

**Shades of Hilton:**

**Exploring the Lives of Color at Hilton Estate in Baltimore County**

Michelle Diane Wright  
Associate Professor of History and Africana Studies  
The Community College of Baltimore County

## **Rolling Road**

The Community College of Baltimore County has three main campuses, one of which is located in the southwest region of the county in Catonsville on Rolling Road.<sup>1</sup> At the center of the campus, situated upon a hilltop stands a grand mansion surrounded by beautiful rolling hills and numerous long-standing stone structures. The mansion and its environs were once the center of various business enterprises ranging from iron works and tobacco cultivation, to horse breeding and training and dairy farming.<sup>2</sup> A crucial component of the success of those endeavors rested on the backs of free and enslaved Blacks. As is the case with most historical accounts of grand American plantations, the dominant narrative of the Hilton Estate<sup>3</sup> comes from the owners of the property; all White men. The voices of people of color have often been silenced due to conventional historiography methods, however, this study endeavors to give agency to these enslaved voices and those of the subsequent Nadir era.<sup>4</sup>

Baltimore city and county both possess a rather unique place in American history with regards to the nature of chattel enslavement. The region is located on what has been labeled the “Middle Ground;” a border state abutted by the free state of Pennsylvania (gradually after 1780) and the brutal slave state of Virginia.<sup>5</sup> While Maryland maintained legal enslavement until November 1, 1864, Baltimore and the surrounding communities possessed the largest population of free Blacks of any U.S. metropolitan region during the antebellum era.<sup>6</sup> While many African Americans in the region were not legally in bondage, the label of ‘free’ was nebulous as it was deeply complicated by the fact that those considered free had very little with regards to liberty, a circumstance often labeled ‘quasi freedom.’<sup>7</sup> An example of restrictions placed upon free Blacks can be found in a 1708 Maryland law that empowered justices of the peace to bind out all “roving free negroes.”<sup>8</sup> The indistinct designation of freedom in the city flowed into the surrounding Baltimore County as both free and enslaved Africans were a part of the region’s workforce. The Baltimore suburb of Catonsville, Maryland was founded in 1729 and existed as a prime early location for tobacco and wheat cultivation, most of which was handled by enslaved laborers of African descent.<sup>9</sup>

The years covered in this study range from 1608-1917; bookmarked by the first records of European encounter with the land and the sale of the property out of the hands of the final owners of enslaved Africans. While the parameters of White male ownership organize the chronology of this essay, this work focuses on the lives of people of African descent both enslaved and free. Currently, this essay examines the lives of color on the Hilton Estate in a collective rather than an

individualistic manner. This is therefore a work in progress, as further research is planned to flesh out the individual lives of these people of African descent.

### **Negros or Other Slaves**

The principal inhabitants of the land that would become the Hilton Estate appear to have been the Piscataway. The nation did not reside on the land, rather utilized it for their livelihood.<sup>10</sup> The Piscataway were the first encountered indigenous population on that particular parcel of land according to the journal of John Smith, who was the first European known to enter the land north of the Patapsco River in 1608.<sup>11</sup> Although penned by Europeans, the only historical records available indicate that the Piscataway aggressively defended their land and was the indigenous population that were the most openly in conflict with European settlers within the vicinity.<sup>12</sup>

On John Smith's first journey north of present-day Virginia, he and his crew moored near the Patapsco's mouth and traveled across the Middle Branch, the basin for both the Gwynns Falls stream and the Patapsco River. They found the Patapsco navigable as far as the falls at Elkridge and placed a brass cross there to claim the valley for England. On the second trip Smith's party again anchored near the Patapsco before exploring the upper Chesapeake.<sup>13</sup> In 1632, King Charles I of England granted a charter to George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, yielding him proprietary rights in exchange for a share of the income derived from the land. This land agreement was fee simple where the property was actually rented from Charles Calvert, 3<sup>rd</sup>. Lord Baltimore granted 1,000 acres of land to Captain John Pierce on December 20, 1677, and it was labeled Pierce's Encouragement. This included the tract of land that would eventually be named Hilton Estate and was originally utilized by Pierce for the grazing of hogs and cattle.<sup>14</sup>

This same tract of land was surveyed on March 23, 1678 for Col. Thomas Taylor and then consisted of 1800 acres. The land extended from above present-day Ridge Road, along both sides of Rolling Road to Francis Avenue in Relay.<sup>15</sup> The land was officially owned by Col. Thomas Taylor from 1678-1709 and was passed to his son John Taylor who owned it from 1709-1742. Thomas and John Taylor both owed a quit rent to Lord Baltimore and payed £ 3.12 yearly on the property.<sup>16</sup> While the Taylor's owned the property, they did not live on the land after 1688 when the elder Taylor left the colony and lived the remainder of his life in London. The younger Taylor rarely visited the property and never developed with any structures or have any tenants.<sup>17</sup>

It is important to note that in 1664, Maryland became the first British colony in North America to codify chattel enslavement. The law stated that "...all Negroes or other slaves already within

the province, and all Negroes and other slaves to be hereafter imported into the province, shall serve *durante vita* (hard labor for life).<sup>18</sup> Seven years later, the Maryland Assembly passed *An Act for the Encourageing the Importation of Negroes and Slaves into this Province* that mandated owners to baptize their slaves, but regulated that such a conversion to Christianity could not lead to their freedom.<sup>19</sup> These early Maryland colonial laws are particularly crucial steps towards creating the form of chattel enslavement that other North American British colonies would emulate.

