SEEKING THE TRUTH: JOHNS HOPKINS AND SLAVERY

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Abstract

Questions about Johns Hopkins, his family, and their relationship to slavery have been raised by Johns Hopkins University, most directly in the announcement made on December 9, 2020, that, based on newly discovered records, the university's founder owned five enslaved people who lived and worked at his properties in Baltimore in the mid-1800s. This announcement and other statements by the university have caused many people to doubt long-held beliefs about Johns Hopkins' character and his support for anti-slavery causes. This paper investigates three of the primary assertions made in December 2020 by examining: (1) whether or not Johns Hopkins' parents were slaveholders, (2) whether or not he opposed slavery, and (3) whether or not census and other records prove that he owned enslaved people. After a careful review of the evidence uncovered to date, it is clear that (a) Johns Hopkins' parents and grandparents were devout Quakers who liberated the family's enslaved laborers prior to 1800, (b) Johns Hopkins was a practicing Orthodox Quaker and an emancipationist who supported the movement to end slavery within the limits of the laws governing Maryland, and (c) the available documentation, including relevant tax records, does not support the university's claim that Johns Hopkins personally owned slaves.

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INTRODUCTION

On December 9, 2020, Johns Hopkins University announced that its founder was a slaveholder. In a video that was posted on YouTube and an email that was shared with the campus community, leaders of the university described

a recent discovery of strong documentary evidence that shows that our founder, Johns Hopkins, the Baltimore philanthropist and merchant, was a slaveholder, and that his family had a more extensive relationship to slaveholding than we previously understood.⁵

On the same day, the university added to its “History and Mission” webpage:

Previously adopted accounts portray Johns Hopkins as an early abolitionist whose father had freed the family’s enslaved people in the early 1800s, but recently discovered records offer strong evidence that Johns Hopkins held enslaved people in his home until at least the mid-1800s.⁶

Media outlets reported the university’s accusation. The *New York Times* and *Washington Post* published articles, respectively, entitled “Johns Hopkins Reveals Its Founder Owned Slaves” and “Johns Hopkins, Benefactor of Namesake Hospital and University, Was an Enslaver.”⁷ The *Baltimore Sun* declared that “Records Prove Johns Hopkins University Founder Owned Slaves, Shattering Belief He Was a Staunch Abolitionist.”⁸ The *Baltimore Sun*’s editorial board admonished the university for “whitewashing American history” by previously promoting a “false narrative” about its founder.⁹

This paper begins with a brief history of the Hopkins family in Maryland before turning attention to the evidence offered by the university and introducing new evidence gleaned from newspaper, census, manumission, church, property, and tax records, including what leaders of the Black community in Baltimore said about Johns Hopkins before his death. The paper concludes with a discussion of the complex nature of Johns Hopkins’ economic relationship with the institution of slavery and a call for further research on his business networks, investment practices, and role as finance chairman of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

⁵ See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WR4xl--t-A>, accessed 4/15/21.

⁶ See <https://www.jhu.edu/about/history/>, accessed 4/15/21.

⁷ See <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/09/arts/johns-hopkins-slavery-abolitionist.html>, accessed 4/22/21, and https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/education/johns-hopkins-slavery/2020/12/09/cf0744f6-3a30-11eb-98c4-25dc9f4987e8_story.html, accessed 4/22/21.

⁸ See <https://www.baltimoresun.com/maryland/bs-md-johns-hopkins-slaveholder-20201209-54pkjy2a6jgrhkmpo6hub2lkuu-story.html>, accessed 4/22/21.

⁹ See <https://www.baltimoresun.com/opinion/editorial/bs-ed-1216-hopkins-enslavement-20201215-u5uj3hpgwbbizgts6jwpbkfn5i-story.html>, accessed 4/22/21.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE HOPKINS FAMILY IN MARYLAND

Johns Hopkins, the founder of the university and hospital that bear his name, was the great great grandson of Gerard Hopkins (c1620-1691), who settled in the western Chesapeake region of Maryland around the year 1640 on lands that he was granted or inherited.¹⁰ A section of these property holdings in Anne Arundel County was passed down to Johns Hopkins' father, Samuel Hopkins, through Gerard Hopkins, Jr. (1683–1742) and Johns Hopkins the Elder (1720-1763.)¹¹

Johns Hopkins was born to Samuel and Hannah Janney Hopkins on May 19, 1795, in the manor house called Whites Hall on the tobacco plantation inherited by his father.¹² At the age of seventeen in 1812, Johns Hopkins moved from Anne Arundel County to Baltimore to apprentice in the trading house of his uncle, Gerard T. Hopkins. In the mid-1820s, Johns Hopkins established a wholesale grocery and trading firm, Hopkins Brothers, that he operated for over twenty years with his younger brothers. In 1853, he became president of the Merchant's Bank of Baltimore, and soon after, in 1855, he was appointed chair of the powerful finance committee of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad company.¹³

By managing trade, loans, building projects, and shrewd investments, principally in the B&O, Johns Hopkins amassed an enormous fortune. He never married, and he left the bulk of his estate to found a university, a hospital, and an orphanage, all three of which were intended to be colorblind. For example, as part of his bequest, Johns Hopkins instructed the hospital to care for patients "without regard to sex, age or color," establishing it as one of the first hospitals in Baltimore to admit Blacks. Following his death in 1873, a newspaper obituary in the *Baltimore American* detailed his convictions and temperament:

Although Mr. Hopkins was always too greatly engrossed in business to pay much attention to politics, he had strong political convictions. He was an anti-slavery man all his life. His great wealth and high position saved him from the reproach that would otherwise have fallen upon him in a community that had but little toleration for the views which he entertained upon this subject. Many years ago he purchased a slave to make him free. The man he emancipated remained in his service to the day of his death ... In founding the charitable institution with which his name is inseparably connected, he took pains to have the charters framed in accordance with his liberal views concerning the common brotherhood of man. There can be no discrimination on account of color in the

¹⁰ Robert Barnes, *Colonial Families of Anne Arundel County, Maryland*, Colonial Roots Publishing, 2015.

¹¹ See <https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/63318>, <https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/63359> and <https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/63357>, accessed 4/25/21.

¹² Only partial biographies of Johns Hopkins have been published. These include Antero Pietila's *The Ghosts of Johns Hopkins: The Life and Legacy that Shaped an American City* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2018) and Helen Hopkins Thom's memoir *Johns Hopkins: A Silhouette* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1929). Some of the facts presented by Thom in *A Silhouette* are currently disputed. See <https://www.thehouseofhopkins.com/posts/8-helen-hopkins-thom>. Unfortunately, many of the disputed facts may never be resolved because the personal papers of Johns Hopkins were not preserved.

¹³ See <https://pages.jh.edu/gazette/1999/jan0499/obit.html>, accessed 11/1/21.

Johns Hopkins Hospital. In compelling assent to this feature of his all-embracing charity, he achieved one of the greatest triumphs of his life. Perhaps it is the one which will hand down his name from age to age, as one of the courageous benefactors who encountered a mighty prejudice and conquered it.¹⁴

THE MANUMISSION OF SLAVES BY JOHNS HOPKINS' GRANDFATHER

For most of the eighteenth century, and possibly before, Whites Hall plantation, where Johns Hopkins was born, was cultivated by an enslaved workforce held in bondage by the Hopkins family. During this same period, many members of the Hopkins family belonged to the Religious Society of Friends, informally known as the Quakers. By the late eighteenth century, the Society of Friends, which had long opposed slavery and the transatlantic slave trade, resolved that the church would work actively to end the institution of slavery in the United States. In 1772, the Baltimore Yearly Meeting (at that time composed of all Quaker congregations from Maryland) officially prohibited slave ownership among its members.¹⁵ By 1778, the Yearly Meeting "called for the expulsion of all owners of slaves from the Society without unnecessary delay."¹⁶

Johns Hopkins' grandfather, Johns Hopkins the Elder, was a Quaker and followed the doctrine of his church. In 1778, he filed a deed of manumission with the Anne Arundel County Court releasing almost all of the family's enslaved workforce.¹⁷ In the deed, he declared nine people "each and every one of them absolutely free." Thirty-three others would remain enslaved until they reached the age of 21 for women or 25 for men.¹⁸ For this group of "term

¹⁴ *Baltimore American*, "Death of a Useful Man," December 25, 1873. See <https://exhibits.library.jhu.edu/omeka-s/s/johnshopkinsbiographicalarchive/item/2943>, accessed 4/17/21. The enslaved person mentioned in this passage is James Jones, the servant who was reportedly at Johns Hopkins' side when he died and who is named in his Last Will and Testament. See <https://exhibits.library.jhu.edu/omeka-s/s/johnshopkinsbiographicalarchive/item/2882>, accessed 4/25/21.

¹⁵ Jean R. Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit*, Princeton University Press, 1985.

¹⁶ Bliss Forbush, *A History of Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends: 300 Years of Quakerism in Maryland, Virginia, the District of Columbia, and Central Pennsylvania*, Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1972, p. 43-44. See also "History of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting" at <https://www.bym-rsf.org/anniversary/history-of-baltimore-yearly-meeting.html>, accessed 11/7/21.

¹⁷ See <https://exhibits.library.jhu.edu/omeka-s/s/johnshopkinsbiographicalarchive/item/2935>, accessed 4/17/21. Others who were not included in the deed of manumission but were listed in Johns Hopkins the Elder's Last Will and Testament or in his Estate Inventory were likely too old or infirm to be legally manumitted in 1778. The one exception is a girl named Fanny, who was born in 1781. We have been unable to determine her origin or fate. See Appendix Exhibits 2 and 3.

¹⁸ Johns Hopkins the Elder's Quaker meeting house apparently disapproved of these age conditions: "This Meeting received of Johns Hopkins manumissions for forty two Negroes whose ages when to be free being not agreeable to the advice of our Yearly Meeting, which this Meeting submits to the consideration of the Quarterly Meeting." Indian Spring Meeting, April 21, 1780, p. 39.

slaves,” ranging in age from 10 months to 20 years old in 1778, freedom was promised but delayed. (See Appendix Exhibit 1.)

When Johns Hopkins the Elder died in 1783, it fell to his widow, Elizabeth Hopkins (1737-1804), and to his eldest son, Samuel Hopkins (1759-1814), to carry out the deed of manumission by releasing the remaining term slaves, a process that would take another 18 years. By the time that Johns Hopkins was born in 1795 the manumissions of his grandparent’s enslaved workers were winding down and were fully complete before the turn of the nineteenth century. Many of the family’s former slaves remained in Anne Arundel County, where they worked for wages as farm laborers and domestic servants at Whites Hall and other plantations. (See Figure 1 and Appendix Exhibits 5 and 11.)

In its December 2020 declarations, Johns Hopkins University suggested that Samuel Hopkins retained slaves into the nineteenth century. After stating that “previously adopted accounts portray Johns Hopkins as an early abolitionist whose father had freed the family’s enslaved people in the early 1800s,” the university then claimed that its researchers “uncovered no evidence that Samuel Hopkins manumitted enslaved people in 1807,” implying that Johns Hopkins grew up on a plantation cultivated by slaves owned by his father.¹⁹

The evidence provided by the university for its assertion that Johns Hopkins’ father was a slaveholder in 1807 is a single indenture contract with a woman named Phillis that apprenticed her two children (ages 7 and 10) to Samuel Hopkins until they reached the age of 21 in order to learn “the art of planting.” (See Appendix Exhibit 9.) However, Phillis was a free Black woman (possibly a former slave of Johns Hopkins the Elder). Such apprenticeships were common from 1795 until rejected by the Supreme Court in 1867. In the case of Quakers, apprenticeship was one way of obtaining plantation labor without owning or hiring enslaved people; in the case of free Black families, it was one way of providing vocational training for children in the absence of educational opportunities.²⁰

In fact, there are no records that suggest Johns Hopkins’ parents owned slaves during the first decade of the nineteenth century. The reason for the absence of any evidence of slaveholding or manumissions after 1800 is easy to explain: Johns Hopkins’ grandfather had already granted freedom to the family’s enslaved people before 1800. To reiterate, when Johns Hopkins was born in 1795, the process of releasing his grandfather’s bound laborers was almost complete, concluding the gradual liberation process that began in 1778 when Johns Hopkins the

¹⁹ The date of 1807 used in the university statement provides a hint for the construction of its revisionist account. The university likely believes that Johns Hopkins’ father, Samuel Hopkins, was a slave owner in 1807 because of its reliance on the biography of Johns Hopkins written by his grandniece Helen Hopkins Thom. In *Johns Hopkins: A Silhouette*, which was published by the university’s press in 1929, Thom asserts that “all of the able-bodied negroes belonging to Samuel Hopkins were set free in the year 1807.” Based on Thom’s claim, the university’s researchers appear to have focused on a search for evidence of manumissions at Whites Hall from the year 1807 onward.

²⁰ The indenture document does not include a clause requiring Samuel to teach the apprentices to read and write, but nothing is yet known about how the Quaker community to which Samuel belonged provided education for its members and their apprentices.

Elder filed his deed of manumission.²¹ The only enslaved person that Samuel Hopkins inherited directly from his grandfather, a man named John, was freed in 1796. (See Appendix Exhibit 1.)

Corroborating this timeline, no enslaved people are recorded on the federal censuses living at Whites Hall in 1800, 1810, or 1820. (See Appendix Exhibits 6, 10, and 14.) In addition, census records for Anne Arundel County provide evidence that many of the enslaved people who were identified by name in Johns Hopkins the Elder's manumission deed, will, and estate inventory, lived independently in free Black households near Whites Hall. (See Figure 1 and Appendix Exhibit 5.)

Finally, evidence from the family's probate records and property sales corroborates the assertion that Johns Hopkins' immediate family owned no slaves after 1796. An estate auction notice in the *Maryland Gazette* for Johns Hopkins the Elder's widow, Elizabeth Hopkins, did not list any people available for purchase after her death in 1804. (See Appendix Exhibit 8.) The estate inventory for Philip Hopkins, Samuel Hopkins' closest brother in age, who died in 1814 and who inherited an enslaved boy named Frank in 1784 from Johns Hopkins the Elder, did not include any slaves. (See Appendix Exhibit 11.) Most importantly, Samuel Hopkins' estate inventory of 1814 did not include any slaves. (See Appendix Exhibit 13.)

Mary Pickens	1	1	3	9	14
Polly - Free				9	
Sarah Paulina	1	2	3	12	12

Figure 1. "Polly – Free." Polly was born in 1758 and freed by Johns Hopkins the Elder in 1779. In 1790, she was 32 years old and living near Whites Hall as a free Black woman along with eight other free African Americans. 1790 Federal Census for Anne Arundel County.

In summary, Johns Hopkins' parents, Samuel and Hannah Hopkins, honored the injunction of the Society of Friends against slavery and faithfully carried out Johns Hopkins the Elder's manumission deed of 1778. They may have employed free and indentured Blacks, but by shortly after Johns Hopkins was born in 1795, there is no evidence that they owned enslaved people and there are no records indicating they were ever admonished by the Society of Friends for owning slaves.

²¹ See <https://exhibits.library.jhu.edu/omeka-s/s/johnshopkinsbiographicalarchive/item/2935>, accessed 4/15/21. The last enslaved people named in that contract were released or left Whites Hall prior to 1800. They were Harry, Daniel, and Jemmy. See <https://www.thehouseofhopkins.com/posts/2-johns-the-elder>, accessed 4/15/21. Four other enslaved individuals who were not part of the manumission contract of 1778 but who were named in Johns the Elder's Last Will and Testament (Cesar, William, Dover, and Eaus) passed to Samuel's brothers Evan and Gerard and thus did not remain at Whites Hall. See <https://www.thehouseofhopkins.com/posts/9-the-enslaved>, accessed 4/15/21.

JOHNS HOPKINS AND ABOLITIONISM

The question remains, did Johns Hopkins himself oppose slavery after he left Whites Hall at the age of 17 in 1812? No statements by Johns Hopkins on the subject of slavery are known to exist, and the obituary presented above suggests that he was disinclined to engage in controversy while building his businesses.²² However, the absence of direct evidence of abolitionist statements is not sufficient to prove that he was not an abolitionist nor that he did not oppose slavery. Lacking direct statements from Johns Hopkins, there is other evidence that details his active role in the Society of Friends and related support for anti-slavery causes and educational opportunities for African Americans.²³

Johns Hopkins' Support for Anti-Slavery Causes and the Black Community

Johns Hopkins supported efforts to assist the African American community before, during, and after the Civil War. In 1856, he served alongside well known abolitionists Henry Ward Beecher and Thomas Williamson as one of only ten trustees of the Normal School for Colored Girls in Washington, D.C.²⁴ Other members of the Board of Trustees included Calvin Ellis Stowe, the husband of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* author Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Samuel M. Janney, a Quaker minister and anti-slavery activist from Virginia who was also Johns Hopkins' maternal relative.²⁵

The school, which was founded in 1851 by abolitionist Myrtilla Miner, became the target of significant hostility from those in the local community who did not believe Black girls deserved to be educated and who worried the school would foment abolitionism.²⁶ The Mayor of Washington, Walter Lenox, vehemently opposed the school. Lenox published a letter in the *Washington Union* on May 13, 1857, writing:

Can we doubt, in view of the past history and present action of "abolitionism," that this institution will be controlled by it, and employed at an early day without disguise for these purposes? We cannot be unmindful of the character and aims of some of those announced as its principle advocates, and even if this particular one should be preserved from such influences, yet, under the precedent it would afford, others would be established for these special objects.²⁷

²² The closest there is to a statement from Johns Hopkins on slavery is the prohibition in his own handwriting that slaves used as liens against debts owed Hopkins Brothers were not to be sold to pay the debt. See <https://exhibits.library.jhu.edu/omeka-s/s/johnshopkinsbiographicalarchive/item/2875>, accessed 4/15/21.

²³ Johns Hopkins is included in this online encyclopedia of abolition and anti-slavery activists <http://www.americanabolitionists.com/abolitionists-and-anti-slavery-activists.html>.

²⁴ Ellen M. O'Connor, *Myrtilla Miner: A Memoir*, Houghton, Mifflin, 1885.

²⁵ G. Smith Wormley, "Myrtilla Miner," *The Journal of Negro History*, 5.4 (1920): 448-457. See also <https://lincolinquakers.com/2019/07/24/myrtilla-miner/>, (accessed 4/22/21).

²⁶ Michael M. Greenburg, *This Noble Woman: Myrtilla Miner and Her Fight to Establish a School for African American Girls in the Slaveholding South*, Chicago Review Press, 2018.

²⁷ *The Washington Union*, Washington, District of Columbia, 13 May 1857, page 3. See <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/80710508/washington-union-article-about-normal-sc/>, accessed 7/3/21.

Based on this logic, Lenox castigated 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.”

During the Civil War, Johns Hopkins sided with Lincoln and the unionist cause. In September of 1863, he hosted a dinner at his Clifton estate for Salmon P. Chase, Lincoln’s Secretary of the Treasury, with several prominent Baltimore businessmen. Chase commented after the meeting:

The guests were intelligent and substantial men, constituting, as Mr. Hopkins said, the best part of the Baltimore merchants and capitalists. And all of them earnest Union men. And nearly all, if not all, decided Emancipationists.²⁸

Johns Hopkins also gave money to support members of the Black community in Baltimore affected by the Civil War. According to an article in the *Baltimore Sun*, Johns Hopkins donated to a home for colored girls who lost parents in the war. The orphanage “received liberal contributions from Quakers in the North; also from the Government, and the late Johns Hopkins, who was also one of the connection [i.e., Quaker], subscribed \$500 to the work.”²⁹ The article states:

It is believed that [Johns Hopkins’] interest thus excited led to his endowment of the present Home for Orphan Colored Girls. When that institution was founded the girls from the lesser orphan asylum were transferred to it, while the property owned by the original orphan asylum organization was utilized as a Shelter for Aged Colored People, a most unique and beneficent charity.

Johns Hopkins’ greatest charitable act was his gift of \$8 million to establish a university, hospital, and orphanage for Black children. For this bequest, Johns Hopkins was celebrated by the African American community in Baltimore before his death. In April of 1873, Black citizens gathered at the Douglass Institute to praise his bountiful gifts to all residents of the city. (See Figure 2 and full transcript of article in Appendix Exhibit 24.) Those who gathered had two purposes. One was to celebrate the gift that they had been informed of – that Johns Hopkins had founded a “free hospital, orphan asylum and college, all of which are to be open to colored people upon equal terms with white citizens.”³⁰ The second purpose was to highlight, in written proclamations and speeches, Johns Hopkins’ actions “recognizing our race as being entitled to equal consideration and treatment with all others.”

²⁸ As reported by Chase’s secretary George C. Keidel. See The Salmon P. Chase Papers, VOLUME 1, Journals, 1829–1872, John Niven, Editor, et al., The Kent State University Press, 1993, p. 455.

