African-American History at the Hampton National Historic Site

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INTRODUCTION

This report is the result of two summers of research at the Hampton National Historic Site. It would not have been possible without the assistance of the staff of the National Park Service Mid-Atlantic Region and the staff of the Hampton National Historic Site. I am particulary indebted to John Bond, Director, Resource Planning and Preservation Division Cultural Resources Management, Mid-Atlantic Region and Fontaine Black, EEO Officer Mid-Atlantic Region, the staff at the Hampton National Historic Site, especially Lynne Hastings and Adam Karalius. Also I am indebted to Judith Kremen, John McGrain, and the late John Ridgely III for their help with this project.

BLACKS IN SLAVERY AND FREEDOM AT THE HAMPTON ESTATE

The Hampton National Historic Site, is a special example of an antebellum slave plantation. Its uniqueness stems from its location in Maryland, a slave state unlike any other in the ante-bellum period, its location in the northern part Maryland where slavery was dying out in the 19th century, and its diversity of productive activity.

The Hampton Estate, owned for most of its existence by the Ridgely family, was more than a farm or a plantation. Rather it was a self-contained agricultural and industrial conglomerate that stood astride the economy of what is now Baltimore County. Established by Colonel Charles Ridgely (1702-1772) and carried to its greatest heights by his son Captain Charles Ridgely (1733-1790) and his grandnephew Charles Carnan Ridgely (1760-1829), the Hampton estate at its height encompassed a corn, wheat, and hay farm, a grist mill, a cobbler shop, a horse-racing stable, a dairy farm, and an most importantly, an ironworks, the Northampton furnace. These enterprises were all centered around the Hampton mansion, now a national historic site, which at the time of its construction (1790) was one of the largest and most magnificent examples of Georgian estate architecture. The

Ridgely's also had extensive investments in banks, canal, road, and railroad companies, as well as valuable real estate in Baltimore.[1]

As a slave state Maryland differed greatly from other Southern slave states. Unlike slave states further south, Maryland's agriculture was not based on one crop. Also Maryland's economy was not dominated by a one-crop agricultural system but was more diversified, commercial, and industrial than most Southern states. Maryland also had a large free black population, so much so that by 1850 free blacks were as numerous in the population as slaves--a situation found nowhere else in the South.[2]

A major reason for Maryland's uniqueness as a slave state was the failure of tobacco to continue as the state's main cash crop in the 18th and 19th centuries. Soil exhaustion, the competition of tobacco growing areas in Virginia, North Carolina, and Kentucky, and international market conditions made plantation-based tobacco agriculture in Maryland not very profitable. Consequently many plantation owners, especially on the Eastern Shore and in Northern Maryland, moved out of

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[1] Lynne D. Hastings, A Guidebook to the Hampton National Historic Site (Baltimore: Historic Hampton Inc.,1986), pp. 3-25; Stacia Gregory, "Black Labor at the Hampton Estate During the Civil War and Reconstruction", pp 1-4.

[2] Robert J. Brugger, Maryland: A Middle Temperament 1634-1980 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), pp. 186-306; Barbara J. Fields, Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 7-22.

tobacco growing and into more diversified crops such as corn, wheat, barley, and oats. Since these crops were not as labor intensive as tobacco, those who grew them has less need for agricultural slave labor. As a result many slaves were either freed, sold elsewhere in the South, or employed in or hired out to industrial enterprises. Overall, plantation slavery as an integral part of Maryland's economy declined greatly in importance during the ante-bellum period, especially in Northern Maryland where the Hampton Estate was located.In that area, a diversified economy based on manufacturing and commerce centered in Baltimore, a leading East Coast port, predominated.[3]

Slavery in Maryland dates from the 1600's. Like Virginia, Maryland's early agricultural economy was based on tobacco cultivation. This crop was labor-intensive as was most semi-tropical crops. Tobacco planters needed large landholdings with correspondingly large labor forces to return a profit from tobacco cultivation. Native Americans could not be easily enslaved to grow tobacco despite their having introduced tobacco cultivation to Virginia's English settlers. There were never enough white indentured servants to meet the labor needs of Virginia and Maryland's tobacco planters. However, Africans, imported from the West Indies where plantation slavery flourished and then directly from Africa itself, satisfied the

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[3] Brugger, ibid., Gregory, ibid.,

labor requirements of tobacco planters. First, they were skilled farmers which enabled them to cultivate tobacco easily and efficiently. Second their distinctive appearances, languages and customs made escape difficult. Finally there was an inexhaustible supply of them from Africa and the West Indies. As a result African slavery took hold in Virginia and Maryland.

Both colonies in the 1660's passed laws giving statutory recognition to slavery. Among these laws was one that stipulated that the free or slave status of a child would be determined by that of its mother. This made slavery inheritable, thereby making it permanent in Maryland and Virginia. Another law passed by the Virginia House of Burgesses and later adopted by the Maryland Assembly allowed slaveowners to convert their slaves to Christianity without such conversion affecting their slaves' status. Also both Maryland and Virginia adopted slave codes based on those developed in the British and French West Indies.[4]

In the early 1700's plantation slavery was fairly well-entrenched in Southern Maryland, where tobacco could be grown profitably. One of the more important planter families there were the Ridgelys. The first Ridgely was Robert Ridgely who migrated to Maryland in the mid 1600's. A lawyer, Ridgely was active in early Maryland politics, eventually serving as the acting attorney general of the colony. He presumably established a plantation in St Mary's County Maryland that

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[4] Franklin, J.H. and Moss, A.A., Jr. From Slavery To Freedom. 6th ed.(New York: Random House), 1986 pp. 3-92

he left to his son Charles Ridgely, also known as Charles Ridgely the Planter. It is safe to assume that these early Ridgelys were slaveowners as well as tobacco planters. The third generation Ridgely, Colonel Charles Ridgely had more diversified interests than his ancestors. He became an active land speculator, planter and merchant, purchasing over 8,000 acres of land in Baltimore and Anne Arundel Counties in central Maryland. One of these parcels was "Northampton" the site of the present mansion.[5]

Northampton had been owned by Ann Hill the daughter of the original owner Henry Darnall, who had received it in 1695. Mrs Hill, apparently unable to manage the estate, sold it to Colonel Charles Ridgely in 1745. This estate, which became the heart of the Ridgely's vast landholdings in Baltimore County, was probably a slave plantation since tobacco was grown there. It is not known for sure whether slaves came with the houses, tobacco barns, orchards, etc., that Col. Ridgely purchased from Ann Hill. Still slavery continued to exist along with tobacco cultivation at Hampton, with Col Ridgely either buying the slaves that were already there or bringing to his new holdings the slaves he already owned. It is likely that he supplied his previously owned slaves to his new estate since it