Another interesting point to consider in the Baltimore landscape of enslavement is the presence of a sizable Quaker population. Slavery was already present when The Religious Society of Friends arrived in the colony of Maryland in 1656. Quakers owned slaves in the state well into the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but the practice greatly declined due in part to writings by Maryland Quaker John Woolman that demonized keeping humans in bondage.<sup>20</sup> The practice was never totally banned by the group, yet minutes from a 1762 Maryland meeting stated that “...no member of our society shall be concerned in importing or buying of negroes, nor selling any without the consent and approbation of the Monthly Meeting that they belong to.”<sup>21</sup> By 1777 – at the height of the Revolutionary War – Maryland Quakers made the ownership of slaves “a disownable offence,” thereby forcing many to sell their chattel.<sup>22</sup> There was a substantial population of Quakers in Maryland in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries which had an impact on enslavement wherever they were located, including southwestern Baltimore County where Catonsville is situated.

The Taylor’s (both Thomas and John) had a long-term business relationship with John Galloway. John Galloway was a leading member of the Anne Arundel (present-day Howard County) Quaker community. John Galloway purchased the tract of land where Hilton Estate currently exists in 1742. John Galloway died in 1749 and left his son Samuel Galloway with instructions to sell the land. Samuel Galloway further purchased a 375-acre tract of land he named Long Acre, which was adjacent to Taylor’s Forest with frontage to the Patapsco River in 1749. The total acreage of the property was thus 2,175.<sup>23</sup> Neither John nor Samuel Galloway ever resided on the property where Hilton Estate currently exists, choosing rather to reside at Tulip Hill in Anne Arundel County. While he never held slaves at the Hilton Estate, Mr. Galloway was one of the wealthiest men in Maryland and was involved in transcontinental trade as well as the slave trade in spite of his Quaker heritage.<sup>24</sup> Samuel Galloway eventually sold the original Taylor’s Forest along with Long Acre in 1761 to Caleb Dorsey.<sup>25</sup> It is at this point that enslaved and free Africans

are first introduced to the formal historical record, not exclusively as agricultural workers on a plantation, but also as industrial slaves performing various tasks in iron production.

### **2,000 Pounds Sterling and 3 Negroes**

To reiterate, the enslaved African's experience in the Catonsville region was unusual because there was a substantial free Black population in close proximity. There were approximately seventeen free Black communities in Baltimore County during the antebellum period. Of these, at least three were in close vicinity to the Hilton Estate, including Cowdensville (part of present-day Arbutus), Winter's Lane in Catonsville, as well as Benjamin Banneker's 100-acre farm in nearby Oella.<sup>26</sup> Free Blacks were hired in the region, but residents of the Hilton Estate relied almost entirely on enslaved labor. Southwest Baltimore County eventually moved from a tobacco economy to wheat as well as one that was much more industrial in nature. The largest component of that industry was iron.

The existence of ironstone on the banks of the Patapsco River was known from the time John Smith first placed a marker in 1608. In that territory, Elkridge Landing was first settled in 1690. In 1719, the Maryland Assembly ordered that a grant of 100 acres should be given to everyone who erected a forge or furnace in Maryland, and many attempts were made along the Patapsco. It wasn't until Caleb Dorsey established Elkridge Furnace and Dorsey's Forge in 1761 that the potential for iron was actualized.<sup>27</sup> In addition to the property purchased from Galloway, Dorsey simultaneously purchased land on the other side of the Patapsco River (present-day Elkridge). Caleb Dorsey and his family resided on the Elkridge land in a property labeled Belmont and ran the business as Elkridge Furnace. The land where the Hilton Estate currently exists was utilized for the purposes of timber to fire the iron works and to house and produce food for his servants, and shelter the enslaved Africans. The land was further utilized for cattle (beef and pork), a tannery, and a distillery. It is also documented that Caleb Dorsey cultivated various grains and tobacco on this land which furnished cash for the estate.<sup>28</sup>

Caleb Dorsey died in 1772 and passed all of his property to his heirs. Portions of his will read as follows;

To daughter Milcah Goodwin, 2,000 pounds Sterling and 1 negro woman; To daughter Eleanor Dorsey, 2,000 pounds Sterling and 3 negroes; To daughter Peggy Hill Dorsey, 2,000 pounds Sterling and 3 negroes; To daughter Priscilla Dorsey, 2,000 pounds Sterling and 3 negroes; To granddaughter Priscilla Pue, 1 negro girl; Residue of personal estate to sons Samuel and Edward equally divided between them, Taylor's Forest in Baltimore County.<sup>29</sup>

The remainder of the enslaved persons that were part of Caleb Dorsey's estate were passed to his two sons with the land. The land included 2,045 acres due to the fact that 130 acres of the original property was sold to John Owings.<sup>30</sup> Samuel Dorsey was the owner of the portion of land containing Hilton Estate. Samuel Dorsey died in 1779, leaving the land to his son Edward Hill Dorsey.<sup>31</sup> Since Edward Hill Dorsey was so young, Samuel Dorsey's wife and Edward Hill Dorsey's mother Margaret Dorsey maintained control of Dorsey Manor until her son was old enough to manage the land in 1784. In 1781, she had 100 acres of lower Taylor's Forest cleared and utilized for farming.<sup>32</sup>

Edward Hill Dorsey was known as "Edward of Caleb" and more notoriously for his stubbornness as "Iron Head Ned."<sup>33</sup> Under his stewardship, the land was developed into a productive tobacco and wheat plantation. Cleared land was bounded with dry stone walls and an orchard was also planted. According to the 1798 Federal Direct Assessment, the property that was to become Hilton Estate contained one frame dwelling house, stone kitchen, stone milk house, stone smoke house, and one frame negro house with a total value of \$1,500.00. There was an aggregate of 2012 acres of land. The property included 67 enslaved Africans valued at \$14,000.<sup>34</sup> The enslaved Africans belonging to the Dorsey's worked both the furnace as well as the agricultural endeavors, primarily cultivating tobacco. The Chesapeake iron industry was in full force during the latter part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, due in part to the fact that "the rhythms of iron production closely resembled those of a plantation, allowing planter ironmasters to divert supplies and laborers (most of them enslaved African Americans) as necessary."<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, iron fit into their already existent commercial arrangements with British merchants. Ships that navigated the Patapsco region for tobacco would often simultaneously purchase iron from the same sellers.<sup>36</sup>

