



New Perspectives on Haberdeventure Plantation in Charles County, Maryland, 1770–1787



Thomas Stone National Historic Site
Port Tobacco, Maryland

Amy Speckart, PhD

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A Historic Resource Study of
Thomas Stone National Historic Site
Port Tobacco, Maryland

By Amy Speckart, PhD

Presented to Interior Region 1: North Atlantic-Appalachian

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INTRODUCTION: REASSESSING THE WHO, WHAT, AND WHY OF HABERDEVENTURE

On New Year's Day in 1977, a fire gutted the core of an eighteenth-century house built by Thomas Stone (1743–87), a signer of the Declaration of Independence for Maryland. Sitting on a secluded spot in Charles County, Maryland, near Port Tobacco, Haberdeventure, as the house is known, could have become one of the lost houses of Tidewater Maryland and Virginia's so-called Golden Age of the tobacco trade. Instead, an act of Congress of 1978 authorized the purchase of the property from private hands and turned Haberdeventure over to the National Park Service to commemorate the life of Thomas Stone, who, in addition to serving in the Continental Congress, was a state senator, lawyer, and planter (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Thomas Stone National Historic Site, Charles County, Maryland.
Incamerastock/Alamy Stock Photo.

The purpose of this Historic Resource Study (HRS) of Thomas Stone National Historic Site, according to the scope of work issued by the National Park Service and Organization of American Historians, is to put the “extant cultural historical resources” of the park “within larger historical and geographical contexts.” The scope of work identified four priorities: agricultural history; family history; labor history, including “the histories and identities of enslaved laborers”; and legal history. A chapter is devoted to each one with the exception of labor history, which is incorporated throughout. The HRS also examines Haberdeventure’s relationship to social, economic, political, and cultural networks on local, state, and national levels. A supplement to an HRS from 1988, this project reflects recent developments in scholarship and takes advantage of an expanding body of electronically available primary and secondary sources.

Despite efforts to incorporate more voices and perspectives into the history, the HRS remains heavily weighted toward the Stone family and Thomas Stone, who remains the person of greatest national significance associated with the site. The temporal scope of this project from the outset was Thomas Stone’s period of ownership of Haberdeventure from 1770 until his death in 1787. Inadvertently, this decision privileged the history of the Stone family and hampered investigation into the lives of African American residents, for which there is more documentation (and surviving tangible cultural resources) after 1790.

This HRS attempts to broaden the story beyond Thomas Stone to be more inclusive of women and African Americans in particular. Despite persistent gaps in the historical record about Haberdeventure, new information was brought to light through improved accuracy in document transcriptions, inclusion of documents by or about women, and searching online databases and electronic publications. This HRS also benefits from the last thirty years of scholarship on the colonial and early national Chesapeake, particularly with regards to slavery, plantation economies, and material life.

This introduction is composed of four parts. First, it will offer a brief tour around Thomas Stone National Historic Site, pointing out features of the cultural landscape. Next, remarks on new findings and approaches to the site’s history pepper a review of prior literature on Thomas Stone, Haberdeventure, and enslaved residents of the plantation. After identifying several subjects that are not documented in detail by the HRS, chapter summaries will conclude the overview of the project.

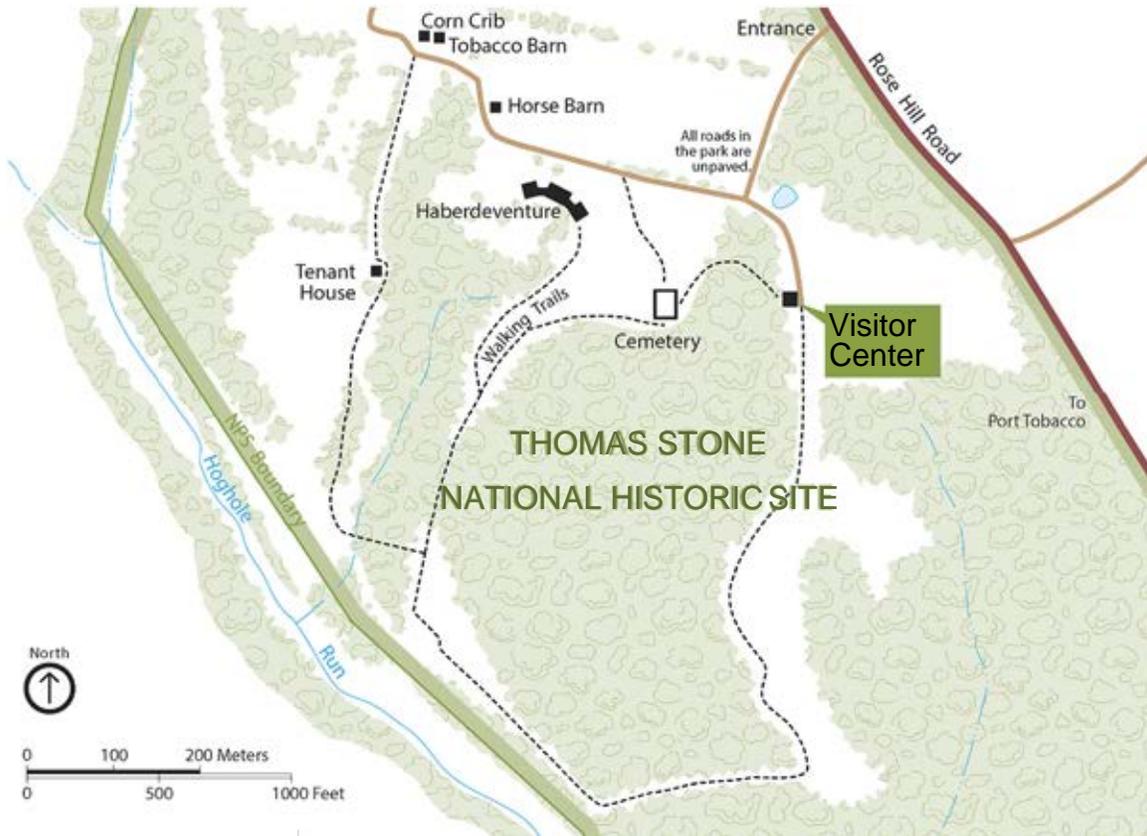


Figure 2. Map of Thomas Stone National Historic Site.

Source: "Maps," Thomas Stone National Historic Site, Maryland, www.nps.gov/thst/playourvisit/maps.htm

New Perspectives on Thomas Stone, Haberdeventure, and the Society and Economy of Charles County

The formal layout of the 328-acre Thomas Stone National Historic Site reflects the emphasis in the park's congressional mandate to commemorate the life of Thomas Stone as "a lawyer, planter, politician, and signer of the Declaration of Independence" (Figure 2). The principal walking path from the visitor center leads past the Stone family cemetery (where Thomas Stone and his wife are buried) before continuing to the main house. Visitors draw near the house from its south-facing side, which sits atop three garden terraces etched into the land with an intent to magnify the size of the principal residence and thus communicate the importance of its owner. The one-and-a-half-story brick house with a gambrel roof, erected between 1771 and 1773, is flanked by hyphens and wings at either end and sits on relatively high ground. The west wing is a two-story brick building built in the mid-nineteenth century principally to house a kitchen. The east wing is a one-and-one-half-story frame building, also with a gambrel roof. Though the current east wing is an eighteenth- or early-nineteenth-century building, it is not the original east wing. Archaeology in 1986

revealed that the current east wing sits on a foundation built after 1864. Underneath this later nineteenth-century foundation is an earlier, possibly eighteenth-century brick foundation that supported a building of a different size. The current east wing, which is stripped of its original finish, may not have been moved far to replace the earlier structure, perhaps from within the grounds of Haberdeventure.¹

The material culture showcased at the main house, cemetery, and terraced garden reflects Stone family history more than any other group. After the devastating 1977 fire, the National Park Service reconstructed the interior of the main house based on Historic American Building Survey photographs and the original parlor paneling, which the Baltimore Museum of Art purchased in 1927 and removed. Copies of portraits of Thomas Stone and Margaret (Brown) Stone by Robert Edge Pine and of Margaret's parents, Dr. Gustavus Brown and Margaret (Black Boyd) Brown, by John Hesselius hang on the walls. Objects donated to Thomas Stone National Historic Site by Thomas Stone's descendants and collateral kin that Thomas Stone and his wife Margaret owned, according to family tradition, include a desk and bookcase and a Chinese porcelain bowl.²

Information about Haberdeventure's African American residents in the eighteenth century remains heavily weighted towards documentary sources. The eighteenth-century kitchen, where enslaved domestic servants would have worked and slept, does not survive,

¹ Briefing statement, *Legislative History of the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978 (Public Law 95-625)*, p. 629, reproduced in John M. Wearmouth, "Thomas Stone National Historic Site Historic Resource Study," 1988, Part 4, "Legislative History;" Teresa S. Moyer for the Center for Heritage Resource Studies, Department of Anthropology, University of Maryland, "Thomas Stone National Historic Site: Archaeological Overview and Assessment," 2007, p. 64. The external dimensions of the primary foundation of the east wing are the same as the wing's secondary foundation running east to west (16.5') but run somewhat larger north to south (18.8' versus 18.5', a difference of three and a half inches), indicating a "larger" building (Ronald W. Deiss, "Archaeological Excavations at the Thomas Stone NHS, Port Tobacco, Maryland," National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 1986, pp. 27-28). J. Richard Rivoire conjectures that the current east wing may have been one of three outbuildings recorded in the 1798 Direct Tax for Haberdeventure (under Travers Daniel's name) before it was moved to its current location ("Summary Report of Additional Research Findings" for Thomas Stone National Historic Site, 1993, p. 66).

² Carol Petravage, "Historic Furnishings Report, Haberdeventure, Thomas Stone National Historic Site, Port Tobacco, Maryland," National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 1999. The park lacks detailed information about the pre-1787 furnishings in the house listed on page 62 to Petravage's report, such as maker information and place of origin, which makes it difficult to trace their history (author's correspondence with Deanna Brown, Museum Technician, George Washington Birthplace National Monument and Thomas Stone National Historic Site, April 26, 2019). The Baltimore Museum of Art, which bought the east room paneling, the Hesselius portraits of the Browns, and a Pine portrait of Thomas Stone may not have been the only buyer of Haberdeventure's furnishings in the twentieth century. Harry Wright Newman asserted in a Stone family genealogy published in 1937, "it was not uncommon during the past couple of decades to go into an antique shop of Maryland or the vicinity and be shown a certified statement that such and such piece of furniture came from 'Haber de Venture'" (*The Stones of Poynton Manor* [Washington, DC: privately printed], 36). Rivoire documents the Baltimore Museum of Art's 1927 purchase in "Summary Report of Additional Research Findings," 59. See Petravage, "Historic Furnishings Report," 62, for evidence of a furniture sale in 1935. Richard K. Doud includes the 1751 portraits of the Browns in "John Hesselius, Maryland Limner," *Winterthur Portfolio* 5 (1969): 129-53. This study is indebted to historian Jean B. Lee's search for Stone's letters in collections around the country (often those of autograph collectors). Lee's finds are reproduced in Kate Jefferson, "Thomas Stone: A Chronology from Select Primary Sources," National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 2004, and in the Jean B. Lee Collection, Southern Maryland Studies Center, College of Southern Maryland, La Plata, Maryland.

and a nineteenth-century building stands in its place, hampering investigation. The 1977 fire that destroyed the wooden interior of the central block erased clues about life above the stairs. Archaeologists found little evidence of domestic activity in the earthen cellar floor of the central block before the floor was cemented over. Two efforts in the 1980s and 1990s to locate slave quarters were inconclusive. Lastly, speculation of burials of African Americans in the vicinity of the Stone family cemetery remains untested. Other sites of significance on the property from a strictly African American point of view remain to be explored.³

From an archaeological point of view, the “greatest potential for new information” about Haberdeventure “lies in more remote areas,” away from the main house, which heretofore has been the focus of artifact recovery and analysis. On the far side of the main house from the visitor center are agricultural buildings and a tenant house that postdate Thomas Stone’s tenure at the site. A secondary walking trail headed west from the visitor center offers a tour of these spaces before turning east and drawing close to the north facade of the main house. This secondary walking trail leads the visitor past pastures and formerly cultivated areas to the lower elevation of a creek named Hoghole Run which empties into Port Tobacco River, and then up to the tenant house, corn crib, tobacco barn, and horse barn—all of which date to the nineteenth century—before reaching the main house.⁴

Haberdeventure’s longevity as a large plantation into the nineteenth century owes much to Thomas Stone’s birth into one of Maryland’s native elite families. Thomas was a descendent of Maryland governor William Stone (ca. 1603–1659/60), a Protestant and a native of England to whom the proprietor of Maryland, Lord Baltimore, granted four thousand acres called Poynton Manor in the Nanjemoy area of Charles County in 1653. William Stone had arrived in Maryland about five years earlier, at a time of social and political instability. Bacon’s Rebellion in Virginia in 1676 and Coode’s Rebellion in Maryland in 1689 ushered in a new phase of political development. A demographic shift to a native-born majority among whites and a decline in tobacco prices at the turn of the

³ Charles D. Cheek, Jeanne A. Ward, and Joseph Balicki for John Milner Associates, “Archaeological Studies of the Garden and House at the Thomas Stone National Historic Site (18CH331), Charles County, Maryland,” 1992; Moyer, “Archaeological Overview and Assessment,” 33, 67.

⁴ Moyer, “Archaeological Overview and Assessment,” 51 (quote), 76.

eighteenth century narrowed economic and political opportunities for small planters. After about 1720, large, slave-owning planters dominated politics and society, their power buoyed by renewed growth in the regional economy.⁵

Governor William Stone's great-grandson David Stone (1709–73) inherited more than five hundred acres of Poynton Manor and an unknown number of people held in chattel slavery as his father's principal heir. The planter apparently lacked interest in serving in Maryland's provincial government. Instead, David Stone invested his energy in raising a large family and managing its wealth during an unprecedented period of political and social stability in Maryland. Despite the low tobacco prices of the previous generation (between 1680 and 1713), David's father Thomas Stone (1677–1727) had the capital and social connections to convert his labor force from mostly indentured servants to mostly enslaved people, the survivors of the transatlantic slave trade and their offspring. By the end of David Stone's long life, fifty-two enslaved people, half of them children under the age of eight, lived at Poynton Manor.⁶

⁵ Newman, *The Stones of Poynton Manor*, 7–10; “William Stone” in Edward C. Papenfuse, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789*, 2 vols., hereafter *BDML* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 2:788–89. In his account of early Maryland politics, David W. Jordan discusses the political implications of a native-born colonist majority in Maryland. The first two decades of the eighteenth century formed a “critical period when the new elite of native-born Marylanders was firmly establishing its influence” (*Foundations of Representative Government in Maryland, 1632–1715* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987], 181). On the emergence of a native-born elite in Maryland and Virginia, see also the articles by David W. Jordan and Carole Shammas in Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds., *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979). Rhys Isaac gives masterful depictions of the Tidewater planter's “golden age” in *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982) and *Landon Carter's Uneasy Kingdom: Revolution and Rebellion on a Virginia Plantation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁶ Thomas Stone's great-grandfather John Stone (ca. 1648–97) held in bondage three indentured servants and one enslaved person at the time of his death. His son and principal heir, Thomas Stone (1677–1727), had four indentured servants—a “white woman” named Isabella and her three “mulatto” children—and ten enslaved “Negro” people. This was a notable expansion of the enslaved labor force at a time of low tobacco prices between 1680 to 1713. Presumably the elder Thomas Stone took advantage of, or otherwise benefited from, the increased traffic on Maryland's shores by private slave traders after the end of the Royal African Company monopoly on the transatlantic slave trade in 1689 (“John Stone” and “Thomas Stone” in Papenfuse, *BDML*, 2:783–84, 786; probate inventory of Thomas Stone Senior, Prerogative Court, Inventories 1727–1729, Liber 13, ff. 314–17, Maryland State Archives; Lorena S. Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit: Chesapeake Plantation Management to 1763* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010]). See Chapter 3 for reverberations of this history in the eighteenth century.



Figure 3. Map of Charles County, Maryland. Data on Native settlements provided by Scott Strickland, St. Mary's College of Maryland.

Drawn by M. Roy Cartography.

Thomas Stone, the subject of this HRS, was one of thirteen children of David Stone. Born by David's second wife, Elizabeth Jenifer (d. by 1776), Thomas had one older half-brother named Samuel and one elder brother by his mother, Frederick, among other siblings. When Frederick died in 1773, Thomas inherited the status of eldest son by Elizabeth. Thomas's position in the birth order contributed to his deep sense of personal responsibility to support his younger siblings, especially after their parents died. At least two sisters, Grace and Catherine, and one brother, Michael Jenifer, resided at Haberdeventure. An important patron of the family was Elizabeth's brother, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer (1723–90), a planter and merchant who moved to Anne Arundel County by 1766 and operated in Maryland's highest political circles.

Thomas Stone did not inherit land from his father; David Stone's 583-acre parcel of Poynton Manor passed to Samuel Stone, his eldest son by his first marriage, through primogeniture. Instead, David Stone's most valuable legacy to his children by his second marriage was wealth in enslaved people. Thomas and his brother John Hoskins Stone directed the division of fifty-two people whom David Stone held in bondage at the time of this death. As Thomas's siblings took up residence at Haberdeventure and its vicinity, the plantation reconstituted, to some extent, the free and enslaved population at David Stone's plantation at Poynton Manor. The presence of at least one identified enslaved mixed-race family at Haberdeventure within the domestic staff, headed by a woman known as Clare, is consistent with studies of other large Chesapeake plantations. Because Thomas Stone's family had been in the forefront of the growth of chattel slavery in the region in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, supplementing but not entirely replacing a workforce of European indentured servants with captive Africans and their enslaved descendants, this long history of bonded labor proved to be fertile ground for freedom suits in the 1790s by persons claiming descent from freeborn white women.

Earlier studies of Thomas Stone and Haberdeventure have identified Stone as a slaveholder and attempted to determine the size and make-up of the enslaved population at Haberdeventure during his period of ownership. Without surviving plantation records, Thomas Stone's two probate inventories (one for Charles County and another for Annapolis) and incomplete tax lists from 1782 and 1783 supply part of the picture. In a 1993 report, J. Richard Rivoire surmised, "it is reasonably certain that there were at least twenty [enslaved people] in residence at any one time" at Haberdeventure between 1770 and 1790. Rivoire provides names of people mentioned in documents, but this HRS marks the first time that a concerted effort has been made to recover origins, kinship ties, occupations, and other aspects of identity among enslaved people who had some tie to

Haberdeventure. This HRS also offers more contextual information about plantations on both sides of the Potomac River and about African American life in freedom and slavery in Charles County and Southern Maryland.⁷

The lack of plantation records also means that we have limited knowledge about land use and why Stone retained an enslaved labor force. John Wearmouth in the 1988 HRS for Thomas Stone National Historic Site raised questions about Stone's identity as a planter and his commitment to planting as a source of income. While this HRS comes to different conclusions on these questions, it builds on Wearmouth's work. For example, Wearmouth provided critical information about soil types, noting that "easily worked" lowland soil at Stone's outlying plantation at Chandlers Hills and Welcome was more valuable than the thin soil at Haberdeventure. Wearmouth also identified the mid-1780s as a period of stress on Thomas Stone's finances. In a biography of Thomas Stone for *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Jean B. Lee spends little time on the Signer as a planter and slaveholder, focusing instead on his life in public office.⁸

A Cultural Landscape Report for Thomas Stone National Historic Site from 1996 is an invaluable resource for documenting the history of Thomas Stone's land acquisitions, mapping the expansion and contraction of the plantation's boundaries over time, and providing a history of local roads and paths in Haberdeventure's immediate vicinity. Stone made an initial purchase in 1770 of 442 acres of land advertised as "better for farming than planting." Over the next fifteen years, Stone acquired additional parcels and in 1787 obtained a new patent for Haberdeventure with 1,077 acres. Stone also consolidated Chandlers Hills and Welcome to create Plenty, 510 acres by patent of more arable farmland east of Haberdeventure. Altogether, Stone's possession of about 2,000 acres in Charles County plus a grist mill made him one of the county's top landholders.⁹

As would be expected, advances in scholarship and technology reveal oversights and omissions in prior studies of Thomas Stone, his family, and African Americans whose lives intersected with the Stone family. For instance, John Sanderson's 1824 depiction of

⁷ Rivoire, "Summary Report of Additional Research Findings," 41. Other discussions of Thomas Stone as a slaveholder can be found in Jean B. Lee, "The Problem of Slave Community in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake," *William and Mary Quarterly* 43 (July 1986): 333–61, and along with his siblings in Jean B. Lee, *The Price of Nationhood: The American Revolution in Charles County* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1994). Philip D. Morgan cites a reminiscence by Benjamin Rush about Thomas Stone, "I once heard [Stone] say 'he had never known a single instance of a negro being contented in slavery,'" in *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 278. The quote appears in George W. Corner, ed., *The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), 151.

⁸ Wearmouth, 1988 HRS, Part 2, p. 12 (quote); Jean B. Lee, "In Search of Thomas Stone, Essential Revolutionary," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 92 (Fall 1997): 285–325.

⁹ John Milner Architects, Land Ethics Inc., and J. Richard Rivoire, "Cultural Landscape Report, National Park Service, Thomas Stone National Historic Site," 1996; advertisement for the sale of Haberdeventure and Hanson's Plains Enlarged, *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), March 9, 1769. Appendix 20 provides references for Thomas Stone's land acquisitions.

Thomas's wife, Margaret (Brown) Stone, as chronically ill after her inoculation for smallpox "by mercurial treatment" remained unquestioned more than 150 years later. Feminist studies of the wives of the Founding Fathers and their female contemporaries encourage us to see the women in the Revolutionary Era as multidimensional, with important duties in their roles as wives, mothers, housekeepers, slaveholders, and healers. Margaret Stone, for example, came from an educated and propertied family that would have given her the skills to be a plantation mistress and hostess. To give another example, this HRS's chapter on African Americans at Haberdeventure and in Charles County would be considerably poorer without the website "O Say Can You See: Early Washington, DC, Law & Family Project" (www.earlywashingtondc.org), which offers not only transcriptions of legal documents from freedom suits but also views of the original documents, search functions, and network analysis. O Say Can You See demonstrates the power of digital resources to advance African American genealogy and history and recover stories of enslaved people as human actors.¹⁰

Environmental history, historical archaeology, and material culture studies also continue to raise new questions of the documentary and material record. Numerous National Park Service reports on Haberdeventure are helpful for addressing these fields of study. As the upland areas near Port Tobacco were more heavily settled over the course of the eighteenth century, how did the loss of wildlands exert new pressures on land use? Was Thomas Stone aware that clearing the land for plowing was a major contributing factor to the siltation of Port Tobacco's waterways? Based on the archaeology of comparable properties, what are the most likely areas to find traces of outlying slave quarters, where enslaved African Americans had more privacy than at the planter's house? Does Wearmouth's description of Thomas Stone as "non-cosmopolitan" hold up against more recent studies of eighteenth-century material life? These are some questions that this HRS addresses.¹¹

Laments about a paucity of documentary sources on Haberdeventure are a common refrain in the National Park Service reports about the property. The absence of plantation records is particularly unfortunate. Happily, formerly discovered manuscripts

¹⁰ John B. Sanderson, *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence*, 9 vols. (Philadelphia: R. W. Pomeroy, 1824), 9:329–33, esp. 322; William G. Thomas III et al., eds., *O Say Can You See: Early Washington, DC, Law and Family*, <http://earlywashingtondc.org>, University of Nebraska-Lincoln. Another useful electronic resource for researching enslaved people's histories is *Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia's Northern Neck Counties* (www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us/), which provides partial transcriptions of land and probate records. Online newspaper repositories, including *Newspapers.com* and PDFs of the *Maryland Gazette* available through the Maryland State Archives website, yielded runaway advertisements and other information for this HRS.

¹¹ In addition to reports for the National Park Service already cited above, this HRS is indebted to James Thomas Wollon's "Historic Structure Report" for Habre de Venture (1987) and the "Geological Resources Inventory Report" for George Washington Birthplace National Monument and Thomas Stone National Historic Site by the Geological Resources Division, US Department of the Interior, National Park Service (2009). Wearmouth describes Thomas Stone as a "non-cosmopolitan type of country gentleman" in 1988 HRS, Part 1, page 15.

dating to the 1770s to 1790s, cited in previous reports, bore more fruit with the help of transcription verification, name identification, secondary source research, or simply by asking new questions. The day book of Thomas's brother Michael Jenifer Stone, part of the Kremer Collection at the Southern Maryland Studies Center in La Plata, Maryland, stands out as an underutilized resource. Rivoire used the informal account book to find clues about agricultural production at Haberdeventure. Going deeper, the day book identifies people who occupied Haberdeventure's orbit, such as an elderly enslaved man from Poynton Manor known as Robin who exchanged chickens for cash, and Jesse, a boy born into slavery at Poynton Manor who became a blacksmith at Michael Jenifer Stone's blacksmith shop at Port Tobacco. Another underutilized resource is Thomas Stone's most well-known composition, a letter written from Philadelphia on May 20, 1776, that uses the common phrase "The dye is cast"; this letter threads together the chapters of this HRS, as will be explained shortly.

Limitations of this HRS

Land use patterns prior to colonization and during the seventeenth century fell outside the scope of this HRS, but they had an influence on Haberdeventure's eighteenth-century appearance. Port Tobacco's brief history as a Jesuit mission in the 1630s and 1640s is well known. Also of note is an area of relatively dense Algonquian Indian settlement in the latter half of the seventeenth century between Mattawoman Creek and Piscataway, just north of Haberdeventure (Figure 3). Native American knowledge and cultural practices may have been passed down to Haberdeventure's residents. Another topic to be explored is how the history of Native American and English interaction in Maryland, and specifically in and around Charles County, shaped Thomas Stone's attitudes toward Native American foreign policy.¹²

Many questions remain too about the experience of the American Revolutionary War at Haberdeventure plantation and the impact that the war had on its residents. This is due in part to a lack of surviving correspondence among the Stone family siblings from the 1770s; caches of Stone family letters, accounts, and other manuscripts from the 1780s at the Library of Congress, Maryland Historical Society, and Duke University (much of it correspondence collected by Thomas's brothers Michael Jenifer Stone and Walter Stone) weight the evidence toward the immediate postwar period. Did the war heighten the importance

¹² Julia A. King, Mary Kate Mansius, and Scott M. Strickland, "'What Towne Belong You To?' Landscape, Colonialism, and Mobility in the Potomac River Valley," *Historical Archaeology* 50, no. 1 (2016): 7–26; James D. Rice, *Nature and History in the Potomac Country: From Hunter-Gatherers to the Age of Jefferson* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); James Axtell, "White Legend: The Jesuit Missions in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 81, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 1–7; James H. Merrell, "Cultural Continuity among the Piscataway Indians of Colonial Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 36, no. 4 (October 1979): 548–70.

of Haberdeventure as a source of emotional and financial support for Stone's siblings? Was the financial stress that Thomas Stone was under in the mid-1780s an aberration or a long-running concern? How did enslaved residents respond to opportunities to take flight to British forces during the war?

While this HRS attempts to document "the histories and identities of Haberdeventure's enslaved" people as directed by the project's scope of work, difficult decisions were made to limit the search for evidence in terms of temporal scope and intimacy with the Stone family. For instance, Clare (Thomas), whose family is mentioned in Stone's letters, received closer treatment than Harry and his wife Nan, whom Stone sold to a neighbor, Charles Goodrick, in 1779. This author could not determine how Harry and Nan came into Stone's possession, but something about their lives might be revealed in Goodrick family records. A comprehensive approach to capture the histories of *all* the enslaved people at Haberdeventure between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries (akin to what has been done for the Stone family in the 1988 Historic Resource Study and 1996 Cultural Landscape Report) would require substantially more time and resources.

The HRS also does not offer a definitive answer to how much wealth Thomas Stone derived from his various income streams. Stone's investments included real estate, agriculture, a lease and then ownership of a grist mill, and part of a share in the Baltimore Iron Works. His law business appears to have been his most reliable source of income; this remains more speculation than established fact.

Examination into Charles County court records of the 1770s undoubtedly would offer some clues to Stone's money lending and other ways that the planter and lawyer was part of the local community, but this was not done for the HRS. As Appendix 19, "Legal History Research Methods and Results," explains, Maryland's higher courts were the focus of legal history research. Charles County court records from the 1780s are missing.

Lastly, some readers might be disappointed at the lack of new information about Thomas Stone's political activity at the local, state, and congressional level. What were the causes that Stone cared about as a legislator? With whom did he bond over government-related issues? What precisely was his role in the drafting of the Articles of Confederation, and what lured him back to Congress in 1784 after a hiatus of six years? How did his training and experience as a lawyer inform his approach to law making? This HRS hews closely to Haberdeventure's history, but it does try to make connections between Stone's high political standing and his corner of Charles County.

Chapter Summaries with Major Findings

Thomas Stone's most well-known composition, his letter from Philadelphia to an unknown recipient of May 20, 1776, in which Stone uses the phrase "The dye is cast," will be a common reference point for each of the chapters of this Historic Resource Study. Given Stone's historical significance as a signer of the Declaration of Independence and the declaration's reverberations in American and global history, the letter amply rewards a close reading. This structural device for the HRS—returning repeatedly to the "dye is cast" letter at the beginning of each chapter—will provide a measure of discipline to the HRS, as it broadens Haberdeventure's history without staying too far from the legislative purpose for the park, Thomas Stone's political career.¹³

To briefly summarize the long letter, Stone alludes to the major political tensions playing out across British North America in May 1776: a disappointing American military expedition to Canada; a report that tens of thousands of British-led forces, including mercenaries, were to be sent to America; and differences in the Continental Congress between "discordant members of the Empire." The thirty-three-year-old lawyer, planter, husband, and father of three children gives various reasons for his personal unease in his situation as a delegate to Congress. He acknowledged that the illness of his wife, who likely underwent inoculation for smallpox as a protective measure upon arriving in Philadelphia, "preys most severely on my spirits." With the time afforded by an afternoon's "intermission" in his wife's "disorder," Stone wrote in dramatic terms about his fears of America becoming a "vanquished" country because of the rash actions of a "few men" advocating independence. With "exceeding Pain," Stone contemplated the choice put before the Maryland Convention by the Congressional Preamble and Resolve of 15 May. The Maryland delegation to Congress did what it could to postpone Congress's call for the colonies to form their own governments, Stone related. To "cut the only Bond which held the discordant Members of the Empire together," Stone wrote, "appears to me the most weak and ill judged Measure I ever met with in a State which had the least pretention to wisdom or Knowledge in the Affairs of Men." Personally in favor of reconciliation with Britain, Stone acknowledged that the tide in Congress had swung in favor of independence. Stone's discomfort with the "agitation" and "destructive Tendencies" of that body prompted him to ask the Maryland Convention to recall him to Maryland.

Chapter 1, on landscape, will open with Stone's personal declaration in the May 20, 1776, letter of his adherence to his "Principles of Morality, in which I will ever attain the absolute Dominion." The chapter will examine the relationship between architecture and

¹³ The letter by Thomas Stone to (James Hollyday?) of May 20, 1776, published in *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1775–1789*, eds. Paul Hubert Smith, et al., 24 vols. (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1976–2000), 4:47–54, is also available online through the Library of Congress's website, A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: US Congressional Documents and Debates. The URL for the letter is [https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(dg00437\)\)](https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field(DOCID+@lit(dg00437))).

Stone's belief in his authority to govern in the public trust, with an emphasis on the performative aspects of the landscape for Stone's peer group in the greater Port Tobacco neighborhood. The Stone family expressed their gentility and refinement through learned behavior that only people of leisure could cultivate, such as how to serve and drink tea with specialized equipment. Material culture historians have identified specialized spaces, like parlors and pleasure gardens, that functioned as theaters for genteel performances in eighteenth-century America.

Chapter 2 will introduce the concept of Haberdeventure as a family enterprise. Building on evidence provided in the 1988 Historic Resource Study and 1996 Cultural Landscape Report, the chapter will argue more forcefully for kinship-based financial networks among Stone's siblings and his brother-in-law Gustavus Richard Brown. Thomas Stone shared the risks of his plantation business among multiple stakeholders in his family. A substantial amount of his father's human capital—not only in enslaved labor but also in legitimate heirs—moved to Haberdeventure or played a role in its development, sustaining the accumulation of wealth and influence and power over generations that undergirded Stone's authority in this society. In a new analysis of the residence of Stone's siblings at Haberdeventure and their contributions to the household and to the profits of the estate, this study argues that Stone weighed financial concerns against familial duty when supporting his brothers and sisters.

Chapter 3, like Chapters 1 and 2, will address material life and social networks, but with a focus on African Americans who had ties to Thomas Stone's residences and properties. On the eve of Stone's departure from Philadelphia in October 1776 to return to Maryland, an enslaved woman known as Bet emancipated herself from Stone's Philadelphia household. Bet's flight occurred on the cusp of greater opportunity for African Americans to obtain legal freedom in the British Atlantic world in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. But Bet's action is more typical for pursuing freedom by extralegal means. A handful of tangible cultural resources at a distance from the mansion house at Thomas Stone National Historic Site provide a pretext for discussing personal freedoms that enslaved people exercised in and around Charles County. Drawing upon a growing literature on freedom suits in Maryland, Chapter 3 documents generations of resistance to enslavement in the family of Clare (Thomas) and illustrates the importance of family networks in navigating the legal line between slavery and freedom.

Chapter 4 shifts the focus to agriculture. In September 1776, while Thomas Stone was still in Philadelphia, Charles County resident Henry Smith placed an ad in a newspaper for the sale of land within a mile of Port Tobacco with a leased water mill. Having privileged information about the market for flour and other provisions in wartime because of his position in government, Stone moved quickly on the opportunity. Within three months, Stone rented the site along with two enslaved women, Rachel and Luce, who were part of a family there. As the war was winding down, in 1782, Stone purchased the Smith

family's Chandlers Hills and Welcome tracts and the remainder of the lease of the mill (along with Rachel and Luce) at great expense. Chandlers Hills and Welcome were his most valuable tracts of arable land, and Stone's possession of a mill placed him in the top strata of county society.

In addition to contextualizing Stone's interest in grain and livestock farming and tobacco cultivation, Chapter 4 will advance our understanding of Haberdeventure's management structure and domestic production. Though a measure of self-sufficiency was a goal, especially during the war, the assertion in the 1988 HRS and 1996 CLR that Haberdeventure achieved little more than subsistence agriculture diminishes Stone's investment in enslaved labor and blinds us to Stone's commercial interests and connections.

With multiple members of his family invested in Haberdeventure's profitability by 1783–84, Stone was at greater liberty to move to Annapolis, where he could devote more time in public office and attend to the high volume of legal business in Maryland's higher courts after the war. In his writings, though, as early as the May 1776 "dye is cast" letter, Stone expressed concern about time away from his family and his profession. The tension between public and private life, which is evident in the architecture of Haberdeventure itself, will be a theme of Chapter 5, on Stone's legal career. Within several years of qualifying as an attorney in Maryland's courts, Stone was entrusted with estate management for members of his own family, acquired a high-profile position as trustee to the London-based firm of Barnes and Ridgate, and had the Lord Proprietor and proprietary appointees among his clients. By the 1780s, Stone was a lawyer in demand with a reputation for having "considerable abilities mental." His ownership of a large law library indicates a wide knowledge of the law and an intellectual interest in his chosen profession. But Stone's dueling obligations to his legal clients with "property at stake" and to public service took a toll on him personally.¹⁴

An alternative title for this HRS could be "Managing a Revolution." In his "dye is cast" letter of May 20, 1776, Stone expressed fear of impending deprivations and loss of self-governance if America declared independence and became a "vanquished country." How could the American colonies show strength against a world military power? And within the union of colonies, how would Maryland be able to protect its interests? The increased risk of smallpox infection during the war put families on edge, as did the presence of British ships on Chesapeake waters. Stone faced decisions on how to make his investments profitable and how to balance public and private demands on his time and energy. Meanwhile, enslaved African Americans weighed opportunities to escape bondage

¹⁴ Quotes from Hugh Williamson to William Blount, November 28, 1783, in *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1789*, eds. Smith et al., 21:165, and Thomas Stone to William Paca, March 10, 1784, erroneously dated May 10, 1786, in a transcription (Haverford College), both in Jefferson's "Thomas Stone: A Chronology from Select Primary Sources."

that the war presented. Some negotiated with slaveholders and deferred their liberty. From the mid-1780s to the late 1790s, a brief flourishing of freedom suits by African Americans in liberalized Maryland courts expanded access to legal freedom. The repercussions of a changing social, economic, and legal landscape in Maryland and Virginia for African Americans with ties to Haberdeventure in the last quarter of the eighteenth century is one of the most important findings of this HRS.

A Note on Sources

Spelling and capitalization of original documents have been retained.

Given the complexity of the history of money in Maryland in the 1770s and 1780s, money values have not been adjusted for inflation, nor have values been converted into a single form of currency.

CHAPTER ONE

HABERDEVENTURE'S DOMESTIC LANDSCAPE AND ITS CONTEXTS

I am principled against quitting any Post where my Countrymen think I may be usefull however disagreeable it may be to myself or whatever my own Opinion may be on the Subject provided it be not against my Principles of Morality, in which I will ever retain the absolute Dominion.

THOMAS STONE TO (JAMES HOLLYDAY?), PHILADELPHIA, MAY 20, 1776¹

.....

In his most well-known letter, Thomas Stone, writing from Philadelphia in May 1776, expressed a belief in his moral sense—that is, his ability to make the decisions that underpinned his social and political authority. The built landscape at Haberdeventure naturalized this authority by placing the planter's house on a rise in the land, an elevated position accentuated by a terraced garden. The mansion house, pleasure garden, and complex of outbuildings, constructed circa 1770–73, signaled Thomas Stone's and his wife's readiness to assume the duties and responsibilities of Charles County gentry, including providing political leadership. Maryland's political culture in the eighteenth century favored landed gentry to hold positions in government. Stone counted himself among the “virtuous few” equipped to make decisions for the public's welfare because of his high rank in Maryland society, defined in large part by his birth, property ownership, and education. During what would be the last chapter of his political career, Maryland's paper money debate of 1786–87, Stone struggled with perceived threats to the independence of the state senate, of which he was a member, in legislative affairs.

Even though the Stone family had been prominent members of Charles County society for over a century when Haberdeventure was built, Thomas Stone and his wife Margaret improved upon local customs. The main house at Haberdeventure combines locally familiar features for houses of the well-to-do, such as the one-and-half-story height with gambrel roof and full wood paneling in the principal entertaining room, with metropolitan influences, like the placement of the hyphens and wings along an arc and the

¹ Published in *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1789*, eds. Smith et al., 4:47–54, and reproduced in Kate Jefferson, “Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Select Primary Sources,” National Park Service, 2004.

combination of a well-ventilated shaded porch or piazza with a central passage. Stone and his wife were selective consumers of designs that reflected their knowledge and taste. Port Tobacco's commercial growth in the 1760s and 1770s was an important backdrop to Haberdeventure during its construction.

Background

Thomas Stone wrote his May 20 "dye is cast" letter while awaiting instructions from the Maryland Convention, the colony's provisional government. On May 10, the Continental Congress had passed a resolution recommending that the colonies form their own governments. On May 15, John Adams supplied a preamble that opened the door to independence. But Stone and the other Maryland delegates continued to honor the Maryland Convention's instructions from January to hold out for reconciliation with Great Britain. On May 21, the Maryland Convention agreed to form a provincial government but maintained that its "deputies in the Congress must not vote for independence." Pennsylvania and New York also barred its delegates from voting for independence.²

Stone's uncle, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, head of the Council of Safety, Maryland's executive body, was one of the major forces behind Maryland's opposition to independence. In a letter to former governor Horatio Sharpe of June 22, 1776 (by which time Pennsylvania reversed course), Jenifer distanced himself from the social upheaval and lawlessness that he predicted would occur if Maryland joined the independence movement: "So many, I fear, will be scrambling for power that it is at this time impossible to say how or in what manner the government will be established. I confess that should there be a departure from the old system of laws in the province I shall be totally unfit to have anything to say as to public matters, and upon that event's happening I shall retire and lament what was not in my power to prevent."

Despite Jenifer's trepidation about possible upheavals, on June 28 the Maryland Convention withdrew its opposition to declaring the colonies free and independent states. Thus released, Maryland's delegates Thomas Stone, William Paca, and John Rogers voted in favor of independence at pivotal votes in Congress on July 1, 2, and 4. Meanwhile, Jenifer

² Herbert E. Klingelhofer, "The Cautious Revolution: Maryland and the Movement toward Independence: 1774–1776," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 60 (September 1965): 261–313 (quote 291); John Ferling, *A Leap in the Dark: The Struggle to Create the American Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 163–71.

maintained hopes for reconciliation. On July 17, Jenifer wrote, "I am still of opinion that it is to our interest to be united with Britain and that our province instructed its delegates to agree to unite with the other colonies on declaring independence too soon."³

Historians of revolutionary Maryland paint a picture of a conservative elite and count Thomas Stone among its numbers. During the colonial period, Maryland's proprietary government rewarded loyalty with land and offices. Popular politics had an uneasy place in Maryland society; men of property and education like Thomas Stone wanted to uphold the liberties of the English constitution but feared social unrest and "anarchy" in a republic. Thomas Johnson, a prominent lawyer based in Frederick County, Maryland, opined in 1775, "The people at large are not a body fit for deliberation. They are greatly carried away with a warmth of zeal that ever leaps sedate and wise policy." Johnson wanted Americans "to establish our liberty" *and* reunite with Great Britain, "so we may preserve the entire empire and the constitutional liberty, founded in whiggish principles, handed down to us by our ancestors." The state's constitution of 1776 sustained deference to a propertied elite with its property qualifications for seats in the state's legislature and indirect election of senators and governor. Men of property and education like Thomas Stone were considered the best qualified to lead the new state government.⁴

The passage from Thomas Stone's May 20, 1776, letter at the head of this chapter reflects two aspects of Maryland's political culture at the time. Stone's statement, "I am principled against quitting any Post where my Countrymen think I may be usefull however disagreeable it may be to myself," conveys the sense of duty that men of property and leisure—the gentry—held about serving public office. Stone expressed a sense of discomfort and self-sacrifice while serving in office away from home; he wrote in the May 20 letter that he had asked to be recalled from Congress, feeling at odds with the delegates around

³ Klingelhofer, "The Cautious Revolution," 297 (quote), 305 (quote), 306. Stone was in Congress during the votes of July 1, 2, and 4, 1776, as well as on August 2 when members of Congress signed the Declaration of Independence. It is a common misconception that the signing took place on July 4. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, another signer from Maryland, missed the early July proceedings altogether (Edmund C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, 8 vols. [Washington, DC: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1921–36], 1:xlvi, 2:l; and Herbert Friedenwald, *The Declaration of Independence: An Interpretation and an Analysis* [New York: Macmillan Co., 1904], 121–51, esp. 143; Ronald Hoffman in collaboration with Sally D. Mason, *Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland: A Carroll Saga, 1500–1782* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000], 301).

Thomas Stone did not oppose severing political ties with Great Britain so much as he was concerned about the speed with which the decision was reached. Stone again expressed his preference for slow and thoughtful deliberation by "prudent sober men" during the paper money debate of 1786–87. For examples, see the Senate's message to the House of Delegates, delivered by Thomas Stone, January 20, 1787, *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Maryland, November Session, 1786*, in *Archives of Maryland* v. 185; and Thomas Stone to Michael Jenifer Stone, undated [ca. 1786–87], The Rosenbach, Philadelphia, PA.

⁴ Letters of Thomas Johnson Jr., of January and August 1775, cited in Klingelhofer, "The Cautious Revolution," 265–66. Ronald Hoffman analyzes the leadership of Maryland's "conservative elite" during the American Revolution and characterizes Thomas Stone as "a pronounced conservative" in *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics, and the Revolution in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973) (quotes 1, 141).

him who display “happy Indifference” to “agitation” or “view with Apathy the destructive Tendencies of Measures. . . I can't prevent.” But, Stone added, these things would not “weigh” on him “if I had any Prospect of my being serviceable” to Maryland's government.

The second part of the passage quoted above—“provided it be not against my Principles of Morality, in which I will ever retain the absolute Dominion”—was a strong assertion of Stone's moral authority and independence of judgment. Stone drew on a complex blend of political philosophies that came out of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England and Scotland and circulated in British America. For example, John Locke articulated a contract theory of government in which property owners freely give their consent to be governed; governance was based on property ownership, not heredity or divine right. In another shift from premodern belief systems, Scottish moral sense philosophers espoused that “moral authority” lies in “the common judgements of an informed citizenry rather than in established authorities in church or state.” Though the philosophies had radical implications, here the emphasis will be on the notion of a virtuous few. Sustaining Maryland's “highly deferential” mode of politics, the Maryland state constitution of 1776 “made the possession of extensive property the fundamental basis of government.” Members of the Upper House or Senate had to own property, real or personal, valued at £1,000 current money or above. Senators would be voted in indirectly, by electors chosen at the county level who were entrusted to choose “men of the most wisdom, experience and virtue.” The property requirement for a seat in the House of Delegates was real or personal property valued at a minimum of £500. Statewide, little more than 10 percent of free white males met the property qualifications for a seat in the lower house, and fewer than 10 percent qualified for the fifteen seats in the upper house. Senators held their seats for five years, delegates for one year. A defeated effort to remove property qualifications for suffrage meant that voters (males only) had to own fifty acres or moveable property worth

at least £30. A 1783 law, which passed while Stone sat in the Senate, restricted political participation further by barring manumitted men and their “issue” (descendants) from voting and holding office.⁵

Historian Jean B. Lee characterized Charles County's elite before the Revolutionary War as “secure” and “self-confident” in its authority. But deference was a two-way street. The gentry and whites of lower rank were bound to each other by reciprocal obligations. The gentry were expected to be generous in their hospitality and hand out patronage, for example, in exchange for political support. Lee argues that Thomas Stone learned the hard way to listen to the “Vox Populi” (a phrase Stone uses in his May 20, 1776, letter) when people refused to pay, or sheriffs refused to collect, his law fees after he defended an unpopular proprietary appointee in a high profile case in Charles County court; that same year, 1774, he lost his one and only popular election.⁶

Stone identified himself as belonging to a rank of men for whom popularity bore no relationship to high political standing (though his lack of popular appeal was not unproblematic, as became clear in Maryland's 1786–87 paper currency debate). The mansion house and landscape at Haberdeventure were a statement about his political fitness. Like other members of the gentry, Stone intended his house and landscape to communicate his “taste and knowledge” as well as his “wealth and power.” The arc created by the central block of the main house in relationship to its wings reflected the refinement of the owner. The terraced garden also beautified the scene, offering a view off the south porch. These were visual markers of Stone's membership in “a natural social and intellectual elite” for

⁵ Ned C. Landsman, “Introduction: The Context and Functions of Scottish Involvement in the Americas,” in *Nation and Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and America, 1600–1800* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2001), 26; Melvin Yazawa, *Representative Government and the Revolution: The Maryland Constitutional Crisis of 1787* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 4 (quote), 6; Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension*, 179 (quote), 180; Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1972), 214; Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 131; “An act to prohibit the bringing slaves into this state,” Session Laws of April–June 1783, chapter 23, section 3, *Archives of Maryland* 203:350. Stone did not participate in the writing of the state constitution of 1776 (Jean B. Lee, “In Search of Thomas Stone, Essential Revolutionary,” *Maryland Historical Magazine* 92 [Fall 1997]: 304).

Stone attended the session during which the Senate voted to pass the 1783 law that denied suffrage and officeholding to manumitted men (*Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Maryland, April Session, 1783*, May 29, 1783). This measure was part of broader efforts in the post-Revolutionary South to deny citizenship to blacks. “The great distinguishing characteristic between a freeman and a slave, is the right of voting for delegates to make laws affecting liberty and life,” declared the House of Delegates in a message to the Senate in January 1785, a year and a half after the passage of the 1783 act (*Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Maryland, November Session, 1784*, January 16, 1785). The 1783 law denied manumitted men this privilege of a “freeman.” William G. Thomas III's recent book, *A Question of Freedom: The Families Who Challenged Slavery from the Nation's Founding to the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020) offers a perspective on race and citizenship in post-revolutionary Maryland.

⁶ Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 7, 104, 131. On deference, see Richard R. Beeman, “Deference, Republicanism, and the Emergence of Popular Politics in Eighteenth-Century America,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 49 (1992): 401–30 and, more recently, in a legal context, Turk McClesky and James C. Squire, “Knowing When To Fold: Litigation on a Writ of Debt in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Virginia,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 76 (July 2019): 509–44, esp. 543. The seminal work on the genesis of shared political interests among whites in the colonial Chesapeake is Edmund Morgan's *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1975).

which Stone qualified on the basis of his lineage (family history) in Maryland, education, and property ownership. According to eighteenth-century English political thought, independence of wealth through ownership of land gave the elite the ability to rise above self-interest in governance and thus put them in a worthy position to make decisions for the good of the majority.⁷

Haberdeventure also represented Stone's local interests. Stone's land ownership in Charles County rooted his social and political authority in this place. The design of the mansion house blends metropolitan influences with regional preferences. From the exterior, the one-and-a-half story form with gambrel roof resembled other high-status houses of the area. A piazza on the public-facing north side provided a sheltered space for visitors, expressing hospitality while maintaining limited access to the house's interior. In language that evoked the local obligations of a large landowner, Stone apologized to the governor of Maryland in March 1784 for a delay in his appearance in Annapolis, citing "those . . . incidents which generally attend to country gentlemen when suddenly called from home." Planters' houses were the "administrative centers" of their plantations, where people of all ranks from the surrounding area would come to ask for work, solicit aid, or seek resolution for a dispute.⁸

As one of Maryland's "country gentlemen," Stone distinguished himself from "plain Country people." Gentility studies tell us that a "cultural and social gulf" developed between "gentry and commoner" between 1720 and 1760 in colonial British America. As historian Cary Carson explains, over the course of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, "English society . . . imbued the leisured squirearchy with certain cultural attributes that set them apart from the working classes below them. Known to contemporaries as 'genteel taste,' today's modern scholars call this code of conduct by various names: civility, sociability, politeness. It was something men and women had to take time to learn, time that working people could not spare. It required the mastery of prescribed social skills, which, when practiced, transformed the activities of everyday life into the arts of genteel living." Gentility was "theater," Carson continues. "It needed settings, costumes, props, and not least of all, audiences." Traditionally, large landowning families like the

⁷ Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic*, 206–14 (209 quote); Tom Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens & Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (Phoenix Mill, U.K.: Sutton Publishing Ltd., 1995), 16 (quote).

⁸ Thomas Stone to Governor William Paca, March 18, 1784, Haverford College (transcription erroneously dated May 10, 1786, in Kate Jefferson, "Thomas Stone: A Chronology from Select Primary Sources," National Park Service, 2004) (quote); Clare Priest, "Creating an American Property Law: Alienability and Its Limits in American History," *Harvard Law Review* 120, no. 2 (December 2006): 399; Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," 1985, republished in *Material Life in America, 1600–1860*, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 362 (quote). George Washington, a Virginia planter who held over 300 people in bondage in 1799, believed it to be his obligation to hear appeals from the enslaved about their treatment by overseers, permission to marry persons who lived off the plantation, requests for new jobs, and other matters (Mary V. Thompson, "*The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret*": *George Washington, Slavery, and the Enslaved Community At Mount Vernon* [Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2019], 3, 51–7).

Stones had exclusive possession of the leisure to cultivate gentility. But Thomas Stone interacted extensively, both personally and professionally, with men of commercial wealth—merchants—who also could be genteel in their appearance, manners, and domestic environments. Stone's investment in land was both a practical decision and a cultural choice that maintained his family's social distinction.⁹

“*Disinterested men* may possibly err, but having no motive to do wrong, and being bound to do right, the probability is that they will not err,” Stone penned in 1783. “*Interested men*,” on the other hand, “have a motive to induce a departure from right.” Landed wealth, according to eighteenth-century English political thought, conferred upon a man the ability to govern without self-interest. Information about Stone's wealth is the subject of the next section.¹⁰

Thomas Stone's Comparative Wealth

How did Thomas Stone's wealth measure up to others in Charles County and in Maryland as a whole? Setting aside for the moment various markers of his high standing—such as his birth family, his gentility, and his officeholding—Stone qualified as “elite” on the basis of property ownership alone. At the time of his death, Stone possessed about two thousand acres in Charles County and, according to his probate inventories, held in bondage a total of twenty-five enslaved people at the end of his life. Stone was a “large planter” by the standards of Charles County in the Revolutionary Era, defined by Jean B. Lee as ownership of at least five hundred acres and slaveholdings of above twenty enslaved people. If we zoom out to Maryland as a whole, Stone still qualified as “elite” on the basis of his property ownership alone but was less of a stand-out. Historian Trevor Burnard's benchmark for a “large estate” in Maryland prior to 1776 was possession of personal property worth over £2,500 current money (adjusted for inflation). Stone's personal property was valued at

⁹ Thomas Stone's statement, December 21, 1781, in Pardon Papers for Negro Nan, Box 1, Folder 82, Governor and Council Papers 1781, MSA; Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 26–27 (quotes); Cary Carson, *Face Value: The Consumer Revolution and the Colonizing of America* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2017), 33; Margaret R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680–1780* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 208; Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, 112–13. “In eighteenth-century society, gentility was the visible expression of gentry status” (Bushman, *Refinement of America*, xv).

¹⁰ Thomas Stone's answer to Charles Carroll of Carrollton's protest to the bill entitled, “An act concerning the admission and qualification of attorneys and solicitors,” submitted by Stone to the Maryland Senate on December 25, 1783, and read in the Senate chamber on January 15, 1785 (*Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Maryland*, November Sessions, 1783 and 1784). Other men in politics recognized Stone as “honest and disinterested” (Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, May 8, 1784, in *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, eds. Smith et al., 21:601, and reproduced in Jefferson, “Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Primary Sources”). New views about interests and minority rights in republican government came to the fore in the constitutional debates of 1787 (Gordon, *Creation of the American Republic*).

£2,666 current money in early 1788 (unadjusted for inflation). By Burnard's analysis, Thomas Stone fell within the average for landholding and slaveholding among elite decedents between 1760 and 1776.¹¹

Thomas Stone was also typical among Maryland's elite for diversifying his financial portfolio beyond planting, though by his own admission he avoided risk. Aided by his legal expertise, Stone managed to accumulate a considerable amount of land in an early colonized region. Though geography exerted negative pressures on plantation size in Maryland (the province was bounded by water and lacked a western frontier, unlike Virginia), a number of factors encouraged the creation of large estates in the later eighteenth century. Soil depletion and population pressures on older settled land (including in Charles County) put limits on the number of people and domestic animals the land could support, fostering more extensive estates. Also, tobacco had a low profit margin of 5 to 6 percent, and wheat crops were low yield. Maryland's elite supplemented their plantation income through trade and professions, money lending, and capital investments, such as iron manufacturing. Stone held one-fourth of one-tenth of a share in the Baltimore Iron Works Company. Stone also put some of his cash into real estate, including a mill near Haberdeventure and a townhouse in Annapolis, and silver, accumulating 168 ounces of the durable good that kept its value. The scope of Stone's moneylending as a revenue stream, unfortunately, is unknown.¹²

Notably, Thomas Stone never held an office of profit in Maryland's proprietary revenue system, which was another way that men of elite standing, before the Revolution, supplemented their income. Four generations earlier, Lord Baltimore, the proprietor of Maryland, had made Stone's great-great-grandfather, William Stone (ca. 1603–1659/60), governor of the fledgling colony and rewarded his service with a manor of four thousand acres in Charles County. While this award of a manor established the Stone family as prominent members of Charles County society for generations, Thomas Stone's father, David, held less than one thousand acres of the original parcel. Arguably, it was Thomas Stone's kinship connection to Charles County native Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer (1723–90), his maternal uncle, that elevated Stone to higher circles in 1774–76. Jenifer held the proprietary revenue system's highest office, Agent and Receiver General, in 1768–69 and again after 1771. Jenifer also acquired a seat in the upper house of Maryland's government

¹¹ Jean B. Lee, *The Price of Nationhood: The American Revolution in Charles County* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1994), 23, 45; Jean B. Lee, "The Problem of Slave Community in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 43 (July 1986): 333–61; Trevor Burnard, *Creole Gentlemen: The Maryland Elite, 1691–1776* (New York: Routledge, 2002) 9, 35, 38, table 2.5. According to the research for this HRS, Thomas Stone owned 1,981 acres in Charles County at the end of his life, in addition to real estate in Annapolis.

¹² Lorena S. Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit: Plantation Management in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1607–1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 372; Paul G. E. Clemens, "The Operation of an Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Tobacco Plantation," *Agricultural History* 49 (July 1975): 519.

by proprietary appointment in 1771 and headed the Council of Safety at the beginning of the Revolutionary War. Historian Jean B. Lee contends that it was through Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer's patronage that Thomas Stone won election to the Continental Congress in 1775 without prior legislative experience.¹³

Certainly there were men of larger fortunes than Stone in Maryland in the 1770s and 1780s, and proprietary patronage more often than not played a role in the making of those fortunes. Despite the presence of a handful of very large family fortunes, like the Carrolls, Lloyds, and Jenifers, in Maryland, and a trend toward engrossment of estates, the colony, in Trevor Burnard's view, had an open elite. Its ranks were porous. Over the course of the eighteenth century, Burnard found, a greater quantity of men, and a higher proportion of the population as a whole, qualified as elite (defined by Burnard as having estates worth over £650). Economic diversification and the growth of the enslaved population by natural increase were two reasons for the growth in wealth in the colony as a whole. At the same time, the average wealth of a member of the elite declined. One factor was change in the land market; as land was subdivided over the generations, it became more difficult to accumulate large landholdings in older settled areas such as Charles County. Meanwhile, men of more modest means (whose fathers held estates worth between £225–650) pushed their way into the higher ranks as prosperity (among free white colonists) grew overall.¹⁴

The dynamic nature of Maryland's upper ranks (both upward and downward before a bankruptcy law passed in 1787 provided some support to those falling out of the ranks) is helpful to keep in mind as we study Thomas Stone's style of life at Haberdeventure, on his travels, and in Annapolis. Maryland's "elite" in the 1760s and 1770s were men of modest fortunes, compared to elite planters in Virginia, South Carolina, and sugar colonies like Jamaica. Stone was able to distinguish himself through his inherited advantages, such as his family's wealth, prominence, and connections in the Potomac Valley region, as well as through his education, talents, pursuit of higher office, and self-discipline. However, he also faced challenges, such as competition from other ambitious lawyers eager to attract business. A reluctance to engage in popular politics made his reliance on building his credit and reputation with peers all that more important to gain office. Time away from his profession to serve in government and recurring bouts of ill health, he believed, threatened his ability to provide his family with what Burnard calls a

¹³ Donnell MacClure Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1953); Lee, "In Search of Thomas Stone," 295, 297–98; "William Stone" and "Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer," in Papenfuse, *BDML*, 2:485, 788. The children of David Stone's principal heir, Samuel Stone, paid taxes on 583 acres of Poynton Manor for the 1783 tax assessment. David Stone's plantation may have been as large as 967 acres, though, because Samuel's two sons divided this amount between them (Charles County Land Records D#4:310, MSA).

¹⁴ Burnard, *Creole Gentlemen*, 9–12.

“comfortable sufficiency.” Moreover, the imperial crisis between the colonies and Great Britain made Maryland's future uncertain. We can look to the material culture of Haberdeventure as evidence of Stone's responses to these challenges.¹⁵

The Built Landscape at Haberdeventure: Stone Family Dwelling House and Garden

This section discusses the processional landscape at Haberdeventure and draws comparisons with peer properties within a ten-mile radius before moving the focus of discussion to the town of Port Tobacco. Haberdeventure is one of “forty or so” eighteenth-century dwellings that survive in Charles County today. Architectural histories of the colonial Chesapeake have identified a number of ways in which the landscape reflected the social order. Planters' families expressed their elevated social position, for instance, by locating the mansion house on high ground, using brick as construction material, limiting access to interior spaces at the planter's house, cultivating formal gardens, and providing scant resources for slave housing.¹⁶



Figure 4. Smallwood's Retreat in ruins, Charles County, circa 1930s. Photograph by Frances Benjamin Johnston. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Carnegie Survey of the Architecture of the South.

¹⁵ Burnard, *Creole Gentlemen*, 27 (quote). Thomas Stone did not attend the 1787 legislative session that passed the bankruptcy act (Session Laws of April-May 1787, Chapter 34, “An Act Respecting Insolvent Debtors”).

¹⁶ J. Richard Rivoire, *Homeplaces: Traditional Domestic Architecture of Charles County, Maryland* (La Plata, MD: Southern Maryland Studies Center, Charles County Community College, 1990), 6.

What clues does Haberdeventure provide to the Stone family's group identity? What do the specific features of Haberdeventure's architecture and landscape tell us about how Thomas Stone and his family saw themselves in relationship to others in Charles County and beyond? In what ways did the property promote ties between Thomas Stone, his wife, and other residents and the community around it? What was the conversation between Haberdeventure and similar properties within a ten-mile radius?

Relative Acreage

Land ownership had a number of social and political meanings attached to it and was the sine qua non of political authority in the eighteenth-century British Atlantic world. But Marylanders up and down the social scale (except the very poor, including the enslaved) rented land and buildings on town lots. Tenants could live quite well. Because inhabitants, including Thomas Stone, rented as well as purchased land, some allowance should be made for including rented parcels in assessing how much land any one person or household controlled.¹⁷

Thomas Stone's initial purchase of 442 acres of Haberdeventure and Hanson's Plains Enlarged in 1770 immediately jettisoned him within striking distance of the 500 acres that distinguished a "large" planter in Stone's home county at the time. Other "seats" of similar acreage documented in the 1782 and 1783 tax assessments include Rose Hill next door, which sat on a parcel of 412 acres, Strawberry Hill (now La Grange), which was made up of three parcels totaling 495 acres, Goodrick's Rest (later the Hermitage) with 350 acres, and Rich Hill, the dwelling plantation of Stone's father-in-law, which had 566 acres. Samuel Stone's plantation—the plantation that Thomas Stone grew up on and his eldest half-brother inherited—was a minimum of 583 acres.¹⁸

Many owners of these large estates owned or rented additional land in the county as well. Charles Goodrick, for example, a planter with a 350-acre home plantation, owned another 900 acres in Charles County in 1782. With a total of 1,268 acres, Goodrick had more than enough land to employ the thirteen enslaved people in his possession and may

¹⁷ More than half of the free population in the colonial Chesapeake on the eve of the American Revolution were tenants. Though standards of living rose during the eighteenth century for all wealth levels, except among the enslaved who "legally owned no property," the prospect of owning virgin land in the west fueled white outmigration from Southern Maryland after the war (Philip D. Morgan, "The Poor: Slaves in Early America," in *Slavery in the Development of the Americas*, eds. David Eltis, Frank D. Lewis, and Kenneth Lee Solokoff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 288–323 (quote 288); Steven Sarson, "Landlessness and Tenancy in Early National Prince George's County, Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser. 57, no. 3 (July 2000): 569–98; Lee, *Price of Nationhood*). On tenants, see also Chapter 4.

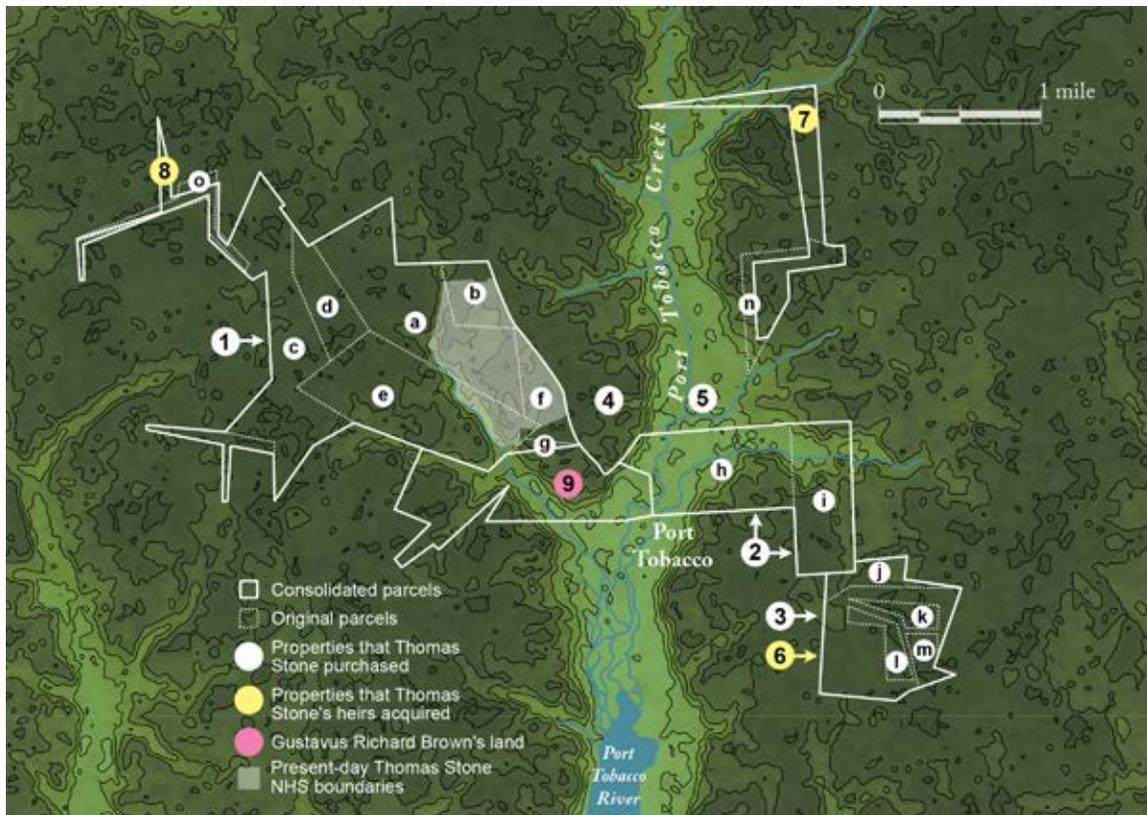
¹⁸ Maryland tax assessments of 1782 and 1783, MSA. In her study of Charles County, Jean B. Lee determined that "as of 1774," fifty acres was the minimum required for a "viable plantation." Plantations of 100 acres or less would be considered small, and plantations of 101 to 500 acres would be "middling." Most landholders (75 percent) had more than 100 acres. Lee points out that the biggest landholders in Charles County were the Jesuits at St. Thomas Manor with 5,200 acres (*Price of Nationhood*, 23–24).

have rented some out. (Goodrick had sold 120 acres called Addition to May Day to Thomas Stone during the war.) Thomas's father, David Stone, in contrast, may have rented land to support the fifty-two enslaved people he held in bondage in 1774. Based on records from after his death, David Stone held about six hundred acres of Poynton Manor, which was not sufficient to support all fifty-two bondspeople plus his own large family. By one estimation, a plantation in the Chesapeake needed to be two thousand acres to support thirty bondspeople. Virginia tobacco growers by mid-century generally observed a ratio of sixty-five acres to one laborer. Planters had to be wary of overcropping their land. According to a study of Maryland's Eastern Shore, where mixed tobacco and grain farming was widely practiced by mid-century, "a land to labor ratio of forty to one still allowed a planter to grow both grains and tobacco but. . . careful planning was required" to keep a portion of the land in fallow.¹⁹

By the end of his life, Thomas Stone owned enough land to create a 510-acre parcel apart from Haberdeventure, named Plenty, which would have been enough to support an heir if needed. (As it happened, Stone's daughter Margaret inherited the land.) The advantages of accumulating one thousand acres for a home plantation, as Stone did, for long-term estate management are discussed in Chapter 4. In Charles County, ownership of one thousand acres put him in the top 10 percent of landholders.²⁰

¹⁹ On land-to-labor ratios, see Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 372, 613–14. See Appendix 5 for a list of names and ages of the enslaved in David Stone's 1774 probate inventory, Prerogative Court, Inventories, Liber 117, ff. 91–9, MSA. Research in colonial land records may yield a more accurate picture of David Stone's landholdings. David's oldest son, Samuel Stone, inherited David's home plantation at Poynton Manor in 1773 and died five years later. Samuel's heirs paid a state tax assessment on 583 acres in 1783. By 1788, a deed for the division of the plantation's land between two of Samuel's sons recorded a slightly larger size of 645 acres (Walter Hanson Stone to David Stone, 1788, Charles County Land Records, D#4:310, MSA). See Chapter 2 for more discussion about inheritance in the Stone family.

²⁰ Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 23. In 1787 Stone obtained a patent for Plenty as well as a patent for 1,077 acres he called Haberdeventure.



- ① Haberdeventure (1077 acres, patented in 1787), made up of the following tracts:
 - a. Haberdeventure and Hanson's Plains Enlarged
 - b. Hanson's Plains
 - c. Part of Hansonton
 - d. Bridget's Delight
 - e. Simpson's Delight
 - f. Part of St. Nicholas
 - g. Part of Betty's Delight and Prior's Beginning
- ② Plenty (510 acres, patented 1787), made up of the following tracts:
 - h. Part of Chandlers Hills
 - i. Welcome
- ③ Land purchased from Thomas Hopewell (1784)
 - j. Moberly
 - k. Hopewell's Discovery
 - l. Shaw's Trouble
 - m. Shaw's Barrons
- ④ Part of St. Nicholas, exchanged by Thomas Stone in 1783 for a part of St. Nicholas lying on the west side of Port Tobacco-Piscataway Road
- ⑤ Port Tobacco Great Mill (20 acres with mill seat, leased 1777, purchased 1782)
- ⑥ Moberly Enlarged (285 acres, patented by Thomas Stone's heirs in 1806)
- ⑦ Addition to May Day Enlarged (196 acres, patented by Thomas Stone's heirs in 1794)
 - n. Addition to May Day
- ⑧ Distrest Corrected (60 acres, patented by Thomas Stone's heirs in 1794)
 - o. Distrest
- ⑨ Rose Hill, Gustavus Richard Brown's residence (447 acres, patented 1789)

Figure 5. Map of Charles County land owned by Thomas Stone and his heirs, 1770–1806. Data supplied by Donald E. Zimmer. Drawn by M. Roy Cartography. See Appendix 20 for documentation.

Location

Missing from the historical record are any explanations for the choice by Thomas Stone and his family to establish a home plantation just north of Port Tobacco on upland soil. Among the disadvantages of the site on which Thomas Stone erected his home plantation were the inferior quality of the soil for raising tobacco and the gullies and ravines that made the land prone to erosion. The soil's high water table also posed a problem for use of the mansion house; archaeologists found evidence of repeated flooding in the cellar of the main block. Thomas Stone solved the problem of poor-quality soil by acquiring more arable land just half a mile further east, on the east side of Port Tobacco Creek (see Figure 5). Notably, Thomas Stone chose not to establish his home plantation along the Potomac River, where land was highly prized for its level surface (which eased plowing) and access to water transportation. Stone had other priorities.²¹

Previous studies of Haberdeventure highlight the plantation's access to existing road networks and its proximity to Port Tobacco, where the county courthouse stood. Two miles from town, the plantation sat at the intersection of two principal roads. Port Tobacco-Piscataway Road, now Rose Hill Road, survives to the present day and runs north-south along Haberdeventure's eastern boundary. "Among the most heavily trafficked of all of Charles County's public thoroughfares" when Thomas Stone built his home, the road led to points north, including Annapolis, Baltimore, and Philadelphia (see Figure 6). Port Tobacco-Mattawoman Road (later called Glymont Road before falling into disuse) had a northeast-southwest course across Haberdeventure's northern reaches.

²¹ Charles D. Cheek, Jeanne A. Ward, and Joseph Balicki for John Milner Assoc., "Archaeological Studies of the Garden and House at the Thomas Stone National Historic Site (18CH331), Charles County, Maryland," 1992; and Teresa S. Moyer, Center for Heritage Resource Studies, University of Maryland, "Thomas Stone National Historic Site: Archaeological Overview and Assessment" (2007), 17. See Chapter 4 for a longer discussion of the soil and geography. John Hoskins Stone concentrated his landownership in Durham Parish (1783 tax list, MSA).



Figure 6. Detail of "The State of Maryland," showing Port Tobacco-Piscataway Road. Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1795. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.



Figure 7. Detail, “Map of the State of Maryland,” by Fielding Lucas Jr. and John Warr. Baltimore, 1841. Arrow indicates the approximate location of Haberdeventre, at the intersection of Port Tobacco-Piscataway Road, which ran north-south, and Port Tobacco-Mattawoman Road, which ran northeast-southwest.
Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.



Figure 8. Detail of “Map of Maryland Showing Principal Buildings, Roads, Cities, and Towns, Created or Existing Prior to 1794...,” by H. Brooks Price, 1933. This map is helpful for showing the locations of major ferry crossings and properties, including Mount Vernon and Gunston Hall in Virginia, Marshall Hall (opposite Mount Vernon), and Araby (south and east of Gunston Hall).

Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.

Of the two roads that intersect at Haberdeventure’s northeast section, the significance of Port Tobacco-Mattawoman Road for Haberdeventure is the more difficult to determine. Its terminus was Mattawoman Creek, which formed the southern boundary of the Piscataway Indian Reservation created by the Maryland provincial government in the mid-seventeenth century. By 1700 the Piscataway moved further up the Potomac River, and the area formally opened for European settlement. Two prominent planters who lived on Mattawoman Creek during Thomas Stone’s lifetime included William Eilbeck (d. 1765), builder of a house now known as Araby and whose daughter Ann married George Mason IV of Virginia, and William Smallwood (d. 1792), a Revolutionary War general and governor of Maryland, who lived at the site presently called Smallwood’s Retreat. Both men built one-and-a-half-story brick houses by the 1760s. Eilbeck’s house had a gambrel roof and

was similar to Haberdeventure in its outward appearance (prior to expansion in the nineteenth century). Inside, the house had a four-room plan, with direct access into a large front room with floor-to-ceiling paneling and a rear stair hall. Smallwood's house was in very poor condition prior to being restored in the 1950s, but its highly decorated exterior remains evident with glazed bricks, segmental arches over window and door openings, a double molded water table, and a visible stone foundation.²²



Figure 9. Smallwood's Retreat, Charles County, circa 1898.

Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Building Survey, National Park Service. Photo date supplied from Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form for State Historic Sites Survey for Smallwood's Retreat, CH-12.

North of Mattawoman Creek along the Potomac River lay Marshall Hall, where a ferry ran to Mount Vernon Neck in Fairfax County, Virginia. Advertised in a Maryland newspaper as a convenience for “travelers going from the lower parts of Maryland to the upper parts,” this ferry also served local traffic between Virginia and Charles County, Maryland. George Washington, for instance, used the ferry to travel to eastern Virginia. Washington in his diaries recorded stopping in Port Tobacco four times—and at Araby once—in the 1760s and 1770s while traveling between Mount Vernon and Virginia's colonial capital, Williamsburg.

²² Wearmouth 1988 HRS; 1996 CLR (quote, 11); Pamela M. Klinger, “Architecture of Araby, Charles County, Maryland,” *Architecture in Virginia* series, No. 127, School of Architecture, University of Virginia; National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form for Araby, CH-11, National Park Service, 1973; Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form for State Historic Sites Survey, Smallwood's Retreat, CH-12, 2003. Both Eilbeck and Smallwood referred to their plantations as “Mattawoman” in their lifetimes (Klinger, “Architecture of Araby,” 1; MHT inventory form for Smallwood's Retreat). The website *Probing the Past: Virginia and Maryland Probate Inventories, 1740–1810*, provides a transcription of William Eilbeck's probate inventory (<https://chnm.gmu.edu/probateinventory/>).

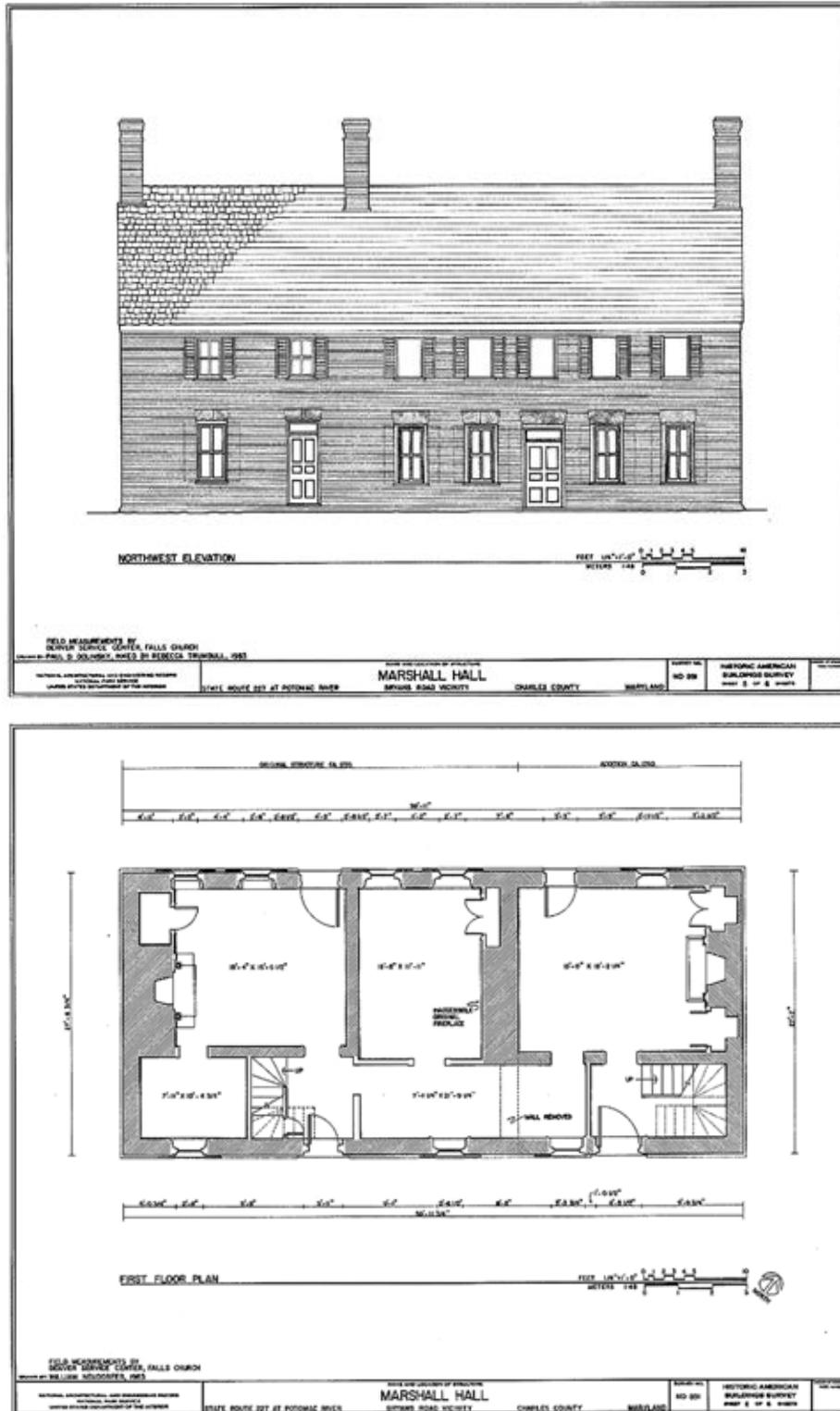


Figure 10. Marshall Hall, Charles County. Northwest elevation drawing and first floor plan, drawn by Paul D. Dolinsky and William Neudorfer, respectively, 1983. Around 1760, the Marshall family enlarged a circa-1725 five-bay, one-and-a-half-story brick house by adding an attached kitchen with living quarters upstairs (at left in top drawing).

The original house had direct entry into the largest room and a rear stair hall.
Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Historic American Building Survey, National Park Service.