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[5]Anne C. Edmonds, "The Landholdings of the Ridgelys of Hampton, 1726-1843," M.A. Thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 1948 pp. 1-15.

was customary for those selling plantations to sell the land and the buildings but to keep their slaves.[6]

In any event Col Ridgely continued to buy land in Baltimore county and the infant town of Baltimore. Among the holdings he acquired was the Northampton furnace which became one of his most profitable properties. Soon the center of gravity for the Ridgely empire moved from Southern Maryland to fast growing and prosperous North Central Maryland.[7]

There slavery was the norm as it was in Southern Maryland. By 1790 there were 7,132 slaves in Baltimore County, about 7% of all slaves in Maryland and 23% of the county's overall population. The Ridgelys found themselves the largest slaveholders in Baltimore county since most slaveowners there had less than ten slaves. These small holdings were numerous and representative of slavery in 1700's Baltimore County. There the soil and climate was more suited for less labor intensive crops such as wheat, oats, and barley. Furthermore, tobacco cultivation which was hard on the soil, had by the mid to late 1700's played itself out in the northern part of the state. Hence the dearth of large slave plantations. Only a few estates such as the Ridgelys and the Worthingtons in the southwestern corner of the county had significant numbers of slaves. On these estates the owners

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[6]Edmonds, Ibid.

[7]Hastings, Ibid.

continued to cultivate tobacco until the turn of the 19th century.[8]

The Ridgelys in 1798 were the largest slave owners in Baltimore County with 108 at Hampton, 26 at the Northampton furnace and 32 at other properties in Baltimore County. Most of these slaves were either purchased from plantations in Southern Maryland and Virginia or were the descendants of those slaves Colonel Ridgely brought with him when he purchased the Hampton property.[9]

It is interesting to speculate about where the Ridgely's acquired their slaves. The first Ridgely, Robert probably purchased his few slaves from the West Indies; his descendant Charles Ridgely the planter, like other slaveowners in Maryland, may have purchased his slaves directly from Africa. By the early 1700's the direct purchase from Africa was the norm in Maryland. One of the reasons for this was the suspicion that West Indian planters were selling off their least productive and most troublesome slaves to Maryland and Virginia buyers. Better to buy them direct from Africa and "season" them in Maryland. These slaves purchased direct from Africa were called "New Negroes". Many of these slaves were from the Senegambia and Gold Coast

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[8]Fields, ibid., Robert L. Hall, "Slave Resistance in Baltimore County" Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol 84. No.1 Winter 1989, pp, 305-318. George J. Horvath, Jr. The Particular Asessement Lists for Baltimore and Carroll Counties 1798, (Silver Spring: Family Line Publications), 1986, pp.1-93

[9]Horvath, Ibid.

regions of West Africa as planters in the Chesapeake region preferred these Africans to those from Central Africa and Angola.[10]

When Colonel Charles Ridgely moved north to purchase the Hampton estate he brought his slaves with him. His slave force increased from three sources: purchases from Africa, purchases from neighboring plantations in Baltimore county and natural increase. By the 1720's according to Allan Kulikoff black populations in the Chesapeake passed the threshold of self-reproduction, so it is likely that the majority of Ridgely's slaves were native Marylanders. Still the Ridgely's bought slaves as needed. A typical bill of sale from the 1790's follows:

> I do hereby certify that I have this day sold unto Charles Ridgely a Mullatto man called James for the sum of fifty pounds current money the receipt where of I do hereby acknowledge as . . . . this the fifth day of July Anno Domini 1791
>
> Geo. Buchanan[11]

The slaves at the Hampton estate lived in nine "Negro houses" either wood frame or log. The size of these houses were 22x32 ft, 15x23 ft., 16x16 ft, 12x12 ft, 16x18 ft.

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[10]Hall, ibid.

[11]Kulikoff, Allan. Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800.(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press) 1986. pp. 5-7. "Negro Bill of Sale" Ridgley Family Papers, Hampton National Historic Site.

16x18 ft., 16x18 ft, 10x12 ft. and 16x18 ft. Not all of the slaves lived in these houses. Some presumably lived in the Hampton mansion itself as house servants. They may well have been housed in the basement. These wooden houses do not survive today. It is not entirely clear where these houses were located but it is likely that they were in the vicinity of the overseer's house across from the mansion. Paintings of the Hampton mansion in the 1790's and early 1800's do not show any slave quarters adjacent to the mansion itself. The builder of the Hampton mansion, Captain Charles Ridgley emphasized the lush landscaping of the area immediately adjacent to the mansion. Therefore it is doubtful that he would have had slave quarters there. It is more likely that the quarters were built between the the overseer's house and the Northampton furnace since they would have had to have housed the slaves at the furnace as well. From the 1798 tax lists there is no listing of slave quarters or "Negro houses" at Northampton.[12]

It is likely that they were were quite uncomfortable being poorly ventilated in the summer and poorly insulated in the winter. Also they may have been very crowded as well. It was customary for two or more slave families to occupy one room in a slave house and this was probably the norm for the Hampton estate as well. A typical slave house such as the ones at Hampton usually was of log or wood frame construction with a single room

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[12]Horvath, ibid.

that served as a living room, bedroom and dining room/kitchen. There was usually a fireplace where slaves cooked their meals. The fireplace also provided heat in winter months, which in Baltimore county were severe. Slaves usually slept on straw mats. Occasionally some would have feather mattresses. Furniture in these cabins were of rough wood and usually consisted of a table and chairs. In most slave quarters space was available for small tomato patches or vegetable gardens. Due to the small size and discomfort of their quarters slaves spent most of their free time outside at least in the spring and summer.

