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## MINTY'S LEGACY: A BLACK FAMILY IN SLAVERY AND FREEDOM

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By Robyn N. Smith

Cries for freedom were still in the air when Minty, perhaps a nickname for Araminta, was born in about the year 1785.<sup>1</sup> The American colonies had won the Revolutionary War for freedom from British rule, but that freedom did not extend to the hundreds of thousands of enslaved people who were laboring to produce their wealth. The U.S. Constitution, written in 1787, stealthily protected slavery in the states as well as the slave trade, while at the same time never once mentioning the word “slave” or “slavery.”<sup>2</sup>

Minty was probably owned by Captain Benjamin Warfield,<sup>3</sup> a Revolutionary War soldier who lived in Anne Arundel County, located in southern Maryland.<sup>4</sup> To begin to understand something about Minty's life, we must first understand slavery in the place and time in which she lived.

### SLAVERY AND THE LIVES OF THE ENSLAVED

By the 1634 founding of Maryland, some European nations had been engaged in the trade in African slaves for almost 200 years. While slavery had existed in many societies all over the world, the slavery that slowly evolved on the North American mainland was unique: (1) it connected lifelong slave status with a “race” of

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people, (2) children inherited their legal status from their mothers instead of their fathers, as they had in Europe, and (3) it transferred that status to the children of enslaved women in perpetuity, making slavery not just lifelong but hereditary.<sup>5</sup>

From colonial times, labor-intensive tobacco was the main cash crop of Maryland. By the mid- to late 1700s, tobacco's fortune was fading, the product of damaged soil and changing markets overseas. Only in southern Maryland counties such as Anne Arundel, Montgomery, and Prince George's was tobacco still a major crop.<sup>6</sup> Tobacco was a grueling crop to grow, and in the earlier years of the colony, slaves died in droves, exhausted and worked literally to death.<sup>7</sup> Former slave Dennis Simms described farming tobacco in southern Maryland:

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*"We would work from sunrise to sunset every day except Sundays and on New Year's Day...We had to toe the mark or be flogged with a rawhide whip, and almost every day there was from two to ten thrashings given on the plantation to disobedient Negro slaves. When we behaved, we were not whipped, but the overseer kept a pretty close eye on us. We all hated what they called the 'nine ninety-nine,' usually a flogging until [the slave] fell over unconscious or begged for mercy...We were very unhappy."*<sup>8</sup>

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In addition to the extremely harsh work regimen, slaves were rarely adequately fed, housed, or clothed. Former slave Richard Macks described his living conditions:

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*"...I lived with my mother, father and sister in a log cabin built of log and mud, having two rooms; one with a dirt floor and the other above, each room having two windows, but no glass...We had nothing to eat but corn bread baked in ashes, fat back and vegetables raised on the farm; no ham or any other choice meats; and fish we caught out of the creeks and streams...we [also] hunted coons, rabbits and opossum..."<sup>9</sup>*

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Although the experience of enslaved people depended greatly on time and place, there was a constant: brutality. Designed to control the large numbers of people needed as laborers, it also was designed to impress upon them their inferiority and undermine their humanity. Former Anne Arundel County slave Leonard Black recalled how he was hired out to various masters over the years, where he experienced devastating cruelty. While working for Mr. Bradford, he recalled that:

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*"Mrs. Bradford ordered me one day to take a bushel of corn upstairs, and when I was unable to do it...she knocked me down with the Johnny-cake board, cutting my head so badly that I bled more than a quart...Mrs. Bradford had a son about ten years old; she used to make him beat me and spit in my face." [Another slaveholder] didn't believe in whipping his slaves but instead stripped them naked, tied them to a board...and then drew a cat by her tail down their backs."<sup>10</sup>*

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Enslaved people did not have legally recognized marriages and they were sold, mortgaged, and gifted to others. Enslaved women were at the mercy of the white male population and were frequently sexually abused.<sup>11</sup> The rape of slaves was not considered a crime; it was viewed as the privilege and prerogative of the slaveowner.<sup>12</sup> The need to protect that sexual abuse explains the creation of a society where legal status flowed through the mothers, the legal doctrine called *partus sequitur ventrem*.<sup>13</sup> Otherwise, the numerous children produced by this circumstance would have been free.

In the first decades of the 1800s, especially after the African slave trade was outlawed in 1808, Maryland and other states of the Upper South began to export slaves. During this “domestic” slave trade, over one million enslaved people were sold by traders to the newly opened southern and western lands.<sup>14</sup> This had a disastrous effect on black families in Maryland, many of whom by then were second and third generation American-born. Leonard Black recalled how his “mother and sister were sold and taken to New Orleans, leaving four brothers and myself behind.”<sup>15</sup> Former Maryland slave Josiah Henson recalled the trauma of sale when his owner died:

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*“...we were all put up at auction and sold to the highest bidder, and scattered over various parts of the country. My brothers and sisters were bid off one by one, while my mother, holding my hand, looked on in an agony of grief, the cause of which I but ill understood at first, but which dawned on my mind, with dreadful clearness, as the sale proceeded. My mother was then separated from me, and put up in her turn...”*<sup>16</sup>

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## ESCAPING SLAVERY

Enslaved people fought back from the very beginning, and running away was the most prominent form of resistance.<sup>17</sup> Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman, probably two of the most famous runaways, fled from Maryland. With its proximity to the free state of Pennsylvania, Maryland had an active Underground Railroad network. Large numbers of free blacks, Quakers and Methodists in the state meant there were many people willing to risk their lives to help runaways.

The Chesapeake Bay, with its many rivers and waterways, offered the chance for runaways to escape by boat. Some slaves managed to escape with a master's horse and some later escaped on trains, but the vast majority of runaways escaped by foot. Most traveled at night, and many followed the North Star to find their way.<sup>18</sup> Former slave Caroline Hammond, from Anne Arundel County, shared her story of escape:

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*"A Mr. Coleman whose brother-in-law lived in Pennsylvania, used a large covered wagon ...mother and father and I were concealed in [it] drawn by six horses. On our way to Pennsylvania, we never alighted on the ground in any community...fearful of being apprehended by people who were always looking for rewards. After arriving at Hanover, Pennsylvania, it was easy for us to get transportation further north."*<sup>19</sup>

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The road would not be easy and most runaways were caught and returned to their owner, many brutally whipped or sold to the Deep South as punishment. Slaveowners offered rewards for

return of their property and a thriving industry of slave-catchers and kidnappers existed.<sup>20</sup> Still, runaway ads attest to the fact that even after punishment many slaves ran away again and again.<sup>21</sup> Slaves also employed a variety of other techniques to resist their enslavement.<sup>22</sup> They feigned illness, broke tools, ran away temporarily, and some, like Frederick Douglass, physically confronted their oppressors.<sup>23</sup>

In spite of it all, enslaved people demonstrated resilience. They created their own communities and formed bonds of kinship with other slaves on neighboring farms. They retained knowledge of African traditions and beliefs and created new ones out of their American-born roots. They had their own music, folklore, mourning rituals and foodways. These unmistakable signs of autonomous culture are evidence of the resistance that enslaved people practiced within the narrow confines of slavery.<sup>24</sup> The development of this unique culture surely provided some cushion to the unimaginably tragic life of most enslaved people.

