



“His Back Will Testify:” Slavery and Racism in London Town

The Slave Ships

Slavery defined London Town as much as the South River. For hundreds of Africans, London Town was their gateway into the new, brutal world of slavery. Beginning in 1706, any ship sailing into the South River was required to “Unlade and put on Shore, all Negroes, Wares, Goods, Merchandizes, and Commodities whatsoever.”ⁱ

So far, there are four confirmed slave ships from which enslaved people were sold at London Town. These are the *Margaret*, *Elizabeth*, *Clapham*, and *Jenny*. Research into London Town’s role in the transatlantic slave trade is ongoing, with new discoveries and refutations arising almost every month. As this research continues, the lives of African survivors of the Middle Passage are only just now coming to light.

Margaret, 1718

Eighteen enslaved people from Sierra Leone were sold in London Town, after most captives had already been sold in Annapolis. This sale is detailed in Charles Flanagan’s doctorate dissertation *Sweets of Independence: The James Carroll Daybook, 1714-1721*. The James Carroll Daybook is in the Georgetown University Library’s Special Collections Division. A relevant excerpt of the dissertation is below:

Four days later [September 3, 1718], the *Margaret* sailed to Stephen West’s dock at Londontown on the South River with the twelve remaining slaves. Half of the people were sold on the first day. Hezekiah Linthicum, on whose credit Carroll had traded at Patrick Sympton’s Londontown store in 1715, bought a “reeling” man for £23. Robert Ward, whom George Douglass had paid to capture an enslaved man who had run away from James Carroll, bought a woman for £25. In addition, two men were sold, one for the full £30 and the other for £22. Two boys were also sold for £18 and £20. The following day, tailor Edward Coyle, returned to the buying by purchasing a woman described as “fluxed” for 249 £4.15.00. His was the same buying strategy as the other two bargain hunters, coming back at the tail end of the sale and buying a sick person for a greatly reduced price. Three old men, a sickly woman and a sick boy remained. On September 8, Thomas Larkin bought two of the men for £22 each. William Ford bought the woman for £20. The next day, Richard Isaac bought the last person, a boy who sold for £22.10.00.ⁱⁱ

Historian Sean M. Kelley at the University of Essex offered me this background on the enslaved people of the *Margaret*:

The *Margaret* purchased captives in the Sierra Leone estuary, which probably means Bance (Bance, Bunce) Island. In 1718, the Royal African Company...was purchasing most of its captives from the 'Northern Rivers' (also 'Rivers of Guinea,' and if you're in Senegambia, 'Southern Rivers'). These are the Rio Pongo and Rio Nunez, in present-day Guinea, and even closer at Mania, to the north of the Sierra Leone River. The RAC was also very active at Sherbro, to the south of Sierra Leone, as far down as Cape Mount in present day Liberia. All of these places fed Bance Island.

In this era, most enslavement probably occurred relatively near the coast. Enslavement was probably driven by local circumstances: political fights/wars, judicial enslavement, opportunistic kidnapping. Some were probably traded by Luso-Africans and few of the captives taken from the Northern Rivers may have been enslaved by as a result of predatory raids by the Kaabu kingdom, which was located to the south of the Gambia River.

What this all suggests is that most of the captives shipped out of Sierra Leone at that moment were speakers of Western Atlantic languages: Temne, Bullom, and Baga, for the most part. There would also have been some speakers of the Mande languages: Mende, Vai, Susu, but these were a probable minority.

Another thing to keep in mind is that Sierra Leone was not a significant source of captives in this period. For the period 1701-1725, an average of 263 captives left Sierra Leone every year—one or two ships.ⁱⁱⁱ



Royal African Company seal, eighteenth century, Museum of London

Elizabeth, 1719^{iv}

One of the most powerful men in the slave trade of the early 18th century was Humphrey Morice. Director of the Bank of England, Morice accumulated massive wealth through business acumen and his micromanaging approach. Much of his fortune was generated in the transatlantic slave trade.

In 1718, Captain Stephen Bull commanded the snow rigged *Elizabeth*, and as Morice owned that vessel, Bull was his employee. Two months after Bull set sail from London, Morice dispatched a letter to him, changing Bull's course.^v Morice wrote "to advise you that my apprehensions of a Warr with Spain are rather increased than diminished since my last as that I have got liberty from my Insurers on your shipp + Cargoe for you to proceed of the Coast to Maryland." The danger of war influenced Morice to issue these new orders, which he repeated in the very same letter: "so soon as you have disposed of your Cargoe to proceed of the Coast of Africa with your negroes directly for Maryland unless danger of Pirates or Spanish Privateers than in going to Jamaica."^{vi}

Humphrey Morice was reacting to one of the many continental wars of the eighteenth century: The War of the Quadruple Alliance. Spain, under King Philip V, launched a war to seize territories lost in Italy in a previous conflict, touching off a much larger war that brought in France, the Holy Roman Empire, the Dutch Republic, and Britain into an alliance against the Spaniards. As with any war of the time, merchant shipping was especially vulnerable, and liable to capture by hostile powers.

If not for the war, it appears that the *Elizabeth* would never have sailed to the Chesapeake, let alone to London Town. The dangers of privateering and pirates along the African coast and through the Caribbean encouraged Morice to send his vessel, and the Africans aboard her, to the relatively safe waters within the Capes of Virginia. This is a reminder that the Chesapeake was not the primary destination for most slave voyages, and served as a secondary or tertiary consideration for the wealthy ship owners who directed the trade.

What is of interest in the study of the slave trade to London Town is Morice's expectations of Bull on his arrival in Maryland. These he listed very explicitly in the middle of his roughly thousand-word letter:

Inclosed you may have my letter to Mr W^m Nicholson in South River
 & Major John Smith in Patuxant River Maryland to whom you must
 deliver your Negroes If it happens that you go to Maryland you must
 apply your self to Mr W^m Nicholson in South River & he will give
 notice of your arrival to Major Smith in Patuxant River and take
 three receipts from those Gentlemen for the Negroes you deliver them
 one bring home with you the other two by different conveyances those
 Gentlemen will supply you where with to pay your Hamer & for me
 a Paris for your shipp use you must follow their Orders as to your
 shipp carrying home for London as soon as your Negroes are sold & be
 sure to write mee what Gold & Silver you have aboard that I may
 may make Insurances here or you accordingly from Maryland
 which is what I desire from

Inclosed you may have my letter to M^r W^m Nicholson in South river + Major John Smith in Patuxant River Maryland to whom you must deliver your Negroes if it happens that you go to Maryland, you must apply yourself to M^r W^m Nicholson in South River + he will give notice of your arrivall to Major Smith in Patuxant River and take three receipts from those Gentlemen for the Negroes you deliver them on bring home with you the others and by different conveyances those Gentlemen will supply you wherewith to pay your Seamen + for necessaries for your shipp's use you must follow their Orders as to your shipp's coming home for London so soon as your Negroes are sold + be sure to write me what Gold + Elephants [teeth] you have aboard that I may may [sic] make Insurance home on you accordingly from Maryland which is what offers from.^{vii}

Morice told Bull to sail for the South River and meet William Nicholson first. Even though the mouth of the Patuxent is much closer to the Capes of Virginia, and the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, Bull was ordered to continue sailing up the bay to London Town. Only then would Nicholson send for Smith on the Patuxent. Morice also clearly expected the South River to have the facilities to provide “necessaries for your shipp's use” and enough wealth to provide pay for the *Elizabeth's* crew. This all suggests a nexus of trade centered at London Town.