²⁹ *The Baltimore Sun*, “Tyson Family of Maryland,” January 1, 1905. See <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/30884860/tyson-family-maryland/?xid=637>, 5/1/21.

³⁰ *The Baltimore Sun*, “The Johns Hopkins Charity,” April 9, 1873. See <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/73709048/colored-citizens-of-baltimore-celebrate/>, accessed 5/1/21.

Figure 2. Portion of article describing meeting of African Americans to honor Johns Hopkins' philanthropy. *The Baltimore Sun*, April 9, 1873. See Appendix Exhibit 24.

According to the *Sun* reporter: “[U]nbiassed [sic] by popular prejudice, [Johns Hopkins] has elevated himself above all other men in Maryland, in the mode and manner of the distribution of his charity, and out of his private means donated to the public good, without distinction of race or color.”

Isaac Myers, a prominent African American trade unionist in Baltimore, said:

There was only one man in this country or in Europe who says his wealth shall be equally distributed for the relief of the colored man—but one man who has said in words not to be misunderstood by executors, nor evaded by the law, and that man is Johns Hopkins.

Finally, there are the generous gifts that Johns Hopkins left to his three Black employees upon his death in 1873: \$5,000 to James Jones, his coachman; \$1,000 to Chloe Johnson, his cook; and \$2,000 to Charles Tolbert, his house servant. James Jones was also given “the house in which he now resides, on French street, in the city of Baltimore.” These monetary gifts, which totaled \$8,000 in 1873, would be the equivalent of more than \$180,000 today, not including the value of the house that was given to Jones.³¹ These bequests were similar in size to those left to

³¹ See <https://www.officialdata.org/us/inflation/1873?amount=8000>, accessed 11/7/21.

members of his family including Lavinia Hopkins, the widow of his brother Samuel Jr., who received \$5,000. In death Johns Hopkins treated his family and his Black staff equally well.³²

Johns Hopkins' Quaker Faith

Religion was a major thread in the fabric of Johns Hopkins' long life, beginning with his birth at Whites Hall and involving an extensive kinship network of practicing Quakers, many of whom were active in anti-slavery and other progressive causes. This network included several of Johns Hopkins' close business associates, his uncle Gerard T. Hopkins, his uncle Jesse Tyson, Tyson's brother Elisha Tyson, and his cousin Elizabeth Hopkins Janney and her husband Samuel M. Janney.³³ It also included members of the prominent Thomas family, who were related to Johns Hopkins through his great aunt Rachel Hopkins Thomas and grandmother Elizabeth Thomas Hopkins.³⁴

No record is more important for understanding how Johns Hopkins may have felt about slavery than the *Discipline* of the Religious Society of Friends, the compendium of rules or "testimonies" that governed the conduct of members. The Quaker testimony against slavery in the *Discipline* was strict, but there were conditions under which members could hire or even purchase enslaved people, as long as the enslaved person was not held beyond a certain age or returned to slavery. The Baltimore Yearly Meeting stated in its 1821 *Discipline* that:

As a religious society we have found it to be our indispensable duty to declare to the world our belief of the repugnancy of slavery to the Christian religion. It therefore remains to be our continued concern to prohibit our members from holding in bondage our fellow-men ... If any in membership with us should hire slaves, or should take as apprentices or servants slaves, who are to be returned to their alleged owners, after a term of years, or limited time; or shall purchase slaves to be liberated at any time after the ages of eighteen for females and twenty-one years for males; or act as executors or administrators to estates where slaves are thus bequeathed; or be accessory to any step whereby their bondage may be continued, beyond the term above limited; however they may be induced thereto from an apparent motive of contributing to the cause of humanity, it is our judgment, that such countenance the injustice of slavery, and oppose our testimony against it: they ought ... to be disowned.³⁵

³² Johns Hopkins, Last Will and Testament, March 10, 1873, Hopkins Family Collection, MS 0078, Ferdinand Hamburger University Archives, Johns Hopkins University. Also located in Baltimore County, Register of Wills, Estate Papers, 1873-1875, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Maryland. Johns Hopkins, "Letter of Johns Hopkins to the Trustees of the Johns Hopkins Hospital," March 10, 1873 (Baltimore: Wm. K. Boyle and Son), <http://resource.nlm.nih.gov/101235227>, accessed 11/7/21.

³³ Barbara C. Mallonee, et al., *Minute by Minute: A History of the Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends Homewood and Stony Run*, Baltimore Monthly Meetings of Friends, 1992.

³⁴ Philip E. Thomas (1776 – 1861), Johns Hopkins' second cousin, served as the first president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from 1827 to 1836. See Bliss Forbush, *A History of Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends*, Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1972.

³⁵ Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Baltimore, 1821, p. 54-55. See <https://archive.org/details/disciplineofyear00frie/page/54/mode/2up>, accessed 4/26/21.

Quakers were also required to keep and care for young, disabled, or elderly enslaved people who could not prosper on their own and to continue to look after people who had been held as slaves by their families in the past.³⁶ Quoting again from the 1821 *Discipline*:

The situation of those of the African race, who have been held as slaves by any of us or our predecessors, calls for our serious examination and inquiry, how far we are clear of withholding from them what, under such an exercise, may be opened to our view, as their just right; and we earnestly and affectionately intreat those in particular, who have released any of them, to attend to the further manifestations of duty.³⁷

Such “manifestations of duty” could take many forms – helping a former slave raise funds to purchase the freedom of others, providing housing, offering job training in useful trades, or rehabilitating those who were sick or injured.

Furthermore, Quakers were among the nation’s earliest supporters of paying restitution to the formerly enslaved. In “The Case for Reparations,” Ta-Nehisi Coates writes:

At the dawn of this country, black reparations were actively considered and often effected. Quakers in New York, New England, and Baltimore went so far as to make “membership contingent upon compensating one’s former slaves.” In 1782, the Quaker Robert Pleasants emancipated his 78 slaves, granted them 350 acres, and later built a school on their property and provided for their education.³⁸

In *Johns Hopkins: A Silhouette*, Helen Hopkins Thom described how the Hopkins family in Anne Arundel County provided a cabin and stipend for one of their former slaves.³⁹

In line with these policies, wealthy Quakers often purchased enslaved people for the express purpose of freeing them.⁴⁰ Elisha Tyson (1750-1824), for instance, was a prominent Baltimore flour miller and merchant who dedicated much of his income and energy to the anti-slavery movement in Maryland. Tyson, who was the brother of Johns Hopkins’ uncle Jesse Tyson, assisted Blacks to escape slavery by establishing safe houses on the Underground Railroad and by purchasing enslaved people at Baltimore’s slave markets whom he later freed. In one daring incident, Tyson flagged down a departing slave ship, forcibly boarded the vessel,

³⁶ Slaveholders were sometimes penalized for manumitting slaves who could not thrive on their own and would thus burden local government. In 1796, it became illegal in Maryland to manumit any slave older than 45 though it still sometimes happened. An apposite example of this phenomenon is the manumission record for a man named James in 1802. (See <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000825/html/am825--123.html>). See also Stephen Whitman, “Diverse Good Causes: Manumission and the Transformation of Urban Slavery,” *Social Science History*, Autumn, 1995, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Autumn, 1995), p. 351.

³⁷ *Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends*, Baltimore, 1821, p. 56. See <https://archive.org/details/disciplineofyear00frie/page/56/mode/2up>, accessed 4/26/21.

³⁸ Ta-Nehisi Coates, “The Case for Reparations,” *The Atlantic*, June, 2014.

³⁹ Helen Hopkins Thom, *Johns Hopkins: A Silhouette*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009, p. 7.

⁴⁰ A. Glenn Crothers, *Quakers Living in the Lion’s Mouth: The Society of Friends in Northern Virginia, 1730-1865*, University Press of Florida, 2012.

and rescued a man he believed to be enslaved unlawfully.⁴¹ It is said that when Elisha Tyson died in 1824, four thousand Black Baltimoreans followed his casket to its final resting place at the Friends Burial Ground on Harford Road.⁴² Before his death, Tyson attended the same Baltimore Monthly Meeting on Lombard Street as Johns Hopkins.⁴³

Johns Hopkins' father also helped free enslaved people. In 1802, Samuel Hopkins purchased the freedom of a man named John Joyce from Charles Carroll for \$200. (See Appendix Exhibit 7.) As described by William G. Thomas in *A Question of Freedom: The Families Who Challenged Slavery from the Nation's Founding to the Civil War*, the purpose of this transaction was to emancipate John Joyce so that he could, in turn, purchase his own enslaved family.⁴⁴ The deed of manumission, dated December 7, 1802, reads:

*I hereby manumit and Declare to be henceforth
free a mulatto Man commonly Called old
Shoemaker John now calling himself John Joyce
formerly my Slave in Consideration of the Sum of
two hundred Dollars paid to William Watson
my Clerk by Mr. Samuel Hopkins for the freedom
of the said John Joyce Given under my hand and
Seal this seventh day of December in the year of our
Lord eighteen hundred and two
Signed and Sealed...Ch Carroll of Carrollton*

How was Johns Hopkins affected by his Quaker family's history of anti-slavery activism? It is difficult to determine, but there are clues. After he moved to Baltimore in 1812, Johns Hopkins attended the Lombard Street Meeting of the Society of Friends. In 1826, he was disowned from the Lombard Street Meeting, along with his brother Mahlon, a partner in Hopkins Brothers, for selling alcohol.⁴⁵ Despite being reprimanded, Johns Hopkins did not leave the Society of Friends. (For the Quakers, disownment meant that members could not participate in business meetings but could continue to attend weekly worship meetings.)

In 1828, there was a split in Quaker bodies on much of the East Coast, forming what came to be known as the Hicksite and Orthodox divisions of the Society. Within two years of being read out of the Lombard Street meeting in 1826, Johns Hopkins and other members of the Hopkins family withdrew to join the Orthodox Meeting in Baltimore at their new meeting

⁴¹ John S. Tyson, *Life of Elisha Tyson: The Philanthropist*, Benjamin Lundy Printing, 1925.

⁴² *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, April 1, 1824. Later, Elisha Tyson's remains were reinterred at Greenmount cemetery.

⁴³ Mallonee, et al., *Minute by Minute*, p. 45.

⁴⁴ 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>, accessed 4/1/21.

⁴⁵ Edward C. Papenfuse, "Johns Hopkins: Orthodox Quaker and Emancipationist?," <http://www.rememberingbaltimore.net/2021/02/johns-hopkins-orthodox-quaker.html>, accessed 4/15/21. See <https://exhibits.library.jhu.edu/omeka-s/s/johnshopkinsbiographicalarchive/item/2869>.

house on Courtland Street. Like all devoted Friends, the new Orthodox Meeting opposed slavery and prohibited members from owning or hiring enslaved people, unless the purpose was to assist them in obtaining their freedom.

There is no evidence to date that Johns Hopkins was ever disciplined for slaveholding by either the Baltimore Meeting at Lombard Street (before 1828) or the Orthodox Meeting at Courtland Street (after 1828). However, in 1839, thirteen years after Johns Hopkins' disownment for peddling alcohol, his younger brother Samuel Hopkins, Jr. was disowned for "selling distilled spiritous liquors" and for having in his family "two colored persons who are slaves." The minute continued: "Having been visited, and not manifesting a disposition to make satisfaction for his deviations, we therefore disown him from membership with us." (See Appendix Exhibit 16.)⁴⁶

Samuel Hopkins, Jr. never repented and may have left the Society of Friends after 1839.⁴⁷ Johns Hopkins, on the other hand, remained an observant Quaker. It is clear that he continued to attend the Orthodox Meeting of Friends at Courtland Street, later located at Eutaw and Monument Streets.⁴⁸ The *Baltimore Sun's* obituary (December 25, 1873) reported at the time of his death Johns Hopkins was a member of that meeting in good standing, which a number of the initial trustees of his bequests also attended, including Galloway Cheston, Francis White, and Francis T. King. Johns Hopkins was joined at Baltimore's Orthodox Meeting by his mother who on her death in 1846 was described by another well-known Quaker, Richard Thompson, as a respected minister in the congregation.

In the 1840s, Johns Hopkins experienced what could be described as a spiritual rebirth, signaling a renewed commitment to his Quaker roots and perhaps even the emergence of a philanthropic mindset.⁴⁹ Shortly after his brother Mahlon Hopkins passed away suddenly in 1840, he wrote a very personal and soul-searching letter to his mother Hannah:

I have led a life of great devotion to worldly pursuits, but in the death of my brother Mahlon a total change has been brought about in my feelings. The value of all the goods and honors of this vain and illusive life have been stained in my view, and I trust I now see them in their true light and am fully aware of the all-

⁴⁶ See https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/2189/images/42483_1821100519_4166-00521?backlabel=ReturnSearchResults&queryId=9866019f2a582c54037e19c6c6050fdc&pId=1101800570, accessed 5/5/21.

⁴⁷ At least one of Samuel Hopkins, Jr.'s children, Ella Hopkins, also left the Society of Friends when she married James Monroe Mercer around 1860.

⁴⁸ The precise year in which Johns Hopkins was reinstated is unknown. However, in 1888, the Baltimore Monthly Meeting authorized the compilation of every member of the Society of Friends they could document from the then extant records. The entry for Johns Hopkins is on page 49a and 49b beginning at http://transcribedoc.net/mdsa_bc_quaker_records/scm579/html/scm579-0078.html, accessed 5/1/21.

⁴⁹ Between the mid-1830s and -1840s, four of Johns Hopkins' brothers died. Gerard Hopkins died in 1835 at age 26, Mahlon Hopkins died in 1840 at age 35, Philip Hopkins died in 1844 at age 37, and finally Joseph J. Hopkins, Johns' eldest brother, died in 1845 at age 52. Samuel Hopkins Jr. died in 1868, leaving Johns Hopkins the only surviving brother and former partner of the Hopkins Brothers mercantile firm.

important concerns of an approaching eternity and have concluded to separate myself from every hindrance (with divine help.)

He went on to promise his mother that he would “lead a life more becoming the purpose for which I was created” and, for good measure, that “thy injunction respecting ardent spirits shall be strictly complied with.”

PERSONAL DOCUMENTS AND GOVERNMENT RECORDS

The preceding sections provide important background and contextual information about Johns Hopkins’ family and its involvement in both Quakerism and anti-slavery movements. However, in assessing whether or not Johns Hopkins owned slaves, it is essential to carefully examine the content and meaning of any papers that may have survived in order to fully understand what legal documents, census forms, and tax records reveal as well as their shortcomings.

Private Papers, Legal Documents, and Estate Records

The clearest direct evidence of slave ownership can be found in personal papers and legal documents signed by slaveholders themselves – letters, sales receipts, deeds of manumission, certificates of freedom, and wills. These documents may include the names, genders, and ages of enslaved persons, if any, as well as specific directives in the case of deeds and wills.

For Johns Hopkins, no one has yet uncovered any direct evidence of slave ownership in personal letters, sales records, deeds, or wills. Unfortunately, very few of Johns Hopkins’ private papers were preserved.⁵⁰ Similarly, no known estate records suggest that Johns Hopkins inherited or owned slaves. Most importantly, the estate of his father, Samuel Hopkins, did not include slaves as property to be settled. (See Appendix Exhibits 1-3, 7, 8, and 11-13.)

Tax Records

In the state of Maryland, where Johns Hopkins lived his entire life, taxes were due on each slave owned, payable along with taxes on land and “all chattels, real and personal.” Until 1852, taxes were not collected annually as they are today but rather when the state or city required funding for special reasons.⁵¹ Such a tax law was passed in 1841 by the Maryland General Assembly in order “to pay the Debts of the State.”⁵² The records associated with this tax assessment on Johns Hopkins and his properties in Baltimore City and for some subsequent tax assessments

⁵⁰ It is sometimes suggested that Johns Hopkins destroyed his personal papers on purpose, perhaps in order to hide past misdeeds. This is very unlikely. Most documents were probably lost in the destruction of the Merchant’s Bank by the disastrous Baltimore fire of 1904. Much of the administrative records of his estate following his death appear to have been housed there. Also, Johns Hopkins was well aware that his actions were being continuously reviewed for potential sanction by the Quakers and that his transgressions would be preserved after his death by his Meeting.

⁵¹ See <https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/educ/speeches/html/dathistory051402.html>, accessed 5/1/21.

⁵² See <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000592/html/am592--315.html>, accessed 5/10/21.

conducted in the 1850s have been located. None of these records lists taxes paid on human property by Johns Hopkins. (See Appendix Exhibit 26.)

Although not as direct as bills of sale and manumission documents, tax records are a reliable secondary source of evidence on slave ownership because both the state's tax agents and property owners had strong incentives to correct any inaccuracies. Anyone who gave a false account of their property to the tax assessor could be fined up to \$1,000.⁵³

To investigate the reliability of the tax records of the Hopkins family, the tax records for Johns Hopkins' firm Hopkins Brothers, and for Samuel Hopkins, Jr., whom the Quaker church disciplined for owning slaves, were also examined. The tax records for Samuel Hopkins, Jr. indicate, as expected, that he owned one slave in the year in 1841. Thus, the discipline of the Quakers was warranted, and the Meeting records and tax records are in close alignment.

Census Records

A census is a full representation of a population, gathered and recorded in a fashion that details the distribution of individuals by residence location. The US Constitution required that both free and enslaved persons be counted in a nationwide census every ten years. Accordingly, slaves were counted for each decennial census from 1790 through 1860 (and considered to be the equivalent of 3/5s of a free person for the tallies used to apportion legislative districts).⁵⁴

Because the census count is conducted and recorded by residence location, census records can provide tentative evidence of slave ownership. It is reasonable to assume that most enumerated slaves were owned by free residents of the same property. It was not until 1860, however, that census enumerators were instructed to record explicitly whether the slaves resident at a specific property were owned by a free resident of the same property or whether they were owned by other individuals, trusts, or companies not resident at the same property. Therefore, between 1790 and 1850, the census evidence is open to a wider range of interpretations.

What do the census records reveal about Johns Hopkins? When he was a boy of age five in 1800 and age 15 in 1810, he lived in the household of his father, Samuel Hopkins. He was not enumerated by name for these censuses, but he appears to have been counted as expected as a free white resident on his parents' property at Whites Hall. As noted already above, no enslaved people were enumerated for the property owned by Samuel Hopkins, in either 1800 or 1810.

For the next two censuses, in 1820 and 1830, Johns Hopkins was living in Baltimore, working for his uncle Gerard T. Hopkins, who was an established commission merchant, Clerk of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for the Western Shore of Maryland, advocate for the welfare of

⁵³ See <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000592/html/am592--323.html>, accessed 5/1/21.

⁵⁴ Census records from these years have been publicly available since the 1930s in the US Archives and on microfilm since the 1970s, and these particular records have been known to historians; see Clayton, 2011 and 1993. However, only in recent years have they become easily accessible because of the demand for online genealogical sources.

Native Americans, and promoter of anti-slavery causes.⁵⁵ When Johns Hopkins arrived in the city in 1812, he first lived with Gerard T. Hopkins at 78 W. Pratt Street in Baltimore. From there, he moved into the Beltzhoover's Hotel on the corner of Hanover and Baltimore Street, where he lived until at least 1832. Accordingly, for the 1820 and 1830 censuses Johns Hopkins was not enumerated by name. During this period, he opened Hopkins Brothers, a grocery and trading company, located on Pratt Street next to his uncle's store.

In both 1840 and 1850, Johns Hopkins was enumerated by name as a property owner and household head. For these two censuses, one and four enslaved persons, respectively, were enumerated as residents of his properties. The final pre-Civil-War census was the one conducted in 1860. No enslaved persons were enumerated for John Hopkins' residential properties in 1860.

Taking all census records together, Johns Hopkins was enumerated in the decennial census eight times, from 1800 to 1870. In 1800, 1810, 1840, 1850, 1860, and 1870, he was enumerated as living on properties where free Blacks were also present. For two censuses, 1840 and 1850, he was enumerated as the owner of residential properties in and on which enslaved persons also lived.

INTERPRETING THE 1840 AND 1850 CENSUS RECORDS

In its December 2020 declarations, Johns Hopkins focused special attention on records from the 1840 and 1850 US censuses, claiming that:

Federal census records list Johns Hopkins, our founder, as the owner of one enslaved person in 1840; there are also two free Black individuals listed in the household. In 1850, the census record indicates Johns as the owner of four enslaved people: men aged 50, 45, 25, and 18 years.⁵⁶

As noted in the introduction, the university also revised its "History and Mission" webpage to announce an even more sweeping conclusion that "Johns Hopkins held enslaved people in his home until at least the mid-1800s." Are these true statements?

