co., Md.

---

BA 00236 Edward Day House  
*Baltimore Sun*, October 18, 1854

TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.- Ran away from the subscriber, on Sunday, 15<sup>th</sup> day of October, a very bright mulatto BOY, called JOHN GIBSON; aged about 22 years, 5 feet 5 or 6 inches high, well proportioned, black hair, wears it sometimes plaited, but usually has it combed out when it hangs down on the cape of his coat, and looks like a wig. He has very small, thin whiskers, and a few straggling hairs on his chin; he does not shave. Had on a fine black frock coat, life-wise a brown tweed coat, black pants, patent leather gaiter shoes, Kossuth hat. The above reward will be given if taken out of the State, and \$100 if taken in the State and secured so that I get him again. It is very possible he may be in company with a woman called Ellen Scott; she is black, about 35 years of age, short, knotty wool, very high cheek bones, and has a mulatto child with her about 9 months old. any information will be thankfully received.

WM. Y. DAY  
Little Gunpowder,  
Baltimore co., Md.

---

BA 00927 Chatsworth  
*Baltimore Sun*, November 14, 1857

\$200 REWARD-Ran away from my Farm, at Reisterstown, Baltimore county, on Saturday, the 24<sup>th</sup> of October, my colored boy STEPHEN BROWN, supposed with a slave of Mr. Stocksdale; about 20 years old, not very dark, thick lips, stout for his age, stoops or rather leans forward in walking, has a drawling manner of speaking, and I think but am not sure has his name written on his arm with India ink. The above reward will be given if brought back or lodged in jail so that I get him again.

D.B. BANKS

---

BA 01118, Dover,  
*Baltimore Sun*, March 5, 1863

\$25 REWARD-Ran away last night, from the residence of William Holland, Esq., No. 72 South Howard street, my NEGRO GIRL, MARIA. She is about seventeen years of age, very black, round face, and about five feet high. I will give the above reward for her arrest, and placing her in the city jail. RICHARD JOHNS, Reisterstown, P.O., Baltimore county.

### Appendix III. METHODOLOGY

The Baltimore County African-American Cultural Atlas (Figures 11-14) produced for this thesis currently displays only a minute amount of the information that could be placed on this type of map of the African-American experience in antebellum Baltimore County. Nonetheless, the atlas in its current form is significant as an example of how historical geography provides a basis for the recognition and protection of cultural resources. Since few private or public dollars are allocated to historic research to meet documentation needs in most American cities and counties, efficiency and cost-effectiveness are important goals.

Therefore, the cultural atlas was designed to incorporate only extant resources since the documentation of sites associated with the county's antebellum African-American history can aid in their protection. Documentation is the first step in historic preservation. Sites with non-extant structures or archaeological potential that might yield important historical information can be researched and added later to ensure that the reconstructed atlas accurately represents early to mid-nineteenth century.

The resources selected for this first edition of the atlas include a sample of the county's antebellum farmsteads and homesites. Care was taken to create a study site list (Appendix I) that includes all areas of the county. Since the list includes only known historic structures, it is somewhat skewed with sites that were documented in prior historic site surveys, such as those in the county's twenty-one National Register Districts. Farmsteads were also selected outside these districts in other geographic regions of the county.

The list includes ninety-three sites. Seventy-four of these are sites have some documented record of slavery from 1798, 1823, or 1850. As explained in footnotes 11, 12, and 13, countywide tax lists or censuses conducted in these particular years give slave ownership information on each property owner. The properties' ownership histories had already been completed through various documentation efforts in the last thirty years.

The study site list and the atlas both include fourteen Quaker-owned farmsteads and five sites associated with the county's free black population. Additionally, the atlas includes fourteen individually labeled free black communities, each of which is discussed in Chapter IV.

Ideally, the information depicted in Figures 11-14 could form an overlay (possibly electronic) on the county's J.C. Sidney 1850 Map which is now available to the public on the internet.<sup>271</sup> An overlay on this electronic map would allow the research compiled for this thesis, as well as future research data, to be understood in the context of the physical environment that cartographers depicted in the 1850 Map. Unfortunately, it was not technologically feasible to use the J.C. Sidney 1850 Map as the base map for this study, given thesis format requirements, so the Office of Planning Geographic Information System staff provided a base map that allowed for the presentation of the county and the

---

<sup>271</sup> Maryland State Archives, "Beneath the Underground: The Flight to Freedom, and Communities in Antebellum Maryland," <http://www.mdslavery.net>.

study sites on four pages. Future researchers should consider transferring both the thesis map data, as well as the data presented in Figure 15 (The Runaway Slave Site Map) as an overlay on the J.C. Sidney 1850 Map.