A mere five days after his first letter, Morice wrote again. He told Bull that selling to the Portuguese was still an option (they were a neutral power in the war), and asked his captain to load “young Negroes without Beards [as they] are most coveted by the Portuguese.” Still, the expectation was clearly that he would sail to Maryland. This was repeated yet again in a third letter a month later: “it will be more for my interest to go to Maryland and Deliver your Negroes M^r W^m Nicholson in South River and Mr. John Smith in Patuxant river as in the above letters I have directed you.”^{viii}

Morice emphasized in all three letters that “the prime best time to arrive there” was in late April, through May, and into June. Perhaps this was because it was roughly this time of year that the bulk of labor involved in tobacco cultivation began.^{ix} Sometimes his orders were couched with the caveat that Bull must arrive in that season, as too late would reduce their profits.^x Whether he arrived in time or not is unclear, as the land record attesting to the *Elizabeth's* presence on the South River is dated July 16, 1719.^{xi}

Only a year after the enslaved people of the *Margaret* were sold in London Town, the scene repeated itself with the *Elizabeth*. They were sold in London Town, perhaps even at West's wharf, and likely some were carried to the Patuxent River to be sold there as well. Captain Bull then steered for London in a ship loaded with tons of tobacco, delivering more wealth into the pockets of Humphrey Morice. Without ever setting foot in Africa or North America, Morice's orders guided the fate of hundreds of human beings that he would never meet, and perhaps never thought of again.

Clapham, 1729

The *Clapham*, under Captain Richard Williams, arrived in Barbados sometime in May 1729, carrying “340 Negroes from Angola.”^{xii}

The *Maryland Gazette* for June 3-10, 1729 advertises a ship “lately arrived on the South River” bearing “two hundred choice slaves.”^{xiii} It is possible that Angolan captives were sold in Barbados before the *Clapham* arrived in Maryland. According to *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Voyages Database*, only two

slave ships sailed to Maryland in 1729: the *Clapham* and the *Duke* (sometimes styled the *Duke of London*).^{xiv} The *Duke* is listed as arrived four days after the advertisement was placed.^{xv}

There are three merchants who offered the enslaved for sale: Daniel Dulany, Peter Hume, and Richard Snowden. Peter Hume was a London Town merchant, and in the same issue of the *Gazette* that advertised the enslaved for sale, Hume also advertised “Barbadoes Rum, Barrel’d Beef, *Madera* Wine, Lime-Juice, and Musquevado Sugar, To be Sold at reasonable Rates, by *Peter Hume, at London, Town*.”^{xvi} Stephen West, the London Town resident whose dock was used for the *Margaret’s* slave sale in 1718, must have known Captain Richard Williams, as their children would eventually marry.^{xvii}

The *Maryland Gazette* for July 1-8, 1729 includes a runaway advertisement for an unnamed sailor of the *Clapham* “lying in South River.”^{xviii} The land record stating the rate Captain Williams would buy tobacco for also lists the *Clapham* as “Now Rideing at Anchor in South River,” and is dated July 1, 1729, while the sale of the enslaved people is still ongoing.^{xix} Advertisements for the sale of the captives from the *Clapham* continue through the *Maryland Gazette* of July 15-22, 1729. This advertisement is immediately followed by another by Peter Hume for “*Madera* Wine” being sold “at *London Town*.”^{xx}

Bristol, May 28. On Monday last arrived the *Sherley*, Capt. Kennedy, the *Matilda*, John Gythens, and the *Lovely*, Capt. Jackson, all 3 from Jamaica; the *Antilope*, James Eustace, from Barbados; and the *Unity*, Capt. Beard, from Antigua; and just now the *Prudent Nancy*, Capt. Fowey, from Jamaica; they bring an Account of the Arrival of the *Mary*, Capt. Fell, and the *Seawell*, Capt. Williams, both from London; the *Roebuck*, Richard Challoner, the *Monmouth*, Capt. Smith, the *Trial*, the *Comb Pink*, Capt. Denton, and the *Squirrel*, George Griffiths, all of and from this Port, at Barbados. The *Paddington*, Capt. Hodges, from London, at *St. Christopher’s*. And the *Jamaica Pink*, Capt. Long, from London; the *Katherine*, Capt. Dagg, from Guiney; the *Mansell*, Capt. Trevisa, from New England; and the *Alice* and *Elizabeth*, from hence, at Antigua. Also at Barbados, the *Clapham* was arrived, with 340 Negroes from Angola; she left there only Capt. Hunt, and two French Ships.

The Daily Journal [London, England], May 31, 1729, page 1.

May 19. 1729
Notice is hereby given, that there's a Ship
 arrived in *South River*, with about Two Hundred
 choice Slaves, which are to be Sold; by

Daniel Dulany,
 Richard Snowden, and
 Peter Hume.

Maryland Gazette, June 3-10, 1729 page 4.

Anne Arundell County ss. These are to give Notice
 to all persons whom it may concern that Richard
 Williams Comander of the Ship Captain now lying
 at anchor in *South River* in the County ss. being
 (purposed)

Purposed to Export Tobacco from Maryland to
 Great Brittain, On Freight this present Voyage
 Doe hereby publish the rate there of at Seven
 pounds sterl for the Freight to Consigning
 there Tobacco to whom they please his Will is
 My hand this 1st Day of July 1729
 R. Williams

Maryland State Archives, Anne Arundel County Land Records, MSA CE 76-13, Liber RD 1, pages 250-251.

RUN away (lately) from the Ship *Clapham*,
 lying in *South-River*, a Sailor, thick and well-fer, with
 Sun-burnt Freckles, short Sun-burnt Hair, and swell'd Legs,
 and one of his Shins very sore. He had on an Oznabrig
 Wastecoat and strip'd Trowsers. Whoever brings him to Capt.
Williams, Commander of the said Ship, shall have a Pistole
 Reward.
 N. B. There was another Sailor run away with him.

Maryland Gazette, July 1-8, 1729, page 4.

Jenny, 1760

"Blood streamed plentifully out of the privateer's scuppers."^{xxi}

The *Margaret* provides us a uniquely well documented sale of enslaved Africans in London Town. The *Elizabeth* tells us about the intent of merchants on the other side of the Atlantic, the ones who controlled the immense human traffic. But the *Jenny* provides us with the best documented voyage of a slave ship to London Town. In a fascinating turn of events, the *Jenny's* voyage was mirrored by an eerily similar set of events a generation later.

Based in Liverpool, the full rigged ten-gun *Jenny* was captained by Captain John Wilkinson. He and his crew of twenty or thirty-five were casting off from England and into an ocean divided between warring powers.^{xxii} It was the fourth year of the Seven Years War, and the sixth of the French and Indian War. Britain and her German allies wrestled with the French and Spanish on the European continent, while French and British colonists fought in North America among a tangled web of alliances between native peoples.

This was perhaps the first truly global conflict. Battles raged on land in Europe, India, North and South America, and with naval engagements from the Pacific to the Mediterranean. Many merchant vessels had been taken by both sides. Roving privateers and letters of marque joined the commissioned naval vessels of major European powers to snatch up whatever prizes they could take.