If slaves at the 18th century Hampton estate were poorly housed at least they were well clothed. Slave clothing at Hampton, while coarse, was plentiful compared to other plantations. For example in the 1780's male slaves received a jacket, under clothes, breeches, trousers, shirts, stockings, shoes, hats, and bedding. Female slaves received a jacket, petticoats, shirts, stockings, shoes, hats, aprons, bedclothes, and bedding. These items were usually made of such coarse cloth as osnaburg, denim, and flax. Yet they usually were replaced and replenished every few months or so.[13]

As for the diet of slaves on the Hampton Estate in the 1700's it probably resembled the diet of slaves on 18th century Virginia plantations since Maryland and Virginia in that era had similar plantation economies. Corn was the staple of the slave

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[13]"Negroes Clothing", G. Howard White Papers, Hampton National Historic Site.

diet with a slave receiving about fourteen pounds of corn a week. The slaves made corn into a meal for bread and cakes and grits. Slaves rarely had meat in their diets. Usually on holidays or other special occasions or as a reward for hard work was meat given out. Often the least desirable cuts of pork, chicken or beef were handed out. Chicken hearts, necks and gizzards, pig's feet, necks, fatbacks, intestines (chitterlings, etc.) and beef leftovers (tongues, kidneys, etc.) were typical slave fare. Dried and salted fish such as herring and sardines were also supplied to slaves. Vegetables, usually from the small garden plots, slaves were allowed to keep at Hampton and elsewhere also supplemented the slave diet. Needless to say, the food provided slaves was monotonous and not very nutritious. Slaves at Hampton and elsewhere did the best they could with such food by using cooking skills retained from their African heritage to make their food palatable and tasty. Still the lack of adequate food may have deprived the slaves at Hampton of much of the energy they needed to be as productive as the Ridgely's desired.[14]

The most profitable division of the 18th century Hampton estate was the Northampton furnace. It was located a few miles to the northeast of the Hampton mansion in what is now the Loch Raven reservoir. The ironworks was operated by the Ridgely

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[14]Paul Carson, "Slave life in 19th century Virginia" An Indpendent Study Packet for the George Washington Birthplace National Historic Site. While this describes the diet at Washington's plantation in Northern Virginia, it is likely that the Hampton slaves in the 18th century had similar diets.

and Lux Company, owned almost wholly or in part by Captain Charles Ridgely and his heir Charles Carnan Ridgely. At first the Northampton furnace employed a majority white work force with free white hires doing the supervisory and skilled work and indentured servants doing the menial work. Still there were a sizable number of slaves at the furnace. These slaves were owned either by the Ridgely and Lux Company or by the Ridgely family. The majority at the forge were owned by the Ridgelys. For example, example in 1783 Captain Charles Ridgely owned 98 slaves while the company owned 31. Since Ridgely controlled the company he essentially owned these slaves as well. In the ironworks' early years slaves were used for only the most menial tasks such as cutting wood to feed the furnaces and forges and digging iron ore. Occasionally slaves were hired from other plantations or forges. Very occasionally these slaves had special skills. For example Toby, hired from Rebecca Ridgely, widow of Captain Ridgely, operated a forge and earned 50 shillings a month paid back to his master. Very often slaves were shifted from the ironworks to the estate and vice versa as labor conditions and needs dictated.[15]

Conditions at the forge tended to be hard. Slaves and indentured servants worked from sundown to sunup delivering coal to run the furnaces and forges and iron ore to supply the iron. It is no known whether the Ridgely's actually used

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[15]Steffen, Charles G. "The Pre-Industrial Iron Worker: Northampton Iron Works 1780-1820," Labor History, 20 (1979): pp.93-95.

slaves to dig the coal and iron ore need by the Northampton furnace. It is likely that they did since slaves were used for this work in the coal and iron ore producing regions of Maryland and Virginia. Slaves and indentures worked in conditions of indescribable heat and poor ventilation. Often workers suffered grave injury or even death from spilled molten iron.

To keep costs down and profits up owners of the Northampton forge stinted on food and medical care. For example two slaves hired to work at the furnace ran away back to their owner "complaining of the Beef being rotten." On one occasion some indentured servants actually took the Ridgely's to court to secure adequate food and treatment. Of course slaves had no such recourse. Still some resisted conditions at Northampton as best they could. For example a slave named Abraham Patterns Man, hired from another Baltimore county slave owner for a ninety day work period worked only half that time due to his faking illness, running away and then cutting his throat. Though he survived, he was of little use to the Northampton furnace.[16]

The construction of the Hampton mansion was the most memorable event taking place at the Hampton estate in the 1700's Built by Captain Charles Ridgely starting in 1783 and completed in 1790, the Hampton mansion was to symbolize Captain Ridgely's emergence as a major social, economic, and political force in

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[16]Lewis, Ronald. Coal, Iron, and Slaves: Industrial Slavery In Maryland and Virginia, (Westport, Conn. Greenwood Press), 1979, pp 129-130

Maryland. One of the finest examples of Georgian architecture anywhere, the mansion was built mostly by the estate's slave force under the supervision of white foremen. For example the foundations and cellar of the mansion were probably excavated by slaves since no record of charges for that kind of work exist. Horses driven by slaves pulled slip shovels to remove the earth while more slaves trimmed the excavation with spades and shovels Slaves also quarried the stone and erected the stone walls of the mansion. They also stuccoed the exterior walls. All this work was done under the supervision of skilled white masters such as Moses Dillon, a master stonemason.[17]

Runaway slaves were not unusual on the Hampton estate. Its proximity to Baltimore where runaways could mix in with the free population and to Pennsylvania which was a free state made escape from Hampton an attractive proposition. Usually runaways would escape the estate on a weekend usually a Saturday which was often "party night" at the estate. The reason for this was that the owners and fellow slaves would still be groggy after the previous night's fun and would not notice a missing slave as quickly. Also weekend escape would take more time to be posted in the local

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[17] "Blacks and Slavery", Brochure done for Hampton National Historic Site.

newspapers where rewards for the capture of runaway slaves were posted. One such advertisement goes as follows:

> RAN away, from the Northampton furnace, in Baltimore County, about 10 miles from Baltimore-Town. . . Mulatto Jem. . . born in Culpeper County, Virginia, and sold to Mr Edwin Young, of Shenandoah county, in the same state....
>
> 31 July 1781 Charles Ridgely

Another ad stated:

> Thirty Dollars Reward
>
> Ran away from the Northampton furnace in Baltimore County on Saturday night the twenty third a Negro Man named Bateman about twenty one years of age about size six feet high . . . and well made rather of a yellow complection . . .has a cut on one of his knees and the scar is remarkably high he is a well looking Negro had on when he went away a dark OLive Cotton Cloth coat with large yellow buttons, full trim, stripes, Cafsmere vest blue and white, . . . overalls of an olive colour, a new hat. . . whoever takes up and brings home this Negro if then miles from home shall receive thirty shillings, if twenty miles from forty five shillings, If thirty miles three pounds, if sixty miles four pounds, if one hundred miles five pounds. . . .
>
> 26 April 1791. Charles Ridgely[18]

As can be seen the Northampton furnace had its share of runaways. The furnace had a significant number of slaves and indentured servant runaways, especially after the courts refused to hear indentured servant complaints. Slave runaways tended to escape to Baltimore. This was because they could mix in with the town's large free black population, or further escape aboard ships bound from the port. White runaways tended to head for

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[18]Runaway Slave Advertisements, Ridgely Family Papers, Hampton National Historic Site.