The success of iron and tobacco on the land that would become the Hilton Estate was built upon the backs of a sizable enslaved population. Those enslaved Africans resided primarily on the side of the Patapsco River upon which the CCBC campus is presently located. While the mansion had not been built during the mid to late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the land consisted of structures utilized to support the iron industry such as the production of food and clothing. There were also a number of small frame houses often referred to as "Negro Houses," where both free and enslaved Blacks resided. A visitor recorded that "...the country was sparsely settled, rough and uncultivated; still

inhabited by many Indians, thickly covered with forest except where broken here and there by ... its numerous slaves and dependents.”<sup>37</sup>

Ironmasters in the mid-Atlantic region found that enslaved Africans provided the best and most reliable labor. “Given the complicated and interrelated routines involved in iron production, slavery offered ironmasters a flexible work force over which they could wield considerable coercive power.”<sup>38</sup> Industrial plantations often operated in much the same way as agricultural plantations on the Chesapeake. They utilized the task system of labor whereby each enslaved individual was trained in a specific task and expected to complete the work assigned to them six days per week.<sup>39</sup>

A limited record of the enslaved African men that performed duties as part of the Dorsey iron furnace were enumerated as follows: Prince (forgeman), Sam (striker at the blacksmith shop), Guy (waggoner), Long Charles (finery man), Old Charles (miller), Joe (blacksmith), Boy Jim (forgeman), Dick (forge carpenter), and Yellow Will (forgeman).<sup>40</sup> Generally, there was a White forge master with several enslaved forgemen working under his supervision. In most Maryland iron furnaces, the enslaved workers were highly skilled performing such tasks as blacksmith and finery.<sup>41</sup> When sold, these men demanded a much higher price at the auction block. The furnaces for producing pig iron were quite rudimentary, consisting of mostly of river stone with a blast fueled by a water wheel on the river. The furnaces along this portion of the Patapsco were the first in British North America to manufacture ten penny nails.<sup>42</sup>

Records indicate that a system of “overworking” existed for enslaved iron workers in the mid-Atlantic region whereby working over their assigned task won credits that could provide luxuries. This was an incentive to perform more work under highly undesirable conditions. Since there were both White and Black indentured servants working alongside the enslaved, the incentive to receive some comfort items (better food provisions, warmer clothing, etc.) decreased the likelihood of flight. Since many considered iron work more desirable to agricultural work, those enslaved men that proved to be difficult were often sold away from their families to tobacco plantations. The Dorsey family was a major player in the Maryland slave trade, often advertising the desire to sell or buy in local newspapers.<sup>43</sup>

Edward of Caleb died in 1799 leaving the property to his wife Elizabeth Dorsey, but it was managed by his brother Samuel Dorsey. At the time of Edward’s Dorsey’s death, the property included 28 enslaved Africans ranging in age from 82 years to 1 month. They were occupied with

iron work, farming, and caring for livestock. Elizabeth Dorsey died in 1806 at which point the land was passed to her daughter Priscilla Dorsey Hanson and was managed by Priscilla's husband Alexander Contee Hanson. Inventory was taken of the property at this time which revealed that Dorsey's Manor had 30 enslaved Africans with a doubling of livestock and orchards. The property in 1806 consisted of 2,000 acres of land that contained – 2 Negro houses, 1 large barn, 1 cow house, 1 tobacco house, 1 corn house, 1 stable and other necessary buildings. In 1815, Priscilla Dorsey Hanson's cousin Hammond Dorsey built a "fine brick house, quarters, and other buildings" on the property that was valued at \$2,000. The land south of the Patapsco went to other Dorsey's, and the portion where the Hilton Estate would eventually exist was reduced to a 511-acre farm. Priscilla Dorsey Hanson sold those 511 acres to James W. McCulloh in January 1818 for \$35,000. The record does not indicate whether there were enslaved Africans attached to the property at the time of the sale.<sup>44</sup>

### **Necessary and Proper**

James W. McCulloh utilized the land as a working stock and wheat farm. He built a large stone farmhouse on the property at some point between 1818 and 1825 and lived there the entirety of his brief ownership.<sup>45</sup> That farmhouse still exists on the CCBC campus today. Upon moving to the property, the following were part of the household; "8 hired men, three of whom were free negroes, and one hired girl, six enslaved negroes, 3 men, one woman and two boys."<sup>46</sup> Those enslaved were not attached to the sale of the land, rather were brought to the property with the buyer. There were limited agricultural endeavors under way during McCulloh's stewardship, and the enslaved Africans were primarily responsible for cultivation.<sup>47</sup> Later during his residence, it was recorded that the land had "an apple orchard of 500 trees which produced enough fruit for eating and cider to pay the interest on the mortgage each year. There was a stable, stone dairy, slave quarters, and four tobacco barns."<sup>48</sup>

James W. McCulloh and his partner Solomon Birkhead were partners and merchants owning McCulloh & Birkhead. McCulloh, however, was best known as a cashier for the Second Bank of the United States, located in Baltimore. He was the namesake of McCulloch v. Maryland, the landmark Supreme Court case regulating federal power. As the cashier of the bank, McCulloh refused to pay federal taxes which resulted in the Supreme Court deciding that Congress had implied powers derived under the 'Necessary and Proper' clause of the Constitution to regulate the bank. Embroiled in this controversy pushed McCulloh to his financial limit, at which point he

was forced to sell the property at auction in 1825. The family remained in the region living in Baltimore city between Green and Paca Streets.<sup>49</sup>

