Chapter Five – "THOSE KINDS OF THINGS HAPPENED BACK THEN"

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OREWORD

The concept of this chapter started when I received two photographs from a direct descendant of Dr. Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe. Ms. Dolly Buswell, a resident of Charlottesville, Virginia, has been preserving her Briscoe family Sotterley records and last year she told me about these two photographs. In particular, she mentioned she had a photograph of a servant; a portrait of the servant with a hand-written notation on the back that indicated this lady was "buried at Sotterley". No name was attached to the photograph. Ms. Buswell then told me that she had a second photograph taken in the late 1800's in which it appears as if this same lady was seated with the children of Dr. Briscoe.



1 Jan and Dolly Buswell. The photograph is taken at "Locust Hill", Ms. Buswell's home in Crozet, Virginia. (The childhood home of Meriweather Lewis.)

Neither of these photographs were before then known to the greater Sotterley community. The photographs were not in the Sotterley archives. No similar photograph exists in the collections of the St. Mary's County Historical Society. I wanted to use these photographs as an opportunity to learn not only about this unnamed servant, but to learn more about her life. I wanted to know what she had previously experienced as an enslaved person at Sotterley Plantation.

One thing that I struggled with in preparing to write this chapter was the use of words and phrases that, if used in regular conversation, would appear to be insensitive, offensive, incorrect, and racially charged. I struggled with this because the source material that I am going to be quoting contained these words and phrases. What was I going to do? How was I going to present this? I reached out to a friend, Ms. Helen Daugherty, a professor at St. Mary's College of Maryland who teaches subjects associated with ethnicity. She encouraged me to use the original source material.

Professor Helen Daugherty: This language, whether it's good or bad, whatever it is, it gives me the confidence that I am interpreting whatever is meant. If you want to get at the nuance of culture, those terms really talk about relationships that are important to have, and that's the language that really evaluates what's going on. Language is evolving. So I would encourage the using of quotes, the quotes are important if not for any other reason than to say that this was the way that communication patterns were. You're going to learn a lot about deference, about who says "yes sir" and "no sir", "yes ma'am". You learn a lot about deference systems when you know that young children can call older African-American adults by their first name. They would never do that today. So, I would think that language is extremely important in giving us the evidence that we need to talk about an oppressive system because nobody really teaches kids about those language patterns, they just grow up with them. So, I think it's important for us to look at that now.

With this in mind, I now present a series of interview editorials, articles, and studies that will, as a whole, describe in detail the slavery experience at Sotterley Plantation.

 $^{\rm 1}$ "Daugherty, Helen Interview." Personal interview by Samuel C.P. Baldwin Jr.

INTRODUCTION

Research of the census data from Sotterley Plantation suggests that the lady in the two photographs is a servant who was first owned by Chapman Billingsley, who later married a slave owned by Dr. Briscoe, and may very well be Eliza Plater.

After obtaining these two photographs and determining that I would do everything I could to locate this lady's descendants and having decided that I would write about the life she may have experienced while living at Sotterley Plantation, I decided to research a second related topic.

Several years ago, an African American lady, Stacey Forbes Briscoe, presented me with a photograph of her late father-in-law, Benjamin Lewin Briscoe. I immediately noticed the strong facial resemblance between the African-American Benjamin Briscoe, my father-in-law, John Hanson Briscoe, and all three of John Briscoe's sisters. I immediately stated that I believed that there was a familiar relationship; Stacey, who was sitting next to me, had a big smile as she nodded in agreement. This was not the first time that an African-American Briscoe had told me he or she was related to my father-in-law, John Hanson Briscoe. Similar statements were made to me over the years by Samuel Eugene Briscoe. White Briscoes and Black Briscoes have proudly carried that surname—Briscoe—over many generations. In this chapter I address their shared history.

I was interviewing my father-in-law about the family history at that time. I asked him if he had ever heard of any family relations in the African American community. Without saying yes, and without saying no, he simply said "those kinds of things happened back then." Hence, the title of this chapter.



2 Agnes Kane Callum

Agnes Kane Callum:

I think they deserve to be remembered, and all the acts that they did, bestowed on them that is possible, because those people, who were slaves, they survived the system that was really cruel. The continuity of this whole place (Sotterley) is important. Because how are you going to tell school children . . . as it is you can tell schoolchildren in the classroom, but to bring them here and show them, that is tremendous. Now, I think this really should be preserved. And my people, that are

Callum living today, they are proud, they are proud of our ancestors, and of course, the things that they did, and I'm lucky to be connected to Sotterley.²



3 Sotterley's Slave Cabin

² Agnes Kane Callum Interview- Sotterley Oral History Project, April 21, 2008



4 Nancy Easterling inside Sotterley Slave Cabin

Nancy Easterling; Executive Director of Historic Sotterley:

Over the past several years we've gone through a lot of changes, a reinterpretation plan. In 2012 we opened our first permanent exhibit, our Land, Lives, and Labor exhibit. This exhibit tells a story of the people upon whose sweat this site was built. So today we open our slave cabin.

It will be the first time that all who enter and come to visit Sotterley can enter this hallowed space year round. This rare 1830s slave cabin, because it survived and still stands, can also tell the story of those who survived, and can help make a personal connection of our visitors to the lives of those who were enslaved here. There is power in that space. History happened in that space. Through an honest retelling, we hope to impart a better understanding of our past. Our shared past, not our white past, or our African American past, it is our shared past. And we hope it will lead to a better understanding of the world we see today, a world that is still struggling under the legacy of slavery. From acknowledgement we hope to open the door to honest dialogues, because we understand, it's only through those honest dialogues, that we can try to shape perspectives for the future.³

³ The Agnes Kane Callum Slave Cabin Dedication Ceremony – Nancy Easterling.



5 Dr. Mary Elliot

Dr. Mary Elliott; Museum
Specialist, National Museum of
African American History and
Culture:

We can talk today about the
African American community, but
that strength also extends to
people who appear in the legacy
of slavery too. The people who

are descended from people who made some choices in life that included owning other people. And they are here today wrestling with this history just like we are. The most important thing is that we're in constant conversation with each other, because it's the only way for us to move forward. Race is a huge part of this nation. And it separates us; but again, I must emphasize, this is a community story, and you all have to tell it together.⁴



6 Tom Jarboe

St. Mary's County Commissioner Tom Jarboe:

It is part of history. It happened, it's history. You just kinda look at it and learn from it. If you don't pay attention to some of the mistakes you've made in the past, you could repeat them so I think it's important to discuss everything.⁵

⁴ The Agnes Kane Callum Slave Cabin Dedication – Dr. Mary Elliot.

⁵ "Jarboe, Tom Interview." Personal interview by Samuel C.P. Baldwin Jr.

Margaret Jordan, the author of "Too Many Americans Still Don't See Black History as Their Own," writes:

In the retelling of U.S. history, there is an incomplete and frequently inaccurate story of African American history. At best, it has been the auxiliary exhibit, with slavery a disconnected footnote in the larger tome of our nation's story. Descendants such as me, who were lucky to grow up and know the names of their ancestors, know these stories. But most Americans have not been taught to see and embrace African American history as part of their history as Americans. Indeed in the telling of American history, we have failed to fully grapple with the reality of slavery and its lasting hold on society. This has consequences.

We find ourselves in a nation bitterly divided in a year that feels oddly out of step with the time. It would be simplistic to suggest that in understanding our past we will find all the answers. But I do believe that without deeper reflection and engagement with our history- in all of its complexity – we will not have the foundation of understanding and respect on which progress can be built. Without it, we remain trapped in a vicious cycle powered through complacence and ignorance.

It is only through this examination and introspection – of our history in its entirety, of our diverse experiences and of the preconceptions that divide us – that deeper understanding and respect, and ultimately progress, will come. It will not be found by pushing the darkest chapters of our past away but by bringing them into the light.⁶

John Michael Vlach, the author of "Back of the Big House," writes:

An antebellum plantation was fundamentally a place of work. This is, however, not the usual image associated with plantation estates. Grand mansions and elegant grounds have, at least since the early twentieth century, come to be regarded as emblematic of the plantation as a place. Generally overlooked is that fact that a planter's house was only the centerpiece of a holding that necessarily included fields, pastures, and

⁶ Jordan, Margaret. "Too Many Americans Still Don't See Black History as Their Own." *The Washington Post* 2 July 2017: A25. Print.

woodlots. Moreover, these holdings would not have existed at all were it not for the sizeable profits amassed through the unrelieved labor of enslaved workers. Because it is often the case that only the mansion houses remain, the impression conveyed by plantation sites today is exclusively one of wealth and easy comfort. Because the slave quarters and various work spaces are frequently missing, how such splendor and comfort were sustained remains something of a mystery. It is said that visitors to historic properties will often remark at the conclusion of their tours, "Nice place! Do you suppose they had any help?" Although this story is doubtless apocryphal, it indicates the sort of confusion that can arise when a built environment is shorn of its mundane, but vitally necessary, structures.

Some slaves clearly recognized that their masters' fortunes were unquestionably dependent on their labor and their achievements, as revealed in the testimony of a South Carolina woman known as Aunt Phyllis. Although she was confined to her bed by illness at the time that she was interviewed, one question provoked her to sit up suddenly with great indignation. When asked where her former owner got the money to build his new house, she pushed up her sleeve, pointed to her arm and exclaimed, "You see dat...? Dat's whar he got the money – out o' dat black skin he got the money."

Octavia Albert, author of "The House of Bondage," writes:

The story that the *House of Bondage* tells is an enthralling and personal one. The depictions of life during and just after slavery personalize an era that today is almost an abstraction. The last witnesses to American slavery have died. For most of us, slavery is a word, explained by other words, themselves barely understood: middle passages, chains, auction blocks. Slaves exist in the popular imagination as stereotypes: Uncle Tom, Aunt Jemima, or Kunta Kinte. Aunt Charlotte and her friends do not fit these modes. They are more human, more ordinary, more real. Their narratives make clear and concrete the meaning of slavery. The heroism of enduring, of preserving, of

⁷ Vlach, John Michael. *Back of the Big House: the Architecture of Plantation Slavery*. Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1993.

keeping the faith is less dramatic but somehow more profound. They are more easily imagined as progenitors of our own immediate families.⁸

Deborah White, the author of "Ar'n't I a Woman?" writes:

The increased focus on brutality and resistance has shifted the historiography and language of slavery. African and African-American women were not born degraded but rendered so by enslavement. Were I to write *Ar'n't I a Woman?* today, I would use the verb "enslaved" rather than the noun "slave" to implicate the inhumane actions of white people. The noun "slave" suggests a state of mind and being that is absolute and unmediated by an enslaver. "Enslaved says more about what *happened* to black people without unwittingly describing the sum total of who they were. "Enslaved" forces us to remember that black men and women were Africans and African-Americans before they were forced into slavery and had a new – and denigrating – identity assigned to them.

The source problem is directly related to what was and still is the black women's condition. Few scholars who study black women fail to note that black women suffer a double oppression: that shared by all African-Americans and that shared by most women. Every economic and political index demonstrates the black woman's virtual powerlessness in the American society at large. A consequence of the double jeopardy and powerlessness is the black woman's invisibility.

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⁸ Rogers Albert, Octavia V. "Introduction xxviii." Oxford University Press, 1988.



7 Eliza Plater, on Sotterley Portico; Circa 1885

Much of what is important to women is not visible to men. Whites wrote most of antebellum America's records and African-American males wrote just about all of the antebellum records left by blacks. To both groups the female slave's world was peripheral. The bondwoman was important to them only when her activities somehow

involved them. Few sources illuminate the interaction of slave women in their private world.⁹

Julius Lester, author of "To be a Slave," writes:

My object in writing the book was to enable the reader to experience slaves as human beings. "To be a slave was to be a human being under conditions in which that humanity was denied. They were not slaves. They were people. Their condition was slavery."

Of course, my underlying and hidden purpose was simply this: If a child could experience slaves as human beings, then it might be possible for that same child to look at the descendants of slaves and also see another human being, no more, no less.

They who were held as slaves looked upon themselves and the servitude in which they found themselves with the eyes and minds of human beings, conscious of everything that happened to them, conscious of all that went on around them. Yet slaves are often pictured as little more than dumb, brute animals, whose sole attributes were found in working, singing, and dancing. They were like children and slavery was actually a benefit to them—this was the view of those who were not slaves. Those who were slaves tell a different story.¹⁰



8 Enslaved Family

⁹ White, Deborah G. "Ar'n't I a Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South." *Ar'n't I a Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South*, W.W. Norton, 1999, p. 8.

¹⁰ Lester, Julius, and Tom Feelings. "To Be a Slave." *To Be a Slave*, Dial Press, 1968, pp. 8, 28-29.

Annettee Gordon-Reed, the author of "The Hemingses of Monticello," writes:

Remaining for those who seek to "know" American slaves (and the institution of slavery) are the memories of those enslaved, the records of white owners who in taking care of business kept track of their human property, and information about the larger historical context in which all these individuals operated. Getting at this last source, the historical context, is by necessity a huge interdisciplinary enterprise—a matter of law, anthropology, psychology, archaeology, and economics—all the universe of influences that shaped lives under slavery. In gathering information, we must cast the net as widely as possible if we want to see slavery through the eyes of the enslaved.

There is both time and reason enough to explore every single part of black life under slavery, because each item contributes to our understanding of exactly how that institution and white supremacy shaped the American consciousness. No piece of the puzzle is too small or unessential to play its vital role in helping to bring that whole picture into view.¹¹



9 Congressman Roy Dyson

Congressman Roy Dyson:

The history of slavery in Maryland hasn't been very clear. You've had it from a lot of different perspectives. Maryland was a very racist state, as you well know. Given that perspective, clearly what you're going to see is not going to be an accurate portrayal.

I talked to folks associated with Sotterley almost 20 years ago and they wanted to recreate the slave cabin

and I said no. The reason I said no was because that was the worst period in our country's history, in my opinion. Why do we want to recreate it as a memory? I changed my view

¹¹ Gordon-Reed, Annette. "The Hemingses of Monticello: An American Family." The Hemingses of Monticello: an American Family, W.W. Norton, 2009, pp. 22-23, 324-25.

on that obviously, and for a lot of different reasons. You have people, historians, who are maybe thinking like I was. This was a terrible period, and I don't want to write anything positive about it. In fact I don't want to write anything about it, let's hope we can forget it, but that's a mistake. The thing is you can't pave over history, and good or bad at the time, it's history, and I don't know, Sam, how to say this. There's kids out there today that don't even know what that is. Now should they know? My opinion, you're an amateur historian, and I like to think I am, too. History, I want that preserved and "past is prologue" so that we don't to do it again. Here's where we are today, and that's what we were then.¹²



10 Sotterley Plantation

Dr. Tuajuanda Jordan; President of St. Mary's College of Maryland:

¹² "Dyson, Roy Interview." Personal interview by Samuel C.P. Baldwin Jr.



10 Dr. Tuajuanda Jordan

Many people really relish the opportunity to visit plantations and experience the grandeur of a by-gone era. I'm not one of those people. There was a comedian, Moms Mabley, who had a routine about a mean old man who was her husband. The old man died and a friend said "you ain't supposed to say nothing about the dead that ain't good."

(pause) "He dead. (pause) Good." I don't

relish the opportunity to visit plantation homes. I'm inclined to say, 'They dead. Good.' To be perfectly honest, at this point in my life I'm not interested in plantation owners. How they made their money or their lifestyles. Why? Because I know they made a living off the backs of my people. They built their mansions from the sweat and skills of my people. Their children were nursed from the breasts of my people. Their sick and their elderly were cared for by the hands of my people. People, who were there in the square, treated less than human, lived in cabins not too far from the place that some called a mansion. My people called it the big house, or might call it the den of oppression. When I visit a plantation there is a mix of emotions that I cannot explain which overtakes me. You must live it to understand it. When I visit a plantation, I don't want to spend the precious moments remaining on this Earth looking at all of the things they had at the big house. Rather, I am more interested in seeing the cabins and feeling the presence of my people. Where they ate, slept, suffered, laughed, and loved. Did slaves dream? They had to. What did they dream about? Did they dream about freedom and what it would be like to be the master of their own destiny? Dreaming helps one cope with reality when that reality is less than what one hoped for. I know they had to have dreams. In my youth, the thought of a slave cabin sent me into despair and darkness. As I contemplated the difficult life my people lived, that life could really not be free. Now, although I'm not

foolish enough to believe in the Uncle Tom's Cabin persona of the happy, go lucky neighbor, I am able in some strange way, to draw strength from the cabin. I find solace when I think about the resilience, the creativity, the strength and fortitude of those that lived there. How do I know they had such things? Because they survived. If they had not, there would be no Tuajuanda.



11 Sotterley Plantation's Slave House

We have not done a good job educating our students and the public in general about the history of southern Maryland. Those of us who are people of color and descendents of former slaves really need to pay attention to history, and be proud of what we have done as a people. We are survivors, and we have played a significant role in our country's prosperity that is due in no small way, to the strength, reliance, creativity, and ingenuity of our people. These triumphs should be acknowledged and commemorated in all that we do. The care that has been taken to acknowledge and preserve a challenging period in America's history is essential if we are not to repeat the errors of our past. Sotterley Plantation has and will continue to play an important role in helping us all obtain an understanding and appreciation for that history. Historic plantations are something that includes both the mansions and the slave cabins. This is an essential element in fostering an understanding of that time and place. This understanding of our history should give us a greater understanding of our purpose. Slave cabins give me strength; they inspire me to succeed. My success will be defined by how well I teach, guide and lead the next

generation to a better understanding of our past, and obtain a better sense of purpose to avoid social injustice, and to create a more social and just society for all. I tell students who are troubled by the recent discoveries [of a slavery history] at the College, that after we get through the emotional anguish associated with the realization of the history of this place, we cannot let the lives of our ancestors be in vain. They lived, labored, resisted, and died, so that we could be at a better place. I have no doubt that they dreamed of a better time and place for their children, and their children's children; that their descendants could walk freely and be educated at one of the finest institutions in the state, alongside the descendants of their masters, and that their descendants would perform equally as well in a rigorous academic environment. That one of their descendants would preside over the institute right here in southern Maryland, arguably the epicenter of Maryland's slave economy. That they'd dream of a man descended from their native land who would be the most powerful man in the free world. They're saying that these things are unfathomable, but we know that those things became reality. We, those that have struggled with this period of our history, cannot allow that history to burden us. We need places like Sotterley, and people like Nancy Easterling and Jeanne Pirtle and Agnes Kane Callum to help us uncover and understand that past. We need to rejoice in the grit and determination of our people to not just survive, but to live. It is in this way that we can make our ancestors proud because we are the realization of a dream they imagined. As James Allen wrote down, "the greatest achievements were at first and for a time dreams. The oak sleeps in the acorn. The bird waits in the egg. And at the highest vision of the soul, a waking angel stirs. Dreams are the seedlings of reality." I am grateful to the legacy of Agnes Kane Callum and the opportunity to participate in this monumental day. Congratulations on this important day in the history of Sotterley Plantation and thank you for helping to educate us on the significance of this period in American history. Thank you. [Applause]. 13

¹³ The Agnes Kane Callum Slave Cabin Dedication Ceremony – Dr. Tuajuanda Jordan.

EW PHOTOS OF THE BRISCOES AND ELIZA PLATER

A. Portrait of Eliza Plater



12 Eliza Plater on Sotterley's Portico; Circa 1885

David Briscoe is the son of Benjamin Lewin Briscoe.

David Briscoe: "What I'm looking at is a photo of a pretty elderly black servant with her hands crossed sitting in a chair. She doesn't look like she's mad, angry; just otherwise

content. She looks content in her situation at the time. And to be honest she looks well treated, well dressed, well nourished. So, I would say I wouldn't feel bad for her at the posture that she's sitting."¹⁴

Joan Wise is experienced in genealogic research of the formerly enslaved families of St. Mary's County.

Joan Wise: "If you're lucky enough to have photographs, especially of African Americans from then, that was rare. I've never seen a portrait of an African American; not unless they were working. This photograph looks like she got prepared for it, as a female. It looks like she prepped for it. I mean, she looks very nice; everything. From looking at a picture like this, it looks so pristine, so clean. These clothes don't really look soiled. She's smiling and she's looking up. Perhaps she was a family slave who became a family servant after the Civil War; she was well loved and thought of; that's what I would like to think. And happy – she looks happy. "15

Alonzo Gaskin is a former president of the St. Mary's County Chapter of the NAACP.



Alonzo Gaskin: "It seems as though someone has had a conversation with her because, in this one at least, she's smiling and looking forward and she's dressed differently. She's a single person in a chair and it looks to be a rather nice chair for the time frame and she has a semi- smile on her face. It seems like a whole different attitude than in the family portrait." ¹⁶

Helen Daugherty was a Professor of Sociology at St. Mary's College of Maryland, a Demographer, and an expert in race and ethnic relations.

¹⁴ "Briscoe, David Lawrence Interview." Personal interview by Samuel C.P. Baldwin Jr. August 3, 2017.

¹⁵ "Wise, Joan Interview." Personal interview by Samuel C.P. Baldwin Jr. June 23 2017.

¹⁶ Gaskin, Alonzo Interview." Personal interview by Samuel C.P. Baldwin Jr. June 26, 2017.



13 Helen Daugherty

Helen Daugherty: "I'd have to say that sometimes those people who are clearly house servants, they know all the secrets in the family. There is a relationship of trust that develops; some are going to call it love. I think there's conflicting issues. I think there's probably honor. So, if she's buried at Sotterley, she was probably thought of on one level, as you might read in a lot of books, as a member of the family. I see a woman who has a lot of dignity. She's sitting right up there; she's sitting on the

porch at Sotterley, in a very prominent place. She's not being told that she can't sit there in a public place that other people are probably using as well. She's smiling and she has dignity. So I think that's a very positive thing in terms of telling me relationships."¹⁷

Samuel Baldwin: What is amazing to me is this – I had been reaching out to white Briscoe descendants for years and going through archives in St. Mary's and Charles County. It is difficult to find individual photographs of the white Briscoe children from the 1800s. And yet here is an individual portrait of a former family servant, preserved and saved by the Briscoe family for well over one hundred years. I don't even have such a portrait for most of the Briscoe children. This lady had to have been someone special to have had an individual photograph.

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¹⁷ Daugherty, Helen Interview." Personal interview by Samuel C.P. Baldwin Jr. June 8, 2017.

B. The Briscoe Children with Eliza Plater



14 The Briscoes and Eliza Plater, Sotterley, Portico, Circa1870

Samuel Baldwin: "What can we learn from this photograph? Well, first of all, I look at it and I know that it's the Briscoe family because of where it came from, a Briscoe descendent. This is a picture of the Sotterley Briscoe family. We can look at the clothing and the age of the people. We can compare that to a census report from 1870. We know who was living at Sotterley at that time."

David Briscoe: "What I find quite, quite interesting is you wouldn't think that a black servant would be in the family photo. And I'm thinking they must have a bond with her to allow her to be in that photo. Because I'm looking at a young child on one of the family members' shoulders and she's sitting in there as if, 'Hey, I'm part of this family too!' [laughs]. Her legs are crossed; her arms are crossed. If the family was so mean ain't no way that she would be in this family photograph. So I'm thinking that they have a real affection, and perhaps even a love for her.

See how she's sitting; she's got her legs stretched out and crossed in a comfortable position. She's like 'Come on, let's get this thing over with.' I think she's comfortable with the situation. I think she's well-liked and well-loved."18

According to Kathleen Bond Hayden, the gentleman in the back, on the left-side, appears to be her great-grandfather, Thomas Holdsworth Bond. Thomas Bond married Susan Adelaide Briscoe in 1866. They had four children: Doctor Holdsworth Wheeler Bond, born 1867, Judge Duke Bond, born 1869, Briscoe Bond, born 1872, and John Thomas Bond, born 1876. Later in life, after Susan died, Thomas married her sister, Sallie Emeline Briscoe, in 1889. Given the fact that we believe this photo was taken in 1870, it is possible that both Susan and Sallie are in this photo. The child standing in the center of this photograph appears to be between two and three years of age, so it is

¹⁸ David Briscoe Interview.

possible that this is the first-born child, Holdsworth Wheeler Bond. It is also appears as if Doctor Briscoe is seated to the right side of the photograph; it could very well be his wife, Emeline Dallam Briscoe, holding her grandson, and Doctor Briscoe's sister would be seated in the upper-right corner of this photograph given the fact that she was known to reside at Sotterley with her brother, Doctor Briscoe, and his family.



15 Thomas Holdsworth Bond

Samuel Baldwin: The women in the upper left side of the picture have facial resemblances with the current members of the Briscoe family, there is no mistaking it. The young man in the front of the group portrait is almost certainly the grandfather of John Hanson Briscoe, that being Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe Jr.

According to the 1870 census, Eliza Plater was a black woman, at Sotterley, who would have been the right age for this photograph. This is typical nanny-type clothing at Sotterley. Eliza Plater was also listed as a slave, age 50, of Chapman Billingsley in 1864.

Joan Wise, on using clues in photographs to assign a date: "This is a huge group of people. One of the things about women's fashions, not so much men, but women's fashions, is that they would take dresses apart and remake them; so having this many women in the picture really helps you narrow the year down even more. But for women, number one is

hairstyles: hairstyles are really definitive for women. St. Mary's County was rural back then, but it wasn't that rural compared to other places. You always have to keep in mind how rural is the place because styles may not have gotten there for another five to ten years. The lady in the corner is wearing — it looks like a cameo; her shirt is ruffled on the sleeves. Depending on how high they are that can define time; if the sleeve is tight sometimes. This dress looks like it's all white, and she has some kind of belt there, very pretty dress, but again, ruffled. Everything is high collared; nothing that's low. In the 1850-60's, they wore low cut dresses; you'll find a lot of pictures with low cut dresses. These are not low cut. Not at all, these are very... almost Victorian-like in appearance. So every woman is dressed very respectfully. This young gentleman, the one in the front has a

Southern gentleman summer hat, something that you'd wear during the summertime. But his suit: high collar, it looks like a high cravat here. The older gentleman, he's got a full beard; that's common during some times but not during others. The other thing about beards is shaving the mustache off but leaving the beard... that also helps. Mr. Bond, standing in the left center,



16 Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe, Jr.

and the young gentleman in front, their hair is parted in the middle. Parting in the middle was very time sensitive, so that should help.

You have the African American lady, who has a very nice dress on which looks like an apron and she has a kerchief on. Interestingly, she doesn't look like she is looking at the camera. I would almost wonder, was she looking down or was she blind at that time? Including the elderly African American lady, to me, that means that she was part of the family. So she had to be in the photograph. That's what it means to me; it's a family photograph.

The other thing for dating pictures is children's clothes. You have to be careful because they dress boys and girls alike in certain periods of time, but this is definitely a little boy. He's got pants on; you won't see pants on a little girl this early on... pantaloons maybe, but not pants.



17 Possibly Holdsworth Wheeler Bond



18 Briscoe Woman with Cameo

This one's got a cameo. Jewelry was expensive so obviously they had a little bit of money.

It was really rare to have family photographs like this in St. Mary's County in the 1870s. You had to have a little bit of money. Portrait photographers, especially down in rural areas, they would go from house to house to house saying 'do you want to get a picture of your family? I can spend the night in the barn if I take your picture'. And not only that, but to have all of these people all together at the same time... they had their best Sunday clothing on too, so I would think the family definitely was comfortable financially." 19

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¹⁹ Joan Wise Interview.

Carol Moody is the archivist for the St. Mary's County Historical Society.

Carol Moody: "In comparing the two photographs of Eliza Plater, the thing that leads you to believe that they may be the same woman is that the dress appears to be the same for the servant. But in the one picture the woman has pinned on what is probably a pinafore that mostly covers the dress, and in the other photograph she has only an apron, so you see a lot more of the dress. The headgear is also different. In one, the woman has on a cap with little ruffles around her face and the other woman looks like she just has her head wrapped up. The picture that includes all the Briscoes; you can really pick out the Briscoes. They still look the same as they do today. Well, you look at the hair, and you look at the clothing. It's usually easier to look at the women because women's clothing usually changed style more often than men's did. And the hair always changed. Of course, out in the country, it could be that fashion lagged here in St. Mary's County compared to someplace like New York. But anyway, I would go to books; and I do have one book that I use a lot. It was published by a magazine in Canada called 'The Family Chronicle'. This is a special publication from the magazine called 'Dating Old Photographs, 1840 to 1929.' It is a whole series of pictures by five-year increments roughly and these must be pictures where they knew the year that they were taken. So they group these pictures together and you can sort of look at this group of pictures and say 'oh, so and so wears pearls around their ears, and look at all these people that wear pearls around their ears and this is 1885 or something.' Then you can look at your picture and see if anyone has pearls around their ears, which is what we did for this one, for the group photo. The clothing was a little difficult but everybody had about the same hairstyle, and the hair was close to their head, but then frizzed up around their forehead."



We found that in the 1885 timeframe, and the pictures in my book, there's one group photograph where all the women look like that. The hair is close to their head and it's all frizzed up on their forehead. So sometime in the late 1880s is probably when this picture was taken." ²⁰

Samuel Baldwin: "If we have a date, 1885, how common would it have been for cameras to have been available to take these pictures in St. Mary's County?"

Carol Moody: "I would think not very common. This probably would have been an itinerate photographer and he, it would have had to have been a he, he probably would focus on families of some influence because they would be willing to pay the money and regard this as a worthwhile endeavor. They might be curious and want to have it done, and other people couldn't afford to have it done.

I don't think I've seen a group photograph from St. Mary's County like this. That doesn't mean that they're not out there, but this one is really nice because it has so many people. You can still see everyone's face except for the servant lady because she's looking down. It's a little more difficult for her, but mostly you can really get a look at everyone's face and try to make a judgment about who they are and who is related to whom. So that's what is nice about this picture. This is a nice picture because it's not as rigid as a lot of the portrait type photographs that were taken in the 19th century. The people are quite naturally posed and they don't look scared. Sometimes the people in those formal photographs look scared. It's very unusual that they would have paid any attention to

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²⁰ "Moody, Carol Interview." Personal interview by Samuel C.P. Baldwin Jr. June 8, 2017.

somebody like the servant. Usually, if there is a servant in the photograph, they're holding a baby because they're usually the chief minder of whoever this little infant is. In this case, in this photograph, the servant is included in the group photograph, which is really unusual."21

Helen Daugherty: If you study it carefully though, there was a huge aspect of exclusiveness that also meant the servant was not part of the family. They're all dressed up; the women are all almost wearing the exact same dress except for the servant. In this picture though, she was considered part of the group. They didn't tell her to get out, and they probably told her to get in. She's on the end; nobody is looking at her, and she's not looking at the camera. So she is with the family, but she is not a member of the family.²²

Alonzo Gaskin: "It looks post-Civil War. It looks like a family photograph and it has one African-American lady in it. She looks to be one of the servants of the house and most likely she was the one responsible for taking care of the kids. It looks like when they took the picture, they were like 'yeah, you're gonna come on down and be in this picture, be part of this photo'; but she is still very reserved and understanding of her place and her time and what she should or should not be doing in this picture. She's not looking forward, she's looking down. There is no body motion that says 'I'm having my picture taken and I want to show my best side' She's just; it's almost as if 'they're making me do this and I hope there's no bad repercussion for this'.²³

²¹ Carol Moody Interview.

²² Helen Daugherty Interview.

²³ Alonzo Gaskin Interview.

Carol Moody: It would be really nice to know everybody's names. I could look at Sotterley records or census records and probably figure out who the people are.

Samuel Baldwin: "Not only do we have this group photograph, but we have this individual portrait, a very nice portrait, of one of the servants. How significant is that or what is significant about that?"

Carol Moody: "It's very unusual that they would have paid any attention to somebody like [the servant]."²⁴



19 The Briscoes and Eliza Plater, Sotterley, Portico, Circa 1870

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²⁴ Carol Moody Interview.

HE LIFE AND TIMES OF ELIZA PLATER

A. INTRODUCTION

"One result of the shift to a mixed staple crop regime was that the average slaveholding was lower in Maryland than in most other slave states, and slave communities tended to span several plantations, and to include the free and the enslaved. In the case of Sotterley, however, Dr. Briscoe proved to be an exception. In Maryland, 90% of all slaveholders owned fewer than 15 slaves by 1860, with half of all slave-holders owning three or less. Only 15 owners, or .1% of all slaveholders, held what amounted to a large slaveholding in the deep south – between 100 and 200 slaves. Claims made by Dr. Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe and his brother-in-law and neighbor, Chapman Billingsley, in 1867 for slaves lost following the Civil War note the presence of 53 slaves at Sotterley, and 33 slaves living at the adjacent property. The presence of 86 slaves living within the Sotterley neighborhood places this community among the larger slave communities in the Southern Maryland region. ²⁵

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²⁵ Arrigan, Marylin. "Slavery and the Enslaved People at Sotterley Plantation." (2003): Print.

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OWNER Dr. Walter H. Briscoe

DATE ___April 16, 1869



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OWNER ___ Dr. Walter H. Briscoe

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Ref: SLAVE STATISTICS OF ST. MARY'S COUNTY , MARYLAND, 1867
Compiled by Agnes Kane Callum

B. WHERE SHE MIGHT HAVE LIVED AT SOTTERLEY

I said "Well what about them sleeping, where did they sleep, all them people?" He said "the boys slept upstairs, in the loft, and all the children slept upstairs, but the boys slept in the gable end of the slave cabin, and the girls slept in the other end. The mother and father slept downstairs, which was only one room, next to the fireplace." ²⁶



22 Interior of Sotterley Slave Cabin



Link to Agnes Kane Callum's Video Interview:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_Rs9sivCDml

²⁶ Agnes Kane Callum

Joe McGill's Slave Dwelling Project:

Video Blog July 10, 2011

Mr. Joseph McGill, a program officer for the National Trust for Historic Preservation, spent the night of July 9, 2011 in Sotterley's original 1830's slave cabin as part of his Slave Dwelling Project.

Slave Dwelling Project at Sotterley Plantation

Joe McGill: I'm here at Sotterley Plantation in Hollywood Maryland and it's Sunday morning, very early Sunday morning and I just woke up. It was very interesting here last night, there were a lot of firsts in my experience in sleeping in slave dwellings, this particular dwelling is two stories and I'm glad that's the case because it's a dirt floor. This is the first time I've encountered a dirt floor in the slave dwelling, this is number 26 and this is the eighth state that I have stayed.

What I also try to do in this Slave Dwelling Project is to invite folks that can help further the cause in trying to save these places because after every stay I do a blog but I want as many other people to experience this with me so that they can help tell this story. And let the public know the importance of saving such places.

Another thing about this space is this is probably one of the places within their lives that they could experience some form of serenity because beyond this space they knew what waited for them. In this case working in the tobacco fields; in this time of year they would have been very active in harvesting that crop. As a young man I worked a tobacco field, so I know some of the labor involved in doing that, but to be working in that in any kind of situation where you're enslaved and that's all that your master has you on the property for, it's kind of sobering to think about that. In being in these spaces like this you think about those things. And this is my 25th or 26th, I'm kind of losing count which is a good thing. All the experiences have been different so I always look forward to stays like this. I have to commend Sotterley for doing what they did for putting the resources into this

dwelling, it's a story that we need to tell and you know I am certainly going to do my part to tell that story.



23 Joe McGill outside of Sotterley's Slave Cabin

Click on Photo to see the YouTube Video

A log cabin from the Sotterley plantation in St. Mary's County, Maryland, consisting of one room measuring approximately eighteen by sixteen feet, plus a loft space, provides an example of the most minimal house type used as a slave quarter. This particular cabin was, however, slightly larger and better built than most. Its log walls were actually sawn planks held in place by three joinery systems: keyed notches at the ends of the planks, dowels that pinned each plank together edge to edge, and log buttresses pegged to the cabin's exterior walls. The exceptionally skillful carpentry found in this house follows eighteenth-century techniques and certainly accounts for the building's longevity. Closer in appearance to the quarters described by most slaves is the cabin built in 1836 in Robertson County, Texas, on the Cavitt place. The logs were roughly hewn, and the wide spaces between them were filled with mud. However, because the

dwelling measures almost twenty feet on a side, its four hundred square feet of floor space was four times greater than the cabins from east Texas noted by Olmsted during the same period.²⁷

Some masters kept their house slaves close at hand. Cheney Cross, a former slave who had once belonged to the Purifoy estate in Alabama, testified that she "was brung up right in de house with my white folks. I slept on the little trundle bed what pushed up under de big bed, during the day." More often, however, the house slaves lived in a separate building adjacent to the planter's residence; occasionally there might be two or three small houses for domestic servants. Because these quarters were usually better constructed than the cabins built for the field hands, they conveyed the favored status granted to their occupants. Henry Clay, a former slave from near Rayville, North Carolina, apparently was well cared for in such a building: "Mammy and Pappy and me lived in a house close to the Big House back there [in North Carolina], and Pappy was the coach boy and horse boy. The Big House was two stories high with a big porch what run clean to the top, and more window blinds than I ever seen in a house since. Our little house was made of planks, heavy oak lumber, all whitewashed with lime, and we had good furniture, Old Mistress give us what she was through with. The bed was high like you could hang a curtain on and had springs like we got today."

At Magnolia Grove, a plantation located just at the edge of Greensboro, Alabama, a two-unit building was set above a three-room basement. The cooking was done in the two rooms on the upper level, with the largest room in the basement serving as a slave quarter. The two smaller basement rooms, which were closer to the main house, were used for storage; one of them was set up as a wine cellar.

Slave quarters that survived long enough to be photographed represent exceptional buildings of their kind, houses constructed well enough to last, in some instances, for almost two hundred years. Considering only the most durable examples of these cabins

²⁷ Vlach, John Michael. *Back of the Big House: the Architecture of Plantation Slavery*. Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1993.

can collectively obscure the more representative experiences of former slaves like Rose Holman from Choctaw County, Mississippi, who reported, "We lived in little log houses daubed wid mud an' didn't have no beds – slept on de ground on pallets. We eat out o'troughs down at Marsa's back doo'.



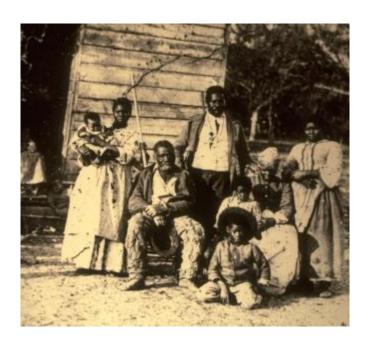
24 Slave quarters at the Hermitage Plantation, Chatham County Georgia

The slave quarters are, without exception, bare geometric expressions – square or rectangular boxes with roofs. Few of them had porches or shed additions that might indicate attempts by former slave occupants either to exercise a degree of choice in their houses' design or to personalize the buildings. The walls, often left unpainted, were pierced only by a door and a few square holes for windows, if there were any windows. Dark both inside and out, these buildings would only on rare occasions be taken for homes. They were clearly slave quarters, a type of outbuilding that in size, form, construction, and finish closely resembled a kitchen, dairy, smokehouse, or tool shed. Quarters were meant to function chiefly as shelters for people who, by definition, were not allowed to own homes.



25 Slave Cabin

During the nineteenth century, agricultural reformers encouraged planters to pay more attention to the houses of their slaves, pointing out that "leaky roofs and airy floors, in addition to shocking chimneys and walls, are too often met with." One commentator even labeled slave houses "laboratories of disease." Some planters, however, seem to have been more concerned with the appearance of the quarters than with the health and comfort of the slaves living in them. In an 1850 essay detailing procedures for the efficient management of slaves, one planter concluded: "The negroes should be required to keep their houses and yards clean, and in case of neglect, should receive such punishment as will be likely to insure more cleanly habits in the future." A Mississippi planter, who worried particularly about what he termed his slaves' "propensity" to accumulate "dirty rags, old shoes, coon skins, chicken feathers and every other description of trash," similarly agreed that slave dwellings should be frequently inspected by the overseer "to see that all is right within – that they keep a clean house."



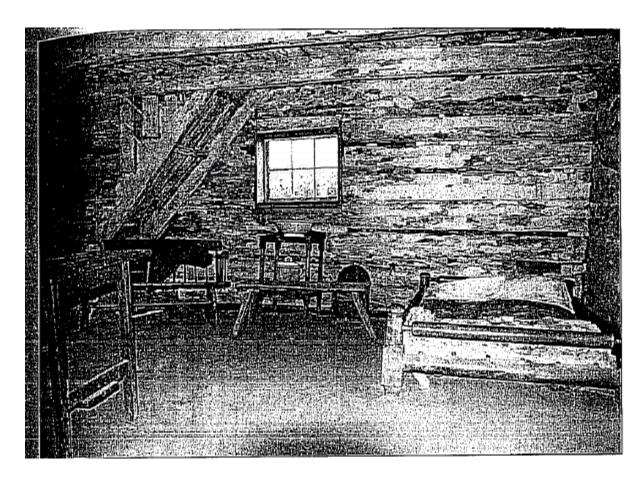
26 Slave Family and Cabin Circa 1850

In an article in the *Southern Planter* written in 1856, the master of a large Virginia plantation suggested that it was the ugliness of old log houses that made it necessary to place "the negro cabin out of sight of the mansion." Plank-covered frame houses, decorated with "some cheap ornamental cornice," were his recommended improvement. The main reason for painting or whitewashing slave houses, stated another planter, was that "it adds very much to the neat and comfortable appearance of the buildings." Although this writer noted that whitewash also had a "cleansing and purifying effect, conducive to health," its chief virtue, he concluded, was that "the cost is almost nothing." Planters' urgent advice on how to keep their estates neat and tidy reflected their deep-seated, almost fearful need to maintain control over their physical environments. Toward this end, they paid particular attention to the visual order of their holdings. The stark, elemental geometry of the buildings in which they housed their slaves signaled that a strict hierarchical order was in force.



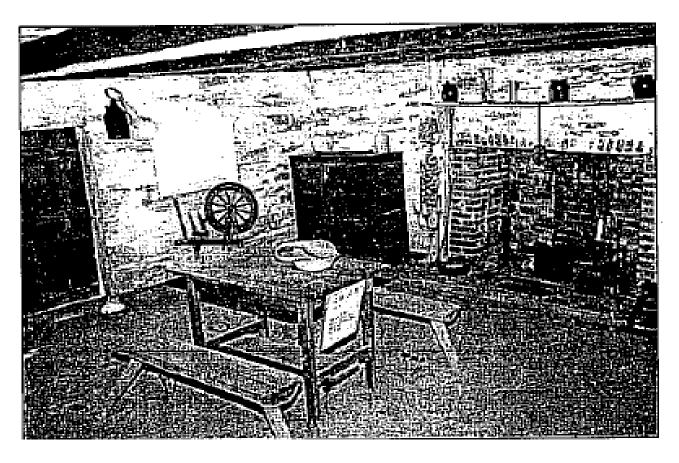
27 Former Slave Cabin on Laura Plantation in Louisiana

Although photographs of slave quarters reveal little of the slaves' attempts to transform their cabins into more serviceable, if not more comfortable, dwellings, verbal testimonies indicated that they did try to modify and improve their houses. Nelson Cameron, who labored on the Brice Plantation near Blackstock, South Carolina, recalled that his cabin was dressed up with flowers: "Us live in a log house wid a little porch in front and de morning' glory vines use to climb 'bout it. When they bloom, de bees would come a hummin' 'round and suck the honey out de blue bells on the vines. I 'members dat well 'nough, dat was a pleasant memory." Any traces of such floral decoration would, of course, not last without constant maintenance, and so it is difficult to know how many of the slave cabins that survived into the twentieth century might at some time in the past have been similarly graced. Certainly the possibility exists that other slaves experienced the same pleasure in colorful blossoms that Nelson Cameron did and used them to blunt the harsh edge of slavery.



28 Sotterley's Slave Cabin

The interior view of Sotterley's existing slave cabin shows the window and staircase that were added after emancipation. Originally, ladder stairs at corners of the cabin led to the loft for sleeping. The floors were hard-packed clay. Pots and utensils for cooking and eating, ongoing work on clothes, tools for survival, and perhaps a few sticks of furniture made from scraps would have been inside. Grain sacks stuffed with corn husks or feathers would have sufficed for a bed on the ground for most. The hearth (below) would contain a one-pot meal that included any small game caught in a trap the night before to supplement the rations given by Dr. Briscoe, along with freshwater fish and sea food from the brackish water of the creeks along the Patuxent River.



29 Sotterley's Slave Cabin

There is still more testimony illustrating how slaves tried to improve the interiors of their cabins. Former slave Cora Gillam from Desha County, Arkansas, recalled that slaves "made cupboards, and women that was smart would make covers for them. They would make home-made tables and everything." George Fleming, a former slave from Laurens County, South Carolina, also remembered how slaves fixed up their quarters. In addition to "good beds," he claimed: "We had shelves and hooks to put our clothes on. We had benches and tables made wid smooth boards." Similarly, Mandy Morrow from Burnet County, Texas, bragged: "Grandpappy am a cahpentah. 'Cause ob dat, weuns quatahs am fixed fine. Co'se dat am compared wid de udder nigger quatahs 'roun' dere. Weuns have reg'ar windahs, an' han' made chaiahs, an' a wood flooah. Gran'pap spen' his extra time, fixin' up de quatahs." The slaves' conscious efforts to decorate their quarters when possible were recalled by Martha Stuart, a former slave from the Black Creek plantation in Louisiana. Slave houses had "pictures on the wall," she said, colorful

prints of scenery obtained from traveling salesmen, "picture men who come through the country."

The simple beds, benches, and tables, fashioned by slaves during their little bits of free time, together with a few cheap pictures and other trinkets, may not seem like much of an improvement, but within the context of servitude these things represented significant achievements. They suggest that slaves wanted more than the bare necessities their owners supplied, and that they would carefully husband their resources to obtain an occasional luxury item. Most planters only provided their slaves with cell-like rooms, rude holding pens from which the field hands might be called forth to work each day. Because slave-made furnishings helped to make the austere quarters more tolerable, such artifacts should be seen as part of the slaves' adaptive strategies that helped them cope with difficult and painful circumstances.

Slave initiative was further manifested in the gardens they sometimes planted near their quarters. Former slave Olin Williams recalled that, in the Piedmont region of Georgia, the cabins were "in long rows wid garden space 'twist 'em an' evvy family had deir own gyarden jes' like Marster had." He added that they were "big gyardens and [we] growed all de vegetables us could use." At one Georgia rice plantation, according to Olmsted, the slaves also raised most of their food: "Between each tenement and the next house, is a small piece of ground, inclosed with palings, in which are coops of fowl with chickens, hovels for nests, and for sows with pig. There are a great many fowls in the street. The negroes' swine are allowed to run in the woods, each owner having his own distinguished by a peculiar mark. In the rear of the yards were gardens — a half-acre to each family."



30 Slave Cabin

In Louisiana Thomas Bangs Thorpe observed equally impressive gardens grown by the slaves on large plantations. He noted that these well-tended plots not only were fenced to keep out intruding animals but also featured numerous birdhouses made from hollowed gourds; while protecting their nests, the birds also kept the vegetables from being attacked by insects and other pests. The extra care displayed in the maintenance of these gardens serves as evidence of their importance to their slave "owners." Charlie Fraser, a Mississippi slave alleged to be an African, was apparently able to use his allotted garden space to re-create the foodways remembered from his homeland. According to Fraser's fellow captive Callie Gray: "His house wus separate from the other niggers and he had his own garden. He raised rice 'cause he been use to living on it. They told him it wouldn't grow here but he showed 'em. And he fixed it nice too." Not only did he grow the relatively exotic food that he preferred, but he then fashioned the tools required to prepare the grain for cooking. Callie Gray recalled how Fraser made a wooden mortar: "He would cut down a tree and hollow out a section, then he would pour rice in and maul off the chaff."

Throughout the antebellum period, planters debated the virtues of encouraging slaves to plant gardens and raise livestock. Although opinion was divided, there can be no doubt that the practice was widespread. When slaves were allowed to have gardens, planters were spared the expense of providing rations, but gardening was also considered dangerous because it gave the slaves a significant opportunity to claim a degree of autonomy. Northern visitor Richard Soule was struck by the "manorial attitude" that South Carolina slaves displayed toward their garden plots. Having been given an acre of land on which to raise his own cotton, Scott Hooper's father made enough money to buy his own horse and saddle, possessions generally allowed only to white men. Clearly Olin Williams saw his garden as a device by which he might compare his master's household with his own. Moreover, when slaves were capable of feeding themselves, they were also able to develop their own market economy. Henry Barnes, a former slave from Mobile, Alabama, recalled "De only money de slaves ebber had wuz from selling de corn or de tobaccy raised on de li'l patch dy had to wuk." The space around the slave cabins was highly charged with social symbolism. In their gardens, the part of the quarters for which they were most responsible, slaves were more effective in establishing a territorial claim within the plantation's confines.

Novelist Ralph W. Ellison observes that people without power are not without nobility. Reflecting on the black experience in America, he astutely notes that "any people who could undergo such dismemberment and resuscitate itself, and endure until it could take the initiative in achieving its own freedom is obviously more than the sum of its brutalization." When viewed from the outside, slave quarters can be seen as instruments of control, as material devices used by planters to demean and brutalize their slaves. Ellison's comment reminds us, however, that the degree of control achieved by the planters was nowhere near as absolute as they imagined. Slaves sometimes found in their assigned quarters features beyond their masters' comprehension. In other cases, they subtly modified their cabins and the spaces around them to serve needs of their own.

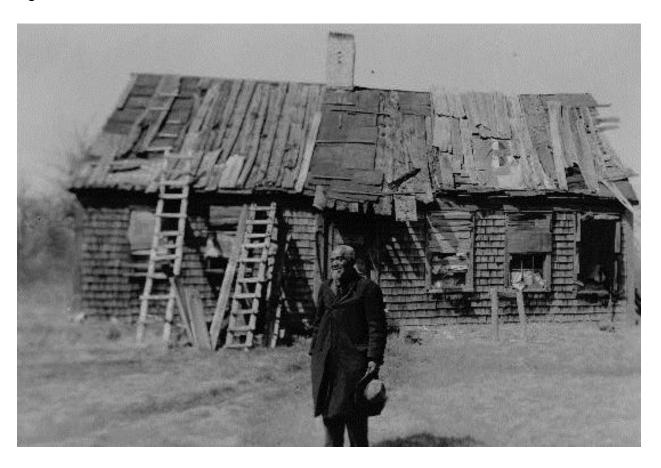
The dwelling houses used as field quarters frequently were only one-room structures. By the 1850s Olmsted found these minimal buildings in use all across the South. As he ranged beyond Richmond, Virginia, he discovered that: "The houses of the slaves are usually log-cabins, of various degrees of comfort and commodiousness. At one end there is a great open fire-place, which is exterior to the wall of the house, being made of clay in an inclosure, about eight feet square and high, of logs. The chimney is sometimes of brick, but more commonly of lathe of split sticks, laid up like log work and plastered with mud." Later, as he followed the course of the Pee Dee River through South Carolina, he was shocked to find that the houses built for slaves were so small:

The negro-cabins, here, were the smallest I had seen – I thought not more than twelve feet square, inside. They stood in two rows, with a wide street between them. They were built of logs, with no windows – no opening at all, except the doorway, with a chimney of sticks and mud; with no trees about them, no porches, or shades, of any kind. Except for the chimney... I should have conjectured that it had been built for a powder-house, or perhaps an ice-house – never for an animal to sleep in.

Consequently, by the time he reached eastern Texas, Olmsted was somewhat prepared for the even meaner conditions that he would discover: "The negro-quarters here, scattered irregularly about the [planter's] house, were of the worst description, though as good as local custom requires. They are but a rough inclosure of logs, ten feet square, without windows, covered by slabs of hewn wood four feet long. Great chinks are stopped with whatever has come to hand – a wad of cotton here, and corn shuck there."

The testimony of a former slave confirms Olmsted's observations. Bill Homer recalled the one-room cabins near Shreveport, Louisiana, where he had grown up: "De cabins was built of logs and had dirt floors and a hole where a window should be and stone fireplace for de cookin' and de heat." In Georgia, Robert Shepard remembered log cabins with "chimblies made out of stick and red mud. Dem chimblies was all de time catchin' fire. Dey didn't have no glass windows. For a window dey just cut a openin' in a log." John Finnely gave a minimalist portrayal of Alabama slave housing: "Us have cabins of logs with one room and one door and one window hole." His account matches

J. T. Tim's memory of slave dwellings in Mississippi: "Before the War, we lived in an old log house. It had one window, one door, and one room."



31 Henry Robinson who was interviewed for the Works Progress Administration's slave narrative project, stands in front of a slave cabin in the 1930's (Library of Congress)

The single-pen cabins described by former slaves were often so poorly constructed that they had little chance of surviving into the twentieth century. Indeed, from all accounts, many of these structures were falling apart even while slaves were living in them. However, if a slave cabin chanced to be built of durable materials like stone or if it had been constructed with a measure of diligence, it probably outlasted the institution that gave rise to it.²⁸

²⁸ Vlach, John Michael. "Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery." Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina, 1993. Print.

A frame kitchen stood at the southeast corner of the main house at Sotterley until about 1910 and presumably some domestic slaves lived there. No rooms in the main house seem created for slaves, though domestic workers may well have occupied some of the refined rooms at various times.²⁹

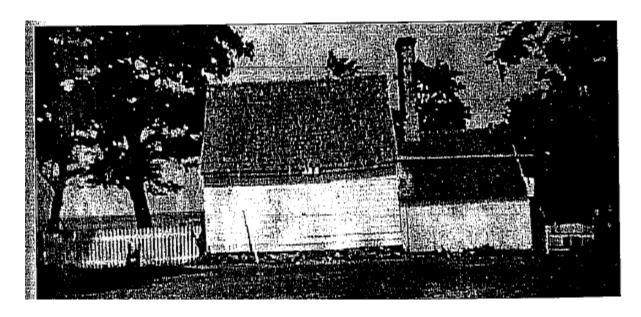


32 On the right, Sotterley's Kitchen 1910

The enslaved population of Sotterley in the 1800s was quartered in various locations on the plantation surrounding their work. The quarter above, on the south side behind the plantation house, was demolished in 1910, soon after this photograph was taken. The photograph below shows the same structure in full view. It looks almost identical to Sotterley's existing slave cabin, except for the added structure attached to the right. Enslaved domestics working in and for the plantation house would have been housed

²⁹ "The Slave House at Sotterley near Hollywood, St. Mary's County, Maryland: Architectural Investigations and Recommendations." September 27, 1995 Analysis and recording by Jeffrey Bostetter, Edward Chappell, Willie Graham, and Mark R. Wenger. Written by Edward Chappell. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation for Sotterley Mansion Foundation.

here. After slavery was abolished, African American families continued to occupy these dwellings and work as servants at Sotterley well into the 1900s.



33 Sotterley's Kitchen, 1910

The softest couches in the world are not to be found in the log mansion of the slaves. The one whereon I reclined year after year was a plank twelve inches wide and ten feet long. My pillow was a stick of wood. The bedding was a coarse blanket and not a rag or shred beside. Moss might be used, were it not that it directly breeds a swarm of fleas. The cabin is constructed of logs, without floor or window. The latter is altogether unnecessary, the crevices between the logs admitting sufficient light. In stormy weather the rain drives through them, rendering it comfortless and extremely disagreeable. The rude door hangs on wooden hinges. In one end is constructed an awkward fireplace.

30

We lodged in log huts and on the bare ground. Wooden floors were an unknown luxury. In a single room were huddled, like cattle, ten or a dozen persons, men, women and children. All ideas of refinement and decency were, of course, out of the question. There were neither bedsteads, nor furniture of any description. Our beds were collections of straw and old rags, thrown down in the corners and boxed in with boards, a single blanket the only covering. Our favorite way of sleeping, however, was on a plank, our heads raised on an old jacket and our feet toasting before the smoldering fire. The wind whistled and the rain and snow blew in through the cracks, and the damp earth soaking in the moisture till the floor was miry as a pigsty. Such were our houses.

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³⁰ Lester, Julius, and Tom Feelings. *To Be a Slave*. New York: Dial, 1968. Print

³¹ McDaniel, George w. Hearth & Home: Preserving a People's Culture. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1982. Print,

It is important to remember that not all slaves lived in separate slave houses. House servants, cooks, maids, and personal attendants on larger plantations commonly lived in the main house, perhaps in the attic, basement, or above the kitchen. Caroline Hammond, a former slave from Anne Arundel County, recalled, "All the slaves lived in small huts with the exception of the household help who ate and slept in the manor house." In terms of physical living conditions, such quarters were a decided improvement over the log dwellings of most slaves. However, the slaves had to submit to living almost continually in the environment of whites and under their surveillance. 32



35 Sallie Hemmings' Basement Bedroom at Monticello

Samuel Baldwin: Having been in the basement of the Sotterley Plantation main house, located underneath the New Room, I can tell you that the basement room looks a lot like this photograph of Sally Heming's room at Monticello. Note, too, that the entrance to this basement room is exterior to the house, not interior to the home, which is something that would be expected for the servants' entrance.

36 Basement Rooms of Sotterley

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³² McDaniel, George W. Hearth & Home: Preserving a People's Culture. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1982. Print.





Sotterley's Basement Rooms

C. HOW ELIZA PLATER MAY HAVE LIVED



In 1978, Agnes Kane Callum and 103 Kane descendants visited Sotterley Plantation and were greeted by Mabel Satterlee Ingalls. Callum is seen here at Herbert Satterlee's desk in the library, or New Room, looking at records and oral traditions that she presented to Sotterley about her

ancestor, Hillery Kane, and his family, who lived as enslaved and then freed people at Sotterley in the 1800s.