Pennsylvania. The runaway notices are also instructive in that they are very descriptive of the slaves themselves and their clothing. Most runaways from slave estates in Baltimore County were young men. According to Robert Hall 62.5% of all runaway males from 1745 to 1790 in Baltimore county were between the ages of 15 and 30. It can be presumed that Hampton was little different in this respect.[19]

In the early 1800's tobacco cultivation had just about died out in Northern and Central Maryland. By then the Ridgelys had diversified into the production of corn, wheat, flour, race horses, dairy products, and manufactured goods. Consequently, the Hampton estate differed from most other large Southern plantations, yet conformed to the pattern of most large estates in Northern and Central Maryland. One thing that the Hampton estate did have in common with its counterparts further South was its large number of slaves.[20]

In the years from 1800 to 1829 when Chas. Carnan Ridgely provided for the their partial manumission, there averaged between 200 and 300 slaves on the Hampton estate, making it one of the larger slave plantations in Maryland if not the entire South. Because the estate had become so diversified in its output, it's likely that its slave labor had become similarly diversified.

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[19]Hall, ibid.

[20]Gregory, Ibid.

There is reason to believe that slaves worked in all of the enterprises of the Hampton estate. They produced shoes and other articles of clothing, worked at the Northampton furnace, cleared vacant lands, chopped wood for the Northampton forge, cut limestone and marble out of the quarries, worked at the grist mill, delivered its products to Baltimore and elsewhere, and served as maids, cooks, butlers, and nannies at the Hampton mansion itself. Of course, they also cultivated corn and wheat, but since these crops were seasonal and required relatively few hands, its probable that slaves doing this sort of work were transferred to the other enterprises on the plantation or hired out to others doing the off seasons.[21]

Not only did slaves labor at the Hampton plantation but so did white indentured servants, free white hires, and after 1829, free black laborers. For example the original labor force at the Northampton furnace was composed mostly of white indentured servants, most of them poor Irishmen. There was little difference between their treatment and that of slaves, as shown by the fact that some of them ran away from the furnace before their indenture was over. At the turn of the century, however, the furnace labor became more and more slave, with whites retaining their supervisory positions. In general the free white hires had skills not found on the estate; the free blacks who worked on the estate after 1829 tended to be temporary or seasonal menial

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[21] Charles Carnan Ridgely, daybooks, provision books, ledgers, G. Howard White papers, Hampton National Historic Site; Gregory, Ibid.

laborers. Despite the diversity of its labor force and the diversity of tasks performed on the Hampton estate, there was little or no ambiguity as to the status of slaves there. As on other large slave plantations throughout the South, white supremacy was the rule.[22]

During the first part of the 19th century the work force at the Northampton furnace became predominately a slave force. For example, the May 1826 time book recording work at the furnace listed 23 slaves and 10 white workers. Presumably, white indentured servants had become more trouble than they were worth. Also indentured servitude as a source of labor and means for its control was dying out at the turn of the 19th century. The whites remaining in the work force were skilled or supervisory hires. By that time conditions at the furnace had improved over those in the 18th century. Slaves not only received adequate food and clothing but they were paid for work done after their designated hours. This overtime pay allowed slaves to purchase more food and clothing at the company store. When slave overtime pay was not in cash then it was in provisions such as pork, flour or liquor. Most of this overtime work was cutting wood for the furnace or driving wagons from the forge to the Hampton plantation. The following is an account of overtime payments for the cutting of cordwood for the Northampton furnace:

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[22] Steffen, Ibid;Lewis, pp. 123-125, 147-154.

November 20, 1811
to Zach. Hancock for cutting 34 cords.....15.87
to Negro Tony with hirelings.....3.50
to Negro Tony with Task Wood.....4.20 7.70
to Negro Dan with hirelings.....7.63
to Negro Anthony ent'd with Task Wood.....5.36
to Negro Anthony ent'd with ditto.....<u>.871/2</u>
$37.431/2

As in the 18th century, slaves were freely transferred from the rest of the estate to the furnace and vice versa, enabling them to perform a vide variety of tasks.[23]

By the time that Charles Carnan Ridgely died in 1829, the Northampton forge had become less important to the Ridgely family fortunes and in the early 1850's it was shut down. Still slavery at the furnace parallelled slavery on the rest of the estate.[24]

On the rest of the estate slaves did most of the labor. They planted and harvested the corn and wheat and in the off seasons worked at the forge and on other parts of the estate. They also slaughtered and butchered the hogs and cattle and other farm animals, and drove the numerous wagons that delivered the estate's produce from one end of Maryland to the other. Slaves also produced shoes and other clothing items for themselves and the rest of the estate. It is possible that slaves were jockeys at the Ridgely's horse racing stables as they were at other plantations with horse racing facilities.

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[23]Northampton Furnace daybooks, Ridgely Family Papers, MS 692, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.; Steffen, Ibid; Lewis, Ibid.

[24] Steffen, pp.91.

Of course, slaves also worked in the Hampton mansion itself, doing the cooking and cleaning and upkeep of the mansion.[25]

The daily life of slaves on the Hampton estate probably differed little from that on other large Southern slave plantations. At the crack of dawn slaves awakened to cook their breakfast and prepare their lunch, which they carried with them. Usually these meals were made up of salt pork and cornbread. Then under the direction of the slave driver they got into wagons and proceeded to the various parts of the estate. Usually they got an hour off for lunch; then they worked until sundown when they were transported back to their quarters. As at the Northampton furnace slaves could work overtime for which they were paid either in cash or in provisions such as pork and liquor. Overtime work was an effective means of controlling slaves, since it gave slaves an incentive to work more, and its withholding could impoverish a slave.

Slaves at the Hampton estate in the 19th century may have been better housed, clothed, and fed than in the 18th. Based on the surviving slave quarters, its probable that the 18th century wooden slave quarters were replaced by masonry quarters which provided better protection from the elements. Also slaves could add to their clothing by working overtime. Slave diet also improved in the 1800's. There seems to be little difference between what slaves ate and what everybody else ate on the

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[25]Gregory, Ibid.

estate. Again slaves, by working overtime, could augment their food provisions. This be seen in this store account of "Negro Jem Aires" a worker at the Northampton furnace for 1820.