The Context and Limitations of the 1840 and 1850 Census Records

The methods for canvassing and recording the population for the US census have evolved over time. From 1790 to 1840, the enumeration method was simple. Resident heads of free households, usually property owners, were enumerated by name. All other individuals in each household were represented as counts (ticks or numbers) in pre-set categories, defined in

⁵⁵ See <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/71671100/gerard-t-hopkins-to-thomas-jefferson/>, accessed 5/1/21, and Gerard T. Hopkins, *A Mission to the Indians from the Indian Committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting to Fort Wayne in 1804*, T. Ellwood Zell, 1862.

⁵⁶ See <https://exhibits.library.jhu.edu/omeka-s/s/johnshopkinsbiographicalarchive/page/home>, accessed 4/15/21.

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.

The 1850 and 1860 censuses introduced a new census form, called a slave schedule, for the separate enumeration of enslaved persons by gender and age (but not name). Historians have cautioned that these slave schedules, in particular the 1850 schedule, were not intended nor designed to collect definitive evidence of slave ownership, as their primary purpose was to count and record residence location at the time of enumeration.⁵⁷ In fact, widely used distributors of historical census records to the lay public caution users against drawing such conclusions. For example, [Ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com) states:

The slave schedules almost never conclusively connect a specific enslaved individual with a particular slave owner. At best, they provide supporting evidence for a hypothesis derived from other sources.

In Baltimore during the mid-1800s, many enslaved people lived with and worked for people who were not their owners.⁵⁸ In his exhaustive study of slave records in antebellum Baltimore, focusing specifically on the years 1830 to 1860, Ralph Clayton notes that:

The researcher must take great care not to assume that an individual owned a slave simply because he or she was enumerated in a household with slaves in the census records and slave schedules. Although the majority of such individual householders were probably slave owners the possibility exists that they were employers (hiring the slave for a period of time.)⁵⁹

Employment and living arrangements for enslaved people could be especially complicated in Baltimore. An enslaved individual could be owned by one person, live with another person, and work for a third person. The early life of the country's most prominent abolitionist hero, Frederick Douglass, illustrates this point, and only because Douglass himself left a detailed historical record in his autobiography that can be placed alongside the census records. Before he escaped to freedom, Douglass was enumerated in 1830 as an enslaved resident in the household of Hugh Auld in Baltimore.⁶⁰ However, Hugh Auld did not own Douglass. Instead, Douglass was owned by Auld's brother and sister-in-law, who lived at a plantation in Talbot County on Maryland's eastern shore. While Douglass lived with Hugh Auld in 1830, he was "hired out" to a Fell's Point shipbuilder as a bound laborer, still without wages of his own but in a position he regarded as an improvement over plantation life.⁶¹ Thus,

⁵⁷ See https://www.afrigenias.com/library/slave_schedule2.html, accessed 4/15/21.

⁵⁸ Matthew A. Crenson, *Baltimore: A Political History*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017.

⁵⁹ Ralph Clayton, *Slavery, Slaveholding, and the Free Black Population of Antebellum Baltimore*, Heritage Books, 1993, p. 59.

⁶⁰ Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass and Other Works*, Canterbury Classics, 2014, p. 195-209. See also Fifth Census of the United States, 1830, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁶¹ Douglass earned \$1.50 per day as a ship caulker but was "compelled to deliver every cent of that money to Master Hugh." Douglass, *Narrative*, p. 82.

although Douglass had not been manumitted, he nonetheless worked for a third party and was enumerated for the census in the household of an individual who did not own him.

Industrial slavery, in which bondspersons were owned, apprenticed, or employed by a company or factory, was also prevalent in Baltimore before the Civil War.⁶² Enslaved people worked in the city's shipyards, hotels, chemical factories, construction trades, and in the many mills that operated along the Jones Falls. Some of the most common occupations of free and enslaved Blacks who worked in industry in Baltimore before the Civil War were brickmaker, plasterer, carpenter, and drayman.⁶³

For all of these reasons, it is considered best practice among historians, demographers, and genealogists to couple census records with other supporting evidence when making claims about slave ownership, identity, and status. Without corroborating materials, such as a bill of sale or first-person evidence from a credible figure like Douglass, or the tax records noted above, pre-Civil War census documents alone cannot be used to conclude that Johns Hopkins owned enslaved people who may have been enumerated as living in his homes or on his properties.

The 1840 Census Record for Johns Hopkins – Franklin Street Residence (Baltimore City)

Sometime during the 1830s, Johns Hopkins left the Beltzhoover Hotel and purchased his first house in Baltimore on Franklin Street.⁶⁴ Thus, the 1840 Federal Census was the first time that he was counted in the census as the head of a household. Census enumerators in 1840 recorded both free and enslaved inhabitants of each dwelling on a single two-page form.⁶⁵ (See Figures 3 and 4 below and Appendix Exhibits 17A and 17B.)

Figure 3 below is a clipping from the first page of the 1840 census form for Johns Hopkins' Franklin Street home. In addition to Johns Hopkins himself, the form lists five additional free adults: three white and two Black. Figure 4 shows the second page of the 1840 census that indicates the presence of one male slave between the ages of 10 and 24 who was living in the same household. The total number of household residents is seven; two of the seven residents are employed in commerce.

⁶² T. Stephen Whitman, *The Price of Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in Baltimore and Early National Maryland*, University Press of Kentucky, 1997. See also Seth Rockman, *Scrapping By: Wage Labor, Slavery, and Survival in Early Baltimore*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.

⁶³ Ralph Clayton, *Slavery, Slaveholding, and the Free Black Population of Antebellum Baltimore*, 1993.

⁶⁴ *Matchett's Baltimore Director* in 1835 listed "Johns Hopkins, merchant" living on Franklin Street east of St. Paul Street. In the early 1840s, he moved to 177 W. Lombard Street. Johns Hopkins lived on Lombard Street until after 1850, when he purchased a home at 81 Saratoga Street. He acquired the Clifton estate in 1841. For the remainder of his life, Johns Hopkins lived at Clifton during the summer months and at in his Saratoga Street mansion the rest of the year. See <http://www.rememberingbaltimore.net/2021/06/where-johns-hopkins-lived-in-baltimore.html>, accessed 5/1/21.

⁶⁵ The census instructions given to enumerators in 1840 were identical to the instructions in 1830. See <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/technical-documentation/questionnaires/1830/1830-instructions.html>, accessed 5/1/21.

Handwritten manuscript snippet showing a signature "John H. H. H." and a table with a yellow arrow pointing to the first column.

[illegible]

Did Johns Hopkins own the enslaved person living in his home during the summer of 1840?⁶⁶ One way to answer this question is to review the tax records for Baltimore City for the years 1839 to 1859 that indicated which residents were taxed for owning slaves. The records that exist do not show any instances of Johns Hopkins' being taxed for owning slaves at his Franklin Street or Lombard Street homes.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ The reference date for the 1840 United States census was June 1st.

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most likely owner or employer of the slave enumerated in the 1840 census for Johns Hopkins' city residence. Regardless, the case for Johns Hopkins' being his owner is very weak because of the lack of corroborating evidence.

The 1850 Census Records for Johns Hopkins – Clifton Estate Residence (Baltimore County)

Johns Hopkins purchased the Clifton estate in 1841 and used it as his summer residence until he died in 1873. Tax records from 1841 note that the property was 166 acres in size and that no slaves were present. (See Appendix Exhibit 26.) Over the years, Hopkins bought up land adjacent to Clifton that added hundreds more acres to the estate. He hired the famous architect firm of Niernsee & Neilson to remodel the mansion house, while the landscaping improvements were overseen by skilled horticulturists from Scotland. In 1852, the *Baltimore Sun* described Clifton as “one of the most elegant, extensive and beautiful villas in this country.”⁶⁸ Figure 5 below is a map of Clifton from the era showing eight buildings, of which at least four were dwellings.

Figure 5. Portion of 1852 Chiffelle Map of Baltimore County showing Johns Hopkins' property. The Clifton mansion (circled) and seven other structures (outlined) are clearly noted.

The 1850 census was the first to enumerate all free individuals by name on separate rows of the enumeration form. It was also the first census to enumerate enslaved persons individually, though without names, on a separate “slave schedule” for households or properties where enslaved persons were present. Figure 6 presents the 1850 slave schedule for the Clifton estate. It records four enslaved men, and Johns Hopkins is listed under the column titled “names of slave owners.” (See Appendix Exhibit 19.)

⁶⁸ *Baltimore Sun*, “Improvements at ‘Clifton Park,’ Country Residence of Johns Hopkins, Esq.,” February 5, 1852. See <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/63945788/>, accessed 5/1/21.

in the County of Baltimore State
 of Sept, 1850. Elbridge G. Hale Ass't Marshal.

NAMES OF SLAVE OWNERS.	Number of Slaves.	DESCRIPTION.			Fugitives from the State.	Number manumitted.	Deaf & dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.
		Age.	Sex.	Colour.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
33 <i>Johns Hopkins</i>	1	45	M	B			33
34	1	50	M	B			34
35	1	25	M	B			35
36	1	18	M	B			36

Figure 6. 1850 slave schedule census record for Johns Hopkins' Baltimore County property. Four male slaves between the ages of 18 and 50 are listed. See Appendix Exhibit 19.

Did Johns Hopkins own these four enslaved individuals? As with the 1840 census, several other adults lived on the property owned by Johns Hopkins. Figure 7 presents the census record for all free individuals who were living at the Clifton estate during the summer of 1850. By 1850, when extensive renovations to the mansion and grounds were in full swing, the estate operated like a small village bustling with activity. In addition to Johns Hopkins, his sister Hannah Hopkins, and his niece Jane Janney, at least 25 other people lived and worked at the estate according to the census record. This group included the estate manager, William Waddel, two gardeners, a carpenter, four Irish laborers, and a woman named Jane Douglass. In addition, there were almost certainly construction companies and craftsmen working on the property at the same time, including those working under the supervision of the architects John Rudolph Niernsee and James Crawford Neilson, along with plasterers, painters, ironworkers, and roofers.⁶⁹ (See Appendix Exhibit 20.)

⁶⁹ *The Baltimore Sun*, "Improvements at 'Clifton Park,' Country Residence of Johns Hopkins, Esq.," February 5, 1852. See also Randolph W. Chalfant and Charles Belfoure, *Niernsee and Neilson, Architects of Baltimore: Two Careers on the Edge of the Future*, Baltimore Architect Foundation, 2006.

SCHEDULE I.—Free Inhabitants in *the 2^d District* **in the County of** *Baltimore* **State**
of *Maryland* **enumerated by me, on the** *17th* **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 mulatto							
		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 over 20 yrs of age who cannot read & write.	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict.
26	798 815	Johns Hopkins	55	M			600 000	"				
27		Hannah Hopkins	47	F				"				
28		Jane Jarney	17	F				"				
29	799 816	Jane Langlof	41	F				✓ Scotland				
30		Charles "	7	M				✓ "				
31		James "	2	M				✓ Va				
32	800 817	William Wadell	48	M		Manager		✓ Scotland				
33		Letitia "	48	F				✓ Ireland				
34		John "	22	M		Carpenter		✓ "				
35		Letitia "	19	F				✓ "				
36		Ellen "	17	F				✓ "				
37		Margaret "	15	F				✓ "			1	
38		Eliza "	13	F				✓ "			1	
39		Isabella "	11	F				✓ Md			1	
40		Louisa "	9	F				✓ "			1	
41		Mary "	7	F				✓ "				
42		William "	5	M				✓ "				

1		Jane Wadde	3	F				Md				
2		Eliza Jotey	30	F	B			"			1	
3	801 818	William Sanders	29	M		Gardener		✓ Scotland				
4		Martha "	27	F				✓ England				
5		David "	1	M				✓ Iowa				
6		Flora "	3	F				✓ Md				
7		James Holland	24	M		Laborer		✓ Ireland				
8		John Mc Math	35	M		"		✓ "				
9		John Powell	30	M		"		✓ "				
10		James Ryan	22	M		"		✓ "				
11		Robert Lucas	30	M		Gardener		✓ Scotland				

Figure 7. 1850 free inhabitant census for Johns Hopkins' Baltimore County property. Twenty-seven free whites and one free Black are recorded. The figure circled in yellow, noting the value of his real estate at \$600K, indicates that Johns Hopkins was the owner of the property and dwellings listed below. The names outlined in yellow are (top) the estate manager, and (bottom) four Irish laborers.

As in 1840, the 1850 census did not distinguish between owners and employers of enslaved individuals. Hence, it is possible that any one of many individuals living at Clifton

owned or hired the four enslaved persons listed on the 1850 slave schedule. For completion of such slave schedules, census enumerators were given the following instructions:

The enslaved people of each owner are to be numbered separately ... and a separate description of each is to be given. **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.**⁷⁰

As this guidance makes clear, enumerators in 1850 were directed to record the name of the head of the family or the owner of the property and not to focus on the legal or occupational relationship between that person and the enslaved resident(s). The implication of this instruction is that the four men enumerated on the slave schedule in Figure 5 could have been employed, or owned, by any of the people on the free inhabitant schedule of the Clifton estate in Figure 7. The most likely employer is William Sanders, who appears to be responsible for the four Irish laborers living at Clifton in 1850. In addition, the men could have been employees for one of the companies contracted to work at Clifton and boarding in one of the property's dwellings.⁷¹ Also, one of the men could have been James Jones (see below).

Implications from a Comparison of the 1850 Census and the 1860 Census

Johns Hopkins was enumerated in the 1860 census as a resident at Clifton, but no slave schedules were completed for Clifton or for his city residence on Saratoga Street in that year. Accordingly, no census records suggest that in 1860 Johns Hopkins was a slave owner or that any of the residents of his properties held or employed any enslaved people living at either property. (See Appendix Exhibit 22.)

Nonetheless, a close comparison of the 1850 and the 1860 census provides additional corroborating evidence for our interpretation of the 1850 slave schedules for Clifton. The 1850 and 1860 slave schedule forms are identical, and slaves are listed without names on both documents. But the 1860 census instructions were revised in order to eliminate the ambiguity over slave ownership that became clear after the 1850 census was completed. The result was a

⁷⁰ See <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/technical-documentation/questionnaires/1850/1850-instructions.html>.

⁷¹ The reference date for the 1850 census was Saturday, June 1st, and enumerators were instructed to record the residence location for all individuals on that date, regardless of when the census forms were completed. The slave schedule for Clifton was completed on Wednesday, August 14th, and the free inhabitant form for Clifton was completed three days later on Saturday, August 17th. These dates suggest that Johns Hopkins may not have been present on the day the slave schedule was completed at Clifton. If so, the enumerator may have simply assumed that the four Black men he encountered on August 14th were slaves owned by Johns Hopkins, or the enumerator may have received incorrect information from someone else at Clifton. According to the Census Act of May 23, 1850, enumerators were not required to interview the head of the household but rather any free white person age 20 or older who was present at the time of the enumeration. There were at least eight white men over the age of 20 living at Clifton during the summer of 1850 in addition to Johns Hopkins. The same enumerator, Mr. Elbridge Hall, completed both the free inhabitant and the slave schedule census forms.

more structured enumeration method for the 1860 census that would more clearly indicate slave ownership, not merely the ownership of a property on which enslaved people resided.⁷²

Figure 8 presents the 1860 slave schedule for a man named Richard P. Sherwood, who ran a hotel and tavern in Baltimore on the corner of Harrison and Fayette Street.⁷³ He was enumerated in the 1850 and 1860 census slave schedules indicating that enslaved people were resident in his household and probably worked at his hotel in those years.

Page No. 1

SCHEDULE 2.—Slave Inhabitants in 10th Ward Baltimore City, in the County of Baltimore State of Maryland, enumerated by me, on the 1st day of August, 1860. Andrew C. Gregg, Ass't Marshal.

	NAMES OF SLAVE OWNERS.	Number of Slaves.	DESCRIPTION.				Fugitives from the State.	Number manumitted.	Deaf & dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.	No. of slave houses.		NAMES OF SLAVE OWNERS.	Number of Slaves.	DESCRIPTION.				Fugitives from the State.	Number manumitted.	Deaf & dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.	No. of slave houses.
			Age.	Sex.	Color.	Age.								Sex.	Color.						
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
1	Richard P. Sherwood	1	25	f	-							Margaret Hall	1	50	f	-					
2		1	2	f	-								1	10	m	m					
3		1	5	f	m							John Hannon	1	55	f	-					
4		1	25	m	m								1	25	f	m					
5	Nathaniel Starobing	1	48	m	m							Comfort Doney	1	50	m	-					
6	Richard P. Sherwood												1	45	f	-					
7	Dr. Hopkins	1	25	m	-								1	16	f	-					
8	Richard P. Sherwood												1	50	m	-					
9	Harriet Matley	1	15	m	-								1	9	m	-					
10	Richard P. Sherwood											Phoebe Dearing	1	25	f	m					
11	Wm. Hamilton	1	25	f	-							Elyah Madden	1	34	f	-					
12	Rich. P. Sherwood												1	27	f	-					

Figure 8. The 1860 slave schedule for Richard P. Sherwood's Baltimore city property. Eight enslaved people are recorded, four owned by and four employed by Sherwood. The portion highlighted in yellow states that "Wm. Hamilton" is "owner" of a 25-year-old female slave. Note that three of the enslaved laborers were "fugitives from the state." See Appendix Exhibit 21.

⁷² As a result, in 1860, the government expanded and clarified the instructions to enumerators: "(1) *Owners of Slaves.* Under heading No.1 insert, in proper consecutive order, the names of all owners of slaves. When slaves are the property of a corporation, enter the name of the corporation. If held in trust for persons who have attained to their majority, whose names as owners do not elsewhere appear, the name of such persons may be entered, or their number, as "John Smith and two others," always provided that the "others" do not appear as owners in other places. If held in trust for minors, give the number of such minors. The desire is to obtain a true return of the number of owners. (2) *Number of Slaves.* Under heading 2 ... insert, in regular numerical order, the number of all the slaves, of both sexes, and of every age, belonging to the owner whose name you have recorded. In the case of slaves, numbers are to be substituted for names. The description of every slave, as numbered, is to be recorded, and you are to enumerate such slaves as may be temporarily absent, provided they are usually held to service in your subdivision. The slaves of each owner are to be numbered separately, beginning with the older at No.1. 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,) provided they are not returned by their proper owner. The name of the *bona fide* owner should be returned as proprietor, and the name of the person having them in charge as employer."

⁷³ See Matchett's Baltimore Director, 1855-56,

<https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000565/html/am565--307.html>, accessed 5/1/21.

In 1860, the census taker, Mr. Andrew Gregg, carefully recorded eight enslaved people for the property, noting those persons who Sherwood owned and those he had hired from other slave owners.⁷⁴ For the hired slaves, the enumerator recorded the name of each slave's owner directly on the slave schedule. For example, the last slave listed at line 11 (highlighted in the figure), is a 25-year-old woman. She was owned by William Hamilton but worked for Sherwood, presumably at his hotel or tavern.

Richard P. Sherwood also appeared, a decade earlier, in the 1850 census. Figure 9 presents the slave schedule for his property, which is the same hotel property that was enumerated on the 1860 slave schedule. In 1850, however, the slave schedule enumerates five slaves.⁷⁵ When the ages and genders of the enumerated slaves in 1850 and 1860 are compared, it appears that at least three of them could be the same individuals.⁷⁶ Moreover, two of these people were likely among the hired slaves who worked at Sherwood's establishment in 1860 and who were owned by someone other than Sherwood. Therefore, it can be inferred with reasonable confidence that at least some of the enslaved people enumerated in 1850 were hired and not enslaved people owned by Sherwood himself.

SCHEDULE 2.—Slave Inhabitants in 10 Ward Baltimore City in the County of Baltimore State of Maryland, enumerated by me, on the 21st day of July, 1850. *Geo. L. Sumner* Ass't Marshal.

NAMES OF SLAVE OWNERS.	Number of Slaves.	DESCRIPTION.			Fugitives from the State.	Number manumitted.	Deaf & dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.								
		Age.	Sex.	Colour.											
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Mrs. J. A. Jones	1	23	F	B				19	19						
Mrs. M. Jones	1	18	F	B				20	20						
Richd. Gibney	1	12	M	B				21	21						
Mrs. E. A. Day	1	13	F	M				22	22						
J. M. Hamilton	1	55	F	B				23	23						
Richd. P. Sherwood	1	16	F	B				19	19						
	1	14	M	M				20	20						
	1	14	M	M				21	21						
	1	12	M	M				22	22						
	1	10	M	B				23	23						

Figure 9. The 1850 slave schedule for Richard P. Sherwood's Baltimore city property. Five enslaved people are recorded. At least two could be employed but not owned by Sherwood. See Appendix Exhibit 21.