The diaries' editors explain, Washington "could cut across Charles County, past Port Tobacco, and recross the Potomac [at Lower Cedar Point], entering Virginia in the Chotank area of King George County. In this way he saved himself from traveling the lower 'Potomac path' on the Virginia side of the Potomac, which crossed a number of swamps and small streams" that swelled after "hard rains." Though we don't know which particular roads Washington favored between Marshall Hall and Port Tobacco, Haberdeventure, at the intersection of two roads, was well-situated to intercept Virginians—and their legal business—as they went through Charles County between river crossings.²³

Thomas Stone must have relished attracting clients from Virginia, the wealthiest colony in British North America. Marylanders provided the bulk of his legal business, though, and the location of Stone's house north of Port Tobacco hints at his aspirations to expand his business northward. Stone had important clients with property in Prince George's County. Merchant-planter Stephen West, for instance, engaged Thomas Stone's services as a lawyer and even witnessed Stone sign his will. Also, horse races and plays in Prince George's county seat, Upper Marlborough, drew residents from Charles County. As Prince George's population grew, road networks grew denser. To get to Annapolis,

²³ Edith Moore Sprouse, *Along the Potomac River: Extracts from the Maryland Gazette, 1728–1799* (Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2001), 31–32 (quote), 52. George Washington recorded his stops in Port Tobacco in his diaries (*The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, Diaries* [Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008], Vols. 1:269 [April 19, 1760], 3:29 [May 30, 1771], 3:165 [March 2, 1773], 3:166 [March 16, 1773]). Quotation from *ibid.*, 1:269n. One spring day in 1760, Washington had an unexpected delay in his journey: after leaving Mount Vernon at 9 o'clock and taking the ferry to Marshall Hall, at "abt. 11 [o'clock] I broke my [riding] Chair and had to Walk to Port Tobo. where I was detained the whole day getting my Chair mended—no Smith being with[in] 6 Miles" (1:269).

Maryland's legal and political center, from Haberdeventure, Stone on at least some occasions traveled over land through Piscataway, a mid-eighteenth-century tobacco-trading town, and Upper Marlborough.²⁴

In testament to the importance of overland travel for the Stone family, Thomas Stone owned three costly riding vehicles at the time of his death, according to his probate inventory. The best vehicle was a chariot, "a light four-wheeled carriage with only back seats," with or without a box upon which a coachman sat, valued at £100 with its harness. A chariot was large enough to carry a family, whereas the riding chair worth £45 and a phaeton with harness appraised at £40 were smaller vehicles for one or two passengers. The riding chair was likely a sulky, a two-wheeled carriage built for one rider and one horse, that Thomas asked his brother Walter to obtain in Philadelphia in 1782. A phaeton was a "light four-wheeled open carriage, usually drawn by a pair of horses, and having one or two seats facing forward." A painting by George Stubbs from 1784 shows a phaeton and two horses (Figure 11). The only other objects at Haberdeventure that approached the values of these mobile status symbols were Thomas and Margaret Stone's clothing, each assemblage worth £80 each, the best bed with its furniture, appraised at £30, and a clock rated at £25.²⁵

²⁴ Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 211–14 (including Map 13), 227 (Map 15), 341; William Craik to Walter Stone, May 12, 1783, Stone Family Papers, Library of Congress (hereafter LC), in which Craik mentioned meeting "most of my Port Tobacco" friends in Upper Marlborough who were attending "race & plays"; National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for Piscataway Village Historic District, PG84–023, 2011; "Stephen West" in Papenfuse, *BDML*, 2:878. Out of the 460 cases in which Thomas Stone was counsel that were recorded in the sampling of higher court records for this study, 100 cases were for clients from Prince George's County, with the bulk of these being debt cases in 1786 (Appendix 19). Charles County clients were the second most numerous, comprising 68 cases. Richard K. Macmaster offers a short biography of Stephen West in "Georgetown and the Tobacco Trade, 1751–1783," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, DC*, 66/68 (1966/1968): 10–12. English traveler Nicholas Cresswell in 1774 sought to go by water from Nanjemoy to Alexandria, but he was stuck for over a week waiting for favorable weather. Growing impatient, he decided to abandon his plans and travel overland to Annapolis via Port Tobacco, Piscataway, and Marlboro. Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown and others accompanied him on his way to Annapolis (Harold B. Gill Jr. and George M. Curtis III, eds., *A Man Apart: The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774–1781* [Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009], entries for May 19 through June 4, 1774). For evidence of traveling between Haberdeventure and Annapolis by road, see Thomas Stone's letters to William Smallwood of January 29, 1782 (in Thomas Balch, ed., *Papers Relating Chiefly to the Maryland Line during the Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1857), 168–70, reproduced in Jefferson, "Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Select Primary Sources"), and to Walter Stone on December 3 and 9, 1783 (The Rosenbach, Philadelphia, and Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New York, respectively). Writing to Gov. William Paca on March 18, 1784, Stone shared his plans to stop at Upper Marlborough, where he had legal cases pending with "a great amount of...property at stake," on his way to Annapolis (Haverford College Library, misdated May 10, 1786, in Jefferson, "Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Select Primary Sources"). Comments about traveling by water seem to be absent in Thomas Stone's surviving letters, though he must have taken passage on water vessels to get to some destinations, such as George Washington's Mount Vernon, Maryland's General Court of the Eastern Shore at Easton, and Philadelphia.

²⁵ Appendix 4, Thomas Stone's probate inventories; Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, July 16, 1782, Stone Family Papers, LC; "chariot," "sulky," and "phaeton," *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. The carriages would have stood out as valuable objects in Annapolis as well. Objects at the Stones' Annapolis house valued at £25 or above were a dozen "new mahogany chairs" (£24.10.0), two portrait pictures (£45), silver (£51), and a pipe of Madeira wine (£90). The library at the Annapolis house eclipsed them all with a value of £569.



Figure 11. George Stubbs, "Phaeton with a Pair of Cream Ponies and a Stable-Lad," between 1780 and 1784. Beeswax and oil on panel.

Courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

Thomas Stone appears to have purchased at least two of the three carriages that he owned at the end of his life from a well-known coach-making family in Philadelphia. Stone commissioned both a chariot in 1783 and a phaeton at an earlier date from a man he referred to as "Bringhurst." This was either John Bringhurst, coachmaker of Germantown on the outskirts of Philadelphia, from whom George Washington in 1780 had ordered "a genteel plain Chariot with neat Harness for four horses to go with two postilions," or his son George Bringhurst, a carriagemaker in Philadelphia. Stone, in instructions sent to his brother Walter to convey to Bringhurst, asked for a chariot that was moderately fashionable. "I don't want it very high or very large," adding, "You know Mrs Stone is not very tall even with a high headdress & therefore don't require such a lofty top to her Carriage but I would incline it should not be quite so high as they are now made & yet rather higher than the former fashion." Initially Stone asked for the chariot to be painted "nearly the Color of my Phaeton if [Bringhurst] can [remember it,] a kind of light green with a small mixture of blue." In a subsequent letter, Stone relinquished this specific color request in favor of "whatever Colour is most fashionable and looks the best," though the finished product was not to be a "gaudy shewy thing that will be stared at as a proof of the Owner's Vanity & folly." In a more practical vein, Stone expressed his desire for a harness for postilions, "for tho Boxes may be the Taste yet a Man who has no Driver that he chuses to trust on a Box

must be content to adopt the other Mode which is more safe." A postilion rode alongside a carriage whereas a coachman sat on a box—a precarious position on rough roads outside of cities.²⁶



Figure 12. Thomas Rowlandson, “An English Postilion,” circa 1785.

Watercolor, with pen, in brown ink, and graphite on paper.

Courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

²⁶ George Washington to John Mitchell, March 20, 1780, *The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, Revolutionary War Series* (University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008), 25:103; Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 8, 1783, Stone Family Papers, LC, transcription in Kate Jefferson, “Thomas Stone: A Chronology From Select Primary Sources,” National Park Service, 2004; Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 26, 1783, Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, transcription in *ibid.* John Mitchell was prepared to pay John Bringhurst £210.0.6 in 1780 for George Washington’s chariot (Mitchell to George Washington, May 19, 1780, *Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, Revolutionary War Series*, 26:93). In further evidence of John Bringhurst’s reputation as a “trustworthy” coachmaker, Abigail and John Adams of Massachusetts purchased a carriage from the maker in 1792, and Abigail called it “excellent” (Abigail Adams to John Adams, January 5, 1794, and Abigail Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams, [December] 13, 1800, *The Adams Papers Digital Edition*, ed. Sara Martin [Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008–21], 10:8, 14:479 [quote]). The younger Bringhurst, George, was active as a coachmaker in Philadelphia by 1782 (*Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia], April 17, 1782). On the relative safety of postilions over a coachman on a box, see Thomas Jefferson to George Washington, March 27, 1791, 19:625, and George Washington to Thomas Jefferson, April 1, 1791, 20:93, *Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, eds. James P. McClure and J. Jefferson Looney (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008–20).



Figure 13. Matthew Darly, "The Preposterous Head Dress, or the Feathered Lady," London, 1776. Engraved print. Courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

John Bringhurst of Germantown in particular was a trusted source of quality and fashion, but Stone had concerns about getting the moral tone just right. For his principal carriage, the chariot, Stone did not want a "gaudy shewy thing," shunning the appearance of luxury. Furthermore, after bequeathing the chariot to his elder daughter, Margaret, Stone misgave his choice. In a codicil, Stone granted his executors the choice to delay

Margaret's taking possession of the carriage or to sell the carriage and horses for cash. Stone, or someone close to him, must have expressed concern about the impropriety of his elder daughter, who was sixteen at the time, being seen in the company of others. Among middle-class circles, a woman's chastity was often equated with her virtue. Apparently traveling in a riding chair, alone, did not pose a problem for unmarried or single women, as Stone did not qualify his bequest of the riding chair and a "good chair horse" to his younger daughter, Mildred. Stone's wife and daughters shared with Thomas the use of the vehicles for travel, to visit neighbors and kin, and to reach towns, cities, and spas.²⁷

Establishing a residence near Port Tobacco gave Thomas Stone and his wife access to critical transportation and communication networks in Charles County by both land and water. Port Tobacco's prominence as a commercial center along the Potomac River in the 1760s, 1770s, and 1780s encouraged other professionals to establish homes here. Physicians based in Port Tobacco, for example, visited patients on both sides of the Potomac River. The development of plantations along Mattawoman Creek, on land formerly reserved for the Piscataway Indians, and the presence of wealthy clients in Prince George's County may have also influenced the Stones' choice to establish a seat just to the north of Port Tobacco.²⁸

The Approach

Stone's dwelling house at Haberdeventure sits on relatively high ground, at 150 feet above sea level. The house is set back from the main thoroughfare, Port Tobacco-Piscataway Road (now Rose Hill Road), by over one thousand feet in such a way as to surveil the approach of visitors from the northeast and southeast. The remnants of a path leading from the intersection of Port Tobacco-Piscataway Road and Port Tobacco-Mattawoman Road (later Glymont Road) toward the house suggest the existence, in the later eighteenth century, of a formal approach from this direction that led across Hanson's Plains to the north side of the main block, where it intersected with the surviving path in the southerly direction leading

²⁷ Will of Thomas Stone, Appendix 3; Margaret R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680–1780* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 92–94; Ruth H. Bloch, "The Gendered Meanings of Virtue in Revolutionary America," *Signs* 13 (Autumn 1987): 37–58; Rhys Isaac, *Landon Carter's Uneasy Kingdom: Revolution and Rebellion on a Virginia Plantation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 235.

²⁸ Examples of Port Tobacco-based physicians crossing the Potomac include Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown's smallpox inoculation hospital on the Virginia side of the Potomac in 1776, and Dr. James Craik's inoculation of George Mason, enslaved people held in bondage by George Washington, and others in the Fredericksburg, Virginia, area in 1777 (J. M. Toner, "A Sketch of the Life of Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown," *Sons of the Revolution in State of Virginia Quarterly Magazine* 2, no. 1 [January 1923]: 18–19, citing an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette* [Williamsburg], June 28, 1776; James Craik to George Washington, May 13, 1777, *Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, Revolutionary War Series*, 9:409). Craik, whose most famous patient was George Washington, moved to Alexandria, Virginia, in 1786 (*Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, Diaries*, 5:65).

to Port Tobacco-Piscataway Road. Verification of the drive on the north side of the house, including its precise shape, awaits archaeology. Likely the interior of the arc or triangle that the formal drive formed on the north side of the house was at least partially cleared for planting and for visibility.²⁹

On the more private south-facing side of the house, a formal, terraced garden takes advantage of the sloping terrain where a ravine leads down to Hoghole Run. Another ravine lies five hundred feet west of the house, forming a natural barrier between the Stone family residence and a mid-nineteenth- and twentieth-century tenant house that may or may not be in the vicinity of former enslaved housing. The 1783 tax list recorded the presence of nine outbuildings at Haberdeventure, in addition to the kitchen, but did not name their function. While the appearance and arrangement of these outbuildings on the landscape remain unknown, the sheer quantity of dependent buildings communicated wealth and high social status.

²⁹ CLR (1996), pp. 64–70, esp. Figure 49 and the discussion of “drive D.” John Wearmouth describes Hanson’s Plains as the “productive agricultural heart” of Haberdeventure, which meant that the formal drive ran through a showcase feature of the plantation (1988 HRS, part 2, p. 20). See the map of Thomas Stone’s landholdings in Figure 5 for the location of Hanson’s Plains.

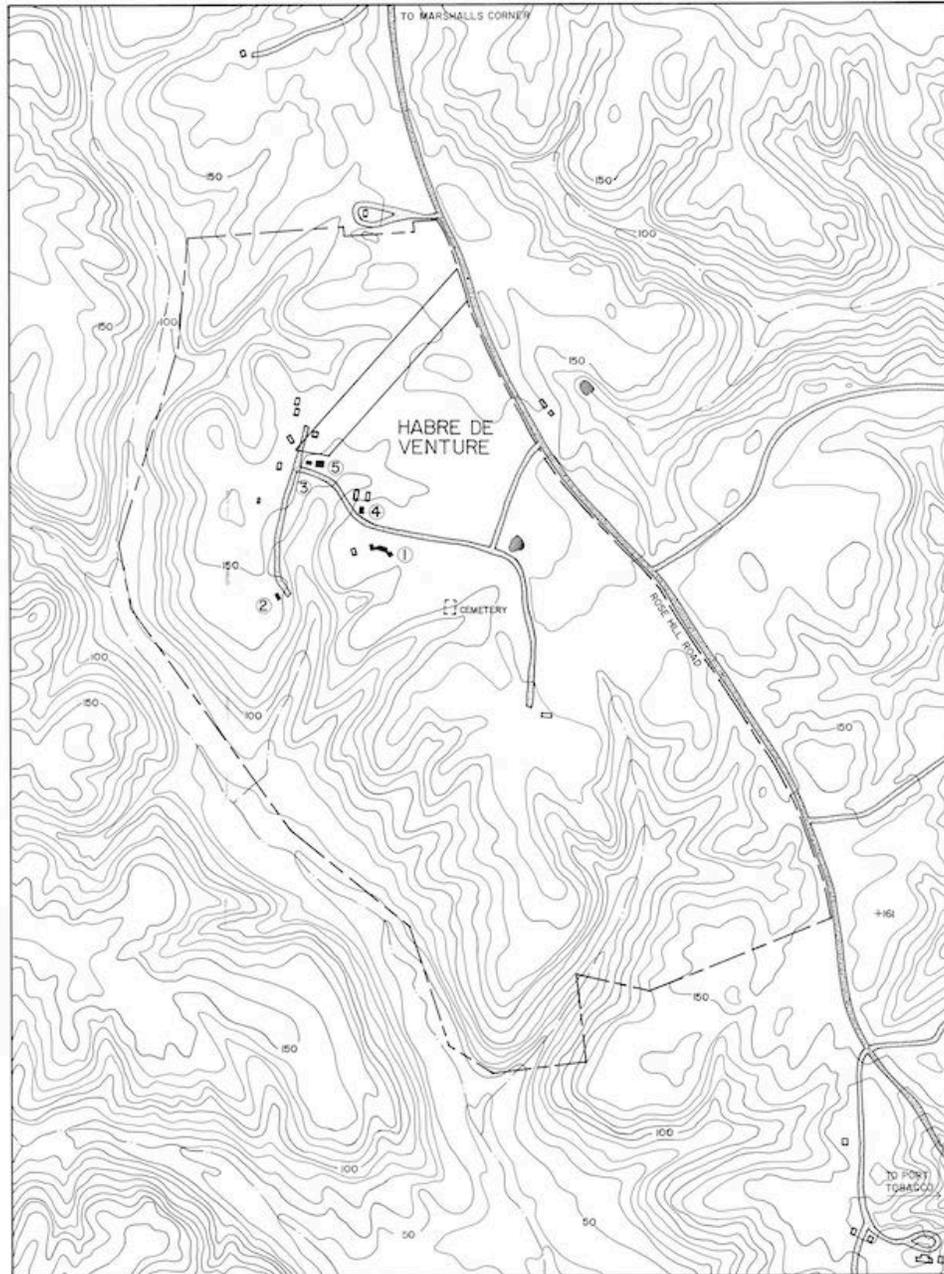


Figure 14. Topographical map of Habre de Venture, 1985. Some of the structures shown here have since been removed. US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Land Resources Division, Drawing 477. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Despite a lack of information on the spatial arrangement of the nine outbuildings relative to the main house, we can assume that the Stone family residence occupied the most prominent position on the landscape. The main house stands on the highest ground in its immediate vicinity, drawing on a centuries-old Western tradition of erecting power houses above other residences to assert authority and to take command of the view. “The

great planter intended that his landscape be hierarchical, leading to himself at the center.” Communication between the house and roads drew the surrounding community into its sphere of influence.³⁰

High-status eighteenth-century houses in the vicinity of Haberdeventure sit on higher ground in a variety of settings. An example of a house in an agricultural setting is Locust Grove (formerly Beech Neck), a little over a mile northeast of Haberdeventure; “facing directly south from an elevated situation, the house commands a fine view of the Port Tobacco Valley and surrounding farmlands.” Rose Hill and La Grange (formerly Strawberry Hill) occupy prominent locations closer to Port Tobacco, overlooking major road arteries. Other houses were oriented toward waterways. Maxwell Hall, built by a merchant at Benedict, overlooks the Patuxent River. Glazed brick headers in the walls of Wicomico Fields, a house on the Potomac River, glisten in the sun to catch the eye of ship passengers.³¹

Besides convention, another reason to situate Haberdeventure's mansion house on higher ground was to take advantage of the hillside on the south side of the house for creating a terraced garden, a popular feature of eighteenth-century Chesapeake gentry houses. Today at Haberdeventure, three “falls” or terraces are visible. Through a trick of the eye, the terraces magnify the size of the mansion house, creating a visual cue to the owner's elevated station. Terraces also had the benefit of mitigating erosion. “On uneven hillsides, terraces created flat areas for planting and helped control erosion,” observes garden historian Barbara Wells Sarudy. The earthworks made practical use of construction debris, too. “Pragmatic Chesapeake landowners often constructed their terraces when the dwelling house was newly built, so that the earth, clay, and rubbish that came out of the cellars and foundations could be used to shape the falls.” The cost of labor to create the series of falls, and then adorn them with ornamental and useful plants, put this garden

³⁰ Upton, “Black and White Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia,” 362. “Refinement held out the hope of elevation from ordinary existence into an exalted society of superior beings” (Bushman, *Refinement of America*, xix).

³¹ National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form for Locust Grove, CH-185, National Park Service, by J. Richard Rivoire, 1977 (quote, 2). On Maxwell Hall and Wicomico Fields see Rivoire, *Homeplaces*, 68, 86. Variations on the planter-house-on-a-hilltop ideal can be found throughout the greater Port Tobacco area. The view from St. Thomas's manor house overlooking Port Tobacco Creek has elicited rapture for centuries, and Chandler's Hope, a home of the Neale family in the eighteenth century, offers a fantastic view of the shipping lane in and out of Port Tobacco.

feature out of reach of most local residents. Likely created and maintained with enslaved labor, the terraced garden was thus a way to communicate the owning family's ability to summon nonessential resources.³²

Brick as Construction Material

By building a brick house, Thomas Stone and his family put themselves in exclusive company in Charles County. Figures for the frequency of all-brick houses in later-eighteenth-century Charles County are not available, but a study of the 1798 Direct Tax list for neighboring Prince George's County, Maryland, determined that only ten percent of houses in that area were built of brick. Throughout the eighteenth-century Chesapeake, most domestic structures were wooden and had brick or wooden chimneys. In 1759, an English Jesuit who had been based in St. Mary's County for two years observed, "The buildings in this country are very poor and insignificant, all only one storey, commonly all the building made of wood plastered within,—a brick chimney in the better houses. You may find a brick house here and there. . . . The poorer people have nothing but a few boards nailed together, without plastering, or any brick about it. Very few houses have glass windows."

Tobacco planters with limited access to labor preferred to invest their time and resources in planting than improved housing. As consumer goods became cheaper and more available in the mid- to late-eighteenth century, households with even scant wealth purchased comforts for their modest houses, such as a feather bed. Meanwhile, the fabric

³² Barbara Wells Sarudy, *Gardens and Gardening in the Chesapeake, 1700–1805* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998) 24–32, 51 (quote). Neighboring Rose Hill also has a terraced garden with three falls (J. M. Toner, "Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown," *Sons of the Revolution in the State of Virginia Quarterly Magazine*, 2:1 [January 1923]: 21–22). Jack Gary and Eric Proebsting discuss how enslaved laborers in Bedford County, Virginia, shaped an ornamental landscape according to a slaveholder's aesthetic vision in "The Multiple Landscapes of Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest," *Historical Archaeology* 50, no. 1 (2016): 61–79. Photographs of Haberdeventure from the first half of the twentieth century show evidence of a kitchen garden off the east wing, such as a paled fence to keep out animals and plants in the ground protected by smaller fencing; see Figures 16 and 17.

of the houses they occupied might remain unimproved. An example is the “old and yet unfinished” brick house that stood at Chandlers Hills when Thomas Stone purchased the property.³³



Figure 15. Haberdeventure's north front, 1936. Photo by E. H. Pickering.
Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Historic American Building Survey, National Park Service.

³³ Carl R. Lounsbury, “Brickwork” in *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*, eds. Cary Carson and Carl R. Lounsbury (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 256; letter by Joseph Mosley, Newtown, St. Mary's County, to “his sister,” September 1, 1759, in Edward Davitt, S.J., ed., “Letter of Father Joseph Mosley, S.J., 1757–1806,” *Woodstock Letters*, 35:1 (1906): 42 (quote); Edward A. Chappell, “Housing a Nation: The Transformation of Living Standards in Early America,” and Lois G. Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, “Changing Lifestyles and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake,” both in *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994), 59–232, esp. 117; 1783 tax assessment for Chandlers Hills (Appendix 7). See also Lindsay Bloch and Anna S. Agbe-Davies, “‘With Sundry Other Sorts of Small Ware Too Tedious to Mention’: Petty Consumerism on US Plantations,” in *Material Worlds: Archaeology, Consumption, and the Road to Modernity*, ed. Barbara Heath (New York: Routledge, 2017), 119–40. Brick became a more common construction material in Tidewater Maryland and Virginia in the nineteenth century (Lounsbury, “Brickwork,” 258).



Figure 16. View of the south facade of Haberdeventure, showing the east wing at the far right, 1936–37.
Photo by Frances Benjamin Johnston.
Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Carnegie Survey of the Architecture of the South.



Figure 17. Earliest known photograph of the east wing and hyphen at Haberdeventure, circa 1900,
by William Alexander Miller.
Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, call number Lot 10451.

The current east wing of Haberdeventure, which does not match the dimensions of the eighteenth-century foundation beneath it, happens to be a good example of a frame structure that could have been used as a residence by persons of as high a rank as the Stones. It is also a good candidate for a late-eighteenth-century tenant house. Physical evidence suggests that this east wing may have been constructed as early as the eighteenth century but the building stood in a different location (perhaps in close proximity) before being moved to its current position. The east wing is one-and-a-half stories with a gambrel roof. Among its better finishes are the external brick chimney, sawn weatherboards (as opposed to riven clapboards or logs), and glazed windows. Little of the original building fabric survives except in the upper story and roof. Nonetheless, architectural historian J. Richard Rivoire found the structure comparable to the mid-eighteenth-century core of Locust Grove (formerly Beech Neck) in terms of size and exterior appearance, lending support to the hypothesis that the east wing was built for a high-status occupant. Haberdeventure's current east wing has roughly 255 square feet of space on its first floor with additional living space above stairs; Locust Grove, in its first phase, had 225 square feet of space on its principal floor, plus a cellar below and a room above. (Haberdeventure's main block is four times this size, with 1080 square feet of space on its first floor.) Both the east wing building and Locust Grove's core sported gambrel roofs and external chimneys.³⁴

Brick was an expensive construction material because of the time and labor involved in making and laying it. In Charles County, some wealthier households, instead of building entirely in brick, erected large and sophisticated brick chimneys. Maxwell Hall near Benedict on the Patuxent River, for example, has two "massive" brick chimneys flanking a one-and-a-half-story frame house with a gambrel roof (Figures 18 and 19). Erected around the same time as Haberdeventure (on land purchased in 1768), the house served as a center of Western Shore operations for the native-born merchant-planter George Maxwell. The intended audience may have included the tobacco growers and buyers who came to Benedict's tobacco inspection warehouse, which sat on Maxwell's land. Upon his death in 1777, Maxwell's wealth in personal property exceeded Thomas Stone's. The merchant-planter held seventeen people in chattel slavery in Charles County plus another thirty-five enslaved individuals on the Eastern Shore. Port Tobacco merchant Thomas How Ridgate, in a display of postwar commercial confidence, constructed a frame

³⁴ J. Richard Rivoire, "Summary Report of Additional Research Findings" (1993), 61; James Thomas Wollon, "Historic Structures Report," 1987; Chappell, "Housing a Nation," 180–82; National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form for Locust Grove. As noted in the Introduction, archaeology in 1986 found three phases of construction of the east wing's foundation. An original brick foundation likely dates to the eighteenth century. It lies underneath the secondary foundation that supports the current building. Archaeologists postulated that the secondary foundation was built between 1864 and 1901 and modified in the early twentieth century. Margaret Graham Stone's ownership of Haberdeventure from 1873 to 1913 falls within these last two phases; her interest in erecting a replacement building is worth investigating. The absence of an east wing in an engraving published in 1861 (Figure 25) might be explained by the disappearance of the original eighteenth-century east wing or its poor repair by that date.

house-and-store known as “Chimney House,” with an impressive double chimney at one end (Figure 28). An archway over the cellar entrance and four windows punctuate the mass and highlight its scale.³⁵



Figures 18 and 19. Two views of Maxwell Hall, Charles County. (top) North elevation. (bottom) Perspective view from the southeast. Photos by Renee Beiretz, 2009.

Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Building Survey, National Park Service.

³⁵ Lounsbury, “Brickwork”; Rivoire, *Homeplaces*; “George Maxwell (1725–77),” *Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia’s Northern Neck Counties*, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us; *Archives of Maryland*, 50:318 and 58:449; National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form for Maxwell Hall, CH-176, 1973. Because of the expense of brick making, brick that was not uniform in appearance (called wasters) would have been used around the property, for instance to pave floors and paths, form terraces, and build garden walls (Lounsbury, “Brickwork,” 243; Sarudy, *Gardens and Gardening in the Chesapeake*, 51).

Brick gable ends on a frame house provided another alternative to all-brick construction at high-status houses. Haberdeventure's neighbor Rose Hill, built by Margaret Stone's brother Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown, exhibits this local variation on brickwork display (Figure 20). So too does another neighboring house, La Grange (formerly Strawberry Hill). According to a recent architectural analysis, the brick gable ends at La Grange are likely not original to Dr. James Craik's construction but instead date to a remodeling in the nineteenth century.³⁶



Figure 20. Rose Hill, Charles County, 1937. Photo by Thomas T. Waterman.
Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown built the main block sometime after 1783.

Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Building Survey, National Park Service.

By building a house entirely of brick, the Stone family made a claim to being as much a part of the established order as Anglican parish churches and courthouses, for which brick, which could withstand fire, was the preferred building material. But in colonial Maryland, some privately built structures outshined publicly built ones. Compare, for instance, the manor house at St. Thomas with the mid-century statehouse in Annapolis. The Jesuits at St. Thomas Manor occupied one of the most ambitious brick structures in Charles County, a two-story, seven-bay, double-pile Georgian edifice raised in 1741 (Figure 21). The manor house rises a full two stories with a cellar service area beneath. Both

³⁶ Appendix I by William J. Graham in R. J. Webster, A. J. Flick, J. A. King, and S. M. Strickland, "In Search of Josiah Henson's Birthplace: Archaeological Investigations at La Grange Near Port Tobacco, Maryland" (St. Mary's City, MD: St. Mary's College of Maryland, 2017), 119–26.

principal facades have projecting pedimented pavilions and a brick belt course between the first and second floors. Brick quoins at the corners and keystone arches above the windows add to the building's impressive appearance. Exterior woodwork was lost in a fire, but a pedimented architrave above the north door would have been consistent with the Georgian design. The manor house's transatlantic design and impressive size were well-suited to communicating the global scope of the Jesuit order. Meanwhile, Maryland's Assembly sat in an aging brick courthouse in Annapolis that dated to the 1690s, when the colony's population was smaller. In 1766, Thomas Jefferson opined that the courthouse, "judging from its form and appearance, was built in the year one." Another traveler called Maryland's statehouse "an emblem of public poverty" shortly before it was torn down in 1769. In a society with weak public institutions, a substantial brick house asserted the authority of the owner and long-term investment in the community.³⁷

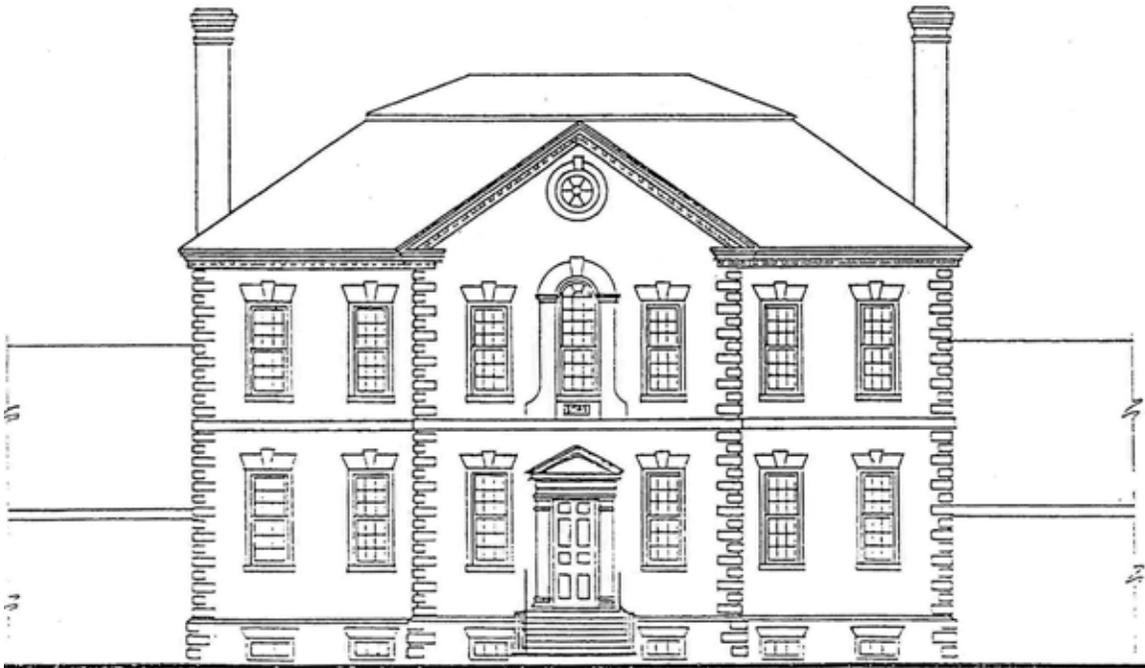


Figure 21. Elevation drawing of the north facade of St. Thomas Manor, Charles County. "This rendering, not drawn to scale, shows the house as it is thought to have appeared" before a fire in 1866.

Courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, CH-6, National Park Service, 1988.

³⁷ National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for St. Thomas Manor and St. Ignatius Roman Catholic Church, CH-6, National Park Service, 1988; Morris L. Radoff, *The County Courthouses and Records of Maryland, Part One: The Courthouses* (Annapolis, MD: The Hall of Records Commission, State of Maryland, 1960), 13 (quote), 15 (quote), 69. Construction of the extant statehouse in Annapolis began in 1772. Family history and the history of slavery often highlight the relatively weak authority of church and state in the colonial Chesapeake, where structures of power favored private property owners and white male heads of household. See for example Carole Shammas, "Anglo-American Household Government in Comparative Perspective," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 52, no. 1 (January 1995): 104–44, and Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

Brick was the material of choice for well-appointed buildings. In contrast to the Jesuit residence at St. Thomas Manor, however, Haberdeventure was a hybrid of local and metropolitan influences. As was often the case among high-status dwellings in Charles County in the mid-eighteenth century, Haberdeventure was one-and-one-half stories, not two, and a gambrel roof provided space in the upper story. (La Grange, built by Dr. James Craik about three miles east of Haberdeventure, shares with the St. Thomas manor house the rare distinction in Charles County of being conceived as a two-story house before the American Revolution.) Other examples of one-and-a-half-story houses with gambrel roofs include Maxwell Hall (as seen in Figures 18 and 19), Araby (formerly Mattawoman), and Stagg Hall, which will be discussed in the following section. All-brick construction lent Haberdeventure a distinctive appearance, but the main block's overall shape gave the building a measure of resonance in the community. Other elements of the house, including its formal circulation plan, offer clues to how Thomas Stone and his wife positioned themselves in Charles County society.³⁸

Formal Circulation Plan

Emulation of the British country gentry led the Chesapeake eighteenth-century gentry to construct houses and gardens that asserted their landed wealth and power. Chesapeake builders filtered imported designs, though, through regional building practices and preferences. Provincials overlooked variants from pattern books and paintings so long as the results added beauty to the scene and suited the client's tastes and needs.³⁹

Haberdeventure's five-part plan and "naive" execution of curving hyphens, for example, echo pattern-book Palladian design but fall short of complete symmetry. Two wings, connected by hyphens, flank the center block of the mansion house at Haberdeventure, and these sit "on the arc of a large imaginary circle" (Figure 22). The arc is an original feature. The two hyphens are of approximately equal lengths, and probably the same height when first constructed, but were made of different materials. The west hyphen was constructed entirely in brick. The east hyphen, it has been suggested, was originally a wooden shed-like structure above the cellar entrance. The west wing was a kitchen in the eighteenth century and does not survive. Neoclassical design's emphasis on symmetry, and the discovery in 1986 of a brick foundation beneath the east wing that might date to the

³⁸ Rivoire, *Homeplaces*, 11; Graham, Appendix I in Webster et al., "In Search of Josiah Henson's Birthplace," 124.

³⁹ Carl R. Lounsbury, "The Design Practice," in *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*, eds. Cary Carson and Carl R. Lounsbury (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 64–85. On the mediation of British fashions in eighteenth-century America, see also Kevin M. Sweeney, "High Style Vernacular: Lifestyles of the Colonial Elite" in *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 1–58.

eighteenth century, support the hypothesis that an east wing stood in Thomas Stone's lifetime. According to architectural historian Henry Chandlee Forman, Haberdeventure's multipart arrangement along an arc is "unique among the old houses of Maryland." However, curving hyphens can be found on at least two Virginia properties, Col. John Tayloe's Mount Airy in Richmond County (ca. 1760) and George Washington's Mount Vernon in Fairfax County. At Mount Airy the hyphens, built in brick, are executed in such a way as to allow the two wings to be in parallel to one another. Mount Vernon's curving colonnades, made of wood, also lead to two outbuildings that face each other. The arc at Haberdeventure is shallower; the wings are nestled closer to the center block. Nonetheless, the use of an arc at Haberdeventure can be interpreted as an effort to beautify and improve upon the more common arrangement of center block and wings along the same line as seen next door at Rose Hill (Figure 20).⁴⁰

There is no evidence that Thomas Stone consulted a pattern book for the design of Haberdeventure. British architectural books circulated in the colonies, though, and one popular English guide to country estate planning, Isaac Ware's *A Complete Body of Architecture* (London, 1768), offers some insight into the Stone family's intention to impose order on the landscape and achieve harmony in the relationship of offices (outbuildings) to the main structure. In one imaginary scenario, Ware conjures up an image of a gentleman who, upon retiring from his work in London, wants to build a country seat. A professional, such as a lawyer, would fit Ware's profile of a man whose "family is moderate," meaning that his wealth is limited and not aristocratic. In Ware's vision, the gentleman "intends to build for convenience more than magnificence, but he will have the house handsome though not pompous." After deciding to build a house of modest proportions, the gentleman considers where to put the offices. "Beauty and use may be consulted together" with respect to the placement of outbuildings. "With a little more expence," wings and passages off the center block would make "the whole regular and uniform." Ware acknowledges the difficulty of designing a connection to the wings that is pleasing to the eye; the arc of a circle is preferred to right angles, but this is, Ware admits, difficult to put into practice.⁴¹

Besides being both beautiful and practical in its design, why did the arrangement of house and wings along an arc appeal to the Stone family? As a student of Haberdeventure's architecture observed, the arc embraces the people who are on the south-facing, private side of the house. The shape reinforces socially exclusive access between the public-facing north side of the house and the more-private south side of the house. As noted previously, the formal approach to the house started from one of two roads, either Port

⁴⁰ Rivoire, "Summary of Additional Research Findings," 72n19; Wollon, "Historic Structures Report," 1 (quote), 54; Henry Chandlee Forman, *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland* (Baltimore: Bodine & Associates, 1982), 77 (quote).

⁴¹ Lounsbury, "The Design Process," 81; Isaac Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture* (London, 1768, republished by Gregg International Publishers Ltd., 1971), book 3, chapter 22, pp. 405–6, and chapter 25, p. 409.

Tobacco-Piscataway Road (now Rose Hill Road) or Port Tobacco-Mattawoman Road. Visitors who came by horse and carriage would dismount in front of the north side of the house, and the horses and carriages would be led to a stable area.⁴²

Some number of visitors to the house would never progress further than the piazza, a covered porch on ground level running the length of the north side of the main block. Paved in brick with a roof above offering shade and shelter, the piazza at Haberdeventure functioned as a quasi-outdoor meeting space and would have been widely recognized as such. At regional courthouses, piazzas served as anterooms “in which clients and their counsel reviewed their cases and mapped out last-minute strategies.” In front of the courthouse doors, “a constantly changing crowd of people assembled upon the paving stones or brick tiles to await their business in court or to catch up on the latest news of neighbors and acquaintances and converse with local artisans seeking work.” Piazzas could also be found at taverns in this period. “Stretching across the front of buildings, these open porches were used as a sitting area, a place to gather and converse.” Merchant stores had piazzas to display goods and do business with customers. Haberdeventure's piazza drew upon these regional conventions to function as a semipublic space where the planter and his wife dispensed hospitality.⁴³

⁴² Wollon, “Historic Structures Report,” 2; “Cultural Landscape Report (1996),” 64–68.

⁴³ Wollon, “Historic Structures Report,” 18; Carl R. Lounsbury, *The Courthouses of Early Virginia: An Architectural History* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005), 119–22 (quote 122), 288 (quote). Thomas Stone's brother John Hoskins Stone put up for sale in 1795 a house in Port Tobacco “completely fitted for a retail store,” including “a piazza the length of the house” (*Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis], July 30). In his book *Architecture and Empire in Jamaica*, Louis P. Nelson analyzes piazzas as spaces for informal meetings between whites in the presence of enslaved servants at the houses of native-born Jamaican planters in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), chapter 7.

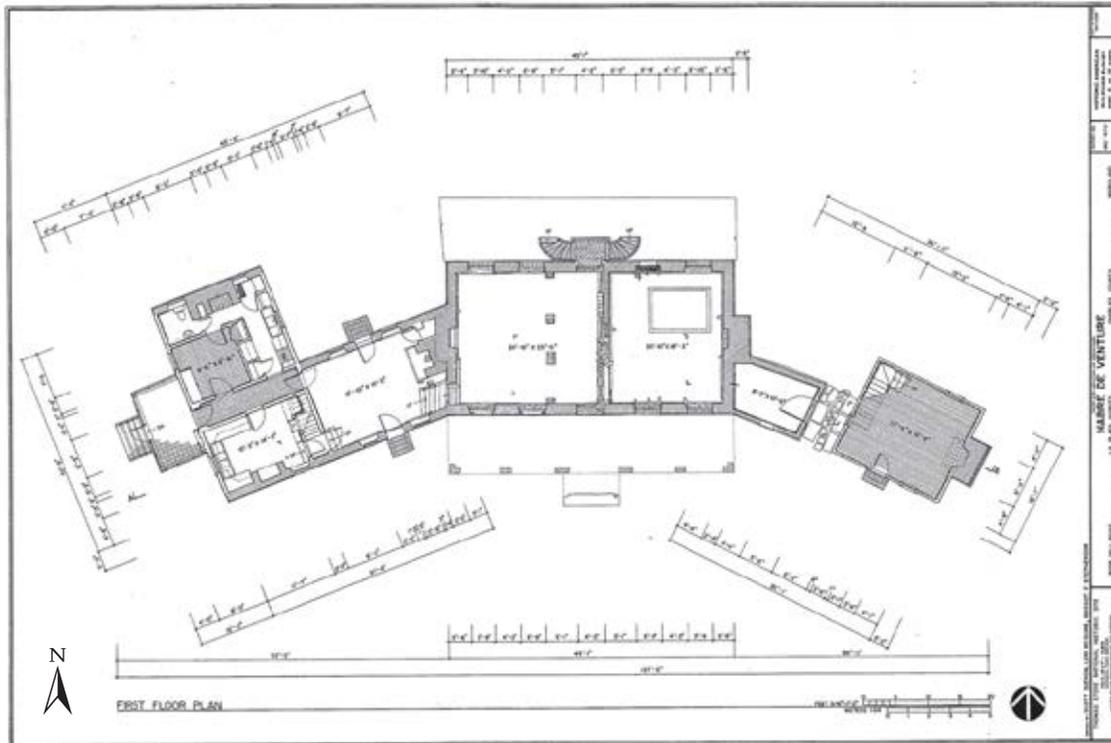


Figure 22. First floor plan of Haberdeventure, 1985. The east wing is on the right; the west wing is on the left.

Drawn by Scott Duenow, Lori McGuire, and Margot P. Stephenson, 1985.

Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Historic American Building Survey, National Park Service.

The integration of a piazza into the design of Haberdeventure in the early 1770s appears to be an early adoption of the form in a domestic context in the Potomac River Valley, a fashionable improvement intended to promote the comfort and health of the Stone family. Scholars have identified the increasing popularity of these well-ventilated, shaded porches running the length of one or more sides of elite houses in Jamaica and Charleston, South Carolina, in the 1760s and 1770s. George Washington built a “piazza” at Mount Vernon in the later 1770s, and piazzas became more common in Virginia after the Revolutionary War. Some have argued that an association that English people made between fever and the “constitution of the air” motivated British Atlantic elites in tropical and subtropical climates to adopt piazzas into their houses. In the eighteenth century, malaria was not yet understood to be a mosquito-borne parasitic disease. The English, informed by centuries-old Galenic medicine (which defined health as a balance of the four humors), believed that “miasma,” or bad air rising from warm, swampy ground and produced by daily fluctuations in temperature, contributed to ill health. A popular mid-eighteenth-century English treatise, William Buchan’s *Domestic Medicine*, advised residents of

“low marshy” places to inhabit “the dryest situations they can find” on higher ground. Buchan recommended that fresh air be circulated through a house in the daytime, when the sun weakened the morbidity of the air.⁴⁴

Thomas and Margaret Stone almost certainly considered the piazza as one of a number of the house's improvements intended to promote the health and well-being of its inhabitants. The house had opposing windows and a central passage to promote air circulation, for example. Even so, Thomas Stone may have had lingering concerns about the healthiness of Haberdeventure. In response to a letter from his brother Michael Jenifer Stone about Michael's “plans for life,” written from Annapolis in 1786, Thomas wrote, “it would give me Pain to see you settled on [living at] Portobacco, which I fear would prove very injurious to your health.” Thomas advised Michael to consider a “more healthfull situation.”⁴⁵

To return to the subject of the circulation of people through the house, the piazza on the public-facing side of Haberdeventure offered one level of access to the planter and his family. Visitors allowed to process from the piazza would be ushered into a central passage that extends through the house. The central passage limited access to the interior of the house; visitors underwent a “sorting process” before being allowed to progress further into the formal east room, the less formal west room, or to ascend the stair which rises from the far (south) end of the passage. In warm weather, the central passage became a living space, with hopes of a breeze coming through the open doors on either end.⁴⁶

Central passages, like piazzas, are believed to have been rare in Charles County when Haberdeventure was built circa 1770, based on surviving buildings. More common was a mid-century floor plan in which visitors entered immediately into a large receiving room and accessed rooms above stairs by a rear stair hall. Marshall Hall, Araby, and Rich

⁴⁴ Nelson, *Architecture and Empire in Jamaica*, chapter 7; John E. Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), chapter 8; Isaac, *Landon Carter's Uneasy Kingdom*, chapter 6 (quote 106); Mark R. Wenger, “Town House & Country House: Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries,” in *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*, eds. Cary Carson and Carl R. Lounsbury (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013), 154; William Buchan, *Domestic Medicine: Or, a Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of Diseases*, 2nd ed. (London, 1772), quotes on pp. 39, 98. Malaria was a persistent and debilitating disease in the colonial Chesapeake (Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman “On Agues and Fevers: Malaria in the Early Chesapeake,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 33 [January 1976]: 31–60).

⁴⁵ Thomas Stone to Michael Jenifer Stone, undated (circa 1786), The Rosenbach, Philadelphia. Buchan advocated for the daily ventilation of a house “by opening opposite windows” (*Domestic Medicine*, 95). Contemporaries also advised placing the “best rooms” at some distance from the ground for better air quality (Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort*, 236–37, 241). Haberdeventure's basement floor would have served this purpose.

⁴⁶ Wenger, “Town House & Country House,” 125–28 (quote 125). J. Richard Rivoire in his study of Charles County domestic architecture determined that porches, piazzas, and central passages were rare in the eighteenth century and more common in the nineteenth century (*Homeplaces*, 25–8). Wenger makes a conceptual connection between the porch and the central passage; both spaces served to limit access to the interior of the house and enhanced privacy. Rivoire and Wollon, writing over twenty years ago, conveyed some hesitation that the piazza at Haberdeventure is original, mostly because of its rarity (“Summary Report of Additional Research Findings,” 56, 72n18; “Historic Structures Report,” 18–19).

Hill offer examples of this spatial arrangement that would have been familiar to Thomas and Margaret Stone during their upbringing. Araby is a particularly notable example. In its outward appearance, Araby originally resembled Haberdeventure as a five-bay, one-and-a-half-story brick house with a gambrel roof. Built by merchant-planter William Eilbeck on Mattawoman Creek before his death in 1765, the house, like Haberdeventure, has full paneling along the walls of its principal entertaining room. But the circulation plans of the two houses differ. Whereas a central passage at Haberdeventure limited access to the best room, Araby's older floor plan offered direct entry into the largest and best-appointed room. Generational differences alone do not account for the contrast between Araby's and Haberdeventure's floor plans. Margaret Stone's elder half-brother Rev. Richard Brown constructed a house with direct entry into the principal room and a rear stair hall at Rich Hill as late as 1783.⁴⁷

Two houses in the Port Tobacco area *with* central passages, built a few years before Haberdeventure, are Stagg Hall in Port Tobacco, constructed in 1767, and La Grange (formerly Strawberry Hill), which also dates to the later 1760s. The identity of the builder of Stagg Hall remains elusive, but the house quickly became a favored residence for merchants of Port Tobacco. Stagg Hall is one-room deep, like Haberdeventure, with a room on either side of the center passage. Interior woodwork contributed to the refinement of the larger of the first-floor rooms, with full paneling on the chimney wall. The framed, one-and-a-half-story house has a gambrel roof. La Grange, which lies along a road leading from Port Tobacco to Zekiah Swamp, was considerably altered in the nineteenth century, but its eighteenth-century core still has the power to impress. La Grange originally was two rooms deep and two stories high, and its interior woodwork, particularly its staircase, has drawn comparisons with Annapolis houses of the period for its cabinet-grade joinery. Architectural historian Willie J. Graham comments that the house falls somewhat outside the traditions of Southern Maryland: "Marylanders were generally averse to laying out two-story, double-pile houses with center-passage plans in the colonial era, especially ones with their staircase placed prominently in the main path of the passageway." It is worth noting that La Grange's first owners were not Maryland-born; James Craik, a surgeon and close friend to George Washington since their service together in the Seven Years War, was

⁴⁷ Rivoire, *Homeplaces* 11, figure 8B (drawing of Rich Hill's first floor plan); Klinger, "Architecture of Araby"; National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form for Araby. William Eilbeck held forty-one people in bondage in Charles County at the time of his death. Indicative of his and his wife's high social position, their daughter Ann married George Mason IV of Virginia, and George Washington visited William's widow on his travels through Charles County (transcription of William Eilbeck's probate inventory in *Probing the Past: Virginia and Maryland Probate Inventories, 1740–1810*, <https://chnm.gmu.edu/probateinventory>; *Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, Diaries* 3:29 (May 30, 1771). Eilbeck called the property Mattawoman; Araby is a nineteenth-century name. A nineteenth-century owner raised the height of Araby to two stories, altering its original appearance (Klinger, "Architecture of Araby").

from Scotland, and his wife, Marianne Ewell, was born to Charles Ewell of Prince William County, Virginia, an investor in ironmaking. The unusual two-story height and distinctive interior of La Grange reflected the Craiks' origins outside of Charles County.⁴⁸

Given the small number of surviving houses with central passages that date to before 1774 in Charles County (and these clustered in and around Port Tobacco), the central passage at Haberdeventure is one example of a careful selection of outside influences by Thomas and Margaret Stone. Other variations on local norms, such as the arrangement of the house, hyphens, and wings along an arc (an interpretation of Palladian design) and the integration of a piazza as a family and reception space, which was gaining fashion around the South, may have delighted and surprised some visitors. The design choices also conveyed the refinement of Thomas Stone and his wife, whose taste and knowledge put them in socially exclusive company.

Further inside the house, visitors encountered spaces that required them to be familiar with the "modes of speech, dress, body carriage, and manners" that defined "polite society." On the far side of the central passage from the drive and piazza, a single door led to the best entertaining room, the east room. Though the 1977 fire destroyed the interior finish of the main block, ample evidence survives to show that the east room was first in the hierarchy of spaces inside the house. First, the east room has the largest dimensions (measuring about 378 square feet). Second, in a display of wealth by the owner, the east room had floor-to-ceiling paneling with built-in corner cupboards to display ceramics and glassware. (In 1928, decades before the fire, the Baltimore Museum of Art removed the original paneling after its purchase. The paneling on display now at Haberdeventure is a reproduction of the original.) Wooden paneling, like brick construction, was time- and labor-intensive, requiring skilled workmen. By the 1770s, high-style house owners in Virginia favored wallpaper over full paneling, but the custom held on longer in Maryland.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ "La Grange" and "Stagg Hall," in "A Shared Heritage: Urban and Rural Experience on the Banks of the Potomac: A Field Guide for the Western Shore of Maryland," 39th Annual Vernacular Architecture Forum Conference, (Crownsville: Maryland Historical Trust, 2018), 71–74, 77; National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for Stagg Hall, CH-13, National Park Service, 1988; Graham, Appendix 1, in Webster, et al., "In Search of Josiah Henson's Birthplace," 124 (quote); "Dr. James Craik (1730–1814)" and "Charles Ewell (ca. 1712–by 1749)" in *Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia's Northern Neck Counties*, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us; *Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, Revolutionary War Series*, 1:28n2 (at November 25, 1757).

⁴⁹ Bushman, *Refinement of America*, xii (quote); Wollon, "Historic Structures Report," s 2; Willie Graham, "Interior Finishes," in *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*, eds. Cary Carson and Carl R. Lounsbury (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013), 320.



Figure 23. Two views of an installation of Haberdeventure's east room wooden paneling at the Baltimore Museum of Art, 1936. Photos by E. H. Pickering. The museum purchased the paneling as well as three portraits, including one of Thomas Stone by Robert Edge Pine shown above the fireplace, in 1927. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Building Survey, National Park Service.

As the largest room in the house with the highest architectural finish, the east room provided an intimate theater for the performance of gentility. Formal dining with guests (as opposed to informal dining with family) likely occurred here. Use of specialized equipment required specialized knowledge, for instance how to sit in a chair with the correct posture and how to manipulate knives, forks, and imported tableware. "Gentility sought to improve or beautify many aspects of human existence and to exclude all that was coarse and vulgar, whether things or people." The room could be sealed off from the rest of the house by closing the single door to the central passage, reflecting "a growing tendency" at mid-century "to entertain guests away from daily chores of housework." In a refined setting that included "built-in buffets in which to display costly ceramics and glass," the Stone family and their guests played games, dined, and conversed. William Craik, son of Dr. James Craik of nearby Strawberry Hill (now La Grange), in a letter to Walter Stone of May 1783 described the following scene at his home, likely from a parlor: "Mr. Moore and Jimmy are on one side of me playing Backgammon[,] Sally on the other side prating with the Children," and Craik's mind was on the time he "most agreeably spent at your Brother Toms" earlier that day. The emphasis in this letter is on leisure; Craik mentions that on another recent visit to Haberdeventure, Walter's brother "Tom" was "just setting out for Annapolis" to attend the General Court. The reference to work stands out in a composition otherwise devoted to talk of social visits.⁵⁰

If, as is currently believed, the west room of the main block was Mrs. Stone's bedchamber, the division of the house into a formal east side and a less formal west side bears resemblance to other high-status domestic living arrangements in the region. Gunston Hall, for example, as built in the 1750s by George Mason IV, had a hall, dining room, and passage on one side of the house, and private rooms on the other. One of these private rooms was Mrs. Mason's chamber, which opened into a corridor that led outside to the service yard and garden. At Haberdeventure, a doorway in the west wall of Mrs. Stone's chamber leads to a stair descending into the west hyphen; this hyphen then, as now, offered direct access to a kitchen building. Typically a planter's wife in her personal chamber "managed the day-to-day operation of her household," kept valuable possessions "under lock and key," and hosted small groups. Women sewed in the company of others, as mentioned in the following description of Martha Washington's daily routine at Mount Vernon as a great planter's wife:

⁵⁰ Lounsbury, *Courthouses of Early Virginia*, 285 (quote), 286 (quote); Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 74–8, 120–1; William Craik to Walter Stone, May 12, 1783, in Stone Family Papers, LC. Writing in general terms, Bushman remarks, "The single most telling indicator of a household's commitment to genteel values was the presence of a parlor with no apparent function but to sustain visiting, conversation, and genteel rituals" (*Refinement of America*, 121). In the case of Haberdeventure, it is a challenge to identify another room in the house where Thomas Stone could have kept his legal papers and consulted with clients at times of inclement weather (when he could not use the porch or piazza), unless he used the west room as an office or had an office outbuilding.

She rose at dawn, going first to the kitchen to oversee the preparation of breakfast and then stopping by the laundry and other buildings related to her tasks, such as the dairy and smokehouse. Sometime after breakfast, probably about 8 o'clock, she met with the cooks to decide the menu for the main meal of the day, dinner, which was eaten in midafternoon. In the late morning or early afternoon, she often gathered a group of young female slaves in her bedroom and taught them to sew or supervised older enslaved women as they knitted, sewed, or cut out clothing. She was back in the kitchen again before bedtime to supervise the mixing and kneading of bread.

Martha Washington delegated tasks to female relatives, hired housekeepers, the wives of hired men, and other free and enslaved women to keep Mount Vernon functioning in an orderly manner.⁵¹



Figure 24. West hyphen interior at Haberdeventure, 1936. Photo by E. H. Pickering.

Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Building Survey, National Park Service.

The west hyphen facilitated communication between Mrs. Stone's chamber and the kitchen and provided flexible living space outside the formal areas of the house (Figure 24). A heated room measuring nearly 250 square feet, the space originally had three points of

⁵¹ Thompson, "The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret," 38–43 (quote 39); Wenger, "Town House & Country House," 123, 138–40, 145.

access: through a doorway from the west room of the main block (currently interpreted as Mrs. Stone's chamber), from the kitchen in the west wing, and through an opening along the south wall that gave direct access to the terraced garden and possibly a service yard off the kitchen. Built so closely after the construction of the main block as to be considered an original feature, the space may have been intended to provide additional living space for Thomas Stone's family as his siblings turned to him for support. Family use of the west hyphen would have been consistent with the division of the house into a formal east side and less formal west side.⁵²



Figure 25. “Res[idence] of Thos. Stone, Port Tobacco, Md.” Engraving on paper. Published in William Brotherhead, ed., *The Book of the Signers: Containing the Facsimile Letters of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence* (Philadelphia, 1861). This is the earliest known depiction of Haberdeventure and suggests decline as nature takes over the house.

Courtesy of the Collection of the Maryland State Archives.

⁵² Wollen, “Historic Structure Report,” 39–52. The west hyphen is not a freestanding structure; it “has neither a west nor an east wall of its own; the West Wing and the Central Block serve those functions.” Wollen also concluded that the doorway through the west wall of the main block is original to the house (*ibid.*, 39).

A picturesque nineteenth-century engraving of Haberdeventure, created to ornament a book of biographies of signers of the Declaration of Independence, includes the west hyphen but omits the east hyphen (Figure 25). The picture suggests that the south door of the west hyphen was so integral to the domestic life of the house as to merit inclusion in a rendering meant to tell us something about the life of Thomas Stone. Furthermore, the shading of the doorway hints at a door kept constantly open in warm weather; ample foliage conveys summer heat. The artist may have omitted the east hyphen, east wing, and west wing because the structures as they existed at the time postdated Thomas Stone.⁵³

The nineteenth-century engraving highlights another feature of the house, the south-facing porch. Part of the formal circulation of the house, the south porch not only extended the living space of the house by providing a sheltered space to take outdoor air. It also served as an elevated platform from which to view the terraced garden. Haberdeventure's south porch, like the piazza, is an original feature, its wooden flooring supported by brick piers. Garden overlooks, such as a porch or a second-story window, became an increasingly common feature of houses among the upper ranks in Chesapeake society in the later eighteenth century. The mansion house was intended to communicate with the garden as part of a harmonious whole; the garden lent beauty and refinement to the scene, "improved" the landscape, offered subjects for genteel conversation, and, if rare and difficult-to-obtain specimens were on view, displayed the connections of the owner through the purchase and exchange of seeds and plants.⁵⁴

Notable gardens in the Port Tobacco area recorded in the 1783 tax list included La Grange (formerly Strawberry Hill) and St. Thomas Manor. The occupants of both of these households—Dr. James Craik and Jesuit priests, who also visited the sick—used plants for medical purposes more often than the ordinary household. According to a much later account, Margaret Stone's brother, Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown, reportedly had an

⁵³ The extant east hyphen, built in brick, dates to the early- to mid-nineteenth century. It may have replaced a framed cover over the cellar entrance (Rivoire, "Summary Report of Additional Research Findings," 56).

⁵⁴ CLR (1996), 37; Sarudy, *Gardens and Gardening in the Chesapeake*, 11, chapter 7; Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 86–87. A photo of Haberdeventure from 1936–1937 (Figure 16) displays a kitchen garden to the east of the house and terraces. Aerial photographs of 1937 "show remnants of orchards...in two locations: one group in the field to the north of the house, and the second group in the field to the east of the house" (CLR [1996], 36–37).

“extensive” garden at Rose Hill. It is tempting to speculate that Margaret, too, had more than an average housewife’s knowledge about medicinal plants, having been born into a physician’s household.⁵⁵

In summary, Haberdeventure’s formal design had a north-facing public side, facing road entrances, and a south-facing garden side with more privacy. The piazza provided a holding space for some visitors who came to speak with the plantation mistress, Margaret Stone, or one of the county’s leading citizens, Thomas Stone. Planters’ houses were the “administrative centers” of their plantations, drawing people of all ranks to report for work, make a delivery, solicit aid, or seek resolution for a dispute. Thomas Stone would have conducted the bulk of his face-to-face legal business in courthouses and taverns but may have held private conferences on matters of law and government at home. The central passage in the main block acted as a social filter, limiting access to the principal entertaining room (the east room), where the Stones met with their peers (in the presence of enslaved servants). An example of the “more complex house planning strategies adopted by elites and aspiring elites” in the British Atlantic world, the central passage was a departure from more common floor plans in high-status houses in Charles County at mid-century, in which guests stepped directly into the best room. The central passage also allowed the principal entertaining room to be closed off without hindering circulation through the rest of the house. The west side of the house, namely the west room and west hyphen, were for family use.⁵⁶

Service Areas and Circulation Patterns

Various construction events and the 1977 fire have eroded physical evidence of service areas, service circulation patterns, and enslaved living space in and around the main block at Haberdeventure. Historically these spaces were subject to deterioration, removal, or replacement as living standards improved. To give a few examples, the west wing sits on the site of the eighteenth-century kitchen, and the location, size, and appearance of the service

⁵⁵ Unfortunately, the various tax assessors for the Charles County 1783 tax list recorded gardens inconsistently. The assessor for the Fifth District, where Haberdeventure lay, made no comment on the property’s garden. The assessor for the Sixth District was a garden enthusiast, noting the “large and beautiful garden” and twenty apple trees at St. Thomas Manor, and the “large and beautiful garden” and hundred apple trees at Dr. Craik’s residence (1783 tax list, Maryland State Archives). In 1785, Craik sent to George Washington eight pear trees of different varieties and “Chinese seeds” (*The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, Diaries* 4:89, 160). J. M. Toner discusses the reputation of Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown’s garden at Rose Hill in “Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown,” *Sons of the Revolution in the State of Virginia Quarterly Magazine*, 2:1 (January 1923), 21–22.

Elaine Breslaw comments on the connection between spiritualism and healing in *Lotions, Potions, Pills, and Magic: Health Care in Early America* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), chapter 3. An English Jesuit priest named Joseph Mosley, in a circa 1760 letter to his brother, also a cleric, in England, asked for “your gally-pot of pills against the flux; it would be of great service to our patients” (in Edward Davitt, S.J., ed., “Letters of Father Joseph Mosley, S.J., 1757–1806,” *Woodstock Letters*, 35:1 [1906]: 45).

⁵⁶ Nelson, *Architecture and Empire in Jamaica*, 196 (quote). The garden at George Mason’s Gunston Hall was also designed to be enjoyed privately (Wenger, “Town House & Country House,” 138).

yard in Thomas Stone's lifetime is unknown. More recently, in the twentieth century, service areas were not regarded as a high priority for documentation and preservation. The lost woodwork in the main block, including in the upper stories, may have offered clues to the lives of people who lived and worked in the house.

Compounding the difficulties of understanding how enslaved people moved through and occupied space at Haberdeventure, enslaved African Americans "were not intentionally a part of the audience" of the processional or formal landscape. Through gates, doorways, and passages, "Blacks could pass almost at will, while whites from outside had to observe the formalities." This relative freedom of movement was, in practice, dehumanizing and demeaning, as it reinforced the enslaved person's lack of standing. White slaveholders knew that blacks held in bondage resisted enslavement and that their authority rested on violence. Benjamin Rush, a Philadelphia physician and antislavery advocate, wrote that he "once heard [Thomas Stone] say, 'he [i.e., Stone] had never known a single instance of a negro being contented in slavery.'" While we cannot confirm the truth of Rush's recollection, we can find some clues in the architecture of Haberdeventure to the hierarchy of space that enforced social divisions.⁵⁷



Figure 26. (Left) Haberdeventure's east hyphen, constructed in the nineteenth century. The hyphen sits between the main block and east wing (right). Photos by Frances Benjamin Johnston, 1936–1937.

Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Carnegie Survey of the Architecture of the South.

⁵⁷ Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 244–45; Upton, "White and Black Landscapes," in *Material Life in America*, ed. St. George, 365 (quote); George W. Corner, ed., *The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush: His "Travels through Life" Together with His Commonplace Book for 1789–1813* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1948), 151 (quote). Philip D. Morgan uses this same passage from Benjamin Rush's text to make the point that eighteenth-century "patriarchs did not expect their slaves to be content or submissive; the myth of the happy and docile slave was not an eighteenth-century invention" (*Slave Counterpoint*, 278).

One dedicated service area from the eighteenth century that survives at Haberdeventure is the cellar of the main block. The cellar had no direct access to the floor above; ingress and egress was through an opening in the east side of the house. In the early to mid-nineteenth century, bricks replaced the original frame enclosure over the cellar entrance (Figure 26).⁵⁸

Archaeology in the cellar in the 1980s determined that this basement space lacked the finish of the rooms above stairs, having a dirt floor and no plaster on its walls. The presence of two fireboxes suggests the cellar was intended as a living and work space. Archaeologists did not find evidence of household activity, though. Moreover, finding proof of repeated flooding in the cellar, the archaeologists posited that long-term food storage in the basement was untenable. Presumably, problems with water control would also have deterred enslaved domestic servants or other residents of low status from residing in the cellar year-round. It remains unclear, then, why a nineteenth-century owner made the expense to improve the cellar entrance by constructing (or replacing) the east hyphen in brick, unless a desire for balance and proportion between the east and west sides of the main block drove the decision. It is also possible that the cellar was usable space for the residents of Haberdeventure in ways that have not yet been identified.⁵⁹

Another dedicated service area at Haberdeventure in the later eighteenth century was the semi-detached kitchen, which is believed to have been located where the west wing now stands. Though Mrs. Stone as the planter's wife, or a hired housekeeper, formally supervised the kitchen, "kitchens, like quarters, were black zones, not white and black ones." More likely than not, Haberdeventure's eighteenth-century kitchen was frame, not brick, reflecting the low status of the labor of cooking, considered "dirtier" than some other domestic work like dairying. "Kitchens" as a building type "in the Chesapeake were lowly regarded, reflected in the inferiority of their construction and maintenance." Also, they were "crowded" places, doubling as living spaces for enslaved people. "In most cases, people were packed into rooms of less than 300 square feet. Eighteenth-century owners showed little concern about having many people congregating day and night in the space in which cooking took place." In the vicinity of the kitchen would have been other support buildings, such as a meat house, dairy, and hen house.⁶⁰

The construction of Haberdeventure announced Thomas Stone and his wife's arrival in Charles County society. An 1807 letter between two men of high standing in the Virginia Piedmont expresses the public nature and personal significance of such a

⁵⁸ Rivoire, "Summary Report of Additional Research Findings," 56. Wollon determined that the east hyphen is "original" to the main block "in concept if not in construction" ("Historic Structure Report," 55).

⁵⁹ Cheek, Ward, and Balicki, "Archeological Studies," 1992; Moyer, "Archaeological Overview and Assessment," 17, 62.

⁶⁰ Edward A. Chappell, "Housing Slavery," in *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*, eds. Cary Carson and Carl R. Lounsbury (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013), 164–65 (quote 165); Rivoire, *Homeplaces*, 17–18.

construction project. One man advised the other, “It is now fit that you should have a home and that you should be the master of it—not a mere Guest among your friends and a stranger in your native state. Until you do this you can have no real weight or influence in society.” After spending several years in Annapolis to train in law, Thomas Stone came back to Charles County to marry, to establish his law practice, and arguably to launch his political career. Nearly three years passed between Thomas Stone’s signature on the deed for the land on which the brick house sits, in December 1770, and Stone’s order to Baltimore merchant Robert Christie for the finishing touches of lead paint and stone steps in September 1773. Between the brickwork and interior woodwork (plus the earthwork needed to create the terraced garden), the Stone family made considerable expense to convey the high status of the household.⁶¹

The house and complex of outbuildings at Haberdeventure raised Thomas Stone’s visibility in Charles County’s social and political circles at a time when Port Tobacco was prospering. In his vision for Haberdeventure, Thomas Stone may have been influenced by what he witnessed as a law student in Annapolis during that city’s “Age of Affluence” between 1763 and 1774. Lawyers erected a considerable proportion of the sophisticated townhouses that adorned the city at this time. Builders spent lavishly on rich interior woodwork, pleasure gardens, Venetian windows, and other refinements in order to win political influence.⁶²

Arguably Thomas Stone invested in making a similar pitch to propertied members of the community in his home county, erecting a modest showplace that combined local and metropolitan influences. Among its local features are the one-and-a-half-story height, gambrel roof, and (by Virginia standards) retardataire full paneling in the best room. A sheltered porch or piazza on the north side of the house, which faced one of the busiest roads in the county, was a modish space for dispensing hospitality. At the same time, the arc formed by the main block, hyphens, and wings, likely inspired by Palladian designs, curves away from the public-facing side, forming a retreat on the south side of the house. A central passage, which appears to have been rare among first floor plans in Charles County circa 1770, and a privately enjoyed terraced garden provided Thomas Stone and his wife a means of distancing themselves and their selected company away from the noise and hubbub of

⁶¹ Isaac Coles to Joseph C. Cabell, December 31, 1807, Cabell Family Papers, University of Virginia, cited in Marlene Elizabeth Heck, “Building Status: Pavilioned Dwellings in Virginia,” *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 6 (1997): 46. Thomas Stone’s letter to Robert Christie of September 17, 1773, requesting “150 lbs of white lead ground in oil” and stone steps, was printed in the *Historical Magazine* (November 1868): 239–40, reproduced in Jefferson, “Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Select Primary Sources” (2004). Rivoire asserts that Stone intended to use these supplies for the finishing touches of Haberdeventure (“Summary Report of Additional Research Findings,” 53).

⁶² Edward C. Papenfuse uses the phrase “Age of Affluence” to describe the level of luxury spending to attract proprietary patronage in Maryland’s capital, 1763–74, in his book, *In Pursuit of Profit: The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution, 1763–1805* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975). Out of twelve persons or entities listed as builders of the best townhouses between 1764 and 1774 in a summary table, half were lawyers (*ibid.*, table 1–2).

the road and the busy kitchen and family side of the house. The domestic architecture of the house helps us understand one curiosity of Thomas Stone's political life: he stood for popular election only once (in 1774) and lost. Stone was not comfortable leading a crowd, and he was not a popular leader like the lawyer whom he often saw in the courtroom, Samuel Chase. Instead, Stone advanced politically through patronage (both given and received), the strength of his reputation for legal knowledge, and the deference that Maryland gentry's commanded. The house gave visual cues to the Stone family's possession of intergenerational wealth, leisure, and education that set his family apart.⁶³

Enslaved domestic servants moved in the most intimate spaces of the Stone family, but they were not the intended audience for the formal functions of the house. Unfortunately, other places of work and relaxation for enslaved domestic servants at Haberdeventure, such as the eighteenth-century kitchen, no longer survive. It would be a mistake, though, to assume that the lives of enslaved cooks, housemaids, seamstresses, manservants, and waiters, and any number of other domestic staff, were limited to this small area. Some people whom Thomas Stone held in bondage traveled back and forth between Haberdeventure and Stone's townhouse in Annapolis, or ran errands inside and outside Charles County. The county seat, Port Tobacco, was only two miles away. The prosperity of this town in the 1760s and 1770s is an important backdrop to Haberdeventure.

Overcoming Haberdeventure's Apparent Isolation Today: The Implications of Proximity to Port Tobacco

Port Tobacco was a boomtown in the 1760s and early 1770s, when the economy was relatively strong and credit flowed from Britain. The 1747 Maryland tobacco inspection act had improved the Oronoco tobacco market, raising prices for growers whose tobacco passed inspection. Beginning in the 1750s and accelerating after the close of the Seven Years War in 1763, Scottish tobacco merchants moved aggressively into the Potomac River Valley, offering goods on generous credit terms. Planters who consistently raised "trash" tobacco that did not pass inspection sought other means of income, diversifying the economy. Wealthier planters who were able to afford grain and livestock farming in addition to tobacco cultivation found profit in the demand for foodstuffs in the West Indies and Southern Europe. Ships also carried timber and iron to English markets. Meanwhile,

⁶³ Jefferson's "Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Select Primary Sources" (2004) has a number of examples of Thomas Stone giving patronage or at least exerting his influence to advance others. See, for example, Thomas Stone to Mathew Tilghman, October 11, 1776, recommending a Mr. Hopkins for an officer position, and Thomas Stone to Gov. Thomas Sim Lee, April 23, 1781, asking for a commission for a Col. Ware of Charles County. Thomas Stone and Samuel Chase both were busy lawyers in the General Court of the Western Shore in 1779 and 1786, as shown in Appendix 19.

within Southern Maryland, more “crafts and home industries. . . led to denser and denser networks of local exchange.” A credit contraction in late 1772 and 1773 left tobacco merchants with more goods than they could sell but kept Maryland lawyers busy. The Port Tobacco- and London-based firm of Barnes and Ridgate, which slipped into bankruptcy in 1773, became one of Thomas Stone's most high-profile clients before the Revolutionary War.⁶⁴

A number of American-born, English-born, and Scottish-born merchants made Port Tobacco their regional headquarters in the 1760s, 1770s, and 1780s. Barnes and Ridgate was a partnership between John Barnes, a St. Mary's County native and second-generation merchant in the region, and Thomas How Ridgate of England. Frederick Stone, elder brother of Thomas Stone, did business in Port Tobacco and Annapolis in partnership with Robert Townshend Hooe and Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, who were also natives of Charles County. One of the largest Glasgow-based firms, John Glassford and Company, had a store in Port Tobacco, as did smaller Scottish-based outfits such as John Semple's firm with his brother-in-law Robert Lawson.⁶⁵

John Semple (d. 1773) deserves particular mention because of overlap with Haberdeventure's history. Semple came to Port Tobacco as a merchant in the 1750s and acquired a parcel of land which Dr. James Craik, another Scot, purchased from Semple in 1763 and developed into Strawberry Hill (now La Grange). Peg, an enslaved housekeeper and cook for Semple, was the mother of Clare (Thomas), whom David Stone and then Thomas Stone held in bondage. “Semple's Peg” was well-known in Port Tobacco, as noted in Chapter 3. In addition, the surname of Henry Semple, an enslaved man whom Thomas Stone's daughters manumitted in 1793 along with his wife and daughters, hints as a possible personal tie between Henry Semple and John Semple. Semple was a rare name in

⁶⁴ Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 33–35; Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension*, chapter 1; Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 633; Jacob M. Price, “The Rise of Glasgow in the Chesapeake Tobacco Trade, 1707–1775,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 11 (April 1954): 179–99; Richard K. MacMaster, “Georgetown and the Tobacco Trade, 1751–1783,” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, DC*, 66/68: 1–33; Lois Green Carr and Russell R. Menard, “Wealth and Welfare in Early Maryland: Evidence from St. Mary's County,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 56 (January 1999): 102 (quote). Chapter 5 of this HRS discusses Stone's work for Barnes and Ridgate.

⁶⁵ “John Barnes, 1743–1800,” “Thomas Howe Ridgate, 1734–90,” and “Robert Townshend Hooe (1743–1809),” in *Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia's Northern Neck*, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us; Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 41–42.

Charles County, and the emancipation of an entire family is remarkable though not unheard of. No evidence of a relationship between John Semple and Henry Semple has yet been found.⁶⁶

John Semple has also been credited for laying the seeds of the Potowmack Company, which was formed in 1785 after the Mount Vernon Conference in which Thomas Stone participated. Semple developed a commercial interest in improving the navigation of the Potomac River (and access to the West) after Port Tobacco proved too small for his ambitions. In 1763, the year that he sold Moore's Ditch to Dr. Craik (and the Seven Years War ended), Semple moved to Prince William County, Virginia, where he invested in iron furnaces and gristmills. Soon thereafter Semple acquired an iron furnace on the upper reaches of the Potomac and over six thousand acres of land in Frederick County, Maryland. Semple's business interests brought him into contact with George Washington, who shared Semple's interest in the commercial potential of easier access to the interior. When Washington hosted a meeting of commissioners from the states of Virginia and Maryland at his home at Mount Vernon to create an interstate commercial agreement in March 1785, paving the way for investment in internal improvements, Thomas Stone was there, as were his brother Walter Stone, his brother-in-law Gustavus Richard Brown, and his uncle Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer. The heavy representation from Port Tobacco speaks to the town's prominence along the Potomac and commercial interests in the west.⁶⁷

An English traveler, Nicholas Cresswell, characterized Port Tobacco, the seat of Charles County, as a "small town." The town's anchors were the brick courthouse, erected circa 1727–30, and the Anglican parish church, a pairing that could be found in county seats across Maryland since the establishment of the Church of England in the colony in the 1690s. The tobacco inspection warehouse was also a vital part of the town; the warehouse landing was just south of the village's core (and by the 1770s was already showing

⁶⁶ "John Semple (d. 1773)" and "Dr. James Craik (1730–1814)," in *Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia's Northern Neck*, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us; Sean Condon, "The Significance of Group Manumissions in Post-Revolutionary Rural Maryland," *Slavery and Abolition* 32, no. 1 (2011): 75–89. Information about John Semple is scattered through Richard K. MacMaster and David C. Skaggs, eds., "The Letterbooks of Alexander Hamilton, Piscataway Factor," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 61 (June 1966): 146–66, 61 (December 1966): 305–28, 62 (June 1967): 135–69, 63 (March 1968): 22–54, 65 (Spring 1970): 18–35, and the *Papers of George Washington Digital Edition*. For more discussion of Peg and Henry Semple, see Chapter 3 and Appendix 9 of this HRS.

⁶⁷ MacMaster, "Georgetown and the Tobacco Trade," 24–33; John Semple to George Washington, January 8, 1770, *Colonial Series*, 8:291, George Washington to James Madison, November 17, 1788, *Presidential Series*, 1:112, and *Diaries* 4:108 in *Papers of George Washington Digital Edition*; "The Mount Vernon Compact," in Robert A. Rutland, ed., *The Papers of George Mason, 1725–1792*, 3 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 2:812–14, reproduced in Jefferson's "Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Select Primary Sources"; Semple's demand for enslaved labor at the iron furnaces and mills captured the attention of Virginia planter and lawyer John Mercer, who lamented the loss of an opportunity to hire out chattel slaves to Semple in 1767–68 for cash: "Had I known a little sooner that Semple would give £12 a year for men & £8 for women, besides cloathing them, paying their levies & taxes & allowing them 6 lb. of meat a week, it is certain he should have had mine, as I should by their hire have made more without care charge or trouble, than I could by any crop they can make" (Lois Mulkearn, comp. and ed., *George Mercer Papers Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia* [Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1954], 195).

signs of sedimentation). In the last three decades of the eighteenth century, the town had around thirty dwellings and about double the number of additional structures, such as stables and shops. The 1782 tax assessment recorded a total population of less than one hundred distributed among twenty-nine households. Whites were in the majority, at 60 percent of the town's residents. Two decades later, African Americans became the majority in town, reflecting trends in Charles County as a whole.⁶⁸

On court days, the town's population swelled. Charles County opened its court at least three times a year. On the days that the court met, "twelve to fifteen" justices of the peace, predominantly men of wealth from English Protestant backgrounds, would process to their cushioned seats on a platform at the rear of the courtroom, elevating them above the sheriff, clerk, counsels, and jury. County courts served a number of local government functions, including taxation, roadwork, licensing, and poor relief. The magistrates heard "civil cases involving no more than £100 sterling" or 30,000 pounds tobacco, and "tried all criminal cases except those against whites accused of capital crimes." Enslaved blacks accused of capital offenses were tried at the county level, according to a 1737 law. In another expansion of the county court's oversight, a law passed in 1797 required black freedom suits to be introduced at the county level instead of at the General Court of the Western or Eastern Shores.⁶⁹

Court days attracted not only potential jurymen, lured by a day's pay for their public service. People came to see the goods that merchants displayed on the piazzas of their stores, negotiate with their creditors, visit craftspeople, buy fowl from African American chicken merchants, attend public auctions, participate in lotteries, drink and gamble in the taverns, or find other ways to combat the loneliness of rural life.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Harold B. Gill Jr. and George M. Curtis III, eds., *A Man Apart: The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009, electronic edition), June 3, 1774 (quote); Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 34; National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for Port Tobacco, CH-372, National Park Service, 1989, Section 8, p. 14; Peter C. Quantock, Anne T. Hayward, and Kelley M. Walter, "Port Tobacco: A Shifting Settlement Pattern," *Maryland Archeology* 45 (March–September 2009): 58–66. The original circa the 1727–30 courthouse at Port Tobacco does not survive, but Morris L. Radoff surmises from the cost of its construction that it was constructed in brick (*The County Courthouses and Records of Maryland, Part One: The Courthouses* [Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, State of Maryland, 1960], 69). Port Tobacco served as the county seat from 1727 until 1895. See Chapter 3 of this HRS for population trends in Charles County.