Agnes Kane Callum: My people survived the system because they knew when to act and when not to act. This was a plantation with slaves, overseer, everything that went along with slavery happened here. These people slept on the floor, with corn shucks and wheat chaff as a mattress. Then they get up in the morning and they go up on the hill, to this mansion where they had lace on the pillowcases, and linen sheets. The slaves were not stupid. They knew that they were slaves, and they were under or governed by certain rules and regulations. They knew. They knew that they were being watched, and maybe someday they hoped to be in a situation like the people up on the hill. Who knows what went on in their minds.³³

Within their settlements, slaves established strong family identities, created distinctive art forms, and developed meaningful religious rituals. To the furthest degree possible, they took charge of their lives. Among the many tangible signs of black initiative and autonomy, the foremost spatial statements were the extensive vegetable gardens,

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³³ Callum, Agnes Kane. YouTube "An Interview with Agnes Kane Callum".

sometimes as big as half an acre per person, in which slaves raised much of their own food. Such self-sufficiency was undergirded by other demonstrations of slave skill. Frances Anne Kemble, who in the late 1830s lived on a plantation in coastal Georgia with a slave population approaching five hundred, observed that slaves who had woodworking abilities built furniture and boats, which they sold for considerable sums in the nearby town of Darien. On other plantations, slaves developed similar entrepreneurial enterprises, selling chickens, ducks, and pigs that they raised, and even a horse or two. Others were able to improve their material conditions by offering their blacksmithing, tailoring, or coopering skills for hire. Frederick Law Olmsted noted that at one particularly large slave village, again in Georgia, the slaves daily secured their homes and possessions under lock and key, asserting their right to personal space and property. By acting as if they owned the quarters, these slaves had overturned the declared order of the plantation. Although everything they had could be taken away in a moment if the master so desired, few planters wanted to disturb the inner workings of large slave villages. As long as the slaves performed their assigned tasks with reasonable efficiency, planters concerned themselves neither with the routines of the slave quarters nor the domestic claims being exercised there." 34

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³⁴ Vlach, John Michael. *Back of the Big House: the Architecture of Plantation Slavery*. Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1993.



38 Unidentified Lithograph

The ironies of plantation slavery were many and profound, for although the plantation system was the very reason people of African descent were enslaved, it also provided them with an arena in which they could begin to piece back together their shattered lives. While ownership of a plantation clearly divided whites into distinct have and havenot classes, blacks generally found themselves drawn together in sufficient numbers to constitute social groups. Comforted by the fellowship of the quarters, they were able to confront the injustice of their captivity in ways both subtle and obvious; among their various strategies of accommodation and resistance was the creation of their own version of the plantation. Recognizing that they could define a space for themselves, they took back the quarters, fields, gardens, barns, and outbuildings, claiming them as parts of a black landscape. Empowered by this territorial gesture, they were able to forge an even stronger sense of community, which few planters would ever recognize or acknowledge.



39 Sotterley's Slave Cabin

Even when slaves were most persistent in establishing their own landscapes, they attempted few bold gestures. Instead, they prudently relied on subtle adjustments to their dwellings, or they sought out spaces where their masters were unlikely to intrude. Their domains, consisting mainly of rough and ungainly dwellings together with their cluttered yards, reflected not a lack of ability but their material poverty. Denied the time and resources needed to design and build as they might have wanted, they simply appropriated, as marginalized people often do, the environments to which they were assigned.

A more considerate slaveholder might be inclined to reward his house slaves, particularly his personal servants, with certain favors: reduced workloads, better than usual food, nice clothing, superior living quarters. Joseph Ball, master of Morattico Plantation, Lancaster County, Virginia, saw that his favored slave Aron Jameson was provided with several sets of clothes, including a new pairs of boots, three hats, and a

dozen neckcloths. He also gave explicit directions to his plantation manager to "have one of the worst of my Bedsteads cut short and fit for his Mattress".³⁵



40 Unidentified Lithograph

Favored slaves, especially house servants, were given better clothes, some of them being hand-me-downs from the white family. "My master gave me a child's frock, belonging to one of his own children," recalled Charles Ball. Clothes also served to identify the higher station of house servants: "The tables was waited on by Uncle Billie, dressed in uniform, decorated with brass buttons, braid, and a fancy vest, his hands incased in white gloves. I can see him now, standing at the door. "More comfortable and fashionable clothes also reinforced aspirations of upward mobility and served as tangible inducements to "behave."

³⁵ Vlach, John Michael. *Back of the Big House: the Architecture of Plantation Slavery*. Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1993.

"My master gave me better clothes than the little slaves of my age generally received in Calvert, and often told me that he intended to make me his waiter, and that if I behaved well I should become his overseer in time. These stations of waiter and overseer appeared to me to be the highest points of honor and greatness in the whole world." 36

Once the "field" slaves left the field, their work was far from finished.

Each one must then attend to his respective chores. One feeds the mules, another killed the swine—another cut the wood, and so forth. Finally, at a late hour, they reach the quarters, sleepy and overcome with the long day's toil. Then a fire must be kindled in the cabin, the corn ground in the small hand-mill, and supper and dinner for the next day in the field prepared. All that is allowed them is corn and bacon, which is given out at the corncrib and smokehouse every Sunday morning. Each one receives, as his weekly allowance, three and a half pounds of bacon, and corn enough to make a peck of meal. That is all—no tea, coffee, sugar, and with the exception of a very scanty sprinkling now and then, no salt.³⁷

³⁶McDaniel, George W. *Hearth & Home, Preserving a People's Culture*. Temple University Press, 1982.

³⁷ Lester, Julius, and Tom Feelings. "To Be a Slave." *To Be a Slave*, Dial Press, 1968,



41 Unidentified Lithograph

When the corn is ground and fire is made, the bacon is taken down from the nail on which it hangs, a slice cut off and thrown upon the coals to broil. The majority of slaves have no knife, much less a fork. They cut their bacon with the axe at the woodpile. The corn meal is mixed with a little water, placed in the fire, and baked. When it is "done brown," the ashes are scraped off, and being placed upon a chip which answers for a table, the tenant of the slave hut is ready to sit down upon the ground to supper.

By this time it is usually midnight. The same fear of punishment with which they approach the ginhouse, possesses them again on lying down to get a snatch of rest. It is the fear of oversleeping in the morning. Such an offense would certainly be attended with not less than twenty lashes. With a prayer that he may be on his feet and wide awake at the first sound of the horn, he sinks to his slumbers nightly.³⁸

³⁸ Lester, Julius, and Tom Feelings. "To Be a Slave." *To Be a Slave*, Dial Press, 1968,

Before they were sent "into the ground" to cultivate tobacco or whatever crop their owners chose, or before they took their places as servants in the house, young slave

girls were often used to serve as companions or playmates to the master's children, to run errands, or to watch over other slave children while their mothers worked in the fields. Their experiences and duties varied according to the material circumstances and needs of their owners, their mothers and fathers having no capacity to override the owners' control over their children's lives. Elizabeth, after being taken into the "great house," apparently never made the transition to fieldwork. Instead, she began a life that would require daily interactions with and the immediate service of whites. She would come to know, indeed have to know,



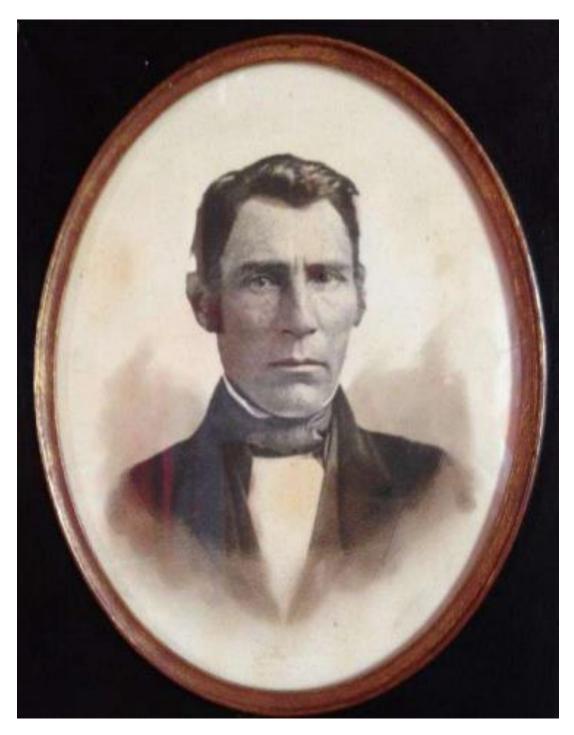
42 Playmates

white people in ways that slaves more isolated from them would not.39

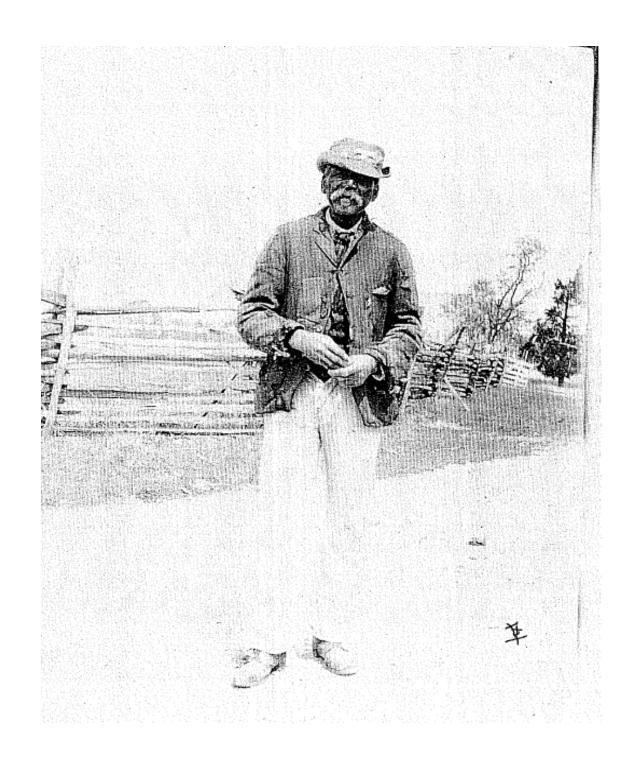
D. WHAT ELIZA PLATER MIGHT HAVE DONE

³⁹ Gordan-Reed, Annette. *The Hemingses of Monticello: An American Family*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2009. Print.

a. As A House Servant



39 Dr. Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe



"Uncle" Alfred Edwards was a slave at Sotterley Plantation and was emancipated in 1864 at the age of 17. His father, Lee Edwards, was owned by Chapman Billingsley, and his mother Priscilla, was owned by Dr. Briscoe. In 1910, Alfred was living in old Billingsley slave quarters with his wife, Alice, and seven of their children and grandchildren. He died in the early 1930s.

Maryland was in the heyday of its colonial glory when Rebecca Addison became mistress of Sotterley (in the late 1600's) which she made famous for its gracious hospitality. The great landed estates patterned their living after the English nobility and their large slave holding interests made a fine art of personal service.

Dr. Briscoe (in the 1800's) was a very religious man, hospitable and scholarly. A strict keeper of the Sabbath and all biblical precepts. He lived in a manner befitting the traditions of Sotterley but with greater simplicity. Many slaves tilled the fertile acres and served with due ceremony at the great house. "Uncle" Alfred a faithful servitor of Dr. Briscoe is retained today (1934) to minister to the wants of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Satterlee.⁴⁰

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⁴⁰ Croker, Maria Briscoe. Tales and Traditions of Old Saint Mary's. Reistertown, MD: Whitmore Pub., 1934. Print.

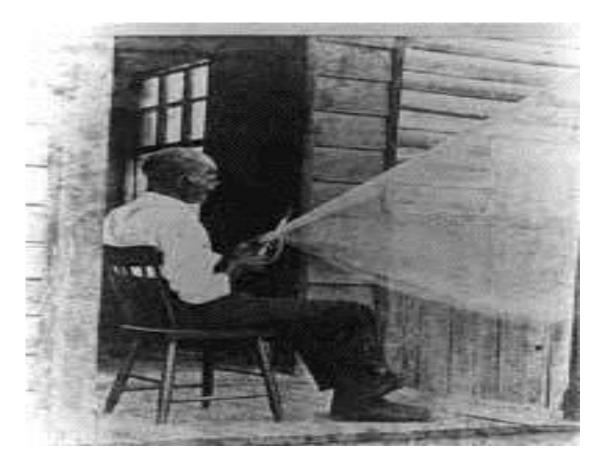


43 A Reenactment on Sotterley's Porch

On the plantation, the house servants were, in the words of Austin Steward, the "stars of the party" and what may be termed the "black aristocracy." To the other slaves, they were the models of manner, style, and conduct; they were the better-class black. To the ordinary slave, observation of the house servants was often the only method of obtaining any knowledge of the manners of "genteel society." Hence, said Steward, on most plantations the house servants were regarded as a privileged class, and as such were greatly envied, and often bitterly hated.

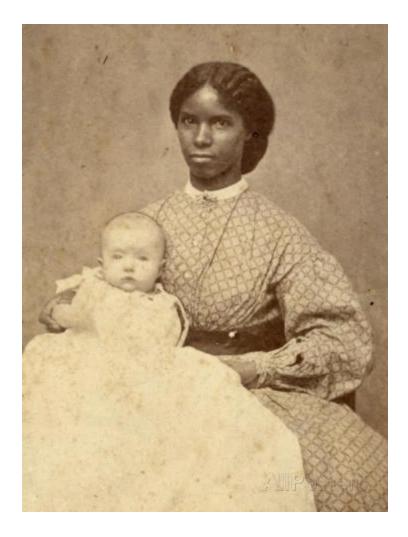
The Arkansas Narratives reveal that just as the more apt and intelligent of the slaves were given special training for those places in which their talents indicated they would be most useful – i.e., girls were trained to do housework, cooking, and to care for

children, while boys were taught blacksmithing and carpentry – so the more fortunate were trained as personal servants around the house.



44 Slave Sitting on Cabin Porch

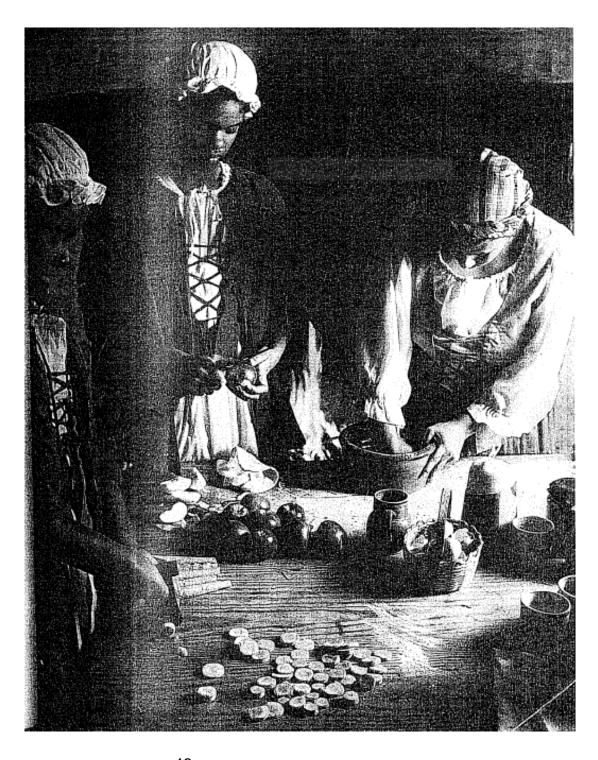
And, wrote Peter Randolph, the house servants were never treated as cruelly as the field slaves. They were better fed and clothed, "because master and his family always expect to have strangers visit them, and they want their servants to look well." They would eat from the master's kitchen, wear broadcloth, calico and sometimes ruffled shirts. Randolph said that the appearance and manner of the house servants caused many strangers to slavery to fall "in love with the particular institution."



45 Enslaved Woman with master's baby

Randolph also noted that in many cases the house servant acted as the master's "model" slave, and that one of the reasons he was treated so well was that if he were required to accompany the master on a trip away from the plantation, and especially to a non-slave area, part of his duties would be to describe to others the nature of slavery and the treatment accorded slaves by the master.⁴¹

⁴¹ Feldstein, Stanley, and Thomas P. Govan. *Once a Slave: The Slaves' View of Slavery*. New York: William Morrow, 1971. Print.



46 Reenactment of Domestic Work on Plantation

"Only a small percentage of plantation slaves was employed as domestic servants; from a group of fifty slaves, only six or so would be assigned to work at the Big House. Even if a plantation's labor force included hundreds of slaves, the domestic staff would usually not number much more than half a dozen. An 1854 inventory listing the occupations of slaves at the Laurel Hill plantation in Georgetown County, South Carolina, for example indicates that of 171 slaves only 7 were employed at the main house. At nearby Chicora Wood, planter Robert F. W. Allston kept ten slaves at his residence: a cook, a laundress, a housemaid, a seamstress, a butler, a second diningroom man, coachman, a scullion, a gardener, and a yard boy. His wife Adele, however, complained: "There are too many servants; I do not know what to do with them.... I cannot find work for them! Please send them away, half of them at least."

Although it is usually imagined that work in the Big House was considerably easier than toiling in the fields, domestic labor could be equally onerous. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese summarizes some of the tasks that were performed by the female servants:

"Slaves worked in the kitchens and smokehouses... to produce three meals a day, except perhaps on Sunday, and to hang and smoke innumerable pounds of pork. Slaves waited on a table. Slaves washed and ironed; took up and put down carpets; carried the huge steaming pots for the preservation of fruits; lifted the barrels in which cucumbers soaked in brine; pried open the barrels of flour; swept floors and dusted furniture; hoed and weeded gardens; collected eggs from the poultry. Slaves suckled, washed, and minded infants. Slaves spun and wove and sewed household linens and "negro clothes." Slaves quilted."

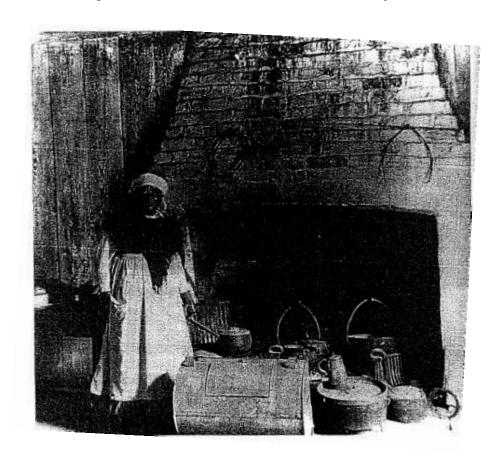


 $47\ \text{Young boy working in the Big House}$

Work in the Big House – unlike field labor, which would usually end at sunset – had a perpetual quality because house slaves were always on call. At any time of the day or night – even if they had completed their assigned tasks – they were

still expected to anticipate and tend to their owners' personal needs. Field slaves were at least given the day off on Sundays and certain holidays.

The childhood recollections of former slave Mingo White confirm the demanding nature of domestic service. Describing a plantation near Burleson, Alabama, where his mother struggled to complete all of her daily chores, he testified: "I helped her with her work. Her task was too hard for any one person. She had to serve as a maid to Mr. White's daughter, cook for all of de hands, spin and card four cuts of thread a day, and den wash. Dere was one hundred and forty-four threads to de cut. If she didn't get all dis done she got fifty lashes that night. Many the night me and her would spin and card so she could get her task [done by] the next day. No matter what she had to do de next day she would save to get dem cuts of thread, even on wash day."



48 Slave Cooking in the Kitchen



49 Reenactment of Slave Working in Kitchen

By the first decades of the eighteenth century, it was already customary for the owners of large plantations to confine various cooking tasks to separate buildings located some distance from their residences. This move is usually interpreted solely as a response to practical considerations: the heat, noise, odors, and general commotion associated with the preparation of meals could be avoided altogether by simply moving the kitchen out of the house. In 1705 Virginia planter Robert Beverley praised this strategy for making one's house more comfortable, observing: "All... [the] Drudgeries of

Cookery, washing, Dairies, &c. are perform'd in Offices detached from their Dwelling-Houses, which by this means are kept more cool and Sweet."

There were, however, other important if less immediately evident reasons for planters to detach the kitchens from their residences. Moving such an essential homemaking function as cooking out of one's house established a clearer separation between those who served and those who were served. Until the last decades of the seventeenth century, slaves, and their masters (at least in the Chesapeake region) lived and worked in close proximity, often in the same rooms, and sometimes shared a common identity as members of a plantation "family." But this day-to-day intimacy was progressively

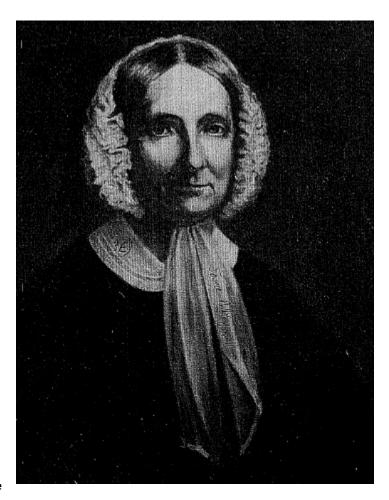
replaced by a stricter regimen of racial segregation that was expressed by greater physical separation. The detached kitchen was an important emblem of hardening social boundaries and the evolving society created by slaveholders that increasingly demanded clearer definitions of status, position, and authority.

The slaves who worked at the master's house were also blended into the household. One



50 Reenactment of Slave Working on Plantation

Georgia slaveholder went so far as to suggest that domestic slaves should develop a special visual demeanor that he labeled a "house look." Not only was there little room within the confines of the Big House or its grounds for slaves to carve out spaces of their own, but the desire among house slaves to have their own space was less insistent. According to the testimony of former slaves, field hands were considerably more rebellious, being twice as likely as house servants to run away and four times more likely to have a verbal confrontation with their master or mistress.⁴²



51 Emeline Briscoe

⁴² Vlach, John Michael. *Back of the Big House: the Architecture of Plantation Slavery*. Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1993.



52 Reenactment of Slave completing domestic task

When upper-class plantation wives like Martha Jefferson spoke of keeping house—making soap, brewing beer, and the like—what they were really saying is that they supervised the slave women who actually performed the physical labor these tasks entailed. It is a safe bet that Martha Jefferson did not stir boiling pots of lye to make soap, or empty hops into containers to make beer. She may have tried her hand at a few domestic tasks as a lark, but certainly one of the points of having slaves was to relieve oneself of the drudgery of actually having to make a cake or cook the family meal under conditions far removed from modern standards. Cooking in the eighteenth century was a hazardous operation, involving much heavy lifting and open-fire ovens.

This arduous task would not have been Martha Jefferson's responsibility, although her household accounts during her marriage record how much soap she made, how much beer she brewed. Isaac Jefferson remembered her standing with a cookbook reading instructions to his mother, who actually baked the cakes. It is also likely that Martha stood giving instructions to the Hemings women, some her half sisters, who performed the tasks that helped her provide a comfortable existence for her husband [Thomas Jefferson] and children.43

b. As the "Mammy"

Through the whole fall and winter so far, one or more of the children have been almost constantly sick, though until within the last three weeks their sickness has been comparatively light but since that time six of them have been down, most of them ill, and some right unto death; indeed on Tuesday and Wednesday last it was thought Chapman could not possibly live. He was attacked on Monday with congestive fever, and was for two days & nights following without the smallest prospect of recovery, suffering the whole time the greatest agony. The good Lord however has seen fit to restore him in part, and will I hope soon place him on his feet again. Your aunt and myself have not had our clothes off for the last week or ten days, and Henry and Chapman still require us to up with them at night. Little Jenny is still very feeble and far from being well. Little Dave, Sally and Addy are the others that were last sick.

> Walter Hanson Briscoe to his daughter, Margaret A. Briscoe February 17, 1846

⁴³ Gordon-Reed, Annette. "The Hemingses of Monticello: An American Family." The Hemingses of Monticello: an American Family, W.W. Norton, 2009.

Little Addy is so sickly that it requires all my care for her at night and the other children take your Aunt's attention for since last May we have not been clear of sickness. Sometimes three of the children at a time in your Aunt's room. Tell Nannie Little Addy is thought very much like her she is the whitest little creature I ever saw.

Emeline W. Briscoe to her daughter, Margaret A Briscoe March 9th 1846

In the early 1730s, a young black woman named Dolly came to work in the Comingtee big house. Elias's second wife had three children at the time, and Dolly probably helped with the young ones, cleaned house, and cooked. A little homage to Dolly appears in the published Ball memoir. "Perhaps the name that stands out above the others is 'Dolly,'" wrote one of the Ball women at the beginning of the twentieth century. "We know little about her, but enough to show that she was well thought of in the family. Perhaps she had 'minded' the children, and been a faithful nurse in illness. The ministrations of such humble friends of the family—they were surely no less—have soothed many a bed of suffering; and in death their hands have tenderly performed the last offices."

It seems strange that the name of a slave would evoke sentimental memories in the family of her owners some 150 years after her death. Just as strange is the aside "We know little about her," which seems to contradict the familiarity of the memory.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Ball, Edward. *Slaves in the Family*. New York: Farra, Straus and Giroux, 1998. Print.



53 The Briscoes and Eliza Plater at Sotterley, Circa 1875

Those house servants so trained became servants who, according to this proslavery argument, were well cared for, even through old age. Thomas Cobb thought this one of the most beneficial aspects of slavery. Once a slave became part of the "white family," that slave was cared for through the aged and infirm years.

Who was the black Mammy? What did she do and how did she do it? Most of what we know about Mammy comes from memoirs written after the Civil War. The descriptions are written with a certainty and definitiveness that seem to defy question. According to these accounts, Mammy was the woman who could do anything, and do it better than anyone else. Because of her expertise in all domestic matters, she was the premier house servant and all others were her subordinates. Thus, Susan Bradford Eppes grew up on a Florida plantation where Mammy was selected for "her worth and reliability." Her authority extended to all the "subnurses" and she ruled them with a "rod of iron." Louisa Campbell Sheppard described Mary, the Mammy on her father's Missouri plantation, as a cook who not only ruled supreme in the kitchen, but who was the general superintendent of the younger servants as well. Susan Dabney Smedes, the

daughter of a wealthy Virginia planter, characterized Mammy Maria as a "field marshall who gave out work and taught the plantation women to sew." Similarly, in her description of social life in New Orleans, Eliza Ripley recalled that Mammy was a supernumerary" who, after the children grew up, "managed the whole big and mixed household." In her father's house, everyone was made to understand that "all applications" were to go through Mammy Charlotte. "Nobody thought to go to the judge or his wife for anything... if they required anything from a riding horse to a fresh stick on the fire, from a mint julep to a bedroom candle, they had only to call Charlotte. She was never beyond the reach of a summons day or night."

In these and similar sources, Mammy is especially remembered for her love of her young white charges. Mrs. Smedes did not think Mammy "could be angry more than a minute with her white children." On the White Hill plantation in Virginia Mammy seemed to be always around to humor and protect. "No cry from the school room escaped her ears," for Mammy was always there to defend "her children." For Susan Eppes it was Mammy who stood between her "honey chile' and the cold, cold world."

Considering Mammy's supposed intimate involvement in all aspects of domestic life in the Big House, it is not surprising that she was thought of as someone special, not just another house slave. Thus, in accounts of Mammy, her occupation is infused with great emotion. "Hers was a case of both greatness thrust upon one and of greatness achieved," said Susan Smedes of Mammy Maria. "Mammy was an out and out aristocrat," reported Mrs. Eppes. Anyone "who to her mind did not come strictly up to the mark" was discouraged from associating with her "nurslings." Herself a model of politeness, she tolerated "not the least touch of vulgarity." Her favorite admonition, recorded Eppes, was "you ain't got no call ter say dat – you ain't no pore white trash – nor no nigger nuther – take yer finger out yore mouth – held up your hed an' don't forgit yore manners." The Mammy on the White Hill estate also drew comparisons between "niggers" and "white-folks." According to one of her charges, Mammy was "exclusive and had never encouraged our playing with the young negroes." In fact, she concluded, "her nature was passionate." So respected was Mammy that she often served as friend and advisor to master and mistress. Susan Smedes recalled that her father never returned from the field without stopping to talk to Grannie Harriet. "He consulted her

about his plantation affairs as did no one else and her judgment was so sound that he relied on it."

Ex-slaves also remembered Mammy. Drucilla Martin recalled that her mother was in full charge of the house and all "Marse" children.

This, therefore, is the broad outline of Mammy. She was a woman completely dedicated to the white family, especially to the children of that family. She was the house servant who was given complete charge of domestic management. She served also as friend and advisor. She was, in short, surrogate mistress and mother.



54 Eliza Plater, Sotterley's Portico, Circa 1875

The Mammy image is fully as misleading as that of Jezebel. Both images have just enough grounding in reality to lend credibility to stereotypes that would profoundly affect

black women. For instance, most house servants were, indeed, female. Black women served in all capacities, from cook to waiting maid, from wet nurse to mantua maker, or seamstress. In very wealthy Southern households there were many female servants. While the Mammy tradition is usually associated with upper-class whites, black women also served in less wealthy households, though they were not as numerous, and they sometimes doubled as field workers. Children in these homes could become just as attached to female servants as children of wealthier families, and in their adult years when they laid claim to the status that went along with having had a black Mammy they could do so with some credibility.

If the Mammy myth is grounded in the reality of black female house service, the idyllic aspect of the myth also gains support from the fact that house service was less physically demanding than field work, and very often translated into better care for housemaids involved. Hard as cleaning, cooking, sewing, dairy work, and child care were, they were not as physically taxing as a sun up to sun down day in the crop. On the whole, house women could expect to eat better, dress better, and get better medical care than field women, if only because they were more familiar to the master and mistress, not to mention nearer to the kitchen and potential hand-me-downs. Some women were given relatively exceptional wedding services, others were allowed an opportunity, rare for slave women, to leave the plantation as waiting maid for their traveling mistresses. Still others were taught to read and write by members of the white family. Furthermore, genuine affection sometimes developed between the white children and house servants on Southern plantations and farms. There was, therefore, much in the reality of house service on which to base a romantic view of female household help. Such a view required that some of the uglier and perverse aspects be overlooked. If, as Eliza Riply claimed, Mammy Charlotte was never beyond a summons day or night, then Mammy Charlotte was a very tired woman. Indeed house servants were on call at all hours. They probably had less private time than field workers. They were always under the scrutiny of the white family and far more subject to their mood swings, particularly to those of the mistress, angry at who knows what, who could swing an open palm or closed first in their direction. Obsequious behavior was, therefore, more of a must for them, and the pretty, even the comely, could never rest easy once the master's sons

reached puberty, or the master himself developed a roving eye. That roving eye, of course, presented a problem that is ignored in romantic views of female house service. As noted earlier, there was conflict between black and white women in many antebellum households. Conflict precipitated by the indiscretions of white men did little to contribute to smooth household management.



55 Reenactment of Slave Ironing

In fact, the complaints of many white women give rise to questions about how smoothly Southern households functioned. One would think that with efficient and tireless Mammies around, wealthy Southern women would lead lives of leisure. However, during her visit to America, Harriet Martineau found the opposite to be the case. All too often it was the Southern mistress, not a female slave, who carried the keys of the household.

The Mammy legend, why was the image of this domestic necessary at all and why did the image take the form it did? In order to answer the latter question one has to consider the period in American history when the first comprehensive descriptions of Mammy appear, namely during the thirty or so years prior to the Civil War. As advisor and confidante, surrogate mistress and mother, as one who was tough, diplomatic, efficient, and resourceful, Mammy was not merely a female slave housekeeper who identified more with her master than her fellow slaves. The image of Mammy taking care of the children, performing and supervising household chores, lending an ear and offering advice to the master, mistress, and white children, was in keeping with the maternal or Victorian ideal of womanhood prevalent in nineteenth-century America. The maternal ideal achieved its quintessential expression in the writings of the midnineteenth century. Women, according to the prevailing Victorian image, were supremely virtuous, pious, tender, and understanding. Although women were also idealized as virgins, wives, and Christians, it was above all as mothers that women were credited with social influence as the chief transmitters of religious and moral values. Other female roles – wife, charity worker, teacher, sentimental writer – were in large part culturally defined as extensions of motherhood, all similarly regarded as nurturing, empathetic, and morally directive.

In antebellum South this ideal found expression in writings that delineated the virtues of the farm wife. This genre cautioned women against too much fashion and too many leisure pastimes and ornamental attainments. The proper woman was one who made the home her primary sphere, who was a helpmate to her husband, who raised her children according to Christian principles, who knew how to cook, sew, and garden. If Mammy stands apart from the moral mother tradition she does so on at least two points. The children and household upon which she lavished her attentions were, of course, not her own. There was room for black women in the Victorian tradition only to the extent that Mammy's energies were expended on whites. The other distinct feature about Mammy was her advanced age. This is probably explained by the fact that age is understood in both absolute and relative terms. A sixty-year-old woman may be considered old by some standards, yet to a child a twenty-year-old is also old. Mammies were always older than their charges and when white children reached adulthood and recorded their remembrances they were likely to remember Mammy as elderly.



 $56\ \hbox{"Mammy"}$ and Master's family in Charlotte, North Carolina

The slave woman's status in the slave community seems to have increased with old age as a consequence of her service as caretaker of children, nurse, and midwife. For many men this period was marked by decreased status because they no longer had the stamina and strength to perform physically demanding tasks and were sometimes reduced to doing such traditional female chores as spinning and child care. Many older craftsmen found themselves replaced by younger, more energetic, and nimble slave artisans. Yet, as a woman aged, she grew more knowledgeable in nurturing and "doctoring" and more experienced.



57 Enslaved woman with Master and family

Although many senior women were put to work spinning, weaving, or sewing, their most common occupation, caring for the children of parents who worked in the field or the house, reinforced the importance of the mother role. Every morning young mothers could be seen taking or sending their children to the old "grannies" who looked after the children during the day. Frederick Olmsted visited a few of these plantation nurseries and was impressed at how well the elderly women handled their responsibilities. On a rice plantation in Georgia's tidewater region he found a "kind looking old negro woman" with "philoprogenitiveness well developed." Although the woman seemed to pay little attention to the children, except to chide the older ones for laughing or singing too loud, for the half hour he watched "not a baby of them began to cry." The same was true at two or three other plantation nurseries he visited.

Mature women also served as nurses and midwives, and often the "granny" who ran the nursery was the same person who had brought most of her charges into the world.⁴⁵

One of the key figures in the white child's socialization was the ubiquitous black mammy to whom he frequently turned for love and security. It was the black mammy who often ran the household, interceded with his parents to protect him, punished him for misbehavior, nursed him, rocked him to sleep, told him fascinating stories, and in general served as his second, more attentive, more loving mother. The mammy's influence on her white charge's thought, behavior, language, and personality is inestimable.⁴⁶

E. THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF SOTTERLEY'S ENSLAVED POPULATION

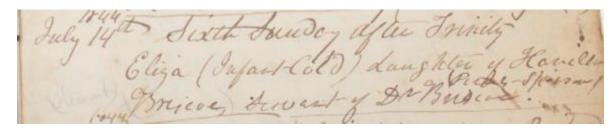
Samuel Baldwin: It is undisputed that Dr. Briscoe was a leader of the Episcopalian St. Andrew's Church. He occupied the first pew in the Church and his slaves occupied the balcony in the back of the Church. The fact that he had his enslaved population involved in the Episcopalian faith is established by a review of the St. Andrew's Church records kept by Reverend Johnson.

Baptisms

Sept Bapties in hekness a led I infant

Transcription: 1843, Sept.

Baptized in sickness a col'd [colored] infant at Mr. Chapman Billingsley;

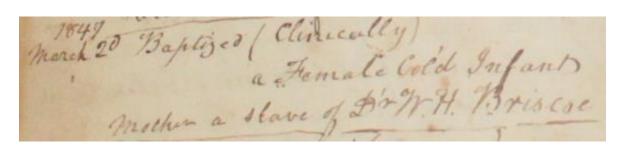


⁴⁵ White, Deborah Gray. Aren't I a Woman? New York, New York: Norton Books, 1985.

⁴⁶ Blassingame, John Wesley. *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South.* New York: Oxford, 1981. Print.

Transcription: 1844 Sixth Sunday after Trinity

July 14th Eliza (Infant c'old) daughter Hamilton, servant of Dr. Briscoe (Parents – loving sponsors)



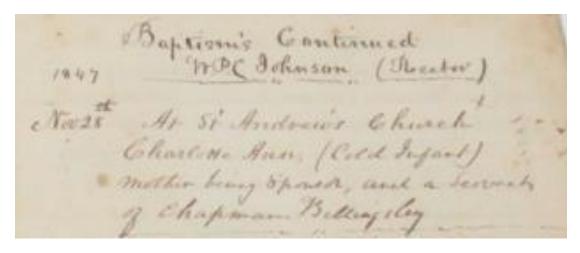
Transcription:

1847

March 2nd Baptized (Clinically⁴⁷)

A female col'd infant

Mother a slave of Dr. W. H. Briscoe



Transcription:

Baptisms Continued

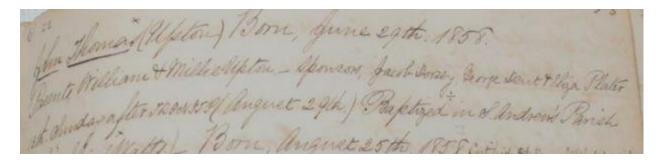
⁴⁷ Meaning on a deathbed.

WPC Johnson (Rector)

1847

Nov 28th At St Andrew's Church

Charlotte Ann (col'd infant) mother being sponsor and a servant of Chapman Billingsley



Transcription:

X⁴⁸ John Thomas (Upton) Born June 29th

Parents William & Michelle Upton

Sponsors Jacob Dorsey, George Dent, & Eliza Plater

13th Sunday after Trinity (August 29th) Baptized in S. Andrew's Parish

Confirmations

William Samerville John Naylor John Wilson Samuel Bowles Jame Wilson John Wilson

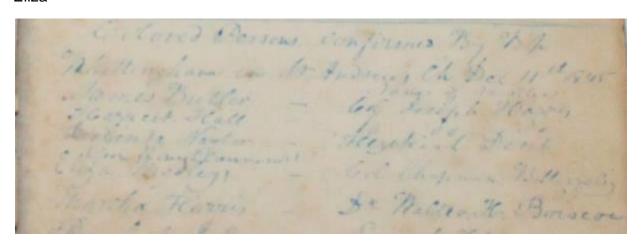
⁴⁸ According to this church book, the letter "x" signifies "colored"

Transcription:

Confirmed by Bishop Whittingham November 22nd 1840

Colored Persons

Eliza



Confirmed in St. Andrew's Ch St. Andrew's Parish by Bishop Whittingham Thursday December 11th 1845

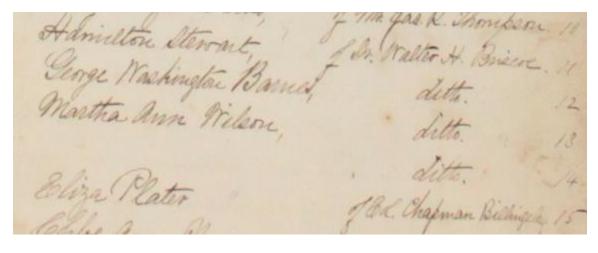
Colored Persons Confirmed

Eliza Medley

Col Chapman Billingsley

Martha Harris

Dr. Walter H. Briscoe



1857 Communicants

Colored

November 29th

1st Sunday in Advent

Hamilton Stewart of Dr. Walter H. Briscoe

George Washington Barnes ditto

Martha Ann Wilson ditto

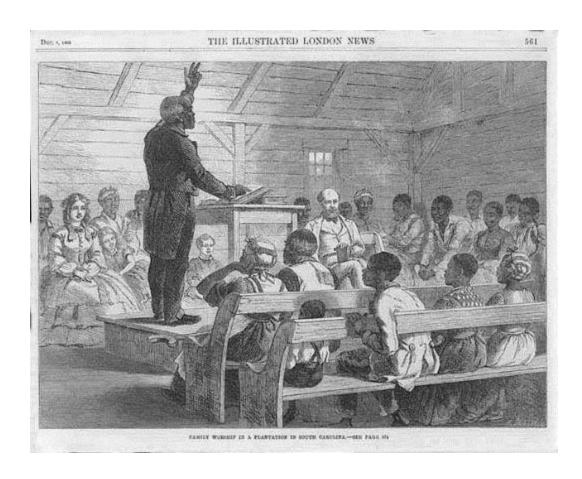
Eliza Plater of Col Chapman Billingsley⁴⁹

Once planters decided that they needed to monitor the physical condition of their slaves, it was but a small step for some of them to attend to their slaves' spiritual wellbeing as well. In fact, it was widely accepted among the planter class that religion could have a calming influence on the slave population, significantly lowering the risk of potential rebellions and thus making slaves more compliant and productive workers. Religion, in the minds of many slaveowners, was an instrument of social control. This point of view is reflected in the testimony of Lucretia Alexander, whose former master hired ministers expressly to preach docility and obedience: "The preacher came and preached to them [the slaves] in their quarters. He'd just say, 'Serve your masters. Don't steal your master's turkey. Don't steal your master's chickens. Don't steal your master's hogs. Don't steal your master's meat. Do whatsomeever your master tell you to do.' Same old thing all de time." Alexander also recalled that later in the same day her father would conduct a private service in the slave quarters that included "real preachin'," with a message of optimism and liberation that the slaves found more uplifting and hence more valuable. Such services have been labeled as manifestations of an "invisible institution" because they were often conducted in secret. 50

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⁴⁹ St. Andrew's Parish Church Records

⁵⁰ Vlach, John Michael. *Back of the Big House: the Architecture of Plantation Slavery*. Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1993.



58 Family Worship in a Plantation in South Carolina

Another instrument used to control the minds of the slaves was religion. No slave owner allowed his slaves to attend church by themselves, fearing that they would use the opportunity to plan an insurrection rather than thank God that they had such "good" masters. So, the slave owner either did the preaching himself or hired a white preacher, or let a trusted slave preach. The only preaching a slave owner approved of was that which would make the slave happy to be a slave.⁵¹

This the way it go: Be nice to massa and missus; don't be mean; be obedient, and work hard. That was all the Sunday school lesson they taught us.

West Turner

The Negro in Virginia

In Missouri, and as far as I have any knowledge of slavery in the other states, the religious teaching consists of teaching the slave that he must never strike a white man; that God made him for a slave; and that, when whipped, he must not find fault—for the

⁵¹ Lester, Julius, and Tom Feelings. *To Be a Slave*. New York: Dial, 1968. Print.

Bible says, "He that knoweth his master's will and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes!" And slaveholders find such religion very profitable to them. ⁵²

"Poor creatures! You little consider, when you are idle and neglectful of your masters' business, when you steal, and waste, and hurt any of their substance, when you are saucy and impudent, when you are telling them lies and deceiving them, or when you prove stubborn and sullen, and will not do the work you are set about without stripes and vexation,--you do not consider, I say, that what faults you are guilty of towards your masters and mistresses are faults done against God Himself, who hath set your masters and mistresses over you in His own stead, and expects that you would do for them just as you would do for Him.... Your masters and mistresses are God's overseers, and that, if you are faulty towards them, God Himself will punish you severely for it in the next world, unless you repent of it, and strive to make amends by your faithfulness and diligence for the time to come.

Sermon of a white preacher to Virginia slaves Olmstead.

Few slaves found arguments of this kind very convincing. However, from this religion which was preached to them they took what they needed and could use. They fashioned their own kind of Christianity, which they turned to for strength in the constant times of need. In the Old Testament story of the enslavement of the Hebrews by the Egyptians, they found their own story. In the figure of Jesus Christ, they found someone who had suffered as they suffered, someone who understood, someone who offered them rest from their suffering. They so transformed the religion of the slave owner that eventually they came to look down upon the white preachers and white religious services.

"That ol' white preachin' wasn't nothing'.... Ol' white preacher used to talk with their tongues without saying nothing', but Jesus told us slaves to talk with our hearts."

Nancy William

The Negro in Virginia.

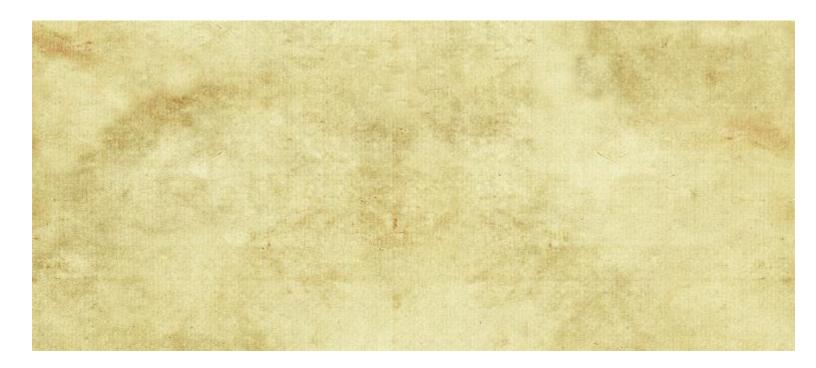
⁵² Brown, Deneen L. "Before the Lovings, Another Fight for Mixed-race Marriage." The Washington Post 12 June 2017, sec. B:4.



59 Unidentified

Religion also presented the slaves with the idea that they would receive their reward after they died. This appealed to their minds, but they weren't necessarily convinced that the way to the promised heaven was through obedience to their owners. And sometimes they questioned the nature of that life after death and the heaven it promised. The slave thought of heaven, but just as he made the white man's religion his own, he had his own heaven.

Uncle Silas was near 'bout a hundred, I reckon—too feeble to do no work, but always got strength enough to hobble to church when the slave service gonna be. Ol' preacher was Reverend Johnson—forget the rest of his name. He was a-preachin' and the slaves was sittin' there sleepin' and fannin' theyselves with oak branches, and Uncle Silas got up in the front row of the slave's pew and halted Reverend Johnson. "Is us slaves gonna be free in Heaven?" Uncle Silas asked. The preacher stopped and looked at Uncle Silas like he wanta kill him, 'cause no one ain't supposed to say nothing except "Amen" while he was preaching. Waited a minute he did, lookin' hard at Uncle Silas standin' there, but didn't give no answer. "Is God gonna free us slaves when we get to Heaven?" Uncle Silas yelled. Ol' white preacher pulled his handkerchief and wiped the sweat from his face. "Jesus says come unto Me ye who are free from sin and I will give you salvation." "Gonna give us freedom 'long with salvation?" ask Uncle Silas. "The Lord gives and the Lord takes away, and he that is without sin is going to have life everlasting." Then he went ahead preachin', fast-like, without paying no attention to Uncle Silas. But Uncle Silas wouldn't sit down; stood there the rest of the service, he did, and that was the glast time he come to church. Uncle Silas died before another preachin' time come around. Guess he found out whether he gonna be free sooner than he calculated to.



The slaves who are natives of this country believe that those who have tormented them here will most surely be tormented in their turn hereafter. They are ready enough to receive the faith which conducts them to heaven and eternal rest on account of their present sufferings; but they by no means so willingly admit the master and mistress to an equal participation in their enjoyments. According to their notions, the master and mistress are to be, in future, the companion of wicked slaves, whilst an agreeable recreation of the celestial inhabitants of the negro's heaven will be a return to the overseer of the countless lashes that he has lent out so liberally here.

It is impossible to reconcile the mind of the native slave to the idea of living in a state of perfect equality and boundless affection with the white people. Heaven will be no heaven to him if he is not to be avenged of his enemies. I know from experience that these are the fundamental rules of his religious creed because I learned them in the religious meetings of the slaves themselves.⁵³

The slave had many means of resisting the dehumanizing effects of slavery. Religion became one of them. It became a purifying force in the life of the slaves, a

⁵³ Ball, Edward. *Slaves in the Family*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998. Print.

release from the everyday misery. And through the religious songs they made up from Biblical stories, they expressed their real feelings about slavery.

Didn't my Lord deliver Daniel, Deliver Daniel, deliver Daniel? Didn't my Lord deliver Daniel, Then why not every man?

He delivered Daniel from the lion's den, Jonah from the belly of the whale, The Hebrew children from the fiery furnace, Then why not every man?

Joshua fit the battle of Jericho, Jericho, Jericho. Joshua fit the battle of Jericho, And the walls come tumbling down.

And in one of the greatest black religious songs, the slaves took the story of Samson, and with their genius for going to the core of an experience, they put these words into Samson's mouth and expressed their deepest feelings.

If I had my way,
If I had my way,
If I had my way,
I'd tear this building down.

The slaves begged the privilege of again meeting at their little church in the woods, with their burying around it. It was built by the colored people, and they had no higher happiness than to meet there and sing hymns together and pour out their hearts in spontaneous prayer. Their request was denied, and their church was demolished. They were permitted to attend the white churches; a certain portion of the galleries being appropriated for their use. There, when everybody else had partaken of the communion and the benediction had been pronounced, the minister said, "Come down, now, my colored friends." They obeyed the summons, and partook of the bread and wine, in

commemoration of the meek and lowly Jesus, who said, "God is your father, and ye are all brethren."

When the Rev. Mr. Pike came, there were some twenty present. The reverend gentleman knelt in prayer, then seated himself, and requested all present, who could read, to open their books, while he gave the portions he wished them to repeat or respond to. His text was, "Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ." Pious Mr. Pike brushed up his hair till it stood upright, and in deep, solemn tones, began: "Hearken, ye servants! Give strict heed unto my words. You are rebellious sinners. Your hearts are filled with all manner of evil. 'Tis the devil who tempts you. God is angry with you, and will surely punish you, if you don't forsake your wicked ways. You that live in town are eye-servants behind your master's back. Instead of serving your masters faithfully, which is pleasing in the sight of your heavenly Master, you are idle, and shirk your work. God sees. You tell lies. God hears you. Instead of being engaged worshipping him, you are hidden away somewhere, feasting on your masters' substance; tossing coffee grounds with some wicked fortuneteller, or cutting cards with another old hag. Your masters may not find you out, but God sees you and will punish you. O, the depravity of your hearts! When your master's work is done, are you quietly together, thinking of the goodness of God to such sinful creatures! No: you are quarrelling, and tying up little bags of roots to bury under the door-steps to poison each other with. God sees you. You men steal away to every grog shop to sell your master's corn that you may buy rum to drink. God sees you. You sneak into the back streets, or among the bushes, to pitch coppers. Although your masters may not find you out, God sees you; and he will punish you. You must forsake your sinful ways and be faithful servants. Obey your old master and your young master- your old mistress and your young mistress. If you disobey your earthly master, you offend your heavenly master. You must obey God's commandments. When you go from here, don't stop at the corners of the streets to talk, but go directly home, and let you master and mistress see that you have come." The benediction was pronounced. We went home, highly

amused at brother Pike's gospel teaching, and we determined to hear him again. I went to the next Sabbath evening, and heard pretty much a repetition of the last discourse.

I well remember one occasion when I attended a Methodist class meeting. I went with a burdened spirit, and happened to sit next to a poor, bereaved mother, whose heart was still heavier than mine. The class leader was the town constable- a man who bought and sold slaves, who whipped his brethren and sisters of church at the public whipping post, in jail or out of jail. He was ready to perform that Christian office anywhere for fifty cents. This white faced, black hearted brother came near us, and said to the stricken woman, "Sister, can't you tell us how the Lord deals with your soul? Do you love Him as you did formerly?" She rose to her feet, and said, in piteous tones, "My Lord and my Master help me! My load is more than I can bear. God has hid himself from me, and I am left in darkness and misery." Then, striking her breast, she continued, "I can't tell you what is in here! They've got all my children. Last week they took the last one. God only knows where they've sold her. They let me have sixteen years, and then- O! O! Pray for me brothers and sisters! I've got nothing to live for now. God make my time short!" She sat down, quivering in every limb. I saw that the constable class leader become crimson in the face with suppressed laughter, while he held up his handkerchief, that those who were weeping for the poor woman's calamity might not see his merriment. Then with assumed gravity, he said to the bereaved mother, "Sister, pray to the Lord that every dispensation of his divine will may be sanctified to the good of your poor needy soul!"

Chino

-By W.H. Briscoe

[&]quot;I hereby certify that the following negroes now taxed to me are either dead or sold. Martha 16 sold to trader."



60 St. Andrew's Church

The Episcopal Clergyman, who, ever since my earliest recollection, had been a sort of god among the slaveholders, concluded, as his family was large, that he must go where money was more abundant. A very different clergyman took his place. The change was very agreeable to the colored people, who said, "God has sent us a good man this time." They loved him, and their children followed him for a smile or a kind word. Even the slaveholders felt his influence. He brought to the rectory five slaves. His wife taught them to read and write, and to be useful to her and themselves. As soon as he was settled, he turned his attention to the needy slaves around him. He urged upon his parishioners the duty of having a meeting expressly for them every Sunday, with a sermon adapted to their comprehension. After much argument and importunity, it was finally agreed they might occupy the gallery of the church on Sunday evenings. Hitherto unaccustomed to attend church, now gladly went to hear the gospel preached. The sermons were simple, and they understood them. Moreover, it was the first time they had been ever been addressed as human beings. It was not long before his white parishioners began to be dissatisfied. He was accused of preaching better sermons to the negros than he did to them. He honestly confessed that he bestowed more pains upon those sermons than upon any others; for the slaves were reared in such ignorance that it was a difficult task to adapt himself to their comprehension. Dissensions arose in the parish. Some wanted him to preach to them in the morning and to the slaves in the afternoon.

54





Figure 62 Interior of St. Andrew's Church

Figure 61 Front door of St. Andrew's Church

When going to church, Dr. Briscoe and his family walked in the front door to sit in the first pew. Dr. Briscoe's slaves walked in through the side door to sit in the balcony.

⁵⁴ http://webdevstandrews.org/Images/Photo-Gallery

F. THE ENSLAVED'S BURIAL GROUNDS



63 Slave Burial Ceremony

Agnes Kane Callum:

And I found many of my family's baptismal records in the church, St. Andrew's church records;

And then my great-grandfathers supposedly buried in the churchyard. Of course, there's no marker. I have not found any indication that he is. But I had several relatives to take me to a spot down under the hill, a little bit away from the church to show

me he's buried in this area. But it's no indication. And then the church did not keep all blacks' internment records. I think sometimes that we, blacks, were so insignificant that the whites thought that they didn't have to keep a record. Like you're nothing', you know? So maybe they did have records. Maybe they threw 'em in a trash can.⁵⁵

Dr. Briscoe and his family were buried in the cemetery with large headstones close to the church's front doors. Dr. Briscoe's slaves were buried in the woods in what are now unmarked graves. Contrasted with Eliza Plater's unmarked burial spot here is the final resting place of several of the Briscoes at St. Andrew's Church. Resting here are: Jeannette, Mary, Eleanor, Sallie, and Susan, Dr. Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe and his wife, Emeline, and their son, Walter Jr.

⁵⁵ CBS Sunday Morning Transcript Interview: Agnes Kane Callum and John Hanson Briscoe by Terry Smith. October 1996.

According to Agnes Callum, Hillary Kane was a slave born around 1818 in lower St. Clement Hundred, St. Mary's County, Maryland. His first wife, Mariah Morgan Kane, a slave who was related to the Mahoneys of Bushwood, St. Mary's County Maryland, died around 1851. She is buried in the unmarked graveyard at Sotterley Plantation.

Matilda Kane, a slave born around 1856, died sometime after the Civil War of tuberculosis and she is buried in the unmarked slave graveyard on Sotterley according to oral research by Julian Kane Jordan and Philip Moten Kane.

Temperance Kane was a slave born around 1858. The date of her death is not known but through oral history research it is believed that she died after the Civil War of tuberculosis and is buried in the unmarked slave graveyard on Sotterley.

Evelina had four children before she died about 1876. The burial place of Evelina is believed to be at St. Andrew's Cemetery, in an unmarked grave, but some of the older members of the Kane family said that they have heard tales of a grave yard for slaves on Sotterley. It is supposed to be located not far from the slave quarters and near a stream. ⁵⁶ A picture of the possible slave graveyard is located on page 32 of "The John Hanson Historical Book Project: Chapter Four—Equals at Last."

(http://www.baldwinbriscoe.com/sd/documentlib/equals%20at%20last%201.pdf)

In death as in life, tradition and custom were carefully observed. Usually, Anthony Burns recalled, burial took place on the day of death, while the funeral would be preached one year later. Crudely constructed coffins were painted with whatever kind of color of paint was available. Laid to rest in a potter's field, the "dead bodies of the slaves never mingled their dust with that of the sovereign race." A rough stone gathered from the roadside was the deceased's only monument. Henry Bibb felt that less care was "taken of their dead bodies than if they were dumb beasts."

For example, Henry Watson wrote that before the burial, straw was placed in the makeshift coffin, and, if available, white cloth was wrapped around the body. The coffin

⁵⁶ Callum, Agnes Kane. *Kane-Bulter Genealogy: History of a Black Family*. N.P June 1978. Print.

would be nailed closed, placed in a cart, and carried to the grave. Sometimes the body was left in the blanket in which it had died, placed in a handbarrow and carried to the graveyard.

On some plantations, after the death of a slave, the "quarters" would sing and pray throughout the night. If the deceased was a Christian, his fellow Christian felt, as did Peter Randolph, "very glad, and thanked God that brother Charles, or brother Ned or sister Betsy, is at last free, and gone to heaven where bondage is never known. Some who are left behind cry and grieve that they, too, cannot die and throw off their yoke of slavery, and join the company of the brother or sister who had just gone."

After a last look at the deceased, the funeral procession was formed. Austin Steward recalled that first came the minister and the coffin, followed by the dead slave's family and the master's household. Behind the master were the slaves belonging to the plantation. The last group were the friends, both black and white.



64 Briscoe's Family Burial plot at entrance to St. Andrew's Church



65 Slaves holding burial ceremony for loved one

If several slaves had died a mass funeral was held. On Peter Randolph's plantation all work was suspended until the dead were buried. Any slave from an adjoining plantation who could obtain a pass would come.

Thomas Chaplin, a Sea Island cotton planter on St. Helena Island in Beaufort County, South Carolina, mentions one African-American burial, on May 6, 1850:

Got Uncle Ben's [slave] Paul to make coffin for poor old Anthony. The body begins to smell very bad already, had it put in the coffin as soon as it came. Buried the body alongside of his son about 11 o'clock at night. There were a large number of Negroes from all directions present, I suppose over two hundred.