Through these dangerous waters, Wilkinson guided his vessel to Africa. The Portuguese had long had a foothold in Angola and Congo and sold off enslaved people from major ports like Cabinda. It was from here that the *Jenny* departed with nearly 400 enslaved people in her hold.^{xxiii}

After departing on March 4, 1760, Wilkinson led the *Jenny* across the Atlantic for an uneventful eight weeks. Wilkinson and his crew well knew that each passing day brought them closer to the prowling grounds of privateers. Confronting one of these vessels was to be their fate.

On April 29th the *Jenny* was attacked by a fourteen-gun French privateer sloop.^{xxiv} The determined Frenchman, "full of men," attacked the *Jenny* and "was received so warmly that she was twice beat off."^{xxv} Finding her a tough nut to crack, the French captain got creative. His crew affixed "Stink-pots at her Jib-boom End."^{xxvi}

John Hamilton Moore, in his *The Practical Navigator, and Seaman's New Daily Assistant*, describes the stink pot as thus:

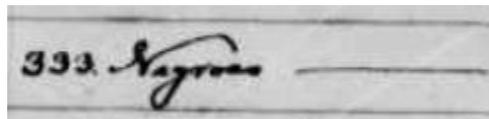
The Boarder is generally furnished with an earthen Shell, called a Stink-pot, which, on that occasion, is suspended from his Yard-arms or Bowsprit end. The Machine is also charged with Powder mixed with other inflammable and suffocating Materials, with a lighted Fuse at the Aperture. Thus prepared for the Action, and having grappled his Adversary, the Boarder displays his Signal to begin the Assault ; the Fuses of the Stink-pot and Powder-flasks being lighted, they are immediately thrown upon the Deck of the Enemy, where they burst and catch Fire, producing an intolerable Stench and Smoke, and filling the Deck with Tumult and Distraction ; amidst the Confusion occasioned by this infernal Apparatus, the Detachment provided rush aboard Sword in Hand, under Cover of this Smoke, on their Antagonist, who is in the same Predicament with a Citadel stormed by the Besiegers, and generally overpowered, unless he is furnished with extraordinary Means of Defence, or equipped with Close-quarters, to which he can retreat with some probability of Safety.^{xxvii}

Stink-pots were certainly unpleasant and could also be lethal. On September 7, 1759, the ship *Britannia* was attacked off Cape Maize by a French sloop. Captain George Massum later wrote that "a stink-pot at her jib-boom being run over our stern, dropped on the quarter deck, and killed the first mate."^{xxviii}

Wilkinson's options were limited. He was outgunned and outmanned. Moore gives two options: "Close-quarters, to which he can retreat with some probability of Safety," or an "extraordinary Means of Defence."

As a slave ship, the *Jenny* probably did have a barricado that could serve as a safe barrier between her crew and the boarders. It was, after all, designed to prevent a ship from being taken by her cargo. As the Marlborough revolt proved, a barricado is only useful if your enemy is on the proper side of it. Given subsequent reports, it appears that the privateer sloop may have been coming up on *Jenny*'s stern. This would be the most logical place to drop a stink pot, as it would disable the helmsman and captain. From this angle, a barricado was useless as "Close-quarters."

This reduced Wilkinson to the second option, an "extraordinary Means of Defence." Widely reported after the fact, Wilkinson took the dangerous step of arming fifty of the enslaved men he had taken as cargo. The French sloop tried to sheer away from her final attack, but "her Topping-lift got foul of the Jenny's sprit-Sail Yard ; and had it not been for a Mistake of his Helm's-man, [Wilkinson] believes he should have taken the privateer." After six and a half hours of combat, the sloop bore away, while "Blood streamed plentifully out of the privateer's scuppers."^{xxix}



The Annapolis Port of Entry records for the *Jenny* in Maryland was completed on July 15, 1760 with "333 Negroes." Despite her being registered in Annapolis, the *Maryland Gazette* makes it clear that the South River was the primary destination for the *Jenny* and gives no indication that she ever touched at Annapolis. On July 13, 1760, "arrived in South River, the Ship *Jenny* of Liverpool, Captain John Wilkinson, with upwards of 300 choice healthy Slaves. She left the Coast of Angola on the 4th of March." The same edition of the *Maryland Gazette* that announces the arrival of the *Jenny* posts an advertisement for the sale of "A parcel of choice, healthy slaves, consisting of men, women, boys and Girls; and will be Sold on Monday the 21st of this Instant July, at South River Ferry."^{xxx} London Town was the site of the South River Ferry. For months the advertisements continued. In August, some of the enslaved were carried down to the West River and sold there.^{xxxi} On November 29, 1760, the *Jenny* set sail for England with a new cargo of tobacco, barrel staves and heading, and iron.^{xxxii}

CUSTOM-HOUSE, ANNAPOLIS, Enter'd,

Ship Atlas, George Brayley, from Bristol ;
 Schooner Sufannah, Darcey Dawes, from New-Providence ;
 Brig Anson, Henry Costin, from St. Martin's ;
 Ship New-Castle, Matthew Spencer, from New-York ;
 Brig Martha, James Reith, from Antigua ;
 Brig Robinson, James Thompson, from Hamburgh ;
 Ship Jenny, John Wilkinson, from Africa.

Cleared for Departure,

Sloop Henrietta, Joseph Thompson, for St. Christophers ;
 Schooner Chester, Thomas Ireland, for Ditto ;
 Schooner Neptune, William Thomas, for Antigua.

J U S T I M P O R T E D,
Directly from the Coast of ANGOLA, in the Ship
JENNY, Capt. JOHN WILKINSON,
A PARCEL of choice healthy SLAVES,
 consisting of Men, Women, Boys and Girls ;
 and will be Sold on Monday the 21st of this In-
 stant *July*, at *South River Ferry*, for Bills of Ex-
 change, Sterling, or Current Money, by
 X 1 Ch. THOMAS RINGGOLD,
 SAMUEL GALLOWAY.
 N. B. The Sale to continue till all are Sold.

Maryland Gazette, July 17, 1760, page 2

Planning to sell the very men who had saved him did not draw any circumspection from the surviving records of Wilkinson. In the *Maryland Gazette* Wilkinson demonstrated his admiration of the enslaved who fought for him, while also emphasizing their obedience, when he wrote that they “all behaved well, and laid down their Arms as soon as the Engagement was over.”^{xxxiii}

This detail is omitted from the description of events he gave to the *South Carolina Gazette* a few weeks before.^{xxxiv} Perhaps he chose to say as much in the *Maryland Gazette* to assuage the fears of potential buyers that their new property might fight back.

It is unclear precisely how the enslaved of the *Jenny* were disarmed, and we have only Wilkinson's word on the end of his engagement. Sadly, without the words of any enslaved person involved in the conflicts, we are reduced to pure speculation on why they chose to defend their captors, how they came to be disarmed, and if they made a subsequent attempt to seize the ship.

Slave Ship Conclusion

It is important to recognize that Maryland was decidedly second to Virginia when it came to importing captive Africans in the eighteenth century. Further, the Chesapeake was not as active in the slave trade as the Caribbean or South America. Even if every single vessel that potentially sold enslaved

people at London Town was proven to have sold enslaved people here, London Town would still not be considered a major slave trade port in the larger Atlantic world. There is no evidence nor likelihood of a physical and permanent slave marketplace in the town itself.