#### THE WARFIELD FAMILY

The Warfield family was one of the founding families of Anne Arundel and Howard counties, Maryland. Along with the Dorseys, Riggs, Snowdens and Ridgelys, the Warfields formed an elite class.<sup>25</sup> Central to that life were enslaved people like Minty, whose labor created the wealth that their power was predicated upon. Slavery historian Ira Berlin has written widely about the transformation of the American South into a true “slave society.” With slavery as the primary mode of economic production, elaborate customs and laws defined all aspects of southern society. Strict gender, race, and class boundaries existed, with the male slaveowner sitting atop the apex of all relationships.<sup>26</sup> Though only about one-third of antebellum southern white families owned slaves,<sup>27</sup> those that did comprised a majority of American Presidents, Supreme Court Justices, Governors, and members of the Congress. Southern slaveowners were also the wealthiest men

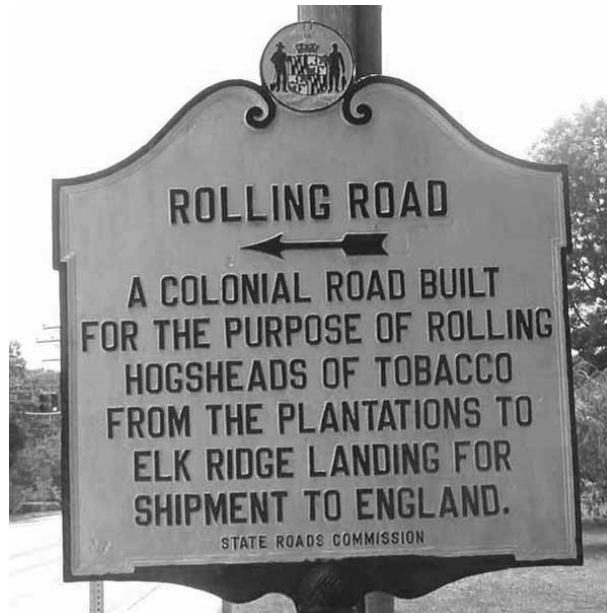
in the nation.<sup>28</sup> Their power, if not absolute, was dominant economically, socially, and politically.

Captain Benjamin Warfield, Minty's likely owner, lived in a rural area of northern Anne Arundel County. He earned that title leading the Elkridge Militia in 1778 during the Revolutionary War.<sup>29</sup> He and his wife, his first cousin Catherine Dorsey, had four sons: Beale, Benjamin, Philemon, and Joshua.<sup>30</sup> In 1798, in the first federally mandated property tax, Captain Benjamin was assessed for three tracts of land totaling 681 acres, a 24-by-24 foot frame house he named "Cherry Grove," a log kitchen, log meat house, log stable, and outhouse.<sup>31</sup> Warfield family history states that "there was a row of log slave cabins on the crest of the hill north of the farm buildings," and that when [the slaves] were freed in 1864, they "were allowed to move their cabin[s] off the property."<sup>32</sup> The J. P. Tarenz Log House, a Maryland Historic Site, purports to be "one of the original slave quarters of nearby Cherry Grove moved after the Civil War."<sup>33</sup>



**Figure 1.** Tarenz House

In 1798, Captain Benjamin Warfield was also assessed for eight slaves,<sup>34</sup> nine by 1800.<sup>35</sup> In that year, there were already over 100,000 slaves in Maryland, with almost 10,000 in Anne Arundel County.<sup>36</sup> Captain Benjamin's slaves were cultivating tobacco. "Two generations..." explained a Warfield descendant, "rolled their tobacco to Elk Ridge."<sup>37</sup> This was a reference to the early history of the area, when barrels of tobacco were rolled down the "rolling roads" to the port on the Patapsco River.<sup>38</sup> The Patapsco River, and to a lesser extent Annapolis, would likely have been the place where local slave owners purchased African slaves from captains plying the slave trade earlier in the century.<sup>39</sup>



**Figure 2.** Rolling Road Marker

Though he left a detailed will,<sup>40</sup> Captain Benjamin Warfield's estate left no surviving inventory when he died in 1806. Minty was later owned (and probably was inherited by) Captain Benjamin's son Beale Warfield.<sup>41</sup> Beale was a veteran of the War of 1812 along with his brother Philemon.<sup>42</sup> Beale married his first cousin, Emily



"Amelia" Ridgely. They built a home they called Springdale. The house no longer stands, but was described as being built "down by the spring," upon the approximately 400 acres that Beale's mother Catherine inherited from her father, Captain Philemon Dorsey.<sup>43</sup> Beale is referred to as "an intelligent man, a writer of deeds and wills, [who] held the dower of his mother," in a biography of county founders written by a Warfield descendant in 1905.<sup>44</sup> Beale Warfield lived on property he inherited from his father Benjamin.<sup>45</sup> The 1798 federal direct tax describes this property containing a "20-by-18 foot log dwelling house, 16-by-14 log kitchen, 18-by-14 log stable, and a log meat house."<sup>46</sup>

In 1810, Beale was enumerated as the owner of 8 slaves.<sup>47</sup> When Beale died without a will in 1815, his brother Philemon was appointed administrator of his estate.<sup>48</sup> Beale's property was divided between his three children: Catherine, George, and William.<sup>49</sup> Thirty-year-old Minty was assessed in the inventory of Beale's personal property and valued at \$300. Her likely son, Perry, was two years old and valued at \$75.<sup>50</sup>

Beale was running an active farm as were his brothers Philemon and Joshua, who lived nearby.<sup>51</sup> His inventory lists 7 horses, 9 cows, 6 head of cattle, 20 head of sheep, 21 head of hogs, and 13 pigs. Beale's slaves were farming tobacco, wheat, and oats.<sup>52</sup> Along with Minty and Perry, Beale owned seven other slaves at his death: Joe, Sam, Jim, Suckey, Charlotte, Harriet, and Dennis. It was Beale's ownership of these slaves that accounted for slightly more than half of his estate's value: a little more than 62% percent out of a total of \$3,100.<sup>53</sup>

Negro Man Named Joe aged 50 years . . . . .	\$ 250
Negro Lad Named Sam aged 18 years . . . . .	350
Negro Boy Named Perry aged 2 years . . . . .	75
Negro Boy Named Jim aged 2 years . . . . .	75
Negro Woman named Minty aged 30 years . . . . .	300
Negro Woman named Suckey aged 25 years . . . . .	200

Figure 3. Beale Warfield Inventory

## PERRY SIMPSON

Perry was born about 1813. As Perry grew to manhood, the handful of slaves he labored with still grew tobacco along with wheat and other cereal crops. Although the fate of Minty is unknown, after Beale Warfield's death, Perry was inherited by Beale's son, William R. Warfield. In 1836, William purchased land from his two siblings, Catherine and George, land referred to as "inherited and derived from their grandfather William Ridgely" and "their father Beale Warfield."<sup>54</sup> In the years 1840,<sup>55</sup> 1850<sup>56</sup> and 1860,<sup>57</sup> census records show that William R. Warfield owned between 8 and 9 slaves.<sup>58</sup>

About 1838, Perry Simpson met and presumably married<sup>59</sup> a free black woman named Louisa, born about 1817.<sup>60</sup> By 1830, there were 4,076 free blacks in Anne Arundel County.<sup>61</sup> Freedom could be obtained in several ways: enslaved people could run away, they could be manumitted by their owner, they could purchase their freedom, or they could be born free.<sup>62</sup> Although an 1805 law required freed blacks to register their freedom with the county clerk,<sup>63</sup> no known freedom certificate or manumission in Howard or Anne Arundel County illuminates Louisa's roots, thus, her maiden name and how she became free is unknown.<sup>64</sup> She does not appear as head of household on the 1840 population census<sup>65</sup> nor does she appear in the 1832 list of free blacks for Anne Arundel County.<sup>66</sup>

Maryland was unique as a southern slave state because almost 60 percent of blacks in the state—over 83,000 people—were free *before* the Civil War.<sup>67</sup> Thousands had been freed during and after the Revolutionary War, but it was primarily the shift in Maryland's agriculture away from tobacco and towards cereal crops that accounted for the large numbers of free blacks. Cereal crops did not require the year-long labor that could justify the cost of keeping an enslaved workforce.<sup>68</sup> In rural counties like Anne Arundel, most free black women like Louisa did domestic work

or worked alongside enslaved people in the fields. Some free black men worked in a skilled occupation, such as carpentry or blacksmithing, but most free black men were farm laborers.

