

## **A MARYLAND MYSTERY: JOHNS HOPKINS, THE CENSUS OF 1850, AND SLAVERY**

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### **Abstract**

In 2020, scholars uncovered an 1850 census form that enumerated a group of four enslaved men at the summer estate of Johns Hopkins, Maryland's most famous philanthropist and founder of the renowned university and hospital that bear his name. This census record of enslaved people associated with Johns Hopkins, a birthright Quaker and reputed abolitionist, was a puzzling discovery. Although Hopkins lived in Maryland his entire life, and it is well known that he descended from slave-owning tobacco planters based in Anne Arundel County, he has never before been connected with the institution of slavery so directly. Did Johns Hopkins own the enslaved men? Did he employ them? Are there other explanations that should be considered? This paper takes a closer look at this surprising document, at the history of the United States population census, and at Johns Hopkins' unique life as a merchant, banker, investor and practicing Quaker. It introduces and scrutinizes four possible clusters of explanations for the presence of the men at Hopkins' summer residence near Baltimore City during the summer of 1850.

**Keywords:** Johns Hopkins, slavery, census, Quaker, Baltimore, Maryland.

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## INTRODUCTION

Elbridge Gerry Hall arrived at the summertime residence of Johns Hopkins on a sweltering August day in 1850. Hall was there on official business, as the United States census taker for the Second District of Baltimore County, Maryland. At the time, Hopkins – the wealthy merchant, financier and capitalist – was reconstructing and expanding his country estate, known as Clifton and located just beyond the northeast limits of the city of Baltimore. As Hall’s census records would later reveal, Clifton was a beehive of activity. In addition to Johns, his sister, and his niece, twenty-nine other free individuals lived at the estate. There were gardeners and carpenters, laborers and servants, and the children of many of these people, all living together in a compound-like setting.<sup>1</sup> During the summer of 1850, these regular residents were joined by a small army of architects, artisans, contractors, and itinerant construction workers who were tasked with transforming Clifton from a stately Georgian home and ample but unremarkable farm into a sumptuous Italianate mansion surrounded by manicured grounds, an artificial lake, fruit orchards, greenhouses for oranges and grapes, an immense vegetable garden, and dozens of marble statuarys.<sup>2</sup>

Also, among the many residents that Hall recorded living at Clifton in 1850 were four men he itemized on a special census form for enslaved people. The only demographic information that he listed for each man was age – 50, 45, 25, and 18 years – and “colour.” All were categorized “B” for Black.<sup>3</sup> Who were the men that Hall listed on the 1850 slave schedule, and what were they doing at the estate of a wealthy businessman and member of the Society of Friends? More generally, how should antebellum census documents and slave schedule forms be interpreted?

SCHEDULE 2.—Slave Inhabitants in the 2<sup>d</sup> District in the County of Baltimore State  
of Maryland, enumerated by me, on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of Sept, 1850. Elbridge G. Hall Ass't Marshal.

NAMES OF SLAVE OWNERS.	Number of Slaves.	DESCRIPTION.				Fugitives from the State.	Number manumitted.	Deaf & dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.			NAMES OF SLAVE OWNERS.	Number of Slaves.	DESCRIPTION.				Fugitives from the State.	Number manumitted.	Deaf & dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.
		Age.	Sex.	Colour.	Age.								Sex.	Colour.					
	1	42	F	B					31	31	James Lester	1	40	F	B			31	
	1	30	F	B					32	32		1	18	F	B			32	
	1	24	F	B					33	33	Johns Hopkins	1	45	M	B			33	
	1	18	F	B					34	34		1	50	M	B			34	
	1	7	F	B					35	35		1	25	M	B			35	
	1	7	M	B					36	36		1	18	M	B			36	

**Figure 1:** Portion of 1850 Census Slave Schedule for Clifton. Hopkins’ name is recorded adjacent to four enslaved men; Elbridge G. Hall is the Assistant Marshal. Source: United States Census (Slave Schedule), 2<sup>nd</sup> District of Baltimore County, Maryland, August 14, 1850.

To attempt to answer these questions, this essay will examine the history of the seventh U.S. census, of the Clifton estate, and of Hopkins’ eventful life and Quaker background. We conclude that it is improbable that Johns Hopkins himself owned the group of four men, whom we hereafter refer to as the Clifton Four. Although his business dealings often brought him into contact with slaveholders and enslaved people, and one of his siblings owned at least six slaves, we have found no proof that Johns Hopkins ever personally owned another human being, unless it was for the purpose of freeing that

person. It is more likely that the men were employed temporarily at Clifton during a period of major renovation to the estate. It is also possible that the men were misenumerated as slaves when they were, in fact, free Black laborers.

## **THE CENSUS REFORM OF 1850**

A census is a full count of a population on a given date within a defined place – one day in the life of a territory and its people.<sup>4</sup> Since 1790, the decennial American census has attempted to enumerate every person living in the United States at his or her “usual place of abode,” defined as the location where the individual lives or sleeps most of the time. To maximize the consistency and comparability of many enumerations across dispersed geographic areas, every census employs a reference date, the exact day to which the information collected refers. The reference date for the 1850 census was the first day of June. “Who lived in this dwelling or at this property on June 1, 1850?” was the question asked at every home, apartment, hotel, mansion house, hospital, school, prison, plantation, or estate, regardless of whether the census taker – also known as a field marshal or assistant marshal – arrived on June 1st of the census year, on any other day of the same year, or even sometime during the following year as occasionally happened.

From 1790 to 1840, the census enumeration method was simple and straightforward. Resident heads of free households, who could be property owners or tenants, were recorded by name. All other individuals in each household were represented as counts (ticks or numbers) in pre-set categories, defined in varying ways over the years but always in a manner that would allow the census taker to separate those who were free from those who were enslaved and those who were white from those who were Black, “colored,” or American Indian. These early censuses made no claims about the ownership of enslaved people as the singular goal was to record the full population of the United States by residence location as mandated by the Constitution in order to apportion legislative districts and taxes.

Significant modifications to the U.S. census forms were undertaken in 1850 that altered the way the government counted free and enslaved residents, and they were subject to debate and revision that resulted in some confusion regarding the final forms and instructions for census takers.<sup>5</sup> In that year, the Census Board, a new federal entity created in 1849 and led by Joseph Kennedy, a lawyer and journalist from Pennsylvania with a knack for numbers, proposed an enlargement of the census to include six new and distinct census forms.<sup>6</sup> Two of these instruments would cover the population count while the other four were designed to collect economic and social statistics.

Joseph Kennedy recommended other important changes to the census in 1850. For the first time, the census would record the name of every free resident of the United States along with certain information about each individual - age, sex, race, profession, place of birth, and even “whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper or convict.” This crucial modification meant that the new census significantly expanded the amount of information gathered in order to allow for a finer degree of analysis at the level of households *and* individuals.

Kennedy also proposed changing the way slaves were enumerated in the census. Beginning in 1850, enslaved people would be recorded separately from other persons living in a specific household or on a given property. Schedule One, known as the “free inhabitant census,” would record all free residents regardless of race or national origin, while Schedule Two, known as the “slave inhabitant census” or simply the “slave schedule,” would record all enslaved residents, along with a smaller set of identifying

details – age, sex, color, occupation, if a fugitive or manumitted, and “whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.”

As with Schedule One, on Schedule Two Kennedy intended for census takers to record the name of every slave and to collect individual-level data about each person. But when the census reforms were brought before Congress, pro-slavery politicians blocked this proposal. Some legislators contended, disingenuously, that it would be too burdensome to require slave masters on large plantations to recall the names of all their human property. “There is not a man in the South owning a hundred negroes who knows scarcely any more of the names of the slave children than I do,” exclaimed Alabama Senator Jeremiah Clemens.<sup>7</sup>

In the end, the opposition won the day, and the requirement to list the names of enslaved people was dropped from the Census Act of 1850. All free residents would be listed by name on Schedule One as proposed; but on Schedule Two, enslaved people would be listed only by sex and age, anonymizing the entire unfree population of the United States and eliminating any possibility of cross-referencing information collected on Schedule Two with the information collected on Schedule One for the same household.