This is not to diminish the importance of the transatlantic slave trade to the economy of London Town. London Town, for this area, was a remarkably active seaport, with twice as many ships calling in for tobacco as Annapolis.^{xxxv} That tobacco was cultivated and processed by enslaved labor. All the slave ships that called in to London Town, whether they sold people here or not, used the money from their sale of human beings to purchase that tobacco.

Beyond numbers and economics, the enslaved people of the past deserve our respect. It is our responsibility as an institution devoted to historical truth to teach the history of those that lived and labored here. Their suffering should not be diminished simply because they don't represent the average experience of slavery in the Atlantic world.

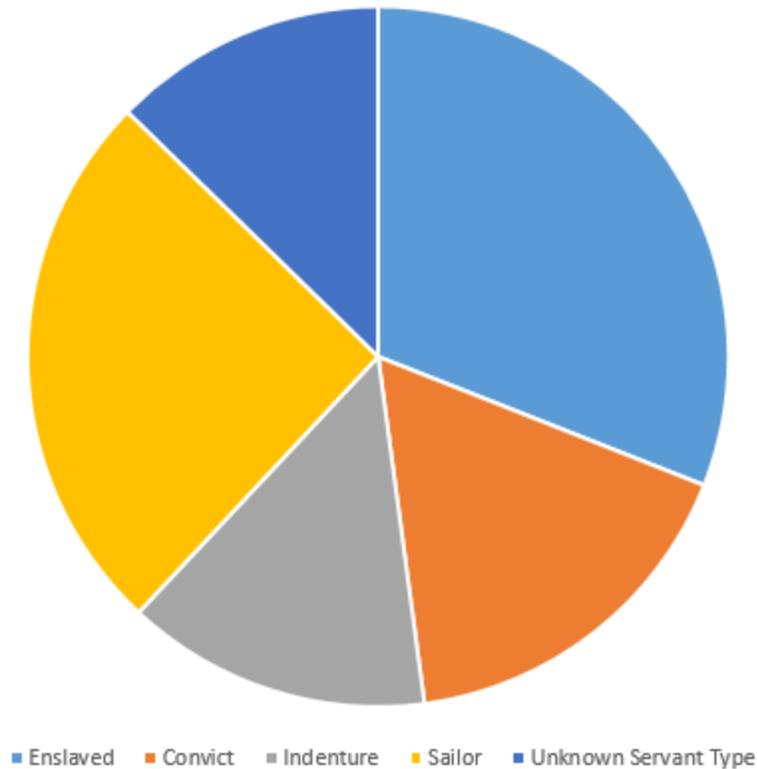
Resistance

If ever any evidence was needed of the cruelty of slavery in the Chesapeake, it can be proven with the case of Sam.

Enslaved by the planter Richard Moore, Sam ran away near London Town on October 13, 1756. Moore took out an advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette* offering a reward if anyone could recapture him. Moore stated that Sam was wearing a "Cloth Frock Coat, turned up with blue, and white Metal Buttons," possibly a livery. The livery was a uniform worn by servants and the enslaved, distinctive to the household in which they were held. Not only was this a uniform that demonstrated the wealth of a household, it also served as a marker. With such a distinctive garment, it was far more difficult for a runaway enslaved person to melt into a crowd. More importantly, Moore declared Sam a "notorious villain, as his back will testify."^{xxxvi} No other evidence is given for Sam's supposed villainy, aside from the fact that Moore whipped him until his back was permanently scarred.

The chance of freedom was slim for any enslaved person. London Town was home to 961 known enslaved people between its founding and 1788. Of these, only nine are known to have gone free.^{xxxvii} With no real free or emancipated community to help them escape or to shelter them, running away was an unrealistic option for permanent freedom. Nonetheless, the enslaved of London Town persisted.

London Town Runaways by Type



Though there is only small sample size, of all the forced laborers in London Town (the enslaved, convict servants, indentured servants, and sailors) slaves were the most likely to run away.^{xxxviii} To prevent them from doing so, enslavers resorted to drastic steps. Guy, an enslaved “mulatto Man” who bored “a down look” ran away from John Gassaway in 1750. Four years later he fled again, but this time “he had irons on him when he went away.”^{xxxix} Gassaway tried, in vain, to prevent another escape by physically binding Guy with shackles.

To increase the very slim chance of any success, enslaved people tried to muster resources to aid them in an escape. In 1716, Stephen West was taken to court over buying goods from Pompey. Edward Rumney, Pompey’s enslaver, demanded compensation for the sale.^{xl} It is possible that Pompey was trying to squirrel away enough money to buy his freedom, or to help him when he ran away. In 1752, a similar scheme was hatched by two enslaved people, Tom and Jenny, in concert with James, a white servant to William Chapman. Tom and Jenny were enslaved by the London Town boatwright William Chiffen, and intended “to rob Several Stores and that he the said Negro Tom Expected by the fall to get Money enough to free himself.”^{xli}

There were a very few free people of color in and around London Town, and they went to desperate lengths to stay that way. As described above, Mungo Roy, described as a “free Negroe,” was contracted in 1718 to carry out a slave auction. Stephen West may have been willing to sell goods to a possible runaway in 1716, but in 1718 his wharf was the site the sale of African slaves.

When the ship *Margaret* had arrived there, the local wealthy planter James Carroll paid enough for every man, woman, and child present for the sale to drink six ounces of rum.^{xlii} Anticipating that the

crowd could get rowdy, Carroll also paid for the constable Neale Clark, brother to the pirate Richard Clark,^{xliii} to act as muscle to keep the customers under control.

Frightened enslaved people were likely lined up in chains, open for all to inspect. As the potential customers showed interest in an African, Charles M. Flanagan argues, Mungo Roy would step up and pitch each human being as an object. Then he would seal the deal and collect their money.^{xliiv}

As Sean M. Kelley illustrated in *Voyage of the Slave Ship Hare*, American Africans could be used to comfort the recently arrived enslaved Africans. Speaking their language and familiar with their customs, these Americanized Africans could reassure the new arrivals that they would not be killed, and that they were destined for labor, rather than death. They could also prepare them for the terrifying slave sales that were soon to come. Such relationships could reduce suicide among the new arrivals.^{xlv} It was perhaps this dynamic that made Roy valuable to Carroll's efforts.

Roy could not control all the recently enslaved Africans. Those sold in London Town off the *Margaret* were the few that remained from the main sale in Annapolis. Among these undesirables was an unnamed woman whose condition was only listed as "Maugre." She was "ill willed" or "spiteful."^{xlvi} Perhaps this woman was particularly vehement in her resistance. Or maybe she was a dangerous organizer, as it was known in the slave trade that women were often the instigators of bloody shipboard revolts.^{xlvii}

Mungo Roy tried to operate within the oppressive system by currying favor with those that might enslave him. Only three years earlier, the Maryland legislature passed "An Act Relating to Servants and Slaves." The Act imposed draconian punishments for a range of offenses, but especially for harboring or assisting runaway slaves and servants. Free people of color were explicitly targeted by the law, which allowed for enslaving free "mullatoes" and "negroes."^{xlviii} Times were dangerous for men like Mungo Roy.