⁶⁹ Alan F. Day, *A Social Study of Lawyers in Maryland, 1660–1775* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989) 9, 32; A. C. Hanson, *Laws of Maryland, 1784*, chapter 54, *Archives of Maryland*, 203:406; Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 53–54 (quote 54), 244–45; Lounsbury, *The Courthouses of Early Virginia*; Loren Schwening, "Freedom Suits, African American Women, and the Genealogy of Slavery," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 71 (Jan. 2014): 59–60. Charles County Court met in March, August, and November after June court was abolished in 1770. A 1784 state law changed the months to April, June, and September.

⁷⁰ C. A. Ellefson, "The County Courts and the Provincial Court in Maryland, 1733–1763," PhD dissertation, University of Maryland, 1963, 215–16; Lounsbury, *Courthouses of Early Virginia*, 3–8; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 359. Juries reflected Maryland's religious diversity; in the colony, Roman Catholic freemen could serve on juries, though they were barred from voting and holding office (William E. Nelson, "The Law of Colonial Maryland: Virginia without Its Grandeur," *American Journal of Legal History*, 58 [2014]: 191–92).

Located at the center of Port Tobacco, within steps of where the eighteenth-century courthouse, parish church, and taverns formerly stood, are two surviving buildings that have received significant attention from scholars, Stagg Hall and Chimney House. Both attest to the strength of the town's commercial interests. Stagg Hall, though a frame building, bears a number of resemblances to Haberdeventure and was raised just a few years earlier, in 1767. Like the Stone family residence, Stagg Hall is one-and-a-half stories in height with a gambrel roof and has a first-floor plan of three rooms including a central passage; as mentioned above, a central passage is thought to be unusual for the Port Tobacco area in the 1760s and 1770s. Stagg Hall also features elaborate woodwork in its largest room, though full paneling is limited to the chimney wall, whereas at Haberdeventure all four walls of the largest room are fully paneled. The identity of the builder of Stagg Hall is uncertain, but in the 1770s and 1780s a succession of merchants owned the house. A letter from 1774 by Alexander Hamilton, a factor for the Scottish firm James Brown and Company, articulated the usefulness of a well-finished room in a house like Stagg Hall for conducting business. A year after taking charge of his firm's store in Piscataway, just north of the county line in Prince George's County, Hamilton built a house there and explained the investment to his superiors as follows: "Having found it impossible from the Constant interruption I meet with, to do your business as it ought to be done, in the Counting room of the Store, It being absolutely necessary in making settlements with the people to be private, and the want of which has often prevented me, when it ought to have been done, I therefore built a house at my own expence." Stagg Hall, with the help of a central passage, combined privacy with a refined interior to attract business.⁷¹

⁷¹ MacMaster and Skaggs, eds., "Letterbooks of Alexander Hamilton," Part II, 319. According to the description of Stagg Hall in the field guide for the 39th Annual Vernacular Architecture Conference, 2018, dendrochronology provides a construction date of 1767 ("A Shared Heritage: Urban and Rural Experience on the Banks of the Potomac: A Field Guide for the Western Shore of Maryland," Maryland Historical Trust, 77). I am grateful to Amanda Casper for providing me with this text. Additional descriptions of Stagg Hall can be found in Rivoire, *Homeplaces*, 62–67, and the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, CH-13, 1988. For a history of Lot 47 on which Stagg Hall sits, see Carol L. Cowherd, "Using Land Records to Look For Port Tobacco in the Eighteenth Century," *Maryland Archeology* 47 (March 2011): 19.



Figure 27. Stagg Hall (“Gambrel Roof House,” on the right), with a dependency, Port Tobacco, Charles County, 1936. Photo by E. H. Pickering. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Historic American Building Survey, National Park Service.



Figure 28. “Chimney House,” Port Tobacco, Charles County, 1936–1937. Photo by Frances Benjamin Johnston. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Carnegie Survey of the Architecture of the South.

Merchants built to impress. Chimney House, constructed after Thomas How Ridgate purchased the land in 1785, is a striking display of ambition at a time of economic uncertainty in the region. The most commanding feature of the two-story, frame,

combined house-and-store is a double chimney on one end “containing six fireplaces, closets at the first and second floor levels, and a large arched doorway at the base” leading to a heated cellar. Ridgate clearly intended to make a statement by creating one of the more elaborate expressions of an exterior brick chimney “incorporating closets or pents,” a distinctive regional architectural form appearing most frequently in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Ridgate’s optimism, all the more remarkable for having experienced bankruptcy during the economic crisis of 1772–73, must have been fueled by winning a subcontract from Robert Morris of Philadelphia to supply tobacco to the French tobacco monopoly in 1785–87. Morris had agreed to ship 60,000 hogsheads from various American suppliers over those three years, including 5,000 hogsheads from Maryland, and received an advance of £43,750 sterling from a French bank. Unable to fulfill his part of the order, Ridgate died indebted in 1790. Morris was his largest creditor.⁷²

Port Tobacco’s competitive, commercial society is a critical part of the context of Haberdeventure. Ridgate’s former bankruptcy did not deter him from trying again to pursue quick riches. As a merchant, Ridgate also enjoyed power and influence because of his access to information through global shipping networks. Ridgate’s commanding combined house-and-store was intended to communicate his standing as a man of credit; the architecture suggested he had the financial backing to lend money over an extended period. Credit was fundamental to Maryland and Virginia’s economy in the eighteenth century. Scottish merchants flourished in tobacco towns along the Potomac River at mid-century because of their willingness to give credit to smaller planters. Borrowing enabled a planter to make the investments needed to expand production, for instance to add acreage, buy livestock, convert marginal land into productive land, or obtain enslaved labor. Ridgate and his trading partner John Barnes extended their business during a strong tobacco market in the late 1760s, setting themselves up in London in 1771, then got caught short during a credit contraction in Britain in 1772 and went bankrupt. Given this history, the Chimney House can be read as Ridgate’s competitive bid to be trusted once again as a buyer of tobacco, purveyor of goods, and credit lender.⁷³

The word “credit” in the eighteenth century had two meanings, one financial and one personal. In the first instance, credit meant having collateral to back a loan. Historically in England, land was considered the best security for a loan. Thus, when Thomas Stone invested his earnings from the law in real estate, he was building financial security for his family. In the second instance, being a “man of credit” meant being

⁷² Cowherd, “Using Land Records to Look for Port Tobacco,” 19–21; National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for Port Tobacco, CH-372, Section 7, pp. 4–5 (quote); Rivoire, *Homeplaces* 13; Papenfuss, *In Pursuit of Profit*, 198–99; Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 253–54. A transcription of Ridgate’s probate inventory, including the store, is available at Probing the Past: Virginia and Maryland Probate Inventories, 1740–1810, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/probateinventory>.

⁷³ Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 42; William Watson, *A Treatise on the Law of Partnership* (London, 1794), 194–205.

honorable, reliable, and good to his word. In the view of historian Sarah Pearsall, “Women could and did have credit, especially when they entered into trade, but it did not define their character in the same way it did for men.” Pearsall continues, “Women’s credit tended to rely on men’s: their father’s, their husband’s, or their son’s.” Credit was something that had to be closely guarded; once lost, it was difficult to recover.⁷⁴

Haberdeventure was intended to communicate the owner’s standing as a creditor on the most conservative basis, landownership. The house was also fundamentally about family. Thomas’s father, David Stone, died with a solvent estate, and this was an important legacy for his children. Presumably other community members were aware of David Stone’s prudent family estate management and expected his son Thomas to maintain the same self-discipline. The house’s solid brick walls conveyed financial stability. As will be discussed in the next chapter, Thomas took measures against financial ruin by including close family members as stakeholders in Haberdeventure and investing in his kinship network. Stone drew upon the resources of his extended family in order to secure his financial independence and thus claim a place among disinterested men in government.

After studying law in Annapolis, qualifying as an attorney in several Maryland county courts and the colony’s Provincial Court, and marrying a woman from his home county, Thomas Stone and his wife Margaret (Brown) built an impressive home near the bustling town of Port Tobacco. In its outward appearance, the center block resembled other high-status houses in the area with its one-and-one-half-story height and gambrel roof. Fully paneled walls in the principal entertaining room reflected Maryland tastes; Virginia’s elite favored wallpaper. The piazza on the north, public-facing side of the house, however, signaled something new in the domestic architecture of Chesapeake plantations, a fashion that was spreading north from the south and the Caribbean. The piazza and central passage of the main block worked together to create a series of increasingly socially exclusive spaces. Furthermore, the Palladian-inspired arrangement of the main block, two hyphens, and two wings along an arc, while beautifying the scene, provided a measure of intimacy and privacy on the garden side of the house. With its mix of local and metropolitan elements, Thomas and Margaret Stone’s house reflected the owners’ deep ties to the region and knowledge of the world beyond. Thomas did not rest in his inherited standing among Maryland’s native-born elite; to secure his position, Haberdeventure’s house and landscape display its owner’s landed wealth and gentility.

⁷⁴ Sarah M. S. Pearsall, “Credit in Life and Letters,” in *Atlantic Families: Lives and Letters in the Later Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, www.oxfordscholarship.com, 2018, accessed November 12, 2018), 6 (quote); Peter Mathias, “Risk, Credit, and Kinship in Early Modern Enterprise,” in *The Early Modern Atlantic Economy*, eds. John K. McCusker and Kenneth Morgan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 15–35; Claire Priest, “Creating an American Property Law: Alienability and Its Limits in American History,” *Harvard Law Review* 120, no. 2 (December 2006): 385–458. Priest discusses the 1732 act of Parliament that removed traditional English protection of land from seizure by unsecured creditors in the colonies. Up through Thomas Stone’s lifetime, though, land remained the preferred means of investing wealth and claiming political privileges.

In private and public letters, Thomas Stone made repeated comments about putting other peoples' interests ahead of his own, as befitted a man of his elevated station and virtue. Deflecting the popular image of lawyers as men who profit from others' "distress" and who gain personal advantage by writing self-serving laws, Stone reflected that during the Revolutionary War, some "risked everything in the cause of the country." Those who suspended their legal practice to serve in government "sacrificed their interests as lawyers in performing their duty as citizens." This is how Stone saw himself.⁷⁵

Toward the end of his life, Stone was compelled to defend his ability to govern on behalf of the people. In what Gordon Wood has called "the most significant constitutional debate of the entire Confederation period," Maryland's upper and lower houses opposed each other in the winter of 1786–87 over a proposed bill to issue paper money for the relief of debtors. Higher taxes to pay down war debt, a shortage of circulating coin, and a fall in tobacco prices in November 1785 contributed to the political crisis. Stone and his fellow state senators were apprehensive about the state emitting paper money. Opponents of the paper money bill cited fears of continuing inflation, which would hurt creditors, and dismissed reports about a shortage of specie (gold and silver) in the state. The assembly's measure would hurt Maryland's ability to attract investment and, to use Stone's words, "derange our commerce."⁷⁶

Maryland's lower house ended the 1786 legislative session early in order to allow delegates to appeal directly to constituents. Stone considered the move dangerous and divisive. Using language reminiscent of his May 20, 1776 "dye is cast" letter, in which Stone claimed to have "absolute Dominion" over his moral principles, the seasoned legislator argued for the constitutional necessity of the state senate to be "independent" of the House of Delegates and insulated from popular opinion. "Large collected bodies of people" were too easily swayed by passion "and hurried into measures inconsistent with their real welfare," Stone spoke in a Senate message to the House of Delegates of January 20, 1787. Disinterested men (that is, men of independent fortune and landed wealth) who are unaffected by the "acid & fire" of popular appeals must have a dissenting voice in government, he argued. Stone's position made him vulnerable, though, to the charge that the senate's

⁷⁵ Day, *Social Study of Lawyers*, 125–33 (126 quote); Thomas Stone's answer to Charles Carroll of Carrollton's protest, December 25, 1783, entered in Senate proceedings in January 1785, *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate in the State of Maryland, November Session, 1784*.

⁷⁶ Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic*, 252 (quote); Senate message to the House of Delegates and "constituents," delivered by Thomas Stone, January 5, 1787, *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Maryland, November Session 1786* (quote, 21); Melvin Yazawa, *Representative Government and the Revolution: The Maryland Constitutional Crisis of 1787* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975); Edward C. Papenfuse, "The Legislative Response to a Costly War: Fiscal Policy and Factional Politics in Maryland, 1777–1789," in *Sovereign States in an Age of Uncertainty*, eds. Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1981), 134–56; Woody Holton, "Did Democracy Cause the Recession that Led to the Constitution?" *Journal of American History* 92, no. 2 (September 2005): 442–69.

independence meant ignoring the popular will. He felt it necessary during this charged political moment to explicitly deny in newspapers that he had any "intention of opposing the will of the people" as a senator.⁷⁷

The mix of local and cosmopolitan elements in Haberdeventure's architecture and landscape reflects Stone's identity as a native of Charles County, Maryland, and his sensitivity to differences in social rank. Stone defended Maryland's interests at the national, regional, and local level, for instance as a member of the Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia in 1776, at the Mount Vernon Conference on the navigation of the Potomac River in 1785, and during Maryland's paper currency debate of 1786–87. Stone's status as an educated man of wealth with prominent family ties gave him entrée into high circles, and he solidified his social position by accumulating land, but there remained a sense of vulnerability in Stone's writings. He relied on his family, first and foremost, to help him in unprecedented times.

⁷⁷ Senate message to the House of Delegates delivered by Thomas Stone, January 20, 1787, in *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Maryland, November Session 1786* (quote, 38); Thomas Stone to Michael J. Stone, undated (circa 1786–87), The Rosenbach, Philadelphia (quote); Thomas Stone to the Printers, March 28, 1787, published in the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), April 5 and *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore), April 6, and reproduced in Yazawa, *Representative Government*, 80–87 (quote 85). Thomas Stone also penned a letter to George Washington to elicit his support for the Senate's position (Stone to Washington, January 30, 1787, and Washington's reply, February 16, 1787, *Papers of George Washington, Confederation Series*, 4:550, 5:37–39, in Jefferson, "Thomas Stone: A Chronology from Primary Sources"). The paper money debate receded in 1787 with the passage of a Maryland bankruptcy act and the creation of the US Constitution, among other causes.

CHAPTER TWO

HABERDEVENTURE AS A STONE FAMILY ENTERPRISE

While radicals in Congress advocated a break from Britain in the spring of 1776, Stone, like other Maryland political leaders, approached independence more cautiously. War with Britain threatened the economic and social stability that Stone sought to provide for his family, including his siblings, at his recently established plantation. Using the language of sensibility, the sensation of being “overcome with feeling” or “the surge of strong emotion” that genteel people cultivated, Stone wrote in his May 20, 1776, “dye is cast” letter of the forces that tugged him to leave Congress and return to Maryland: “My feelings are too keen, my Concern for those whose happiness I wish to secure too exquisite & my Constitution too stiff to allow of my Continuance” as a delegate in Philadelphia “with tolerable Ease to myself.” The persons whose “happiness” Stone wished “to secure” included his sisters Grace Stone and Catherine Scott, Scott’s son Alexander, and his brothers Michael Jenifer Stone and Walter Stone in addition to his wife and three children.¹

Haberdeventure was a family enterprise, with multiple stakeholders to diminish the financial risk posed by death, weather, market fluctuations, and war. It has been long known that Stone shared his residence at Haberdeventure with his full siblings. Less attention has been given to the ways in which the siblings, as well as Stone’s brother-in-law and neighbor Gustavus Richard Brown, contributed to Haberdeventure, and how their own economic fortunes were tied to the profitability of the plantation and to Stone’s legal work. The establishment of Haberdeventure helped Stone and his siblings sustain and increase their inherited wealth in enslaved people. Stone included his extended family in Haberdeventure’s purposes but took measures to protect his gains in wealth and social standing to pass on to his heirs.

¹ Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 81–82 (quotes); Thomas Stone to (James Hollyday?), May 20, 1776, in *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1789*, eds. Smith et al., 4:47–54, and reproduced in Jefferson, “Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Select Primary Sources.”

Birth Order and Inheritance

To understand Thomas Stone's relationships with his siblings, including his sense of obligation to their support—and to understand Haberdeventure as a family enterprise—it is helpful to review the birth order in Thomas Stone's family and its implications for Thomas Stone around the time he built a residence at Haberdeventure. When Thomas purchased the land in December 1770, his parents, David and Elizabeth (Jenifer) Stone, and elder brother of full blood, Frederick, were alive. Thomas, it is believed, was the second child born to David and Elizabeth Stone. Thomas's younger siblings were, in the order of their births, Catherine, John Hoskins, Michael Jenifer, Daniel Jenifer, Betty Ann, Walter, and Grace. Thomas was about twenty-seven years of age when he purchased the core of Haberdeventure plantation in 1770, and his youngest sibling, Grace, was about twelve. Thomas had elder half-brothers and half-sisters by his father's first marriage, but his closest bonds were to his full-blooded siblings.²

Thomas likely had no expectation of inheriting land from his father. His grandfather, Thomas Stone (1677–1722), in his will bequeathed his dwelling plantation to David, his only son, and “his heirs forever.” Such wording assumed that David's sons would be preferred over daughters, and when David died intestate (that is, without a will), his eldest son Samuel inherited all of his father's land by primogeniture. The inheritance of land by the eldest son was one of a number of English inheritance practices that Parliament codified with a Statute of Distributions in 1670 and Maryland enacted into law. The use of the phrase “his heirs forever” might be interpreted as entail, which meant that David could not sell or bequeath the land and it would descend in perpetuity to “descendants by the rules of primogeniture.” By these rules, the eldest son inherits the land, and if he should die without heirs, the next oldest son inherits, and so forth. If there were no sons, “daughters inherit jointly, and an estate is divided,” as happened with Thomas Stone's heirs Margaret and Mildred. “Otherwise, only one person inherits.” David's principal heir, Samuel Stone, however, directed in his will of 1778 that the land be divided between two of his three sons, demonstrating one of two possible scenarios: either the Poynton Manor estate had not been entailed by Samuel's grandfather, or Samuel sympathized with a legal reform

² Most of Thomas Stone's siblings' birth years are not recorded. However, assuming a two-year gap in ages amongst the siblings, and given Daniel Jenifer Stone's birth in or around 1752, then Betty Ann was born about 1754, Walter around 1756, and Grace circa 1758. See Appendix 2, “Thomas Stone Lineage,” for information about each of the siblings at a glance. Thomas Stone appears not to have had the close social and emotional ties to his half-siblings as he did with his full siblings. He did not name his half-siblings in his will, for example.

movement to loosen the restrictions on entailed estates. (Shortly after the Revolutionary War, Maryland passed an entail reform law that made the conveyance of entailed land in fee simple possible without expensive legal proceedings.)³

An entail on the Poynton Manor estate may have been one reason why David Stone did not draw up a will before he died, despite having a large family, a considerable estate, and more than one lawyer among his sons: “Once [landed] property was entailed, no heir could sell it or bequeath it in a will.” This meant that “an entail, once made, did not need to appear in any subsequent deed or will. It disappeared from the historical record but continued to operate.”⁴

If, for the sake of argument, we accept that David Stone anticipated that all of his landholdings would descend to his eldest son by his first marriage, he may have contributed to the development of a “spin-off” plantation—Haberdeventure—to provide a measure of financial security to his family with his second wife. (Indeed, the well-connected Elizabeth, sister of the prominent officeholder Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, may have insisted upon this.) A pair of inscriptions on opposite ends of the main block of Haberdeventure, on the south (or terraced garden) side, provokes us to explore this possibility. Carved into the bricks are “D. Stone Avg 1772.” One architectural historian posits that a master builder in the family with the name “D. Stone” made these marks. But it is just

³ Admittedly, the claim that Thomas Stone’s will of 1727 created an entail on his dwelling plantation may not have stood up in a court of law. Observe the editors of *Jefferson’s Legal Commonplace Book*, “The wording of wills produced difficult and contentious cases when questions were raised as to whether such wording constituted the creation of a fee tail or fee simple. Clarifying the distinction brought many cases to” Thomas Jefferson (D. Konig and M. Zuckert, eds. [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019], 185n). By the time that David Stone’s grandsons, Walter Hanson Stone and David Stone, drew up a deed to divide their grandfather’s estate in 1788, in accordance with their father Samuel’s will, Maryland had passed an entail reform law (in 1783) allowing entailed estates to be conveyed or sold in fee simple without a common law action of common recovery which bore a “heavy expence and great inconvenience” (Walter Hanson Stone to David Stone, 1788, Charles County Land Records, D#4:310, MSA; *Hanson’s Laws of Maryland*, November 1782–January 1783 session, Chapter 23, in *Archives of Maryland*, 203: 341 [quote]). Common recovery is “a conveyance of entailed land to an accomplice in fee simple, with a third party paid to provide a false warranty of title” (Priest, “Creating an American Property Law,” 408n). Thomas Stone did not attend the legislative session that passed the “Act concerning estates tail” (*Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Maryland*, November session 1782; Papenfuse, *BDML*, 2:787).

The prevalence of entail in the colonial Chesapeake is a matter of debate. Lois Green Carr argued that primogeniture became less common among testators between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (“Inheritance in the Colonial Chesapeake” in *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, eds. Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert [Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1989], 155–208, esp. 155, 163). Thereafter Holly Brewer found entailed estates more widespread in eighteenth-century Virginia than previously believed (“Entailing Aristocracy in Colonial Virginia: ‘Ancient Feudal Restraints’ and Revolutionary Reform,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 54 [Apr. 1997]:307–46, quote 314). See also Priest, “Creating an American Property Law,” 396n.

On the reform and abolition of entail in the former British American colonies, see Brewer, “Entailing Aristocracy” and Claire Priest, “The End of Entail: Information, Institutions, and Slavery in the American Revolutionary Period,” *Law and History* 33, no. 2 (May 2015): 277–320. English law protected entailed estates from seizure for debt from unsecured creditors, persons who lent credit without explicitly obtaining collateral in land. Priest describes “entailed lands” as “islands of protected wealth” (*ibid.*, 280).

⁴ Brewer, “Entailing Aristocracy,” 313 (quote), 315 (quote). Thomas Stone may have been the only one of David Stone’s sons who had passed the bar by the time David died in 1773, but John Hoskins Stone and Michael Jenifer Stone were also lawyers (Papenfuse, *BDML*, 2:784–86).

as likely that Thomas Stone's father inscribed his name to assert his association with the property. David Stone, as a large slaveholder, had the resources to supply enslaved labor to build the house and landscape its grounds. He may have approached the property as an investment, knowing Thomas's abilities in estate management (which are discussed in Chapter 5) and the population pressures in the area where Poynton Manor was located, which was in its fifth generation of colonial settlement and bounded by water without the possibility of westward expansion.⁵

Thomas Stone came of age at a time when advanced inheritances were becoming increasingly common among wealthier households in the Chesapeake. American-born Anglo residents married earlier, lived longer, and had larger families than their immigrant forebears, resulting in the development of new strategies to provide for children somewhat equitably but maintain core holdings intact. The sons of the immensely wealthy Robert "King" Carter (1663–1732) of Virginia, for instance, "succumbed to the widespread tendency among elite families after midcentury to escalate the portions parents gave their children and to advance such portions earlier in the heirs' lives. . . . Most of the Carters felt increasingly obligated to set up their sons with plantations and enslaved workforces and even with fashionable new brick dwellings, if not as soon as the sons turned twenty-one, at least by the time they married."⁶

David Stone, with a large family of thirteen children by two wives to provide for, may have been eager to see Haberdeventure established to provide a measure of social and financial security for nine children by his second wife. Likely anticipating the distribution of the people he held in bondage among his heirs, as was the custom in Maryland, land was more difficult to come by. On the other hand, David Stone may have already spent a considerable sum on Thomas Stone's education at a local grammar school and in Annapolis

⁵ Carr, "Inheritance in the Colonial Chesapeake," 169 (quote); Wollon, "Historic Structure Report for Habre De Venture," 3, 20–1. Rivoire, who wrote a book on Charles County domestic architecture, posits that Thomas Stone's father David Stone inscribed the "D. Stone" on the bricks on the south facade of Haberdeventure's center block or that a builder of the same name made the marks ("Summary Report of Additional Research Findings," p. 62).

⁶ Carr, "Inheritance in the Colonial Chesapeake;" Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 525 (quote); Jean B. Lee, "Land and Labor: Parental Bequest Practices in Charles County, Maryland 1732–1783," in *Colonial Chesapeake Society*, eds. Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 306–41.

and encouraged Thomas to support himself after his schooling. In this case, any resources that Margaret Brown brought to her marriage with Thomas Stone would have been valuable to the aspiring lawyer.⁷

Whether or not Thomas Stone grew up on an entailed estate, he inherited a set of assumptions from English law about the duties and privileges of male heirs. Hinting at his own dynastic ambitions, Thomas Stone in his own last will and testament bequeathed the entirety of his real estate to his only son Frederick and Frederick's "heirs forever." Thomas asked his executors to give his two daughters cash— £2,000 in Maryland currency each—and specific items of personal property, including seven enslaved people (known as Bob, Violette "and all her children," Bett, Charity, Phil, young Clare, and Sall). The remaining personal property was to go to Frederick, who thereby inherited the majority of the enslaved labor force, made up of eighteen or so enslaved people. Attesting to Stone's belief in the compatibility of slavery and democracy, the Maryland representative voted in Congress with other southern delegates to oppose the prohibition of slavery in a proposed plan for temporary government in Western territory in 1784.⁸

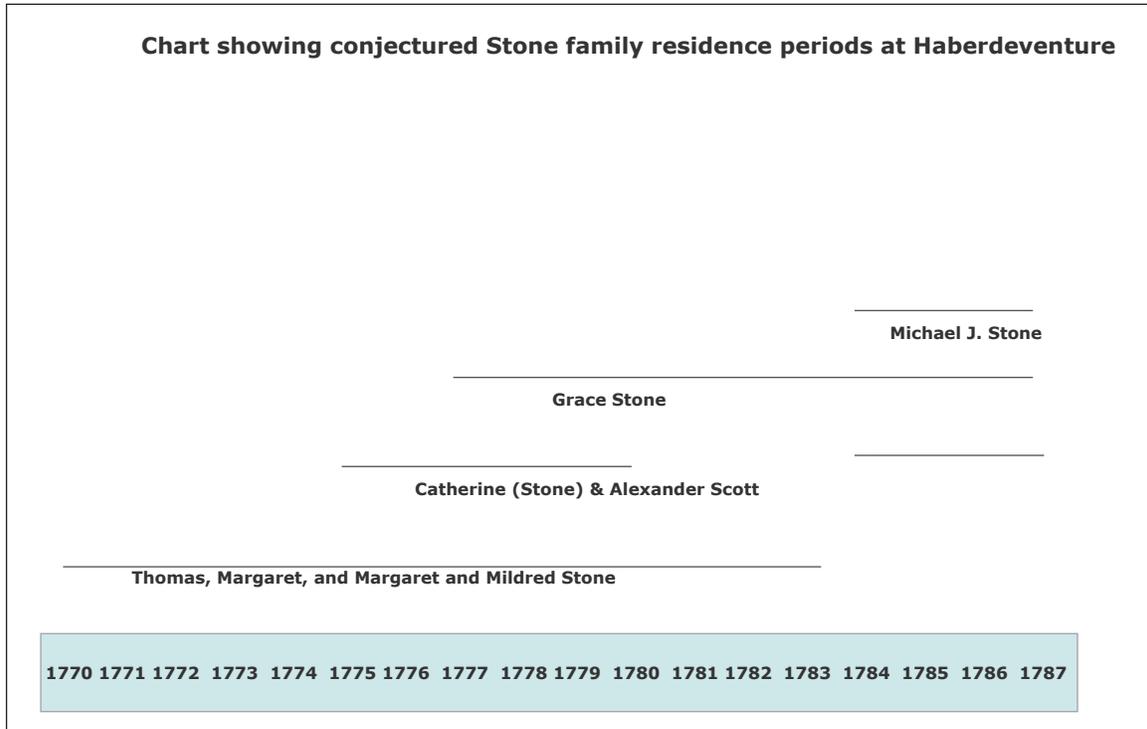
Thomas Stone's ambitions for his legacies to his children were not met in their entirety; his executors, citing insufficient funds, did not give the daughters their cash portions or pay for the education that Thomas wanted his son to have. But Stone still managed to give his son the advantage of a large landed estate, improving upon what his own situation had been as a young man. (After Frederick's premature death in 1793, Thomas's daughters split the land between them and became large landowners.) In late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, "gentry status was . . . linked to the

⁷ Papenfuse, *BMDL*, 2:787. Marlene Elizabeth Heck offers an example of a well-to-do father "commissioning" a house in the Virginia Piedmont for a newly married son in 1785 in "Building Status: Pavilioned Dwellings in Virginia," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 6 (1997): 48. Other planters who gave their home plantations to their eldest male child nonetheless wanted their younger children to have some means of support. Dr. Gustavus Brown (d. 1762), for example, bequeathed his home plantation, Rich Hill, to his eldest male child. Brown's first (and only) son by his second marriage, Gustavus Richard Brown, inherited a secondary plantation called Middleton. (See the discussion of Middleton in this chapter.) In 1784, Robert Brent Sr. of Charles County, anticipating that his land would descend to his son Robert Jr., set aside for the support of six unmarried daughters "a dwelling house, a tobacco house, and kitchen or garden, a quantity of good, arable land not exceeding 30 acres for corn, 12 acres for tobacco ground, and 12 acres of good land for small grain . . . with pasturage for 6 horses, 16 cattle, 20 sheep, and 20 hogs, and privilege of cutting fire wood" (Charles County Land Records Z#3:47, MSA, transcribed in "Robert Brent [1759–1811]," *Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia's Northern Neck Counties*, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us). A shortage of desirable land in Charles County may have encouraged several of Thomas Stone's brothers to pursue a living through trade. Frederick Stone entered a trading partnership with Robert Townshend Hooe and Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer (Lee, *The Price of Nationhood*, 40–41). Another brother, Walter Stone, partnered with his sibling John Hoskins Stone, a merchant in Annapolis, Port Tobacco, and later Baltimore (Papenfuse, *BDML*, 2: 784–5).

⁸ Will of Thomas Stone, Appendix 3; Washington C. Ford et al., eds., *Journals of the Continental Congress 1774–1789*, 34 vols. (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1904–1937), 26: 247 (April 19, 1784); Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., "Jefferson, the Ordinance of 1784, and the Origins of the American Territorial System," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 29, no. 2 (April 1972): 231–62. For another perspective on the Ordinance of 1784, see Julian Boyd, "Plan for Government of the Western Territory," editorial note in *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 6:581–600. On the vote on the clause to prohibit slavery in the western territory after 1800, see Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, April 25, 1784, *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 7:118.

ownership of land sufficient to ensure financial independence for the eldest son of each generation,” the phrase “financial independence” meaning here “independence from most kinds of work.” To achieve and maintain gentry status, Thomas Stone enlisted his family as his parents may have encouraged him to do.⁹

Stone Family Members at Haberdeventure



One of the knots in the tangled weave of Haberdeventure’s history is the overlapping residences of a number of Thomas Stone’s brothers and sisters at Haberdeventure during Thomas and Margaret Stone’s lifetimes (and for several years beyond). Previous reports on Haberdeventure have made the house seem crowded with Thomas Stone’s siblings of whole blood (the offspring of David Stone and his second wife, Elizabeth Jenifer Stone) sharing space with Thomas, Margaret, and their three children in addition to enslaved domestic servants. Also, prior reports overlooked the contributions of white women—namely those of Margaret and her sisters-in-law—to the household, economic or otherwise.¹⁰

⁹ Michael Jenifer Stone’s answer, December 16, 1807, in *Alexander Scott v. Michael Jenifer Stone et al, and Thomas Stone’s Estate*, 1805, Chancery Court, Chancery Papers, case 4647, MSA; Hunt, *The Middling Sort*, 209 (quote).

¹⁰ Rivoire’s “Summary Report of Additional Research Findings” offers brief biographies of individual Stone family household members.

However, by loosening the knot and examining each strand closely, not only do individual stories emerge, but we gain a better understanding of the family dynamic. Thomas Stone, as an elder brother, took seriously his obligations to care for and protect his younger siblings. At the same time, he expected them to contribute to their own support to protect his legacy to his children. In his May 20, 1776, letter in which he wrote, “the dye is cast,” in anticipation of armed conflict with Britain, Thomas Stone expressed his “Concern for those whose happiness I wish to secure.” Stone had in mind not only the well-being of his wife and children, but also that of his siblings of full blood and their dependents. The careful piecing together of documentary evidence allows us to see kinship networks at work in sustaining the Stone family’s gentry status.

Margaret (Brown) Stone

A discussion of family strategies must include marriage. In late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, “marriage was, for all ranks, the main means of transferring property, occupational status, personal contacts, money, tools, livestock, and women across generations and kin groups.” In the English colonies, marriage was also a way of mitigating risks such as early death, loss of a ship at sea, and/or a debtor’s default in payment. Because of the reliance on kin for trustworthy associates and access to credit in the early modern British Atlantic world, “marriage often cemented alliances between families with close business interests.”¹¹

What were those business interests for the Stone and Brown families? J. Richard Rivoire suggests that Gustavus Richard Brown (1747–1804), Thomas Stone’s brother-in-law and Margaret (Brown) Stone’s only sibling of full blood, backed Thomas Stone’s real estate purchases. Thomas Stone, in turn, provided legal expertise, winning, for instance, a 1772 land eviction case that freed up property that Brown acquired and renamed Rose Hill. The particulars of this case merit review, but no doubt Stone’s legal knowledge (and political standing) was useful for property acquisition. Earlier evidence of the men’s cooperation is a 1769 Provincial Court deed for recovery of land, by which Brown docked the entail on a seven-hundred-acre plantation in Durham Parish, Charles County, called Middleton. Thomas Stone and his brother Frederick were parties to the deed. Seven years later, Brown sold Middleton and an adjoining property, 1,263 acres in total, for the remarkable sum of £2,368 sterling. (As a point of comparison, Stone paid £400 sterling for 442 acres of Haberdeventure and Hanson’s Plains, or less than £1 sterling per acre. The enlarged Middleton plantation, and its improvements, sold for twice the value per acre.) In Chapter 4, I contend that proceeds from Middleton’s sale were used to support Stone’s acquisition of a grist mill. As evidence of continuing cooperation between Brown and

¹¹ Hunt, *The Middling Sort*, 151; Mathias, “Risk, Credit, and Kinship in Early Modern Enterprise,” 19 (quote).

Stone in the real estate market, in August 1787, Port Tobacco merchant Robert Fergusson “wrote to the Doctor,” presumably a reference to Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown, about a property that Judith Chase reportedly wanted to sell to Thomas Stone. At the time, Chase held part of Beech Neck where her former home (a house known today as Locust Grove) sat, just northeast of Haberdeventure. Beech Neck lay in the vicinity of Addition to May Day, a tract purchased by Thomas Stone in 1779 and expanded by his heirs. (See the map of Thomas Stone’s landholdings in Figure 5.)¹²

By establishing neighboring plantations, Gustavus Richard Brown and Thomas Stone may have intended to pool their resources at a time at a time when plantations in the Chesapeake were growing bigger at the end of the eighteenth century. Surviving documents do not indicate a sharing of free or bonded labor, tools, animals, or land in Stone’s lifetime. By the 1820s and 1830s, though, as Haberdeventure and Rose Hill matured, the adjacent estates “frequently shared” enslaved labor, “particularly those who possessed carpentry skills.” The 1825 marriage of William Briscoe Stone, Thomas Stone’s nephew and occupant of Haberdeventure, to Caroline Brown, Gustavus Richard Brown’s granddaughter, sustained overlapping kinship and business ties between the two properties in the nineteenth century.¹³

Thomas Stone and Gustavus Richard Brown were close companions in their adult lives, and it is tempting to speculate that their friendship reached back to their boyhood in Charles County. Brown’s father, Dr. Gustavus Brown (d. 1762), had treated residents of Poynton Manor as early as 1728, long before their births. At some point in their relationship, Stone must have been made aware of the prejudice that the English often harbored against Scots, whose contributions to British overseas expansion are too easily overlooked. Scottish ethnic identity ran strong in the Brown family, influencing the education and

¹² Rivoire, “Summary Report of Additional Research Findings,” 26, 29n16; “Gustavus Richard Brown (1747–1804),” Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia’s Northern Neck Counties, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us; Provincial Court Land Records DD#4:1765–1770, MSA, in *Archives of Maryland* 725:615–18; Robert Fergusson to “Mrs Judith Chaise,” August 6, 1787, John Glassford and Company Papers, Box 62, Library of Congress. The population census in the 1782 tax list, combined with property descriptions in the 1783 tax list, suggest that Chase had moved from Beech Neck to Frankum on the Potomac River (MSA). Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown’s father had named as the heir to Middleton Margaret’s brother “and the male heirs of his body, lawfully begotten, forever” (transcription of Gustavus Brown’s will [1762] in *Sons of the Revolution in State of Virginia Quarterly Magazine* 2 [January 1923]: 24–25). A 1784 advertisement described Middleton as having “a large dwelling house, with brick chimnies, four rooms below, with fire-places, and a large passage, and four rooms above, one of which has a fire-place; the house is in good repair, a part of the plaister excepted; a framed kitchen with a brick chimney, good milk, meat, and corn houses; a stable, two new tobacco houses, a new barn, and two quarters; an orchard of excellent fruit, and some trees of the best heart, May-duke, and carnation cherries. The soil produces well, wheat, tobacco, Indian corn, &c” (*Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis], September 23). Residents on the property, according to the tax list from the year prior, included twenty people held in bondage (eight children, four prime male hands, two prime female hands, and six men and women above the ages of forty-five and thirty-six, respectively) (1783 tax assessment, MSA).

¹³ Rivoire, “Summary Report of Additional Research Findings,” 42–43. Sources on increasing plantation size include Sarson, “Landlessness and Tenancy”; Jean B. Lee, “The Problem of Slave Community in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 43, no. 3 (July 1986): 333–61; and Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*.

choice of marriage partners among the elder Dr. Brown's children. Stone's father-in-law identified as a Scottish laird (landlord). Rents from his landed property in Scotland paid for the education of his two sons, Richard and Gustavus Richard, in Edinburgh, and according to his will, Scottish bonds and securities were to finance his youngest daughter's dowry. Richard Brown, who entered the clergy, married in Scotland. Gustavus Richard Brown, who studied medicine, wedded a Scottish-American like himself. Of the nine daughters born to the elder Dr. Gustavus Brown (d. 1762), all but three married native Scots in Maryland and Virginia. Margaret Brown's decision to marry into a family of English descent, the Stones, represents something of a departure from her family's pattern of marrying Scots and Scottish-Americans. (Margaret also appears to have rejected the life of a wife to a minister or physician that seven of her eight half-sisters pursued.) The Brown family's close ties to Scotland, whose migrants tended to be loyal to the British empire, may have informed Thomas Stone's reluctance to support the American colonies' independence in 1776, though this is entirely speculative.¹⁴

Brown, whom Stone named as an executor of his estate, was in Stone's presence during at least two major episodes of Stone's life. One time was in Philadelphia in May 1776, while Congress deliberated over forming independent states. In his well-known May 20, 1776, letter penned in Philadelphia, Stone wrote, "The Illness of a wife I esteem most dearly preys most severely on my Spirits, she is I thank God something better this

¹⁴ Payment to "Dr. Brown" in administrative account for Thomas Stone, September 8, 1728, Charles County, Register of Wills, Administrative Accounts 1708–1738, ff. 339–40 (MSA); "Rev. Richard Brown" in Horace Edwin Hayden, *Virginia Genealogies: A Genealogy of the Glassell Family of Scotland and Virginia* (Wilkes-Barre, PA: E. B. Yordy, 1891), 164; entries for the daughters of Gustavus Brown (d. 1762) in Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia's Northern Neck Counties, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us. Dr. Gustavus Brown (in Maryland by 1708; d. 1762) was part of an exodus of "sojourners," single males from Scotland who sought their fortune abroad with the intention of attaining sufficient wealth to buy an estate in their home country (Alan L. Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740–1800* [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992], chapter 1; Hayden, *Virginia Genealogies*, 147). In his will, Dr. Brown identified himself as "practitioner in medicines and Laird of Mainside and House Byres, in Scotland." Rather than return permanently to Scotland, though, Brown kept his family in Maryland and collected rents from his Scottish estate (Toner, "A Sketch of the Life of Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown," 24 [quote] and passim). The ethnic background of Margaret (Brown) Stone and Gustavus Richard Brown's mother, Margaret (Black Boyd) Brown, is unknown. Jean B. Lee contends that prejudice against Scots in Charles County kept them out of high local offices (*Price of Nationhood*, 21, 53). Educated Scottish men held respectable positions, though, as clergy, physicians, and educators around the mid-Atlantic.

Landsman comments that Scots who came to British America in the mid-eighteenth century (the spouses of Margaret's half-sisters) came "at a time when maturing American communities were seeking to define *in positive terms* their relationship to metropolitan culture and authority" ("Introduction," *Nation and Province in the First British Empire*, 26 [emphasis mine]). This strengthening of ties between colony and metropole on the eve of the American Revolution, has captured the attention of scholars of politics and consumer behavior, among others. See, for example, T. H. Breen, *The Marketplace of the Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), and Ignacio Gallup-Díaz, Andrew Shankman, and David J. Silverman, eds., *Anglicizing America: Empire, Revolution, Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015). In a public display of loyalty to the crown in August 1775, "Scotchmen at Port Tobacco & Piscataway" put down their arms to decline serving in the militia (George Washington to Lund Washington, August 20, 1775, *Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, Revolutionary War Series*, 1:334). The organization of Maryland's militia companies that month charged political differences between loyalists and patriots (Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 121–22).

afternoon, and this Intermission of her Disorder affords me Time to write to you. The Doctr. thinks she is in a fair way of being well in a few days. I wish I thought so.” Though Stone does not name the doctor, it is likely to have been Stone’s brother-in-law, Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown (who may have accompanied his sister to oversee her smallpox inoculation prior to her entrance into the city, about which more will be said shortly). Eight days after Stone penned his letter, the celebrated Philadelphia physician Benjamin Rush had tea with a friend from medical school, whom he referred to as “Dr. Brown.” Rush, it is believed, was visiting with Gustavus Richard Brown; Rush and Brown both received their medical degrees from Edinburgh in 1768 and subsequently spent time together in London. A second pivotal time that Brown was with Thomas Stone was when George Washington hosted commissioners from Maryland and Virginia at Mount Vernon to negotiate an interstate commercial agreement in March 1785. Brown did not have an official role at the meeting (so far as is known), which raises questions about why he came in the company of George Mason IV’s son, George Jr. (Thomas’s brother, Walter, also visited during the Mount Vernon conference.)¹⁵

A high value placed on knowledge and education may have been one reason for the bond between Thomas Stone and Gustavus Richard Brown. Stone at the end of his life owned nearly eight hundred volumes of books plus pamphlets, and he was appointed as a visitor of St. John’s College of Annapolis. Gustavus Richard Brown studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh. Remarkably, five of Gustavus Richard Brown’s and Margaret Brown’s eight elder half-sisters married Anglican clergy, who were among the most educated of men in the colonial Chesapeake. Another half-sister married two doctors in succession.¹⁶

Having elder half-sisters in prominent community roles as the wives of clergymen and physicians must have made an impression upon Margaret. The women likely had sought-after skills in healing and caring for the sick from their experience of growing up in a physician’s household; their father, Dr. Gustavus Brown, practiced medicine in Charles County for half a century, and the long list of creditors to his estate at his death attests to his wide circle of patients. Because physicians of the stature of her father and her brother, Gustavus Richard Brown, were relatively rare in the eighteenth century, it was not uncommon for ill and dying to consult with “lay practitioners,” including clergymen. Ministers “were well read, had medical books in their libraries, and often wrote about health and

¹⁵ Thomas Stone to [James Holladay?], May 20, 1776, in *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, eds. Smith et al., 4:49; Benjamin Rush to “Mrs. Rush,” May 29, 1776, in L. H. Butterfield, ed., *Letters of Benjamin Rush*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951) 1:99–100; George W. Corner, ed., *The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush: His “Travels through Life” Together with His Commonplace Book for 1789–1813* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1948), 38–45, 66; “Benjamin Rush,” *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1936); *Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, Diaries* 4:108 (March 26 and 27, 1785); Kate Mason Rowland, “The Mount Vernon Conference,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 11 (1887): 423, in Jefferson, “Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Select Primary Sources.”

¹⁶ Probate inventories of Thomas Stone, Appendix 4; Papenfuse, *BDML*, 2:787.

medical treatments.” Clergymen’s wives, already accustomed to “the traditional female role of home nursing,” shared in the work. Abigail Adams’s mother, Elizabeth Smith, for example, a minister’s wife in Massachusetts, checked “on the health of congregation members, visited the sick regularly, and offered nursing care and home remedies when needed.” Abigail learned in her educated family not only how to “read and write” but also “how to treat many common illnesses at home using a store of medicinal tonics and herbs.”¹⁷

Margaret’s father, Dr. Gustavus Brown, who died when she was eleven years old, directed in his will that her education be overseen by his widow, also named Margaret, and his eldest daughter, Frances (Brown) Moncure (1713–70), the wife of Rev. John Moncure of Overwharton Parish, Stafford County, Virginia. The fact that Margaret’s future daughters later married two of the Moncure’s grandsons lends some support to the idea that Margaret did join her half-sister’s household in Virginia, at least for some time. In the Moncure household, the adolescent would have been in genteel surroundings; the Moncures were close friends with George Mason IV of Gunston Hall. A genteel education for a girl included the polite arts, such as music, dancing, and fine sewing. Undoubtedly Margaret also would have been tutored in the practical skills of housewifery and managing an enslaver’s household.¹⁸

No letters by Margaret Stone survive, and the precise date of her marriage to Thomas Stone is uncertain. Nor do we have proof that the £300 sterling that Margaret’s father, Dr. Gustavus Brown, wanted to provide for his youngest daughter was paid to her. The money was to be raised out of bonds in Scotland, and any debts owed by Dr. Brown’s estate to creditors would have had precedence over Margaret’s portion according to

¹⁷ Elaine G. Breslaw, *Tools of the Trade: Lotions, Potions, Pills, and Magic* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 54 (quote); Jeanne E. Abrams, *Revolutionary Medicine: The Founding Fathers and Mothers in Sickness and in Health* (New York: New York University Press, 2013), 43, 120 (quotes); final administrative account of Gustavus Brown, July 28, 1768, Charles County Administrative Accounts 1759–70, f. 346–51, MSA.

¹⁸ “Frances Browne (1713–70),” “John Moncure (1714–64),” and “Francis Moncure (1745–1800),” in Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia’s Northern Neck Counties, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us; Rutland, ed., *Papers of George Mason* 1:lxxx, 60. Travers Daniel Jr. and John Moncure Daniel, who married Mildred and Margaret Stone respectively, were born by Frances Moncure (1745–1800), the oldest daughter of Rev. John Moncure and Frances (Brown). The Virginia lawyer John Mercer, who had hired a Scottish tutor to teach mathematics, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, “or any other learned languages” to his younger sons, felt no need to educate his daughters to the same academic standards: “The girls might do very well under their mother’s direction, but the boys cannot do without a Tutor” (Mulkearn, comp. and ed., *George Mercer Papers*, 199–201 [quote 201]).

English common law. During his lifetime, Dr. Brown gave dowries of £300 sterling each to at least two of Margaret's older sisters and their husbands, which indicates that a marriage gift of this amount had strong precedent in the family.¹⁹

Though we lack her voice, evidence of Margaret's material life demonstrates that she shared with her husband a sense of belonging to a "leisured squirearchy" that elevated itself above the "working classes." Margaret was *visually* different, with a high headdress—recall her husband's order for a carriage tall enough to accommodate his wife's head-dress—and a wardrobe valued at £80 current money. Margaret also was adept at using objects in performances of her gentility. Admittedly the probate inventory of Haberdeventure from January 1788 reveals little in this regard; the spinet, a keyboard instrument that females played, is one of the few indications of the social life of the house. The inventory of the Stones' Annapolis house is much more revealing. The house appears to have been equipped to entertain dozens of people at a time with individualized serving and dining utensils. The presence of fifty chairs plus a couch, along with forty-two cups with saucers, suggests that company was a part of the life of the household. Eleven green Windsor chairs indicate that entertaining occurred out of doors in the garden. The Madeira, Hock, and claret wine kept on hand could be dispensed among seventeen wine glasses, and punch served in the large china bowl.²⁰

Margaret did not do the work of entertaining on her own; five enslaved domestic servants were documented at the Annapolis house in early 1788, and more help could be hired. Margaret used servants to help her provide the hospitality that was expected in a genteel household. If Margaret had a chronic illness, as has been asserted, she may have been particularly reliant on support from other people to fulfill her responsibilities.

According to an account published fairly close to her lifetime—less than forty years after her death—Margaret underwent inoculation for smallpox by "mercurial treatment" to protect her from that dread disease during her stay in Philadelphia with her husband in

¹⁹ Toner, "A Sketch of the Life of Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown," 27, 37. The two sisters who are known to have received the £300 dowries are Ann, who married first Samuel Clagett, and Jane, wife of Rev. Isaac Campbell. A third, Frances, who married Rev. John Moncure, received an advance of an unknown amount. Rev. Moncure in his will referred to his wife's portion from her father "intended to prevent my Estate being anyway affected by a marriage settlement," adding that this portion was "never legally executed or recorded." See "Anne Browne (1732–1800)," "Jane Browne (1728–after 1784)," and "Frances Browne (1713–70)" in *Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia's Northern Neck Counties*, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us. Sanderson in his brief biography of Thomas Stone wrote that Margaret Brown had a dowry of £1,000 sterling but did not give his source (*Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence*, 9 vols. [Philadelphia: R. W. Pomeroy, 1824], 9:330). Elie Vallette described the proper way to administer an estate, including the payment of a decedent's debts before legacies, in *The Deputy Commissary's Guide...* (Annapolis, 1774), 1–53.

²⁰ Carson, *Face Value*, 33 (quote); probate inventories of Thomas Stone, Appendix 4. On green Windsor chairs as garden furniture, see Brandon Brame Fortune, "'From the World Escaped': Peale's Portrait of William Smith and His Grandson," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 25, no. 4 (Summer 1992): 587–615, esp. 601.

1776. The published account reports that Margaret’s health “gradually declined” after 1776 and suggests that her “rheumatism” and “paleness” were unfortunate side effects of the “mercurial treatment.”²¹

This account of Margaret’s lingering illness should be reviewed critically. While it is very possible that Margaret was inoculated for smallpox upon arriving in Philadelphia—Martha Washington, wife of George Washington, underwent inoculation in Philadelphia at roughly the same time, in late May and early June of 1776, when she came to the city—we should be cautious about the biographer John Sanderson’s simple association between “the mercurial treatment” and Margaret’s long-term health. To describe the smallpox inoculation procedure briefly, fluid drawn “from the pox of a smallpox sufferer was applied to an incision in the arm or leg of someone who had not yet had the disease.” Inoculation “caused a case of genuine smallpox, but one that was almost always considerably milder than smallpox caught ‘naturally.’” In the 1770s it was commonplace for those undergoing the procedure to prepare for several weeks, during which time the intended inoculate would undergo “purging, bleeding, and a limited diet, all intended to rid the body of excessive or corrupted humors before smallpox was introduced.” A doctor would assess a person’s constitution before prescribing the appropriate dose of mercury in the form of calomel (mercurous chloride) for purging. Mercury might also be given after inoculation, before smallpox presented itself in its gentler form. Contemporaries were aware of mercury’s hazards such as loose teeth, and it is worth exploring if by the time Sanderson wrote his biography of Stone in the early 1820s, public opinion discouraged the use of mercury, thus coloring Sanderson’s history.²²

Smallpox *was* a major public health concern in 1776, though, with native-born Americans particularly vulnerable to the disease and the presence of British military forces increasing the risk of infection. Margaret’s brother, Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown, opened an inoculation hospital on the Virginia side of the Potomac River, opposite Charles County,

²¹ J. Sanderson, “Thomas Stone and Samuel Chase,” in *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence*, 9 vols. (Philadelphia: R. W. Pomeroy, 1824), 9:332. This appears to be the first published account of Margaret (Brown) Stone’s illness, used repeatedly thereafter. Wearmouth, for example, writes in 1988 *Historic Resource Study of Haberdeventure* (Part I, pp. 15–16), that after Margaret Stone was inoculated “by the use of mercurial treatment against smallpox” in Philadelphia, 1776, “her entire system apparently was poisoned...and she reacted in a very serious and painful way, suffering from arthritis in its most debilitating form.” Wearmouth cites as his source J. Thomas Scharf’s *History of Maryland*, 3 vols. (Baltimore, 1879), 2:235, which quotes verbatim from Sanderson.

²² *Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, Revolutionary War Series*, 4:172n5; Sara Stidstone Gronim, “Imagining Inoculation: Smallpox, the Body, and Social Relations of Healing in the Eighteenth Century,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 80 (Summer 2006): 247–68 (quotes 248, 257); Whitman M. Reynolds, “Inoculation for the Smallpox in Colonial America,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 22 (May–June 1948): 273–76; Deborah Brunton, “Pox Britannica: Smallpox Inoculation in Britain, 1721–1830,” PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1990, pp. 77–90, 100–101. Martha Washington was inoculated for smallpox “the day she arrived in Philadelphia” (*Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, Revolutionary War Series*, 4:352n3). Abrams recounts John Adams’ experience with smallpox inoculation in 1760s Massachusetts, including loose teeth, in *Revolutionary Medicine*, 123–24. See also Jennifer Van Horn, “George Washington’s Dentures: Disability, Deception, and the Republican Body,” *Early American Studies* 14 (Winter 2016): 20.

in June 1776. Nine months later, Thomas Stone informed his uncle that he was inoculating his “family,” a word that could encompass enslaved people. He wrote to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer in March 1777, “Upon my return from Annapolis I found it absolutely necessary to inoculate for the smallpox to prevent my family receiving that very dangerous Disorder in the natural way.” Stone specifically mentioned his son, who “has been and still is extremely ill requiring the most tender and constant care.” Stone did not name any enslaved people who may have been inoculated, but it would have made sense to inoculate people who lived and worked in and around the house to prevent contagion, if the cost could be afforded. Six weeks after Stone wrote to Jenifer about inoculating his “family,” Martha Washington at Mount Vernon, across the Potomac from Haberdeventure, was awaiting a shipment of “Jallop and Calomel” in order to administer inoculations on a large scale at Mount Vernon. George Washington, writing from New Jersey, urged the supplier to send enough for three hundred people to be inoculated: “the Smallpox, by my last advices from home, has got into my Family—and I suppose not less than three hundred Persons to take the disorder.”²³

Whether or not Margaret suffered lingering effects from smallpox inoculation in Philadelphia in 1776, the couple had a difficult year in terms of their health in 1783. In March of that year, Thomas Stone reported that he had been “very ill” but was recovering. In subsequent letters in April and May from Haberdeventure, Thomas wrote that he and his wife “mend so slowly.” After spending a day at your “Brother Tom’s” in mid-May, the

²³ Thomas Stone to [Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer], March 14, 1777, Gwathmey Papers, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia; George Washington to William Shippen Jr., from Morris Town, May 3, 1777, *Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, Revolutionary War Series*, 9:340. Elizabeth A. Fenn discusses the vulnerability of the American population to *Variola major* in *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775–1782* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001). Alexander Gustavus Brown Jr. reproduced Gustavus Richard Brown’s advertisement for an inoculation hospital in the *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), June 28, 1776, in “Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown, of Maryland,” *Sons of the Revolution in State of Virginia Quarterly Magazine* 1 (January 1922): 17. Note Martha Washington’s prominent role as the plantation mistress in receiving and dispensing the jallop and calomel medicine at Mount Vernon. More than two decades later, Thomas Jefferson used the word “family” to encompass relatives and enslaved residents at Monticello when he wrote about experiments with Edward Jenner’s method of vaccinating for smallpox with cowpox (*Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition, Main Series*, 35:34, 120).

ever ebullient William Craik of Strawberry Hill (now La Grange) informed Walter Stone, “Tom looks better than expected.” A few weeks later, Craik reported that “Mrs. Stone” danced “two or three reels” at a Port Tobacco ball at the “end of the season.”²⁴

It was in the context, then, of having been “very ill” but recovering that Thomas Stone accompanied his wife and sister Catherine Scott to “the Springs” in July 1783. This was not Mrs. Stone’s first trip to the Virginia mountains to take the waters. In 1778, Michael Jenifer Stone had charged his brother Thomas the significant sum of £35 for his expenses for a trip to Bath (formerly Berkeley Springs), now in West Virginia; Michael might have accompanied his sister-in-law Margaret on the journey. The following summer, in 1779, Margaret was in Bath in the company of the prominent Maryland couple Charles Carroll of Carrollton and his wife Molly. Margaret accompanied the Carrolls on a ride to “Cape Capon,” thought to be a reference to Cacapon, the name of a nearby mountain and river. Carroll wrote to his father, “The place agrees with Mrs Stone: I think she seems to be in good spirits, & to mend daily—if you have an opportunity let Mr Stone know this: it will give him great Satisfaction.” Visiting spas was a family affair. Thomas Stone’s brother Walter, their sister Catherine (Stone) Scott, and her son Alexander also visited spas in Virginia, as will be discussed below.²⁵

Margaret’s illness therefore was not so debilitating, at least periodically, that it prevented her from traveling. Apart from her trip to Philadelphia in 1776, we know that she braved the mountain roads to Bath, enjoyed dancing the reel, and set up a residence in Annapolis in 1783–84. To our knowledge, Margaret bore no children after Frederick’s birth around 1773–75; this might be interpreted as a sign of her frailty in subsequent years, but family planning is not out of the question. If, for the sake of argument, Margaret was, at

²⁴ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, March 30, 1783, John Work Garrett Library, Johns Hopkins University, transcription in Jefferson, “Thomas Stone: A Chronology from Select Primary Sources” (“lately very ill”); Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, May 24, 1783, Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, transcription in Jefferson, “Thomas Stone: A Chronology From Select Primary Sources” (“I am now much better than I have been for some time”); Michael Jenifer Stone to Walter Stone, April 16, 1783, Maryland Historical Society (T. Stone is “in better health”); Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, May 24, 1783, Pequot Library Collection, Yale University, transcription in Jefferson, “Thomas Stone: A Chronology From Select Primary Sources” (“mend so slowly”); William Craik to Walter Stone, May 12, 1783, Stone Family Papers, LC; William Craik to Walter Stone, June 2, 1783, Thomas Stone National Historic Site manuscript collection (Port Tobacco ball reference). In this last letter, Craik told Walter, “Your Brother Tom came home from Annapolis the day before in order to attend Washington’s trial which comes on tomorrow.” On Washington’s possible identity, see Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 27, 1783, mentioning a Mr. Lawrence Washington and his son, reproduced in William Brotherhead, ed., *The Book of the Signers* (Philadelphia, 1861), and in Jefferson, “Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Primary Sources.”

²⁵ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, July 10, 1783, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, transcription in Jefferson, “Thomas Stone: A Chronology From Select Primary Sources” (1783 trip to “the Springs”); Michael Jenifer Stone day book, p. 12, Kremer Collection, SMSC; Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Charles Carroll of Annapolis, July 28, 1779, in Ronald Hoffman, ed., *Dear Papa, Dear Charley: The Peregrinations of a Revolutionary Aristocrat, as Told by Charles Carroll of Carrollton and His Father...* 3 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 3:1245. Charles Carroll of Annapolis replied, “I communicated to Mr: Stone what You sayed of His Lady’s Health” (*ibid.*, 3:1262). The Carrolls built a house at Bath in 1778 (2:1100n5).

times, physically unable to preside in the kitchen, superintend the laundry, pick up her children, or perform the rituals of a tea service, then who among the household staff or in her family performed these roles in her stead? Besides older enslaved domestic servants like Clare and Rachael, Margaret's sister-in-law, Grace Stone, is another strong contender for the role of supporting Margaret in her duties as the wife of a planter and officeholder and as a mother.²⁶

Grace Stone

Much remains unknown about the life of Grace Stone, Thomas Stone's youngest sister—about what her interests were and how she contributed to Thomas Stone's household. Called Gracy by her siblings, very few documents survive in her own hand. Several surviving statements of account from after Thomas's death show her interest in clothing, a creative outlet for women. The accounts also show purchases and services for the enslaved people she inherited from her parents. The eight or so people she held in bondage over her lifetime might have lived at Haberdeventure during Grace's residence there in the 1770s, 1780s, and beyond if they did not live on another Stone family property or were hired out. Grace's slaveholding diminished, but did not altogether erase, her need for support from her brothers.²⁷

Thomas Stone and his brother, John Hoskins Stone, a resident of Annapolis, both contributed to Grace's expenses while she was a minor. The first documented reference to Grace is from 1777, when Michael Jenifer Stone charged Thomas Stone for cash given to Grace. It would make sense that Grace moved to Haberdeventure after her mother died in 1776. Whether she was old enough to play the role of nanny or tutor to her nieces and nephew at that time is uncertain, her birth year being unknown. In 1779, Grace took lessons from a "dancing master," which suggests she had not yet reached adulthood by that time. John Hoskins Stone paid the lesson fees.²⁸

Like her siblings and sister-in-law, Margaret, Grace had the opportunity to travel in the region. In August 1779, she fell ill while on a visit to St. Mary's County; she may have been visiting with her aunt, Elizabeth "Betty" (Jenifer) Eden (ca. 1725–91), who was married to a St. Mary's County planter and would bequeath to Grace a portion of her clothes.

²⁶ Ronald Hoffman and Sally D. Mason recount two Annapolis gentry women, Mary Ridout and Henrietta Ogle, who bore three children in close intervals and then had a "fourth and final" child ten years later (*Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland*, 371).

²⁷ A letter of February 26, 1783, by Grace Stone to her brother Walter, survives in the Stone Family Papers, MS 406, Maryland Historical Society. While this is the only known letter by her, store accounts from the 1790s, part of the William Briscoe Stone Papers at Duke University, provide additional insights into her life (see Appendix 16).

²⁸ Michael Jenifer Stone's day book, Kremer Collection, SMSC, p. 9. On Elizabeth (Jenifer) Stone's death date, see Appendix 2.

Grace also had a sister, Betty Ann (Stone) Eden, in St. Mary's County. In December 1783, Grace was in Annapolis while Thomas and his wife Margaret were at Haberdeventure feeling ill. Thomas encouraged Grace to stay in the capital for the winter, but Grace had the freedom to travel to Charles County if she chose to do so. In 1784, she attended a wedding in Virginia.²⁹

Grace's brothers kept records of her expenses, presumably out of expectation for financial compensation. Grace owned no land but she did inherit bonded labor from her parents in 1778. According to the law on intestate decedents, Grace would have been entitled to a portion of her parents' estate equal in value to that of her siblings, which amounted to £142.10.0 in Maryland currency. Grace inherited at least two enslaved females, Lucy or Luce, age forty-five, and Winney, age nine. Lucy had two children, George and Luce, ages seventeen and fourteen in 1778, who passed into the ownership of John Hoskins Stone and Michael Jenifer Stone respectively. Winney came from a family of four children born to a woman known as Rose. A youth named Will also likely became Grace's property after her parents died; the age of a man named Will in Grace's probate inventory matches that of Will, born 1766, son of Hannah and the younger brother of Jesse who passed into Michael Jenifer Stone's ownership. By the end of her life, Grace's slaveholding swelled to eight people.³⁰

²⁹ Michael Jenifer Stone day book, Kremer Collection, SMSC, p. 9; Michael Jenifer Stone to Walter Stone, November 1783, MS 406, Stone Family Papers, MdHS; "Elizabeth 'Betty' Jenifer," in *Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia's Northern Neck Counties*, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us; Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, December 3, 1783, *The Rosenbach*, Philadelphia; Catherine Scott to [Walter Stone], April 20, 1784, Stone Family Papers, LC.

Apparently the Annapolis townhouse that Thomas Stone purchased in May 1783 was not ready to be moved into as of December of that year. In the letter to Walter Stone of December 3, 1783, Thomas instructed Walter to tell "Mrs Ghiselin" to keep a room for him in the city that winter (*The Rosenbach*, Philadelphia). Mary Ghiselin, widow of lawyer and officeholder Reverdy Ghiselin, let rooms out "to board gentlemen who attend courts or other public business, by the day" in order to support herself and her family (*Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis], July 13, September 21, 1775; biographical information on Reverdy Ghiselin in Day, *A Social Study of Lawyers in Maryland*, 355).

³⁰ The amount of Michael Jenifer Stone's portion of his parents' personal property is recorded in his day book, Kremer Collection, SMSC, pp. 9 and 10, and the 1778 settlement between Thomas Stone and John Hoskins Stone for Michael Jenifer's Stone's portion of the estate of David Stone, Elizabeth Stone, and Daniel Jenifer Stone (Appendix 6). On the Maryland laws and customs for the distribution of property of intestate decedents, see Carr, "Inheritance in the Colonial Chesapeake," and Jean B. Lee, "Land and Labor: Parental Bequest Practices in Charles County, Maryland, 1732–1783," in *Colonial Chesapeake Society*, eds. Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 306–41. Lucy, Winney, and Will are discussed at greater length in Chapter 3. Catherine Scott held in bondage another person named Will, which lends to potential confusion between the two. In two extant letters, John Hoskins Stone referred to an enslaved man named George who traveled between Annapolis and port Tobacco for the merchant (John Hoskins Stone to Walter Stone, October 30, 1785, and October 27, 1786, Stone Family Papers, MdHS). Grace Stone's name does not appear in the 1783 tax list as a landowner or as a slave owner; her brothers must have paid taxes owed on Winney, Will, and anyone else under the ages of forty-five for men and thirty-six for women, or these persons had been hired out. (For the law on the 1783 tax, see *Session Laws of Maryland*, chapter VI, Nov. 4, 1782–Jan. 15, 1783.) Apparently Grace never acquired land during her lifetime, as her will makes no reference to land in her possession (Charles County Register of Wills, Liber HBBH 13:51–52, MSA).

Undoubtedly, Grace's siblings presumed that her ownership of slaves would have helped her to attract a marriage partner, and they supported her in the expectation that her unmarried state would not last forever. Thomas Stone, for example, writing his will in 1787, intended Grace to have an annuity of £15 a year out of his estate until she married. Walter Stone, several years later, bequeathed the residue of his estate to Grace "and her heirs," providing for any children she bore after wedlock. Grace, however, for unknown reasons, never married.³¹

Grace remained a resident of Charles County for the remainder of her life. Her place of residence after Thomas and Margaret Stone's deaths remains a mystery. Likely she initially stayed at Haberdeventure with her brother Michael Jenifer Stone. Her status became more uncertain in 1793, when, in the space of a single year, Michael Jenifer Stone took a wife; the intended heir to Haberdeventure, Thomas Stone's son Frederick, died unexpectedly of yellow fever; and Frederick's sister Margaret married and stayed in the area. By 1797 Michael Jenifer Stone had moved to a plantation called Equality, but he continued to be involved in Grace's affairs after his marriage. Between 1792 and 1796, Michael Jenifer Stone recorded his outlays of cash to Grace and others on her behalf, his purchases for her, and his expenditure of £25 a year for Grace's board in an unspecified location for four months in 1792 and then again from August 1794 to August 1796. Presumably Michael Jenifer Stone offset these expenses by hiring out enslaved people in Grace's possession, though the only known documentation of this is a surviving account of Port Tobacco merchant George Clements with Michael Jenifer Stone from 1794 to 1795, which shows a credit to Michael Jenifer Stone of a thousand pounds of tobacco (valued at 17.10.0£) for Clements's hire of Grace's bondsman Basil. (Michael Jenifer Stone's surviving day book ends in 1796, cutting off our view of any additional hiring out by Michael Jenifer Stone of people whom Grace claimed ownership of.)³²

³¹ Will of Thomas Stone, 1787, Appendix 3; will of Walter Stone, 1790–91, in Petravage, "Historic Furnishings Report," 34–35.

³² Information on marriage dates in Rivoire, "Summary Report of Additional Research Findings," 7, 11; Michael Jenifer Stone day book, Kremer Collection, SMSC, p. 40; account, George Clements with Michael Jenifer Stone, January 7, 1794, to January 1, 1795, William Briscoe Stone Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University. The Federal Direct Tax list of 1798 indicates that at that time, Margaret (Stone) and her husband John Moncure Daniel occupied but did not own the mansion house at Haberdeventure. Her sister Mildred and her brother-in-law, Travers Daniel, were absentee owners of Haberdeventure; this was consistent with the verbal agreement between the sisters after their brother's death and before their marriages that, in an equal division of the landed property, Mildred inherited Haberdeventure and Margaret possessed all other land (1798 Direct Tax list, MSA; *John M. Daniel, Travers Daniel, Jane C. Daniel, and Margaret E. Daniel v. Mildred Daniel*, August 1827, Charles County Court Proceedings 1826–1829, pp. 272–86; Rivoire, "Summary Report of Additional Research Findings," 11). Travers Daniel, who married Mildred Stone between 1794 and 1797, took his bride with him to Virginia by 1797, as evidenced by the January 13, 1798, "Articles of Agreement" by Travers Daniel "of Stafford County" and others (in *Scott v. Stone et al.*, Chancery Court, Chancery Papers, case 4647, MSA) and the 1797 runaway advertisement for Jack, subscribed by Travers Daniel in Stafford County (Appendix 8).

Further evidence of Grace's financial support through her slaveholding is a surviving account between Grace Stone and the company formed by her brothers John Hoskins Stone and Walter Stone. The document shows Grace's expenditures in 1790 and 1791 for coarse linen, woolen, and cotton fabric, yarn hose, thread, shoes, a hat, tea, sugar, and some pre-made clothes for eight bondspeople whom it was her responsibility to maintain—Sall, Jim, Bill, Basil, Winny, and three children. (Winny had by then become old enough to bear children; the same account shows payment of a midwife's fee for Winny.) The firm of John Hoskins Stone and Walter Stone offset a portion of these expenditures by hiring out two bondspeople in Grace's ownership, Will and Bill.³³

For lack of other documentation, Grace's personal wealth appears to have been entirely dependent on the bondspeople whom she held legal title to; no evidence survives of Grace, for example, being paid for sewing or other female employment. When Grace died in 1809, her probate inventory (taken two years after her death) listed very few furnishings: four old trunks, one old bed with two pillows, a small pitcher, and two old books, plus her clothing. The lack of kitchen utensils suggests she shared a house with other people. A far greater part of her wealth lay in her slaveholdings. She manumitted two people in her will, Lucy, who was by then around eighty years of age, and Billy, who was about seventeen (working backward from his age of "about fifty" in his 1828 certificate of freedom). The remaining six people she bequeathed to her nieces by Michael Jenifer Stone. Her choice to give her wealth in enslaved people to her nieces was an endorsement of slaveholding as a means of financial support for females.³⁴

In some ways, Grace's brothers treated their youngest sister as a dependent, but her slaveholding gave her a means of supporting herself. From the point of view of the people she held in bondage, the lines of authority must have been blurred. Grace appears to have ceded to her brothers the power to hire out the bondspeople whom she held by inheritance, at least when she lived in her brothers' households. In return, she had her brothers' protection.

³³ Account, Grace Stone with John and Walter Stone, November 23, 1790–September 26, 1791, William Briscoe Stone Papers, Rubenstein Library, Duke University. See Appendix 16 for a transcription. In 1793, Michael Jenifer Stone paid a fee to Mrs. Clements for attending Winny (Michael Jenifer Stone day book, p. 40, Kremer Collection, SMSC).

³⁴ Probate inventory of Grace Stone, 1811, Charles County Register of Wills, Inventories and Accounts 1808–1812, p. 416, MSA (see Appendix 18 for a transcription); certificate of freedom for Billy, "about fifty years" old, December 19, 1828, Charles County Register of Wills (Certificates of Freedom), 1826–1860, MSA; will of Grace Stone, in Petravage, "Historic Furnishings Report," 36. Grace Stone was not the head of her own household in 1790, judging by her absence in the 1790 US census (as published in Margaret Brown Klapthor and Paul Dennis Brown, *History of Charles County, Maryland* [La Plata: Charles County Tercentenary Inc., 1958], 179–95). Billy's certificate of freedom is one of sixty-five to survive from Charles County court records dating to between 1826 and 1860. On the 1805 law mandating manumitted and free blacks to register at county courts, see *Archives of Maryland* 607:46 (chapter 66) and *Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland* (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, 2020).

Catherine (Stone) Scott and Alexander Scott

Catherine (Stone) Scott (d. 1801) and her son Alexander (1770–1838) joined Thomas Stone’s household at Haberdeventure in 1774 or 1775, after Catherine lost her husband. Like her younger sister Grace, Catherine had the benefit of being supported by brothers who had property, education, and high social standing. The brothers did not act out of kindness alone, though. Similar to Grace, Catherine was a landless slaveholder, and by hiring out slaves she could help pay for her living expenses. As also was the case with Grace, the brothers took in Catherine with the understanding that someday another male would take over her care; whereas it was expected that Grace would someday marry, Catherine had a son who stood to inherit a large fortune from his father’s family.

Thomas Stone and Michael Jenifer Stone assumed responsibility for caring for Catherine after their parents died and Catherine’s husband, Robert Scott (b. 1753) of Prince William County, Virginia, left Catherine’s side while his son was in his infancy or shortly thereafter. The circumstances of Robert Scott’s departure from his wife are a mystery. According to a legal document filed by Thomas Stone’s daughters and their husbands in answer to a Chancery Court suit brought by Catherine and Robert’s son, Alexander Scott, in 1805, against Thomas Stone’s estate, Robert Scott by 1775 “had gone to Sea and was never more heard of.” Based on a variety of evidence—the wording of this statement, hints in the case that Catherine was difficult to live with (“weak in body and affected with an habitual asthma”; “indulged in her eccentricities”; “the state of health[,] appetites[,] Spirits and Habits of the said Catherine Scott called for uncommon care” and “trouble”), and Robert’s unusual decision to leave property to his parents and not to his wife and child in his will—it is possible that Robert Scott abandoned his wife. Robert’s will, written in 1770, was not proven in Prince William County, Virginia, until 1783, following the deaths of his parents to whom he granted his estate. Perhaps the will was contested, or Robert Scott was not considered legally dead until 1783. Catherine’s brother Frederick Stone referred to Catherine as a widow in his will of April 1772; this is the earliest indication of Catherine’s status as a widow, though Frederick’s choice of words may have been intended to help Catherine (and her son) lay claim to her husband’s estate. Frederick Stone’s will should not necessarily be read as a statement of fact of Robert’s death.³⁵

³⁵ Answer of John M. and Margaret Daniel, Travers and Mildred Daniel, 1806, and answer of Michael Jenifer Stone 1807, in *Alexander Scott v. Michael Jenifer Stone, John M. and Margaret Daniel, Travers and Mildred Daniel, and Thomas Stone’s Estate*, 1805, Chancery Court, Chancery Papers, case 4647, MSA; “Robert Scott, 1749–83” and “Rev. James Scott, 1715–82,” in *Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia’s Northern Neck Counties*, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us; will of Frederick Stone, Prerogative Court, Wills, Liber 39:291–93, MSA. Robert Scott was a son of Scottish-born clergyman Reverend James Scott (d. 1782) and his wife Sarah (Brown) of Prince William County, Virginia. His mother’s parents were Dr. Gustavus Brown (d. 1762) and his first wife, Frances (Fowke). Alexander Scott, the plaintiff in the 1805 Chancery Court suit, sought payment of a sum he believed was owed to his late mother out of Thomas Stone’s estate.

The Stone family's legal posturing in *Alexander Scott v. Michael Jenifer Stone et al.* obscures the truth of when and how Catherine became a widow and "destitute of a home." Also, Thomas Stone's surviving executor, Michael Jenifer Stone, in order to deflect his nephew's charge that Thomas's estate owed Alexander Scott money, emphasized the financial burden that Thomas Stone assumed by supporting Catherine and her son while Thomas was himself "poor" while courts were closed during the "Heat of the War." The court documents are helpful nevertheless for providing insight into the Stone family's attitudes and practices regarding financial and emotional support within the family.

Thomas Stone took in Catherine and her son, despite the hardships it presented for him and his family, because Catherine was "connected" with him, Michael Jenifer Stone wrote. Thomas's brother does not explain the depth of the connection between Thomas and Catherine. Not only was Catherine a full-blooded sibling to Thomas, but, like him, she was a member of the extended Brown family. Around the same time as Thomas's marriage, Catherine married one of Margaret (Brown) Stone's nephews, a son of Margaret's elder half-sister, Sarah (Brown) (1715–84). Catherine's son Alexander was just a year older than Thomas and Margaret Stone's firstborn child. This mutual connection to the Brown family may have raised the stakes for Thomas to see his sister and nephew cared for and housed respectably without having to liquidate their wealth in slaveownership (about which more will be said shortly). Thomas's support allowed Catherine to maintain a genteel lifestyle, including trips to the Virginia mountain spa town of Bath for health, leisure, and society.³⁶

In whatever manner she came into her "widowhood," Catherine and her son Alexander lived at Haberdeventure during two periods in Thomas Stone's lifetime. First she stayed from 1774 or 1775 until 1780, at which time she moved out with Michael Jenifer Stone to a series of other Charles County properties rented by Thomas Stone. She returned to Haberdeventure with Michael Jenifer Stone in 1784, after Thomas and his wife moved to Annapolis, and stayed until 1790.

Financial considerations were never far from mind in the Stone family's care for Catherine and her son. Thomas and Michael Jenifer Stone kept records of Catherine's expenses and income. While Thomas's book of accounts does not survive, Michael Jenifer Stone's day book shows occasional payments on Catherine's behalf in the 1770s and 1780s,

³⁶ Thomas Stone's daughters and their husbands mentioned that Thomas Stone gave Catherine Scott "the means of going to the Berkel[e]y Springs," another name for Bath, now in West Virginia, in their answer to *Scott v. Stone et al.* In a letter of July 10, 1783, Thomas Stone wrote of his intention to travel to "the Springs" with his wife and "Mrs. Scott" (Signers of the Declaration of Independence Collection, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, transcription in Jefferson, "Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Select Primary Sources"). Around the eighteenth-century British Atlantic, where commerce relied on long-distance credit transactions, kinship ties helped to offset the risk of financial ruin. Thomas Stone in 1774 joined his brother-in-law Gustavus Richard Brown and other members of the Brown family to raise over £200 to purchase enslaved people and other "necessaries" to support Ann Horner. Ann, one of Margaret (Brown) Stone's half-sisters, became an impoverished widow after the death of Robert Horner, an English-born merchant who invested in a mill and bake house at Allen's Fresh in Charles County ("Anne Browne, 1732–1800," and "Robert Horner, 1718–73," in "Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia's Northern Neck Counties," www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us; Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 62–63).

such as for the purchase of “black silk mitts” from Port Tobacco merchant Thomas How Ridgate and for shoeing her horse, presumably at Michael Jenifer Stone’s blacksmith shop. Michael Jenifer Stone engaged local craftsman James Ray for leatherwork on a chair for Catherine and helped Catherine sell a hogshead of tobacco to Ridgate. According to Michael Jenifer Stone’s 1807 legal statement in his defense against Alexander Scott, Catherine’s income in the 1770s and 1780s was limited to the hiring out of an enslaved man known as Will.³⁷

Catherine’s expenses in the 1770s and 1780s included the cost of clothing, feeding, and housing at least one enslaved woman and several enslaved children, whose names are unknown, plus the care of a horse. To better provide for the support of Catherine, Michael Jenifer Stone, and the people they held in bondage, Thomas Stone rented a plantation at Nanjemoy, where Catherine and Michael Jenifer Stone resided together in 1780 and 1781. By raising a variety of crops and hogs and marketing the surplus, Catherine, Michael Jenifer Stone, and unknown enslaved people reduced the strain on Haberdeventure’s resources. In 1782, Catherine and Michael Jenifer Stone moved to Theobald’s Hill (on 159 acres made up of part of St. Nicholas and part Chandlers Hills, closer to Haberdeventure), apparently occupying separate houses but in close proximity to one another. Here, too, Thomas lent a helping hand by paying half the rent, hiring or renting out to Catherine an unidentified enslaved man, and providing corn and other foodstuffs.³⁸

³⁷ Travers Daniel is the last person known to have held the book of accounts in which Thomas Stone recorded his transactions with Catherine Scott (Michael Jenifer Stone’s statement, December 16, 1807, in Chancery Court, Chancery Papers, case 4647, MSA). Entries for Catherine and Alexander Stone can be found on pp. 16, 21, 29, 30–31 and passim in Michael Jenifer Stone’s day book, Kremer Collection, SMSC. For the hiring out of Will, see page 16 of Michael Jenifer Stone’s day book; Michael Jenifer Stone did not record who hired Will, in this case, in 1780–1782. Alexander Scott, in his bill of complaint in *Scott v. Stone et al.*, attested that Thomas Stone hired Will from his mother in 1777 and 1778 for £20 current money per year. Michael Jenifer Stone’s day book does not provide clues about Alexander’s education, apart from the uncle’s payments in 1779 for a dancing master and a school master.