Future researchers and preservation advocates should also sustain the emphasis on the use of this research for the preservation of remaining sites associated with this past through high-priority attention to research on extant structures and undisturbed landscapes and sites. As noted throughout this thesis, the sites and structures themselves are some of the few existing records of this underdocumented past.

The atlas is worthy of expanding into an internet-based research site that can become a major forum for presenting and exchanging additional data among researchers and citizens with knowledge of local history. More importantly, the internet site can be utilized to garner recognition and support for these cultural resources as important historical elements that should be retained for future Americans to study and incorporate into their communities. Other regions can also benefit from this comprehensive mapping approach that involves adding the missing layer of African-American history onto antebellum-era maps.

Additionally, the atlas has symbolical significance as a map that reflects the African-American population and its contributions to antebellum Baltimore County's culture and economy. Other counties within the South can also advance their understanding of the geographic distribution of slavery within their county through the replication of this same basic mapping technique.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baltimore County Commissioners of the Tax, "Assessment Record" (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, Microfilm CM 1203).
- Bayly Marks, Lilian. *Reisters Desire*. Baltimore: Garamond/Pridemark Press, Inc., 1975.
- Banneker, Benjamin. Letter to Thomas Jefferson, August 19, 1791. WGBH Interactive for PBS Online, "Africans in America," 1998. <http://www.pbs.org/gbh/aia/part2/2h71t.html>.
- Barnes, Robert and John W. McGrain. "Prose from a Farm Ledger." *History Trails* (Baltimore County Historical Society) 11, no. 1 (Autumn 1976):1-6.
- Baynard, Kristie. "Bare Hills African-American Survey District" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 03050, November, 2002.)
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Big Falls African-American Survey District" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 03118, May, 2003.)
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Cowdensville African-American Survey District" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 03051, October, 2002.)
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Cuba Road African-American Survey District" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No BA 03088, February, 2003.)
- \_\_\_\_\_. "East Towson African-American Survey District" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 02564, October, 2002.)
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Glen Arm African-American Survey District" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00928, March, 2003.)
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Long Green African-American Survey District" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00928, February, 2003.)
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Oella African-American Survey District" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 03093, March, 2003.)

- Baynard, K. and Riggle, J. "Worthington Estate" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 03042, September 20, 2002.)
- Bedini, Silvio A. *The Life of Benjamin Banneker: The First African-American Man of Science*. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1972.
- Bennett, Lerone, Jr. *Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America, 1619-1964*, Revised Edition. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1966.
- Berlin, Ira. *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South*. New York: New Press, 1992.
- Black, Catherine and James T. Wollon, Jr. "Belmont," in "Worthington Valley" National Register Historic District Nomination (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form No. BA 02215, January 1, 1976.)
- Blick, David G. "Aberdeen Proving Grounds Uncovers 17th Century Settlement of Old Baltimore." *Cultural Resource Management* 22, no. 5 (1999): 42-44.
- Bogen, David S. "Mathias De Sousa: Maryland's First Colonist of African Descent." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 96, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 68-85.
- Brooks, Neil A. and Eric G. Rockel. *A History of Baltimore County*. Towson, MD: Friends of the Towson Library, 1979.
- Byrne, Karen. "The Power of Place: Using Historic Structures to Teach Children About Slavery." *Cultural Resource Management* 23, no. 3 (2000): 9-10.
- Bunting, J., A. McDonald, and A. Didden. "John Humphrey House" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00025, February, 2001.)
- Calderhead, William. "Slavery in the Age of the Revolution." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 98, no. 3 (Fall 2003): 303-324.
- Carr, Lois Green. "Maryland's Seventeenth Century." Maryland Humanities Council, 2001. <http://mdhc.org/bibliotest/essays.php?essay=29>.
- Chester County [PA] Archives and Records. "Chester County Archives: Fugitive Slave Records: 1820-1839." [http://www.chesco.org/archives/fugitive\\_slave\\_listall.asp](http://www.chesco.org/archives/fugitive_slave_listall.asp).
- "The Civil War, Slavery and the Chesapeake Bay." Chesapeake Bay Program, "African American History in the Bay," 2003. <http://www.chesapeakebay.net/pubs/blackhistorybackgrounder2-01.pdf>.