Others were bolder in their resistance. In 1708, Dick, a man enslaved by Thomas Linthicum, fell in love with a white servant named Elizabeth Clouds. They hatched a plot to marry, despite the lack of permission from their masters, and the laws forbidding interracial marriage. Elizabeth disguised herself as a "Mullatoe" by artificially darkening her skin and taking on an "Egyptian name." Together they went before the reverend Joseph Colebatch at All Hallows Parish, the local Anglican Church, and were married before God and the law.

It was only after the ceremony that they were discovered. Dick was sold by Linthicum to James Carroll, possibly as punishment. Elizabeth Clouds was officially condemned by an act of legislature passed in Annapolis. Their marriage was legally disbanded before the law, and there is no evidence that the pair ever saw each other again.^{xlix}

Indeed, the law was so strict that it could and did catch innocent victims. Between nine and ten o'clock at night on September 1, 1750 Joseph Galloway's tobacco house caught fire in London Town. The flames consumed the structure along with all the tobacco, corn, and every grain inside of it, destroying a fortune.¹

Grace and Jane, two women enslaved by Joseph Galloway, were arrested by the "Deputie Sheriff" who happened to be Joseph's brother John. He and a few white men indicted the pair on felony charges of arson, a capital offense. When asked to enter a plea, Grace and Jane state "that they are in no wise Guilty thereof and for Tryal they put themselves upon God and the Country." It helped their case that Henry Darnall, a "Gentleman," also asked the county to look more deeply into the matter before condemning the two women. For a man of his station to speak on behalf of slaves, and even indirectly against their master, there must have been some considerable doubt about their guilt.

The trial was short, and on March 12, 1750/51, they were condemned to death. Even after the verdict was handed down, Grace and Jane maintained their innocence. When asked if they had anything to say before their official sentence of death, they proclaimed they had “nothing more than what they have already said.”^{li}

On Friday April 15, Grace and Jane were led from gaol by John Galloway, and hanged outside Annapolis City Gate.^{lii} As a final insult to their memory, Joseph Galloway was awarded £100 by the county for executing his probably innocent slaves.^{liii} Colonial law provided financial compensation to enslavers when their human property was executed for up to “Three Fourths of their Value.”^{liv} It may well be that Galloway accused Grace and Jane knowing full well that they were not guilty, in the hope of recovering money from the government for their execution. Galloway’s fraudulent blood money would have helped mitigate the financial blow he had sustained at the cost of their lives.

The nature of slavery in London Town is different from that for most enslaved people in the Chesapeake. London Town’s lifeblood was tobacco, and it was the countless enslaved people of Maryland who grew and processed tobacco. There is no evidence of tobacco cultivation in London Town itself. Rather, London Town’s enslaved populace was engaged in maritime and domestic labor.

[Antebellum and Civil War on the South River](#)

After the fall of London Town as a seaport, William Brown’s house was converted into the Anne Arundel County Almshouse. Leased in 1823, it was purchased by the county in 1828.^{lv}

That same year, Dr. Richard Marriott was assigned to the Almshouse as a physician, and he decried what he found. “Immoral and vicious practices have been generate in this institution,” he wrote, pointing a finger at overcrowding. Dr. Marriott officially recommended the construction of a separate dormitory for African Americans, separate from the whites of the Almshouse. He thought it “necessary that a house should be erected as soon as practicable for the accommodation of the Blacks. A log house with earthen floors would answer every purpose.”^{lvi} Later inspections of the dormitory revealed it to be an especially dark stain on the “abode of misery” that was the Almshouse.^{lvii}

The commission accepted Dr. Marriott’s recommendation, instructing that “a log house of the following dimensions Length 40 feet width 20 feet to be built of chestnut logs prepared in the best manner and covered with Cypress shingles one chimney of brick to be placed in the middle of the house with a fire place...two rooms into which the house is to be divided.”^{lviii}

The conditions in the African American dormitory for this period are a matter of speculation. The “paupers” that are mentioned in the Anne Arundel County Almshouse Minute Books 1820-1871 are mostly white, with only the occasional reference to a “negro” or “colored woman.” A white pauper named Nelly Warfield, described as “a maniac,” was whipped by the overseer of the Almshouse in 1837, for which he received a slap on the wrist.^{lix} The paupers of the Almshouse, both white and black, are most commonly mentioned when they are being “discharged.” The reasons for kicking the poor out of the Almshouse are not usually listed. We can only infer what their daily life was like, and what treatment they might have endured.

Later inspections of the Almshouse found it an “abode of misery.” In the same report it was stated that, “the negro quarters, if possible, were even worse than those occupied by the whites. Each room was in disorderly and dirty condition, the beds were filthy, and without sheets or pillows; indeed in several of the rooms there were no beds, nothing but soiled blankets lying in disorder on the

unscrubbed and unswept floors.”^{lx} No changes would be made for generations, prompting another report in 1893 to declare the dormitory “a disgrace.”^{lxi}

To be admitted to the Almshouse, individuals had to be free. Unfortunately, the census of 1860 does not list the paupers who resided there. We can extrapolate ideas of who the paupers were from the 1850 and 1870 census. Research by Rebecca Robinson into census records for 1850 show that 56% of residents were African American.^{lxii} Among these residents was Susan Butler, freed by her master Henry Maynadier in 1826.^{lxiii} By 1850 she was forty years old, had no occupation listed, and was labelled as an “idiot pauper” by the census taker. African Americans at the almshouse were a diverse group, ranging in age from nine to sixty-eight years old. In the case of the Niel family, there was a husband and wife with three grown daughters in their twenties. There were also three Browns, who appear to be brothers. Thomas and James Collins, nine and ten years old, lived at the Almshouse with Kitty Collins, who was fifty-four and likely their mother or grandmother. Only one African American pauper on the 1850 census had an occupation listed: John Lee, a twenty-two-year-old carpenter. It was a community of thirty-two men, women, and children who had no opportunities to support themselves in the slave based economy of antebellum Anne Arundel County.^{lxiv}

The lack of sources on African Americans in the almshouse is surprising. Much more is known about the white residents of the South River. Ardent, fire-breathing pro-slavery secessionists made up the Almshouse’s immediate neighbors. Just down the road in Taylorsville, where the Riva Road Bridge stands today, Taylorsville House was marked with a secret message by one of the builders on the interior side of a slat: “Jeff Davis and the South.”^{lxv}

Before the outbreak of hostilities, the white residents on the south side of the South River could afford to be vocal about their beliefs. General George H. Steuart owned all the land directly bordering the Almshouse. Steuart was a militia officer and wrote a fiery letter to Washington DC’s *National Intelligencer* after Lincoln’s election in which he claimed the election was fraudulent, “because of the negro votes cast and counted for him in the states of New York, Ohio, and Massachusetts.” This was in line with his avowed support for the Dredd Scott decision, in which Marylander and Chief Justice Roger B. Taney ruled that no person of color possessed “rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit.” Regardless of whether a man was free or enslaved, if he was African American his vote was fraudulent in the mind of Steuart.^{lxvi}