Date	Goods Purchased	Cost
January 5	22 lbs pork, 141 lbs beef 3 lbs meal	$7.60
February 28	25 lbs pork, 2 1/4 bushels meal	6.00
March 31	22 " " "	5.62
April 12	14 " 1 1/2 "	3.60
May 31	45 1/2 " 6 "	12.82 1/2
June 30	32 1/2 " 3 3/4 "	8.62 1/2
	13 " 1 1/2 "	3.45
September 30	37 1/2 " 3 3/4 "	8.87 1/2
October 31	25 1/2 " 2 1/4 "	6.07 1/2
November 14	12 1/2 " 1/2 "	
	1/2 lbs rye flour	2.93 1/2
		(debit) $65.61 1/2

Although this account is for work at the Northampton furnace similar accounts existed at the main estate.[26]

The reasons for this improvement in slave conditions are not entirely clear. It is likely however that as the economic fortunes of the Ridgelys improved especially under the leadership of General Charles Carnan Ridgely, they had more resources for taking care of their slaves. Also General Ridgely may have realized that a reasonably contented slave force was a more productive one. In any event slave life at Hampton reached its height in the early 1800's as over 300 slaves were owned by the Ridgely family during that era.

Slaves cherished three things, religion, family and education. Unlike some slave owners the Ridgelys did

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[26]"Negroes Clothing", G. Howard White Papers; Lewis, Ibid.

encourage slaves to form families, even having slave marriages performed by clergy. The Ridgelys also never broke up slave families by sale, unlike some slave owners. As a result family life at Hampton was relatively strong. While exact marriage and childrearing customs at Hampton are not known it is likely that they resembled those at most large plantations in the ante-bellum South.

For example children born at Hampton usually were nursed by their mothers until they were weaned then they were either looked after by the elderly in the slave community or fended for themselves while their parents worked in the fields. When the were about seven or eight they started working in the fields themselves doing light work like weeding or hoeing the fields or picking up trash. As they reached teen years some of the more industrious or lucky were apprenticed to either a skilled slave or free worker to learn a skill. By the time a slave child at Hampton reached adulthood, he or she had done a variety of tasks and learned a multitude of skills. This made them most valuable workers as adults at Hampton or valuable for sale elsewhere. Slave children were usually known by the names of their mothers. For example a slave child might be called Jane's Jim or Betty's Jack. In any event children were cherished in the slave quarters and were raised not just by natural parents but by everybody in the quarters. This was because of high infant mortality rates in the slave quarters; therefore those infants who survived were especially cherished. Many slave children hungered for an

education. Although it was illegal for slaves to be taught how to read and write some slave children may have learned anyway as indicated by Henry White, a grandson of John Ridgely, recalling a childhood experience of having

> the younger ones, who at that time were beginning to hear of freedom and the possibilities of education, coming to me at times privately with little primers, and asking me to explain the spelling of certain words, or the meaning of certain words, or the meaning of certain combinations of letters, which they could not understand, begging me at the same time not to let any of my elders know that they had done so, as it was one of the principles that they should not be taught how to read and write.[27]

As for slave parents, many struggled to keep their families together against all odds. As the Ridgely's preferred not to break up slave families through selling off one or more family members that most feared of all planter actions was not as prevalent at Hampton as elsewhere. Still the potential for family breakup always existed. Slaves often performed their own marriage services after an elaborate courtship ritual which emphasized verbal facility on the part of the male slave suitor for his lady's affections. A typical slave marriage ceremony involved a mixture of African and Christian rituals. Jumping over a broom or a broomstick was usually an integral part of these ceremonies. Once married the slave couple found privacy difficult especially at Hampton since slaves tended to live in barracks-like or dormitory style quarters. Also slave families

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[27] Henry White, Henry White Memoirs, (Baltimore: Hampton National Historic Site, 1925), p.9. Last Will and Testament of Charles Carnan Ridgely, Ridgely Family papers, Hampton National Historic Site.

tended to be of the extended variety. This meant that parents, grandparents, siblings and in-laws were all included in the family structure. This meant that life in the slave quarters was quite communal, which provided a kind of psychic security for slaves since it was a lot easier to face the horrors of slavery as part of a group than as an isolated individual. This communalism was an aspect of African culture that slaves preserved to their own advantage.

Religion was an important component of slave life at Hampton. In the early years of the Ridgely's slave ownership, their slaves probably maintained as much as of their indigenous African religious practices as possible. Gradually they were introduced to the Christian faith which they fused in a syncretic pattern with their native religions. During and after the Great Awakening period of the mid 1700's slaves at Hampton and elsewhere took to the more evangelical forms of Christianity as represented by the Baptist and Methodist faiths. Slave preachers became very powerful within the slave quarters as they became alternative leaders and power centers to the owners. Many slave owners saw slave religion as a means of social control emphasizing those aspects of Christianity that legitimatized submission to authority. They were concerned when slaves used religion and their preachers as a means of resistance. The Ridgelys were no exception, regulating slave religion by hiring a white Presbyterian minister to perform religious services for the mansion and estate slaves--services

the Ridgelys themselves attended. Interestingly enough the pastor, a Reverend Galbraith, was banished from the community at the beginning of the Civil War for marrying a mulatto woman. Despite the Ridgely's supervision, it is possible that slaves had their own religious practices and ceremonies as they did elsewhere on large plantations. In such practices they emphasized those aspects of Christianity that called for slaves to rise up against their masters. Certainly the large numbers of slaves on the Hampton estate made supervision of individual slaves in their quarters in the off hours problematic.[28]

In their off hours slaves had various forms of recreation. Without means to blow off steam, daily life would have been unbearable. The weekends and holidays, especially Christmas were eagerly anticipated as those were times when slaves could rest and relax. Central to their recreation were music, dancing, and story telling. Music was an integral part of daily life in Africa, and this was carried over to the New World by slaves. African music was rhythmic and percussive. Drums of different sizes and pitches were the most popular instruments in the slave quarters. Also stringed instruments such as the banjo and the fiddle were used to supplement the drums. Drums were used not only for music but also for clandestine communications across plantation boundaries. Many slaveowners fearing the messages drums carried banned them from the slave quarters. Others, like the Ridgelys saw them as harmless diversions and did not

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[28]White, Ibid

ban them. Singing was also an integral part of slave life. Frequently slaves would sing to make their long hot and arduous hours in the fields go by faster. Many of these songs had a religious component and were forerunners of the famed "Negro Spirituals". Others carried messages subversive of slavery and slave owners. However the messages contained in these songs were so subliminal that most slaveowners could not comprehend them. Slaves could however, and these songs helped them maintain their dignity and humanity under the most difficult conditions.