³⁸ Tax records verify Michael Jenifer Stone’s assertion in his written answer in *Scott v. Stone et al.* (Chancery Court, Chancery Papers, case 4647, MSA) that he and Catherine moved off of Haberdeventure for a number of years to reduce Thomas’s expenses. Michael Jenifer Stone paid the tax assessment for Catherine in 1780, which offers a clue that they shared a household in Durham Parish (Michael Jenifer Stone day book, Kremer Collection, SMSC, p. 16). In 1782 and 1783, though, Catherine Scott and Michael Jenifer Stone appear side by side on surviving tax lists, each as a head of household. The 1782 tax assessor for Durham Upper Hundred charged Catherine for an enslaved woman between the ages of fourteen and thirty-six, three children, and a horse, and Michael Jenifer Stone for a horse. Leaving the enslaved family behind on the rented Nanjemoy plantation by 1782 (perhaps only for a short period), the Stone siblings moved to Port Tobacco Upper Hundred, which fell within the Fourth District of the 1783 tax assessment, and set up separate households there. In a letter by Michael Jenifer Stone to Walter Stone, addressed from “Theobald’s Hill” on March 12, 1782, he wrote that “Mrs. Scott is with me.” In another letter from 1782, James Craik Jr. mentioned to Walter Stone that he attended a party at “your Sister Scott’s” and a dinner at “your [Brother] Tom’s” (June 4, photocopy in Kremer Collection, SMSC). The 1783 tax assessor for the Fourth District recorded the presence in Catherine’s household an enslaved woman between the ages of fourteen and thirty-six, four enslaved children, and other taxable personal property valued at £6. Her brother Michael Jenifer Stone paid taxes on himself, four enslaved males between the ages of fourteen and forty-five, a female between fourteen and thirty-six years of age, an older enslaved man or woman above the age of forty-five, four horses, ten black cattle, and £200 in other taxable personal property. Michael Jenifer Stone occupied a “middling good” dwelling house with a kitchen outbuilding, “study” outbuilding, and a barn (1783 tax assessment, MSA).

When Thomas Stone moved his family to Annapolis in 1784, he allowed his siblings Catherine Scott and Michael Jenifer Stone (and their dependents) to live rent-free at Haberdeventure, undoubtedly with the expectation that they would maintain the plantation in good working order. The death of Thomas Stone, Catherine's benefactor, a few years later must have been a major inflection point for her in ways it was not for her brother, Michael Jenifer, because of her social status that discouraged female self-support through manual labor or private enterprise. Michael Jenifer Stone, in his answer to the suit brought by his nephew in 1805, wrote that Thomas "generally supplied" Catherine "with Everything she requested," as far as his own finances enabled him to do. The loss of this benefactor while her son was still a minor threw into relief Catherine's reliance on Haberdeventure for a measure of stability.³⁹

Catherine appears to have stayed in Charles County, presumably at Haberdeventure, for a few years after Margaret and Thomas Stone's deaths in 1787. Then it seems that in late 1790 she briefly moved away; in early 1792, she was living in Fauquier County, Virginia, which is adjacent to her late husband's native Prince William County. What drew her there is not known, though her son would some years later marry a Fauquier County native.⁴⁰

Perhaps Catherine believed that it was a good time to travel in 1790, while other members of the family were away. In 1789 and 1790, Michael Jenifer Stone, sometimes accompanied by his nieces, Margaret and Mildred, left Charles County periodically to serve in Congress or to conduct business in Annapolis. Walter Stone and Gustavus Richard Brown took care of local family business. Catherine's son Alexander apparently was living in or near Philadelphia, too, by late 1790. He and his cousin Frederick Stone, Thomas Stone's son, then a second-year student at the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University), spent Christmas with Michael Jenifer Stone in Philadelphia in a house shared with James Monroe of Virginia and his wife from New York, Elizabeth. Michael Jenifer Stone wrote to his brother Walter on Christmas Eve, 1790, "Frederick and Alexander are both here—And there are not two finer Lads in America—I can't tell which is the cleverest fellow." Michael Jenifer Stone had lived with Alexander, off and on, for the last fifteen

³⁹ On the date of Thomas Stone's move to Annapolis, see note 29 in this chapter.

⁴⁰ Michael Jenifer Stone, in his statement to Maryland's Chancery Court of 1807, testified that there was a hiatus in Catherine's financial support by Thomas Stone's estate between 1787 and 1791 (Chancery Court, Chancery Papers, case 4647, MSA). However, indications of Catherine's continued presence in Charles County, at least until 1789, include her recorded purchases from Michael Jenifer Stone in 1788 and 1789 of corn "from the mill," salt pork, salt beef, a sorrel mare, bedding, and blacksmith work. In November 1790, Michael Jenifer Stone drew up a "final settlement" of his account with Catherine, presumably before she moved away. In a letter of February 25, 1792, Port Tobacco merchant Robert Fergusson asked a Virginia partner to forward a letter to "Mrs. Catherine Scott now of Fauquier County" (R. Fergusson to Alexander Henderson, Container 61, John Glassford and Co. Records, LC). By 1802, Alexander Scott married Elizabeth Blackwell (ca. 1781–1831), a daughter of William Blackwell of Fauquier County (1738–82) ("The Blackwell Family [continued]," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 23, no. 1 [January 1915]: 103).

years, and served as his guardian and legal representative after the passing of his paternal grandparents in Virginia; in some respects, he must have felt like a father figure to Alexander.⁴¹

Frederick's and Alexander's lives continued to overlap in Philadelphia for the next several years. After finishing at Princeton in September 1791, Frederick moved to Philadelphia to study law; Alexander may have been pursuing professional studies in the city, too. In the early 1790s, Michael Jenifer Stone remitted money to both Alexander and Frederick through Philadelphia merchant Thomas Fitzsimmons.⁴²

Into the early 1790s, then, Catherine and her son Alexander continued to rely on the Haberdeventure household for financial and social support. When Catherine returned in September 1792 from her sojourn in Virginia, she stayed with Michael Jenifer Stone for a year, and her son Alexander occasionally joined her during the summer of 1793. But tensions frayed. At the end of her stay, in October 1793—notably, a few weeks after the death of Frederick Stone, the intended male heir to Haberdeventure—Michael Jenifer Stone drew up an account with Alexander Scott with charges for boarding his mother (£56.10.0), “Wat” and “Jean” (domestic servants, likely enslaved, at £17.10.0 each), and two horses. Beneath the last entry, charging for Alexander's occasional stays at Haberdeventure from May through September 1793, Michael Jenifer Stone wrote in his day book that he added a third to “the Expenses” because “the servants were destructive and thievish.” It is not clear if Michael Jenifer Stone was referring to behavior during the summer or over the course of the year. The statement is nonetheless our first hint of tension in the relationship between Alexander and his uncle Michael Jenifer Stone; recall that Alexander filed an expensive Chancery Court suit against his uncle in 1805, seeking payment of an annuity out of Thomas Stone's estate.⁴³

⁴¹ “Frederick A. Stone,” in *Princetonians, 1791–1794*, eds., J. Jefferson Looney and Ruth L. Woodward (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 112–13; Michael Jenifer Stone to Walter Stone, July 3, [1789] (in which he asked, from New York, how “Grace and Mrs. Scott” are doing), Stone Family Papers, LC; Margaret Stone, in Annapolis, to Walter Stone, August [14?], 1789, in same; Michael Jenifer Stone, in New York, to Walter Stone, April 12, 1790; Michael Jenifer Stone to Walter Stone, December 24, 1790, about being with Alexander, Frederick, Margaret, and Mildred Stone in Philadelphia, in same. Letters in the LC collection attest to the youngest brother managing family affairs in Charles County and Annapolis during this time. Michael Jenifer Stone served in the US Congress for Maryland in 1789–91 (Papenfuse, *BDML*, 2:786).

⁴² Michael Jenifer Stone recorded his remittances to Alexander through Thomas Fitzsimmons in his day book, p. 33, Kremer Collection, SMSC. On Christmas Day, 1802, Port Tobacco merchant Robert Fergusson forwarded to Michael Jenifer Stone a letter and accounts from Thomas Fitzsimmons of Philadelphia for money that Michael Jenifer Stone, as Thomas Stone's executor, had advanced to Frederick as well as money that John Hoskins Stone had advanced to Alexander. Fitzsimmons likely was seeking a settlement of the account (repository of original letter unknown, copy in the Kremer Collection, SMSC, Box 1, Folder 19). See also interrogatories by Michael Jenifer Stone to William Campbell, [after Nov. 1793], William Briscoe Stone Papers, Duke University.

⁴³ Michael Jenifer Stone day book, p. 33, Kremer Collection, SMSC. Offering further evidence of Catherine and Alexander Scott's use of Haberdeventure as a waystation in the latter half of 1792, Michael Jenifer Stone in October advertised for a horse which belonged to Alexander Scott and had strayed or been stolen from Haberdeventure; the gelding “trots and has been used for the carriage” (advertisement dated October 3, *Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis], November 8, 1792).

While Catherine Scott and her son continued to consider Haberdeventure a home or a refuge, Michael Jenifer Stone's patience wore thin, and the plantation's financial picture changed after Frederick Stone's unexpected death by yellow fever in 1793. Also that year, Alexander had reached the age of majority and now bore responsibility for maintaining his mother financially; Michael Jenifer Stone charged Alexander, not Catherine, for Catherine's and her servants' board in 1792 and 1793. In 1794, Alexander began to set up his own household and legal practice in Charles County, quickly acquiring over 1,000 acres of land. By 1800, his household had grown to thirty-one people, his mother included; four out of every five residents on his property were enslaved. Though he took up residence in other locations, including Georgetown in Montgomery County, Maryland, and Venezuela, Alexander etched his name into the glass of Haberdeventure's East Room in 1815. Not only was Alexander's personal connection to Thomas Stone and other members of the Stone family useful to him as a lawyer, planter, and officeholder, but also Alexander may have had an emotional or sentimental connection with Haberdeventure. Here Alexander and his mother found shelter, and the estate shielded them from the financial distress that would have endangered retention of their enslaved property before Alexander came into his inheritance.⁴⁴

To summarize, Thomas Stone took his widowed or abandoned sister Catherine Scott into his household after his parents' passing as much to help his own reputation as his sister's. Catherine was able to contribute toward the costs of her and her son's support through her modest slaveholding and live a life of apparent leisure with the help of her brother Thomas. She did not, for instance, operate a tavern to support her young family as a *femme sole*, as other propertied white women in Port Tobacco like Rachel Forry and Ann Halkerston did. For Catherine's siblings, supporting their sister also made them invested in her son, who formed close ties with members of the Stone family and who was to become, in his uncle's words, "very rich."⁴⁵

Alexander's story hints at what might have been for Thomas Stone's son, Frederick, had Frederick survived the yellow fever epidemic. Both young men, it appears, resided in Philadelphia in their teens and early twenties for legal training and no doubt social polish in what was then the most sophisticated city in America. The cousins both lost their fathers

⁴⁴ Charles County Land Records, N#4:200 (in which Alexander Scott is identified as "of Virginia"), 276 (which refers to Alexander Scott as an "Attorney at Law of Charles County"), 368, MSA; 1798 Direct Tax Records, MSA; federal census of 1800. According to the CLR (1996), "one of the windows of the Haberdeventure room at the Baltimore Museum of Art has 'Alex Scott 1815' scratched on one of the panes, and 'Alex Scott Port Tabac' is inscribed in pencil on plaster in one of the corner cabinets on [sic] the same room" (15n32). For more information on Alexander Scott's life after 1800, see "Conclusion and Suggestions for Further Research" at the back of this HRS.

⁴⁵ Michael Jenifer Stone's answer, 1807, Chancery Court, Chancery Papers, case 4647, MSA. Jean B. Lee writes about Rachel Forry and Ann Halkerston in *Price of Nationhood*. Halkerston's son, William, attended grammar school and college at Princeton, apparently leaving the latter in 1774 (Richard A. Harrison, *Princetonians, 1776-1783: A Biographical Dictionary* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981], 226-28). Daniel Jenifer, Thomas Stone's uncle, and John Jordan, also of Port Tobacco, were a class ahead of him (*ibid.*, 190-92).

during childhood, and both had inheritances waiting for them upon reaching age twenty-one. These inheritances carried responsibilities; sound wealth management undergirded the well-being of household dependents and the family's social standing. Alexander chose to build his wealth in Charles County in the 1790s, before moving to other venues. Like other members of the extended Stone family, Alexander Scott faced challenges to his slaveholding from members of the Thomas family who pursued their freedom through legal and extralegal means.⁴⁶

Betty Ann Eden

Another sister of Thomas Stone, Betty Ann (d. after 1805), also turned to her brothers for support. Documentation for this is strongest, though, after her husband died in November 1787, a few weeks after her brother's death. Whether or not Betty Ann stayed at Haberdeventure during Thomas Stone's lifetime, she appears to have been in a less precarious financial position, at that time, than her sisters Grace and Catherine. Thomas Stone did not leave her a legacy in his will, unlike with Grace and Catherine, and Michael Jenifer Stone did not record transactions made on Betty Ann's behalf. It was when Betty Ann became a widow in late 1787 that she became a subject of concern for Haberdeventure's surviving male stakeholders, Michael Jenifer Stone and Walter Stone.⁴⁷

Whereas Catherine (Stone) Scott married into a branch of the Brown family on the Virginia side of the Potomac River, Betty Ann (Stone) Eden strengthened kinship ties with her maternal family, the Jenifers, within Southern Maryland. Betty Ann followed the footsteps of her mother's sister, Aunt Betty (Jenifer Rogers) Eden, when she married into the Eden family of St. Mary's County. Aunt Betty married second John Eden (ca. 1728–75), a St. Mary's County planter and a justice of the peace who served briefly in the Maryland House of Delegates. Betty Ann cemented a close relationship with Aunt Betty by marrying Aunt Betty's stepson, Townsend Eden (1754–87).⁴⁸

⁴⁶ A search for "Alexander Scott" in O Say Can You See: Early Washington, DC, Law and Family, at <http://earlywashingtondc.org>, brings up documents related to *Walter Thomas and Dennis Thomas v. Alexander Scott*, Circuit Court for the County of Washington and District of Columbia, 1809–10, which referred to records and reminiscences of Thomas family actions in several Western Shore county courts in the 1790s. William G. Thomas III's book *A Question of Freedom: The Families Who Challenged Slavery from the Nation's Founding to the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020) provides context for freedom suits in Southern Maryland in the 1790s and early 1800s, including claims against Scott (p. 153). See also Chapter 3's discussion of freedom petitions.

⁴⁷ Thomas Stone's daughters and their husbands in their answer to *Scott v. Stone et al.* in 1806 included Betty Ann Eden in their long list of family members whom Thomas Stone supported at Haberdeventure (Chancery Court, Chancery Papers 4647, MSA). Supporting evidence is lacking, though. See also CLR (1996) 14 and Rivoire, "Summary of Additional Research Findings," 10.

⁴⁸ "Elizabeth 'Betty' Jenifer (ca. 1725–1791)," "John Eden (after 1700–1775)," and "Townshend Eden (1754–before 1791)," in *Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia's Northern Neck Counties*, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us; "John Eden (ca. 1728–1775)," in Papenfuse, *BDML*, 1:298–99 (quote).

When John Eden died, his estate included “many luxury items,” and Aunt Betty retained a genteel style of life during her second widowhood. From Aunt Betty’s will, we learn that her house had both a dining room and a parlor. An enslaved man she referred to as Will, “my personal waitingman,” would have expertly navigated these refined spaces. The house was outfitted with mahogany tables, looking glasses, glassware, silver, and china, and she owned a carriage. Her disbursement of clothing and accessories offers a wealth of information about the materials she handled, not only what they were but also how she related to objects. To give a few examples, Betty Eden gave away to other females calico and muslin gowns, linen and muslin aprons, a beaver skin cloak (which she intended for Catherine [Stone] Scott), and pieces of country cloth and chintz. She bequeathed a fan, several caps, and a “worked [i.e., embroidered] lawn handkerchief.” She wanted her brother Daniel Jenifer to have her sleeve buttons made out of Bristol stone.⁴⁹

The close relationship between Betty Ann (Stone) Eden and her aunt Betty (Jenifer Rogers) Eden, both residents of St. Mary’s County, highlights the importance of white female networks for mutual support and advancement. When Townsend Eden passed away in November 1787, without a will and his estate encumbered by debts, it appears that Aunt Betty took Betty Ann (Stone) Eden and her four daughters in. At her death in 1791, Aunt Betty generously gave to her niece “all of my chairs and tables not before bequeathed,” two beds with bedding, “my spinning wheels,” and “all of my kitchen furniture.” Whereas Aunt Betty perhaps did not have the authority to leave the house itself to Betty Ann, she did provide her niece with starter furnishings for a new household. Furthermore, Aunt Betty willed to each of Betty Ann Eden’s daughters an enslaved female and their future offspring plus a sum to be held in trust by their uncles Michael Jenifer Stone and Walter Stone. One motivation for Aunt Betty to help her niece must have been that her late husband’s debts contributed to her stepson Townshend’s financial troubles.⁵⁰

While Aunt Betty provided social, emotional, and material support to her niece, Betty Ann’s brothers served critical roles in her complicated financial and legal affairs. Walter Stone, for instance, assumed the role of co-administrator of the estates of Townsend Eden and his father John Eden Sr. In 1788, Walter Stone assisted Betty Ann in the sale of her dwelling plantation and its enslaved residents, no doubt in an effort to pay off

⁴⁹ Papenfuse, *BDML*, 1:298–99 (quote), 940; will of Betty Eden, January 11, 1790, proved November 30, 1791, St. Mary’s County Wills JJ2:6–9.

⁵⁰ Betty Eden directed that an enslaved woman named Cumbo, another named Terry with her child Jenny, plus two enslaved girls, Molly and Nancy, be distributed among Betty Ann Eden’s daughters. The William Briscoe Stone Papers in the Rubenstein Library, Duke University, contains several documents related to the Eden family estate that show that Townsend Eden died intestate in 1787.

Townsend's debts. When Walter died in 1791, Michael Jenifer Stone took over as administrator of the Eden estates. His son, William Briscoe Stone, was active in the case as late as 1826.⁵¹

Walter Stone

As with his sisters Grace and Catherine, Walter Stone (?–1791) elicited from Thomas Stone a desire to support and protect a dependent sibling. If held by the standard of his older brothers, Walter did not achieve a masculine position as head of his own household as the dominant English culture dictated. Nor did he become a landowner, an indubitable marker of gentry status, before he died in his thirties or early forties. Instead Walter sought to make his fortune in the commercial world. Thomas Stone and other observers raised questions about Walter's personal happiness as the youngest of the Stone brothers sought his way in the world.⁵²

Presumably after having some formal schooling, Walter resided in Philadelphia from 1781 until 1783. Through the patronage of his uncle Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, in September 1781 Walter secured a clerkship in the US Office of Finance in Philadelphia, headed by the influential Robert Morris (1734–1806). In 1783, Walter lost a bid to be a secretary to Morris, and he moved briefly to the Office of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs. Walter maintained a valuable connection with Morris, who financed the American Revolution and obtained the lucrative contract with the French tobacco monopoly in 1785 that Port Tobacco merchant Thomas How Ridgate subcontracted for. Undoubtedly Walter's connection to Morris helped the young man's prospects in trade. Morris knew Walter well enough to laud him for his "Fervent integrity of Heart," which Morris considered Walter's "grand characteristic." Other letters written to Walter attest to the warmth of Walter's friendships. Morris put his own "integrity and Honor" on the line when he wrote a letter to Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson in support of Walter's bid to be a US consul in London in 1790. Morris needed Walter's help as well as a Maryland correspondent. In 1784, Walter and his brother John Hoskins Stone started a commercial partnership, with Walter based in Port Tobacco and John Hoskins in Annapolis. In the spring of 1790, Morris, in Philadelphia, turned to Walter when Thomas How Ridgate died unexpectedly. Regarding himself as Ridgate's "biggest creditor," Morris felt "most Cruelly treated by"

⁵¹ Advertisement, March 6, 1788, *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis); will of Walter Stone, in Petravage, "Historic Furnishings Report," 35; bill of complaint by Betty Ann Eden and Elizabeth Llewellen of St. Mary's County vs. James Eden, [after December 1796], William Briscoe Stone Papers, Rubenstein Library, Duke University. Two undated letters by Betty Ann Eden to Walter Stone about legal affairs survive in the Stone Family Papers, LC. The Eden Family Archive (1772–1974) in the Avon Papers, Cadbury Library, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom, contains lists of legal fees due to Michael Jenifer Stone and William Briscoe Stone.

⁵² Walter's birth year is unknown. He was younger than Michael Jenifer Stone, who was born in 1747; therefore Walter was no more than forty-four years of age when he died in 1791.

Ridgate for what he believed was Ridgate's indifference to paying down a debt. Morris apologized for not naming Walter's senior partner, John Hoskins, as his legal representative in Ridgate's estate settlement but still wanted Walter to look after his interests in the settlement process.⁵³

During his two-year residence in Philadelphia, Walter had acted as an agent in different capacities for his elder brother and others, including the sale of "country produce" from Maryland to finance the purchase of finished goods. His friend and fellow bachelor James Craik Jr. of Strawberry Hill (now La Grange) sent him flour to sell and asked in return for "one of the most fashionable Light coloured Cloths for a Coat with a very neat pattern" with "trimmings suitable so as to make it a very Dressy one," along with a silk jacket and breeches and "four yards of good Black hair Ribbon." Thomas Stone intended to send his younger brother tobacco in the Philadelphia market, which circumvented the wartime embargo by selling tobacco via the West Indies. Whether Thomas followed through on his intentions is not known, but Thomas had some means of credit in Philadelphia. In addition to the carriage order that Thomas wanted Walter to supervise, discussed previously, Thomas also asked Walter to procure for him medicinal goods such as Dr. Baker's dentifrice. Thomas must have preferred Dr. Baker's compound over a local Charles County doctor's offering, which was promised to be "the same as Baker's" and used to "restore the gums to their pristine state, prevent the tooth-ach, and render the breath delicately sweet." Having clean, healthy teeth was considered important for mixing in polite society.⁵⁴

⁵³ E. James Ferguson et al., eds., *The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781–1784* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973–), 2:206, 208n, 285, 290; Michael Jenifer Stone to Walter Stone, May 3, 1783, Stone Family Papers, LC; Robert Morris to Walter Stone, February 7 (quote), March 21, April 11 (quote), July 18 (quote), August 8, 1790, Stone Family Papers, LC; Michael Jenifer Stone, in a letter to Walter Stone, April 12, 1790, mentioning the "shock" of Ridgate's death; Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 226–27. Morris chose to give power of attorney to Port Tobacco merchant Robert Fergusson to pursue his claims on Ridgate's estate. Morris asked Walter to consult Fergusson on "bidding" for goods on sale and "as to selling our Credit." In the same letter of August 8, 1790, Morris informed Walter that Joshua Johnson of the Annapolis firm Wallace, Johnson and Muir had been chosen over Walter Stone for the consulship in London (Stone Family Papers, LC). The *Papers of Thomas Jefferson* confirms Morris's application to Jefferson on behalf of Walter Stone ("Documents on American Commercial Policy," 16:523; "List of Consular Vacancies," 17:256).

⁵⁴ James Craik Jr. to Walter Stone, June 4, 1782, Kremer Collection, SMSC; Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, October 8, 1781, Fogg Collection, Maine Historical Society, transcription in Jefferson, "Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Select Primary Sources"; Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 21 and July 16, 1782, April 8 and 26, 1783, Stone Family Papers, LC; Thomas M. Doerfinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986) 205–6; advertisement for "Doctor Fendall" in *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis) October 7, 1784; Van Horn, "George Washington's Dentures," 19–21. Other purchase requests while Walter was in Philadelphia included stays for Margaret Stone and silver buttons for fourteen-year-old Alexander Scott (Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, March 30, 1783, Stone Family Papers, LC; Alexander Scott to Walter Stone, November 29, 1781, Stone Family Papers, MdHS).

Thomas also asked his brother to conduct professional business for him in the city, including settling a debt with a Mr. Coleman and facilitating his correspondence with clients Peter and Isaac Wikoff. Walter also brokered an unknown job offer from Robert Morris to Thomas Stone in 1782, which Thomas declined.⁵⁵

Thomas Stone was supportive of his brother's occupations in Philadelphia, believing that the city offered "greater Opportunity of improvement" (that is, personal advancement) than Maryland. But Thomas also welcomed Walter home when the younger brother established himself as a merchant in Port Tobacco by July 1784, trading in partnership with their brother John Hoskins Stone, buying tobacco and wheat and selling imported goods. At Port Tobacco, Walter also served as a plantation clerk or agent for Haberdeventure, a position described in Chapter 4. Walter straddled two worlds, trade and planting, when manning the retail store, negotiating an employment contract for the miller at Thomas's mill, and selling and hiring out enslaved people at Thomas's direction.⁵⁶

Thomas had encouraged Walter to return to Maryland to be closer to the people who knew him best—though he advised Walter to avoid the state's fastest-growing city, Baltimore ("you want friendship[,] thought[,] and attention more than knowledge and I am sure Baltimore is not the place to acquire these habits"). In late 1790, when Walter's health took a turn for the worse, prompting him to compose his will, the prominent physician Benjamin Rush also encouraged Walter to seek the society of friends. Walter must have been experiencing gastrointestinal distress, as Dr. Rush recommended keeping his bowels "open" through diet and an "opening medicine" and offered a cure for worms that Dr. Rush suspected were aggravating his condition. More forcefully, Dr. Rush recommended marriage as a cure for Walter's distress.⁵⁷

Rush encouraged travel and approved of Walter's plan to travel to the "Virginia Springs," a cluster of spas that developed after the Revolutionary War south of Bath, Virginia, along a seventy-five-mile stretch known collectively as the "Virginia Springs" or

⁵⁵ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, March 30, 1783, Garrett Library, Johns Hopkins University; Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 21, 1782, April 8, 1783, Stone Family Papers, LC; Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 26, 1783, Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 27, 1783, Emmet Collection, New York Public Library; Peter and Isaac Wikoff to Thomas Stone, April 29, 1783, William Cooke Papers, MdHS. Transcriptions of these letters can be found in Jefferson, "Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Select Primary Sources."

⁵⁶ John Hoskins Stone to Walter Stone, July 29, 1784, MS 406, MdHS; Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 226. When Walter moved back to Port Tobacco in 1784, he might have resided at the store that John Hoskins Stone advertised for sale in 1795. On a Port Tobacco water lot was "a large wooden house, having at one end two rooms completely fitted for a retail store, and at the other end two handsome well finished rooms, besides a large counting-room and lodging room for clerks." This store, "finished entirely for the reception and storage of dry goods," had a "a piazza the length of the house" on which goods would have been put on display. Also on the lot were a wooden dwelling house, two-bays wide, with four rooms, each with fireplaces, and a stable (*Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis], July 30, 1795).

⁵⁷ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, December 3, 1783, The Rosenbach, Philadelphia; will of Walter Stone in Petravage, "Historic Furnishings Report," 35; Benjamin Rush to Walter Stone, January 5 and 30, February 11, 1791, Stone Family Papers, LC. These letters are transcribed and edited in L. H. Butterfield, *Letters of Benjamin Rush*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951), 1: 574–77.

simply “the Springs.” Guests sought both health and pleasure from bathing in thermal pools, imbibing mineral water, taking in the mountain scenery, and mixing in society. Among the spas was Sweet Springs in Botetourt County, where Walter passed away in September 1791. Walter named his nephew Alexander Scott the executor of his will; allegedly Alexander Scott had a house at the “Springs,” to which Alexander invited Thomas Stone’s son, Frederick, in 1792. This may have been the house where Walter spent his last days.⁵⁸

The documentary record gives tantalizing glimpses of the emotional and financial relationships between Thomas Stone and his younger brother, Walter. Thomas looked after Walter’s welfare and vice versa; when Thomas reviewed his will with Walter as part of his preparations for leaving for the West Indies, the brothers reminded each other of “matters” about the estate.⁵⁹

The brothers’ overlapping personal ties and business interests also intertwined with the lives of African Americans. Take, for example, the remarkable timing of the escape of “Bob,” a thirty-eight-year-old enslaved blacksmith, from Port Tobacco. Bob emancipated himself “some days” before October 3, 1787, about the same time that Thomas Stone was in Alexandria, Virginia, preparing to depart for the West Indies for his health. (Thomas died in Alexandria on October 5.) Bob may have taken advantage of Thomas’s departure to flee a new situation; just a month prior, Walter and John Hoskins Stone had purchased Bob and his family from Walter Pye of Charles County. Research into the history of African Americans in Charles County will, over time, provide new perspectives on the Stone family.⁶⁰

To conclude, Haberdeventure had numerous stakeholders within Thomas Stone’s family. Thomas’s father, David Stone, may have invested in the plantation to provide a measure of financial support to his children by his second marriage who would not inherit land. Thomas Stone and his brother-in-law Gustavus Richard Brown partnered in Charles

⁵⁸ Barbara G. Carson, “Early American Tourists and the Commercialization of Leisure,” in *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994), 395; death notice for Walter Stone in *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), October 6, 1791, announcing his death the “6th ult[imate]” (i.e., September 6, 1791); Frederick Stone to Michael Jenifer Stone, July 25, 1792, MS 406, MdHS. Walter’s possession of a case of lancets engraved with his name tells us that bleeding was a regular method of healing for him (will of Walter Stone in Petravage, “Historic Furnishings Report”).

⁵⁹ Walter witnessed Thomas composing the codicil to his will, and the two exchanged information about the estate (deposition of Walter Stone, December 29, 1787, in Chancery Court, Chancery Papers, case 4647, *Scott v. Stone et al.*, MSA; see also Appendix 3). Thomas did not leave a gift to Walter in his will, whereas he did for Walter’s sisters Catherine and Grace. Presumably Thomas considered Walter’s circumstances sufficient for his own support, or the two men had a verbal agreement that was not put in writing.

⁶⁰ For Walter and John Hoskins Stone’s advertisements for Bob, see, for example, *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis) November 1, 1787, and *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore), November 16, 1787. The latter mentions that Bob had a “written permission” from a previous owner “to hire himself wherever he chose.” Walter Pye sold Bob, his wife Suck, age twenty-six, and their four children to John Hoskins Stone in late August 1787 (Charles County Land Records, D#4:116, MSA).

County's real estate market as early as 1769, when Thomas applied his skills and knowledge as an attorney to help Brown convert entailed land to fee simple land through a complex legal maneuver called common recovery. (Chapter 4 revisits Brown's docking the entail on his inherited property.) Thomas did not allow his younger siblings Michael Jenifer Stone, Walter Stone, Grace Stone, and Catherine Scott to live off his estate entirely for free. Each contributed resources, such as people held in bondage in Grace's case and clerical skills in Walter's case. During the Revolutionary War, Thomas Stone rented land for Michael Jenifer Stone and Catherine Scott to live off of and make saleable goods. Thomas Stone's dual obligations to bequeath an estate to his son that was large enough to make him "independent" and also care for his siblings gave rise to occasional tensions within the family. But building security in wealth and preventing financial ruin was in the interest of all who sought support from Haberdeventure.

CHAPTER THREE

AFRICAN AMERICAN LIFE AT HABERDEVENTURE AND IN CHARLES COUNTY, MARYLAND, 1770–1790s

On October 3, 1776, a “young Negro woman named BET . . . her ears bored for rings” escaped from Thomas Stone’s household in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Bet made her own bid for independence three months after Stone and other members of the Continental Congress voted for independence in early July. Given the timing of Bet’s departure, while Stone was preparing to return to Maryland at the end of the month, it is reasonable to assume that she refused to travel south with the household. The young woman, whose birthplace is unknown, also took advantage of the chaotic retreat of American forces from a military campaign in New York. Stone was skeptical of a tip that “a Negro woman, answering her description, was seen at Brunswick, in Jersey, with some soldiers,” but he published the rumor anyway to improve the chances of Bet’s capture. While confident in his claims of ownership of the bondswoman, Stone admitted the chances that Bet could slip into an ambiguous position between free and non-free while outside the confines of his urban household.¹

Bet’s actions in Philadelphia—not only her departure as war approached the city, but also her choice to take clothing with her—serve as a useful framework for an exploration of African American life at Haberdeventure in a number of ways.

First, Bet’s decision to flee in 1776 took place in the context of the growth of the free black population in Philadelphia and Maryland in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and the demographics of the African American population in both of those places is an important backdrop to this chapter. About one in three of the enslaved people listed in Thomas Stone’s probate inventories of early 1788 (eight out of the twenty-five plus Bet) are known to have obtained, or attempted to obtain, freedom by legal or extralegal means between 1776 and the 1790s. Bet’s experience was more typical for pursuing personal

¹ Runaway advertisement, dated October 16, appearing in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* (Philadelphia), October 19, 1776. Thomas Stone, who had been in Philadelphia since April with the exception of a brief departure at the end of that month to accompany his wife to the city, left it by the end of October. He apparently went home to Haberdeventure before attending the Maryland Senate in Annapolis in February (Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, 1:xliv; 2:1–11; Thomas Stone to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, April 24, 1776, in *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1789*, eds. Smith et al., 3:580–81; letters to and from Stone between December 7, 1776, and February 22, 1777, in Jefferson’s “Thomas Stone: A Chronology from Select Primary Sources,” suggesting his removal to Annapolis by the latter date. Maryland troops from Charles County served in the campaign of 1776 in New York and New Jersey (Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 157–58).

freedom outside of the legal system. Nevertheless, expanded access to legal freedom for enslaved African Americans in late eighteenth-century Maryland is an important part of Charles County's history.²

Bet's decision to leave Stone's household also challenges us to consider how enslaved African Americans formed social connections independent of slaveholders. As is the case for the majority of people (eighteen out of twenty-five, or 70 percent) whom Thomas and Margaret Stone held in bondage at the end of their lives, we do not know Bet's birthplace or who her parents were. Furthermore, Bet was one of at least seven enslaved people who worked off the plantation, in one of the family's urban residences in Philadelphia and Annapolis or as hirelings in other households. With whom did Bet identify, and where did they live? Fortunately, freedom suits in late eighteenth-century Maryland offer a glimpse into African American kinship networks in Southern Maryland, including the Thomas family, a number of whom resided at Haberdeventure.

This chapter, in a three-part structure, will draw on recent scholarship on slavery and freedom in the revolutionary era as well as a wide range of primary sources about African Americans in Charles County in order to advance the conversation about African American life and black heritage at Haberdeventure. Bet's use of clothing as a freedom strategy opens a discussion about the material life of African Americans who were attached to larger Chesapeake plantations, demonstrating how clothing and forms of material culture could be used strategically for personal autonomy. This section will also compare the demographics of the African American population in Philadelphia and Charles County. Next, the chapter will explore the histories and identities of African Americans with connections to the Stone family and Haberdeventure. Particular attention will be paid to the descendants of a seventeenth-century mixed-race couple, Elizabeth Thomas and Joseph Mingo, who for generations asserted their lineage to advocate for their freedom. The last section will return to Bet's story as a runaway in an overview of African Americans with ties to the Stone family who used legal and extralegal means to exercise liberty in the late eighteenth century.

² Of the twenty-five enslaved individuals listed in Thomas Stone's probate inventories, the following eight are known to have obtained legal or extralegal freedom: Henry Semple (manumitted, 1793), Ibe (manumitted, 1793), John (manumitted, 1793), Gustavus Thomas (emancipated by the General Court of the Western Shore, 1798), Violette Thomas (manumitted, 1799), Jack (runaway, 1797), Phil (presumed runaway, 1799), and Rachael (runaway between 1791 and 1797). A ninth person, Bet (runaway, 1776), did not appear in the probate inventories.

Strategies for Formal and Informal Freedom

When Bet left the Stone household in Philadelphia in early October 1776, she took advantage of a social environment in which she might pass as a free person. Given that Bet apparently had darker skin (Stone described her as “Negro” instead of mulatto in his runaway advertisement), clothing was, for her, a vitally important tool to allow her to pass as free.

The clothing described in Stone’s advertisement for Bet was consistent with that of a higher-ranking domestic servant. Stone did not accuse Bet of stealing the clothes, leaving open the possibility that the clothes were recognized as Bet’s possessions. (As an enslaved person, Bet lacked legal personhood and therefore she did not have a formal right to own property.) The quality of the fabrics signaled her status above that of an agricultural laborer—and her desire to retain that status. Generally speaking, manual laborers dressed in coarse fabrics and genteel people wore smooth fabrics. Bet’s clothing put her in a broad range in between.³

³ Shane White and Graham White, “Slave Clothing and African-American Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” *Past and Present* 148 (1995): 149–86. The author is indebted to Linda Baumgarten for her valuable contributions to the analysis of Bet’s clothing (in the author’s files).

RAN away on Friday the third inst. a young Negro woman named BET, of middling stature, thick, fat, and likely, and her ears bored for rings. She had on a black alamode bonnet with lace, an old blue shalloon jacket and petticoat, white linen shift, handkerchief and apron, pale blue worsted stockings with red clocks, high heel black leather shoes and silver buckles. She took with her a half worn scarlet cloak, new purple and yellow checked stuff jacket and petticoat, white linen ditto, blue and white stamped linen ditto, cambrick apron, red and white calico short gown, and black bombazeen quilted petticoat. I have been informed that a Negro woman, answering her description, was seen at Brunswick, in Jersey, with some soldiers, but to this I do not give intire credit. Any person delivering the said Negro woman to Mr. Michael Clarke in Chestnut-street, Philadelphia, to any of the Maryland officers at camp, or to the subscriber in Charles county, Maryland, shall have TWENTY DOLLARS reward and reasonable charges.

THOMAS STONE.

Philadelphia, October 16.

Figure 29. Advertisement by Thomas Stone, *Pennsylvania Evening Post* (Philadelphia), October 19, 1776. Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.

Bet carried with her enough clothing for several complete outfits, with different combinations possible between several tops—four jackets and a short gown, which was worn over petticoats and belted around the waist—and three sets of petticoats. Given the quantity of the clothing that Bet took with her, she may have intended to sell or barter clothing to finance her escape. Perhaps some was intended to show potential employers her skill with the needle. In any case, Bet appears to have anticipated winter weather. Her warmer clothes consisted of an “old blue shalloon jacket and petticoat,” “new purple and yellow checked stuff jacket and petticoat,” a “half worn scarlet cloak,” and a “black bombazeen quilted petticoat.” The white linen jacket, blue and white stamped linen jacket, and red and white calico short gown were lighter clothes for warm weather.

Bet’s ensembles identified her as a working woman, possibly a ladies maid or skilled craftswomen such as a seamstress. She did not have the full gowns with more fabric yardage that wealthier women could afford. But the quality of the fabric was a notch above the coarse linens and woolens issued to field hands. Bet’s purple and yellow checked jacket and petticoat, for example, was made of stuff, a worsted wool fabric popular among female

laborers because it was durable, warm, and affordable. But stuff also “had some of the shine and visual appeal of silk.” The shalloon of Bet’s blue jacket and petticoat was a shiny worsted wool textile, too, in contrast to the “rough” weave of plains, a woolen common among the very poor. One of Bet’s short gowns was made of calico, a printed cotton that was easier to wash than woolens and more costly than a coarse linen-like osnaburg.⁴

Bet’s clothing conveyed a degree of refinement and a sense of fashion. The purple and yellow checked jacket and petticoat were new, suggesting that Bet updated her wardrobe on a regular basis. “Hats and caps were a key focus of fashion between the 1770s and 1790s,” and the first piece of clothing mentioned in Bet’s advertisement is her black bonnet made of alamode, which was a silk material, and lace. Bet’s petticoat of bombazine, a weave of “fine wool and silk,” was in the fashionable color of black. Accessories were also a focus of fashion at the time, too; Bet’s earrings and silver shoe buckles fall under this category.⁵

Bet had two advantages for access to clothing: her position as a domestic servant and her residence in a city. Enslavers typically expected domestic servants to wear “finer quality clothing” than field hands. Furthermore, in a city, Bet had opportunities within walking distance to barter and sell clothes.⁶

To provide a point of comparison, at the Charles County plantation Araby a decade earlier, enslaved field hands were issued “country cloth” and osnaburg. Country cloth was locally made, often a combination of wool and cotton or wool and flax. Osnaburg was an imported coarse linen fabric. Araby’s owner also supplied “Negro shoes” and “Negro hose” or stockings. Phil, a man formerly enslaved by Thomas Stone, wore an “osnaburg shirt” and “striped country cloth trousers” when he escaped from a slaveholder in Virginia in 1799. Phil’s “old hat,” “old shoes,” and drab-colored “gray cloth jacket, faced with blue” underscored his material poverty. Phil’s clothing, made of coarse fabrics and dull tones, is

⁴ Linda Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 43 (quote), 114–18; Sally A. Queen, *Textiles for Colonial Clothing: A Workbook of Swatches and Information* (Arlington, VA: Q Graphics Production Co., 2000) 16 (quote); John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 282. Styles’s book has a helpful chapter on the clothing of servants in contemporary England (277–301).

⁵ Styles, *The Dress of the People*, 284, 285 (quote); “à la mode,” *Oxford English Dictionary Online*; Leimomi Oakes, “Terminology: What Is Alamode or Allamode Fabric?,” in *The Dreamstress*, www.thedreamstress.com/2012/03/terminology-what-is-alamode-or-allamode-fabric, accessed March 14, 2020. For examples of women’s fashionable clothing in black, 1770–80, see figures 15, 16, and 357 in Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*.

The advertisement for Bet provides some of the few clothing and fabric descriptions we have from the Stone household. Other sources include Michael Jenifer Stone’s day book in the Kremer Collection, SMSC, fabrics listed in Thomas Stone’s probate inventories (Appendix 4), and Grace Stone’s accounts in the William Briscoe Stone Papers, Rubenstein Library, Duke University (e.g., Appendix 16). Robert Edge Pine’s practice of sketching heads in person and painting bodies in studio would suggest that Pine’s portraits of Thomas and Margaret Stone are not reliable representations of their personal clothing (Robert G. Stewart, *Robert Edge Pine: A British Portrait Painter in America, 1784–1788* [Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979], esp. 29, figure 9 on p. 32).

⁶ Thompson, “*The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret*,” 181; White and White, “Slave Clothing,” 160.

in sharp contrast to Bet's better-quality wardrobe. Enslavers purchased cheap, coarse fabrics for field hands to keep down the cost of clothing, which was "probably the largest plantation expenditure." Illustrating this point, Thomas Stone asked his brother Walter to purchase for him in Annapolis "coarse negro stockings" if they could be found cheaply enough as the winter of 1783 approached.⁷

Clothing was a highly portable marker of social status, well-suited to an eighteenth-century "world in motion" where "migrants and travelers" away from their ancestral homes "needed a standardized system" for identifying social rank. In this "standardized system," there was, of course, room for individual expression, cultural variance, and purposeful ambiguity. Not only did some African Americans combine colors in ways that set them apart from the dominant English culture. Blacks, like whites, also used clothing to blur social hierarchies. The enslaved "repeatedly contested" enslavers' ideas of "how slaves. . . should look" with respect to their clothing.⁸

In terms of achieving freedom in the earthly world, if that was Bet's goal, the ambiguous nature of her clothes, in terms of social status, was a potent strategy when she left Stone's household. In Philadelphia, where the number of manumissions jumped in the 1770s, "how. . . could one really tell who was a slave, who was a freeman, who a servant, and who a runaway?" Bet's escape occurred on the cusp of a shift toward greater access to free status among enslaved Africans and their descendants in the British Atlantic world at the end of the eighteenth century.⁹

In 1776, the free black population of Philadelphia was on trend to exceed the number of enslaved African Americans in the city as a result of manumissions and migration. At that time, Pennsylvania's capital was the most populous city in British North America, with twenty-five thousand people. According to one estimate, there were approximately two hundred to three hundred free black residents in the city in 1770, and this number is thought to have doubled by the year that Bet left Stone's household, reaching a number roughly equal to that of enslaved people in the city. By 1783, the free black population surpassed one thousand people. A high mortality rate and low birth rate meant that

⁷ Probate inventory of William Eilbeck, Charles County Inventories 1753–66, pp. 449–455, taken November 7, 1765, recorded May 1, 1766, transcription provided by the website Probing the Past: Virginia and Maryland Probate Inventories, 1740–1810, <https://chnm.gmu.edu/probateinventory>; runaway advertisement for "Phill," *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), August 8, 1799 (see Appendix 8, runaway advertisements); Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 555n (quote); Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, December 3, 1783, The Rosenbach, Philadelphia (quote). For more about Phil, see Chapter 4 and Appendix 9.

⁸ Carson, *Face Value*, 35 (quote); Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 136–37; White and White, "Slave Clothing," 155 (quote), 169 on an "African-American aesthetic" of "contrasting colours." "Slaves' textiles were purchased in a restricted range of colors, usually white, blue, or green" (Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 115).

⁹ David Waldstreicher, "Reading the Runaways: Self-Fashioning, Print Culture, and Confidence in Slavery in the Eighteenth-Century Mid-Atlantic," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser. 56 (1999): 257 (quote); Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720–1840* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), chapters 1 and 2; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 488–90.

despite access to schools, churches, and other places of community, living conditions were difficult. Nevertheless “the concentration of free blacks” in cities like Philadelphia “promised security against a hostile world.”¹⁰

Was it Bet’s intention to join this growing free black community, or was she simply taking advantage of the community’s presence in the short term to elude her would-be captors? According to an advertisement for Bet undersigned by city resident Michael Clarke on Thomas Stone’s behalf, “It is supposed that she is concealed in this city.” Clarke advertised until at least November 9, 1776, after which time Bet’s name drops from view.¹¹

The example of another enslaved housemaid, Ona Judge, who fled President George Washington’s household in Philadelphia in 1796, is instructive here for highlighting the nascency of abolition in the Revolutionary Era. Judge, who was born at Mount Vernon in 1773, was perhaps as much as a generation younger than Bet; Judge was only three years old when Bet, as a “young woman,” became a fugitive. In the twenty years between each woman’s flight—1776 and 1796—modest changes in the laws of Pennsylvania offered paths to legal freedom. Pennsylvania’s gradual emancipation law, passed in 1780, set a term of twenty-eight years in bondage for children born to enslaved women after March 1, 1780. The same act prohibited non-resident slaveholders, like George and Martha Washington, from keeping enslaved people in the state for more than six months. In the intervening years, the city’s free black community had grown larger and more vibrant, giving rise to civic organizations and leaders such as the Reverend Richard Allen, founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. This more mature community was better equipped to provide Judge with a level of support upon her escape from the President’s House than Bet experienced twenty years earlier. Even so, Judge opted to remove herself to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where she was less likely to be recognized due to her association with the Washingtons and seized as a fugitive under the federal Fugitive Slave Law of 1793.¹²

¹⁰ Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 33–34, 47 (quote), 73 (quote); Erica Armstrong Dunbar, *A Fragile Freedom: African American Women and Emancipation in the Antebellum City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

¹¹ *Pennsylvania Ledger and the Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey Weekly Advertiser* (Philadelphia), November 2 and 9, 1776. The advertisement for Bet that Thomas Stone subscribed, dated October 16, appeared in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* (Philadelphia) on October 19, and in the *Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia) on October 22 and 29, 1776. Michael Clarke’s ad, dated October 5, appeared earlier in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* (Philadelphia) on October 5 and the *Pennsylvania Packet* on October 15. Clarke’s ad can also be found in the *Pennsylvania Ledger*’s issues of November 2 and 9. The relationship between Stone and Clarke is a mystery. Clarke appears to have had no claim in ownership of Bet. “The said Negro belongs to a gentleman of Maryland,” Clarke publicized. Clarke’s location was the sign of the Blue Ball on Chestnut Street.

¹² Erica Armstrong Dunbar, *Never Caught: The Washingtons’ Relentless Pursuit of Their Runaway Slave, Ona Judge* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2017); Dunbar, *A Fragile Freedom*, 3; “Gradual Abolition Act of 1780,” www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/, accessed May 20, 2021; Max Grivno, *Gleanings of Freedom: Free and Slave Labor along the Mason-Dixon Line, 1790–1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011), 14.

Maryland has been characterized as slavery’s “middle ground” between Virginia to its west and south and Pennsylvania to its north. Of the total black population in Maryland in 1776, less than 5 percent were legally free, and that number had remained static since 1755, according to census information. Between 1790 and 1810, Maryland moved ahead of Virginia as the state with “the largest free black population in the country.” In 1810, 7 percent of Virginia’s blacks were free, and that number would move modestly toward 10 percent at the end of the antebellum period. Meanwhile, in Maryland, more than 20 percent of blacks were free in 1810 and on “the eve of the Civil War the Maryland black population was nearly half free.”¹³

In Maryland, new influences came to the fore between the 1770s and 1790s that helped African Americans advance their claims to personal and legal freedom. Among these were natural rights philosophy, humanitarianism, egalitarianism, evangelicalism, and economic change, including a greater emphasis on grain and livestock farming and demand for wage labor in growing cities like Baltimore. Between the close of the war in 1783 and 1800, “thousands of blacks” in Maryland became legally free through manumission and, directly and indirectly, as a result of freedom suits. Another untold number passed into freedom informally, as Bet did or attempted to do.¹⁴

Thomas Stone’s household was not insulated from these trends. About one out of three enslaved individuals named in Stone’s probate inventories (or nearly one out of every four persons known to have been held in bondage by Stone over his lifetime) achieved or sought freedom between Bet’s escape in 1776 and the 1790s. Nevertheless, free blacks in Charles County’s total population remained a distinct minority in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. (Notably, Thomas Stone did not manumit any of the people he held in bondage.) In 1790, free blacks made up 1.9 percent of Charles County’s total population. That number rose to 5.6 percent by 1850, which was lower than Maryland as a whole (13 percent of the total population). In 1790, Maryland’s free blacks were most populous on the state’s Eastern Shore, but that locus moved over the ensuing decades to Northern Maryland because of the growth of Baltimore. Meanwhile, an increasing proportion of the state’s enslaved population resided in the Southern Maryland counties of Anne Arundel, Calvert, Charles, Prince George’s, Montgomery, and St. Mary’s. In 1790, 47.3 percent of Maryland residents held in bondage lived in Southern Maryland; by 1850, that number grew to 52.9 percent of all of Maryland’s bondspeople living in Southern Maryland.¹⁵

¹³ Barbara J. Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 1 (quote); Richard S. Dunn, “Black Society in the Chesapeake, 1776–1810,” in *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution*, eds. Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1983), 49–82 (quote 62).

¹⁴ Loren Schweninger, “Freedom Suits, African American Women, and the Genealogy of Slavery,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 71, no. 1 (January 2014): 40 (quote). Lee notes a dramatic increase in the number of runaway notices in Maryland newspapers in the 1780s and 1790s in *Price of Nationhood*, 216.

¹⁵ Fields, *Slavery and Freedom*, 6–12, including tables 1.4 and 1.6.

This chapter will discuss a selection of tangible cultural resources at Haberdeventure in an effort to identify ways that the majority of the plantation’s residents exercised personal freedom within slavery. Historian Jessica Millward makes a helpful distinction between personal freedom, such as choosing a domestic partner or absenting oneself for several days, and legal freedom, which she describes as “the rights to move freely, get an education, choose one’s occupation, earn a living, own property, and pass on one’s assets to one’s children.” Millward reminds us, “Most enslaved people never realized such legal freedom before the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, which ended slavery, and the Fourteenth Amendment, which declared African Americans citizens” after the American Civil War. At Haberdeventure, the extant tenant house, corn crib, horse barn, and roads steer us away from the mansion house and provoke us to consider communities that centered themselves differently from their masters and mistresses.¹⁶

The African American Population at Haberdeventure

Haberdeventure was larger than most plantations in Charles County in terms of its size, though area plantations were getting bigger towards the end of the eighteenth century. The Stones of Haberdeventure were among the top ten percent of slaveholding families with plantations of twenty or more slaves in Charles County in 1782. According to available tax data, one in four enslaved persons in the county lived on plantations of this size. A higher proportion of bondspeople in Charles County—45 percent—lived on “small” plantations with ten or fewer enslaved people. From the point of view of the enslaved, the implications of living on a larger plantation like Haberdeventure or Thomas Stone’s father’s estate at Poynton Manor, where more than 50 enslaved people lived in 1774, included better opportunities for community formation than at small plantations, though impediments remained.¹⁷

¹⁶ Jessica Millward, *Finding Charity’s Folk: Enslaved and Free Black Women in Maryland* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015), 2.

¹⁷ Lee, “Problem of Slave Community,” 340, 350. In 1782 a tax assessor recorded the presence of twenty-one enslaved individuals, including seven children ages fourteen and younger, and seven whites, at Haberdeventure. Another fourteen enslaved individuals lived at other property owned by Thomas Stone up to a mile to the east, made up of Chandlers Hills, Welcome, and Addition to May Day, with reportedly no white residents. (See Appendix 7, tax lists.) The count of enslaved people in the 1782 tax assessment cannot be compared to Thomas Stone’s 1788 Charles County probate inventory one-for-one because the 1782 tax list would have included not only hirelings but also other enslaved people for whom Stone paid taxes but did not legally own, such as the enslaved people held by his sister Grace. Thomas Stone’s 1788 probate inventories counted twenty enslaved individuals living on Stone’s property in Charles County plus another five in Annapolis. J. Richard Rivoire posits that there were a minimum of twenty enslaved individuals living at Haberdeventure “at any given time” and adds “this figure is possibly conservative given that it represents less than half of the slaves owned by those who made up the [white] Haberdeventure household during that period.” This author roughly agrees with Rivoire’s assessment, which maintains a ratio of between two and three black enslaved residents for every free white resident (Rivoire, “Summary Report of Additional Research Findings,” 41, 87–90).

At Haberdeventure in 1782, blacks outnumbered whites by a ratio of two to one, according to the tax list that year. Admittedly this number underrepresents transient whites—short- and long-term visitors, hired laborers, and indentured servants—and does not take into account the dispersal of work and living areas over two thousand acres. However, the numbers do suggest a small inversion of the Charles County population at large, where whites made up the majority of the population for most of the eighteenth century.¹⁸

In terms of demographics, one thing Haberdeventure’s enslaved population shared with the African American population of Charles County as a whole was that a high proportion of were native-born. Natural increase (that is, population increase by birth in America) among people of African descent started around 1730 in Maryland and Virginia. Though African captives continued to arrive in the region, their numbers made up a declining number of Chesapeake’s overall black population as the eighteenth century wore on. “It has been estimated that early in the [eighteenth] century half the blacks in the region had been born in Africa, but by 1750 their numbers had fallen to about one-quarter, and by 1770 their numbers were under 10 percent.” The elder Clare who lived in Stone’s Annapolis household, for example, was a third-generation descendant of a late seventeenth-century couple in Charles County. (More on Clare’s family history shortly.)¹⁹

The height of the African slave trade to the Potomac River basin occurred between the 1730s and the 1760s. A latecomer to the trade was Barnes and Ridgate, a firm based in London and Port Tobacco, which advertised two shipments of African captives to Maryland in the summer of 1770. The firm intended to put up for sale “Men, Women, and Children,” Middle Passage survivors who boarded in Gambia (the northern part of Upper Guinea on the West Coast of Africa) and were carried on the London-based ship *Providence*, stopping at Lower Cedar Point and Nanjemoy in Charles County before moving north to Piscataway, near the border between Charles County and Prince George’s County, in July and August 1770. Barnes and Ridgate also invested in the commerce of human beings “just imported” from the Windward Coast (the southern end of Upper Guinea) on the Liverpool-based *Peggy*, which landed first in Virginia. The firm planned to sell these men, women, and children outside Charles County, at Georgetown on the

¹⁸ Charles County’s black population had been growing at a faster rate than the white population for decades, but whites remained in the majority up to the American Revolution. The tax list of 1782, parts of which are missing for Charles County, counted 6,457 whites and 5,411 enslaved blacks in the county. With white outmigration after the war, the numbers of whites to blacks reached a 1 to 1 ratio by 1790. (Scholars do not cite the 1782 tax list to count free blacks, relying on the 1790 federal census instead.) In 1810, Southern Maryland as a whole had a black majority (57 percent) (Lee, “The Problem of Slave Community in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake,” 348; Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 22; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom*, 3, 11). In July 1770, an Irish indentured servant ran away from Thomas Stone, indicating that Stone did use indentured servant labor (see the series of runaway advertisements in Appendix 8).

¹⁹ Lorena S. Walsh, “Migration, Society, Economy, & Settlement: 1607–1830,” in *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*, eds. Cary Carson and Carl R. Lounsbury (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 55.

Potomac River and Nottingham on the Patuxent River, in late August. Barnes and Ridgate's participation in the transatlantic slave trade is notable for this study because of Thomas Stone's legal services for the firm and for Ridgate individually (see Chapter 5).²⁰

The Upper Guinea origins of the slave traffic that Barnes and Ridgate invested in circa 1770 is consistent with recent research about the slave trade into the Chesapeake. As summarized by Lorena S. Walsh, the majority of captive Africans who were brought to the Potomac River and Maryland boarded on ships in a swath of West Africa between Senegambia and the Gold Coast.

More than half the number of Africans brought to the Upper Chesapeake (the Virginia Potomac basin and Maryland) in the eighteenth century came from the upper parts of the West African coast, from Senegambia to the north, to a second region extending from the Cassamance River to Cape Mount (the region that today includes Sierra Leone in the center), then easterly along the Windward Coast (which encompasses Ivory Coast and Liberia) and ending on the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana).

Africans shipped to the "Lower Chesapeake," defined as the York and Upper James river basins, came predominately from "more southerly parts of Africa, from the Bight of Biafra (now eastern Nigeria) or West Central Africa (the Congo and Angola)." Walsh continues, "Whether these differing forced migration steams had any effect on local slave cultures in the region is a strenuously debated topic." Walsh favors a "considered assessment" that posits reduced "potential for cultural continuities with West Africa" in the Upper Chesapeake than in the Lower Chesapeake due to greater cultural diversity among forced African migrants in the former.²¹

Other aspects of the slave trade in the upper Chesapeake, in addition to the varied origins of the captives, hampered direct cultural transmission from Africa, including the small size of the lots in which slaves were purchased, predominantly male numbers (further reducing the likelihood of finding a mate with cultural affinities), and slaves' geographic dispersal among plantations. Moreover, Africans met with the disregard, if not hostility, of the white European majority to their native cultures. British slaveholders "did not believe

²⁰ Donald M. Sweig, "The Importation of African Slaves to the Potomac River, 1732–1772," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 42 (1985): 507–24; advertisements by Barnes and Ridgate in *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), July 19 and August 23, 1770. Voyages: The Transatlantic Slave Database (www.slavevoyages.org) confirms the travel of the snow *Providence* from Gambia to Maryland but lacks information on the number of enslaved people on board (voyage identification number 77170). The *Peggy*, according to slavevoyages.org, arrived at an unknown port in Virginia from the Windward Coast with 144 enslaved people (voyage identification number 91463). For informative maps of the slave trade out of Upper Guinea circa 1770, see David Eltis and David Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), maps 56–64. Additional newspapers advertisements of sales of captive Africans in Charles County can be found in Edith Moore Sprouse, *Along the Potomac River: Extracts from the Maryland Gazette 1728–1799* (Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2011). By state law, the transatlantic slave trade to Maryland ended in 1783.

²¹ Walsh, "Migration, Society, Economy, and Settlement," 54–55. See also Eltis and Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, and www.slavevoyages.org for the results of voyage data analysis of European traffic in enslaved Africans to the Americas.

themselves to be bound by any obligation to recognize the social and cultural lineages of the enslaved,” remarks Vincent Brown, a historian of Jamaica where over a million captive Africans landed between the seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries. Brown asks, in the midst of “violence, dislocation, and death,” how did the enslaved make sense of their lives? How did they honor their ancestors, mourn their dead, and create social bonds?²²

Words like “syncretism,” “creolization,” “hybridization,” and “acculturation” pepper recent scholarship on the cultures created by Africans and their descendants in the British mainland colonies (later the United States) and the Caribbean. Archaeologist Michael T. Lucas, for example, discusses artifacts and artifact groupings intended “to harness the supernatural world” found in contexts in Prince George’s County from 1680 to 1720 where Africans, Native Americans, and Europeans had close contact with one another. Excavated objects such as “pierced coins, a pierced stone disk, glass beads, cowrie shells,” and “carved stones” defied neat categorization by ethnicity or religion. Archaeologists Mark P. Leone and Elizabeth Pruitt also discuss a mixing of African, Caribbean, Native American, and European beliefs about the spiritual world and the exchange of knowledge about plants for the purposes of healing in specific contexts around Maryland. For instance, a circa 1865–80 deposit of at least six circles made of glass, iron, and other materials found beneath the floor of a tenant house on the Eastern Shore offers insight into the genesis of Afro-American Christianity. At other sites around Maryland, spirit bundles (nkisi) have been excavated in passageways, such as doors, windows, and chimneys. For “practitioners,” these bundles, typically made of “crystals, stones, pins, nails, buttons, coins, discs, white ceramics, glass, and beads,” offered a means of communicating with the spirit world and controlling one’s environment.²³

²² Lee, “The Problem of Slave Community,” 342; Vincent Brown, “Social Death and Political Life in the Study of Slavery,” *American Historical Review* 114 (2009): 1231–49 (quote 1248); Eltis and Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, 201. Jonathan Roberts documents “cultural chauvinism” of Europeans in coastal West Africa, even in matters of life and death, in “Medical Exchange on the Gold Coast During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 45 (2011): 480–523. On the other hand, Michael T. Lucas came across a European who consulted an African and a Native American, in addition to a European healer, for a disease cure in 1690s Prince George’s County, Maryland (“Empowered Objects: Material Expressions of Spiritual Beliefs in the Colonial Chesapeake Region,” *Historical Archaeology* 48 [2014]: 106–24, esp. 109).

²³ Lucas, “Empowered Objects,” 106 (“creolization and hybridization”); Mark P. Leone et al., “The Archaeology of Early African American Communities in Talbot County, Eastern Shore, Maryland, USA, and Their Relationship to Slavery,” *Historical Archaeology* 52 (2018): 753–72; Elizabeth Pruitt, *Reordering the Landscape at Wye House: Nature, Spirituality, and Social Order* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2017), esp. chapter 3 (quote, 44).

Tangible Cultural Resources at Haberdeventure

What are the tangible cultural resources at Haberdeventure today that can be analyzed for evidence of African American life and culture two and a half centuries ago? By first appearance, the answer is very little. The eighteenth-century kitchen, where enslaved people very likely slept, was replaced in the nineteenth century, its material evidence obscured by the brick west wing that stands in its place. No eighteenth-century outbuildings survive, and no burial sites of the enslaved have been confirmed. Archaeological excavations conducted in the park in the 1980s and 1990s were limited in scope and mostly performed for mitigation purposes to comply with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act.

Archaeologists identified American Indian artifacts from the Late Archaic period (3000–2300 BCE). Indigenous occupation thereafter, in the Woodland and Contact periods, remains speculative. Indeed, *any* eighteenth-century residential sites in the 322-acre park, apart from the mansion house, have not been identified and excavated. And American Indian and African American cultural influences on the property as it existed in the 1770s and 1780s remain obscure.²⁴

Without additional archaeology at Haberdeventure, our knowledge of cultural beliefs and practices among the enslaved on the plantation is limited to what is visible aboveground and can be gleaned in documents and printed sources like newspapers. Information about other plantations and households helps fill in the gaps. We know, too, that the experiences of enslaved people varied tremendously. Urban life, for example, was different than rural life, and some proportion of Haberdeventure’s residents navigated both. The elder Clare, for instance, had moved to Stone’s Annapolis household by 1787–1788, and the elder Jack ran errands between Haberdeventure and Annapolis.²⁵

At the risk of not giving enough attention to the domestic servant experience, the following discussion of tangible cultural resources at Haberdeventure with regard to African American history will focus on structures that are some distance away from the mansion house. Scholars suggest that Africans and their descendants had greater freedom of expression in outlying areas away from the master’s house. What if a tour of

²⁴ Moyer, “Archaeological Overview and Assessment,” 22, 51–52. Moyer comments on a feeble effort in the mid-1980s to find evidence of occupation east of the nineteenth-century tenant house, a likely place to find enslaved housing. The 1987 report “has many errors and inconsistencies,” the maps are incomplete, and artifacts were not only left uncatalogued but left in boxes “severely overpacked and poorly labeled” (67). Admittedly, plantation archaeology in the American South with respect to African American life was a field in its infancy at the time. A 2017 Foundation Document for the Thomas Stone National Historic Site acknowledges the need to conduct archaeological surveys and catalogue collections (pp. 29–30). A National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for Habre de Venture, submitted in 1988, includes a 1984 “interview report” of a local African American resident’s testimony to his grandfather’s burial in an area east of the Stone family burial ground “reserved for Black servants and tenants.” James Cornelius Woodland died in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. (The State of Maryland abolished slavery in 1864.)

²⁵ Appendix 9, “Enslaved Persons in Thomas Stone’s Probate Inventories,” offers information on the elder Clare and the elder Jack.

Haberdeventure started among the nineteenth-century dependencies, at the extant tenant house, corn crib, and horse barn? Though each of these structures postdate Thomas Stone's lifetime, they offer starting points for discussing African American life on a large plantation (by Charles County standards) in the later eighteenth century.²⁶

Mid-Nineteenth-Century Tenant House

No physical evidence of eighteenth-century slave housing survives aboveground at Haberdeventure. (See Chapter 1 for a discussion about work and living areas for enslaved domestic servants at the main house.) In the search for slave quarters, the mid-nineteenth-century tenant house offers a promising place to start. This structure, initially erected circa 1840–59, lies southwest and somewhat out of view of the main house. (See Figure 2.) It stands adjacent to a clearing that has the appearance of an arable field. Located about five hundred feet away from the main house, a ravine and stream serve as a natural barrier between the two residences.²⁷

According to oral histories, “three one-room cabins, each with an outside brick chimney, were [at one time] located in a line off the southwest end of the existing tenant house.” While the presence of brick chimneys makes it unlikely that the three cabins recalled in oral history dated to the eighteenth century—brick was a more common local building material in the nineteenth century—it is possible that slave cabins with impermanent chimneys were located in this vicinity in the 1770s and 1780s, in addition to housing for slaves closer to the mansion house, if we extrapolate from a study of nearby La Grange plantation.²⁸

La Grange, known as Strawberry Hill during its ownership by Dr. James Craik and his son William Craik between 1763 and 1798, stands less than three miles from Haberdeventure. (For the location of La Grange relative to Haberdeventure, see Figure 3.) The size of the enslaved population in the 1780s and 1790s, at more than twenty people, roughly matched that of Haberdeventure. Archaeological investigators found two areas of slave housing at La Grange dating to the second half of the eighteenth century and early

²⁶ A pioneer study of American plantation architecture that shifted the gaze away from mansion house is John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993). Dell Upton's 1985 groundbreaking article “Black and White Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia” identifies spaces where enslaved blacks could find more autonomy. On the greater freedom of cultural expression by blacks on outlying quarters compared to inside and adjacent to slaveholders' houses in the colonial Chesapeake, see also Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 104–24, and *passim*.

²⁷ The tenant house was apparently moved from its original location and enlarged in the mid-twentieth century (National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for Habre de Venture [1988], section 7, page 3). Moyer's archaeological overview and assessment (2007) summarizes archaeological surveys conducted in the vicinity of the tenant house in the 1980s and 1990s.

²⁸ CLR (1996) 43, citing oral histories at the Southern Maryland Studies Center, College of Southern Maryland, La Plata; Lounsbury, “Brickwork,” 257–58.

nineteenth century. A “quarter complex” made up of about three to six structures, occupied from the 1760s to the 1820s, stood about two hundred feet from the main house. The quarter complex was located on “less desirable ground” than the main house. The land “is not level,” the team observed, and “retains water.” Another eight or nine cabins, some occupied in the late eighteenth century, were found up to a thousand feet away from the main house; this latter grouping is more in keeping with the surviving tenant house at Haberdeventure, being greater removed from the main house, with more privacy.²⁹

Another significant finding at La Grange is that patterns in slave housing changed over time. During the tenure of Francis Newman, an Englishman who acquired La Grange in 1798 and doubled the size of the slave force, the quarter complex closer to the main house expanded to accommodate more people. Then, when the Stonestreet family took over in the 1830s, the quarter complex fell out of use. A two-story brick kitchen, which could accommodate slaves, was erected, and other slave housing moved away from the vicinity of the main house.

As is the case at Haberdeventure, La Grange lacks documentary or other aboveground evidence for the location of slave quarters or cabins. The archaeologists used a prediction model for locating the housing. Variation in slave housing among eighteenth-century Chesapeake plantations defies easy patterning, though. From a review of other studies, the investigators concluded the following:

Slave quarters are just as likely to be located on poor soils and in marginal areas within a landscape as they are to be neatly arranged in a core area of outbuildings around the plantation house or overseer’s dwelling. On smaller plantations, it was not uncommon for slaves to sleep in detached kitchens or other outbuildings. On larger plantations, however, domestic slaves generally lived in the vicinity of the plantation house while field slaves were often quartered near the fields where they worked, sometimes on outlying or non-contiguous plantations.

In late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Charles County specifically, the archaeological team observed a general practice among slaveholders to hide slave and tenant housing from the view of the mansion house. The tenant house at Haberdeventure, and the reported cabins beyond it, fits this profile. That being said, we would expect to see accommodations for enslaved domestic servants and perhaps other skilled workers closer to the main house; this could be in a quarter complex within several hundred feet of the mansion such as at La Grange, or in outbuildings, such as the kitchen, that “served other purposes”

²⁹ 1782 tax list, MSA; Rivoire, *Homeplaces*, 82; Webster, Frick, King, and Strickland, “In Search of Josiah Henson’s Birthplace,” iii, 17, 35, 103 (quote), 104–5. The 1782 tax assessment recorded twenty-two slaves at Dr. James Craik’s plantation, on a total of 495 acres. Newman held twenty-four people in bondage in 1798 and sixty-two by 1810.

and “may not fit prototypical archaeological signatures for slave housing.” Unfortunately, at Haberdeventure, the eighteenth-century kitchen building does not survive, depriving onlookers of a way to visualize the use of the kitchen as slave housing.³⁰

Changing slaveholder preferences may further obscure the material record of slave housing at Haberdeventure. If the turn-of-the-nineteenth century occupant of La Grange, Francis Newman, preferred more oversight over the enslaved workforce, as the archaeological team suggests, and erected more slave housing near the mansion (a trend that his successor reversed), might Thomas Stone’s daughter and son-in-law, Margaret and Dr. John Moncure Daniel, have done the same in the 1790s? Also in the 1790s, George Washington and his agents demolished the “Quarters [or House] for Families,” a two-story frame building constructed in the 1760s near the mansion house at Mount Vernon, and replaced it with two brick wings on either side of a recently erected greenhouse. It is believed that the rooms at the Greenhouse Quarter had a dormitory-style layout, with bunks along the walls, and housed single adults, female-headed families, and conjugal pairs. According to a letter by Mount Vernon’s farm manager, one motivation for the new structure was to bring the enslaved at the Mansion House Farm under stricter regulation. Did slaveholder anxieties about African Americans’ claims to freedom in the 1780s and 1790s find expression in tighter regulation over housing?

Several residence patterns can overlap, of course, at any one time. At Mount Vernon’s Mansion House Farm, for instance, up to half of the enslaved residents of the home plantation lived in the communal housing of the Greenhouse Quarter in the 1790s, while others lived in different outbuildings or in single-family slave cabins not far from the main house. While Haberdeventure was only one-tenth the size of Mount Vernon in terms of the size of its enslaved population, we would still expect to see a variety of housing for bondspeople (and hired hands) within its boundaries.³¹

A notable development in the Chesapeake at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century is a trend toward accommodating families in more private housing, the most common of which was the wooden slave cabin. A typical cabin measured between 150 and 250 square feet and housed between three and four people. (As a point of comparison, the center block of Haberdeventure measures 1,080 square feet.) Bondspeople constructed cabins themselves with logs and erected an earthen (wattle and daub) exterior chimney that could be knocked down in case of fire. Furnishings were

³⁰ Webster, Frick, King, and Strickland, “In Search of Josiah Henson’s Birthplace,” 34 (quote), 35, 36 (quote). On kitchen buildings as housing for the enslaved, see Chappell, “Housing Slavery,” 164–65.

³¹ Thompson, “*The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret*,” 162–67; Edward A. Chappell, “Housing Slavery,” in *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*, eds. Cary Carson and Carl R. Lounsbury (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 156–78, esp. 171. The Greenhouse Quarter at Mount Vernon accommodated about forty-five people in six hundred square feet.

spare. Doors and, at some cabins, door locks offered a measure of privacy, though slaveholders expected overseers to inspect slave quarters to confirm reports of illness and check for theft.³²

Whereas poor whites were housed in cabins, too, the duplex, commonly dubbed a “quarter,” was a more distinct type of slave housing in the later eighteenth-century Chesapeake. With a brick chimney in the middle and rooms on either side, the duplex was visibly different from cabins with wooden chimneys and houses with brick-end chimneys. Duplexes were larger, at between 225 and 325 square feet, and required a greater outlay of material by the slaveholder, and thus might be considered an improvement over the slave cabin. But conditions were still crowded. The tax assessor for Charles County’s Fifth District in 1782, where Haberdeventure lay, did not use the word “quarter” to describe any property. His counterpart in the Sixth District, though, recorded quarters, including “two new quarters” at Charles Goodrick’s plantation, Goodrick’s Rest. Thomas Stone sold four enslaved people to Goodrick in 1779 and purchased “back” Bob, as noted elsewhere.³³

For lack of evidence to the contrary, Thomas Stone and his agents at Haberdeventure, like many of their peers (George Washington being something of an exception), appear to have taken a hands-off approach to how their bondpeople were housed. Historian Philip Morgan asserts that in the colonial Chesapeake, while masters controlled the “size, materials, and location” of slave housing, the enslaved exercised a degree of creative control over construction and spatial arrangement, particularly on outlying plantations. One key feature was the yard, an important living space for cooking, socializing, playing, and working.³⁴

Given the lack of documentation about slave housing at Haberdeventure in the 1770s, ’80s, and ’90s, the extant nineteenth-century tenant house and recollections of other houses in its vicinity offers a tantalizing suggestion as to where bondpeople in the eighteenth century might have lived. However, rural properties in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake varied in accommodations for enslaved people. Domestic servants in a larger household like Haberdeventure, for example, had little space to call their own. Bondpeople exercised greater control over their domestic lives at a distance from slaveholders, on outlying plantations and in housing of their own construction. This control extended to food preparation and gardening, which will be addressed next.

³² Thompson, “*The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret*,” 95, 106, 167, 171; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 111–13; Upton, “White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia,” 367; Forman, *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland*, 77. An apparent decline in “multiple” subfloor pits in slave quarters in Virginia at the turn of the nineteenth century has been interpreted as evidence of more families cohabitating (Chappell, “Housing Slavery,” 158).

³³ Chappell, “Housing Slavery,” 159. The 1783 census of Charles Goodrick’s plantation unfortunately does not survive.

³⁴ Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 117–18, 121–23.

1830s Corn Crib

The circa 1830s corn crib at Haberdeventure offers another opportunity to discuss agency in African American life on plantations of similar size in the later eighteenth century. Although the corn crib postdates Thomas Stone's lifetime, its design would not be out of place in the late eighteenth century. Using it as a point of analysis for agency by the enslaved may seem counterintuitive: the contents of this structure would have been rationed to provide adequate sustenance to people and livestock. The corn crib, in this respect, was a symbol of slaveholder control over resources. However, in practice, bondpeople negotiated food provisions, exercised a degree of control over the food they raised and prepared for themselves, and obtained cash or credit by raising surplus for sale or exchange. The experience of food was much broader than slaveholder provisions.³⁵

Corn was a critical part of the American Indian diet in the region prior to European colonization, and European and African inhabitants of the colonial Chesapeake incorporated the grain into their lives as well. Corn did not require as much time, labor, and skill to cultivate and harvest as wheat, and women and children could perform the work. In addition, the growing season complemented the tobacco cycle; the corn harvest in October followed the cutting of tobacco in September. Moreover, by the mid-eighteenth century, the decline of wild spaces and forage areas made corn an important source of feed for livestock. To demonstrate the local importance of corn, in the South Carolina Lowcountry in the 1770s, where it was more profitable to raise rice than corn, an adult slave on average produced twenty-two bushels of corn a year; his or her counterpart in the Chesapeake raised five times as much annually. In Virginia and Maryland, corn sustained both people and livestock.³⁶

Eighteenth-century Chesapeake slaves were more dependent on slaveholders for food than Lowcountry slaves. With free time constrained to Sundays (and additional time off at Christmas), Chesapeake slaves typically received allowances of corn and meat or fish for protein. They were expected to raise vegetables and fowl on their own time. Extra rations of meat were given at harvest and to skilled workers and drivers. "Food was an instrument of power on the plantation." When Thomas Stone instructed his brother Walter to give allotments of pork to Violet and Ann, two sisters of higher status among the enslaved at Haberdeventure, in late 1785, he sought to bind the women to his household. If

³⁵ The corn crib at Haberdeventure dates to circa 1830–40 according to the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for the property (1988). Architectural historian Orlando Ridout IV used a photo of the corn crib as an illustration for an article on agricultural buildings in the Chesapeake, calling it "a rare example of the larger, broader form used for corn storage in the eighteenth century, with the door centered in the long wall" (*The Chesapeake House*, eds. Carson and Lounsbury, figure 9.7).

³⁶ Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 48–50; Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 144–45, 336, 622; Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 29–31. See also Chapter 4.

Violet and Ann accepted the offer of meat to feed their families, and perhaps to distribute to others as favors, they tacitly acknowledged Stone's authority. Slaveholders also wielded the power to withhold food as punishment.³⁷

While the corn crib is in one respect a symbol of external control over enslaved lives, given that its contents were apportioned, slaves found ways to exert their humanity. Mary V. Thompson writes in her history of enslaved persons at George Washington's Mount Vernon: "While it is possible to see a good deal of oppression in the foodways of Mount Vernon slaves—in the very tedious and nutritionally inadequate rations, and the fact that people who were exhausted from working long days were expected to grow a good deal of their food in their few 'free' hours—it is also in their foodways that we see evidence of the African American community at Mount Vernon asserting its own values and fighting back." In the preparation of meals, for example, using ingredients and cooking techniques that resonated with West African traditions, slaves resisted dehumanization. In stealing food, slaves asserted their own values. Charles County native Josiah Henson, for instance, tells a story of "running down a chicken" to offer to a woman "to whom it was at once food, luxury, and medicine." With this transgression, Henson felt empowered as a male to help a person in need and thereby alleviate his "sorrow."³⁸

A similar dynamic undoubtedly played out in the herbal medicine gardens of Charles County, on estates large and small. Herbs could be used to heal or to poison. Jenny Shorter, an enslaved woman in St. Mary's County in the mid-eighteenth century, was known for her cures for the flux. In 1781, an African American woman in Charles County known as Nan was convicted in a jury trial of attempting to poison her master's family. Nan's owner blamed "Negro Peter, who claimed" Nan as his wife. Peter had "very great influence over the Chief of his Colour in the neighborhood" and claimed to be "a parson

³⁷ Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 136; Thompson, "The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret," 221, 227; Lindsay Bloch and Anna S. Agbe-Davies, "'With Sundry Other Sorts of Small Ware Too Tedious to Mention': Petty Consumerism on U.S. Plantations," in *Material Worlds: Archaeology, Consumption, and the Road to Modernity*, eds. Barbara Heath, Eleanor E. Breen, and Lori A. Lee (New York: Routledge, 2017), 136 (quote). In a letter to Walter Stone of December 21, 1785, Thomas Stone directed, "Sell all the pork Ostro [the miller] has for me for cash except 800 [weight]—500 of which to be sent to Michael [,] of the rest 150 to be kept at the mill[,] 100 given to Ann for self and family[,] and 50 to Violet" (Stone Family Papers, LC).