The final version of the Schedule Two instrument for the enumeration of enslaved people also included a column titled “Names of Slave Owners.” Again, Southern Congressmen, who opposed many of the other census reforms, challenged this detail of the new form. During the House debate, Representative Joseph A. Woodward, a Democrat from South Carolina, argued that listing the names of slaveholders in the census was obviously designed “to procure and circulate over the country themes for abolition declamation.”<sup>8</sup> Woodward’s fellow House members assured him, however, that individual names and records would not be made public, and thus he need not worry that the information would be exploited by anti-slavery crusaders.<sup>9</sup>

The title of the column was thus retained, but the wording was misleading. What if the head of the household did not own the enslaved residents, which was a frequent reality throughout Maryland and especially in urban areas like Baltimore? To address this possibility, the census of 1850 included the following instructions for the completion of the slave schedule form:

The person in whose family, or on whose plantation, the slave is found to be employed, is to be considered the owner – *the principal object being to get the number of enslaved people, and not that of masters or owners* (emphasis added).<sup>10</sup>

As this guidance makes clear, the enumerators were directed to record the name of the head of the family or the owner of the property on Schedule Two and not to focus on the legal or occupational relationship between that person and the enslaved tenants. In other words, a person listed as a “slave owner” could be a landlord or an employer – or even a caretaker, warden, or trustee – rather than the titleholder of the resident slaves. Again, the primary goal was to “get the number of enslaved people” not to establish a precise ownership linkage to specific “masters or owners.”

The Census Act of 1850 was passed by Congress on May 23<sup>rd</sup>, and preparations for the collection of data commenced immediately. Of paramount importance was the selection, training, and certification of over three thousand assistant census marshals who would carry out the painstaking work of visiting every place of residence in the United States. For the Second District of Baltimore County, where Clifton was located, that person was a 33-year-old Catholic bachelor named Elbridge Gerry Hall.<sup>11</sup>

## THE CLIFTON ESTATE AT MID-CENTURY

Johns Hopkins, who normally lived and worked in Baltimore City, purchased Clifton in 1841 and used it as his summer residence until he died on Christmas Eve 1873. The estate was located less than four miles from downtown Baltimore, convenient for a man who liked to be near his banks, warehouses, investment properties, and other business interests. The original mansion house was built in 1802 in the Georgian style by Baltimore merchant and veteran of the War of 1812, Henry Thompson.<sup>12</sup> After Thompson's death, the property passed briefly into the hands of other owners and was eventually put up for auction. Hopkins, who knew a good deal when he saw one, snapped it up. Tax records from 1841 note that the property was 166 acres in size and that the only "taxable" features were some cows and horses.<sup>13</sup> Over the next few years, Hopkins acquired land adjacent to Clifton that added more than 150 acres to the estate.<sup>14</sup> By the mid-1840s he was prepared to embark on a full-scale remodeling and enlargement of the main house as well as an extensive makeover of the vast grounds.

For the structural and design improvements, Johns Hopkins hired the architect team of John Rudolph Niernsee and James Crawford Neilson. Hopkins was one of the first clients of the Niernsee & Neilson firm, which opened in 1848.<sup>15</sup> To the original Thompson house at Clifton, Niernsee & Neilson added a third floor "appropriated for the use of the servants," a room on the north side, extensions to both the east and west wings, an arcade porch, and a "prospect tower" from which Hopkins enjoyed a panoramic view of the surrounding countryside, the Chesapeake Bay, and the Baltimore cityscape.<sup>16</sup>



**Figure 2:** *Clifton Mansion, Baltimore, Maryland, 2021. Source: S. Van Morgan.*

Meanwhile, a skilled team of gardeners designed and directed the landscaping improvements. William Waddell, "an old and experienced horticulturalist," served as lead landscaper as well as the estate manager in 1850.<sup>17</sup> Waddell was uniquely qualified to realize Johns Hopkins' vision for the grounds at Clifton. Trained in Glasgow, he had been brought to the United States from Scotland in 1837 to work for John Ridgely, proprietor of the nearby Hampton estate.<sup>18</sup> While at Hampton, Waddell worked with Eliza Ridgely, John Ridgely's wife, in designing ornamental gardens, building conservatories, and cultivating exotic plants. In 1841, he went to work for Ridgely's son-in-law Henry Banning Chew at Epsom farm,

adjacent to Hampton, where he also served as farm manager.<sup>19</sup> Two other gardeners were employed by Johns Hopkins and lived at Clifton in 1850 – Robert Lucas and William Saunders (see appendix).<sup>20</sup>

Other residents at Clifton on June 1, 1850 included Chloe Dodson, a Black servant in Waddell's household; Johns' sister Hannah Hopkins, who managed his domestic affairs until her death in 1868; and a favorite niece, Jane Janney, the daughter of Hopkins' sister Sarah Hopkins Janney.<sup>21</sup> Just nineteen at the time, Jane was at Clifton to support her Aunt Hannah, who suffered from poor health.<sup>22</sup> Finally, four Irish men, described only as "laborers" on the census, also lived at Clifton during the summer of 1850.

Between 1848 and 1852, Johns Hopkins transformed Clifton, which he hoped would become the permanent campus of his university, into a personal retreat and garden oasis, and the summer of 1850 would have been the peak of the remodeling and landscaping activity. After the improvements were complete, the estate was described by the *Baltimore Sun* as "one of the most elegant, extensive and beautiful villas in this country."<sup>23</sup> Indeed, Clifton exhibited a degree of material comfort uncommon among Quakers. Johns, however, was not a common Quaker.

### **JOHNS HOPKINS (1795-1873)**

Johns Hopkins was born thirty-five miles south of Baltimore, in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, on May 19, 1795. His father, Samuel Hopkins, was a member of the Religious Society of Friends (aka Quakers) as well as the owner of a tobacco plantation and dwelling known as White's Hall located at the headwaters of the South River, not far from the road that led from Annapolis to Washington, DC. His mother Hannah Hopkins, née Janney, was the daughter of a prominent family of Virginia Quakers.

Samuel and Hannah Hopkins were devout Friends. He became an elder of the Indian Spring Monthly Meeting and she a minister, and like most Quakers of the period, they eschewed slavery. That had not always been true for the Hopkins family, which had prospered in the western Chesapeake region of Maryland since the mid-1600s. Johns' great-great-grandfather and great-grandfather, both named Gerard Hopkins, owned enslaved people of African birth or descent. And like other planters throughout colonial America, they also employed white indentured servants.<sup>24</sup>

In 1778, however, the Baltimore Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, which oversaw the Hopkins' family's congregation, "called for the expulsion of all owners of slaves from the Society without unnecessary delay."<sup>25</sup> Quakers had to free their enslaved laborers – albeit gradually – or face disownment. On July 25, 1778, Johns' grandfather filed a deed of manumission with the Anne Arundel County Court liberating nine people immediately and thirty-three others after they reached the ages of twenty-one for women and twenty-five for men. It would take almost a quarter century to achieve, but by the time Johns Hopkins was a toddler, all of his family's manumitted laborers had been set free.<sup>26</sup>

Hopkins was not destined to remain at White's Hall. In 1812, at the age of seventeen, he moved to Baltimore to apprentice in the "counting room" of his Uncle Gerard T. Hopkins' grocery store, located in the heart of Baltimore's busy harbor district. In those days, before widespread banking was available, merchants often functioned as lending agents. They extended credit and loans to customers to enable them to purchase items on installment in exchange for fees or interest payments. Commission merchants, as they were known, flourished in Baltimore where a steady flow of goods entered the port on schooners and could be easily transferred to nearby shops. From there, the goods were sold directly to local clients or loaded onto Conestoga wagons for sale throughout the Upper South.