- Clayton, Ralph C. *Cash for Blood: The Baltimore to New Orleans Domestic Slave Trade*. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 2002.
- Clemens, Shirley B. and Clarence E. Clemens. *From Marble Hill to Maryland Line: An Informal History of Northern Baltimore County*, Revised edition. N.p: C. E. Clemens and S. B. Clemens, 1983.
- Coale, Joseph M., III. *The Middling Planters of Ruxton, 1694-1850*. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1996.
- Costa, Thomas. "The Geography of Slavery," University of Virginia's College at Wise, 2003. <http://www.vcdh.virginia.edu/gos/index.html>.
- Crosby, Robert M. N. "My Lady's Manor" National Register Historic District Nomination (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory No. BA 02550, January 1975.)
- Diggs, Louis S. *Surviving in America: Histories of Seven Black Communities in Baltimore County, Maryland*. Towson, MD: Louis Diggs, 2002.
- Douglas, Frederick. *My Bondage My Freedom*. New York: Arno Press, 1969.
- Fairbanks, Charles H. "The Kingsley Slave Cabins in Duval County, Florida, 1968." *The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers* 1972, 7 (1974).
- Fields, Barbara Jeanne. *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Glassie, Henry. "Eighteenth-Century Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Building," in Dell Upon and John M. Vlach, *Common Places*: 415-419.
- Goodheart, Adam. "Facing the Slave Past: Historic Sites Grapple with America's Greatest Shame." *Preservation* 53, no. 5 (Sept./Oct., 2001): 36-43.
- Graham, Leroy. *Baltimore, the Nineteenth Century Black Capital*. Washington D.C.: University of America Press, 1982.
- Hayes, Cheryl. "Cultural Space and Family Living Patterns in Domestic Architecture, Queen Anne's County, Maryland, 1750-1776." M.A. thesis, Georgetown University, 1974.
- Heinegg, Paul. *Free African Americans of Maryland and Delaware*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 2000.

- Kay, Jeanne and J. Hornsby. "On Articles by Meinig, Jordan, and Hornsby: The Future of Historical Geography in the United States." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 80, no. 4 (December, 1990): 618-623.
- Jones, Harriet Winchester. "A Childhood at Clynmalira." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 51 (June, 1956): 102-109.
- Karinen, Arthur. "Maryland Population, 1631-1730: Numerical and Distributional Aspects." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 54 (December, 1959): 365-407.
- Kelso, William M. *Kingsmill Plantations, 1619-1800: Archeology of Country Life in Colonial Virginia*. San Diego: Academic Press, Inc., 1984.
- Klingelhofer, Eric. "Aspects of Early Afro-American Material Culture: Artifacts from the Slave Quarters at Garrison Plantation, Maryland." *Historical Archeology* 21, no. 2 (1987): 112-119.
- Kulikoff, Allan. "The Origins of Afro-American Society in Tidewater Maryland and Virginia, 1700 to 1790." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 35, no. 2 (1978): 226-259.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.
- Lancaster, R. Kent. "Chattel Slavery at Hampton/Northampton, Baltimore County." Hampton National Historic Site. <http://www.nps.gov/hamp/lancaster2.htm>. First published in *Maryland Historical Magazine* 95, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 409-427.
- McDaniel, George W. *Hearth & Home: Preserving a People's Culture*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982.
- McDonald, A. and A. Didden. "Littlecote" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00286, May 24, 2001.)
- McGrain, John W. "Connemara" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00640, July, 1985.)
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Dowden's Chapel" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00158, May, 1995.)
- \_\_\_\_\_. *From Pig Iron to Cotton Duck: A History of Manufacturing Villages in Baltimore County: Volume 1*. Towson, MD: Baltimore County Public Library, 1985.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Hampton" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00103, April, 1977.)

\_\_\_\_\_. "Kenilworth" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00184, November, 1996.)

\_\_\_\_\_. "Long Island" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00102, May, 1998.)

\_\_\_\_\_. "Merrick Log House" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 02771, January, 1982.)

\_\_\_\_\_. "Mt. Gilboa Chapel" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00637, April, 1977.)

\_\_\_\_\_. "Pot Spring" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00070, May, 2003.)

\_\_\_\_\_. "Prospect Hill" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00138, May, 1979).

\_\_\_\_\_. "Underground Railroad Research Data." Vertical file, Baltimore County Office of Planning.