Returning to Johns Hopkins and the 1850 slave schedule for Clifton, the enumerator instructions (see above) only required the enumerator to record the name of "the person in whose family, or on whose plantation, the slave is found to be employed." Because Johns

⁷⁴ While some hired slaves were required to turn over their wages to their owners, in many cases they were able keep a portion of their earnings. See Whitman, 1997.

⁷⁵ Matchett's Baltimore Director, 1847-48, lists the same address as in 1855-56, 13 Harrison Street, at the corner of Fayette Street. See <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000525/html/am525--298.html>, accessed 5/1/21.

⁷⁶ For example, the 25-year-old enslaved woman employed by Sherwood in 1860 could be the 16-year-old girl enumerated in the 1850 census for Sherwood's hotel.

Hopkins owned the entire Clifton estate, including all the estate's dwellings, the enumerator, Mr. Elbridge Hall,⁷⁷ was obligated to list Johns Hopkins as "owner" on the slave schedule, regardless of whether he owned or employed the men working on the property.⁷⁸ The 1850 slave schedule made no distinction between these alternative arrangements because its primary purpose, according to its constitutional mandate, was to generate a reliable count of the population by residence location.⁷⁹

The deficiencies with the 1850 slave schedule census, so clearly illustrated by the examples of Johns Hopkins and Richard P. Sherwood, quickly became apparent to the statisticians tasked with tabulating and publishing the 1850 data. This led to the following clarification to the 1860 census instructions: "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."

Johns Hopkins' name does not appear on the 1860 census slave schedule as either the owner or the employer of enslaved people. Taken together, therefore, the census and tax records do not substantiate the university's claim that the 1850 census proves Johns Hopkins owned four slaves nor do they support the broader claim that "Johns Hopkins held enslaved people in his home until at least the mid-1800s."

FREE BLACKS EMPLOYED BY JOHNS HOPKINS

As noted above, Johns Hopkins hired free Black workers to maintain his household and to support his businesses. He did so over the course of his life, following the example set by his parents at Whites Hall when he was a boy. On the federal censuses from 1840 to 1870, sixteen free Blacks are enumerated in his homes and on his properties, establishing a steady pattern of hiring African Americans.

James Jones

According to his 1873 obituary in the *Baltimore Sun*, Johns Hopkins purchased an enslaved man, James Jones, whom he subsequently freed and employed as a servant and coachman in his

⁷⁷ Although Mr. Hall's first name appears as "Ellridge" on many of his census forms, his name was in fact Elbridge. Elbridge Gerry Hall was a resident of the 2nd District of Baltimore County in 1850. A Democrat and lineal descendent of Elbridge Gerry, who was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, Elbridge G. Hall later served a term in the Maryland House of Delegates and was appointed Justice of the Peace of Allegany County in 1867 by Governor Thomas Swann. Did Elbridge G. Hall know Johns Hopkins before 1850? It is unclear, but he once was involved in a foreclosure action involving Philip E. Thomas, Johns Hopkins' second cousin. See https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/refserv/quickref/html/ba_bcequity.html, accessed 11/1/2021.

⁷⁸ Clayton, 1993, p. 20: "The Federal Population Census Slaves Schedules were not required to record the practice of hiring out. The 1850 schedules completely eliminated any reference to the hiring out process."

⁷⁹ The congressional record of debates concerning the Census Act of 1850 can be found here <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llcg&fileName=022/llcg022.db&recNum=88>.

homes.⁸⁰ (See Figure 10 below.) It is not known when these events occurred or how long Jones may have been enslaved, but the article states that Jones was purchased “of a Mr. Tayloe in Virginia,” brought to Baltimore, and liberated. Jones remained “faithfully in [Johns Hopkins’] service ever since.” James Jones is the same person mentioned above in the *Baltimore American* obituary of 1873: “Many years ago [Johns Hopkins] purchased a slave to make him free.” James Jones was enumerated in the 1860 and 1870 censuses for Clifton. Not only did Jones continue to work for Johns Hopkins (see Figure 11), but upon Hopkins’ death, Jones was given a house on French Street and \$5,000, a large sum for the time.

Three colored servants, who had lived with Mr. Hopkins for many years, it is understood, are duly remembered in his will, one, James, his coachman, getting a dwelling house and \$5,000; another, Charles, his body or house servant, \$2,000, and the third a woman, his cook, \$1,000. The man James was once the slave of Mr. Hopkins, he having purchased him of a Mr. Tayloe in Virginia, at whose house he observed such qualities in the then colored youth as induced him to bring him to Baltimore, where subsequently he gave him his freedom years ago, doing a good part by him, and the man remaining faithfully in his service ever since.

Figure 10. A clipped portion of 1873 obituary for Jones Hopkins that mentions James Jones. *The Baltimore Sun*, December 27, 1873.

28	840	844	Johns Hopkins	70	m	Pres. Merchant	\$20,000	18,000
29			Hannah	40	f	Bank		
30			James Jones	35	m	B. Coachman		
31			Henry Rough	35	m	B. Waiter		
32			Clark Brown	40	f	B. Servant		

Figure 11. 1860 census records for Johns Hopkins’ Baltimore County property that lists James Jones. See also Appendix Exhibit 22A.

While it is possible that James Jones could be one of the slaves listed in the 1850 slave schedule for Clifton, the tax evidence does not confirm this speculation. Nonetheless, the possibility exists.⁸¹ It is more likely that James Jones was acquired by Johns Hopkins after 1850 and before the 1860 census. There is some circumstantial evidence that James Jones’ former master in Virginia, where he was born, was William Henry Tayloe.⁸²

⁸⁰ See <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/70287782/the-late-johns-hopkins/>, accessed 5/1/21.

⁸¹ It is also possible that Johns Hopkins contracted with a Virginia owner for Jones’s service on condition that he would be free in a defined number of years.

⁸² During the 1850s, Tayloe, who owned properties near and conducted business with Johns Hopkins’ maternal relatives in Virginia, was in the process of selling his enslaved laborers or moving them to Alabama, where he owned

James Jones did not stay long in the French Street home given to him by Johns Hopkins, moving sometime before 1880 into a new residence on Peach Street. Around 1858, he married a woman named Elizabeth and together they at least five children, of which three lived to adulthood - Mary, William, and John. James Jones died in 1893 and was buried at Laurel Cemetery in Baltimore, adjacent to Clifton estate, where he had lived and worked for so many years. Sadly, sometime during the 1950s his family's memorial stone was relocated to Carroll County, Maryland, where it now lies in ruins in an abandoned cemetery.

Other Employees of Johns Hopkins

Johns Hopkins was also known to employ free Blacks at his properties in Baltimore. Consider the case of Isaac Queen.⁸³ In 1884, the *Baltimore Sun* reported that "when Johns Hopkins has become a wealthy businessman Isaac [Queen] was called to perform duties at Clifton and other places owned by Mr. Hopkins."⁸⁴ Queen was likely a free Black laborer at the Whites Hall plantation during Johns Hopkins' youth.⁸⁵ It is possible therefore that the laborers at Clifton in 1850 had been "called up" from Anne Arundel County, possibly to work as field hands on the grounds of the estate during the summer growing season. They may even have been misenumerated as slaves even though they were free. Could Isaac Queen, who was not a slave, be one of the men from the 1850 slave schedule for Hopkins' Clifton estate? It is possible because his age matches roughly the ages of two of the men (aged 45 and 50) who were enumerated without names on the census.

Finally, there is evidence that Johns Hopkins' firm, Hopkins Brothers, employed Blacks in Baltimore. Figure 12 presents two newspaper clippings that identify men who worked for Hopkins Brothers. William Castle (left) is mentioned in a runaway slave notice published in the August 6, 1840 edition of the *Baltimore Sun*. Isaac Toney (right) worked as a drayman for Hopkins Brothers, at least until he was involved in an accident that "considerably injured" his head, as reported by the *Baltimore Sun* on September 29, 1840. A company such as Hopkins Brothers would have employed many draymen like Isaac Toney. Drays, flat bed wagons usually pulled by horses, were used extensively in the Inner Harbor, where the Hopkins Brothers store was located, to transport goods between shops, railway stations, warehouses, and the wharves.

and operated a number of cotton plantations with four of his brothers. However, no documents currently exist to confirm Tayloe's ownership of James Jones or his sale to Johns Hopkins. See

<https://www.thehouseofhopkins.com/posts/14-james-jones-part-1>, accessed 11/1/21.

⁸³ See <https://exhibits.library.jhu.edu/omeka-s/s/johnshopkinsbiographicalarchive/item/2945>, accessed 5/1/21.

⁸⁴ *The Baltimore Sun*, "A Playmate of Johns Hopkins," October 21, 1884.

⁸⁵ See <https://www.thehouseofhopkins.com/posts/4-isaac-queen>, accessed 4/15/21.

Figure 12. Clippings from the *Baltimore Sun* in 1840 that mention William Castle and Isaac Toney, Black employees of Johns Hopkins' firm Hopkins Brothers.

1830s Letters from Hopkins Brothers

Johns Hopkins University has presented evidence that Johns Hopkins may have acquired slaves for debts owed to his businesses during the 1830s. The Johns Hopkins Biographical Archive asserts:

In 1831, as part of the Hopkins Brothers business endeavors, Johns and Mahlon sought the possession of an enslaved person from the Keech family in satisfaction of a debt. In a later encounter, as detailed in a letter from the Hopkins Brothers to William B. Stone in 1838, they state that their firm would accept an enslaved person as collateral for a debt.⁸⁶

The use of enslaved property as collateral for loans was a common practice in all of the slave states.⁸⁷ When a debtor defaulted on a loan, the creditor – or the courts – could seize the property. In collecting outstanding debts, Hopkins Brothers would utilize the services of a lawyer or agent. “We wish you to collect this debt in the safest and speediest manner your judgment may dictate,” asked Hopkins Brothers of Leesburg lawyer John Janney in a letter dated August 9, 1841.⁸⁸ John Janney worked for Hopkins Brothers during the mid-1800s as a lawyer and debt collector, and many letters between Janney and Hopkins Brothers have survived.

⁸⁶ See <https://exhibits.library.jhu.edu/omeka-s/s/johnshopkinsbiographicalarchive/page/home>.

⁸⁷ See Sharon Ann Murphy, “Enslaved Financing of Southern Industry: The Nesbitt Manufacturing Company of South Carolina, 1836-1850,” *Enterprise & Society: The International Journal of Business History*, 2021; Sven Beckert and Seth Rockman, eds., *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.

⁸⁸ John Janney Papers, Special Collection Number Ms2001-019, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

There is little doubt that debtors may have sold enslaved people to cover debts owed to Hopkins Brothers, particularly as a result of the Panic of 1837 and the financial crisis that followed. During this period, the firm may also have acquired enslaved people who had been used as security on a loan. For example, in 1838, Hopkins Brothers asked the Baltimore City Jail to hold a woman named Harriet for “safekeeping” from January 24 to March 11.⁸⁹

In the cases described above from 1831 and 1838 in the Johns Hopkins Biographical Archive, it is not known if the firm of Hopkins Brothers ever took possession of the enslaved people, and, if they did, whether they held them, sold them, hired them out, employed them for wages, or perhaps even manumitted them.⁹⁰ In the case of Harriet from 1838, her fate is similarly unknown. The record from the Baltimore City Jail’s “Accommodation Docket” is the only instance in which the firm boarded an enslaved person there.⁹¹

CONCLUSION

Johns Hopkins was among the country’s most successful businessmen at the time of his death in 1873, and he 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. It is implausible that a man with his extraordinary business acumen was unaware of the bound labor embodied in the goods that he traded and profited from. Johns Hopkins shared in the profits generated by slavery because the majority of his clients and some of his partners used enslaved labor to generate the tradeable goods that passed through his warehouses.

Similarly, the firm of Hopkins Brothers sold goods and groceries to customers who owned slaves and who used enslaved people as collateral to purchase merchandise on credit. Johns Hopkins may also have loaned money or invested directly in many of these same clients and businesses, thereby participating, albeit indirectly, in the exploitation of enslaved laborers. For these reasons, he cannot be absolved of generalized complicity in supporting and profiting from the institution of slavery, regardless of how many charitable deeds he recorded in his lifetime or on his death.

Needless to say, much more work is needed to develop firm conclusions about how Johns Hopkins’ business interests and activities were related to the institution of slavery from the 1820s through the 1860s, and many archival documents remain to be mined, including court records related to the examples above. There is a clear indication that in the aftermath the economic depression of 1837, Johns Hopkins withdrew from the business of the Hopkins Brothers and focused his attention on building rental properties, managing his bank, and

⁸⁹ See <http://slavery2.msa.maryland.gov/>, accessed 11/16/21.

⁹⁰ It is also possible to interpret this evidence in another way. Johns Hopkins may have desired to acquire slaves directly from debtors rather than encourage them to sell slaves to raise cash to pay off their loans.

⁹¹ The Accommodations Docket is a record of persons who were held in the jail on the request of slave owners, masters of servants or apprentices, ship’s captains, and military officers.

actively involving himself in the affairs of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad as chairman of the finance committee.⁹²

But did Johns Hopkins personally own and exploit enslaved people? It is well known that he purchased and freed a man named James Jones, but in its December 2020 declarations the university asserted that Johns Hopkins' entanglements with slavery went well beyond Jones to include additional enslaved people who were recorded in the censuses of 1840 and 1850. However, the 1840 and 1850 censuses were not intended to count slave owners and thus cannot be used as proof of slaveholding. Only in 1860 did the federal census begin to record slave ownership systematically. Beyond the census records, there are no personal letters, property records, wills, bills of sale, deeds of manumission, first person accounts, or tax records to corroborate the claim that Johns Hopkins ever personally enslaved human beings.

Little else in the historical record suggests that Johns Hopkins, a birthright Quaker, would have owned slaves. After he moved to Baltimore in 1812, Johns Hopkins remained a practicing Quaker his entire life, and he later became involved in anti-slavery causes. He agreed to serve as a trustee of the Normal School for Colored Girls in Washington, D.C. together with prominent abolitionists Henry Ward Beecher and Myrtilla Miner. He collaborated with well-known Quaker anti-slavery campaigners Samuel M. Janney and Elizabeth Hopkins Janney, who were also close family relatives.⁹³ He supported the Union during the Civil War, unlike many others in Maryland, and worked with Lincoln's abolitionist Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase. Two of his dearest friends were Miles White and Francis T. King, both prominent Quaker merchants in Baltimore and vocal opponents of slavery. Francis T. King was one of several Quakers appointed to the first board of trustees for the Johns Hopkins University and Hospital, and he played a significant role in the early decades of the two institutions.

Nevertheless, Johns Hopkins was not a radical abolitionist. Like most forms of contentious politics, the movement to end slavery in the nineteenth century had radical and moderate wings.⁹⁴ Radical abolitionists believed in the immediate and unconditional end to slavery, even endorsing at times violence against slave owners and others to advance their cause. Other opponents of slavery, emancipationists, embraced a more moderate and gradual approach that relied on moral suasion, litigation, and acts of charity. This second, softer form of anti-slavery activism was more prevalent in Baltimore where, according to Matthew Crenson, "Quakers toned down their abolitionism much as masters toned down slavery."⁹⁵ Johns Hopkins is thus best described as a pragmatic emancipationist who assisted the anti-slavery

⁹²It is well known that the bulk of his fortune by the time of his death was in Baltimore and Ohio Railroad stock and that he worked tirelessly to see that management of the railroad was handed over to individuals whom he trusted. What has not been explored fully is Johns Hopkins' role as a member and chairman of the B&O finance committee, the records for which have survived.

⁹³ Samuel M. Janney, *The Memoirs of Samuel M. Janney (1881)*, Legare Street Press, 2021.

⁹⁴ Manisha Sinha, *The Slave's Cause: A History of Abolition*, Yale University Press, 2016.

⁹⁵ Matthew A. Crenson, *Baltimore: A Political History*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017, p. 165.

movement the best way he knew how - with his fortune, his faith, and his standing in the business community.⁹⁶

Throughout his long business career, Johns Hopkins employed a number of Black laborers both at his residences and at Hopkins Brothers. Isaac Queen, a former playmate from the Hopkins plantation in Anne Arundel County, worked at the Clifton estate in Baltimore County at Johns Hopkins' request. Isaac Toney and William Castle were laborers and draymen for Hopkins Brothers. Charles Tolbert and Chloe Johnson provided domestic services in Johns Hopkins' homes. And, of course, there is James Jones, Johns Hopkins' faithful friend and servant until his death in 1873. Along with these people, Johns Hopkins employed many white immigrants, from young Irish laborers fleeing poverty in their native country to seasoned horticulturists from Scotland who tended the gardens and greenhouses at Clifton. It is said that Johns Hopkins took great personal pride in supplying "ample occupation to many mechanics," Black and white alike, through his various enterprises and building projects in the city of Baltimore.⁹⁷

Given this pattern of behavior, and the connections and commitments detailed in this paper, it is difficult to imagine that Johns Hopkins, at the pinnacle of his wealth and power, in plain view and in direct defiance of Quaker doctrine, would have purchased and held in bondage multiple enslaved people for his personal benefit. If he had, he would have been disciplined by the Orthodox Meeting as his brother had been in 1839. No record of such admonishments in the Quaker archives has been found. Also, owning slaves did not make financial sense for Johns Hopkins. As researchers have shown, slaves were just as expensive to own as free laborers were to employ, which partly explains the steep decline in slave employment in Baltimore during the decades preceding the Civil War.⁹⁸

By 1850, in the aftermath of the Mexican-American War, tension over the institution of slavery in the United States was mounting. Although antebellum Maryland is sometimes described as slavery's "middle ground" – both geographically and politically – in Baltimore public sentiment was with the South.⁹⁹ Abolitionists were under attack, and the coastwise slave trade was operating at full steam with Baltimore serving as one of the major ports of departure.¹⁰⁰ Blacks, both free and enslaved, were under constant threat from slavecatchers and "blackbirders" who prowled the city looking for people to kidnap and sell south. These threats intensified after the Fugitive Slave Act was passed on September 18, 1850.¹⁰¹

Furthermore, Blacks in antebellum Baltimore could be subject to deportation out of state. Following Nat Turner's Slave Rebellion in 1831, Maryland and other states passed laws that

⁹⁶ It is worth noting that Johns Hopkins is included in *Encyclopedia of Slavery and Abolition in the United States*. See <http://www.americanabolitionists.com>, accessed 5/10/21.

⁹⁷ Brantz Mayer, *Baltimore: Past and Present*, Richardson & Bennett, 1871, p. 303.

⁹⁸ T. Stephen Whitman, *The Price of Freedom*, 1997.

⁹⁹ Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland During the Nineteenth Century*, Yale University Press, 1987.

¹⁰⁰ Jennie K. Williams, "Trouble the Water: The Baltimore to New Orleans Coastwise Slave Trade, 1820–1860," *Slavery and Abolition*, 41:2, 2020.

¹⁰¹ Ira Berlin, *The Long Emancipation: The Demise of Slavery in the United States*, Harvard University Press, 2015.

required people who had been manumitted to leave the state. The possibility of being arrested and transported to Africa also existed, though the colonization movement was in decline by 1850.¹⁰² In this fractious and frightening environment, free Blacks and enslaved people sought stable and sheltering jobs that would protect them from these risks. Working, earning wages, and living on the estate of a prominent Quaker businessman such as Johns Hopkins would have provided an extra measure of security and protection unavailable to others.

Not long after the Civil War concluded and slavery was abolished, Johns Hopkins began his estate planning in earnest. He continued his work as a reformer and philanthropist who had long advocated for Black education and health care and support for Black indigent orphans. It is not known why he chose to found a university and a hospital, though he was clearly influenced by his religion, his friends, and his own experiences with education and illness. There is even evidence, discovered during the course of this research, that Johns Hopkins intended the university, like the hospital, to be colorblind.

At the April 1873 meeting of prominent Black Baltimoreans to celebrate Johns Hopkins' bequests, held eight months before his death, written proclamations and speeches thanked him not only for his charity but for "recognizing our race as being entitled to equal consideration and treatment with all others" and for founding a "hospital, orphan asylum and college, *all of which are to be open to colored people upon equal terms with white citizens.*"

One of the speakers at the rally was the Reverend J. Sella Martin. Born a slave in North Carolina, Martin eventually escaped to the North where he became a well-known minister and abolitionist. According to the *Baltimore Sun*:

[Martin] said the white people were not disposed to give anything to the colored people except from necessity. They did not let them fight or vote until they found it a political necessity. There was now an educational necessity, and Johns Hopkins was the first man to see that necessity. He has taken the highest expression of the spirit of the age as his guide. Others have left their money to be expended after their death, but Mr. Hopkins gives his money while living, and keeps an eye on its disbursement. It requires the best of training, that of the Quaker Society, to produce such a man as Johns Hopkins.