**Figure 3:** Portrait of Johns Hopkins, oil on canvas, c. 1832 by Alfred Jacob Miller. Source: Photo courtesy of the Office of Cultural Properties, The Sheridan Libraries, Johns Hopkins University.

Hopkins took to the commission merchant business like a fish to water. In 1814, his Uncle Gerard, who had great confidence in his bright young nephew, left Johns in charge of the store while he traveled west on a Quaker mission to Ohio.<sup>27</sup> Johns not only held the shop together, he also turned a healthy profit despite ongoing war with the British and a shipping blockade that disrupted foreign trade. Before long, Johns was a prosperous merchant in his own right, as proprietor of the lucrative grocery firm Hopkins Brothers, which launched in 1824. He would eventually amass an enormous fortune not only in commerce but also as an investor, as a landlord, and as director of the Merchant's Bank. His wealth helped underwrite the great industrial boom in Baltimore during the nineteenth century, provided critical capital for companies like the B&O Railroad, and ultimately transformed higher education and health care in Maryland.

### **QUAKERISM & ABOLITIONISM**

The Society of Friends was the first Christian denomination in America to consider enslavement a crime against humanity – indeed a crime against God – and many Quakers became recognized anti-slavery



activists, including members of John Hopkins' family. His father Samuel Hopkins and uncle Gerard T. Hopkins, together with another relative, Elisha Tyson, were founding members of the Maryland Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery.<sup>28</sup> Gerard also served as leader of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, which included at the time all congregations in Maryland and parts of Northern Virginia. In this role, he supported early efforts to provide educational opportunities to the African American community in Baltimore and corresponded with Thomas Jefferson about the evils of the transatlantic slave trade.<sup>29</sup>

Johns Hopkins' own views on slavery and his relationship to Quakerism are difficult to decipher. No written statements by him about slavery are known to exist, and few Quaker records that discuss his deeds have survived. In 1826, he was disowned by the Baltimore Meeting, along with his brother Mahlon, for "trading in distilled spirituous liquors" in violation of Quaker temperance rules. How exactly this affected Johns' participation in the Meeting, however, is unclear.

Just two years later, the Society of Friends split into rival factions, known as Hicksite and Orthodox, with most of the Hopkins family joining the Orthodox division. Johns' membership may have been restored at this time, or he may have continued as a practicing Quaker without reinstatement. Disownment, despite the apparent finality of the term, only barred members from taking part in business activities but not from attending meetings for worship. "Disorderly" Quakers were encouraged to atone for their errors and rejoin the Society as full members. Unfortunately, the men's records of the Baltimore's Orthodox Meeting for this period, which may have included information about Johns' reinstatement, were destroyed by fire.<sup>30</sup>

Nevertheless, there are many indications that Hopkins associated with the Orthodox Meeting of Friends in Baltimore after 1828 and throughout the remainder of his life. He was joined there by his sisters and his mother, Hannah, who upon her death in 1846 was described as a respected minister in the congregation. He contributed heavily to the building fund that was used in 1868 to construct a new meeting house at the corner of Eutaw and Monument Streets where, according to the *Baltimore Sun*, Johns had "a seat which he generally occupied at all the set times of service." And when Johns died in 1873, his funeral was "conducted in accordance with the forms of the Society of Friends." Later, in 1888, he was listed as a member in good standing in official Quaker record books.<sup>31</sup>

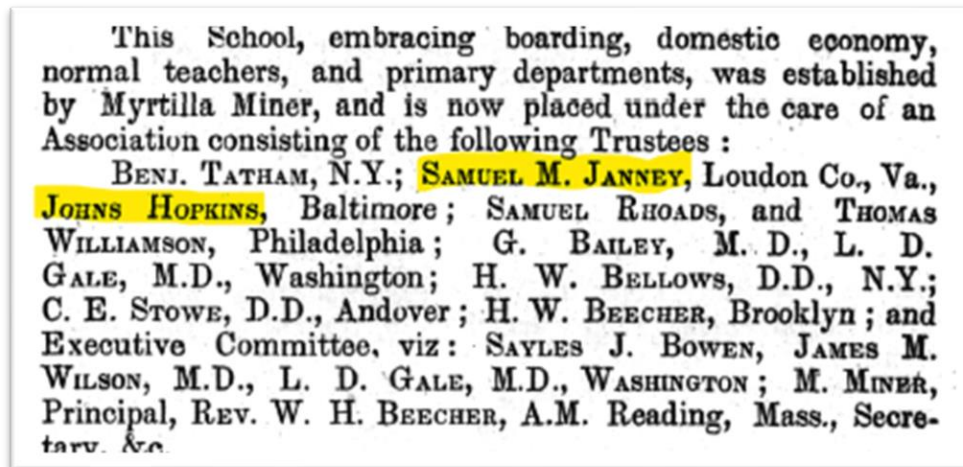
In his professional life, Johns Hopkins surrounded himself with "weighty" Baltimore Quakers who participated in anti-slavery and other progressive causes. This network included several of his close business associates such as Francis T. King, a fellow merchant, and Miles White, a real estate and property developer. Many of these men, including Francis White (the son of Miles White) and Galloway Cheston, attended the Eutaw Street Meeting and became initial trustees of Hopkins' charities.

Johns Hopkins' immediate family and close circle of business colleagues, however, were not united in rejecting slavery or embracing Quakerism. His younger brother Samuel Hopkins, Jr., owned enslaved people who he acquired through his marriage to Lavinia Jolliffe in 1834 and later in 1846 after her father passed away (see below). Two of Johns' principal partners in Hopkins Brothers, James Ross and Henry D. Harvey, were not Quakers. And several of his professional associates and friends kept slaves, including Thomas Swann, who served as president of the B&O from 1848 to 1853 and later enjoyed a prolific political career as mayor of Baltimore, governor of Maryland, and member of Congress. Other business partners of Hopkins, like John Work Garrett, did not personally own slaves but at times voiced their support for the institution of slavery.<sup>32</sup>

Johns Hopkins' attitudes toward slavery appear to have diverged from those of Swann and Garrett. Although he was never a radical abolitionist, there is evidence that Hopkins disapproved of slavery and



engaged in efforts to hasten its demise. Most importantly, in the mid-1850s, Hopkins served alongside well-known abolitionists Henry Ward Beecher, Thomas Williamson, Samuel M. Janney, and Calvin Ellis Stowe (husband of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* author Harriet Beecher Stowe) as a trustee of the Normal School for Colored Girls in Washington, D.C. The school, which was founded in 1851 by Myrtilla Miner, became the target of significant hostility from those in the local community.<sup>33</sup> The mayor of Washington, Walter Lenox, vehemently opposed the school. On May 13, 1857, he published a letter in the *Washington Union*, castigating Johns Hopkins and his fellow trustees for their “misguided philanthropy” that would convert the District of Columbia into the “headquarters of ‘slavery agitation’ from which it may deal forth in every direction its treasonable blows.”<sup>34</sup>



This School, embracing boarding, domestic economy, normal teachers, and primary departments, was established by Myrtilla Miner, and is now placed under the care of an Association consisting of the following Trustees :

BENJ. TATHAM, N.Y.; SAMUEL M. JANNEY, Loudon Co., Va.,  
 JOHNS HOPKINS, Baltimore; SAMUEL RHOADS, and THOMAS  
 WILLIAMSON, Philadelphia; G. BAILEY, M. D., L. D.  
 GALE, M.D., Washington; H. W. BELLOWES, D.D., N.Y.;  
 C. E. STOWE, D.D., Andover; H. W. BEECHER, Brooklyn; and  
 Executive Committee, viz: SAYLES J. BOWEN, JAMES M.  
 WILSON, M.D., L. D. GALE, M.D., WASHINGTON; M. MINER,  
 Principal, REV. W. H. BEECHER, A.M. Reading, Mass., Secre-  
 tary. &c.