Although they were important to the economy of the state, free blacks lived under severely restricted rights meant to impress upon them white dominance and racial inferiority. They lived under great suspicion by the larger white society and were viewed as a challenge to the institution of slavery.



**Figure 4.** Martha Simpson and three of her children

Free blacks were often referred to as lazy and indolent, and were considered a bad influence on their enslaved brethren.<sup>69</sup> Unable to testify against whites, they needed to maintain good relationships with whites who could serve as protectors if they ran afoul of the law. They were constantly at risk for arrest as runaways and could be sold at auction into slavery.<sup>70</sup> Other restrictions included loss of their right to vote in 1801.<sup>71</sup> The lives of free blacks, though better than slavery, were always tenuous.

In 1850, Louisa Simpson's<sup>72</sup> household was enumerated in the Howard District of Anne Arundel County, Maryland. Louisa could read<sup>73</sup> and lived in a neighborhood with other free blacks.<sup>74</sup> Her husband Perry does not appear in Louisa's household. Enslaved by William R. Warfield, he lived nearby.<sup>75</sup>

Given their close proximity, Perry may have been allowed to sleep with his family after his day's work was completed. Louisa probably died by 1860, when she no longer appears in the census.<sup>76</sup>

Perry and Louisa had at least six children together. The five eldest were named Harriet, Mary, James, Joseph, and Martha. In the name of the youngest daughter was a reminder of how enslaved people retained ties and memories of their forebears: Minty.<sup>77</sup>



**Figure 5.** Harriet Simpson

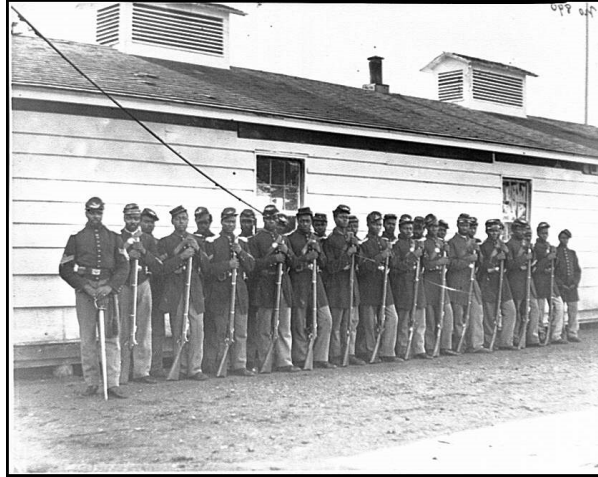
#### CIVIL WAR AND EMANCIPATION

The issue of slavery came to a head in the tumultuous 1850s and led to Civil War in April 1861. The slave state of Maryland remained in the Union during the war. By the time the Civil War began in 1861, most of Perry and Louisa's children were living in neighboring Montgomery County.<sup>78</sup> Montgomery County's citizens were divided in their loyalties along with the state itself. However, the presence of large numbers of southern sympathizers so close to Washington assured that the county would be occupied by federal troops early in the war. Although no major battle occurred in Montgomery County, both armies marched through the county and skirmished with one another.<sup>79</sup>

Almost 200,000 former slaves and free black men served in Union forces to secure their freedom. Over 150 black men from Montgomery County were drafted or voluntarily enlisted.<sup>80</sup> Two

of Perry and Louisa's sons, Joseph and James, were drafted but did not serve.<sup>81</sup> The presence of the Union Army and the proximity of Washington, D.C., which freed its slaves in 1862, undermined the institution of slavery in Maryland.<sup>82</sup> Slaves who remained with their owners began to refuse to work without pay. The *Christian Recorder*, the newspaper of the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church declared on July 12, 1862 that "two hundred able-bodied slaves in Maryland have laid down their hoes and refuse to be held in bondage any longer. They offer violence to no one, but they refuse to be compelled to work for others without compensation."<sup>83</sup> An October 1863 article from the *Washington Evening Star* reported from a meeting of Union Men in Montgomery County that, "It must now be plain to all that slavery in Maryland is already a dead carcass. No lot of one hundred slaves in the State can be made to render to his owner more of his labor than he elects to render, or to remain in his jurisdiction a month after he elects to flee from them."<sup>84</sup>

A war that began as a war to save the Union became by 1862 a war also for emancipation. By that time, it was clear to Lincoln that the Union could not be saved without also ending slavery.<sup>85</sup> Because Maryland had not seceded, Maryland's slaves were not freed by the Emancipation Proclamation. They were freed by the narrowest of margins by Maryland's new state constitution in November 1864.<sup>86</sup> Perry and his fellow slaves were now legally free. In 1864, William R. Warfield died.<sup>87</sup> "Perry G Simpson," age 50, was included in a list of slaves that his heirs created in 1867 in the hopes that the state of Maryland would compensate them for the loss of their property.<sup>88</sup> That never happened. Slavery had at long last been destroyed.

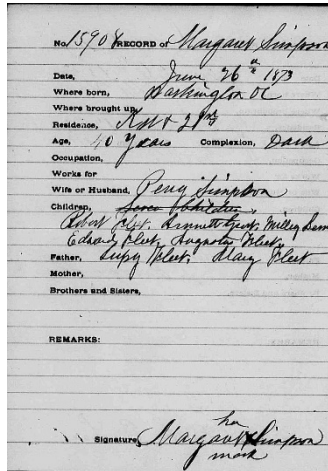


**Figure 6.** D.C., Company E, 4th U.S. Colored Infantry, Fort Lincoln

After emancipation, freedmen from Maryland counties and elsewhere poured into both Washington, D.C. and Baltimore to find work. Both cities had large black populations; by 1870, the black population in Baltimore was 39,556<sup>89</sup> and even larger in Washington, D.C. at 43,404.<sup>90</sup> In the cities, black institutions—churches, social groups, lodges, schools, beneficial societies, and newspapers—flourished. Most blacks worked as servants and laborers with a small number forming a professional class. Given nothing at emancipation, however, many blacks still lived in extreme destitution.<sup>91</sup>

#### MARGARET FLEET

Perry Simpson married Margaret Fleet in Washington, D.C., on 8 September 1863.<sup>92</sup> Margaret had never been married, but had at least seven known children, all probably fathered by a Mexican immigrant named Gregory Jarvis.<sup>93</sup> Margaret was the granddaughter of Henry Fleet, Sr., a prominent free black shoemaker from Georgetown.<sup>94</sup> He appeared often in the records of the city, taking in boys to apprentice in his trade, as well as his own son, Henry Jr.<sup>95</sup>

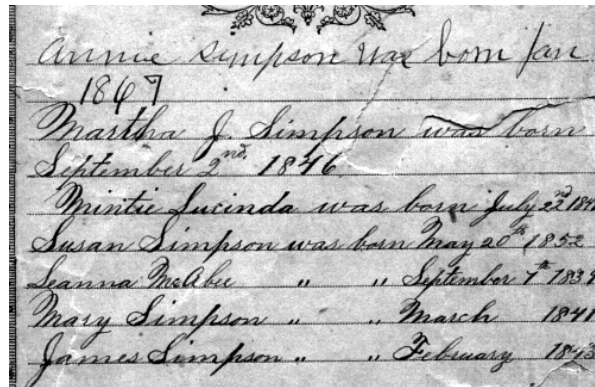


No. 15908 RECORD of Margaret Simpson  
 Date, June 26<sup>th</sup> 1873  
 Where born, Washington DC  
 Where brought up, do  
 Residence, do  
 Age, 40 years  
 Occupation, dressmaker  
 Works for, Perry Simpson  
 Wife or Husband, Perry Simpson  
 Children, seven children  
 Father, Lundy Black, Mary Black  
 Mother, Sarah Black  
 Brothers and Sisters, none  
 REMARKS:  
 Signature, Margaret Simpson