Steuart’s disdain for African Americans brought reprisals. On the morning of April 19, 1860, a year to the day before the Baltimore riots, two enslaved men attempted to poison Steuart’s guests by “putting ground ivy in the coffee-pot.”^{lxvii} Resistance to slavery was a constant on the South River. His neighbor, Dr. William Brogden, nearly lost “a number of his slaves,” when they “had all their arrangements for a trip to Canada” and freedom. Although they were discovered, and the plan failed, the mere attempt earned them a place of note in William Lloyd Garrison’s famous abolitionist newspaper *The Liberator*.^{lxviii}

The tide on the South River was decidedly against the African American residents here. In the presidential election of 1860, only three people in all of Anne Arundel County voted for Abraham Lincoln. Instead, the county was narrowly won by a slim margin of twenty-four votes by Stephen Bell and his Constitutional Unionist Party, which sought to avoid the issue of slavery. Voters for Bell’s optimistic neglect of the issue were closely trailed by Southern Democrat John C. Breckinridge, and his virulently pro-slavery stance.^{lxix}

James Henry Dorsey, a twenty-four-year-old African American man, was born free. He may have resided in Scrabbletown, the free community that rested on the Rhode River, just a mile from Commodore Isaac Mayo's home on the South River. In 1860, with the election looming, he made the effort to secure a Certificate of Freedom. This legal document proved his status as a free man and gave him some protection against re-enslavement.^{lxx} The fact that Dorsey chose to get a Certificate in 1860 and not earlier may be a sign of the rising tensions around the South River between the white and black residents there.

With the election of President Lincoln, the war began. Violent riots erupted in Baltimore. Union troops from the North passed through the state, where more were recruited from Maryland's inhabitants. Far more soldiers signed up to fight for the North than the South, but there were still tens of thousands of Marylanders willing to fight for the Confederacy. Among these was John Gill. Gill proudly proclaimed in a memoir written decades after the Civil War that he was descended from slave holders in Anne Arundel County, and that his ancestor had served in the same militia that was stationed in London Town in 1776.^{lxxi}

As Gill wrote, "I had never been taught to believe that slavery was a sin or a crime. All my early sympathies and associations were decidedly averse from these opinions. Therefore, when the question as to the right of these states to separate peaceably from the compact formed by their forefathers was resisted and denied by one section of the country, I not long in deciding the question myself."^{lxxii}

Just a few miles from the Almshouse, Commodore Isaac Mayo, a decorated veteran of the United States Navy, lived in his estate of Gresham. Though too old to fight, he wrote an angry letter of resignation directly to Abraham Lincoln, that accused the president of having "denied to millions of freemen the rights of the *Constitution* and in its stead you have placed the will of a sectional."^{lxxiii} The use of the term "freemen" by a pro-slavery secessionist must have been especially galling to Lincoln. More than 100 officers were granted their requests for resignation, but Mayo's letter was so vitriolic that it was returned with the simple notation "Dismiss by order of the President, Done May 18, 1861." That same day, Mayo was found dead with a gunshot wound to the head, likely self-inflicted.^{lxxiv}

For the enslaved people of the South River, the Civil War was a confusing time. The broad rhetoric of the North began in an almost neutral tone, proclaiming the conflict as an effort to maintain the Union and defend the Constitution, rather than explicitly for the emancipation of the enslaved. As the war progressed, that rhetoric became increasingly abolitionist. This was partly a means of cutting into the Confederacy's reliance on slave labor to maintain the war effort, and to elevate the Union to a moral high ground that transcended politics.

Lost in much of this rhetoric was the condition of the enslaved in the border state of Maryland. As Maryland had voted against secession and supplied tens of thousands of white troops to the Northern war effort, it may have appeared to the enslaved people on the South River that the war was passing them by. Almost as soon as the war began, the Union held enslaved people as "contraband," labeling them as property seized in the war effort. This policy was a temporary emancipation from slavery, and thousands upon thousands of enslaved people fled to Union lines from their rebel masters. On April 16, 1862, all enslaved people in the District of Columbia were emancipated. Months later, the Emancipation Proclamation freed all enslaved people held within states actively rebelling against the Union. Maryland, as a state that remained within the Union and contributed tens of thousands of white soldiers to the Northern cause, still held men, women, and children in bondage.

The enslaved people of the South River were bold in their wartime resistance. In June 1863, seventy enslaved people fled from three separate properties on the South River in what appears to have been a highly coordinated effort.^{lxxv} They converged with a few others from Howard and Prince George's Counties as they made their way to Washington, DC. Most likely, they sought to disappear into the contraband camps that surrounded the Capital, and thus gain their freedom despite the policies and proclamations that had forgotten them.

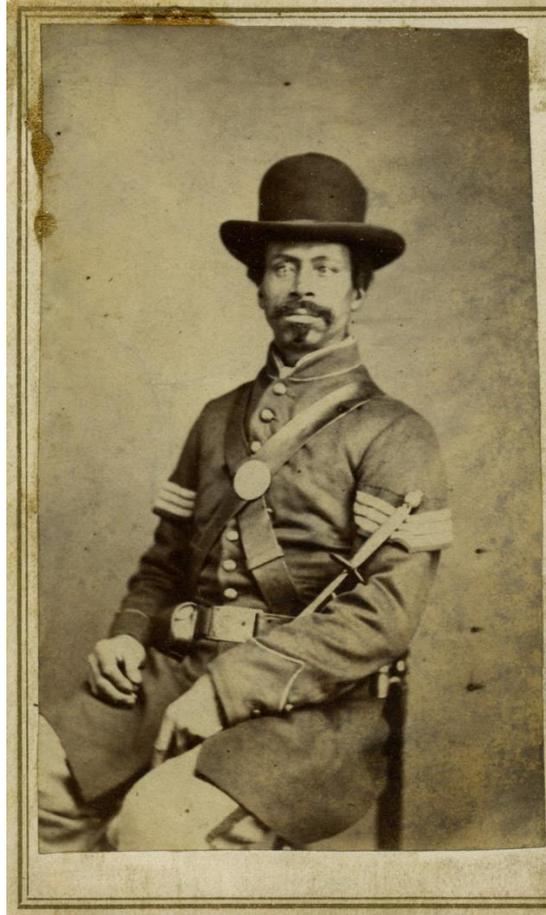
"A number of men," the *Alexandria Gazette* wrote, "styling themselves as 'patrols,' armed" and rode between the enslaved and their potential freedom. Undeterred, the enslaved "massed themselves and pushed on." A melee ensued, and the "patrollers" began to fire into the crowd. Two men and a woman were killed, five others shot. One of the men was shot four times. Somehow, despite the violence, the enslaved still pushed on. They escaped into a contraband camp and reported the attack to the Union Army.