³⁸ Thompson, "The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret," 245; Josiah Henson, *Father Henson's Story of His Own Life* (Boston: John P. Jewett and Co., 1858), 21–22.

and a conjuror.” Here, then, is testimony to *obeah* or sorcery. “Herb doctors” attracted whites’ attention for their ability to inflict harm to the living, but they also offered relief to the enslaved who shunned European medicine.³⁹

The accounts of poisoning, like those of theft, testify to the values and actions of African Americans outside of the dominant legal frameworks. Slaveholders set structures, such as food allowances, but African Americans exerted a measure of control over their own lives. Haberdeventure’s horse barn offers another opportunity to tell this story.

1840s Horse Barn

Testimonies in 1790s freedom suits hint at a custom in Charles County of bondspeople raising horses for their own use and profit. Leonard Boarman, who came from a prominent slaveholding family, testified that an enslaved woman, Betty Mingo, sometime before her death around 1770, sold a horse belonging to her to pay for a lawyer while she lived at a plantation near the border with St. Mary’s County. A relative of the Stone family, Richard Robin Reeder, mentioned that David Stone allowed bondspeople on his plantation to raise horses, and Reeder cited this as an example of how David Stone was a “good master.”⁴⁰

While we don’t know if Thomas Stone allowed his bondspeople to raise horses, it is evident that Stone prized horses as possessions. In his will, Thomas Stone bequeathed “carriage horses” and a “chair horse” to his daughters. His Charles County probate inventory lists nine horses, the most valuable of which were two nine-year-old Bay geldings, valued at £30 a piece. The other horses were valued at £10 or less. Who cared for these animals?⁴¹

Though the existing horse barn at Haberdeventure dates to the nineteenth century, very likely a shelter for horses existed during Thomas Stone’s ownership. Architectural historian Orlando Ridout V observed that in the colonial period, horses were more likely to be stabled than cattle and oxen. And residents used horses for a growing variety of tasks:

³⁹ See Chapter 1 on formal gardens in Charles County. On Jenny Shorter, see Chapter 4, note 35. Thomas Stone attested to the good name of the “plain country people” who defended Nan’s character and supported her release by the governor (Pardon Papers, Box 1, Folder 82, Governor and Council, 1781, MSA). I am grateful to Lee’s *Price of Nationhood*, 201–2, for bringing my attention to Nan’s pardon. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 610–31, discusses the persistence of conjuring in the early South. Pruitt considers African American appropriation of the garden and greenhouse at Wye House, Talbot County, Maryland, in *Reordering the Landscape at Wye House*, chapter 3 (“herb doctors,” p. 60). Breslaw discusses the power dynamics among enslaved healers, white physicians, and their patients in *Lotions, Potions, Pills, and Magic*, chapter 3. See also Thompson, “*The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret*,” on health and medicine.

⁴⁰ Transcriptions of depositions of Leonard Boarman and Richard Robin Reeder, May 22 and October 15, 1792, respectively, *Robert Thomas v. Henry Pile*, in Thomas et al., ed., *O Say Can You See: Early Washington, DC, Law and Family*, www.earlywashingtondc.org, accessed February 4, 2019. Indentured servants and slaves had to have the permission of their masters to “trade, barter” or “commerce” (Act Relating to Servants and Slaves, 1715, *Archives of Maryland*, 30:286).

⁴¹ Petravage, “Historic Furnishings Report,” pp. 11–14. For Thomas Stone’s probate inventory, see Appendix 4.

“Through the first century or more of settlement, all but the wealthiest Chesapeake planters made do with a few draft animals and, if they could afford it, a riding horse or two. Over the course of the eighteenth century, numbers and diversity broadened to reflect increasing specialization and growing economic stability. A wealthy planter would own draft animals for farmwork, carriage horses to pull a chair, chaise, or carriage, ‘saddle horses’ for business and pleasure, and, among a small elite, racehorses for sport.” The size of stables varied by location; a plantation like Haberdeventure might have a stable to shelter “four to ten horses,” while a county seat like Port Tobacco, with its courthouse and taverns, could be expected to have stables to accommodate “thirty to sixty [horses] or more.”⁴²

Eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Chesapeake planters’ love affair with horses, and horse racing, is widely known. Less well-examined, though documented in art and writing of the period, are the African Americans who nurtured, trained, drove, and rode horses in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake. In a painting of George Washington by John Trumbull from 1780, an African American man, William Lee, is represented attending a horse on the right-hand side of the canvas. While the painting deifies Washington, not Lee, Lee was an accomplished horseman. Enslaved blacks used horses to travel, with and without slaveholders’ permission, and black jockeys were a familiar presence in later eighteenth-century horse races. Runaways to the British military during the American Revolution took horsemanship with them, riding as black jockeys in races in New York.⁴³

Horses and horse riding, while offering freedom of movement, also had their dangers. A visitor’s horse kicked a postilion at Mount Vernon and gave him a broken jaw. Black horseback riders and carriage drivers were exposed to the same weather and bad road conditions that whites complained about. Thomas Stone wrote in a letter in the winter of 1782, after traveling from Philadelphia to Haberdeventure, “I have not been out of my room since I got home—the severity of the weather and roughness of the roads disordered me exceedingly—and I scarcely have strength to finish this scrawl.” Though he doesn’t comment on how anyone who may have accompanied him was feeling after this tiring trip, Stone did express concern about the safety of his carriage driver when he commissioned a

⁴² Orlando Ridout V, “Agricultural Buildings,” in *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*, eds. Cary Carson and Carl R. Lounsbury (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 198.

⁴³ Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 319–21, 416–17. For an example of unsanctioned horse use, see Rhys Isaac’s account of “Peter the plowman” who rode “plow horses in the night” in *Landon Carter’s Uneasy Kingdom*, 26. On Lee, see “William (Billy) Lee,” www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/william-billy-lee, accessed February 13, 2020; and Thompson, “*The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret*,” passim. Cassandra Pybus mentions black jockeys in Revolutionary New York in “Jefferson’s Faulty Math: The Question of Slave Defections in the American Revolution,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 57 (April 2005): 259–60.

new carriage the following year. As noted in Chapter 1, Stone wanted the carriage to be outfitted for a postillion rather than a man perched up on a coach box, from which the coachman would be liable to be thrown on rural roads.⁴⁴

Roads

Roads are a key feature of the landscape at Haberdeventure, as noted in Chapter 1. Lacking direct access to waterways, the plantation relied on overland transportation networks. Thomas Stone strategically located his home plantation at the nexus of two roads. Port Tobacco-Piscataway Road (now Rose Hill Road) continues to serve as a property boundary on the east side as Thomas Stone intended it to be. Another route, called Port Tobacco-Mattawoman Road (later Glymont Road and now abandoned), ran through the north side of the Haberdeventure estate. (See Figures 6–8.)⁴⁵

How did the proximity of Haberdeventure to these roads impact the day-to-day life of the plantation from enslaved peoples' points of view? In what ways did Port Tobacco's location, at about a mile away, influence day-to-day life at Haberdeventure? And did enslaved residents at Haberdeventure attach any meaning to legal property boundaries?

In an essay published over thirty years ago, Jean B. Lee contended that, practically speaking, plantation boundaries did have power. While acknowledging accounts in slave narratives of the use of roads and paths to visit kin and distribute news across properties, Lee wrote, "we can be reasonably certain that most of the black laborers of the Chesapeake spent no more than a small part of their time en route to or visiting friends and relatives who were not housed in their own quarters. For most of their lives, slaves' chances for social interactions were limited to the fields and meadows, the quarters and woods, of their home plantations." Certainly, in terms of their daily work demands, most enslaved people in the Chesapeake had little free time or license to travel far. More recent scholarship emphasizes informal freedom.⁴⁶

Philip Morgan, for instance, argued that colonial Chesapeake plantation boundaries were "porous" for a variety of reasons, including the dispersed settlement pattern and small plantation size (with eight to ten working hands on a subunit, or quarter, of a large plantation). "Eighteenth-century plantations might have aspired to self-sufficiency, but they were never self-contained." Consistent with porous boundaries was the practice of hiring out of slaves to other masters and mistresses and self-hire, slaves sent on errands,

⁴⁴ Thompson, "The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret," 119; Thomas Stone to General William Smallwood, January 29, 1792, in *Papers Relating Chiefly to the Maryland Line during the Revolution*, ed. Balch, 168–70, reproduced in Jefferson, "Thomas Stone: A Chronology from Select Primary Sources."

⁴⁵ See CLR (1996) 24, Figure 17, for a depiction of Port Tobacco-Mattawoman Road cutting across the northern end of Haberdeventure in 1787.

⁴⁶ Lee, "Problem of Slave Community," 338 (quote).

and the ubiquity of “abroad” marriages—marriages to persons off the plantation. Over time, kin networks spread out over space. “Social networks knit together slaves from many residences, so that bondspeople came to have a sense of place that extended beyond their home lots.” Enslaved people also took to roads and waterways to buy and sell goods, attend horse races, or attend a Sunday “Negro ball” like the one Englishman Nicholas Cresswell witnessed at Nanjemoy in 1774.⁴⁷

Cresswell’s account of a dance assembly, with its description of a culture of music and physical movement different from his own, is widely cited. Nonetheless, it deserves repeating here because of the association between music, dance, and travel.

Mr. Bayley and I went to see a Negro Ball, Sundays being the only days these poor Creatures have to themselves, they generally meet together and amuse themselves with Dancing to the Banjor. This Musical Instrument. . . is made of a Gourd. . . with. . . four strings. . . . Some of them sing to it which is very droll musick indeed, In their songs they generally relate the usage they have received from their Masters or Mistresses, in a very Satirical stile and manner. . . . Their Dancing is most violent exercise, but so irregular and Grotesque, I am not able to describe it. They all appear to be exceedingly happy at these merry makings and seem as if they had forgot or were not sensible of their miserable condition.

Cresswell did not say how many people gathered for the ball, but Nanjemoy may have been a local draw for music. In 1778, a banjo player named “Will Wage, or Will Crack,” of Piccawaxon Glebe near Lower Cedar Point and hired out to Richard Gamba, near Haberdeventure, was “last heard of about Nanjemoy.” “Well acquainted with all parts of the country,” Will had been on the move for two months (notably during harvest, when there was a demand for day laborers), and he likely entertained as he traveled. Josiah Henson, born into slavery at La Grange Plantation in or around 1789, recalled that his father’s banjo “was the life of the farm.”⁴⁸

In the case of Haberdeventure during Thomas Stone’s lifetime, the evidence of enslaved people traveling is strongest for men conducting errands. For example, in December 1783, Jack, who was in his thirties, and a “servant” named Webster traveled from Haberdeventure to Annapolis to retrieve Thomas Stone’s carriage while Stone stayed at home. Jack carried letters to be delivered in the capitol and was entrusted with bringing

⁴⁷ Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 44, 412, 476 (quote), 525 (quote); Nicholas Cresswell, diary entry dated May 29, 1774, in *A Man Apart: The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell*, eds. Gill and Curtis.

⁴⁸ Lee, *The Price of Nationhood*, 71, and Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 587, for treatments of Cresswell’s account of the Nanjemoy dance; runaway advertisement, *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* [Baltimore], October 20, 1778, cited in Lathan A. Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790*, 4 vols. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), 2:214; *Father Henson’s Story of His Own Life*, 6 (quote). A Maryland law of 1787 discouraged enslaved people from being “at large” and hiring themselves out “except ten days at harvest.” The law also made an exception for river pilots (*Laws of Maryland*, 1787, Chapter 33, “An Act to Prevent the inconveniences arising from slaves being permitted to act as free”). Thomas Stone did not attend the legislative session that passed this law.

back for Stone clothes, medicine, and Jerry Small, a twelve-year-old enslaved boy in Stone's household. Entries in Michael Jenifer Stone's day book record Jack making the trip to Annapolis twice in 1779, so it is not inconceivable to imagine that Jack was an important lifeline between Haberdeventure and Annapolis, where Thomas Stone often traveled and eventually took up residence after the war. To give another example, an unnamed manservant delivered a letter from Thomas Stone at Haberdeventure to an attorney in Leonardtown, the seat of St. Mary's County, in 1779.⁴⁹

For other Haberdeventure residents, nearby Port Tobacco offered a venue for "petty consumerism," small-scale exchanges that gave people without access to capital or credit a way of participating in markets. One example is Robin, an elderly man from the Stone family's Pointon Manor plantation who sold fowl to Michael Jenifer Stone in 1779; Michael Jenifer Stone debited Thomas Stone's account for the purchase. African Americans commonly sold chickens in local markets, in addition to garden produce and small craft items. Slaveholders sought to keep these exchanges confined to their plantations, offering barter and cash, but with limited effect. Slaves at George Washington's Mount Vernon, for example, traveled as far as Alexandria, nine miles away, to sell food and wares.⁵⁰

With their proceeds, enslaved people purchased "better clothing, extra food, and household goods," as well as luxuries like sugar and coffee. Among the artifacts found in the late-eighteenth-to-early nineteenth-century quarter complex at La Grange were "two copper alloy buttons." Buttons have been an object of interest among scholars because they are not an object that masters provided to slaves, and yet they appear in archaeological contexts and elsewhere, such as written and visual depictions of slave clothing. "Showy metal buttons" had particular appeal among African American young men, remarks Cary Carson, and around 1770 gold replaced silver as the fashionable color. The authors of the

⁴⁹ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, December 3, 1783, The Rosenbach, Philadelphia; Michael Jenifer Stone day book, Kremer Collection, SMSC, p. 12; endorsement on Thomas Stone to Matthew Blair, February 17, 1779, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, reproduced in Jefferson, "Thomas Stone: A Chronology from Selected Primary Sources."

Enslaved men who traveled would have had to monitor for danger. On an August night in 1791, a white man fatally stabbed an enslaved man known as Benjamin on "Theobald's Hill" while Benjamin was on his way from Port Tobacco to Haberdeventure. John Hoskins Stone, who claimed ownership of Benjamin, declared the attack an "inhuman act" (advertisement by John Hoskins Stone, *Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis], September 1, 1791).

Manservants had the uneasy position of holding trust and privilege in unequal, intimate relationships. In 1790, an Anne Arundel County slaveholder advertised for help in locating a former waiting man and carriage driver named "Wat" who was "well acquainted with the roads to Baltimore-Town, George-Town, Frederick-Town, and Hager's-Town." The enslaver praised Wat's attractive appearance and knowledge of horses. But he also considered Wat "artful." Two years prior, Wat had been punished for "misdeeds...when abroad" by being sent to field work. He wore an "iron collar" (advertisement in *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser, Extra* [Baltimore], January 22, 1790, in Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements*, 2:402).

⁵⁰ Bloch and Agbe-Davies, "'With Sundry Other Sorts of Small Ware'"; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 358–73; Thompson, "The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret," 197.

La Grange study note that no buttons were found in an excavation of a quarter complex in St. Mary's City in Southern Maryland. La Grange's proximity to Port Tobacco may have meant better access to trade networks.

Enslaved people in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake, including Charles County, asserted their humanity and exercised personal freedoms. With little surviving first-hand testimony by the enslaved from this period and region, historians often have to rely on oblique evidence about their experiences. But one closely guarded tool of survival, among whites and blacks alike, was family.

Histories and Identities of the Enslaved at Haberdeventure

When Bet left Stone's Philadelphia household in October 1776, presumably she left a social network—or she may have been running to one. As is the case with the majority of people held in bondage by Thomas Stone and his wife, we do not know Bet's place of birth (in Maryland, Pennsylvania, or elsewhere), nor who she considered family. As Frederick Douglass wrote, "Slavery does away with fathers, as it does away with families. Slavery has no use for either fathers or families and its laws do not recognize their existence in the social arrangements of the plantation." In a testament to their resilience, enslaved Africans and their descendants formed "fragile communities" amidst trauma, dislocation, and alienation in the Americas. The girls and women who survived the Middle Passage were, in Vincent Brown's evocative words, "the mothers of gasping new societies." In subsequent generations, enslaved people traveled remarkable distances to search out spouses and relatives, continuing to forge the connections between the past and the present that made their lives meaningful.⁵¹

Family was "the key social network" for blacks in the eighteenth-century South, remarks Philip D. Morgan. For this reason, we are fortunate to have documentation on several people whose families can be traced to the estates of Thomas's father and grandfather, David Stone (1709–73) and Thomas Stone (1677–1727), at Poynton Manor in Durham Parish, Charles County. The following section will discuss the division of enslaved people among David Stone's heirs. It will also present evidence about the Thomas family, which intersected with the Stones. Lastly, the section will reflect on how African Americans responded to the challenges of maintaining social networks.⁵²

⁵¹ Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, quoted in Millward, *Finding Charity's Folk*, 20; Brown, "Social Death and Political Life in the Study of Slavery," 1239 (quote), 1241 (quote).

⁵² Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 497 (quote).

Division of the Enslaved among David Stone's Heirs in 1774–1778

David Stone's plantation at Poynton Manor, with fifty-two enslaved residents in 1774, half of whom (twenty-six) were children below the age of eight, is an example of one of the relatively large, multigenerational plantations in Charles County that are believed to have offered the best chances for family and community formation. David Stone (1709–73) inherited his father's plantation, married into slaveholding families, and lived a long life, all of which facilitated his accumulation of wealth in chattel slaves. Also, his estate was solvent, reducing the likelihood that enslaved people would be put up for auction. Furthermore, a formal division of David Stone's personal estate did not occur until five years after his death and at least eighteen months after his widow's death. Moreover, all the land he possessed descended to a single heir, David's oldest son, Samuel Stone. These circumstances provided a measure of residential stability for Poynton Manor's enslaved community until, eventually, in 1778, Thomas Stone and his brother John Hoskins Stone, as administrators of their parents' estates, took charge of dividing their parents' personal property, including enslaved people, equitably among heirs according to Maryland law and custom for intestate decedents.⁵³

To some extent, the community and family ties forged among the enslaved on Poynton Manor were perpetuated at Haberdeventure through Thomas Stone's role as a paterfamilias to his surviving siblings Michael Jenifer Stone, Walter Stone, Grace Stone, and Catherine Scott. When these siblings made Haberdeventure their home, they did not arrive alone. As occurred countless times across the colonial and early national Chesapeake, enslaved families had to meet challenges in maintaining kinship ties through forced relocations.⁵⁴

The only documentation that survives of how the enslaved people on David Stone's estate were divided among his heirs is a settlement of Michael Jenifer Stone's portion from 1778 (Appendix 6). According to this manuscript, Michael Jenifer Stone received personal property worth a total of £142.10.0 in Maryland currency, paid mostly in chattel slaves.

⁵³ Probate inventory of David Stone, 1774, Prerogative Court, Inventories Liber 117, f. 91–99, MSA (see Appendix 5 for a list of all enslaved individuals in this inventory); Lee, "Land and Labor: Parental Bequest Practices in Charles County," 306–41; Elie Vallette, "Of Distribution," in *The Deputy Commissary's Guide*, 113–17. On the association between plantation size and family and community life, see Lee, "The Problem of Slave Community," and Kathleen Fawyer who expands upon Lee's work in "The Black Family in the Chesapeake: New Evidence, New Perspectives," in Debra Meyers and Melanie Perreault, eds., *Colonial Chesapeake: New Perspectives* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006), 51–80. Reasons for the delay of the division of David Stone's estate include the survival of his widow, Elizabeth (Jenifer), and the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. See Chapter 5 for more detail about the chronology of the estate division.

⁵⁴ John Hoskins Stone appears to have exercised greater financial independence from his brother Thomas than Michael Jenifer Stone and Walter Stone, though John's and Thomas's business interests did intertwine through Walter (see Chapter 4). Betty Ann's marriage into the Eden family of St. Mary's County gave her a measure of financial independence from the Haberdeventure estate, too, during Thomas's lifetime. Her circumstances changed, however, after her husband died in late 1787, and she sought support from her siblings (see Chapter 2).

Based on this, we can surmise that Thomas Stone and his siblings, those of full-blood and half-blood by the same father, claimed an equivalent amount of wealth, including in enslaved people, over their lifetimes.⁵⁵

Beyond the surviving 1778 manuscript of Michael Jenifer Stone's portion, it is difficult to determine, without documentation, how Thomas Stone and his brother Johns Hoskins Stone, as the administrators of their parents' estate, distributed enslaved people among heirs. The composition of bondspeople by sex and age, for example, may have varied in the dispersal. The unmarried and landless Michael Jenifer Stone acquired six bondspeople, with a heavy emphasis on youth: out of seven total people, three were between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, and three were below the age of ten. Thomas Stone, who was already eight years into his ownership of Haberdeventure, may have sought more mature bondspeople, if his purchasing patterns are any indication: in his only documented purchase prior to his parents' estate division, he acquired two enslaved men, Peter and Bob, from local sources.⁵⁶

Who came to Haberdeventure from David Stone's Poynton Manor plantation? Only a handful of enslaved residents at Haberdeventure are known with a strong degree of certainty to have had personal ties to the Stone plantation at Nanjemoy. Based on an analysis of Stone family inventories and other documentation, it is evident that a woman known as Clare and most, if not all, of her daughters or dependents—Violet, Ann, Heth, Harmer, Clare, and possibly Nan (who was distributed to Michael Jenifer Stone)—moved onto Thomas Stone's properties from Poynton Manor. Also Gustavus Thomas (Gus, Gusty), the son of Monica on David Stone's estate, passed into Thomas Stone's slaveholdings.⁵⁷

Former Poynton Manor residents also maintained contact through David Stone's heirs. For example, Jesse, a son of Hannah on David Stone's estate allotted to Michael Jenifer Stone, had a brother, Will, who, it appears, passed to Grace Stone. Their chances to maintain a connection improved when Michael Jenifer Stone and Grace Stone co-resided at Haberdeventure. In 1797, however, Michael Jenifer Stone advertised for Jesse's sale,

⁵⁵ For a list of David Stone's children, see Appendix 2.

⁵⁶ For Thomas Stone's purchase of Peter and Bob, see Charles County Land Records S#3:523–24, 533, MSA. In his day book, Michael Jenifer Stone recorded hiring out the enslaved boy Jesse (age twelve) to Gustavus Richard Brown in 1776, two years prior to the settlement in which Jesse formally came into his possession (Kremer Collection, SMSC, p. 4). Therefore, Thomas Stone, too, may have taken possession of slaves from his parents' estate before the formal division of 1778.

⁵⁷ Clare's family did suffer two losses after 1774. Clare's daughter Harmer, age two in 1774, does not appear in documentation after David Stone's inventory was taken. Nan, who was seven years older than her next daughter Violet, was part of Michael Jenifer's distribution and sold at auction in 1785 (as discussed later).

preferably “to some gentleman in or near Annapolis” who would honor Jesse’s agreement to “be made free” after “a term of years” and take in his wife and child. Will, it seems, remained with Grace Stone, appearing in her probate inventory of 1811.⁵⁸

The enslaved people whom Grace Stone inherited have an understudied role in the life of Haberdeventure, *if* any resided there. Grace Stone moved to her elder brother Thomas’s plantation after her widowed mother died between 1773 and 1776, and thereafter she remained in the care and protection of her brother, Michael Jenifer Stone, who stayed at Haberdeventure until 1793. (See Chapter 2.) At the end of her life, in 1809, five enslaved adults and three enslaved juveniles were her legal property. Did the people she held in bondage live at Haberdeventure or in its vicinity? How many were hired out at any one time? As noted in Chapter 2, documents from after Thomas Stone’s death show that Grace’s other brothers Michael Jenifer, John Hoskins, and Walter Stone hired out men (Basil, Will, and Bill/Billy) in Grace’s legal possession to other householders. Likely Thomas did the same while he was alive, to offset the costs of boarding Grace and retaining the enslaved people who were, for Grace, a means of personal wealth and status. The 1996 Cultural Landscape Report cites a letter from 1791 in which Grace asked her brother Walter to sell, in the words of the report, “all her slaves,” except Billy and two “house servants,” Luce and Sall. It is not known at present if Walter acted on her request, though it makes sense that several years after the passing of Thomas Stone, Grace’s financial situation was more precarious. How much more unstable were the lives of the people whom she held in bondage?⁵⁹

Sall’s origins are unknown, but Luce, like Will, came from David and Elizabeth Stone’s estate. Luce was already at the advanced age of forty-five, when (it is speculated here) she passed into Grace’s legal possession in or around 1778. If she left her possibly

⁵⁸ The age given for Will, son of Hannah, in David Stone’s probate inventory of 1774 (age eight in 1774, born circa 1766) matches with Will, about age forty-five, in Grace Stone’s probate inventory of 1811 (Charles County Register of Wills, I&A 1808–1812:416, MSA). Michael Jenifer Stone advertised for Jesse’s sale in the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), “Lands in Charles county for sale,” June 15, 1797. Catherine Scott also held a male named Will in bondage.

⁵⁹ CLR (1996) 39, citing a letter in Box 1, Stone Family Papers, MS 406, MdHS. The five adults attached to Grace Stone’s estate at the end of her life were the following: Winny and Will, who both came from David Stone’s estate; an elderly woman named Luce who likely also came from Poynton Manor; Harry; and Billy, whom she manumitted in her will when he was about the age of thirty-one (will of Grace Stone, 1809, Charles County Wills Liber HBBH #13, ff. 51–52, MSA, a transcription of which is available in Petravage, “Historic Furnishings Report,” 36; certificate of freedom for Billy, 1828, “about fifty years” old, Charles County Certificates of Freedom, 1826–1860, p. 4, MSA). Grace in her will also manumitted “Lucy,” who may or may not be the elderly woman recorded with the name Luce in the probate inventory (with a null valuation). Ann, Charles, and Basil were between the ages of ten and fourteen when Grace died in 1809 (probate inventory of Grace Stone, Charles County Register of Wills, I&A 1808–1812:416, MSA). The following three people do not appear in Grace Stone’s probate inventory: Basil, whom Michael Jenifer Stone hired out in 1794, and Sall and Jim, whom Grace made purchases for in 1790–1791 (George Clements in account with Michael Jenifer Stone, January 1794–1795, and Grace Stone in account with John and Walter Stone, November 1790–September 1791, both in the William Briscoe Stone Papers, Duke University, transcribed in Appendix 16). Lastly, Walter Stone bequeathed to his sister Grace “negroe Jane and her children,” but it is not known if Walter’s wish was fulfilled (will of Walter Stone, codicil A, certified Oct. 14, 1791, Charles County Wills 1791–1801, p. 50, MSA).

lifelong residence at Poynton Manor for Haberdeventure during the war, she may have moved without her two children, Luce and George, compounding her alienation. Young Luce, then fourteen years of age, was part of Michael Jenifer Stone's distribution. Because Grace and Michael Jenifer Stone were both dependents of Haberdeventure, however, it is possible that the elder and younger Luce remained in contact through Haberdeventure's social network. Luce's other child, George, age seventeen in 1778, very likely became the man named George whom John Hoskins Stone entrusted with errands between Annapolis and Port Tobacco in the mid-1780s. The elder Luce lived until at least 1811, when she was in her late seventies.⁶⁰

Did Luce, as a woman in her forties in 1778, help Winny, then age nine, and Winny's younger brother Basil, age seven, adjust to life outside of Pointon Manor, possibly at Haberdeventure? Winny and Basil were two of four children of Rose on David and Elizabeth Stone's estate, and they both appear in surviving accounts of Grace Stone from the 1790s. Winny stayed with Grace or otherwise remained a part of Grace's estate until Grace's death. Basil appears in a 1790–91 purchase account (Appendix 16) and a 1794 document of his hire by Port Tobacco merchant George Clements. But this Basil, who had reached adulthood while in Grace's possession, did not stay or survive until the time that Grace's inventory was taken in 1811. Basil's memory was maintained by a boy, age twelve, who bore his name in the inventory.⁶¹

With the benefit of the Stone family probate inventories and surviving correspondence from the Stone family, we can discern fragments of enslaved family ties that were maintained through continued co-residence of Stone family members. At this time, no comparable information survives from the estate of the family that Thomas Stone married into, the Browns. Dr. Gustavus Brown (1689–1762), like David Stone, accumulated slaves over decades. A Scottish emigrant, he built his estate with the help of two marriages. Dr. Brown, who died several years before his youngest daughter, Margaret, married Thomas Stone, bequeathed to Margaret an enslaved woman named Elenor or Nell, whom Brown

⁶⁰ The surviving documentation of David Stone's estate division, transcribed in Appendix 6, shows that the administrators intended Luce's daughter Luce to pass into the ownership of Michael Jenifer Stone. George's distribution to John Hoskins Stone is speculative. In letters, John Hoskins Stone refers to an enslaved man named George who ran errands for him between Annapolis and Port Tobacco in 1785 and 1786 and was entrusted with access to store goods and a key (John Hoskins Stone to Walter Stone, October 30, 1785, and October 27, 1786, Stone Family Papers, MS 406, MdHS). The younger Luce and George may have been the children of George, an enslaved man on David Stone's estate who was forty-five years of age in 1774; Luce and George were ages ten and thirteen, respectively, at that time.

⁶¹ Grace Stone paid for tea, sugar, rolls (linen cloth), and a midwife's fee for Winny in 1791. She also paid for thread and osnaburg cloth for Basil to make and repair clothes on his own (Grace Stone in account with John and Walter Stone, November 1790–September 1791, William Briscoe Stone Papers, Duke University, transcribed in Appendix 16). If Winny bore living children, then she may be the mother of the three juveniles in Grace Stone's inventory, Ann, Charles, and Basil (and the year-old infant?). In 1794, a Port Tobacco merchant hired Basil for a year (George Clements in account with Michael Jenifer Stone, January 1794–January 1795, William Briscoe Stone Papers, Duke University). Winny and Basil's mother Rose had two other children in 1774, Mary, age seven, and an unnamed infant (Appendix 5, "Partial Transcription of David Stone's Probate Inventory, 1774").

“recovered from a debt of John Pen.” Dr. Brown also intended Margaret to inherit the child whom Elenor bore while in Dr. Brown’s “possession” and any future children. No one of the name Elenor or Nell appears on Thomas Stone’s inventories of early 1788. A young man in Thomas Stone’s estate, though, with the unusual name of Ausmin (spelled variously as Osmin and Ozman), did come from Dr. Brown’s estate. Ausmin was two when Dr. Brown died; perhaps he was the child of Elenor whom Dr. Brown referred to.⁶²

Generations of Resistance: The Mingo/Thomas Family

Setting aside, for the moment, the enslaved people held in bondage by Thomas Stone’s various siblings and his wife’s father, attention will now be paid to the family backgrounds and experiences of one family group inherited by Thomas Stone, Clare (b. ca. 1728) and her daughters. As will be demonstrated over the course of this discussion, Clare was part of the Thomas family (also referred to as the Mingo family) whose members in the late eighteenth century successfully, and unsuccessfully, sued for their legal freedom on the basis of descent in the maternal line from a freeborn white woman.

Surviving documents strongly suggest that Clare and her daughters held more privileges than common field hands. First, they were able to move as a group to Thomas Stone’s estate. Whereas other children were separated from their mothers, and siblings separated from siblings, in the division of David and Elizabeth Stone’s personal property, all but two of the children listed with Clare in David Stone’s probate inventory in 1774—Nan, age fourteen, Violette (Violet), age seven, Ann, age five, Heth, age four, Harmer, age two, and Clare, infant—appear in documentation of Thomas Stone’s properties. Nan was allotted to Michael Jenifer Stone; though she bore a common name, it was likely this Nan

⁶² Gustavus Brown’s life dates are from “Thomas Stone,” Papenfuse, *BDML*, 2:787. His will is transcribed in “The Will of Dr. Gustavus Brown,” *Sons of the Revolution in the State of Virginia Quarterly Magazine* 2 (January 1923): 24–41, in which the reference to Elenor appears on p. 40.

who was sold at auction by Michael Jenifer Stone (with payment owed to Thomas Stone) in or shortly before 1785. Of the five other children listed with Clare on David Stone's probate inventory of 1774, Harmer's name falls out of the record, but the others remain visible.⁶³

At some point before 1788, the elder Clare left her daughters at Haberdeventure to join Thomas and Margaret Stone's household in Annapolis, perhaps to serve as a housekeeper; appraisers of Thomas's estate encountered Clare in Annapolis and considered her "old" at around the age of sixty. In late 1785, when Thomas Stone continued to express his interest in selling slaves to meet his postwar financial needs, he instructed his agent, "The children of Clare I would not sell." Stone's instruction hints that Clare's remaining daughters were to be treated differently than other families. In December 1785, Stone asked for Violette and Heth to be hired out "at some proper place," perhaps meaning a genteel household that made use of their skills (likely in domestic work) and did not offend their privileged status. A month later, he wanted Heth or another young woman, Sall, to join his Annapolis staff. In one additional indication of Clare's daughters' higher profile at Haberdeventure, Thomas Stone appears to have recognized Ann and Violette as heads of their own households. In instructions for the distribution of pork raised at his mill, Stone asked for five hundred pounds to go to Michael Jenifer Stone, who was living at Haberdeventure at the time, one hundred pounds to go to Ann "for herself and her family," and fifty pounds to Violette. Stone's provision of meat to Ann and Violette underscored their dependence on him; in exchange, Stone recognized their semi-autonomous status as heads of households.⁶⁴

More of the elder Clare's family history emerges after Thomas and Margaret Stone died in 1787. Depositions taken during freedom suits in the 1790s, in particular *Robert Thomas v. The Reverend Henry Pile* in the General Court of the Western Shore, attested to Clare's descent from a woman of mixed race, Betty Mingo. (See Appendices 11 through 14.)

⁶³ Thomas Stone advertised for two public sales of enslaved people in 1784 and 1785 (*Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis], October 14, 1784, and June 9, 1785). One sale was to take place on November 8 at Thomas Stone's mill; the other was a court day sale to take place on June 15, 1785. According to a letter from Thomas Stone to his brothers, Michael Jenifer "or" Walter, from December 21, 1785 (several months after both sales), a Mr. Clarke claimed that he was not aware at the time of sale that Nan was "subject to fits" and wanted to return Nan. Thomas countered that it was his belief that Michael disclosed Nan's condition at the sale. Thomas wrote to Walter, "Michael told me he had informed the Bidders (as I desired him) that Nan had been subject to fits and that the sale was made on this information publicly given. If Clarke has any objection to make let any honest man determine whether the sale was not upon fair and full information and if not I would not desire him to abide by it, but if fair which I am sure was the case I will not be trifled with." Thomas instructed his brother Walter to issue a writ on Clarke if Clarke had not paid the interest due on the bond for Nan's purchase (Stone Family Papers, LC). To date, no deeds in Charles County land records (which document the sale of enslaved people) have been tied to Thomas Stone's public sales of November 1784 and June 1785. Charles County court records of the 1780s are missing. If the Nan who was put up for sale in 1785 was indeed Clare's daughter, she would have been twenty-five years old at the time. Nan was seven years older than Clare's next oldest daughter, a hint that she may have had a different father than Clare's other daughters and thus might have been seen in a different light by Thomas Stone.

⁶⁴ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, November 24, 1785, Thomas Stone to Walter Stone and Michael Jenifer Stone, December 21, 1785, and Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, January 15, 1786, Stone Family Papers, LC.

Thomas v. Pile, a suit initiated in 1791 and ruled in favor of Robert Thomas in October 1794, granting him freedom, generated nearly thirty depositions which have been transcribed and published online on the website *O Say Can You See: Early Washington, DC, Law and Family*.⁶⁵

Drawing on these depositions and Charles County records, two scholars, Thomas F. Brown and Leah C. Sims, traced Betty Mingo's family history. Brown and Sims determined that Betty, who died within living memory of deponents ("around 1772"), was one of several children of an "African slave" named Joseph Mingo and a freeborn "Welsh woman" named Elizabeth Thomas. According to testimony in an earlier court case brought by Betty Mingo's elder brother Lewis, their parents, Joseph Mingo and Elizabeth Thomas, were married in the Church of England prior to the 1681 repeal of a 1664 act that enslaved the children of any freeborn woman who married an enslaved Negro man. Lewis failed to prove that he was born after the repeal took effect. Not only did Lewis sue for his freedom, but his father did, too, about ten years earlier in 1702. Joseph Mingo asserted in court that his former master, since deceased, had promised Mingo his freedom after seven years of service. Though unsuccessful in court, the family, in Brown and Sims's words, "refused [to] give up their quest for freedom" over the next century.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ *Robert Thomas v. Henry Pile*, <http://earlywashingtondc.org/cases/oscys.caseid.0342>, accessed February 4, 2019. The depositions touch on a number of Thomas family members because they were to be "read in evidence in all the cases of petitioning Negroes under the name of Thomas claiming their Freedom as descendants of a certain Betty Mingo otherwise called Betty Thomas." Gabriel Duvall represented the petitioner and Philip Barton Key represented the defendant in 1792 (agreement transcription, November 22, 1792, in *ibid.*). William G. Thomas III's recent book, *A Question of Freedom* (2020), offers important legal history background to the freedom suits in post-revolutionary Maryland.

⁶⁶ Brown and Sims, "'To Swear Him Free': Ethnic Memory as Social Capital in Eighteenth-Century Freedom Petitions," in *Colonial Chesapeake: New Perspectives*, eds. Debra Meyers and Melanie Perreault (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006), 81–105, quotes p. 97, 98. A 1664 act of Maryland required that any "freeborne English" woman who married an enslaved Negro man was to serve her husband's master for the duration of her husband's life, and the children of such unions were enslaved for life (the children's status following their father's). Any children born in these unions before 1664 were to be free at the age of thirty-one. In 1681, Maryland's legislature repealed the act of 1664, citing abuse of the earlier act by masters and mistresses. Henceforward the children of "freeborn English or white" women married to "Negroes and Slaves" (i.e., free and unfree blacks and enslaved American Indians) were free upon birth. Their mothers, upon their marriages, maintained their free status or, if indentured, regained their freedom "instantly." This law stood for a mere eleven years before the legislature increased penalties on freeborn white women who had children with a free or enslaved black men or enslaved American Indian. These women were penalized with a seven-year term of service, and the government restored limited terms of service for the offspring. If the parents were married, the children were to serve for twenty-one years. If the parents were unmarried, the children were to serve for thirty-one years (*Archives of Maryland*, 1:533–34 [Act of 1664], 7:203–5 [Act of 1681], 13:546–49 [Act of 1692]).

Betty Mingo's birth record is provided in "Elizabeth Mingoe (1689–?)," *Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia's Northern Neck*, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us. A 1697 deed of gift from Joshua Doyne to his son Dennis records Elizabeth (Betty) Mingo living with her parents, Joseph Mingo and Elizabeth Mingo (serving "for her husband's lifetime"), and siblings on two hundred acres on Nanjemoy Creek (Charles County Land Records, Liber C#2:239, MSA). Her brothers Lewis, age seventeen, and Charles, age twelve, were elsewhere. Later in life, Charles had a child with a white servant woman out of wedlock (Brown and Sims, "'To Swear Him Free,'" 98).

As of 1697, Betty was with her parents in Nanjemoy on land owned by a native of Ireland, Joshua Doyne. By the 1710s or 1720s, she was living in the Nanjemoy household of Thomas Stone (1677–1727), grandfather of the builder of Haberdeventure, and his second wife, Catherine (1676–1750). Reportedly, Betty and Catherine did not get along, and Betty was exchanged for a woman from the household of Henry Wharton of St. Mary's County. Betty thereafter lived with Wharton's daughter, Elizabeth, who married Joseph Pile (1712–58), master of Sarum, a large plantation near the border of Charles and St. Mary's counties, and lived there as a widow until 1781. (The mansion house at Sarum is renowned as one of the oldest surviving houses in Maryland.) Deponents in *Thomas v. Pile* remembered Betty Mingo as a woman with “yellow” and “bright” skin and long hair who kept house and cooked for Mrs. Pile.⁶⁷

By several accounts, Betty did not stay quiet about her family's claims to freedom. When Sarah Boarman asked Elizabeth Pile if Betty was due her freedom, Mrs. Pile reportedly responded, “Betty says so.” A former overseer at Sarum testified that Betty “sold a Horse belonging to her and gave a hogshead of tobacco to a lawyer who visited at Mrs. Piles to plead for her Freedom.”⁶⁸

Unfortunately, we cannot be certain about the date of Betty's consultation with a lawyer (though a search in local court records might reveal evidence). The overseer and others deposed that Betty and others in her family pressed their claims for freedom at the time of *William and Mary Butler v. Richard Boarman*, the high-profile freedom suit of pre-revolutionary Maryland, but we must be cautious about this memory. In 1770, Maryland's Provincial Court, drawing on testimony collected in Charles County as well as St. Mary's County, ruled that William and Mary Butler, descendants of Eleanor “Irish Nell” Butler, were free. The defendant appealed, and in 1771 Maryland's Court of Appeals overturned the decision. At the time that depositions were taken for *Thomas v. Pile* in 1792 and 1793, a related freedom suit, *Mary Butler v. Adam Craig*, had recently ended in Butler's favor in Maryland's Court of Appeals. Historian William G. Thomas III, who studied Maryland's freedom suits, found a deponent making the same claim about the descendants of Elizabeth Shorter in St. Mary's County that deponents in *Thomas v. Pile* asserted about the Mingo/Thomas family: “that none of the Shorters ever said anything about their freedom until the Butler family began winning their freedom suits in the general court.”

⁶⁷ Transcribed depositions of Richard Robin Reeder, Charles Ray, Mary Stone, Sarah Fowke, and Leonard Boarman in *Thomas v. Pile*, in Thomas et al, eds., *O Say Can You See: Early Washington, DC, Law and Family*, <http://earlywashingtondc.org/cases/oscsys.caseid.0342>; “Henry Wharton (ca. 1674–1746)” and “Elizabeth Wharton (ca. 1712–1781)” in *Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia's Northern Neck*, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us. For a description of the mansion house at Sarum, see Rivoire, *Homeplaces*, 36–41. Judging from the 1783 tax list, Sarum was a larger operation than Haberdeventure with “four tobacco houses, five quarters, an old store house, five small houses, and a new...stable” in addition to the “large dwelling house” and kitchen (*ibid.*, 40).

⁶⁸ Transcribed depositions of Sarah Boarman and Leonard Boarman in *Thomas v. Pile*, *O Say Can You See: Early Washington, DC, Law and Family*, <http://earlywashingtondc.org>.

Thanks to Brown and Sims’s research in early Charles County court records, we can trace the Mingo/Thomas claims to freedom to the turn of the eighteenth century, decades before the Butler case. However, as with the Butlers, it was not until after the Revolutionary War that Thomas’s family claims to legal freedom advanced in a court of law.⁶⁹

To return to Betty Mingo’s personal history, when Wharton removed Betty to Sarum in the mid-eighteenth century, Betty left behind at Poynton Manor two children who passed into David Stone’s slaveholdings: Robin, who survived David Stone and sold fowl to Michael Jenifer Stone as mentioned above, and Peg, widely known in the greater Port Tobacco neighborhood as “Semple’s Peg,” a housekeeper and cook to John Semple. Semple was a Scottish merchant active in Port Tobacco in the 1750s and 1760s (and the former owner of the land that became La Grange at the turn of the nineteenth century). Semple is a colorful character, and Peg appears to have been, too, though her life was much more circumscribed. Peg had a reputation as a “high spirited, impudent, talking woman but a very good servant.” She was born into a family of “valuable house servants and cooks” so distinctive as to be called a “race” unto themselves. Peg was the mother of Clare (b. ca. 1728), who was a member of Thomas and Margaret Stone’s household in Annapolis and whose daughters resided at Haberdeventure.⁷⁰

Betty had at least two other daughters with her on the Pile estate at Sarum: Sophia (also known as Phia) and Nan or Nanny. After Elizabeth (Wharton) Pile died, her son, a Catholic priest named Henry Pile (1743–1813), took over the plantation after returning

⁶⁹ Transcribed depositions of William Simms, Richard Robin Reeder, and Mary McCoy, who associated Betty’s claims with the Butler case, in *Thomas v. Pile*, Thomas et al., eds., *O Say Can You See: Early Washington, DC, Law and Family*, <http://earlywashingtondc.org>. In 1791, Maryland’s Court of Appeals upheld the General Court’s decision in favor of freedom for Mary Butler in *Mary Butler v. Adam Craig* (October 1787) (Thomas Harris and John McHenry, *Maryland Reports...from May, 1780 to May, 1790* [New York, 1812]: 214–36). On the Butler case, see Thomas, *A Question of Freedom*, 24–27; Schweninger, “Freedom Suits, African American Women, and the Genealogy of Slavery,” 42; and *William and Mary Butler v. Richard Boarman* (September 1770), Harris and McHenry, *Maryland Reports*, 371–84. The quote about the Shorters is from Thomas, *A Question of Freedom*, 70. Notably, *Butler v. Craig* admitted as evidence depositions taken in Charles County in the 1760s for *Butler v. Boarman*. For another perspective on the Butler family history, see Skylar A. Bauer, Julia A. King, and Scott M. Strickland, “Archaeological Investigations at Notley Hall Near Chaptico, Maryland,” St. Mary’s College of Maryland, St. Mary’s City, Maryland, 2013, pp. 19–21.

⁷⁰ Robin and Peg appear in the probate inventory of Thomas Stone’s grandfather, Thomas Stone (d. 1727). Their ages are not given, but they were referred to as a “man” and “woman,” respectively. Peg had a child “about 12 hours old” (Prerogative Court, Inventories 1727–29, Liber 13, f. 314–17, taken January 9, 1727 [i.e., 1728]). In David Stone’s probate inventory, Robin is listed as a sixty-eight-year-old man, which would make his birth year 1706 (Appendix 5). On John Semple, see Chapter 1. Deponents Sophia Leigh, Charles Ray, and Leonard Boarman in *Thomas v. Pile* recalled Peg’s character and occupation (Thomas et al., eds., *O Say Can You See: Early Washington, DC, Law and Family*, <http://earlywashingtondc.org/cases/oscys.caseid.0342>). Jannett McClaron, age eighty-nine or thereabouts, referred to the “race of Peg,” and Richard Robin Reeder, about the age of seventy, used the phrase “Betty Mingo and her race.” While Betty Mingo’s descent from a white woman in the maternal line was common knowledge in Charles County, deponent Henrietta Wheeler certainly was not alone in the community for espousing the belief that because the ancestor “had married a Negro, the law enslaved” the descendants.

from Europe in 1784. It was Sophia's grandson, Robert Thomas, who petitioned the General Court of the Western Shore for his freedom based on descent from a white woman and won his suit against Reverend Pile in October 1794.⁷¹

The verdict for freedom in *Thomas v. Pile* had a wide array of implications for members of the Thomas family. While the verdict helped some individuals acquire legal freedom, others struggled to have their claims recognized by influence makers. In 1798, Gustavus Thomas won a suit for his freedom from the executors of Thomas Stone's estate. The ruling cited as evidence a deposition made in the suit for another Thomas family member in 1795. At about that same time, Violette Thomas, whom Thomas Stone had also claimed ownership of, worked through the courts to secure her liberty from Stone's son-in-law. Jack, who formerly worked for Stone's household in Annapolis and apparently identified as a member of the Thomas family, fled the Virginia home of another Stone son-in-law in 1797. These events will be discussed in more detail shortly, and not all Thomas family suits were successful. The point being stressed here is that Maryland's legal environment had shifted after the Revolutionary War to be more receptive to freedom suits.⁷²

Petitions for freedom, both before and after the war, exploited the complexities of the English legal tradition. Legal historian William G. Thomas III provides a helpful explanation: "It is natural to wonder how an enslaved person could have the standing to sue in an American court. The simple answer is that these cases were in the first instance civil (that is, private) matters and drew on a long tradition of common-law precedent that no person could be deprived of his or her liberty without cause. Another body of Anglo-American law treated freedom suits like habeas corpus actions, asking the court to determine whether the person was being unjustly detained in bondage." In the case of term slavery (that is, enslavement for a fixed term), if an agreement to free a person at the end of the term was not honored, whether that agreement was "recorded in court or not," the enslaved person filing a freedom suit could ask the court to treat "the dispute as a breach of contract."⁷³

⁷¹ Rivoire notes Rev. Pile's assumption of ownership in 1784 in *Homeplaces*, 40.

⁷² *Gustavus Thomas v. Thomas Stone's executors*, General Court of the Western Shore, May 1798, JG 39:653–59, MSA. In ruling in Gustavus Thomas's favor in *Thomas v. Stone's executors*, the court cited the deposition of Richard Tuson of Charles County, who said that "Gusta, who has petitioned against Thomas Stone's executors... is son of Monica, daughter of Peg called Semple's Peg, daughter of Betty Mingo who belonged to Widow Pile" (*Gustavus Thomas v. Lancelot [Lott] Mason*, May 10, 1795, Judgment Records of the General Court of the Western Shore, JG 31:67, MSA). Court records *Walter Thomas and Dennis Thomas v. Alexander Scott*, a suit filed in the District of Columbia in 1810, refer to unsuccessful petitions by Thomas family members in Charles and St. Mary's Counties in the 1790 (Thomas et al., eds., *O Say Can You See: Early Washington, DC, Law and Family*, <http://earlywashingtondc.org/cases/oscys.caseid.0260>). See also Thomas, *A Question of Freedom*, 153.

⁷³ Thomas, *A Question of Freedom*, 7 (quote). Paul Halliday's book, *Habeas Corpus: From England to Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), offers a perspective on laws on slavery.

One of the most significant changes in Maryland's courts after the war was the willingness of justices to allow hearsay evidence to prove lineage. Rules of evidence became stricter in the early nineteenth century, though, hobbling claimants. In a landmark case, *Queen v. Hepburn*, in 1813, US Supreme Court Justice John Marshall ruled that hearsay evidence could not be used in petitions for freedom. Historian Jessica Millward cautions about late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Maryland, "any space in which a slave could gain freedom was a loophole, not an open door." After the *Queen v. Hepburn* decision, that loophole closed a little further.⁷⁴

Kinship and Community

Freedom suits of the late eighteenth century form part of a large corpus of evidence of African Americans asserting their family ties. Certainly, African American family networks were up against formidable obstacles; in Thomas Stone's personal history alone, there are ample examples of enslaved families being dispersed through financial exchanges of one kind or another, including inheritance, sale, seizure for debt, and hiring out. Thomas Stone, as co-administrator of his father's estate with his brother John Hoskins Stone, oversaw the division of enslaved families among his siblings, for example. To offer other cases, Thomas Stone in 1774 purchased two single men from different local sources, probably to meet labor demands at Haberdeventure during the early part of his tenure there. In 1782, Stone took advantage of wartime confiscations to purchase a single woman, Jeane, from the estate of Loyalist Lloyd Dulaney, severing her from connections in Dulaney's household. (Dulaney had a large house in Annapolis and property on the Eastern Shore.) Thomas Stone put up for sale an unknown number of men, women, and children in 1784 and 1785, to meet his debts, and when he threatened legal action against

⁷⁴ Thomas, *A Question of Freedom*, 7, 157–94; Millward, *Finding Charity's Folk*, 25 (quote).

his brother Walter for debt, Walter considered selling an enslaved man, Ben, and other unnamed bondspeople to meet the demand. Furthermore, Stone appears to have had little personal objection about separating couples in hiring arrangements.⁷⁵

At the same time, the evidence about Thomas Stone's slaveholding can be mined for hints of African Americans resisting the breaking up of families or for other reasons exerting a measure of control over their situations. The elder Clare (Thomas), a descendent of Betty Mingo, for instance, managed to keep most of her children with her when she moved from Poynton Manor to Haberdeventure. A more obscure example is the Goodrick family's unexplained decision to "sell back" to Thomas Stone an enslaved man named Bob. Did Bob ask to return to Haberdeventure? Questions can be raised, too, about the decision of Thomas Stone's executors to sell, as a group to a single slaveholder, an enslaved family composed of Ann, her husband, Tom Triplet, and their four children. Did Ann and Tom, seeking to make the best of their situation, negotiate to stay together as a family?⁷⁶

As Jean B. Lee observed, later eighteenth-century Charles County plantations, even the relatively large ones, were not large enough to offer security for enslaved families against sale or displacement. Memories of ancestral ties survived, though. In late-eighteenth-century Maryland, claims of lineage from a white female ancestor proved to be a useful strategy for obtaining legal freedom for a small but significant number of African Americans. Other enslaved African Americans fought for recognition of spousal ties, as

⁷⁵ Purchase of Peter, age twenty-five or under, from William Barnes and Thomas Smoot of Charles County, Charles County Land Records, S#3:523–24, MSA; purchase of Bob from Francis Meek of Charles County, 1774, Charles County Land Records, S#3:533, MSA. The information on Jeane and Dulaney's estate is from Charles County Land Records, V#3:591–92, Maryland State Archives, and "AA-437, Lloyd Dulaney House," Maryland Historical Trust, <https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/AnneArundel/AA-437.pdf>, p. 3. In a letter to Walter Stone from November 1783, Michael Jenifer Stone, a lawyer, counseled his brother, "if a *fieri facias* had been issued against you by T. Stone," a *venditioni exponas* (a writ requiring sale) would follow. Michael Jenifer Stone then discusses Walter's intentions to sell Ben and unnamed others (Stone Family Papers, MS 406, MdHS). Unfortunately, Charles County court records from the 1780s do not survive to tell us if Thomas Stone sustained legal action against his brother. On the last point, about Thomas Stone's willingness to separate couples, consider, for example, Thomas Stone's desire to hire out Ann, who was Tom Triplet's spouse, and to hire out Violette and her child. (See Appendix 9 for more information about these individuals.) Stone, like other slaveholders of his day, divided enslaved families when it served his interests. On non-cohabitating couples and families, see Thompson, "Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret," 132–35; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, chapter 9; Millward, *Charity's Folk*, 44–45; and Fawyer, "The Black Family in the Chesapeake."

⁷⁶ Charles Goodrick's siblings "sell back" Bob to Thomas Stone in 1782 for 17,000 pounds of crop tobacco (Charles County Land Records, V#3:563, MSA). Stone's payment in crop tobacco, rather than coin, is unusual among his land record transactions. Thomas Stone's original sale of Bob to Charles Goodrick, prior to 1782, is not documented in the Charles County Land Records. In 1779, Thomas Stone had purchased 120 acres of land (Addition to May Day) from Charles Goodrick and made payment with coin and four bondspeople (Harry, his wife Nan, Joe, and Clem) (Charles County Land Records V#3:402–3, MSA). The 1790 sale of Ann, Tom Triplet, and their four children to Joseph Edelin of Prince George's County is recorded in Charles County Land Records, K#4:114, MSA.

Ann and Tom Triplet may have done when they were sold with their children to a single slaveholder in 1790. Still others, like Bet in Philadelphia, had to make community where they were in the present moment.⁷⁷

Slavery, Freedom, Kinship, and the Law

If Bet came from Stone's household in Charles County, she likely had heard the stories about Betty Mingo and others who claimed legal freedom based on descent from a white woman in the maternal line, but she faced long odds. Even if she too could make a claim based on her bloodline, the prospects were not good in the early 1770s; as noted previously, in 1771 Maryland's Court of Appeals reversed the Provincial Court's verdict of freedom for two descendants of a white woman in the maternal line in *Butler v. Boarman*. This is how the Maryland courts stood when Bet fled from Stone's Philadelphia household.⁷⁸

Nor does it appear that Bet had any hope of negotiating a manumission from Thomas Stone or his wife. Stone did not grant freedom to a slave in his lifetime, at least formally. And he made no manumissions in his will, as it was barred by law at the time.

⁷⁷ Lee, "The Problem of Slave Community"; Anthony E. Kaye, *Joining Places: Slave Neighborhoods in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

⁷⁸ Schweninger, "Freedom Suits." The impact and significance of the Somerset decision in England in 1772 is a matter of debate; whether or not it reflected conditions already on the ground in favor of freedom for African Americans, the decision marks an important moment in legal history. Lord Mansfield, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, ruled in *Somerset v. Stewart* that English common law did not recognize chattel slavery, and that slavery could only exist in Britain's colonies by positive law (Thomas, *A Question of Freedom*, 30–34; Paul Finkelman, "'Let Justice Be Done, Though the Heavens May Fall': The Law of Freedom," *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 70 [1994]: 325–68, esp. 325–26; Eric R. Papenfuss, "From Recompense to Revolution: *Mahoney v. Ashton* and the Transfiguration of Maryland Culture, 1791–1802," *Slavery and Abolition* 15, no. 3 [December 1994]: 38–62, esp. 43). A young man held in bondage by John Barnes, a legal client of Thomas Stone's, acquired his freedom in England in the wake of the Somerset decision (manumission of William Thomas, age twenty-one, "a Subject of Great Britain," 1774, recorded in Charles County Land Records, V#3:52–54 [1775], MSA). The manumission deed includes a record of his baptism at St. Mary White Chapel, London. Lee interprets the manumission's entry in the Charles County Land Records in 1775 as evidence that Thomas returned to Maryland by that date (*Price of Nationhood*, 125–26). See also White and White, "Slave Clothing and African-American Culture," 155.

Certainly one reason for this stance, we can assume, is that he intended to pass on his property to his three children. He also was deeply concerned about his financial solvency (as discussed in Chapter 4).⁷⁹

If we broaden the timespan to include the decade or so after Thomas and Margaret’s passing, however, and widen the scope to add people held in bondage by Thomas Stone’s siblings (a considerable number of whom were related to Thomas’s slaves), we see a greater variety of negotiated settlements between slave and slaveholder, including manumission, in the 1790s. How many of these negotiated settlements were, in fact, initiated during Thomas and Margaret Stone’s lifetimes and carried out after their deaths is an open question.

From Dunmore’s Proclamation to Thomas v. Stone’s executors (1798)

Between 1775 and 1781, the presence of the British Army and Navy around the Chesapeake Bay offered the single greatest opportunity for enslaved people in the region to either flee or negotiate with slaveholders and slave managers in exchange for their loyalty. Lord Dunmore’s Proclamation of November 1775, issued from the coast of Virginia, declaring freedom to male indentured servants and slaves who took up arms against American forces, was a practical, wartime measure, not an antislavery manifesto, and the female sex was not the proclamation’s intended audience.

Arguably of far greater impact for enslaved Charles County residents was a later stage of the war, the British blockade of the Chesapeake Bay from 1777 to 1781. We don’t know how many, if any, bondspeople from Haberdeventure fled to British ships along the

⁷⁹ For all but the earliest years of Stone’s life, Maryland law allowed manumission by deed but not by last will and testament. In 1797, some years after the deaths of Thomas and Margaret Stone, the state again allowed manumission by last will and testament. On the changing law on manumission by last will and testament, see Jean B. Russo and J. Elliott Russo, *Planting an Empire: The Early Chesapeake in British North America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 189, and William L. Calderhead, “Slavery in Maryland in the Age of Revolution, 1775–1790,” *Maryland Historical Magazine* 98 (Fall 2003): 303–24. Interestingly, Catherine Stone (d. 1750), the surviving wife of Thomas Stone’s grandfather, whom Thomas would have known in his youth at Poynton Manor, manumitted two enslaved men, Fortune and Falmouth, in her will, prior to the passage of the 1752 prohibition. Was Catherine influenced by the Great Awakening? Did Fortune and Falmouth become Christians, perhaps under her tutelage? Catherine Stone was “very religious,” deposed a kinswoman, Mary Stone (deposition of Mary Stone, *Thomas v. Pile*, 1793, in Thomas et al., eds., *O Say Can You See: Early Washington, DC, Law & Family*, www.earlywashingtondc.org). Susan Juster downplays the possibility of slave conversions to Christianity during the First Great Awakening in “The Evangelical Ascendancy in Revolutionary America,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the American Revolution*, eds. Edward G. Gray and Jane Kamensky (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 407–26. On the other hand, English law was unclear about enslaving Christians; see Larry E. Tise, *Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701–1840* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), chapter 2, and König and Zuckert, eds., *Jefferson’s Legal Commonplace Book*, entry 230 and notes, pp. 133–35. In light of this ambiguity, a Maryland law of 1671 explicitly stated that “any Negro... Slave” who becomes Christian or receives the sacrament of baptism remains “in servitude and bondage” (*Archives of Maryland*, 2:272). Maryland’s government affirmed the law in 1692 (*Archives of Maryland*, 13: 505–6).

Potomac River or were taken in raids. But for a man who often traveled away from home, Stone's choice to stay in residence at Haberdeventure in December 1777 and April 1781, while British ships passed nearby on the Potomac, is noticeable. He must have sought to discourage defections with his presence. According to one estimation, about six thousand enslaved men, women, and children from Maryland and Virginia took refuge with the British military during the war.⁸⁰

Did any bondspeople on Stone's properties pledge their loyalty to the Stone family in exchange for freedom or conditions on their continued service? This, it would seem, is unknowable. Nonetheless, after the war, and more specifically after the deaths of Thomas and Margaret Stone, negotiated terms of service between slaves and slaveholders are more evident in records of the Stone family. This took the form of manumissions, term limits to enslavement, and self-hire with the promise of self-purchase.

In 1793, within months of the death of Thomas Stone's only son, Frederick, Stone's surviving children Margaret and Mildred Stone emancipated John, Henry Semple, his wife Ibe, and Henry and Ibe's two young daughters. The formal language of the deeds reveals little about the sisters' motivations, though there are some clues about the relationships between slave and slaveholder. According to the deeds, Margaret and Mildred freed the five people as representatives of their late father and brother, which indicates that they had been with the Stone family for some amount of time. The sisters granted John his freedom "in consideration of" his "obedience and fidelity," which suggests that John made a personal sacrifice while remaining in his position. John may be Jack, listed in Thomas Stone's probate inventory in Charles County as a man of forty years of age in early 1788. About Henry Semple, Margaret and Mildred attested that he had performed "faithful Services" to their parents and their brother, and they set Henry Semple and his family free "from a sentiment of fond reverence" for their deceased parents and brother. According to recent scholarship, the manumission of two-parent households and the immediate emancipation of children were rare at this time in Maryland. The fact that Henry, Ibe, and their two daughters were set free all at once would seem to indicate that the parents were capable of supporting the children financially; Maryland law required freed people to have "sufficient

⁸⁰ Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1973), Chapter 2; Philip D. Morgan, "'To Get Quit of Negroes': George Washington and Slavery," *Journal of American Studies* 39 (2005): 415n19; Sylvia Frey, *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991); Pybus, "Jefferson's Faulty Math." In December 1777, Thomas Stone reported on "fugitive negroes" from an unspecified estate while the "King's ships" were on the Potomac and moving past Cedar point. The geography hindered defenses; "the country is so cut of Water that the [enemy] Ships can sail to any point much sooner than" men in arms "can reach...by marching" (Thomas Stone to Gov. Thomas Johnson, December 9, 1777, Red Book IV, Part 1, f. 81, MSA, transcription in Jefferson, "Thomas Stone: A Chronology from Select Primary Sources"). In April 1781, Stone relayed news of "plunder" at Port Tobacco and remarked that residents were pulling back from the shoreline, likely a tactic meant to reduce the loss of slaves to the British (Thomas Stone to Gov. Thomas Sim Lee, April 8, 1781, Roberts Collection, Haverford College, transcription in Jefferson, "Thomas Stone: A Chronology from Select Primary Sources"). A month earlier, in March 1781, twenty-five African Americans had fled St. Mary's County for the British (Frey, *Water from the Rock*, 161).

maintenance and livelihood” to avoid becoming wards of the state. Henry and Ibe were also at liberty to take their children with them if they had plans to move out of Charles County.⁸¹

Besides their sentimental reasons, were Stone’s daughters motivated to liberate these five people to spare legal costs from freedom suits? Gustavus Thomas initiated his suit against Thomas Stone’s executors in the General Court of the Western Shore in 1791 (and eventually won in 1798). Robert Thomas also filed his petition against Rev. Henry Pile of Sarum that year. According to an online source, twenty-nine persons of the surname Thomas petitioned for freedom in Maryland in 1791 and 1792, and more followed in the years to come. The fees for mounting a legal defense were considerable. “Most of the defendants could easily afford to lose a few slaves, but there were costs associated with hiring lawyers, deposing witnesses, copying court records, and traveling to Annapolis” to attend the General Court, writes Loren Schweninger in a study of freedom suits in Maryland in the 1790s. “Fines and court costs could run to hundreds of dollars and sometimes even several thousands.” Given that Thomas Stone’s executors were unable to summon enough cash to pay the daughter’s legacies (£2,000 current money each), the Stone family may have taken the moral “high road” to spare court costs.⁸²

A runaway advertisement submitted by Mildred Stone’s husband, Travers Daniel Jr., in 1797 hints at the ripple effects of the Thomas family freedom suits. “Ran away from the subscriber, living near Stafford court-house,” in Virginia, “a negro fellow named Jack. . .this negro lately belonged to the estate of Mr. THOMAS STONE, in Charles County, Maryland, and may pass himself for one of the Thomas family of negroes belonging to the said estate, who make pretension to their freedom.” We know about Violette Thomas and Gustavus Thomas; were there others who made claims, in or out of court? Daniel continued, “the fallacy of the attempt” to pass as a Thomas family member “may be easily

⁸¹ Deed of manumission for Henry Semple, Ibe, Kitty, and Nancy, October 18, 1793, Charles County Land Records, N#4:165, MSA; deed of manumission for John, November 30, 1793, Charles County Land Records, N#4: 178, MSA; Fawyer, “The Black Family in the Chesapeake”; Millward, *Finding Charity’s Folk*, 10–11 (quote); Sean Condon, “The Significance of Group Manumissions in Post-Revolutionary Rural Maryland,” *Slavery and Abolition*, 32, no. 1 (March 2011): 75–89. Frederick Stone died in September 1793 (“Frederick A. Stone,” in *Princetonians, 1791–1794*, eds. Looney and Woodward, 112–13]; *Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis], September 26, 1793). Henry Semple does not appear by that name in Thomas Stone’s probate inventories. Was he “Harry,” age twenty-five, in the early 1788 Charles County inventory? Ibe appears in the Charles County inventory as twenty-five-year-old woman. The name Semple is not common in Charles County; he may have been identified or identified himself with the household of John Semple (1720–83). See Chapter 1 for information on John Semple.

⁸² Schweninger, “Freedom Suit,” quotations on pp. 53, 55; “The Thomas Family,” in Thomas et al., eds., *O Say Can You See: Early Washington, DC, Law and Family Project*, <http://earlywashingtondc.org/family-guides/Thomas.pdf> (Appendix 14). In a written statement submitted to the Chancery Court in a suit filed by Alexander Scott, Michael Jenifer Stone reflected on the difficulties he and Gustavus Richard Brown, as executors of Thomas Stone, had with collecting on debts owed to the estate and paying debts. “Hence it has come to pass that although the legacies to his daughters were never paid. . .” (December 16, 1807, Chancery Court, Chancery Papers, case number 4647, *Scott v. M. J. Stone et al.*, MSA). Christopher Leslie Brown explores the moral component of antislavery in *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

detected, as he is quite black, whereas the Thomas family are all of the mulatto color.” Daniel suspected that Jack went to Annapolis or to Baltimore, where his mother, Rachael, “also a runaway,” was currently living. With this last piece of information, we can link Jack to Thomas Stone’s Annapolis household, where he lived as a boy with his mother Rachael (and perhaps a sister, a girl named Betty). After Stone’s death, Rachael was hired out to different masters in Annapolis; by then in her mid-forties, it is not surprising that the Stone family allowed her to have her freedom informally to spare themselves from maintaining her or selling her for a low price. Evidently, the Stone family was aware that she moved to Baltimore but made no effort to claim her.⁸³

Jack, like Bet and his mother Rachael, took the risk of extralegal self-emancipation; Mildred Stone’s removal to Virginia considerably diminished his chances for joining a freedom suit. (Manumission rates in Virginia in the early national period were lower than in Maryland.) Violette Thomas, a daughter of Clare, fared better with Margaret Stone’s husband, John Moncure Daniel; Margaret and John Moncure Daniel stayed in the Port Tobacco neighborhood after their marriage in 1793 until at least 1798. With some reluctance, in 1797, John Moncure Daniel pledged to manumit Violette in two years. Violette laid the groundwork in 1796, obtaining a certificate from Robert Thomas’s lawyer, Gabriel Duvall, attesting to her belonging to “the Thomas family who obtained their freedom” in *Thomas v. Pile*. (For the entire text of Violette Thomas’s certificate of freedom, see Appendix 14.)⁸⁴

Delayed manumissions, also referred to as term slavery, for other enslaved individuals in households of the extended Stone family evoke a tug of war between slaveholders seeking to maintain the privileges of slaveholding and people in bondage exerting new pressures to break free of chattel slavery. Michael Jenifer Stone emancipated Hendly (or Henly), a personal servant of Walter Stone, six years after Walter’s death, as Walter had directed in his will. Jesse, whom Michael Jenifer Stone assumed ownership of from his father’s estate as early as 1776, when Jesse was twelve, learned how to be a blacksmith. (But one is left to wonder who exactly taught Jesse the trade.) Michael Jenifer Stone had an interest in employing Jesse in his blacksmithing shop in Port Tobacco. Jesse, for his part, seized an opportunity to not only acquire a trade in which he could hire himself out, but also attain a high social status in African American communities as an iron worker. From

⁸³ Runaway advertisement, dated October 28, 1797, *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), January 11, 1798 (Appendix 8); account of Michael Jenifer Stone with Robert Couden, November 6, 1787–October 15, 1791, William Briscoe Stone Papers, Rubenstein Library, Duke University; Michael Jenifer Stone to Walter Stone, June 24, 1790, Stone Family Papers, LC.

⁸⁴ Dunn, “Black Society in the Chesapeake, 1776–1810.”

Michael Jenifer Stone's advertisement for Jesse's sale in 1797, we learn that Jesse was a term slave, meaning he was to be freed within a certain number of years, though the advertisement does not disclose the freedom date.⁸⁵

Hiring oneself out with the promise of self-purchase also gained more currency in Maryland after the Revolutionary War, though slaves lacked legal redress when slaveholders did not fulfill their end of the bargain. And death cut agreements short. Ben was an enslaved man in his prime, in his late twenties, at David Stone's Nanjemoy plantation when David Stone passed away in 1773. Ten years later, in 1783, Walter Stone expressed to Michael Jenifer Stone a desire to sell Ben, now nearing the less-desirable age of forty, along with an unspecified number of other slaves to pay off a debt to his brother, Thomas Stone. Michael Jenifer Stone lamented that he did not have the money to purchase Ben so that he "might remain in the family." Apparently, John Hoskins Stone stepped in and purchased Ben, because seven years later, the colonel wrote to Walter in Port Tobacco that he was "very sorry" to hear of Ben's death. "I intended in the course of this"—here John Hoskins struck out the word "this" and replaced it with "next"—"next year to have given him his liberty—as he had nearly paid for himself." John Hoskins Stone's language brings into question whether he ever expressed out loud to Ben his intentions to free him in this world.⁸⁶

Historians debate whether the American Revolution was a transformative event in the history of slavery and antislavery around the Atlantic world. In the short term, thousands of enslaved African Americans took advantage of the war to flee, some traveling as far as Nova Scotia, and from there to Sierra Leone, to live in free black settlements. Armed black men in military service during the war challenged narrow views about their abilities. In the longer term, after American independence removed the oversight of the British crown, a sectional divide emerged between the northern and southern states on the issue of slavery. While the number of enslaved people remained relatively few in number along the northern seaboard, land-hungry settlers expanded the geography of slavery in the west. Antislavery supporters invoked the language of the Declaration of Independence—that "all

⁸⁵ Will of Walter Stone, 1790–91, in (Appendix 8) Petravage, "Historic Furnishings Report," 34–35; manumission of Hendly by Michael Jenifer Stone, 1797, Charles County Land Records, IB#2:281, MSA. On Jesse's background, see notes to Appendix 6. On the high social status of African American iron workers in Chesapeake society, see Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 232, 347, and Leone et al., "The Archaeology of Early African American Communities." The *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), June 15, 1797, carried the advertisement for Jesse's sale. Loren Schweninger's book, *Appealing for Liberty: Freedom Suits in the South*, has an illuminating chapter on term slaves (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

⁸⁶ Michael Jenifer Stone to Walter Stone, November 1783, MS 406, MdHS; John Hoskins Stone to Walter Stone, November 27, 1790, Stone Family Papers, LC.

Men are created equal”—to advance their cause. The Haitian Revolution that erupted in violence in 1791, however, stoked white fears of blacks as an internal enemy in the United States.⁸⁷

Maryland occupied a middle ground on slavery, as scholar Barbara Fields pointed out in her landmark book. Chattel slavery remained legal in the state. Meanwhile, Maryland’s free black population grew earlier and at a substantially faster rate than in the neighboring state of Virginia. An untold number of other people sought freedom informally, outside of legal channels. Slaveholders expanded their methods to retain control over the people who they claimed as property by hiring them out or by offering freedom after a term of service.⁸⁸

The history of Haberdeventure upholds this mixed record on African Americans’ access to legal freedom in the late eighteenth century. Thomas Stone never signed a deed of manumission. Remarkably, about one-third of the enslaved people listed in Thomas Stone’s probate inventories are known to have obtained, or attempted to obtain, their liberty by formal or informal means between 1776 and the 1790s. Bet’s experience was more typical for her pursuit of extralegal freedom.

Brutality “on a man; there hinges the whole,” comments Charles County native Josiah Henson, born into slavery near Haberdeventure in 1789. Interspersed with accounts of cruelty inflicted by whites, Henson in his autobiography describes personal freedoms he and others exercised within slavery in Maryland—stealing chickens to feed and care for loved ones, playing and dancing to a banjo, visiting fruit orchards at midnight. Often these freedoms were exercised outside of a legal framework, but they were no less empowering.⁸⁹

Bet, the urban domestic servant who absconded from Thomas Stone’s Philadelphia household in October 1776, likely gained some personal freedoms in the city, such as enjoying various forms of entertainment in her spare time off. In legal terms, however, she lacked personhood outside the Stone household. And she may have thought that her chances for freedom were better if she stayed north of Maryland.

⁸⁷ Early examples of the Declaration of Independence being cited in support of equality between blacks and whites in American society are Benjamin Banneker’s letter to Thomas Jefferson, August 19, 1791 (*Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, 22:49), and Richard Ridgely’s arguments in *Mahoney v. Ashton* (May 1799), from Harris and McHenry, *Maryland Reports... From May 1797, to the End of 1799* (Annapolis, 1818), 297. In Thomas’s view, Ridgely articulated the arguments of his client Charles Mahoney to make a case for the incompatibility of slavery with natural law (*A Question of Freedom*, 97–98). Alan Taylor offers a useful summary of the debate over whether the American Revolution was “transformative” (and leans toward a conclusion that the war was a watershed in American history) in “Introduction: Expand or Die: The Revolution’s New Empire,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 74, joint issue with the *Journal of the Early Republic* (October 2017): 619–32. Eric R. Papenfuss highlights the effects of the Haitian Revolution in Maryland in turning back the “liberalizing forces of the American Revolution” in “From Recompense to Revolution” (quote 43). Morgan contends that black military service influenced George Washington’s views on slavery in “‘To Get Quit of Negroes’: George Washington and Slavery.”

⁸⁸ Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*; Millward, *Finding Charity’s Folk*, 26.

⁸⁹ Henson, *Father Henson’s Story of His Own Life*, 5 (quote), 20.

In rural Charles County, physical distance from a master's household increased opportunities for exercising a measure of personal freedom. Bondspeople found creative expression in the construction of their own cabins, the preparation of their food, and care for the plants and animals that gave them health and sustenance.

On the other hand, enslaved people who lived intimately with Thomas Stone's family had the best chances for legal freedom. Thomas Stone's daughters emancipated two men, John and Henry Semple, and Semple's wife and daughters on account of the men's "obedience" to the Stone family. A son-in-law manumitted Violette Thomas, who attended the Daniel family; her family had been enslaved by the Stone family for four generations.

The language of freedom and liberty during the Revolutionary era found fertile ground at Haberdeventure. The enslaved residents who absented themselves from a slaveholder's residence or used the courts to exert influence over their legal status were not alone; thousands of African Americans in Maryland took advantage of wartime and post-war opportunities to emancipate themselves or acquire legal personhood.

CHAPTER FOUR

AGRICULTURE AND DOMESTIC PRODUCTION AT HABERDEVENTURE, 1770–1787

In September 1776, while Thomas Stone attended the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, a bright investment opportunity availed itself close to Haberdeventure. That month, Charles County resident Henry Smith began to advertise the sale of 430 acres of land within a mile of Port Tobacco containing “a great deal of excellent meadow ground” and a leased water mill. On October 22, the advertisement appeared in the Philadelphia newspaper *Dunlap’s Pennsylvania Packet* (two pages before Stone’s runaway notice for Bet in the same issue). Did Henry Smith’s advertisement catch the eye of Thomas Stone as he left town to return to Maryland? Regardless of how the news reached him, either through public notices or by word of mouth, Stone looked favorably on the opportunity; among other factors, current markets favored wheat, flour, and meat exports to the West Indies. Within three months, Stone rented the land along with two enslaved women, Rachel and Luce, who were members of an enslaved family on the property. Through a confluence of opportunities in 1776, Stone started the process of acquiring what would be his most valuable arable land, and his possession of a mill placed him in the top stratum of county society.¹

This chapter will contextualize Stone’s decision to invest in grain and livestock farming and a mill while continuing to raise tobacco. After reviewing the state of knowledge about agriculture at Haberdeventure prior to this supplemental Historic Resource Study, the chapter will present a brief overview of the history of agriculture on Maryland’s Lower Western Shore, and in the vicinity of Port Tobacco specifically, during the long eighteenth century. Next, the chapter will explore Stone’s strategies for making a profit from his land ownership and slave holding. Particular emphasis will be placed on Haberdeventure’s management structure, the history of Stone’s mill, and domestic production. Though a measure of plantation self-sufficiency was a goal, especially during nonimportation and the Revolutionary War, the assertion in the 1988 Historic Resource Study of Thomas Stone National Historic Site (hereafter abbreviated as HRS) and the park’s 1996 Cultural Landscape Report (hereafter CLR) that Haberdeventure achieved little more than subsistence agriculture diminishes Stone’s investment in enslaved labor, minimizes the

¹ Smith’s advertisement, dated September 5, 1776, appeared in *Dunlap’s Pennsylvania Packet or, The General Advertiser* (Philadelphia), on October 22, 1776. Stone was in Philadelphia from July to October 1776. He is believed to have left Philadelphia between October 22 and 24 (Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, 2: 1–li).

contributions of African Americans, and blinds us to Stone’s commercial interests and connections. Though questions remain about Stone’s wish to reduce his enslaved labor force in 1784 and 1785, Stone remained committed to bequeathing a large landed estate with enslaved labor and an impressive portfolio of assets to his heirs.

Land Use

The 1988 HRS and 1996 CLR raised questions about how the land at Haberdeventure was used, particularly in light of the fact that the Chandlers Hill and Welcome tracts that Stone acquired from the Smith family were better farmland. John Wearmouth identifies Hanson’s Plains, which was part of Stone’s original 1770 purchase, as the “productive agricultural heart” of Haberdeventure. The topographical maps in the CLR show Hanson’s Plains as largely level—level land was preferred for plowing—whereas much of the remainder of the property has gullies and ravines that make it subject to erosion. “The steep terrain of the forested valleys, gullies, and ravines that defines the area surrounding Thomas Stone National Historic Site is prone to several mass wasting hazards including landslides, slumps, and slope creep.” As noted in Chapter 1, the terracing of the formal garden at Haberdeventure helped to mitigate erosion.²

The “barren” soil at Haberdeventure—so described in the 1783 tax list—contrasted with the “light gravelly” soil at Chandlers Hills and Welcome, which lay one-half mile further east in what is referred to today as the Port Tobacco Valley. Wearmouth describes the Chandlers Hills and Welcome tracts as “more . . . easily worked bottomland” or lowland and points out its higher valuation in the 1820s. Stone’s choice of the name Plenty for his resurvey and patent of Chandlers Hills and Welcome affirms the land’s agricultural productivity.³

Given the relatively poor soil quality at Haberdeventure, the 1996 CLR suggested that Haberdeventure was “used primarily for livestock and subsistence farming rather than growing cash crops.” A lack of specifics about the nine outbuildings on the property in the 1783 tax list, and the absence of surviving plantation account books to tell us how the land was used and who was in charge, no doubt factored into the CLR’s misguided appraisal

² Wearmouth HRS (1988), part 2, pp. 4–5, 20 (quote); CLR (1996) 19, 22; “Geological Resources Inventory Report” for George Washington Birthplace National Monument and Thomas Stone National Historic Site, Natural Resource Report NPS/NRPC/GRD/NRR 2009/127), 3 (quote). The previous owner of Haberdeventure, Daniel Jenifer, combined 150 acres of Haberdeventure and 86 acres of Hanson’s Plains with a vacancy of 206 acres to create by patent in 1768 Haberdeventure and Hanson’s Plains Enlarged (Patent Records BC & GS 37:94, MSA S1195–481).