FIGURE 7. Margaret Fleet's  
Freedman's Bank Card

opened an account at the Freedman's Bank on 26 June 1873, naming her husband Perry and her seven children on the signature card.<sup>99</sup> In January 1879, she purchased 25 acres in Montgomery County, Maryland,<sup>100</sup> and moved there to join her husband.<sup>101</sup> The couple both lived there until their deaths; Perry in 1887<sup>102</sup> and Margaret in 1910.<sup>103</sup>

Margaret was an enterprising young woman in her own right. She worked as a dressmaker, a skilled occupation that she taught to two of her daughters.<sup>96</sup> In 1864, Margaret was assessed \$25 in federal taxes as a "retail liquor dealer," a business she ran apparently at her home at 21st and K Streets.<sup>97</sup> In 1870, Margaret owned \$1,000 of real estate, a rarity for blacks, and probably a result of both her dressmaking skills and her family's long history as free blacks and landowners.<sup>98</sup> Her 100-year-old Virginia-born mother Sarah was also living in her household. Margaret



Annie Simpson was born Jan  
 1847  
 Martha J. Simpson was born  
 September 2<sup>nd</sup> 1846  
 Mintie Lucinda was born July 22<sup>nd</sup> 1848  
 Susan Simpson was born May 20<sup>th</sup> 1852  
 Leanna Mable " " September 7<sup>th</sup> 1859  
 Mary Simpson " " March 1841  
 James Simpson " " February 1843

Figure 8. Simpson Bible Record



In their lifetimes, Perry, Louisa, and Margaret witnessed almost the entire nineteenth century and raised a combined 13 children. Since Minty's birth over two hundred and thirty years ago, her descendants have included farmers and ministers, carpenters and merchants, teachers and principals, federal government clerks and railroad and postal workers. Many of the Simpson descendants were landowners and several were prominent educators during the earliest years of black education. Most were actively involved in their local churches and fraternal and social organizations.

Perry and Louisa's lives were greatly defined by the boundaries placed on both enslaved people and free blacks during the nineteenth century. Their descendants would fight racial discrimination, second-class citizenship, and Jim Crow for at least another hundred years.<sup>104</sup> Enslaved people endured the long nightmare of slavery and created a culture that survived long after the bonds of slavery were broken. Their story—Minty's story—in some ways was just beginning.

#### REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup> Minty is listed as thirty years old in the inventory, see "Maryland, Register of Wills Books, 1629-1999," digital images, *Familysearch.org* (<http://www.familysearch.org>: accessed 10 July 2013); Anne Arundel County, Beale Warfield inventory, Anne Arundel County Inventories, JG #8: 348-350, 27 June 1815; citing Anne Arundel County Orphans Court Records.

<sup>2</sup> "The Constitution and Slavery," *Digital History.edu* ([http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp\\_textbook.cfm?smtID=2&psid=3241](http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=2&psid=3241): accessed 2 August 2015).

<sup>3</sup> Captain Benjamin's ownership of Minty is discussed later in this paper.

<sup>4</sup> Joshua Dorsey Warfield, *The Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties, Maryland* (Baltimore, MD: Kohn and Pollock, 1905), 451.

<sup>5</sup> "From Indentured Servitude to Racial Slavery," *Africans in America, Narrative* (<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part1/1narr3.html>: accessed 12 February 2013), also "Peter Wood on inheriting the mother's slave status," *Africans in America, Resource Bank* (<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part1/1i3000.html>: accessed 12 February 2013).

<sup>6</sup> Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground* (New Haven, CT and London, England: Yale University Press, 1985), 6.

<sup>7</sup> *A Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland*, (Annapolis: The Maryland State Archives and The University of Maryland College Park, 2007), 31.

<sup>8</sup> Library of Congress, "Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives," *American Memory* (<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/snhtml/snhome>: accessed 12 January 2010), memoir of Dennis Simms, digital ID mesn 080/063060; citing WPA Federal Writers' Project, *Maryland Narratives*, vol. 8, pp. 60-61.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, memoir of Richard Macks, digital ID mesn 080/05405, vol. 8, p. 52.

<sup>10</sup> Leonard Black, 1st Edition, *Leonard Black: The Life and Sufferings of Leonard Black, A Fugitive From Slavery*, (New Bedford: Benjamin Lindsey, 1847); typescript, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Documenting the American South* (<http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/black/black.html>: viewed 20 October 2013).

<sup>11</sup> Numerous studies document the centrality of brutality in American slavery, three examples are Eric E. Baptiste, *The Half Has Not Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (Basic Books, 2014); Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York: Vintage Books, 1956, 1984); and William Duminberre, *Them Dark Days: Slavery in the American Rice Swamps* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000).

<sup>12</sup> The story of Celia, a slave of Robert Newsom in Callaway County, Missouri, documents her trial and hanging at the age of 19. She murdered Newsom in 1855, who had been raping her since the age of 14 and produced two children. Lawyers made clear that self-defense in the rape of a slave was not a right that Celia had. See Melton A. McLaurin, *Celia, A Slave* (New York, New York: University of Georgia Press, 1991).

<sup>13</sup> "Partus Sequitur Ventrem," *Wikipedia* ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Partus\\_sequitur\\_ventrem](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Partus_sequitur_ventrem): accessed 25 July 2015).

<sup>14</sup> Steven Deyle, *Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life* (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>15</sup> Black, *Leonard Black: The Life and Sufferings*, 6.

<sup>16</sup> Josiah Henson, "The Life of Josiah Henson, Formerly a Slave, Now an Inhabitant of Canada, as Narrated by Himself," typescript, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Documenting the American South* (<http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/henson49/henson49.html>: accessed 17 June 2013), 3-4.

<sup>17</sup> Two books that deal with slave resistance are Michael Mullin, *Africa in America: Slave Acculturation and Resistance in the American South and the British Caribbean, 1736-1831*, Illini Books Edition (n.p.: Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois, 1994) and John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger, *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation* (New York: Oxford University Press), 75-92.

<sup>18</sup> William J. Switala, *Underground Railroad in Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2004), 69-70.

<sup>19</sup> Library of Congress, "Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives," *American Memory* (<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/snhtml/snhome>: accessed 12 January 2011),

memoir of Caroline Hammond, digital ID mesn 080/022019; citing WPA Federal Writers' Project, *Maryland Narratives*, vol. 8, p. 20.

<sup>20</sup> Martha "Patty" Cannon ran a notorious gang that kidnapped freed blacks and slaves on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. She died in 1829 while awaiting trial for four murders. See Sammy Miller, "Patty Cannon, Murderer and Kidnapper of Freed Blacks: A Review of the Evidence," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 72 (1977), 419-423.

<sup>21</sup> "Legacy of Slavery in Maryland," database, *Maryland State Archives* (<http://slavery2.msa.maryland.gov/dspsearch.aspx>; accessed 17 August 2014). Runaway Ads can be searched by county.

<sup>22</sup> John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger, "A Matter of Some Urgency," *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation* (New York: Oxford University Press), 75-92.

<sup>23</sup> Douglass' autobiography details his physical confrontation with his master Edward Covey, see Frederick Douglass, electronic edition, *Narrative of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1845); transcription, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Documenting the American South* (<http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/douglass.html>; viewed 2 January 2014), 71-72.