The 511 acres was purchased for \$20,961.30 by the son of the president of the Second Bank of the United States, John Lewis Buchanan. Buchanan only owned the land for two years and following his death in 1827, the land was passed on to his aunt Elizabeth Sidney Buchanan, who owned the land for one year until 1828 when the family's financial strain forced the Buchanan's to relinquish the property.<sup>50</sup> In 1828, Dr. Lennox Birkhead (son of James McCulloh's business partner) wrote the bank that owned the mortgage requesting the deed and discussing the payment of the mortgage of the land that would become the Hilton Estate. The family quickly moved to the property and promptly began improvements. The Buchanan's were permitted to reside on the property as tenants.<sup>51</sup>

Birkhead sold portions of the land immediately after purchase and by 1833, the property that would become the Hilton Estate consisted of 396 acres valued at \$15,840 with improvement valued at \$4,000. Birkhead is credited for building the home that would eventually be the Hilton Mansion in 1835. Under Birkhead, a two-story fieldstone Georgian home was built along with two other fieldstone houses, an overseer's log cabin, a stone kitchen and other smaller dwellings. The house overlooked the farm and had a view of the Annapolis State House. Dr. Birkhead is also credited with naming the estate "Hilton" because of its location on a hill. Birkhead owned the property and operated it as a farm, primarily growing wheat and utilizing enslaved Africans until 1837.<sup>52</sup>

### **A Room For Six People with Beds**

William Carson Glenn purchased Hilton in 1837 and owned it until 1842. His original purpose for acquiring the estate was to breed and race thoroughbred horses and to engage in his favorite hobby of fox hunting.<sup>53</sup> He did not live on the property year around, rather lived on Liberty Street in Baltimore city and spent part of the summer and some weekends at Hilton. The Glenn's briefly called the estate Glenn Alpen because of the rolling hills, however ultimately labeled the property Glenn's Hilton.<sup>54</sup> When circumstances changed, William Carson Glenn was not able to maintain the property and sold it to his brother

Hilton Estate was acquired by Judge John Glenn, a successful commercial attorney in Baltimore. Following his private practice, Glenn was later nominated by President Millard Fillmore in 1852 to a seat on the United States District Court for the District of Maryland and became a well-respected and important citizen in the city of Baltimore.<sup>55</sup> The judge and his family

resided at 20 North Charles Street (Charles and Baltimore Streets) in the city and summered in Catonsville. Just as was the case with his brother, John Glenn's avocation was horse racing, and under his stewardship, Hilton Estate realized the initial aspiration to become a thriving horse farm. The land was also utilized as a dairy farm, which more substantially paid the bills of the estate. John Glenn went on to purchase more land bordering the original property and the acreage grew from 511 to 1049 acres by 1844.<sup>56</sup>

John Glenn owned one enslaved African by the name of Johnson (born 1780) at the point that he purchased Hilton. It appears that Johnson was a house servant that lived with the family in the city during the year and traveled to Catonsville during the summer months.<sup>57</sup> The number that he enslaved would increase significantly over the course of his life. For some time, Glenn was an active participant in both the Maryland State Colonization Society and the Maryland Slave-holders Association. The Maryland State Colonization Society was the Maryland branch of the American Colonization Society, an organization founded in 1816 for the express purpose of sending free African Americans to Liberia in Africa in an effort to ensure that the only Blacks in the United States would be enslaved.<sup>58</sup> The Slave-holders Association was an organization dedicated to influencing state legislators to tighten the reigns on slave laws in Maryland. Such issues discussed at the 1842 convention included the prevention of manumission by will, the prevention of free Blacks leaving the state with the ability to return, and the codification of appropriate punishments for disobedient slaves.<sup>59</sup> This group reported directly to the Maryland General Assembly and advised the legislature on what would become the slave codes for the state. The group also had significant influence on the rights and privileges of Maryland's substantial free Black population. John Glenn was a respected member of this organization and was very vocal in his beliefs regarding the elimination of free Blacks from the United States as well as exacting tremendous limitations on free Blacks while they remained in the country.<sup>60</sup>

During his stewardship, John Glenn constructed many new structures on the estate including barrier walls throughout the property, a stone arch, several small cottages, a large cistern, a stone barn, stables, and a bowling alley.<sup>61</sup> Remnants of many of these structures still remain on the CCBC campus and are utilized for various purposes. The basement of the main house was originally used for free White servants as well as a limited number of enslaved and free African American house servants. As the number of people he enslaved increased, several small frame homes were constructed on the property at a greater distance from the mansion.<sup>62</sup> The tax assessor

described the slave quarters as having “a room for six people with beds, one chest, one chair and a table.”<sup>63</sup> These structures are no longer present on the property.

Until his death in 1853, John Glenn purchased many more slaves, some of which moved back and forth with his family between the city and the Hilton Estate. Some of those enslaved individuals remained on the Hilton Estate for the entire year in order to maintain the property. The names of all of those individuals is not yet known, however, letters between himself and his wife Henrietta Glenn mention specifically the purchase of an unnamed man from the Eastern Shore, a man named Edward, a woman named Polly Brooks, as well as a 23-year-old by the name of Ellen along with her unnamed child.<sup>64</sup> The 1850 census also shows three free Black men residing with the Glenn family; Joseph Stansbury, a 30-year-old man born in Maryland in 1820; John W. Marshall, a 15-year-old born in Maryland in 1835; John William Crick, a 30-year-old born in Maryland in 1820. The census also shows two White female servants residing with the Glenn’s.<sup>65</sup> There is no record determining what tasks each of these enslaved or free individuals were assigned.