Mallick, Sallie A., ed. *Sketches of Citizens of Baltimore City and Baltimore County*. Westminster, MD: Family Line Publications, 1989.

Marks, Bayly Ellen. "The Tax Assessor's Portrait of a County." *History Trails* (Baltimore County Historical Society) 30, no. 1 & 2 (Autumn-Winter 1995-96): 1-5.

Marye, William B. "Perry Hall's Earliest Settlers." N.p.: cover title on October 17, 1922 typewritten letter to "Miss Scharfetter." Copy filed at Baltimore County Office of Planning.

Maryland State Archives. "Beneath the Underground: The Flight to Freedom." <http://mdslavery.net>.

Maryland State Papers, "Federal Direct Tax of 1798" (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, Microfilm M 3469).

Masur, Jenny and R. Kent Lancaster. "Interpreting Slavery at Hampton NHS." *Cultural Resource Management* 20, no. 2 (1997): 10-12.

Menard, Russell R. "Maryland Slave Population, 1658-1730: A Demographic Profile of Blacks in Four Counties." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 32, no. 1 (January, 1975): 29-54.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Servants to Slaves." *Social Studies* 16 (1977): 363-375.

Merryman, Nicholas Bosley. "Hayfields History." *History Trails* (Baltimore County Historical Society) 19, no. 2 (Winter 1984-1985): 5-9.

Murphy, Theresa Ann. "Scholarship on Southern Farms and Plantations," American Studies Department, George Washington University, 1996.

<http://www.cr.nps.gov/history//resedu/slavescholarship.htm>.

National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. "Underground Railroad Resources of the United States, Theme Study, Major Bibliographical References, 1998." <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/underground/thhome.htm>.

Newman, Harry Wright. "The Risteau Family of Baltimore County." Typescript genealogy, compiled for Mrs. Elizabeth Mitchel Schmick, December 1979. Copy filed in Jenifer Collection at Baltimore County Office of Planning.

Oakes, James. *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982.

Olmsted, Frederick Law. *The Cotton Kingdom: A Traveler's Observations on Cotton and Slavery in the American Slave States*. Edited by Arthur Schlesinger. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1953.

Olson, Sherry H. *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Orser, Charles E., Jr. "Toward a Theory of Power for Historical Archaeology: Plantations and Space." In *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States*, edited by Mark P. Leon and Parker B. Potter, Jr., 313-343 Washington, D.C.: Eliot Werner Publications, Percheron Press, 1988.

Papenfuse, Edward C. and Joseph M. Coale, III. *The Hammond-Harwood House Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982.

Parkinson, Richard. *A Tour in America in 1798, 1799, and 1800*. (London, 1805).

Peden, Henry C. *Inhabitants of Baltimore County, 1793-1774*. Westminster, MD: Family Line Publications, 1989.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Quaker Records of Baltimore and Harford Counties, Maryland, 1801-1825: Births, Deaths, Marriages, Removals, and Abstracts from the Monthly Minutes*. Westminster, MD: Willow Bend Books, 2000.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Quaker Records of Northern Maryland: Births, Deaths, Marriages, and Abstracts from the Minutes, 1716-1800*. Westminster, MD: Willow Bend Books, 2001.
- Pennington, James W.C. *The Fugitive Blacksmith, or Events in the History of James W. C. Pennington, Pastor of a Presbyterian Church, New York, Formerly a Slave in the State of Maryland, United States*. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Libraries, "Documenting the American South," transcribed 2001. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/penning49/menu.html>.
- Pennsylvania, General Assembly. "An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery, March 1, 1780." Project Avalon at Yale Law School, 1996. <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/states/statutes/pennst01.htm>.
- Phillip, Christopher. *Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1997.
- Pleasants, J. Hall. "Joshua Johnson, The First American Negro Portrait Painter." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 37 (June, 1942).
- Reynolds, William U. and Earle D. Matthews. *Soil Survey of Baltimore County, Maryland*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, 1976.
- Samford, Patricia. "The Archaeology of African-American Slavery and Material Culture." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 53, no. 1 (January 1996): 87-114.
- Sauer, Carl O. "Forward to Historical Geography." Transcribed, "Geographers on the Web," Fall 1997. <http://www.colorado.edu/geography/giw/sauer-co/sauer-co.html>. First published in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 31 (1941): 1-24.
- Scharf, J. Thomas. *History of Baltimore City and County: From the Earliest Period to the Present Day: Including Biographical Sketches of Their Representative Men*. Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881. Reprint, Salem, MA: Higginson Book Company, 1997.
- Sidney, J.C. and P.J. Browne. *Map of the City and County of Baltimore, Maryland, from Original Surveys*. Baltimore: James M. Stephens, 1850.