Dancing was also all important to slaves as a release from the drudgery and tension of their daily lives. Slave dances were often African in origin and featured a great deal of rhythmic and even frenzied movement. Frequently slaves would in their off hours dance to exhaustion. These dances served as an outlet much of the slaves repressed anger over slavery as well as temporarily removing them from the misery of their daily lives

The Ridgely's treated their slaves in a paternalistic but firm manner. For example, one day Charles Carnan Ridgely was riding with a friend when one of his slaves approached him and saluted him. Ridgely then returned the salute and was reproached by his friend for showing such courtesy to a slave. Ridgely's response was that he would never "allow a negro to have better manners than I."[29]

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[29]James Howard, "A History of the Ridgelys" (Baltimore: Hampton National Historic Site) pp.33-34.

Charles Carnan Ridgely could also be brutal with his slaves. For example a slave was brought before him and given ten lashes. When the slave refused to show repentance Ridgely ordered ten more lashes. Still the slave showed defiance and Ridgely, furious, ordered ten more lashes and said to the recalcitrant slave "confound you why can't you look pleased." Other more subtle means of punishment were also resorted to. For example a mulatto slave extremely proud of her long hair had it cut after she did something offensive to the owners. In fact the discipline system at the Hampton estate was so firm that neighboring plantations would send slaves there to be "broken in."[30]

Despite the close system of social control imposed on them, slaves did not totally submit to the Ridgely's. Many were as defiant while being punished as the slave mentioned above. Quite a few attempted escapes. Frequently through the 1800's, 10's 20's,30's, 40's and 50's the Ridgely's would advertise for the capture and return of runaways. An advertisement from 1817 looked like this

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[30]Howard, Ibid.

100 Dollars Reward

Ran away from North Hampton Furnace, near the city of Baltimore, on Saturday the 10th instant, negro
SCYE ROBERTSON
A stout, well made fellow, 20 or 21 years of age, about 5 feet 10 or 11 inches high, he was lately purchased from Mr. John Dorsey, and was learnt the moulders business at the furnace formerly called the Curtis Creek furnace, in Anne Arundel County. . .

William Caples, Manager

19 May 1817

From this runaway advertisement one can see that the Northampton furnace in the 19th as in the 18th centuries had runaway slaves. Also it is apparent that some skilled slaves were purchased for work there. Perhaps the reward was so high because of Scye Robertson's skills as a molder.[31]

While running away was a slave's most effective means of resisting slavery since he or she not only freed themselves of slavery but also deprived their owner of his investment in them, slaves had other means of resisting slavery. Doing the work of the estate in a slow and incompetent manner was a popular means of slave resistance. Slaves would "accidentally" break farm tools and implements or burn down farm buildings, retarding the productivity of the estate. Whether or not the slaves at Hampton resorted to this tactic is not clear

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[31]"Advertisements for Runaway Slaves", (Winston Salem, N.C.: Research Files of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts), pp.2

though Henry White in his reminiscences of life at the Hampton Estate called the slave system there "very wasteful and slipshod."[32]

Like other slave owners in Northern and Central Maryland the Ridgely's were not totally dependent on plantation slavery as were their counterparts further south. The cultivation of corn and wheat did not demand a large full time labor force. For example a single laborer could cultivate 20 acres of wheat or corn while 40 laborers were needed for the same amount of tobacco and 60 for cotton. This made large scale plantation slavery at Hampton economically wasteful. Far better to hire farm laborers by the season and as needed. As a result it was easy for Charles Carnan Ridgely to indulge any antislavery notions he may have had by providing for the freeing of most of his slaves in his will. According to James Howard who wrote a history of the Ridgely family in the 1880's, General Ridgely's daughter Sophia persuaded her father to provide for the partial manumission of his slaves. This will, which went into effect in 1829, the year of Ridgely's death freed all his male slaves between the ages of 28 and 45 and his female slaves between the ages of 25 and 45. Those over 45 were to be held by the executors of the estate and permitted to "as far as practicable enjoy the fruits of their labor" and in their old age "kindly treated and provided for comfortably. Younger slaves were freed at 25 or 28, while children over two years old born to mothers not yet 25 were kept until their age of

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[32]White Memoirs, p. 8.

manumission. This partial manumission with its age stipulations was regulated by Maryland law which stipulated that no slave over 45 years old nor under 25 was to be freed. This was to prevent freed slaves from being public charges. It was believed that a slave over 45 or under 25 could not support themselves.[33]

General Charles Carnan Ridgely's will listed 312 slaves worth $40,281.50. Of this number 89 were freed according to the terms of the will, which indicates how large a percentage of his slave force were either children, young adults or elderly. A listing of the first 15 slaves and their monetary values follows:

1.	Bill Johnson, Sr.	$300.00
2.	John Johnson	$300.00
3.	Tom Washington	$300.00
4.	Ben Claggett	$ 25.00
5.	Bill Johnson, Jr.	$200.00
6.	Lucy Johnson	$200.00
7.	Anny Potter	$200.00
8.	Lyby Green	$200.00
9.	Tom Johnson (little)	$ 5.00
10.	Sarah Johnson	$150.00
11.	John Johnson (ditto)	$ 5.00
12.	Mary Johnson (ditto)	$ 5.00
13.	Jim Fell	$ 50.00
14.	Bill Goodwin	$ 50.00
15.	Jake Derry	$225.00

Not all of Ridgely's slaves had last names; some were listed as follows:

60.	Sheredine	$175.00
61.	Rezin	$300.00
62.	Joe	$ 20.00

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[33] Brackett, Jeffrey R. The Negro In Maryland (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press) 1889, pp. 149-164; Gregory, p.3; Last Will and Testament of Charles Carnan Ridgely, Hampton National Historic Site.

63.	Bill Nevitt	$ 50.00
64.	Abram	$300.00
65.	Harford Harry	$300.00
66.	Ellick	$275.00
67.	Saul	$300.00
68.	Isaac	$300.00
69.	Yellow Henry	$250.00
70.	Emanuel (Yellow)	$300.00 [34]

There are no records of which slaves listed in Charles Carnan Ridgely's will were freed. However from the listing of monetary values for the slaves it may be assumed that those with the least cash value were those slaves too old or young to be of much work value. Also it is interesting to note that some of the slaves without last names were described by skin color or by where they had come from. Those with last names may have inherited them from slaves sold to the Ridgelys from previous slaveowners. Where slave last names came from is not entirely clear. Many slaves received their last names from their owners or overseers. Others renamed themselves usually after the founding fathers such as Washington, Franklin, Adams, or Jefferson. It is not yet known whether any of the slaves on the Hampton estate gave themselves Ridgely or Hampton as a last name.