At another nineteenth century South Carolina slave burial reported by Creel:

The coffin, a rough home-made affair, was placed upon a cart, which was drawn by an old Gray, and the multitudes formed in a line in the rear, marching two deep. The procession was something like a quarter of a mile long. Perhaps every fifteenth person down the line carried an uplifted torch. As the procession moved slowly toward "the lonesome graveyard" down by the side of the swamp, they sung the well-known hymn:

"When I can read my title clear To mansions in the skies, I bid farewell to every fear And wipe my weeping eyes."

.... The corpse was lowered into the grave and covered, each person throwing a handful of dirt into the grave as a last farewell act of kindness to the dead.... A prayer was offered.... This concluded the services at the grave.

Yet another slave burial, on Georgia's Butler Island, was described by Frances Anne Kemble in early 1839:

Yesterday evening the burial of the poor man Shadrack took place.... Just as the twilight was thickening into darkness I went with Mr. Butler to the cottage of one of the slaves... who was to perform the burial service. The coffin was laid on trestles in front of the cooper's cottage, and a large assemblage of the people had gathered round, many of the men carrying pinewood torches... the coffin being taken up, preceded to the people's burial ground....

All of these slave burials are similar. They seem to have invariably taken place at night, possibly to allow slaves from neighboring plantations to attend, but just as likely because no other time was available. This may help explain why so many African-American burials continued to be held on Sundays even into the early twentieth century. All of the accounts suggest that the burials were rather significant affairs, with prayers, singing, and sometimes even an air of a pageant. Sometimes the service was reported to continue until the morning. Many accounts from the mid- and late-nineteenth century reveal that African-Americans were uniformly buried east-west, with the head to the west. One freed slave explained that the dead should not have to turn around when Gabriel blows his trumpet in the eastern sunrise. Others have suggested they were buried facing Africa.

Even where the slaves were buried seems similar. All seem to represent marginal property – land which the planter wasn't likely to use for other purposes. The burial spots have been described as "ragged patches of live-oak and palmetto and brier tangle which throughout the Islands are a sign of graves within, -- graves scattered without symmetry, and often without headstones or head-boards, or sticks...." A more recent researcher, Elsie Clews Parsons, observes that the African-American cemeteries were:

hidden away in remote spots among trees and underbrush. In the middle of some fields are islands of large trees the owners preferred not to make arable, because of the exhaustive work of clearing it. Old graves are now in among these trees and surrounding underbrush.

Graves were marked in a variety of ways besides wood or stone slabs. Sometimes unusual carved wooden staffs, thought perhaps to represent religious motifs or effigies, were used. Some graves were marked using plants, such as cedars or yuccas, and anthropologists have suggested this tradition may reflect an African belief in the living spirit. This tradition can be traced at least to Haiti, where blacks, probably mixing Christian religion with African beliefs, explain that, "trees live after, death is not the end." Yuccas and other "prickly" plants may also have been used "to keep the spirits" in the cemetery. Other graves were marked with pieces of iron pipe, railroad iron, or any other convenient object.⁵⁷



66 Enslaved's Graveyard in the woods at Sotterley

Very few slave burial grounds have ever been located in areas such as Southern Maryland and Virginia. Dr. Yvonne Edwards-Ingram, an archaeologist working at Colonial Williamsburg who has focused a great deal on colonial African and African-

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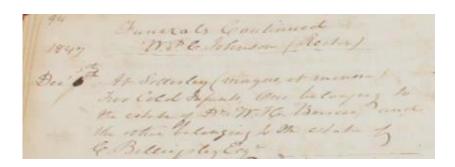
⁵⁷ Grave Matters: the Preservation of African-American Cemeteries. Chicora Foundation, 1996.

Atlantic archaeology and anthropology, writes on the difficulty in locating African-American burial sites that "while the burial places of many white residents are known and have survived... the racial enslavement of blacks must be seen as a pertinent factor contributing to the overall absence of highly-visible sites of African American burials." Locating an African and African-American slave burial ground in Maryland, would then, as these have been so notoriously difficult to locate, put Sotterley in an almost unique position of being able to identify an area where slave burials in Maryland or Virginia took place. It is true that this would make any information which could be garnered from the study of the site incredibly valuable. The other impacts which the discovery of a slave burial ground at Sotterley could have, however, are perhaps even more important. Having another site known to be directly associated with the enslaved community at Sotterley, as is the case with the slave cabin, would also allow visitors another opportunity to make deeper connections to the information that they are given about the slaves, to some extent. It would also hopefully provide closure to descendants of Sotterley's slaves, as well as an important site for remembrance and contemplation of the history of slavery in Maryland. It is thus crucial for several reasons that, because the location of such a large and important part of Sotterley's history may have been identified, every possible effort to investigate this site and determine whether or not this is the case be made.

Some have questioned whether or not the burial ground was used only for slaves due to the presence of the cedar trees and the claim that the site was reportedly fenced-in. One archaeologist at Historic St. Mary's City had reportedly "never heard of a fenced-in burial ground for slaves" like the one described by Sotterley, meaning that, if the site truly was fenced in, individuals other than slaves may have been buried there. The fact that people other than slaves may have been buried on the site does not detract from the likelihood that the site is a burial ground. There is therefore still good reason to investigate Sotterley's claim that a burial site has been located. An attempt to determine whether or not this is the case, if not more reason—exploring the site could

reveal not only whether or not a burial ground is present, but insight into whether or not the site was only used by slaves, for the burial of slaves.⁵⁸

The listing of Sotterley as a cemetery, in St. Andrew's Church Records, is due to the fact that rather than burying the slaves at St. Andrews proper, it was simply easier for Dr. Briscoe to bury his former slaves at the plantation. Even after Emancipation, many former slaves of Sotterley were buried on the plantation. This is due to the fact that some former slaves remained at the site as laborers, and wished to be buried with their relatives as evidenced by the fact that the slave cabin, which is still standing today, was permanently occupied as late as 1920 (Spinner 1996). ⁵⁹



Transcription:

Funerals Continued

WPC Johnson (Rector)

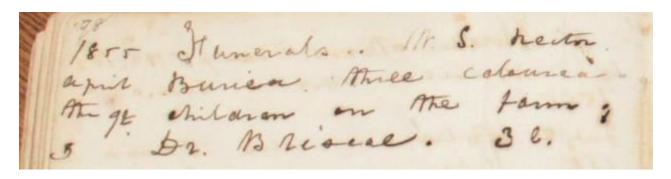
1847

Dec 5th – At Sotterley (magno et [unintelligible])

Two col'd [colored] infants one belonging to the estate of Dr.Briscoe and the other belonging to the estate of C Billingsley Esq.

⁵⁸ La Rocco, Carolyn. Research into the Location of Slave Burial Grounds at Sotterley Plantation Summer 2014

⁵⁹ For more information about the location and identification of Sotterley's graveyard, see Chapter 7 "Site's Unseen"



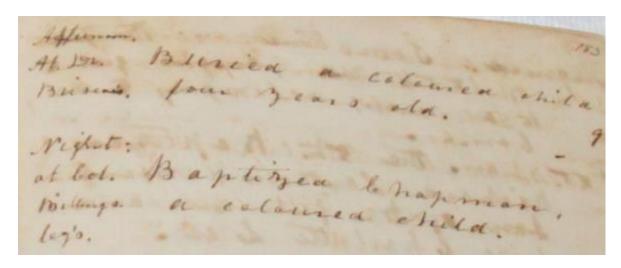
Transcription:

1855 April the 9th

Funerals

Buried three coloured children on the farm of

Dr. Briscoe.



Transcription:

Oct 15th

Afternoon at Dr. Briscoe's

Buried a colored child four years old.

Night at Col. Billingsley's

Baptized Chapman a coloured child.60

⁶⁰ St. Andrew's Parish Church Records

G. THE ENSLAVED'S FAMILY AND THEIR DESCENDANTS

According to Agnes Kane Callum, everything seemed to have gone well for Hillery Kane and his family, that is as well as could be expected for a slave. It was in 1848 that the disaster struck that every slaved feared. The master, James J. Gough died. Less than seven months after James J. Gough died, Hillery was sold to Col. Chapman Billingsley. Seven months after he was sold, his wife and children were sold to Dr. Walter Hanson Briscoe.

The Kanes were the first items disposed of in the liquidation of the estate of James J. Gough. They were put on the slave block in Leonardtown, the county seat. Mariah and her children's home at Sotterley was one of the slave cabins on the huge plantation called the 'quarters'. Mariah lived about four years after she arrived at Sotterley. About two years after Mariah died, Hillery married Alice Elsa Bond from Dr. Biscoe's Sotterley. It has not been determined whether Dr. Biscoe acquired Alice Elsa specifically for Hillery's wife or if he already owned her. Hillery lived on the plantation of his owner, Col. Chapman Billingsley whose land was next to Sotterley. Hillery was a frequent visitor to Sotterley; in fact, he lived on Sotterley for several weeks at the time. Billingsley and Briscoe had some sort of an agreement that Hillery could be often with his family. ⁶¹

Together, they had twelve more children, all born in a small cabin in the slave quarter at Sotterley.⁶²

However, she felt about the mores her mother tried to inculcate, the young slave woman could not ignore her master's wishes which, in one way or another, were made quite clear. Slave masters wanted adolescent girls to have children, and to this end they practiced a passive, though insidious kind of breeding. Thus, while it was not unheard of for a planter to slap a male and female together and demand that they "replenish the earth" it was more likely that he would use his authority to encourage young slaves to

⁶¹ Kane Callum, Agnes. Kane-Butler Genealogy: History of a Black Family. N.p.: Callum, 1979. Print.

⁶² Arrigan, 2003.

make binding and permanent the relationships they themselves had initiated. Some did this by granting visitation privileges to a young man of a neighboring plantation who had taken an interest in a particular young woman. If the man and woman married, these visitations continued throughout the marriage. Occasionally, arrangements were made whereby a slave owner purchased a slave so that a man and a woman could marry and live together.

The typical plantation manual should arrest any thoughts that the attention masters paid to getting young slave women attached stemmed from unselfish benevolence. On the contrary, marriage was thought to add "to the comfort, happiness, and health of those entering upon it, besides ensuring greater increase." Indeed, on the morning after her wedding, Mammy Harriet of the Burleigh estate in Georgia was greeted by her mistress singing: "Gooding morning, Mrs. Bride. I wish you joy, and every year a son or daughter." Malinda Bibb's master was a little less tactful. Henry Bibb recalled that when he asked Malinda's master for her hand in marriage, "his answer was in the affirmative with but one condition, which I consider too vulgar to be written." Too often, when two people declared their intention to marry, as on a North Carolina plantation, all the master said was "don't forget to bring me a little one or two for next year."

As a South Carolina preacher who once was a slave explained: "There was two kinds of marriage, one was marrying at home and the other was called marrying abroad. If a man married abroad it meant that he wouldn't see his wife [but] only about once a week." The frequency of her husband's visits, however, was entirely dependent on the distance between plantations and on the disposition of masters, many of whom frowned on such marriages. Robert Shipherd, of Athens, Georgia, noted that men were allowed to see their wives on Wednesday and Saturday nights. "If it was a long piece off," he added, "he didn't get dar so often." A Mississippi slave with a wife who lived twenty miles away left his plantation at twelve o'clock on Saturday and was allowed to spend the weekend with her. On the other hand, Susan McIntosh of Georgia virtually grew up without her father, whom she only saw once or twice a month.

Although an abroad marriage had its problems, many couples preferred this arrangement. Jealousies and suspicions were harder to deal with at a distance but

spouses were also spared the miseries of witnessing each other's abuse. Fugitive slave John Anderson had a wife on a distant plantation but he wanted it that way because he could not bear to see her ill-treated.⁶³

Agnes Kane Callum was able to use oral history to trace her ancestry from Baltimore back to Sotterley Plantation. The oral history provided to her by her elderly grandparents was reinforced by the census data which she was able to locate in Annapolis, Leonardtown, and the parish records of St. Andrew's Church. Because of the genealogical research and writings of Agnes Kane Callum, we have a history of a family that lived at Sotterley, but a family that did not live in the *big house*.

My intention was to do the same with respect to Eliza Plater. I started with a picture of a lady at Sotterley. I was fortunate that I had a second picture of a lady with the Briscoe family, also at Sotterley. With the assistance of Carol Moody, the archivist at the St. Mary's County Historical Society, Jeanne Pirtle, the Education Director at Historic Sotterley, and Eve Love, a genealogist who is associated with Sotterley and the St. Mary's County Genealogical Society, we determined that the servant in both pictures was probably the same lady.

We still did not know who this lady was, but we knew who the Briscoe children were. We know when the Briscoe children were born. We had a guestimate as to the age of the children. The safest and surest assumption concerned the youngest son—Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe, Jr. We were fairly certain he was in the picture; we were fairly certain of his age; we had an idea when this picture would have been taken.

Carol Moody had a reference book that correlated hairstyles and clothing with dates of the photographs. That information, together with our guestimate of the age of Walter Hanson Stone, Jr. gave us a target date of the year 1875.

⁶³ White, Deborah G. "Ar'n't I a Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South." *Ar'n't I a Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South*, W.W. Norton, 1999

Once we had our target date, we then estimated the age of the lady in the photographs. With her age being estimated, and knowing the year of the photograph, we could go back through census data at Sotterley and even church records at St. Andrews Church to find the likely name of the slave/servant. With all of this information, we honed-in on Eliza Plater. As mentioned earlier in this book, she first appeared as being enslaved by Colonel Billingsley. She would later appear as a household member, after the Civil War, at Sotterley.

I then obtained the services of Joan Wise, a genealogical researcher in St. Mary's County. Although she has not been successful in locating present day descendants of Eliza Plater, it would be helpful for us to share with you the efforts that she made in her search. Perhaps one of you will assist us further. Joan Wise was able to find Eliza Plater in the 1800 census with a husband by the name of Robert Plater. She also found an Eliza Plater in the St. Andrews Church records married to one "Kato" in the 1850s. The last time she was able to locate a Robert Plater was in an 1882 voter registration list. "Kato" did not show up anywehere else in the slave statistics or census statistics. She didn't find any burial records for Robert or Eliza; Joan points out that her search was limited to two books that exist for burial records in St. Mary's County, and that does not mean that there isn't something buried in a church record, no pun intended.

Other Robert Platers do appear in the records, but these would be children by the name of Robert Plater in the 1900s. Joan believes it is possible that these Robert Platers were actually grandchildren, not the children of Robert and Eliza.

Joan searched the abstracted versions of the slave census data for Sotterley and Colonel Billingsley that had been prepared by Agnes Kane Callum. Joan also searched online at the Maryland State Archives.

Joan Wise searched geographically around St. Mary's County in the time period after Emancipation. At first, the enslaved population of Doctor Briscoe and Colonel Billingsley were located in the general Hollywood-area. Then they tended to go to Charlotte Hall and Chaptico. Today, looking at online books, telephone books, and other

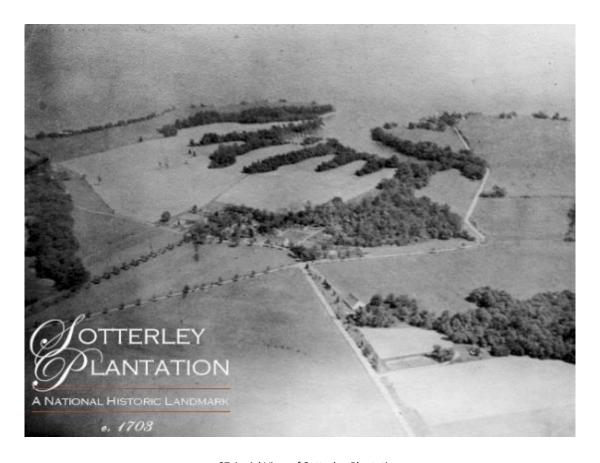
records, you see Briscoes all over St. Mary's County and, as Joan notes "if it isn't a Briscoe, it's a 'Biscoe." She says, "the thing that's so interesting is that, even in the research that I was doing for the Platers, when I would see the Briscoe name, I would pay attention, obviously, and even in the same slave documents, such as tax assessments of slaves in 1804, 1813, 1821, and 1831, even in the same hand-written document, the census-taker would spell it 'Briscoe' one place, and then 'Biscoe' on the same piece of paper. Looking at the signature and the hand writing would indicate that these apparently inconsistent records were signed by the actual owner.

In looking at the slave statistics for the Billingsley and Briscoe Plantations, Joan found it remarkable how much inter-marriage occurred between them. "30, 40%, it seems like." Coming forward into the 1900s, the census date appears to indicate that these pre-Civil War inter-family relationships were maintained after the Civil War.

Joan Wise also noted the recorded fact of sexual relations between the slave masters and the enslaved. "Some of the census takers were very diligent, some were not. Some were educated, some were not. And you can see that in how they write, and their spelling, which is atrocious, or they were just plain lazy. Anyway, so you would see whether 'B' for black, 'M' for mulatto. So that was an indicator that they were known to be of a white father, white grandfather, or they appeared to be *light-skinned*. We have on both the Briscoe and Billingsley census, indications of slaves who were mulatto."

That was as far as it went with the genealogical research for Eliza Plater. My personal hope is that someone reading this chapter will find a family resemblance in the photograph of Eliza Plater; someone might have some oral history that can tell us exactly who this lady was. There is almost certainly a family out there who would like to be able to call this portrait of Eliza Plater their own.

■HE SOTTERLEY PLANTATION LAYOUT



67 Aerial View of Sotterley Plantation



66 James Victor Scriber

James Victor Scriber was born on March 17, 1878 in Brooks (now called Hollywood). When he was six years old, the family moved from Brooks to Cashners. [Elizabeth Briscoe Cashner was Dr. Briscoe's granddaughter; she was the last Briscoe to own Sotterley.] At that time, he lived in the double quarters whose foundation bricks can be seen now at the bend of the road to the wharf.

James Scriber:

At Sotterley, the slave houses were not in a row but were instead grouped together roughly without precision; two houses along the

road down through the fields, one of which, the log house, remains. The others were similar in design and construction located where the tall sycamore stands near the log house. Across the valley was a "double quarter", a house with two rooms downstairs separated by a partition built for two families. The Gatehouses were occupied as was a log house on the site of the new house on the east of the entrance road (Tranquility Lane). There was no precise or linear arrangement there, but the houses were still together for community or a neighborhood to be present.

Their yards had no flowers because there was "no time for such; you were working all the time". Some yards had grass and some people kept their yards clear of grass; those people hoed it and swept it with a straw broom.

Vegetable gardens were planted at some distance from the house during tenancy but not out back of the house. (During slavery, Mr. Scriber did not know if the slaves had gardens or not.)



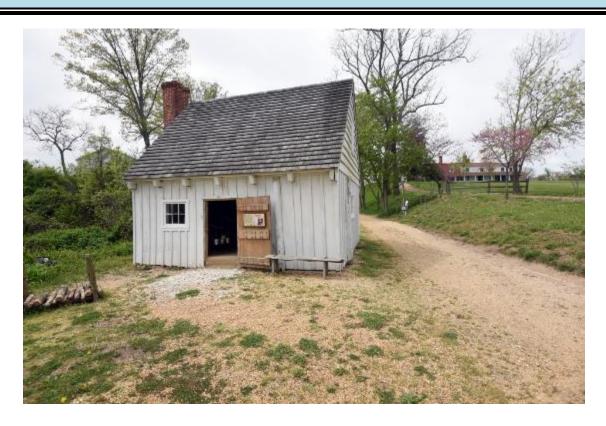
68 Sotterley

The slave houses were similar to the existing slave cabin. They were measured out with a string and ruler and roughly put up, eyeballing it without precise measuring. He said they

"throwed it up" in about a week. Fifteen, sixteen, seventeen feet; didn't make no difference. The men went into the forest and selected pines to cut. There were big pines back then, more so than there are today. About six or seven men would help build the house and it would take about a week at most.

Typically, the floors were earthen. The walls were exposed hewn logs without siding. A wooden chimney was typical. The logs were interwoven like you would build a hog pen and the spaces between filled in with mud and sticks.

The interior was one room downstairs and one room upstairs. Cooking was done over a fireplace until the 1890s. Blankets and quilts were suspended from the ceiling to divide the space, especially sleeping and dressing areas between children.



69 Sotterley Slave Cabin

Herbert Knott was a former caretaker at Sotterley.

Interview of Herbert Knott: "When James Scriber first moved to Sotterley, as you go to the wharf, on top of the Wharf Road, to the left, there was a log cabin, what's called a double quarters. That's where he first lived at." The location is the inside of the curve at the top of the Wharf Road. We used to see broken bricks on the ground there, now grassed over. "I asked about the double quarters where the Scribers first lived. Herbert said that was what was called a double quarters, that was where two families lived. He confirmed that it was a log house and I asked about other quarters. 'My father said when he moved here there was seven log cabins on there. As you go down the road on Sotterley Heights between the – I'd say about halfway from that holly tree down to the barn, was one was partly in the road and that's the onliest one that I remember. The holly tree blew down in a winter storm early in 1992. It stood in the pasture of Dr. Samadi's situated at the corner of Vista and Sotterley Roads. The tree was some hundred yards down the fenceline toward Sotterley Heights. But there was one off there what they used to call the Green House. There was one there, too. I asked where it was. Said Richard, "you know where you go up the Vista Road where they dump all that trash — there used to be a quarters right there, belonged to Gabe Lawrence, an old black man, that was James Scriber's wife's parents. He lived right there."

Richard Knott, like his brother Herbert, was a caretaker at Sotterley.

Interview of Richard Knott: "Well, now, getting back to log cabins, now. You know where that log cabin's at today. Well, right down, oh, two or three hundred feet down there, once there was a log cabin there." Further down the ravine? I asked. "Yeah, there was a log cabin there just, oh, it was probably by the edge of the woods there. And there was one down there, you know where Mrs. Ingalls been talking about building a house at, well, there was one up from that, too." (The location of the once-planned house is just back from the point of land at the south side of the trapped lagoon known as Lost Lake. There are concrete footings there at ground level.) I asked, "On the edge of the field?" Herbert

said, "Yeah," but Richard corrected us. "No, it wasn't the edge. You go back in them woods right there from where Mrs. Ingalls built, you will find where the well was and a place they had a basement. There was a basement dug down like that, you'll see that and then there's a place for a well there." (I have since walked in these woods and found the two cavities in the ground.) "You can see it just as plain there and, years back, they tell me, they used to sell a few things there to the watermen, groceries and things. They run a little store there. Years and years ago."⁶⁴

My master's house was of brick (brick houses are by no means common amongst the planters, whose residences are generally built of frame work, weather-boarded with pine boards, and covered with shingles of the white cedar or juniper cypress), and contained two large parlors and a spacious hall or entry on the ground floor. The main building was two stories high; and attached to this was a smaller building, one story and a half high, with a large room, where the family generally took breakfast; with a kitchen at the farther extremity from the main building.

There was a spacious garden behind the house, containing I believe, about five acres, well cultivated and handsomely laid out. At one end of the main building was a small house, called the library, in which my master kept his books and papers, and where he spent much of his time.

⁶⁴ Sotterley Oral History Archives

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70 Slave in the Kitchen

At some distance from the mansion was a pigeon house, and near the kitchen was a large wooden building, called the kitchen quarter, in which the house servants slept, and where they generally took their meals. Here, also, the washing of the family was done, and all the rough or unpleasant work of the kitchen department, such as cleaning and scaling fish, putting up pork, etc., was assigned to this place.⁶⁵



71 Slave Cabin

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⁶⁵ Lester, Julius, and Tom Feelings. "To Be a Slave." *To Be a Slave*, Dial Press, 1968.

There was considerable variation in the antebellum southern landscape. Wheat, cotton, tobacco, sugar, and cattle – the commodities produced on these plantations – all had different requirements, leading ultimately to the creation of distinct vistas. The appearances of plantations could vary considerably. A sugar estate, for example, was largely industrial in character, whereas cotton plantations often resembled nothing more than oversized farms. If the work force was large (say, more than fifty slaves), then the quarters would be spread in clusters across the fields, while a smaller group might be quartered in the backyard of the owner's house. Local traditions in vernacular design and technology might determine the choice of barn type. All plantations reflected the



72 Slave Cabin

willful order imposed on the land by slave owners, but clearly all slaveholders were not equally rigorous in making their imprint.

Thus, some plantations seem to have been laid out with a strict adherence to geometry, whereas the buildings on others are more randomly arranged.

By looking at plantations as

ensembles, we come to realize that it is more correct to speak of southern plantations rather than of *the* southern plantation. That there was not a single, unifying plantation style should not surprise us. After all, a region as large as the South encompasses not only a number of distinct ecological zones but an array of ethnic and sub-regional identities as well. After factoring in the variables of class and wealth, one realizes that any semblance of unity among southern planters would have to have been based more on ideological grounds than on material means. It has been suggested that during the antebellum period a widespread plantation ideal linked well-to-do planters and small, independent farmers with shared goals. "Yeomen," says historian John Boles, looked up to their 'betters,' admired and took local pride in the occasional mansion, and may have longed for self-advancement to the slave-owning class. A big plantation was a clear

symbol of economic success to which all white southerners could aspire. The enslaved occupants of those estates had, of course, different hopes and thought about the plantations in different terms.

In the quarters, slaves looked to their cabins, even if they were meager or decrepit, as the centers of their own domains, and they did what they could to transform these buildings into homes. The plots of ground where they were allowed to raise the food and livestock that sustained their families were also highly valued. Other buildings, such as dining halls, hospitals, and churches, that were intended to promote the slaves' well-being were also enfolded into a slave community, whereas the fields and farm buildings, but most especially their owner's house, were relegated to the margins of the slave domain. For slaves these places generally held negative connotations. The hinterland surrounding a planter's estate, on the other hand, symbolized liberty, and slaves developed a detailed knowledge of its features so they could run away to it, either to find temporary refuge from abusive treatment or, in some cases, to escape captivity entirely. According to Frederick Douglass, the woods surrounding a plantation provided effective cover for rebellious acts: "crimes, high-handed and atrocious," that "could be committed there with strange and shocking impunity."

Whereas slaveowners designed their plantations so that all of their features would refer inwardly toward themselves, slaves used subtle behavioral means to structure alternative landscapes with different spatial imperatives. They would simply ignore the ritual obeisance of a plantation's carefully marked "processional landscape" and move across its fields, gardens, and grounds more or less as they pleased. They took shortcuts across lawns and through gardens and entered parlors and bedrooms without always asking permission. Because they were seen as part of the inventory of an estate, they were expected to be everywhere and thus did not have to adhere to the scripted movements the planters expected of visitors. Because slaves were, while within a plantation's boundaries, free to move about pretty much as they pleased, they soon realized that they had privileges of access that were denied to white visitors. They eventually used this level of access to inscribe plantations with their own meanings and associations. Because discrete slave domains were, for the most part, established

beyond the slaveholders' immediate sight and in ways that did not obviously rearrange their hierarchical schemes, such places could be easily and reassuringly dismissed.

Thus the planters' sense of control over the slaves remained, in theory, unchallenged – but only in theory.

The experiences of plantation slaves were quite different from those of plantation owners, not only because of their status as captive laborers, but because so many of them were held on the larger and therefore less typical plantations. Historian John B. Boles demonstrates how so many slaves came to live on large-scale manorial holdings.

Imagine a universe of ten slaveholders, eight owning two slaves apiece, one owning twenty-four, and the tenth possessing sixty. Obviously most slaveholders (80 percent) would own fewer than five slaves, but most slaves (84 out of 100) would reside in units of more than twenty. Such an imaginary model suggests what the numbers reveal. In 1850... over half of the slaves, 51.6 percent, resided on plantations of more than twenty bondsmen. The figures were more pronounced in the Deep South, and still more so in 1860, when fully 62 percent of the slaves in the Deep South lived in plantation units.

Plantations, albeit unintentionally, served as the primary sites at which a distinctive black American culture matured. By 1860 over 800,000 slaves were living mostly in the company of other slaves, in groups of fifty or more. On almost 11,000 plantations, consequently, slave settlements were big enough to resemble, in the words of former slave occupants, "little towns." No doubt their quarters did resemble villages. A group of fifty slaves probably contained about ten families housed in as many as ten but no fewer than five cabins, depending on the type of buildings used as quarters. Slave settlements containing larger populations obviously required more houses and thus were even more town like.



73 Slaves in front of Cabin

Although slaves had no legal power, they were often able nonetheless to use their marginal status to their advantage. Kept for the most part in small frame houses, slaves knew that they were being humbled by their master, who owned a big mansion – or at least a bigger house – that often was located on the highest ground available. However, because their more modestly constructed slave quarters frequently were located some considerable distance from the planter's residence, slaves also had ample opportunity to take control of many domestic concerns. Beyond their master's immediate scrutiny, at the margins of the plantation and in the thickets beyond its boundary lines, slaves created their own landscape. This was a domain that generally escaped much notice, mainly because it was marked in ways that planters either considered insignificant or could not recognize.

The dwellings constructed to house field slaves were generally small, unpretentious cabins grouped together a significant distance away from the Big House. Viewed as emblematic features of the plantation environment as well as the miserable shacks where black people were kept, these buildings completed the social statement initiated by a planter's mansion. Any man of property might own fields, barns, sheds, equipment, and livestock, but only the most financially well off could own large numbers of human beings. In 1860 no more than 12 percent of all southerners owned enough slaves to be considered members of the planter class.



74 Painting of a Plantation

All across the Old South, the ideal plantation landscape was bracketed between a planter's house and the houses of slaves. Letitia Burwell, who enjoyed the benefits of being a planter's daughter, revealed how important the slave domain was to a white resident's sense of place when she wrote: "Confined exclusively to a Virginia plantation during my earliest childhood, I believed the world one vast plantation linked but located at opposite ends of a scale of power." When Frederick Law Olmsted first entered the South in 1852, these were the two elements of the rural landscape that immediately commanded his attention. Passing through northern Virginia, he observed: "A good many old plantations are to be seen; generally standing in a grove of white oaks, upon some hill-top. Most of them are constructed of wood, of two stories, painted white, and have, perhaps, a dozen rude-looking little log-cabins scattered around them, for the

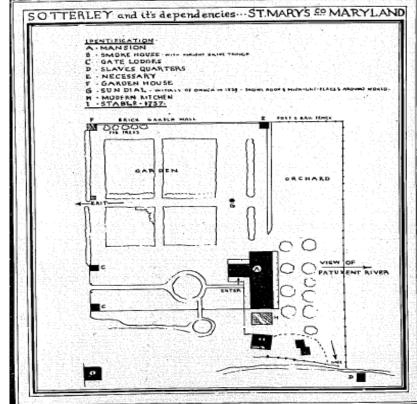
slaves." Although, in architectural terms, slave quarters were humble, almost inconsequential structures, they were nevertheless a public index of planter's wealth and a proof of his or her right to be treated with deference.



75 Sotterley Circa 1910

A plan of Cedar Grove, the tobacco plantation established by Cary Whitaker in 1752 in Halifax County, North Carolina, effectively portrays some of the dynamics involved in determining the best location for slave houses. Whitaker had the quarter for his forty-eight slaves aligned with the main house, but they were set slightly more than a hundred yards away from his residence. These buildings were within earshot of the house, but because they were screened by intervening barns and sheds (and possibly by trees, too) they were out of constant sight. Plantation owners were concerned about the behaviors of their slaves and thus wanted them close at hand. However, as Frederick Law Olmsted discovered at one Virginia plantation, the close proximity of slaves could also prove bothersome. The planter's advice, Olmsted reported, was so frequently sought by his bond servants that, "During the three hours, or more, in which I was in company with the proprietor, I do not think ten consecutive minutes passed

uninterrupted by some of the slaves requiring his personal direction or assistance. He was even obliged three times to leave the dinner-table."



planters thus not only to allow to run their own holds, but to let so without much

Some elected the slave house-them do

supervision. Basil Hall noted, during his observations of plantation routines in the coastal regions of South Carolina, that masters frequently left their slaves alone for long periods and even instructed their overseers to interfere "as little as possible with their domestic habits, except in matters of police." At Cedar Grove, Whitaker apparently was hoping to achieve an optimal positional balance, so that his slaves' houses would be neither too near nor too far away. From his perspective, the slaves could readily be called for work while presumably they were not so close that they would bring their every problem to him.



76 Sotterley Slave Cabin

Anchoring their claims to social power to their visible ownership of sizable landholdings, gangs of slaves and numerous buildings, planters used a strategy of contrasts to draw attention to themselves. Their houses were almost always the largest, if not the most elaborately decorated, buildings on a given site. Their residences, when compared to the surrounding outbuildings, would always be seen as the Big Houses. Frederick Douglass recalled that all the slaves living at Tuckahoe, the plantation in eastern Maryland where he grew up, referred to their owner's mansion as the "great house," in recognition of who lived there. A planter further emphasized his social significance by situating his house either on high ground or close to the main thoroughfare. His house was thus "up" while the other buildings were "down," or at the "front" while the other structures were set to the "rear." If a planter's abode was not literally at the center of his estate, it was at least the symbolic center. The size and visual prominence of his residence expressed, in positional terms, a desired social order. Slaves were assigned to their appropriate place below or behind their master. He was at the center of their world, whereas they were consigned to the margins of his. ⁵⁶



⁶⁶ Vlach, John Michael. *Back of the Big House: the Architecture of Plantation Slavery*. Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1993

Agnes Kane Callum: And this man named James Judson Gough owned the Kanes before Dr. Briscoe. He left in his will- he didn't call the Kanes slaves, he called them servants. "My manservant, Henry, Hillery, my woman servant Henrietta."

Marylin Arrigan, the author of "Slavery and the Enslaved People at Sotterley Plantation," writes:

William Francis (Frank) Kane was born a slave on the James J. Gough Plantation in 1848. Gough died in that year and when Gough's estate was liquidated, Frank's father was sold on the slave auction block in Leonardtown to Colonel Chapman Billingsley who lived on the plantation next door to Sotterley. Frank's mother, Mariah Morgan, his sister, Nellie Ellen, and his brother, George were sold to Dr. Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe of Sotterley Plantation. His father was permitted to live with his family at Sotterley since the plantations were adjacent to each other.

When Frank was twelve years old, he and his family received orders to dress presentably and come to the front of the "Big House." He and his brothers and sisters stood in line as Dr. Briscoe walked around them several times and examined them. Dr. Briscoe said nothing and finally dismissed them. Back in the Quarters, Elsa began to weep, thinking they would be sold, but nothing was ever said about the intended sale and the Kanes were not sold. Later that week, Frank who was the doctor's coachman, took Dr. Briscoe on a sick call. While away from everyone, Frank told the doctor that he "dared not inquire..if he intended to sell the Kanes, but..if he had a master whom he served faithfully and the master had plans to sell him, then he would never serve that master again." Dr. Briscoe listened but did not answer.⁶⁷

Samuel Baldwin: Sotterley Creek was a Middle Passage site. Slave ships would come in from Africa with a cargo of over a hundred slaves. There were 17 documented ships that came from the west coast of Africa into the Patuxent River. James Bowles is

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⁶⁷ Arrigan, Marylin. Slavery and the Enslaved People at Sotterley Plantation. 2003.

Sotterley's first owner, and was an agent for the Royal African Company. He would order cargo; a ship would leave England, go to the west coast of Africa, pick up the cargo, and come here to Sotterley. Records have James Bowles' name on it, so we know that one came here to Sotterley.

Two hundred sixty slaves were on that particular ship we're talking about, the 'Generous Jenny,' in 1720. He would have a local sale on the plantation here at Sotterley. Back then he would have done private sales and then he would have kept some for his own plantation, and the rest were sent on to Virginia to be sold.

When the slave sales started in Leonardtown, the ships would still have come to Sotterley. The slaves would have had to been marched from Sotterley to Leonardtown.

Excerpts from the logs of the Royal African Company:

April 6, 1720

"Capt. Lambert joined with Mr. Wm. Younge on a trading Voyage to windward... will cosign the Negroes yo Mr. James Bowles at Patuxent River in Maryland."

July 6, 1720

"Shipd on board 260* slaves *vixt*. 124 Men 112 Women and 26 boys and 8 girls. Consign'd to MR. Ja. Bowles at Pattuxent River in Maryland."

Samuel Baldwin: In March of 1843, Dr. Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe served as the co-Executor of the estate of his late brother, William Dent Briscoe. William had been a widower residing at Charles County, Maryland. He was survived by his three daughters.

The estate that was handled by Dr. Briscoe stated in part the following:

LAST WILL

William D. Briscoe

In the name of God and men I William D. Briscoe being in full possession of my facilities but in . . . ordained as my last Will and testament I give and bequeath to my daughter Mary Ann Briscoe the following servants: Ben, Harry, Bill, Samuel, Jenny, Maria and. . .

To my daughter Sarah Catherine Briscoe I give and bequeath the following servants to wit: Edgar, Charles, George. . . Minnie, Margaret and Sally.

To my daughter Sarah Ann Briscoe, I give and bequeath the following servants to wit: John, Horace, Clem, Alonso, Mary, Jane, Leisly and. . .

The above lots of servants as divided to my above named daughters are each from the date hereof, to be subject to all liens either from death or otherwise, and also to have the benefit of all increases from birth or otherwise.

The object of the foregoing is to make as equal an distribution to my three herein before named daughters of my own servants, regarding families, in conjunction with those inherited by my two eldest daughters as the judgment of an impartial father who permit and who feels fully assured that they will be taken care of.

77 Will of William A. Briscoe

Fugitive slave William Green either witnessed or experienced many of the cruelties of slavery. Perhaps he had not seen as much as other slaves, he said, and perhaps his condition was "not as hard as some," but just "being a slave was enough for me."

When Green was nineteen years old, he watched helplessly as his older brother was put in a chain gang, to be driven off to toil on a sugar or cotton plantation. "How would you feel," he asks, "if a brother or sister were taken from before your eyes and chained with a heavy iron chain and driven off where you would never hear from them again? What would be your feelings? Would not your blood boil within you and would not you visit with sudden vengeance the perpetrator of such a deed?"

Slaves condemned the apologist of slavery and the slaveholder for denying that the separation of families, except for purpose of punishment, was practiced. In fact, separation by sale was an integral part of the system. Not only was it resorted to by severe masters, but also by those who were regarded as mild. As a punishment none was as dreaded by the refractory slave as being sold. The atrocities known to have been committed on plantations were far less feared than impending sale.

The master's circumstances and not his own determined if a slave were to be assigned to the trading block or the rice swamps. Since most slaves preferred to deal with even the most hideous circumstance so long as it was familiar, rather than the uncertainties of another plantation, they were quite concerned about the financial status and social activities and habits of their master. For example, Francis Fedric was aware that his master's continued high living was a source of danger to him and his fellow slaves and expressed fear that his master might be killed in a duel, at a horse race, or in a drunken brawl. He reported that other slaves were terrified of a master who gambled heavily. The self-indulgent behavior of such masters could result in the sale of the master's estate, and slaves were the first property to be sold. What followed, according to Fedric, was "the blow of the auctioneer's hammer separating them perhaps for life."

There were, according to Austin Steward, other reasons for the sale of slaves. If the master owed a debt, spare slaves were taken to the trader and sold.

In addition, as Henry Box Brown explained, when a master died his property was inherited by his family. The human, as well as every other kind of property, was divided. Often, Brown said, no one wanted the children or the aged. Thus, the heirs made their division according to the money value of the slaves without the slightest consideration for social or family ties. The common theory, according to Brown, was that such considerations do not matter because "niggers' have no feelings."

William Wells Brown stated that some slaves were sold because of their leadership. He asserted that there was, in every slave family, a "militant" slave. According to Brown, the

master feared the influence of this slave in his quarters and thus "such a one must take a walking ticket to the south."

Peter Randolph recorded that not one word of warning was given the family of the impending sale. Husbands were seized by the trader, "wives were torn and thrust into that living grave; children were torn shrieking from their parents, never to see them more; tender maidens were dragged from the manly hearts which loved them; the ardent lover was scornfully compelled to break from the entwining arm of his loved one and bid a final adieu to all the world held dear to his heart."

Francis Fedric witnessed some mothers who were so terrified in the trader's presence that they remained absolutely silent. Fedric felt that this reaction was ordinarily the more prudent because anyone who voiced the most minor objection – that it was difficult for him to be carried away from his wife and children – would be instantly beaten. On one occasion, Fedric reported, one planter remarked to a trader who was beating a slave he had just bought that he would kill him if he continued. "You are not going to throw away your money in that way, are you?" the planter said. The trader's response was only, "I don't care, I have bought him, he is mine, and for one cent, I would kill him. I never allow a slave to talk back to me after I have bought him."

Children, according to Solomon Northup, aware of some impending danger at the trading block, instinctively fastened their hands around their mother's neck. If either mother or child were ultimately sold, one could hear such cries as, "Don't leave me, mama – Don't leave me. Don't leave me. Don't leave me – come back mama."

Slave reaction to the sale ranged from anger to sorrow. Peter Randolph asked the defenders of the institution to place themselves in the slaves' situation:

Pro slavery men and women! For one moment only, in imagination, stand surrounded by *your* loved ones, and behold *them*, one by one, torn from your grasp, or you rudely and forcibly carried from them – how, think you, would you bear it? Would you not rejoice if one voice even were raised in your behalf? Were your wife, the partner of your bosom, the mother of your babes, thus ruthlessly snatched from you, were your beloved children stolen before your eyes, would

you not think it sufficient cause for a nation's will? Yea, and a nation's interference! What better are for them those poor downtrodden children of humanity? With them such scenes are constantly transpiring.

Henry Box Brown also described his feelings of sorrow over the loss of his child:

These beings were marched with ropes about their necks, and staples on their arms, and, although in that respect the scene was not a very novel one to me, yet the peculiarity of my own circumstances made it assume the appearance of unusual horror. The train of beings was accompanied by a number of wagons loaded with little children of many different families, which as they appeared rent the air with their shrieks and cries and vain endeavors to resist the separation which was thus forced upon them, and the cords with which they were thus bound; but what should I now see in the very foremost wagon but a little child looking towards me and pitifully calling, father! Father!

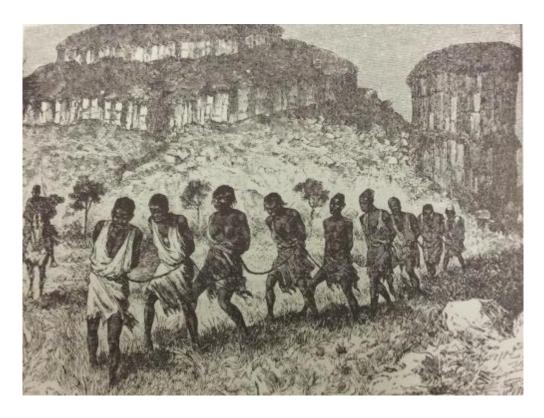
And, further, the despair of his separation from his wife:

I looked from the approach of another gang in which my wife was also loaded with chains. My eye soon caught her precious face, but, gracious heaven! That glance of agony, my God, spare me from ever again enduring! My wife, under the influence of her feelings, jumped aside; I seized hold of her hand while my mind felt unutterable things, and my tongue was only able to say, we shall meet in heaven! I went with her for about four miles hand in hand, but both our hearts were so overpowered with feeling that we could say nothing, and when at last we were obliged to part, the look of mutual love which we exchanged was all the token which we could give each other that we should yet meet in heaven.

An analysis of the narratives dealing with slave trading reveals that the activity may be conveniently broken down into three stages: the "coffle," or slave train; the slave pen, and the auction block.

The Coffle

According to Jamie Parker, when a number of slaves were to be sold away they would sometimes be herded together into groups of five hundred or more, all handcuffed two by two with a long chain running through the middle of the line, collecting them as one mass. This train of slaves which, after a forced march, eventually arrived at the auction block, was known as the coffle.



78 Slave Coffle

On the coffle, women and men were treated alike. After the day's walk, they would lie down together by the woodside and sleep. If any lagged along the way, there were numerous overseers known as "nigger drivers" who would lay the lash on unsparingly, and in the words of Isaac Williams, "the poor fainting victims would often lie bleeding on the road and die from sheer exhaustion." Although there were wagons for the sick and the children, many nevertheless died on the road, where graves were hastily dug and the bodies dumped.

Henry Watson reported that the coffle would, on occasion, stop for a quick sale of one of the gang. If a stop was made at a house, visitors from the neighborhood would come to examine the "flock." Signs were sometimes placed along the road which informed the

planters that the trader had in his gang blacksmiths, carpenters, and field-hands. The sign might also contain the inducement that in the group there were "also several sickley ones," whom he would sell "very cheap."

Watson claimed that many slaves wished to be sold during the trip, for they were no longer able to endure the remainder of the journey. If the trader was at all displeased by a slave, he would order him to be stripped and tied hand and foot. A paddle – a board approximately two feet long and one inch wide, with fourteen holes bored through it – would be applied to the slave on parts of his body which a purchaser would not be likely to examine. The flesh protruded through these holes at every blow, and blisters the size of each hole would form, causing pain and soreness to the victim. Punishment was usually inflicted in the morning, before visitors came to examine the slaves.

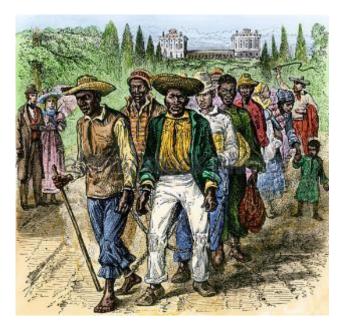
Charles Ball was one of the many slaves who experienced the coffle. As he was hitching his oxen to a cart on the plantation, several men gathered around him. One of them was a stranger who came up to him and seized him by the collar, shook him violently, and announced that he was his property and must go with him to Georgia. At the sound of these words, thoughts of his wife and children rushed through Ball's mind. He immediately knew his situation was hopeless, and that resistance was in vain. His purchaser ordered him to cross his hands, which were quickly bound with a strong cord. He asked if he could be allowed to see his wife and children, or if not, if they might not have permission to come and see him. He was told only that he would be able to get another wife in Georgia.

Ball was placed with a group of thirty-two other slaves, both men and women. The women were held together with a rope "about the size of a bed cord, which was tied like a halter round the neck of each." A strong iron collar was fitted closely by means of a padlock around the neck of each man, and a chain of iron approximately a hundred feet in length was passed through the harps of the padlocks, except at each end, where the harp of a padlock passed through a link of chain. They were handcuffed with iron staples and bolts, with a short chain about a foot long. The slave to whom Ball was chained "wept like an infant when the blacksmith, with his heavy hammer, fastened the ends of bolts that kept the staples from slipping from [their] arms."

They took up the line of march, traveling five miles until they reached "one of those miserable public houses [something of an inn], so frequent in lower parts of Maryland and Virginia, called 'ordinaries." The master ordered a pot of mush for their supper, and after eating, they rest on the floor in their handcuffs and chains until it was time to sleep. Although they usually all slept together, this time the women slept on one side of the room and the men, who were chained, occupied the other.

Although the passage of time did not reconcile Ball to his chains, it did make him familiar with them. In a few days the horrible sensation attendant upon his separation from wife and children subsided somewhat. He began to reflect upon his hopeless and

desperate situation, and sought to devise some means of escaping from his new master. He examined the long chain to see if there might not be some place where it could be severed, but he found it completely secured, and its separation impossible. From that time on he endeavored to beguile his sorrows by examining the state of the countryside through which he traveled, observing the condition of his fellow slaves on the plantations along the road he walked, and thinking of the slave pen.



79 Slave Coffle

The Auction Block

The final step in the trading process was, of course, the sale. The narratives contain descriptions of these sales and the attendant horror, fear, degradation, and sometimes, after weeks in the coffle and slave pen, relief.

Josiah Henson described the feelings of the slaves as follows:

[The] knowledge that all ties of the past are to be sundered; the frantic terror at the idea of being sent down "South"; the almost certainty that one member of their family will be torn from another; the anxious scanning of purchaser's faces; the agony at parting, often forever, with husband, wife, child – these must be seen and felt to be fully understood.



80 Slave Auction

The sales were generally conducted in a large hall or at an open-air auction block. The interested planters or traders would be seated around the block upon which the slave was placed, with the auctioneer standing beside them. Solomon Northup reported that prospective buyers would approach the slave up for sale and ask him what he could do. The customers would dwell upon the several good or bad qualities of the slave, and many would make the "merchandise" hold his head up and walk briskly back and forth. They might feel the hands, arms, and body, or order the slave to open his mouth and show his teeth, "precisely as a jockey examines a horse which he is about to barter for a purchase." Sometimes a man or woman was taken back to a private room in the yard, stripped, and inspected more minutely. Scars found on a slave's back were considered evidence of a slave's rebellious or unruly spirit and would hurt the sale.

John Brown recalled that despite the emotional impact of the proceedings, the slave was forced to look bright and lively, for his price depended to a great extent on his general appearance. Brown claimed that men and women may be "well made, and physically faultless in every respect, yet their value be impaired by a sour look or a dull,

vacant stare, or a general dullness of demeanor." For this reason the slaves who were to be sold were instructed to look "spry and smart," to hold themselves up well, and put on a smiling, cheerful face. They were also told to speak for, and recommend themselves; to conceal any defects they might have, and never to tell their age when they were past the active period of life.

When the sale began, some slaves were in tears; others appeared to be relieved. When the auctioneer finished examining his "merchandise," the commerce in human flesh began. Henry Watson gave an account of the auction. The auctioneer would start,

"Gentlemen, here is a likely boy; how much? He is sold for no fault; the owner wants money. His age is forty. Three hundred dollars is all that I am offered for him. Please to examine him; he is warranteed sound. Boy, pull off your shirt – roll up your pants – for we want to see if you have been whipped." If they discover any scars, they will not buy; saying that the nigger is a bad one. The auctioneer seeing this, cries, "three hundred dollars, gentlemen, three hundred dollars. Shall I sell him for three hundred dollars? I have just been informed by his master that he is an honest boy and belongs to the same church that he does." This turns the tide frequently, and the bids go up fast; and he is knocked off for a good sum. After the men and women are sold, the children are put on the stand.

Louis Hughes described the scene this way: The women were placed in a row on one side of the room or block, and the men on the other. Customers who were so inclined passed between the lines looking them over and questioning them: "What can you do? Are you a good cook? Seamstress? Dairymaid?" Or, "Can you plow? Are you a blacksmith? Have you ever cared for horses? Can you pick cotton rapidly?"

Many of the narratives report that families would sometimes be sold to plantations hundreds of miles apart. Women were whipped for begging the new master for an opportunity to say good-bye to a child. Some slaves were sold as "guaranteed niggers"; that is, warranted not to run away. In such cases, should the man "bolt," the seller was obliged to refund the sum he received for him.

Zamba saw husbands and wives, and sometimes infants, upon the auction table:

The husband with his arms around the neck of his faithful and long-loved, although black partner, imploring, in the most moving language, while tears trickled down his sable cheeks, that they would not be able to separate him from all that he cared for upon earth; and the poor woman equally moved, and in many cases more so, beseeching with all the eloquence of nature's own giving, that she might be allowed to toil the remainder of her earthly existence with the only one her heart ever loved.⁶⁸

I had heard people say Louisiana was a hard place for black people, and I didn't want to come; but old marster took me and sold me from my mother anyhow, and from my sisters and brothers in Virginia. "I have never seen or heard from them since I left old Virginia. That's been more than thirty-five years ago. When I left old Virginia my mother cried for me, and when I saw my poor mother with tears in her eyes I thought I would die. O, it was a sad day for me when I had to leave my mother in old Virginia.

"Somehow or other the old master got broke, and his big plantation and all his slaves were seized and sold for debts. I can never forget the day of that sale. I had never seen such an auction sale before, although I had often heard of it. The sale had been widely advertised; and on that day rich planters from all along the coast and some merchants and others, who wanted house servants or other help for their stores, were there in large numbers. As soon as everything was ready, exactly at twelve o'clock-I remember it as well as if it was yesterday- the drum began to tap and everybody followed it to the old sugar-house shed, where the sale was to take place. When everybody had gathered, the slaves, numbering about two hundred and fifty head, counting men. women, and children, were all put together on one side and all the wagons, teams, horses, cows, calves, and other cattle on another; and the buyers were in front of the auction block. So as soon as everything was ready the sheriff got on the old sugarhouse cane carrier and began the sale. He first read from a newspaper the decree of

⁶⁸ Feldstein, Stanley. Once a Slave: the Slaves' View of Slavery. W. Morrow, 1971.

the court under which the sale was to take place; and then he described the property to be sold, including the plantation, wagons, mules, cattle, and all the slaves. After he had sold the plantation, wagons, mules, horses, and cattle he began to sell the slaves. Some were bought by neighboring plantations, some by the merchants and others were bought by negro traders to be placed in market and sold again. My mother was bought by one of the merchants; but I was bought by a negro trader. My old mistress was sorry to part with me and a little pet calf she had raised around the big house. So she had kept us until the last to see if she could not keep us; but old master's debts could not be met after everything else had been sold, so the negro trader bought me and the calf together for five hundred and thirty dollars. Next day all of us who had been sold to buyers living in and along the coast were shipped on a steam boat. My mother was on that boat. Mother was taken to her new owner's house to be a house servant, and I was taken to the arcade, or negro traders' yard. From that day until peace was declared after the war I never laid eyes on my dear mother; that was nearly twenty years. I tell you, people were miserable in that old slave-pen. Every day buyers came and examined such slaves as they desired to buy. They used to make them open their mouths so they could examine their teeth; and they used to make them strip naked, from head to toe, to see whether they were perfectly sound. And they did this to women as well as men. I tell you, my dear child, it used to seem to me so brutal to see poor women treated in that way by brutal and heartless men. I declare, child, I can't understand it although I've been right in it. When they would put them naked that way they used to switch them on the legs to make them jump around so that buyers could see how supple they were."

Uncle Cephas, who used to live in Tennessee before the war, and who came to Louisiana at the close of the late war of the rebellion, told me many things which I am sure you would find very interesting. He told me a very pathetic story of a colored girl, eighteen years old, whose master had bought her in South Carolina and brought her to Tennessee. Her name was Lizzie Beaufort. She was a most beautiful girl. She had large black eyes, long black hair, a beautiful oval-shaped face, and was of a fine oily complexion. She might have passed for a Cuban; but she was the slave of her own father, who had sold her to this Tennessee planter. Her Tennessee master had bought

her to be his kept woman, but Lizzie declared she would rather die a thousand deaths than live such a life. She was willing to work her hands off, and do anything that was required of her, but she told her master that he would have her to kill, but that she never would submit to be made the instrument of his hateful lust. It was of no use, he coaxed, he pleaded, he threatened, and he beat her, but Lizzie stood firmly as a rock against all his advances. When he saw he could not persuade her by any means he was determined to sell her. She was sold to a negro trader, who brought her out to Mississippi.⁶⁹

O, you happy free women, contrast your New Year's Day with that of the poor bond woman! With you it is a pleasant season, and the light of the day is blessed. Friendly wishes meet you everywhere, and gifts are showered. Even hearts that have been estranged from you soften at this season, and lips that have been silent echo back, "I wish you a happy New Year." Children bring their little offerings, and raise their rosy lips for a caress. They are your own, and no hand but that of death can take them from you. But to the slave mother New Year's Day comes laden with peculiar sorrows. She sits on the cold cabin floor, watching the children who may be torn from her the next morning; and often does she wish that she and they might die before the day dawns. She may be an ignorant creature, degraded by the system that has brutalized her from childhood; but she has a mother's instincts, and is capable of feeling a mother's agonies. On one of these sale days, I saw a mother lead seven children to auction-block. She knew that some of them would be taken from her; but they took all. The children were sold to a slave-trader, and their mother was bought by a man in her own town. Before night her children were all far away. She begged the trader to tell her where he intended to take them; this he refused to do. How could he, when he knew he would sell them, one by one, wherever he could command the highest price? I met that mother in the street, and her wild, haggard face lives to-day in my mind. She wrung her hands in anguish, and

⁶⁹ Albert at 4.

exclaimed, "Gone! All gone! Why don't God kill me?" I had no words wherewith to comfort her. Instances of this kind are of daily, yea, hourly occurrence.

Sometimes, when my master found that I still refused to accept what he called his kind offers, he would threaten to sell my child. "Perhaps that will humble you," he said. Humble *me!* Was I not already in the dust? But his threat lacerated my heart. I knew the law gave him the power to fulfill it; for slaveholders had been cunning enough to enact that "the child shall follow the condition of the mother, not the father" thus taking care that licentiousness shall not interfere with avarice. This reflection made me clasp my innocent babe all the more firmly to my heart. Horrid visions passed through my mind when I thought of his liability to fall into the slave trader's hands. I wept over him, and said, "O my child! Perhaps they will leave you in some cold cabin to die, and then throw you in a hole as if you were a dog.

In one of his visits, he happened to find a young girl, whom he had sold to a trader a few days previous. His statement was that he sold her because she had been too familiar with the overseer. She had had a bitter life here, and was glad to be sold. She had no mother, and no near ties. She had been torn from all her family years before. A few friends had entered into bonds for her safety, if the trader would allow her to spend with them the time that intervened between her sale and the gathering up of his human stock. Such a favor was rarely granted. It saved the trader the expense of board and jail fees, and though the amount was small, it was a weighty consideration in the slave trader's mind. Dr. Flint always had an aversion to meeting slaves after he had sold them. He ordered Rose out of the home; but he was no longer her master, and she took no notice of him. For once the crushed Rose was the conqueror. His gray eyes flashed angrily upon her; but that was the extent of his power.

One day I saw a slave pass our gate, muttering, "It's his own, and he can kill it if he will." My grandmother told me that woman's history. Her mistress had that day seen her baby for the first time, and in the lineaments of the fair face she saw a likeness to her husband. She turned the bondwoman and her child out of doors, and forbade her ever to return. The slave went to her master, and told him what had happened. He promised

to talk with her mistress and make it all right. The next day she and her baby were sold to a Georgia trader.⁷⁰

The selling of slaves was inhuman in itself, but many slave owners did not even have the decency to tell a slave that he was going to be sold.