³ Wearmouth HRS (1988), part 2, pp. 10–13 (quote, 12); CLR (1996) 27; Appendix 7, “Thomas Stone in Tax Lists.” Haberdeventure was a mile or less from the Chandlers Hill and Welcome tracts (Figure 5, “Map of Charles County Land Owned by Thomas Stone and His Heirs”).

that Stone intended to use Haberdeventure “as a home, rather than as an income-producing investment.” Stone’s commitment to his law practice and to public service also have led analysts to downplay his planter credentials.⁴

A more holistic approach is needed. Haberdeventure was one part of a network of properties; one has to see the whole in order to understand the center. A focus on Haberdeventure’s current boundaries (the 328 acres that make up Thomas Stone National Historic Site) runs the risk of obscuring the contributions of the other 749 acres that made up the 1,077-acre parcel that Stone resurveyed and patented as Haberdeventure shortly before his death. This risk comes easily because of the lack of plantation records to show how each of the eight properties that Stone acquired to make up an enlarged Haberdeventure related to each other. Furthermore, Stone owned over eight hundred acres on the other side of Port Tobacco Creek, including the 510-acre Plenty tract made up of Chandlers Hills and Welcome, a 120-acre tract called Addition to May Day which also had “light gravelly soil,” and the mill seat. Thomas Stone’s initial purchase of 442 acres of Haberdeventure and Hanson’s Plains Enlarged in 1770 anchored a campaign, conducted in partnership with Gustavus Richard Brown, to control land at the head of Port Tobacco River.⁵

Turning our attention to the home plantation, which is the principal subject of inquiry for this Historic Resource Study, the commercial and noncommercial uses of the 1,077 acres that made up Haberdeventure remain elusive. But the presence of enslaved people is the single greatest reason to challenge the description of agriculture at Haberdeventure as little more than subsistence farming. Generally speaking, in rural areas of the colonial and early national Chesapeake, the presence of people in bondage indicates cash crop production. Table 1 shows the number of enslaved persons for whom Thomas Stone paid taxes in 1783 in Charles County’s Fifth District, where Haberdeventure and Hanson’s Plains Enlarged was situated. In 1783, Stone owned five other tracts in the Fifth District (Bridget’s Delight, Simpson’s Delight, Pryor’s Beginning, St. Nicholas, and Distrest), which added 445 acres to his original 442-acre parcel.

⁴ CLR (1996) 33 (quote), 34 (quote). At one time an account book existed. In 1807, Michael Jenifer Stone recalled that Thomas Stone kept a book of accounts “in his own Hand” from 1773 to 1785. Michael Jenifer Stone believed the book was with Travers Daniel, who had married Thomas’s daughter Mildred (statement by Michael Jenifer Stone, December 16, 1807, in *Alexander Scott v. Michael Jenifer Stone et al.*, Chancery Court, Chancery Court Papers, case number 4647, MSA).

⁵ For information on Thomas Stone’s landholdings, see the 1783 tax lists in Appendix 7, “Thomas Stone in Tax Lists,” and Appendix 20, “Documentation for Map of Charles County Land Owned by Thomas Stone and His Heirs, 1770–1806.” The patent that Stone obtained for Haberdeventure in 1787 included part of Simpson’s Delight (276 acres), part of Bridget’s Delight (63 acres), Pryor’s Beginning (10 acres), part of St. Nicholas (73 acres), part of Betty’s Delight (8 acres), and part of Hansonton (272 acres), in addition to most of the 442 acres of Haberdeventure and Hanson’s Plains surveyed in 1768 (Charles County Circuit Court, patented certificate 468, MSA S1195 480). I am obliged to Donald E. Zimmer of Port Tobacco for helping me to recognize the ambitions of Thomas Stone and Gustavus Richard Brown as landowners at the head of the Port Tobacco River. Zimmer also generously shared with me his well-researched opinion that Thomas Stone’s patent for Plenty did not include the mill (personal correspondence with author, January 12 and 23, 2019, and January 4, 2020, in author’s files).

Table 1. Thomas Stone Taxable Property in Enslaved People, Charles County, Fifth District (Where Haberdeventure and Adjoining Properties Lay), 1782 and 1783 Tax Lists, MSA

	Children < 8 years old	Children 8–14 years old	Males ages 14–45	Females ages 14–36	Men over age 45 and women over age 36	Total number of enslaved people
5th District, 1782	Not available	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
5th District, 1783	4	3	6	3	5	21

Though the number of domestic staff in wealthy households was increasing in the late eighteenth century, the higher proportion of enslaved males of prime working age to enslaved females of prime working age—six to three—at Haberdeventure is a strong indication of out-of-doors work. Historian Philip D. Morgan estimates that at most, up to 10 percent of enslaved adult men and 25 percent of the enslaved adult women at a large Chesapeake plantation like Haberdeventure would be household staff. If we applied that estimate to the chart above, and exclude the one known enslaved craftsman, Tom, a carpenter, then it is likely that at least five adults of prime working age, composed of males and females, were field hands.⁶

Dr. David O. Percy of the Accokeek Foundation contributed a useful letter for the 1988 HRS on how to assess the degree to which Thomas Stone “was engaged. . . in commercial farming.” He estimates that “one to three hands would be sufficient to produce foodstuffs for the household. For a commercial livestock operation, [Stone] may not have needed any additional fields hands. If tobacco production was added, he would have needed up to double the number of hands.” In 1783, Haberdeventure had more than enough staff to perform household work at the great house and tend to the kitchen garden and fowl, particularly given the presence of the five older adults (that is, men over age forty-five and women over age thirty-six) and a number of children to help with raising food.⁷

⁶ Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 244–45. Thompson determined that at George Washington’s Mount Vernon in 1799, most able-bodied enslaved people—“almost three-quarters”—were field hands, and over half of the field hands were women (“*The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret*,” 117). Maryland state law in 1781 defined the age range of enslaved prime female hands as fourteen to thirty-six years of age and of enslaved prime male hands as fourteen to forty-five years of age for the purposes of the tax assessments of 1782 and 1783 (Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 270n).

⁷ Letter, David O. Percy, to “Mr. John Weymouth,” February 10, 1988, reproduced in Wearmouth HRS (1988), Appendix C.

Besides the size of the enslaved population on the various parcels that made up Haberdeventure, another indication of farming for surplus at the home plantation is the extant corn crib. Architectural historian Orlando Ridout V included a photograph of the corn crib at Haberdeventure in an article on agricultural buildings in the Chesapeake. Ridout describes the corn crib as “a rare example of the larger, broader form used for corn storage in the eighteenth century, with the door centered in the long wall.” According to the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, the corn crib postdates the eighteenth century and was built circa 1830–40. Even with a nineteenth-century construction date, the presence of a corn crib with a design that would not be out of place in the late eighteenth century suggests the *possibility* of large-scale corn production at Haberdeventure dating back to Thomas Stone’s tenure.⁸

Lastly, entries in Michael Jenifer Stone’s day book documenting surplus production at a rented Nanjemoy plantation testify to the expectation of profit within Thomas Stone’s peer group. As related in Chapter 2, Thomas Stone rented a plantation at Nanjemoy in Charles County from 1780 to 1782 to offset the cost of supporting his siblings Michael Jenifer Stone and Catherine Scott, as well as the seven enslaved people that Michael Jenifer Stone inherited from his deceased parents and brother Daniel Jenifer Stone. The Nanjemoy plantation raised tobacco, rye, wheat, corn, oats, cotton, lambs, pigs, and cattle. It also produced brandy, cider, perry (pear cider), and butter. Michael Jenifer Stone recorded the sale of wheat, corn, beef, pigs, lambs, and butter. Notably, in 1782, Michael Jenifer Stone sold 949 pounds of pork in Annapolis, where the provision export trade grew substantially during the war.⁹

In fact, the lease of the Nanjemoy plantation coincided with the high point of Congress’s reliance on Maryland for provisions to feed the Continental Army, between 1778 and 1781. The French military and navy were also buying foodstuffs from Maryland suppliers. Wheat and flour were particularly in demand. Notably, the Stone brothers’ uncle, Daniel Jenifer, led the effort in Charles County to supply the Continental Army with

⁸ Ridout, “Agricultural Buildings,” Figure 9.7, p. 188; National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for Habre de Venture, CH-5, 1988, Section 7, p. 3. Corn (maize), an important source of food for people and livestock, had to be stored in a “dry, well-ventilated environment.” Specialized buildings to store large volumes of corn appeared on the colonial Chesapeake landscape in the eighteenth century (Ridout, “Agricultural Buildings,” 188). Unlike in the Caribbean, planters in the Chesapeake sought to raise the bulk of their food on their own properties. A planter on Virginia’s Northern Neck, John Mercer, believed he failed to fulfill his obligations to raise sufficient corn when, during a period of mismanagement, there was “but 8 barrels of corn upon my plantation, not enough at any of my Quarters to maintain my people” or to sustain livestock, and Mercer had to purchase “above £100 worth of corn” to make up for the shortfall (John Mercer to George Mercer, December 22, 1767–January 28, 1768, in Mulkearn, comp. and ed., *George Mercer Papers*, 195).

⁹ Michael Jenifer Stone day book, Kremer Collection, SMSC, pp. 13, 24; Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit*, 87–89.

wheat, meat, and other supplies when called upon by the state. It would not be surprising if Daniel Jenifer honored his kinship ties with Thomas and Michael Jenifer Stone by including them in his contracts.¹⁰

The rented Nanjemoy plantation provided more than subsistence for Michael Jenifer Stone, his sister, and Thomas Stone, who paid for the lease. Slaveholding and profitmaking went hand in hand. Given the lack of surviving plantation accounts for Haberdeventure, a general knowledge of the business of plantations in its vicinity help us identify the ways in which Thomas Stone sought to improve his properties. The next section will discuss general trends in the region’s agriculture before discussing the organization of labor on Stone’s properties and Stone’s agricultural interests and investments.

Overview of Agricultural History in the Vicinity of Port Tobacco in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

When Thomas Stone acquired the original parcel of Haberdeventure (Haberdeventure and Hanson’s Plains Enlarged, 442 acres) in 1770, the Port Tobacco area was in its third phase of agriculture since European contact. In less than two centuries, “vast deforestation” had occurred. As Stone accumulated parcels of formerly occupied land, it was in his family’s long-term interests to protect the soil and wild spaces from further degradation.¹¹

By the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Algonquian-speaking Potomac Piedmont people had occupied the Port Tobacco area for several hundred years. Hunter-gatherers, they lived in semi-permanent villages, raised corn, beans, and squash, and cultivated tobacco for ritual purposes. An English Jesuit mission among the Piscataway at “Portobacco” in 1642 failed to maintain a long-standing Indian community; by the late seventeenth century, many Piscataway had moved to Virginia. Meanwhile, English settlement hugged the coastline of major waterways.¹²

In a second phase of post-contact settlement in the Port Tobacco area, from the late seventeenth century to 1760, population growth among European colonists and African slaves pushed settlement into the upland areas, including Port Tobacco. Whereas in the seventeenth century settlers used upland for livestock forage and timber reserves, wild areas were becoming increasingly scarce in the eighteenth century. By Thomas Stone’s

¹⁰ Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit*, 107; Thomas M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 203; Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 174–80.

¹¹ Geological Resource Inventory Report, 8.

¹² Julia A. King, “Evolution to Revolution, 9000 B.C.–A.D. 1814,” in *Pathways to History: Charles County, Maryland, 1658–2008*, eds. Julia King, Christine Arnold-Lourie, and Susan Shaffer (Mount Victoria: Smallwood Foundation, 2008), 6–11, 18–21.

generation, large parcels of land had been broken up into smaller parcels through inheritance and sale. To create a 1,077-acre property, for example, Stone purchased seven different tracts, took advantage of wartime confiscations from Loyalists, and leveraged family connections.¹³

Another feature of the second phase of settlement in the Port Tobacco area, besides the growth of the native-born settler population and the subdivision of land, was the practice of mixed farming. By the mid-eighteenth century, planters who could afford to diversify added wheat to tobacco and corn cultivation. Tobacco wore out the soil after continuous usage of three to five years, but the land's use could be extended by raising corn and then wheat. Furthermore, wheat and tobacco were sown and harvested at different times of the year, as Lee explains: "The growing cycles of cereal crops—wheat, corn, oats, rye, and barley—complemented that of tobacco. Wheat, for instance, was harvested about the beginning of July, after the time-consuming task of settling out tobacco seedlings was finished. Oats ripened shortly after the wheat, tobacco in September, Indian corn around the beginning of October." The threshing of wheat could be done during the winter months, before the busy time in the tobacco production cycle, from April to June, when seedlings were transplanted into hills and young plants carefully attended to. "Large-scale wheat production, however, except in the Maryland counties closest to Philadelphia, remained a rich man's project," Walsh observes. "Yields per acre were low, ratios of harvested grain to seed were many times higher for wheat than for corn, and too much land and animal power was needed to make wheat a viable alternative staple for ordinary planters." One motivation for Stone to accumulate land, then, in his home county of Charles County, which was relatively far from the grain export market at Philadelphia, was to have an adequate amount of land to bring under cultivation for mixed farming and to provide forage for livestock. Surplus pork and cattle could be sold for local consumption, ship provisions, and export to the West Indies. Furthermore, denser settlement in the Port Tobacco area in the eighteenth century encouraged domestic production and craftwork for local exchange.¹⁴

Economic diversification did not diminish the regional importance of Oronoco tobacco, though. Growers in Maryland raised the dull-leaf tobacco that for decades did not fetch the high prices of the sweet-scented strain produced on Virginia's middle and lower Peninsula. Differences in the prices narrowed, however, in the mid-eighteenth century, with the help of Maryland's Inspection Act of 1747, which strengthened the Oronoco tobacco market. Makers of "trash" tobacco abandoned the crop or left the area altogether.

¹³ "Geological Resources Inventory Report," 2; Lorena S. Walsh, "Land Use, Settlement Patterns, and the Impact of European Agriculture, 1620–1820," in *Discovering the Chesapeake: The History of an Ecosystem*, eds. Philip D. Curtin, Grace S. Brush, and George W. Fisher (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 224.

¹⁴ Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 30 (quote); Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 539–623 (quote 602); Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 165–71.

Tobacco remained the leading cash crop on Maryland's Lower Western Shore for the remainder of the eighteenth century, with slaveholding planters achieving greater economies of scale than non-slaveholders.¹⁵

By the time Thomas Stone began to develop his seat at Haberdeventure, in 1770, the Port Tobacco area had entered a third, and even more environmentally destructive, phase of agricultural production and land use since European settlement. Colonists raised tobacco and corn on partially cleared fields; plowing for wheat farming required the removal of tree stumps and roots. Because wheat crops were low yield in this region, and the amount of land finite, planters cleared marginal land to bring it under cultivation. Plowing and field clearing hastened erosion. By the 1770s, run-off sediment already reduced access to Port Tobacco by large watercraft, shifting commercial activity to a landing about a mile south of town (along Chapel Point Road). The loss of former wilderness spaces in upland areas reduced livestock forage, and more corn and corn fodder had to be raised to feed livestock (though if cattle were contained, their droppings could be used to fertilize fields). An increasingly restricted land market, accompanied by a trend to larger plantations and slaveholdings, resulted in a growing tenant population. Tenants who held land for short-term leases lacked a long-term interest in the health of the soil. Also, the bustling town of Port Tobacco promoted deforestation by offering a ready market for cut wood as firewood, building materials, and staves for export. The hogs and cattle that town residents consumed as meat were destructive to the land as well.¹⁶

After a variable market for Oronoco tobacco upon the close of the Revolutionary War, the outlook changed in the 1790s. "The European wars and the collapse of the French market" for Oronoco tobacco in 1793 swung the pendulum back to grain for planters who could afford to raise wheat for market: "Instead of tobacco, the planters overworked their marginal lands by planting grain. They plowed deeper and more often, cultivating as much area as their labor supply would permit, which for grain crops meant at least five times the ground they formerly were able to plant with tobacco. The rains washed their soils away

¹⁵ Russo and Russo, *Planting an Empire*, 11, 40–41; Mary McKinney Schweitzer, "Economic Regulation and the Colonial Economy: The Maryland Tobacco Inspection Act of 1747," *Journal of Economic History* 40, no. 3 (1980): 551–69; Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 147–49, 431, 586–601.

¹⁶ Geologic Resources Inventory Report, esp. pp. 3–8, 17; Walsh, "Land Use, Settlement Patterns, and the Impact of European Agriculture," 240–43; Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 248–49; Peter C. Quantock, Anne T. Hayward, and Kelley M. Walter, "Port Tobacco: A Shifting Settlement Pattern," *Maryland Archeology* 45, nos. 1 and 2 (March–September 2009): 58–66, esp. 59, 63. On tenants and land use, see also Carville Earle and Ronald Hoffman, "Genteel Erosion: The Ecological Consequences of Agrarian Reform in the Chesapeake, 1730–1840," in *Discovering the Chesapeake: The History of an Ecosystem*, eds. Philip D. Curtin, Grace S. Brush, and George W. Fisher (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 279–303. Hogs and cattle were particularly destructive to the Chesapeake's forests. To allow for adequate forage, each animal needed roughly twenty to thirty acres of "palatable grasses, woody plants, and new growth of hardwood forests." Cattle accelerated erosion by disturbing "ground cover" and creating "compacted topsoil." Also, having too many animals, particularly cattle, ran the risk of overgrazing (Timothy Silver, "A Useful Arcadia: European Colonists as Biotic Factors in Chesapeake Forests," in *Discovering the Chesapeake*, eds. Curtin, Brush, and Fisher, 161 [quotes]; Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 611).

into the streams that once carried their tobacco to market. With the streams and rivers silted up there was no turning back again. . . . The land was gone and the poorer planters had no alternatives but to leave.”¹⁷

A substantial number of whites migrated west, seeking new opportunities. Between 1790 and 1850, the white population in Charles County fell by 44 percent. African Americans, who already became the majority population by 1790, joined in the diaspora. Some left by choice, lured by growing cities like Baltimore, and some were taken by force to make a profit from newly opened land. By 1850, enslaved people made up the majority of Charles County’s inhabitants.¹⁸

Dismal assessments about the environmental impact of 150 years of colonial settlement dominate the scholarship on Charles County’s agricultural history; a more complex picture emerges from the evidence of new construction in the 1790s and early 1800s among wealthier planters and the importation of enslaved people from Virginia by Thomas Stone’s son-in-law, John M. Daniel, and nephew, Alexander Scott. How did Thomas Stone position his family for the future? Stone put into place favorable conditions for long-term management of the home plantation by accumulating more than one thousand contiguous acres to pass on to his heir-at-law, making valuable additions to his portfolio by acquiring a mill and its adjacent arable land at Chandlers Hills and Welcome, and responding to the financial crisis of the 1780s by contracting the size of his enslaved workforce. Stone’s close relationship with his wealthy neighbor and brother-in-law Gustavus Richard Brown should not be overlooked, either, as a long-term family wealth strategy; Thomas’s nephew William Briscoe Stone formalized a sharing of resources between Rose Hill and Haberdeventure by marrying Brown’s granddaughter in 1825. How Thomas Stone managed his properties and made a profit from the land will be addressed next.¹⁹

Organization of Labor

The 1988 HRS raised questions about who conducted the day-to-day management of Haberdeventure, given Thomas Stone’s frequent absences for his law business and public service, his eventual move to Annapolis in 1783–84, and the apparent lack of discussion about overseers in his correspondence. In the 1770s, a Chesapeake plantation of more than

¹⁷ Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit*, 220–21 (quote).

¹⁸ Charles County Land Records document the forced migration of people held in bondage from Virginia to Maryland by John M. Daniel in 1794 (George, N#4:326), 1796 (Jerry and Daniel, IB#2:91), 1798 (Aggy, IB#2:473), and 1799 (Hannah and her children John, Tom, Lewis, and Sarah, IB#2:545), and by Alexander Scott in 1802 (John, Willis, Sukey, and Fanny, IB#5:247–48), MSA.

¹⁹ Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, tables 1.3 to 1.7. Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 247–62, presents a picture of economic decline and creeping malaise in Charles County at the turn of the nineteenth century.

a thousand acres, twenty slaves, and an absentee owner might be expected to have had a manager or steward who supervised two overseers, one overseer for every eight to ten enslaved working hands. Unfortunately, plantation accounts by Thomas Stone do not survive, hindering our ability to discern the management structure and staffing of the plantation. The following discussion relies heavily on surviving letters between Thomas Stone and his siblings. The available evidence remains open to interpretation.

Tax lists from 1782 and 1783 suggest that in those years, twenty-one enslaved people—of whom nine were of “prime” working age—lived at the Haberdeventure plantation, and another ten enslaved working hands lived at Chandlers Hills, Welcome, and Addition to May Day. Unfortunately, surviving tax lists do not provide a population count for Haberdeventure and the more valuable arable land at Chandlers Hills, Welcome, and Addition to May Day in the same year. Thus we cannot rule out the possibility that some individuals who were counted at Chandlers Hills, Welcome, and Addition to May Day in the Sixth District in 1782 moved to Haberdeventure in the Fifth District by 1783. Nonetheless, a sufficient number of working hands were at both locations for there to have been a free or enslaved overseer or driver at each location, working in consultation with a farm manager or steward.²⁰

Table 2. Thomas Stone Taxable Property in Enslaved People, Charles County, Sixth District (Which Included Chandlers Hills, Welcome, and Addition to May Day), 1782 and 1783 Tax Lists, MSA

	Children < 8 years old	Children 8–14 years old	Males ages 14–45	Females ages 14–36	Men over age 45 and women over age 36	Total number of enslaved people
6th District, 1782	4	0	5	5	0	14
6th District, 1783	Not available	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

The sex and age composition of the enslaved population at Chandlers Hills, Welcome, and Addition to May Day was optimized for field labor. Given the absence of the elderly, it appears that older enslaved people, past their prime working years, were removed to Haberdeventure. This would have left the young children at Chandlers Hills, Welcome, and Addition to May Day often under their own supervision, which apparently was not uncommon on Chesapeake plantations. Also typical was the removal of older enslaved

²⁰ While the tax lists give us a total number of inhabitants, they are an imprecise measure of Thomas Stone’s slaveholding in 1782 and 1783, particularly as Stone would have paid taxes on enslaved persons he hired to augment his workforce. He also appears to have paid taxes on slaves held by his sister Grace and brother Walter, because Grace and Walter’s names do not appear on the personal property tax lists.

African American children from their birth families at around nine years of age. Whites often recruited domestic servants from this latter youth group of pre-teens and adolescents; at least among males, the servants frequently left domestic work in their twenties and returned to field work or developed other skills. Thus it is not surprising to see a number of eight- to fourteen-year-olds at Stone's home plantation, but not at the more valuable farmland at Chandlers Hills, Welcome, and Addition to May Day.²¹

Thomas Stone delegated authority at Haberdeventure to two younger brothers, Michael Jenifer Stone and Walter Stone. From our vantage point today, Michael Jenifer Stone is the second most visible white male authority figure at Haberdeventure after Thomas Stone. Michael Jenifer Stone, who was only four years younger than Thomas, may have been managing Haberdeventure as early as 1774, Rivoire asserts. Much more certain is that Thomas Stone put Michael Jenifer Stone, then a bachelor with his own law practice, in charge of the home plantation after Thomas and his wife Margaret moved to Annapolis in 1784. After Thomas and Margaret died in 1787, Michael Jenifer Stone carried on as co-executor of Thomas Stone's estate and as guardian to Stone's heir-at-law, Frederick. In September 1793, Frederick died unexpectedly from a yellow fever outbreak in Philadelphia, and the lines of authority become murkier. After Frederick's passing, his sister, Margaret, now an heir to land, married Dr. John Moncure Daniel of Stafford County, Virginia, and the couple remained in Charles County until at least 1799. Michael Jenifer Stone also married in 1793, and by 1797 he had established a dwelling plantation at Equality, 620 acres "of level land, lying about two miles from the mouth of Port Tobacco creek." Sometime between 1794 and 1797, Mildred Stone married and moved to Virginia. In early 1798, Michael Jenifer Stone formally handed over control of Thomas Stone's estate to the husbands of Thomas's surviving children, Margaret and Mildred Stone.²²

²¹ Thompson, *"The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret,"* 158; Fawyer, "The Black Family in the Chesapeake," 58; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 212–14.

²² Michael Jenifer Stone described his "dwelling place" Equality in a newspaper advertisement ("Lands in Charles County for sale," May 9, 1797, in *Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis], June 15, 1797). Wearmouth identified Michael Jenifer Stone's role as a manager of Haberdeventure in the 1988 HRS, and Rivoire concurred ("Summary Report of Additional Research Findings," 7). On the arrangement with Thomas Stone that allowed Michael Jenifer Stone and their sister, Catherine Scott, to live at Haberdeventure rent-free after Thomas moved to Annapolis in 1784, see Chapter 2. A copy of the "Articles of Agreement, January 13, 1798," between Michael Jenifer Stone, Travers Daniels "of Stafford County," and Dr. John Moncure Daniel "of Charles County" about the handover of control of Thomas Stone's estate can be found in *Scott v. Stone et al.*, Chancery Court, Chancery Papers, case 4647, MSA. Rivoire cites a family book for Michael Jenifer Stone's marriage year ("Summary Report," 7). A 1794 deed in which his wife, Mary Hanson (Briscoe) Stone relinquished her right to dower for a property, confirms the marriage date (Charles County Land Records N#4:295, cited in "Michael Jenifer Stone (1747–1812)," Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia's Northern Neck Counties, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us). Dr. Daniel imported slaves from Virginia to Maryland in 1794, 1796, 1798, and 1799, which lends further credence to his residence in Charles County with Margaret (Rivoire, "Summary Report," 42). On Margaret and Dr. Daniel's occupation of Haberdeventure by 1798, see Chapter 2's section on Grace Stone. Grace Stone's stabilizing presence during the changes in ownership has not been explored.

As a plantation manager or steward, Michael Jenifer Stone's principal duty would have been to supervise the overseers. The youngest surviving brother in the family, Walter Stone, carried out duties more closely resembling a business agent and clerk. Walter had overlapping commercial, professional, and personal contacts in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Annapolis with which to advance Thomas's (and his own) business interests. For example, when Walter arrived in Philadelphia in 1781, he was in a position to sell tobacco and flour for friends and family. After leaving Philadelphia in 1783, he entered into a commercial partnership with another brother, Colonel John Hoskins Stone (1750–1804). Colonel Stone, at that time, was an Annapolis resident who had recently dissolved a partnership with Robert Christie of Baltimore (a source of paint and stone steps for Haberdeventure). Walter also had two years of experience in clerking in Philadelphia prior to settling in Port Tobacco in 1784, which Thomas may have taken advantage of to bring order to his books and to settle his accounts prior to his intended departure for the West Indies in 1787. Thomas tasked Walter with reporting on the plantation, selling tobacco and pork, pursuing debtors, hiring out and selling slaves, and negotiating contracts with the miller. Between 1784 until his own death in 1791, Walter was a familiar presence at Haberdeventure, Port Tobacco, and the surrounding area.²³

Below the positions of manager or steward, business agent, and clerk was overseer. Overseers were responsible for the “daily operations” of cultivating the soil, maintaining livestock, and enforcing work discipline with physical punishment. On large tobacco plantations in the colonial Chesapeake, an overseer typically would supervise a group of eight to ten enslaved laborers. Even on plantations that raised surplus grain and livestock for market, a pattern of small work groups prevailed. George Washington expected overseers to constantly attend to the people they supervised. The general wrote in 1794, “with me, it is an established maxim, that an Overseer shall never be absent from his people but

²³ This chapter builds on Wearmouth's observation that Walter managed Thomas's “business affairs” (1988 HRS, part 1, p. 51). Michael Jenifer Stone recorded Walter's purchase of Thomas's tobacco as early as 1780 (M. J. Stone day book, Kremer Collection, SMSC, p. 13). While Walter was in Philadelphia, Thomas intended to send him tobacco, and James Craik Jr. did send flour to sell (Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, October 8, 1781, and April 21, 1782, Stone Family Papers, LC; Craik to Walter Stone, June 3, 1782, Kremer Collection, SMSC). On Thomas's instructions to Walter on plantation affairs, see his letters of April 22 and 27, November 24, December 21, 1785, and January 15, 1786, in Stone Family Papers, LC. Management structures on large eighteenth-century Chesapeake plantations are described in Thompson, “*The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret*”; Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*; Jean B. Russo, “A Model Planter: Edward Lloyd IV of Maryland, 1770–1796,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 49, no. 1 (1992): 62–88; and Jean B. Lee, “Mount Vernon Plantation: A Model for the Republic,” in Philip J. Schwarz, ed., *Slavery at the Home of George Washington* (Mount Vernon, VA: Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, 2001), 13–45.

The firm Christie & Stone called in debtors to settle their accounts with an advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis) on April 10, 1777 (cited in Sprouse, *Along the Potomac River*, 68). Thomas Stone's letter to Robert Christie of September 17, 1773, requesting paint and stone steps, appeared in the *Historical Magazine* (November 1868): 239–40 (see also Jefferson, “Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Select Primary Sources”). It is believed that Stone intended to use these supplies for the finishing touches of Haberdeventure (Rivoire, “Summary Report of Additional Research Findings,” 53).

at night, and at his meals.” Planters delegated whipping to overseers. Michael Jenifer Stone, who might be considered a humane master, instructed an overseer in 1794 to “correct and whip” the people assigned to him on Michael Jenifer Stone’s direction.²⁴

“Nowhere in Thomas Stone’s letters” is an overseer at Haberdeventure mentioned, Wearmouth comments. With an estimated minimum of five enslaved field hands of prime working age at Haberdeventure and another ten at Chandlers Hills, Welcome, and Addition to May Day in 1782 and 1783, we would expect to see one or two overseers on the properties. There are several possible explanations for the apparent absence. One, the relevant letters simply do not survive. Two, the steward or clerk handled all overseer interactions. Thomas Stone’s contemporary and fellow state senator, Edward Lloyd IV of Maryland’s Eastern Shore, is one example of a planter who did not concern himself with day-to-day management and instead relied on his staff. A third possibility is that Stone did not have white overseers and instead used enslaved overseers or drivers who were less likely to be literate (though we need to be careful about assumptions; there were literate blacks and illiterate whites in this society, too). Phil, who worked at Stone’s mill, is the most likely person (other than the carpenter, Tom Triplet) to have been a supervisor of less-skilled workers. Though the full range of his responsibilities is unknown, Phil worked closely with the miller, Thomas Ostro, and he was given the highest monetary valuation of all of the enslaved people that Thomas Stone held in bondage in Charles County at the end of Stone’s life. A fourth possibility for the apparent absence of overseers is that Stone did mention free white overseers in his letters, but he referred to them by name and not their occupation.²⁵

While Stone did not use the word “overseer” in extant letters, he does mention the name “Turner” several times. It is not clear if Turner was an overseer, a tenant who hired slaves from Thomas Stone, or a contractor of some other kind. Furthermore, the references to Turner in Thomas Stone’s known correspondence all date to one year, 1785, a year for

²⁴ Russo, “A Model Planter,” 73 (quote); Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 187–91; George Washington to Burgess Ball, July 27, 1794, quoted by Thompson, “*The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret*,” 95; Isaac, *Landon Carter’s Uneasy Kingdom*, 213–14; Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 481–82, 506; agreement between Michael Jenifer Stone and William Stone Griffin, January 1, 1794, Stone Family Papers, MS 406, MdHS (quote). In late 1783, Michael Jenifer Stone, in what he likely considered a humane gesture, tried to deter his brother Walter from selling enslaved people at auction where they might be sold to “those they dislike.” Michael Jenifer Stone also suggested that Walter look for buyers in Annapolis, where “humane masters” were more likely to be found than in rural Charles County (Michael Jenifer Stone to Walter Stone, November 1783 and December 3, 1783, Stone Family Papers, MS 406, MdHS; advertisement by Michael Jenifer Stone for the sale of enslaved people, dated May 9, 1797, appearing in the *Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis], June 15). Walter Stone did not take his brother’s advice, though, and went forward with plans for a “public auction” in Port Tobacco of “sundry valuable labouring negroes” in January 1784 (*Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis], December 18, 1783).

²⁵ Wearmouth HRS (1988) part 3, p. 10; Russo, “A Model Planter” 87; Appendices 4 and 18. Resources on enslaved overseers and drivers in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake include Thompson, “*The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret*,” 86–87, and Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 218–20, 342–46.

which we happen to have a wealth of correspondence from Thomas to Walter Stone about plantation management. So far, Turner’s first name and place of residence remain a mystery.²⁶

There are fragments of information on Turner. In the spring of 1785, Thomas Stone, writing from Annapolis, recalled that he had five enslaved people, four unnamed enslaved men, and one unnamed enslaved girl “with Turner.” Given the preponderance of adult males in this group, they likely were engaged in grain farming, which was male-labor intensive. Later that year, Thomas asked his brother Walter to send an enslaved young man named Ausmin to him in Annapolis “as soon as his time is out with Turner.” Given that Turner had hired Ausmin, is it possible that Turner had hired all five slaves (not just Ausmin) from Thomas Stone?²⁷

The possible permutations in the relationship between Turner, Stone, and Stone’s bondspeople are endless. To give one example, in 1766, the rector of Charles County’s William and Mary Parish, which lay to the south between the Potomac and Wicomico Rivers, leased eight bondspeople, “the property of William and Mary Parish,” and 154 acres of land to a merchant, Thomas Contee, and a wealthy planter, Philip Richard Fendall. The lease agreement gave Contee and Fendall, who most certainly did not manage the property themselves and would have relied instead on a hired man or relative, the freedom to direct the work of the bondspeople “in any and such manner as” Contee and Fendall “shall think proper.” Contee and Fendall were responsible for providing the enslaved men and women with meat, drink, clothing, and access to the services of a doctor or midwife—no mention was made about housing, its quality or otherwise—and for paying the lease of the land and slaves in crop tobacco. In light of this example, Turner may have been a well-to-do planter or Port Tobacco merchant who had hired Ausmin for domestic service (as Ausmin would do for Thomas Stone in Annapolis) and leased Stone’s other bondspeople to place under the supervision of his own overseer.²⁸

²⁶ Several men carried the surname Turner in the 1783 tax list and 1790 US Census for Charles County.

²⁷ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 22, 1785, and Thomas Stone to “Walter Stone or Michl J Stone,” December 21, 1785, Stone Family Letters, LC.

²⁸ Instrument of Writing, October 16, 1766, Charles County Land Records O#3:110–14, MSA. The agreement reads that the eight Negroes, named George, Jack, Ned, Jem, Will, Peg, Sall, and Nell, were “to be employed by the said Contee and Fendall... in any and such manner as they shall think proper” (110). The annual rate for leasing an adult male, by the terms of the document, was 1,240 pounds of crop tobacco, and the rate for leasing an adult female was 1,000 pounds of crop tobacco. I am grateful to the Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia’s Northern Neck website for the reference (“Thomas Contee [1729–1811],” www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us). Ausmin (Osmin), who was born on Dr. Gustavus Brown’s estate, was counted as a member of the Stone household in Annapolis in January 1788 (Petravage, “Historic Furnishings Report,” 27, entry for “Ozman,” age two; inventory of Thomas Stone’s Annapolis estate, Appendix 4).

Whatever his relationship to Stone, Turner was an important supplier of corn to Stone's properties in 1785. In the fall of that year, Turner owed Stone fifty barrels of corn. Stone told his brother Walter that the corn Turner owed him could be given to the miller, Thomas Ostro, after Ostro sent forty barrels of corn to Haberdeventure. Stone also expected Turner and Ostro to give to Walter an accurate count of his cattle.²⁹

Turner owed Stone corn and fodder in 1785 according to an "agreement." This arrangement suggests that Turner was *not* an overseer; typically overseers kept a share and turned over all other produce to the owner. Surviving overseer agreements between Michael Jenifer Stone (on his own account) and Nathan McDaniel from 1796 and 1797 offer a point of comparison. Michael Jenifer Stone initially supplied McDaniel with four "Negro men," and the next year McDaniel agreed to oversee an additional man and woman. With five adult men and one adult woman, the sex and age composition of this group was similar to Thomas Stone's and Turner's arrangement in 1785 (four men and one "girl"). As compensation, McDaniel was to receive four hundred pounds of fat pork, four barrels of corn, and four bushels of wheat per year plus a share of the crop (between one-sixth to one-eighth of a share, depending on the number of hands Stone supplied). As would be expected of an overseer, McDaniel was to keep a share of the corn raised at the quarter and turn over the remainder to his employer.³⁰

If Turner was a tenant, this would be consistent with a history of tenancy at Haberdeventure. As noted in earlier studies of Haberdeventure, there were two tenants on Haberdeventure and Hanson's Plains in 1768 when Daniel Jenifer advertised the property for sale. The 1798 Federal Direct Tax list records four tenants at Haberdeventure (John McDaniel [i.e., John M. Daniel?], Ignatius Wheeler, Ignatius Varden, and Edward Welch). The doubling of the number of tenants between 1768 and 1798 makes sense given that Haberdeventure more than doubled in size between those two dates. In 1798, Thomas Stone's own daughter Margaret was a tenant. According to an agreement between Margaret and Mildred Stone after the death of their brother, their father's intended heir, Mildred inherited Haberdeventure and Margaret inherited the outlying property. Mildred and her husband Travers Daniels lived in Virginia, though, and allowed Margaret (Stone) and her

²⁹ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 22 and November 24, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC.

³⁰ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, November 24, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC; agreements between Michael Jenifer Stone and Nathan McDaniel for overseeing at Hawthorn, December 16, 1796, and August 31, 1797, Stone Family Papers, MS 406, MdHS. Stone also provided McDaniel with four horses, four oxen, and, for McDaniel's own use, a cow.

husband Dr. John M. Daniel to occupy Thomas Stone's brick house. Apparently Margaret and Dr. Daniel supplied their own labor to farm at Chandlers Hills, Welcome, and Addition to May Day because the 1798 Direct Tax shows no tenants there.³¹

One reason why the history of tenancy during Thomas Stone's lifetime is obscure is that, for at least one year and possibly more, Stone preferred to pay the property taxes for his tenants and others who leased enslaved people whom Stone claimed ownership of. In 1785, Thomas told his brother Walter that he wanted to pay the state tax for "persons to whom rented and hired." The tenants and lessees would pay him what they owed in tax. As a result, Thomas's name, and not the other people's names, would be recorded.³²

In summary, Turner appears to have leased both land and slaves from Thomas Stone. Thomas Stone (with Walter's assistance as clerk) may have had similar arrangements with other tenants on his land. Fortunately, a surviving written agreement between Walter Stone and the miller Thomas Ostro from 1787, combined with other sources, provides information about one of Stone's most important employees. According to the 1787 agreement, Ostro was to "manage & conduct" the mill, including keeping it in "good and proper repair" and doing "Justice to all customers." Ostro also managed a field next to the road, for which he was entitled to half the profits, and raised hogs, with permission to retain one-fifth of the pork. The agreement suggests that Ostro worked with "Negroe Phil," Thomas Stone's most highly valued bondsman at the time, at the age of twenty-four. The document also directed that other enslaved persons held by Stone who "may be at the Mill" were to be treated with "care and humanity." Ostro, the head of a family of five, was neither a landowner nor a slaveowner when the state of Maryland assessed his property for taxes

³¹ CLR (1996), 35, 39; *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), March 2, 1769; Federal Direct Tax of 1798, MSA. The deed for Haberdeventure in 1770 mentions rents (Charles County Land Records, S#3:127–30, MSA). It is possible that the name "John McDaniel" in the list of tenants at Haberdeventure in 1798 might be a clerical error, misrepresenting the name of John M. Daniel, Thomas Stone's son-in-law who occupied Thomas Stone's house at the time. Two tenant houses at Haberdeventure were valuable enough to be recorded, but together were worth \$70, while Thomas Stone's brick house with three outbuildings was valued at \$1,800. Over a decade earlier, Michael Jenifer Stone lived at Haberdeventure "rent-free" (answer of Travers Daniel and wife and John M. Daniel and wife, December 30, 1806, *Scott v. Stone et al.*, Chancery Papers, Chancery Court, case 4647, MSA). Sarson observes that in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Maryland, tenants made land productive while sparing the landowner the expense of supplying labor ("Landlessness and Tenancy," 583–84). Landowners risked destruction of the land by tenants, for example the cutting down of timber (Earle and Hoffman, "Genteel Erosion").

³² Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 22, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC.

in 1783. Ostro's most valuable possessions when he died in 1796 were his horses and a horse wagon. Ostro also owned shoemaker tools and "some shew lasts," suggesting one way that he supplemented his income.³³

The 1787 agreement between Walter Stone and Thomas Ostro does not specify Phil's duties at the mill; given his high valuation, he may have been a miller's assistant. A study of George Washington's grist mill offers a useful description of the responsibilities of a miller and a miller's assistant. "The miller played the key role in determining the success or failure" of the milling "operation, as he was responsible for the overall management of the business of the mill in addition to overseeing the grinding of the grain." In addition to keeping accounts, the miller maintained and repaired the mill and "was expected to . . . supervise work in the cooperage when milling was slow." Washington's mill had a cooper's shop in a neighboring building, where barrels were made for the shipment of cornmeal, wheat and rye flour, and the whiskey made at an on-site distillery.³⁴

The experiences of an enslaved miller's assistant named Ben at George Washington's gristmill in the 1780s and 1790s suggest the kinds of work that Phil may have been engaged in. Ben "likely" was literate and could help with the keeping of accounts. He also "assisted in the cooperage and spent many hours repairing and cleaning the millrace" to maintain adequate water flow. On at least one occasion when a miller departed, Ben operated the mill in his stead.³⁵

Women also had a history of working at mills in Southern Maryland. Depositions in a freedom petition case in the 1790s offer testimonies about Jenny Short or Shorter, a daughter of a mixed-race marriage (by a Catholic priest) between an English-born indentured servant, Elizabeth Shorter, and an enslaved man. (According to Maryland law at the time, Elizabeth was enslaved because she had children by a Negro slave, and their children were born into slavery.) Reportedly in the 1730s and 1740s, Jenny Shorter managed Tomachokin Mill in St. Mary's County for Roswell Neale, a son of Anthony Neale of Aquenseek (variously spelled Acquinsicke), Charles County. (The same Anthony Neale

³³ Appendix 18 provides a transcription of the 1787 agreement between Walter Stone and Thomas Ostro. Variant spellings of Ostro's name raise the question of whether the Stones used an anglicized spelling of a European name. Thomas Stone and Walter Stone repeatedly spell the name as "Ostro," and the same spelling is recorded in the 1778 census of Charles County and on the miller's 1796 probate inventory (Charles County Court Records, Liber X, No. 3, 1774–78, and Charles County Inventories 1790–97, p. 418, both MSA). The miller signed his surname "Osston" in the 1787 agreement with Walter Stone (Appendix 18), though, and in a newspaper advertisement, his signature is "Thomas Oston" (*Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis], October 29, 1789). The tax list of 1783 also spells the name as "Thomas Oston."

Phil had worked at the mill for at least a year and likely more when the agreement between Walter Stone and Thomas Ostro was made; in late 1785, Thomas Stone wrote to Walter that he wanted Phil to stay at the mill (December 21, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC). In January 1788, assessors of Thomas Stone's estate in Charles County valued Phil, age twenty-five, at £80, £10 more than other adult men of prime working age, including Tom Triplet, a carpenter (Pettravage, "Historic Furnishings Report," 14).

³⁴ Dennis J. Pogue and Esther C. White, *George Washington's Gristmill at Mount Vernon* (Mount Vernon, VA: Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, 2005), 30–31, 65–69.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 28–29, 34, 67–68.

gave to Roswell’s brothers, Henry and Edward, the mill near Port Tobacco that Thomas Stone acquired.) William Hill, a free person of color, recalled working with Jenny as a “millboy” when he was in his early teens and helping her lift sacks onto horses. A former overseer to Roswell Neale remembered Jenny’s son, Ned Short, attending the mill, and recalled that after Ned died, a woman named Alice Handley operated the mill for “two or three years” before an African American man took over.³⁶

The roles of women at Thomas Stone’s mill during his period of ownership are unknown, but their presence is documented. As will be discussed shortly, when Thomas Stone leased and then purchased a mill near Port Tobacco, he also hired and later bought Rachael and Lucy, who were part of a large family at the site. Rachael was twenty-four years of age and Lucy was sixteen when Stone first hired them in late 1776. Rachael and Lucy may have had specialized knowledge about operating and managing the mill. Running a bakehouse is not out of the question, either.³⁷

The work that Rachael and Lucy performed remains obscure. Phil had a higher profile at the mill, but we also do not know the extent of his responsibilities. He may have taken an important part in another of Ostro’s responsibilities at Stone’s mill, raising hogs. In 1786, Thomas Stone wanted Ostro to deliver seventy-two hogs to him. The following year, Walter Stone limited Ostro’s hog production to no more than “five thousand weight” a year, perhaps to rein in Ostro’s ambitions—Ostro was entitled to keep one-fifth of the pork he raised—or to curb deleterious effects on the land; hogs were “prolific breeders and notorious destroyers of crops.”³⁸

Phil’s hire in 1794 at Michael Jenifer Stone’s Port Tobacco blacksmith shop, which was expanded or improved that year, together with Phil’s documented presence at the mill, suggests that he had talents as a mechanic or artisan. There appear to have been two other artisans among those whom Thomas Stone held in bondage, a carpenter, Tom Triplet, and

³⁶ Depositions of William Hill, William Gibson, Elizabeth Daily, and passim in *Basil Shorter v. Henry Rozer*, Judgment Record, transcribed in Thomas et al., eds., *O Say Can You See*, Early Washington, DC, Law and Family, <http://earlywashingtondc.org/doc/oscys.mdcase.0012>, accessed December 13, 2019. More residents remembered Jenny in her later years, when she exercised considerable independence. She continued to live on Roswell Neale’s property on St. Clement’s Bay and “supported herself” by “doctoring for the flux” in the “neighbourhood” and raising chickens. She also took care of “Negro children” before her death around 1750 (depositions of William Hill, Jeremiah Neale, William Gibson, and John Baptist Anderson in *ibid.*)

³⁷ After Thomas Stone purchased Rachael and Lucy, the daughters of Roger and Margaret (Peg), from the heirs of Roger Smith in 1782, their whereabouts become uncertain. In a letter in the spring of 1785 in which Stone listed “the negroes I have in Charles” County, the only person Stone specifically mentioned as being at the mill is a woman named “Margot.” This might be a reference to Rachael and Lucy’s mother. Later that year, Stone lamented the death of “Margt.,” who, Mrs. Stone informed her husband, had “suffered” from a “very bad” illness (Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 22 and December 21, Stone Family Papers, LC). The woman named Rachael who was present at the valuation of Stone’s Annapolis estate in early 1788 may or may not be the Rachael whom Stone purchased from the Smith family; their approximate birth years (1748 for Rachael in Annapolis and 1752 for Rachael at the mill) are only four years apart (probate inventories of Thomas Stone, 1788, and Roger Smith, 1768).

³⁸ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, January 15, 1786, Stone Family Papers, LC; Appendix 18, 1787 agreement between Walter Stone and Thomas Ostro; Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 608 (quote).

Bob, about whom we know even less. Enslaved tradesmen were rare in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake, but their numbers grew over the course of the century, and in a mostly rural county like Charles County, they were most likely to be found at large plantations like Thomas Stone's. In Maryland, free people or indentured servants were frequently engaged for craftwork such as blacksmithing, tanning, shoemaking, tailoring, gardening, and weaving.³⁹

Carpenters, like Tom Triplet, and coopers were the most common of all skilled adult male slaves on Chesapeake plantations. Mills, houses, and outbuildings needed constant repair and maintenance. The previous owner of the Stone's mill, Roger Smith, held two carpenters in bondage. George Washington invested substantial sums of money renovating his father's "severely deteriorated" gristmill and then replacing it with a more technologically advanced design. Woodworkers also manufactured casks and barrels to store plantation produce.⁴⁰

In summary, surviving letters by Thomas Stone to his brothers, Michael Jenifer Stone and Walter Stone, between 1784 and early 1786 plus other scattered evidence give us a partial picture of the management structure at Haberdeventure and outlying properties. When Thomas moved to Annapolis in 1784, he relied on his brothers to execute his instructions and maintain the profitability of the estate. Further down the hierarchy was a man named Turner, who rented enslaved people and likely land from Stone, the miller Thomas Ostro, and the highly skilled bondsmen known to us as Phil, Tom Triplet, and Bob. The presence of ten enslaved laborers at Chandlers Hills, Welcome, and Addition to May Day in 1782 and of nine enslaved individuals of working age at Haberdeventure and Hanson's Plains Enlarged in 1783 exceeded the numbers needed to raise food, according to David Percy's estimation. How Stone and his agents used the land productively will be addressed next.

³⁹ Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 54, 209–12, 227; Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 547–48. It appears that Port Tobacco merchant George Clements entered into a limited partnership with Michael Jenifer Stone to support the latter's blacksmith shop, based on surviving accounts in the William Briscoe Stone Papers, Rubenstein Library, Duke University (George Clements with Michael Jenifer Stone, January 1794–January 1795, listing construction materials and hires, an account of Michael J. Stone with Stone & Clements, January 13–December 20, 1794, enumerating blacksmith work, and Archibald Johnson with Stone & Clements, January 27–July 4, 1794, also documenting blacksmith work). The 1794–95 account of George Clements with Michael Jenifer Stone records the purchase of 200 bricks, an anvil, "four legs for Forge," and two sheepskins (to make bellows). Clements also hired Michael Jenifer Stone's enslaved blacksmith, Jesse. On Clements's identity as a merchant, see Sprouse, *Along the Potomac River*, 106, 113, and Charles County Land Records N#4:379, MSA. Michael Jenifer Stone's day book documents Thomas Stone's patronage of his blacksmith shop in 1777 and 1779 (Kremer Collection, SMSC, p. 11).

⁴⁰ Will of Roger Smith, transcribed in "Roger Smith (1716–1768)," Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia's Northern Neck Counties, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us; Pogue and White, *George Washington's Gristmill*, 13–14, 30–34.

Tobacco

Tobacco remained part of the lifeblood of Charles County throughout Stone’s lifetime. Indeed, with the help of agricultural improvements in the nineteenth century, tobacco endured as a vital part of Charles County’s economy into the twentieth century; the extant tobacco barn at Haberdeventure testifies to its persistence. Stone did not have to raise much tobacco himself to be deeply involved in the tobacco business—he accepted tobacco as payment for his legal work, brokered tobacco sales for his legal clients, and represented clients in debt cases involving tobacco. As it happens, though, there is evidence that Stone raised tobacco for credit and profit. Michael Jenifer Stone’s day book credits Thomas Stone for crop tobacco—that is, tobacco raised and packed by Stone—delivered at two warehouses in 1780. Another reference to crop tobacco occurred in 1782, when Thomas Stone paid in crop tobacco for an enslaved man known as Bob. Furthermore, in a letter from 1785, tobacco was the first crop that Thomas Stone listed as the products of his Charles County plantations. Tobacco’s continuing importance in the local economy would have made it difficult to give up.⁴¹

Whereas some large planters in the late-eighteenth-century Chesapeake abandoned tobacco altogether—George Washington being one of the most well-known—others maintained production, including Stone’s legal client Charles Carroll of Annapolis and his son Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who, like Stone, came into political prominence during the Revolutionary War. In the late eighteenth century, tobacco’s boom-bust cycle continued, and the lure of high prices kept growers like Thomas Stone involved. The tobacco market was strong in Charles County between 1766 and 1770, and another rise in prices occurred in 1783, encouraging planters. In 1784 and 1785 John Hoskins Stone and Walter Stone were eagerly buying up Charles County tobacco and shipping it through Baltimore, which became Maryland’s leading hub of the tobacco export market in the 1790s. The Stone brothers, as well as Port Tobacco merchant Thomas How Ridgate, were able to benefit from Robert Morris of Philadelphia’s contract with the French tobacco monopoly from 1785 to 1787 as subcontractors to meet the French demand for the lower-quality Maryland leaf. Given Thomas Stone’s kinship ties with John Hoskins Stone and Walter

⁴¹ Julia A. King, *Archaeology, Narrative, and the Politics of the Past: The View from Southern Maryland* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2012), esp. chapter 1; Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 636; Michael Jenifer Stone day book, p. 13, Kremer Collection, SMSC; deed for Bob, Charles County Land Records, V#3:563, MSA; Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 22, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC. Philip Richard Fendall listed “tobacco, wheat, and Indian corn,” in that order, as the principal crops of the seven hundred acre Potomac River, Charles County, plantation he advertised for sale in 1784 (*Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis], October 14). The use of tobacco as currency remained strong during the Revolutionary War despite the uncertainty of the market. As the value of paper currency fell, tobacco offered “an excellent hedge against inflation” (Hoffman with Mason, *Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland*, 337).

Stone, and his business relationship with Ridgate (discussed in Chapter 5), it is possible that Thomas Stone also profited from Morris’s contract with the French tobacco monopoly as a grower of tobacco.⁴²

With a focus on grain and livestock farming at Chandlers Hills and Welcome (see below), presumably Thomas Stone’s enslaved workforce raised tobacco elsewhere, and Haberdeventure is one strong candidate. Daniel Jenifer’s 1769 newspaper advertisement for 342 acres of Haberdeventure and Hanson’s Plains Enlarged noted that the land was “better for farming than planting” tobacco. However, tobacco was being grown on the property at the time; the same advertisement stated that the two tenants paid rent of a “crop hogshead each.” The phrase “crop tobacco” referred to tobacco raised and packed by the grower, in distinction from transfer tobacco which was purchased from others to make up a hogshead. Also, the presence on a vacant portion of the property of an “old” tobacco house that measured twenty by thirty feet (along with an “old” and “very sorry” dwelling house) in 1768 testifies to a history of tobacco cultivation at the site. During his seventeen-year tenure, Stone acquired adjoining parcels to create a 1,077-acre property that may have included better land for raising tobacco than the 342 acres Jenifer originally advertised.⁴³

Tobacco production at Haberdeventure during Thomas Stone’s ownership (1770–87) remains unproven. Meanwhile, entries in Michael Jenifer Stone’s day book hint at the possibility that Stone raised tobacco on rented land. In 1780, Stone’s brother credited Thomas for hogsheads of crop tobacco at two Charles County warehouses, both of which were at some distance away from Haberdeventure—1,724 lbs. at Cedar Point, which lies to the south in William and Mary Parish, and 720 lbs. at Nanjemoy, situated in Durham Parish to the east. If Thomas Stone grew tobacco at Haberdeventure, presumably it would have been delivered to the warehouse on Port Tobacco Creek. Unfortunately, Michael Jenifer Stone’s day book ends in 1781, stopping short of the postwar period.⁴⁴

Michael Jenifer Stone’s 1780 day book entry for Thomas Stone’s crop tobacco at the Cedar Point and Nanjemoy warehouses happens to coincide with the time Thomas rented land at Nanjemoy for his siblings Michael Jenifer Stone and Catherine Scott. It may

⁴² Earle and Hoffman, “Genteel Erosion,” esp. 291; Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 633; Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 224–27; Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit*, 198–99, 216–17. Charles Carroll of Carrollton reduced tobacco production in the 1790s but did not entirely abandon the crop (“Genteel Erosion”). In 1790, Michael Jenifer Stone wrote to his brother Walter from New York, “I hear that Tobacco is [selling] high in London. Please to Collect and Ship all you Can for me” (April 17, 1790, Stone Family Papers, MS 406, MdHS).

⁴³ *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), March 9, 1769; 1768 patent for Haberdeventure and Hanson’s Plains Enlarged, Patent Records BC & GS 37:94, MSA 1195–481. On the distinction between crop tobacco and transfer tobacco, see Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 595, 600.

⁴⁴ Michael Jenifer Stone day book, April and May 1780, Kremer Collection, SMSC, p. 13. The day book records Michael Jenifer Stone’s transactions with Thomas Stone between 1773 and 1781. Charles County had seven inspection warehouses in the 1760s and 1770s, according to Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, Table 8, p. 273. The tobacco inspection warehouse at Port Tobacco Creek stood at Chandler’s Point, on land owned by a Roman Catholic, William Neale (d. 1763) (*Archives of Maryland*, 50:518, 58:449, 64:152).

be, then, that the elder brother was in the habit of renting land to raise tobacco. This would have given Stone the flexibility to raise tobacco when the market was favorable. Though the war disrupted the transatlantic tobacco trade, Philadelphia merchants were willing to buy tobacco to ship to the West Indies, where it could be re-exported to Europe. Again, Stone had the connections to make the outlet feasible.⁴⁵

Apart from the single 1780 reference to Stone's crop tobacco, it is unclear how much of the tobacco that Stone handled was raised by other planters. Some years later, in 1785, Thomas, writing from Annapolis, told his brother Walter, then a resident of Port Tobacco, to expect delivery of tobacco from three men (Baker Howard, Jesse Doyne, and Jesse Bunch) "for me." If these were payments for debt, Stone likely had a choice of accepting tobacco as payment or risk not being paid at all, given the shortage of specie at the time.⁴⁶

While it is difficult to ascertain how deeply Stone invested his own resources in tobacco production, there is strong evidence to suggest that he retained an interest in raising the cash crop. For a practicing lawyer and public officeholder, undoubtedly it was easier to maintain the status quo of raising tobacco along with corn and wheat than to introduce "English" farming techniques that required long-term planning and disrupted established routines. Stone did take advantages of opportunities, though, to achieve higher profits from grain and livestock farming, beginning in 1776.

Other Crops and Means of Profit

"There can be no great profit by our ordinary crops of corn & tobacco," observed Virginia planter and lawyer John Mercer in 1767–68. In the eighteenth-century Chesapeake, planters' profit margins were low unless they diversified; according to one estimation, tobacco yielded a profit of 5 to 6 percent. In contrast, wheat crops could achieve returns of as high

⁴⁵ Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise*, 205–6. In letters of 1781 and 1782, Stone informed his brother Walter, who was working in the Office of Finance in Philadelphia under Robert Morris at the time, that he intended to send tobacco to him, presumably to sell in the Philadelphia market (Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, October 8, 1781, Fogg Collection, Maine Historical Society, Portland, ME, transcription in Jefferson, "Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Select Primary Sources"; Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 21, 1782, Stone Family Papers, LC).

⁴⁶ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 22, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC. Based on the 1783 tax assessment, these three men lived in other parts of Charles County. Jesse Doyne owned 550 acres in the Seventh District, which included Poynton Manor. Jesse Burch owned 250 acres in the First District and leased another 187 acres in the Third District. Baker Howard occupied 144 acres in the First District (*Archives of Maryland*, Volume 81). On indebtedness in postwar Charles County and the scarcity of cash in late 1785 and 1786, see Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 228–39.

Whether Stone favored one tobacco merchant over another for the sale of his tobacco is not clear. The crop tobacco that Michael Jenifer Stone credited to Thomas Stone in 1780 was "delivered to" Thomas How Ridgate and Walter Stone (Michael Jenifer Stone day book, Kremer Collection, SMSC, p. 13). In 1785, Thomas Stone instructed Walter to give "the two Saint Mary's hogsheads" to Contee and Company, and he mentioned that he was expecting cash from the sale of tobacco to Col. Robert Townshend Hooe, the former business partner of his deceased brother, Frederick, and Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer (Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 27, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC; Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 40–41).

as 90 percent. Also, the tobacco market was variable. Charles Carroll of Carrollton remarked in 1765 that his income depended “upon the casual rise and fall in the price of Tobacco.” When Carroll inherited his father’s estate in 1782, he reduced Doughoregan Manor’s reliance on tobacco as a cash crop and placed more importance on raising wheat, corn, hogs, and cattle on the Anne Arundel County property.⁴⁷

“Large-scale wheat production was . . . a rich man’s project” in eighteenth-century Charles County, as well as in other parts of the Chesapeake, except areas close to Philadelphia. Because wheat crops were low yield, more land had to be brought into production. Improving planters needed cattle, “the most valuable of plantation livestock,” to produce manure for fertilizer and serve as draft animals to pull plows. Fertilizer allowed improving planters to keep land in production longer, abandoning older methods of crop rotation that let partially cleared land lie fallow after seven years of use. Labor demands included removing tree stumps from former tobacco fields to ease plowing, and hiring ditchers to create and maintain meadows for livestock pasture.⁴⁸

Thomas Stone witnessed firsthand a major contraction of the tobacco market in 1772, which may have encouraged him to invest in grain and livestock farming. For five years previous, high tobacco prices encouraged planters to borrow and merchants to extend credit. Then, in 1772, a “financial panic” in Britain spurred merchants to call in their debts. As a trustee for the Port-Tobacco-based firm Barnes and Ridgate, which went into bankruptcy, Stone drew up mortgages and pursued debtors in court. Debt and credit were closely intertwined. As historian Bruce Mann explains, “Debtors and creditors in the Chesapeake—or, more precisely, Chesapeake debtors and their local and foreign creditors—lived in a state of mutual dependence possible only in a highly leveraged economy, where the fortunes of borrowers and lenders were so thoroughly intertwined that they often seemed more like partners. In commercial economies the road to wealth lies through credit. The road to ruin lies through debt. The enduring problem is that the two roads are identical until they diverge—a fork that is visible only in retrospect, and often only after it is too late to go back.”⁴⁹

⁴⁷ John Mercer to George Mercer, December 22, 1767–January 28, 1768, in *George Mercer Papers*, comp. and ed. Mulkearn, 213; Paul G. E. Clemens, “The Operation of an Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Tobacco Plantation,” *Agricultural History* 49 (1975): 519; Walsh, “Land Use, Settlement Patterns, and the Impact of European Agriculture,” 240; Charles Carroll of Carrollton to William Graves, September 25, 1765, Letterbook 1765–68, MdHS, quoted in Earle and Hoffman, “Genteel Erosion,” 290 (quote). Charles Carroll of Carrollton’s father maintained tobacco as the primary cash crop at Doughoregan Manor up through the Revolutionary War (Hoffman with Mason, *Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland*, 326).

⁴⁸ Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 325, 602 (quote), 610 (quote), 622; Thompson, “*The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret*,” 91, 92, 117. For accounts of the challenges of introducing new farming techniques in the later eighteenth-century Chesapeake to improve yields for grain and livestock production, see Walsh, “Slavery and Agriculture at Mount Vernon,” 46–77, and Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*.

⁴⁹ Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 104 (quote), 105; Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 633; Bruce H. Mann, *Republic of Debtors: Bankruptcy in the Age of American Independence* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), quotations on pp. 132, 137.

Stone's contemporaries associated indebtedness with a loss of independence—which manifested itself literally when debtors were jailed. Ridgate's partner John Barnes, for example, was imprisoned in London in 1772 after their scheme to compete with London tobacco merchants failed. Stone witnessed the Barnes & Ridgate failure at a particularly fraught time during Britain's imperial crisis. To quote from Mann again, "By the early 1770s, as parliamentary efforts to raise revenue from the colonies continued and the insistent demands of British creditors spread deepening distress, planters conflated the debate over constitutional rights and liberties with that over private indebtedness. Their newly recognized financial dependence [to British tobacco merchants and other financiers] lent a personal context to country idioms of political discourse—power, bondage, liberty, rights, virtue, independence—investing them with even greater emotional intensity than they carried on their own."⁵⁰

Nonimportation and the Revolutionary War encouraged the trend toward greater self-sufficiency and economic diversification among larger planters in Charles County. Stone's experiences as a lawyer, which put him on the front lines of debtor-creditor negotiations, must have encouraged him further to diversify his portfolio.

Some of the clearest evidence of agricultural diversification on Thomas Stone's property comes from Chandlers Hills and Welcome, Stone's most valuable arable land, where the emphasis was on grain and livestock farming. The January 1787 agreement between Walter Stone, agent for Thomas Stone, and the miller Thomas Ostro makes no mention of tobacco. Instead, wheat, corn, cattle, and pork were the primary products. (See Appendix 18.) This marks a shift away from the former use of land, as of 1768, primarily to raise tobacco and pork.⁵¹

In 1785, Thomas Stone asked his brother Walter, "What wheat" had been "credited" to him, and "what corn?" Stone's inquiry reveals that he used his land to raise a surplus of wheat and corn to sell at market. During the Revolutionary War, Stone's uncle Daniel Jenifer purchased "beef, pork, corn, and wheat" to supply to American and French military forces, but the demands were not consistent. New England also bought provisions

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 137. The bankruptcy of Barnes and Ridgate kept Stone busy. "Barnes and Ridgate exceeded all other merchants in the number of suits filed and judgments obtained" in Charles County in 1773 and 1774, reports Lee (*Price of Nationhood*, 106). Stone's work for Barnes and Ridgate is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. Maryland passed a bankruptcy act on 1787 that eased the burdens on debtors (ibid., 239).

⁵¹ Roger Smith raised tobacco, along with hogs and sheep, at Chandlers Hills and Welcome, based on his will and inventory of 1768. He owned hoes and axes, which were the common tools for raising tobacco, and no plows (Charles County Wills, Liber AE#6:28–30; Charles County Inventories 1766–73:283–86, MSA). Thomas Stone asked Walter Stone for an account of corn and wheat "got" at the mill in a letter of November 24, 1785 (Stone Family Papers, LC).

from Maryland during the war. After the war, merchants bought Maryland wheat, flour, pork, and corn, in addition to tobacco. Unfortunately, the wheat output of Stone's properties is unrecorded.⁵²

Hogs, Cattle, and Sheep

While production figures for tobacco, corn, and wheat production at Haberdeventure and Stone's other properties are lacking, tax lists and Stone's probate inventory in Charles County combined with other sources offer some numbers for hogs, cattle, and sheep. Daniel Jenifer's description of the 342 acres of Haberdeventure and Hanson's Plains Enlarged that he put up for sale in 1769—"better for farming than planting"—suggests that Stone's home plantation was suitable for raising livestock. Even so, evidence of livestock is more heavily weighted outside Haberdeventure's boundaries, at the outplantation at Chandlers Hills and Welcome (patented as Plenty in 1787).⁵³

Hogs were ubiquitous in the colonial and early national Chesapeake. In the seventeenth century, hogs often roamed freely. By the mid-eighteenth century, planters exerted more control over their swine by penning them and slaughtering them at younger ages. Before the Revolutionary War, planters sold pork locally, to markets in the West Indies, and as ship provisions. During the war, Charles County supplied pork (as well as beef) for military provisions.⁵⁴

As of 1785, Thomas Ostro at the mill was an important source of pork for Haberdeventure. Late that year, Stone asked Ostro to supply Haberdeventure with 800 pounds of pork and sell surplus for cash. Thomas Stone may have sought to curb the number of hogs at Haberdeventure because the animals damaged the environment. Ostro, on the other hand, had financial incentives to raise large numbers. According to a 1787 agreement with Walter Stone, Ostro was allowed to keep one-fifth of the pork he raised at the mill for his own use and profit, provided that he produced no more than 5,000 weight a year. If the hogs that were slaughtered weighed no more than 150 pounds each, then Ostro could send at least 30 animals to market each year and stay within his allowance.

⁵² Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 22, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC (quote). On wartime purchases of foodstuffs from Charles County, see Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 173–80. On Maryland as a source of wartime provisions, see Doerflinger, *Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise*, 203–4, and Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit*, 107. Michael Jenifer Stone advised Walter Stone that Maryland's saleable products were "wheat, flour, tobacco, pork, and corn" (May 3, 1783, Stone Family Papers, LC). John Hoskins Stone and Walter Stone in their commercial partnership bought Maryland wheat and tobacco in 1785 and 1786 (Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 226; John Hoskins Stone to Walter Stone, December 22, 1786, Stone Family Papers, MS 406, MdHS).

⁵³ CLR (1996) 34; advertisement for Haberdeventure and Hanson's Plains Enlarged, *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), March 2, 1769 (quote); Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 173.

⁵⁴ Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 608–9.

Inexplicably, Thomas Stone's probate inventories recorded only 5 hogs and 12 shoats in Charles County in early 1788. This number might represent what existed for plantation use at Haberdeventure, Stone's home plantation.⁵⁵

The only glimpses of pork production on Thomas Stone's properties come from a handful of documents from 1781 to 1788. Likewise, evidence of cattle is limited to the postwar period. At the end of the war, the greater part of Thomas Stone's cattle could be found on the east side of Port Tobacco Creek, at Chandlers Hills, Welcome, and possibly Addition to May Day. The 1782 tax list documents forty-eight head of cattle at Chandlers Hills, Welcome, and Addition to May Day (without specifying their precise location). A year later, Stone paid taxes on twenty-two head of cattle at his dwelling plantation, Haberdeventure. Unfortunately, because some tax lists are missing, we cannot count the total number of cattle in both locations in the same year. The 1996 CLR suggests that cattle could have been moved between the plantations, given their proximity.

As is the case with hogs, Thomas Stone's probate inventory for Charles County shows an apparent drop in the number of cattle by early 1788, with two oxen and four cows and calves recorded. One reason for the discrepancy may be that Stone paid taxes on cattle for his tenants in 1782 and 1783, thus making it appear as if he owned more head of cattle than he actually did. Or perhaps Stone enlarged his cattle herd during the war, as Charles Carroll of Carrollton did. Cattle played an important role in grain farming; manure collected from penned cattle was used as fertilizer, and cattle, especially oxen, were used as draft animals. If Stone wanted to raise more wheat on worn-out land, he had to have cattle. Cattle also were a source of food, leather, and tallow for candles.⁵⁶

In April 1785, Thomas Stone estimated that he possessed "12 or 13 head" of cattle, which may or may not indicate that he was drawing down his own investment in grain and livestock farming from a wartime high. If he was contracting his investment in farming, it may have been intended to be temporary. When Stone was in financial distress in 1785, he used cattle sales as a source of ready money. "I will not sell the cattle on Credit," Stone wrote to his brother Walter in December of that year. Stone directed Walter to sell all the

⁵⁵ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone or Michael Jenifer Stone, December 21, 1785, and Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, January 15, 1786, Stone Family Papers, LC; Appendix 18. Whether Michael Jenifer Stone supplied Thomas Stone with pork from the rented Nanjemoy plantation between 1780 and 1782 can only be speculated. In 1782, Michael Jenifer Stone recorded that the Nanjemoy plantation had nearly 1,500 pounds of pork on hand and had sold 950 pounds at Annapolis (Michael Jenifer Stone day book, Kremer Collection, SMSC, p. 24). The day book does not record the sale or transfer of pork from the rented Nanjemoy plantation to Haberdeventure. In 1785, John Hoskins Stone offered pork raised at Nanjemoy to Michael Jenifer Stone, who was then living at Haberdeventure, if Michael Jenifer Stone wanted it (John Hoskins Stone to Walter Stone, December 19, 1785, Stone Family Papers, MS 406, MdHS). It was not unreasonable, then, for a Nanjemoy plantation to supply Haberdeventure with meat. On hog slaughter weights, see Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 609, table 38.

⁵⁶ Hoffman with Mason, *Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland*, 339.

cattle “for Cash” after reserving a pair of oxen for Michael Jenifer Stone at Haberdeventure, if he wanted them, and setting aside a pair of oxen and two cows and calves for Thomas Ostro.⁵⁷

Of the three main types of livestock raised for meat, Stone appears to have invested the fewest resources in sheep. Sheep had trailed behind hogs and cattle in planter priorities in the colonial Chesapeake, owing partly to the predation of wolves and lack of cleared land in the seventeenth century. In the first half of the eighteenth century, large planters raised sheep “primarily for meat” and considered wool an “important by-product” for import replacement. During the imperial crisis of the 1760s and 1770s, when nonimportation agreements made imported cloth more difficult to obtain, making wool took on greater importance as colonists increased domestic cloth production.⁵⁸

No sheep appear in the appraisal of Thomas Stone’s property in Charles County shortly after his death. Other records, though, show Stone’s possession of small numbers. During the war, Michael Jenifer Stone recorded, on one occasion, Thomas Stone’s purchase of six sheep. More often Thomas purchased lambs as meat, according to his brother’s day book. In late 1784, Thomas Stone put sheep up for sale along with other plantation assets.⁵⁹

Despite the absence of sheep in Thomas Stone’s estate in early 1788, domestic cloth production was a part of life. Stone’s Charles County inventory documents five weaver’s slays (now called reeds, used to beat the weft on a loom), a spinning wheel for wool (“woolen wheel”), and two “damaged” flax wheels for linen thread. The effort at import replacement was considerably less, though, than at Thomas Stone’s father’s plantation at Poynton Manor. In 1774, sixty-two sheep were grazing at Poynton Manor. Within the next four years, Stone’s elder half-brother Samuel nearly doubled those numbers. Likely encouraged by the war (Samuel’s inventory was taken in 1778), Samuel invested significantly in cloth production, possessing sheep shears, wool cards, two spinning wheels, an expensive “reel and winder” (£8) to make skeins of consistent lengths, and a “garter loom.” Samuel also owned a flax wheel to spin flax into yarn and a cotton gin to process cotton.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Confirming Thomas Stone’s sale of cattle in the local market, Robert Fergusson wrote to George Gray on August 23, 1787, that a local resident paid Stone £10 for an unspecified number of cattle in the recent past (Glassford and Company Papers, Container 62, LC). To give a sense of how many head of cattle £10 could buy, Stone’s probate inventory for Haberdeventure assessed the value of a pair of oxen at £10 and cows and calves at £3 a head (Appendix 4).

⁵⁸ Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 339, 609–10 (quote).

⁵⁹ Appendix 4; advertisement by Thomas Stone, *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), October 14, 1784; Michael Jenifer Stone day book, Kremer Collection, SMSC, pp. 12, 13.

⁶⁰ Probate inventories of David Stone, 1774, Prerogative Court, Inventories Liber 117:91–99, and of Samuel Stone, 1778, Charles County Wills 1777–82, AF#7:179–80, MSA. Michael Jenifer Stone also raised sheep for profit at the rented Nanjemoy plantation in 1780–82 and sold lambs, wethers (castrated male sheep used to produce wool), and wool (Michael Jenifer Stone’s day book, Kremer Collection, SMSC).

Timber Farming

Large landowners like Thomas Stone sought to strike a balance between keeping a timber reserve to maintain the value of the estate in the long term and making a profit in the short term. Over the course of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the growth of a native-born population, both free and enslaved, and the simultaneous geographic spread of plantations accelerated forest clearing in the Chesapeake. By the mid-eighteenth century, timber had grown scarce in early-colonized areas.⁶¹

Wood was felled to clear land for cultivation. Wood was also a saleable commodity. Locally, wood was needed as firewood for heating and cooking, as construction material for buildings and fences, and as staves to make into hogsheads and other types of barrels. Port Tobacco, a mile-and-a-half from Haberdeventure, would have been a ready market for the plantation's timber, for use as firewood in the merchants' stores, taverns, the courthouse, and dwellings. North American ports also exported wood to the West Indies in the latter half of the eighteenth century, but whether Port Tobacco was a net importer or exporter of wood at this time is an open question.⁶²

It is not known how much tree cutting occurred at Haberdeventure after Thomas Stone gained control of his initial 442-acre parcel in 1770. "About 1200 Old logs," already cut, were on the property in 1768, prior to Thomas Stone's purchase. Testifying to an ongoing practice of timber felling, a 1785 survey recorded 500 fence logs on a vacancy that was incorporated into Haberdeventure. Thomas Stone's home plantation was "half cleared and half cultivated," judging from the 1783 tax list. (In contrast, nearly all of the land at the more arable Chandlers Hills and Welcome tracts was cleared in 1783.) And very likely the existing woods at Haberdeventure were regrowth after felling by predecessors. Notably, Thomas Stone's first documented purchase of slaves were for two men, Peter and Bob, in 1774; their purchase could be interpreted as fulfilling a need to clear land for tillage, or to make marginal land arable, for instance by ditching.⁶³

The best documentation for the commercial sale of wood from Thomas Stone's property comes from the papers of his younger brother, Michael Jenifer Stone. Before Michael Jenifer Stone became a landowner, he used wood from Thomas Stone's property to supply a blacksmith shop in the Port Tobacco area that he owned and operated. For example, in an entry in his day book dated September 1, 1777, Michael Jenifer Stone credited his brother for forty-five cords of wood, for "carting wood and coal" (which cost more than the wood itself), and for three pounds of steel and fifty-three pounds of iron. A

⁶¹ Silver, "A Useful Arcadia"; Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 612–13.

⁶² Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 422–23.

⁶³ CLR (1996) 33–34 (quote); 1768 patent for Haberdeventure and Hanson's Plains Enlarged, Patent Records BC & GS 37:94, MSA S1195–481; 1787 patent for Haberdeventure, Patent Records IC#C:62, MSA 1195–480; Charles County Land Records S#3: 523–24, 533, MSA.

surviving account of blacksmith shop expenses between 1789 and 1791 records the purchase of wood from “F. Stone,” Thomas Stone’s principal heir. In 1789, Frederick’s property supplied about half of the smith’s yearly supply of wood.⁶⁴

Orchards

Two documents hint at the presence of an orchard at Haberdeventure. Thomas Stone in his will granted his brother Michael Jenifer Stone “a right to live at the house at Haberdeventure, & use the garden[,] orchards & land he now uses.” Some years after Thomas’s death, Michael Jenifer Stone, during an absence from the plantation, asked his brother Walter if the orchard at Haberdeventure was being “kept up.”⁶⁵

Unfortunately, the 1783 tax list does not confirm the presence of an orchard at Haberdeventure. The assessor noted orchards at two neighboring properties, though. Betsy’s Delight, then owned by Gustavus Richard Brown and later incorporated into Rose Hill, had a “good” peach orchard. Richard Gamba’s plantation next door to the north at Mattingsly’s Hope also had a “good orchard.” The presence of these nearby orchards confirms local fruit production.⁶⁶

Fruit orchards had several functions in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake. English traveler Nicholas Creswell’s observed that local residents “generally plant a Peach Orchard on the worst land.” Orchards made poor soil productive. “We abound with all sorts of fruits, so as even to feed the hogs with peaches that would sell very dear at your market,” wrote Father Joseph Mosley from Newtown, St. Mary’s County, to his sister in England. Apples, pears, and peaches were the most commonly grown fruit. Local inhabitants made cider for household use and sold the surplus or distilled surplus cider to make brandy. Michael Jenifer Stone produced brandy at the rented Nanjemoy plantation and bartered

⁶⁴ Michael Jenifer Stone day book, Kremer Collection, SMSC, p. 11; blacksmith’s shop account in Michael Jenifer Stone’s hand, 1789–91, William Briscoe Stone Papers, Rubenstein Library, Duke University. F. Stone’s estate furnished the shop with eighty cords of wood in 1789 and twelve cords of “underwood” in 1791.

Rivoire wrote that there was a forge at the mill (“Summary Report of Additional Research Findings,” 27). I have not been able to verify this assertion. It does appear, based on the Michael Jenifer Stone day book, that Michael Jenifer Stone started his blacksmith shop in 1777, and Thomas Stone initiated his lease of the mill in late 1776. Given how closely the Stone brothers’ businesses were intertwined, it is possible that the blacksmith shop was at the mill, or that Michael Jenifer Stone moved the shop to the mill after Thomas’s death.

⁶⁵ Will and codicil of Thomas Stone, 1787 (Appendix 3); undated notes by Michael Jenifer Stone, Stone Family Papers, LC, bound book, f. 333. Rivoire posits that Michael Jenifer Stone addressed the circa 1790 note to his brother Walter (“Summary of Additional Research Findings,” 38n24), based on internal evidence.