Be that as that may, Charles Carnan Ridgely left the Hampton mansion, its adjoining land and its slaves to John Ridgely, his eldest surviving son, his eldest Charles having predeceased him. The Northampton furnace, its slaves, and other properties in Baltimore County were left to his next eldest son, David Ridgely.

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[34]C.C. Ridgely will, ibid

The rest of his property including the Baltimore properties were left to his daughters and their survivors. In all of these bequests the partial manumission of slaves was required.[35]

John Ridgely, who, despite his father's freeing of slaves, maintained slavery at the Hampton estate by bringing in his own slaves adding his wife Eliza Eichelberger Ridgely's slaves and buying more slaves as time went by. In fact John Ridgely no sooner took control of Hampton in 1829 when he started buying slaves. In the winter of that year, for example, he spent $1500 in slave purchases including $450 for a "Negro woman named Charlotte aged twenty years and her two children both boys, one aged three and the other an infant. And one negro boy named Lewis aged thirteen. All slaves for life." John Ridgely's immediate purchasing of slaves was probably motivated by his desire to replace the 89 slaves freed in 1829 by his father's will. In fact from 1829 to 1841, John Ridgely spent $21,000 in buying 72 slaves. Twenty-five of these were under 15 years. Presumably they were purchased to replace those slaves to be freed at the ages of 25 and 28.[36]

Since slavery at Hampton was not that profitable due to the varied enterprises there, most of which did not need slave labor, it is not clear why John Ridgely continued to buy slaves. It is possible that he wanted slaves for duties in the mansion house

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[35]Ridgely will, ibid.

[36]Gregory, p5; Bills of sale slaves to John Ridgely Ridgely Family Papers, Hampton National Historic Site

itself. It is also likely that Ridgely considered slaves luxury items, the possession of which indicated his wealth and prosperity. Slavery not only served an economic purpose for some owners but also a psychological purpose in that it formed the basis of a system of white supremacy. John Ridgely seems to be a slaveowner who needed slaves for his own ego.

Still in the years between 1829 and 1864 the work force at Hampton was far more varied than before. Slaves, free blacks and whites worked side by side harvesting wheat oats, rye, and hay; killing and salting hogs and cattle, cutting wood, milking cows, and performing domestic services. Whites were favored for the more skilled jobs such as miller, wheelwright, and overseer. However for the more menial jobs white hires were paid the same as free black hires. The free blacks hired by Ridgely were in many cases the slaves freed by the provisions of Charles Carnan Ridgely's will. For them it was probably less of a major change in their lives to continue to work on the estate for wages. Also John Ridgely may have preferred to hire free blacks who were already familiar with the estate since they had been slaves there. As earlier, slaves were paid in cash or provisions for overtime work.[37]

Managing such a diverse work force required a mix of paternalism and firmness. For example as a work incentive slave children every Christmas were given gifts by Eliza

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[37]Gregory, pp. 5-8.

E. Ridgely, the mistress of the estate from 1829 to 1867. These gifts ranged from dolls, musical instruments, or toy animals. During other holidays slave children were allowed to share in the master's holiday feasts. Adult slaves were still paid for overtime work. This was still a prized work incentive. The weekly church services sponsored by the Ridgely's were used to control slaves since the sermons emphasized submission to authority. Also the Ridgely children often would instruct the younger slaves on how to behave themselves around whites. Slave children who misbehaved over the year were deprived of gifts at Christmas. There seemed to be good relationships between the slaves who worked at the Hampton mansion house and the white children there, however.[38]

Still, controlling the Hampton slave population in the years just preceding the Civil War was not easy. Those slaves governed by the provisions of Charles C. Ridgely's will were usually impatient to be freed under its terms. The closer they came to freedom the harder it was for them to tolerate slavery. The presence of so many free black workers at Hampton only whetted the about-to-be freed slaves' appetites for freedom. As for those slaves belonging directly to John Ridgely, their lot must have been frustrating since they could not even hope for freedom. As a result slaves at Hampton continued to run away even after General Ridgely's will went into effect in 1829.

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[38]Gregory, pp. 5-7; Eliza E. Ridgely diary, Hampton National Historic Site; White, Memoirs, p.9.

For example, In 1842 John Ridgely offered $100 for an escaped slave, while in 1845 he paid $50 for the return "of Negro James Frisby." John Ridgely was persistent in his pursuit of runaways as seen by his giving his overseer Nelson Cooper in 1852 the power of attorney "to reclaim, seize, and arrest. . . . " John Hawkins, a slave who ran away in 1845. Ridgely's runaway problems continued during the Civil War as he paid $441.80 between 1861 and 1863 for the return of escaped slaves.[39]

Despite the fact that they employed free black labor after 1829, the Ridgely's suspected free blacks of encouraging and harboring runaways and supported throughout the ante-bellum era efforts to resettle Maryland's free blacks in Africa and elsewhere. Ridgely was not alone in this sentiment. Slaveowners throughout the state called for the closer regulation of Maryland's free black population which by 1860 had grown to 83,942, just 3,247 less than the slave population. The presence of so many free blacks undermined the slave system in Maryland so in 1860 the state legislature passed a bill outlawing manumission by will. The legislature also considered legislation expelling free blacks from the state but never passed such a bill. Instead it passed laws making black vagrancy illegal, establishing apprenticeship programs for young black workers, and restricting the acquisition of property by free blacks.

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[39]Gregory, p. 9.

Also free blacks had to carry papers attesting to their freedom at all times lest they be put returned to their former masters or sold back into slavery. For example, one of Charles Carnan Ridgely slaves "Polly" received her certificate of freedom eleven years after she was to be freed under the terms of the 1829 will, indicating that John Ridgely occasionally was lax in enforcing the manumission provisions of the will. Now named Mary Jones, "Polly" had a certificate stating her height, age, and skin color to indicate that she was legally free.[40]

Like most Marylanders, the Ridgley's position on the Civil war was equivocal. Though most Maryland planters sympathized with the South their economic survival depended on remaining in the North since most of their crops were now produced for Northern markets. The Ridgelys with their diversified holdings and crop production were no different. John Ridgely was a supporter of the South but kept his opinions mostly to himself. His son Charles Ridgely joined the Baltimore County Cavalry a rebel group quickly put out of business by the federal government. Young Ridgely escaped prosecution through his business and political influence and retired to the Hampton mansion where he kept a low profile for the rest of the war.[41]

Although during the civil war the slave population at the Hampton estate had been much reduced and those left tightly controlled by the Ridgely's carrot and stick techniques, some

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[40]Gregory, pp. 9-11.