Half the time a slave didn't know that he was sold till the master'd call him to the Big House and tell him he had a new master.

Mingo White

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⁷⁰ Jacobs at 1987.

Never know who massa done sold. I remember one morning ol' white man rode up in a buggy and stop by a gal name Lucy that was working in the yard. He say, "Come on. Get in this buggy. I bought you this morning." Then she beg him to let her go tell her baby and husband good-bye, but he say, "Naw! Get in this buggy! Ain't got no time for crying and carrying on." I started crying myself, 'cause I was so scared he was gonna take me, too. But ol' Aunt Cissy, whose child it was, went to massa and told him he was a mean dirty nigger-trader. Ol' massa was sore, but ain't never said nothin' to Aunt Cissy. Then Hendley what was next to the youngest of her seven children got sick and died. Aunt Cissy ain't sorrowed much. She went straight up to ol' massa and shouted in his face, "Praise God!" My little child is gone to Jesus. That's one child of mine you never gonna sell."

Nancy Williams

I said to him, "For God's sake! Have you bought my wife?" He said he had. When I asked him what she had done, he said she had done nothing, but that her master wanted money. He drew out a pistol and said that if I went near the wagon on which she was, he would shoot me. I asked for leave to shake hands with her which he refused, but said I might stand at a distance and talk with her. My heart was so full that I could say very little.... I have never seen or heard from her from that day to this. I loved her as I love my life.

Moses Grand

The sale of slaves was generally carried out in one of two ways. The most informal was the sale of a slave by one slave owner to another, usually a friend on a neighboring plantation. The more usual method was through a slave trader, a man whose business was the buying and selling of slaves. The slave trader was no different from the cotton merchant.⁷¹

150

⁷¹ Lester, Julius, and Tom Feelings. "To Be a Slave." *To Be a Slave*, Dial Press, 1968.

AMES OF THE ENSLAVED AT SOTTERLEY

Samuel Baldwin: Agnes Callum had, in some of her publications, referenced slave statistics.

Joan Wise: Yes. 1864 slave statistics. The people of Maryland that had slaves were trying to have a mechanism so when the Civil War was over, they could have a way of proving what slaves they had. Either the last name might be of the original slave owner, or it could be the name of the slave owner that had them before they were sold to the slave owner. It could be from the dowry of the wife from some family over on the Eastern Shore even, but the slave family would know who the real father was and what his name was. You would see husbands and wives grouped together, but that might not have been his real last name either and so when he was freed he decided he was going to take his father's name or his mother's name.

72

⁷² Lester, Julius, and Tom Feelings. "To Be a Slave." *To Be a Slave*, Dial Press, 1968.

We didn't know nothing like young folks do now. We hardly knowed our names. We was cussed for so many bitches and sons of bitches and bloody bitches and blood of bitches. We never heard our names scarcely at all. First young man I went with wanted to know my initials! What did I know 'bout initials? You ask 'em ten years old now and they'll tell you. That was after the war. Initials!!!

Sallie Crane Library of Congress

I was here in slavery days. I was here. When I come here, colored people didn't have their ages. The boss man had it.

Anonymous

Library of Congress

Without a name of his own, the slave's ability to see himself apart from his owner was lessened. He was never asked who he was. He was asked, "Who's nigger are you?" The slave had no separate identity. He was always Mr. So-and-so's nigger.

SOTTERLEY FARM I VENTORY 1826 Negros 1 lot broken plough gear Ned age 40 1 flax brake Harry age 28 1 iron tooth harrow Sam age 23 1 old wheel barrow John age 19 3 sets of hinges complete Phil Carpenter 12 reap hooks Jack age 22 3 cradles & blades Leander, boy age 15 9 hilling hoes Bill, boy age 10 10 weeding hoes Andrew, boy age 14 6 wedges Milly, woman age 45 3 grub hoes Cecilia, woman age 26 14 axes Eliza, woman age 17 1 how harrow Sarah and child, age 22 1 dung fork Fanny and child, age 60 1 spade & old iron John, boy child age 3 1/2 bushel measure Matida, woman age 33 2 watering pots Charity, woman age 24 1 old wire sieve Phibs, girl child age 8 1 lot carpenter tools Mary Ann, girl child age 8 1 whip saw Martha Ann, girl child age 3 · 1 cross cut saw Emeline, girl child age 2 a lot of cedar posts Julian, girl child age 8 1 linen wheel 1 Bull 1 coal hod 11 cows 1 willow basket 4 heifers 2 spinning wheels 8 yearlings 2 pr. cotton cards 42 sheep 2 pr. woollen cards

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82 Record of Slaves in St. Mary's County

TERM OF SERVITURE	Em	Emancipated by the		Left with so Token by the Military.		Entisted in U. S. Service.		REGIMENT	Compensation	n in 1864.		
	trop.	Month.	Free.	Day.	Menth.	Your.	Day.	Meeth,	Four.	REGINENT	Beecived.	REMARKS. MILI
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83 Record at The Time of the Adoption of the Constitution in 1864



81 Enlarged Image of Figure 82



84 Enlarged Image of Figure 83

Name	Age	Name	Age
Edward Harris	15	Barnes, Ann Delia	21
Cane, George	20	Barnes, Georgeanna	19
Cane, Frank	17	Edwards, Cecilia	19
Edwards, Alfred	17	Brown, Rebecca	24
Millard, Thomas	17	Guyther, Susan	22
Millard, Horace	12	Wilson, Martha Ann	28
Edwards, Samuel	17	Plowden, Nellie	29
Medley, Charles	20	Hall, Henrietta	27
Biscoe, George W.	26	Edwards, Presella	38
Brown, Dick	33	Mason, Eliza	52
Plater, Robert	37	Millard, Mary Ann	47
Millard, James	48	Mason, Louise	52
Steward, Hamilton	49	Barnes, Henrietta	58
Medley, Alex	52	Plowden, Cecelia	52
Edwards, Leanda	52	Brown, Andrew	6
Barnes, William	52	Guyther, Edgar	28
Cane, Temperance	18	Guyther, Frank	2
Cane, Matilda	22	Cane, Hilary	1
Cane, Alice	16	Plowden, Alex	2
Cane, Eliza	14	Millard, Francis	6
Cane, Sarah	12	Brown, Margaret	3
Cane, Henny	20	Wilson, Rebecca	1
Cane, Ellen	24	Barber, Catherine	21
Cane, Alice	31	Barber, Mary A.	2
Biscoe, Charlotte Ann	14	Johnson, Jeff	1

One of the many ways that slave societies sought to drive home slaves' inferior status was to be careless about the use of slave surnames, signaling that bond people had no families that white society had to respect. Like the old practice among some southern whites of taking the liberty of calling every African American woman "Auntie" or every man "Uncle," the carelessness about names, both first and last, telegraphed white privilege. Throughout slavery, whatever whites may have thought, many, if not nearly all, slaves adopted last names that their owners either did not know about or acted as if they did not know or care about. To be sure, there were instances where masters and others did recognize slave surnames, which can be found on planters' slave rolls and in other documents. The origins of these names varied—some came from present or former owners, some were simply self-selected, and others grew out of family relationships.

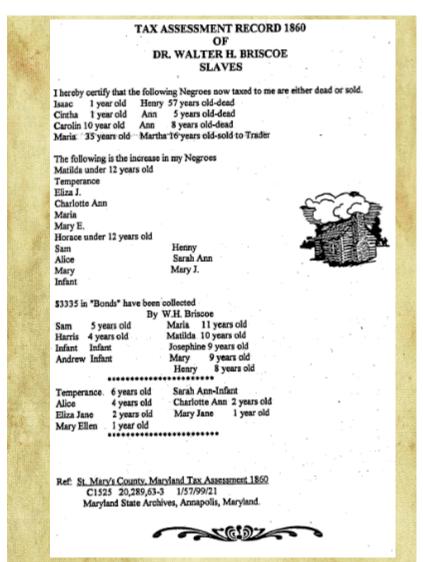
In European culture surnames signal the paternity of those born in wedlock and those born out of wedlock whose fathers acknowledge them. Children of unmarried women typically carry their mother's name, which in most instances would have been the woman's father's last name. Enslaved women had no legal marriages, and fathers had no rights to their children, so it seems unlikely that slaves had a last name that the white owner felt compelled to recognize and pass down to her daughter.

Even though the law did not protect slave families, patriarchal views about family construction evidently influenced the way some masters saw them. If a man acknowledged a child, why not let the child carry his last name, even if it meant nothing legally? Law aside, having a recognized last name evidently meant a great deal to Elizabeth Hemings's family. Sixty-six years after her death, her grandson Madison Hemings [the son of Thomas Jefferson & Sally Hemings] would begin his family story by talking not about his African great-grandmother but about the uniqueness of the family's name, taking care to explain how they came to own it.

While it is true that the lives of the vast majority of people who lived during the time of American slavery are lost to history, the anonymity of American slaves is even more pronounced. The business of shipping slaves required no gathering and recording of information about the captives as individuals, and the business of keeping slaves was

similarly minimalist. And few slaves had the chance to supplement the record by setting down their "stories" in either diaries, letters to family, or official records—marriage banns, birth announcements, wills proved—the kinds of documents that allow many white Americans to reconstruct at least some part of their family stories, or the story as they would like to tell it. The medium of biography, so effective in conveying information about times gone by, and perhaps the most accessible and popular form of historical writing, is problematic in the context of slavery.

73



historian Brenda Stevenson has methods that

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noted the

⁷³ Courtesy of Agnes Cane Kallum

nineteenth-century planters used to promote matrifocal families within slave plantation communities, "routinely identifying the child's parentage solely with the mother, often denying any acknowledgement of the father's role—biological, emotional, social, or material"—effectively erasing fathers from the lives of their children and diminishing their status as husbands. The extremely patriarchal Thomas Jefferson took a different route. He definitely saw enslaved men as the heads of their households, an attitude likely to be well known within the enslaved community. His Farm Book listings of slave households begin with a male's name, followed by a female's, and then their children's. When they do not, as other sources indicate, it was because the father of the children was a white man, and could not be listed as living within the woman's household, or the women had "abroad" marriages with men who did not live on Jefferson's farms. Perhaps even more telling about his attitude is that in the separate listing of births during any given year, after he wrote the child's name, he put the parents' names next. When the man's name was included (that is, when he was black and lived on one of Jefferson's plantations), it was customarily placed first. Writing of intact enslaved families in other documents, he referred to the man first and then "his wife" and children. When Jefferson contemplated blacks' future outside of slavery, he spoke of black men—not black women—as the prime movers of their society. To him men of all races were natural leaders; women of all races, natural followers.



85 Portrait of Sally Hemings

Sally Hemings surely knew the social realities of her time—that there were people who felt she was unworthy of being called by her name—yet could still feel the sting of being dismissed or discounted as a person. She, and other slaves and black people, knew from their intimate family relations what it felt like to be a person who mattered—to be someone's mother, someone's daughter, sister, or friend. Those experiences as valued members of a family or a community provided a critical counterpoint to the world they lived in with the whites with whom they were forced to interact. It is a safe assumption that a person who has a name would prefer to be called by it. Enslaved people

could not force whites to give them the dignity of using their names, and they often had to appear as if all the slights and dismissals did not matter when, often, they mattered very much. It was a rare enslaved person who got to record her observations of the whites who controlled her life, so we do not know what Sally Hemings thought.⁷⁴



⁷⁴ Gordon-Reed at 22-23, 79-80, 197, 341.

Chaptico Dec 28th 1859

Dear Sister,

...I was very glad indeed that you had attended so promptly to my request & been successful to procure a woman for me. After you left I felt sure I had succeeded in procuring one from Mr. Briscoe, but at the eleventh hour, after offering her & I accepting her, he wrote me he could not hire her out. . . I will be down for Lucinda the last of this week or the first of next if the weather permits.

Your Brother,

Most sincerely

H. Briscoe

[Editor's Note: This letter is from Dr. Henry Briscoe to his sister Margaret who was then residing at Sotterley.]

Hillery Kane was often away from Sotterley, as his Master, Colonel Billingsley, often rented him out for plastering jobs. It has been said that Hillery Kane plastered many of the finest homes in St. Mary's County. He also plastered the small cabin he lived in along the Patuxent River with his family. There is a story of a hog killing time on the plantation, when slaves would collect the bristles that were scraped from the skin of the newly killed hog. These bristles, when mixed with clay and silt from the river, served as important "chinking" between the cabin's rough hewn logs for the winter months- a kind of plaster, if you will.⁷⁵

Anthony Burns reported that many slaveholders, having more slaves than they could use, found it profitable to hire them out. In addition, some slaveholders felt that it was

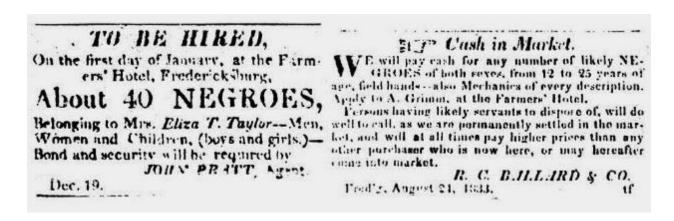
⁷⁵ Arrigan, Marylin. Slavery and the Enslaved People at Sotterley Plantation. 2003

better to give consideration to the slave's desire to earn some money than to risk rebellion and possible loss by thwarting his inclination.

According to Burns, if an owner decided to hire out, he usually summoned the "quarters" before him and designated by name who he had chosen to go. He generally issued passes to those chosen, and left them to find their own way to the "hiring-ground."

Whatever the distance to the hiring-ground, it was at the slave's peril that he failed to appear at the appointed time. En route to the hiring-ground, and until leased, it was up to the slaves to make their own way. The master rarely provided food or shelter, but gave each one a small amount of money with which he was expected to survive.

The hiring-out itself was usually done by contract, written or oral, and consummated either between the slave and the lessee or the slaveholder and the lessee. Most contracts were entered into around Christmas-time each year, and one year was the usual term.



86 Hiring Out Slaves Newspaper Ad

The contract usually required that the hired slave pay a fixed percentage or amount of his earnings to the master. If the slave lost time through sickness within the year, he was obliged to make it up. Whatever the weather or the availability of work, at the end of each month the master had to receive his stated amount. If not, many masters would withdraw the hiring-out privilege. Obviously, wrote Frederick Douglass, the entire arrangement was decidedly in the master's favor. It relieved the master of the burden of caring for the slave, while nevertheless insuring his investment. Douglass noted that the

master "received all the benefits of slaveholding without its evils; while I endured all the evils of a slave, and suffered all the care and anxiety of a freeman."

The collection of narratives recorded by William Still reported that the slave had to find his own room and supply himself with board and clothes. But difficult as this arrangement was, it was generally considered better than plantation life. To many, to be allowed these responsibilities was a step toward freedom.

The plantation slave, too, had opportunities to earn money. Peter Still claimed that sometimes a good master would divide a large field into many little patches, and each slave could work nights and Sundays cultivating one patch. If all was going well with the plantation work, the overseer, if he were so inclined, might give the slave an additional half-day or even Saturday to work his own plot. Whatever was produced on this small patch, was sold to the master – "at his price, which was seldom more than half the market value."

Peter Still claimed that the plan to buy one's freedom was too often ended by a rude awakening to the master's deceit. The slave would propose the subject to the master, who would fix a price for his liberty. Now he had something for which to work. Within a short number of years he would be able to pay the agreed price. He would pay his hard-earned wages to the master only to find to his amazement that the master would keep the payment, deny ever having promised the slave his liberty, and bid "him never mention the subject more." Sometimes, however, slaves who paid for their freedom in installments took precautions against this deception by demanding written receipts for each payment. This method was often unsuccessful, for suddenly the master would leave the city and "before the poor slave was aware of any approaching change, an agent to whose care he had been consigned, had sold him to another master."

The slave documents collected by *The Liberator* reported that many masters enticed their slaves into harder work by promising them the chance to purchase their freedom. Although there were some slaveholders who kept their word, most merely used this as a device. The question of the morality of buying one's freedom was raised by Frederick Douglass when he was presented with the opportunity. It was charged that to buy one's

freedom recognized and reinforced the very principle of slavery. Douglass replied that the purchase of his freedom was not to compensate the slaveholder, but to release himself from his power; not to establish his natural right to freedom, but to be released from all the legal liabilities to slavery. He asserted that "the error of those, who condemn this transaction, consists in their confounding of the crime of buying men *into slavery*, with the meritorious act of buying men out of slavery, and the purchase of legal freedom with abstract right and natural freedom." He analogized, "there is now, in this country, a heavy duty on corn. The government of this country has imposed it and though I regard it a most unjust and wicked imposition, no man of common sense will charge me with endorsing or recognizing the right of this government to impose this duty, simply because, to prevent myself and family from starving, I buy and eat this corn."

The practice of hiring slaves of other men and women became more prevalent as the institution grew and matured; it allowed less wealthy people who could not afford to buy slaves to rent them, giving them an economic and personal stake in slavery that they would not have had otherwise. Not everyone was happy about this. Prospective buyers were often reluctant to purchase enslaved people who had ever been hired out, thinking that the experience of working for wages—even when they did not keep them—made them questionable as slave property. The split in authority between the "true" master and the hirer weakened enslaved people's links to both the idea and the fact of the primary master-slave relationship. It also highlighted their connection to free laborers. The two groups would inevitably compare themselves and see some points of commonality.

Perhaps most ominously of all, hiring slaves out put a dollar value on their services, bringing home very forcefully to enslaved people (as if they did not already know this) that their labor had a specific economic value that could be determined. A hired enslaved carpenter knew that the hirer was paying his legal master for his labor. When the hire was over, he returned to his own home to do the same work. The value

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⁷⁶ Feldstein at 101-02.

of his work, expressed by the hirer's payments to the master, did not disappear; it was merely being captured by his legal owner, just as surely as his body had been captured and held by men with superior numbers and force. Frederick Douglass wrote passionately about the extreme indignity of having to give his legal owner the money he had worked so hard for during the times he was hired out.

Of his owner he wrote,

He would, however, when I made him six dollars sometimes give me six cents, to encourage me. It had the opposite effect. I regarded it as an admission of my right to the whole. The fact that he gave me any part of my wages was proof, to my mind, that he believed me entitled to the whole of them. I always felt worse for having received anything; for I feared that giving me a few cents would ease his conscience and make him feel himself to be a pretty honorable sort of robber. My discontent grew upon me.

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⁷⁷ Gordon-Reed, Annette. "The Hemingses of Monticello: An American Family." The Hemingses of Monticello: An American Family, W.W. Norton, 2009.

DUCATION OF THE ENSLAVED

Agnes Kane Callum:

Now, one of their names was Joe; his name was Joseph but they called him Joe, and his job was to go to that school every morning and dust, because they burned wood in the stove, and to dust and start a fire for the children that Dr. Briscoe had here as boarders. Dr. Briscoe had a boarding school here. And Joe Kane said every morning he would go to the schoolhouse, and they would sing a song, they would play music, that's the way they'd start the day off, and he loved that music so well, until, he would kneel down, on the outside of the window, and would listen to them play. And that way he learned to play the violin and the banjo.⁷⁸

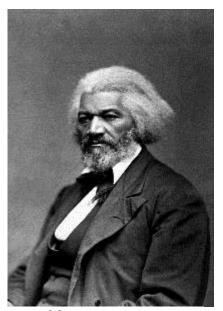


87 Sotterley Plantation Schoolhouse

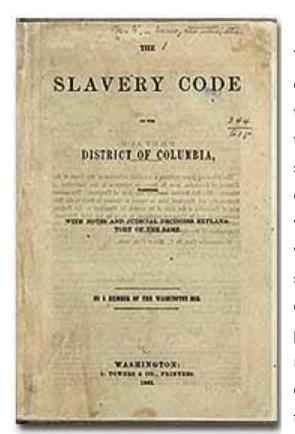
⁷⁸ Callum, Agnes Kane. YouTube "An Interview with Agnes Kane Callum"

For those families that remained together (and even among those who did not), education was, when permitted, a prime concern.

Frederick Douglas remembered the difficulties involved in acquiring knowledge. He explained that because the danger that accompanied the acquisition of knowledge was far greater than the reward of literacy, few slaves had any desire to acquire an education, and even fewer obtained one. The slave state statute books were "covered with enactments forbidding, under severe fines and penalties, the teaching of the slave to read or to write."



88 Frederick Douglas

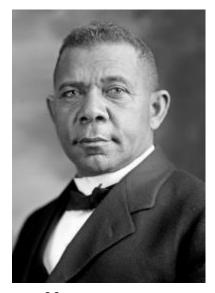


89 Slavery Codes and Laws for the District of Columbia

To educate a slave was to make him discontented with slavery, wrote Douglas, and to invest in him a power which could open the treasuries of freedom. Thus, he reasoned, since the object of the master was to maintain complete control over the slave, constant vigilance was exercised to prevent anything which woud militate against or endanger the stability of his authority. One did not often hear of the enforcement of this law, or of the punishment imposed for teaching slaves to read. This was not because of a want of disposition to enforce it, claimed Douglas, for there was, among the slaveholding population, the greatest unanimity of opinion "in favor of the policy of keeping the slave in ignorance." In

fact, limited enforcement of this law was due to the lack of desire on the part of the freeman to violate it. Moreover, the vast majority of slaves were in no position,

financially or otherwise, to offer "temptation sufficiently strong to induce a white man to violate." Nevertheless there were freemen who were willing to risk the sacrifice of their lives or liberty by offering education to slaves. As a general rule, however, the darkness of illiteracy reigned.



90 Booker T. Washington

Booker T. Washington, the great educator, reported that most educated slaves were early motivated either by innate curiosity or accident. Often, according to Washington, slaves would accompany the children of the "great house" to school and would wonder what was contained in the books they carried. The schoolroom itself, filled with apparently happy white children, made a deep and lasting impression on the servant. To many, to get into the schoolhouse and be a student "would be about the same as getting into paradise." Yet, to have seen a slave with the ability to read and write would have been, in the words of

James Roberts, "not much short of a miracle; it would have been a very great curiosity, so much so, that hundreds would have gone fifty or a hundred miles to see such a one."

There were, of course, some whites who attempted to educate the slaves, and consequently, there were some success stories. As a child of eight, John Thompson would often be sent to the local schoolhouse with the white children, to carry their dinners; and one of them, who sought to befriend him, offered to teach him to read and write. They sometimes started out an hour or two before school time, and, in order to escape the observation of the other children, they would hold classes in the woods. John spent virtually every spare moment studying. He soon finished his first book, which was Webster's Spelling Book, and advanced to the English Reader. Next, he was introduced to writing exercises. So excited had he become with his new-found talents that he would steal away from his cabin at night to study in the open field.

When John's teacher was about to leave the plantation, he said to him, "I am sorry John, that I cannot teach you longer. But you must not forget what you have learned, and try to improve what you can by yourself." Happily, John Thompson was later able to proclaim that he would forever be in debt to this slaveholder's son who gave him the rudiments of his "greatest blessing" – his education.⁷⁹



91 Dr. Janice Walthour

Dr. Janice Walthour: I'd like to just leave you with this quote by Maya Angelou, and she says: "Hold these things that tell your story and protect them. During slavery, who was able to read and write? The ability to have someone to tell your story is so important. It says 'I was here; I may be sold tomorrow, but you know, I was here'." ⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Feldstein, Stanley. Once a Slave: the Slaves' View of Slavery. W. Morrow, 1971.

⁸⁰ The Agnes Kane Callum Slave Cabin Dedication Cermony.

ARRIED LIFE FOR THE ENSLAVED



Agnes Kane Callum:

The Kanes were the first items disposed of in the liquidation of the estate of James J. Gough. They were put on the slave block in Leonardtown, the county seat, in December 1848. Hillery was sold to Chapman Billingsley. Dr. Walter Hanson Briscoe purchased Hillery's wife Mariah and her children at a private sale in March 1849.

Mariah lived about four years after she arrived at Sotterley. About two years after Mariah died, Hillery married Alice Elsa Bond from Dr. Briscoe's Sotterley. It has not been determined whether Dr. Briscoe acquired Alice Elsa specifically for Hillery's wife or if he already owned her.

Hillery lived on the plantation of his owner, Col. Chapman Billingsley whose land was next Sotterley. Hillery was a frequent visitor to Sotterley; in fact, he lived on Sotterley for several weeks at a time. Billingsley and Briscoe had some sort of agreement that Hillery could be often with his family.⁸¹

Perhaps the most important factor in their struggle to retain their humanity was the slaves' insistence upon maintaining the sanctity of marriage and the warmth of family life.

Solomon Northup recognized that for him marriage, in the ordinary, legal sense, did not exist. The only requirement for entering into a marriage was the consent of the master. In most cases, slaves were encouraged to marry, for marriage was to the master like animal breeding, and had as its purpose the increase of his "stock." Unlike most Americans, slaves were permitted to have more than one mate; as many, in fact, as the owner would allow. Nevertheless, recognizing a moral law, and in defiance of the institution, many felt that it was wrong to have more than one spouse and refused, to

⁸¹ Callum, Agnes Kane. YouTube "An Interview with Agnes Kane Callum".

the best of their ability, to do so. The slave was also at liberty to discard a mate with his owner's consent. Thus, asserted William Wells Brown, "there has never yet a case occurred where a slave has been tried for bigamy. The man may have as many women as he wishes, and the women as many men; and the law takes no cognizance of such acts among slaves."

Kate Pickard, who recorded the experiences of Peter and Vina Still, reported that some slaves were not permitted to marry off the plantation; rather the master would manage to bring couples together locally and make a match. If either slave refused to participate, he or she was beaten into submission.

Other slaves were permitted to marry "abroad" (off the plantation). Marrying abroad, they stated, required the consent of both masters. According to these accounts, physically small men were not allowed to marry large, robust women. If the male was big and healthy and the female on a nearby plantation looked as though she might be a "good breeder," the owners agreed to mutual visits, and passes were frequently given. The Georgia Narratives of the Federal Writers' Project indicate that some slaves preferred to marry abroad for they were thereby spared the sight of their mates being frequently beaten. For this reason, too, others refused to marry at all.

In accordance with their desire to maintain their identities, the great majority of slaves who did marry insisted upon some celebration of the occasion. Bethany Veney related that the marriage ceremony itself was basically the same on all plantations. Usually a party was arranged for a Saturday night. A broom was placed flat down in the center of the room and the couple was directed to join hands. Together they jumped over the broom, turned around and jumped back. The ceremony thus completed, the master pronounced them husband and wife.

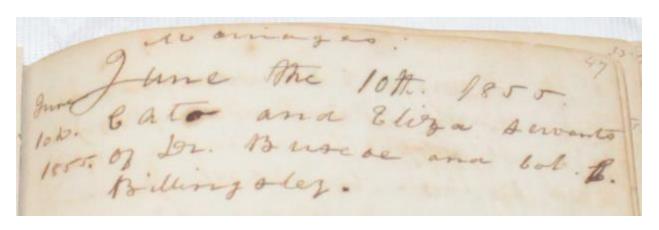


92 Slave Wedding Ceremony

Aside from any subconscious desire to resist the effects of the institution, most slaves married because they wanted companionship – someone with whom they could share their love. Many "yearned to have a home," even if it was only the wretched home of the unprotected slave, to have a wife to love [him] and to love." One slave, Thomas H. Jones, recognizing the dehumanizing effects of slavery, stated that the slave who was "despised and trampled upon by a cruel race of unfeeling men" would "die in the prime of his wretched life, if he [found] no refuge in a dear home, where love and sympathy shall meet him from hearts made sacred to him by his own irrepressible affection and tenderness for them."

Marriage between slaves sometimes accommodated their own personal affections, but it was always in the financial interest of the master. Therefore, the feelings of the slaves were more or less indulged as the master's interest varied. As one articulate former slave concluded:

Legally, there is no such relation as husband and wife among slaves, because the law adjudges them to be things, and not men and women. They are chattels in law, and their sexual relations in contemplation of law are the same as any other animals. The whole affair is in the hand of the master as a means of the increase and improvement of stock. Other important motives sometimes blend with it and subject it to ulterior views. But the end purpose is the same. The slave being "property to all intents," is subject of course, to the laws relating to "things" and not to "persons." ⁸²



93 From the Records of St. Andrew's Church

Marriages

June the 10th 1855

Cato and Eliza servants of Dr. Briscoe and Col. Billingsley



Samuel Baldwin: A review of St. Andrew's Church records and separate slave statistics indicates that Robert Plater, a servant of the Briscoe family at Sotterley, was married to Eliza Plater, a servant of Colonel Billingsley on the adjoining farm. This followed by a number of years the earlier marriage of Eliza and "Kato."

Figure 94 Portrait of Eliza Plater

⁸² Feldstein at 52-54.

VERSEERS

John Hanson Briscoe: And the major work force was... the accumulation and purchase of up to 53 slaves. You asked me who managed them. I don't know how much hands-on management Dr. Briscoe had. Of course, he had sons. And his youngest son, my grandfather, was a good farmer and he probably worked the slaves and I guess Dr. Briscoe did have slaves that were there that he trusted who would report to him. ⁸³



95 Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe, Jr.

Agnes Kane Callum: Some of the negative things that were going on in other counties. . . I didn't find that for St. Mary's. And that was partly what I was looking for. I didn't hear of Dr. Briscoe being mean. . . his sons were his overseers. He had two sons that were overseers.84

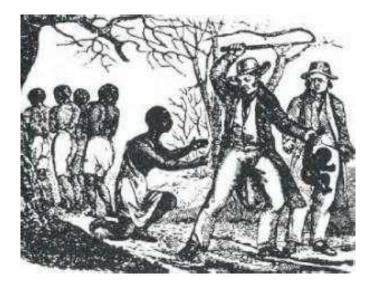
One local scholar who is familiar with Sotterley suggests that the overseer was actually a grown child of Dr. Briscoe and one of his slaves, for it would have been beneath the social standing of one of his white children to be an overseer. Whenever planters owned more than thirty slaves, work routines were usually supervised by overseers. Although some overseers forged lasting associations with their employers, on the whole they

⁸³ Interview of John Hanson Briscoe

⁸⁴ Kane Callum, Agnes Sotterley Oral History Project April 21, 2008.

tended to be highly mobile men who rarely held a position for more than a year. The short duration of their employment can be explained, to a great extent, by the nature of their work. Overseers were expected to coerce efficient, profitable labor from reluctant slave gangs while simultaneously adhering to their employers' warnings not to abuse the slaves by pushing them too hard. It is not so surprising, then, that they were routinely judged inept.

Although planters generally regarded overseers as a bothersome nuisance, they nonetheless found their services useful. According to historian Eugene D. Genovese, planters used their overseers to shield themselves psychologically from the harsher aspects of slavery. Because the overseer was the person most immediately responsible for the slaves' misery, when he was censured or fired the master of a plantation would appear to be concerned with the slaves' well-being. By disposing of a harsh overseer, particularly one prone to use the whip as his chief means of discipline, slaveholders might flatter themselves that they were benevolent and kindly masters. In the short run, their slaves might even have shared this perception.



96 An Overseer

The overseers' social position was tenuous at best. Separated by class from the planters for whom they worked and by race from the slaves they supervised, they existed at the margins of the two groups both socially and spatially.



97 The Driver

Frequently overseers were assisted by knowledgeable slaves known as "drivers." Indeed, on those plantations that had no overseer in residence, the driver filled the overseer's role. Eugene Genovese estimates that two-thirds of the slave population may have worked under black supervision. That these black managers were highly regarded is indicated in the following discussion from a popular nineteenth-century plantation manual: "The head driver is the most important negro on the plantation. He is to be treated with more respect than any other negro both by the master and the overseer. He is on no occasion to be treated with any indignation calculated to lose the respect of other negroes without breaking him." One scholar suggests that Dr. Briscoe's white children would not have been the overseers of the slaves; this would have been beneath their social standing. This scholar suggests the overseer was Dr. Briscoe's son by one of his enslaved.



⁸⁵ Vlach at pp. 135.



98 Possibly Dr. Briscoe's wife, Emeline

Notes on Mrs. Mabel Ingalls' talk during a tour of Sotterley Mansion in September 1969:

The story Mrs. Bond had about the old kitchen, this was a wing, very obviously built a good deal later than the house itself, which projected towards the river. Old Mrs. Briscoe – the Doctor's wife who was rather an invalid – could sit looking out the window of this little parlor [Sotterley's Red Room] and through the window of the kitchen, to see that the slaves were working. (Mrs. Bond was one of Dr. Briscoe's daughters.)



99 Sotterley's Kitchen Wing

While there were many whites who recognized and fought against the inhumanity of slavery, the majority were much like the northerner who visited a southern plantation and described being awakened by the overseer's horn.

I soon hear the tramp of the laborers passing along the avenue.... All is soon again still as midnight.... I believe that I am the only one in the house that the bell disturbs; yet I do not begrudge the few minutes loss of sleep it causes me, it sounds so pleasantly in the half dreamy morning.

Anonymous

Perhaps the sound of other human beings marching to the fields for another day of forced labor was a "pleasant" one. Perhaps. But to those who made the sound, it was the dull monotonous sound of the living deaths in which they were held captive. 86



100 Sotterley's fields below the mansion

An hour before daylight the horn is blown. Then the slaves arouse, prepare their breakfast, fill a gourd with water, in another, deposit their dinner of cold bacon and corn cake, and hurry to the field again. It is an offense invariably followed by a flogging to be found at the quarters after daybreak. Then the fears and labors of another day begin and until its close there is no such thing as rest.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Lester at 74-75.

⁸⁷ Northrup at 167,70.

I think about one hundred and sixty-eight assembled this morning at the sound of the horn-two or three being sick sent word to the overseer that they could not come. The overseer then led off to the field with his horn in one hand and his whip in the other, we following – men, women and children, promiscuously – and a wretched looking troop we were. There was not an entire garment among us.

We walked nearly a mile through one vast cotton field before we arrived at the place of our intended day's labor.⁸⁸

With the exception of ten or fifteen minutes, which is given them at noon to swallow their allowance of cold bacon, they are not permitted to be a moment idle until it is too dark to see, and when the moon is full, they oftentimes labor till the middle of the night. They do not dare to stop even at dinner time, nor return to the quarters, however late it be, until the order to halt is given by the driver.⁸⁹

From the time the stars began to fade from the sky in the morning until they reappeared in the evening, the slaves worked at cotton and at everything else which had to be done on the plantation. Each day ended as the previous one had. Each one began as the previous one had. And each day expended itself as the previous one had.

Yes, sir, I can hear it now. Ol' overseer used to blow us out at sunrise on the conker shell—"Toot—toot!" Had to get your breakfast before day, 'cause you got to be in the field when the sun gets to showing itself about the trees.

West Turner⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Ball at 128-29.

⁸⁹ Northup at 167,70.

⁹⁰ Lester at 69-70.

NAWAY ENSLAVED

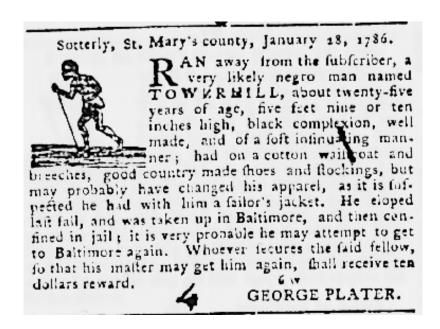
According to the 1790 census George Plater III had 93 slaves at Sotterley. We have documentation of two runaway slaves, Towerhill and Clem. George Plater III puts ads for their capture and return in the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, in 1784 and 1786:

THIRTY DOLLARS REWARD. November 29, 1784. RAN away from the fubscriber, living on Pa-tuxent river, in St Mary's county, a young negro man named CLEM, but often calls himfelf Clem Hill; he is a fhort fellow, about five feet feven inches high, remarkably bow legged, boid, impudent and infinuating in his mannet, and affects to be very complaifant; it is probable he may attempt to pais for a free man; had on when he went away a blue jacket, white cloth breeches, a pair of new shoes with large plated buckles, but may have changed his apparel, as he is exceedingly artful and very sensible. Whoever takes him up so that his owner may get him again, if in this state, shall have twenty dollars, if out of the state thirty dollars, 6 w paid by GEORGE PLATER.

THIRTY DOLLARS REWARD

November 29, 1784

RAN away from the subscriber, living on Patuxent river, in St. Mary's county, a young negro man named CLEM, but often calls himself Clem Hill; he is a short fellow, about five feet seven inches high, remarkably bow legged, bold, impudent and insinuating in his manner, and affects to be very complaisant; it is probable he may attempt to pass for a free man; had on when he went away a blue jacket, white cloth breeches, a pair of new shoes with large plated buckles, but may have changed his apparel, as he is exceedingly artful and very sensible. Whoever takes him up so that his owner may get him again, if in this state, shall have twenty dollars, if out of state thirty dollars paid by George Plater.



Sotterley, St. Mary's County. January 28, 1786

RAN away from the subscriber, a very likely negro man named TOWERHILL, about twenty-five years of age, five feet nine inches high, black complexion, well made, and of a soft insinuating manner; had on cotton waistcoat and breeches, good country made shoes and stockings, but may probably have changed his apparel, as it suspected he had with him a sailor's jacket. He eloped last fall, and was taken up in Baltimore, and then confined in jail; it is probable he may attempt to get to Baltimore again. Whoever secures the said fellow, so that his master may get him again, shall receive ten dollars reward.

GEORGE PLATER91.

Agnes Kane Callum: This one man kept running away and he would go down in Prince George's County where his wife was a slave. And he ran away, Dr. Briscoe knew where he was, well the sheriff would write a letter to Dr. Briscoe and tell him, "If you don't come and get your slave, then I'm going to sell him again." And Dr. Briscoe had to

⁹¹ Arrigan, Marylin. Slavery and the Enslaved People at Sotterley Plantation. 2003.

pay board, 32 cents a day, to board him in the jail – food, clothing, wash, and what have you. Dr. Briscoe refused to go get him. 92 Now, Frank, who I mentioned was the doctor's coachman, he was trustworthy, because the doctor would send him to Baltimore to pick up a load of bibles for the church, St. Andrew's Church, and, I asked his daughter 'Why didn't he keep on going? He was in Baltimore, maybe go to Philadelphia or one of the Underground Railroad states.' She said 'because he didn't wanna leave his family. He wouldn't think of leaving his family.'93

The narratives reveal that the fugitive slave represented ultimate resistance to the system and to dehumanization.

In most cases, this was the slave who responded to the "cry for freedom," or the slave whose basic human integrity rebelled against the thought of a life of subjugation.

There are, of course, reports of slaves who fled merely to escape a beating, or to seek their families. Many ran away with the intention of returning – but never did so – while others escaped permanently, but never got any further than the woods or swamps surrounding the plantation.

In any event, as demonstrated by the relative few who attempted to escape, it was surely an extraordinary slave who became a fugitive.

⁹² Sotterley Oral History Project, April 21, 2008

⁹³ Callum, Agnes Kane. YouTube "An Interview with Agnes Kane Callum"



101 Capture of a Runaway Slave



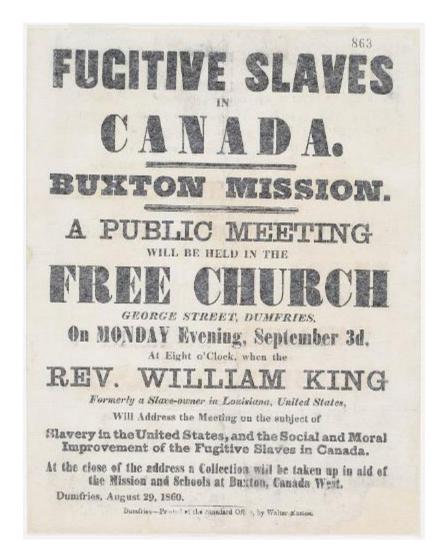
102 Samuel Ward

Because the fear of the slaves' escape was always with him, the master placed all manner of obstacles in the slaves' path and constantly exercised a most vigilant surveillance. Samuel Ward noted that the slave was not permitted to learn to read and write – for this could better prepare him to make his escape. He was not permitted to go out after ten o'clock at night without a written pass, or to be absent from the estate after nightfall. If he violated these rules, he was apprehended, imprisoned, and advertised as a fugitive. Whether he was actually seeking escape or not, a violation of one of these rules was tantamount

to attempted escape and the slave received the severest possible punishment. Ward described the punishment as "more than ordinarily cruel for the fault – desire for freedom, in the freest country under the sun – both to cure him of any such desire or tendency in the future, and to intimidate other slaves."

The slave was aware of the possible consequences before he became a fugitive, whether or not he was successful. He had received lectures from his master on the poor

climate and barbaric customs of the free states and Canada. Sometimes, however, the master went too far, and slaves were heard to say that they knew Canada was a good country for them, just because the master was so anxious for them *not* to go there.



103 Fugitive Slaves in Canada

The narratives describe some of the ways in which the fugitive made his escape, and how he got to his destination.

He generally traveled on foot, with scanty means. The runaway had everything going against him – the laws of the United States, big rewards offered for his capture, and no knowledge of the areas he was to pass through. He had no map or compass to guide him and was forced to hide from every face he encountered. He often despaired for

reaching his destination, for there were few people along the way to help him until he reached areas further north. Isaac Williams wrote of the numerous times that "hypocrisy" did clothe itself in the garments of benevolence, and self-interest be the governing motive, that he [the fugitive] would find too late that his confidence had been treacherously betrayed."

If they were not betrayed, some of these fugitives headed for the free states and some managed to make the trip without creating suspicion. They often represented themselves as "turnpikers," who were going for a job north of the vicinity. This deception worked well for some, until they passed beyond familiar territory and had to ask directions. When they were compelled to make inquiries on the road, they were frequently interrupted with probing questions.⁹⁴

Yet no matter how repressive slave owners became, there were always slaves who

I heard a rap—bump! bump! on my door. I answered a-hollerin'! Then someone whispered, "Hush! Don't say nothing, but let me in!" I let her in. Lawd, that woman was all out of breath and a-begging. "Can I stay here tonight?" I told her she could, so the woman done sleep right there behind me in my bed all night. I knew she had run away, and I was gonna do my part to help her along. I took and heard the horses and talking in the woods. Dogs just a-barking. I peeped out the window and saw white folks go by. I didn't move, I was so scared they was gonna come in the cabin and search for that po' woman. Next morning she stole out from there and I ain't never seen her no more.

Jenni Patterson

tried to escape, who knew little more than that if they followed the North Star they would

⁹⁴ Feldstein, Stanley. *Once a Slave: the Slaves' View of Slavery*. W. Morrow, 1971.

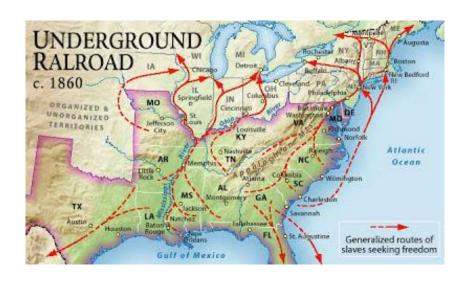
eventually reach a place where they would be free. And they were always helped along their way by other slaves.⁹⁵

At the sound of my voice, he sprang to his feet, and at a single bound, rushed mid-deep into the water, then turning, he besought me in a suppliant and piteous tone of voice to have mercy upon him and not carry him back to his master.

Rising from the bushes, I now advanced to the waterside, and desired him to come out without fear, and to be assured that if I could render him any assistance, I would do it most cheerfully. As to carrying him back to his master, I was more ready to ask help to deliver me from my own than to give aid to anyone in forcing him back. My new friend now desired me to look at his back, which was seamed and ridged with scars of the whip and hickory, from the pole of his neck to the lower extremity of his spine. The natural color of the skin had disappeared, and was succeeded by a streaked and speckled appearance of dusky white and pale flesh color, scarcely any of the original black remaining.

He told me his name was Paul, that he was a native of Congo, in Africa, and had been a slave five years. He had then been wandering in the woods more than three weeks, with no other subsistence than the land tortoises, frogs, and other reptiles that he had taken in the woods, and the aid of his spear.

⁹⁵ Lester, Julius, and Tom Feelings. "To Be a Slave." To Be a Slave, Dial Press, 1968.



"I have come," said Benjamin, "to tell you good bye. I am going away." I inquired where. "To the north," he replied. I looked to see whether he was in earnest. I saw it all in his firm, set mouth. I implored him not to go, but he paid no heed to my words. He said he was no longer a boy, and every day made his yoke more galling. He raised his hand against his master, and was to be publicly whipped for the offense. I reminded him of the poverty and hardships he must encounter among strangers. I told him he might be caught and brought back; and that was terrible to think of. He grew vexed, and asked if poverty and hardships with freedom were not preferable to our treatment in slavery. "Linda," he continued, "we are dogs here; foot-balls, cattle, everything that's mean. No, I will not stay. Let them bring me back. We don't die but once."

He was right, but it was hard to give him up. "Go," said I, "and break your mother's heart." I repented the words ere they were out.

"Linda," said he, speaking as I had not heard him speak that evening, 'how could you say that? Poor mother! Be kind to her, Linda.' Farewells were exchanged, and the bright, kind boy, endeared to us by so many acts of love, vanished from our sight. ⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Jacobs, Harriet A., *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*.

ADDYROLLERS

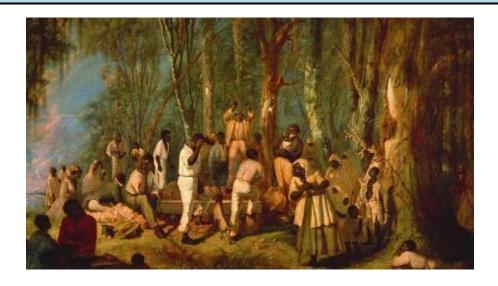
Agnes Kane Callum:

Here on this plantation (Soterley) they were sort of isolated, because I have never been able to find any cruelty – all I heard of was the paddyrollers, which were patrollers. They were dressed up like a ghosts, I guess in white sheets and they rode around from plantation to plantation – that was to



104 Badge of the Slave Patrol

keep the slave in check, because at night they worked up until dark. At night they would go to another plantation visiting friends, their relatives. And these paddyrollers would be around to sort of frighten them. But they weren't frightening nobody because the people still went back and forth.



105 Slave Meeting in the Woods

Even though the slaves returned from the fields exhausted at night, they would often sneak off to the woods for church services, singing, and parties, where they would sing and dance away the pain of the day and feel that ecstasy which comes from knowing that one is a human being, not a work animal.

White men were hired to patrol the roads and woods surrounding the plantations to catch any slave who might be going to a gathering or trying to escape. These "paddyrollers," as they were called by the slaves, had permission to whip any slave they caught.⁹⁷

When the niggers go round singing "Steal Away to Jesus" that mean there going to be a religious meeting that night. The masters before and after freedom didn't like them religious meetings, so us naturally slips off at night, down in the bottoms or somewhere. Sometimes us sing and pray all night.

Anonymous

Library of Congress

Samuel Baldwin: During Christmas of 1859, Dr. Walter Briscoe's son, Dr. Henry Briscoe, found himself somewhat stranded at Chaptico over the holidays. He wrote to his sister and, in his letter, made reference to the nighttime revelry of the enslaved population who were celebrating the religious holiday:

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⁹⁷ Lester, Julius, and Tom Feelings. "To Be a Slave." *To Be a Slave*, Dial Press, 1968.

Chaptico Dec 28th, 1859

Dear sister,

... I hope you all spent a very pleasant holy day. "More the merrier". . . . But yearly, Christmas comes & goes, & if it was not for the uproar the negros keep in the village, I should not know we have any such day.

Your Brother,

Most sincerely

H. Briscoe

Another method employed to maintain control over the slave was the use of slave patrols. The narratives relate that it was the general function of these groups to enforce strict obedience by the slaves to all the laws, rules, regulations, and customs of the community, and that their special duty was to search the quarters and the homes of free Negroes to uncover fugitives or slaves visiting without a pass.

Solomon Northup reported that the patrols which rode on horseback were armed and accompanied by dogs. The dogs were trained to seize a man on orders and tear him to pieces. The patrols had the right, according to Northup, either by law or general consent, to inflict punishment upon a slave caught beyond the boundaries of his



106 Henry Clay Bruce

master's estate without a pass, and even to shoot him if he attempted to escape their questions. Northup recalled that they were compensated by the slaveholders, who would contribute in proportion to the number of slaves they owned.

Henry Clay Bruce noted that some patrols had jurisdiction covering the city or town limits only, and had no legal rights outside of it. Often, however, their desire to whip a particular slave or group of slaves was so great

that they left their designated area and gathered secretly in the woods without the knowledge or consent of the city officials.

On New Year's Day in Francis Fedric's community, ten or more whites were chosen to man the patrols. The group was usually comprised of slaveholders, poor whites, and professional "nigger-baiters." They were sworn in at the local courthouse, and the leader was called the captain.

The patrols, and especially the captain, had almost unlimited power over the slaves. Lewis Clarke expressed his specific hatred of the captain of the patrols in the following ringing denunciation:

[The] greatest scoundrel is always captain of the band of patrols. They are, emphatically, the servants of servants, and slaves of the devil; they are the meanest, and lowest and worst of all creation. Like starved wharf rats, they are out nights, creeping into slave cabins to see if they have an old bone there; drive out husbands from their own beds, and then take their places. They get up all sorts of pretences, false as their lying tongues can make them, and then whip the slaves and carry the gory lash to the master, for a piece of bread.



107 Paddyrollers

Patrols also made a business of whipping slaves for a fee. Moses Grandy recalled that they would ride about informing persons who kept no overseers that if there was a slave to be whipped, whether man or woman, they would be available when called, for a fee of half a dollar. According to Grandy, widows and other females got their slaves whipped in this manner.

Grandy also stated that if a slave had offended the patrol, even by so innocent a matter as dressing tidily to go to a place of worship, he would be seized, his pass destroyed, and be flogged, while the remainder of the patrol looked the other way. When his master made a complaint of his slave having been beaten without cause, the others would swear they saw no one beat him. The slave's oath would stand for nothing and in such a case, "his tormentors are safe, for they were the only whites present."

According to Henry Clay Bruce the patrols took great pride and pleasure in whipping slaves. They whipped some so unmercifully that some masters issued orders to the patrols, that in punishing a captured slave, no skin should be broken, no blood brought out by the lash. There was no established law of patrolling, it having originated as a custom to please a few slaveholders and to help them control their stock. Therefore, in certain communities, masters threatened to punish any man interfering with their slaves, even if found off their lands, and the patrols carefully avoided such men's slaves.

Austin Steward wrote of masters who had a reputation for kindness and indulgence. Steward reported that they were looked upon with suspicion, and sometimes hatred, by their neighbors, and their slaves were watched more closely than others. The patrol was often anxious to flog some of "these pampered niggers, who were spoiled by the indulgence of a weak, inefficient, but well-meaning owner." A narrative contained in Benjamin Drew's collection states that the other slaveholders felt that "his niggers spoil our niggers."

Solomon Northup reported that although the patrol was specifically established to guard the slaves, any white man could seize a Negro without a pass and whip him. Generally, said Northup, those whites "having the air and appearance of gentlemen, whose dress indicated the possession of wealth," usually failed to do so. They would thoroughly

scrutinize and examine almost every slave, because catching runaways was a money-making business. If, after advertising, no owner appeared, they were sold to the highest bidder and fees were given to the finder for his services. In Northup's words, "A mean white, therefore – a name applied to the species loafer – considers it a god-send to meet an unknown Negro without a pass."

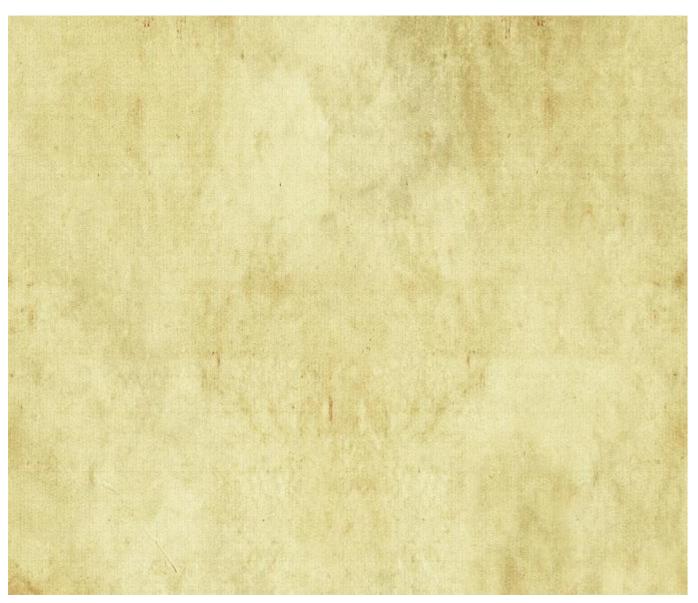
The Arkansas Narratives, as did the Georgia Narratives, stated that slaves would sometimes tie ropes across roads that were frequented by the patrols, causing the patrollers and their horses to fall. This type of "warfare" was constant in the slave states, and Henry Clay Bruce reported that it was easy to fool them, because they were, as a rule, illiterate, and of course could not read writing." Knowing this, slaves would take a portion of a letter that they had found, and present it to the captain as a pass. The captain would take it, look it over wisely, and return it. Others would secure a pass from the master, find a slave who could read to erase the day and month and then use it indefinitely. Other slaves would get their young master or mistress to sign their father's name on a pass whenever they wanted to go out. According to Moses Grandy, patrols were so numerous that they could not be easily escaped, and therefore, it was imperative that the slave present some written document to avoid a beating.⁹⁸

I remember once when we was gonna have a meeting down in the woods near the river. Well, they made me the look-out boy and when the paddyrollers come down the lane past the church—you see they was expecting that the niggers gonna hold a meeting that night—well, sir, they tell me to step out from the woods and let 'em see me. Well, I does, and the paddyrollers that was on horseback come a-chasing after me, just a-galloping down the lane to beat the band. Well, I was just ahead of 'em and when they got almost up with me I just ducked into the woods. Course the paddyrollers couldn't stop so quick and kept on round the bend and then there came a-screamin' and cryin' that make you think that hell done bust loose. Them ol' paddyrollers done rid plumb into a great line of grapevines that the slaves had stretched 'cross the path. And these vines tripped up the

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After that, ol' paddyrollers got wise and used to tie their horses and come creepin' through the woods on foot, until they find where this meeting was going on. Then they would rush

horses and throwed the ol' paddyrollers off in the bushes. And some done landed mighty Feldstein, Stanley. *Once a Slave: the Slaves' View of Slavery*. W. Morrow, 1971. hard, 'cause they was a-limpin' around and cussin' and callin' for the slaves to come and help them, but them slaves got plenty of sense....



⁹⁹ The Negro in Virginia, 146.

HE CIVIL WAR AS IT AFFECTED SOTTERLEY

Sotterley Plantation was one of the largest slave holding plantations in Maryland at the time of the Civil War. Dr. Briscoe, who occupied Sotterley Mansion with his wife and children, owned over 50 slaves. His brother-in-law, Chapman Billingsley, owned the other half of Sotterley, compromised of approximately of 500 acres and over 30 slaves. The coming Civil War had a direct impact on Sotterley as the following letters demonstrate:

On October 16, 1859, John Brown raided the Federal Arsenal at Harper's Ferry. News of this event was recorded in the letter of Dr. Henry Briscoe, then practicing in Chaptico, to his sister Margaret who was then residing at Sotterley:

Chaptico Dec 28th 1859

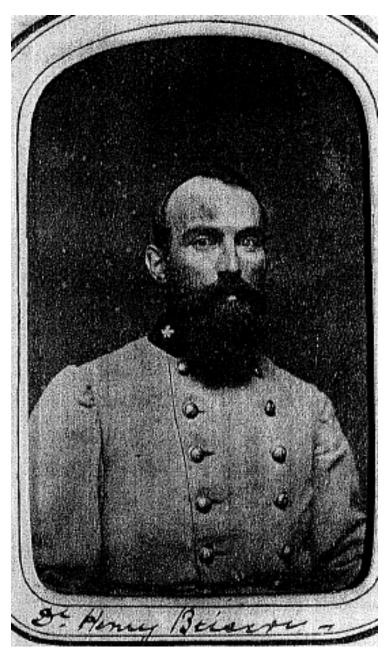
Dear Sister,

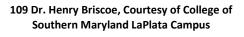
I have been a little more busy professionally than you seem to think. Besides that there were other irritating circumstances to keep me home this Christmas, such as Charlie's accident from which he has not yet recovered, hiring of servants, & protection of nervous women who labor under Harper's Ferry apprehensions . . .

Your Brother,

Most sincerely

H. Briscoe







108 Margaret Ann Briscoe

The romance of a military parade is reflected in this letter written by a Charles County cousin, Elizabeth Mitchell, to Margaret Briscoe just six months later:

Oakley

June 28th 1860

My dearest Cousin Mag,

Father has given Emily & myself the two front squares in the garden and we have laid them off quite prettily in hills for flowers. The tending these beds and a missionary society we are about to form, are the objects which interest me more than any others at this time not even excepting the <u>military</u>, whose brass buttons . . .

Fort Sumter was bombed on April 12, 1861. The reality of Civil War was expressed in this letter which was written later that week by Lizzie Mitchell to Margaret Briscoe at Sotterley.

Oakley

April 18th '61

Dear Cousin Mag,

Oh Cousin Maggie dear, is not our family in a deplorable condition! What will the end be! Don't you think that war is inevitable – a general war, I mean, for war with South Carolina has actually commenced. Are there many secessionists among you, and are you for secession from the "Northern Confederacy"? I am most undoubtedly. Could any of the Southern people stand by and let that black Republican Lincoln attempt to coerce their Southern brethren with Slavery? But I will not give way to any excitement. May God defend us from our enemies and preserve us from all bitterness and prejudice towards each other. There is too much of both qualities already.