⁶⁶ 1783 tax assessment, Fifth District, Charles County, MSA. The 1996 Cultural Landscape Report for Haberdeventure identified the location of orchards north and east of the main house in aerial photographs of the 1930s. According to the authors of the report, the possibility that the fruit trees in the 1930s photographs were remnants of Thomas Stone’s orchards was “extremely remote” (36–37). The report nonetheless suggests that the trees may have stood in orchards that dated back to the eighteenth century.

corn to obtain more brandy. Appraisers at Thomas Stone's house in Annapolis found seven bottles of peach brandy, perhaps the product of his own estate or gifts from other orchard owners. Orchards also offered grazing for sheep.⁶⁷

As a "general rule . . . the larger the plantation, the greater the diversification," observes historian Philip D. Morgan. As the owner of about 2,000 acres in Charles County and lessor of additional land, Thomas Stone raised tobacco but dedicated his most valuable arable land at Chandlers Hills and Welcome to grain and livestock farming. Stone also possessed valuable timber reserves as well as fruit orchards for producing cider and brandy. The planter's acquisition of the Port Tobacco Great Mill in 1776–82 not only eliminated the costs of paying a miller to grind grain; ownership of a mill expanded Stone's role, as a member of the gentry, in serving his neighbors. To this important investment we turn next.⁶⁸

Stone's Acquisition and Management of the Port Tobacco Great Mill

For a man who appears to have shunned financial risk, the 1776 acquisition of a mill, which would require constant repair and upkeep, is a curious choice. Economic warfare between the colonies and the mother country had already disrupted markets for some time before a nonexportation agreement among the colonies went into effect in September 1775, discouraging cultivation of the region's primary cash crop, tobacco, and threatening export markets for grain and meat. "All Mill business will probably be at an end for a while," reflected George Washington, a grist mill owner, shortly before the nonexportation policy took effect. "I believe few Millers will find Employt if our Ports are shut up," Washington continued, expressing widespread concern among planters who raised surplus wheat for markets in the West Indies, northern colonies, and Europe. Compounding the decision to take on the risk, in May 1776, a recent escalation in tensions between America and Britain led Stone to express fear about the colonies becoming a "vanquished" country if war broke out. The disproportionate strength of the British military weighed on Stone's mind as efforts to reach a compromise with the mother country faltered. Nevertheless, in late 1776, Stone began what would become a six-year process of acquiring ownership of a mill, its adjacent arable land, and two enslaved women who lived on the property. Stone spent £526

⁶⁷ Gill and Curtis, eds., *A Man Apart: The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774–1781*, June 4, 1774; Edward Davitt, S.J., ed., "Letters of Father Joseph Mosley, S.J. (1757–1806)," *Woodstock Letters*, 35, no. 1 (1906): 41; Michael Jenifer Stone day book, Kremer Collection, SMSC, p. 24; inventory of Thomas Stone's Annapolis estate, 1788 (Appendix 4); Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 341, 485.

⁶⁸ Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 47 (quote). The name "Port Tobacco Great Mill" appears in the 1782 deed between Thomas Stone, Ignatius Wheeler Jr. and Henrietta Wheeler, Charles County Land Records, V#3:588, MSA.

sterling plus £750 in “gold and silver currency” for the property, which lay about a mile from Haberdeventure. Stone paid another £1,000 in Maryland currency for the mill’s leasehold.⁶⁹

Stone’s motives for acquiring the mill are undocumented. Lacking evidence, we can assume that Stone considered the mill a practical and potentially profitable investment. “Of all the industries and businesses in which planters engaged, milling was the most common.” In the eighteenth-century Chesapeake, gristmills were often for plantation use and to serve neighbors; their spread went hand-in-hand with the economic diversification of the area. A planter realized cost savings by raising and grinding his own grain, and the surplus could be sold to townspeople, the shipping trade, regional ironworks, or wherever there was demand.⁷⁰

Some mills were constructed for more commercial uses in mind. George Washington outfitted his mill in 1770 with two sets of millstones, one of which was a pair of French buhr millstones to grind superfine flour, a higher grade of flour, for the export market in the West Indies. A mill built in Charles County near Newport on the Wicomico River in the 1760s had a bakehouse, presumably to make ship’s bread (biscuit) for maritime use. Stone’s mill may have been too far from navigable water to make ship’s biscuit a viable business, but it did have two sets of stones, raising the possibility that it could grind flour of higher and lesser quality.⁷¹

Mills attracted subsidiary industries but evidence for one at Thomas Stone’s mill, during his lifetime, is lacking. J. Richard Rivoire asserts that there was a forge for a blacksmith’s shop at Stone’s mill after 1790, but whether a forge existed there in Thomas Stone’s lifetime remains unverified. George Washington’s miller, to give another example, persuaded his employer to open a whiskey distillery in 1797. At Stone’s mill, the emphasis

⁶⁹ George Washington to Lund Washington, August 20, 1775, *Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, Revolutionary War Series*, 1:334 (quote); Thomas Stone to [James Hollyday?], May 20, 1776, in Smith, et al., eds., *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, 4:47 (quote).

⁷⁰ Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 422; Laura Croghan Kamoie, *Irons in the Fire: The Business History of the Tayloe Family and Virginia’s Gentry, 1700–1860* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 48 (quote). The establishment of grist mills in Charles County in the eighteenth century transformed the lives of females, who formerly had the task of grinding corn by hand and were freed up for other work (King, “Evolution to Revolution,” in *Pathways to History*, 18; Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh, *Robert Cole’s World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991], 71).

⁷¹ Pogue and White, *George Washington’s Gristmill at Mount Vernon*, 27; 1783 tax list information for the mill at Chandlers Hill, Appendix 7, “Thomas Stone in Tax Lists.” Robert Horner, a merchant who married a half-sister of Margaret Brown Stone, was a partner in a mill and bakehouse near Newport, Charles County, in the 1760s before falling into debt (Charles County Land Records O#3:694, S#3:220, G#3:57, cited in “Robert Horner (1718–73),” *Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia’s Northern Neck Counties*, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us). George Washington also took on risk as a mill owner in his flour sales. In 1772, Daniel Jenifer Adams sold Washington’s flour in the West Indies but did not pay Washington what Washington was owed. Thomas Stone arbitrated a resolution for the debt through the mortgage of land and an enslaved man to Washington in 1775 (*Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, Revolutionary War Series*, 1:334, 2:358, 447–80, 3:114–17, 317–18).

appears to have been on the more traditional pursuits of raising corn, wheat, hogs, and cattle, though a subsidiary business cannot be ruled out. Thomas Ostro, the miller at Stone's mill, owned shoemaking tools and "some shew lasts" when he died in 1796. Ostro supplemented his income through shoemaking. Stone prohibited at the mill two specific revenue-makers, drinking and gaming. As rural "neighborhood hubs," mills were tempting sites for socializing and gambling.⁷²

A hitherto overlooked sequence of events favored Stone taking control of a mill, which was located on a part of Chandlers Hills. In July 1775, Congress made an exception to the nonexportation agreement to allow American "produce" to be sold for arms and ammunition; the West Indies, a meat and grain importer, was the primary target of the action. "I think to grind up about 100 Barrels of Flour perhaps someone may want it, as the Congress have allowed it to be Exported for the purpose of getg Arms & Ammunition," wrote Lund Washington, George Washington's farm manager, in late 1775 as word spread of the exemption. Then, in September 1776, Henry Smith advertised the sale of land "within a mile of Port-Tobacco Town" with a water mill. At this point, Stone's brother-in-law, Gustavus Richard Brown, may have stepped in with funding.⁷³

Political circumstances in 1776 gave Brown a ready buyer for one of his father's plantations: Henry Riddell of Prince George's County, native of Scotland and chief factor in Maryland for the Glasgow-based firm Glassford and Company, was purchasing land to shelter money from confiscation by Maryland's state government. In October 1776 Riddell bought from Brown Middleton plantation at Nanjemoy plus an adjoining tract (939 acres in total) for £2,369 sterling, a large sum that few Marylanders could summon. A 1784 advertisement described Middleton as sitting on a branch of Nanjemoy Creek, with a

⁷² Rivoire, "Summary Report of Additional Research Findings," 27, 89; Pogue and White, *George Washington's Grist Mill at Mount Vernon*, 45–55; Ridout, "Agricultural Buildings," 196–98; Appendix 18, agreement between Walter Stone and Thomas Ostro (Osston), January 10, 1787; Kamoie, *Irons in the Fire*, 48 (quote); probate inventory of Thomas Ostro, July 19, 1796, proven 1797, Charles County Inventories 1790–1797: 418–19, MSA. Rivoire's assertion about the presence of a forge at the mill appears to be based on the "extensive records" on the mill from the 1790s to the 1820s in the William Briscoe Stone Papers at Duke University and the Stone Family Papers at the Maryland Historical Society. Rivoire does not give specific citations from these manuscript collections. The other buildings at the mill site recorded the 1783 tax assessment, besides the mill, do not appear to have had industrial uses: "a small brick dwelling house," an "indifferent" frame kitchen with a brick chimney, and the miller's house (Rivoire, "Summary Report of Additional Research Findings," 89). Thompson makes sensitive comments about white male isolation in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake that would have made drinking and gambling at the mill tempting in "*The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret*," 140–41.

⁷³ Lund Washington to George Washington, December 3, 1775, in *Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series*, 2: 480, in Jefferson, "Thomas Stone: A Chronology from Select Primary Sources"; Ford et al., eds., *Journals of Continental Congress, 1774–1789*, 2: 184–85; advertisement by Henry Smith, dated September 5, 1776, in *Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia), October 22, 1776.

frame “large dwelling house” with brick chimneys, four rooms to a floor, a frame kitchen with a brick chimney, a dairy, meat and cornhouses, a stable, two tobacco houses, two slave quarters, cherry trees in the orchard, and a “valuable and improvable marsh.”⁷⁴

Brown’s father, Dr. Gustavus Brown (d. 1762), intended Middleton to provide lifetime support for his widow and, after her death, to descend to Gustavus Richard Brown and his male heirs “forever.” At about the time of Thomas Stone’s marriage to Margaret Brown, Gustavus Richard Brown, with the help of his new brother-in-law, docked the entail on Middleton through an action in common law called common recovery, an expensive legal procedure. Gustavus Richard Brown thereby held the land in fee simple, which allowed him to alienate it from the family line through sale or gift. Brown was thus poised to sell the valuable property when it suited him. He resurveyed the seven hundred acres and added a vacancy to create the 939-acre property called Middleton Resurveyed. On September 22, 1776, Maryland’s land office issued a patent to Brown for Middleton Resurveyed, a few weeks after Henry Smith began to advertise for the sale of the mill and its adjoining land and a month before Riddell’s purchase of the Brown family property.⁷⁵

Brown may have pledged a portion of the proceeds of the sale of Middleton to his sister, Margaret, and her husband Thomas Stone, to make the acquisition of the mill and the arable land at Chandlers Hills and Welcome possible. The brothers-in-law shared real estate interests, as discussed in Chapter 2. There is also the possibility, though entirely speculative, that Brown gave some portion of the proceeds of the sale of Middleton to Stone to honor a clause in his father’s will that his sister Margaret was to have a marriage dowry of £300 sterling plus interest. The elder Dr. Brown asked his executors to raise that money from income on “bonds and securities” in Scotland; whether the executors

⁷⁴ Deed for Middleton, Gustavus Richard Brown to Henry Riddell, Charles County Land Records, October 30, 1776, V#3:125; advertisement by Robert Fergusson, *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), September 23, 1784 (quotes). Background on Riddell, who returned to Scotland during the Revolutionary War, can be found in Richard K. MacMaster and David C. Skaggs, “The Letterbooks of Alexander Hamilton, Piscataway Factor,” *Maryland Historical Magazine* 61 (June 1966): 153–54 and (December 1966): 310n. See also “Henry Riddell (1748–after 1777),” *Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia’s Northern Neck Counties*, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us. In 1783, Riddell’s successor as factor for Glassford and Company, Robert Fergusson, had possession of Middleton at Burditt’s Creek (1783 tax list; 1784 newspaper advertisement for the sale of Middleton, cited previously; will of Robert Fergusson in “Robert Ferguson (1740–1812),” *Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia’s Northern Neck Counties*, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us.

⁷⁵ Gustavus Brown (d. 1762) entailed Middleton by granting the plantation to Gustavus Richard Brown “and the male heirs of his body, lawfully begotten, forever” (Will of Dr. Gustavus Brown, *Sons of the Revolution in the State of Virginia Quarterly Magazine*, 2:24–25); patent for Middleton Resurveyed, Patent Records BC & GW #51: 409, MSA S1195–732). In 1769, Thomas Stone and his brothers Frederick Stone and Daniel Jenifer Stone, were parties to a recovery of land by Gustavus Richard Brown and his mother, Margaret Brown, in Maryland’s Provincial Court (Provincial Court Land Records, DD#4, 1765–70, transcribed in *Archives of Maryland*, 725:615–18). One downside of converting land from fee tail to fee simple was that English property law gave entailed land more protection from seizure by creditors (Priest, “The End of Entail”).

followed this instruction is unknown. While there is no direct evidence that Thomas Stone and his wife were beneficiaries of the sale of Middleton plantation, neither has the payment of Margaret’s dowry been traced in any transaction.⁷⁶

It is of course possible, too, that the timing of Middleton’s sale and Thomas Stone’s maneuvers to acquire the mill were entirely coincidental. As deep-pocketed Loyalist merchants left American shores with the approaching war, Brown may have been nervous about finding another buyer who could afford Middleton’s price tag. The argument here is that the timing of Brown’s sale of Middleton—within a month of Smith’s advertisement and two months before Stone began to acquire the land Smith advertised through a series of deeds—raises a flag about Brown’s intentions.

In any case, by the end of 1776, Thomas Stone initiated a multi-year process of acquiring the mill and the neighboring tracts of Chandlers Hills and Welcome with a lease. In December 1776, Stone, with his brother Walter as a witness, agreed to an initial annual rent of £60 “common currency” for the land and the hire of two enslaved women, Rachel and Lucy (Luce). In 1778, when a tenement became vacant, Thomas Stone would pay £80 per year. The Stones made this lease agreement with the widow of Roger Smith and her next husband, Ignatius Wheeler, who resided in Harford County. Shortly thereafter, in 1777, Thomas Stone signed a deed with another heir to the property, Henry Smith, whose advertisement for the land for sale in a Philadelphia newspaper may have caught Stone’s eye as he prepared to leave the city. After renewing the lease with the Wheelers in 1781, Stone bought out their interest in the property and purchased Rachael and Lucy in 1782.⁷⁷

Another question raised by the timing of Stone’s acquisition of the mill is, Why was Father James Walton, S.J., Superior of the Jesuit mission at Newtown in St. Mary’s County, willing to sell the remaining thirteen years of an eighty-year lease of the twenty-acre mill site in 1782? A need for funds may be the answer. In 1773, Pope Clement XIV had issued a decree to suppress the Jesuit order. Though the extensive land- and slaveholdings of the Jesuit missions in Maryland were not subject to the pope’s confiscation because they were

⁷⁶ Will of Dr. Gustavus Brown, *Sons of the Revolution in the State of Virginia Quarterly Magazine*, 2: 27.

⁷⁷ Charles County Land Records, V#3:539–42, MSA. The Stones entered into a lease agreement with Ignatius Wheeler of Harford County and his wife, Henrietta, who was formerly married to Roger Smith (d. 1768), the property’s owner in the 1750s and 1760s. At his death, Roger Smith gave his wife Henrietta a lifetime interest in his holdings of Chandlers Hills, Welcome, and the mill. He also gave her a lifetime interest in two enslaved families: one headed by Roger and Peg, who had seven children, and another headed by Jane, with two children. Rachel and Lucy, who Stone leased, were the only daughters of Roger and Peg recorded in wills and deeds. Control over Chandlers Hills, Welcome, and the enslaved who lived there was complicated by the fact that Henrietta (Smith) Wheeler survived her brother-in-law, Basil Smith, whom Roger had named as the heir and who died in 1774. Basil designated his son Henry as the heir to his brother’s property, but Henrietta and her next husband Ignatius Wheeler obviously maintained their interest in the estate; they entered into the lease agreement with Thomas Stone in 1776, renewed the lease in 1781, and sold their rights to the land to Stone in 1782. In 1777, Stone paid Henry Smith, son and heir of Basil Smith, £526 sterling for 500 acres of Chandlers Hills and Welcome with “mills” and “mill lands,” and in 1782, Stone gave Ignatius Wheeler and his wife Henrietta (Smith) Wheeler £750 in gold and silver for Chandlers Hill, Welcome, Rachel, Lucy (Luce), and the mill and mill lands (Charles County Land Records V#3:205–6, 588–89, MSA; “Roger Smith (1716–68)” in *Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia’s Northern Neck Counties*, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us).

held privately, and Catherine the Great of Russia had granted amnesty to the Jesuits, the order's future in Maryland was in some doubt in 1782. Cash from the sale of the mill lease to Stone—Stone paid £1,000 in Maryland currency—may have been used to pay down debts owed by the Maryland mission to the English Provincial in London and put the order on a better financial footing for a re-organization that started the following year, in 1783.⁷⁸

Walter Stone's documented interest in the mill offers another clue to its financing. Walter witnessed the signing of the lease in 1776. He negotiated the miller's contract in 1786 and 1787, and he continued to have a relationship with the miller Thomas Ostro after Thomas Stone passed away. At the time of his own death in 1791, Walter owed Ostro money. It is possible that John Hoskins Stone and Walter Stone's commercial firm were partners in the mill, but this is a matter for future investigation. Walter may have been acting in his own interest to learn the business of milling, which was an avenue to wealth.⁷⁹

Thomas Stone took advantage of several factors—wartime demand for flour, a division of property among the Smith family, the money raised from the sale of Middleton, and financial uncertainty of the Jesuit mission in Maryland—to join the ranks of elite Chesapeake planters who owned mills. Mill ownership was not a prerequisite to membership among Maryland's elite. Thomas Stone's contemporary Edward Lloyd IV of Talbot County on the Eastern Shore, for example, sold his father's mill after coming into his inheritance in 1770. Nonetheless Stone must have believed that having a mill under his control served his interests. Walter Stone's involvement in the mill strongly suggests that the mill produced surplus flour on a commercial scale, beyond plantation use. Even if the mill's production was on a smaller scale, its ownership increased Stone's visibility in the Port Tobacco neighborhood. The mill would have drawn customers from around the area,

⁷⁸ Edwin W. Beitzell, *The Jesuit Missions in St. Mary's County, Maryland* (Abell, MD: privately printed, 1959), chapter 4; Thomas Murphy, S.J., *Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1717–1838* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 41–49; Charles County Land Records, V#3:590–91, MSA. As noted by Rivoire in his “Summary Report of Additional Research Findings,” the prominent Maryland Catholic Anthony Neale of Acquinsicke secured a lease of an existing mill in 1715 for his younger sons, Henry and Edward Neale (Charles County Land Records H#2:4, MSA). Notably, 1715 was the year that Maryland came under crown control after the conversion of the Fourth Lord Baltimore to Protestantism. Catholics were thereupon excluded from public office, which must have motivated Anthony to provide financial security for his younger sons. The mill was roughly half-way between Acquinsicke, which had a “mission chapel,” and St. Thomas Manor; both locations had a need for bread for Mass and to suit the taste of visiting priests. Joseph Zwinge, S.J., mentions Walton and the priests' demand for bread in “The Jesuit Farms in Maryland: Facts and Anecdotes,” *Woodstock Letters*, 41 (1912): 70–73, 202–3, and passim. More on Walton appears in Beitzell, *Jesuit Missions*. On Acquinsicke, see the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for Acquinsicke, CH-53, 1992. An eighty-year lease was standard procedure for a mill site on land not already owned by the mill's builder, under the terms of a 1669 Maryland law on mills (John F. Hart, “The Maryland Mill Act, 1669–1766: Economic Policy and the Confiscatory Redistribution of Private Property,” *American Journal of Legal History* 39, no. 1 [January 1995]: 1–24).

⁷⁹ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, November 24, 1785, January 15, 1786, Stone Family Papers, LC; Appendix 18; will of Walter Stone, Charles County Will Book AF #11:47, transcribed in Petravage, “Historic Furnishings Report,” 34–35.

as well as persons seeking company in a largely rural society. With the mill, Stone amplified Haberdeventure's impact on local networks and positioned him, and his brother Walter, to take advantage of war-time markets for grain and flour.⁸⁰

Domestic Production

The lack of functional names for the nine outbuildings listed in the 1783 tax list for Haberdeventure hinders our understanding of domestic production at the plantation, and is less fortunate still for understanding the wide range of work performed by free and enslaved residents on the property. Some amount of information on textile, dairy, and cider production is available from documentary evidence combined with secondary sources.

Haberdeventure employed women and possibly men in the production of cloth. As noted previously, the presence of five weaver's slays, two flax wheels, and one woolen wheel at Haberdeventure in early 1788 indicates the production of locally made "country cloth." When Thomas Stone gave his brother Michael Jenifer Stone "country linen" in 1777, the cloth may very well have been made at Haberdeventure. Michael Jenifer Stone, in turn, may have supplied Thomas with cotton raised at the rented Nanjemoy plantation to weave with wool. "Sheep were scarce during the colonial period, especially in the South," clothing historian Linda Baumgarten writes, "and so colonists mixed wool with other fibers to make it go further. Because of the differences in climate and in the labor force, northerners mixed wool with linen, producing linsey-woolsey, while southerners typically mixed it with cotton."⁸¹

Chesapeake planters had stepped up their efforts to rely less on imported cloth during nonimportation in the 1760s and 1770s, but the weaning was difficult. In 1774, after the colonies prohibited all British manufactured goods from being imported except medicine, a factor for a Glasgow-based firm wrote to his employer from Piscataway, "The Lower Countys [i.e., Charles County and other parts of Southern Maryland]. . . think they cannot subsist without an importation of some articles such as Cottons, osnabrigs, coarse cloths, coarse white Linens, Nails, salt, and some shoes for some considerable time to come, not having materials and hands proper to manufacture these articles at present." Demand was particularly strong for cheaper cloth to clothe servants and slaves, the factor related.⁸²

⁸⁰ Russo, "A Model Planter," 67.

⁸¹ Appendix 4; Michael Jenifer Stone day book, Kremer Collection, SMSC, p. 11 for "country linen" and p. 24 showing "156 [pounds of?] cotton in seeds" in September 1780 and eighty pounds of cotton in July 1781; Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 96 (quote).

⁸² Alexander Hamilton to James Brown and Company, June 27, 1774, in Richard K. MacMaster and David C. Skaggs, eds., "The Letterbooks of Alexander Hamilton, Piscataway Factor," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 61 (1966): 165; Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 95–96. Provision of clothing for the enslaved was one of the greatest expenditures of enslavers' households (Walsh, *Motives of Profit, Pleasure, & Profit*, 555n).

Haberdeventure, as a large plantation, had the resources to temporarily expand domestic cloth production as political tensions with Great Britain rose. To give examples from other plantations, Charles Carroll of Annapolis built a weaving house at Doohoragen Manor in Anne Arundel County in 1770, staffed by male and female artisans. Carroll raised sheep to supply wool for the weavers. In 1781, Stone’s uncle Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer wrote to the steward of his Anne Arundel County plantation, “Are the Women spinning up the Wool?” The spinners included Mary Reed, a white housekeeper. If Reed left her position, as she threatened to do, “You may let her have some Cotton or Wool to Spin,” Jenifer directed. He added, “I should think that Kate and Nancy if kept close to Spinning might easily Spin the whole that we have to do.” Jenifer’s use of first names for Kate and Nancy suggests that they were enslaved women. Spinning was for all three women an occasional assignment, folded in with other work. Closer to Haberdeventure, William Hanson, in a 1777 advertisement for his 530-acre dwelling plantation near Port Tobacco, touted the presence of a “spinning room” in a multi-purpose outbuilding plus a dwelling house for a weaver.⁸³

Women up and down the social scale spun wool, linen, and cotton thread. For elite women like Margaret Stone, evidence of spinning is often indirect. For example, one interpretation of the presence of a linen wheel in the family rooms of a large planter on Maryland’s Eastern Shore in 1766 is that the planter’s wife or her daughters spun flax in that space. At this particular plantation, three additional linen and woolen wheels in outbuildings are believed to be where enslaved women spun. In another example, Thomas Stone’s aunt, Betty Eden, a widow of a merchant-planter and a sister of Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, bequeathed “my spinning wheels” (of unspecified kind and quantity) to her niece, Thomas Stone’s sister, Betty Anne Eden. For Betty Eden, the spinning wheels were part of a group of practical furniture that she gave to her niece, namely chairs, tables, beds, and kitchen equipment, which conveys the everyday nature of spinning even for elite women. Spinning was a socially acceptable means of contributing to the household economy.⁸⁴

Wives of tenants and plantation employees supplemented their incomes by spinning and weaving in addition to sewing and knitting. In the 1760s, two French women operated a spinning and weaving school at St. Thomas Manor near Port Tobacco, working with wool, cotton, and flax. Presumably their clientele were other free females interested in learning how to produce cloth to support their families. Michael Jenifer Stone, on his own account, paid women for making shirts, breeches, and other clothes for himself, his

⁸³ Hoffman with Mason, *Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland*, 240–44, 340; *Royal Gazette* (New York), September 19, 1781; *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), August 14, 1777.

⁸⁴ Walsh, *Motives of Profit, Pleasure, and Profit*, 565, wherein she discusses evidence of spinning at the plantation of Susanna and Richard Tilghman, who held sixty people in bondage at the time of Richard’s death in 1766; Betty Eden’s will, 1791, St. Mary’s County Wills JJ#2:7, MSA.

nephew Alexander Scott, and a boy he held in bondage, Jesse, as well as for knitting stockings. Grace Stone paid others for making clothing for the people she claimed ownership of, too, though she also supplied the enslaved with cloth, thread, and buttons with the expectation that they would make their own clothes.⁸⁵

White women also commonly supervised dairying at plantations. Appraisers at Haberdeventure in 1788 recorded three milk pans and five pots to store butter. (At Stone's Annapolis house, a cow provided milk, but the town house lacked butter pots for storing its own butter.) Likely a dairy was among the nine outbuildings at Haberdeventure in 1783. Even so, the plantation could not always supply its own needs; in 1781, Thomas Stone acquired butter made at the rented Nanjemoy plantation from Michael Jenifer Stone.⁸⁶

Cidering is likely but not certain at Haberdeventure. The 1783 tax list recorded the presence of apple and peach trees not at Haberdeventure, but at Moberly, a tract Stone owned on the other side of Port Tobacco Creek. Peach brandy on hand at the Stones' Annapolis house in early 1788 may or may not have been made on his property. The rented Nanjemoy plantation produced cider, perry (pear cider), and brandy. Cider required less labor to produce than beer, and cider houses could be found throughout Tidewater to supply "thirsty households."⁸⁷

In summary, Charles County plantations were an important investment and revenue stream for Thomas Stone. Enslaved laborers produced a mix of tobacco, wheat, and corn, and raised livestock, much like at his father's estate at Pointon Manor. During and after the war, Stone moved more forcefully into the grain and livestock market, as did George Washington and other wealthier planters in the Chesapeake, but he did not abandon tobacco. When Chandlers Hills, Welcome, and the Port Tobacco mill came up for sale

⁸⁵ Walsh, *Motives of Profit, Pleasure, and Profit*, 339, 547, 622; Thompson, "The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret," 40, 55, 101, 107–8; Joseph Zwinge, "The Jesuit Farms in Maryland: Facts and Anecdotes," *Woodstock Letters* 41, no. 2 (1912): 218–19; Michael Jenifer Stone day book, Kremer Collection, SMSC, pp. 15, 20; Appendix 16. In 1781, Michael Jenifer Stone paid cash for the weaving of thirty-two yards of country cloth (day book, p. 25). At Mount Vernon, George Washington supplied some premade clothes to the several hundred of people who lived in slavery there. He also purchased thousands of needles and buttons plus thimbles and fabric for the enslaved to make clothing themselves. People in bondage also purchased and bartered for materials on their own (Thompson, "The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret," 177–82; Eleanor Breen, "Underpinning a Plantation: A Material Culture Approach to Consumerism at George Washington's Mount Vernon," in *Material Worlds: Archaeology, Consumption, and the Road to Modernity*, eds. Barbara J. Heath, Eleanor Breen, and Lori Lee [New York: Routledge, 2017]: 77–97). For an account of Martha Washington supervising sewing at Mount Vernon, see Thompson, "The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret," 39–40, 55.

⁸⁶ Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 337–38, 468, 548; Thompson, "The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret," 40, 92–95; Michael Jenifer Stone day book, Kremer Collection, SMSC, pp. 13, 24. Rivoire lists dairies as a common outbuilding in Charles County based on his research in Orphans Court records (*Homeplaces*, 18). English-born Father Joseph Mosley, S.J., was dismissive of local dairy production in Southern Maryland. In a letter to a relative in his native country circa 1760, he blamed the heat: "as for cheese, we have none in this country. Butter is here too liquid, and cold meat too soon spoils" while traveling (Mosley to Mr. Mosley, undated, in Davitt ed., "Letters of Father Joseph Mosley," 44–45). On butter making, see also Carr, Menard, and Walsh, *Robert Cole's World*, 73–75.

⁸⁷ Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 341 (quote); King in *Pathways to History*, eds. King, Arnold-Lourie, and Shaffer, 18; Ridout, "Agricultural Buildings," 203.

in 1776, Stone moved quickly on the opportunity, possibly using funds from the sale of Middleton to finance the enterprise. Stone's plantations were not self-sufficient. Stone outsourced blacksmithing to his brother, for example, and purchased food and clothing supplies as needed. Stone also rented property, like the Nanjemoy plantation, to serve his purposes. A small measure of cloth production occurred at Haberdeventure—not enough to replace imports over a sustained period of time. Without surviving plantation records, it is impossible to calculate how much wealth Thomas Stone derived from agriculture. Stone remained committed, though, to consolidating his control over land and retaining enslaved people who would presumably work on that land to bequeath to his son and principal heir. The American Revolutionary War encouraged his ambitions; the economic recession that followed challenged his financial standing.

Impact of the American Revolution

Thomas Stone took advantage of opportunities that emerged during the American Revolutionary War to expand his landholdings and make new investments. After his purchase of the 442-acre core of Haberdeventure in 1770, Stone did not add to his landholdings until late 1776, when he initiated a multi-year process of acquiring control over the mill, Chandlers Hills, and Welcome from the heirs of Roger Smith and the cash-strapped Jesuit mission in Maryland. With the mill and an emphasis on grain and livestock farming on its adjacent land, Stone positioned himself to reap a profit from wartime demand for flour and other foodstuffs.

Other acquisitions followed. Between 1776 and the Peace of Paris of 1783, Thomas Stone tripled the size of his landed estate by adding 1,085 acres to his initial 442-acre 1770 purchase. His success in absorbing Bridget's Delight and Simpson's Delight, two tracts along the western edge of Stone's original 442-acre purchase, for example, highlights the advantages he held by virtue of his legal expertise, social connections, and financial prudence. William Lindsay, the former occupant of Bridget's Delight and Simpson's Delight, died in 1779, indebted to merchants in England and Scotland. Largely by paying off the debts, some of which fell into the hands of Maryland's commissioners for confiscated property, Stone gained title to the land. A few years after the war, Stone took advantage of an opportunity to diversify his financial portfolio by purchasing (in partnership with his uncle, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer) part of a share in the Baltimore Ironworks Company held by the Loyalist Daniel Dulany. As argued previously, Gustavus Richard Brown's advantageous sale of the Nanjemoy plantation Middleton to Scottish merchant Henry

Riddell, who was eager to buy land to shield his wealth from confiscation, may have provided Stone with cash or credit with which to purchase the mill and its valuable adjacent land.⁸⁸

Stone pursued a conservative means of amassing wealth through the acquisition of land and capital investments like the mill and iron works. But his wealth did not shelter him completely from a postwar recession throughout the new United States. Maryland experienced a credit crisis from 1784 to 1787 due to a combination of high taxes to pay down war debt, a specie shortage, lower tobacco prices in 1785, and the terms of the Peace of Paris that allowed British creditors to claim debts in America. Debtors defaulted on payments to creditors (and sheriffs could not collect lawyer fees). The economic turmoil prompted a debtor's riot in Charles County court in the summer of 1786, Maryland's paper money debate in 1786–87 (see Chapter 1), and a national convention in May 1787 to revise the Articles of Confederation that led to the creation of the US Constitution.⁸⁹

When the financial crisis hit, Stone had been active in Charles County real estate market. His acquisition in 1783 of a house and six lots in Annapolis, for which he had entered into a bond for £2,250 Maryland currency, compounded his financial situation during the postwar recession. Furnishing and maintaining an urban house and garden would have incurred additional annual expenses. Years later, Stone's executors deemed his purchase of the house "not...beneficial" to Stone's finances. In 1787, Alexander Contee Hanson, a man of high social standing like Stone and a Maryland General Court judge, estimated his living expenses in Annapolis at £565 a year, excluding rent and pay to hired

⁸⁸ See Appendix 20, "Documentation for Map of Charles County Land Owned by Thomas Stone and His Heirs, 1770–1806," for details of Stone's acquisitions of Bridget's Delight and Simpson's Delight, as well as Distrest, formerly held by the Lindsay family. Daniel Dulany (1750–1824) was the son of Daniel Dulany Jr. (1722–97), a proprietary officeholder before the war. After the younger Daniel left for London in 1774, the state of Maryland confiscated his property in the province (Papenfuse, *BDML*, 1:287). Stone also purchased an enslaved woman, Jeane, from a confiscated estate (Charles County Land Records V#3:591–92, MSA). The record of Stone's purchase of the quarter of one-tenth of a share in the Baltimore Ironworks Company can be found in Sales Book of Confiscated Property belonging to Daniel Dulany son of Daniel with the State of Maryland, folios 55–55A (Land Division), MSA, copy in Kremer Collection, SMSC.

⁸⁹ On the credit crisis of 1784–87, see Chapter 1 and Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, chapter 8. George Washington, a far wealthier man than Thomas Stone, was "hurt...deeply" by the "credit contraction of 1784–87" (Walsh, "Slavery and Agriculture at Mount Vernon," 61).

servants. Hanson had a household of ten people, “half of whom are servants.” Stone’s urban household, which as of early 1788 included five enslaved servants, likely was of similar size.⁹⁰

In 1785, Stone called in his debts, relying on his brothers Walter and Michael Jenifer Stone in Charles County to carry out much of the business of debt collection while Thomas resided in Annapolis. “I am in want of everything due me and must have it,” Thomas directed his brother Walter that April. Thomas’s letters had a more urgent tone as the end of the calendar year, a traditional time to settle debts, drew near and the price of tobacco dropped. “I want money exceedingly,” Thomas Stone wrote in late November. “Sue every body who owes me,” Thomas instructed. Unfortunately, the loss of Charles County court records from the 1780s, as well as the lack of detailed documentation of the settlement of his estate, hampers the identification of “every body” who owed Thomas Stone during this distressing period.⁹¹

A year earlier, in 1784, for reasons that are not well understood, Thomas had started to draw down his plantation assets, including people held in bondage. This effort continued in 1785. Thomas Stone advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* the auction of slaves, livestock, and tools at two separate events. In November 1784, Stone put up for sale, at his mill, an unknown number of enslaved men, women, and children, as well as horses, cattle,

⁹⁰ Anne Arundel Land Records, NH#11:295–97, 348–50, MSA; bill of complaint in *Michael J. Stone and Gustavus R. Brown v. Daniel Jenifer*, Chancery Court, Chancery Papers, case 4818, MSA, photocopy in Jean B. Lee Collection, Box 33, SMSC (quote). According to Stone’s executors, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, from whom Stone purchased the Annapolis house and lots, agreed to an abatement of £250 on the house and then asked for the money with interest after Stone died. Stone’s executors, unable to pay the amount in cash, transferred Stone’s part share in the Baltimore Iron Works to Jenifer (*ibid.*). In a polemic about insufficient salaries for state officials published in the April 6, 1787, issue of the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* (Baltimore), Alexander Hanson Contee listed expenses for food, drink, livestock feed, firewood, medical care, clothing, attending the General Court of the Eastern Shore twice a year, and “Pocket Money.” The estimate did not include the cost of furnishing a house and maintaining its garden. According to the inventory of the Stones’ house in Annapolis in early 1788, the moveable goods inside and around the house had a total value of £994. This figure excludes the £156 in total assessed value of five domestic servants, Ausmin (“Osmin”), Rachael and her son Jack, Betty, and Clare (Appendix 4, “Probate Inventories of the Estate of Thomas Stone”).

⁹¹ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 22, 1785 (quoted), April 27, 1785, November 24, 1785 (quoted), and Thomas Stone to “Walter Stone or Michael Jenifer Stone,” December 21, 1785 (quoted), Stone Family Papers, LC; Papenfuse, “Legislative Response to a Costly War,” on the fall of tobacco prices in 1785.

In letters to his brothers in 1785, Thomas Stone named nine people whom he was willing to sell or hire out: Carpenter Tom, Bob, Sall and her child, Violet, Ann, Heth, Guss, and Little Clare. Stone discouraged the sale of Violet, Ann, and Heth. See Chapter 3 and Appendix 9 for more information about these individuals.

sheep, and plantation tools, on the generous terms of five-years credit (with interest). During court week in Port Tobacco in June 1785, Stone offered for sale “very valuable negroes”—specifically men, women, and boys—on shorter credit.⁹²

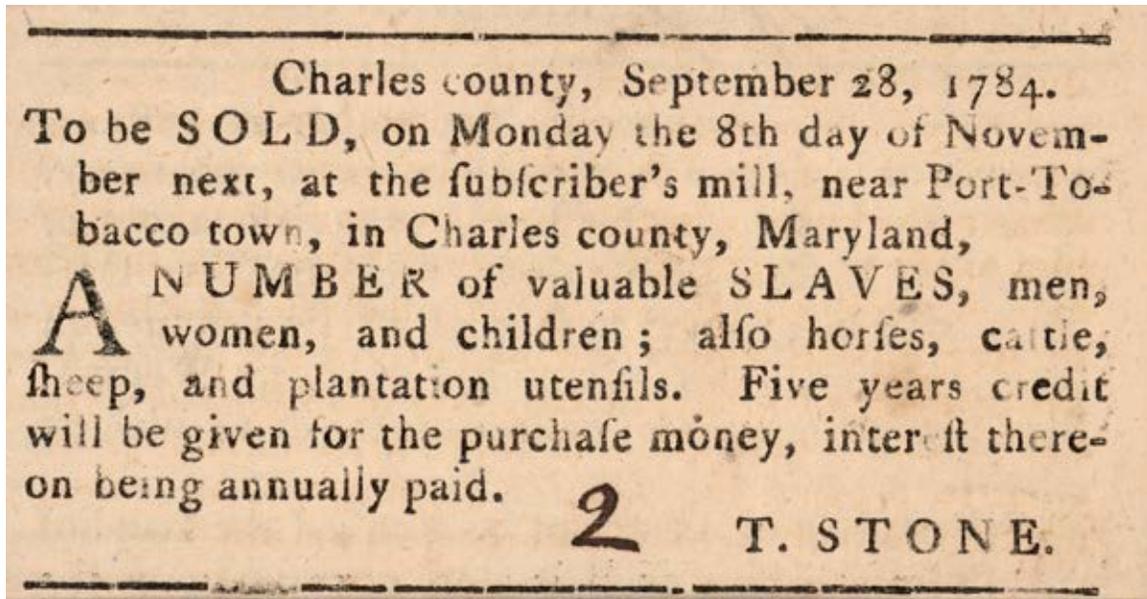


Figure 30. Advertisement by Thomas Stone, *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), October 14, 1784. Courtesy of the Maryland State Archives.

Admittedly, the advertisements do not specifically state that the enslaved people, livestock, and tools up for sale in 1784 and 1785 were Thomas Stone’s property. As a lawyer and a male citizen, it is possible that Stone was the public-facing figure for a sale to benefit an indebted client or a female relative. Sometimes advertisers notified the public that they were selling a particular person’s estate. In the two advertisements in question, though, no other name is given besides that of the subscriber, Thomas Stone.

Of relevance here, letters from late 1785 document Stone’s willingness to sell people whom he claimed ownership of at that time. Stone named Tom Triplet, Bob, Sall, and Gustavus Thomas (Guss) as people whom he was willing to sell privately. Another four he wished to hire out but not sell: Violette Thomas, Ann, Heth, and the younger Clare.⁹³

⁹² *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), October 14, 1784, and June 9, 1785. At the second sale, Thomas Stone displayed more reluctance to extend credit, which is consistent with secondary sources on the contraction of credit during the postwar recession (Holton, “Did Democracy Cause the Recession that Led to the Constitution?”). Giving buyers less time to pay off their debt, Stone offered one year of credit for payment of half the purchase price, and two years for payment of the whole if buyers provided “bond and security for principal and interest.” The Charles County land records appear to bear no trace of the sales conducted at these auctions in 1784 and 1785. For suggestive evidence that a young woman known as Nan was put up for sale at this time, see Chapter 3, footnote 63.

⁹³ For more information about these individuals, see Chapter 3 and Appendix 9.

“I really do not know what to do with the negroes,” Stone wrote to his brothers in late 1785. After the two advertised sales of slaves, livestock, and plantation tools in 1784 and 1785, Thomas Stone still had an unresolved, and currently unidentified, problem. Wearmouth, author of the 1988 Historic Resource Study of Haberdeventure, suggests that Stone’s interest in agriculture was declining at this time, after he moved his principal residence to Annapolis. Haberdeventure Plantation and its outlying properties had multiple stakeholders among his siblings, though, as outlined in Chapter 2. And these stakeholders would not have welcomed a decline in profits. Stone may have decided to rely more on tenants who supplied their own labor; Stone seemed to prefer that his tenants and employees hire people whom he held in bondage. By outsourcing day-to-day plantation management to tenants and employees, Thomas Stone could secure a steady income through rents and reduce the risk of personal losses through bad crops, low commodity prices, illness, self-emancipation, or other potential setbacks.⁹⁴

Stone may have found himself with an oversupply of labor, as a number of large Chesapeake planters did in the 1770s and 1780s. By this time, most blacks in Tidewater Virginia and Maryland were native-born, and the demographics of the black population were more favorable to family life than had been the case generations earlier. Furthermore, the spread of grain and livestock farming reduced the need for year-round unskilled labor and boosted the supply of hirelings. “Mixed grain farming required fewer hands, especially fewer women and children, than did tobacco culture.” Men undertook the more skilled and more physically demanding tasks, such as cradling (mowing with a scythe), carting, and plowing. Extra hands could be hired on a short-term basis when labor demands in wheat farming peaked at harvest. Free whites of more modest means, eager to increase their estates, were ready buyers for the enslaved women and children whom larger planters sold. “Selling was the instinctive choice” among planters with extra hands in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Thomas Stone to Michael Jenifer Stone, November 24, 1785 (in which Stone wrote that he wanted Thomas Ostro to hire people whom Stone claimed ownership of), and Thomas Stone to Walter or Michael Jenifer Stone, December 21, 1785 (for quote and reference to Ausmin being “with” the tenant or overseer Turner), Stone Family Papers, LC. As noted in Chapter 1, tenancy became increasingly common in older settled areas like Charles County in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. Meanwhile slaveholding increased among a larger proportion of Charles County’s white population, part of a wider trend. “The early national tobacco South generally was more a slaveholding than a landowning region,” comments Sarson (“Landlessness and Tenancy,” 576). On the spread of slaveholding in Maryland after the war, see also Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 253, and Russo, “A Model Planter,” 85.

⁹⁵ Jennifer Hull Dorsey, *Hirelings: African American Workers and Free Labor in Early Maryland* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), 17, 18 (quote); Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 622; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 170–75, 498–558; Russo, “A Model Planter.” Planters responded in various ways to the surplus of enslaved labor after the Revolutionary War. George Washington opted not to sell enslaved people (Walsh, “Slavery and Agriculture at Mount Vernon,” 72–73). Edward Lloyd IV and Charles Carroll of Carrollton, both of Maryland, did sell people whom they held in bondage (Russo, “A Model Planter”; Earle and Hoffman, “Genteel Erosion,” 291).

Selling enslaved people was also a way to raise cash to pay off debts without reducing landholdings. Given that enslaved people were a highly important form of liquid wealth in the South, there is an overwhelming sense that Stone was making a financial choice in the moment and considered enslaved laborers (with the exception of Clare’s family) as goods to be bought or sold as economic times demanded. By putting slaves up for hire or sale in 1784 and 1785, Stone was making a temporary adjustment based on his current needs. His goal was to maintain the long-term viability of his estate for his family.⁹⁶

In late 1786 or 1787, Thomas Stone shared with his younger brother Michael Jenifer Stone that his finances were not yet in the clear. Expressing sympathy for Michael’s indebtedness and encouraging him “to collect what is due to you,” Stone wrote, “[I] am not entirely rid of embarrassments of this kind at present. I am endeavouring however to contract my Affairs & will if possible settle every thing I owe this Year.” Stone continued, “It is in truth a Life of real misery to be indebted.” Years after Thomas’s death in October 1787, Michael Jenifer Stone, as co-executor of Thomas’s estate, reflected that land was his brother’s most valuable asset. In a statement to Charles County court in 1807, Michael testified that Thomas’s estate could not afford to educate Thomas’s son Frederick “in the manner his . . . Father meant and contemplated,” and the legacies to Thomas’s daughters of £2,000 each “were never paid.” Michael explained that the debts owed to Thomas “produced much less” than Thomas anticipated, “and the Debts due from his estate were larger on account of many Fees which as a Lawyer he had received and which his Executors and representatives were compelled to return on account of unfinished business.” Thomas Stone’s land ownership was his most lasting legacy to his children; the executors were able to pay off Thomas’s debts by declining to pay the daughters their cash legacies and selling “a Considerable part of” Thomas Stone’s “large real estate.” Because of the executor’s efforts to preserve and build upon what remained of Thomas’s landholdings, Stone’s two surviving children, his daughters, were able to divide more than two thousand acres of Charles County land between them.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ On enslaved people as liquid wealth in British plantation societies, resources include Priest, “The End of Entail,” esp. 301–2, and Caitlin Rosenthal. *Accounting for Slavery: Masters and Management* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018). Stone made two substantial purchases shortly before advertising the June 1785 auction. In March 1785, Stone paid £1,000 Maryland currency to William Harrison for the purchase of 277 acres of Hansonton, which Stone incorporated into the 1,077 acres of Haberdeventure that he surveyed that year (Charles County Land Records, Z#3: 131–32, MSA; 1787 patent for Haberdeventure). Two months later, Stone paid £3,150 in current money for the part share in the Baltimore Iron Works Company (Sales Book of Confiscated British Property, MSA). These actions may have put Stone in more straitened financial circumstances.

⁹⁷ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, undated (ca. 1786–87), The Rosenbach, Philadelphia; defendant’s statement in the handwriting of Michael Jenifer Stone, December 16, 1807, filed in Charles County court, December 22, 1807, in *Alexander Scott v. Michael Jenifer Stone et al.*, Chancery Papers, case number 4647, MSA. As of 1798, Margaret Stone and her husband held 1,000 acres in Charles County, and Mildred Stone and her husband controlled 1,075 acres (1798 Direct Tax, MSA). See also Appendix 20.

Thomas Stone chose a slow and steady approach to wealth building by focusing on land ownership, planting, and the legal profession. He declined opportunities to join his brothers in merchant partnerships, considered a risky pursuit at the time, particularly before Maryland passed a bankruptcy law in 1787. Instead, Stone focused on achieving and maintaining landed gentry status. His motivations, as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, included his birth order and a political philosophy that favored landed gentlemen over merchants as officeholders. Stone accumulated land, enslaved people to work the land, and a mill to take advantage of the grain and flour market. When a financial crisis hit after the war, Stone sought to sell or hire out enslaved people to meet the demands of creditors and retain other assets. Prudent estate management minimized, but did not eliminate, the risks that came with economic and political uncertainty.

CHAPTER FIVE

THOMAS STONE AS A LAWYER AND POLITICIAN

Thomas Stone’s “dye is cast” letter of May 20, 1776, hints at what would be, over time, a more marked push-and-pull between public service and private life. Equipped with a gentleman’s sense of obligation to serve in government if called upon, Stone had to carve out time for private concerns, often citing a need to attend to family or his law practice. A biographer of Stone, Jean B. Lee, asked, Why did Stone not end his law practice in order to allow more time for public office? If income was a motivation, as Lee suggests, the question might be asked the other way around: Why did Stone not end his public engagements in order to attend more fully to his law practice?¹

This chapter will explore the complex reasons why Stone remained attached to both pursuits, despite the toll on his body and time away from family. Stone believed that as a lawyer, he served essential functions for the community, specifically for people with property. In the course of discussing Stone’s reputation in law within Maryland and the legal circles he operated in, the chapter will touch on the various means of earning an income as a lawyer. A sampling of Maryland court records confirms Stone’s own account of a heavy caseload in the state’s higher court in 1786, lending credence to his claims about demands upon his time. The last section will explore connections between law and government. While we lack a comprehensive analysis of his political interests, legislative contributions, and voting record, one clear theme in Stone’s public life is the protection of Maryland’s interests.²

Overview of Thomas Stone’s Legal and Political Career

After training in law in Annapolis, Thomas Stone in 1765 and 1766 qualified to appear before the bar in the courts of Baltimore County, Frederick County, Prince George’s County, and the Mayor’s Court of Annapolis in addition to his native county, Charles. Admission to colonial Maryland’s higher court, the Provincial Court in Annapolis, followed in 1768. Between 1709 and 1773, the Provincial Court heard civil cases involving

¹ Lee, “In Search of Thomas Stone,” 304.

² Wearmouth’s 1988 HRS and Lee’s article, “In Search of Thomas Stone,” offer overviews of Thomas Stone’s political life. More work remains, though, to tease out Thomas Stone’s personal motivations to serve in government.

more than £20 sterling or 5,000 pounds tobacco. Thereafter a law expanded the county court's jurisdiction in civil cases up to £100 sterling or £30,000 pounds tobacco and allowed capital offenses against white men to be tried at the county level. Enslaved people had already been tried at the county level for capital offenses for about forty years. Decisions in the county courts could be appealed to the Provincial Court. The next highest court, the Court of Appeals, was made up of the governor and the upper house of the legislature before independence, and five appointed judges who held no other office after independence. In 1776, Maryland's new state government replaced the Provincial Court with the General Court of the Western Shore, which met in Annapolis, and the General Court of the Eastern Shore, held in Easton, Talbot County.³

Thomas Stone was also active in chancery cases in courts of equity. Equity refers to "a system of jurisprudence collateral to, and in some respects independent of 'law,' the object of which is to render the administration of justice more complete, by affording relief where the courts of law are incompetent to give it, or to give it with effect, or by exercising certain branches of jurisdiction independent of them." After 1763, Maryland's county courts sat as a court of equity in cases up to 5,000 pounds of tobacco or £20 sterling. Above this amount, cases sent to the Chancery Court, in which the Chancellor (usually the governor) and the upper house sat as judges until 1776. The state constitution separated the offices of chancellor and governor.⁴

Two other courts in Maryland in Thomas Stone's lifetime were the Prerogative Court and the Vice-Admiralty Court. The Prerogative Court, which handled wills, probate inventories, and estate administration during the colonial period, was replaced in 1777 by an Orphans' Court and register of wills in each county. Admiralty courts were courts of civil law, not common law, administered by the British crown, and heard maritime cases. Based on current knowledge, Thomas Stone was not an advocate in a court of vice-admiralty.⁵

By the time Stone left Maryland to serve in the Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia in May 1775, he had been active as a lawyer for about a decade. In 1775, Stone stayed in Philadelphia for two two-month periods, but in 1776 he extended his stay from April until October. During that second year, Stone took part in the unfolding of the Declaration of Independence, served on the committee that drafted the Articles of Confederation, helped in managing troop supplies, and conducted other congressional

³ Day, *A Social Study of Lawyers in Maryland*, 7–12, 640; "Thomas Stone" in Papenfuse, *BDML*, 2:787; Maryland State Archives Guide to Government Records, <http://guide.msa.government.gov>.

⁴ Ibid.; Susan Staves, *Married Women's Separate Property in England, 1660–1823* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 236 (quote); Morris L. Radoff, Gust Skordas, and Phebe R. Jacobsen, *The County Courthouses and Records of Maryland, Part Two: The Records* (Annapolis, MD: Hall of Records Commission of the State of Maryland, 1963), 2.

⁵ Thomas Stone's name does not appear in David R. Owen and Michael C. Tolley's *Courts of Admiralty in Colonial America: The Maryland Experience, 1634–1776* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 1995).

business. Stone opted not to return until September 1778, despite his re-election by Maryland's legislature in November 1776 and February 1777, because of "private affairs." Those "affairs" included the illness and death of his widowed mother, which was a turning point for the family.⁶

Elizabeth (Jenifer) Stone's survival as a widow until 1776 had delayed the accounting and division of her deceased husband's substantial estate. Upon her passing, her sons Thomas Stone and John Hoskins Stone, as co-administrators of David and Elizabeth Stone's estate, undertook a final settlement and distribution. (The estate included a share held by their brother Daniel Jenifer Stone, who had died in Philadelphia in 1773.) As early as December 20, 1776, Michael Jenifer Stone's day book records receipt from Thomas Stone of "sundry effects" delivered to him from the estate of his parents and deceased brother Daniel Jenifer Stone valued at £180.5.0 current money. Thomas Stone and John Hoskins Stone did not submit a final account of their parent's estate to Charles County court, though, until June 1778. The account was in the estate's favor by £1,208 current money, meaning that the heirs were not encumbered by debts. June 1778 was an especially busy month for Stone family affairs. Not only did Thomas and John Hoskins submit a final account of their parents' estate, but Thomas also was involved in settling the estate of his elder half-brother and father's principal heir, Samuel Stone, who had died in May. A division of enslaved people held in bondage by David and Elizabeth Stone followed in July 1778. After repeated requests for his presence, Stone finally returned to Congress in September.⁷

⁶ Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, 2:1–li; Thomas Stone to the Maryland Assembly, February 22, 1777 (quote), Etting Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, with contextual information provided by *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, eds. Smith et al., 6:379n2, both of which can be viewed in Jefferson, "Thomas Stone: A Chronology from Select Primary Sources." In a letter to the Maryland congressional delegation of November 29, 1776, Maryland Council of Safety wrote, "The people are uneasy, we are informed, in Charles County. Mr Stone has wrote the Major. Mrs Stone is very unwell, so that he cannot attend congress at present" (*Archives of Maryland*, 12:491). "Mrs. Stone" could be a reference to Margaret Stone. It is also, possible, though, given that the Council heard the news secondhand, that there was some confusion. Stone's mother, Elizabeth Stone, may have been the "Mrs. Stone" who was "unwell." An entry in Michael J. Stone's day book dated December 20, 1776, is the earliest known record of her death (Kremer Collection, SMSC, p. 10). Other references to the private concerns that kept Stone in Maryland in December 1776 include Charles Carroll to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, December 7, 1776, in Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, 2:172, and Maryland Council of Safety to Thomas Stone, December 12, 1776, *Archives of Maryland*, 12:524. Thomas Stone was a member of the committee that drafted the Articles of Confederation, chaired by John Dickinson (Wearmouth HRS [1988]; Lee, "In Search of Thomas Stone," 312).

⁷ Whether Elizabeth Stone disposed of a third of her deceased husband's moveable estate (including enslaved people) during her widowhood, as she was entitled to by law, is not presently known. For an understanding of widow's thirds and the pressures to retain land and slaves in the family, two resources are Lois Green Carr, "Inheritance in the Colonial Chesapeake," esp. 169–70; Lee, "Land and Labor," esp. 330. Evidence of Stone family estate settlements comes from the following sources: Michael Jenifer Stone day book, Kremer Collection, SMSC, p. 10; final account of David Stone's estate, June 9, 1778, Charles County Register of Wills, 1777–82, Wills AF#7:170–71, MSA; will of Samuel Stone Jr., May 14, 1778, proven May 26, 1778, Testamentary Proceedings 1778 AF#7:158, cited in Legislative History Project Biographical File for Michael Jenifer Stone, MSA SC 1138–1204; probate inventory of Samuel Stone, June 20, 1778, Charles County Register of Wills, 1777–82, Wills AF#7:179, MSA; Appendix 6 of this HRS, settlement of Michael Jenifer Stone's portion of the estate of David, Elizabeth, Daniel Jenifer Stone, July 15, 1778; and Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Charles Carroll Sr., May 24, 1778, in *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, eds. Smith et al., 9:741.

Estate settlements rewarded “scrupulous attention to detail.” The work involved close attention to accounts of monies owed and owing to the estate, the paying out of legacies, and clearing any number of legal hurdles. And the implications for families (and their dependents) could be profound. This, then, was one reason for Thomas Stone’s retreat from government service outside Maryland from late 1776 to mid-1778. Having been “totally engaged in publick Business” for two years, Stone wrote in early 1777, “my private affairs now call for some attention.”⁸

Nearly as soon as he returned to Congress, though, in September 1778, Stone’s concerns shifted to maintaining his law practice. After attending in Philadelphia for about two weeks, Stone resigned, “being convinced that I cannot attend Congress so constantly as every Delegate ought to do, without giving up the Practice of the law.” Stone did not return to Congress until 1784.⁹

In the intervening years, Stone seems to have preferred serving in Maryland’s upper house, the state senate, over attending Congress. Prior to the American Revolution, it would have been nearly impossible for a laboring lawyer like Stone to be appointed to the upper house. Wealth and leisure time to serve were as necessary as loyalty to the proprietary government. Stone’s uncle, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, for example, who joined the Council in 1771, was “in easy Circumstances having by a successful Trade considerably increased his Paternal Fortune.” But Stone, like his contemporaries of more modest backgrounds who found themselves in the unprecedented position of forming governments composed of men in their own image, struggled to find his footing. In a 1782 letter to his brother Walter from Easton while attending the General Court of the Eastern Shore, Stone declined an unknown job offer from the US superintendent of finance, Robert Morris. Stone wrote that already “a great part of my time” is “devoted to the public Service” as a state senator. In fact, he was “so pressed by a Variety of Business,” including “private and Family affairs,” that he was considering “dropping part of my Law Business or declining all public engagements.” But “the latter I cannot well reconcile it to myself to do,” and Stone would rather draw down his law business. I “shall narrow my professional circuit,” he declared.¹⁰

⁸ Albert J. Schmidt, “The Country Attorney in Late Eighteenth-Century England: Benjamin Smith of Horbling,” *Law and History Review* 8 (Autumn 1990): 241 (quote); Thomas Stone to the Maryland Assembly, February 22, 1777 (quote), Etting Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Jefferson, “Thomas Stone: A Chronology from Select Primary Sources.”

⁹ Stone attended Congress from September 25 to October 8, 1778 (Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, 3:liv). Thomas Stone wrote a letter of resignation to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, October 28, 1778, Roberts Collection, Haverford College, transcription in Jefferson, “Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Primary Sources.” It would be worth examining what induced Stone to return to Congress after the conclusion of the war.

¹⁰ Horatio Sharpe to Hugh Hamersly, October 30, 1768, *Archives of Md.* 14:547; Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 21, 1782, Stone Family Papers, LC.

Saying he would draw down his business was undoubtedly easier than acting upon his words, for Stone was much in demand as a lawyer, as will be evident from later parts of this chapter. He also had to keep ahead of his expenses. In July 1782, not long after he declined Morris's job offer, Stone purchased a mill, the mill's lease, and adjoining land for £1,000 current money and £750 in gold and silver, respectively. A year later, Stone acquired an Annapolis townhouse with a bond for £2,250 current money. Stone took advantage of a quickening real estate market as the war came to a close.¹¹

A major setback in Stone's health in 1783 further complicated his position. Though Stone's condition improved in the middle of the year, in December he (along with his wife) was confined at home at Haberdeventure. Stone did not witness General George Washington's own declaration of a return to private life in December 1783, when Congress and the state legislature met in Annapolis. Poor health and bad road conditions were two reasons why Stone did not attend not Congress in early 1784, after his election to that body in late November 1783. Meanwhile, Stone also fell behind in his law practice.¹²

In a letter from his home in Charles County to Maryland's governor of March 1784, Stone asked for the understanding of Maryland's governor for Stone's delay in attending Congress, which continued to hold session in Annapolis. Not only did Stone have difficulty extricating himself from Haberdeventure because of "those withstanding incidents which attend to country gentlemen when suddenly called from home." Stone also had to meet a challenge from Prince George's County Court, which threatened to discontinue suits due to Stone's nonattendance. "Sickness has prevented me from attending this court for a year past," Stone wrote, and out of concern for the "consequences" for those people "who have great amount of their property at stake," Stone wanted to stop in Upper Marlborough, the seat of Prince George's County, on his way to Annapolis to ask the court for a continuance. Then, Stone hoped to postpone his "eastern shore business," too, in order to focus on service in Congress in April, when the General Court of the Eastern Shore was scheduled to meet. "After that," he offered, "I shall become a citizen of Annapolis and will give every attention to public concerns which can be expected from me on which is in any degree consistent with my professional duty." Stone's intention to take up residence full-time in Annapolis sounds like a relief measure to reduce his travel; he had signed the deed for the

¹¹ Charles County Land Records V#3: 588–89, 590–91, MSA; Anne Arundel County Land Records NH#11:295–97, MSA.

¹² See Chapter 2 for evidence about a turn in Thomas Stone's health in 1783. Thomas Stone told his brother Walter, who was then in Annapolis, that he and his wife were "very sick" in a letter of December 3, 1783, repository unknown, transcription in Jefferson, "Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Primary Sources." The entry for "Thomas Stone" in Papenfuse, *BDML*, shows nonattendance in the state senate in November and December 1783 (2:788). On Stone's nonattendance in Congress in January 1784, see *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, eds. Smith et al., 21:255. Maryland's House of Delegates had elected Stone to be one of Maryland's congressional delegates on November 26, 1783 (*Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789*, eds. Ford et al., 25:812).

Annapolis townhouse some months before, after the sharpest point of his illness had passed. At the same time, Stone stated plainly to the governor that he remained committed to his law practice.¹³

Two years later, Stone still had not resolved how to keep up his obligations in various courts while maintaining his public duties. In November 1786, Charles County Court justices called out publicly Thomas Stone for his nonattendance, “whereby the docket has been loaded and swelled to a most enormous size.” In his response from Annapolis, Stone disputed the claim as a distortion. Stone attended “all” the county court meetings in 1785 and had attended in April and August (the June court having been postponed to this month to help tobacco growers affected by excessive rain). A trip to Annapolis on public business left Stone “fatigued and weakened” and unable to attend September court, and in November, when Charles County Court met again, Stone was tied up in Maryland’s General Court.¹⁴

The last word we have by Thomas Stone on the push-and-pull between public service and his law practice comes from an open letter in the *Maryland Gazette* to address Maryland’s paper currency debate of 1786–87. In his opening—intended to discount accusations that state senators intended to make their powers “independent” and “permanent” as suggested in recent newspaper publications—Stone conveyed that his physical weakness and commitment to his law practice made him a humble man: “I take the first opportunity, which ill health, and necessary attention to professional business, have admitted to reply.” Stone’s work ethic is evident from his testimony that at a meeting of state senators in Annapolis at Mann’s Tavern on a Sunday morning: “I drew up what appeared to be in substance conformable to the opinion of the senators.” Stone’s willingness to take notes and summarize the thoughts of the room conforms to an anonymous description of Stone in Sanderson’s 1824 biography: “He was most truly a perfect man of business; he would often take the pen, and commit to paper, all the necessary writings of the senate, and this he would do cheerfully, while the other members were amusing themselves with desultory conversation.” Stone appears to have been personally happy to serve in the upper house of the government of Maryland, a state whose interests he was dedicated to,

¹³ Thomas Stone to William Paca, March 18, 1784 (misdated May 10, 1786 in the transcription in Jefferson’s “Thomas Stone: A Chronology from Select Primary Sources”), Haverford College. Stone also referred to his duties and responsibilities as a “country gentleman” and planter in the letter, complaining of the “severity” of the winter weather which “has thrown everything into such disorder” that loss was possible if the land was not carefully attended to until June. Stone eventually took his seat on March 26, 1784 (*Letters of Delegates to Congress*, eds. Smith et al., 21:434n). Later that year, Stone informed his friend James Monroe that Maryland’s lower house had not asked him to sit in Congress because he had made it known that he would decline out of “regard to my family” and for “those who have committed their private Affairs to my management as Counsel” (December 25, 1784, in Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, 7:628). For an example of Thomas Stone’s professional work as a lawyer in 1784 in Prince George’s County, see Carson Gibb, “Captain Berry’s Will: Debauchery, Miscegenation, and Family Strife among Eighteenth-Century Gentry,” February 2000, MSA SC 5228. Gibb transcribed Stone’s petition to the Orphans’ Court on behalf of the family of Captain William Berry.

¹⁴ *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), December 14 and 28, 1786.

and apply his knowledge and skills. But this service also took a toll on his energies. Believing himself obliged, as a “man in my situation” to execute the “public trust,” Stone wrote that the senate seat was also “a burthen the greatest of my life,” requiring greater sacrifice of “quiet, health” and private “interest” than he could muster.¹⁵

What were Stone’s attractions to public office if it was a “burthen”? Why did he not devote his limited energies to his law practice? Stone denied having a hunger for high office. Instead he spoke of serving in the “public trust.” In his “dye is cast” letter of May 20, 1776, Stone confessed that he would rather be in Maryland than sitting in a tumultuous Congress where outspoken men gained fame. “I had much rather be in the Province where perhaps I might be of some Service, tho even there I am not ambitious of elevated station.” Stone maintained this stance up to the end of his life, writing in 1787, “I neither profess power or influence, nor do I desire them.”¹⁶

Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, who remained close to his sister’s family even as he rose to the top of Maryland’s political ladder, was undoubtedly a model of public service for Thomas Stone and his brothers. In the spring of 1776, as Maryland held fast to its position to promote reconciliation with Britain, Stone wrote encouragingly to Jenifer, the president of Maryland’s acting executive body, the Council of Safety. “My Brothers are all Steady friends to your Council,” Stone assured him, “and we have not the least Doubt but when your Conduct comes to be tried by your Country you will receive it’s thanks for your great Attention to the publick Good.” Governor Horatio Sharpe some years before also praised Jenifer for his public service. In a letter to Lord Baltimore’s Secretary to recommend Jenifer for a proprietary revenue office, Sharpe described Stone’s uncle as “a Person generally known & well esteemed throughout the Province, his unexceptionable Conduct as a Justice of the Peace for many years, as a Member for some time of the Lower House of the Assembly, [and] as a Provincial Justice.” Sharpe noted Jenifer’s willingness to attend “as a Commissioner for running the Boundary Lines” between Maryland and Pennsylvania (which led to the creation of the Mason-Dixon line), “when Gentlemen enjoying very lucrative Offices excused themselves from the Trouble.” Sharpe implied that Jenifer absorbed the financial costs of serving in the public interest.¹⁷

¹⁵ “Thomas Stone to the Printers,” March 28, 1787, printed in the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), April 5 and in the *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore) April 6, 1787, republished in Yazawa, *Representative Government and the Revolution*, 80–87 (quotes 80, 81, 87); Sanderson, *Biography of the Signers*, 9:331.

¹⁶ Thomas Stone to (James Hollyday?), May 20, 1776, in *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, eds. Smith et al., 4:52 (quote); “Thomas Stone to the Printers,” March 28, 1787, in Yazawa, *Representative Government and the Revolution*, 87 (quote).

¹⁷ Thomas Stone to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, April 24, 1776, in *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, eds. Smith et al., 3:581 (quote); Horatio Sharpe to Hugh Hamersly, October 30, 1768, *Archives of Maryland*, 14:547 (quote); Papenfuse, *BDML*, 2:485.

Stone, too, had private financial resources that enabled him to serve in public office with little or no compensation. What Stone called his “professional business”—the practice of law—gave him an income, but it also was a part of his identity. The large size of his law library hints at the considerable personal satisfaction that he derived from law. Books were also something he liked to spend his money on.

Law as a Profession in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century

Law was emerging as a profession on both sides of the British Atlantic over the course of the eighteenth century. Many gentlemen still read law as part of their education but did not derive an income from practicing law. Alan F. Day in his landmark work on lawyers in colonial Maryland provides a working definition of a professional lawyer as “anyone who maintained a regular and extensive practice and whose primary source of income was from the law.” In Thomas Stone’s generation, the most distinguished lawyers read widely in the law, and Stone’s possession of more than five hundred volumes on law at the time of his death suggests that he had an intellectual engagement with the subject that went far beyond its mechanics.¹⁸

English common law formed the basis of the law in colonial Maryland, as well as Virginia, and much of the work was formulaic and routine. Charles Hobson, editor of the *Papers of John Marshall*, explains how the common law’s “forms of action,” which had evolved in England over hundreds of years, governed courtroom procedures:

In this highly formalized system, the essential task of the lawyer was to fit the facts of his client’s case into one of the known formulas, which were embodied in the writs and pleadings. He had to decide whether this or that action would ‘lie,’ that is, could be sustained, on a given set of facts. The entire proceedings from the initial writ to the execution of the judgment were governed by the rules of the action in which the plaintiff sued. A lawyer had to be thoroughly familiar with these rules or risk having his case dismissed.

Contemporaries cast aspersions on “pettifoggers” who navigated courtroom proceedings with a superficial legal knowledge. “Ephemeral insects of the law,” Thomas Jefferson wrote of the less well-trained lawyers who relied on a single publication, William Blackstone’s *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (London, 1765, 1775). “More than all the others,”

¹⁸ Day, *A Social Study of Lawyers in Maryland*, 28–29.

Jefferson wrote, Blackstone's *Commentaries* had contributed "to the degeneracy of the legal science. A student finds there a smattering of everything, and his indolence easily persuades him that if he understands that book, he is master of the whole body of the law."¹⁹

Thomas Stone's possession of 530 volumes of books on law is one sign that Stone rose above the level of a "pettifogger." Alan Day believed that the number of volumes in Stone's law library was "unparalleled" in eighteenth-century Maryland. To give some sense of the scale of this collection, lawyer John Mercer of Stafford County, Virginia (d. 1768), who raised and tutored his nephew George Mason IV, had about 460 volumes on law out of a total collection of 1,200 volumes. This was on the upper end. More typical of a "large" law library in Maryland was the collection of James Key of Charles County (d. 1779), who had 182 volumes on law comprised of 117 different titles. Alexander Contee Hanson (1749–1806), son of John Hanson of Charles County, author of a compilation of Maryland laws, and Chancellor of Maryland after 1789, had ninety-seven law titles at his death.²⁰

We can assume that Thomas Stone curated his collection and made it available to others. Bennie Brown, who studied John Mercer's library, determined that Mercer's "collection was never static. Mercer bought books, sold books, lent books, and got rid of obsolete books." By Brown's estimation, Mercer had about four hundred volumes out on loan at the time of his death. Book lending was a common practice, and it appears that people continued to borrow from Thomas Stone's law library after Stone's death. Stone's executors notified the public in January 1788 that "many volumes of law tracts, and other books, late the property of Thomas Stone, Esq., are missing." Thomas Jefferson

¹⁹ "Introduction" in Charles F. Hobson, ed., *Papers of John Marshall, Volume V: Selected Law Cases, 1784–1800* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press Rotunda, 2014, accessed January 25, 2019), xxxiii (quote); Konig and Zuckert, eds., *Jefferson's Legal Commonplace Book*, 9 (quote), citing a letter from Thomas Jefferson to John Tyler, June 17, 1812; Michael Miles, "'A Haven for the Privileged': Recruitment into the Profession of Attorney in England, 1709–1792," *Social History* 11 (May 1986): 197–210.

²⁰ Petravage, "Historic Furnishings Report," 21 (see also Appendix 4); Day, *Social Study of Lawyers in Maryland*, 61 (quote), 390–91, 466; Bennie Brown, "John Mercer, Merchant, Lawyer, Author, Book Collector," in *Esteemed Bookes of Lawe" and the Legal Culture of Early Virginia*, eds. Warren Billings and Brent Tarter (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2017), 95–112. For a list of James Key's law library (1779), see Charles County Land Records, V#3:437–38, MSA.

Thomas Stone, besides the 530 volumes on law, had an additional 258 bound volumes (plus 121 unbound pamphlets) for a total of 788 volumes. George Wythe of Williamsburg, Virginia, who taught Greek, Latin, and law to such notables as Thomas Jefferson and John Marshall, had a library of up to six hundred and fifty volumes at the time of his death (Wythe W. Holt, Jr. and the *Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, "George Wythe [1726 or 1727–1806]," in *Encyclopedia Virginia*, www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Wythe_George_1726_or_1727-1806, accessed September 17, 2020; Linda K. Tesar, "The Library Reveals the Man: George Wythe, Legal and Classical Scholar," in *Esteemed Bookes of Lawe" and the Legal Culture of Early Virginia*, eds. Warren Billings and Brent Tarter (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2017), 113–36.

complained of the “losses I have sustained by lending my books,” but given the difficulties of acquiring and accessing books in the colonies, borrowing books was essential to the circulation of knowledge.²¹

Stone directed the executors of his estate to sell his books if needed to raise money to pay off debts. Presumably this occurred, as the executors had to dip into Stone’s real estate holdings in order to pay off debts, little trace of his library survives, and the law library made up 45 percent of the total value of Stone’s personal property in Annapolis (excluding the valuation of five enslaved people). Likely Stone himself shopped estate sales to acquire books. John Adams of Massachusetts, it is believed, purchased the basis of his legal library from an estate sale.²²

The book publishing trade and the legal profession grew together in the eighteenth century. “Excepting perhaps clergymen, no group of Virginians or early Americans were as dependent on books as lawyers and judges,” comment the editors of a recent volume of essays on books and legal culture in colonial and early national Virginia. And while county courthouses had law and statute books on hand, local magistrates “seldom had any significant education in the law.” Disparities in legal education between the bench and bar at times challenged the deference that justices expected from their elevated position in the courtroom.²³

Lawyers gained a competitive edge by keeping up with new law books out of England and having broad knowledge. Published trial reports, for example, helped lawyers in America keep up with English court rulings—which remained relevant in American courts well past independence—but the reports were known to be inaccurate, incomplete, and biased. “Good lawyers, like good scholars, understand that newer reference works may supplement earlier ones but never supercede them.” Thomas Jefferson’s legal commonplace book, for instance, documents different interpretations of common law over centuries. The commonplace book also shows a breadth of reading that his mentor, George Wythe, encouraged. With law becoming an increasingly crowded field, Jefferson counseled a relative interested in the profession, “It is superiority of knowledge which can alone lift

²¹ *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), January 31, 1788; Brown, “John Mercer,” in “*Esteemed Bookes of Lawe*,” eds. Billings and Tarter, 107–8; Thomas Jefferson to John Garland Jefferson, June 11, 1790, in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition, Main Series*, eds. McClure and Looney, 16:480; “Introduction,” in Sara Martin, ed. *The Adams Papers Digital Edition, Legal Papers of John Adams* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press Rotunda, 2008–19), 1:lxiv.

²² Introduction,” in *The Adams Papers Digital Edition, Legal Papers of John Adams*, ed. Martin, 1:lxv. The only known book with a Thomas Stone provenance is a copy of *A Practical Treatise on Fines and Recoveries* (London, 1780) inscribed “T:Stone 1785” at the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. (documentation in the Jean B. Lee Collection, Box 1, Folder 31, SMSC; conversation with Amy Muraca, Chief of Cultural Resource Management for George Washington Birthplace National Monument and Thomas Stone National Historic Site, November 1, 2018).

²³ Billings and Tarter, eds., “*Esteemed Bookes of Lawe*,” 3 (quote), 4 (quote); Lounsbury, *The Courthouses of Early Virginia*, 134, 160–65; Mary Sarah Bilder, *The Transatlantic Constitution: Colonial Legal Culture and the Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 119.

you above the heads of your competitors, and ensure you success.” The editors of John Adams’s *Legal Papers* identify the “stock in trade” of a successful later eighteenth-century lawyer’s book collection: “a busy and prosperous lawyer would require a full collection of reports, treatises, abridgments, collections of precedents, and statute books.” Adams’s collection, the editors assert, went beyond this to support his “intellectual approach to the law,” but unfortunately his holdings have not been systematically studied.²⁴

Knowledge and abilities went a long way to recommend a lawyer. Stone’s contemporary Samuel Chase (1741–1811), for example, is said to have had “crude manners and lack of social polish.” But his father, a clergyman, was well-educated and is believed to have given his son a solid early education. In recognition of Chase’s legal knowledge, Chase was named Chief Justice of Maryland’s General Court in 1791 and Associate Justice of the US Supreme Court in 1796. Another contemporary, Luther Martin (1748–1826), at least in his more advanced years, had an unkept appearance and wore old-fashioned clothes, according to jurist Roger B. Taney who knew him at the turn of the nineteenth century. Taney recalled Martin’s use of “uneducated” language. “For example, I have heard him say he *cotch* him, instead of *catch* him, and he *sot* down, instead of *sat* down, and many other words and phrases not much better.” And perhaps like Chase, Martin lacked table manners, being “coarse and unseemly at a dinner-table, in his manner of eating.” But the Princeton graduate who served thirty years as Maryland’s attorney general was “the acknowledged and undisputed head of the [legal] profession in Maryland.” Taney wrote that Martin was “a profound lawyer,” in part because of the “fulness of his legal knowledge.” Taney continues, Martin “had an iron memory, and forgot nothing that he had read; and he had read a great deal on every branch of the law. . . . His associates at the bar had . . . great respect for his legal learning.” Thomas Stone appeared in court often with Martin, and they must have shared a love for discussing the fine points of a case in a neighboring tavern.²⁵

Though much remains unknown about the functions and contents of Thomas Stone’s large law library (What pleasures did Stone derive from books? Did he collect works on government as well as on law? Did he tutor law students?), his possession of 530

²⁴ Kevin J. Hayes, “The Law Library of a Working Attorney: The Example of Patrick Henry,” in *Esteemed Bookes of Lawe” and the Legal Culture of Early Virginia*, eds. Warren Billings and Brent Tarter (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2017), 143 (quote); Konig and Zuckert, eds., *Jefferson’s Legal Commonplace Book*, 7–9; Thomas Jefferson to John Garland Jefferson, June 11, 1790, in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition, Main Series*, eds. McClure and Looney, 16:480; “Introduction” in *The Adams Papers Digital Edition, Legal Papers of John Adams*, ed. Martin, 1:lxxv–lxxvii.

²⁵ James Haw et al., *Stormy Patriot: The Life of Samuel Chase* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1980), 7 (quote), 167–68, 178; Roger B. Taney, “Early Life and Education,” chapter 1 of Samuel Tyler, *Memoir of Roger Brooke Taney, LL.D.* (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1876), 65–67 (quotes); Bill Kauffman, *Forgotten Founder, Drunken Prophet: The Life of Luther Martin* (Wilmington, DE: ISI Books, 2008), 117. Unfortunately, *Stormy Patriot*, more concerned with Chase’s political life than his legal practice, offers little analysis of Chase’s law business. Of the lawyers documented in the sample of higher court records for this HRS, Luther Martin and Samuel Chase, along with Thomas Jennings, appeared most often with Thomas Stone as co-counsel or the opposing lawyer (Appendix 19).

volumes on law at his death surely buttressed his high standing in legal circles in Maryland. Another intriguing component of his life as a lawyer is his litigation work. Without surviving account books of Thomas Stone's legal business, we don't know how much work Stone conducted inside relative to outside the courtroom. The sample of court records taken for this study strongly suggests that Stone remained active in litigation throughout his professional life, but even trial lawyers conducted a substantial amount of their business outside the courtroom. Often disputes were settled out of court through a series of "sequential moves." A study of five counties in mid-eighteenth-century Virginia found that less than eight percent of "all suits on a writ of debt," the most common of legal actions, "went to a jury trial." About a third of defendants negotiated a settlement "immediately after being served with the initial *capias*," a writ to take a defendant into custody. Another 17 percent who "chose to draw out the proceedings at least a little longer" dropped their complaint before entering a plea. Our images of Stone as a lawyer, then, should include Stone counseling his client on a courthouse porch or negotiating between parties in a tavern room.²⁶

Some gentlemen knowledgeable about the law eschewed litigation, for various reasons. James Madison read law after college and again in 1783–85 but never went before the bar. Biographers have suggested that his shy personality may have been a factor. In 1774, Madison's friend Thomas Jefferson abandoned his law practice after seven years because it "had grown increasingly routine." Jefferson continued to read law—broadly construed to include such texts as a 1767 London edition of Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws* and a 1766 edition of Beccaria's *On Crimes and Punishments*—to advance his thinking as a reform-minded lawmaker.²⁷

Jefferson, we presume, could afford to stop his law practice. For others, "riding the circuit" to meet with clients at various county courthouses or providing counsel in the higher courts at Williamsburg or Annapolis (and, after 1781, Easton on Maryland's Eastern Shore) offered an important stream of income and a higher public profile. Stone established a circuit in the mid-1760s that included Baltimore County, Frederick County, Prince George's County, and Annapolis. When the General Courts of the Western and Eastern Shores replaced the Provincial Court in 1777, he extended his travel to Easton. Another circuit rider was John Adams, whose practice in Massachusetts reached its height in 1772–73. Adams endured uncomfortable travel and lodging and long periods away from family.