**Figure 4:** Portion of 1856 circular for the Normal School for Colored Girls in Washington, DC. Johns Hopkins, and his cousin, the Quaker antislavery activist, Samuel M. Janney, are listed as trustees. Source: Myrtilla Miner Papers, Library of Congress.

Little else is known of Hopkins’ political activities or party affiliations. He donated on one occasion to the Maryland Colonization Society, and his friendship with Thomas Swann briefly pulled him into an association with the Know-Nothing Party in 1856.<sup>35</sup> But when the Know-Nothings collapsed and the Civil War approached, Hopkins aligned himself with the party of Lincoln and took up the cause of immediate emancipation. In September of 1863, he hosted a dinner at Clifton for Salmon P. Chase, Lincoln’s Secretary of the Treasury, and several local businessmen. Chase commented after the gathering that “the guests were intelligent and substantial men, constituting, as Mr. Hopkins said, the best part of the Baltimore merchants and capitalists.” Moreover, they were all “earnest Union men” and “nearly all, if not all, decided Emancipationists.”<sup>36</sup>

Following his death in 1873, an obituary in the *Baltimore American* detailed Johns Hopkins’ beliefs and temperament. “Although Mr. Hopkins was always too greatly engrossed in business to pay much attention to politics,” the paper wrote, “he had strong political convictions. He was an anti-slavery man all his life.”<sup>37</sup> And just eight months before his final illness, Hopkins was celebrated by the African American community in Baltimore for his gift of \$7 million to establish a university, an orphanage for colored children, and a hospital that he directed to admit patients “of all races.”<sup>38</sup> In April of 1873, hundreds of Black citizens gathered at the Baltimore’s Douglass Institute to praise his progressive philanthropy. Many speakers took to the podium to celebrate Hopkins’ gifts to the city, including the Reverend J. Sella Martin, a former slave and well-known abolitionist. Martin lauded Johns Hopkins for “recognizing our race as being entitled to equal consideration and treatment with all others.”<sup>39</sup>

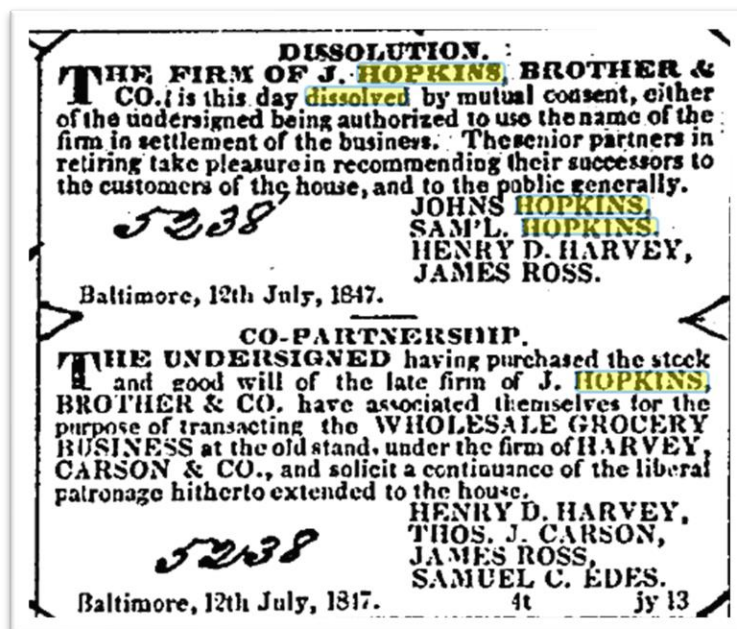
## THE 1850 CENSUS SLAVE SCHEDULE REVISITED

Returning to the 1850 slave schedule, this paper will now examine Johns Hopkins' possible relationships to the men enumerated at Clifton. We posit four possibilities: (1) direct ownership, (2) direct or indirect employment, (3) ownership for the purpose of emancipation, and (4) misenumeration.

### Explanation One: Direct Ownership

As this essay has demonstrated, the slave schedule of 1850 alone cannot be used as proof of slave ownership because the instructions for the form indicated that the column labeled "slave owners" could be used to enter the names of employers, wardens, hotel proprietors, caretakers, trustees or others. Therefore, more specific documentation is required. The clearest evidence of direct slave ownership would be found in personal papers and legal documents signed or witnessed by Johns Hopkins himself – letters, sales receipts, deeds of manumission, certificates of freedom, and wills.

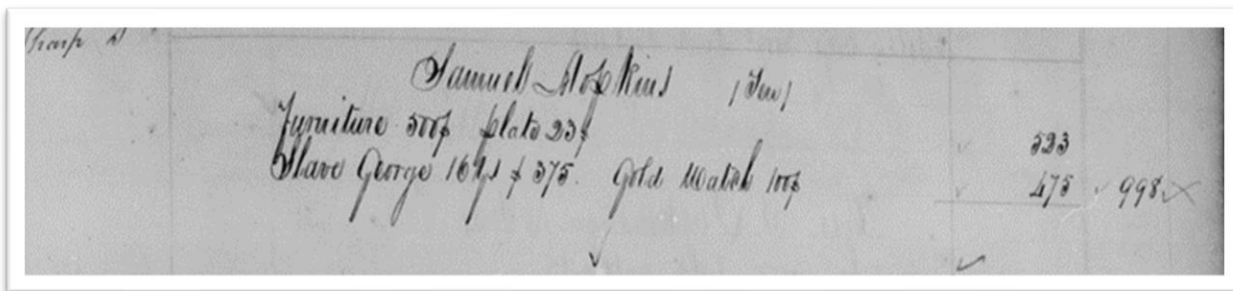
Few of Johns Hopkins' private papers were preserved, but those that do exist provide no evidence of slave ownership. No manumission deeds or related freedom papers that name Johns Hopkins have been found. Similarly, no known estate records, including those of his parents and siblings, show that he inherited slaves from them or indeed from anyone else. A lifelong bachelor, Johns was never in a position to acquire slaves through marriage. Similarly, it is unlikely that the enslaved people at Clifton in 1850 were related to Hopkins Brothers' grocery business because Johns dissolved the firm in 1847, selling all of the company's stock and goods to his former business partners.<sup>40</sup>



**Figure 5:** Notice of dissolution of Hopkins Brothers grocery firm. Source: *The American and Commercial Advertiser*, Tuesday, July 13, 1847, Baltimore, MD, page 2.

Another possibility is that the men stationed at Clifton in 1850 belonged to Johns' brother, Samuel Hopkins, Jr., and sister-in-law, Lavinia Jolliffe Hopkins, who owned at least six enslaved people between 1834 and 1864. There is precedent for this scenario. In 1840, when Samuel lived with Johns in his

Franklin Street house, one enslaved male, age 10 to 24, was recorded in the census in the same household. Tax, court and Quaker records confirm that this person was a 15-year-old boy named George.<sup>41</sup>



**Figure 6:** Notation in Baltimore tax assessment ledger for Samuel Hopkins. Samuel's property included "Slave George," 16 years old and valued at \$375. In the same ledger, Johns Hopkins is assessed taxes for \$1,660 worth of furniture, silver, horses, and a carriage but no slaves. Source: Maryland State Archives, Tax Assessor Ledger, Baltimore City, Ward 9, 1841, page 133.<sup>42</sup>

In 1846, Samuel and Lavinia Hopkins inherited three additional slaves from the estate of Lavinia's father – Nancy, who was elderly, and Margaret and Selina, both young girls. In the census slave schedule of 1850, two females appear in Samuel and Lavinia Hopkins' household, one aged eighty (almost certainly Nancy) and the other aged fourteen. The third enslaved female, either Margaret or Selina, may have been manumitted in Baltimore before 1850.

Based on this information, it seems unlikely that Samuel and Lavinia Hopkins owned the Clifton Four, unless they had acquired additional male slaves between 1846 and 1850. As of this writing, there is no evidence that they did. But one of the men could have been George, who would have been twenty-five years old in 1850 and was not enumerated with Samuel and Lavinia Hopkins at their city residence in 1850.