Ever yours truly,

Lizzie

Chapman Billingsley was a member of the Maryland Senate in 1862. The country had just witnessed a major Civil War battle at the Battle of Ball's Bluff where the Union Army of the Potomac suffered losses of 223 Union Soldiers as well as the death of Colonel Edward Baker, a then sitting U.S. Senator from Oregon. Chapman Billingsley, writing to his brother-in-law Dr. Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe, on Maryland State Senate stationary had the following to say about this war:

My Dear Doctor

Baltimore, 18th January 1862

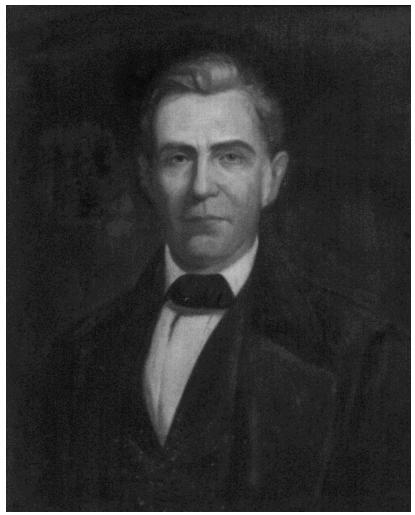
... I have this morning been more than usually reminded of our close intimacy and abiding friendship in days gone by, and feel more closely as the shadows of this earth cluster around us. . . . Oh it is my morning and evening prayer that Heaven's Choicest blessings may be yours, his protection yours from the sad calamities of this cruel fracturing war. Oh how beautiful, how inspiring the thought, the hope of that reunion around the family altar, with a restored Country & Constitution.

You are aware that at the last Session of the Legislature, I introduced into the Senate a series of resolutions, looking to the adjustment of our national Difficulties, which were referred to the Committee upon Federal relations- it seems they were a move in the right direction, for from there have sprung resolutions from Lewis Firey the Senator from Washington County, looking to the same object upon the Littenden Resolutions as originally reported by him, what favour they will return I cannot tell-he is hopefully sincere + honest and a "Union man".

I have very little to do, but record my vote in the Senate, my social relations kind + friendly with all the Senators, and I shall do nothing to man or interrupt in any particular, I wish this war ended upon terms honourable to us all and it can only be done by reconciliation + compromise- and I will make any sacrifice consistent with honour + principle to consummate so great a blessing to my country.

Yours truly,

C Billingsley



 ${\bf 110}\ {\bf Portrait}\ {\bf of}\ {\bf Dr}.\ {\bf Walter}\ {\bf Hanson}\ {\bf Stone}\ {\bf Briscoe}$

While several of his sons were already in Virginia serving in the Confederate Army, Dr. Briscoe's sixteen-year old son was at home living at Sotterley. He was arrested by members of the Northern Army.

Transcription of the Arrest Report and Interrogation John E. Briscoe –December 26, 1863

Head Qrs. Cavalry Detachment Leonardtown, Md. Dec, 26th 1863

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Sirs

I have the honor to report that I arrested (by your order), Mr. John E. Briscoe, a citizen of St. Mary's County Md on the afternoon of the 25th Ultimo. The circumstances of his arrest are as follows. "He was arrested in the house of Mr. Simms where I was visiting. On suspicion of attempting to purchase goods for the use of the enemy. He told me in answer to a question asked him after his arrest that he had not any Brothers or Relatives in the Confederate Army and that his visit to Leonardtown, Md. was partly for pleasure and to buy a pair of kid gloves. He afterward told me that he had four Brothers South & He believed one of them was in the Medical Purveyors Office at Richmond,, That they had gone there since the Commencement of the War,, And that he would take his oath that none of them were in the so called Confederate Army,, He also still further admitted that he came to Leonardtown,, that day with the order on Mr. Simms for six pairs of Kid Gloves. Said order being from D.S. Briscoe, his brother, who was in Virginia,, I enclose to you a letter which he gave to me,, as evidence in his behalf.

Lieut. Jon. Mix Commdg Cavalry Delety Leonardtown, Md. I am Sir,

Very Respectfully

Your Most Obt,, Servant

F.W. Dickerson 1st Lieut. 5th Cavl

Examination of J.E. Briscoe a Citizen of Saint Marys County Md. Charged with attempting to purchase goods for the use of the enemies of the United States & attempting to deceive the Officer (Lt,, Dickerson 5th U.S. Cavalry) who arrested him in regard to his (J.E. Briscoe's) real intentions by telling him (Lt. Dickerson) falsehoods in regard to his business in Leonardtown, Md., his family connections

Question: What is your name Answer: John E. Briscoe. Q – Where do you reside A – On Patuxent River

Q – What occupation or profession do you follow

A - I have been assisting my father on the farm since October

Q - How old are you

A - Sixteen on the 20th day of last May

Q - How many Brothers have you

A - Six

Q – Where are they

A - One at Home, one in Baltimore and the other four in the South

Q – What was your answer when I asked you yesterday if you had any Brothers in the Confederate Army

A - I said No - I had not

Q – Did you not tell me after your arrest that you had Contradicted yourself & that you had Brothers in the Confederate Army

A – I did not

Q – Did you not tell me that you would take your oath that none of your Brothers were in the Confederate Service

A - Yes, Sir

Q – Have your Brothers gone south since the breaking out of the rebellion

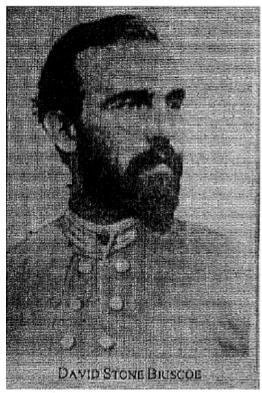
A - Three went in June - 1861 & the others Aug,,/62

Q – About how often have you had communication with your Brothers since they went South

A - Once,, A year ago,



111 Dr. Henry Briscoe, C.S.A



112 David Stone Briscoe, C.S.A

John Hanson Briscoe:

I'd heard that when the Union troops did come there to Sotterley, they mainly took grain, food and provisions, supplies and perhaps took silver and China. They kind of raided the place a little bit, and took things like that. But as far as I know there was no activity concerning their trying to recruit any of Dr. Briscoe's slaves.

Notes on Mrs. Mabel Ingalls' talk on tour of Sotterley Mansion in September 1969:



"A few minutes ago, I referred to a secret panel in the pilaster on the west window of this little parlor (the Red Room). When we first lived here, there was an old lady – Mrs. Bond – who was the daughter of Dr. Briscoe. Mrs. Bond had been there with her parents and sisters during the Civil War and had various stories to tell us about what they did with old Dr. Briscoe, to hide him when the Union troops came by. She also mentioned one day that they kept their papers at the base of this pilaster and, sure enough, my father found that when he picked through the paint and got the panel out, it had

been nicely trimmed and studded with felt around so that it wouldn't stick, and that she had definitely remembered this place. I don't think that John Briscoe, Briscoe's grandson who was born in this particular little parlor, knew about this panel until we told him.

"Mrs. Bond told us that they put her father up in that attic [above the old kitchen] when Union troops came by, because Union troops were always very polite to the ladies, but that her father would be very rude to them and the family was afraid that there might

have been some retribution. The girls would slip up there and give him a little food to keep him quiet while the officers and troops were here.¹⁰⁰ "



113 Sotterley's Kitchen Wing, Circa 1910



114 John Hanson Briscoe and Mabel Ingalls

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 $^{^{100}}$ Notes found within the Sotterley Archives



115 Slaves in uniform during the Civil War

In April of 1861 the Civil War began, and almost immediately slaves in the upper southern states of Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware began leaving to join the northern army. At first they were disappointed. President Abraham Lincoln was more intent upon preserving the Union than he was in freeing the slaves. He had ordered all northern army commanders to return escaped slaves to their owners. But however many the Union Army returned, twice that number came from another direction to take their place. As far as the slaves were concerned, the "bluecoats," as they called the northern army, had come to liberate them and they weren't going to take no for an answer. Wherever the troops went, the slaves came, and soon, orders or no orders, army commanders put them to work as laborers and cooks, for which they were paid wages.

Most slaves did not have to be convinced to leave "ol' massa." Other did, like the young boy in the following narrative whose brother, Jeff, had escaped and joined the "Yankees." Jeff then came back to get his little brother.

He said, I am with the Yankees and I slipped off to come and get you. I have been ducking and dodging for three days trying to get here. I want to take you with me. Don't be scared of the Yankees. And even if we should get killed, it won't be much worse than staying here.

I was scared of the Yankees and especially the cavalry for I had seen troops of horses go by and they looked so awful and sounded like thunder. Too, Massa Bill had always told me that the Yankees were mean and would kill all the Negroes that they could get their hands on. But after I heard what Jeff said I made up my mind to go. I was still young, less than twenty, I know.

The young boy took some food from the big house and met his brother in the woods and travelled until nightfall. The next morning while they were cooking breakfast, some northern soldiers came.

...some Yankees came by on horses. All the men had their helmets tied under their chins and the horses' hoofs sounded like thunder as they went running down the road. It nearly scared me to death and I started to run but Jeff caught me and said, "Charlie, the Yankees won't hurt you. Haven't I been with them nearly a year? They are fighting Mars' Bill and the other white folks. They don't want nothing to us. They will pay us for our work and if Mars' Bill tries to get us after we get among them he will get his foot into it. For they told me that I didn't have to ever go back to him unless I wanted to.

We got to camp early the next morning, just as the Yankees were taking the Negroes out to work. There must have been about a thousand slaves, and they all had axes, going out to cut wood. One troop of cavalry went in front and another behind. This was to protect the slaves from the rebels.

When we came in sight of the advance horsemen, two of them came riding real fast towards us, with pistols in their hands. I got scared and jumped behind a tree and wouldn't come out. They hollered to Jeff and said, "Halt! Who goes there?" Jeff threw up his hands and said, "A workman of the camp, Number 89." By this time one of them was upon me. He said, "Who are you?" I said, "I belong to Mars' Bill." "What do you want here then? Didn't your master treat you good?" I said, "Mars' Bill treated me all right, but I wanted to be free and I came with my brother over here to work." All the others had come up about this time and after talking a little while, they told me to fall in line with my brother and the rest of the workers.

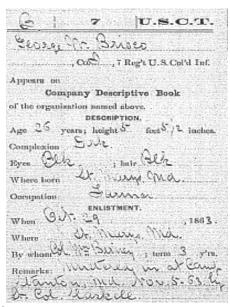
Anonymous

Agnes Kane Callum:

As the slave was enlisted into the regiment their names were credited to the county quota in which they resided and to the State respectively. Along with the name of the enlistee was the name of his owner.

Areas of Maryland that were heavily populated with slaves became the recruiting grounds for the officers appointed to the Seventh Regiment. By October 19, 1863, recruiting had begun in earnest for slave volunteers. Lieutenant Coats took station at Mill Stone Landing, St. Mary's County. This location was vital to the transportation of troops to the battle fields of Virginia and to the Department of the South. About this time, Lieutenant White's company went on to Benedict, Charles County, Maryland, where a training camp was set-up for military instructions. This was known as Camp Stanton. A few miles south of Camp Benedict where hundreds of Black men were drilling, marching, building huts, roads and pathways for their regiment, was St. Mary's County with over 6,500 slaves for their agricultural labor. General Birney was aware of the Black manpower and sent his officers to various parts of the county to recruit. 102

George Washington Barnes was a slave of Dr. Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe. He ran away and joined the United States Colored Troop (USCT) 7th Regiment, writing his last name as Briscoe. His wife was Georgeann Barnes (maiden name was Shaw), who was also owned by Dr. Briscoe. Georgeann later changed her last name to Briscoe as well. Together they had one son that died at a very young age. Georgeann lived in Baltimore after the Civil War. George died in Indianola, Texas in 1866 of cholera while still enlisted in the 7th Regiment.



116 Geo. Briscoe; Paper with the United States Colored Troops

¹⁰² Callum, Agnes Kane. *Colored volunteers of Maryland Civil War.* Baltimore, MD: Mullac, 1990. Print. PP. 2-3.

Little is known of George Briscoe's life at Sotterley Plantation. While we know that he was one of the 53 or more slaves owned by Dr. Walter Hanson Briscoe, we are not sure how he arrived at Sotterley or what work responsibilities he had. We do know from oral



history that George was a constant problem for his Master, constantly running away to Prince George's County, being caught and returned. In 1863, when the Union Army was doing poorly in the War and accepted enlisted black men in the effort, George Briscoe ran away for the last time, and joined the Union forces.¹⁰³

John Hanson Briscoe: My great grandfather, I believe, did resist allowing any of the blacks to join the Union Army. He resisted of course any of his slaves going and becoming Union soldiers for obvious reasons. Not only because he sympathized with the South but he would be losing labor force. Because that's what

really devastated the farm once the Civil War was over and the slaves were freed. All the work was done by the slaves. And they just took off; the majority of them did. So that obviously seriously affected the economic stability of the farm, and it was getting rough then.

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¹⁰³ Arrigan at Section II D Civil War

MANCIPATION

Granma used to tell this story to everybody that would listen, and I expect I heard it a hundred times. Granma say she was hired out to the Randolphs during the war. One day while she was weeding corn another slave, Mamie Tolliver, come up to her and whispered, "Sarah, they tell me that Massa Lincoln done set all us slaves free." Granma say, "Is that so?" and she dropped her hoe and run all the way to the Thacker's place—seven miles it was—and run to ol' missus and looked at her real hard. Then she yelled, "I'm free! Yes, I'm free! Ain't got to work for you no more. You can't put me in your pocket now!" Granma say Missus Thacker started boo-hooing and threw her apron over her face and run in the house. Granma knew it was true then.¹⁰⁴

We wasn't there in Texas long when the soldiers marched in to tell us that we were free.

Seems to me like it was on a Monday morning when they come in. Yes, it was a Monday. They went out to the field and told them they was free. Marched them out of the fields. They come a-shouting. I remembers one woman. She jumped on a barrel and she shouted. She jumped off and she shouted. She jumped back on again and shouted some more. She kept that up for a long time, just jumping on a barrel and back off again.

Betty Jones¹⁰⁵

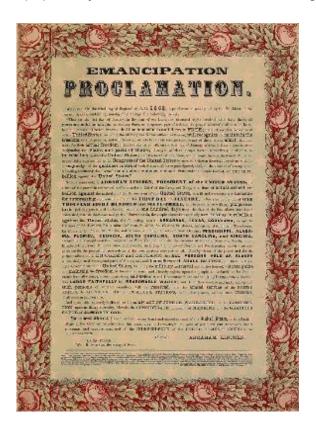
The news that they were free was the fulfillment of the dream they had taken to bed each night and risen with each morning. How many times they had tried to imagine what that moment would be like, and now it had come. Some found it hard to believe.

Anna Woods

¹⁰⁴ Lester at pp. 135-43.

¹⁰⁵ Jones, Betty *The Negro in Virginia*, pg. 209.

One day I was out milking the cows. Mr. Dave come down into the field and he had a paper in his hand. "Listen to me, Tom," he said. "Listen to what I read you." And he read from a paper all about how I was free. You can't tell how I felt. "You're joking me," I says. "No, I ain't," says he. "You're free." "No," says I, "it's a joke." "No," says he, "it's a law that I got to read this paper to you. Now listen while I read it again."



117 Emancipation Proclamation

But still I wouldn't believe him. "Just go up to the house," says he, "and ask Mrs. Robinson. She'll tell you." So I went. "It's a joke," I says to her. "Did you ever know your master to tell you a lie?" she says. "No," says I, "I ain't." "Well," she says, "The war's over and you're free." By that time I thought maybe she was telling me what was right. "Miss Robinson," says I, "can I go over to see the Smiths?" They was a colored family that lived nearby. "Don't you understand," says she, "you're free. You don't have to ask me what you can do. Run along, child." And so I went. And do you know why I was agoing? I wanted to find out if they was free, too. I just couldn't take it all in. I couldn't believe we was all free alike.

Was I happy? You can take anything. No matter how good you treat it—it wants to be free. You can treat it good and feed it good and give it everything it seems to want—but if you open the cage—it's happy.

Tom Robinson

I remember hearing my pa say that when somebody come and hollered, "You niggers is free at last," say he just dropped his hoe and said in a queer voice, "Thank God for that." It made of miss and of massa so sick till they stopped eating a week. Pa said of massa and of miss looked like their stomachs and guts had a lawsuit and their navel was called in for a witness, they was so sorry we was free.

Annie Mae Weathers

Daddy was down to the creek. He jumped right in the water up to his neck. He was so happy he just kept on scoopin' up handfuls of water and dumpin' it on his head and yellin', "I'se free! I'se free! I'se free!"

Louisa Bowes Rose

With the end of the Civil War the social and economic system of southern Maryland passed from one based on slavery to a system based on tenancy. Local tradition holds that all but one of the slaves at Sotterley remained on the plantation as tenants or workers after emancipation (Pers. communication Agnes Kane Callum). Indeed many former slaves remained near their old plantations as lack of funds, the pull of family and community, and the desire to farm anchored newly freed African-Americans. Sotterley continued as an agrarian enterprise, but obviously with financial losses, and with the end of bound labor the operation changed greatly over the years. Many planters across the South tried to hold former slaves to labor conditions similar to those of preemancipation era, but ultimately freed African-Americans asserted a desire to control their labor, and a system of tenancy evolved in much of the South. St. Mary's County

seems no exception as there is evidence of work contracts from the Freedman's Bureau which bound workers and their children to plantations, but by the 1880s most farms seem to have been worked by tenants.¹⁰⁶

John Hanson Briscoe:

Dave Brown: Now you mentioned that your great grandfather adjusted to emancipation pretty easily.

John Hanson Briscoe: Well I didn't mean to say easily.

Dave Brown: He accepted it.

John Hanson Briscoe: He accepted it and went on with his life. They obviously went to other things. I don't remember my father talking about any anxiety, or took up drinking because of it, or that there was any family strife. There was never a lot of money; they lived comfortably because they had all that beautiful place and again the labor force there to take care of those things. They lived comfortably, but as I said a very traditional life. After slavery went, there were still some slaves around there. They still had some work force there. They were free to go. I assume they took care of them. Whether they paid them or not, but at least provided them with a so-called roof over their head and food, which they couldn't necessarily get, you see. A lot took off and went to different places, the south and west. But he got through it and again, my father would have said if it was a real tragedy, if people had family strife over it. So he obviously adjusted to it, was not pleased with it but he adjusted to it.

¹⁰⁶ Harmon, James M. and Neuwirth, Jessica L. with contributions by Berman, Leo D. Phase I Archaeological Investigations At Sotterley Plantation Saint Mary's County, Maryland. Pp. 157-58.



118 "Free at Last"



119 James Scriber

James Scriber Interview: James Scriber was a tenant farmer at Sotterley.

SCRIBER: Well, that's just the way they was turned off in slave time. When they turned off the slave people, you know, when they turned them off, if they was able, to give them a little something to start on, you see. That's the way, some were a little more able than the others.

MCDANIEL: Why is it that some were given a piece of land or given something by their owners whereas others wouldn't be? Would it depend on...

SCRIBER: Well, it's just like it tis now, that some was liked by somebody more so than some of the others, you know—just like it tis now.

MCDANIEL: Would it usually be the house servants who would get the little piece of land and not the field hands or how would...?

SCRIBER: Poor people in them days never got no land. Didn't have no land, just, you know, the big people. The slavery big people. Slavery had to work under them big

people, you see, and they had to take just what the slavery people'd give 'em. I mean, what the wealthy people'd give 'em.

MCDANIEL: Give them.

SCRIBER: Yes, just like a place to stay, to work. The wealthy people, you know, would give them the workin' and they'd give a place to stay at. Oh, that was a bad time. 107

A feeling of autonomy was usually more pronounced on plantations worked by large groups of slaves, groups large enough to foster a sense of community. This feeling was so strong among the 174 slaves at Silver Bluff plantation in South Carolina that even at the conclusion of the Civil War they preferred to remain on the estate as a group rather than go their separate ways as individuals; in fact, they refused to leave. Communities like this one seem to have drawn their coherence from the deep well-spring of a shared African American culture and its inventory of expressive forms. However, among the many distinctive behaviors credited to slaves, the creation of their own residential domains has been an achievement that has consistently been overlooked. Leslie Howard Owens, one of the few scholars to recognize that a vigorous slave culture was necessarily tied to a readily identifiable slave space, explains that "the Quarters, sometimes partially, sometimes entirely, and often mysteriously, encompassed and breathed its own special vitality into these experiences, frequently assuring that bondage did not snuff out the many-sided existence slaves created for themselves." 108

Richard Knott reports that his father said the occupant (of the Sotterley slave cabin) was Aunt Annie Williams, who cared for children in the main house early in this century, before Sotterley was purchased by the Satterlees. An undated memorandum by Mabel Ingalls entitled "Aunt Nannie Williams' Cabin" was in the Sotterley files when Mrs. Harman became site administrator in 1969. It states: "Aunt Nannie was living in it when

¹⁰⁷ James Scriber Interview #2, pp. 4.

¹⁰⁸ Vlach at pp. 8.

we came to Sotterley in 1910 – she continued to live there till her death several years later. She had been born a slave on Sotterley. There were Persian (Harrison) yellow roses in front of the cabin. The cabin was originally log construction but was covered over with clapboard, I believe, by H. L. Satterlee to preserve it and make it more weather tight."¹⁰⁹

A clear and stark example of the change at Sotterley, brought by Emancipation, is the following:

CBS Interview of Agnes Kane Callum and John Hanson Briscoe:

"Sunday Morning"

Terry Smith: Now you described for me before a wedding that took place in that house.

Agnes Kane Callum: It was a Kane. And his name was Francis. They called him Frank Kane. My great-uncle was a slave. Dr. Briscoe purchased him at five months old for \$50. And he grew up to be the coachman for the doctor. They would go all around the county to the patients. . . and they were really good friends. And so when Frank married – and he married another slave from this plantation. Her last name was Stewart. They had it in the parlor. It was a social affair of St. Mary's County, 'cause they sent out invitations. And the blacks and whites came. All the slaves and all the – the socialites of the county. This was right after the Civil War. Was around 1870.

Terry Smith: But for the blacks and whites to be socializing together – in the parlor of a plantation house was pretty rare in those days?

Agnes Kane Callum: Yeah, it was rare. That's right. 110

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¹⁰⁹ Chappell at pp. 11.

¹¹⁰ CBS Sunday Morning October 1996: Transcript Interview of Agnes Kane Callum & John Hanson Briscoe.



120 Agnes Kane Callum and John Hanson Briscoe

Agnes Kane Callum: The Kane's sojourn at Sotterley lasted for thirty years. Hillery and his family remained on Sotterley during the Civil War. Maryland adopted a new constitution that freed her slaves on November 1, 1864, and the Kanes lingered on at Sotterley. They remained with Dr. Briscoe until about 1879, when they moved from the plantation to establish a home of their own. Hillery and his wife, Elsa, died between 1885 and 1889.¹¹¹

Freedom. One day they had been awakened by the sound of the overseer's horn. The next day they were not. One morning they had gone to the fields and before the sun set, they had left their hoes, their plows, their cotton sacks lying in the furrows. And they put the full meaning of it into one eloquent phrase, which they sang over and over.

Free at last, Free at last, Thank God A-Mighty,I'm free at last.

¹¹¹ Callum, Agnes Kane. *The Kanes Sojourn at Sotterley.* N.p., June 1978. Print.

RAL HISTORY

Nancy Easterling:

Twenty years ago this site (Sotterley) almost didn't exist because there was no money to keep it going, and two people, John Hanson Briscoe, descendant of those slave owners, and Agnes Kane Callum, descendant of those enslaved, unlikely friends, and with true respect, advocated for this site to continue. Since that time, based in large part on her legacy, her extensive genealogy, and her oral histories, we now are setting on a course, and have set on a course, to more fully interpret all sides of our story, not simply those from the perspective of the plantation house. Those who labored here, many under the institution of slavery, were always part of Sotterley's history and its stories. And Sotterley has understood it has the responsibility to make sure their voices are finally heard.¹¹²

Dr. Martina P. Callum:

My mother got started, as many of you know, from her father, and her father got started from his grandmother. So we have to pass these stories along, and then to have someone like Agnes go along and research how much is fact and how much more the families, the community, and the state needs to know. So we can be proud of a person like Agnes Kane Callum who was also a Fulbright recipient, a Morgan State graduate with honors. The good thing is that she kept passing it on and we need to do that, we need to continue

¹¹² The Agnes Kane Callum Slave Cabin Dedication.

to do that, and we need to keep a place like Sotterley strong and open to everyone. Thank you for honoring her. [Applause]. 113

Agnes Kane Callum:

And since they couldn't read or write, it was against the law for blacks to read or write, they didn't leave a record. The few things that my parents told me, I think they were very brave, because they would sit around the fireplace at night before they go to bed, and they would tell their children what happened to them in their lifetimes. Now, if their child didn't survive to tell me or the generation after that, then all that's lost. 114

"The older parents came up under such strain, with slavery, until they didn't tell the children things they should have told them. They didn't talk about it. I don't think they wanted the children to really know."

Mrs. Roper was describing the silence of survivors, after whose lives the memories of slavery were few.

"If I know something happened to me that was very bad, I wouldn't tell my grandchildren, because it doesn't make them feel good," she went on. "So I feel sure that they didn't tell their children."

Former slaves often did not tell the worst of it to young people, who never felt the lash, which means that an end to the lore began soon after freedom.¹¹⁵

Joan Wise Interview:

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Callum, Agnes Kane. YouTube "An Interview with Agnes Kane Callum"

¹¹⁵ Ball, Edward. *Slaves in the Family*. Ballantine Books, 1999.

Samuel Baldwin: How much can you rely on oral history if you have it?

Joan Wise: If you have it, you should always look at it as it's as good as what the person remembers. I would never count on it being the absolute truth, but it could be the absolute truth. So, just like an attorney, you have to sit there and go 'ok, where is the evidence that can support this' and sometimes there is none, and that's when, if you're fortunate and have some money, you can do some DNA testing. And if you think you can get the right family to do it, that's happening a lot.

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121 Grandparent sharing oral history

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¹¹⁶ Nashville Public Library

LOOD, RACE, & FAMILY

The Hemingses, (the children of Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings) and other American slaves, have a dubious distinction in Western civilization. They are the only victims of a historically recognized system of oppression who are made to carry the burden of proving beyond a reasonable doubt that things endemic to their oppression actually happened to them, as if enslaved people were a powerful government making accusations against relatively powerless, and presumptively innocent, people—slaveholders. This standard, borrowed from law, held sway in mainstream historical determinations of paternity in the southern slave system. Just as they did during slavery, these strategically restrictive standards protect masters against the claims of their black female slaves in order to preserve the racial integrity of white family lines—an interest often assumed to be of far greater importance than the family identity of African Americans.¹¹⁷

Sotterly August the 12th 1845

My Dear Daughter,

I have been striving for an opportunity for these last three weeks to write you in answer to your letter of the fifth of July. But my health being bad I thought a trip from home would be of service to me so I spent the first two weeks in going to see old Mrs. Thomas and at Charlotte Hall I carried Henry with me to Charlotte Hall to see the boys examined. . . Daniel Webster has been on a visit to the boys for the last three weeks.

E.W. Briscoe

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¹¹⁷ Gordon-Reed at 485-86.

[Editor's Note: The author, Emeline Briscoe, was the wife of Dr. Briscoe. "Old Mrs. Thomas" was a resident of Deep Falls Plantation in Chaptico Maryland. The Charlotte Hall Military Academy, located in Charlotte Hall Maryland, was a boy's school where several of Dr. Briscoe's sons attended and whose headmasters had long been Briscoe relations.]

[Speaking of a plantation family in South Carolina]: "The boredom was the biggest thing that hit them. "People don't realize, with the plantations, that they are so far apart, if somebody came to visit, they had to stay for at least two weeks. How lonely it was! They might not see another white person for six months. And nobody they could associate with, nobody. You did not associate with your overseer, and definitely not with your slaves."...

"But kids were kids," he picked up. "The white children, the only people they could play with were the black children. Your son of the white owner usually had a friend that was raised with him, a black friend, and they were inseparable."

"It was lonely for the white people?" I asked.

"The slaves weren't the people who got lonely, because they had each other. The poor white people were the ones who were lonely there."

Edward was born too late and therefore couldn't easily be freed. When the child tuned one, Red Cap deeded the infant to another of his many progeny, his one-year-old grandson Richard. Little Richard lived with his parents at Quenby Plantation. The idea seemed to be that Edward and Richard would grow up together. An



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arrangement like this was common, the colored child playing the part of the white child's personal servant and companion.¹¹⁸

Sally Hemings and Thomas Jefferson lived in a world obsessed with family connections. Kinship ties were enormously important to enslaved people who tried hard to defend them against the depredations of slavery. Blood and family were important to white Virginians as well, but they added the component of racism to the equation, introducing the notion of "black" blood and "white" blood. Hemings embodied the clash between the values of blood and family and racist views about blood and race, so that white supremacy and slavery complicated her connection to her half- sister Martha Jefferson. ¹¹⁹ Enslaved families had different responses to their blood connection to whites. Some thought them meaningful and kept the ties alive through their naming practices and dealings with those families after slavery. Others—one could venture, the vast majority of slaves, indifferent or hostile to their blood ties to white families, or deeply ashamed of them—never made anything of biological relationships to whites. It was a part of them that meant nothing. This was a rational response reflecting the fact that their particular ties were most often the result of rape and that their white relatives usually ignored or even strenuously denied the existence of blood ties to them.

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¹¹⁸ Ball, Edward. *Slaves in the Family*. Ballantine Books, 1999.

¹¹⁹ The Hemings siblings were slaves, but were half-siblings of Thomas Jefferson; deceased wife.





123 Sally Heming's Brothers

Jefferson's relations with Hemings's family show that his own strong feelings about the meaning of blood and family were never totally overridden by his feelings about blood and race. That the Hemingses' relationship to his wife was biological, rather than legal, meant that he had no external guide for dealing with the connection and had to decide on his own how to handle it. He could ignore it altogether, openly recognize it and make something real of the connection, or make gestures that acknowledged it in a more oblique fashion. Jefferson chose the last course. We do not know all that the Hemings siblings' relationship to his wife meant to him, but we have some idea from his overall treatment of them that it meant a great deal. He viewed the family through the prism of his sentimentality about his wife.

Jefferson was somewhat ahead of his time in sentimentalizing his relationship with the Hemingses, for very obvious reasons. When he and other planters of his cohort called their slaves members of their "family," they were speaking of the implacable and unsentimental language of the patriarch describing all the people over whom they exercised power, as well as displaying their notion of responsibility. Slaves had not yet taken their place in the "family," as they would during the antebellum period, as the adult "children" for whom some masters claimed they had feelings of love or impulses toward

care. Southern members of the Revolutionary generation were firmly on the road to sentimentalizing their relations with slaves by the early nineteenth century; but during Jefferson's most intense time with the Hemings brothers—1774 through 1794—that process was only newly under way.

That word "family" did not have the same application for everyone on Jefferson's plantations, because not every one of his slaves had true family connections to him. The young men traveling with him to New York to serve him there were actual, not metaphorical, family members—brothers to his dead wife and new mistress, and uncles to his children with Martha, as they were uncles to the child their sister, Sally Hemings, already had or, more likely, was just about to bear. Jefferson had a degree of sentimentality toward them that grew out of all these ties that he did not have for other enslaved people on his plantations, and he evidently expected some reciprocity from these men and their other siblings in the form of love, gratitude, and attachment.

Though the Hemingses and the Jeffersons were not the only enslaved and free families entangled by blood, it is probably true that few masters constructed their relations with their enslaved relatives as Jefferson did. From his place atop the pyramid, he could afford to indulge his sentimentality—styling himself as their "friend," keeping their sisters out of the fields and in the domestic realm, borrowing money from the brothers and paying it back as if they were just friendly acquaintances—without diminishing himself in any discernible fashion. The way Jefferson treated the Hemings brothers, no doubt, made him feel good about himself.¹²⁰

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¹²⁰ Gordan-Reed at pp. 286, 441-42.

ELATIONS" BETWEEN MASTERS AND THE SERVANTS

Alonzo Gaskin: "The power of the overseer, the master, the whatever at that time, was that he had complete control. And as we moved away from slavery and into Jim Crow and all the other things that came along, people of African descent had very little control over the economic process that they needed to live. And if in fact a person of some stature decided they wanted to have a relationship with a young lady, then the young lady was powerless. They had to feed their families; they had to make sure that husbands were able to keep jobs. Even if they didn't consent, and they were just said to have done it, that would be ruinous for them physically, mentally, and in ways untold." 121

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1854 Oct 16 - Chapman baptized belonging to Col. (Chapman) Billingsley¹²²

At Sotterley: You get asked all kinds of questions, and one of the most common questions is 'did the slave owners father children with slaves?' That's one of the most common questions and the answer is; we had slavery for over 165 years. Some of the women were probably exposed not only to the masters, but also to the sons, the overseers. So of course to say that never happened here is, over all that time of slavery, silly, even though we don't have a Sally Hemmings well-documented story. But to say it

¹²¹ Alonzo Gaskin Interview.

¹²² Note that this servant shared his name with his owner, Col. Chapman Billingsley. Note, too, that no father is listed for this child. St. Andrew's Parish Church Records.

never occurred; just because we don't have a piece of paper, would be kind of irresponsible. To just dismiss it, like it never happened here.

Congressman Roy Dyson:

Samuel Baldwin: "Sexual relationships between the owners and the enslaved. That's something that...."

Roy Dyson: "I think that's almost common knowledge now. Wouldn't you think? I think anyone who would stand before you and say that it didn't happen would just be in denial." 123

Commissioner Tom Jarboe:

Tom Jarboe: "I think it's of interest, I don't see any reason not to address it. These interactions happened 100's of years ago. Nobody who is alive today has any guilt or associated feelings with it, or at least they shouldn't. It's part of our history, so if you're going to look at a part of history, you should look at all of history. So there's the good and the bad. I think there are descendants of Thomas Jefferson, George Washington; there's been some very great people who have, let's just say, snuck away from their spouses. So we have different lineages that have come out of that. What I think is interesting about this is the new opportunity you have where you can take a mouth swab and find out where you're really from. Honestly I think everyone should do it because it would answer so many questions. All these people that say "I'm 90% Italian" and it turns out there's not a drop of Italian blood in them. I think we live in a day and age where we come to the point that people are over the fact that skin pigmentation has value or not. It's still obviously a controversial topic. It shouldn't be, but hey so what, you figure out

¹²³ "Dyson, Roy Interview." Personal interview by Samuel C.P. Baldwin Jr. May 23, 2017.

we're a little mixed, we're Americans, we can go back to the DNA samples and you're not going to find out that you're a purebred. I don't think there are very many purebreds anymore. We're all mutts, so who cares?"¹²⁴

James Pennington told of one master who owned a twenty-four-year-old female. Within one year of her purchase his son became attached to her, "for no honorable purposes; a fact which was not only well-known among all the slaves, but which became a source of unhappiness to his mother and sisters." The family's concern over this relationship resulted in the sale of the slave. That same son who had degraded her, and who was the cause of her being sold, was designated to be the salesman.

Kate Pickard told of similar experiences of a slave girl named Maria. Maria was a thirteen-year old house servant. One day, receiving no response to her call. The mistress began searching the house for her. Finally, she opened the parlor door, and there was the child with her master. The master ran out of the room, mounted his horse and rode off to escape, "though well he knew that his wife's full fury would fall upon the young head of his victim." The mistress beat the child and locked her in a smokehouse. For two weeks the girl was constantly whipped. Some of the elderly servants attempted to plead with the mistress on Maria's behalf, and even hinted that "it was mass'r that was to blame." The mistress's reply was typical: "She'll know better in the future. After I've done with her, she'll never do the like again, through ignorance."

After Maria had been kept imprisoned for two weeks, the mistress's eldest son came to visit. Upon arrival he was told by his mother of "Maria's depravity, and she begged him to take Maria away with him." Her orders to her son were to sell the child to the hardest master he could find, for "If she stays, I shall certainly kill her." 125

Linda Brent reported that, generally, the secrets of the master-female relationship were guarded and concealed from the outside world. The slaves were sure, however,

¹²⁴ "Jarboe, Tom Interview." Personal interview by Samuel C.P. Baldwin Jr. May 25, 2017.

¹²⁵ S. Fieldstein, 1971.

that the masters were the fathers of many slave children. Although, according to Miss Brent, it was common knowledge in the slave quarters, the mothers would not dare reveal who the father was. No slave in the quarters, or around the great house, would even allude to it.

Louisa Piquet revealed the shame of the institution in a brief analysis of the master-female relationship. She said that because she was forced to become a concubine, the female slave was often the cause of marital difficulties between master and mistress. The end result of such a situation was usually the sale of the slave. She reported that slaves had as many as six or seven white children, some having light hair and blue eyes, but none having an acknowledged father. Miss Picquet suggested that the same master who forced his attentions on the slave, might, nevertheless, very well be recognized as a "gentleman" and freely admitted into the white female society, "as if he were as pure as Joseph." 126

Slavery was bad enough for the black, said Douglass, but it was worse for the mulatto or quadroon. These slaves suffered the additional hardship of being subjected to the degradation and misery of slavery and while frequently being aware that their own fathers were treating them as property. This was especially so when they contrasted their condition with the pampered luxury of lawful children, who were not whiter and very often not so good-looking as they.

Frederick Douglas noted that children of mixed blood were a constant offense to the mistress and she was continuously disposed to find fault with them; especially when she suspected her husband of showing to his mulatto children favor which he withheld from his black slaves. The master was frequently compelled to sell these slaves, out of deference to the feelings of his white wife.

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¹²⁶ Fieldstein

Lewis Clarke reported that there were no slaves that were as badly abused as those of mixed blood. He recalled one instance of a female slave who had been mistaken for a planter's daughter. Under this misapprehension, a young man addressed some conversation to her. The mistake was discussed in the quarters with some amusements until the mistress heard of it and went into a rage. She took her vengeance for this innocent mistake upon her husband's child, in order to make sure that "nobody thought she was white."

Thus, wrote Austin Steward, as time passed, the African was not the only slave in America. Eventually, he said, there was as much European blood in the veins of the enslaved as there was African; and the increase was a constant, ever-present reminder to the slaveholder of the fearful retribution which might eventually overtake him. ¹²⁷

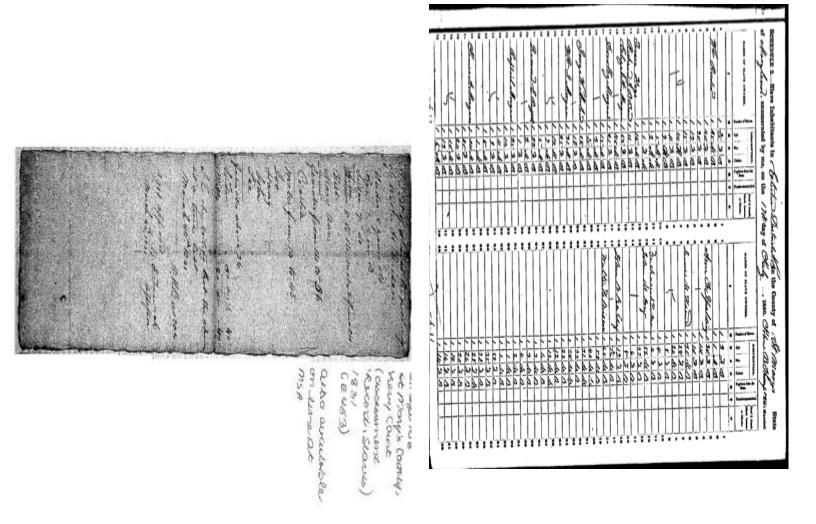
In 1933, an aged congregant gave an oral history to Father McKenna of St. James Church. The oral history contains the following sentence: "Dr. Biscoe (sp) had many slaves...He had many children by colored, and he left one colored daughter money".

Many of the ex-slaves who had unfavorable memories of their mistress were light-skinned black women who unwittingly incurred the mistress's enmity. One such exslave remembered her mistress as a mean woman: "She was jealous of me because I was light, said she didn't know what her husband wanted to bring that half-white nigger there for." Ellen Craft's mistress was so disturbed by Ellen's presence that she gave Ellen to her daughter as a wedding present. Ellen's husband figured that the "tyrannical old lady" objected to Ellen's complexion, which was fair as any white child's. The reaction of some mistresses to slave women with long straight hair was to have their hair cut short. When Rebecca was a slave her hair was purposely cut short to offset her likeness to her white father's young sister. Louisa Picquet's hair was cut when her mistress feared it put her own daughters to shame. If such episodes illustrate the abject condition of slave women, they also demonstrate the white mistress' complicity with a system that made victims of all women.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ White, 1985.

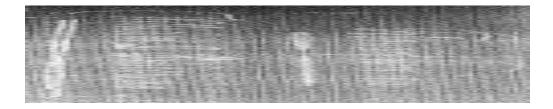
¹²⁷ S. Fieldstein

Gia Beaton, Editor: Below are Walter Hanson Briscoe's slave records from 1831-1860. He had 11 slaves in 1831 to 34 slaves in 1850, 6 of which were mixed race. There are 43 slaves recorded in 1860, 12 of which are mixed race.

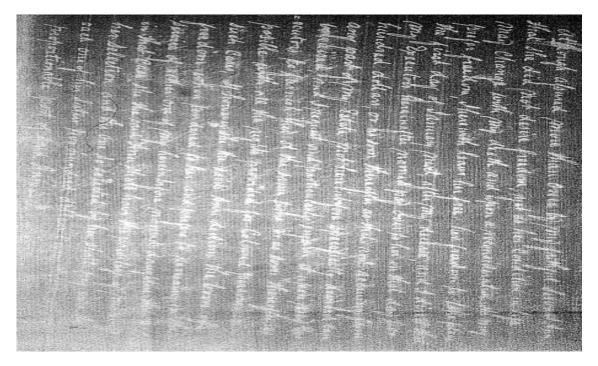


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The will of Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe states that his servant, Ann, is allowed to be free the first day of January after his death and should be given two hundred dolloars.



124 Will of Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe



125 Will of Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe

"Although assured more than once by my faithful servant Ann that she did not desire freedom, yet as her condition in life may change with my death and upon a reconsideration she may prefer freedom, I herewith leave her free her freedom to take place the first day of January next after my decease and I direct that my executor hereinafter named pay over to her on that day two hundred dollars...

Note: So, wrote the widower, William Dent Briscoe, brother of Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe.

In 1933, an aged congregant, "Mother Euphemia," a Carroll from Dameron, gave an oral history to Father McKenna of St. James Church. The oral history contains the following sentence: "Dr. Biscoe (sp) had many slaves...he had man children by colored, and he left one colored daughter money."

Gordon-Reed:

Hamilton W. Pierson, who took down the memoirs of Jefferson's overseer, Edmund Bacon, wrote his own memoir of his days riding circuit as a minister in the nineteenth century. He wrote of how common it was, more common than many wanted to believe, he said, to come upon farmhouses with bachelor or widowed white men living and having children with black women who had started out as their housekeepers. More formal evidence of this can be found in legal cases from southern states that pitted the free white children of masters against their enslaved siblings in challenges to their slave owner father's bequests of freedom and/or property to their enslaved children. The facts recounted in the cases are telling. These fathers, usually widowers, lived with enslaved women, usually housekeepers with whom they were in close daily contact, as if they were married. The patterns of their behavior, and sometimes their words, show that these couples conducted themselves for all intents and purposes like married people, even though the law did not recognize their union—the man providing a home and material goods, the woman cooking, cleaning and taking care of the man. Interestingly enough, the judges hearing these cases often referred to how common, though lamentable in their view, these unions were. For every case that made it to court, let alone to a published opinion, some multiple number of similar situations did not. Rather than air family business in public, some white family members accepted the emancipations of their enslaved relatives and whatever grants of property were made to them.

Not until just before his death did Jefferson prepare documents to free other salves. When he free five slaves in his will, two were his sons. His two older children—who chose to live as white people and would not have waned formal and recorded

documents proving that they were part black and had been born slaves—quietly left Monticello as soon as they became adults.

With this document Jefferson fulfilled the promise made to Sally Hemings thirty-seven years before in Paris. The emancipations of their two oldest children, Beverly and Harriet, had taken place in secret. They simply disappeared into the white world. The emancipations of Madison and Etson were altogether public, and the way their father accomplished this suggests he knew that freeing these two young men might raise eyebrows. As always, the context is important. Talk of Jefferson's relationship with Sally Hemings had never ceased over the years. His overseer Edmund Bacon made it clear that people were paying attention to Jefferson's actions towards the Hemings children. People in the area noticed, he said, Harriet's departure in 1822 and attributed it to her being Jefferson's daughter, and they likely knew when her brother left in the months before her. Mixed-race children were the inevitable result of America's racially based slave system, and freeing these children, if done in a quiet and discreet manner, was considered the "decent" thing to do. That posed a severe problem for one of the most famous persons in the nation, a man who never intended to make a public declaration—explicitly or implicitly—about his enslaved mistress and their children.

ASSING AS WHITE

Agnes Kane Callum:

Hillery and Elsa and some of their children stayed on Sotterley after the Civil War. They worked in exchange for food and clothing, that's one reason.... But some of their children went to Washington and did pretty good. Now some of the children were really fair. And this one named William, who was on the *Slave Statistic* list, he disappeared off the list. But he was working in Washington passing for white. Now two of them did that, and I finally caught up with them in the census.¹²⁹

(Referring to a South Carolina Family) "My grandfather was white," she went on. "And Edward Ball, whom I knew when I was a young woman, was also very light. Mrs. Edith Ball, Edward Ball's wife, was quite a pretty woman. The two would visit my mother from time to time, after my stepfather Luther died. Later, as we drifted out of touch, I would write to them on behalf of my mother. Edward Ball's wife would write us back, but she never put their return address on the envelope. I think they were, they used to call it, 'gone on the other side.' I mean they passed for white. That's why some people never put the return addresses on their letters, because they didn't want to show a connection between themselves and black folk, where we were living. I was afraid to mention all this to you. Anyway, when I saw your picture I said, 'My goodness, this is a relative of Mr. Ball.' Look at the ears! Now that I see you, I remember that he also had hands like yours." 130

Tempting and romantic as it may be to construct a monolithic population of slaves who acted cohesively across color and genetic lines because of their common enslaved

¹²⁹ Sotterley Oral History Project, April 21, 2008.

¹³⁰ Ball at 373.

status, it is more realistic to accept that different individuals and families had different understandings about where they stood in relation to other slaves, within the slave system and, indeed, within America's racial hierarchy. People's individual experiences shaped their way of seeing the world. The Hemingses did not, any more than other human beings, always live with reference to the "big picture" of their society. They lived, instead, in the day-to-day interactions with the people around them, the values they formed in the context of their surrounding society, and their sense of the best way to make the most of their lives before they died.

We cannot simply assume that the Hemingses, living in a world that valued whiteness—whites' culture, hair, skin color, and facial features—regarded their status as slaves as vastly more meaningful than the reality that they were also part white. To be a slave was hard, but being black was not easy either. Even emancipated blacks lived under the harsh regime of white supremacy, denied the right to full citizenship, the quality of their lives determined by the whims of the dominant white community. This world expressed open contempt for the tightly curled hair, broad noses, and full lips of African people. White society could change the Hemingses' legal status with the stroke of a pen, or the Hemingses could change it themselves, as some of them did, by walking away from Monticello and blending in with the rest of free white society leaving the stigmas of slavery and blackness behind. The only way to destroy their proximity to whiteness would be for the Hemingses to marry and have children with a person who was not as "bright" skinned or light bronzed as they were. That, for generations, many of the Hemingses refused to do. When one considers the harshness of life in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for people of African origin, it is not surprising that some black people who could leave life under slavery and white supremacy behind might have wished to do that.

In the United States, African Americans who "passed" for white have often claimed to be, among other things, part or all Native American, Jewish, Italian, Spanish, or Portuguese. In the years to come, some members of Hemings's own family would take this route out of blackness as they sought to find a safe haven for themselves in America.

Three of the four children Sally Hemings reared to adulthood lived successfully as white people among other whites. Her two eldest, Beverley and Harriet, left Monticello as white people, with no learning curve for how to present themselves as Caucasians. They married white people who may not have known they were of African origin or had ever been enslaved. They would not have been able to do this had they spoken in the stereotypical dialect attributed to every black person throughout American history up until today.

While it is perfectly acceptable not to want one's children to be slaves, the notion of escaping from blackness may raise some hackles today, a reaction, it must be noted, that comes from the relative safety of the twenty-first century. It also comes after more than a century of the one-drop rule adopted in the wake of the South's defeat in the Civil War. In the decades following the end of slavery, southern whites became far more strident about racial classifications than they had been in Hemings's and Jefferson's time. The legal rule was supposed to send a message about the "contaminating" nature of blackness. Instead, blacks absorbed the concept and used it to forge political, if not always social, cohesion among themselves.

Frederick Douglass was clear about what the American linkage of race and slavery taught people of African origin like Sally Hemings years before the legalized one-drop rule, and this recognition explains how blacks of all shades were able to come together so forcefully in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to work for racial justice for people of color. Douglass wrote,

The father might be a freeman and the child a slave. The father might be a white man, glorying in the purity of his Anglo-Saxon blood, and his child ranked with the blackest slaves. Father he might be, and not be a husband, and could still sell his own child without incurring reproach if in its veins coursed one drop of African blood.

The Hemingses were in a more complicated position, with even fewer reasons than people who were "all black" or "all white" to believe in a world of fixed, bipolar racial categories. While they understood and accepted that they were part African, identity

seems to have been a plastic rather than a static thing for them. Unmoored from any one racial destiny, their line could extend through blacks or through whites. Madison Hemings spoke openly of his "full-blooded" African great-grandmother without a trace of discomfort, and even with a touch of pride, when he did not have to mention her at all, much less emphasize her African heritage and that she may have come directly from the continent. She appeared right along with his English and Welsh forebears as a defining part of his heritage. At the same time he pointed to, and mildly disparaged, his sister Harriet's decision to marry a white man and live totally in the white world, which in American society required leaving blackness and, painfully for him, her family behind.

Attitudes about race clearly played a role in this as well. The young Sally Hemings had been in a society where blackness, slavery, and a degraded legal and social status were inextricably linked. To be black, even to be free and black, was to live in a world with extremely limited horizons. Yet her sister had been married to Jefferson. She among all enslaved people would have felt the arbitrariness of the link between a notion of race and a severely restricted status.

We have the advantage today of knowing that the American story of blackness, slavery, and second-class status was going to end—or at least that slavery would end. We also have the example of a black community that has, by and large, bound itself together as a culture despite differences in skin color. It really has been left to specific individuals and families to decide how seriously they will adhere to color consciousness despite its patently obvious links to white supremacy.

As far as young Sally Hemings knew, the link between any trace of blackness and an assured diminished life might continue into the indefinite future. She could not likely have foreseen that there would come a day when the words "black" and "power" or "black" and "beautiful" would flow naturally together and have a positive meaning and purpose that could direct the course of African American life. Under the circumstances of Hemings's life, given her society and her family history, what type of man would be most able to end slavery for her children along with all the problems associated with being a person with black skin in America? If not Thomas Jefferson, who? She may

have thought him as good a white man as any other, perhaps even better in some ways. That was a judgment to ponder.

The great irony, or tragedy, is that at least one, if not all, of the Hemings brothers—separated from Jefferson by the gulfs of race, class, and status—may have been more like him substantively than his nephew Jeff Randolph was. One wonders whether there was not some attempt to take these boys and turn them into some version of himself. He loved to build. They would build. He loved music and the violin. They would love music and play the violin. As far as the record shows, the youngest, Eston, seemed to have identified with him the most, and with good reason. He was said to be a near copy of Jefferson facially and physically in terms of his height and build. We do not know Beverley's profession, but music was also the passion of Eston's soul, so much so that he learned to play the violin and the piano and made his living as a musician. Although he never spoke publicly about Jefferson, he kept alive his connection to him by changing his name from Eston Hemings to E. H. (Eston Hemings) Jefferson when he went into the white world.¹³¹

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¹³¹ Gordon Reed at 121-22, 186, 285, 334-37, 373, 602.

HOMAS JEFFERSON AND SALLY HEMINGS - A CASE STUDY FOR SOTTERLEY

THOSE KINDS OF THINGS HAPPENED BACK THEN"

- JOHN HANSON BRISCOE

That the names of the children of Sally Hemings and Thomas Jefferson appear in a book detailing the lives of slaves conveniently and poignantly encapsulates the tortured history of slavery and race in America. But Monticello was a world unto itself for four generations of Hemingses whose lives cannot be reduced to the saga of one nuclear family within its bloodline, important as that subset was. We must, and will, pay attention to them, but they were only part of a much larger family story. Opening the world of other members of this family—to see how those particular African Americans made their way through slavery in America—is the purpose of this book. Theirs was a world that is (mercifully) gone, but must never be forgotten.



126 Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings

The conventional wisdom that white slave owners sometimes valued more highly those slaves who most resembled white people was very much a part of life at Monticello, and the Hemingses benefited from it.

Thomas Jefferson Randolph, Jefferson's eldest grandson, extolled the virtues of the Hemingses specifically. He said that while slaves on the plantation had their own theories for why the Hemingses were favored, the true reasons were their "superior intelligence, capacity and fidelity to trust." There is no cause to doubt that the Hemingses were indeed intelligent, but we should also consider what role their appearance and the knowledge of their genetic makeup may have played in his assessment of them. Randolph was likely influenced by the common view among whites that intermixture with white people eugenically improved black people, making the children from these unions smarter and more attractive than those of full African heritage. Under the circumstances, Randolph, and his grandfather, would have been inclined to see, credit, and encourage the talent they saw in men and women who looked more like themselves. That is one way prejudice works.

Like architecture, which can convey meaning as eloquently through the spaces left empty as the areas built over, Randolph's statement about the Hemingses is illuminating for what it says (he gives a view of the family's overall talent) and intriguing for what it does not say. Just what were those other unnamed reasons the slaves gave for the Hemings family's ascendancy? Was it just that they were fair-skinned? Or was there something else? Although Randolph chose not to elaborate on this point, it is not too hard to figure out what he had in mind. The Hemingses were not only part white; their white "parts" came from the master's family. Naturally, the other slaves at Monticello might have assumed that this counted for something, influencing the way they and others saw the Hemingses, and the way the family saw itself. It would be hard to look at a household filled with members of the same family and not come to the conclusion that their shared blood was why they were all there.

While being mixed race did not stop people from being slaves, it could affect the course of an individual slave's life, helping determine the type of work one performed and the likelihood that one might someday go free. During most of the time of slavery in Virginia,

emancipated slaves tended to be of mixed race. That should not surprise. Some fathers wanted to free their children. It also makes perfect sense in a world fueled by white supremacy. Whites could reject equality for those who were not all white, but distinguish people who were partly white from the masses of blacks. There was a marked tendency to cast mixed-race people as superior to their black fellows, for no partly white person could be all bad. In the end, although the overwhelming majority of mixed-raced slaves endured lives every bit as harsh as those of slaves who were not mixed, being mixed race mattered, and Sally Hemings and others like her complicated in ways large and small whites' determination to create a slave society based upon race.



127 Hemings-Jefferson descendants

Within the dozen years following Martha Eppes's death, Elizabeth Hemings (the daughter of one African slave and a sea captain) saw John Wayles marry and bury two more wives. It was sometime after his last wife's death that Wayles took Elizabeth as a "concubine." Over the course of roughly eleven years, they had six children together; Robert, born in 1762, James in 1765, Thenia in 1767, Critta in 1769, Peter in 1770, and Sally in 1773. This set of children represented a further blurring of racial lines, moving branches of the Hemings family tree farther away from the African woman who was by

law the reason for their enslavement, toward the Englishman who was the source of their last name. With three white grandparents and one black grandparent, these children were by the racial classification of the day "mulattoes," Virginia laws making no distinction between various gradations of racial mixture. But by a term that gained wider currency and greater meaning in the nineteenth century, these children would be called "quadroons". Their racial classification (legal or biological), however, made no difference to their legal status. Like their "dark mulatto" older siblings, these "bright mulatto" children were born of a slave woman. So they were slaves, too.

It would be very hard to find two people who occupied more vastly different positions than Wayles and Hemings—the prosperous white slave-trading lawyer and the Anglo-African female house slave. Given what we know about their world, the idea that these two would have children together seems utterly banal. Their society was set up for such things to happen, with a much touted, but essentially weak, barrier to prevent it. The pervasive doctrine of white supremacy supposedly inoculated whites against the will to interracial mixing, but that doctrine proved to be unreliable when matched against the force of human sexuality. People are prone to having sex, especially when they are in daily contact with potential objects of sexual attraction. That inclination has permeated every slave society, every frontier society, and every colonial society that has ever existed. Virginia was no exception.

Giving a group of males total dominion over the bodies of a group of females and relying on externally imposed notions of race ("I'm superior to her") and manners ("I'm a gentleman) to prevent them from having sex with those females was always a doomed proposition. That the mixing could be done entirely on the terms of the males, beyond the eyes and the scrutiny of the outside world, only increased the odds that it would happen—either through rape, using outright or implied force, or, in some cases, when the men and women were genuinely attracted to each other.

Everyone who has ever lived was the child of a mother and a father, a marriage license is no guarantee of biological paternity, and the fathers of children born out of wedlock can actually be known.

The fictions and presumptions about bastardy and marriage served definite purposes in a legal system seeking easy ways to determine who was eligible to inherit property, who had the right to a child's labor, and who could be held liable for support of a child. Efficient as they may have been, these fictions yielded answers that were not always truthful and certainly not always moral. Although they were tailor-made for the needs of the law, and not so perfect a fit for historical or biological conclusions, there is little doubt that they have come to represent what people take to be actual reality. They hover in the consciousness even when outside indicators suggest they should not be relied upon. If by law Hemings' children had no father, as even extralegal convention would have it, John Wayles could not be their father unless he was willing to say he was.