¹⁰² The colonization movement had lost much of its momentum by the mid-1850s. Most free Blacks were not interested in relocating to Africa, many abolitionists vehemently opposed the project, and the scheme proved to be very expensive. Emigres to the colony of "Maryland in Liberia" also faced significant opposition from local populations. See Richard L. Hall, *On Afric's Shore: A History of Maryland in Liberia, 1834–1857*, Maryland Historical Society, 2003.

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APPENDIX

Evidence Presented Chronologically

EXHIBIT 1: 1778 DEED OF MANUMISSION OF JOHNS HOPKINS THE ELDER (TRANSCRIPTION)

Note: Five years before his death in 1784, Johns Hopkins the Elder, grandfather of the founder of Johns Hopkins University, manumitted 42 enslaved laborers in a deed dated July 21, 1778. The deed declared nine people “each and every one of them absolutely free” immediately. A second group became “term slaves” to be awarded their freedom either at the age of 21, for the women, or 25, for the men. One man (see highlighted sentence), a “boy called John,” was conveyed to Samuel Hopkins, the father of Johns Hopkins.

*Johns Hopkins Sen.
Manumission*

I Johns Hopkins Sen. of Ann Arundel County in the State of Maryland do hereby set free from Bondage my nine negroes Viz: my Negro man named Dick aged about forty five years, also my Negro man Named Fill aged about thirty three years, also my Negro man named Joshua Aged about thirty one years, also my Negro woman named Dafny aged about twenty five years, my Negro woman named Nam aged about twenty eight years, my Negro woman named Flory aged about twenty six years, my Negro woman named Cassy aged about thirty eight years, one Negro woman named Bets [sp?] aged about thirty six years, one Negro woman named Rachel aged about twenty two years and I do likewise discharge from my Service the following young Negroes when they so either of them arrive to the age hereafter exprest, that is the mails[sic] to be free at the age of twenty five years and the females to be free at the age of twenty one years, Viz: one Negroe girl named Meriah aged about twenty years, one Negroe girl named Polly aged about twenty years, one Negro girl named Bess aged about nineteen years and eight months, one negroe girl named Sally aged about seventeen years and eight months, one negro girl named Pheby aged about eleven years and eight months, one Negro girl named Lucy aged about nine years & eight months, one Negro girl named Phillis aged about eight years, one Negro girl named Jenny aged about eight years, one Negro girl named Nelly aged about eight years, one Negro girl named Sucky aged about six years and six months, one Negro girl named Dinah aged about five years, one Negro girl named Debby aged four years, one Negro girl named Affy aged three years, one Negro girl named Rachel aged one year, one Negro girl named Priss aged about two years and seven months, one negro girl named Tamer aged two years & six months, one negro girl named Nam[?] aged one year, one negro girl named Sally aged ten months. [A]lso one negro Boye named Abraham aged eighteen years, one negro Boye named Billy aged fifteen years and eight months, also one negro Boye named Oneas aged about fourteen years and seven months, one Negro Boye named Season aged fourteen years and four months, one negro Boye named Benn aged twelve years, one Negro Boye named Jerry aged twelve years, one negro Boye named Ned aged nine years, one negro Boye named Solomon aged eight years, one negro Boye named London aged seven years, one Negro Boye named John aged seven years, one Negro Boye named Frank aged four years, one negro Boye named Tom aged four years, one Negro Boye named Jemmy aged two years, one negro Boye named Harry aged two years, one Negro Boye named Daniel aged one year and eight months.

And do for myself my executors and administrators release unto the aforesaid Negroes all my right and all claim whatsoever as to there[sic] persons or to any estate they may acquire hereby declaring the said Negroes, namely Fills, Dick, Joshua, Dafny, Nam, Flory[?], Cassy, Beth/Bess[?], Rachel, and each of the young Negroes namely Merriah, Polly, Bess, Sally, Pheby, Lucy, Phillis, Jenny, Nell, Suckey, Dinah, Debby, Affy, Rachel, Priss, James, Nann[?], Sally, Abraham, Billy, Oneas, Season, Benn, Jerry, Ned, Solomon, London, John, Frank, Tom, Jemmy, Harry, and Daniel, Each and every of them absolutely free without any Interruption from me or any person

claiming under me. Witness whereof I have hereunto set[?] my hand and seal this 21 day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy eight.

Signed Sealed and Delivered

Johns Hopkins Sen.

in the presence of

James Cadle

Joshua Ridgley

On the back of the foregoing Instrument was these [?]

memo: to wit

Came Johns Hopkins party to this Deed before one the Subscriber one of the justices for Ann Arundel County in the State of Maryland and did acknowledge this Instrument of writing to be his act and Deed and the Negroes therein mentioned to be absolutely free.

Taken and Acknowledged before me this

25th July 1778

Nic[holas] Worthington

Recorded August 1st: 1778

NOTE: There are 47 individuals who we can identify by name in (1) the 1778 Deed of Manumission, (2) the 1784 Will of Johns Hopkins the Elder, and (3) the 1788 estate Inventory of Johns Hopkins the Elder.

The Nine Freedmen of 1778

First, we have the group of bondspeople who were freed outright in 1778: Fill, Dick, Joshua, Dafny, Nann, Flory, Casey, Bett, and Rachel. With birthdates ranging from approximately 1733 to 1756, these nine individuals constitute the oldest group of enslaved people known to have been owned by the Hopkins family at Whites Hall. We can track some of these people in census records. For example, a "Fill Family of Free Negroes," with seven members, appeared on the first federal census in 1790 (see Figure 1 in paper and Exhibit 5).

The Term Slaves of 1778

Second, we have the people who became "term slaves" in 1778 - their dates of ultimate freedom delayed until they reached 21 or 25 years of age. Younger than "The Nine," the term slaves range in age from ten months to 20 years. Listed alphabetically, they are: Abraham, Affy, Benn, Bett, Billy, Daniel, Debby, Dinah, Frank, Harry, Jemmy, Jenny, Jerry, John, London, Lucy, Meriah, Nann, Ned, Nell, Oneas, Pheby, Phillis, Polly, Priss, Rachel, Sall (b. 1761), Sall (b. 1777), Season, Solomon, Suckey, Tanner, and Tom.

The Last Will & Testament Slaves of 1784 (see Exhibit 2)

Third, we have four people who were named in Johns Hopkins the Elder's will who were not named in the Deed of Manumission. We do not have birthdates for these individuals. They were Cesar, William, Dover, and Eaus. They were likely older slaves who could not be legally manumitted. A man named Caesar and another named Dover appear in the 1741 will of Gerard Hopkins (1683-1742). See <https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/63357>.

The Inventory Slaves in 1788 (see Exhibit 3)

Finally, fourteen enslaved people were listed by name and age in the estate inventory of Johns Hopkins the Elder in 1788. Of these fourteen "Negroes" only one - Fanny - was not part of the 1778 deed.

Source: <https://exhibits.library.jhu.edu/omeka-s/s/johnshopkinsbiographicalarchive/item/2935>

EXHIBIT 2: 1784 LAST WILL & TESTAMENT OF JOHNS HOPKINS THE ELDER
(TRANSCRIPTION)

Note: This will mentions 14 slaves by name who were conveyed to Johns Hopkins the Elder's children. Most are also named in the 1778 Deed of Manumission. Four who were not were probably too old or infirm to be legally manumitted. A "negro boy called John" is given to Samuel Hopkins (see highlighted sentence).

Will of Johns Hopkins the Elder (1720-1784) – Transcription

In the Name of God, Amen

I, Johns Hopkins of Anne Arundel County in the State of Maryland being indisposed of Body but thanks be to Almighty God am of a perfect disposing mind and memory doe make ordain and appoint this present writing to be forever hereafter taken held and deemed to be my Last Will and Testament in manner and form as followeth.

Imprimis (sp?) to my Sons Samuel Hopkins and Philip Hopkins I give all my Land called Whites Hall and the Angles to be equally divided between them, to my Son Samuel Hopkins, I give the North and North west part which will include my dwelling house, and to my Son Philip Hopkins, I give the South and South west part to them, their heirs and Assigns forever, it is my will and desire that my Sons Samuel Hopkins and Philip Hopkins in Lew of the land shall pay to my Sons Gerrard Hopkins Evan Hopkins and William Hopkins to each of them one hundred pounds Sterling Money as they arrive to the Age of twenty one years, and if either of them should die before they arrive to the Age of Twenty one years the surviving ones shall be paid their part.

ITEM to my Son Samuel Hopkins I give one feather bed and furniture as also one Negro boy called John.

ITEM to my Son Philip Hopkins I give one Negro boy Francis as also one feather bed and furniture.

ITEM to my Sons Ezekiel Hopkins [with M Gillis], Johns Hopkins [with M. Crockett], and Richard Hopkins, I bequeath the sum of five Shillings Sterling to each of them to be paid by my Executrix hereafter named having before given them a sufficiency.

ITEM to my Son Gerrard Hopkins I give three Negroes Henry, Abraham, Cesar.

ITEM to my Son Evan Hopkins I give five Negroes William, Dover, Eaus, Benjamin and Jerry.

ITEM to my Daughter Elizabeth Hopkins and Anne Hopkins [I give] Phebe Nelly Jenny, and Phillis to be equally divided between them.

ITEM to my loving wife Elizabeth Hopkins I give all tobacco in tobacco houses, all money in merchants hands, one-third part of Bonds and one-third of personal estate also my dwelling planation known by the name of Whites Hall with the Angles during her Natural Life or so long as she remains my Widow.

The residue and remainder of my Estate with my goods Chattels Plate Bonds with all other property of what kind soever to me appertaining I Give devise and bequeath to my daughters Mary Hopkins Margaret Hopkins Elizabeth Hopkins Anne Hopkins and Rachel Hopkins to be equally divided between them and if either of them should die before they arrive to the Age of eighteen years or without Issue, then the surviving ones shall receive her part.

And Lastly I constitute and appoint my loving wife Elizabeth Hopkins to be my whole and Sole Executrix of this my Last Will and Testament and I do hereby utterly revoke disallow and disannul all former bequests Wills and Legacies by me heretofore in any wise left or made, declaring, ratifying and confirming this and not other to be my Last Will and Testament in Witness hereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this Seventh day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred and Eighty three so Signed, Sealed Published and declared by the Within names Testator Johns Hopkins to be his Last Will and Testament in presence of us who subscribe our names and in presence of the said Testator and of each other

John Cowman

Joseph Hopkins

Elisha Hopkins

Ann Arundel County

The 30th Day of July 1784

On the back of the foregoing will was the following endorsement to wit

Then came Joseph Hopkins and Elisha Hopkins and being of the People called Quakers did solemnly affirm and declare that they did see the Testator Johns Hopkins sign and seal this Will and that they heard him publish and declare the same to be his Last Will and Testament and that at the time of his so doing he was to the best of their Apprehensions of sound and disposing mind memory and understanding and that they together with John Cowman respectively subscribed their names as Witnesses to the Will in the presence and at the request of the Testator and in the presence of each other.

Affirmed to before Thos. [sp?] Gassaway, Reg. of Wills for AA Cty.

Source: <https://exhibits.library.jhu.edu/omeka-s/s/johnshopkinsbiographicalarchive/item/2933>.

EXHIBIT 3: 1788 ESTATE INVENTORY OF JOHNS HOPKINS THE ELDER (Page 2 only)

Note: This estate inventory lists 14 slaves by name who remained the property of Johns Hopkins the Elder in 1784. All but one – seven-year-old Fanny – were term slaves bound by the 1778 Deed of Manumission.

1 small Bedstead Bed & Furniture	3. 10.	2 Iron Pottricks w/ spits	1.
1 small Looking Glass	5.	1 Plough	3.
1 Looking Glass	12. 6.	1 Cart	5.
1 Pair Hand Saws	1.	1 Loom Straight & Rannoff	1.
1 Old Trunk	3. 9.	30. Plate	16. 10.
2 old Cello	15.	Total Amount	£ 57. 1. 7
6 old Chock	1. 10.	Eliza Hopkins } nearest of kin	
2 small Sprout Horses	10.	Joseph Hopkins } nearest of kin	
1 Old Black Mare	3.	Thomas Harfield	John Cowman
1 Gray Horse	9.	Rich ^d . Hopkins of Ga ^{ty}	Edward Watson
2 Cattle	4. 10.		Appraisers
1 Sprout Horse	6. 10.		
1 Negroes, Ned aged 10 years	30.	Anne Arundel County J ^{ts} Then came Elizabeth Hopkins the 15 th Day of April 1788 } Executrix of the last Will and Testament of Johns Hopkins late of Anne Arundel County Deceased, and being one of the People called Quakers did solemnly affirm and declare the foregoing to be a true and perfect Inventory of all and singular the Goods and Chattels of the Said Deceased, that have come to her hands or possession at the time of making thereof; and that what hath since or shall hereafter come to her hands or possession, she will return in an Additional Inventory; that she knows of no Concealment of any part or parcel of the Deceaseds Estate, by any person or persons whatsoever; and that if she shall hereafter discover any Concealment, or suspect any to be, she will acquaint the Orphans Court therewith, or the Register of Wills for the time being, with such Concealment or cause of suspicion that it may be enquired into according to Law.	
1 Menon 17. ditto	25.	Affirmed to before M ^{rs} Cawaway Reg ^l Wills for the County of Anne Arundel	
1 Leonard 16. ditto	30.	List of Special Debt due to the Estate of Johns Hopkins late of Anne Arundel County Deceased	
1 Tom 14. ditto	30.	Samuel Durham J ^{ts} and John Durham on a Writing Bond dated the 17 th Day of December 1774 for £130. 0. 0	
1 Daniel 11. ditto	30.	John Harwood Bond dated the 8 th Day of October 1774 for	
1 James 12. ditto	15.	100. 0. 0	
1 Sukoy 11. ditto	15.	£ 230. 0. 0	
1 Dinah 13. ditto	15.	Anne Arundel County J ^{ts} Then came Elizabeth Hopkins the 15 th Day of April 1788 } Hopkins Executrix of	
1 Des 13. ditto	15.		
1 Thomas 12. ditto	15.		
1 Rachel 11. ditto	15.		
1 Affa 12. ditto	15.		
1 Ab 9. ditto	15.		
1 Fanny 7. ditto	15.		
	£ 521. 2. 11		
1 1/2 bar Towler	1. 10.		
33 1/2 old ditto	1. 8.		
1 fold Wright & Scales	15.		
12 Eggs & Saucons	9.		
12 Earthen Plates	3.		
3 small Queens Ware Bowls, a Tea pot & Crumplet	5.		
2 Glass Tumblers	1. 0.		
3 Butter Potts	12. 6.		
2 Stone Jugs	5.		
12 Ivory handle knives & forks	2.		
2 parcel of old Books	3.		
3 Table Cloths	1. 15.		
1 Copper Tea Kettle & Coffee pott	1. 5.		
2 parcel of old Lumber	1.		
23 Cyder Casks	4. 10.		
1 Iron Pot	2. 5.		

Source: "Maryland Register of Wills Records, 1629-1999," images, FamilySearch

(<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33SQ-GTR9-942Y?cc=1803986&wc=SNYW-T36%3A146534401%2C146774801>

:20 May 2014), Anne Arundel > Inventories 1787-1790 vol 1 > image 30-32 of 298; Hall of Records, Annapolis. April 15, 1788.

EXHIBIT 4: 1790 CENSUS FOR ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY (ELIZABETH HOPKINS – WHITES HALL)

Note: The first federal census for Whites Hall indicates the presence of 10 slaves in the household of Elizabeth Hopkins (head of household) and Elisha Hopkins (outlined in red). These households also include many free Blacks, which would be broadly consistent with the 1778 Deed of Manumission and the 1784 Will.

365 Names of Heads of Families										366 Names of Heads of Families									
White	Black	Indian	Chinese	Other	Slaves	Free	White	Black	Indian	White	Black	Indian	Chinese	Other	Slaves	Free	White	Black	Indian
Saml Good	1	5			42	48	Seth Cather	1	2	2									
Richard Higgins	4	1	5		26	36	Joshua Hall	1		2									
William Hancock	1					3	John Mannott	1		2									
John Happington	2					3	Cassandra Rummels	2		3									
Joseph Hopkins	1	5	5	7	5	23	Charles Worsfold	1	3	5									
Robert Smith	2	2	8		12	24	William Allen	1		2									
Arthur Williams	1				12	14	Joshua Worsfold	2	1	4									
William Edwards	1				3	7	Barth Cather	2	2	5									
Radualder Edwards	1	3	2	1	4	11	William Phelps	4		7									
Thomas Lynthum	3	1	3			7	Phyllis Fowler	1	3	3									
John Lynthum	3	4	4	1	1	13	John Macfarlin	2	1	2									
William Andrew	1					5	Charles Badger												
Thomas White	2	4	4			10	Philip Calver												
James Jones	1					3	Andrew Anderson	2	2	2	1	1							
Conscious Jones	3					5	William Anderson	2	3	2									
Richard Hopkins	4	3	6	2	10	28	James Anderson	1	2	2									
George Gager					18	18	Ann Anderson	3	1	4									
John Gager					8	8	Samuel Taylor	2	2	4									
John Anderson					3	3	John Thomson	1	1	2									
Charles Anderson					5	5	Henry Woodard	1											
Philip Hopkins	2	1	3	1	3	10	Edward Stuart	2		1									
Richard Walker	2	3	4		5	19	John Belman	1	1	2									
Elizabeth Hancock	3	1	3		6	13	James Anderson	4	1										
Elizabeth Hopkins	2	1	4	1	10	18	John Malone	1	1	1									
Johnson	1				2	3	Stephen Bedford	4											
Hopkins	2	1	4	1	10	18													
Walt					2	2													
Worsfold	2	1	2		20	23													
Worsfold	1	2	3																

Source: "United States Census, 1790," database with images, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33SQ-GYY8-3Q48?cc=1803959&wc=3XTM-B8V%3A1584070902%2C1584071368%2C1584070607> :14 May 2015), Maryland > Anne Arundel > Not Stated > image 18 of 44; citing NARA microfilm publication M637, (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration).

EXHIBIT 5: 1790 CENSUS FOR ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY (FILL FAMILY)

Note: The "Fill family of free Negroes" is possibly the "Negro man Named Fill" named in the Deed of 1778 as one of the slaves to be liberated immediately. There are seven free Blacks living in his household in 1790.

Number of Heads of Families	Slaves	all other Persons	Free white Females	Free white Males	Free white Males under 16 Years	Free white Males 16 Years & upwards	Free white Females 16 Years & upwards
Joshua Morris	1	3	28	30			
Joseph Courman	1	3	2				
John Silance	1	3					
Cupid Lee		5					
Fill Family of free Negroes		7					
Nick							

Source: Year: 1790; Census Place: Anne Arundel, Maryland; Series: M637; Roll: 3; Page: 367; Image: 209; Family History Library Film: 0568143.

Note: Consistent with the 1778 Deed of Manumission, this census record for 1800 indicates that there were no slaves in the household of Samuel Hopkins (last column outlined in green) and notes the presence of free Black households around Whites Hall. It corroborates the claim that Samuel Hopkins did not own slaves in 1800 nor after. The names highlighted in red are Samuel Hopkins and his close family members; names in blue are people possibly formerly enslaved at Whites Hall. The two boys under ten, circled in yellow, are seven-year-old Joseph Janney Hopkins and five-year-old Johns Hopkins in the household of Samuel and Hannah Hopkins. The blue box highlights Phillis Johnson's household consisting of three free Black residents.

[illegible]

A-8

EXHIBIT 7: 1802 DEED OF MANUMISSION FOR JOHN JOYCE

Note: In 1802, Samuel Hopkins paid Charles Carroll of Carrollton \$200 to free a man named John Joyce (aka Old Shoemaker John).

I hereby manumit and Declare to be henceforth
free a Mulatto Man Commonly called old
Shoemaker John now calling himself John Joyce
formerly my Slave in Consideration of the Sum of
two Hundred Dollars paid to William Watson
my Clerk by Mr. Samuel Hopkins for the freedom
of the said John Joyce Given under my hand and
Seal this seventh day of December in the year of our
Lord eighteen hundred and two
Signed & Sealed in
the presence of
James Mackubin
Robert Welch Junr
Ch. Carroll of Carrollton (Seal)

Source: <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000825/pdf/am825--128.pdf> and
<https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000825/pdf/am825--129.pdf>.

EXHIBIT 8: 1804 ESTATE SALE FOR ELIZABETH HOPKINS (1737-1804)

Note: This 1804 notice in the *Maryland Gazette* announces a public auction of the property of Elizabeth Hopkins, the widow of Johns Hopkins the Elder, mother of Samuel Hopkins, and grandmother of Johns Hopkins. Elizabeth Hopkins inherited several slaves from her husband in 1784, but no slaves are listed in this notice as part of her property for sale at 11:00 am on Friday, November 23, 1804.