More than a dozen Baltimore City tax records exist for Johns Hopkins between 1834 and 1861, and none shows him paying taxes on enslaved people. Hopkins lived at Clifton only part of the year, so it is probable that records related to slave ownership at his city mansion would have materialized as they have for his brother Samuel, if Johns had, in fact, owned any slaves. Yet while the tax, court, Quaker and census records demonstrate a clear and consistent pattern of slave ownership by Samuel and Lavinia Hopkins during the three decades preceding the Civil War, no such pattern of proof exists for Johns Hopkins.

#### **Explanation Two: Employment by Johns Hopkins or Others**

A second possibility is that the Clifton Four were employed by Johns Hopkins or by someone else living or working at Clifton in 1850, such as the architects or gardeners. The employment of enslaved people as temporary laborers was exceptionally common in Maryland during the antebellum period.<sup>43</sup> Quakers were permitted to employ slaves as long as they were paid wages and the employment contributed to their future liberation and well-being.<sup>44</sup>

It is not known whether Niernsee & Neilson brought enslaved laborers to Clifton because the firm's account books from this period have not survived, but there is a possibility that they did. John Rudolph Niernsee supervised slaves in subsequent building projects, specifically when he served as head architect for the new South Carolina State House during the mid- to late-1850s.<sup>45</sup> In addition, Niernsee is

recorded in the 1860 census with seven slaves in his household in Columbia.<sup>46</sup> Both architects later joined the Confederate Army as military engineers.<sup>47</sup>

During this critical period in the evolution of the Clifton estate, construction took place not only on the main house but also on several outbuildings, including a porter's lodge, a gardener's cottage, chicken coops, a bath house, an ice house, several greenhouses, an orangery and a special grapery in which to grow Johns' prized hot house grapes.<sup>48</sup> Skilled carpenters and artisans, aided by general laborers, would have been required to build these structures. Along with toolsheds and Blacksmith shops, shelters were frequently erected at large-scale building sites to house temporary laborers.<sup>49</sup>

In the dynamic economy of mid-nineteenth century Baltimore, building sites drew from a mixed pool of labor – white and Black, free and enslaved, native and foreign born. Low- and semi-skilled wage earners were accustomed to working in the city's industries alongside motley gangs of laborers, scraping by any way they could.<sup>50</sup> This diverse class of laborers received about the same daily wage, roughly one dollar, regardless of status. Side hustles, sometimes called "extras," were also common. And while enslaved people normally had to turn their earnings over to their masters, they were often allowed to keep a percentage, as well as any proceeds from odd jobs, to cover their living expenses. Many enterprising bondspeople, including Frederick Douglass, raised money to finance their escapes from Baltimore and enslavement in this way.<sup>51</sup>

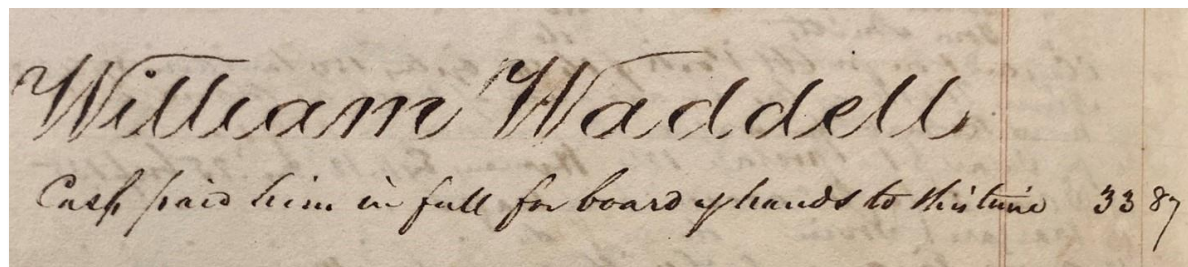
If neither Hopkins nor Niernsee & Nielson hired enslaved people to work at Clifton, some of their subcontractors may have. Several of the building companies that contributed to the work at Clifton are mentioned in a February 1852 *Baltimore Sun* article about the estate's improvements. There was James Murray, brick layer, Hamilton J. Bayley, carpenter, and George W. Starr, plasterer. Bevan & Sons supplied the stone materials for the new construction and the marble for both the interior and the exterior of the main house. These were many of the most common building trades of the period that employed temporary "mechanics" and other laborers who might also have been slaves.

It was even more common for enslaved people in antebellum Maryland to work as short-term "harvest hands," hired out by their owners to other estates or plantations for seasonal agricultural work. Such farm workers would be engaged not only in planting and harvesting crops but also in clearing land, digging ditches, and making and repairing fences, among other tasks. During the early reimagining of the Clifton grounds by Johns Hopkins and his three resident gardeners, many extra hands would have been necessary.

A self-styled "gentleman farmer," Hopkins did not grow cash crops at Clifton, but several acres were set aside for a vegetable garden, "conveniently situated, with commodious and handsome farm buildings near."<sup>52</sup> Field laborers who tended the garden and performed other grounds work were regularly engaged on the Clifton estate; this is known from family correspondence, from the testimony of those who worked there, and from subsequent censuses.<sup>53</sup> For example, in the 1870 census, conducted in August at the same time of year as the 1850 enumeration, five Black men between the ages of 26 and 40 were listed as "farm workers" at Clifton and were living with Hopkins' estate manager, Isaac Ledley.<sup>54</sup>

The estate manager in 1850, William Waddell, was accustomed to supervising slave laborers at the Ridgely and Chew estates, and he would have known many of the most capable field hands for hire in the region. The men may have come to Clifton with Waddell from a previous worksite, perhaps even from the Hampden or Epsom properties where the landscaping was similar in scale and taste to the grand, picturesque style Hopkins envisioned for Clifton. The men may have also been "borrowed" from an adjacent farm.

On large properties like Clifton, estate managers were normally responsible for hiring, housing, and supervising temporary workers. In March of 1841, for instance, William Waddell was paid \$33.87 by Henry Banning Chew for “board of hands” at Epsom farm (see Figure 7).<sup>55</sup> Waddell, who lived at Clifton year-round unlike his boss, may well have performed the same service for Johns Hopkins.



**Figure 7:** Notation in account book of Henry Banning Chew, for whom William Waddell worked as a gardener and estate manager, 1841. Source: *Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Chew Family Papers (Collection 2050), Series 7.*

### Explanation Three: Ownership or Trusteeship for the Purpose of Emancipation

Thirdly, the enslaved men may have been living at Clifton while they transitioned to freedom with Johns Hopkins’ assistance. Quakers have a long history of supporting enslaved Blacks’ efforts to become free, most famously as part of the Underground Railroad, and the Hopkins family was no exception. In 1802, Johns’ father Samuel Hopkins purchased the freedom of a man named John Joyce from Charles Carroll of Carrollton for \$200. The purpose of this transaction was to emancipate Joyce, known as Old Shoemaker John, so that he could, in turn, purchase his own enslaved family and free them.<sup>56</sup>

Johns Hopkins may have followed in his father’s footsteps. According to his 1873 obituary in the *Baltimore Sun*, Hopkins purchased a man named James Jones from a wealthy landowning family in Virginia, brought him to Baltimore, and liberated him. Jones served as a waiter and coachman for Hopkins for at least twenty years. He was also mentioned in a *Baltimore American* obituary for Johns Hopkins: “Many years ago [Hopkins] purchased a slave to make him free.” James Jones was enumerated in the 1860 and 1870 censuses for Clifton and appeared in city directories as early as 1858 as a free Black resident in Johns Hopkins’ Saratoga Street mansion.<sup>57</sup> In his will, Hopkins gave Jones a house along with \$5,000, the equivalent of about \$127,600 in today’s currency.<sup>58</sup>

Presently, the case of James Jones is the most compelling evidence that Johns Hopkins owned at least one of the four men enumerated at Clifton in 1850. His age in 1850, about thirty-one, places him close in years to the 25-year-old man enumerated by Hall at the estate. If he was, it is conceivable that the other men were part of a group of enslaved people that Hopkins was helping to liberate. Perhaps they were brought to Maryland from Virginia together, having been purchased from the Tayloe family along with James Jones. Almost all of the other enslaved people held by the Tayloes in Virginia were moved to cotton plantations in the Canebrake region of Alabama.<sup>59</sup> Those who survived the journey and then the difficult conditions on the Tayloe plantations, which were governed by brutal overseers, did not see freedom until the end of the Civil War.<sup>60</sup>

One final, related, possibility exists. Two of Johns Hopkins’ brothers-in-law, Nathaniel Crenshaw and Miles White, served as agents of the Society of Friends helping to liberate and resettle enslaved people from Virginia and North Carolina in free locations outside the South. Often these efforts involved the creation of trusts, which were legal mechanisms employed by Quakers to help enslaved people in states that restricted private manumission. White was married to Johns’ sister Margaret and Crenshaw was the

husband of Johns' sister Eliza. Did Crenshaw or White station enslaved men at Clifton on their way to freedom elsewhere? There is no proof, but it is a possibility, along with the other scenarios presented above, that must be considered.