When Judge John Glenn died in 1853, 1049 acres was passed to his son William Wilkens Glenn, who owned the property until 1876. Just as his father, he lived from September – June on the corner of Madison and Charles Street (now the University Club) in the Mt. Vernon neighborhood of Baltimore city.<sup>66</sup> William Wilkins Glenn purchased *The Baltimore Daily Exchange* in 1860 as a means to communicate his pro-enslavement sympathies. The paper backed Democrat John C. Breckenridge in the 1860 presidential election and steadfastly supported states’ rights. Glenn’s fiery rhetoric in support of slavery was quite divisive and further fractured an already divided Baltimore. The periodical’s opposition to the Lincoln administration led the federal government to ban the *Exchange* from the mail, although publication continued.<sup>67</sup>

William Wilkins Glenn (personally and through the vehicle of his newspaper) was a strong advocate for the Confederacy during the Civil War. In the September 14, 1861 edition of the *Exchange* he lamented the plight of the slaveholder, “We have talked loud of our superior population, superior wealth, superior intelligence, superior morality...and yet we are on the defensive!”<sup>68</sup> After this, the federal government permanently banned the paper, although it resurfaced with the name *Maryland Times*. On the date of this publication, Glenn was arrested for treason and imprisoned at Ft. McHenry and was held for several months. Labeling himself a political prisoner, in early 1862, Glenn escaped Ft. McHenry and on his way leaving the state of

Maryland, he stopped by the Hilton Estate for provisions and writes in his journal his encounters with the enslaved on the property;

Thomas came in saying “deres a gentleman down in the kitchen.” “A gentleman! And how did he get there?” “Comed in the backway, Sir.” I saw from Thomas’ smile there was something curious on hand. He was quite intelligent and on several occasions had shown himself a faithful negro. They know I am gone. They are after me.”<sup>69</sup>

Apparently, both Thomas and others enslaved on the property assisted Glenn in escaping the authorities as he made his way west towards Virginia (present-day West Virginia).<sup>70</sup>

By the 1860 census on the eve of the Civil War, there were 25 enslaved individuals living on the Hilton property. At the height of the war Glenn lamented the behavior of both the enslaved and free Blacks in the region. On April 27, 1864 he wrote, “The negro population is in a state of ferment. Few servants can be trusted any longer and it is scarcely possible to get along with decent comfort.”<sup>71</sup> Following the war on June 14, 1866 he proclaimed “...slavery made the institution of caste and separated the common laborer from the landed proprietor and worked well. There was always a great deal of talk about the inhumanity of a forced separation of families. But after all this was very little done.”<sup>72</sup>

W.W. Glenn kept enslaved Africans until the passage of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment in 1865 and utilized free Blacks on the property following that time, but at a much lower wage than the White workers he employed. Many of the African American laborers were engaged in breeding and training horses on the Hilton property. Several of these horses raced at Saratoga and Pimlico on several occasions. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the racetrack was “...a place run on the labor and skill of black men.”<sup>73</sup> Equestrian slaves tended to have more privileges, and there are letters between Glenn and horse sellers in Kentucky indicated that he trusted his enslaved horse men to travel on his behalf to purchase new horses.<sup>74</sup> Although the horse farm itself was a successful endeavor, Glenn’s entre into the aristocracy of the thoroughbred racing was limited. He gained much more wealth operating a silver mine in Colorado.<sup>75</sup>

Glenn was closely associated with Supreme Court Justice Roger Brook Taney (Dred Scott decision) as well as Robert E. Lee. When his father Judge John Glenn was sworn into U.S. District Court, it was Taney that administered the oath, and the infamous judge remained close to the Glenn family until his death.<sup>76</sup> Glenn encountered General Lee often at Sulfur Springs in Virginia and visited him regularly at his cottage in White Sulfur.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, following the war in 1867, former Confederate President Jefferson Davis and his wife visited William Wilkins Glenn in his

city home. He wrote of the visit, “Mr. & Mrs. Davis, who recently left by Steamer for New Orleans have enjoyed themselves a great deal in Baltimore...he talks of settling here and would like to go into business here.”<sup>78</sup> So, even following the war, Glenn remained steadfast to Confederate ideals and its major leaders, indicating his ongoing feelings regarding the Blacks that remained on his property after emancipation during the Nadir era.

Both Judge Glenn and W.W. Glenn also utilized the services of Remus Adams, a free Black man that owned a blacksmith shop near the estate. He was on a retainer for the Glenn’s to shoe the horses on the property and perform other tasks. Adams’ shop was located approximately two miles from where the CCBC campus is presently situated, adjacent to the main thoroughfare in the center of Catonsville. According to census records, Remus Adams was born free in Maryland in 1826. Archives show that his family was successful as far back as 1773, when his grandfather was advertising his courier business in the *Maryland Journal*.<sup>79</sup> By the middle of the 19th century, the family held a prosperous blacksmith business that was passed down from his father to Remus. In 1867, he partnered with the rector of nearby St. Timothy’s Episcopal Church to form a school for African-American children. The 1870 census shows that Adams held assets worth \$15,000, making him fairly prosperous and supporting the legend that Adams not only funded the building of the school but also paid all of the teachers himself. By 1880, the record shows that Adams had a number of young African-American men boarding his home and training in blacksmithing. He was also one of the founders of an amusement park known as Greenwood Electric Park, which attracted African Americans from all over the area.<sup>80</sup>