Cambrick muslins and elegant worked shawls, &c. &c.
All of which will be sold very low for cash, and
as usual to our punctual customers.
Also on hand Imperial and hyson teas.
Annapolis, November 14, 1804.

Will be SOLD, at PUBLIC AUCTION, the 23d
instant, if fair, if not the first fair day thereafter,
at the dwelling-house of the late ELIZABETH
HOPKINS, of Anne-Arundel county, deceased,
ALL her personal property, consisting of horses,
cattle, hogs, sheep, household and kitchen fur-
niture, &c. &c. The sale to begin at 11 o'clock, by
SAMUEL HOPKINS.
12th of 11th mo. 1804.

NOTICE.
I HEREBY forewarn all persons from hunting, with
either dog or gun, on the farms occupied by me on
the south or north sides of the Severn river, in Anne-
Arundel county, and from crossing them in any man-

Source: *Maryland Gazette*, November 15, 1804. See <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/70894472/maryland-gazette-15-nov-1804/>.

EXHIBIT 9: 1807 INDENTURE CONTRACT FOR JEREMIAH AND THOMAS

Note: On November 16, 1807, Samuel Hopkins signed an indenture contract with a woman named Phillis that bound her two sons, Jeremiah and Thomas, to work for Samuel Hopkins until they reached the age of twenty-one. In return they would be looked after and "learn the art of planting." It is possible that the Phillis from this contract is a woman named Phillis Johnson, who lived as a free Black near Whites Hall (see Exhibit 6).

"We, the subscribers' justices of the peace in and for A Arundel County...Do bound out and place as Apprentices with the consent of their mother, Jeremiah and Thomas (Jeremiah aged ten years and three months [&] Thomas aged seven years and six months) unto Samuel Hopkins, planter, until they, the said Jeremiah & Thomas, shall arrive to the age of twenty one years during which time they shall, will, and truly behave, conduct, and demean themselves in every respect as good and faithful apprentices ought to do towards their said Master, and the said Master shall furnish and provide for the said Apprentices good & sufficient meat, drink, clothes, washing, lodging and other requisite necessities during their Apprenticeship, and also to teach them the art of planting, and when free to give them a suit of clothes."

We the Subscribers justices of the peace in and for A Arundel County...Do bound out and place as Apprentices with the consent of their mother, Jeremiah and Thomas (Jeremiah aged ten years and three months Thomas seven years & six months) unto Samuel Hopkins planter until they the said Jeremiah & Thomas shall arrive to the age of twenty one years during which time they shall will and truly behave conduct and demean themselves in every respect as good and faithful Apprentices ought to do towards their said Master and the said Master shall furnish and provide for his said Apprentices good & sufficient meat, drink, clothes, washing, lodging and other requisite necessities during their Apprenticeship and also to teach them the art of planting and when free to give them a suit of clothes witness Our hands & and seals this eighteenth Day of November Eighteen Hundred & seven

Phillis
Seal
Sam. Hopkins
Seal

part of the seventeenth }
line erased out when
first made

Source: <https://exhibits.library.jhu.edu/omeka-s/s/johnshopkinsbiographicalarchive/item/2862>.

Note: Like in 1800, this census record indicates no slaves in household of Samuel Hopkins (last column in green). It is consistent with the 1778 deed of manumission and the claim that Samuel Hopkins did not own slaves in 1810. Nelly Hopkins is likely the girl “Nell aged about eight years” from the 1778 deed. The record also shows the Philis Queen household, the possible residence of Isaac Queen (see Exhibit 25).

Source: "United States Census, 1810," database with images, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33SQ-GYBS-FCM?cc=1803765&wc=QZZC-1T6%3A1588181903%2C1588181912%2C1588179902>:1 December 2015), Maryland > Anne Arundel > Not Stated > image 13 of 32; citing NARA microfilm publication M252, (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration).

Note: In this 1814 estate inventory for Samuel Hopkins' brother Philip, no slaves are listed. Philip inherited "one Negro boy Francis" in Johns Hopkins the Elder's will.

[illegible]

Source: "Maryland Register of Wills Records, 1629-1999," images, FamilySearch.

(<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-9TR9-983Z?cc=1803986&wc=SNYW-YWL%3A146534401%2C146831201>)

:20 May 2014), Anne Arundel > Inventories 1813-1816 > image 206 of 269; Hall of Records, Annapolis.

EXHIBIT 12: 1814 CERTIFICATE OF FREEDOM FOR AFFY, FORMER HOPKINS FAMILY SLAVE

Note: This 1814 Certificate of Freedom (aka Freedom Paper) is for a woman named Affy, who was manumitted by Johns Hopkins the Elder in 1778. She would have been fully liberated around 1796. This document corroborates the claim that Johns the Elder's descendants carried out the 1778 Deed of Manumission. Those who applied for freedom papers were often planning to travel to work or live somewhere distant; they needed a certificate of freedom to prove to officials, slavecatchers, and employers that they were free.

Source: https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/coagser/c1/c46/000000/000003/pdf/mdsa_c46_3.pdf.

EXHIBIT 13: 1818 ESTATE INVENTORY FOR SAMUEL HOPKINS (1759-1814)

Note: In this 1818 estate inventory for Samuel Hopkins, no slaves are listed. Samuel inherited "one Negro boy John" in Johns Hopkins the Elder's will. John would have been fully liberated around 1796.

497 and made oath on the holy Evangel of almighty God, that the foregoing is a just and true account sales of part of the said deceaseds personal Estate. Sworn before *Jⁿ Gaspaway Reg^r Wills aag^t.*

An Additional Inventory of the goods, chattels and personal Estate of Elizabeth Wells Deceased appraised by us the subscribers in Dollars and cents this 8th day of June 1818.

	\$	Cts
1 Bed.	10	00
1 Bed.	8	00
1 Counterpane	4	00
2 Blankets	2	00
1 Dish		37 1/2
11 plates		60
1 Sizing pan		75
1 Table cloth	1	00
2 Wearing Slays	1	00
1 Axe		10 3/4
Cash	229	00
Total Amount	262	91 1/4

*Ben^m + Winterson
mark
Thomas Atwell* } Appraisers

Anno: Anundel County J^t Then came Joseph Atoris administrator of the 9th day of June 1818 Elizabeth Wells late of Anne Arundel County, deceased, and made oath on the holy Evangel of almighty God, that the foregoing is a true and perfect additional Inventory of all and singular the goods, chattels and personal Estate of the said deceased, that came to his hands and possession since the returning of the first Inventory, and that what hath since or shall hereafter come to his hands or possession he will return in a further additional Inventory, that he knows of no concealment of any part or parcel of the deceaseds Estates by any person whatsoever, and that if he shall hereafter discover any concealment or suspect any to be he will acquaint the Orphans Court therewith or the Register of Wills for the time being with such concealments or cause of suspicion that it may be inquired into according to law? Sworn before *Jⁿ Gaspaway Reg^r Wills aag^t.*

An Inventory of the Goods and Chattels of Samuel Hopkins late of Anne Arundel County, Deceased, appraised by us the subscribers this 23rd day of March 1814 in Dollars and cents, being first thereto lawfully Qualify'd & affirmed and its spiritual properties are as follows.

498 The decas'd wearing apparel	20 00	4 Stone Bars	1 50
1 Walnut Dish	6 00	1 Stone Pitcher	50
1 Mahogany dining Table	4 00	3 Earthen Jars	40
1 Walnut D ^o	3 00	1 dozen Shivers and Forks	1 50
21 Windsor chairs	11 00	1 Tin coffee pot	25
1 Small Walnut Stand	00 25	2 Tin Cannisters	12 1/2
1 Looking glass	1 50	3 Bottles	6
1 Bed and furniture	25 00	1 Coffee mill	25
1 D ^o D ^o	20 00	1 Small Brush	3
1 D ^o D ^o	15 00	12 Cyder Cask	10 00
1 D ^o D ^o	20 00	10 Barrels some indifferent	2 50
1 D ^o D ^o	30 00	2 Furkins Hogs Lard	6 00
1 D ^o D ^o	30 00	1 Cyder Mill	4 00
1 Locutor	00 25	A parcel of old Iron	5 00
1 base of drawers	12 00	1 old tray	6
1 Small D ^o	7 00	A parcel of Flax	1 50
1 Small Looking glass	75	1 Cart	25 00
A parcel of leather	3 00	1 Small grind Stone	50
1 old Chest	12 1/2	A parcel of carpenters Tools	1 25
1 old pair scales and weights	75	1 pair Still yards	75
1 Small chest	6	3/4 yards of Domestic cloth	3 75
2 Bushels Beans	1 00	1 old chain	1 00
A parcel of Tow thread	50	5 old Iron pots	5 00
A parcel yarn	25	2 Dutch Burns	1 50
A parcel fine thread	1 25	1 stew pan	1 50
1 Small side cupboard	50	1 Trickette	50
2 dinner Wheels	4 00	A parcel of old Wood ware	50
1 Wooling D ^o	1 50	1 Half Bushel	25
2 Small chest Indifferent	25	2 pair Smoothing Irons	1 00
1 Small Walnut Table	1 00	2 Scythes and Cradles	2 00
A parcel spun cotton	50	1 Baker	50
1 Set Ruins Ware	5 00	1 Gutter	50
5 Silver Table Spoons (old)	9 00	1200 Weight of Bacon	120 00
12 Small D ^o	10 00	a parcel soap	2 50
1 Set of Castors	50	36 Bushels of wheat	36 00
A parcel of glass	50	3 Butters	2
2 Guns	10 00	30 Barrels of corn	90 00
A parcel of Books	3 00	3 old tubs	1 50
1 pair Shep Shears	25	30 Bushels of Oats	40 00
1 perpetual Almanac	25	1000 Weight of Tobacco unpack'd	15 00
1 Tea Board	1 00	1 Wheat Fan	0 00
1 Small D ^o	25	5 ploughs and gears	0 00
3 Brass candlesticks	75	2 Harrows	3 00
1 pair And Irons	50	500 Weight of Fodder	2 50
1 pair Fire Tongues	25	500 D ^o Clover Hay	4 00
2 Stone Sugs	1 00	15000 D ^o Hay	120 00
		1 Crofs Cut Saw	2 50
		3 Axes	2 25
		1 Spade	25
		2 Shovels	25

499. 1 Breding hors.	1 00	3 Heifers.	10 00
2 Iron Wedges.	75	2 Small Steers.	14 00
1 Old Wagon.	15 00	1 Small Heifer.	4 00
a fodder House.	2 50	1 Bull.	4 00
1 Bay mare.	40 00	1 Cow and calf.	12 00
1 Brown horse.	30 00	29 Old Sheep and 3 lambs.	50 50
1 Saddle mare.	25 00	4 Sows.	0 00
1 Black Horse.	25 00	1 D. and 0 pigs.	5 00
1 Mule.	20 00	31 young Hogs.	31 00
2 Apache Oxen.	50 00		
6 Cows.	60 00		
			\$1231 50

Anne Arundel County, J^{ts}. Then came Hannah Hopkins Administratrix the 10th Day of June 1810 of Samuel Hopkins late of Anne Arundel County, deceased, and being one of the people called Quakers did so, solemnly, sincerely and truly affirm and declare, that the foregoing is a true and perfect Inventory of all and singular the Goods, Chattels and personal Estate of the said deceased, that came to his hands and possession at the time of the making thereof, and that what hath since or shall hereafter come to his hands or possession she will return in an additional Inventory, that she knows of no concealment of any part or parcel of the deceased's Estate by any person whatsoever and that if she shall hereafter discover any concealment or suspect any to be she will acquaint the Orphans' Court therewith or the Register of Wills for the time being with such concealment or cause of suspicion that it may be inquired into according to law.

Affirmed to before

W. Gasaway Reg^r Wills aax^s.

A list of Debts due the Estate of Samuel Hopkins (deceased) as appears to the undersigned executrix which are considered as separate debts.

Hannah Hopkins.

Zadock Wells's A/c dated 12 mo 1 1813 for Interest.	\$55.00
A. H. & M. Woods's a/c dated 5 th of 4 th mo 1803 1 of 8 mo 10 th of 6 th 1809	39.04
Joshua C. Higgins's a/c dated 6 th 10 th 1809	6.00
Frederick Rice's a/c dated 5 th mo 6. 1809 & 4 mo 20 th 1812	7.24
Isabert Journe's a/c dated 6 mo 15 th 1809	3.00
Osborn Williams's a/c dated 6 mo 20. 1809	6.00
Mary Woodward's a/c dated 6 th mo 20 th 1809	3.00
John Hunts a/c dated 6 th mo 25 th 1809	3.00
John Peachs a/c " 6 th . 25 th 1809	3.00
John Gaither's a/c " 6 th mo 29. 1809	3.00

500 Jacob Gruns ap. 6 mo 10. 1009.	3. 00
John Davidson ap. 6 mo 15. 1009.	3. 00
Jacob Janny ap.	20. 00
John L. Thomas's ap. 1 st mo 29. 1016.	25. 00
Richard Hopkins's ap. dated 10 th of 3 mo 1785 & 20 of 5. mo 1007.	11. 20
Joseph Hopkins ap. dated 2 nd mo 10. 1790.	11. 00
	\$ 235. 20

Anne Arundel County fo: Then came Hannah Hopkins Administratrix the 10th Day of June 1010 Juria of Samuel Hopkins late of Anne Arundel County, deceased, and being one of the people called Quakers did solemnly, Sincerely and truly Affirm and declare that the foregoing is a just and true list of Debts Spirate and desperate due to the Estate of the said deceased.

Affirmed to before

J. Gasaway Rig Mills aax of.

An additional Account of Sales of part of the personal Estate of Francis Clements late of Anne Arundel County, deceased, made by Sarah Clements one of the Executors of his last Will and Testament. Viz:

All the Crop of Tobacco sold to William Warfield for	\$400. 30
All the Crop of wheat sold to Rev. Hughes for	39. 37 1/2
	\$ 439. 67 1/2

Anne Arundel County fo: Then came Sarah Clements one of the Executors the 11th day of June 1010. J of the last Will and Testament of Francis Clements late of Anne Arundel County, deceased, and made oath on the holy Evangelis of Almighty God, that the foregoing is a just and true Account Sales of part of the personal Estate of the said deceased.

Sworn before

J. Gasaway Rig Mills aax of.

Account Sales of part of the personal property of James Williams Esq. late of the City of Annapolis, deceased, sold this Eleventh day of May 1010.

William Alexander.	3 Grogs Steel button	3 20	
	2 decanters containing magnesia	0 55	
	1 pair large Scales Beam	3 00	
	50 Iron Wights 56 ^{lb}	5 50	
	1 pipe contg. about 50 Gall domestic wine	20 25	
	2 Panels ditto	15 60	20 10
George Barber.	1 Vol. Spectator	0 10 1/2	
	Tharps Surgery	0 55	0 70 3/4
Nicholas Bruwer Esq.	3 Vols Blackstones Commentaries	1 00	
	Deputy Commissioners Guide	0 55	
	Old Simon Cooks Commt on Paula Epistles	5 00	
	1 Crow bar	1 00	7 35

EXHIBIT 14: 1820 CENSUS FOR ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY (JOSEPH J. HOPKINS – WHITES HALL)

Note: Like in 1800 and 1810, this census record indicates no slaves in the household of Joseph J. Hopkins (yellow highlight), who inherited Whites Hall after the death of Samuel Hopkins. Joseph was Johns Hopkins' older brother. The spaces highlighted in red are the slave columns – no persons indicated.

	90	57	11	35	48	32	86	39	46	56	29	5	133	1	21	114	62	74	36	110	56	45	26	52	30	20	23	81	23	19	32	271	
Charles Drury	2	1			1		1		1	1		5			3	2				1	1												
Thomas Riddle	2	1		1			3		1	1		8			2	3	3		5	2	2												
William J. Harrison	3				1		1		1			5			1				2	2	1												
Henry Davis		1		2		1			1			3											1					6		1			
George H. Higgins	1	1		1					1			10			7	2	2		4	3		2											
Abel White	2				1		2		1	1	1	4							1						2								
John J. Hopkins	1	2		1			2		3	1	1	9										3	1	2				1		1			
Thomas M. Williams					1				1			15			8	2	4		12	2	6	2											
John Latham	3	1			1	1	1		1	1		5			3				1	1	1												
Gerard B. Hopkins	4	1			1		1	2		1		5										2											
John Coonan				1		1			3			9										4	4	1				1		1			
Margaret Hall	1			1			1	4		1		12			5	2	2	3	11	3	3												
Johns Hopkins of the	2	1	1	2	1	1	2				1	10			6	3	2		6	4	2		1										
Thomas Welch					1		1		1			8			4	3		1	5	2	1	2		1									
Joseph Howard	2				3		3	1		1		7			2	1	2	1	3	4		1											
Agnes D. Dade						1	1			1		1																					
Joseph S. Smith	3			1	2		2	2	1			3			3	1	1			1													
William Davis	1	3	1	4	4		3	1	1	1		1			12	1	3	1	7		1				2								
William B. Woodfield				1						1		9				2	1	2	1	9		2	1										
Joseph Brown	3				7		3			1		8			4	3		6	1	1	1												
Thomas Riddle		1	1	2		1	1	1	1	1		10			3	1	2	2	5	2	3	2											
Elizabeth Riddle	1	2		1								8			5		5		4	4	1												
Samuel B. Hopkins	2	1			1		1					2			2								1										
John McHenry	3				1				1			1																					
William Riddle	1									1		4										1	1	1		2	1		1				
James Riddle												2																					
John Riddle												3										1											
William Riddle												4																					
James Riddle												2																					
Robert Gale												4										1	1		1	5	3	1					
Charles Patton	3			1		3	2		1			7			1	2	1		2		3												
William Riddle	3			1					1			7			1																		
Richard Hopkins	1			1	1		1	4	1			4											1	3									
James Riddle												4										2	3	1						1	1		
Archibald Riddle												1										1		1		2			1				
Richard Riddle				1								7			1	2	1	3	1		1												
Joseph Wellington	3				1		2		1			1			1																		
	135	69	14	53	75	42	118	53	76	74	38	7	640	4	36	177	93	105	47	187	93	72	39	72	37	36	27	82	34	20	38	022	

Source: "United States Census, 1820," database with images, FamilySearch

(<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-9YBC-8KB?cc=1803955&wc=3L7F-KNL%3A1586987003%2C1586987515%2C1586987514> :16 July 2015), Maryland > Anne Arundel > District 2 > image 4

of 6; citing NARA microfilm publication M33, (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration).

EXHIBIT 15: 1826 JOHNS HOPKINS AND MAHLON HOPKINS DISOWNMENTS

Note: In 1826, Johns Hopkins and his brother Mahlon Hopkins were disowned from the Baltimore Monthly Meeting at Lombard Street for selling alcohol. Shortly after this event, the Hopkins family leaves the Baltimore Monthly Meeting to join the new Orthodox Quaker Meeting House established in 1828 on Courtland Street.

The friends continued to prepare a Testimony against Johns Hopkins, produced one, which after some alterations was approved, & directed to be signed. They are continued to proceed therein, as the discipline directs & report to next Meeting.

„Johns Hopkins a member of our Meeting, being in the practice of trading in „distilled spirituous liquors & refusing to relinquish the same. We therefore disown „him, from having a right in our religious Society.

„Signed by order of the Monthly Meeting of Baltimore for the Western District.
„held the 8th of 12th Mo: 1826.

„Benjamin B. Moore Clerk.

The friends continued to prepare a Testimony against Mahlon Hopkins produced one, which after some alterations was approved & directed to be signed. They are continued to proceed therein as the discipline directs & report to next Meeting.

„Mahlon Hopkins, a member of our Meeting, being in the practice of trading in distilled spirituous liquors & refusing to desist therefrom. We therefore disown him from having a right of membership with us.

„Signed by order of Baltimore Monthly Meeting for the Western District
„held the 8th of 12th Mo: 1826.

„By Benjamin B. Moore Clk.

Source: <https://exhibits.library.jhu.edu/omeka-s/s/johnshopkinsbiographicalarchive/item/2873>.

EXHIBIT 16: 1839 SAMUEL HOPKINS JR. DISOWNMENT

Note: In 1839, Johns Hopkins' younger brother Samuel Hopkins Jr. (1803-1868) was disowned from the Orthodox Quaker Meeting at Courtland Street for selling alcohol and having "two colored person who are slaves" in his house.

Samuel Hopkins has so far departed from the ~~good~~ order of our religious Society, as to be in the practice of selling distilled Spirituous Liquors: and has in his Family two coloured persons who are Slaves. having been visited, and not manifesting a disposition to make satisfaction for his deviations; we therefore disown him from membership with us. affectionately desiring his restoration to Society.