39	Nathaniel C. Crenshaw	1	80	M	B
30	in trust to liberation	1	45	F	B
31		1	28	M	B
32		1	22	M	B
33		1	20	F	B

**Figure 8:** Portion of 1860 Census Slave Schedule for Nathaniel C. Crenshaw, Johns Hopkins' brother-in-law. The notation reads "in trust to liberation." Such notations are not included in the 1850 census. Source: United States Census (Slave Schedule), Upper Revenue District of Hanover County, Virginia, July 20, 1860.

#### Explanation Four: Observational Error & Misenumeration

Measurement errors of various kinds plagued all of the antebellum censuses, and these errors may have been more common in 1850 than ever before. The division of the census into six instruments, as proposed by Joseph Kennedy, was widely considered a mistake. "The adoption of so many schedules, whatever merits they individually have, was calculated to make the work unnecessarily cumbersome and expensive, without securing by any means greater or more certain results," wrote J.D.B. DeBow, the superintendent of the census who succeeded Kennedy, in a report published in 1853. Worse still, the division of the population count into free and enslaved forms "precluded the possibility of some very valuable comparison, and made unattainable information easily secured by another arrangement." Furthermore, in a clear dig to his predecessor, DeBow complained that "The persons selected as enumerators are often proved, by the returns, to be entirely incompetent."<sup>61</sup>

The forms completed by Elbridge Gerry Hall for Clifton illustrate some of these problems. For instance, the slave schedule for Clifton is dated Wednesday, August 14<sup>th</sup>, while the free inhabitant schedule for Clifton is dated Saturday, August 17<sup>th</sup>. Did Hall visit Clifton twice, or did he merely complete the forms on different days? Whether Hall visited once or twice, it is unknown whether Johns Hopkins was even present during the enumeration. According to the Census Act of 1850, field marshals were not required to consult with the head of the household, but rather any free white person aged twenty or older who may have been present at the property. If Hall did not speak with Johns Hopkins, or someone else with full knowledge of the estate's residents, he may have received inaccurate reports. There were at least eight white men over the age of twenty living at Clifton during the summer of 1850 whom Hall could have interviewed instead of Johns Hopkins.

These factors raise the possibility that the Black men recorded on Schedule Two of the 1850 census were misenumerated as slaves. Throughout his long business career, Johns Hopkins employed a number of free Black laborers both at his residences and at his businesses. One important example appears on



the free inhabitant census for Clifton in 1850, Chloe Dodson (whose last name was misspelled “Dotsy” by Hall).<sup>62</sup> Dodson worked for Johns Hopkins for more than twenty years as a maid and cook, and she was recognized in his will with a gift of \$1,000.<sup>63</sup>

Particularly relevant here is the case of Isaac Queen, a free Black man who lived and worked at the White’s Hall plantation during Johns Hopkins’ youth. In 1884, the *Baltimore Sun* reported that “when Johns Hopkins had become a wealthy businessman Isaac was called to perform duties at Clifton and other places owned by Mr. Hopkins.”<sup>64</sup> Isaac Queen’s age in 1850, about 48 years old, matches the estimated ages of the two older men enumerated by Hall on the slave schedule. Queen eventually left Hopkins’ employment to work at a foundry, yet he spoke in “affectionate terms of the kindness” of the Hopkins family. According to the article, “they contribute to his comfort and make personal visits.”

## CONCLUSION

Because we lack their names, and many other key facts such as their precise living locations, occupations, and places of birth, we may never know the identities of the four Black men living at Clifton during the summer of 1850 and recorded by Elbridge G. Hall as slaves. Nor may we ever know who owned them, or if indeed they were enslaved. As this paper has shown, the slave schedule of 1850 cannot establish that the men belonged to Johns Hopkins *even if* his putative ownership of them was for the purpose of securing their freedom, as may have been the case with James Jones. Of the eight decennial population counts that occurred between 1790 and the Civil War, only in 1860 did the federal census make an effort to record slave *ownership* rather than merely the living locations of enslaved people.<sup>65</sup> Significantly, no slaves are enumerated at Clifton nor at John Hopkins’ city mansion in the 1860 census.

Beyond the single census record of 1850, there are no personal letters, property records, court documents, wills, bills of sale, deeds of manumission, first person accounts, or tax receipts to suggest that Johns Hopkins was the owner of the Clifton Four, although one of the men could have been George or James Jones, though no definitive proof of these possibilities exists. James Jones’ story was recounted in two newspaper obituaries, but we have not found documentation to confirm his purchase or manumission. Unfortunately, very few manumission records for Baltimore have survived, the court chattel papers for this period were destroyed, Hopkins’ personal papers have been lost, and the certificate of freedom documents that have been preserved cover only a small fraction of the free African American population of Maryland in 1850.<sup>66</sup>

Although the Maryland mystery of the Clifton Four ultimately remains unsolved, the foregoing analysis has relevance for scholars working with census materials, for historians of the antebellum Upper South, and for American universities seeking to uncover and understand their institutions’ ties to slavery. While historical census records can be rich sources of information, scholars should beware their errors and limitations. Censuses provide only a singular glimpse into a house, a family, or a property and the people who lived there. They do not reveal anything about the personalities involved, their political attitudes, nor about the nature of the relationships that existed between those who occupied a space or place, whether they lived there voluntarily or involuntarily.

The image of Johns Hopkins that emerges from this analysis is of a man who quietly opposed slavery, and who on occasion was willing to express his views more publicly, such as when he agreed to serve as a trustee of the Normal School for Colored Girls in Washington, D.C. Hopkins is thus best described as a pragmatic emancipationist who assisted the anti-slavery movement the best way he knew how - with his fortune, his faith, and his standing in the business community.



At the same time, Johns Hopkins' role in Maryland's nineteenth century slave economy must be acknowledged. Hopkins amassed a great fortune while slavery was legal and widely practiced in Maryland, Virginia, and other parts of the Upper South where he conducted most of his business. He profited from the bound labor embodied in the products that he traded, and his company Hopkins Brothers sold goods and groceries to customers who owned slaves, who used enslaved people as collateral to purchase merchandise on credit, and who may have sold enslaved people to cover debts owed to the firm. Johns Hopkins may have never owned a slave purely for purposes of selfish exploitation, but he and his family benefited a great deal from the institution of slavery in Maryland.

And perhaps this is why, when war erupted in 1861, Johns Hopkins supported the Union cause so fervently, and then, once the war was over, decided to give most of his large fortune to benefit the citizens of the city he loved – both white and Black.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

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APPENDIX: 1850 Census for Johns Hopkins, Schedule One, Page 62-63

SCHEDULE I.—Free Inhabitants in the 2<sup>d</sup> District in the County of Baltimore State  
of Maryland enumerated by me, on the 17<sup>th</sup> day of Aug 1850. William G Hall Ass't Marshal.