Upon the death of William Wilkins Glenn, the property was divided by the courts into 25 parcels and were distributed among the nine principal heirs of Judge Glenn. Lot Number 5 which included the mansion house, the bowling alley and the barn went to W.W. Glenn’s son John Mark Glen in 1876. Other portions were sold to All Saints Sisters of the Poor and deeded to the State Park system, becoming the vast Patapsco Valley State Park.<sup>81</sup> John Mark Glenn and his wife moved from the city property and resided at Hilton throughout the year. At this point, the Hilton property was a very active dairy farm with an ice cream stand on Rolling Road as well as delivering a great deal of their products to sell at their stall in Lexington Market. Servants on the property continued to breed horses. By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Glenn’s Hilton was beginning to have financial issues and John Mark Glenn was forced to sell the property that contained the mansion in 1917.<sup>82</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Following the Glenn's long ownership, George Knapp purchased the remaining property that contained the Hilton Mansion. Utilizing Baltimore architect Edward Palmer, the mansion and the out buildings received a much needed facelift and took on the Georgian look evident today. In 1963, the Baltimore County Board of Education purchased 105 acres of land containing the Hilton Mansion for the purposes of creating the Catonsville Community College. The Community College of Baltimore County renovated the mansion in 2016. The structure is now utilized for office space, meeting rooms and the school's honor's program. Concerted efforts are presently being made to reconcile enslavement's past to the present space. Rather than relegating this history as invisible, programming and curriculum is being developed on the Catonsville campus to bring margin to center. This paper is a part of that endeavor.

**Primary Sources**

- 1807 Inventory, Anne Arundel County Testamentary Papers, Box 83, Folder 70, Hall of Records, State of Maryland Archives
- 1876 First District Tax Assessment Ledger, Records Management Division, Baltimore County Court House, Towson, MD
- Alexander Contee Hanson Papers, MS 408, Maryland Historical Society
- Baltimore City Wills, Liber NH 26, Folio 376, Hall of Records, State of Maryland Archives
- Baltimore County Tax Lists, 1691-1706, MS 74, Maryland Historical Society
- Cornelius Howard Papers 1659-1853, MS. 469.5, Maryland Historical Society
- Glenn Papers, MS 1017, 1706-1939, Maryland Historical Society
- Glenn, William Wilkins. 1976. *Between North and South: A Maryland journalist views the Civil War*. Edited by Mark Norton Schatz Bayly Ellen Marks. Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.
- . 1861. "The Difference." *The Daily Exchange*, September 14: 1.
- Harwood Papers, MS 1022, Maryland Historical Society
- Liber WG 192-193, Folio 189, Hall of Records, State of Maryland Archives
- Maryland Chancery Records, Liber 91, Folio 419, Hall of Records, State of Maryland Archives
- Maryland, General Assembly of. 1664. "An Act Concerning Negroes and Other Slaves" *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland*. September.
- Perine Papers, MS 645, Maryland Historical Society
- Ridgely-Dorsey Papers, 1733-1885, MS 717, Maryland Historical Society

**Secondary Sources**

- Abe, Kimberly R. 2005. *Mapping A Paradox: The African-American Cultural Landscape in Antebellum Baltimore County*. Towson, MD: Landmarks Preservation Commission.
1843. "Accounts and Papers: 32 Volumes on the Slave Trade." *Slave-Holders Convention*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard College Library. 257-272.
- Akerson, Louise E. 1988. *American Indians in the Baltimore Area*. Baltimore, MD: Baltimore Center for Urban Archaeology (Md.).
- Alpert, Jonathan L. 1970. "The Origin of Slavery in the United States - The Maryland Precedent." *The American Journal of Legal History* (Oxford University Press) 14 (3): 189-221.
- Bedini, Silvio A. 1999. *The Life of Benjamine Banneker - The First African-American Man of Science*. 2nd. Baltimore, MD: Maryland Historical Society.
- Berlin, Ira. 1974. *Slaves Without Masters - The Free Negro in the antebellum South*. New York: The New Press.
- Bezis-Seifa, John. 2003. *Forging America: Ironworkers, Adventurers, and the Industrious Revolution*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

- Brooks, Neal A., Eric G. Rockel, William C. Hughes. 1979. *A History of Baltimore County (Maryland)*. Towson, MD: Friends of the Towson Library.
- Carroll, Kenneth L. 1983. "Maryland Quakers and Slavery." *Quaker History* (Friends Historical Association) 72 (1): 27-42.
- Clayton, Ralph. 2015. *Slavery, Slaveholding, and the Free Black Population of antebellum Baltimore*. Berwyn Heights, MD: Heritage Books, Inc.
- Diggs, Louis. 1995. *It all Started on Winters Lane: a History of the Black Community in Catonsville, Maryland*. Edited by Linda D. Stone. Vol. 1. 1 vols. Baltimore, MD: Uptown Press.
- Diggs, Robert Schnepfe. 1937. "The Early History of Elkridge Landing." Baltimore: Tau Beta Pi, November 26.
- Ellefson, C. Ashley. 1971. "Free Jupiter and the Rest of the World: The Problems of a Free Negro in Colonial Marland." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 1-13.
2019. *Federal Judicial Center*. September 5. <https://www.fjc.gov/history/judges/glenn-john>.
- Historical Marker Project. 2019. *Historical Marker Project*. July 3. [https://www.historicalmarkerproject.com/markers/HM3RV\\_john-smith-explores-patapsco\\_Baltimore-MD.html](https://www.historicalmarkerproject.com/markers/HM3RV_john-smith-explores-patapsco_Baltimore-MD.html).
- Howard, Cornelius. 1659-1853. Cornelius Howard Papers. MS 469.5. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society.
- Janney, Elizabeth. 2013. *Elkridge: Images of America*. Charleton, SC: Arcadia Publishing.
- Lancaster, R. Kent. 2000. "Chattel Slavery at Hampton/Northampton, Baltimore County." Edited by Robert I. Cottom. *Maryland Historical Magazine* (Maryland Historical Society) 95 (4).
- Library of Congress. n.d. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Accessed August 13, 2019. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83009573/>.
- Marks, Bayly Ellen. 1972. *Hilton Heritage*. Catonsville, MD: Catonsville Community College Press.
- Maryland, General Assembly of. 1664. "An Act Concerning Negroes and Other Slaves." *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland*. September.
- Maxwell J. Dorsey, Wright Dorsey, Jean Muir Dorsey, Nannie Ball Nimmo. 2009. Baltimore, MD: Clearfield.
- McDougall, Harold A. 1993. *Black Baltimore: A New Theory of Community*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- McGrain, John W. n.d. *From Pig Iron to Cotton Duck: A History of Manufacturing Villages in Baltimore County*. Vol. I. Towson, MD: Baltimore County Public Library.
- McGrain, John W. 1977. "The Development and Decline of Dorseys Forge." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 346-352.
- Merrill, Philip J. and Aiono, Uluaiou-O-Malo. 1999. *Baltimore - Black America Series*. Charlston, SC: Arcadia Publishing.