Signed by direction, and on behalf of Baltimore Monthly Meeting for the Eastern and Western districts in unity with the Ancient Yearly Meetings of Friends held the Fifth day of the 12th Month 1839.

Sam^r. Caney Clerk

Source: Courtland Street Orthodox Meeting, December 5, 1839. See

http://transcribedoc.net/mdsa_bc_quaker_records/scm788/pdf/scm788_0566.pdf and

http://transcribedoc.net/mdsa_bc_quaker_records/scm788/html/scm788_0566.html. For the image, see:

https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/2189/images/42483_1821100519_4166-00521?backlabel=ReturnSearchResults&queryId=9866019f2a582c54037e19c6c6050fdc&pId=1101800570.

Note: This census record for 1840 indicates the presence of four free whites and two free Blacks in Johns Hopkins' Baltimore city residence. See paper for analysis and interpretation.

Source: "United States Census, 1840," database with images, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33SQ-GYYV-3HHJ?cc=1786457&wc=31SV-J4X%3A1588666425%2C1588666422%2C1588668922>; 24 August 2015), Maryland > Baltimore > Baltimore Ward 9 > image 73 of 81; citing NARA microfilm publication M704, (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration).

Note: This census record for 1840 indicates the presence of one enslaved male, age 10-24, in Johns Hopkins' Baltimore city residence. See paper for analysis and interpretation.

[illegible]

A-23

EXHIBIT 18A: 1850 CENSUS FOR BALTIMORE COUNTY – FREE INHABITANT SCHEDULE – CLIFTON ESTATE (PAGE 1)

Note: This two-page census record for 1850 indicates the presence of many free whites and one free Black living at Johns Hopkins' Baltimore county estate (Clifton). See paper for analysis and interpretation.

SCHEDULE I. – Free Inhabitants in the 2^d District in the County of Baltimore State
of Maryland enumerated by me, on the 17th day of Aug. 1850. Gelling G. Hall Ass't Marshal.

1	2	3	Description			7	8	9	10 11 12		
			Age	Sex	Color				Married within the year	Attended School within the year	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict
		Robert Washlett	12	M				Mad	/		
		Ann	7	M				"			
		James	6	M				"	/		
		Eliza	7	F				"	/		
		John	10	F				"	/		
		Mary	21	F				"			
		Ann	23	F				"			
776	115	Henry Wilson	44	M		Labourer		"		/	
		Maria	40	F				"		/	
		Phoebe	23	F				"		/	
		Jessie	14	F				"			
		Mary	10	F				"			
		Benjamin	9	M				"			
		George	8	M				"			
		Abner	3	M				"			
777	114	James L. Stea	38	M		Farmer	1000	"			
		Eliza	29	F				"			
		Ann	18	F				"	/		
		Thomas	9	M				"	/		
		Emily	7	F				"	/		
		Joe	4	M				"			
		Anna	3	F				"			
		John	4	M		Farmer		"			
		Mary	26	F				West Indies			
		John	20	M				Mad		/	
778	115	Johns Hopkins	55	M			600000	"			
		Ann	47	F				"			
		John	17	F				"			
779	116	Johns Hopkins	41	F				Mad			
		Charles	7	M				"	/		
		James	2	M				"	/		
800	117	William Marshall	47	M		Manager		Scotland			
		Letitia	46	F				Idaho			
		John	28	M		Carpenter		"			
		Letitia	19	F				"			
		Ellen	17	F				"			
		Margaret	15	F				"	/		
		Eliza	13	F				"	/		
		John	11	F				Mad	/		
		Ann	9	F				"	/		
		Mary	7	F				"			
		William	6	M				"			

Source: "United States Census, 1850," database with images, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3S3HY-6X17-DVH?cc=1401638&wc=95RN-ZNL%3A1031350501%2C1031619801%2C1031619802> :9 April 2016), Maryland > Baltimore > Baltimore county, part of > image 123 of 930; citing NARA microfilm publication M432 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration).

EXHIBIT 18B: 1850 CENSUS FOR BALTIMORE COUNTY – FREE INHABITANT SCHEDULE – CLIFTON ESTATE (PAGE 2)

Note: same as above.

SCHEDULE I.—Free Inhabitants in the 2 ^d District in the County of Baltimore State of Maryland enumerated by me, on the 22 day of Aug 1850. George H. Hall Ass't Marshal													
1	2	3	The Name of every Person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1850, was in this family.			Description.			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.	Whether white or colored.	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict.
			Age.	Sex.	Color.	Whether Male or Female.	Whether Free or Slave.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
			James Wadden	3	F						Old		
			John J. J.	30	F	B					"		
101	219		William Sanders	29	M			Gardener.			✓ Scotland		
			Martha "	27	F						✓ England		
			James "	1	M						✓ Town		
			Flora "	2	F						Old		
			James Scotland	24	M			Laborer			✓ Ireland		
			John H. G. G.	30	M			"			✓ "		
			John Sanders	30	M			"			✓ "		
			James Ryan	22	M			"			✓ "		
			Robert Lewis	30	M			Gardener			✓ Scotland		
			James Sanders	40	M				13500		na		
			Joanna "	22	F						"		
			William James	27	M			Farmer			"		
			William Sanders	15	F						"		
			Abraham Allen	58	M	B		Laborer			"		
			John Garrett	14	M	B		"			"		
103	220		Joseph Barber	35	M			"			"		
			Sophia "	30	F						"		
			Mary "	2	F						"		
104	221		Hester Bond	13	F	B					"		
			James "	17	F	B					"		
			Richard "	13	M	B					"		
105	222		Robert Sanders	40	M			Farmer			✓ England		
			Robert "	17	M			Butcher			Old		
			John "	16	M			Laborer			"		
			Elizabeth "	50	F						✓ England		
			Mary "	7	F						Old		
106	223		Samuel Garrett	30	M	M		Laborer			"		
			Elizabeth "	20	F	M					"		
			Mary "	5	F	M					"		
			Sophia "	3	F	M					"		
			James "	1	M	M					"		
107	224		William Hallway	50	M			Miller			"		
			Marilla "	26	F						"		
			John "	6	M						"		
			Margaret "	30	F	✓					"		
			Richard "	1	M						"		
108	225		Samuel Sanders	40	M			Farmer	60000		"		
			Elizabeth "	30	F						"		
			Thomas "	1	M						"		
			John "	20	F						✓ Ireland		

Source: "United States Census, 1850," database with images, FamilySearch

(<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33HY-6X17-DVH?cc=1401638&wc=95RN-ZNL%3A1031350501%2C1031619801%2C1031619802> :9 April 2016), Maryland > Baltimore > Baltimore county, part of

> image 124 of 930; citing NARA microfilm publication M432 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration).

EXHIBIT 19: 1850 CENSUS FOR BALTIMORE COUNTY – SLAVE SCHEDULE – CLIFTON ESTATE

Note: This census record for 1850 indicates the presence of four enslaved Black males at Johns Hopkins' Baltimore county estate. See paper for analysis and interpretation.

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

NAMES OF SLAVE OWNERS.	Number of Slaves.	DESCRIPTION.				Deaf & dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.	Number unclassified.
		Age.	Sex.	Color.	Fugitive from the State.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Moses Rankin	1	3	F	B		1	
2	1	2	F	B			
3 Nicholas Parker	1	30	F	B			
4	1	1	F	B			
5 Roll Bryson	1	40	F	B			
6	1	16	F	B			
7	1	13	F	B			
8	1	12	F	B			
9	1	8	F	B			
10	1	6	F	B			
11 Samuel Parker	1	30	F	B			
12	1	23	F	B			
13	1	19	F	B			
14	1	10	F	B			
15	1	8	F	B			
16 Moses Miles	1	23	F	B			
17 Richard Emory	1	85	F	B			
18	1	81	F	B			
19	1	50	F	B			
20	1	52	F	B			
21	1	44	F	B			
22	1	42	F	B			
23	1	20	F	B			
24	1	16	F	B			
25	1	14	F	B			
26	1	12	F	B			
27	1	10	F	B			
28	1	8	F	B			
29	1	18	F	B			
30	1	40	F	B			
31	1	42	F	B			
32	1	30	F	B			
33	1	27	F	B			
34	1	18	F	B			
35	1	7	F	B			
36	1	7	F	B			
37	1	3	F	B			
38	1	1	F	B			
39	1	1	F	B			
40	1	2	F	B			
41	1	5	F	B			
42	1	16	F	B			
43	1	12	F	B			
44	1	10	F	B			
45	1	8	F	B			
46	1	11	F	B			
47	1	11	F	B			
48	1	11	F	B			
49	1	11	F	B			
50	1	11	F	B			
51	1	11	F	B			
52	1	11	F	B			
53	1	11	F	B			
54	1	11	F	B			
55	1	11	F	B			
56	1	11	F	B			
57	1	11	F	B			
58	1	11	F	B			
59	1	11	F	B			
60	1	11	F	B			
61	1	11	F	B			
62	1	11	F	B			
63	1	11	F	B			
64	1	11	F	B			
65	1	11	F	B			
66	1	11	F	B			
67	1	11	F	B			
68	1	11	F	B			
69	1	11	F	B			
70	1	11	F	B			
71	1	11	F	B			
72	1	11	F	B			
73	1	11	F	B			
74	1	11	F	B			
75	1	11	F	B			
76	1	11	F	B			
77	1	11	F	B			
78	1	11	F	B			
79	1	11	F	B			
80	1	11	F	B			
81	1	11	F	B			
82	1	11	F	B			
83	1	11	F	B			
84	1	11	F	B			
85	1	11	F	B			
86	1	11	F	B			
87	1	11	F	B			
88	1	11	F	B			
89	1	11	F	B			
90	1	11	F	B			
91	1	11	F	B			
92	1	11	F	B			
93	1	11	F	B			
94	1	11	F	B			
95	1	11	F	B			
96	1	11	F	B			
97	1	11	F	B			
98	1	11	F	B			
99	1	11	F	B			
100	1	11	F	B			

Source: "United States Census (Slave Schedule), 1850," database with images, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3S3HY-6PHS-5N?cc=1420440&wc=MJC6-SRW%3A1042936001%2C1042940401%2C1042940402> :22 May 2014), Maryland > Baltimore > Baltimore county > image 33 of 90; citing NARA microfilm publication M432 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration).

EXHIBIT 20: 1852 ARTICLE IN BALTIMORE SUN ABOUT CLIFTON ESTATE

Note: Johns Hopkins purchased Clifton Park in 1841 and used it as his summer residence until he died in 1873. Tax records from 1841 note that the property was 166 acres in size (see Exhibit 26). Over the years, Hopkins bought up land adjacent to Clifton that added hundreds more acres to the estate. He hired the famous architect firm of Niernsee & Neilson, which “designed and superintended the progress of the work” to remodel the mansion house, while the landscaping improvements were overseen by a skilled horticulturist from Scotland, William Waddel.

By 1850, when extensive renovations to the mansion and grounds were in full swing, the estate operated less like a quiet country home and more like a small village bustling with activity. Combining information from the census records and newspaper articles from the period, we can identify at least 28 people who lived and worked at Clifton during the summer of 1850 not including the four men enumerated on the slave schedule. And at least ten different craftsmen, architecture, construction, and remodeling companies worked at the property around this same time. In addition to Johns Hopkins, his sister, and his niece, there was a manager, carpenter, gardeners, and laborers. From the census we can identify many of the residents by name:

William Waddel, 48, manager; William Sanders, 29, gardener; Robert Lucas, 30, gardener; John Waddel, 22, carpenter; Dennis Holland, 24, laborer; John McGrath, 35, laborer; John Powell, 30, laborer; and James Ryan, 22, laborer. William Waddel, his wife Letitia, the two gardeners Sanders and Lucas, as well as Sanders’ wife Martha were all born in Scotland.

The following 1852 article from the Baltimore Sun, which describes improvements made to Clifton Park during the early 1850s, is worth quoting in its entirety to give a flavor of the various features of the estate and of the extensive renovations undertaken there.

Baltimore Sun, February 5, 1852

“Local Matters: Improvements at ‘Clifton Park,’ Country Residence of Johns Hopkins, Esq.”

This magnificent county residence, situated on the Harford road, a short drive from the city, has lately been enlarged by an entire re-modelling of the old mansion, whilst the grounds have been greatly extended by the addition of several hundred acres, constituting it one of the most elegant, extensive and beautiful villas in this country.

The central building has been raised one story, and received a considerable addition on the north side, besides the extension of the wings, and the building of a prospect tower on the west, with a wide arcade, 109 feet in length, the building measuring 133 feet in extreme length, by 73 feet, its greatest depth. From the gate lodge, at the Harford road entrance, a well gravelled road winds majestically through the fine trees and lawns of the park, to the main entrance of the building, the Port Cochere in the tower, affording passage through an archway into the principal hall, 23 feet high, paved with marble, lighted by four richly stained arched windows, and wainscotted with black walnut, of which the doors and massive stairway are formed. From the main corridor on the principal floor, the first door to the right leads to the parlor, 19 by 28 feet, adjoining which is the breakfast room, 18 feet square, both of which open on the large southern arcade, supported by 23 arches and pillar. Adjoining the breakfast room are the back stairs, running from the basement to the main chamber story, and also to the servants’ rooms. Further east are the housekeeping rooms, closets, water fixtures, etc.

Opposite the parlor is the dining room, 13 by 26 feet, which opens on the west to a spacious arcade of 5 arches; whilst a door on the east conducts to the large saloon, which is of elegant proportions, and 15 feet high, with a semi-circular room on the north 18 feet diameter. A folding door in the east wall connects the saloon with a library 20 feet

square, which opens on the eastern arcade, looking towards the garden and lake. All these elegant apartments are supplied with elaborately carved Italian marble mantels, made in Italy. The main chamber floor and tower contain 8 large chambers, bath room, etc, also a large billiard room, 20 by 30 feet, opening on a terrace, over the bay room, and to another over the north-eastern arcade, decorated by balustrades, with pedestals, supporting richly ornamented vases. The third floor of the central building has been appropriated for the use of the servants, containing a number of large rooms. The basement contains a large kitchen, servants' hall, washhouse, pantry and store-rooms, milk, vegetable and fuel cellars, and a large covered area under the southern and eastern arcades. A convenient stair leads from the second floor of the tower through the various stories of the pavilion, which is supported by twelve arches, and surrounded by an iron balcony, sustained by ornamental iron brackets. From the pavilion, a stair leads to the terrace of the tower, affording magnificent and extensive views of the entire city and surrounding country, the Patapsco and Gunpowder rivers, the broad, expansive Chesapeake, whitened by the sail of an increasing commerce, besides a bird's eye view of the extensive park, with its richly ornamented grounds, the large artificial lake, with its islands and pretty little rustic bridges, the beautiful group formed by the gardener's lodge and conservatory in the terraced garden, and the extensive grapewhose and orangeries, stretching along several hundred feet, the ornamental structures scattered over the whole park with taste and judgment, as well as the finely tilled farm grounds beyond. The inviting panorama which meets the view from this point of observation is well worth a visit to the tower. The exterior of the villa is rough-casted to imitate free stonework and develops the graceful proportions of the "Italian Villa" style of architecture, with massive arcades, projecting cornices and brackets, depending for its effect on the varied masses and outlines of the whole rather than on the minuteness of its details.

The entire improvement reflects credit upon the well known architects, Messrs. Niernsee & Neilson, who have designed and superintended the progress of the work, which viewed from a proper position, displays the most unexceptionable architectural beauty and excellence of design.

But attractive as is the building, it would be unjust not to render a passing tribute to the admirable, extensive, and valuable conservatories and general outbuildings of the place. The former contains exotic plants and fruit of surpassing excellence, even superior to those of foreign countries in flavor and size, whilst the floral departments may be viewed as an extensive and inviting horticultural exhibition, well repaying the time expended in a visit. The manager of the park and grounds, Mr. William Waddel, an old and experienced horticulturist, has exhibited very rare skill in the management of these valuable plants and fruits, all of which are in the very best condition. It may be worthy of mention that the proprietor has spared no means in the improvement of this great residence, the appearance of which as well as the grounds, evidences the skill and ability of Baltimore mechanics, and foreign artists. The production of the latter maybe seen in the hundred beautiful specimens of marble statuary and sculpture which are observed from every point. The following persons aided on the improvements: H.J. Bayley, carpenter; James Murray, brick layer; Jas. Sullivan, painter; Andrew Merken, iron worker; John Rothrock, roofing; Bevan & Sons, stonework; Hayward, Bartlett & Co. plumbing; S. W & H. T Gernhardt, glass stainers; George W. Starr, plasterer.

Source: *Baltimore Sun*, February 5, 1852. <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/77779791/improvement-at-clifton-park-feb-1852/> and also, for a later article about Clifton, see <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/74434552/hopkins-park-article-balt-sun-14-feb-189/>.

EXHIBIT 21: 1855 ADVERTISEMENT FOR RICHARD P. SHERWOOD'S HOTEL

Note: This is an advertisement from a city directory for R.P. Sherwood's hotel and tavern in Baltimore city. Enslaved workers – some owned by Sherwood and some hired by him – worked at this establishment in 1850 and 1860. See paper for analysis and interpretation.

R. P. SHERWOOD'S
HOTEL
AND
EATING HOUSE
No. 13 Harrison, Corner of Fayette Streets,
BALTIMORE.

Gentlemen will be accommodated with the best the Market can afford at any hour of the day, at Moderate Prices, in a style of neatness unsurpassed by any house in the city.

MR. SHERWOOD is now fitting up Commodious Sleeping Apartments, which he designs to give the weary rest, as well as food. Its Central Location, the Reasonable Charges, Substantial Fare, Clean Beds and kind attention, upon which Strangers may always confidently depend, he hopes will ensure him his share of the public patronage.

Source: Matchett's Baltimore Director for 1855-'56, see

<https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000565/html/am565--307.html>.

EXHIBIT 22A: 1860 CENSUS FOR BALTIMORE COUNTY – FREE INHABITANT – CLIFTON ESTATE (PAGE 1)

Note: This two-page census record for 1860 indicates the presence of many free whites and four free Blacks at Johns Hopkins' Baltimore county residence (Clifton). No slave schedule exists for Clifton in 1860. This is the first appearance of James Jones in the census. See paper for analysis and interpretation.

Page No. 125

SCHEDULE 1.—Free Inhabitants in 12th District in the County of Baltimore State Maryland enumerated by me, on the 11 day of July 1860. John S. Hayes Asst. Marshal

Post Office Little Gunpowder.

1	2	3	4			7	8		10	11	12	13	14
			Age	Sex	Color		Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Estate					
1	Michael Casey	14	m						Maryland				
2	William Lohy	17	m						"				
3	Ernest King	11	m						"				
4	Peter M. Shann	13	m						"				
5	Mosius Jordan	13	m						"				
6	Stephen Jordan	11	m						"				
7	Alexander Dwyer	11	m						"				
8	Bert. Harman	11	m						"				
9	John Connor	10	m						"				
10	James Logan	7	m						"				
11	Edward Gasman	11	m						"				
12	Henry Maiden	11	m						"				
13	Edward Grant	55	m			Teacher			Ireland				
14	Cornelius Murphy	20	m			Farm Laborer			Maryland				
15	Bennett Bennett	37	m			"			Ireland				
16	John Conlatino	35	m			Shoemaker			Germany				
17	Catharine Rine	40	f			Servant			Ireland				
18	Rose Curran	22	f			"			"				
19	838 842 Patrick Kennedy	30	m			Farm Laborer			"				
20	Catharine "	27	f			"			"				
21	John "	3	m			"			Maryland				
22	Mary "	2	f			"			"				
23	Catharine "	7	f			"			"				
24	Hannah "	12	f			"			"				
25	839 843 Jacob Grace	66	m			Toll Collector	500	250	Pennsylvania				
26	Ann "	63	f			"			Maryland				
27	Ann Cook	21	f			Servant			"				
28	840 844 John Hopkins	20	m			Pres. Merchant	20000	10000	"				
29	Hannah "	40	f			Bank			"				
30	James Jones	35	m			Coachman			"				
31	Henry Roush	35	m			Trailer			"				
32	Clark Brown	40	f			Servant			"				
33	841 845 Isaac Ledley	38	m			Farm Laborer	200		"				
34	Hannah "	33	f			"			"				
35	Agustia "	19	f			"			"				
36	Eliza "	2	f			"			"				
37	Ella "	6	f			"			"				
38	Estella "	2	f			"			"				
39	Caroline Anderson	37	f			"			"				
40	842 846 Evan Lloyd	23	m			"			Wales				

No. white males, 22 No. colored males, 2 No. foreign born, 2 No. blind, 0
 No. white females, 14 No. colored females, 2 No. deaf and dumb, 0 No. insane, 0
 No. paupers, 0 No. convicts, 0

EXHIBIT 22B: 1860 CENSUS FOR BALTIMORE COUNTY – FREE INHABITANT – CLIFTON ESTATE (PAGE 2)

Note: same as above.