<sup>24</sup> Historian John Blassingame describes some of the many ways that African culture survived and influenced future generations of the enslaved in the Americas, see John W. Blassingame, "Enslavement, Acculturation and African Survivals," *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South, Revised and Enlarged Edition* (New York: Oxford University Press), 3-48. Eugene D. Genovese also wrote one of the most popular books about the rich culture created by enslaved people, see Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll: The World The Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972, 1974).

<sup>25</sup> Celia M. Holland, "Cherry Grove, Including Springdale," *Old Homes and Families of Howard County, Maryland* (C.M. Holland, 1987), 240-241. See also Warfield, *The Founders*, 451.

<sup>26</sup> In this piece, the author Derek Frisby discusses how slavery affected Southern gender, race and class relations, see Derek W. Frisby, "Moving Away from the Myths of Southern Women's History," *H-Net Online* (<http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=4847>; accessed 15 December 2014).

<sup>27</sup> Table 3 shows that in 1790, 33.95% of Southern whites owned slaves; by 1860, the number was 32.27%, see Jenny Bourne, "Slavery in the United States," *EH [Economic History Association].net* (<https://eh.net/encyclopedia/slavery-in-the-united-states/>; accessed 21 July 2015.)

<sup>28</sup> Berlin writes: "The great wealth that slaves produced allowed slaveholders to secure a central role in the establishment of the federal government in 1787. They quickly transformed that economic power into political power which they maintained between the founding of the republic and the Civil War. The majority of presidents, everyone from Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and

Monroe to Jackson, Tyler, Polk, and Taylor were slaveholders and generally substantial slaveholders. The same was true for the Supreme Court, where a slaveholding majority was ruled successively by two slaveholding chief justices, John Marshall and Roger Taney, from 1800 to the Civil War. A similar pattern could be found in the Congress of the United States, and the control of Congress by politicians representing the free and the slave states was the central issue of antebellum politics. The power of this slaveholding class represented in the nation's leadership gave it a large hand in shaping American culture and the values that were associated with American society," see Ira Berlin, "Slavery in American Life: Past, Present and Future," *NPS.gov* ([http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online\\_books/rthg/chap2.htm](http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/rthg/chap2.htm): accessed 20 June 2015). The topic of slaveowner power is also the subject of the book by James Oakes, see James Oakes, *The Ruling Race* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982.)

<sup>29</sup> Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, "Edwin Warfield," *A National Register of the Society, Sons of the American Revolution* (New York: Louis H. Cornish, 1902), 432.

<sup>30</sup> Warfield, *The Founders*, 452, 455.

<sup>31</sup> "The 1798 Federal Direct Tax," Volume 729, *Archives of Maryland Online* (<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000729/html/>: accessed 2 April 2014). U.S. Direct Tax of 1798, entry for Benjamin Warfield, owner and occupant, Anne Arundel County, Maryland; Particular List of Dwelling Houses, Upper Fork and Bear Ground Hundred, unpaginated. Benjamin owned the tract Fredericksburgh (350 acres), part of Ridgely Great Park (100 acres), and part of Disappointment (230 acres). Cherry Grove still stands.

<sup>32</sup> Kenneth M. Short, "National Register of Historic Places Form for HO-1," database and images, *Maryland Historical Trust Inventory of Historic Properties* (<http://mdihp.net>: 25 March 2013), entry for Cherry Grove, 2937 Jennings Chapel Road, Howard County, Maryland, 7 May 2007, section 8, page 8.

<sup>33</sup> Cleora Barnes Thompson, "Inventory Form for State Historic Sites Survey, HO-112," database and images, *Maryland Historical Trust Inventory of Historic Properties* (<http://mdihp.net>: 25 March 2013), entry for The J.P. Tarenz Log House, 2898 Duvall Road, Woodbine, Howard County, Maryland, ca. September 1978, section 8.

<sup>34</sup> "The 1798 Federal Direct Tax," Volume 729, *Archives of Maryland Online* (<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000729/html/>: accessed 2 April 2014). U.S. Direct Tax of 1798, Anne Arundel County, Maryland; Particular List of Slaves, Upper Fork and Bear Ground Hundred, entry for Benjamin Warfield, unpaginated, of eight slaves, three slaves are aged 12-50 and taxable; the others were exempt from taxation.

<sup>35</sup> 1800 U.S. Census, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, population schedule, no. district, unpaginated, line 41, Benjamin Warfield; digital image, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 10 May 2010); citing NARA microfilm M32, roll 9.

<sup>36</sup> University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, "Historical Census Browser," database, *GeoStat Center* (<http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu>: accessed 21 November 2009), user-defined report for "1800" and "slaves." Returned 9,760 slaves in Anne Arundel County, and 105,635 slaves in the state of Maryland.

<sup>37</sup> Warfield, *The Founders*, 451.

<sup>38</sup> Elizabeth Janney, "Commercial Hub of Elk Ridge Landing," *Images of America: ElkrIDGE* (<http://books.google.com>: accessed 10 October 2014), 9-11.

<sup>39</sup> Darold D. Wax, "Black Immigrants: The Slave Trade in Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 73 (Spring 1978): 30-45.

<sup>40</sup> "Maryland, Register of Wills Books, 1629-1999," *Familysearch.org*, Benjamin Warfield will, Anne Arundel County Wills, JG#2: 370-371, written 8 July 1806, probated 19 September 1806.

<sup>41</sup> No known document provides a distribution of Benjamin's slaves to his heirs in a search of the years 1806-1838, see "Maryland, Register of Wills Books, 1629-1999, [Anne Arundel County, Administrative Accounts Index 1777-1884]" digital images, *Familysearch.org* (<http://www.familysearch.org>: accessed 10 July 2013). Benjamin's will includes the important phrase: "I give to my son Beal Warfield all the land on the south side of the main road and all the personal property he has in his possession." Slaveholding fathers often gave their children slaves before their deaths and included language such as this in their wills, see "Maryland, Register of Wills Books, 1629-1999," *Familysearch.org*, Benjamin Warfield will, Anne Arundel County Wills, JG#2: 370-371, written 8 July 1806, probated 19 September 1806. Benjamin's son Beale later owned thirty-year-old Minty and two-year-old Perry, making it probable Minty was first owned by his father. At the age of two, it is unlikely that the enslaved child Perry had been separated from his mother. She would likely have been an enslaved woman also owned by Beale, see "Maryland, Register of Wills Books, 1629-1999," *Familysearch.org*, Beale Warfield inventory, Anne Arundel County Inventories, JG#8: 348-350, 27 June 1815. As an adult, Perry named a daughter "Minty," greatly increasing the odds that she and not Suckey, the only other woman of child-bearing age owned by Beale, was his mother. See 1850 U.S. census, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, population schedule, Howard District, p. 489 A. (stamped), dwelling 1112, family 1122, Louisa Simpson; digital images, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 20 August 2013); citing NARA microfilm M432, roll 278.

<sup>42</sup> Holland, "Cherry Grove, Including Springdale," 242.

<sup>43</sup> Warfield, *The Founders*, 451.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 452.

<sup>45</sup> "Maryland, Register of Wills Books, 1629-1999," *Familysearch.org*, Benjamin Warfield will, Anne Arundel County Wills, JG#2: 370-371, dated 8 July 1806, probated 19 September 1806. Includes the phrase: "I give to my son Beal Warfield all the land on the south side of the main road..."

<sup>46</sup> "The 1798 Federal Direct Tax," Volume 729, *Archives of Maryland Online* (<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000729/html/>: accessed 2 April 2014), entry for Benjamin Warfield owner, U.S. Direct Tax of 1798, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, Particular List of Lands, Lots, Buildings and Wharves, Upper Fork and Bear Ground Hundred, unpaginated.

<sup>47</sup> 1810 U.S. Census, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, population schedule, no district, unpaginated, line 41, Beale Warfield of B; digital images, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 15 March 2012); citing NARA microfilm M252, roll 14.