- Slaughter, Thomas P. *Bloody Dawn: The Christiana Riot and Racial Violence in the Antebellum North*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Steffen, Charles G. *From Gentlemen to Townsmen: The Gentry of Baltimore County 1660-1776*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993.
- Still, William. *Underground Rail Road: A Record of Facts, Authentic Narratives, Letters, etc.* Philadelphia: Porter & Coales, Publishers, 1872.
- Thomas, Dawn F. *The Greenspring Valley: Its History and Heritage, Vol. 1*. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1978.
- Trieschmann, L.V. "Winters Lane National Register Nomination " (National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, No. BA 03067, April, 2003.)
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Stoddard Manor" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00377, November, 2001.)
- Trieschmann, L.V., A.L. McDonald, and R. J. Weidlich, "Mt. Welcome Retreat" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00009, October 16, 2000.)
- Trieschmann, L.V., A.L. McDonald, and J.J. Bunting, "Klohr House" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 02901, June 29, 2000.)
- Trieschmann, L.V., J. J. Bunting, and A. L. McDonald. "Chilham House" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00251, May 5, 2003.)
- Upton, Dell. "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia." In *Material Life in America, 1600-1860*, edited by Robert St. George, 357-370. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998.
- Upton, Dell and John M. Vlach, eds. *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986.
- U.S. "Census of Population, 1850." Washington, D.C.: National Archives, Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 432 Roll 300, Maryland, Baltimore County, Schedule 2, Slave Population (accessed from CD-ROM, Heritage Quest, 2001).
- U.S. "Census of Population, 1860." Washington, D.C.: National Archives, Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 653, Roll 484, Maryland, Baltimore County, Schedule 2, Slave Population (accessed from CD-ROM, Heritage Quest, 2001).
- U.S. Congress. *Fugitive Slave Act*, September 18, 1850. Fordham University, Modern History Sourcebook, 2001. <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1850fugitive.html>.

- University of Virginia. "United States Historical Census Data Browser." Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, 1998. <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/>.
- Vlach, John Michael. *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Picturing Slavery." Interview by Charlayne Hunter-Gault, February 5, 1996. Online News Hour, 1999. [http://www.pbs.org/newshours/bb/race/relations/picturing\\_2-5.html](http://www.pbs.org/newshours/bb/race/relations/picturing_2-5.html).
- Waldstreicher, David. "Reading the Runaways: Self-Fashioning, Print Culture, and Confidence in Slavery in the Eighteenth Century Mid-Atlantic." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 56, no. 2 (April 1999): 243- 272.
- Watkins, James. *Narrative of the Life of James Watkins, Formerly a "Chattel" in Maryland, U.S.: Containing an Account of His Escape from Slavery, Together with an Appeal on Behalf of Three Million Such "Pieces of Property," Still Held Under the Standard of the Eagle*. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Libraries, "Documenting the American South," transcribed, 2001. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/watkins52/watkin52.html>.
- Warren, William C. "Maryland's Buckingham." *Maryland Magazine* (Summer 1993): 15-20.
- Whitman, T. Stephen. *The Price of Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in Baltimore and Early National Maryland*. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Windley, Latham A. *Runaway Slaves: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790*. 4 Vols. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983.
- Wollon, James and Catherine F. Black. "Western Run – Belfast Road" National Register Historic District Nomination (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form No. BA 02214, September, 1978.)
- Woodlawn Historic Committee. *Woodlawn, Franklinton, and Hebbville: Three Communities – Two Centuries*. Woodlawn [MD] Recreation and Parks Council, 1977.
- Wright, Edward F. *Inhabitants of Baltimore County, 1692-1763*. Silver Spring, MD: Family Line Publications, 1987.