The 11th New York Volunteer Cavalry rode out from and arrested suspected "patrollers." When an Anne Arundel County resident recognized some of the enslaved as his property, he demanded they be returned to him under the Fugitive Slave Act, but the army refused to enforce the order.^{lxxvi} If word of this Federal response to the claims of an enslaver made its way back to the South River, it could only have further emboldened the people held here. It is possible that the news was changed between Washington and Baltimore to prevent such confidence. The *Baltimore Sun* reported that the enslaved numbered only fifteen, were confronted by police rather than vigilantes, and that they were all recaptured and returned.^{lxxvii}

Perhaps in retaliation for the murder of the fleeing enslaved people, Joshua Linthicum of the South River lost several buildings, including a house, farm, and smoke house to fire a few months later. His ruin was brought by a woman he had enslaved who freely confessed to the arson.^{lxxviii} The next year, William J. Rawlings' barn on the South river was destroyed by fire. According to the *Baltimore Sun* a few days later, "it is alleged to be the work of incendiarism."^{lxxix}

With the death and disruption wrought by war, the North and South both turned to conscription to fill the depleted ranks of their respective armies. Every month a few South River residents were summoned to the army. There were ways to avoid service, by finding a replacement or paying your way out. On May 26, 1864, the *Baltimore Sun* reported on the names drawn for Anne Arundel County, and the list reveals an interesting dynamic. Dozens of enslaved men were drafted away from their owners. It must have been an odd sort of liberation, to be removed from slavery and thrown into war. Among the others drafted into the Union ranks was James H. Dorsey, the same free man who secured a certificate of freedom in 1860.^{lxxx} What the newspaper editors and legislators who conducted the draft didn't know was that Dorsey had already enlisted.

After Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, the Union Army began to accept African American soldiers for frontline duty. These men served in segregated units, led by white officers. At twenty-eight years old, James H. Dorsey was enlisted as a corporal in Company F of the 39th United States Colored Troops.^{lxxxi} After receiving his blue uniform, Springfield rifle, and equipment, Dorsey marched off with the 39th to the front lines in Virginia.^{lxxxii}



Sgt. Henry Gaither, 39th USCT, Gettysburg National Military Park Museum

After months of marching and fighting, Corporal James H. Dorsey, the free African American who put his life on the line to fight for abolition, was rewarded by witnessing the final gasp of the Confederacy. On April 26, 1865, General Joseph E. Johnston surrendered to General William Tecumseh Sherman in North Carolina. Over 89,000 rebel soldiers gave up their arms and surrendered to the Union. Two weeks later, Corporal Dorsey was discharged.^{lxxxiii} He was suffering from “hypertrophy of heart,” a condition that slows blood flow from the heart. For the rest of the year, Corporal Dorsey convalesced in hospitals from Carolina to Washington, DC.^{lxxxiv}

With the war’s end, Taney’s wish for all men of color to be “reduced to slavery for his benefit”^{lxxxv} was forever shattered, but struggles would continue against the ardent racists and powerful landowners who sought to control the African Americans of the South River and Maryland. The younger General Stuart, son of the violently pro-slavery militia general, returned to his father’s South River plantation. He even led a military parade through Baltimore only three years after the war at the head of a militia wearing provocative gray uniforms.^{lxxxvi}

The balance in the racial spectrum of the Almshouse changed dramatically after the war. In 1850, 56% of the Almshouse paupers were African American. By 1870, African Americans made up only a third of the community.^{lxxxvii} Perhaps the creation of free communities of color could absorb the less fortunate in ways that were impossible under slavery. Among these paupers were men and women who resisted slavery for decades. Lorenzo Burke fled from his master in 1844, as did Harry Scott in 1835.^{lxxxviii}

Now fifty-six, Harry Scott is listed as “insane” on the 1870 census. None of the African American paupers could read or write. They had their long sought-after freedom, but the formerly enslaved were still trapped in an oppressive society in which there were few opportunities, and virtually no opportunity for advancement. Slavery tore apart families, and none of the paupers of 1870 have apparent familial connections to each other. Children under sixteen were no longer present, and the average age of black paupers had gone up considerably.^{lxxxix} Conditions would continue to deteriorate. As late as 1937, the *Baltimore Sun* ran an article deploring Almshouse conditions as “criminal.” Coming full circle, the *Sun* noted that “two negro inmates occupy the basement of the” William Brown House, the same space in which enslaved African Americans lived in the eighteenth century.^{xc}

The racial and social divisions of the Civil War on the South River are still with us today. As I am writing this, the echo of the Civil War is deafening. Statues across Maryland, even in Annapolis itself, are being torn down, white supremacists flying anachronistic Confederate flags march through Virginia streets by torchlight, and social media across the nation is abuzz with alarmist rhetoric about race. These divisions are not new. Their consequences are well known. The history of racial strife here on the South River illustrates divisions that began in the seventeenth century and have not abated.

ⁱ Maryland State Archives, “An Act for Advancement of Trade, and erecting Ports and Towns in the Province,” *Bacon’s Laws of Maryland*, Archives of Maryland Online, volume 75, page 167, accessed December 12, 2017, <<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000075/html/am75--167.html>>.

ⁱⁱ Charles M. Flanagan, *Sweets of Independence: The James Carroll Daybook, 1714-1721*, doctorate dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park, 2005, pages 248-249.

ⁱⁱⁱ Sean M. Kelley, e-mail message to the author, July 20, 2017.

^{iv} “Voyage 75390, Elizabeth (1719),” *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Voyages Database*, Emory University, accessed November 10, 2017, <<http://slavevoyages.org/voyage/75390/variables>>.

^v National Archives (UK), *Abstract of Home Letters Received by the Royal African Company of England*, From October the 31st 1706 to October the 9th, 1718, T 70.9, folio 118.

^{vi} The Humphrey Morice Papers from the Bank of England, microfilm, Reel 4, Item 542.

^{vii} *Ibid.*

^{viii} *Ibid.*

^{ix} Dr. Henry Miller, “The Lure of Sotweed: Tobacco and Maryland History,” *Historic Saint Mary’s City*, page 2, accessed December 6, 2017, <<http://www.hsmcdigshistory.org/pdf/Tobacco.pdf>>.

^x *Ibid.*

^{xi} Maryland State Archives, *Anne Arundel County Land Records*, Liber CW 1, CE 76-10, Page 41, July 16, 1719.

^{xii} *The Daily Journal*, May 31, 1729, page 1.

^{xiii} *Maryland Gazette*, June 3-10, 1729, page 4.

^{xiv} “Voyage 21905, Duke of London (1729),” *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Voyages Database*, Emory University, accessed September 28, 2017, <<http://www.slavevoyages.org/voyage/21905/variables>>; “Voyage 25971, Clapham (1729),” *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Voyages Database*, Emory University, accessed September 28, 2017, <<http://www.slavevoyages.org/voyage/25971/variables>>

^{xv} “Voyage 21905, Duke of London (1729),” *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Voyages Database*, Emory University, accessed September 28, 2017, <<http://www.slavevoyages.org/voyage/21905/variables>>; *Maryland Gazette*, June 3-10, 1729, page 4.

^{xvi} *Maryland Gazette*, June 3-10, 1729, page 4.

^{xvii} Edward C. Papenfuse, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature 1635-1789*, Maryland State Archives, Volume 426, page 878, accessed September 28, 2017, <<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000426/html/am426--878.html>>; Charles M. Flanagan, *Sweets of*

Independence: The James Carroll Daybook, 1714-1721, doctorate dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park, 2005, pages 248.

^{xviii} *Maryland Gazette*, July 1-8, 1729, page 4.

^{xix} Maryland State Archives, *Anne Arundel County Land Records*, MSA CE 76-13, Liber RD 1, pages 250-251.

^{xx} *Maryland Gazette*, July 15-22, 1729, page 5.

^{xxi} *Boston Evening Post*, July 28, 1760, page 2

^{xxii} *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Voyages Database*, Emory University, Voyage Identification Number 90767, accessed September 16, 2016.