<sup>48</sup> "Maryland, Register of Wills Books, 1629-1999," digital images, *Familysearch.org* (<http://www.familysearch.org>: accessed 10 July 2013); Beale Warfield first account, Anne Arundel County Administrative Accounts, JG#8: 310-314, 24 May 1816.

<sup>49</sup> Anne Arundel County, Maryland, Distributions, JG#3: 80, "Beall" Warfield estate distribution, 3 November 1818.

<sup>50</sup> It is possible that Minty was the mother of one or more of the other small children in the inventory, but the inventory does not denote or suggest families.

<sup>51</sup> Both Joshua and Philemon owned 9 slaves in 1810, see 1810 U.S. Census, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, population schedule, no district, p. 500 (stamped), line 22, Philemon Warfield; digital images, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 15 March 2012); citing NARA microfilm M252, roll 14, also 1810 U.S. Census, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, population schedule, no district, p. 497 (stamped), line 23, Joshua Warfield; digital images, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 15 March 2012); citing NARA microfilm M252, roll 14.

<sup>52</sup> His brother Philemon accounted for "4 hogshead of tobacco, 4 loads of wheat, and 47 bushels of wheat," see "Maryland, Register of Wills Books, 1629-1999," *Familysearch.org*, Beale Warfield first account, Anne Arundel County Administrative Accounts, JG#8: 310-314, 24 May 1816.

<sup>53</sup> "Maryland, Register of Wills Books, 1629-1999," *Familysearch.org*, Beale Warfield inventory, Anne Arundel County Inventories, JG#8: 348-350, 27 June 1815.

<sup>54</sup> "Maryland Land Records," digital images, *Archives of Maryland Online* (<http://www.mdlandrec.net>: accessed 10 March 2008), Montgomery County, Maryland, Deed Book WSG 21: 134-136, Warner D. Warfield, et al to William R. Warfield, written 28 May 1836. His sister Catherine and her husband Warner are referred to as "of Baltimore County" and his brother George is referred to as "of Anne Arundel County."

<sup>55</sup> William owned nine slaves, see 1840 U.S. Census, population schedule, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, District 3, p. 31 (written), line 29, Wm Warfield; digital images, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 15 March 2012); NARA microfilm M19, roll 53.

<sup>56</sup> William owned eight slaves, see 1850 U.S. census, Anne Arundel County, slave schedule, Howard District, p. 24 (written), line 17, William R. Warfield;

digital images, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 August 2013); from NARA microfilm M432, roll 300. William's sister and her husband James Baxley lived next door, and owned 12 slaves.

<sup>57</sup> William owned nine slaves, see 1860 U.S. census, Howard County, slave schedule, PO Lisbon, 4th District, p. 32 (written), line 10, Wm R Warfield household; digital images, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 August 2013); citing NARA microfilm M653, roll 484. William's sister and her husband James Baxley lived next door and also owned 9 slaves.

<sup>58</sup> By 1851, the part of Anne Arundel County where William Warfield lived, Howard District, became its own county, so in 1860 his household is in Howard County.

<sup>59</sup> While no marriage between enslaved people was legal, original sources such as civil war pension files, slave interviews, slave narratives, court records, and freedman's bank records illustrate that enslaved women who were married often took the surname of their spouse. For example, see Library of Congress, "Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives," *American Memory* (<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/snhtml/snhome>: accessed 12 August 2014), memoir of Milton Hammond, digital ID mesn 042/094091; citing WPA Federal Writers' Project, Georgia Narratives, vol. 4, part 2, p. 1. The interview summary states that "his parents, Emily and James Hammond, had 10 children 8 boys and 2 girls of whom he was oldest. His mother, sisters, and brothers used the name Hammond as this was their father's name. Although every number of his family with the exception of his father, belonged to Bill Freeman, they always used his name."

<sup>60</sup> Marriage date derived from age of Louisa's first child "Harriet L.," who was 11 years old in 1850. See 1850 U.S. census, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, population schedule, Howard District, p. 489 A (stamped), dwelling 1112, family 1122, Louisa Simpson; digital images, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 20 August 2013); citing NARA microfilm M432, roll 278.

<sup>61</sup> University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, "Historical Census Browser," database, *GeoStat Center* (<http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu>: accessed 21 November 2009), user-defined report for "1830" and "freed blacks."

<sup>62</sup> Smaller numbers of blacks also gained their freedom by participating as soldiers during wartime. Between 1752 and 1790 in Maryland, manumissions could only be recorded in deed records, but both before and after those years, slaves could be freed in wills as well, see "Descriptions of African-American Records," *Maryland State Archives, Guide to Government Records* (<http://guide.mdsa.net/viewer.cfm?page=afrides>: accessed 25 July 2013.)

<sup>63</sup> Passed on 15 January 1806, this legislative act specified that county clerks must register freed blacks because of the concern that slaves were using freedom certificates to run away, see "Session Laws, 1805, Chapter LXVI," *Archives of Maryland Online*

(<http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000607/html/am607--46.html>: accessed 12 December 2014).

<sup>64</sup> Negative results were returned in searches for any entries of “Louisa Simpson” or derivatives of that name, see “Volume 813, Howard County Freedom Certificates, 1840-1863”; “Volume 821, Anne Arundel County Freedom Certificates, 1805-1864” ; “Volume 823, Anne Arundel County Freedom Certificates, 1810-1831”; “Volume 824, Anne Arundel County Freedom Certificates, 1831-1844”; “Volume 820, Anne Arundel County Freedom Certificates, 1845-1864”; “Volume 825, Anne Arundel Manumission Records, 1797-1807”; “Volume 830, Anne Arundel County Manumission Records, 1816-1844”; “Volume 832, Anne Arundel County Manumission Records, 1844-1866,” digital images, *Maryland Slavery Commission* (<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/html/commission.html>: accessed 10 July 2013).

<sup>65</sup> A line-by-line search of Anne Arundel County, Maryland in 1840 for “Louisa Simpson” or any freed black woman with derivatives of that name, such as “Louise or Lou” returned negative results, see 1840 U.S. census, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, population schedule; citing NARA microfilm M19, roll 53. If Louisa was free in 1840, she was likely living within a white household.

<sup>66</sup> Jerry Hynson, *Maryland Freedom Papers, Volume 1: Anne Arundel County, Maryland* (Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 1996). No entry was located for Louisa Simpson or any derivatives of that name.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., user-defined report for “1860,” “aggr. slaves” and “aggr. free colored persons” in Maryland.

<sup>68</sup> Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 23-30.

<sup>69</sup> Ira Berlin, “The Mechanics of White Dominance,” *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Pantheon Press, 1975, 1974c), 316-320.

<sup>70</sup> Franklin and Schweninger, “Backward Into Bondage,” *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation*, 183-187.

<sup>71</sup> Hanes Walton Jr., Sherman C. Pickett and Donald R. Deskins, Jr., *The African-American Electorate* (CQ Press, 2012), 134.

<sup>72</sup> “Simpson” is presumably her married name and not her maiden name.

<sup>73</sup> Column 12 of the census, which asks about literacy, says “Reads” for Louisa, see 1850 U.S. census, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, population schedule, Howard District, p. 489 A. (stamped), dwelling 1112, family 1122, Louisa Simpson.

<sup>74</sup> The family of William Fisher (dwelling 1114, family 1124) and Larkin Murphy (dwelling 1115, family 1125) are on the same census page as Louisa’s family; 1850 U.S. census, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, population schedule, Howard District, p. 489 A (stamped), dwelling 1112, family 1122, Louisa Simpson. The families of Thomas and Milly King (dwelling 1009, family 1119) and Robert and Susan Alford (dwelling 1100, family 1120) are nearby on p. 488 B.