There is a twist. This way of thinking does not apply to the black men who fathered children with enslaved women to whom they could not have been legally married because of the absurdity of fiction as a statement of actual reality would then be too patently clear. Applying the precepts of filius nullius to enslaved families would require pretending that from the late 1600s to 1865 no American slave ever knew who his or her father was, an idea that is nonsense. Why would slaves have known who their fathers were when those men were black, but not know when the man was white? Indeed, if the black man who fathered Elizabeth Hemings's older children had been named, it is a safe bet that no question about his paternity would ever be raised. But when demonstrably mixed-race people speak of their white father or forefather, at most the white man is portrayed as the "alleged" father or the "said to be father," as if there had been some white "Mr. Nobody" out there impregnating all the enslaved women in America. Presenting the life of mixed-race individuals in slavery poses a great challenge precisely because there is such hesitancy about accepting their competence when they explain how they came to be mixed race. The reluctance to accept the prevalence of interracial sex, other than as a generalization, avoids the perceived "cost" or "hazard" of naming a specific white man.

Historians might pause at suggesting that a white man might have fathered a child of his own race outside of marriage, a so-called bastard, whom he did not acknowledge. That,

too, would be considered a "bad" thing, although one wonders what stake a historian could have in protecting a subject's legal family against what could be legitimate, that is to say, historically and biologically accurate claims established through means other than a marriage license. One can understand a legal family's interest: they want to keep "Daddy" or "Grand Daddy" and his legacy all to themselves. Deeply felt as that desire may be, it simply cannot be taken seriously as a matter of history.

What do we make of this in the context of Hemings's life under eighteenth-century Virginia's system of slavery? We know she lived in a slave society with rules of law specifically fashioned to make possible, and then to obscure whenever necessary, the nature of one group's oppression of another. In ways that should be clear to modern observers, even if it was not to the people of the time, the law in that setting functioned essentially as a racket designed for the protection of whites. How does one begin to get at what was "real" or "true" in such a context? Playing along with the racket is an all too easy, wholly unworthy enterprise because it ratifies the view that "extralegal" blacks, like Elizabeth Hemings, deserve no protection and that "legal" whites, like John Wayles, are to be protected at all costs—even at the cost of all reason. This simply reenacts the world of master and slave in the pages of history. It is only through piercing the veil of southern society's laws, including its fictions about family, that we can take the first step toward getting at the reality of black and white lives under slavery.

The law's protection of John Wayles in his absolute ownership of Elizabeth Hemings rendered his connection to the children she had with him invisible for all official purposes. Nevertheless, law, despite its power, is not the only word on the subject. The children of white men like Wayles who grew up in cohesive family units, often within the household of their fathers, knew who their fathers were in the same way that most people throughout the ages have known, even without the benefit of Anglo-American law. In addition, although white families could hide behind the protections that law and legal fictions afforded, there was still such a thing as the social knowledge of parenthood.

From time immemorial, people have "known" who others' parents were through a variety of extralegal ways, including reliance on a mother's word, observations of

physical resemblances that indicate a family connection, interpreting a man's actions toward a set of children and their mother, overall reputation in the community for parenthood—in other words, through indicators that people pulled together to help them make sense of who was who in their world. The day-to-day experiences of life in a community, particularly small ones, give its members information about the nature of relationships among their neighbors. At times even the law (when seeking equity) has looked to these sources in the absence of a legal relationship between a man and a child to make judgments about the likelihood of a family connection.

As Joshua Rothman, a scholar of the operation of social life in Virginia during the eighteenth century, has noted, "interracial sex was ubiquitous in urban, town, and plantation communities throughout the state. Moreover... knowledge of precisely who participated in it was widely shared." While some may quarrel with the term "ubiquitous," there is no doubt that sex across the color line was a common part of life in Virginia. What is more, people were inclined to gossip about it. Why is easy to understand. People have always been interested in the lives of others, particularly in matters involving sex. And though some Virginians sought to replicate the lifestyles of the English gentry, they faced special circumstances in one area. Any illegitimate children fathered by an Englishman with a servant girl or other lower-status woman in England would be white. Unless the child looked like the man, his or her existence signaled nothing beyond that face that they were alive. The presence of a mixed-race child signaled something more; the child all but announced that some white person and some black person had broken the taboo against interracial sex.

Rothman goes on to note, "Virginians, like white southerners elsewhere, tolerated and accommodated a wide array of sexual activity across the color line, ranging from viable and supportive interracial families that bound extended networks of free and enslaved blacks and whites across space and time to family-shattering rapes that exposed the routine abuse, violence, and ruthless power of racial slavery...."

Slave owners only rarely acknowledge their sexual activity with slave women, and the women themselves effectively had no voice. So getting at the nature of the

relationships between masters and their slave families is a delicate business. First and foremost is the issue of whether one can call sexual activity between a slave master and a slave—even over a long stretch of years—a "relationship" in the sense we know it. Enslaved women practically and legally could not refuse consent. Certainly the testimony from former slaves and the memory of slavery among black American women makes clear the prevalence of rape during slavery.¹³²



1842 Baptisms

March 11th A col'd [colored] child estate of Dr. W. Briscoe Private. 133



¹³² Gordon-Reed

¹³³ St. Andrew's Church Records

Click on the photo to be directed to the YouTube video explaining "Why some of Sally Heming's children identify themselves as white and others as black"

While the true-life experience of large numbers of African American women settles the matter for the overwhelming majority of cases, it cannot realistically settle it for every single one. There can be no denying that law and the cultural attitudes that at once inform and arise out of it exert immense control over the lives of individuals. It is also true enough that people do not always see themselves according to what the law and their neighbors say they are. At various points slaves were considered real estate for purposes of property law. At other times they were likened to personal property, like furniture and jewelry—things that could be bought and sold more easily than real estate. It is doubtful that many slaves thought of themselves as anything other than people people who were oppressed and enslaved, but people nonetheless. Slaves, male and female, constantly tested the boundaries of their existences and had their own personal sense of themselves as individuals within the context of slavery. Without getting too far ahead in our story, the experiences of Elizabeth Hemings's daughters Mary and Sally offer examples of enslaved women who were amenable to unions with white men who were their legal masters—relationships that worked very much to their advantages and to the advantages of their children and later descendants.

Rape was an ever-present threat to slave women, so it is understandable to think of it immediately when faced with any example of interracial sexual relations during slavery. Striking a rare insensitive note, Fawn Brodie referred to Elizabeth Hemings's "cheerful giving of her body" when talking about her many years of childbearing. We do not know whether Hemings was cheerful about it or not. She may have welcomed some of her partners and not others, while loving unequivocally the children those unions produced. Lacking either Hemings's or her daughter Mary's voices on this matter—or any direct statements from her family hinting at how these women felt about Neilson or Fossett—we cannot know what they thought about these two white men (or for that matter, the black men) who fathered their children. While their relations with white men draw more scrutiny because of the natures of slavery and white supremacy, one finds, upon examining their children's behavior, subtle indications that not all sex between

blacks and whites was the same, and that enslaved black families recognized that and had different responses to it.

The evidence indicates that it was at the Hôtel de Langeac in Paris, France, that Sally Hemings began to act in what would be her roles as an adult at Monticello: chambermaid to Thomas Jefferson, a seamstress doing "light sewing" for the household, and helping out Jefferson's daughters Patsy and Polly as they needed. Jefferson never had a designated housekeeper at the Hôtel de Langeac. One of his servants, presumably the porter, was responsible for the upkeep of the place, doing the heavy lifting and cleaning. The luxury of having Hemings arrive as an extra servant—a female servant at that—lay in her ability to efficiently manage his personal belongings. Who better to take care of his wardrobe and linens than a person who knew how to mend clothing and other items if required? The even greater efficiency was that she could, as he apparently thought she would, continue in this capacity once they returned home. Just as Jefferson intended it to be for her brother, the Hôtel de Langeac was a training ground for Sally Hemings's life at Monticello.

Knowing Hemings's most likely job, however, does not explain why her formal employment suddenly returned in November. Given their later lives, one immediately wonders whether the resumption of her regular employment marks the time when Jefferson became more seriously interested in her or, if not, when their relationship actually began. Did she become his permanent *femme de chambre* because she was already his mistress and this role provided an excuse for her to be in his rooms, was he merely thinking of having her as a mistress and set up circumstances that would put them in close contact, or did he become seriously interested in her only after having encountered her daily in the intimate setting of his living quarters? Liaisons between masters and chambermaids, enslaved and not, have been prevalent enough in all ages to be the stuff of cliché. In the eighteenth-century France of Hemings and Jefferson, some men refused to marry women who had been *femmes de chambre* to males, knowing what could happen when unrelated men and women come into contact with one another in the man's private chamber. The woman, under the power of the master, could be sexually violated or abused, or the man and woman, interacting with each

other in this very intimate and suggestive setting, could develop a mutual attraction. While an evolving relationship growing out of the cumulative effect of daily interactions would not explain what led Jefferson to give Hemings a regular job that November, it is more likely what happened.

Infatuation can exist without the will or ability to marry, and, of course, marriage was precluded for Hemings and Jefferson. The elemental problem with the way they lived in France, however, still remained. The "protections" offered to enslaved women as substitutes for the concept of inappropriateness were the supposedly ironclad dictates of racism—"all women of color were so degraded that only a tiny category of white men, the totally depraved or hopelessly immoral, would be attracted to them, so those women generally had nothing to worry about during slavery"—and class superiority—"southern gentlemen did not get intimately involved with their female social inferiors." Those notions would be worth merely laughing at if they had not totally trivialized the lives of a great many African American enslaved families.

That the Hemingses had a different overall presentation from other slaves at Monticello, as members of the Jefferson family asserted, meshed with Jefferson's desire not to be reminded that those who served him most closely were, in fact, black slaves. If Hemings did resemble his deceased wife in any way, physically or through the use of common expressions, as so often happens with people who spend time with each other, one can imagine the emotions that this evoked in Jefferson, bidden and unbidden. Had he been able to accept the first appointment to France, he would have experienced the country he had come to love so much with his wife.

Even without a family resemblance, there was virtually no way that Hemings and Jefferson could talk with each other without the conscious or unconscious memory of his late wife, Martha Wayles Jefferson, hovering between them. She was why they knew each other. She was why they had come to be living together in a strange land away from family and the society that had formed both of them. What would a man be thinking while talking with a young female who was his slave, but also the sister of his much loved and lost wife? What would a young enslaved female be thinking as she talked to a man who was her master, knowing that he had been married to her sister?

Had Hemings been free and white, they would not have been thinking of marrying each other, because that would have been against the laws of their time. In Virginia, under the influence of English law, a man who married his deceased wife's sister was engaging in incest.

Even though she was not under American law, thinking seriously about the beginning of Hemings's relationship with Jefferson in France requires confronting the vexing issue of sex between enslaved women and white men. Enslaved women's vulnerability to rape is well known, and the question naturally arises about this pair. Exploring this issue for these two people requires moving for a time beyond the kind of discussion that, in understandable deference to the suffering of black female victims of sexual abuse, casts every enslaved woman who ever had sex with a white man during slavery in the United States as a rape victim. This view describes the way things were between enslaved women and white men generally, but deserves greater scrutiny when one takes on the responsibility of seeking to understand and present the story of one individual's life.

There are at least two possible routes to the conclusion that what happened between Hemings and Jefferson during their beginnings in Paris were presumptively rape. One idea rests on an understanding about enslaved women and the other one, which works in tandem with it, on an understanding about white male slave owners. As to enslaved women, we may assume that none—because of the obvious state of war that existed between masters and slaves—would ever have wanted to have sex with any white man. Faced with white men who showed interest in them, enslaved women, for completely sound ideological reasons, would be unwilling. Evidence that sex took place between the two—a child, for example—would itself be evidence of rape. Sally Hemings would think that the only mate allowable to her—indeed the only one she should want in her heart—was a man who shared her legal status and, therefore, her race, a man of African origin. In this view, because her part "whiteness" did not prevent her enslavement, Hemings, acting on an instinctive sense of racial solidarity (solidarity with her black ancestors alone), would stay in her racial place when it came to feelings about members of the opposite sex.

If the young Hemings were open to the idea of having Jefferson as a lover, she would be a traitor who denied the reality of her enslavement and provided her enemy—Jefferson—with something that he very much wanted, while keeping her body from the men who shared her oppression and thus had a superior moral claim to it, that is to say, African American males. Under Virginia law, Thomas Jefferson owned her body by positive, legal right, but black men owned her body by natural right.

This wholly male-centered construction of the rules and meaning of conflict between warring parties—how one is to behave, how one properly calculates one's individual interests—leaves no room for the feelings, obsessions, and strategies of females. Women are merely objects upon whom men, the prime movers and the owners of female bodies, carry out their battles. Women know this and are supposed to adjust their behavior according to men's rules of engagement. When they run afoul of them, they are to be criticized or punished, if possible, severely.

There are even more problematic results of the no-possible-consent rule. It suggests that the individual personalities, life stories, and dignity of enslaved women are meaningless or, in the case of "dignity," even nonexistent. The rule also imposes a version of eternal childhood on them, no matter what their circumstances in life. Ironically, that choice, though made for different reasons, eerily echoes slave owners' construction of all enslaved people as "children" who lacked the ability and power to make rational decisions and who needed to be kept in slavery to protect them from the vagaries and harsh realities of living as free people in a hostile world.

An issue remains: How is it possible to get at the nature of a relationship between a man and a woman like Jefferson and Hemings when neither party specifically writes or speaks to others about that relationship or their feelings? Even written words can be quite deceptive and seldom tell the whole story, for people sometimes choose, for whatever reason, to tell a story of their lives that is rosier, or grimmer, than it actually was. In the absence of words, actions may be quite telling.

To ensure that everyone gets the vital message that the rape of black women was endemic to slavery, the no-possible-consent rule says that whether Jefferson used

force or charm on Hemings is of no great moment. Social history trumps individual biography. But no one can safely say that for Hemings, who lived her life as a person, not a statistic, the difference between being forced, physically or psychologically, by a man and being charmed by him would have made all the difference in the world to her inner life, a thing that was and is, indeed, always of great moment.

The tremendously disproportionate amount of power that slave owners, and all white men, had over slave women made rape prevalent, but it was not universal. One simply cannot say that being a slave owner made every white man equally prone to wanting to have sex with slave women or to raping them, that every slave owner would rape any slave woman who refused his advances, or that every slave owner actively preferred his sexual encounters with slave women to be violent and unwanted. While these ideas capture something very real and basic about the nature of slavery, they do not account for every situation.

Both Hemings sisters had very firm internal understandings about how they might influence the course of their lives so that they could have what many of the women of their day, black and white, wanted—the ability, during their measured time on earth, to associate with a man who would take care of them and provide the best possible lives for their children with some chance of stability in an unstable world. Mary Hemings experienced firsthand what this instability meant. Although she found a place for herself with Bell, unlike her sister Sally, she experienced one of the harshest aspects of enslaved motherhood., Four of her six children were taken from her. The liaison with Bell ensured that any new children she had would be protected. The contingencies of the lives of Sally and Mary Hemings were such that Jefferson and Bell, for whatever reason—their personalities, their feelings about the women involved—supported these sisters' aspirations. As a result both women, in their own way, achieved exactly what they wanted. That their very elemental desires as women were met in the context of slave-master, black-white relationships is troubling because they mix something that seems almost sacred (the human desire for a secure family life) with something deeply profane (slavery).

Many years later, Israel Gillette, who had been enslaved at Monticello, said that he knew of Hemings's relationship with Jefferson from his "intimacy with both parties." His recollections suggested that it was not just the presence of children who looked just like Jefferson—as his white relatives described them—but the way Hemings and Jefferson treated each other, Hemings's access to Jefferson, that told him what they were to each other.

One might say that Jefferson could expect his daughters to become inured to this type of relationship because their mother had experienced a similar one. Though this arrangement was a feature of life in his country, and families developed ways of dealing with it, it was not clear in 1789 that Patsy and Polly would be as sanguine about his connection to Hemings as their mother apparently was about John Wayles and Elizabeth Hemings. Not all white women reacted calmly upon learning that the men in their lives were involved with enslaved women. Indeed, a household in which a husband or father had taken a slave mistress could become the site of internecine domestic warfare conducted on levels low and high. Some women—wives and daughters—exacted reprisals against the women themselves—arguing for their sale and the sale of any children they bore. They, and other family members, fought the bequests their male relatives gave to the children they had with enslaved women. Sometimes silent acquiescence was the tack. "Unable to do anything about it, many a Southern white woman feigned ignorance of illicit, interracial relationships, at least those that occurred under their own roof."

It is inconceivable, however, that on the self-contained and isolated farms and plantations throughout the South that any but the most dense white mistresses of households did not know when their fathers, husbands, or sons were having children with women on the plantation. Women have often felt obliged to play dumb for men's benefit; that has never meant that they were actually dumb—particularly not about sorting out situations and relationships affecting their own personal lives in the domestic sphere that was their domain. The nineteenth-century southern diarist Mary Boykin Chesnut's much quoted observation captures the spirit of denial required in a racially based slave society as slave owners dealt with one of the chief hazards of their

business: "any lady is able to tell who is the father of all the mulatto children in everybody's household but their own. Those she seems to think drop from the clouds."

Being in vastly different social classes did not mean that males and females could never fall in love with their social "inferiors" or "superiors," for there was a deep and knowing understanding, no doubt born of familiarity with life and crises within English manor houses, about the ways of human beings when they were put in certain circumstances. Note the hypothetical's pairing of the daughter of a gentleman with his butler, and son of the lady of the house with her maid, instead of imagining a cross-class liaison between people who would not have encountered one another in a household on a daily basis.

For males and females, it was a simple matter of proximity and opportunity, and positive law had to step in sometimes to protect society (those at the top of the hierarchy, actually) from the all too predictable course of human nature. Societies can effectively shape how, when, and whether people express and act on certain emotions in public. They cannot decree that individuals not have them, nor can they control what individuals do behind closed doors. A gentleman's daughter and his butler, or a lady's son and her maid, might feel as deeply for one another as they wanted, but they should not be allowed to translate their feelings into publicly supported actions that might disrupt the social order. Benjamin Rush, Jefferson's great friend and noted Philadelphia doctor, patriot, and signer of the Declaration of Independence, understood the problem very well, and fretted about its operation in the United States. Anxious to maintain what he thought were the necessary "class divisions" in the emerging Republic, he pronounced it dangerous for men (the upper-class males with whom he was most concerned) to live alone; for these unmarried men, Rush said, were at great risk for crossing socially constructed barriers to form liaisons with women of lower classes. Sex, Dr. Rush believed, was a basic and natural part of life, but only legally established relationships could preserve it in its most wholesome form. He wrote, "While men live by themselves... they do not view washerwomen or oyster-wenches as washerwomen or oyster-wenches, but simply as women." Given this at once astute and banal observation, one would love to know what Rush truly thought upon hearing that his dear

friend Jefferson, a longtime widower, had succumbed to the tendency that he outlined so plainly.

If one were to drop down into the middle of any seemingly bizarre family situation, one would wonder how these people could possibly live in those circumstances. The people living in it, however, would have had years to fit themselves into whatever strange configuration one found them in. A thousand tradeoffs, exchanges, and accommodations would have been made, completely away from the view of outsiders. The family adjusts and endures. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it had no choice.

Slavery simply provided families in the South with many more ways to be bizarre than in regions where it never took hold or was abandoned early on. Fathers owning sons, brothers giving away brothers as wedding gifts, sisters selling their aunts, husbands having children with their wives and then their wives' enslaved half sisters, enslaved black children and their free little white cousins, living and playing together on the same plantation—things that by every measure violate basic notions of what modern-day people think family is supposed to be about. This was one of the myriad reasons why slavery was a horrific thing. These weird family situations actually violated emerging norms for the family in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which is why southern whites of that time worked so assiduously to hide this aspect of southern life.

About two years into Jefferson's retirement, Elijah Fletcher, an educator on his way to his installation as president of New Glasgow Academy, gave an account of his visit to Monticello and Charlottesville. Fletcher, of Vermont, sounding every bit the stereotype of the puritanical New Englander, admitted that he had always been dubious of what he called Jefferson's "moral conduct"—probably gleaned from what he had read in Federalist newspapers. But, he said, Jefferson's neighbors in Charlottesville gave him additional cause for concern on that score. They were more than willing to talk about the master of Monticello, and what they knew of life there, including Sally Hemings. Fletcher wrote,

The story of black Sal is no farce—That he cohabits with her and has a number of children by her is a sacred truth—and the worst of it is, he keeps the same children slaves—an unnatural crime which is very common in these parts. This conduct may receive a little palliation when we consider such proceedings are so common here that they cease here to be disgraceful—

Jefferson's children were thirteen, eleven, six, and three at the time Fletcher visited, and his commentary reiterates a point that cannot be emphasized enough: the Hemings children's situation was not in and of itself unique. Many mixed-race children had white fathers who also legally owned them, because interracial sex on plantations was not uncommon. When healthy men and women had sex, they almost invariably had children, given the lack of effective birth control and societal attitudes toward abortion. What made Beverley, Harriet, Madison, and Eston Hemings different was that their father was a *famous* white man, and many people cared enough about him to pay attention to what he was doing. Jefferson's fame, however, did not immunize him and his family from the constitutive attributes of the slave system.¹³⁴

134 Gordon-Reed.

GNES KANE CALLUM'S ANCESTRY AT SOTTERLEY



It was the late forties. I was not yet ten years old. One day there came in the mail a letter addressed to my father in which a company promised—in big and bold letters—to research the Lester family tree and send us a copy of our family coat of arms. I was excited, but when I saw my father fold the letter as if to discard it, I asked anxiously, "Don't you want to know our family history?"

He laughed dryly. "I don't need to pay anybody to tell me about where we came from.

Our family tree ends in a bill of sale. Lester is the name of the family that owned us. 135

Hillery Kane was born as a slave in St. Mary's County in 1818, a time when agricultural production of a single valuable crop, tobacco, significantly increased labor needs. Through his life, we can observe some of the more distasteful aspects of the institution of slavery: considered "chattel," slaves could be bought, sold, auctioned, given as gifts, and handed down by will; slaves, as "property" were often sold away from their families; slaves were subjected to inhuman working and living conditions; and slaves had virtually no control over their lives. Hillery's life straddles an interesting period in our country's history. It chronicles a life within the confines of slavery, the increasing tensions and eventual war between the North and South, emancipation, and the post-Civil War period of Reconstruction. ¹³⁶

Agnes Callum: "I know a lot of blacks who know this plantation's there. They think it's a white people's plantation, but our roots are here too, the Kane roots, and the beautiful

¹³⁵ Lester at pp.3.

¹³⁶ Arrigan, Marylin. Slavery and the Enslaved People at Sotterley Plantation. 2003.

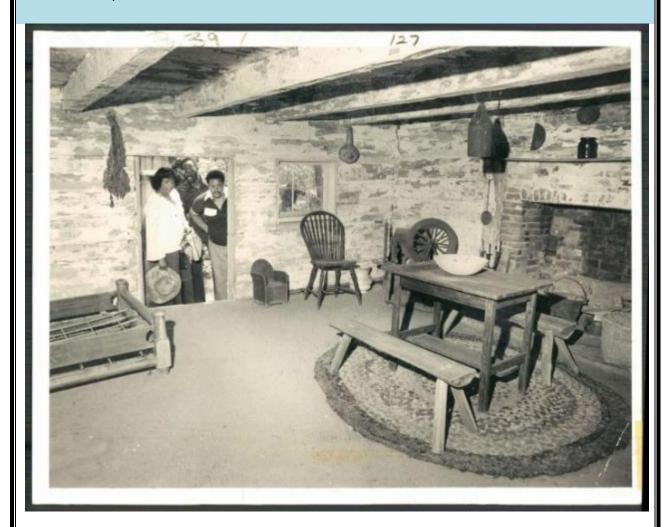
thing about this historic place is that for once, the slaves are included in the story. My name is Agnes Kane Callum, and I was born and raised in Baltimore. I am number five of twelve children. My grandfather was a slave here on Sotterley. While I was attending Morgan State University, I wrote a paper on the acquisition of land by free blacks in St. Mary's County Maryland. Now my mother and father were living, and they were born and raised here in St. Mary's County, and I heard them mention different peoples' names, and I would stop by my parents' house and say "have you ever heard of this person or that person" and they'd say "oh yeah, we knew them." But when I was looking for Kanes, I found them in the census, with different spellings, I think it was at least seven different spellings, when I found the Kanes." "I felt that they had been on Sotterley all their life. But they came to Sotterley at 1848, and I was researching up around the Civil War, around 1861. Where were the Kanes before Sotterley? Then I found out that before the Briscoes owned the Kanes, a white family named Gough owned the Kanes, and Gough died. A cholera epidemic came through St. Mary's County, and killed quite a few people. And this man named James Jetson Gough, owned the Kanes before Dr. Briscoe. It was a mother, father, and three children. But the judge in the orphan's court (Colonel Billingsley), he purchased the father, Hillary. Dr. Briscoe and Billingsley had married two sisters, and this plantation belonged to the two sisters. So, after Billingsley purchases Hillary, then they took the mother and children off the auction block because they didn't bring their assessed value. So Dr. Briscoe bought the mother, and the children, in an attorney's sale. He paid six hundred dollars for Mariah Kane, and, for the baby, Frank Kane, he paid fifty dollars. He was four months old. And Frank Kane got to be Dr. Briscoe's chauffeur or coachman, as they called it in that day, and he was very close to Dr. Briscoe, because they would have conversations as they went about making house calls."



128 "Lost Their Way"

"I think they deserve to be remembered, and all the acts that they did, because those people, who were slaves, they survived the system that was really cruel. They had to be strong, physically, because as I told you, a lot of my people, and I'm sure other slaves, died of consumption. Some of them died of measles. And they were trying physically to overcome this, and then, to survive within the system. They knew when to say certain things, what to say, because in some parts of Maryland people were being lynched. And my people survived the system because they knew when to act and when not to act. These people slept on the floor, with corn shucks and wheat chaff as a mattress. Then they get up in the morning and they go up on the hill, to this mansion where they had lace on the pillowcases, and linen sheets. The slaves were not stupid. They knew that they were slaves, and they were governed by certain rules and regulations. They knew that they were being watched, and maybe someday they hoped to be in a situation like the people up on the hill. Who knows what went on in their minds. And since they couldn't read or write, it was against the law for blacks to read or write, they didn't leave a record. The few things that my parents told me, I think they were very brave, because they would sit around the fireplace at night before they go to bed, and they would tell their children what happened to them in their lifetimes. Now, if their child didn't survive

to tell me or the generation after that, then all that's lost, so... I still think that survival was most important.



129 Kane descendents at Sotterley

"And the continuity of this whole place is important. Because how are you going to tell school children? You can tell schoolchildren in the classroom, but to bring them here and show them, that is tremendous. Now, I think this really should be preserved. And my people, that are living today, they are proud, they are proud of our ancestors, and of course, the things that they did, and I'm lucky to be connected to Sotterley.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Callum, Agnes Kane. YouTube "An Interview with Agnes Kane Callum".

"Like many freedmen following emancipation and Reconstruction, Hillery chose to stay on the plantation where he had been enslaved. Most likely, he received wages for working on shares of Sotterley Plantation, along with other tenant farmers. During this time, he saw his son, Frank, marry Evelina Steward in the parlor of Sotterley's manor house. After the ceremony, Sotterley's cook served all the guests sweetbread and sweetened water. The guests then returned to the Kane home for music and dancing. In 1879, nearly fifteen years after emancipation, Hillery and Elsa left Sotterley to settle in their own home in Hollywood, Maryland, 'within calling distance of their former Master'." 138



130 Frank Kane and his wife

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¹³⁸ Arrigan, 2003.

CBS Sunday Morning:

JOHN BRISCOE: I was a child growing up in Leonardtown (in the 1930's). I remember there was a very tall black gentleman who used to come to the house and helped my father in the garden. He helped shovel coal in the basement for the old coal furnace. And I remember him as a child. I knew him as George. And his name was George Kane. And the only thing I know is that my parents, I—my mother or my father would just in passing very casually say he used to be at Sotterley.

AGNES CALLUM: Sure did.

JOHN BRISCOE: And that's all I knew about it.

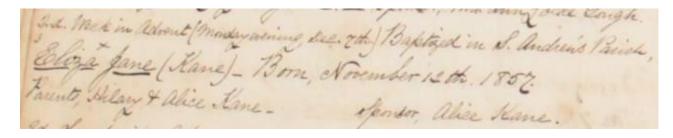
TERRY SMITH: And Kane is the name in your family?

AGNES CALLUM: Yeah. I knew him. And he was born here. But he was born about—he is on the 1870 Census.

JOHN BRISCOE: Yes, he was there.

AGNES CALLUM: He was born free.

JOHN BRISCOE: Mr. George Kane who—who came with our family, I guess, was following the Briscoes somewhat.¹³⁹



Baptisms by the Rev. George K Warner

2nd Week in Advent (Monday Evening, Dec. 7th) Baptized in S. Andrew's Parish

X¹ Eliza Jane (Kane) Born November 12th 1857

¹³⁹ CBS Sunday Morning Transcript Interview: Agnes Kane Callum and John Hanson Briscoe by Terry Smith. October 1996.



131 Sotterley Board of Trustees Members Janice Briscoe and Dr. Martina Callum

Janice Briscoe: My ancestor, Emelline Briscoe, inherited Sotterley in the early 1800's and along with many slaves she inherited, she and her husband, Dr. Walter Hanson Briscoe, purchased more slaves including the ancestors of Agnes Callum, who lived here, not in the big mansion that my family lived in, but in the slave cabin, such as the one we have here today. They lived there, obviously, under bondage, and toiled under very harsh conditions in the fields you're surrounded by, and in many historic structures that are still here today. They were resilient people, and that's what Agnes wanted us all to learn from and appreciate. So my family, many of us are here today as well, we have been become friends, starting twenty years ago when our father, John Hanson Briscoe and Agnes Callum joined together as board members, and they went on national news to try to save this place. It had become one of the most endangered historic homes in our country.

Together, they joined forces and said 'you know, we're gonna try and save this place from destruction because all these stories need to be told.' And they were successful, not just the two of them of course, many people, many of you here today were a part of that, but they were the face of it. And they did show us all a powerful example of how two people with very different but connected painful histories can come together and be honest, truthful, and mutually respectful, an example we can all learn from today. So I'm truly honored to be a part of that next generation that is continuing that. I've had the pleasure of serving with two of Agnes' children- Martin, and his twin sister Dr. Martina Callum- it's always been an honor for me to work with you, to carry on our parents' mission. And I thank you both for that. And now we have a long way to go here at Sotterley, our mission is not over. It will never be over because this is place that needs a lot of TLC to maintain, but we will continue to do that. One of my favorite stories is looking at the footage of some of the news programs that our parents were in; they were always sort of joking with each other and made everybody relax. 20 years ago it was sort of a groundbreaking thing. Back in the Civil War days Agnes's ancestors didn't even own the shirt on their backs. They didn't even own themselves, but yet at that time twenty years ago, Agnes Callum and John Hanson Briscoe, they were co-owners of Sotterley and they found that remarkable, as I do, too. So I want to thank you all for being here today and supporting our efforts at Sotterley and hope you will continue to do so as we strive- as Nancy Easterling said-to expand on these stories for future generations. 140

Janice Briscoe – Vice President, Historic Sotterley Board of Trustees: On behalf of the Board of Trustees of Historic Sotterley, we take great pleasure in proclaiming that from this day forward, February 24 is Agnes Kane Callum day. Henceforth by marking the day of her birth, we honor her dedication and commitment to Sotterley. Agnes was the first African American trustee of Historic Sotterley. She worked tirelessly to convince the world

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¹⁴⁰ The Agnes Kane Callum Slave Cabin Dedication – Janice Briscoe.

that the story of our ancestors during the time of slavery was the American story, our heritage, and that Sotterley must be saved. She understood our need to acknowledge our unvarnished past, a need that some of us did not even realize. Historic Sotterley recognizes and honors Agnes Kane Callum for her encouragement to us all to be authentic- and the rest will come. It is therefore declared on this date April 21st 2017, that February 24 is Agnes Kane Callum Day at Historic Sotterley.¹⁴¹

(Applause)

CBS Sunday Morning:

John Briscoe:

The very property and the grounds and building where her ancestors worked under servitude. Agnes Kane Callum has a one-fifteenth ownership. She is a stockholder. She is a voting member of the foundation. And has a legal title to this property. She has a great deal to say about where it goes and its destiny, its preservation. And has a full equal partnership with everyone on the board.

Terry Smith:

You find that satisfying.

Agnes Callum:

I think that's great. I think that's great. Because in my great-grandfather's day, he was not permitted to walk across the front of the lawn. Anything he wanted—not only him, any of the blacks—they had to stay across the line. And here I am today sitting in the spot. And I commemorate his memory. And then I own one-fifteenth, it's very good. I know he's pleased.

John Briscoe:

The whole question of slavery, in my opinion, without Agnes, would have been forgotten. She's right. Because it was sort of passive. It was there, but it was never

¹⁴¹ The Agnes Kane Callum Slave Cabin Dediction – Janice Briscoe.

talked about. Never. And perhaps it was because they were afraid to talk about it because it was so offensive, and because it brought up wounds of the past. But you see it takes a person like Agnes to do both. You have to bring it up and you have to talk about it. And she has to feel sad sometimes. But you go on from there. You don't dwell—she does not dwell on the unfortunate part of history. She uses that as a lesson to move forward to help future generations.

Agnes Callum:

And the other side of the coin is I don't look at it—maybe I was conditioned before I ever came to see this plantation. Because all of my life I've heard about slavery, from a little girl before I ever went to school, how blacks lived. How cruel they were treated. So when I came and laid my eyes on a slave cabin, I didn't fall out and faint. I didn't cry. I felt sad.

I felt that I was conditioned. I already knew all of this. What black person does not know this? Maybe whites are not paying attention. It's there. Look, look, look, it's there. But they're not paying attention.. And I really did this for other blacks. To let them 'know that your history can be—your ancestry can be researched. It can be found. It is documented.' And I—I published out of my own pocket. Nobody gave me anything. So hopefully that I will spark an interest, or make somebody proud. Because it has to be good people who could live under those conditions and survive. It has to be. Yes. In 1978, I think it was, I brought 255 Kanes and descendants of Kanes. Three busloads, 11 cars. And we had the whole day here. It was really, really nice.



132 Kane Family inside Sotterley Slave Cabin

"But the concentration was at the slave cabin. Everybody wanted to see the slave cabin. Some were outraged. Some of them said 'I'll never come back here again!' At that time they had a bed there. And it was a sheet on the bed. And somebody said 'this sheet is dirty, why did they leave it? We need to clean up here.' They were hurt. And I had the—the gentlemen I told you that got married here in the parlor, his daughter was 92 years old. And she was on the bus. And she swore that her father was never a slave. She said 'how can a little baby be a slave?' She said 'my father was never a slave.' But he was, he was. And she refused to get off the bus to even look at anything."

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¹⁴² CBS Sunday Morning Transcript Interview: Agnes Kane Callum and John Hanson Briscoe by Terry Smith. October 1996.



133 Dr. Francine Dove Hawkins

Dr. Francine Dove Hawkins:

In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit; we call upon you, our God, our creator, to continue to be present here at Sotterley Plantation. We ask that you allow our ancestors on whose shoulders we stand today to be present with us as we continue to honor, heavenly Father, you and your good and faithful servant Dr. Agnes Kane Callum. Bring each and every one of us here before you in total communion: each of us in total communion with you

and our ancestors. And as we call the names of our ancestors down at the slave cabin, build in us an everlasting commitment to work for the remembrance, the reconciliation, and the restoration of our complete history here and everywhere, wherever your truth leads us. Remove all evil spirits in the name of Jesus from the ground here heavenly Father, as you safeguard us in this entire ultimate mission to do your will.

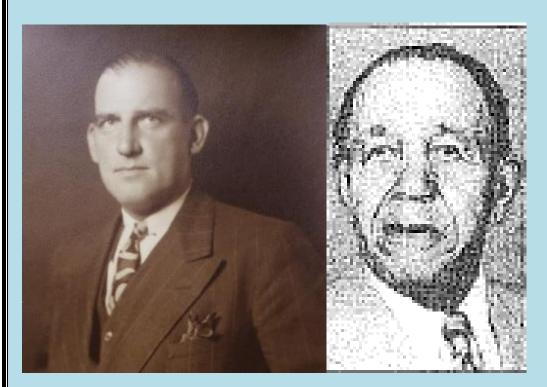
(The crowd makes to leave towards the slave cabin)

(Sung) Take me to the water. Take me to the water. Take me to the water...¹⁴³

¹⁴³ The Agnes Kane Callum Slave Cabin Dedication Ceremony – Dr. Francine Dove Hawkins.

HE BRISCOES

David Briscoe: "My grandfather was Charles Briscoe. He was a native of Wilson, North Carolina. He went to Richmond, Virginia to do some work and there met my grandmother Leugart Garland. She was white; he was black; that was a forbidden taboo back in those days. His wife came from the Phillip Morris tobacco clan; she was an heir to that. Once she and my grandfather got together, that wasn't very good, being from Richmond at that time [laughs]. Being in the Bible Belt and the Southern state in the 1800's; I don't think that worked very well so I think that's the reason he picked up stakes and came to St. Mary's County; he had family here."



Arthur Fenner Lee "Buck" Briscoe

Benjamin Lewin Briscoe

When I was around thirteen or fourteen years old, my two uncles said "You know, we believe that we're kin to the Briscoes up there" and one uncle said "What Briscoes?" and the other turned and said "Buck." Years later, we had a family reunion and one uncle came up and said, "You know, we *are* related to the Briscoes..." and that's when it kinda clicked; I remembered my uncle saying that. I'm looking now at a photograph of Buck Briscoe and he looks like my father (Benjamin Lewin Briscoe) and he also looks like my Uncle Vincent. I think there's a *great* resemblance there.

I met John Hanson Briscoe after our group, The Briscoe Brothers, sang at the county fair. He shook my hand and said 'very nice job' because we were just finishing. And I looked at him and my impression of him was that he looks a lot like my father; especially around the eyes and the nose.

My sister-in-law, (Staci Forbes Briscoe) had contacted the law office of Baldwin & Briscoe to do some pro bono work. She was intrigued by the name 'Briscoe' and said 'I never knew there were Caucasian Briscoes — so many in the county!' I gave her a picture of my father, Benjamin Lewin Briscoe, to bring in to the law office to share during the consultation. She thought that 'well let me just see if this Briscoe connects with this Briscoe because *I know* that your grandmother was white. Maybe they just kinda jive.'

Her father was always in the Leonardtown area; Joseph Forbes was a well-known guy. He'd always run into *Judge* Briscoe, John Hanson, and he always looked at him and always looked at my dad (Benjamin Lewin Briscoe) and said 'Wow, they favor!'

Samuel Baldwin: I was invited into that consultation with Staci Forbes Briscoe and my wife, Janice Briscoe. I sat between these two ladies. At the end of the consultation, Staci Briscoe unexpectedly pulled a photo out of an envelope; it was an 8 X 10 photo of her father-in-law, Benjamin Lewin Briscoe. The photograph was of an African American who was in his 70s at the time the photograph was taken. Coincidentally, my own father-in-law John Hanson Briscoe and his sisters were in their late 70s, early 80s at the very moment of this meeting so the comparisons were *age appropriate*. A comparison of the photograph

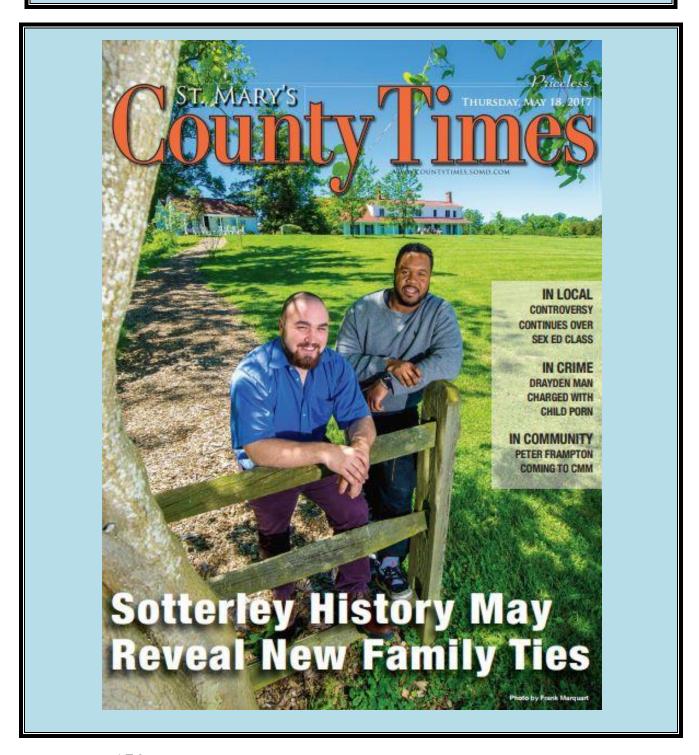
of Benjamin Lewin Briscoe and the Briscoes that I knew was easy to do. Receiving the photograph from Staci and looking at it, it was less than a split second for me to immediately recognize the strong familiar resemblance of Benjamin Lewin Briscoe to not only to my father-in-law, John Hanson Briscoe, but also his sisters who I knew intimately, having lived on the Briscoe family farm for nearly 30 years at that point in time. I immediately exclaimed: "Jan, you're related!" Turning to the left, I could see Staci Briscoe nodding affirmatively that yes, there is a relationship.

That very afternoon, I told my father-in-law, John Hanson Briscoe, about the photograph and the meeting. I asked him if he had ever heard of any African American relatives in the county. He did not say "no" and he did not say "yes". Instead, the man who had been a jurist for many years and a Speaker of the Maryland House of Delegates, in other words, a man practiced in the art of choosing his words carefully, gave me what I took to be a purposeful but indirect affirmation: "those kinds of things happened back then." Knowing my father-in-law as well as I knew him, I did not need to question him further to know that this was an acknowledgement.¹⁴⁴

Alonzo Gaskin: In St. Mary's County there was a color line, black and white, that never really existed. The line has been crossed so many times, but our own insecurities didn't allow us to fully acknowledge that we were more than our individual parts. We're a combination of different parts of St. Mary's County and different ethnic backgrounds. There is no purely white, purely black, purely anything that we know of in the United States. We are an amalgamation of different cultures. A lot of St. Mary's County still lives in denial. There's this side and that side when again the lines have been blurred for so long, but we just refuse to acknowledge it. For St. Mary's County to move forward, they need to have a sense that there is no difference, there is no "them", there is no "us", it's just this group of

¹⁴⁴ David Briscoe Interview

people who have, who are now being given the legacy to move forward that prior generations did not have.



 $1\,34\,\,\text{John Hanson Briscoe's grandson, Samuel Maynard Baldwin \& Duvar Briscoe at Sotterley}$

Older people are going to wish that the story in The County Times isn't told at all. They're comfortable with the misconceptions of the past. Younger people are really trying to get a sense of what really happened in the past because there is no true public viewing or airing of what exactly happened in the past. There's only little snippets that go around from place to place, there's no real public education about this. But it needs to be fully aired so that we can move forward. If we don't air this now, and we are on the verge of being three centuries away from it, when will we air it? It needs to be aired so that we as a country can move forward. 145

Joan Wise: I've done genealogy professionally, being paid for it, and one of the questions I ask somebody is that if I find something i.e. births: children not born in wedlock, if your father isn't your father, what do you want to know and what don't you what to know? And generally people want to know the truth. It's like "I want to know the truth."

Samuel Baldwin: Ok, but focus in on this topic, the topic of slavery and the relationships between the master and the enslaved. Do you shy away from that? Once you find. . .

Joan Wise: I wouldn't because then we're recreating history and we're just carrying forward some. . . usually it's some kind of ideal that we may have in our head that we still project and it's like "get over it. Move past it, deal with the reality. It is what it was." 146

Speaking of the difficulties associated with the exploration of master and slave sexual relations, Ball wrote:

¹⁴⁵ Alonzo Gaskin Interview

¹⁴⁶ Joan Wise Interview

Within the Ball family, the plantation stories functioned like a giant self-portrait. I was making a new painting that might change the look of the past. I talked to close and distant cousins, old and young, at churches, dinners, and picnics. In general, the oldest generation worried that I wanted to alter the family story; it was plain in their eyes. People in middle age seemed ambivalent, at times curious and at other times apparently fearful. Many of the young adults offered support, secretly or out loud...

..."I know your heart is heavy," I said. "One reason I wanted to see you was to take a step, a gesture, and hold out my hand."

"No problem," said Mr. Smalls. "Someone has to break the ice. I gotta give you credit, you were man enough to do it." 147

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¹⁴⁷ Ball, Edward. Slaves in the Family. Ballantine Books, 1999

OTTERLEY – LOOKING AT HISTORY SQUARE IN THE FACE



135 Agnes Kane Callum & John Hanson Briscoe at Sotterley

CBS Sunday Morning:

Terry Smith: It's just amazing. I mean, I look at you two. And I think about these families, and the long period, and the way it goes back. And the sense of roots is really strong. I mean this house, this property.

Agnes Callum: Yes, it is.

John Briscoe: Both Agnes and I are certainly direct living history. But you see the slave cabin. That's living history. We don't have to reenact. It's all here.

Terry Smith: The story of this house, this property is the story of this country.

John Briscoe: That's correct.

Agnes Callum: Yes.

Terry Smith: It goes from Colonial days, before the United States, to the modern day from slavery to freedom. The sweep of it is tremendous and I think you have a corollary

to that lesson, which you talked about before, which is you have to look at history square in the face.

Agnes Callum: You must. That's right. You cannot change it. Even if the slave cabin was pushed aside or burned to the ground, it matters not. It was there. We must look at history square in the face. And confront it. It's part of our history. Other ethnic groups have done the same things. And they're not destroying anything. They are building monuments. And I think that slave cabin is a monument, and also this mansion.¹⁴⁸

Congressman Roy Dyson:

I did an about face, and looked at these kinds of things differently. I looked at the slave quarters which I said I was adamantly opposed to. Those folks, John and Agnes, changed my mind, changed my attitude on how we should interpret history, particularly a terrible period in our history.¹⁴⁹

Alonzo Gaskin:

Samuel Baldwin: What role, if any, does Sotterley play in teaching history?

Alonzo Gaskin: For St. Mary's County it's one of the very few places that has been maintained and restored to show you what life was like in the 19th century and early portions of the 20th century. For the 21st century, Sotterley needs to a be a reminder of what we were and where we need to be. It needs to say this is a part of our history, but it's not who we are. I think they're doing a great job. I don't think they're getting enough support. ¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ CBS Sunday Morning Interview

¹⁴⁹ Roy Dyson Interview with Samuel C.P Baldwin Jr.

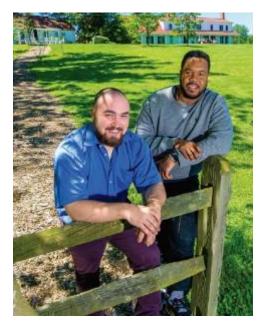
¹⁵⁰ Alonzo Gaskin Interview

David Briscoe: I'll tell you another little side story. The barn that they put up at Sotterley, my company did some of the work, especially some of the foundation and the concrete work on it. So if I had, at all, any adverse affects about that I would have never worked out there. [laughs]

And another note, the Briscoe Brothers, the singing group, a gospel singing group, we sang up there. And so, no, I think it's a wonderful step back to show that, yeah, there was a sense of pride, if you would call it that. Some folks won't call it that, but there's a sense of pride. There's a sense of acknowledgement, and you don't have to acknowledge it in a negative way, you can acknowledge it in a positive way if you see it that way.

I'm very, very excited the county gets to read the history of Sotterley Mansion from all aspects. Of course we know that it's a beautiful mansion; the average county person knows that part of the story. But the other, the human side of it is what I like about the article in the County Times. We do not need to feel bad about that. ¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ David Lawerence Briscoe Interview



HY TELL THIS STORY?

Dr. Mary Elliott:

Let me start by extending greetings from the director of the Smithsonian's National Museum of African American History and Culture, Dr. Lonnie Bunch, and also extending greetings from his special assistant Debora Scriber Miller who is from this place. I am honored and humbled to be here today to stand in place of Lonnie Bunch. Unfortunately, he is on travel and could not be here but he was remiss that he couldn't be here with all of you. But he is so pleased and extremely proud of the work that has been done here: the work that crosses generations, race, culture, gender, where everyone has come together to tell this story. Thank you too, Nancy Easterling and to Historic Sotterley – the entire team, and thank you to the Callum family for sharing your story—and to the Briscoe family; it's very important that we share this story and stories like this across the country. It's one thing to be from a national museum and the fact is the story of slavery is a global story, it's a national story, it's a regional story, and it's a local story, and on this site it's a community story.

Thank God for Agnes Kane Callum to uncover some of the stories that have not really been told in the way they should be. And thank God for Historic Sotterley, for "spending this time".

This site is extremely important because people came in at the docks in Baltimore, Virginia, New York, Louisiana, but here the slave ships actually came up to the site. That connects this site directly to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. And just like it was stated, that many people benefited from the slave trade, this is true. Additionally, for African Americans, there's the hardship of slavery, but there's also the resistance, the resilience, the survival, and we look at how African Americans shaped the landscape and were shaped by the landscape. I will go through my list: that is socially, politically, economically, culturally, intellectually, and physically. This landscape was transformed by the labor of African Americans. I talked to a gentleman who was over at the Drayton Hall Plantation in South Carolina, he said, "Mary, I have a hard time bringing African Americans into the plantation site and I desperately want them to come here, but a lot of them shy away from talking about slavery." Which is – it's hard for me to fathom that, but I know that that's true. And one of the things he said was, "They transformed this landscape. They built this landscape. That took a lot of intellect and skill and strength."

So I'm honored to work at the National Museum, but that museum would be nothing if we didn't have community stories, right? And so you all are our national story. And we're very pleased to be able to be part of this journey with you, I came down here before with my colleague, our director – our associate director of curatorial affairs, Dr. Rex M. Ellis, and we look forward to continuing to come down to Sotterley Plantation and to continue to engage in meaningful, productive conversation, because again, everyone has a story. The one thing I'll say is with this site, we must include everyone's voice. And as you heard me mention, we talk about planter elite and we talk about enslaved but we must include also the voices of free communities, the voices of those who even served as overseers,

because in order to understand people's experiences you have to know how each other affected one another. 152



136 Left-Debora Scriber Miller; Middle-Walter Hanson Gardiner; Right-Michele Scriber Allen; All in Sotterley's 'New Room'

David Briscoe: This is most definitely a topic worth discussing. If my children and my grandchildren don't have a sense of where they come from or who they are, they go through life without a place to place their pride. I'm a firm believer that history teaches us so much. It's not a hurtful thing at all; it's a journey I truly think other people should have the opportunity to do. There are other people in my family that are so excited they can finally find something, especially in this county, about the things that went on.

¹⁵² The Agnes Kane Callum Slave Cabin Dedication Ceremony-Dr. Mary Elliott

You know, the things that went on in the past, no one can change. You can't go back and take an eraser and make it right. But what you can do from a point that you're standing in now is embrace what you have, you know, embrace what you want to know, and now that you should know, look how things have changed. Just look at how the county has changed. And if you want to go on a broader stripe, look at America, look at how America has changed. On a personal note, I didn't go to a public integrated school until 1966. Now, my kids can go anywhere they want to go. You can't hold any grudges or any ill will for people who weren't even alive back there.

I want people to know, first of all that it's hard work doing genealogical research; for you it's been a labor of love. As for me it's been a search for identity and lineage and I want to connect the dots somehow, as far as I can go back. The other thing I would want people to know—if you can bridge any racial relations in this county or, not only in the United States but in this world, if you can bridge anything, bridge racial relations because I think these things should be in the past. We all have red blood and let's focus on that. In the famous words of Rodney King, 'can't we all just get along?' [laughs]. 153

Alonzo Gaskin: There is a metaphor used in sports, "no pain, no gain" and if we don't have some pain understanding our history, why history existed in the way that it did, we will have no gain as a society. We will be stagnant and stuck in the same place as we are now, here in 2017. We have to break out of this mold and move forward so that everybody in St. Mary's County understands exactly what happened, why it happened and why we have to move forward.

You have to let it all out. That's the only way you can get, well "cleansing" isn't the right word, but the only way you can clean up what has been done is for people to understand

¹⁵³ David Lawrence Briscoe Interview.

what has been done. If you continue to cover it up and hide it, people will have a false premise of what reality is, and that's a problem.

American history is a selective history because it primarily covers one group of people and that is Europeans. Ever since Carter G. Woodson started Black History Month, there have been snippets added in to cover some things that are part of history. But the reality of it is, the bulk of African American history, is not truly reflected in any textbooks. It is just snippets. The whole history needs to be reflected so that people have a greater appreciation for what was actually contributed to the country by people of color. ¹⁵⁴

Congressman Roy Dyson: I think history is important, I would think it would be, simply because it happened. There are people out there, folks that are out there that should know about it, Sam. Could we do this 50 years ago? Probably not. This story, where you're trying to go, I don't think we could do it then. I think today we have to do it.¹⁵⁵

Dr. Janice Walthour:

We know that if we stand tall, we stand on the backs of our ancestors, definitely so- it's an African proverb. 156

Janice Briscoe - Vice President, Historic Sotterley Board of Trustees:

¹⁵⁴ Alonzo Gaskin Interview

¹⁵⁵ Roy Dyson Interview.

¹⁵⁶ The Agnes Kane Callum Slave Cabin Dedication Ceremony- Janice Walthour

I'd like to close with a statement that appears in our Land Lives and Labor exhibit, it's a statement from the Board that we think is important, it's acknowledging a legacy of inequality: "For more than two centuries, Sotterley owners, like other land owners in southern Maryland, participated in labor practices that discriminated against people based on the color of their skin. Regardless of how relatively kind, or cruel, slave-owners may have been; they helped perpetuate an inhumane, unjust system so deeply rooted in American society, that it took a bloody civil war to end it. Racial discrimination did not end with emancipation, however. Government-sanctioned Jim Crow segregation laws and customs persisted for another century. Sotterley's enslaved descendants lived in a segregated, inherently unequal society; attending colored schools, working at low wage jobs, relegated to back balconies and rear church pews, entering through back doors and eating at take-out windows. Today the Sotterley community includes descendants of enslaved and free workers, owners, and managers. We acknowledge, and are saddened by, the suffering inflicted by past injustices, and we are in awe of the resilience and courage of those that thrived in spite of such challenges. They have inspired us to continue the struggle for a more just world. 157

Dr. Mary Elliott: I can look at a bill of sale and I can see on the bill of sale the name of the enslaved person who was sold, but the other person on that bill of sale is the slave dealer and the person who purchased the enslaved person. That bill of sale talks to everybody. This is not about "that happened to the black people" and it's not about the people who lived in that main house, this is everyone together; this is what we call a shared history, and we have to take the good with the bad, but it's all here because it's our history and we own it.¹⁵⁸

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¹⁵⁷ The Agnes Kane Callum Slave Cabin Dedication Ceremony – Janice Briscoe.

¹⁵⁸ The Agnes Kane Callum Slave Cabin Dedication Ceremony-Dr. Mary Elliott

Dr. Francine Dove Hawkins:

Almighty, living and true, Creator of us all who are present here today, those who are descendants of the enslavers, and those who are descendants of the enslaved. Those of us who have benefited from slavery, as well as those who still carry the scars of slavery. We thank you Lord for all of our experiences and our history, for you in your word commanded us to be thankful in all circumstances, for this is God's will for us. And we believe that suffering produces perseverance, perseverance character, and character hope. And hope does not disappoint. Father God you have gathered the scattered, and placed us all here on these sacred grounds of Sotterley, where our past has the opportunity to meet our present, where brutality has the opportunity to meet forgiveness, where suffering has the opportunity to meet healing, where pain has the opportunity to meet joy, where despair has the opportunity to meet hope, and where darkness has the opportunity to meet light. So again, Father, we say thank you Lord, thank you for these opportunities which thou has made



137 Left to Right: Samuel Baldwin, Agnes Callum Lightfoot, Dr. Martina Callum

possible through the preservation of history here at Sotterley. Our discovery of it, our understanding of it, and our acceptance of it.¹⁵⁹

OST SCRIPT

As of today's, date, at least six members of the Briscoe family, from both sides of the story, have submitted DNA tests through the ancestry.com program. Not all test results are in. Like John Hanson Briscoe and Agnes Kane Callum before them, no one is looking for apologies and no one is looking to place blame. Instead, all of the participants are simply interested in finding family members and family connections that they just did not know of or talk about before today.

¹⁵⁹ The Agnes Kane Callum Slave Cabin Dedication – Dr. Francine Dove Hawkins.

That said, an interesting article recently appeared in the February 7, 2018 edition of the Washington Post. That article, "They Consider Themselves White But DNA Tests Told A More Complex Story," included quotes from Henry Louis Gates, Jr. His comments are these:

"The rule in the Old South was a drop of African blood makes you African,' he said. But now that the drops can be measured, 'it sort of made race seem a lot more arbitrary. You'd never think I had African heritage just by looking at me....It's sort of made me disregard race more.'



138 Henry Louis Gates, Jr.

Still, those drops have had a potent effect on people's identities. For some whites, even a smidgen of African ancestry was commonly referred to as 'the taint,' said Harvard University African and African American studies professor Henry Louis Gates Jr. 'That said it all: that it was something to be ashamed of, something dark and dirty.'

Gates, whose PBS show 'Finding Your Roots' helped actor Ty Burrell and singer Carly Simon discover that they had African ancestry, said he hopes that mounting awareness of the complexity of DNA will help lead to greater understanding across racial and ethnic lines.

'One of the pleasures I get from doing 'Finding Your Roots' is to show that we're all mixed and that for 50,000 years everybody's been sleeping with everybody – and that makes me blissfully happy, because my enemy is racism,' he said.

The Briscoe family invites other members of the community to join the ancestry.com database by participating in this DNA analysis project.