^{xxiii} *Ibid.*

^{xxiv} *South Carolina Gazette*, June 14, 1760, page 2

^{xxv} *Maryland Gazette*, July 17, 1760, page 2.

^{xxvi} *South Carolina Gazette*, June 14, 1760, page 2.

^{xxvii} John Hamilton Moore, *The Practical Navigator, and Seaman's New Daily Assistant*, Eighth Edition, B. Law: London, 1784, page 251.

^{xxviii} John Entick, *The General History of the Late War*, Volume V, Edward Dilly: London, 1764, page 69.

^{xxix} *South Carolina Gazette*, June 14, 1760, page 2.

^{xxx} *Maryland Gazette*, July 17, 1760, page 2.

^{xxxi} *Maryland Gazette*, August 7, 1760, page 3.

^{xxxii} Maryland State Archives, "Port of Entry Records: Annapolis Outbound," November 29, 1760.

^{xxxiii} *Maryland Gazette*, July 17, 1760, page 2.

^{xxxiv} *South Carolina Gazette*, June 14, 1760, page 2.

^{xxxv} Mechelle L. Kerns-Nocerito, "Trade in Colonial Anne Arundel County: The Tobacco Port of London Town," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 98, No. 3, Fall 2003, pages 329.

^{xxxvi} *Maryland Gazette*, October 21, 1756, page 3.

^{xxxvii} Ryan Cox, "The African-American Experience," lecture, Maryland State Archives at Historic London Town and Gardens.

^{xxxviii} The table is drawn from runaway advertisements posted in the *Maryland Gazette*, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and *Virginia Gazette* throughout the eighteenth century directly referencing London Town and/or the South River in Maryland.

^{xxxix} *Maryland Gazette*, June 6, 1750, August 29, 1754, page 3.

^{xl} Maryland State Archives, Anne Arundel County Court Judgements, June Court 1716, Folio 296; March Court 1716/7, Folio 492; November Court 1717, Folio 109-111

^{xli} Maryland State Archives, *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1732-1753*, Volume 28, page 568.

<<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000028/html/am28--568.html>>.

^{xlii} Charles M. Flanagan, *The Sweets of Independence: A Reading of the James Carroll Daybook, 1714-1721*, pages 236.

^{xliii} Colonial Families of Anne Arundel County, MD, The Conant Family, Page 95

<<http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=lanaclark&id=I775>>

^{xliv} Charles M. Flanagan, *The Sweets of Independence: A Reading of the James Carroll Daybook, 1714-1721*, pages 238-249.

^{xlv} Sean M. Kelley, *Voyage of the Slave Ship Hare*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016.

^{xlvi} Charles M. Flanagan, *The Sweets of Independence: A Reading of the James Carroll Daybook, 1714-1721*, page 243.

^{xlvii} Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History*, New York: Viking, 2007, pages 19-20.

^{xlviii} Maryland State Archives, "An Act Relating to Slaves and Servants," *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, April 26, 1715-August 10, 1716*, Volume 30, pages 283-292.

^{xlix} Maryland State Archives, *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, March, 1707-November, 1710*, Volume 27, page 318, Accessed April 2, 2016; < <http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000027/html/am27--318.html>>.

^l Maryland State Archives, *Ann Arundel County Court Judgment Record*, March Court 1750, Liber ISB 1, folio 690-691, MSA C91-20, MdHR 879.

^{li} Maryland State Archives, *Ann Arundel County Court Judgment Record*, March Court 1750, Liber ISB 1, folio 690-691, MSA C91-20, MdHR 879.

- ^{lii} *Maryland Gazette* April 17, 1751; Maryland State Archives, *Ann Arundel County Court Judgment Record*, 1751, Liber ISB 1, folio 690-691, MSA C91-20, MdHR 879.
- ^{liii} Sarah Hartge, "Grace," Archives of Maryland Online Biography Series, MSA SC 5496-51560, 2012, <<http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5400/sc5496/051500/051560/html/51560bio.html>>.
- ^{liv} Maryland State Archives, "A Supplementary Act to the Act relating to Servants and Slaves," *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1717-April, 1720*, Archives of Maryland Online, volume 33, page 111, accessed November 10, 2017, <<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000033/html/am33--111.html>>.
- ^{lv} Plumley, *Poor of Lost London Town*, page 11.
- ^{lvi} Maryland State Archives, *Anne Arundel County Almshouse Minute Books 1820 – 1871*, Report of Physician, July 10, 1830.
- ^{lvii} *Poor of Lost London Town*, pages 15-17, 20, 41
- ^{lviii} Maryland Historical Society, *Anne Arundel County Almshouse Minute Books 1820 – 1871*, Report of Physician, July 10, 1830.
- ^{lix} Maryland Historical Society, *Anne Arundel County Almshouse Minute Books 1820 – 1871*, Note, December 1837
- ^{lx} Maryland Board of Health Report, 1877
- ^{lxi} *Eighth Report of the Lunacy Commission to His Excellency the Governor of Maryland*, December 1, 1893, page 19, via Maryland State Archives, accessed December 8, 1893, <<http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5300/sc5339/000113/013000/013150/unrestricted/20101033e.pdf>>.
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- ^{lxiii} Maryland State Archives, *Anne Arundel County Manumission Records*, liber 6, no. 3, 1816-1844, pages 335-336.
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- ^{lxv} Maryland State Archives, Maryland Historical Trust, NR – Review Form, "Taylorsville House," Continuation Sheet no. 1, 2003, accessed December 8, 2017, <http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/stagsere/se1/se5/001000/001100/001178/pdf/msa_se5_1178.pdf>.
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- ^{lxviii} *The Liberator*, September 21, 1860, page 151.
- ^{lxix} "The Election Returns," *The Baltimore Sun*, November 10, 1860, page 2.
- ^{lxx} Maryland State Archives, *Anne Arundel County Register of Wills, Certificates of Freedom, 1805-1864*, page 267-268
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- ^{lxxvi} "Stampede of Slaver," *Alexandria Gazette*, June 17, 1863, page 4.
- ^{lxxvii} "Arrest of Runaway Slaves," *Baltimore Sun*, June 25, 1864, page 4.
- ^{lxxviii} "Fire in Anne Arundel County," *Baltimore Sun*, September 18, 1864, page 4.
- ^{lxxix} "Annapolis, April 29: A Dwelling Consumed," *Baltimore Sun*, April 30, 1864, page 4
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^{lxxxiii} Maryland State Archives, *History and Roster of Maryland Volunteers, War of 1861-6, Volume 2*, Archives of Maryland Online, Volume 366, page 275, accessed July 31, 2017, <<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000366/html/am366--275.html>>.

^{lxxxiv} Harewood General Hospital patient admission slip, James H. Dorsey, November 18, 1865.

^{lxxxv} Dredd Scott Decision, Roger B. Taney.

^{lxxxvi} *Baltimore Sun*, March 27, 1868, page 1.

^{lxxxvii} Rebecca Robinson, The Almshouse Project, London Town Foundation archives.

^{lxxxviii} *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, June 20, 1835, page 3; *Baltimore Sun*, January 3, 1845, page 2

^{lxxxix} Maryland State Archives, Census of 1870, "Inhabitants in the First Election District, in the County of Anne Arundel," July 25, 1870, page 80.

^{xc} "Almshouses Held Disgrace to State," *Baltimore Sun*, October 19, 1937, page 26.