<sup>75</sup> 1850 U.S. census, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, population schedule, Howard District, p. 489 B (stamped), dwelling 1123, family 1133, Wm R. Warfield; digital images, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 20 August 2013); citing NARA microfilm M432, roll 278. William was listed as a Farmer/Planter owning real estate valued at \$4,000.

<sup>76</sup> No record was found for "Louisa Simpson" or any derivatives of her name in the county, see 1860 U.S. census, Howard County, Maryland, population schedule; digital images, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 20 August 2013); citing NARA microfilm M653, roll 477.

<sup>77</sup> The 1850 census spells her name "Minta L." As an adult, she mostly used her middle name "Lucinda." I have maintained the spelling "Minty" throughout this paper to illustrate the naming tradition. 1850 U.S. census, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, population schedule, Howard District, p. 489 A. (stamped), dwelling 1112, family 1122, Louisa Simpson.

<sup>78</sup> Brothers James and Joseph Simpson were living in Montgomery County where they were drafted in 1863, see "U.S., Civil War Draft Registrations, Records 1863-1865," database, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 15 September 2011), Montgomery County, Maryland, 1st District, entries for "James Simpson" and "Joseph Simpson"; citing *Consolidated Lists of Civil War Draft Registrations, 1863-1865*, Records of the Provost Marshal General's Bureau, Record Group 110, while brother Joseph was there in 1860 serving as a freed black in the home of JG Warfield, see 1860 U.S. census, Montgomery County, Maryland, population schedule, PO Laytonsville, 1st District, p. 36 (written), dwelling 275, family 279, Joseph Simpson in J.G. Warfield household; digital image, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 20 August 2013), FHL microfilm 803478, citing NARA microfilm M653, roll 478. Sister Leanna was working as a "servant" in the 1860 Montgomery County household of Francis L. Bell, see 1860 U.S. census, Montgomery County, Maryland population schedule, PO Laytonsville, 1st District, p. 35 (written), dwelling 269, family 273, Leanner Simpson in Francis L. Bell household; digital image, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 20 August 2013); citing NARA microfilm M653, roll 478. Sister Mary could not be located in 1860, but she was buried in a Montgomery County cemetery with several of her siblings, see Brooke Grove Cemetery (770 Brink Road, Gaithersburg, Montgomery County, Maryland), Mary Simpson marker; personally read and photos taken by author on 30 August 2007. Provides the following: "Died July 20, 1907, Aged 66 years." Sister Martha is living in Howard County in 1860, serving in the household of William Warfield, her father's slave owner, see 1860 U.S. census, Howard County, Maryland, population schedule, PO Lisbon, 4th District, p. 32 (written), dwelling 227, family 220, Martha Simpson in Wm R Warfield household; digital images, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 20 August 2013); citing NARA microfilm M653, roll 477. By 1870, Martha is living in Montgomery County along with her husband Levi, where she lived until her death, see 1870

U.S. census, Montgomery County, Maryland, population schedule, 1st Election District, PO Brighton, p. 253 B. (stamped), dwelling 419, family 401, Levi Prayther; digital images, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 20 August 2013), citing NARA microfilm M593, roll 591.

<sup>79</sup> Charles T. Jacobs, *Civil War Guide to Montgomery County, Maryland* (Rockville, Maryland: Montgomery County Historical Society, 2011).

<sup>80</sup> "U.S., Civil War Draft Registrations, Records 1863-1865," database and images, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 15 September 2011), Montgomery County, Maryland, 1st District, entries for African-Americans in Montgomery County; citing *Consolidated Lists of Civil War Draft Registrations, 1863-1865*, Records of the Provost Marshal General's Bureau, Record Group 110. Owners included notations about which of their slaves enlisted or were drafted into the army were also made in the 1867 Slave Statistics, see "Montgomery County Slave Statistics, 1867-1868," *Archives of Maryland Online*, Volume 812 (<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000812/html/index.html>: accessed 26 November 2014).

<sup>81</sup> No service record could be found for brothers James Simpson or Joseph Simpson, see "U.S., Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865," digital images, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 1 February 2007), searches for "Joseph Simpson" and "James Simpson" and derivatives such as "Jos," "Jim," "Jas" and the surnames "Simson," "Sampson" and "Simmons"; citing *Compiled Military Service Records of Volunteer Soldiers Who Served with the United States Colored Troops: Infantry Organizations, 20th through 25th*. M1823, 98 rolls. Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780's-1917, Record Group Number 94. National Archives, Washington, D.C. One match for a "Joseph Simpson," a black private with the 26th U.S. Colored Troops, who was 59 years old at enlistment and born in Montgomery County, Maryland, is far too old to be the subject Joseph Simpson, who was born in 1844 according to his headstone, see Brooke Grove Cemetery (770 Brink Road, Gaithersburg, Montgomery County, Maryland), Joseph W. Simpson marker; personally read and photos taken by author on 30 August 2007. Dates provided: "Dec 11, 1844-July 29, 1932."

<sup>82</sup> Slavery was abolished in Washington D.C. in April 1862, and owners were compensated by the federal government for their enslaved property, see "Featured Documents: The District of Columbia Emancipation Act, *National Archives* ([http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/featured\\_documents/dc\\_emancipation\\_act/](http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/featured_documents/dc_emancipation_act/): accessed 12 December 2014).

<sup>83</sup> "It is reported that two hundred able-bodied slaves in Maryland..." *The Christian Recorder*, 12 July 1862; digital images, *Accessible Archives* (<http://www.accessible.com/>: accessed 19 June 2014).

<sup>84</sup>“Maryland Politics,” *The Evening Star*, 5 October 1863, p. 1; digital images, *Newsbank.com* (<http://search.proquest.com/>: accessed 22 October 2014), Evening Star Historical Archive.

<sup>85</sup> Eric Foner, *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery* (New York, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010).

<sup>86</sup> Only 375 votes tipped the balance in favor of the new Constitution freeing the state's slaves. See Miranda S. Spivack, “The Not-Quite-So-Free State: Maryland Dragged its Feet on Emancipation during Civil War,” article, *The Washington Post* (<http://www.washingtonpost.com>: accessed 26 August 2014).

<sup>87</sup> Howard County, Maryland, Inventories, TBH Volume 4:475-479, William R. Warfield inventory, 31 October 1864; Maryland State Archives, Annapolis.

<sup>88</sup> “Slave Statistics for Howard County, Maryland,” digital images, *Maryland State Archives* ([http://msa.maryland.gov/msa/homepage/html/whats\\_new.pdf](http://msa.maryland.gov/msa/homepage/html/whats_new.pdf): accessed 10 August 2013), MSA C957, Heirs of William R. Warfield, image no. 0152. William Warfield's heirs listed 11 slaves with their ages: Perry Simpson, 50, John Howard, 33, Henry Howard, 30, Charles Dorsey, 47, Alcinda Waymon, 25, Harriet Ann Wayman, 9, James Wayman, 7, Lewis Wayman, 5, Dennis Wayman, 3, Mary Wayman, 1, Harriet Howard, 55. The list was comprised of slaves owned as of 1 November 1864, when the slaves were emancipated by the new state constitution. The Maryland legislature approved creating these lists in hopes that slaveholders would be reimbursed by the federal government for the emancipation of their slaves in 1864. The document is valuable because it provides the former slaves' surnames and connects them with former owners, something rarely provided in any document.

<sup>89</sup> Richard Paul Fuke, “Table 1.1: Black Population in Tidewater and Baltimore 1860-1870,” *Imperfect Equality: African-Americans and the Confines of White Racial Attitudes in Post-Emancipation Maryland* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999), 4.

<sup>90</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, “Table 23: District of Columbia, Race and Hispanic Origin, 1800-1990,” “Contents,” (<http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0056/twps0056.html>: accessed 1 January 2015.)