1	2	3	Description			7	8	9	10	11	12	13
			Age	Sex	White, black, or color							
		The Name of every Person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1850, was in this family.				Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each Male Person over 15 years of age.	Value of Real Estate owned.	Place of Birth, Naming the State, Territory, or Country.	Married within the year.	Attended School within the year.	Persons 20 yrs of age and over who cannot read & write.	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict.
26	797 115	Johns Hopkins	55	M			\$10000	"				
27		Harold Hopkins	47	F				"				
28		Jane Jerney	17	F				"				
29	799 116	Jane Longlof	41	F				✓ Holland				
30		Charles "	7	M				✓ "				
31		James "	2	M				✓ "				
32	800 217	William Waddell	11	M		Manager		✓ Scotland				
33		Leitia "	48	F				✓ Ireland				
34		John "	22	M		Carpenter		✓ "				
35		Leitia "	19	F				✓ "				
36		Ellen "	17	F				✓ "				
37		Margaret "	16	F				✓ "		1		
38		Elizabeth "	13	F				✓ "		1		
39		Isabella "	11	F				✓ Md		1		
40		Ferdinand "	9	F				✓ "		1		
41		Mary "	7	F				✓ "				
42		William "	5	M				✓ "				

1		Jane Waddell	3	F				Md				
2		Eliza Jerney	30	F	B			"			1	
3	701 218	William Sanders	29	M		Gardener		✓ Scotland				
4		Martha "	27	F				✓ England				
5		David "	1	M				✓ Iowa				
6		Helen "	3	F				Md				
7		Herman's Holland	24	M		Laborer		✓ Ireland				
8		John M. Bath	32	M		"		✓ "				
9		John Power	30	M		"		✓ "				
10		James Ryan	22	M		"		✓ "				
11		Robert Lucas	30	M		Gardener		✓ Scotland				

Source: 1850 United States Federal Census for Johns Hopkins, Maryland, Baltimore County, District 2.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> United States Census, 1850, Family Search, (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MD43-VPG>), Johns Hopkins, Baltimore County, Baltimore, Maryland.

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<sup>2</sup> Lauren Schiszik, "Invisible in the Elysian Fields: An Argument for the Inclusion of Archaeological Resources in Clifton Park's Master Plan," Thesis for Master of Historic Preservation, University of Maryland, College Park, 2010.

<sup>3</sup> United States Census (Slave Schedule), 1850, Family Search (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:HR7R-KMMM>), Johns Hopkins, Baltimore County, Baltimore, Maryland.

<sup>4</sup> Margo J. Anderson, *The American Census: A Social History*, Yale University Press, 2015; Paul Schor, *Counting Americans: How the US Census Classified the Nation*, Oxford Uni Press, 2017.

<sup>5</sup> David E. Paterson, "The 1850 and 1860 Census, Schedule 2, Slave Inhabitants." *AfriGeneas*, [https://www.afriGeneas.com/library/slave\\_schedule2.html](https://www.afriGeneas.com/library/slave_schedule2.html).

<sup>6</sup> See [https://www.census.gov/history/www/census\\_then\\_now/director\\_biographies/directors\\_1840\\_-\\_1865.html](https://www.census.gov/history/www/census_then_now/director_biographies/directors_1840_-_1865.html).

<sup>7</sup> Transcripts of the Senate and House debates on the Census Act of 1850 can be found here: <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwcglink.html#anchor31>.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Until 1978, the federal government did not release the census forms. Since 1978, the census forms, and all of the individual-level data contained in them, are released seventy-two years after each census is conducted.

<sup>10</sup> See <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/technical-documentation/questionnaires/1850/1850-instructions.html>.

<sup>11</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, "Obituary of Elbridge Gerry Hall." January 7, 1878. Coincidentally, Hall was a descendent of Elbridge Gerry, a Founding Father, anti-slavery advocate, and the person for whom the term "gerrymandering" is named.

<sup>12</sup> Thompson was a slaveholder. In the 1820 census, eight enslaved people are enumerated at Clifton. United States Census, 1820, Henry Thompson, Baltimore County, Baltimore, Maryland.

<sup>13</sup> Baltimore County, Board of County Commissioners, Assessors Field Book, 1833-1858, Maryland State Archives collection number C281, see <http://guide.msa.maryland.gov/pages/series.aspx?ID=C281>.

<sup>14</sup> In Johns Hopkins' Last Will and Testament, Clifton is described as "about 330 acres" in size.

<sup>15</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, "Jno. R. Niernsee and J.C. Neilson, Architects and Civil Engineers." April 25, 1848.

<sup>16</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, "Hopkins Park." February 14, 1893.

<sup>17</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, "Improvements at 'Clifton Park.' Country Residence of Johns Hopkins, Esq." February 5, 1852.

<sup>18</sup> One of the wealthiest dynasties in colonial and antebellum Maryland, the Ridgely family owned hundreds of enslaved people and managed substantial industrial and agricultural operations in Baltimore County.

<sup>19</sup> Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Chew Family Papers (Collection 2050), Series 7.

<sup>20</sup> Of these two men, Saunders deserves special mention. Also Scottish by birth, Saunders arrived in America in 1848 and came directly to Baltimore to work under the direction of Hopkins and Waddell in "laying out" the grounds of the estate. It is unclear how long Saunders worked at Clifton, but he would go on to become one of the nation's foremost botanists. He founded the Order of Patrons of Husbandry, more commonly known as The Grange, introduced the seedless orange to the United States, designed the Soldiers Cemetery at Gettysburg, and later served as Superintendent of Propagating Gardens at the U.S. Department of Agriculture. See *New York Times*, "Obituary of William Saunders." September 14, 1900.

<sup>21</sup> Letter from Sarah Hopkins Janney (Bel Air, MD) to Mary Hopkins Congdon (Providence, RI), September 25, 1849. Johns Hopkins University Sheridan Libraries, Janney Family Papers, MS 572.

<sup>22</sup> Letter from Mary Hopkins Congdon (Providence, RI) to Sarah Hopkins Janney (Bel Air, MD), March 15, 1849. Alan Mason Chesney Medical Archives at Johns Hopkins Hospital, Johns Hopkins Collection, Series 2, Item 300555.

<sup>23</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, "Improvements." February 5, 1852.

<sup>24</sup> Last Will and Testament, Gerard Hopkins I, October 12, 1691, and Last Will and Testament, Gerard Hopkins II, January 1, 1741/2, Maryland, U.S., Wills and Probate Records, 1635-1777.

<sup>25</sup> Bliss Forbush, *A History of Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends*, Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1972.

<sup>26</sup> A small number of elderly slaves could not be manumitted legally and thus remained at Whites Hall. The available evidence suggests that they died before 1800. It should be noted that the only biography of Johns Hopkins, written by his grandniece Helen Hopkins Thom and published in 1929 claims, in error, that Samuel and Hanna Hopkins owned slaves until 1807. No evidence supports her claim.

<sup>27</sup> As recalled by Gerard T. Hopkins' son Thomas, see [https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/bitstream/handle/1774.2/63340/jhu\\_ms-0078\\_01\\_23.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/bitstream/handle/1774.2/63340/jhu_ms-0078_01_23.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y).