## INDEX OF SLAVERY SITES <sup>a</sup>

Affinity	BA 384	103
Atamasco	BA 44	94
Bazil African Meth. Episc. Church	BA 2183	77, 110
Beachmont Farm	BA 530	39, 105
Bellevue	BA 1113	107
Belmont	BA 169	47, 99, 115
Big Falls	BA 3118	74
Bloomfield	BA 59	57, 95
Bloomsbury	BA 1114	108
Blunt Farm	BA 8	69, 93, 113
Buckingham	BA 1721	109
Cambria	BA 108	97, 114
Chapman House	BA 22	94
Chatsworth	BA 972	107, 116
Chattonalee	BA 3049	77
Chilham House	BA 251	38, 101
Chilly Hollow	BA 2418	111
Choate House	BA 15	93
Clynmalira	BA 112	98
Cowdensville	BA 3051	78
Cromwell, Richard House	BA 896	75
Cuba Road	BA 3088	74
Day, Edward House	BA 236	101, 116
Douton's or Dowden's Chapel	BA 1158	80, 108
Dover House	BA 1118	108, 116
Eagle's Nest	BA 107	97
East Towson	BA 2564	77
Echo Farm	BA 267	101
Ensor's Spring Garden Farm	BA 438	104
Folly Quarter	BA 168	98
Fort Garrison	BA 33	45, 94

---

<sup>a</sup> Index of properties and communities identified as slavery-related sites in Chapters 2 and 4 and Appendices I and II.



Fruitful Valley	BA 410	103
Fugate, Martin House & Slave Quarters	BA 617	42, 106
Gays Good Fellowship	BA 1754	109
Gittings Choice	BA 139	98, 115
Glen Arm	BA 3094	76
Granite	BA 3095	77
Greenspring Slave Quarters	BA 45	1, 48, 94
Griffith's Adventure	BA 11	93
Guild House	BA 898	107
Gunpowder Friends Meeting House	BA 80	95
Gwynn-Bacon-Durkee	BA 611	106
Haystack Farm	BA 1895	110
Hampton	BA 103	22, 43, 67, 97
Hayfields	BA 94	31, 96, 114
Humphrey, John House	BA 25	94
Jericho Farm	BA 135	98
John's Rest (Baldwin-Fischer House)	BA 2299	110, 115
Kenilworth	BA 184	47, 99, 116
Land of Promise	BA 524	105
Linfield Log House	BA 819	107
Littlecote	BA 286	38, 102
Locust Hill	BA 173	99
Long Green	BA 928	76
Long Island	BA 102	96, 114
Louis, L.L. House	BA 558	105
Loveton	BA 92	96
Lynch House	BA 1218	109
Manor Glen	BA 106	97
Maryland Line Hotel	BA 992	107
Merrick Log House	BA 2771	34, 96
Milford Meadows	BA 389	103
Mt. Welcome Retreat	BA 9	39, 93, 113
Oakdene	BA 814	106
Oakland (Quaker Bottom Road)	BA 79	95
Oakland (Elmlea, Corbett Road)	BA 120	98
Oella	BA 3093	79
Onion-Rawl House	BA 360	102
Orebanks	BA 582	106

Pear Hill	BA 439	104
Perry Hall Mansion	BA 264	101
Piersol, T. House	BA 391	103
Piney Grove	BA 3087	74
Piney Grove Church	BA 1177	108
Plinlimmon	BA 2184	110
Pork Forest	BA 279	102
Pot Spring	BA 70	42, 95
Price-Fisher House	BA 422	104
Prospect Hill	BA 138	36, 98
Regulation	BA 95	96
Rockland	BA 219	100, 116
Roslyn	BA 250	101
Russon, Frank B. House	BA 604	106
Schmuck House	BA 208	100
Scott, Jonathan J. House	BA 442	105
Scott-Andrew-GarrisonHouse	BA 1846	109
Serendipity	BA 1932	110
Shawan House	BA 174	99
Smallwood	BA 449	105
Springfield	BA 412	104
St. John's Church (Ruxton)	BA 1559	77, 109
Stamford	BA 171	99
Stella Maris Farmhouse	BA 200	100
Stoddard Manor	BA 377	102
Stone Hall	BA 89	96, 113
Strawberry Hill	BA 189	100
Summerfield	BA 137	38
Sweet Air (Quinn)	BA 111	97
Tanyard Farm	BA 192	100
Thistledown Farm	BA 426	104
Todd's Range (Todd's Inheritance)	BA 146	13
Troyer Road	BA 3117	73
Weisburg Inn	BA 62	95
Western Run Farm	BA 1128	108
Winnaford Farm	BA 382	103, 115
Winters Lane	BA 3067	80
Worthington Slave Barracks	BA 3042	41, 111
Worthington, Noah House	BA 12	93
Young Jacob's Choice	BA 373	2, 66, 102