<sup>91</sup> Fuke, *Imperfect Equality: African-Americans*, 115-117.

<sup>92</sup> “District of Columbia Marriages, 1811-1950,” digital images, *Familysearch.org* (<http://www.familysearch.org>: accessed 10 July 2013); entry for Margaret Fleet-Percry Simceson marriage, 8 September 1863; citing DC Records Office, Washington D.C., FHL microfilm 2079252.

<sup>93</sup> Gregory Jarvis can be connected to at least four of the children of Margaret Fleet, although no known record indicates their marriage. “Gregory Jarvis” is identified on Margaret's daughter Annette Grant's death certificate, see “District of Columbia Deaths, 1874-1959,” index, *Familysearch.org* (<http://www.familysearch.org>: accessed 30 September 2014); entry for Annette Grant, 20 September 1924; citing District of Columbia Deaths, 1874-1959,

FHL microfilm 2116022. Her sister Cora's death certificate gets the surname correct but not the given name, providing "George Jarvis" as the father, see "District of Columbia Deaths, 1874-1959," index, *Familysearch.org* (<http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 30 September 2014); entry for Cora Lenoux, 10 October 1924; citing District of Columbia Deaths, 1874-1959, FHL microfilm 2116704. In the 1880 census for Margaret's son, Edward Fleet, and her daughter Mary, "Mexico" is given as the birthplace of their father, see 1880 U.S. census, Montgomery County, Maryland, population schedule, Cracklin District, Enumeration District (ED) 107, p. 194 B. (stamped), dwelling 72, family 77, Edward Fleet household; digital image, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 20 August 2013), citing NARA microfilm T9, roll 512. In 1850, a "mulatto" man named "Gregory Jarvis" lived in the Washington D.C. 1st Ward neighborhood of young Margaret Fleet providing his birthplace as "Mexico," see 1850 U.S. census, District of Columbia, City of Washington, population schedule, 1st Ward, p. 63 A. (stamped), dwelling 931, family 984, Gregory Jarvis in Margaret Backe household; digital image, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 30 September 2014); citing NARA microfilm M432, roll 56. In 1860, "Gregoire Jarvis" still lived in the 1st ward, now noted by the census taker as a white man, with an apparent wife and three children, providing a birthplace of "New Mexico," see 1860 U.S. census, District of Columbia, City of Washington, population schedule, PO Washington D.C., 1st ward, p. 361 A. (stamped), dwelling 1129, family 1130, Gregoire Jarvis; digital image, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 30 September 2014), citing NARA microfilm M653, roll 102. Lastly, the World War I Draft Card of the son of Edward Fleet records his full name as "Edward Gregoria Fleet, Jr." his middle name providing further evidence of the familial tie, see "World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918," digital images, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 9 April 2008), card for Edward Gregoria Fleet Jr., no.1809, Local Board for Division 14, City of Baltimore; citing *World War I Selective Service System Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918*, NARA microfilm publication M1509, imaged from FHL microfilm 1684375.

<sup>94</sup> Henry Fleet, Margaret's father is described as the "son of Henry Fleet Sr." in the registration of his freedom. The entry also notes that he has been "taught the trade of shoemaker," almost certainly by his father who was a well-known shoemaker in Georgetown, see Dorothy S. Provine, *District of Columbia Free Negro Registers, 1821-1861* (Bowie: Heritage Books, 1996), registration no. 284, 29 December 1817, p. 65. Also, in apprenticeship no. 68 for Benjamin Howe to Henry Fleet, the author adds that "the Fleet family was a well-known free black family in Georgetown, see Dorothy S. Provine, *District of Columbia Indentures of Apprenticeship, 1801-1893* (Bowie: Heritage Books, 1998), apprenticeship no. 68, 28 July 1803.

<sup>95</sup> Abstracted entries describe four young boys—Benjamin Howe, Hezekiah Moore, Frances Hawkins and William Smith—apprenticed to Henry Fleet

between 1803 and 1825 to learn the trade of shoemaking. These would have been African-American boys, as social mores would dictate that white children would not have been apprenticed to a free black man. See Dorothy S. Provine, *District of Columbia Indentures of Apprenticeship, 1801-1893* (Bowie: Heritage Books, 1998), apprenticeship no. 68, 28 July 1803, p. 9; apprenticeship no. 171, 1807, p. 21; apprenticeship no. 1278, 5 September 1825, p. 159; apprenticeship no. 510, 29 January 1814, p. 64.

<sup>96</sup> Daughter Cora is a dressmaker, see 1900 U.S. census, District of Columbia, City of Washington, population schedule, enumeration district (ED) 38, sheet 6 A, p.106 A. (stamped), dwelling 73, family 92, Cora M Lemos; digital image, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 20 August 2013); citing NARA microfilm T623, roll 160. Also, daughter Mary is a dressmaker, see 1910 U.S. census, District of Columbia, City of Washington, population schedule, 8th precinct, enumeration district (ED) 149-C, sheet 5 A.- 5 B., p.159 A.- 159 B. (stamped), no dwelling or family nos., Beverly R Lemos; digital image, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 20 August 2013); citing NARA microfilm T624, roll 153.

<sup>97</sup> Margaret was assessed \$25 in taxes as a “retail liq[uor] dealer” at “K Street between 21st and 22nd Streets.” See “U.S. IRS Tax Assessment Lists, 1862-1918,” database, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 15 September 2011), entry for Margaret Fleet, June 1864, District of Columbia; citing NARA microfilm M 760, roll 3.

<sup>98</sup> 1870 U.S. census, District of Columbia, City of Washington, population schedule, PO Washington D.C., 1st Ward, p. 180 A. (stamped), dwelling 603, family 802, Margaret Simson; digital image, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 20 August 2013); citing NARA microfilm M593, roll 123.

<sup>99</sup> Margaret Simpson, bank card no. 15908 [bank not identified but context suggests the Washington D.C. branch], dated 26 June 1873; “Freedman’s Bank Records, 1865-1874,” digital images, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 2 June 2007); citing “*Registers of Signatures of Depositors in Branches of the Freedman’s Savings and Trust Company, 1865-1874*,” M816, 27 rolls [exact roll not cited].

<sup>100</sup> “Maryland Land Records,” digital images, *Archives of Maryland Online* (<http://www.mdlandrec.net>: accessed 10 March 2008), Montgomery County, Maryland, Deed Book EBP 20: 225, Brice Howard to Margaret Simpson, written 9 January 1879; citing Montgomery County Circuit Court Records, 1777-1976.

<sup>101</sup> 1880 U.S. census, Montgomery County, Maryland, population schedule, Cracklin District, Enumeration District (ED) 107, p. 194 B. (stamped), dwelling 72, family 77, Perry Simpson in Edward Fleet household; digital image, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 20 August 2013); citing NARA microfilm T9, roll 512.

<sup>102</sup> Simpson Bible Record, 1839-1852, loose "Family Record" pages, photocopies held by author; entry for death of "Perry G. Simpson" in "July 1887," no day provided. This bible likely belonged to Martha Simpson Prather [1845-1910], as it records information about her Simpson siblings and her father, as well as her children with husband Levi Prather [1839-1894]. Original pages were in the possession of Theodore Prather, Gaithersburg, Maryland, and probably were inherited from his father Darius Prather, a son of Martha. There are at least two types of penmanship used, and while several entries appear to have been made in groups which suggest copying from another source, others appear to have been recorded at the time the event occurred. Martha came from a family of literate free blacks. Both sets of penmanship are clear, although one is particularly neat and ornate.

<sup>103</sup> Maryland Board of Health, Certificate of Death, no certificate no. (16 April 1910), Margaret Fleet Simpson; Maryland State Archives, Annapolis.

<sup>104</sup> C. Fraser Smith, *Here Lies Jim Crow: Civil Rights in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).