- Mooney, Katherine C. 2014. *Race Horse Men: How Slavery and Freedom were Made at the Racetrack*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Moyer, Teresa S. 2015. *Ancestors of Worthy Life - Plantation Slavery and Black Heritage at Mount Clare*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.
- Norris, J. Saurin. 1862. *The Early Friends (Or Quakers) in Maryland*. Baltimore, MD: The Maryland Historical Society.
- Orser, Edward and Arnold, Joseph. 1995. *Catonsville: 1880 to 1940, From Village to Suburb*. Norfolk, VA: The Donning Company Publishers.
- Parkison, Ed H. 1976. *Keidel's Colonial History of Catonsville*. Catonsville, MD: The American Bicentennial Committee of Catonsville.
- Parkison, Ed. H. 1970. "Glenn's "Hilton." Edited by Richard R. Duncan. *Maryland Historical Magazine* (Maryland Historical Society) 65 (3): 283-295.
- Penden, Henry. 2009. *Revolutionary Patriots of Anne Arundel County, Maryland*. Berwyn Heights, MD: Heritage Books.
- Phillips, Christopher. 1997. *Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790-1860*. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Phillips, Christopher W. 1992. "'Negroes and Other Slaves': The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790-1860." Athens, GA: University of Georgia.
- Rising, Teri L. 2010. "Farmlands." *History Trails - Historical Society of Baltimore County* 1-5.
- Rountree, Helen C. 2008. *John Smith's Chesapeake Voyages, 1607-1609*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.
- Scharf, John Thomas. 1881. *History of Baltimore City and County, from the Earliest Period to the Present Day: Including Biographical Sketches of Their Representative Men*. Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts.
- Scott, Lynn. 2016. *Strides of Integrity and Honor: The Life of James W. McCulloh and his Family*. Baltimore: Stories to Tell Books.
- Selfa, John Bezis. 1993. "Planter Industrialists and Iron Oligarchs: A Comparative Prosopography of Early Anglo-American Ironmasters." *Business and Economic History* 62-70.
- Swann, Don. 1983. *Colonial and Historic Homes of Maryland*. Baltimore: Liberty Publishing Company.
- Travers, Paul J. 1990. *The Patapsco: Baltimore's River of History*. Centreville, MD: Tidewater Publishers.
- Whiteley, Henry. 1878. *Iron-Making in the Colony of Maryland: 1720-1780*. Elkton, MD: The Cecil Whig.
- Wise, Marsha Wight. 2010. *Catonsville: Then & Now*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing.

<sup>1</sup> Several ‘rolling roads’ were established in Maryland in the early 18th century for the transportation of tobacco in casks, or hogsheads, from plantations to river ports. The Rolling Road address for the CCBC Catonsville campus is also Maryland Route 166.

<sup>2</sup> (Marks 1972, 5)

<sup>3</sup> I am referring to the property as the ‘Hilton Estate’ throughout this essay in an effort to simplify the complicated history of this property. The land was owned by a myriad of names from in the time period discussed, however, since the large building on the CCBC campus is referred to as the ‘Hilton Center’ because Hilton was the last name of the property. The ‘Hilton Estate’ is not a reference merely to the mansion, rather the entirety of the property upon which the mansion currently stands.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Nadir’ is defined as the lowest period of time for a group of people. In this case, the African American Nadir is defined by most historians as the time period between the close of Reconstruction in 1877 until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, usually the close of World War I. This period is marked by disenfranchisement, Jim Crow segregation, increased incidents of lynching, the convict lease system, and other violent and structural attacks against the African American community.

<sup>5</sup> (Clayton 2015, 59)

<sup>6</sup> (Berlin 1974, 28) Berlin indicates that “Between 1755 and 1790 the free Negro population of Maryland grew over 300 percent to about 8,000, and in the following ten years it more than doubled. By 1810, almost on-quarter of Maryland’s Negroes were free, and they numbered nearly 34,000; this was the largest free Negro population of any state in the nation.”

<sup>7</sup> (Ellefson 1971, 3)

<sup>8</sup> (C. Phillips 1997, 286) ‘Bind out’ is a legal term defined as placing one under a legal obligation to serve another, in this case, free Blacks were required to become an apprentice to whomever the law mandated, thus ending their limited freedom.

<sup>9</sup> (E. H. Parkison 1976)

<sup>10</sup> (Akerson 1988)

<sup>11</sup> (Rountree 2008) The exact passage in the journal reads; “We passed many shallow creekes, but the first we found Navigable for a ship, we called Bolus (Patapsco), for that the clay in many places under the cliffs by the high water marke, did grow up in red and white knots as gum out of trees; and in some places so participated together as though they were all of one nature, excepting the coulour, the rest of the earth on both sides being hard sandy gravell, which made us thinke it Bole-Armoniack and Terra sigillata.”

<sup>12</sup> (Akerson 1988)

<sup>13</sup> (Historical Marker Project 2019) The exact location of John Smith’s exploration of the Patapsco is N 39° 15.313', W 76° 36.93' which is approximately 3.5 miles from the CCBC Catonsville campus. A marker was placed on September 16, 2014.