And if you believe you have any connection to the Sotterley community in any way: owner or worker, enslaved or free, from 1699 to 1960, please register with the Sotterley Descendants Project by filling out the attached registry form (http://www.sotterleyplantation.com/genealogy-sotterley.htm) and return it to: education@sotterley.org.

ONTRIBUTORS

Judith Applebaum - Professor of Law at Georgetown University who is researching the connection of a Briscoe in upstate New York to the Briscoe's of southern Maryland.

Samuel M. Baldwin - Scanning; County Times Participant

Andre Barnes – a Genealogist studying the Barnes family of St. Mary's County, Maryland.



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Alice Briscoe - Oral Historian

Janice Briscoe- Editor

David Lawrence Briscoe –David is the son of Benjamin Lewin Briscoe. He produced the photograph of his father that triggered the investigation of the relation between these two Briscoe families – white and black.

DuVar Briscoe - Oral Historian; County Times Participant

Henry Briscoe- Oral Historian

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Dr. Tuajuanda Jordan – The 7th President of St. Mary's College of Maryland and the first African-American to take that office.

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Susan Wolfe – Executive Director of St. Mary's County Historical Society.

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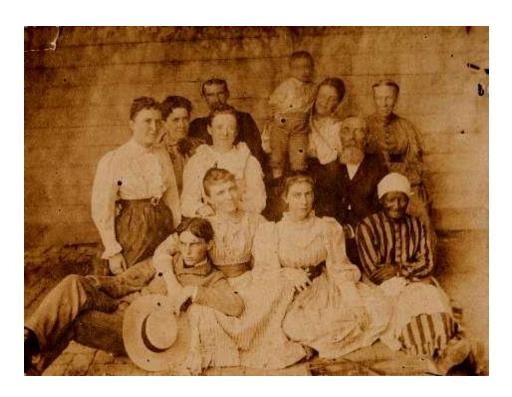
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139 Briscoes and Eliza Plater on Sotterley's Porch

Appendix

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Lotterly Saly 16th 1848 My dear thotos, -I have commenced los or three letters to you but firsting others writing at the same time, I apres mine will it could go alone, chenking thereby, to make it more wantable. all gives me a great deal of plasure to write to you, unicky as I therew I shall have an admitional one of reasing its answer som, and so it will be to the first letter sino we, it will be quite an exact in my life, you need not laugh, for I know the meaning of york ! glad you are bearing more pleased with your selool, thrugh I supose you cannot help wishing yourself buch amongst is again. The all follow the same raulities of duty, as when you were here; and am harpy to telyou that I amount high in asoften. Hove play as well as ever, and have bad a great many outs and bruses lalily : but this have not land me yet, - but never mind - after a lettle while I will become very redute, and read my sister a great many good and wise lectures. Wer amuse verselves after scook playing jacks, an accomplishment This we have found since you feft us.) Honry, Chapinan and I go fishing almost criting Latterday, although I connect lost of the number we catch.

Cousin Join has been sich for week or two and kurrly stand with her two or three days test wish . Hunt Lydre is botter, unuslaying now at Charlotte Whall. Dur vacation continues on the 15th Aug. and we will have four withs. I believe all of the gillswill action except horah . Our class will will study the thistory of Home after August, don't you think we are climbing the ladder of learning very fast? I suppose by this time you are admot at its top. 2MY Hoy, My Dock Arises and Dego Tophio Briscoe spirit a day here last with . Mya Mama Aunty Nip Mary and all the girls soinme melave to you, isins leathwise and Manny. Wite som to your effectionate brother. Briscoe Lamuel W. Briscoe - Northa sends her love to your and cousins Hate and having I wrote to you Mayaret ann last wich about your's and the other gerl's studies. It you should not have received my letter you had better let per herow immediately and I will write again Letters you know sometimes do not noch them proper distination and as it is important to han you studies properly arranged at once no time should be lost than he avoided . are wer a Some to the gulo - he hartiMy dear sister,

I have commenced two or three letters to you, but finding others writing at the same time, I deferred mine until it could go alone, thinking thereby, to make it more acceptable. It gives me a great deal of pleasure to write to you, especially as I know I shall have an additional one of reading its answer soon; and as it will be the first letter sent me, it will be quite an epoch in my life, (you need not laugh, for I know the meaning of epoch). I am glad you are becoming more pleased with your school, though I suppose you cannot help wishing yourself back amongst us again. We all follow the same routine of duty, as when you were here, and am happy to tell you that I am not kept in as often. I love play as well ever, and have had a great many cuts and bruises lately: but they have not tamed me yet, but never mind- after a little while I will become very sedate, and read my sister a great many good and wise lectures. We amuse ourselves after school playing jacks, (an accomplishment I think we have learned since you left us.) Henry Chapman and I go fishing almost every Saturday, although I cannot boast of the number we catch.

Cousin Finn has been sick for a week or two, and Aunty staid with her two or three days last week. Aunt Lydia is better, and is staying now at Charlotte Hall.

Our vacation commences on the 15th Aug. and we will have four weeks. I believe all the girls will return except (Lorah). Our class will study the history of Rome after August; don't you think we are climbing the ladder of learning very fast? I suppose by this time you are almost at its top.

Mrs. Key, Mrs. Doct. Briscoe and Miss Sophia Briscoe spent a day here last week.

Papa Mama aunty Miss Mary and all the girls join me in love to you, cousins Catherine and Nanny.

Write soon to your affectionate brother

Samuel W. Briscoe

Martha sends her love to you and cousin Kate and nanny

I wrote you Margaret Ann last week about yours and the other girl's studies If you should not have received my letter you had better let me know immediately and I will write again. Letters you know sometimes do not reach their final destination and as it is important to have your studies properly arranged at once no time should the lost than be avoided- all (????) love to the girls (????)(????)—W.H.S. Briscoe



Tollery August the 12 1845 My Dear Daughter Thave been striving for an opportunity for their last three weeks to write kyou in answer to your letter of the fifth of July. But my health being bad I thought a trip from home would be of service to me so I spent the first two weeks in going to see old Me Thomas and at thartotte Hall I carried Henry with me to Charlotte Hall to see The boys examined. The ment week little Holdy was sick which again prevented me but she is now much better all the pest of the family are well . To you see my dear Daughte I have not for the last three weeks had one day hurhich I could dell spend in writing and before that as powe of the family were always writing I died not think you prould expect one from one, but as it will be no great a ratisfaction to you I must lay wride my work and dislike to letter writing and gratify you. We have had a very day summer we began to four the craps of consuere burned up past care the grap in the yards look yellowand dry as struct and the pregetables in the garden all drapping their leaves, But we have had great many fine pains the hast week and every theging to look green un placewishing your Aunt Lydia and lourin Line have been very rich but they are both much better They both had an inflimation of the stomak an bowels which has been a very common dieage this summer. It is paid the dry weather has made the fruit very unwholeson so I hope my dear child you will be careful how you induly as I know you are extravoyantly fond of fruit. We have

employed Mup Ann Me Creedy in the Family this year who ottends to the dainy in your place and we have got the old loom back again and set her to weaving Dancel Webster has been on a visit to the boys for the Bast Three weeks he planted for home in dant Whe , boats Satterday evening he is a very good boy very much emproved. every way Oyuas very much placed to hear you had writter to your Sunt Hakreet the was delighted with eland pays your Morele was very much pleaseds you pay you have town your silk drep up you say you to not know what to do with it what eur you do but row up the slits and wear it as long as you can Of you want for drepes or any other Cloather you must activese with your Aunt Ann and you can get what you want at Thomases Store and have, them charged to your Suther But I hope you will not be extra agant for I think money will be very scarce with your talker This year his wheat crop has fallow over short the year and the dry weather has injured his corn crap very much We do not wish you to be meanly dressed but we wish you to be carefull. Of to your Bannet you must do as your judgement thinks best about it Atto the drep your Aante gave let it alone fantille you come home. I have you altogether to your Santo cure and quedance this year in matters of dreps but in other matters I hape you go to your Heavenly Father, who never well have you for forsake you if you put your hust is him I hape you have not giver up your good descres and intentions which you hall before you left home This wallet my clear child is full of more and Templations

and I think more so at this time than I ever knew it It may be take care of you at all times but more particularly this year who careth far more for you than dather or Mother Thope you have become better satisfied than you were at first but Sanopara you are not from your last letter packages it is your own faults you there appear so lonely perhaps you on too distant with the other girls persevers my dear chile inwhatever you undertake when you know it is to be for your good though it may be a little unpleasant at first and I know you will never have topequetel Tell Hate and Nannee Think I have been very much highted not to get one letter from them I hope you and Rate will be able to graduate you will thin be able to bring home something worth showing when you are hame give my love to dister Ann on Broken septe titl them I feel very grateful them for the Kindnep they have shown you - We all join in love to you Hate an Nannee April may Heavens choices to blepings past upon your head is the since prayer of your devoted Mother Od I have writter in such a hurry I am april wan well haardly be able to read my letter

Envelope:

Leonardtown Md. Aug 12

Paid 5

Miss Margaret A Briscoe

St. Mary's Hall

Burlington N.J.

Sotterley August the 12th 1845

My Dear Daughter,

I have been striving for an opportunity for these last three weeks to write you in answer to your letter of the fifth of July. But my health being bad I thought a trip from home would be of service to me so I spent the first two weeks in going to see old Mrs. Thomas and at Charlotte Hall I carried Henry with me to Charlotte Hall to see the boys examined. The next week little Addy was sick which again prevented me but she is now much better, all the rest of the family are well. So you see my dear Daughter I have not for the last three weeks had one day in which I could spend in writing and before that as some of the family were always writing I did not think you would expect one from me, but as it will be so great a satisfaction to you I must lay aside my work and dislike to letter writing and gratify you. We have had a very dry summer we began to fear the crops of corn were burned up past care. The grass in the yards look yellow and dry as straw and the vegetables in the garden all dropping their leaves. But we have had a great many fine rains the last week and everything begins to look green and flourishing. Your Aunt Lydia and Cousin Linn have been very sick but they are both much better. They both had an inflammation of the stomach and bowels which has been a very common disease this summer. It is said the dry weather has made the fruit very unwholesome so I hope my dear child you will be careful how you indulge as I know you are extravagantly fond of fruit. We have employed Ms Ann W? in the family this year who attends to the dairy in your place and we have got the old loom back again and set her to weaving. Daniel Webster has been on a visit to the boys for the last three weeks he started for home in Capt. Wise's boat Saturday evening he is a very good boy very much improved every way. I was very much pleased to hear you had written to your Aunt Harriet she was delighted with it and says your Uncle was very much pleased. You say you have torn your silk dress up you say you do not know what to do with it what can you do but sew up the slits and wear it as long as you can – if you want for dresses or any other clothes you must advise with your Aunt Ann and you can get what you want at Thomases Store and have them charged to your Father. But I hope you will not be extravagant for I think money will be very scarce with your Father this year his wheat crop has fallen very short this year and the dry weather has injured his corn crop very much. We do not wish you to be meanly dressed but we wish you to be careful. As to your Bonnet you must do as your judgment thinks best about it. As to the dress your Aunt gave let it alone until you come home. I leave you altogether to your Aunt's care and guidance this year in matters of dress but in other matters I hope you go to your Heavenly Father,

who never will leave you nor forsake you if you put your trust in him. I hope you have not given up your good desires and intentions which you had before you left home. This world my dear child is full of snares and temptations and I think more so at this time than I ever knew it. Oh may he take care of you at all times but more particularly this year who careth far more for you than Father or Mother. I hope you have become better satisfied than you were at first but I am afraid you are not from your last letter, perhaps it is your own fault you have appear so comely. Perhaps you are too distant with the other girls. Persevere my dear child in whatever you undertake when you know it is to be for your good though it may be a little unpleasant at first and I know you will never have to regret it. Tell Kate and Nannie I think I have been very much slighted not to get one letter from them. I hope you and Kate will be able to graduate you will then be able to bring home something worth showing when you come home. Give my love to Sister Ann and Brother Joseph tell them I ? very grateful to them for the kindness they have shown you. We all join in love to you Kate and Nannie and may Heavens choicest blessings rest upon your Head is the sincere prayer of your devoted Mother.

E. W. Briscoe

PS I have written in such a hurry I am sure you will hardly be able to read my letter

[Editor's Note: Emeline W. Briscoe, Sotterley to her daughter, Margaret Briscoe.]

I has been said by the werest of men that there is for way Ling its waren; and a level for every propose under Heaven; a fine to be how and a fine to die. Day has been est apart for the and care becoming the assent there of herodo acound the cheeful hearth. Migh for frages, and great rost Best death the inglitust of Earth How comes with our bit unleased with there day ration the over whitering proces of good beaut the and the in the aged weather agests a day when the survey smiles of shill had are changed for hears interent, but wath waite not for these. All time and their Of Gentle" the goodle who, who the ofening rows links to light and bountiful for dirag, before he repend with Growing is marked a victime. The hour of fection jeg, of mith and song moust non the day of death When James with fine briesed by the streaders Lucy there fix, deathe course the man horse the changing never of with the ene well when singing beids with some from for accept the sea to where one hearts; when beautime flowers well dich the south; when golden years with nower our fields; and when the big lit here of Andrews with druger than fourt down; but a los shall death us where as where to book for Death

day is her born on the gentle break of Mains, lader with the vertile server, or on the whatevered come that light the bellow orde fears! It worses he with stealth, it's around our dier falling or Dun wege both owing the bury some & faitht Leaves have their time in fall, Hord flowers to wither at the not winds breath, And stars to set - but all. Then had all seasons for their own, I Gentlet Carch 25th 1440

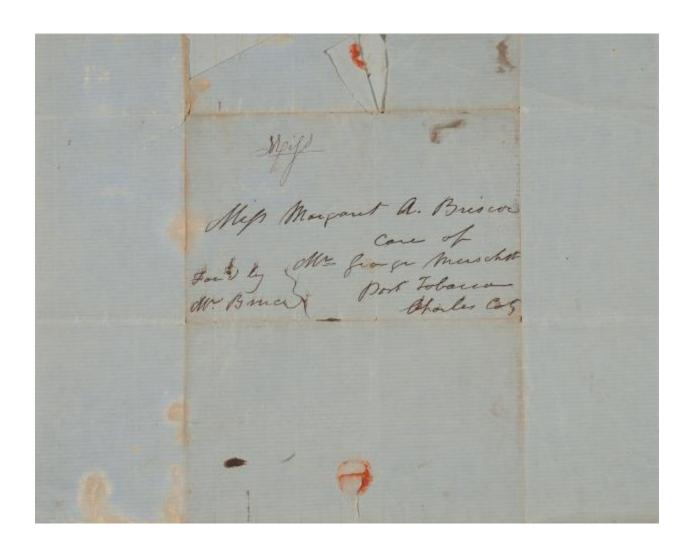
"There is a time to die"

It has been said by the wisest of men that "There is for everything its season," and a time for every purpose under Heaven; a time to be born and a time to die. Day has been set apart for toil and ease. Evening for the assembling of friends around the cheerful hearth. Night for prayer and quiet rest. But death the mightiest of Earth to all." He comes with sure but unheard steps. There is a day when the overwhelming power of grief leaves its sad traces on the aged; a day when the sunny smiles of childhood are changed for fears and cares, but death waits not for these. "All times are thine O, Death." The youth, who, like the opening rose, looks too bright and beautified for decay, before he ripens into bloom, is marked a victim. The hour of festive, joy, of minth and song must own the day of death. Where "friend meets friend" beneath the spreading tree, there too, death comes. We may know the changing scenes of earth. We can tell when singing birds will come from far across the sea to cheer our hearts; where beauteous flowers will deck the earth; where golden grain will crown our fields; and when the bright leaves of Autumn will tinge the forest trees; but who will teach us when and where to look for Death.

Say, is he borne on the gentle breath of Spring, laden with the violet's sweets, or on the whirl divine & wing that it offers the billows into foam? Or comes he with stealthy steps around our cheerful homes or when we go forth among the busy scenes of Earth

"Leaves have their time to fall, And flowers to wither at the north winds breathe, And stars to set – but all, Thou host all seasons for thine scorn, O Death!

Margaret H. Briscoe



Leonard Jown July 5-1856 Dear Maggy I cames here this morning to put My Dennison on board the alice proce on her way howewords - the has taken herseep off in a great herry and quite uniffectiaty to me, leaving us so for as the school is in question intuly desorganized and had it not been That Ella is sich I should have taken the boat myself to chapple fount for you to return with me on Juesday next to Supply her place until august. - I expect however to be up next with by land when I Suppose you will be nady to seture with me. I do not know whether ME Barnes will send down for the gerls before that lime. His Daughter wrote to hem I believe a few days ago informing here of My Dunisons with = two to leave but has not heard from hem. Should be send down before I come up perhaps you me, at get down in was way - you can ber & findse for yourself. - Ellas has been sich for three or four days with somethings like the agree and fever allended with an implien own the badywhose say to Dodor Robertson if you how an office tund that I have near I his letter repor the subject of his seels coming to school and that can com

so soon as I get another tracher and I would also like to make soon ingines about the Lady Course C. Brown now has - whithe I could likely get her and whether she would likely such us I must dose - Love to see MA Bus con

Dear Maggy,

I came here this morning to put Miss Dennison on board the Alice Price on her way homewards – she has taken herself off in a great hurry and quite unexpectedly to me, leaving us so far as the school is in question entirely disorganized and had it not been that Ella is sick I should have taken the boat myself to Chapple point for you to return with me on Tuesday next to supply her place until August. I expect however to be up next week by land when I suppose you will be ready to return with me. I do not know whether Mr Barnes will send down for the girls before that time. His Daughter wrote to him I believe a few days ago informing him of Miss Dennison's intention to leave but has not heard from him. Should he send down before I come up, perhaps you might get down in that way – you can see. Judge for yourself. Ella has been sick for three or four days with something like the and fever attended with an ague over the ?? say to Doctor Robertson if you have an opportunity that I have received his letter upon the subject of his girls coming to school and that can come so soon as I get another teacher? And I would also like to make some inquires about the Lady Carson? C Brown now has – whether I could likely get her and whether she would likely suit us – I must close – Love to all –

Yours truly

W.H. Briscoe

My darling Geles According to Louis wish Steal some of us should write to your, Thave soon later by that to fully your delice. such a disagreeable tip up; but highe it will Church Aldrand Farming down. Waster buch cleased with the theres except the lawn, I think it is rather gran for he, and if you can, I would take to have il - changed. They bound - I think is very wrette indeed. At other also these the bringer there, but - the bound - does not fel - thes. Aunt- Dydia and old Med Ly spent the seeming here to day; sunt Dedid wax not

very well. At If Thomas also came here disti Sides, and stayed entil valusday evering. 19 Suppose from deave heard that De Hey and her wife ask down, he is fooking bly well, and seems It be quite proud of his wefe ! (Har the mous of De Attall Leath! seached you get, hoor gist, Il was very sudden De Mil wistook her disease. (We thought it was the lives desease when it was the drokey in his beach. He is sen burch Sisteraled Is think he has neglected her so. Miss At Sair sends her love, and says, the hours are gon, also lays please get his some level - laced and their lettings had a band - box with a stand. Tallie was please get his gloves I and a puse of funcio saled, while Vernon grand musch, and David varys Stary Brother Sam to send those clothes down. Well dear Jules & thunk it is long live to ask from to get bue coulting. I I woh go to the huisic stord please be so heard at to get fore a force called, When the day will poly ligh var. by the unter Just. and lot brother Jahn foliace to sent me that

song he wishes bue to team, also a light - pair of hid gloves " 12, some clasher La letring luy bracelets on, and some morocdo do hiske a heedle case. As it - is yelling quite late dear Gester, I huest - Bites ping letter to a close. Rease give by love to Brothers Chape and Jahn and lettethem & vary be Aund- Bassiel and all the family. Mother, and all Join free in buch love to your. Demain as ever Gres devoted Lester States

My darling sister,

According to your wish that some of us should write to you, I have now taken my seat to fulfill your desire.

I was very sorry to hear that you had such a disagreeable trip up; but hope it will be more pleasant coming down. We were very much pleased with the things you sent down except the lawn, I think it is rather grave for me, and if you can, I would like to have it changed. My bonnet I think is very pretty indeed. Mother also likes the stitching of hers, but the bonnet does not fit her.

Aunt Lydia and old Mrs. Day spent the evening here today; Aunt Lydia was not very well. Mr. L Thomas also came here last Friday, and stayed until Saturday evening. I suppose you have heard that Dr. Key and his wife are down, he is looking very well and seems to be quite proud of his wife. Has the news of Joe Neal's death reached you yet, poor girl. It was very sudden. Dr. Neal mistook her disease. He though it was the liver disease when it was the dropsey in her breast. He is very much distressed to think he has neglected her so.

Miss McNaier sends her love and says she knows are you, also says please get her some corset lace and shew strings and a band – box with a stand. Sallie says please get her gloves and a piece of music called Mt. Vernon grand march, and David says please tell Brother Sam to send those clothes down.

Well dear sister I think it is my time has come to ask you to get me something. If you go to the music store please be so kind as to get me a piece called When the day with [unintelligible] by Hunter Lust and tell brother Sam to please send me that song he wishes me to learn, also a light pair of kid gloves, 6 ½, some elastic to string my bracelet on and some [unintelligible] to make a needle case.

As it is getting quite late – dear Sister – I must bring my letter to a close. Please give my love to Brothers Chap and Sam and tell them I say please write to me, also remember me kindly to Aunt Harriet and all the family.

Mother, and all join me in much love to you.

I remain, as ever, your devoted Sister,

Addie Briscoe

Chaptico Dec 28/3 Dear Sister your letter by ola have was duly delivered, VI was very glad indice what you had allended so prompelly to my request & tun oue coffeel Is proceer a mornau for me after you light felt sund show succeeded in procuring one from Mr Biseoo, but at the cloverth hour, after offering her & Jacoupt my her, he wrote me he could not his her out, Las not linen what we should have asur egept break up, ha it not been for

Papa, How fortunece I have some one to our to for sue con but I will bet fam not caught in this way by any one again, Seople must take of them selves, or give others les trouble to do it for Mun, Phill be down for Lucinaa. The last of this ands or the first of neigh, if the walter primets, Longat I was not able to accept your untalion, which I shall never wach for, to spine Christmus home, One palunch Heeps me at home often at much at a dozon. I Phave been a little mon buty professionally Vhan you seem to Thinks, Bisedes That there were other emlating

cercumstances to leuf me home This Christmas, such as Charles accedent from which he had not yet recovered, Miring of servands & probaleon of nervous wormen, who labor under Harfuis Tomy apprehensions, Photogray all spirit a very pleasant holy day Mon the nerver! Lam seero was very applicable to your enjoyments · denice at Duf Falls that day very quelly, but Jully, Canstonus conces & goes & if it was not for the uproar the negrot Bufe in The rollage I should not throw we have any such day I spence it so quell Theor no must To tell you that can houte of now but my may possely thinks

of some by the line "come down Tivas at Deep Falls this morning, & they were all well & I think tooking better Than usual, They lost a negro chila with neglected precerronia yesterday. It was alongs & themete, Sevi my love to mother Tapa all, with many withis fo pleasant holyday, Exercise Ohis neiterable terawl as Pan unling on my Kenel Grun Brother most sincerte

Dear Sister,

Your letter by old Nace was duly delivered, & I was very glad indeed that you had attended so promptly to my request & been successful to procure a woman for me. After you left I felt sure I had succeeded in procuring one from Mr. Briscoe, but at the eleventh hour, after offering her & I accepting her, he wrote me he could not hire her out. I do not know what we should have done, except break up, had it not been for Papa, How fortunate I have someone to ... to for succor; but I will bet I am not caught in this way by any one again. People must take of themselves or give others less trouble to do it for them. I will be down for Lucinda the last of this week or the first of next if the weather permits. I regret I was not able to accept your invitation, which I shall never wait for, to spend Christmas home. Our patriarch keeps me at home often as much as a dog can & I have been a little more busy professionally than you seem to think. Besides that there were other irritating circumstances to keep me home this Christmas, such as Charlie's accident from which he has not yet recovered, hiring of servants, & protection of nervous women who labor under Harper's Ferry apprehensions, I hope you all spent a very pleasant holy day "More the merrier." I am sure was very to your enjoyments I dined at Deep Falls that day very greatly, but Jolly, Christmas comes & goes, & if it was not for the uproar the negros keep in the village. I should not know we have any such day I share it so quietly. I have no news to tell you that I can think of now, but may possibly think of some by the time I come down. I was at Deep Falls this morning & they were all well, & I think looking better than usual. They lost a negro child with neglected pneumonia yesterday. It was Aloy's I think. Give my love to Mother, Papa, & all. With many wishes for a pleasant holy day. Excuse this miserable scrawl as I am writing on my knees.

Your Brother,

Most sincerely

H. Briscoe

[Editors Note: Dr. Henry Briscoe lived and practiced in Chaptico Maryland. This letter was sent to his sister, Margaret Briscoe, who was then residing at Sotterley. Their sister _____ Briscoe married ____ Thomas of Deep Falls, a plantation located near Chaptico, on ___]

undergona pates faction that I seat suppell to soute you - a pleasure too long Malayer I admit but while it has been unposseble for me the profour before owing to the numberless entersuftind That have precisently taken place Inne received your last prost welcome lete I have a letter datile expel sometime - which I commende writing to you but my visit to Bullimore and Philippa's visit and various other visits put me to out of the homer for meeting that I have met with nothing his seoldings in every develore- lovel you give me our good problems and freque me maggin dear ! For I think I do diserve one anaget

The west pinner hoped for forgiveness when he consider his transgrathered. Oh, I do mant to her you areadoubly intende. Cousin Naming I thet talk of our antrespatie man of a Tothele and as I ha no engagements In Jumes or Fall, I hope lonly I may get have the pleasure of geleting you all at your home once me I heart that your parents and Tallie in Baltimore som after we left. I am sure dany visit would have been prinche more agreeable had the hear there at that I suppose they heave from Chapman of my adventure with the dress maker. Indie you pity me. The office wally marrie the phosen of my whole visit- I feel very little pleasure in the remembrance of my thip for several reasons I saw Chap. putty often is a deen fellow and I was smel infetted to when and Paus too, for their hind attentions

Sout you think of paying old Charles a visit Summer I Tolo wish you would. of last Dremmir neun dele de a visit, and as an intercement I an resist all that! I have a world of things wait the to talk with you about pen is to slow. I feel discome get from making about our flower hear, Emil and men and you ought to see my execution face this Invent - There's northing like a mee lett le hoe for painting the checks - Father has given Grilly & august the two hout populares are The garden and we have laid them off you fullely in bells for flowers. The tending these a musdeman freety we are a to form are the objects which arterest se were than any others at this time not even exceptions the mulitary, whose brass buttons My dearest Cousin Mag,

It is with feelings of unforgiving satisfaction that I seat myself to write you – a pleasure too long delayed. I admit, but which it has been impossible for me to perform before, owing to the numberless interruptions that have succeedingly taken place since I received your last most welcome letter. I have a letter dated April sometime – which I commenced writing to you, but my visit to Baltimore and Philippa's visit and various other visits put me so out of the humor for writing that I have met with nothing but scoldings in every direction. Will you give me one good scolding and forgive me, Maggie dear? For I think I do deserve one and yet the worst sinner hopes for forgiveness when he confesses his transgressions.

Oh I do want to see you <u>dreadfully, indeed</u>. Cousin Nannie & I still talk of our anticipated visit to dear old Sotterley – and as I have no engagements for summer or Fall, I hope truly I may yet have the pleasure of greeting you all at your home once more. I heard that your parents and Sallie were in Baltimore soon after we left. I am sure any visit would have been much more agreeable, had they been there at that time. I suppose they heard from Chapman of my adventure with the dress maker. Didn't you pity me – the affair really marred the pleasure of my whole visit. I feel very little pleasure in the remembrance of my trip for several reasons. I saw <u>Chap.</u> pretty often. He is a dear fellow and I was much indebted to him and Sam too, for their kind attentions.

Don't you think of paying old Charles a visit this summer? I do wish you would. Your visit of last summer never did seem but half a visit and as an inticement to come again I am sure I should accompany you home. Now, can you visit all that! I have a world of things I would like to talk with you about, and my pen is so slow I feel discouraged from making even a beginning. I should like to tell you about our flower beds Eric's aunt, niece and you ought to see my crimson face this moment. There's nothing like a nice little love for painting the cheeks. Father has given Emily & myself the two front squares in the garden and we have laid them off quite prettily in hills for flowers. The tending these beds and a missionary society we are about to form, are the objects which interest me more than any others at this time not even excepting the military, whose brass buttons

I accumed you maley evening from the writehow Alake of the wears I have not have an opportunit in making our auro in sp clouds and and because I cen July you are anytone to hear for - aspeciation bully my Oliver Consid Many your achisons Offer to release me ferter my engage Quent to yourself in orth - Vattende Tellie melchells I mughet welling - Did you Think this would contact to heret you at Juck a time - in your mode? It was toldended a trail I accined your letter at Luden + on disustating the quatter with Tellie The was Ar Opmele hisabbonetise Their I would not be able to alled the manage those the inside bost fring her own queriago or week sother I shall have the blead

of being week you both - I was I very much gestified by Filliet andred - It was a quat complement cestandly and soill be the means of Decruing Contin Chamine Conschetter allendence. paw her about to week him and the seemed buly She thought Twenter he impossible for her to be with you on the fourth. On Sottalia together, Though I frew but a feel days before your bearings. as you Bund faith Mannie whee he wert ouch much ingaged I might go (about a week in two days before Frank Should fruick prefer to ded I am very glate you are to have a private thist willing - It is much Thise troubled timed to am fine one shall have a very happy truce. Insper you will not believe about The Dente antil you go to Ballemand. you punt let pro hund at from al you can what it will be as I may I have to sould to the City for it ? I feet very any in to the you - I would Stay with you a month fully, i, I only could But there hacke is a qual difficulty in getting to tottily. I don't think that our of our carriage

horsed could accompash the distance I supporte sutil friend chance is really to go, when me shace take The At alchelled to Gonghil Tambery -I hope you have deciment at letter. wester you about the field of the aunth suclashing your bound - It hut have passed yours on the many-Oh Parin Gragger Rear, and prot one fernatery in a la Glorable enaltine. What will the end be! Dent you Think that was is inevitable - a genual man, I pream, for I doughter pear with South parolina has a chielly commence. Then the other many cecessionests among you and and you for excession from the boothers Porfelaces. I am nepst undoubtedly. Poula and of the Southery Hates Stakes (Lincoln allent to come other forther brether into Alonery? But I will not give way to any excellent may Tole and mike up feder our Buceness. and pudein end from all butter weld and prepulice lomands such other. There ist too much of both qualities alualy Deanest forme Oneg, white to me very Doon - I long to file you all I am alighted to think that the time his not for ausland when I shall be with you - Best love to all from ace Bon yours bruly, Luggie -

Dear Cousin Mag,

I received your last letter on Saturday evening while on a visit to Linden and such has been the wretched state of the weather that I have not had an opportunity to (???) in the office until today. And I really am making our (???) in spite of clouds and muck because I am sure you are anxious to hear from me. Appreciate fully my dear Cousin Mag your gracious offer to release me from my (????) (???) to yourself in offer that I might attend Lizzie Mitchell's wedding. Did you think that I would consent to (???) you at such a time in your hour of need? It was fortunate that I received your letter at Linden for on (???) the (???) with Lizzie; She was so much disappointed that I would not be able to attend her marriage that she insisted on postponing her own marriage one week so that I shall have the pleasure of being with you (???). I was very much grateful by Lizzie's kindness. It was a great compliment certainly and will be the means of (???) Cousin Nannie Mitchell's (???)(???). I saw her about a week (???) and she seemed lonely, worried and disappointed because she thought 'twould be impossible for her to be with you on the fourth. But now I hope we shall go (???) to Sotterley together though I fear but a few days before your marriage, as you know Cousin Nannie will be very much engaged. I might go about a week or ten days before (???) should much prefer to go so but [I] cannot go alone. I am very glad you are to have a quiet wedding. It is much more sensible and agreeable in these troubled times. I am sure we shall have a very happy time. I suppose you will not arrive about the (???) until you go to Baltimore. You must let me know as soon as you can what it will be as I may have to (???) to the City for it. I feel very anxious to see you. I would stay with you a (???) freely, if I only could. But really is a great difficulty in getting to Sotterley. The (???) is miserable and (???) I don't think that one of our carriage horses could accomplish the distance in safely. I shall have to wait, I suppose, until Cousin Nannie is ready to go when we shall that the G. (???) to Gough's Landing. I hope you have received a letter I wrote you about the first of this month inclosing your board. It must have passed you on the way.

Oh Cousin Maggie dear, is not our family in a (???) condition! What will the end be! Don't you think that war is inevitable – a general war, I mean, for war with South Carolina has a (???) (???). Are there many secessionists among you, and are you for secession from the "Northern (????)". I am most undoubtedly. Could any of the Southern people stand by and (???) that (???) Republican Lincoln attempt to coerce (???) Southern brethren with Slavery? But I will not give way to any (???) Mary (???) (???) us from our enemies and preserve us from all bitterness and prejudice (???) each other. There is for much of both qualities already. Dearest Cousin Mag write to me very soon. I long to see you all. I am delighted to think that the time is not far distant when I shall be with you. Best love is all from all.

Ever yours truly,

Lizzie

is may no dash cloud of Sorrow sof lets shadow over the but may and beautifully beams of bleavent illiant ort entition and brighten by and may evry blessing which orld last bestow he Thousand whom unmeasured profusion is the wish of your humble admire

May no dark cloud of sorrow cast its shadow over thee but may ... and beautiful beams of heaven's brilliant orb enliven and brighten ... and may evry blessing which world can bestow be showered upon unmeasured profusion is the wish of your humble admirer

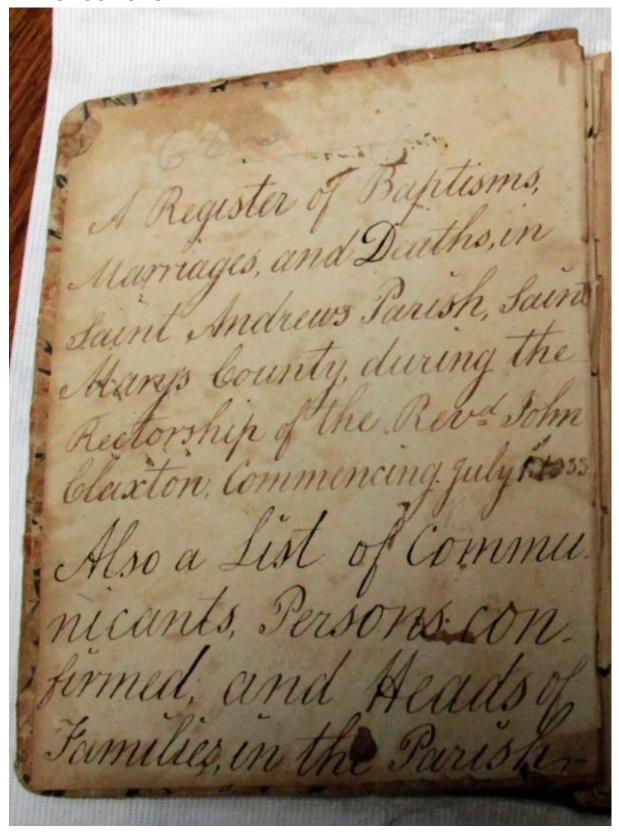
Introduction

The following records from St. Andrew's Church provide interesting details of the religious life around Sotterley Plantation in the 1800's. You see not only the sacramental records for the acknowledged white children of the Briscoe family, but also the sacramental records for the enslaved population belonging to Dr. Briscoe and his brother-in-law, Chapman Billingsley. At times, the parents of the enslaved children are named, other times the fathers of these enslaved infants are tellingly not named. Frequently, the enslaved infants share names with the free inhabitants of the plantations, such as Elizabeth, John, Mary, and Chapman.

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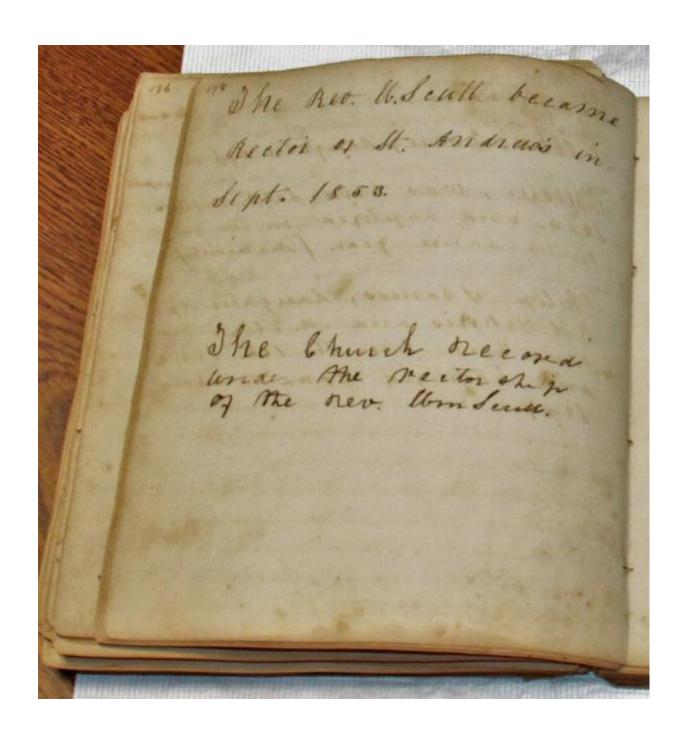
INTRODUCTIONS



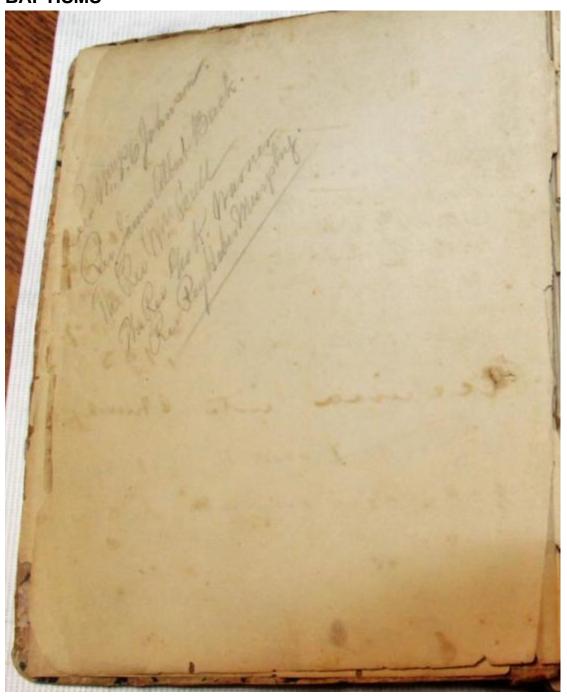
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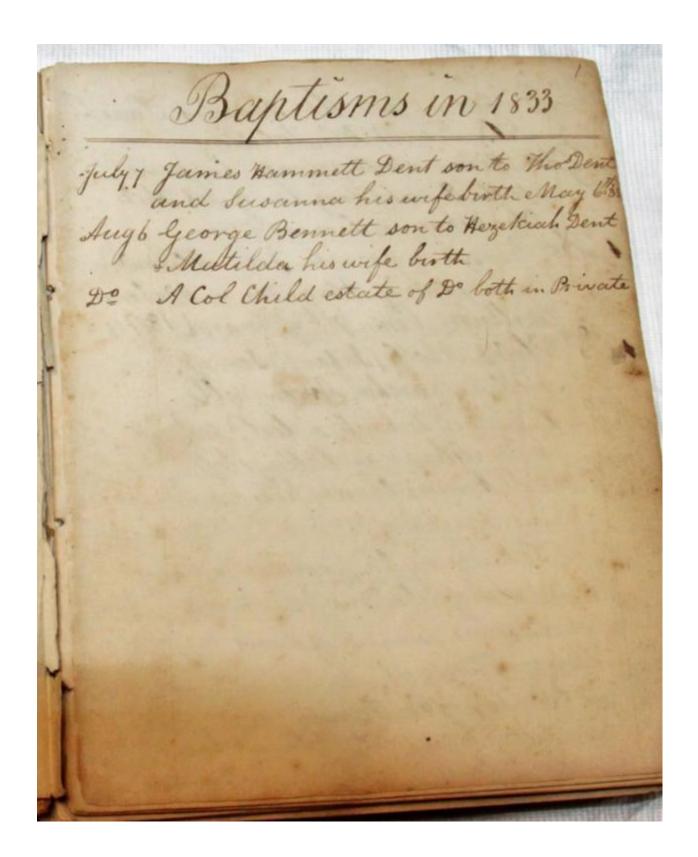
The the Congregation of 1848 -The Rev. William Soull took charge of V. andren't Pairch, Sman's Co., man September 1853. The New George First Warner entered upon the Nestachip of al andered Marish, S. Mary be, Mak, the Nestachip of al andered Movember 29 the) 1852-Baptames - See p. 50 4-Brieges -Confirmations -

Rev' 9. 9. 6. Johnson was unan Strangi brung December 31-1843 For List of Baptisms. See king 2th 10. 60 181 11. 11 Confirmation de par 171, 208,20%. · . Communicants 155, 193 Accinece into Bhuch p. 8. Removed from The list of correncento, 1.2/3



BAPTISMS





Baptisms in St Andrews Parish Jany 12th Administered private baptism 10 the Infant / daug her of Ja's Thois
1844 Backstone in Leonard town
1844 Baptised in private John Alexander Papent) son of Herander & Adaline Melburn born get of march 1844 1844 Philip Abell (Infant) Son of 1843 Abell & Marcha Green well Sept Baptyed in hekenel a led'd infant 1844 at St Andrew's Church Rebecca Isabel (Infant) day hter of you Evans | Parent Spinens) at St Andrew ; Sh Leonge Nathanael 842 (Isfact) Son of John Wise Forn March 24 1844 Super it St Annews (an infent) of James Modelnie & Rebecca Hammett Sun 16th 2 Junday after Frinity Elizabeth (Infort-Cold) (Perent being Sim mother belonging to Thomas &

in SI- Andrews Penil, W. P. C. John (Py) Susan Violetta (Infant Colo) Mortin June 30th 4 th Sunder to Elonging to Envel House Mary Elizabeth (Infast) daughter 14th Sixth Sunder after Friely Eliza (Infant Cold) daughter y Al Frincy 6h William + Bapliced two children day h liss of mo lierly. I one make infor 1844 Twelfth Sunday after Truly Sh Ahdrews the Many Cacharine (Infant daylong me Lornex (mrs Lonex spon Ember Joy- Baptized in private Hours. (Mother being Spondon).

Raplisms in St Andrews Parish sistered private baptism to the Infant / dang her of Ja's Thos Hackstone in Leonard town Baptyer in private John Alexander Papart) son of Herander & Adaline 1844 Melburn born get of march 1844 Philip Aboll (Infant) Son Abell & Marcha Green well Baptyed in hekref a led'd infant at monthapman Bellingsley's 12th at St Andrews Church Rebecca Isabel Wasant day hter of you Evans (Parent Shoren) at St Andown , Sh Scorpe Nachanael 42 Papart Son of John, Wise Form March 24th 1844 Rebecca Harnett 1844 2 & Sunday after Friendly Elizabet (Infort-colo) (Perent being mother belonging to Thome

Justes 3'd Sunday ofthe French (Market Colo) Morte June 30th 4 th Sunday ofter Friedy Many Elizabeth (Infant) daughter of John & Rebecca Lurty (Parent beight Eliza (Infact Cold) dang her y Ha in Frincy the William & Mary Parol Baplied two children day h tess of mo hirty. I one male infort 1844 Twelfth Sunday after Tourily August 25 in Sh Ahdrewis the Many Cacharine (Injust) dayhtery mi Lonax (mrs Lonax spone) 1844 Ember Joy-Baptizes in private a Gold Howes, (Mother being Sponton).

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Morgh In privite at nit V) to sew (Papers Cold don y West of Ford From Cit's Westington Born July 20th 1843 mony neof son hjent cold y Porter blogg * hunt Liption Born Got 23? 1844 Sunghler of The & Elijach Stadenson droget Jeles (Cold Infact) Star 1844 to 23 Summay after Trinity in SI- Andrews Ohersch, som belilah dor's In private at my Genjamin fought Lewis Infant Jon of Lewis S. a Charlotte In St- Mais Under of ter Fring James (Jafant) don is Inne & Frances Pegg Born Dec 4 1843

Ann. E. Johnson 843 et Japrisch of Is K Greenwells Robert Mic (Sufant) for of Jos H /841 Mary & greenwell, Born April y the 1841 Out and a lito defort mother belong ing to James The Blacksteries 1945 The private at Sotterley Charlotte and a cità Infant mother hein spensor a he: longing to ME. Gracion Thisan Lydia (Injust) doughter Lames Medri & Rebreca Hammet Parents being Spinson

Jug 15 In 11- Antrews Charle Margaret Catharin (lold de jest) dengles of Francis & Louise Juzchen, Birne January 3 d 1845 - nomen belog is he House ". " Same Susanne [lold Infant) Saughter of James & May Elijabeth Stoce 1845 Man Have of E Hauswell, woman of morthell us 27th At Ale Faith Church (# 7 P) Bajetges Two dajans, One a don or daughter of Same Keed The other, It's parent unknown apory both children betterwise. just of In St- Andrewin Church Lames. Butler (Gold, and an adults belonging he lot to Havis 11- the days time and place A cold dafant, name . Part bilinging to De Robins on

Continues Johns on I Rector) in It Andrews Ch 'I Infant the mother y the Ch sowant of Jas' M'K Hammest daughter of James & Amanda & King Audrewi Ch, Spotswood Au, gustine (Infant) on y Ris MPE & ann. E. Johnson, Born March 9th 1846 & Rev. John At Chew Admir of 12 Sacrament In private at Judor Hall Benjamin gurnn (Infant) don ig. Hog & 2 maria Key, Dom April 4

Baptism Continued W.O. C. Johnson (Rector) may 26 In private at Sotterley Alfred a lold wat son of Lee a Cold Man & two other cold da fast June 20 3n private at Hampton Rebecca a (Cold Infact belonging to Mr. Benjamin zongh June 21 AL St Andrews Ch Chabert me headone (Infact) don to June 26t At Judor Hall (private Baptom) Henrietta a Cold Infanty daughter of Ann a Cold woman belonging Jag J. Key Gog. Le mordlown In private at Chapman. Bellingsly a female cold Infant, daughter Hamilton Stewart, aleas Brians & Julist ann his infe, aline Bd

Baptisms Continued Daptyed (Clinically) James Robert a Gold Infants Born December 15th 1846
Parents slaves of Alexander Horse a Fremale Cold Infants mother a stave of Dir M. H. Briscoe Summersett Ereset (Infa of Charlotte Filmory, Parent & pt land beloning to Young . Dawkin

Baptisms Continued Prector) nay 3d Dapliged Clinically Stept a cold Infact son & Stephen & mary Scallen, Bon April 27 1847 Parent Place of William may 24th Baptized Clinically, John Edgur (Infant) on Dr With a Enemaline Briscoe Born Thund June 8th In private at- Finder- House Henry Rubert, Infant (del) muster Spenser slave of H. g. S Key Eg Born June 9 In private John Albert (Infant) For of John L Joanna Wise Born march 22 1047 July 6 In private Kirkley (Infant) Born April 5th 1847 20 X3 aptized (clinically) mary Sophier (Infant) Langhan of John & Lune on the Despon hot bet

Baptams Continuedo 1 - Baptized (Climeally) Torrest (cotil) Angustob Baptized (Clinically) Elizabeth, becilia Infant Jelaughter of James.
Re, and Mary Elizabeth Thompson
Born Aligust 19th 1844 Se Septi Baptized in private, Hannah Infants daughter of Philip blanke Novig William Robert Jon of Amanda, Africa Williamy a Slave of Fresher Watts " 21 Joseph medley (Infant Cold) Son of Jabriel Jackin (cold) & Storal Finer The former a hoverty hars Abile, and the Catter a sweetly James in Karmentt

Baptism's Continued W.P. C Johnson (Theeter) Nov28 At St Andrews Church Charlotte Ann, (Cold Infant) · mother being sponsor, and a Lervout of Chapman. Bellingsley Nov 28 Joseph Harris, and Catharene, Me the Cather a daughter of James R Thurston Certified by the Reche to have dugled Truste Bapterson, according to the form presented by the Church in the Office for Bruch Baptism of Infants Dec'6 Baptized in private, John Francis (cold) Infact, son of Lee & Priscilles, and James Henry Thomas (culd Infant) Son of Many. Any Ale, slave of DorBeriese

Samuel Infast Son of Gaft Hilly In private at Mrs 93 gengle i Clase - Jewale Cold Infact beloging to the white of my 15 gongt may 27 th In private in All Faith Pare, L Two female Cold Infants, Celia Sophia & marcha magdala le: longing to the Rev' John Claxton

Jung Baptisms

Jung George William son to George
Sovember 11. 1841 - Private March Acol Child estate of D' MBriscoe Prin. De 20th Acol Child estate of George Leight Dery Acol child of a free woman. April 14 Mary Tolizabeth daughterto James Davis and Fanny his wife birth June 4. 1842-May 11. Amelia becilia daughter to Julius b. Ticer and Melita Am. his wife - birth Sept 27. 1841 Do Do Susan Turnela daughter to James John son and Cleanor his wife - birth March 19! 1842 P Noy16" Gomily daughter to & Seilson W Kirk and Charlotte his wife birth May 1842

Encourfebrett grane 26 1842 B Aug 29 Laura daughter to George & Leigh and Sophia I his wife bith July 1. 1842. Fr

John Hinny of Ellen Couling you son of John Hamers Arrabien Hanis g. Lama Ann, daughter yes. of Longe Tomond & Susan Left to Philip Francis Lend of you may into Oh: Leve of Me Thele Sent of Col Billingsten Oll 12 Walter Son of James Blackon age 12" 28 Charles Francis \$ Serte, of 28 MKey

Daftisms, Buf & Buck The 184 Osean, aged 4gr. Albert Almira 2. Mary Alice Sanita 2. Sandy 2 weeks. 19 Ortin Rancy Rodgel of William Herry of Cecelia & firstone

Baptissus by Her James ABuck 27 hary Ella Is water At. & maline Brisace, private ago 5 malorsa Many Dorsey of Gorning Parson & Aletha regulatelle Dunkins aget Google Joshum Benjamin of Bongel & Matildal Faul March & fames Honny John Wish & Sarah Am Whole Charles & Confunter lost of W May dephen Shear Auth sort of mis Hanis Many Victoria Sat & Mi & Comalier April 1 Charlotte Relieved Soil of Mi. Katalo 8 Caroline Francis of goalsh bunnet 1" Ame Thomas & gave Thomas, Doing . V. Alex Blanton 25 South Alice Doi of 4. 8. 5 chen

Daftisms by An & ar Back ofarnes set 23. John Wilton of John hange chenny long famos, & Freien Am Tay

Baptism by des gad Buck 18 Avan Lamuel eg & Egus of Children of Columbus Taylor a toge of Martin and . Sand Henricha Wirle Fel. 16 Marthe Am, sent of D. W. A. Brison and I we 17 James Alexander, Let of A. b. S. Key z. 400 Gree Many cinthin said D. Gr. H. Phin - -Work 13. William Nathan Det of D. L.S. Smilliams of Who 28' Lattie der of Col. J. J. Blackiston agos 5 m Seatha Elizabeth set of Whatrale 7 mm sents of \$1.8.8. Key ages

1152 Baftisms by and ABuck Ago 24 Chales Honace of clack forhum life 12 ! Many Whigheth bet g M. Dent up 3 m May catherine sen of me Am Alle 3 m Jane 27 Henrectia Isabella of Montin 4 Henseetta Wiole aged - 7 we. Julia Ann 5 mo. I fame, R. Brogiamen 6 mo I Hopewell ly 5 Levi Joshan Witt of John A. 4. She 3mm Clem Der t of A. A. Aire 10 110

1832 Saptismo by Re g. Al Buck Jophin An and Hamit of 2 ms 15ther Spenier of John 4 at ma. Saf J Robert Gealdhall aged to. of Loy Denale & oclare Angusta Clark dep" 15. Janes of James Q. & Stanie Antenelle 16 Arnsy Aund of 200 & Many Johnson 42m This Amn 3 200 8 D. 2000 Johnson Two Cold. Children

Ella Reheres of Col. & ames Thomas &

Daptisms by The Rev. George R. Warner-Valuate evening (Movember 7 th.) Builtied in S. Indias Parich, Charlete ann Brown Bom, action 30th. 1857. Brento, Richard & Reduces Brown - Spinest, Miss Margnet ann Briscoe het. Week in achent Thursday evening December 3d.) Beptajed in S. Andrews Paint Ellen Cecilia (Hayden) - Home, Parents, Home & Live Hayden _ Sponsor, Mis any Jocke Engh. and Med in advent (moder wining, dec. 7th.) Baktack in S. andren's Parich, Eliza Jane (Kane) - Born, November 12th. 185%. Favent, Helan & alice Kane - offender, alice Kane. St. Sundar in advent (Secomber 13th.) Baktard in at Andrew Parish Lucinda (Boss) - Born, August and 1857. Parents, James & Mary Elizabeth Those Sponens, no Jas. R. + Mrs. Mary L. Thompson Ed. Wick in admit Induced afternoon, Dec. 16th Baptized in S. anderes Parish, Charles Francis (Dent) - Born, November 3d. 1857. Brents, Charles & Sarah M. Dent_ Sponess, the same. Rachel __ Born, August 17th. 1857 Moster, Harriet Mina Johnson - Sponson, no Charles + mr. Such M. Sent Daniel (bonnem) - about 11 months old. Parts, J. Henry & Juesa Johnson - Sponess, the same as above

13mm, September 29th 1750 wille & Caroline Girther_ Sponers, the pame at above while's (amallwood) - about 5 months old. Joseph & May Smallwood - Sponsors, the same as above. Epiphany (Saturday afternoon, January 16th) Baptized " of anchews Tarish, antoinette (Hopewell) Bom, August 16 th. 1855 - Parents, James 124 Roneon, Mr. James K. Hopewell, mrs Charlotte & Guilland Miss Mary & selender in Level (Jehnan 28th.) Baktond in al andrew's Parish, Frederick (Ridgel) Hom, September 8th. 185 - Parent, Thomas Ransall Yam Mina Ridget 4. Hunday in Last (march 7th) Baktized (privately) in I andrew's Prich Line ann Elizabeth Cathaine (abele) Bom, March od. 1858. But william Buthbort & Months Honsietta aber. 4th Week after Exeter (Tuesday a 92 (may 4th)) - Baptized (privately) in S. andein P. S. Mais a Henry Cornelius | Wible - Bon, april 20th. 1857 Buents, Martin Horsietta Wishe 5th Sunday after Baster (May 9th.) - Baptized in I anchens Church, S. Majola Martha Minal Spiricked Born, September 4th. 1857 Vacen to, Charles Henry & the Spine kes - Sponsons William Uplose & Mother

Whit- Bunday (Mar 23d.) Baktored in & Andrews Church Mair Closeth (adams) - Born, april 20th. 1857 Molthias alexander (Lander). Born, april 12th. 1858 Frents, alexander & Man Coliza Lot Sees Sponeor, man Elga La 1807 Reported to Convention Mars 26 th. 1858 Padroclas morning (June 9th) Baptized in & andrew's Brish Joseph Franklin (Evans) - Born, november 28th. 1854 cents, from Richard & Mary Jane Evans .-4th. Bundarafte server (June 27th) Babliget in of Andrews Chunch Attiver Reed - Born, December 1857. Mother, Ann Red - Sponer, Chlo Ann Norman. Enactor afternon (June 29th) Backer d'in d'Andrews Parish games Matthew (lell) - Born, Mar 28th 1858 Best, Richard Moms & Mina Elizabeth abell. 14th Sunday after 528 00 19 (Ingest 8th) - Baptized in S. andrew Chronal Nanny (ble) Bon May 15th. 1858. hents Thomas With ble .- Sponon the came. Harriet (Vancon) - Boon June 30th 1858. Proute, Case & nanor Samean, eleoner, the Mather.