[41]Gregory, Ibid.

members of the family still feared their slaves. For example Eliza Ridgely, John Ridgely's wife so feared a night revolt of slaves that she had trouble sleeping. This indicates the refusal of slaves on the Hampton estate during the Civil War to go along completely with their bondage. With the continuing emancipation of Charles Carnan Ridgely's slaves, the presence of free blacks at Hampton and Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation fresh in slaves' minds, it was hard for slavery to exist at Hampton as it had in the ante-bellum years. Tension between slave and free was a constant.[42]

The Civil War was not as economically traumatic to the Ridgelys as it was to slave owners elsewhere. By the 1860's slavery had become economically superfluous at Hampton, since free labor hired seasonally and according to current economic conditions was far more profitable than a permanent slave force which had to be cared for constantly regardless of the economic need for them. Since Charles Carnan Ridgely's will provided for the continual freeing of the Hampton slaves, the Maryland Emancipation Act of 1864 was not such a jolt to the Ridgelys. The slaves freed by that law were soon rehired by John Ridgely as seasonal laborers.[43]

After the Civil War the Ridgelys used free white and black labor at their Hampton estate. They also started renting out portions of the estate to tenant farmers who in exchange for

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[42]Gregory, ibid.

[43]Gregory, pp. 11-16.

use of the land, fertilizer, and livestock received a share of the crop. Most of Hampton's sharecroppers were white as John Ridgely and his successors believed that whites were more competent and reliable farmers. They did not want to be totally dependent on black labor so they searched for white sharecroppers when they could. There was only one black a Sheridan, listed as a tenant at Hampton. Also one of the Ridgely's ex-slaves, a John Humphrey did become a farm overseer the highest position held by a black at Hampton. Despite these advances, it is likely that the status of free blacks at Hampton did not change much during the immediate post-Civil War period.[44]

Of course black servants were an integral part of life at Hampton. Many remained there even after they were freed by General Ridgely's will or by the Civil War. One of the most cherished of these blacks was Nancy Davis who was so highly thought of that she was buried in the Ridgely family plot. She was born Nancy Brown in 1830 and was the daughter of Ambrose Brown who belonged to General Ridgely. As such she came under the terms of his will. She was inherited by Sophia Ridgely Howard and then when freed under the terms of the will came to Hampton where she married Lewis Davis, a coachman. She remained a faithful servant of the Ridgelys until 1908 when she died in Baltimore at the house of a granddaughter of John Ridgely. Unfortunately she died childless. According to James Howard a Ridgely descendant Nancy Davis was "very observant and

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[44]Gregory, Ibid.

ready and witty and when she pleases can put on the stately manners of a dutchess." Another esteemed servant was Anne Williams who spent her entire life slave and free on the Hampton estate. While still a slave she married a free black Jack Williams in the great hall of the Hampton mansion. She did mostly nursing and cooking duties at Hampton. According to James Howard:

> "Anne was one of the best nurses I have ever seen and to the instincts of lady she joined the qualities of a quiet manner . . . and seemed to know exactly what to do and how to do it whenever any change was necessary in the sick chamber She was also an excellent cook and good housekeeper and had the art of preparing nice little things in such a way that even a sick person was tempted even against his will to eat.

Unfortunately Anne Williams became an invalid early on and died in the 1880's. Such was the esteem in which she was held that the entire Ridgely family came to her funeral.[45]

Blacks worked at Hampton all during the twentieth century until the property was turned over to the National Park Service in 1948. As time went by in the late 19th and 20th centuries, the Hampton estate became smaller and smaller due to suburban development and the declining fortunes of the Ridgely family. As the estate shrunk to become little more than the mansion and its adjoining land, black farm laborers or tenants became few and far between. Still, those blacks left at Hampton performed duties vital to the estate's functioning such as blacksmithing, woodworking, and personal service work around the mansion.[46]

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[45]Howard, "A History of the Ridgelys" pp. 132-34.

[46] Hastings, A Guidebook To The Hampton National Site pp. 19-25; Interview with John Ridgely III, August 23, 1990.

Of course not all those blacks freed under the terms of Charles Carnan Ridgely's will or by the Civil War stayed at Hampton to work. Many left the estate and quite a few migrated to the Towsontown (later Towson) Maryland area. There they established the community of East Towson. This community got its start in September 1853, when a black man, Daniel Harris purchased one and a quarter acre from Benjamin Payne for $187.50. While it is not directly known whether Mr. Harris was a former Hampton slave it is likely that he was. It is believed that most of the early residents of East Towson came from the Hampton estate.[47]

For the next century and a half the small black community of East Towson coexisted uneasily with a very racist Baltimore county power structure that preferred its blacks to be little seen and less heard. As a result many black Baltimore county residents left the county for Baltimore city or moved out of state. Presumably many of these emigrants were descendants of the Hampton slaves. It will take a great deal more research and detective work to track down these Hampton descendants as East Towson, today much reduced due to commercial encroachment and county neglect, has lost most of its population.

Blacks were an integral part of the Hampton story. Without their slave and later paid labor it is doubtful that the Hampton estate would have been as important as it turned out to be in the 18th and 19th century. Although The Hampton estate

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[47]Baltimore Evening Sun, October 26, 1977.

in the late 19th and early 20th centuries produced crops and goods not necessarily dependent on slave labor, it was the Ridgely's production of tobacco in the early 18th century which did require slave labor that provided them with the resources they needed to buy their extensive land and commercial holdings in Baltimore county and city. Slaves built the Hampton mansion itself, provided the bulk of the work force at the Northampton furnace, doing most of the dirty and dangerous jobs, did most of the personal service work at the mansion itself, and were the backbone of Hampton's large labor force. Without the corn, hay, wheat, hogs, shoes, grain meal, and horses cultivated, raised, and harvested by slaves Hampton would not have existed. Even after slavery at hampton began to die out after Charles Carnan Ridgely's death in 1829, free black workers were still an integral part of Hampton's work force. Only as the 19th century turned to the 20th century did the presence of blacks at Hampton diminish an even then there were still blacks in important and meaningful positions at Hampton. Though not heretofore documented or told, the lives and contributions of blacks at the Hampton National Historic Site is a story worthy of notice and pride.

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M E M O R A N D U M

TO: John W. Bond, Chief, Resource Planning and Preservation Division, Cultural Resource Management Department, National Park Service, Mid-Atlantic Region

FROM: Dr. Hayward Farrar , Assistant Professor, University of Maryland Eastern Shore

DATE: February 19, 1991

RE: Final Hampton report.

1. Enclosed is the final Hampton report. I regret the delay in returning it to you but the my illness and the press of classes, committees, student advising here at the University delayed the completion of this report. Still it has reached you in February as you requested.