<sup>14</sup> (Maryland State Archives, Liber 19; folios 573, 578; Land Office.) The record reads “...in Baltimore County on the north side of the Patapsco River upon the Western Branch...to a bound tree standing by the Lower Falls of the Western Branch.”

<sup>15</sup> Maryland Historical Society. *Cornelius Howard Papers, 1659-1853*; MS 469.5, Folder 2.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid

<sup>17</sup> (Marks 1972, 1-2)

<sup>18</sup> (Maryland Slave Law, 1664)

<sup>19</sup> (Alpert 1970, 196)

<sup>20</sup> (Carroll 1983, 31)

<sup>21</sup> (Norris 1862, 23)

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, p. 24

<sup>23</sup> Maryland Historical Society. Calvert Papers, MS 174; Folder 12.

<sup>24</sup> (Cheema 2010)

<sup>25</sup> (Maxwell J. Dorsey 2009, 159-160)

<sup>26</sup> (Abe 2005, 52)

<sup>27</sup> (Bezis-Seifa 2003, p. 54)

<sup>28</sup> (Rising 2010, 3)

<sup>29</sup> (Maxwell J. Dorsey 2009, 159)

<sup>30</sup> MD Wills 38, folio 819

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, 160

<sup>32</sup> (Marks 1972, 7)

<sup>33</sup> (Swann 1983, 114)

<sup>34</sup> MD Wills 38, folio 819

<sup>35</sup> (Selfa 1993, 66)

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, 66

<sup>37</sup> (Whiteley 1878, 4)

<sup>38</sup> (Selfa 1993, 68)

<sup>39</sup> (C. Phillips 1997, p. 178)

<sup>40</sup> (McGrain, *The Development and Decline of Dorseys Forge* 1977, 349)

<sup>41</sup> (Bezis-Seifa 2003, p. 74)

<sup>42</sup> (R. S. Diggs 1937, 5)

<sup>43</sup> Many editions of the *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertisers* featured ads placed by all generations of the Dorsey family listing the sale of their enslaved. The Tuesday, April 17, 1798 of the newspaper edition read, “Will be sold at public auction, on Monday the 4<sup>th</sup> of June next, if fair, if not, on the next fair day at Dorsey’s Forges, about seven miles from Baltimore. A NUMBER

of likely NEGRO MEN, GIRLS, and BOYS, on 12 months credit, the purchasers giving bond with good security. Edward Dorsey, of Caleb.” Since women and children were also sold, not all enslaved were iron workers, but since the auction was held at the forge, it is likely that some were iron workers.

<sup>44</sup> All of the information found in this paragraph all came from the Edward Dorsey of Caleb Estate, Will JG 2-73, Register of Wills, Anne Arundel County Records and Volume I of the *Maryland Genealogical Bulletin*, 1930.

<sup>45</sup> (Scott 2016, 21)

<sup>46</sup> McCulloh Papers, 1773-1848, Maryland Historical Society, MS 2110, microfilm reel 3, frame 597

<sup>47</sup> Ibid

<sup>48</sup> (Scott 2016, 21)

<sup>49</sup> Ibid

<sup>50</sup> (Marks 1972, 10)

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, 48

<sup>52</sup> Liber WG 193, folio 189, Maryland Hall of Records

<sup>53</sup> Ibid

<sup>54</sup> Ed. H. Parkison, “Glenn’s Hilton,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LXV, pp. 288-89

<sup>55</sup> (Federal Judicial Center 2019, Federal Judicial Center 2019)

<sup>56</sup> Glenn Papers, Maryland Historical Society, folio 1017

<sup>57</sup> 1840 U.S. Census Records, enumerated September 14, 1840, page 124.

<sup>58</sup> *Maryland State Colonization Society Papers*, 1827-1871, Maryland Historical Society, folio 571

<sup>59</sup> (Accounts and Papers: 32 Volumes on the Slave Trade 1843)

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, page 272

<sup>61</sup> Glenn Papers, Maryland Historical Society, folio 1017

<sup>62</sup> Ibid

<sup>63</sup> 1849 Baltimore County Tax Assessment, Fourth District, Baltimore County Records, Towson, MD.

<sup>64</sup> Glenn Papers, Maryland Historical Society, folio 1017

<sup>65</sup> "United States Census, 1850," database with images, *FamilySearch*(<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MD4C-1L8 : 12 April 2016>), John Glenn, Baltimore, ward 13, Baltimore, Maryland, United States; citing family 837, NARA microfilm publication M432 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.).

<sup>66</sup> (Scharf 1881, 632)

<sup>67</sup> (Library of Congress n.d.)

<sup>68</sup> (W. W. Glenn, "The Difference" 1861)

<sup>69</sup> (W. W. Glenn, *Between North and South: A Maryland journalist views the Civil War* 1976, 78)

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, 85

<sup>71</sup> Ibid 227

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, 291

<sup>73</sup> Mooney, p. 5-7. According to Mooney, “The nineteenth-century track became a proving ground for the powerful and the aspiring, an incubator of socially and politically useful alliances, a place in which men took practical realities and fashioned them into what they believed to be concrete evidence of the rightness of their ideologies. It helped to shape the political convictions of generations of elite white men. From the beginning of American racing, some of the nation’s most prominent turfmen were Southerners, and at the track they practiced sophisticated and complex form of human bondage, and believed that they demonstrated how integral slavery was to building a powerful and prosperous United States; how richly they deserved Northern deference to their economic imperatives and social customs.”

<sup>74</sup> Glenn Papers, Maryland Historical Society, folio 1017

<sup>75</sup> Ibid

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, 275

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, 29

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, 296

<sup>79</sup> *Maryland Journal*, April 23, 1733, p. 1

<sup>80</sup> (L. Diggs 1995, 14)

<sup>81</sup> (Marks 1972, 47)

<sup>82</sup> (E. H. Parkison 1970)