Homan Upton Born, June egth. 1858. William & Millie Septon - Sponson, Jacob Doney, George Sout Plaja Plater Loudspafter Moneral Anguet 29th.) Papetized in of Andrew Parick while (Watte) - 10 one, august 25th 1858 Coting ster. to damnel + Chiga Matt. a forces the Months to + mice Months inge (Matter) - aftern, august 25th 1858 Catified them of play to de che Quelt, Somuel & Bliga Watts - Sponeon, The same as a fore Frank (d. matter / chitember 2/ets) Baptized in & India Janvis (Bough) - Born, January 20th. 1854. Bouts, Markington Bough & Colementine A. Winters. Week after susus & October 18th.) Baptized in S. Andrews Parich Frederick Franklin Prince Fates) - Born, August 17th 1858 Routs, John Frederick + Mary Whise Sales _ 3d. Meck after Just 300 (Promiser 7th.) Baptized in A. Interior Paich Walter Ireland (Danking) - Bong Actiber 21st 1858. But, Young Pareau + Nether Existeth Dauping West before Advent (November 23d) - Baptized in S. andon's Pariel Elic (Poretor)_ Born, November 4th. 1858. Marita, Thomast ann Proctor. West byone advent (Mounter 25th) - Baptized in S. Andrew's Parich xoloid - privalely

James December 10mm Mounter Prients, Madrach & Milie Alkewell. It wer before advent phiday afternoon, the son Whaptiget in of ancher's Parish Thomas Entheth (Holewell) - Bon, Pektember 19th 1858 Borout, James & + Maria a. Hoteroll - openeor Dr. Vous of Billiams James RY Min France a hopewell. Mimie (Alternate Somewille) - Born, Reptember 1st. 1858. 1850 , Pellie Accounted - of koneor, Miss Robert a. le Agrenell. 14. 412 A a to Exilhan fred da morning bu not Why laid in dissection Brich Man Jane Sta (Wilson) - Town, Secember 24th. 1858 Monte Hant Martha ann Wilhow Sponess, Doge Machington - + Dies Waine at 10 dafter Blicken Churchey ononing Gansth Bafetoged in & anderes Parish 15 w Ellen (bratts) - 10m, CHRISTMAN Day 1858. Wester, Cathrine Water. De trace after flighting manday afternoon, for you to the application al anchord their ander Marketone - 18mi Deaniber 2 1th. 1888. Route Col. James " & ann Blockintone ... Interes of Sont pheady morning, merch 22 2). Baptiret in it luchering Priced May Mice (Groves.) - 10m, november 19th 1857. to ato clamme & may fame Fronch. ild. Hart of But Madreed wereing, March 20th.) Baktored in allactions Parish - orthered + privately

Madison Frederick - Bom, Webman 16th. 1859. 33 Fronts, Woram Sigh Stephenson & Brinds Jane Barrel - Spores It well of Sut Tider morning spice st.) Bustain in I do Jane Cunningiam (Buce) - 18me, abuen Bouts, Other Forguery Allen Ford Caster week Monda atomon will so hattiget in M. andered Pain James Francis (Bradman) - Born, March 2 and 1850 Thent ton Trancis + May bellen Bradman Sponson, wan Tron is Gaye M. + Cent who kafter Eractor Chelinder creining may not I Baptaced in S. Andrew Parish John Michard (Thire) - 18 m. Februar Sud. 1858. Cailia (Lawrence) - 18 on, april 18th 1809. Presents, Welliam & Matilda Lawrence - Sponeon, mother + Mrs. din 2. Cong 3d ramarajte Carter me 15th Baptized in of andrews Church milian Hour (Fanisch) - Born, November 7th. 1858. mine Relichen Reported to Convention may 27th. 1859. The Armion (June and) Boptized in A Andrew Church want jan Batalone thouse when he sport on therea Incaliner

of Brinds Jome With I Baptized in & Andrews The ish Stor Mitchell Hammett). Bom april 28th 1859. to fas & d. to + Am Course Hammett Sponeons win Miteun-Week Jame 18th) - Baplani in de Anderie Paris uts, ben Monis + may low Bure oft. De new Register page 86 %. x ordered + privately

Baptiones performed 1858 by the orev. M. Same. Milka, daughter of bapt. Mheeler was born Sept. The 15th. 1853, and baptised in The fall of the same year. (Mo Tho aist). Ian Philip Frances Daugh-23 d. ter Mr. J. H. and Mrs. M. 2 E. Buris was born Dec. Me 18h. 1853. June Edward Alexander ingut 2 d. of Mr. M on thows (Mr.

4n. A belower infant belonging to lapt. Spencer. July Josep Baton a column 28th infant belonging to 23 od bel. J. J. Blackeston Bimpetha, bharlatte, 28th and robert Nelson colone or infants belonging to Dr. - Buscal. (At might).56. 29th Ino. Tharras, Son of Martin and It emietta Mible: born, The 10th. of april 1854. 2 w. Jest. May & ligabeth intent 10th. of Mr. (thents) Durant is nio wife Many E. Dw

Baptisms. 1804 Acalmed infant bethe 1st. longing to Dr. gilliams Sues calouned infanto Showson. 86. 15th. Iwo coloured infunts 18 belonging to Mr. Showers 106. 10 Chapman belonging to bolo Billingley. 116. 1850 Richard Southan, Am y Jan Dr. Gilliams and his with the 8th. 6 harlotte Lee. 4 w 234 Cabriel Dural son of best. 18 black: born Jan. The 9t. 1852, 5 w.

1855 Baptisms. 6: Steb. The Alice, a colour ea shila be 4t 19 longing to Mr. Hapewell wood 200 /26. Many Latte Malinova accepter q The 6th Jos & and May Eliza 20 Jates: born, Oct. Mr. 242/950. George, son og bal. 2. 3. 21 I el The 20th. 1855. Sev. april Baptizen William Aux-The 9th be longing to Mr. Durants 62 horning 13t. Francis Lames, Low of low. Abell and his work 23 16 arther, was born, March the 1855.

april Rollinson Whitting home 230 Son of Mr. J. H. Harmett bear bonn March The 24th. 24. and baptimed april The 231. 1855. 8 w. May hap toped Lavis Sar to 70. Queiano: las. Milling on and Mr. fr. . I hompours ore partea. 9 w. ting to a ptize a robert somio la la la la la la colon 1800 ana george Snort, coloni , ea childen belonging 3. l. to H. g. S. Hez, Esq. 28

1855 ang. 13t. Bajitorgea (in private Maly lintant Idaughter (4) Mr. 6 harles Dont. 26th Baptinece Jeseph an 30 but ant of Mrs. S. Dents wome Scat. the 17t. Baptisea (private) geo. Bennet, intant 31 Son of Mr. geo. Hame mett, Nov. The 1st Baptured Richard All Shampson, intent son Day Abel. 32

1855 Baptioned Lash In Nov. Jon of Menit A. Dimer The 30th and Sarah A. his wife born aug The 21st. 1855. Dec. Baptonea Laura Ann The 24 a calannea chila belong ing to Mr. J. Me. Elvie Hammatt. Doc. Baptizen I coe ph Columbus 1800 low of Martin una Herrette 1856 Henry Clark Durant findant Mars Ion of Mr. burant and his The 9th. Man 8.1) we as born the 19th. A Nov. 1855, and baptozen non The 92, 1850 3 cis. At the same time I bepty in

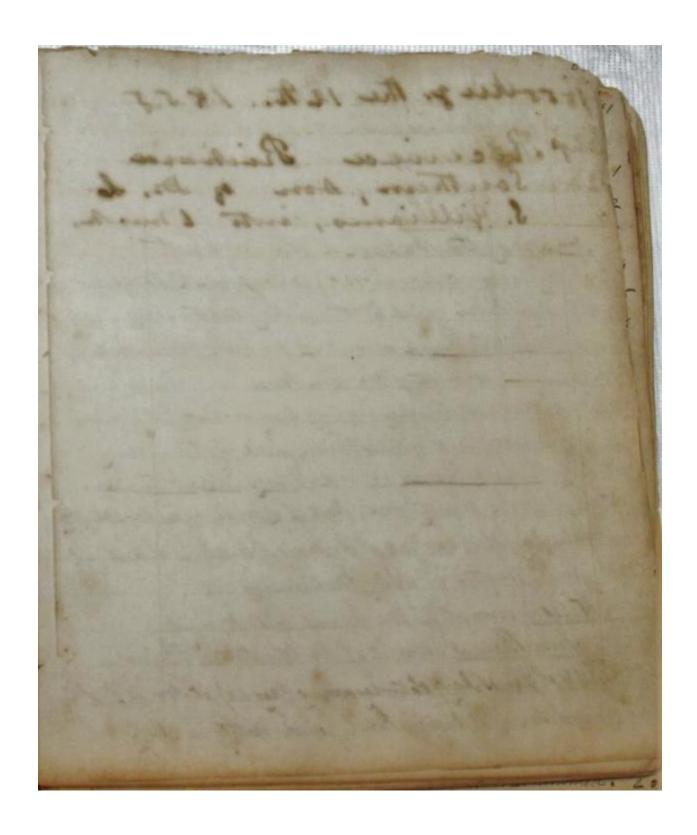
Lose ph and James colones children belonging to Helpekins and b hades Dent. 13 Praptions May Baptisea (at & much) two the 20th Coloured ferrale children: Baptimen grane Originia days Near The of 3. dr. and Ann L. Dr. A. Evens 26th. natus Jan. The 11t. 1850. June Lewis P. H. (natur 21st. Oct the 5t 1845. Anna gertruthe, natur 1855. Oct. The 42. 1447. May Emma natus March, to 5t. 184 9. It he ria reature huy. The 282 1850. The showe children belong to the. Hitch of Minchester, Da.

856 Frank matus March The zot. June 1851; Nosalie Harrist, naturo The 5k. March The 13th. 1853, and Le ewis Henry notions bet. The 92. 1850. The above children of Mr. E. W. and Mrs. Sarah Jone Baker / of Winehester, va. I taptimen June The ot 1456. ang. I are so agia Louretia The 2pt, ba marine Alse daugs-/856. ter of Mr. John and Mrs. Ellen Hist was Anoe baptizen (private) aug. The 272. 1800. Bist Baptizea (at All Growth brush) two colonies insets the st cees , a coloured inge Harace, Oct to Boaptine we fat no. rich 11t. and showpson's) a coloured ingunt of strances Milliam .). 12th. Bugtizea (at bhurch) S. L. son of J. S. and Hammett. 12th. Baptizen B. S. Amfant son of J. F. were . Dorcons. Nov. the Baptoyea Amanda, and 15th Permilia Twom infants of Mrs. Ann Dyer.

15 Baptizea barriel, a colonic Dec injent of be Briscoes winning the 22x. Jan. Baptizece Margaret (of Margaret) the fet. a columner chila belonging to 1809 bal. 2. 3. Backiston Poartiren Maria (3 Namez) a coloured child belonging tos 38. 2. S. My Est. Itch. Baptizea The daughter of The 1st Me ben Abell Saphronia Victorine Browne Bay- (mont) daughter of loss b, and Elizar hized thathe Browne thucy Ann daughter of trobert M. and Elizabeth Homning.

March Baptigen John Stanson The other impants some of Nelly blaston Mr. J. greenwell's wormen. 1857 (Public). april Baptique The danghter of James N. Em 26t. and his wife Pruilla decende Baptiezen Sarah Anos. 26th, colonned shila belonging to Mr. B. gongh. June The 28t. Haptergean Sarah Ellen ingant daughter of Me int Alexander, and Larah down Diment. (Public). Sept. the Baptingen of caloner inforce 8t. at ur. Sejo (Minai.).

5%, Oct. Mr 6h. Buptienen at the house of 8. g. de arris, Erg. ar (columned) sout. 1 Pulling



Baptisms. 1853. Me istin I ame, daughter of land Wheeler, was born Sept. The 15th 1853, and baptized in The fall of me same year. [Me modist] Philip Strances, danghter of a. 26. Buris and M. Eliza his win, was born Dec. The 18th, 1853, and baptized Jan. The 23 d.

Bajo toged & durand Alexander son of Mr. Reg's overseer, and administree the bommuning to Mr. Mathews wife, who is extremely ill: [wethout gaming! June the 2 d. 1807. Jone the Baptized are infant of colon. 4th. ea people belonging to land. Aprenew. 6th Marrier J. R. Dhomas to Miss Jennett 6. Brisene 10th Married Momen a colonier 18 communicant 1 of Mr. Hez to Hants (a servant belong to Morgan

June. Married, Misso batharme 22d. Abell to Mr. E. Thompson 1854. Abell: Cathaine A. St. Abell. July sangetingen (at st. Amounts The 230 Joseph Baton a colomor chila belonging to bot tolack istorio mornan. 1 10 K 160 K 186. At the house of Dr. rosio cas (at night) haptizen In impreetha, I harlotte, ... Robert Nelson, whosen Children belonging to Di B's warmen. 292. Bantonese Ino. Ihomas son This wife: maters the lot of epil 100g

4 Burien Harace Dun 31st / lintant son of Mr. Durant: 1 in , Bluied Philip Stances, daughter of f. H. humis: born bec. the 18th. 1800. Sept. Baptined Many Elizabera, The lots infant daughter of . Her. Durant and his wife May . 8. Oct. Baptizen a coloured insant the 1st be longing to Dr. Gilliams, Evering At Mr. Thompson's, bayetinger too coloured infants (tuins). 15h. Baptined (at St. Anarews) two g : coloured shiture (twins) belong. ing to Me. S. Armerworthy's down

At Do Blesced a Busines, four years who. right: at bot. Baptinea le napman Billinge a calaured etided. legio. Oct # 19 Mb horica . Jasep N. Har rison (of Charles) to Miss Sarah No. Dent (7 Thomas) 221. Henry John son (7 2. H. Hour to Margaret Ann belonging to Um. b. Abell (in brush). Maries At St. andrew's Mr. Ino. Jan. Wise to Min & cen Watts 21.1850

Mariea: Some time in the face of 1854, Mrs. gonghis girl to to a man belonging to the 1855 Jan. The st. Baptizen and barrales . . . you richard Southern, infant Son of Dr. Gilliams, and wife l'harlotte Le ce. 182 Me unien Joh S. Junes to Miss nebecca Mard. 231. Baptoyea: gabriel Du bal, son of bast black and his wife born Jan. The 92. 1852. Jan. Married: Meret A. Diment 30th to Miss Sarah A. Evans.

Stel. The 10th. 1855. Married: Dhomas 81. Fib.t. 4. Baptimen & lice of with the grawelis w

Greenvell Philip Attle 2

Matolen Stefred 4.

Soldstrough der Ferferen 4.

Silliames Terris. 5.

Secundl Rebert Mise 6.

Snyther Mary! Batham 7.

Sorfa. Jame Choannel 7

Hammett. Surandysza 6.

CONFIRMATIONS

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Simations Per George K. Warner, Rector
  Minday morning (November 9 the ) The Nt. Nev. Nom. R. Whittingham.
       1 Bakt John Charke Whenitt
           Mr. Wichard Muchall Edwards 4
         Mise Gusan Buth Harris.
 The Candidates were presented by the Rev. Carge K. Warner
the Rector elect of the Parish -
Reported to Convention, May 26th. 1858
Friday morning December 12th / The Rt. Por. William R. Whittingher
t. J. Bish of the Divise, Confirmed in the Parish Church
    1 Miss Rebecca angelice Chesley Afferell,
    2 " Clina Caroline Hopewell,
   s " Anna Misia Hopewell,
  4 " Maria Catherine Thompsen,
  5 Mrs. Rosalie Elusan H. Harris,
  6 Miss Grean adelide Buscoe,
  7 " Barah Emmeline Pariscoe,
  8 " Martha ann Dent
   " Emmeline Referer Hammett,
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10 Mr. Sames Pirscoe 11 Mrs. Eleanor Delich Miss. 12 Mr. Robert Hamen Mice, 13 Marter Voice Richams, 14 Mr. Nichard Morris abell, 15 Mrs. Maria Elizabeth Well, 16 Miss annie Sutton. 17 Mr. Greph alexander Gennell, 18 Mrs. Martha Henrietta abell, 19 Mr Thomas Dent, 20 " Richard alexander Clarker es Miss Sophia ann Nelson Valo, 22 Mr. George Smith 23 " Dand Store Beiscoe, 24 Marter Thomas William Hell Greenwell, 25 Mrs. Maria antoinette Aspenell. Colored:_ 1 Lewis Forrest, Lunda Forest, & Sevanti f Ma Horokich Sent 3 Isaac Forest Joseph Smallwood

Than June almaderood, severet of 914. The Sheet Kachel Centre William Repton Zelmont of In Louis day lithisms Willie Weston Zelmont of Mrs. Durant, 10 John William, " Mr. Joseph C. Sout. Confirmed in St Andrews Chura y Bishop Stone June 30 !! 1835-Samuel Geo Ann Stonestreet Nancy Sanners Rebecca Gilmore Mary Wisabeth Thompson Martha M. Harris Helen Ann Reeder Townette Brisco Ann Maria Watts

Mary A. E. Burrouge Susan & Dent Colored Persons Bill Dent. Stephen Dent ggy Hommett Jophia Tumer Confirmed by Bp Stone July 11:1887 Alescander Hammett James 6. Granes Mary Lucretia Briscoe batherine Hammett batherine Abell Colored Persons tenry Dorsey

tingham . You went ber 22 2 18 40 John Henry Wise * Jane Maria Dent Martha Matilda Dent Colored Persons Jamerville John Naylor John Wilson Samuel Bowles Jame Wilson Poliza Persting

Confirmed in StAndrews Cheral 3,00 p Whittingham November 184 Mr Thomas & Aimbevorthey Miss Elizabeth Van Ness Jen Brock Hu andar S. Norris. Man Flamilton Stewart Colored Man

Confirmed in Sh. Andrews Church By Bushop Whilling harmy Marriay Decem Thebeca robbills 6 harlotte bee getterns Ann Maria Lorente, Colonet con Charlette Amelia Foreis (In Rome) Jane, Genton Jam Rought Sarah Dont Sophia Dent (Hammel) Parmetia Ann & Bretannan Verena Bohannan Colored Persons, confirmes By 27 Whotengham in At Andrews Ch Dec 11 " 1840 led Fiely to Hours Gol Chapen Will was At Macro H. Boiscon Corock Hammett

the St Andrew i Parish by 43 is hop Whittinglass at his Visitation At Parish on Thursday & Fride The Parish In the first Convocation which him the first Convocation which him the first Convocation and Calvery of It mary's and Calvery Counters was Convolled by the Bostof White Confirmed 1846 to Sarah Margaret Hammen - Ellen. Cecilia Abell Eliza, Watts 20th Coloned, Conformed Amanda Williams - or Watts . Joshua Sudith, Moston, or Brice Dr. M. H

1848 Confermations by Bp. Whitinghow oct. 29 Alesthen Bligabeth Odwhins Rebocca Linty Colo-Lic: 10. D Janus Son their Bises Hamme James Elias Fromas. Ann Lonica Hammele Law Elinabeth Bohanian Inh wans dinsworthy Am chesine Giogell Eliza Bradman 1857 Many Eliza Demant Janhete Elana Briscoe Ann Catherine Clasett Hawkins This lette Onnce Shim Prised Wahth Ellen Cecelia Princoe Sarah Beleeca Gonne

12: Confi by Arker H. A. G. I A Buch Sarch Ann Evans De " Grace Forest, at Any Dent " Sophia Govert, at Bronze Hammets Rochel Forest at Thos Dent taney Stewart at H. S. S. Key's Rosa Cathonine Cole Ellen Chesley Sarah Barfres at Bat. Hanis Months Ann Barnes, at Tr. A. Prison

confirmed by The me Rev. Bp. Whitting man. be. It as the 7th. 18 55: Rem. Sin le ob. b. Billing slen , Mom. b. Abell 3. Dr. Louis Sar Giliam 4 geo. E. Hammelt - Jaseph 6. Dent - Ino. Dellenger geo. Dallenger Miss Elizabeth Ann gry or Mary Laving gange Jannette A. Thompson Rachel 6. Abell Eliza A. Lunty Martha E. Elans 13 Mrs. Harrietta Weible 14

wolls. S. . Spaulding 15. Mrs. 12000 8 10 and Ly Mrs. Delila Emans. 18 Miss Bradman 19 ms Ann Blackiston l'alaure a tersons 20 geo. Washington S. 7 tr. Trime Loga Honest: S. of 2 ames 21 Me. Elvie Harrowett

MARRIAGES

Marriages. 1842 Benedict Winnsatt To Frances In Rust both of Saint Mary bounty March 29th 1842

Milh Cornelius of Kirty to Mary bounts

Amn Combs both of St Mary bounts Aprilit James. H. Sanders to Tamelia Conklin both of Saint Mary 82

Marriages solgmines of in It Andrews Parish by the Rev 4.0.6 Johnson to Thomas Noowood of the Eastin Shore to Phoebe Ann lefsel of St Mary Quett in William & Many Parish Joseph H. greenwell, to Many & James, King to Amand & Nomes Sh Badrews Parit St Mayi loves. in William & ollary Parist Robert Owens, to Susan Occas Fabril Fackson & Lamb Forest The man a Servant of more Abell the woman a bervant of James Maine Hannett.

Marrajes in A hurains But gyy the John Adams, & Mary & light the Ridgell both of St Andrews Penit Simmay's Count 1845 Caster Sunday March 23 Mart B William Sommerville and Eliza Anno bonnmerville, in is employ of min Phil. llerke Whit dualing at mos thell is by 1-Reis mr horch Moses Inckour lelenging to mostbell, & a Steam named Welly belong in to Mr Dusting May 25 First durdey after Frinds Lee, a cit I man & Princella also Man a coldman & Heronetta all Dervent belonging to Dr. W. 20. Poriose

Elecurite broth prome 26". 18. Aug 24 Lawra daughter to George & Leigh and Sophia Lhis wife bith July 15. 1842. Fr

Marriages Solemnized en Saint andrews Parish by The 1849 Per W. P.C. Johnson Jany 26 John Henry Stone, Ellen Cecilla Abell June 1 At Ellenborough - John Francism - Harris and Rosalie Susan, Farris. Brady doughter of the Revid ohn Bracky Sept 25 At St Andrews Church Sahows Wesley, mason, and mary - Clen Holly, Haves of Got It's Having Nov'9 George, Eccleston, Paul, and matilda Elizabeth daughter of Foshua Walts Nov'9 George, Edmund, Hammett' and Susan, Sophia, Laughter of Hezekiah Dent

Marriages dolemnique in St. Antrens Jang 9 In St. And rus Church Tomi Bear, & Amarda Melians

Man Jonner a terrant of B & Harre Est

and the better a terrant of Bhith Matter James, Henry Dyes, and Ann. - Brackburn 1849 James ABuch Resta -Die. 25. Hinny & Hancy Set of No Benj Harris -To Itany sont of Capt Sprace March 18. In William & Mary Parishe Capt. Price of Inchesta to his

Marriages Solemnized between 12 Autehing Die 6 John & Wise & Lucrealing Walls Ang? It fames Fames Fames Emma Ducker Colt. J.Joh. : 3? Samuel Watts & This Enither Col? H. Ding The 1" Francis Brother & Sonisa Builler Gold I. Hole of Vignia pil 2. Samuel Palsmer & alarah Ellen Bell Cole + Tity Colo at Milego May 15. Clark of Meant, & Mary E. Dent

1851. Marriages Solcenniged between Francis de Weens & Charles & Elija V. Harris of St. Marijo. gue 2 James Steadman & Amanda Long James L. Birece, & Larah A. Harnmett John Hill: & Julianna Joslon, Cold. Richard Mason & Flya Jane Bonomuse Cold day 18: Charles Dent & Sarah M. Hamemite tagt 29. John Housy & Freey, cold. Tre 9. Walter A. Roberter of charles to Sarah Aman Rey of Ot Mayo One 25 - Francis sert of capt toise. To Barah Bert of Mr. B. B. Danie

Me Arriages externated by the new. lbm. Scull. 1854 June J. R. I hornas to Miss The fix Jennett E. Briscoe. 10th. Me comi (a servant of 36. g. d. Decy, Esq.) to Frank, la servant of Mr. Morgan). 22d. Miss 6. A. H. Abell 16 Mr. I E. Shornjenn Abell. Oct. Joseph N. 36 anison (0) 19th. 6 harles 60.) to this Sound M. Dent (of Thomas). J. Mr. B. Gonghis girl to Mr. 6 combis sman.

1854 Henry Johnson /a ser Oct. 10 ant of 2 H. Hall Esq.) to The Margarett ann / a scout 224 of Um. 6. Abell). 1855 Mr. 2 m. Wise to Jan Mits Ellen Matts. 18th Mr. 2. H. Duner to him 30 h. Meret A. Dirnent to . Min S. A. Evans. Het. Thomas & vans to The 15th. Miss Raga Abell.

June the 10th. 1850 gurd gate and Eliza servanto 10to. of Dr. Buscae and bot. B. 185 Maniea - William July (Tophia Hammett. Both, to Mirs Eliza Chiseldine. May to Marie a: nt hickard & nebecca, ser. vants of Dr. Kriscue.

May Marrien James N. Evans The 11th to Mrs Preseilla ternsworth . 1850 4500 ile. Jeseph bound to Amounthe. June 11 1 1 1 The 14th Me arriew 2 a sept and 1858. May Jane servants of of Mr. H. Dent and g. E. It ammett. Muy This day of performed The the ot marriage commons between 1856 M is Ellen Gobes Hey and and Mr. J. Herqueson Bruce by b harles. Mr. Secull \$20,00

yeb. The 4th. Manied: 900. W. bullismo and Miss Ann L. Bell. \$5,00 June Milburn to Mrs. C. A. He. TI 9th. Abell. July Marriea: Dr. 2 ames Smith the 7th. 1 of Northethumberland be. va.) to 1857. Miss Nannie G. Her (9 Su los Hayland) \$ 50,000

1850 aug. The 12 th. 1855 up Received Richard A: Southern, son & Dr. S. Gilliams, into & hurch. Variages by the Rev. George X. Warner, Rector. 82. Sundayin advent (December 13th.) at Mr. James R. Thompson's on al andrews Parish, joined together in Not Makimony Boge Washington Bough, sowant of Mr. Nobert Wise, and Varah ____, sowant of Mr. John Mise. 4 th. Week in achent Thursday morning, becember 24th.) at Mr. H. S. d. Ry's, Leonardson, in Al Andrews Pariely joined together in Aloty Mittimory, Michard Barnes, fr., and Man Edizabeth Mer. lotte of Charles County, ma. Date of Ricense, December 23d. 1859 Easter Sunday (april 4 to.) at of Andrew's Church in I andrew't Tariet, joined together in Holy Matimony John Wilson, servant of Mr. James Dent, and Moutha Ann Barnes, servant of Dr. Walter a. Brisene. Philip & of James Lay / Calinday woring May lot) at Mr. A. L. K. leys, Conardtown, in J. andrew Prich, joined Syether in Now

Matimor formes Somericale, servant of Mr. B. J. Durant and Mary ann Bretor, servant of Mr. H. G. S. Key. Reported to Convention, May 26th. 1858. TRINITY- Week (Thereday evening, June 1st.) at Mr. Havi G. Harris; Leonardtown, in of andrews Paich, joined together in Holy Matrimen Leorse Frederick Maddof and Busan Kuth Harris, both of of Mary's Counts, Med. Jate of License, June 1et. 1858. Eneter Day (Spil 24th.) at Dr. James H. Mils; of andens Princh wined together in Joh Matternoon Thomas & mallwood, secount of Min Heredich Int and Krohel Centis, servant of In games H. Wills. Reported to Commention, mar 27th. 185%. He page 218 4. of the Pur Register

Baje timed & durand Alexander son of Mr. Rejo oversees, and administered the bornmen to Mr. Mathews wife, who is extremely ill: [Methoust gamings. June the 2 d. 1807. Jun the Baptized are infant of colon. 4th. ed people belonging to land. A henew. 6th Married J. R. Dhomas to wiss Jennett 6. torioue 10th Marriea Muni a colonea 18 communicant 1 of Mr. Hog to Hants (a servant belong to Margan

June. Married, Miso bathame 22d. Abell to Mr. E. Thompson 1854. Abell: Cathaine A. H. Abell. July santingen (at st. Andrews The 231 Jaseph Baton a colomore chila belonging to bat, Black istorio woman. At the house of Dr. rosis -Bumpeetha, I harlotte, ... Robert Nelson, whenen Whildren belonging to De B's women. 292. Bantoness Ino. Shomas son This wife: maties the lot of epil 100g

At Dr. Blerced a right. at bot. Baptinea le napman Billinge or calaured estille leg's. Oct # 192 Mb harica . Jasep N. Har rison (of Charles) to Miss Sarah M. Dent (& Thomas). 221. Henry John son (2 2. H. Haa) to Margaret time belonging to Um. b. Abell in Brush J. Maries At St. andrew's Mr. Inv. Jan. Wise to Mins Eleer Watts. 21.1855

Maries: Some time in The face of 1854, Mrs. gonghis girl to to a man belonging to the ... borrales ... 1855. Jan. The st. Baptized you richard Southern, infant Son of Dr. Gilliams, and wife l'harlatte Le ce. 182 Me unien Joh J. Junes to Miss nebecca Mand. 231. Baptozea: gabriel Du bal, son of bapt. black and his wife born Jan the 92. 1852. Jan. Married: Meret A. Diment 3 to Miss Sarah A. Evans.

greb. the 1. 1 1855. Married: Dhamos Ebens to Miss nisa Abell. Feb.th st. Baptinen &lice of who Hagramalis w

FUNERALS

Tomas - Nev George R. Warner Rector Monday afternoon, november Sth. Brined in S. andrew's Church gent. Mr. Nichard Widel who departed the life July 3d. 1857 - aged between 70 4 75 3d. Vundarine advent (Seconder 13th.) Build, in S. andrews Church- yard. aged, 5 weeks. 3d. Week in advent platurday morning Dec. 19th) Towned in & andrews Church-yard Mrs. Chesan Dent, who departed this life in peace Thursday night at about 1000 clock. aged, 54 -4th. Week of Lent (Thousday morning march 18th) Brixed in 18. Andrews Church yard, Mr. Philip Clarke, who departed this life March 17th. _ aged, 57. Ast treek after Easter Waterday afternoon Opice 17th.) Buried in S. andiwis Church-yard, Bettie Wilson /col. , who departed April 16th. Aged, 15 ._ Friday morning (May 14th) Birned in of andrews Church gard Millie Brown (col) who departed this life man 120 aged, 81. Reported to Convention, May 26th. 1858.

Church- yard. Burrought who de kont needer ovening (22nd met) at about y O'clock. aged, 41. by Ath.) Buried in & andwir Church-yard Vicilia bitterine Dyson, who departed this life Friday 116th met.). Aged, margaiet Elizabeth Dyson, who departed this life riday (16th inet.) aged, matthias alexander Dyson, who departed a Monday (12 th met) aged 3 months. tundas afternoon / July 17th Murist in of anchen - Abell who defear riday (16 th met) aged, not quite 2 months. tensietta Princoe abell, who departed this his 13th 1854. aged about 4 months. Janes of July 18th.) Bried ton Mr. James Ina Hammett Larm a-gard, Mr. Hours Kidgel, who departed this life + orlared

Friday (bette ince). aged, 56. budrens Church yard, Gha Whomas parted this life sucreas morning 10th inely. Aged orearly 6 el Andrews Church-yard gast Jones, who de Modayafternoon (222 mst). Aged, 4 14th chudayafter snows 19 (September 5th.) - Busied in of Andrews Church yard Mrs. Unn becil Vanners, who departed this life Saturday morning (september 4th) at about 20'clock. - aged, about 90. -Frank of of Michael & all Angels (deptember 29th) - Bried in a private Burying- ground in the Three-netoli hoad Louise Wheeler who departed this life July 8th. - aged, about 46. -17th. Week after Thewood Thursdayonoming, deptember 30th - Buried in his garden Mr. Francis othere who departed (28th inst)_ aged, about 78. 3nd Wickey ir of pource prinday afternoon, January 21 ch) - Buried in the Bridger Much yard, Miss Elizabeth Harding who departed morning (soth met.) at 10m. after 20 + astoril

June 4th British in allin maylor, who departed this life Friday after insepreadont 1/2 o'clock - ased, 40-50. (Markaraft home 6th.) Bried in & Andrews Chrock

1842. Funerals Febr 27. M. Susama Simoworthy aged 65 yr March Robert Peregrine bifsel a regular 24 attendant during life at Saint And Church aged about 55 years-April & An infant Child of Rei W. Mitchell June Johnson of All Fuith Parish -

Funerals in StAndrews Parish (MPG Johnson Rector) 1844 Infant of Dr Lewis Gilliams James Tonque of balvert boun get mrs Sarak Billingsley 10 23 3 de Sunday ofter Frinis in It Andrews Church Mand An ago formale Servant belogy to lite Sept 8th Fourteenth Sunday after Frinis In Sh Andrews Church y John Malredy - Albert Malredy and thit a flegate this Hally Lechariah Redman at his own private Burial plan The Frenty High Sunday after Friends In Sith Brew i Church your France a penale servant of mr Richo Hand, I also a male port defeat belong is to

Funeral + cost d Dei 2101- as It And seus Church Abell. S. Greenwell y Leonard town Tany 14th At Sista Trew's Church Rebecca a sewant bely to Fames To Thompson consuly And Antrewis ch march 23 Ketwah Ana Cready Ar Sh Antrew's Church John. Lurty April 27 Ar Mr. Benjavin, Gough's Fredericto (a Cold servant (a jed twenty I two, a fewale cold Infant named Ann also two other cold Infants, name, & seems not knows, all belonging to man 93 Jugas

Hunevals continu may 21 41 Four Orcell in the Francis Brusin ground Hopewell My 25th First Sunday after Fring-Milly Barries an aged French Server belonging to Dr. 1/1 14 1/3 mich Aryand 4t At St Andrews Church Six Infant of Henry Stain hise As wor Enrich. Hammett De 6th ch Christille Chapel yard Cile. + by Alexanter, Dawkins 1846 At St Antrewi Church Mrs Joshua Watts

Hunerals continued M. P. le Johnson | Rector) June 28t Abraham, and Nathan his Hacher, two cold terroants belonging to Man Bonjamin fongt at Houpton At Bloomsbury in the private him August 8th ground George Plater At Jamennesset How Blement It, Dorsoy Associate Indeged the Destrot Gont At Blooms bury Muip Salahea gough 20 Pins Relieca Hammett info own private Bureal ple

Funerals Continued 9-De Johnson (Rector) Sept-15t mrs Relecca Greenwell Burial Server By Red John, Claston At St Andrews, Church Pet-29th George, Washington, Doane Jon of the Rev 9.5.6 & Ann & Johnson, Born march 27th 1844 and defiarted This life Sept 28th 1846 in the third of las of his age. Burial Service By Rev' dofu H Chew 8th AT- SI- Andrews Church mon Stephen Norry march At- St andrews Church. mis anna, maria, yates 13th In the Burial grown of the methodist Gricopal Lociety near Leonard Town a Hemaile Cold Infant - Panulo Hours of Don MH Brical

Spil 17 3 Acidel Infant, yespring of and But 25 Francials Continued August 8th At St Andrews Ch)

August 8th At St Andrews Ch) Sept 22 & Benjamin, (third for of Thomas & and Susan, Dent Septin 5 At St Andrews to herech Alexander Howe Nov 7th At St Andrews character (Aged 73) Toseph (a cold Boy) son of John Phos. Ray Cor (cold) a servant of This.

Junerals Continued With & Sohuson (Rector) Dec's At Sotterley (magne, et minere The cold Suparts, One belonging to the other belonging to the whater 1848 At Henry Jones on Paturents
May 25 A cold Infant belonging to the Estates
of Alexander House deceases 1848 Burials, ley Reif A Buck Sep? 3. Mif Sophia Hammett at the Church Brancis Sut of J' Briseves (Sotters) 1849 the name of Domewille Muchey to Joseph Bonows . -22. ha Elizabet Thrank Ang? 3. Enoch B. Abell Ridgel Ywo cole children of Col Billingsless Amanda Sor of fortun water Jane 13 forme Stone mathan Ridgell

March 5: Mu mory of Drivity Paint Ches. Co. Dre. 10. May may Dawkins . -April 12 Ivo col? persons at all the Athen May N' fames Clinton line 12. Josiah lat col: Billingly the 15 .- Julia Am Steward, berty col. 26 Ann Abell, he life devont & death triumphont May 24 Honny Hammite. Louisa Shout and go to Hopewell 1 Francis Stell

1855 It unerals .. Il. S. heiter april Burier Three coloured The ge children on the farm ; Dr. Briscal. 30. 17t. Brunea Miss Marty but Daughter of Thomas De. ceased: Miss D. received The week preceaing her death, the I ommunio in priviale March B mier bol. Joseph Harris 302 Mrs. Jew. Gearwall the 195

9 Horse Thors: Vine p. 182, 183. July to Burien Mrs. Sarah n. 10 thomas Deceased. ang. The 27t. Bureau a coloner ... be longing to Mr. Canace & 11 who one at the house of Mr. E. Hammett, The 7th Bhried Mrs. Shann 18th. S. Sophia, Wife og geo. E. Ham at. S. Mett.

1813 Burien Sigt. 1853 1855 Mr. Shring son thel Mrs. He arriet Abel Mr. E. Hammett thethe ghe Polling on Rulling on Whiting 1856 hove, cirtant som of su. J. H. Harmoit. Sept buried two servants/a 21 st man and a held) of Dr. 1856 M. St. Briscal. Nov. Busica Niss Jane Stone, days. The 18t. ter of Hatten Atones, a n. Catholine Dec. Brien Mrs. Et l. Stone, a comthe 172 municant.

April of Mr. J. Hr. Shampson, homies Francis William. the At. a colomer chilare. J. JE. Shoreyou. June Buriea Mr. No injamin- genge 1-142. Pourea Mrs. Trabert Stord. 1857 Jounes June of un love D'ent. Theyt. Syst. The Burea Sasah la communerty 28th. a servent of Mr. g. 13. Harris

1859 Buriea Mirs Poly Stelme Oct.

July Burien Harace Du 31 st. / lingant son of Mr. Durant: 11 Buied Philip Stances daughter of f. H. Busio: born Dec. the 18th. 1800. Sept. Baptined Many Elizabera, The 10th ving and daughter of . Her. Durant and his wife All my 8. Oct. Baptizea a coloured insont the 1st. be longing to Dr. Gilliams, Every At Mr. Shormpoon's, bayetizen too coloured infants (tuins). 15th. Baptimed (at St. Anarews) two colonied Sistar en (twins) belong. ing to M. S. Armerworthy's down

Al Da Blerien Business four years ala Night . at bot. Baptinea le napman Billinge a calaured child. legio. Oct 11 19: 16 horica - Jasep N. Har rison (of Charles) to Miss Sarah M. Dent (7 Thomas). 221. Henry John son (of J. H. Hour) to Margaret tom belonging to Um. b. Abell (in thurs). Maries At St. andrew's Mr. Ino. Jan. Arise to Min Eleen Matto 21.1855

LISTS OF COMMUNICANTS

	North State of the Land of the
	3
1867 Communicanto- Rev. Leorge K. Marner, Rece	tor. 111
normster 29th. Dr. Walter Hanson Stone Biecoe,	1
Mrs. Emeline Wilmer Poiscoe,	2/
miss margaret ann Briscoe,	320
Miss Matilda Elizabeth Mª Maier, R	4 3
Ed. Chapman Billingsley,	54
Mrs. Lydia Charlotte Billingelog,	65
Miss Jannette Eleanor Briscoe,	7 7 8
Mrs. Margaret Eliza Varton, 2	7 7
Mrs. ann Locke Lough, 5	981
Miss Elizabeth Mills:	10 9
Miss Elizabeth ann Lough,	
miss Man Jouisa Lough,	12
Mrs. Sophia Ken Spalding, X	13
mis Helen ann Elizabeth Reeder,	14
The seen ann dispour receiver,	100
+ Mrs. man Eliza Burroughs, removed	Wathingthe 13
Mrs. Jane Hammett,	16
mes. Gueanna Reeves Howe,	12
Mrs. Catherine Maria Spencer,	15
mis Amanda alethea Greenwell,	× 19
This amanda alema summer,	

Communicant, continued .-Mr. James Richard Thompson, Mis. Mar Elizabeth Thompson, mis farmette ann Thompson, 22 Dr. Jouis San Failliand, 23 Mrs. Charlotte Rightwilliams Miss Rebecca Marguet Mills, Ins. Man Eldabeth Theenwell, Miss Man Catherine Geenwell, 27 Mr. from Henry Wice, 28 Mr. William Buthbert Abell 29 Mrs. Catherine ann Helt Milhou, Capt. John Clarke Wheritt. Mr. Horekish Sent, Mrs. Martha Matida Dout + Mrs. Relecca Justy + Miss Elisa ann Vute, Mr. William Dont, Mies Susan Eliza Dent, Mrs. Jane Maria Heard,

Dommunicants continued. + Mrs. Lucanna Dent, departed this life, Fec. 17.57 Mr Joseph Chapline Dent, Mrs. Sarah Margaret Dent, Mr James Mc Helie Hammett, Mrs. Maica Joinesa Mer Mu. Barah am Robertson, Mrs. Martha Ellen Harris. Miss ann Delia Harris Miss Gusan Ruth Harris, now mon menday med Mary Eliza Durant Mr. Joing Paran Dawkins, Mrs. Alethea Elizabeth Dankins Mies Nancy Thomas Remova Mrs. Mary Eliza Gatel Mr. games J. S. B. Hammett, Mr. Richard Muchall Edwards and Mr Thomas Benjamin armsworthy, D Mrs. Ann Evans Wheeler + Jus Martha Evans + Mr. ann Lrica Hammett

Communicants continued. Mr. Mina Ridgel, + Mis Ann Cecil Sanners, sprattelfe fit 500 Mrs. Catherine Celeta Roxina Evans, Mr. Delilah Evans, + Miss hun Elizabeth Thompson, Mr. James Elis Evans Mr. James Elis Coand Kingthey and Jones 5 66 Mrs. Ann J. Blackietare + Mr. Martha Allen Miles, Unendant Wise Elizabeth Harding, depute this life farming string Exember 10th Mrs. Maria antoinette Nopewell, Miss Releva Angelica Charley Hokewell, Miss Olivia Caroline Hopewell Miss anna Minia Hotewell, Miss Maira Catherine Thompson, Mrs. Rosalie Chean H. Havid, Miss Shear adelaide Birecre Miss Sarah & mordine Brisere.

Communicants continued Denner 10th Phies Martha ann Dent, Mis Emmeline Resecca Hammett, Mr. James Biscoe, Mr. Eleanor Delicah Nice, Mr. Robert Hanson Mice, + Master Louis Villiams, Mr. Richard Morris aball, Mrs. Maria Elizabeth abell. Miss annie Sutton Mr. Joseph Alexander Greenwell, Mrs. Martha Henrietta abell, Mr. Thomas Dent, non Richard alexander Clarke Miss Sophia ann Nelson Sates, Mr. Leage Smith, Mr David Stone Briscoe, Master Thomas William Hel Green Dec _ Mrs. Magaret Boverless, Dec. 19th. Mrs. Mar Catheine Ralas

numerants, continued. 29th Miss Man Kerr Hisher. mr Hammond smid all Im medding

Dommunicants. Colored Ediza Watts ditte. Rachel &mallword dith. + Asha Maylor, Restored ditto. 28 Luinda Naylor " ditto. + Jacob Wilson, Lette. Man Elizabeth Bras of Mr. Jas. R. Thombens Hamilton Sterrant, aberrant of Mr. Wester H. Brieve I In Walter H. Brisere. George Washington Barnes Martha ann Wilson Eliza Plater Jak. Chapman Billinger 15 Chloe am floman Have Samear Eller Chops

Krehel Will Sometof 911. Tombered Lewis Forcet, Surant of Mr. Higherh Sout 21 + Sinda Horcet, ditto. Sance Fromet, ditto. 23

Joseph Smallwood, ditto. 24

Man Jane Smallwood, servant of Mr. Char Sent 25

+ Kachel Centes, " In Jan A. Mils 26

- William Ukton, " on In Souis & Celians 27

+ Mildie Ukton, sub " ditto. 28 John Wileau " Mr. Juckle dent. 30 " Mr. Jackh Co. Sent. 30

List of Heads of Families m Abell = Patuscent Ri es R. Thompson AD: Do Jomes R Hopewell Do Do Docton Walter H Briscoe & Pa Chapman Bill ton Lewis Gilliams In Moloreads xander Howe I JeAnn Spalding - Do Ir George Christile. 9 ancis Stone - Do njamin & Harrist Les

1857: List of Hamilies: 1. Dr. W. Briscoe 2. bat. 6. Billing sles 3. Mrs. M. Sayton 4 Mr. It. Dent 6 harles 12 ent 6 Mrs. S. Dont Mrs. Lytz 8 M. M. Dent 9 Mr. Ins. & vans Mr. Ino. Evans hishara heazel Thomas ridgel Shomas Armesworth Mr. R. Shompson Dr. Ly gilliamo hobest mise Thomas Spencer James Hopewell mo. Mise

20 lbm. Abel 21 S. Hammett 22 James Mr. Elvie Mrs. Bohannar 24 Mrs. Bates 25 Mr. B. g. S. Her 27 lat. 2. S. Blackistos 28 Mr. Durant 29 Mr. J. P. Dascans 30 rus. Batozel 31 Mrs. Ann gough 32 Mr. Buris

A List of Heads of Families R. Thompson ADO D Walter A Briscoe & Pou in Burroughs D: exander Howe D George Christile. incis Stone

We V Wim J. Maddox Leonaro Doctore Alexander Robinson Dex Mes Rebecca Gilmore Do Do Mr Jack J. Blackistone Do Do Col Jos! Harris - near Leonar Town m Tolozabeth Gough Do Do Do W. Joseph K. Greenwell. V. Do Do Do. Do " To shua Watts De Dos Mrs Ann Gough: TotomacRiver Mrs gdward Plater V Do Do Marriet Hell D.D. bedar Point. Mr Thos & Dent W. Secur the Churc V ronoch Hammettv Do Do " William Dent - Do Do Und Gatherine Greenwell Do 90

West John Henry Wise Do Do Hezekiah Dent W Do Do Mcbly Hammett VD: David borum bol man Do Mis Ann Watts. Onion Fields Va Yancy Janners Near Do Do M. Henry Ridgel _ D: John Pudges John Rovans Do George Simporthy Do William Tovans Do James Davis Do Bechariah Redman Do Do er to Lomes Do D

De Edward Johnson -Benjamin Drodl Clark Young & Dawking.

A list of communicants found in the purish by ItBuck not registered in Brokel Amelwood at My Druts. Inly Finnick at Mr. Thelers at Capt Daveys Judy Allorton at J. N. H. Fristoes

A List of Communicants annette Briscoe liga Mbook 78/511 becca Greenwell

Colored Communicants Gutther or Hannet 8: by Dorsey or Briscoe In John Durhaim or Harris Thelia Somerville or Dent Juliet Ann Dovsey or Billing Lusan Toy or Walto ia Watts

Astite Commencedente Continued Mijo & Van Sefet in Brushe (Elmored) Mile dally Light (died) Mr Go. I Leigh (died) Mrs, Com Greenwall Die. Mof Amanda & Sorrit Rus Den John S. Winters / Lunging hos Mrs. Eliza, Gardiner nemovid Mrs Boham, and Mis Rebecca Mills Ann. E. Johnson Honniella Robecca Hopewell / Dec ? ollary 6 greenull mr Robert Frod + Mil Marjarak aun Briscogno mile Sophia Gough Died Aug Stephen Norris I Died Octy

White Communicanty Continued (W.P. I ohnson Reckor Acheen Midte ann Maria. Lowat. Brigel Charloth Lee gilliams Jane. Zurdon Sarah. Dent Rine. Sophie Dent, Hammett. Carmelia ana Botrannas Serera. Bohannan Marien Maletda. + Matts (+Paul) Sarah Marjaret, Hammett (Dut) Ellen Cecilia Hoell (Stone) Eliza Matts, Gates Young & Darkins 1849 June 29 Many Genther, Coli Watts, (Mine) Catherine Elde Watts Die June 80/47 2 dos Am Sonisa Hammit W duner S to Aument

Communicants con? -James aBuck Ret From Mr. 9 Fairle les Amenda Hammitt Ren? 39e: 10 James Elias Evans 1850 . Many Elizabeth Bohanian 4 Am Evans Amsworthy Am he Grice Ridalle 151. Much. Mr. John Spencer from Kent Ren? Oct - Mils Charlotte Leigh Rom? Nov: 22. Mos Scary Elia Durant " mil fannet Elanor Princol . . Am Catherine clayate colowskins he " . Elizabeth Swin Brine Briscoe Bon" " .. Elizabeth Ellen Cecelia Priscoe ormano . Sarah Reliceen Bonne Rom. " . Clos Am Atams removed .. Jarah Ann Evans 920 37. -10 . Eliza Bradman - - Amone

1851 Communicant, James a Ruck Ree No 22 lever Fourt col? G. Hum 5 Sophia Fourt 2. Sint dochel Forest 4.8.S. Keys Nancy Stewart, araf Catherine Cole " Ellen Chesley " Sarah Barres . W. H. Brigge Martha Am Barnes 20 Me Ann V. Blackstone 1 Mil Rachel Abole

Persons heceived into

Mom. Suile rector 1805. Miss Martha Deant re a ceinea the Sacrament gt. Loras Supper for the first time (in private). 18 FF : Mill many man ... Lus, Administered The comm The 18th mion (in privace) to m. E. Shernje son Abell. 1856 Administered The comme Nov. nion to Mr. R. Ringell fan I Str. leged man 1 for The first line.

List of bonners be. Walter Miscae Mins Janualle Brisece Miro Mayaret A. Prisere Mins Elgs Ferrison bol. Chapman Billingster Also & ydia Billingoly 8 Mrs. Am Blackeston Mrs. Maria - Hez Me 10 Mis Sarah A. hoberison 11 Miss Nammie Rez 12 Miss Nanny Thomas 13 Mrs. He consetta Wible 14 Mr. hobert Ford 15 Mrs. E. Jates Mrs. Joseph Greenwell Mrs. I paulding Mrs. Burns

In 1.8 55: Work South heren 20 Mis. Ann going in 21 Miss Elihabeth Anna gaugh 22 Miss Mary L. Gough 23 Miss Elizabeth Mills 24 Dr. L. Saz gilliams 25 Mrs. Das R. Shormpson 27 Mrs. Mary 6 Morn proc 28 Miss Jannette A. mompson 29 Mrs. C. E. Cerdia Stone 30 M. Mon Abell 31 Mr. Ino. H. Mise 82 Mrs. Mise 33 Mrs. l'attaine Spence 34 Mr. E. Il amonell 35 Mis. Il armett 36 Mrs. Howe 37 Mrs. geo. E. Hammett 3 8 Mrs. Sophia Hammett

w. Jan Dent 14 tep l. Dent My Hessish De M. Dent Mis. Larah i Bent 44 Mindoni Dont 45 Mis. Dint. Mrs. Decea Le litez 4) Miss Eliza A. Le water Miss Susan Levit Mrs. Sarah Ann Evans Mr. James E. Evan Mrs. rasa Evans 2 Miss At artha Ellen En 53 Mrs. F. Evans 1 54 win A. E. Annesworthy 55 Mirs Amon Me. quin niggell 55 Mr. Thomas b. Ainsour 59 Min M. E. Bromain 58 Seseria Bohamen / Silkerton

sques. Bohamian 60 Miss P. A. Baharian 61 Mrs. M. E. Durant 52 Mrs. Ringell 53 Mrs. N. Sanners 54 Mrs. Hera or Mr. Dallenger 55 Mes. Dallerige 18 geo. Dellinger Mrs. Delila Evans 10 Minst. Ann necan Mrs. Harriett Abell 12 Miss rachell b. Abell 73 Mrs. Hate Akell 94 Mr. J. F. Dawkins 75 Ms. Dawkins 76 Mr. James Mc. Elvie Hammete Mr. Jame H. Hammett Mainmett Mus.

1980 Mis Julia Serie 1 Miss Amarina 82 Mo. Benjamin San une her first 6. nion, ang. The 3 n. 1800 Mr. Richard Ridgelle Made his first to nion

Columed born, conceants 1 thlac Norman or Haves 2 Jacob Wilson or Dent 3 Jane, his wife 4 John Naylor, of H. Dent o Betsey grass: & h. H. Mompson o Many Spinks: bapt. Spencer. I He amilton Stewarton: Dr. misus & geo. Washington: Dr. Miscal 9 Loja Forest: J. E. El. Hommer 10 trachell Johnson: E. Hammer. 11 Sophina Forest: geo. E. Hammer 12 Rachell Mrs. S. Dent. 13 Lucinaa Nagler: H. Dent. 14 Liga Watts: St. Dent. ir graca Dorsez: H. bent. 16 Rachell Small word: H. Dent. Dr. Briscal Coal. Billingay Hitty lale: Mr. S. h. S. Hez

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1857 Offerings_ Rev. Leong K. Warner, Rector- good work after The swar 9 nov. get) Sinceran Missions (Bp's Fruitation 8.4)
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21 Neuda in Cent (February 28th) ditte. 1.86
4th. runding in Lout 1 march 14th.) Contingent fund of the Paciel 2.22
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" John different persons per Mrs. ann lock Enigh y5 Enster Sunday (apice 4th) From different persons per Miss Sucan R Havis 8. 75
Diocesan Missions 24.
1st. Sunday efter Easter (april 11th.) Contingent fund of the Parish 2.12
ad Sunday after Easter (afine 18th.) ditto
+ others at the Hoty Communion. 1999.11

From different porcers article Me Buil for Blacker plates From a member of the Parish 5.30 the More of IRIN personner 16th) From a Paishiner del 2.50 2.56 Contregent fund of the Paint leh people for Mr. Fresh's Mission .50 (October 3d) 4.42 (October 10th) Contingent and of the Phish 2.43 October 9th Hith From 2 Rischines for b diestin Plate 3.50 Soth San of THIN (Better 17th) Contingent fund of the Brich 1.59 astiler 20th From 2 Members of the Brich for Collection Plate 2 .__ From I Member ditto for an Spet within it 1.25 20th bur of TRIN (Settler 17th) Col people for ma Buck's Mission .22 October 22nd. From apreon article of the Brich town so a horse for the Restor 2 . ___ Ster chinaf TXIN (Delber 24th) Contingent fund of the Brish 1.88 (Ostever 310h) (Mounderyth) 6.01 (Thomber 14th) Contingent fund 2.41 Think giving - Day (11025th) the Church Homes of day - almost the My Communica

amount brought forward 188.82 Idrent (Sec. 10th) Sioner Minerars (Popir Visitation) 19.58 at Corresonar Dec. 26th) 3.50 Towards materials for desinthe & time Sum of Consist mas (for and) 3.90 philin of Esophany (Jan. ath.) Contingent fund Sur of this have four 16th) Contingent french of the Parish (Jan. 23d.) ditti 1.48 (gan. 30th) 2.59 na Buda / Fe & 30th.) Cartingent fund of the Princh ditta 2.34 refuggione Hardey March

muthinght forward Set. Minds in Sout (March 19th.) Contingent french of the Brich 1.38 6th ditte (april 12th) ditte Caster Day (april 24th) Sapan Missine 21.26 hreunder of Easter (Martot) ditto. 4 78 Int. ditto. (May 8th) contingant fund of the Brich From different members of the Brich for Hand med from to the 28. 1 From a meinter of the Bish for 1/2 and Northe to Bick to 3. Hundaraf Bacter (May 15th) Diversan Miceins dette Chipeople working Brecks Mercian From a member of the thick for S. andrew Sofirm of the Hound. 50 Sometic & part domin tring booker peace. Torreste Messigned ... and churday in stent (March 20th) ditte. de dette (april 17th.) dette. From a Paid iner ford Andrew Infirment h. Home From ditto vora Mabile be Rebushome + almost the Holy Communion

Amount brought forward 398.26

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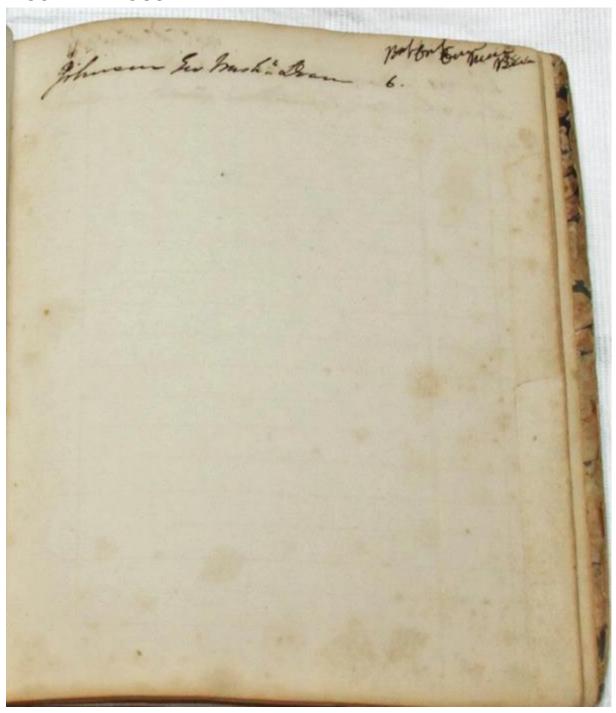
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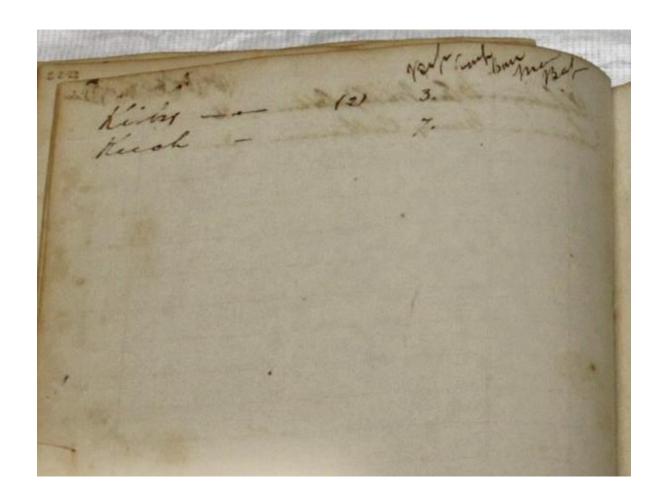
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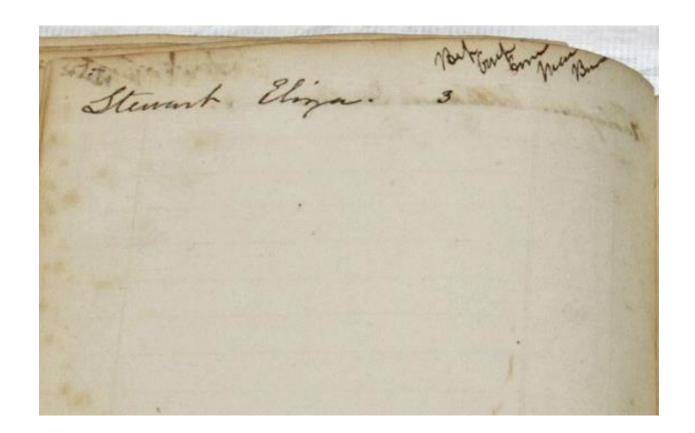




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