Page No. 126

SCHEDULE 1. – Free Inhabitants in 12th District **in the County of** Baltimore **State of** Maryland **enumerated by me, on the** 11 **day of** July **1860.** John S. Hayes **Asst. Marshal**
Post Office Little Gunpowder.

1	2	3	4			7	8		10	11	12	13	14
			Age	Sex	Color		Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Estate					
843847	William Fowler	35	M			Farmer			Scotland				
	Sarah "	35	F						"				
	John "	2	M						Maryland				
	Mary "	7 1/2	F						"				
844848	Christopher Duke	35	M			Gardner		100	England				
	Mary "	34	F						"				
	Richard "	14	M						"				
	Mary "	8	F						Maryland				
	Elizabeth "	7	F						"				
	Christopher "	2	M						"				
	Eduard Jones	34	M			Garden Laborer			England				
	David Brown	30	M			"			Ireland				
	Dennis Dorman	40	M			Farm "			"				
	John Bailey	35	M			"			"				
	Thomas Loring	46	M			"			"				
	Columbus Knight	33	M			"			Maryland				
	Samuel Simson	40	M			"			Ireland				
845849	James Rine	30	M			"			"				
	Margaret "	31	F						"				
	Levis "	7	M						Maryland				
	Mary "	7	F						"				
	Margaret "	5	F						"				
	Ellen "	2	F						"				
	Ellen Clifford	50	F						Ireland				
	Caroline Adler	14	F						Maryland				
846850	Norah Whitridge	43	M			Merchant	20000		Rhode Island				
	Elizabeth "	43	F						Maryland				
	Olivia "	16	F						"				
	William "	10	M						"				
	Alice "	9	F						"				
	Lidia "	3	F						"				
	Betsy Manfold	52	F			Servant			"				
	Ellen Hughes	18	F			"			"				
	Sarah Ruben	22	F	B		"			"				
	Nancy Coleman	30	F	B		"			"				
	George Bailey	29	M	B		Farm Laborer			"				
	Laura Pinkney	27	M	B		"			"				
	Alvantha Woods	12	M	B		"			"				
847851	James H. Harris	38	M			Lawyer	15000	6000	"				
	Sydney "	36	F						"				

No. white males, 17 No. colored males, 3 No. foreign born, _____ No. blind, _____
 No. white females, 17 No. colored females, 2 No. deaf and dumb, _____ No. insane, _____
 No. paupers, _____ No. convicts, _____

Source: "United States Census, 1860," database with images, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-9B9V-2X1?cc=1473181&wc=7Q6K-2KC%3A1589423267%2C1589428495%2C1589425408> :24 March 2017), Maryland > Baltimore > 12th District > image 125 of 142; from "1860 U.S. Federal Census - Population," database, Fold3.com (<http://www.fold3.com> : n.d.); citing NARA microfilm publication M653 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration).

EXHIBIT 23: 1870 – CENSUS FOR BALTIMORE COUNTY – CLIFTON ESTATE

Note: Last federal census for Johns Hopkins at his Baltimore county estate. Many free whites (24) and nine free Blacks are listed, including five Black males who are described as farm workers.

Page No. 174 Inquiries numbered 7, 16, and 17 are not to be asked in respect to infants. Inquiries numbered 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, and 20 are to be answered (if at all) merely by an affirmative mark, as /.

SCHEDULE 1.—Inhabitants in 12th District, in the County of Baltimore, State of Maryland, enumerated by me on the 8th day of August, 1870.

Post Office: Little Gleanings Wm. Blackstone Ass't Marshal.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		10	11		13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
							8	9		11	12									
The name of every person whose place of abode on the first day of June, 1870, was in this family.			Description.			Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male or female.		Value of Real Estate owned.		Place of Birth, naming State or Territory of U. S.; or the Country, if of foreign birth.		Parentage.		Education.		Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.		Marital Status.		
1		— Otto	5	M	n					Maryland	/	/								
2		— Mary	2	F	w					"	/	/								
3	16/17	— Gaphan-Adam	40	M	n	Yankee	1,000			Germany	/	/								
4		— Margaret	52	F	w	Keeps house				"	/	/								
5		— John	1	F	w					Maryland	/	/								
6	16/17	— Hopkins John	75	M	n	Banker	5,000			"										
7		— Catherine	47	F	w	Keeps house				"										
8		— James James	60	M	B	Boiler				Virginia			/	/						
9		— Robert Charles	49	M	B	"				Maryland			/	/						
10		— Johnson Clara	45	F	D	Domestic				"			/	/						
11	16/17	— Sadley Isaac	49	M	n	Manager farm	600			"										
12		— Hanna	47	F	w	Keeps house				"										
13		— Ellen	16	F	w					"										
14		— John	12	F	w					"										
15		— Alice Mary	5	F	w					"										
16		— William Robert	45	F	B	Domestic				"			/	/						
17		— Richard	40	B	Master farm				"			/	/							
18		— Nelson William	16	M	B	"				"			/	/						
19		— Stewart William	30	M	B	"				"			/	/						
20		— White George	35	M	B	"				"			/	/						
21		— Wilson John	37	M	B	"				"			/	/						
22	16/17	— Foster Christy	52	M	n	Gardener				England	/	/								
23	16/17	— Fowler Ann	50	F	w	Keeps house	200			"	/	/								
24		— Richard	25	M	n	Sailor				"	/	/								
25		— Mary Eliza	19	F	w					Maryland	/	/								
26		— Elizabeth	7	F	w					"	/	/								
27		— Christopher	1	M	n					"	/	/								
28		— William	7	M	n					"	/	/								
29		— James	4	M	n					"	/	/								
30		— William George	41	M	n	Zabour				Ireland	/	/								
31	16/17	— Foster William	47	M	n	Wortmillwright	500			Scotland	/	/								
32		— Sarah	40	F	w	Keeps house				Ireland	/	/								
33		— John	11	M	n					Maryland	/	/								
34		— Susan	10	F	w					"	/	/								
35		— William	6	M	n					"	/	/								
36		— Foster David	40	M	n	Labourer				Ireland	/	/								
37		— Mary Robert	46	M	n	"				"	/	/								
38		— O'Neal James	45	M	n	"				"	/	/								
39	16/17	— Conner Thomas	66	M	n	"	200 100			Maryland	/	/								
40		— Mary	50	F	w	Keeps house				"										
6		No. of dwellings,		No. of white females,		No. of males, foreign born,		40,800, 6,700		No. of houses,		22		22		499		16		
		" " families,		" " colored males,		" " females,														
		" " white males,		" " females,		" " blind,														

Source: "United States Census, 1870," database with images, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33HT-6SK9-KKL?cc=1438024&wc=KP4B-MNL%3A518652801%2C518795801%2C518724801> :12 June 2019), Maryland > Baltimore > District 12 > image 174 of 220; citing NARA microfilm publication M593 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration).

EXHIBIT 24: 1873 (APRIL 9) – MASS MEETING OF COLORED CITIZENS

“THE JOHNS HOPKINS CHARITY”

Enthusiastic Mass Meeting of Colored Citizens — Resolutions and Speeches.
[Reported in the Baltimore Sun, April 9, 1873.]

A mass meeting of the colored citizens of Baltimore was held last night at the Douglass Institute, pursuant to a call, for the purpose of showing their appreciation of the “great charity” of Johns Hopkins, Esq. in founding a free hospital, orphan asylum and college, all of which are to be open to colored people upon equal terms with white citizens. The committee of arrangements were John H. Butler, Sr., Wm. F. Taylor, Henry W. Martin, John W. Jacks, William H. Bishop, Sr., H. Clay Hawkins, Jacob A. Seaton, Samuel W. Chase, Sr., George W. Foster and George W. Perkins. The hall was filled, and the gallery was also crowded with many of the gentler sex. On motion of Mr. Isaac Myers the following officers of the meeting were unanimously elected.

OFFICERS OF THE MEETING

President, John H. Butler; vice-presidents, Wm. F. Taylor, Henry W. Martin, Isaac Myers, Wm. H. Bishop, Sr., John W. Lochs, George W. Lester, Samuel W. Chase, Jr., George W. Perkins, Jacob A. Seaton, John H. Smith, James A. Harris, Sr., Wm. Perkins, John A. Fernandis, James T. Bradford, Burwell Banks, C.L. J. Lee, Wm. H. Brown, Charles A. Deaver, Nathaniel T. Burgess, Solomon McCabe; secretaries, H. Clay Hawkins, George Myers, W.S. Emerson, Dr. Reverdy Hail, Wm. J. Gray, Dr. J.A. Jordan, James H. Hill, Dr. W.P. Thomas and J.A. Harris, Jr.

Mr. John H. Butler returned his thanks for the honor. He said of the many meetings heretofore held in Douglass Hall this meeting was the most important. He stated the object of the meeting, which was to express the gratitude of the colored people to Johns Hopkins for his munificent endowment of institutions which the colored people were to share in all their advantages. Few men ever dreamed of the great object to which his wealth was to be devoted.

Mr. George Myers moved the appointment by the chair of a committee to report resolutions, and the chair appointed Messrs. Myers, S. W. Chase, Robert Deaver, J.H. Smith and Dr. Gross. The committee retired, and shortly after reported the following

PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS

Whereas Johns Hopkins, Esq., has recently added his name to the list of those who by their lives have sought success only that it might enable their warm-hearted philanthropy the more to serve the great cause of a common humanity; and whereas for the first time in the history of Maryland a generous impulse, throbbing in the noble breast of one of its best citizens, who, regarding not the clamor of the hour, but realizing the demands of the times, at the dictation of statesmanlike views, unbiassed [sic] by popular prejudice, has elevated himself above all other men in Maryland, in the mode and manner of the distribution of his charity, and out of his private means donated to the public good, without distinction of race or color, more than four millions of dollars to endow a free hospital and a home for colored orphans in Baltimore. Therefore be it

Resolved by the Colored Citizens of Baltimore City, in Mass Meeting Assembled, That Johns Hopkins, Esq., heartily receives our warmest expression of heartfelt thanks for his generosity in regarding and recognizing our race in his great act of munificence.

Resolved, That Johns Hopkins, Esq., will ever be regarded as the friend of the colored race, and that we will teach our children to do honor to his memory when we shall have passed away, because of

his noble liberality of spirit, and the comprehensiveness of mind characterizing his conduct in recognizing our race as being entitled to equal consideration and treatment with all others.

Resolved. That a copy of these resolutions be presented to Johns Hopkins, Esq., signed by the officers of this meeting.

THE COLORED ORPHAN ASYLUM, ETC.

Mr. Hopkins's letter of instruction to the trustees of the Johns Hopkins Hospital was read by Mr. H. Clay Hawkins amidst such applause. The letter stated that he had given thirteen acres of land on Broadway upon which to erect the hospital, and suggesting his wishes upon the subject. Also to erect suitable buildings for the reception, maintenance and education of 300 or 400 orphan colored children, who have lost one parent only, and in exceptional cases to receive those who are not orphans, and he appropriates annually \$20,000 for its support. Also that he had dedicated to the support of the hospital property worth two millions of dollars, from which \$120,000 will be annually derived. The indigent sick of this city and its environs who require medical or surgical treatment are to be received without charge, without regard to age, sex, or color. The whole to form a part of the medical school of Johns Hopkins Hospital University, for which he has made simple provision by his will.

REMARKS OF ISAAC MYERS.

Isaac Myers said he called to mind the liberality of Mr. Peabody, of Mr. Astor, of Peter Cooper and others, but there was only one man in this country or in Europe who says his wealth shall be equally distributed for the relief of the colored man—but one man who has said in words not to be misunderstood by executors, nor evaded by the law, and that man is Johns Hopkins. By this grand demonstration they propose to put Johns Hopkins at the head of all men. He gives to the colored people without putting himself up for office and asking their votes or any other favors. He gives four millions [sic] of dollars to the people of Maryland without distinction of color, and twenty thousand dollars a year for a colored orphan asylum. That is the kind of friend he wanted.

He then referred to the opposition which he had to encounter in obtaining the hospital lot, how some persons wanted to run a street through it, &c [sic]. But, true to the instincts of his own nature, to the teachings of the Friends' Society, he persevered, and declared there should be no distinction of race or color within the walls of the noble institution he has founded.

REMARKS OF J. SELLA MARTIN.

Rev. J. Sella Martin, of North Carolina, was then introduced. He said the white people were not disposed to give anything to the colored people except from necessity. They did not let them fight or vote until they found it a political necessity. There was now an educational necessity, and Johns Hopkins was the first man to see that necessity. He has taken the highest expression of the spirit of the age as his guide. Others have left their money to be expended after their death, but Mr. Hopkins gives his money while living, and keeps an eye on its disbursement. It requires the best of training, that of the Quaker Society, to produce such a man as Johns Hopkins.

The speaker here paid a high compliment to the members of the Society of Friends in this country and in England. Johns Hopkins will be lifted in the future to that high station which is accorded to the true philanthropist. [Cheers.]

REMARKS OF ELDER GIVENS.

Elder J.V. Givens, of Virginia, next addressed the meeting. He said he could hardly express his feelings on this occasions [sic]. Mr. Hopkins rises above all men that he knew of. His great act makes him thank God for the existence of such a man in the country. They should teach their children to lisp [sic]

their gratitude. Mr. Hopkins's fame will not be local. He belongs to the whole Union. Wherever the colored man may be, there will his name be known.

The resolutions were then adopted, every man and woman in the hall rising to their feet, and the committee of arrangements was instructed to have them handsomely framed and presented to Mr. Hopkins. The meeting then adjourned.

Source: Baltimore Sun, April 9, 1873. See <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/73709048/colored-citizens-of-baltimore-celebrate/>.

EXHIBIT 25: 1884 – BALTIMORE SUN ARTICLE ABOUT ISAAC QUEEN

Note: Isaac Queen reported knowing Johns Hopkins at Whites Hall and being later called on to work at Clifton. Isaac Queen was born around 1801, and thus he could have been one of the Black men working at Clifton during the summer of 1850.

A Playmate of Johns Hopkins.—At No. 3 North Spring street, in two rooms on the first floor, which are kept as neat and tidy as old age and humble circumstances will permit, live Isaac Queen, colored, and his wife, aged respectively 81 and 75 years. The old man has partially lost his eyesight and his wife her hearing. Old Isaac sometimes talks of the days when he played with the late Johns Hopkins, with whom he was reared on the old family place in Anne Arundel county. He says he has worked side by side with the great philanthropist at the plow, with the hoe and at other agricultural duties. Isaac says "Mister Johns knows what it was to work hard." When Johns Hopkins had become a wealthy business man Isaac was called to perform duties at Clifton and other places owned by Mr. Hopkins. He says he was changed about so much that he left Mr. Hopkins and engaged with Mr. James Bates in the foundry. At this employment his eyesight was injured by the glare from the heated iron which he assisted to pour into the moulding flasks. During the war he became filled with a desire to assist in freeing his race. Being too old to handle the musket, he helped to build the fortifications on McKim's Hill, in this city, and was employed in Virginia constructing military roads. The aged man speaks in affectionate terms of the kindness of the two families for whom he has worked. They contribute to his comfort, and make personal visits to the aged couple to understand their wants. "If dey ever stop," said Isaac, revolving his almost sightless orbs up to the ceiling. "If dey ebber do, de Great Marster will take care ob me while I'm 'live." He has but two children living, and "nine or ten head of grandchildren and great-grandchildren." Isaac is a member of the Bethel Church, on Barstons street. He has been a church-member for 25 years.

Source: *Baltimore Sun*, October 21, 1884. See <https://exhibits.library.jhu.edu/omeka-s/johnshopkinsbiographicalarchive/item/2945>

EXHIBIT 26: TAX EVIDENCE

Note: Tax records for Johns Hopkins have been preserved and can be searched in the Maryland State Archives. The first example below is a notation from 1841. The tax assesment of Johns Hopkins and his brother Samuel Hopkins Jr ("of Hopkins Bros.") was conducted in response to the Tax Act of 1841. According to the law, the following property was to be taxed: land, "negro slaves," stock in trade, public and private securities, bank stocks, livestock, household furniture, gold and silver plate, and gold and silver watches. This record demonstrates that Johns Hopkins was not taxed for slaves in 1841 but that his brother Samuel Hopkins Jr. was.

Johns Hopkins

Item	Value
123 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	5.175
124 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	5.175
99 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	10.375
98 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	5.500
97 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	6.400
96 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	4.975
100 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	1.016
103 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	7.000
211 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	11.250
238 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	5.415
239 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	2.112
240 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	1.000
233 Public Stock	10.710
234 Public Stock	8.500
237 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	1.360
238 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	4.000
239 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	123.800
240 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	123.812
241 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	3.150
242 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	6.700
243 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	6.700
244 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	130.530

Samuel Hopkins

Item	Value
123 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	1.23
124 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	3.75
125 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	9.91
126 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	9.91
127 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	9.91
128 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	9.91
129 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	9.91
130 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	9.91
131 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	9.91
132 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	9.91
133 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	9.91
134 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	9.91
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198 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	9.91
199 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	9.91
200 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	9.91

Samuel Hopkins

Item	Value
123 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	1.23
124 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	3.75
125 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	9.91
126 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	9.91
127 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	9.91
128 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	9.91
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198 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	9.91
199 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	9.91
200 1st Chap 100 Land Baltimore	9.91

Figure 1. 1841 Tax record for Johns Hopkins and Samuel Hopkins, Jr. (Franklin Street). The word "slave" is highlighted under Samuel Hopkins' name.

For the Tax Act of 1841 see

<https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000592/html/am592--321.html>.

In addition, Johns Hopkins was not taxed for owning slaves the year he purchased the Clifton estate. Figure 6 below is a tax notation for Clifton in 1841. The entry noted below notes that that Clifton was 166 acres in size and included horses and cows but not slaves. In comparison, Johns Hopkins' neighbor Joshua Hoitch did pay taxes on slaves in 1841.

Figure 2. 1841 Tax record for Johns Hopkins (Clifton). No slaves are noted. BALTIMORE COUNTY, BOARD OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS, (Assessors Field Book), 1833-1858, C281, See <http://guide.msa.maryland.gov/pages/series.aspx?ID=C281>.

We have located subsequent tax records for Johns Hopkins that show he did not own enslaved people after 1841. The figure below is a tax notation for Johns Hopkins' residence at 177 Lombard Street for 1846. The record shows that Johns Hopkins did not pay taxes on slaves in that year. If he had, the entry would have looked something like Robert Purviance's tax record for the same year, in which he paid taxes on slaves valued at \$250.

177 Johns Hopkins

Furniture 2000	Plate 150	Watch 100	2250
Painting 500	Horses & Carriages 600		1300
			2250
			1300
<small>Maryland State Archives, Baltimore City Taxes, 1840-1850 MdSA BGA 244-245, Johns Hopkins's Residence at 177 Lombard Street, no slaves & MdSA BGA 245-246, entry for a neighbor, Robert Furman, taxed for slaves.</small>			

119 W. S. Courtland st. Robert Purviance 40

22 ft. W. S. Courtland st. 64 ft deep @ 4.50¢	1258
1, 3 & B. D. & B. B. B.	3700
Furniture 800¢, Plate 100¢	900
Debts due	2850
Harriet 70¢, Maria 51 ¢.	
Josephine 20 ¢.	250
	✓ 8888

Figure 3. 1846 tax record for Johns Hopkins at his 177 Lombard Street home. No slaves are noted.

Finally, Johns Hopkins' firm Hopkins Brothers did not pay taxes on enslaved people in 1841. They did pay taxes on land, bonds, stocks, and notes.

Hopkins & Brother

233 Bonds & Notes Due	57.000
Bonds Stock	11.189
Insurance do	33
Canals do	500
	165.997
	165.997

Hopkins Brothers & Co.

233 Lump sum Land & Beam	165.997
Stock & Bonds	41.100
Notes & Debts due & Secured 4 Remitted \$500	500
	165.997
	165.997

Figure 4. 1841 tax record for Hopkins Brothers. No slaves are noted.

Source: See http://mdhistory.msa.maryland.gov/bca_brg4_1/bca_brg4_1_bca160/pdf/brg4_1_bca160-0239.pdf.

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Sources

Much of the evidence consulted for this paper can be found online at Family Search, the Maryland State Archives, the Alan Mason Chesney Medical Archives of the Johns Hopkins Hospital, and the Johns Hopkins Biographical Archive of the Sheridan Libraries. Additional resources have been made available on our Open Science Framework project page at <https://osf.io/b6ys3/> and at www.thehouseofhopkins.com, <http://www.rememberingbaltimore.net/>, and <http://www.transcribedoc.net/index.php/Introduction>.