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- <sup>28</sup> T. Stephen Whitman, *Challenging Slavery in the Chesapeake: Black and White Resistance to Human Bondage, 1775-1865*, Maryland Historical Society, 2007.
- <sup>29</sup> *National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser*, "Gerard T. Hopkins to Thomas Jefferson." Washington, District of Columbia, Nov. 16, 1807. See
- <sup>30</sup> Barbara C. Mallonee, Jane Karkalits Bonny, and Nicholas B. Fessenden, *Minute by Minute: A History of the Baltimore Monthly Meetings of Friends, Homewood and Stony Run*, Baltimore Monthly Meeting, 1992, pp.64.
- <sup>31</sup> See <https://exhibits.library.jhu.edu/omeka-s/s/johnshopkinsbiographicalarchive/item/3059>.
- <sup>32</sup> Walter Stahr, *Salmon P. Chase: Lincoln's Vital Rival*, Simon & Schuster, 2021, pp. 454.
- <sup>33</sup> Hopkins' friends Francis T. King and Miles White also made financial donations to the school. MM Papers, LOC.
- <sup>34</sup> *The Washington Union*, Washington, District of Columbia, 13 May 1857.
- <sup>35</sup> Jean H. Baker, *Ambivalent Americans: The Know-Nothing Party in Maryland*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977, pp. 63, 77.
- <sup>36</sup> D. J. Ratcliffe and John Niven, et al., eds., *The Salmon P. Chase Papers, Vol. 1: Journals, 1829–1872*, Kent State University Press, 1994, pp. 455.
- <sup>37</sup> *Baltimore American*, "Death of a Useful Man." December 25, 1873.
- <sup>38</sup> Letter from Johns Hopkins to the Trustees of the The Johns Hopkins Hospital, 1873, see: <https://exhibits.library.jhu.edu/omeka-s/files/original/bea9b8c42f91487c7b2fed65032c24a16540e6ff.pdf>.
- <sup>39</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, "The Johns Hopkins Charity: Enthusiastic Mass Meeting of Colored Citizens – Resolutions and Speeches," April 9, 1873.
- <sup>40</sup> Although the mercantile firm Hopkins Brothers on occasion dealt with clients who used slaves as collateral for loans, there is no evidence that the company ever purchased or sold enslaved people. On one occasion, the firm came into temporary possession of a slave, perhaps as the result of a debt dispute with a local customer. In January of 1838 an enslaved woman named Harriet, "the property of Hopkins Bros.," was held at the Baltimore City Jail for "safekeeping" for six weeks. Harriet was probably placed there at the direction of the local sheriff while Hopkins Brothers and their client came to an agreement to extend a loan or pay a debt. Baltimore City Jail, Accommodation Docket, Maryland State Archives collection number C2072-1, 1837-63.
- <sup>41</sup> Samuel acquired two slaves from Lavinia's Virginia-based family after they were married in 1834 – a boy named George and a girl named Sydney. In 1839, Samuel was disowned by the Orthodox Quaker Meeting for having in his home "two persons who are slaves." We believe that Sydney was manumitted shortly thereafter, but George was not. In 1841, Samuel paid Baltimore city taxes on one 16-year-old "slave" named George. Minutes of the Courtland Street Orthodox Meeting, December 5, 1839 ([http://transcribedoc.net/mdsa\\_bc\\_quaker\\_records/scm788/pdf/scm788\\_0566.pdf](http://transcribedoc.net/mdsa_bc_quaker_records/scm788/pdf/scm788_0566.pdf)); Maryland State Archives, Tax Assessor Ledger, Baltimore City, Ward 9 1841, page 113. See [http://mdhistory.msa.maryland.gov/bca\\_brg4\\_1/bca\\_brg4\\_1\\_bca160/html/brg4\\_1\\_bca160-0240.html](http://mdhistory.msa.maryland.gov/bca_brg4_1/bca_brg4_1_bca160/html/brg4_1_bca160-0240.html).
- <sup>42</sup> See [http://mdhistory.msa.maryland.gov/bca\\_brg4\\_2/bca\\_brg4\\_2\\_bca229/html/brg4\\_2\\_bca229-0321.html](http://mdhistory.msa.maryland.gov/bca_brg4_2/bca_brg4_2_bca229/html/brg4_2_bca229-0321.html).
- <sup>43</sup> T. Stephen Whitman, *The Price of Freedom*, University of Kentucky Press, 1997.
- <sup>44</sup> A. Glenn Crothers, *Quakers Living in the Lion's Mouth: The Society of Friends in Northern Virginia, 1730-1865*, University Press of Florida, 2013.
- <sup>45</sup> South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Collection S 368001, Commissioner of the New State House, Payrolls and Vouchers, 1855-1864. These records list the names of free and enslaved quarrymen, stonecutters, carpenters, Blacksmiths and other laborers who worked on the State House when John Rudolph Niernsee supervised the project.
- <sup>46</sup> United States Census (Slave Schedule), 1860, John R. Niernsee, Richland County, Columbia, South Carolina.
- <sup>47</sup> Randolph W. Chalfont and Charles Belfoure, *Niernsee and Neilson, Architects of Baltimore: Two Careers on the Edge of the Future*, Baltimore Architecture Foundation, 2006.
- <sup>48</sup> In his journal, Salmon P. Chase described the grapes Hopkins served at dinner in September 1863: "His dessert of grapes exceeded in beauty and variety and flavor anything I had ever seen."
- <sup>49</sup> Personal correspondence between the authors and Lance Humphries, architectural historian and Executive Director of the Mount Vernon Place Conservancy in Baltimore.
- <sup>50</sup> Seth Rockman, *Scraping By: Wage Labor, Slavery, and Survival in Early Baltimore*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.
- <sup>51</sup> David Blight, *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom*, Simon & Schuster, 2018.

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- <sup>52</sup> D. J. Ratcliffe and John Niven, et al., eds., *The Salmon P. Chase Papers, Vol. 1: Journals, 1829–1872*, Kent State University Press, 1994, pp. 455.
- <sup>53</sup> In an undated letter from Johns' sister Sarah Hopkins, estimated to have been written around 1855, Sarah wrote: "Brother [Johns] is looking very well this summer. Has a good set of hands at Clifton, and things go on satisfactorily." Letter from Sarah Hopkins Janney (Bel Air, MD) to Mary Hopkins Congdon (Providence, RI), undated. Johns Hopkins University Sheridan Libraries, Janney Family Papers, MS 572.
- <sup>54</sup> United States Census, 1870, database with images, Family Search (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MNST-YJH> 29 May 2021), Isaac Ledley, 1870.
- <sup>55</sup> Chew Family Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Series 7, Henry B. Chew (1800-1866), Accounts, Box 265B.
- <sup>56</sup> William G. Thomas, *A Question of Freedom: The Families Who Challenged Slavery from the Nation's Founding to the Civil War*, Yale University Press, 2020. See <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000825/html/am825--128.html>.
- <sup>57</sup> Hopkins' city residence was located at 81 Saratoga Street, where Jones also lived part of the year. See <https://archive.org/details/woodsbalmoreci1860balt/page/444/mode/2up>.
- <sup>58</sup> See <https://www.measuringworth.com/dollarvaluetoday/?amount=5000&from=1873>.
- <sup>59</sup> Papers of the Tayloe Family, University of Virginia Special Collections, MSS 5854.
- <sup>60</sup> Richard Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations: Slave Life and Labor in Jamaica and Virginia*, Harvard University Press, 2014.
- <sup>61</sup> DeBow, J.D.B., *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850*, U.S. Census Bureau, 1853, pp. iv.
- <sup>62</sup> See Maryland State Archives, Baltimore County Register of Wills, Administration Accounts, OMP#5, 1871-1873, pp. 211. Chloe's surname is spelled Dodson.
- <sup>63</sup> Helen Hopkins Thom, *Johns Hopkins: A Silhouette*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1929, pp. 59.
- <sup>64</sup> *The Baltimore Sun*, "A Playmate of Johns Hopkins," October 21, 1884. See also <https://exhibits.library.jhu.edu/omeka-s/s/johnshopkinsbiographicalarchive/item/2945>.
- <sup>65</sup> The 1860 census instructions were: "The person in whose charge, or on whose plantation the slave is found to be employed may return all slaves in his charge, (although they may be owned by other persons). The name of the bona fide owner should be returned as proprietor, and the name of the person having them in charge as employer." See <https://www.census.gov/history/pdf/1860instructions.pdf>.
- <sup>66</sup> In Maryland, Free Blacks were not required to carry freedom papers unless they moved to another county. See <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000607/html/am607--46.html>.