²⁶ Turk McCleskey and James C. Squire, "Knowing When to Fold: Litigation as a Writ of Debt in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 76 (July 2019): 509–44 (quotes 532, 533).

²⁷ Mary Sarah Bilder, "James Madison, Law Student and Demi-Lawyer," *Law and History Review* 28 (May 2010): 389–449, esp. 404; Konig and Zuckert, eds., *Jefferson's Legal Commonplace Book*, 5, 426n, 491n.

But “as his reputation increased. . . Adams began more and more to draw his business from the upper ranges of the social and financial order,” and we can presume the same occurred with Stone.²⁸

Because lawyer fees for service in court were set by statute, the *quantity* of business mattered for a lawyer hoping to derive an income. Lawyers faced the additional prospect of nonpayment. In Maryland, sheriffs were responsible for collecting lawyer fees, and Stone at times had trouble obtaining from the local officials what was due. In early 1774, Thomas Stone wrote, “I have been almost ruined by the scandalous conduct of Sheriffs toward me.” Because sheriffs were not collecting his legal fees, Stone was in a compromised position of not being able to pay a debt and apologized to his creditor: “Ordinarily, no gentleman should have asked me twice for money owed him.” Twelve years later, Thomas Stone found himself in a similar situation. Stone needed cash from Charles County’s sheriff, Charles Mankin, to pay “Mr. Harrison” at the close of 1785. “Push Mankin,” Stone wrote to his brother and agent, Walter Stone, as the end of December drew near. Kent County’s sheriff also was delinquent in collecting fees due to Stone for services performed in 1785, a difficult year for debtors in Maryland.²⁹

Out of bitter experience, attorney John Mercer of Virginia believed it folly to depend on a law practice for a cash income. Writing in 1767–68, not long after the Stamp Act temporarily halted court business, Mercer commented about his son James Mercer, “He has made a bad choice for a Livelihood in depending upon Lawyers fees” for cash. The combination of low fees set by statute and nonpayment compelled six Virginia lawyers, including Mercer’s son as well as Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Stone’s brother-in-law Gustavus Scott, to submit a public notice in 1773 calling attention to the problem. For their practice in Virginia’s General Court in Williamsburg, the men asserted, “the Fees allowed by Law, if regularly paid, would barely compensate our incessant Labours, reimburse our Expenses, and the Losses incurred by Neglect of our private Affairs; yet even these

²⁸ For an evocative account of the arduousness of circuit riding on the eighteenth-century British American seaboard, see “Introduction,” in *The Adams Papers Digital Edition, The Legal Papers of John Adams*, ed. Martin 1:lxii.

²⁹ Day, *Social Study of Lawyers in Maryland*, 91; “Introduction,” in *The Adams Papers Digital Edition, The Legal Papers of John Adams*, ed. Martin; Thomas Stone to unknown, February 2, 1774, published in Autograph Letter and Autographs of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence in the Possession of George C. Thomas (Philadelphia, 1908), no page number, in Jefferson, “Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Select Primary Sources”; Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, November 24 and December 21 (“push Mankin”), 1785, and January 15, 1786, in Stone Family Papers, LC; Thomas Stone to William Tilghman of Chestertown, February 26, 1787, repository not given, in Jefferson, “Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Select Primary Sources.” Charles Mankin served as sheriff of Charles County from 1782 to 1785 (Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 242).

Rewards, confessedly moderate, are withheld from us, in a great Proportion, by the unworthy Part of our Clients.” For gentlemen who practiced law to achieve financial independence, the dependence on others to honor their debts stirred unease.³⁰

Despite the occasional difficulties in collecting pay, the practice of law was considered an acceptable profession up and down the social scale in colonial Maryland and Virginia. Day’s study of lawyers in early Maryland found that firstborn sons and only sons in wealthier families became lawyers, not just younger sons. Attitudes toward law appear to have reflected the development of the profession in eighteenth-century England, where “the profession of attorney was attracting a great many gentry families and prosperous ‘middling people.’” These men from the better sort *made* being a lawyer respectable and genteel, asserts scholar Michael Miles. Miles also recognizes the higher premium placed on learning later in the century, offering financial rewards to those with “breadth of knowledge” to keep pace with economic development and increasing specialization.³¹

To offer a view from the top of Maryland’s social scale, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, one of Maryland’s wealthiest men, encouraged his only son, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, in 1759 to study law at the Inns of Court in London where the colony’s top lawyers trained. The younger Carroll did not relish the task, in part because colonial Maryland’s penal statutes prohibited Roman Catholics from being called to the bar outside of the chancery and prerogative courts. But the father believed in the importance of his son and heir’s knowledge of law as a means of maintaining and advancing the family’s social and political status without relying on capricious governments or self-interested men:

Many reasons ought to incline you to a close & serious Study of the Law, it is a shame for a Gent: to be ignorant of the Laws of his Country & to be dependent on ev’ry dirty Petty fogger whose Intent: it may be to lead him by such a dependence into endless difficulties—On the other hand how commendable is it for a Gent: of an Independant fortune not only not to stand in need of Mercenary Advisers but to be able to advise & assist his friends, Relations & Neighbours of all sorts.

The elder Carroll drew out his list of the uses of knowledge of the law, both for “benevolent” and profitable purposes. “Suppose you shd: be called upon to act in any publick Character,” Charles Carroll of Annapolis continued, “w[ha]t an awkward figure would you make without the knowledge of the Law either as a Legislator, Judge, or even an Arbitrator of differences among yr Neighbours & friends.” Acknowledging the colony’s restrictions

³⁰ Mulkearn, comp. and ed., *George Mercer Papers*, 193 (quote); “Notice Concerning Legal Fees,” May 20, 1773, in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition, Main Series*, McClure and Looney, eds., 1:98. The latter cites a relevant passage in Dumas Malone, *Jefferson the Virginian* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1948), in which Malone reports that John Mercer sought to collect £10,000 in unpaid fees (123–24). For another perspective on John Mercer (1704–68), see Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit*, 514–18.

³¹ Day, *Social Study of Lawyers in Maryland*, 41; Miles, “‘A Haven for the Privileged’”, 201, 210 (quotes). Miles names the emerging fields of navigation law, trusteeship, and contracts.

on Roman Catholics to practice law, which were introduced with the establishment of royal government in 1692, Carroll wrote, “It is true as things stand now you are shut out from the Bar, but you are not debarred from acting as a Counsellor, & in that way many great fortunes have been made.” If, however, the son chose not “to make the Law a Profession in order to accumulate a fortune,” nevertheless “the knowledge of it is absolutely necessary to ev’ry private Gent: of fortune who has the least Idea of being Independant,” that is, able to serve as his own counsel.³²

Charles Carroll of Annapolis alluded to the “great fortunes” that had been made from the practice of law. Thomas Jefferson advised a relative (and future son-in-law) Thomas Mann Randolph Jr. in 1787 on the financial benefits of studying law. Not only would Randolph’s service in government benefit from legal knowledge: “every political measure will for ever have an intimate connection with the laws of the land.” But also, Jefferson added, “it is a source of infinite comfort to reflect that under very change of fortune we have a resource in ourselves from which we may be able to derive a honourable subsistence. I would therefore propose not only the study, but the practice of the law.” Jefferson acknowledged the practical aspects of becoming a lawyer.³³

Thomas Stone credited his law profession for providing him with a “comfortable estate” without having to rely on “chance” like commercial life did. His brother Michael Jenifer Stone, also a lawyer, called law “a sure but slow way to grow an estate.” How much did lawyers earn? Day warns in his study of early Maryland lawyers, “any endeavor to calculate earnings must remain highly tentative.” Colonial Maryland governor Horatio Sharpe lamented in 1768 that he had difficulty attracting qualified men to proprietary offices of profit because they could make more money practicing law. At the time, proprietary offices of profit could yield between one hundred and three hundred pounds a year. With law being so “lucrative,” lawyers also declined to sit as judges, who served without pay until 1776. Luther Martin, who was one of the men who appeared most often with Thomas Stone in the higher courts according to the sample of court records made for this HRS, wrote in his autobiography that he was making upward of a thousand pounds a year (Maryland currency) when the courts closed during the war. This would be on the high end; Day’s research suggests a range between £150 and £450 sterling for a lawyer of Thomas Stone’s caliber with an established practice. Withdrawing from litigation could result in a precipitous fall in income, to judge from an account given by Virginia lawyer John Mercer. In a letter to a son, Mercer wrote that his annual income in 1764 and 1765 was £1,548 and £961, respectively, but upon leaving his law practice in 1766 his income for the

³² Charles Carroll of Annapolis to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, October 6, 1759, in Hoffman, ed., *Dear Papa, Dear Charley: The Periginations of a Revolutionary Aristocrat*, 1:124, 129 (quote); Hoffman with Mason, *Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland*, xxiv, 67.

³³ Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Mann Randolph Jr., July 6, 1787, in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition, Main Series*, eds. McClure and Looney, 11:556.

year dropped to £108, which included £20 for writing “Opinions &c.” In 1767 he more than doubled his earnings from writing “Opinions &c,” but the yield of £49 was still far less than his active days in litigation. Mercer remained committed to “my practice (if it could be so called)” and a brewery enterprise to supplement his income from planting.³⁴

Scattered evidence exists of Thomas Stone’s earnings from the law and of the various kinds of legal work he performed. A surviving receipt from 1785 shows that Maryland’s Intendant of Revenue, Thomas Stone’s uncle Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, paid Stone one hundred guineas (£105 sterling) to be a “Lawyer for the State” and to advise Jenifer “upon Questions of Law which occur in the Execution of his Office.” Jenifer paid Stone and Samuel Chase each the same amount to advise him on the thorny issue of confiscation of British estates. Some years before, in 1778, Charles Carroll of Carrollton retained Stone as a lawyer in his private affairs; we do not know how much Carroll paid Stone for his services. In addition to Stone, Carroll hired James Wilson of Pennsylvania, who briefly resided in Annapolis from 1777 to 1778. Carroll informed his father, “I think I have secured the two best lawyers that practice in our courts of law.” At the time, Carroll was preparing for an ejectment cause (a land dispute) against John Trammel, a Virginian who sought profit by surveying vacant land and renting it out. Trammel claimed land that Carroll occupied. Thomas Stone and Thomas Jennings were co-counsels for the defendant when *John Trammel’s Lessee v. Arthur Nelson* came before the Provincial Court in 1780. The jury found in favor of the plaintiff. The case’s development can be followed in the Carroll Papers and in *Maryland Reports* (1812).³⁵

Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer and Charles Carroll of Carrollton were patrons of Thomas Stone’s legal work. Carroll even paid for Gustavus Scott, Thomas Stone’s brother-in-law and a well-established attorney in his own right, to assist Stone with a continuation of the Trammel case and other legal work. Patronage as a form of social networking

³⁴ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, July 16, 1782, Stone Family Papers, LC (quote); Michael Jenifer Stone to Walter Stone, March 12, 1782, Stone Family Papers, MS 406, MdHS (quote); Day, *Social Study of Lawyers in Maryland*, 89, 97–98, 114; *Archives of Maryland*, 14:522–23; Burnard, *Creole Gentlemen*, 46 (quote)—47; Luther Martin, *Modern Gratitude*... [Baltimore, 1802?], no. V, p. 150; John Mercer to George Mercer, December 22, 1767–January 28, 1768, in Mulkearn, comp. and ed., *George Mercer Papers*, 198. Day determined that Annapolis lawyer Stephen Bordley was making as much as £1,000 Maryland currency a year in fees in 1750, 1756, and 1758 (table V-1). Day’s tally of James Hollyday’s earnings on three counties of the Eastern Shore show a more modest income outside the capital with totals between £288 and £366 between 1762 and 1765 (table V-3). Michael Jenifer Stone recorded his earnings from his early law practice in his day book in 1778, 1779, and 1780 (Kremer Collection, SMSC). On September 1, 1779, M. J. Stone noted that he had made £816.10.0 “by the Law to this date” (p. 20).

³⁵ Receipt of payment, Thomas Stone to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, February 25, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC, in Jefferson’s “Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Select Primary Sources”; Haw et al., *Stormy Patriot*, 135; Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Charles Carroll of Annapolis, May 17, 1778, in Hoffman, ed., *Dear Papa, Dear Charley*, 2:1125, 1127n2, 3:1184. On the Trammel case, see *ibid.*, 2:570n6, 3:1336–38, and “John Trammel’s Lessee against Arthur Nelson,” in Thomas Harris Jr. and John McHenry, *Maryland Reports, Being a Series of the Most Important Law Cases Argued and Determined in the General Court and Court of Appeals in the State of Maryland, from May 1780 to May, 1790*, vol. 2 (New York, 1812), 4–9.

reached a zenith in eighteenth-century England and its colonies, and lawyers were not immune. Michael Miles, writing about lawyers in eighteenth-century England, comments on the critical role of patronage in advancing a law practice.

The eighteenth-century attorneys never managed to free themselves completely from a dependence on patronage. This placed them in a paradoxical position. Whilst there certainly existed a rough code of honour among attorneys, which included a desire to make themselves impartial professionals who were paid only for their expertise, few of them were quite independent enough to offend the interests of powerful personages on whom they were dependent for much of their lucrative work.

In the 1770s and 1780s, Thomas Stone represented Maryland's proprietor, the sixth Lord Baltimore, the proprietor's family members, and proprietary appointees, all of whom had great wealth and influence. In 1773, for example, Thomas Stone was co-counsel for the defendant in *Joseph Hanson Harrison v. Richard Lee, Jr.*, a high-profile case over proprietary fees. Annapolitans William Paca and Samuel Chase came to Port Tobacco to argue for the plaintiff. Lee, a sheriff by proprietary appointment, was the son of Richard Lee Sr., a council member, naval officer of North Potomac, and resident of Blenheim.³⁶

Having the patronage of other powerful men like Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer and Charles Carroll of Carrollton almost certainly helped Thomas Stone attract business. In 1785, a fellow state senator, Richard Ridgely, approached Thomas Stone with a request. Charles Ridgely of John (circa 1749–86) of Baltimore and Anne Arundel Counties, a merchant, real estate developer, and farm owner, wanted Thomas Stone as his defense attorney at a murder trial. Details of the case have not been found; a different court case documents Stone's fee as Ridgely's attorney and mentions Ridgely's acquittal. In order to pay Stone's fee of £306.18.4 current money, Ridgely sold an unspecified number of enslaved people. Ridgely's murder trial is the only known criminal case that Thomas Stone served as attorney for.³⁷

A more routine part of Stone's legal work was to collect debts for merchants. In 1773, the year of *Harrison v. Lee*, Stone acquired more high-profile business in Charles County as a trustee for the firm of Barnes and Ridgate, based in Port Tobacco and London. When Barnes and Ridgate fell into bankruptcy during the credit contraction of 1772–73,

³⁶ Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Charles Carroll of Annapolis, May 24, 1781, in Hoffman, ed., *Dear Papa, Dear Charley*, 3:1436; Miles, "'A Haven for the Privileged,'" 209 (quote). Gustavus Scott (1753–1800), a surviving brother of Robert Scott, Catherine (Stone) Scott's husband, trained in law at the Inns of Court in London and in 1777 married Margaret Caile of Dorchester Co., Maryland (ibid., 3:1438n1; Day, *Social Study of Lawyers in Maryland*, 617; *Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, Presidential Series*, 1:420; Papenfuse, *BDML*, 2:717–18). Jean H. Vivian contextualizes the Harrison v. Lee case in "The Poll Tax Controversy in Maryland, 1770–1776: A Case of Taxation with Representation," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 71 (1976): 151–76. Appendix 19, "Legal History Methods and Results," shows that Stone's repeat clients in 1779 included the lord proprietor or his wife, former agent and receiver general Rev. Bennet Allen, and in 1786 Richard Lee, former naval officer of North Potomac.

³⁷ Papenfuse, *BDML*, 2:684–86; Chancery Court Record Book 29 (1794):420–21, MSA.

the firm named three trustees to satisfy debts, recover money owed to the firm, and pay salaried employees for a term of nine months. John Rogers (1723–89) of Prince George’s County was the more senior of the two attorneys named as trustees. The third man, Philip Richard Fendall (1734–1805), was clerk of Charles County Court, a proprietary appointment he inherited from his father. Fendall also undoubtedly had wealth to provide security for financial transactions; he was connected by birth and marriage to the Lee family at Blenheim. As compensation for their work, the trustees were to receive a ten percent commission for “their trouble and care,” plus payment for “Traveling Charges and Expences.” The 1773 power of attorney and deed of trust documents Barnes and Ridgate’s widespread land holdings in Charles County, totaling more than 1,200 acres; town lots in Port Tobacco, Benedict (in Charles County), Georgetown (Montgomery County), and Carrollsburg (Prince George’s County); plus eleven enslaved individuals. The trustees sold land, prosecuted sixty-two debt cases in Charles County court in 1774, and accepted mortgages in lieu of immediate payment.³⁸

Mortgages continued to be drawn up in 1776 as a result of judgments in the trustees’ favor in Charles County Court. The trustees accepted enslaved people as securities for debt, as Maryland’s law allowed. For example, a planter in Charles County named John Haislip, who owed Barnes and Ridgate £43 plus interest, mortgaged an enslaved girl named Monica, age nine. By the terms of the mortgage, the girl would be held by the trustees for a year. If Haislip paid the amount owed within a year, he could recover Monica. Another planter, William Boarman Senior, who owed over £36 to the trustees, surrendered two adult enslaved men, George and Harry, ages thirty-two and twenty-two, as security for the debt.³⁹

Documentation also survives of Stone’s pursuit of debts for Peter and Isaac Wikoff, merchants of Philadelphia. On a referral from William Paca, the Wikoffs in 1781 asked Stone to recover money from two St. Mary’s County residents, John Lucas and J. Allen Thomas, on protested bills of exchange. The bills were for £100 and £105 sterling, and the Wikoffs were eager to have the money “with all costs, Damages, & Interest until paid.” Sixteen months after engaging Stone, the Wikoffs wrote, “We want our money beyond

³⁸ Vivian, “The Poll Tax Controversy in Maryland”; Day, *Social Study of Lawyers in Maryland*, 95–96, 601; Owings, *His Lordship’s Patronage*, 150; power of attorney and deed to trust, John Rogers, Thomas Stone, and Philip Richard Fendall, trustees for John Barnes and Thomas How Ridgate, May 18, 1773, in Charles County Land Records, S#3:410–27, MSA; Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 106–7; “Philip Richard Fendall (1734–1805),” Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia’s Northern Neck Counties, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us. To give an indication of Fendall’s high social standing, Fendall married second, between 1776 and 1780, Elizabeth Steptoe Lee, widow of Philip Ludwell Lee (d. 1775) of Stratford Hall, Virginia (ibid.).

³⁹ Recorded property sales by the trustees in Charles County Land Records include S#3:508–9 (October 9, 1773), 532–33 (October 30, 1773), 547–49 (March 10, 1774), and 710 (March 13, 1775), MSA. Mortgages entered into by the trustees include S#3:700–1 (Haislip, February 24, 1775), V#3:51–52 (Boarman, December 11, 1775), and 66–67 (January 15, 1776), MSA. Judgments in the March 1775 session of Charles County court resulted in four more mortgages, all recorded on February 6, 1776 (Charles County Land Records V#3:76–81, MSA). Based on these records, in Charles County, trustees pursued debts ranging from £7.18.6 (with interest from 1763) to £166.17.4 (V#3:66–67, 76–78, MSA).

expression, and therefore we beg in the most earnest manner, that you will take such measures as you may now think will recover it in the most expeditious way.” Paca, who resided in Annapolis and the Eastern Shore, may have believed Stone to be well-suited to prosecute commercial debts in Southern Maryland.⁴⁰

Other documented legal work that Stone performed for unknown fees include drawing up a mortgage for George Mason IV, executing a deed for property in Charles County for George Washington, and recording Port Tobacco merchant Thomas How Ridgate’s answer in a Chancery suit (and undoubtedly advising his client during the process). Stone alluded to the costs of hiring a lawyer in a note to William Tilghman, a lawyer in Kent County, for whom or with whom he was preparing a case: “Dudley has sent his Papers but no money which you know is about as necessary as Papers to enable a Lawyer to file a long Chancery Bill.” Time was money.⁴¹

Thomas Stone’s Work as a Lawyer

Archival research in court records for this HRS was limited to the higher courts—that is, the Provincial Court before the war, and the General Courts of the Western and Eastern Shore established in 1777. Appendix 19, “Legal History Research Methods and Results,” discusses the reasons for this decision. Adopting a sampling method in order to detect patterns, every reference to Thomas Stone on the dockets of the Provincial Court and the General Courts of the Western and Eastern Shores in the selected years of 1771, 1779, and 1786 was recorded in a spreadsheet and photographed.

As we might expect to see for a lawyer of Stone’s standing, Stone’s caseload in the higher courts increased over time. In September 1771, Stone pleaded 27 cases in the Provincial Court. Fifteen years later, Stone was counsel in 247 cases in a month in the General Court of the Western Shore, a nine-fold increase. Admittedly the docket was considerably heavier in (May) 1786 due to an economic crisis and the resumption of legal

⁴⁰ Peter and Isaac Wikoff to Thomas Stone, December 6, 1781, and April 29, 1783, William Cooke Papers, MS Collection 195, Box 1, MdHS, transcriptions in Jefferson, “Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Select Primary Sources”; Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 8, 1783, in Stone Family Papers, LC. Robert F. Oaks mentions Peter and Isaac Wikoff in “Philadelphia Merchants and the First Continental Congress,” *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 40 (April 1973): 163. On the Wikoffs, see also *Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, Diaries*, 5:264n.

⁴¹ Rutland, ed., *Papers of George Mason*, 3:1040; Abbott, ed., *Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series*, 3:115; answer of Thomas How Ridgate in the hand of Thomas Stone and signed “T:Stone for Deft.,” March 27, 1786, in *Sarah and Elizabeth Doncastle v. Thomas How Ridgate et al.*, Chancery Court, Chancery Papers, no. 4334A, MSA; Thomas Stone to William Tilghman, February 26, 1787, repository not given, in Jefferson, “Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Select Primary Sources”; “William Tilghman (1756–1827)” in Pappafuse, *BDML*, 2:833–34. Jefferson’s “Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Select Primary Sources” also includes a transcription of an opinion by Stone dated February 2, 1786.

business after the war. (Unfortunately, in the course of this research, the *total* number of cases that a court heard during a term was not recorded.) Unmistakably, though, Stone had reached a mature stage in his law profession by 1786.

Stone trained in law in Annapolis, and he returned to the city to join its circle of prominent resident lawyers later in life, in 1784. “Annapolis was considered as the place, of all others in [Maryland], where a man should study law, if he expected to attain eminence in his profession,” reflected Roger B. Taney, who read law under Jeremiah Townley Chase in the capital city. John Sanderson’s report that Thomas Stone studied law with Thomas Johnson (1732–1819) remains unconfirmed, but Forensic Club minutes from the early 1760s record Stone mingling with other men who would have distinguished law practices based in Annapolis, including William Paca and Robert Alexander. A visitor in 1783 commented, “Annapolis is a nursery of the long robe. Its lawyers would do honour to any bar in Europe. The Governor, who is of this profession, has instituted a society composed of students of the law, who meet at his house, at stated periods, to discuss law questions and questions in political economy. He proposes the subject, sits as President, and gives judgment, in conjunction with his council, the Chancellor, the lawyers and the Judges of the General Court. When the debates are finished the company sup with the governor.” The governor whom the visitor was referring to was William Paca, a founding member of the Forensic Club in 1759 who maintained sociability among his fellow lawyers.⁴²

Annapolis stood out as a regional hub for legal education and the legal profession for several reasons. Despite its small size, Maryland “ranked in the top three, along with South Carolina and Virginia, in the number of practitioners with legal training in London,” according to legal historian William E. Nelson. Nelson also observes that Maryland’s legal system was more centralized than in other colonies. Maryland’s colonial governors, who presided over the Court of Appeals, Provincial Court, and Chancery Court and appointed county justices, exerted more oversight over the lower courts than in Virginia, where “the county courts were dominated by local oligarchies that sometimes ignored the orders of the central, appellate court in Williamsburg and routinely advanced their own local interests.” Nelson posits that Maryland’s sensitivity to Roman Catholics as a religious minority may have encouraged strong central oversight over the legal system.⁴³

As is consistent with the history of colonial Anglo American common law courts, debt cases made up a great part of Thomas Stone’s business in Maryland’s Provincial Court and General Court. In the sampling of court records for this project, out of 296 cases in which Thomas Stone served as counsel and the forms of action were identified, 125 (42

⁴² Tyler, *Memoir of Roger Brooke Taney*, 58 (quote); Sanderson, *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence*, 9:329; Lee, *The Price of Nationhood*, 94; Jean B. Lee, “Thomas Stone (1743–87): An Unfinished Biography,” unpublished manuscript, 1995, chapter 2, pp. 12–13, SMSC; Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit*, 142, quoting from a visitor’s account in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, September 30, 1783.

⁴³ William E. Nelson, “The Law of Colonial Maryland: Virginia without Its Grandeur,” *American Journal of Legal History* 54 (2014): 187, 188; Day, *Social Study of Lawyers in Maryland*, 7.

percent) were for debt. Nelson asserts that “the most important job of [colonial] Maryland’s courts. . . was to maintain lines of credit that kept the tobacco economy functioning by assisting creditors in the collection of their debts.” Documentation of Stone’s work as a trustee for the merchant firm Barnes and Ridgate of Port Tobacco when they fell into bankruptcy in 1773, and his pursuit of debtors in St. Mary’s County for the Philadelphia merchants Peter and Isaac Wikoff in the early 1780s, discussed previously, also shed light on his debt litigation business.⁴⁴

Ejectment was the next most common form of action documented in the sample, making up 85 cases out of 296 for which the form of action was identified (29 percent). Ejectment was, at its root, a land dispute. “Ejectment originated as a personal action, a form of trespass, brought by a lessee ousted from his land before his lease expired,” explain the editors of *The Papers of John Marshall*. “In time, through an elaborate fiction, the remedy was extended to freeholders claiming title to land.” As noted previously, Thomas Stone’s assistance to Charles Carroll of Carrollton in an ejectment case in Frederick County, *John Trammel’s Lessee v. Arthur Nelson*, is relatively well documented. Stone delivered “very able and learned arguments” as counsel for the plaintiff in another ejectment case, *John Kelly’s Lessee v. William T. Greenfield* combined with *John Kelly’s Lessee v. Henry G. Sothoron* in the October 1785 term of the General Court of the Western Shore. The suit arose in St. Mary’s County.⁴⁵

One of the more unexpected results of the archival research in court dockets was Thomas Stone’s presence as counsel in freedom suits by enslaved African Americans. Though Stone’s name was attached to a case, *Eleanor Toogood v. Dr. Upton Scott* of 1782, published in Harris and McHenry’s *Maryland Reports* as early as 1812, his participation in *any* freedom suit has hitherto not been explored in scholarship. Other lawyers of his generation in Maryland, such as Luther Martin and Samuel Chase, have received a little more attention for their appearance as lawyers in freedom suits. Martin, a slaveholder, pleaded cases on both sides of freedom suits, though Martin’s position as state attorney general complicates how we read this record. Chase, also a slaveholder, reportedly served

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 169 (quote). On the prevalence of debt cases in Virginia, where English common law also shaped jurisprudence, see “Introduction,” in *Papers of John Marshall*, ed. Hobson, 5: xxxiv, and McCleskey and Squire, “Knowing When to Fold.”

⁴⁵ “Introduction,” in *Papers of John Marshall*, ed. Hobson, 5: xxxvi (quote); Harris and McHenry, *Maryland Reports* (1812) 2:121–45, quote 128. The General Court of Western Shore docket of October 1785 confirms that Thomas Stone was counsel for the plaintiff in *Kelly’s Lessee v. Greenfield* and *Kelly’s Lessee v. Sotheron*. In a testament to the resonance of this case, *Maryland Reports* includes a statement by Alexander Contee Hanson, Chancellor of Maryland, on the case from 1801 (2:140–45).

as counsel for Mary Butler, an enslaved woman who claimed descent from a seventeenth-century indentured white female servant known as “Irish Nell,” in *Mary Butler v. Adam Craig* (1787). (See Chapter 3 for more on *Butler v. Craig*.)⁴⁶

By and large, lawyers in freedom suits before 1790 have received little attention except as names on a page. (William G. Thomas’s recent book, *A Question of Freedom: The Families Who Challenged Slavery From the Nation’s Founding to the Civil War* [2020], studies lawyers who were active after 1790.) The sampling of court records for this HRS revealed that Stone was counsel for the defense in five freedom suits in the May 1786 session of the General Court of the Western Shore. During an examination of the May 1785 docket for other purposes, Stone’s name was stumbled upon as the defense attorney in the freedom suits of fifteen individuals with the Toogood surname. Stone comes up in unexpected places, too, such as an essay about the descendants of an indentured servant, Mary Davis; Stone defended a slaveholder, Anthony Addison, in a petition for freedom by Rosamund Bentley, a great-granddaughter of Mary Davis, filed in Prince George’s County court in 1779.⁴⁷

Records uncovered thus far show Stone serving as counsel for slaveholders, not for the enslaved. But this must not be interpreted as an indication that Stone opposed freedom suits altogether, for three reasons. One, a more comprehensive search of court records at the county level as well as in the higher courts may yet reveal that Stone represented plaintiffs in freedom suits. Legal historian William Thomas speculates that among the reasons a lawyer might represent a petitioner was a belief in the petitioner’s “legitimate claim to freedom” and the prospect of “a steady stream of fees” if the client won their freedom and a cascade of rulings in favor of family members followed. The mechanics of hiring a lawyer

⁴⁶ Both Martin and Chase were named Honorary Counsellors of the “Maryland Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and the Relief of Free Negroes and others unlawfully held in Bondage,” founded in 1789, two years after Stone’s death. The society barred slaveholders from membership (Kauffman, *Forgotten Founder, Drunken Prophet: The Life of Luther Martin*, 92–93; Haw et al., *Stormy Patriot: The Life of Samuel Chase*, 103, 161–62). *Stormy Patriot* mentions Chase manumitted one enslaved person from his household during his lifetime (161). At the time of his death in 1811, Chase held fifteen people in bondage (Day, *Social Study of Lawyers*, 256). Martin “owned six slaves” in 1790 but apparently died with little property (Kauffman, *Forgotten Founder, Drunken Prophet*, 93, and passim).

⁴⁷ Harris and McHenry, *Maryland Reports* (1812) 2:26–38; Courtney C. Hobson, “A Mother’s Inheritance: Women, Interracial Identity, and Emancipation in Maryland, 1664–1820,” January 2016, in Thomas et al, eds., *O Say Can You See: Early Washington, DC, Law and Family*, www.earlywashingtondc.org/stories/mothers_inheritance, accessed October 30, 2020. The docket for the October 1782 term of the General Court of the Western Shore confirms that Thomas Stone was counsel for the defense in *Toogood v. Scott*, as indicated in *Maryland Reports*. The Court of Appeals docket, however, does not confirm the account in *Maryland Reports* that Stone joined John Hall and Thomas Jennings as counsel for the appellant, Dr. Scott, in 1783. The freedom suits on the General Court of Western Shore docket in May 1786 in which Stone was counsel for the defense were the following: *Matthew Butler v. Edward Eaglin* [i.e., Edelin?] and *Agnes Butler v. Edward Eaglin* [i.e., Edelin?], from Charles County Court; *Nancy Butler v. Nathaniel Ewing*, from St. Mary’s County Court; and *Alley Butler v. William Knott* and *William Lazarus Butler v. William Knott*, from Montgomery County Court. A year earlier, Stone represented the defendants in the following suits: *Dick Toogood*, *Rose Toogood*, and *Priss Toogood v. Philip Turner*, from Charles County Court; *Cato, Cate, Joshua, Poll, Jacob, Priss, Vachel, and Maria v. Joseph Warfield*, from Charles County Court; *Jacob v. Luke Warfield*, from Charles County Court; *Charles Toogood, Press Toogood, and Bett Toogood v. Samuel Fowler*, from Charles County Court.

is another factor to keep in mind about Stone's apparently exclusive appearances as counsel for the defendant in freedom petitions. The availability of ready money to pay lawyer and courtroom fees, the legal merits of the case, and personal connections all played a part in securing representation. Also, Stone died before a surge of freedom suits came before Maryland's courts in the 1790s.⁴⁸

The geographic spread of Thomas Stone's clients is another finding from the archival research for this HRS. Rather than having a practice limited to the interests of residents in Charles County and Annapolis, Stone represented clients from at least twelve different counties. Undoubtedly this experience increased Stone's knowledge of Maryland's affairs.

Law, Politics, and Family

Little about Thomas Stone's legal philosophy can be gleaned from the court records sampled for this project. Charles E. Hobson, editor of the papers of John Marshall, cautions his readers, "Common law pleadings. . . are largely boilerplate productions that give little indication of the lawyer's ability or of his legal strategy. Often, however, this is the only evidence we have of Marshall's participation." Chancery suits offer more promise: "a chancery suit file is more revealing than a common law file because all the testimony had to be reduced to writing; the pleadings also offer a more detailed and straightforward narration of the circumstances of the dispute." A more comprehensive survey of Stone's legal work should include his chancery suits.⁴⁹

State legislative records offer more evidence about Stone's interests in law, though we still lack his personal reflections. Stone helped draft a British property confiscation law for Maryland in 1780, for example, to break a deadlock between the Senate and House of Delegates. Stone also appears to have been a leader in shaping Maryland's legal system in the postwar period. In January 1782, he prepared a Senate message to the House of Delegates on "an act relating to costs in criminal cases." In December 1783, Stone wrote a long answer (one of his longest published compositions) to Charles Carroll of Carrollton's protest of a "bill concerning the admission and qualification of attornies and solicitors." To

⁴⁸ Thomas, *A Question of Freedom*, 63 (quotes). On the difficulty of pinpointing contemporary lawyers' personal views on chattel slavery, see also Papenfuss, "From Recompense to Revolution," esp. 59n55.

⁴⁹ "Introduction" in *Papers of John Marshall Digital Edition*, ed. Hobson, 5:2 (quote).

offer one other example of Stone's involvement in legal reform at the state level, Stone served on a Senate committee that discussed a bill "to prevent frivolous appeals and writs of error, and improper removals of causes from the inferior to the superior courts."⁵⁰

Our better understanding of Thomas Stone's family life at Haberdeventure and the pressures he put on himself to be an eminent (and a busy, active) lawyer tell us a great deal about what pulled Stone away from public service. What were his internal motivations for a life in the "public trust," besides a genuine interest in Maryland's welfare? Stone's early law practice widened his network and increased his social profile, making him an attractive candidate for political office. His political rise advanced his law practice by further enlarging his circle and attracting clients. In his letters, though, Stone spoke of public service as a detriment to his law practice. This may have been just rhetoric, though he did seem torn between two constituencies: his clients and the citizens of Maryland.

Stone believed that as a lawyer he provided an important community service to people with "property at stake." In what ways did Stone's identity as a lawyer inform his public service? As merchants, landowners, and other creditors were painfully aware, the legal business conducted inside courthouses and the nearby taverns was critical to keeping the economy moving. The suspension of court business during the Stamp Act Crisis of 1765–67, Alan Day argues, was a political baptism for Stone's generation. The years that Stone spent as a lawyer were bookended by debtor agitation of 1786, which led Charles County's court to close. "Laws are penned by men of erudition," Stone wrote in early 1787 in a response to a debtor relief bill to emit paper currency; Stone would have included himself in this number, but he admitted that men were flawed, and that the laws they make "frequently are doubtful."⁵¹

In what ways did Stone's career in law and politics affect his family's interests? Jean B. Lee speculates that Maryland's legislature elected Stone as a delegate to Congress in 1775, despite his lack of prior legislative service, to win over his uncle, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, to the patriot side. Certainly Stone's service in the higher levels of national and

⁵⁰ Lee, "In Search of Thomas Stone," 305–6; Hoffman with Mason, *Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland*, 330–32; *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Maryland, November Session, 1781*, January 9 and 10, 1782 (pp. 20–21); *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Maryland, November Session, 1785*, February 16, 1786 (p. 47). Charles Carroll of Carrollton delivered before the Senate his protest to "a bill concerning the admission and qualification of solicitors and attornies" on May 30, 1783. Thomas Stone submitted his answer on December 25, 1783, and the answer was entered in the Senate proceedings in early 1785 (*Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Maryland, April Session, 1783* [p. 73–74], *November Session, 1783* [p. 29], *November Session, 1784* [p. 44–49]). Stone's answer to Carroll's protest is over five pages of printed text long.

⁵¹ Day, *Social Study of Lawyers in Maryland*, 123; Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 232–36, on the agitation in Charles County court in June 1786; Thomas Stone to the Printers, March 28, 1787, in Yazawa, *Representative Government and the Revolution*, 86, 87 (quotes).

state government fostered close ties with his powerful and influential uncle, whose patronage also lifted the fortunes of Stone's brother, Walter, and likely helped the political careers of his other brothers, Michael Jenifer Stone and John Hoskins Stone.⁵²

Stone also seems to have cultivated a reputation for estate management and finance. His success in co-administrating his parents' estates without debt may have attracted clients such as Mrs. Judith Chase, a wealthy widow in Charles County. As noted earlier in this chapter, Philadelphia financier Robert Morris made an unknown job offer to Stone in 1782, and Stone had a keen interest in Maryland's paper money debate of 1786–87. During his service on Congress in 1784, Stone was involved in the development of the US Treasury Department.⁵³

The law appears to have been Stone's primary source of income, but he invested his earnings in real estate, such as land and a grist mill, that was itself a source of revenue. Stone also purchased a part of a share in the Baltimore Iron Works Company. Chapter 4 argues that Stone's position as a member of Congress in 1775–76 put him in a favorable position to learn about Congress's exception to a nonexportation agreement that allowed the sale of grain to the West Indies. Stone soon thereafter initiated an expensive and somewhat risky acquisition of the grist mill, possibly paying for it in part from the proceeds of a sale of his brother-in-law's plantation, Middleton. Stone likely helped craft the sophisticated legal document that docked the entail on Middleton in 1769, thus allowing Gustavus Richard Brown to sell it in fee simple.

How Stone's legal and political career impacted enslaved communities at Haberdeventure is more difficult to ascertain. His travel to attend court and visit clients in other counties and his service in government in Annapolis and Philadelphia had implications for the management of the house and the plantation. George Washington, for example, when in residence at Mount Vernon arbitrated disputes between employees and enslaved laborers, and he had a vested interest in enslaved people's well-being. The apparent lack of freedom suits filed against Stone during his lifetime suggests he was deemed a formidable defendant if brought to court, or he and his wife offered incentives to discourage the filing of petitions for freedom. Members of the Thomas family may have used this time to gather advice and lineage information to advance their claims at a more favorable time, which surfaced in the 1790s, after the deaths of Thomas and Margaret Stone.⁵⁴

It is nearly impossible to assess whether Thomas Stone was any more or less committed to his law practice than to public service. The two pursuits complemented each other during the Revolutionary era, and by building Haberdeventure Stone announced his arrival as an urbane gentleman qualified for political leadership on the basis of his landed

⁵² Lee, "In Search of Thomas Stone," 297.

⁵³ Ford et al., eds., *Journals of the Continental Congress*, 26: 356, 27:465, 472.

⁵⁴ Thompson, "The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret," 51–57.

wealth. Stone did seem sincere, though, in his words about the risks and sacrifices he made for the cause of American independence, including the loss of potential earnings from his law practice. Stone's dynastic ambitions made it difficult for him to give up law. Despite investments in planting and milling, Stone must have believed that his law practice income was necessary to maintain the growth of his estate.

CONCLUSION WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Thomas Stone entered the Revolutionary War as a member of Maryland's Protestant native-born elite with an already impressive client list in his law business. Stone exited the war as a member of Maryland's legislative upper house, a position that he may have been excluded from if Maryland had remained a colony because he lacked the leisure that Councilors typically possessed. Stone also served as a member of an *American* congress, but when he referred to "my Countrymen" in his letter of May 20, 1776, arguably he was referring to Marylanders. The architecture of Haberdeventure was a mix of local and cosmopolitan influences. The one-and-a-half-story form with gambrel roof reflected his family roots in Charles County, while the central passage and arc of the house and wings communicated knowledge of the wider world. Maintaining the Stone family's social distinctions took work. Performances of gentility, the acquisition of land and business ventures, management of family affairs, and delegation of labor—in all these ways and more, Haberdeventure was an enterprise among multiple stakeholders. Stone's parents, his siblings, and his brother-in-law, Gustavus Richard Brown, all had an interest in its stability and growth.

Members of the enslaved communities at and around Haberdeventure sought to take advantage of social, economic, and legal opportunities during the Revolutionary era, too. A woman known as Bet fled Stone's household in Philadelphia in the fall of 1776, a time of tumult in the city. In 1797, Violette Thomas secured a pledge from Stone's son-in-law, John Moncure Daniel, a head of household at Haberdeventure, to manumit her in two years' time. About one-third of the people named in Thomas Stone's probate inventory of early 1788 plus Bet, who was not listed, are known to have sought or obtained their freedom by a variety of strategies, some making use of the courts that Stone knew so well. Most of the documentation for these efforts dates to the 1790s, but the possibility that their claims to freedom had roots in the pre-1787 era at Haberdeventure is strong. Likely Thomas and Margaret Stone were managing a revolution in their own household in the 1770s and 1780s.

The remainder of this conclusion will discuss areas for future research that have come to light over the course of preparing this HRS. These fall under the broad categories of family, slavery, African American history, and global history.

Casting a larger net for information about Thomas Stone, his family members, and the people they held in bondage would undoubtedly yield more material. One shadowy presence is Thomas's brother, Colonel John Hoskins Stone. He and Thomas may have shared investments in Charles County. Account books, particularly of Annapolis-based

firms, might tell us about purchases made by the Stone family and enslaved members of their households. Research on the Scott and Daniel families of Virginia might enrich our understanding of the Stone family and the people they held in bondage. Charles County court records of the 1760s and 1770s remain untapped.

Examining the men whom Thomas Stone was closest to in government would help round out our picture of him. At the top of the list would be Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, of whom no biography exists, and James Monroe, whose family remained friendly with Thomas Stone's daughters and brother Michael Jenifer Stone after Thomas's death. Also, the upcoming publications of the John Dickinson Writings Project would be worth a look for any mention of Thomas Stone, given Stone's service on Dickinson's committee for drafting the Articles of Confederation and the men's reputations for having conservative views on independence.

Thomas Stone's only son and principal heir, Frederick, died as a minor. The life of Alexander Scott, Thomas Stone's nephew who considered Haberdventure a home, gives us a glimpse of what Stone's son's life might have been like, had he survived. Land and slave ownership continued to define membership in Charles County's elite into the nineteenth century. Alexander Scott began to set up his own household and legal practice in Charles County in 1794, after having lived in Philadelphia at the same time as Frederick. Land records show that Scott purchased over a thousand acres in Charles County in 1794 and 1795, quickly establishing himself as a landowner. The Direct Federal Tax record of 1798 gives us a glimpse of his wealth by the end of that decade. In addition to being a landowner, Scott held fifteen people in bondage, half of whom were considered of working age, between the ages of twelve and forty-nine. His mother's slaveholdings, meanwhile, had grown from five people in 1783 to eight by 1798, likely all from births as most of the people she held in slavery in 1783 were women and children.

Alexander Scott's first political appointment was as a collector at Nanjemoy around 1800–1801 during Thomas Jefferson's administration. Scott sold land in Charles County by 1805, though, including a parcel to Francis Newman, the owner of La Grange. Presumably it was at this time that he moved to Georgetown, where two African American men, Walter Thomas and Dennis Thomas, petitioned for their freedom, as documented in the website "O Say Can You See: Early Washington, DC, Law and Family" (www.earlywashingtondc.org). Scott sued Walter Thomas's and Dennis's Thomas's attorney, John Law, in Charles County Court for slander after Law accused Scott of, among other things, selling the men while their freedom petitions were before the US Circuit Court of the District of Columbia. The county court decided in Scott's favor in 1819, but the affair damaged Scott's political career. Scott died in 1838.¹

¹ McClure and Looney, eds., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Main Series*, 39:313; J.C.A. Stagg, ed., *The Papers of James Madison Digital Edition* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2010), *Presidential Series*, 5:506n, *Retirement Series*, 1:446, 2:278, 3:496, 595.

Outstanding questions remain about the lives of the African Americans whose lives intersected with the Stone family. Can more of their origins be traced back in time through probate inventories, land records, and other documentation? What happened to those who emancipated themselves or attempted to do so, or who were manumitted by the Stone family? Might we find more people like Jack and Phil who resisted their new situations in Virginia? Where did Henry Semple and his wife Ibe live out their lives after their manumission by Stone's daughters, and did their daughters, Kitty and Nancy, choose a different path? Do nineteenth-century records bear any trace of the people who were enslaved at Haberdeventure? While I could propose any number of avenues of investigation, more meaningful would be the research questions posed by descendants of the enslaved and by African American residents of Charles County and Southern Maryland.

APPENDIX 1

Timeline of Thomas Stone, His Family, and Others with a Relationship to Haberdeventure

1743		Thomas Stone born at Poynton Manor, Durham Parish, Charles County, Maryland.
1751		Margaret Brown born at Rich Hill, Charles County, Maryland.
1763–65		Thomas Stone active in the Forensic Club in Annapolis, “an Assembly of young Gentlemen constituted for the improvement and Advancement of their Knowledge.”
1765		Thomas Stone admitted to the bar in the courts of Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Frederick, Prince George’s, and by 1766, Charles counties, as well as the Mayor’s Court of Annapolis.
1768		Thomas Stone admitted to the bar in Maryland’s Provincial Court.
1768		Believed to be the year that Thomas Stone, age twenty-five, and Margaret Brown, age seventeen, married.
1770	December	Thomas Stone purchased the 442-acre core of Haberdeventure.
1771		Thomas and Margaret Stone’s first child, Margaret (Peggy), was born.
1772	February 27	A second child, Mildred, was born.
1773	March 18	David Stone, father of Thomas, died intestate at his home in Charles Co. His widow Elizabeth and sons Thomas and John Hoskins Stone were joint administrators of the estate.
1773	June	Frederick Stone, brother of Thomas, died by June 12, when his will was recorded. Frederick named Thomas executor of his estate.
1773	October 24	Daniel Jenifer Stone, brother of Thomas, died in Philadelphia, age twenty-one.
1773		Construction of the main house at Haberdeventure was completed or was nearly complete.
ca. 1773–75		Frederick, son of Thomas and Margaret (Brown) Stone, was born.
1774	June	Thomas Stone was named one of eighteen members of Charles County’s first committee of correspondence, launching his public career.
1774	November	Charles County voters selected Thomas Stone as one of twelve county representatives to attend the first meeting of the Maryland Convention (Maryland’s provisional government) in Annapolis. Stone remained a member of the Convention until joining the Maryland Senate in 1777.
1775		Catherine Scott and her son, Alexander, by this time had joined the Haberdeventure household.
1775–76		Thomas Stone was one of several Maryland representatives in the Continental Congress, Philadelphia.
1776	ca. April–May	Margaret Stone likely was inoculated for smallpox upon her arrival in Philadelphia.
1776	October	“Bet,” an enslaved African American woman, ran away from Stone’s Philadelphia household.
1776	December	David Stone’s widow and Thomas Stone’s mother, Elizabeth (Jenifer), died by this date.
1777		After declining an appointment to Congress in February, Thomas Stone began what would be ten years of service as a Senator of the Western Shore.

Appendix 1

1778	May	Samuel Stone, half-brother of Thomas and David Stone's heir-at-law, died. He named Thomas executor of his will and guardian of his children.
1778	July	Following a final account of David Stone's estate (June 9), and an inventory of Samuel Stone's estate (June 20), Thomas and John Hoskins Stone divided the enslaved people of their parents' estate among heirs.
1778	September	Thomas Stone served in Congress.
1781	September	Walter Stone started clerkship in the Office of Finance, Philadelphia, under Robert Morris.
1782		Thomas Stone completed the purchase of a mill that he had formerly leased.
1783	May	Thomas Stone purchased an Annapolis townhouse from Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer.
1783	July	Thomas Stone went to "the Springs" with his wife and Catherine Scott.
1784	March-May	Thomas Stone attended Congress in Annapolis.
1784		Thomas Stone purchased a share in Baltimore Iron Works.
1784		Walter Stone now a Port Tobacco merchant.
1785	March	Thomas Stone at Mount Vernon Conference on the navigation of the Potomac River.
1787	April 26	Thomas Stone declined an appointment to the Maryland delegation to revise the Articles of Confederation.
1787	June 3	Margaret Stone, age thirty-six, died in Annapolis.
1787	October 5	Thomas Stone, age forty-four, died in Alexandria, Virginia, awaiting passage to the West Indies. Michael Jenifer Stone and Gustavus Richard Brown became executors of his estate.
1791	September 6	Walter Stone died in Sweet Springs, Botetourt County, Virginia (now West Virginia).
1793	September 4	Frederick, son of Thomas and Margaret (Brown) Stone, around age eighteen, died in Princeton, New Jersey.
1793	October 18	Margaret and Mildred, daughters of Thomas and Margaret (Brown) Stone, manumitted Henry Semple, his wife Ibe, and their two daughters.
1793	November 30	Margaret and Mildred Stone manumitted John. John may have been another name for Jack, born circa 1748.
1793	December 15	Margaret Stone, age twenty-two, married Dr. John Moncure Daniel of Stafford County, Virginia.
1797	October	Jack (Thomas) fled the household of Mildred (Stone) and her husband Travers Daniel near Stafford Courthouse, Virginia.
1798		Michael Jenifer Stone passed the administration of Thomas Stone's estate to John Moncure Daniel and Travers Daniel.
1799		John Moncure Daniel manumitted Violette Thomas.
1799		Phil, whom Travers Daniel sold to an enslaver in Orange County, Virginia, was detained in Maryland.
1801		Catherine Scott died.
1808		Margaret (Stone) and Dr. Daniel had vacated Haberdeventure.
1808 or 1809		Grace Stone died, possibly at the home of Michael Jenifer Stone.
1809		Margaret (Stone) died.
1821		William Briscoe Stone moved to Haberdeventure.
1831		William Briscoe Stone and Gustavus Brown purchased property from Mildred Stone.
1837		Mildred Stone died.

APPENDIX 2

Thomas Stone Lineage

Note: John Wearmouth's "Thomas Stone (the Signer) Lineage," an appendix in the 1988 HRS of Thomas Stone National Historic Site, is the source of information unless otherwise noted. In some cases, "facts" in Wearmouth's lineage stand but documentation has been added.

William Stone (ca. 1603–ca. 1659/60) married Verlinda Graves and a son was

John Stone (ca. 1648–ca. 1697) and a son was

Thomas Stone (1677–1727) who married (1) Martha Hoskins (d. 1714) and (2) Katherine (Boughton) Thomas (d. 1750)¹

David Stone (1709–73) was a son and principal heir of Thomas Stone (d. 1727). He married

(1) Sarah or Mary Hanson (d. by 1739)² and their children were

Samuel (d. 1778)

David Jr.

Mary

Anne³

(2) **Elizabeth Jenifer** (d. by 1776)⁴ and their children were⁵

Frederick (d. 1773)

Thomas (1743–87) who married Margaret Eleanor Brown (1751–87)⁶
and their children were:

- Margaret Eleanor (Peggy) (1771–1809), who on December 15, 1793, married Dr. John Moncure Daniel of Stafford Co., Va.⁷

¹ "Thomas Stone (1677–1727)" and "Catharine Boughton (1676–1750)" in *Early Colonial Settlers Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia's Northern Neck Counties*, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us.

² Harry Wright Newman raised uncertainty about the identification of Thomas Stone's first wife in *The Stones of Poynton Manor* (published by the author, 1937), 20. John Wearmouth provides the names "Sarah or Mary Hanson" in a lineage of Thomas Stone in the 1988 HRS.

³ Katherine Stone granted legacies to David Jr., Mary, and Anne, the younger children of her deceased husband, David Stone, in her will of 1750 (Prerogative Court, Wills, Liber 28, pp. 26–27, MSA).

⁴ Given two references to the estates of David, Elizabeth, and Daniel J. Stone, deceased, appearing in Michael Jenifer Stone's day book at entries dated 1776 (one dated December 20), we learn that Elizabeth had died by the end of 1776, and not as late as 1778 as some secondary sources suggest (pp. 9, 10, Kremer Collection, SMSC).

⁵ The birth order of the children of David and Elizabeth (Jenifer) Stone is not entirely certain. The order shown here is the order in which Frederick Stone named his siblings in his will of 1773 (Prerogative Court, Wills, Liber 39, pp. 291–93, MSA). Frederick is believed to be the first born (Newman, *The Stones of Poynton Manor*, 20).

⁶ Margaret (Brown) Stone's birth year is deducted from her gravestone, which states that she was age 36 at death.

⁷ J. Richard Rivoire cites Daniel family records for the marriage date ("Summary Report of Additional Research Findings," 11).

- Mildred (Milly) (Feb. 27, 1772–1837), who between 1794 and 1797 married Travers Daniel of Stafford Co., Va.⁸
- Frederick (ca. 1773–93)⁹

Catherine (d. 1801) who married Robert Scott of Prince William Co., Va. (b. 1749; by 1772?)¹⁰

- Alexander Scott (1770–1838) who married Elizabeth Blackwell of Fauquier Co., Va. (1781–1831) by 1802¹¹

John Hoskins (1745 or 1750–1804) who married Mary Couden of Annapolis¹²

Michael Jenifer (1747–1812) who married Mary (Polly) Hanson Briscoe in 1793¹³

⁸ Mildred's birth date is inscribed on her gravestone (Find Grave, www.findagrave.com/memorial/68602149/mildred-daniel, accessed April 20, 2020). Rivoire cites Daniel family records for the 1791 marriage date ("Summary Report of Additional Research Findings," 11). However, in an endnote, Rivoire admits contradictory evidence of a later marriage date (20n10). The name "Mildred Stone" appears in land records of 1793 and April 1794 (Charles County Land Records, N#4: 165, 178, 182, MSA; patents for Addition to May Day Enlarged and Distrest Corrected, Patents IC#K:30, 41). By 1797, Mildred had married Travers Daniel and moved with her husband to Stafford County, Virginia (runaway notice by Travers Daniel Jr., for Jack, *Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis], January 11, 1798). Confirming Mildred's move out of Charles County, the 1798 Federal Direct Tax lists Charles County landowner Travers Daniel as a resident of Virginia (*Archives of Maryland*, 729:1382, MSA).

⁹ Frederick's birth date is unrecorded, but we can approximate his birth year. Frederick was a minor when he died, according to a petition by his uncle and guardian, Michael Jenifer Stone, to the Orphans Court in December 1798 (Charles County Orphans Court Proceedings, 1797–99, f. 443, MSA). Given that under common law, males entered their majority at the age of twenty-one, Frederick must have been born no earlier than twenty-one years before 1793, or 1772 (T. E. James, "The Age of Majority," *American Journal of Legal History*, 4 [January 1960]: 22–33). His sister Mildred was born in late February 1772, according to her gravestone (see note 8 above). Given even minimal spacing between births, Margaret (Brown) Stone must have given birth to Frederick in 1773 at the earliest. According to a death notice, Frederick was "about 18 years" old when he died, which suggests he could have been born as late as 1775 (*Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis], September 26, 1793).

¹⁰ Catherine (Stone) Scott died on March 20, 1801, according to her son's bill of complaint in *Alexander Scott v. Michael Jenifer Stone et al.*, Chancery Court, Chancery Papers, case 4647, MSA. Robert Scott's birth year is taken from "Robert Scott, 1749–83," *Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia's Northern Neck Counties*, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us. On questions about his death date, see Chapter 2.

¹¹ Alexander Scott came of age on August 7, 1791, according to his bill of complaint in *Alexander Scott v. Michael Jenifer Stone et al.*, Chancery Court, Chancery Papers, case 4647, MSA. References to Alexander in his father's will, written in December 1770, confirm that Alexander was born by 1770 ("Robert Scott, 1749–83," *Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia's Northern Neck Counties*, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us; Stella Pickett Hardy, "Blackwell Family," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 23 [January 1915]: 103). An importation record of four enslaved Virginia residents whom Alexander Scott held by marriage from 1802 attests to his married status by that date (Charles County Land Records, IB#5:247–8, MSA). Alexander's death date of 1838 comes from Stagg, ed., *Papers of James Madison Digital Edition, Retirement Series*, 1:446.

¹² "John Hoskins Stone," in Papenfuse, *BDML*, 2:784. According to the entry in *BDML*, John Hoskins Stone was born in 1750. However, his brother Frederick's last will and testament named John Hoskins Stone before Michael Jenifer Stone, lending some credence to the assertion in Newman's genealogy of the Stone family that John Hoskins was, in fact, senior to Michael Jenifer Stone and born in 1745. Another indication that John Hoskins Stone was senior to Michael Jenifer Stone is that John Hoskins Stone was co-administrator with Thomas Stone on their father's estate (Newman, *The Stones of Poynton Manor*, 28; final account of David Stone's estate, 1778, Charles County Wills AF 7:170–71, MSA).

¹³ Michael Jenifer Stone married Mary (Polly) Hanson Briscoe on March 28, 1793, according to a typed record of Michael Jenifer Stone's family in Box 1, Folder 35, Kremer Collection, SMSC, and Rivoire, "Summary Report of Additional Research Findings," 7.

Appendix 2

Daniel Jenifer (ca. 1752–73)¹⁴

Elizabeth Ann (Betty Ann) (d. after 1805) who married Townsend Eden of St.
Mary's County, Md. (d. 1787)¹⁵

Walter (d. 1791)

Grace (d. 1809)

¹⁴ A death notice for Daniel Jenifer Stone in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* (Philadelphia), November 1, 1773, stated that he died at the age of twenty-one.

¹⁵ Betty Ann (Stone) Eden's death date is unknown. A letter by Betty Ann Eden to Michael Jenifer Stone, dated August 22, 1805, survives in the Stone Family Papers, MS 406, MdHS.

APPENDIX 3

Thomas Stone's Will and Codicil, 1787

“In the name of God Amen. I Thomas Stone being in a weak State of health and desirous of directing the disposition of my Estate and other matters do make this my last Will & Testament. Imprimis I desire that my body may be buried at Haberdeventure near to that of my dear Wife according to rites of the Protestant Church. Item I desire that all my just debts be paid in doing which my Executors will carefully examine the justice of the demands as I have few debts due from me except what are upon Bonds. Item I give and bequeath to my dear daughter Margaret Stone Negroes Bob Violet & all her children & Bett also the sum of two thousand pounds Current money to be paid as hereafter directed six silver table spoons & six tea spoons one best bed & furniture my chariot & carriage horses and one half her dear mothers clothes. Item I give and bequeath to my dear daughter Milly Stone Negroes Charity Phill young clear¹ & Sall also two thousand pounds current money, six silver Table spoons six silver Tea spoons one best bed & furniture my clock, riding chair best mahogany Chairs one good chair horse & household furniture to the amount of fifty pounds Current money. Item to raise money to pay my daughters portions & to discharge my debts, if the debts due me are not sufficient, I direct that my house in Annapolis the lotts on the south side of the street my share of the Baltimore Ironworks, Books & furniture (except pictures) be sold by my Executors or the survivor of them or such of them as will Act, and that the money arising therefrom be applied to these purposes and if this is not sufficient that such other part of my personal or real Estate as my Executors shall think proper be sold for these purposes. Item all the rest and residue of my Estate real and personal except the legacy after mentioned I give & bequeath to my son Frederick to him and his heirs forever. Item I give to my brother Michael J. Stone what [he] owes me except what is due for Negroe Harry bought of Samuel Stones Estate & constitute him Executor of that Estate. Item. I constitute & appoint my Brother Michael J. Stone Guardian to my son Frederick & request his particular care of him. Lastly, I constitute my brother Michael J. Stone & my friend Doctr. Gust. Rd. Brown Executors of this my last Will & Testament & revoke all former Wills.”

Witnesses: Stephen West, Sophia West, and Stephen West Jr.

Proven in Charles County, October 9, 1787, by executors Michael J. Stone and Gustavus Richard Brown as the last will and testament of Thomas Stone.

Proven in Charles County, December 10, 1787, by witness Sophia West.

“A Codicil to my last Will and Testament. It is my Will & desire that my daughters Peggy & Milly always have a right before marriage to reside at the House of Haberdeventure supporting themselves out of their own Estates except board while they live at Haberdeventure which they are to have out of the profits of the Income of the Estate left to Frederick if it will afford the same leaving sufficient for his maintenance & education which is to be determined by Brother Michl. J. Stone. It is my Will & desire that only the Interest or income of the Estates left my

¹ Thus in manuscript. Likely a reference to the younger Clare, daughter of Clare.

Daughters be paid to them until marriage or arrival to twenty one years of age. Notwithstanding the devise in my will of my carriage & horses to my Daughter Peggy it is my will and desire that this devise shall not take effect unless my Executors upon consideration think it right that the articles should be delivered, & in case they should judge most prudent to convert them into money they are to do so & pay the money to my first Daughter Peggy. It is my Will & desire that my Brother Michl. J. Stone shall have a right to live at the house at Haberdeventure, & use the garden orchards & land he now uses without accounting to Frederick for the same the Houses to be kept in repair out of the profits of Fredericks Estate. It is my Will & desire that my Sister Mrs. Scott be allowed out of the profits of Frederick's Estate such sum not exceeding fifteen pounds per year as my brother Michael J. Stone may think necessary for her more comfortable support until her son Ally comes of age. It is my Will and desire that my Sister Gracy be also allowed fifteen pounds per year out of the said Estate untill she be married but it is also my Will that the several incumbrances on Frederick's Estate are upon the express condition that sufficient remain of the profits to maintain & educate him fully and if his Guardian is of opinion that the profits of his Estate will not educate him and pay the incombrances then his maintenance & education to be preferred & the incombrances to cease or be paid rateably In witness whereof I have set my hand this 20th July 1787."

Witnesses: John Hoskins Stone, Walter Stone, and John Gilbert.

Sworn in Charles County, October 9, 1787, by Michael J. Stone and Gustavus Richard Brown.

Sworn December 29, 1787, by witnesses John Gilbert and Walter Stone.

Deposition of Walter Stone, December 29, 1787. "This deponent further says that after a conversation with Thomas Stone Esqr. on the Subject of his will, [Thomas] wrote the codicil," that Thomas "Generally appeared to recollect the State of his affairs and often put this deponent in mind of matters of his Estate that did not occur to this deponent, and on the other hand" when Walter offered information "respecting" Thomas's estate that he always gave Walter "the best advice" and that "the said Thomas Stone appeared to understand what he was writing." At about the time of the execution of the codicil he heard the said Thomas Stone "make a variety of observations respecting his will his affairs and the said codicil & these observations were generally just and proper," and Walter does not remember "remarks or observations. . . irrational."

Copy text: 1807 copy in Chancery Court, Chancery Papers, case 4647, *Alexander Scott v. Michael Jenifer Stone et al.*, MSA. The text can also be found in Charles County Wills AH #9:459-62, MSA.

APPENDIX 4

Probate Inventories of the Estate of Thomas Stone, Charles County, and Annapolis

Inventory of Thomas Stone's Charles County Estate (1788), Will book AH9, pp. 489-94

In Inventory of the Goods and Chattels of Tho^s. Stone Esq^s. late of Charles County deceased appraised by us the subscribers in Current money dollars at seven shillings & six pence –

		£	s	p
Bob	37 years	70	0	0
Jack	40 d ^o	70		
Phil	25 d ^o	80		
Harry	25 d ^o	70		
Tom Triplet	40 d ^o	70		
Jerry Small	17 d ^o	55		
Guss	17 d ^o	65		
James	1 d ^o	6		
Evans	4 d ^o	18		
Violetta	23 d ^o	50		
Ann	21 d ^o	50		
Heth	18 d ^o	50		
Clare	16 d ^o	50		
Sall	22 d ^o	50		
Eba ^r _n	25 d ^o	50		
Charity	13 d ^o	35		
Nell	2 d ^o	10		
Patience	4 d ^o	16		
Gerrard	2 d ^o	10		
Charlotte	3 Months	5		
2 Bay Geldings	9 years old	60		
2 d ^o d ^o	17 d ^o	10		
1 sorrel Mare	11 d ^o	10		
1 Horse	d ^o 8£ 1 Colt 2 years old 6£	14		
2 Oxen 10 £ 4 Cows and Calves a 60/		22		
5 Hogs @ 30/. 12 Shoats @ 5/		10	10	
1 Chariot & harness £ 100 – 1 Pha ⁿ ton & harness 40 £		140		
1 Riding Chair 45 £ part of old chair 20/		46		
1 old saddle & bridle 30/ 1 old plated bridle 10/		2		
1 Spinnet £ 9. Clock 25 £		34		
1 Dressing table & glass .3 £		3		
4 old Chairs 15/. 1 Carpet 4 £		4	15	
3 brass Candlesticks 2 pr. Candle snuffers		1	15	
1 Tea Chest 25/. 1 pr An Irons 1/		1	6	
1 best feather bed & bed stead Curtains & furniture & mattress		30		
1 d ^o d ^o d ^o 16 £ 1 d ^o d ^o 8 £		24		
1 d ^o d ^o & furniture 7.10 –		7	10	

Source: Carol Petravage, Historic Furnishings Report, Haberdventure, Thomas Stone National Historic Site, Port Tobacco, Maryland (Harpers Ferry Center, National Park Service, 1999), pp. 14–22. Corrections by Amy Speckart.

Appendix 4

2 Musketts & Bayetts @ 20/ 1 Gun 50/	4	10	
A parcell old gardain tools @ 30/ 3 pots & 1 d 25/	2	15	
12 patty pans 1 old stew pan 3 Milk pans & 1 old Coffee pot		7	
45 ounces silver plate @ 8/4 per ounce	18	15	
6 Table Cloths @ 15/. 13 Napkins @ 2/	5	16	
5 dishes 12 plates queens china	1	10	
5 butter pots @ 2/. 4 gallons Maderia wine 40/	2	10	
2 gallons Rum & 2 Jugs 15/		15	
10 lbs 14 oz loaf sugar @ 16 ^d 3 lbs Coffee @ 1/6		19	
1 lbs Hysons Tea 1 pint Vinegar		19	
2 quarts honey @ 8/ 1 Case with 12 bottles 16/	1		
1 Barrel Barley 11/3 10 lbs Rise 7/6		18	9
3 hair trunks 50/. 1 small glass broke 1/	2	11	
5 Weavers Slays @ 3/. 2 pr harnesses 1/6 ^d		13	
1 Ox Chain @ 7/6. 1 pr Steeliards 7/6		15	
1 pr large hand Mill stones 50/	2	10	
1 small cross cut saw @ 5/. 1 Curring knife 7/6		12	6
1 plough & old ax 10/. 1 old hoe & old spade 1/		12	
A parcel old Tubs @ 5/		5	
1 Phial Ippicacuaha [?]		3	9
1 steel Mill 55/ 1 large old pine Chest 7/	3		
2 flax Wheels damaged @ 7/6		15	
1 Wollen Wheel 7/ ⁿ woolen		7	
The deceas'd wearing Apparel	80		
Wearing Apparel of the wife of the deceas'd	80		
	£1515	2	

January 3, 1788
 Catherine Scott, Walter Stone next of kin
 Will. Harrison, Daniell Jeniter Creditors
 March 31, 1788 Michael Jeniter Stone and Dr.
 Gustavas Richard Brown, joint executors
 of Thomas Stone, made oath to above

Inventory of Thomas Stone's Annapolis estate (1788), Will book AH9, p. 494

An Inventory and appraisement of the Goods and Chattels of Thomas Stone, Esq^r late of Charles County deceased lying and being in Annarundel County in Current Money dollars at 7/6 appraised this day of January 1788 –

[£ = English pounds (monetary); s = shillings; p = pence]

p. 1, col. 1:

	£	s	p
2 walnut dining Tables & Covers	4	10	0
1 small Mahogany Table d ^o	1	10	
1 Mahogany sideboard & Cover	7	10	
1 Walnut dressing Table	1		
1 Walnut breakfast Table	1	5	
2 Mahogany knife Cases with 2 doz Ivory handled knives & forks in each	6		
1 Ink stand & sand box		1	

p. 1, col. 2:

1 Mahogany Couch with red gograin Cover halfwork <i>H/A</i>	5		
5 Mahogany old leather bottomed Chairs	3	15	
5 Walnut d ^o d ^o	2	10	
11 Green Windsor Chairs	3	6	
1 large Mahogany gilt looking Glass	4		
17 wine glasses broken setts 9 decanters, some damaged	1	15	

p. 2, col. 1:

1 broken pitcher 1 cloth brush			
2 small gilt leather trunks			
1 lead letter presser		10	
18 China Cups & 18 saucers			
12 d ^o Tea Cups & 12 saucers	2		
1 1/2 pint glass Tumbler, 12 China Cups & 12 saucers	1		

Appendix 4

1 old Japanned bread baskett & 4 waiters			
2 China Chocolate Cups & 7 d ^o saucers			
2 broken China potts			
3 glass & 4 China salts damaged			
2 China butter boats			
1 broken China cream jugg - 2 glass sugar dishes			
tops wanting. 1 japanned, 1 Tin, 1 China Tea canester	1	5	
1 large China bowl		8	
1 sett old Castors, glass with silver tops			
1 Mahogany Tea board			
1 dozen Table matts	1		
1 old black Shagreen knife Case			
4 gilt paper decanter stands		5	
5 oyster knives, 1 pruning knife			
1 pr old brass copper scales & weights			
1 old Tin Case 2 Carpenters rules		7	6
1 pocket spye glass black leather cover			
1 Horn Cup 1 Fever glass 1 pr common Siezars		8	
1 pr Tongs & shovel 1 pr brass Iron mounted And Irons			
1 pr very old broken bellows 1Fender	1	10	
1 stained pine Table		6	
3 pr tongs 1 shovel 1 pr doggs		15	
1 large painted pine book Case	1	10	
5 old Maps in frames			
1 new d ^o without frames	1		
1 Mahogany dining Table	5		
1 old walnut desk with Lampes			
1 old Mahogany Tea Chest	2	5	0

p. 2, col. 2:

1 old Mahogany knife Tray & 9 green handled knives & forks		10	
1 small old pine Table		2	
1 old pine chest containing 1 painted Tin Candle box			
1 stone pott with some patent sage, 1 large old Tin Canester	7	6	
1 Common high post bedstead & 1 suit furniture check			
Curtains 1 Mattress - 1 feather bed, 1 boulster, 1 pillow,			
1 pr sheets, 3 single blanketts. 1 Cotton Counterpain	16		
1 Cott - 1 Mattress, 1 bed. 1 pr sheets			

Appendix 4

1 bolster, 1 pillow, 4 single blankets	7		
1 small Maple dressing Table with Callico cover		6	
1 pr small and irons with brass [?] 1 fender		12	
3 Callico window Curtains 2 old d ^o		15	
1 black leather trunk 1 queens ware water bottle		2	6
1 pewter bedpan 1 pewter Chamber pott 2 old earthen d ^o		15	
11 Walnut red bottomed Chairs	4	2	6
1 silver mounted sword	3		
1 [?] with a little red back <i>1 B. lte</i>			
1 japaned sugar box 1 glass apparatus for impregnating water with fixed air entirely damaged		7	6
1 Walnut dressing Table with green Cover	1	5	
1 small Bed		15	
3 old Scotch Carpets	10		
1 Large new mattress	5		
2 small pieces of old fearnought used as hearth Cloths & passage Carpet		10	
2 single blanketts		16	
1 old fire Screen worked		15	
1 Iron fender		5	

Appendix 4

p. 3, col. 1:

1 old Mahogany dressing table & old window Curtains	1		
1 pr small and Irons & fender		3	9
1 close stool Chair without a pan			
1 Bow d ^o with a pan	2	10	
1 small pine Table old			
3 hogarths prints		5	
1 old bed & Mattrefs	1	10	
2 Jack stands		1	
12 new Mahogany Chairs with hair bottoms 2 d ^o armed d ^o	24	10	
2 new Mahogany Card Tables	5		
2 Oval looking Glasses with gilt frames 1 small d ^o with Sconces	20		
1 pr brass and Irons - 1 pr Tongs. 1 shovel			
1 brass fender	6		
4 window Curtains printed Cotton	3		
1 Large Carpet	16		
14 blue & white China dishes assorted			
2 d ^o soup tureens 1 of them dam ^d			
2 d ^o sauce d ^o			
2 d ^o butter boats			
3 d ^o baking dishes			
1 d ^o salad d ^o			
14 d ^o soup plates			
45 d ^o dining d ^o			
9 d ^o breakfast d ^o			
22 d ^o desert d ^o	9		
1 pine Cupboard		15	
2 queens ware pudding dishes			
1 old Tin Canester 1 old sugar d ^o		2	6
4 small flag Chairs			
1 old pine Table 1 Table brush			
1 old painted Sugar box with Sugar broken and chopped			
2 brass Candlesticks, 1 old Umbrella			
1 Warming pan, damaged		15	

p. 3, col. 2:

1 old dutch Mattress, 1 bed, 1 pr sheets			
1 pr blanketts, 1 silk Rugg		3	

Appendix 4

4 flat Irons, 1 old Chaffin dish			
1 shovel, 1 pr Tongs 1 pr Common and Irons very sorry			
1 Tin funnell			
1 small gilt leather trunk 1 Teapot			
& old sugar without a top	1		
3/4 of a box 30 lb Sperma Cati Candles	3	15	
1/2 Barel Split peas		10	
1 Pipe Madeira wine	90		
4 bottles wine, 30 d ^o Hock			
6 d ^o Claret	6		
100 Bacon	3	15	
500 lb Hay	1	5	
7 bottles peach brandy		7	
5 yds very old coarse cloth		5	
1 old mended China bowl		1	
4 sheets paper 1 old Japaned			
plate warmer			6
4 old diaper Table Cloths 2 pr old sheets			
2 old blanketts 1 old			
Mattress	2	10	
6 window blinds 1 Mail Pillion			
1 small old hair trunk		10	
1 pr Kitchen and Irons & 2 spits			
1 watering pott & 1 pr Garden shears	1	10	
2 old pine Tables 1 half bushel			
3 Tubs 1 pail & w Piggins		5	
2 Iron Potts 1 pr flesh forks 2 ladles			
1 frying pan 1 old grid Iron			
1 Skillet 1 bread Toaster	1		
1 shovel 1 pr Tongs old 1 Iron			
pestle 2 pott hooks & 1 Crook			
1 old Iron Tea kettle broken top		7	6
1 Large Copper boiler 2 old stew pans 1 old Coffee			
pott 1 old			
Chocolate pott	4	10	

p. 4, col. 1:

3 Tin pans - 3 sauce pans 1 flower			
box - 1 cullinder - 1 Tin old Mugg			
1 Tea Kettle 1 old Coffee Mill			
1 fish Kettle		6	
1 Tin funell 1 paper box 1 dripping			
pan 2 old snuffer stands			

Appendix 4

1 old Tin Kettle		3	
2 old spades - 2 garden hoes & 1 rake			
1 poll ax 1 wood saw		15	
1 old wheel barrow - 1 pr old scales			
1 Wooden Garden Roller, Iron frame		1	
2 old [Caddows?]			
1 Negroe Man named [?] ab ¹ 29 years old <i>Mosmin</i>		60	
1 Negroe Woman Rachael . . 40		35	
1 Negroe Girl Betty . . 11		25	
1 Negroe boy Jack . . 10		35	
1 Old Negroe Woman Clare . . 60		1	
2 pine book Cases	10	10	
A parcel of Empty bottles	1	10	0
A parcel of various Lumber	2		
14 Earthen potts & 1 jugg		15	
1 Pockett pistol		10	
1 Dressing Glass		15	
1 Mattress 2 old blanketts	1		
1 small bedstead		1	
	[£]501	5	9
Law Library containing 530 Volumes	454	1	4
Other Library containing 258 volumes bound & 121 pamphlets unbound	85	5	
1 Cow	6	1	
1 New 2 old tooth brushes		2	6
1 Razor Case & 4 Razors		15	
2 portrait Pictures	45	7	6
4 french plate Candlesticks	4		
2 d ^o snuffer stands & 2 pr Snuffers	1		
1 ditto small waiter	1		

Plate

- 1 Large Tankard
- 1 Large Coffee pott
- 6 Table Spoons

p. 4, col. 2:

[These entries continue from previous column.]

- 1 soup spoon Weighing 123 oz. 12 [?] O grs.
- 6 desert spoons @ 8/4 p. oz.

Appendix 4

11 Tea spoons
4 salt shovels
1 marrow spoon
1 pr Tea tongs
1 punch Ladle
1 Cream pott
1 punch strainer

Silver weighing 123oz 12 0
@ 8/4 per oz
= 51 10
£1150 8 1

creditors Cha. Wallace and Daniel of St. Thomas
Senifer
next of kin Grace Stone W. Stone
March 31, 1788 Michael Senifer Stone and
Gustavus Richard Brown, executors,
made oath to above.

APPENDIX 5

Partial Transcription of David Stone's Probate Inventory, 1774, Showing Enslaved Individuals' Names, Ages, and Family Groups

Robbin, 68	Jean, 21
Joe, 58	Gerrard, 5
George, 45	Luce, 41
Tom, 47	George, 13
Ben, 29	Luce, 10
Bill, 18	Monica, 35
Beck, 65	Sukey, 9
Hannah, 50	Charles, 7
Jesse, 10	Linder, 4
Will, 8	Gusty, 2
Rose, 27	Unnamed infant
Mary, 7	Margrett, 33
Winnie, 5	[Billy? Betty?], 6
Basil, 3	Lawson, 4
Unnamed infant	Dick, 1
Henny, 21	Lett, 24
Sam, 5	Ruth, 5
Rob, 3	Sall, 3
Nell, 1	Clem, 21
Vick, 20	Cil, 5
Bill, infant	Leonard, infant
Clare, 43	Patience, 9
Nan, 14	Harry, 8
Velet, 7	Rachall, 2
Ann, 5	
Heth, 4	
Harmer, 2	
Clare, infant	

Source: Probate inventory of David Stone, 1774, Prerogative Court, Inventories Liber 117, f.91-99, Maryland State Archives.

APPENDIX 6

Settlement between Thomas Stone and John Hoskins Stone for Michael Jenifer Stone's Portion of the Estate of David Stone, Elizabeth (Jenifer) Stone, and Daniel Jenifer Stone, July 15, 1778

We Thomas Stone and John Hoskins Stone have paid to Michael Jenifer Stone the following effects of the Estates of David Stone Elizabeth Stone and Daniel Jenifer Stone vizt—Negroes Jesse¹ at thirty pounds Young Luce² at thirty pounds Nan³ at forty pounds Sil⁴ at five pounds Len⁵ at Nine pounds Nan's young Child at four pounds Sam⁶ at fourteen pounds Bed at six pounds Watch at four pounds ten schillings in the whole amounting to one hundred and forty two pounds ten schillings Maryland currency being his share of the Estate above mentioned agreeable to a Settlement made this 15th day of July 1778

T:Stone

J. H. Stone⁷

Source: Edward C. Stone Collection of the Autographs of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University.

¹ Jesse, son of Hannah, was about age fourteen when this settlement was drawn up in 1778. (Ages and parentage are based on the probate inventory of David Stone, Prerogative Court, Inventories, Liber 17, f. 91–96, sworn February 26, 1774, MSA.) Jesse appears numerous times in Michael Jenifer Stone's surviving day book (Kremer Collection, SMSC). He accompanied Michael Jenifer Stone in a sojourn to Thomas Stone's Nanjemoy plantation in the summer and fall of 1780. By 1786, Jesse had trained as a blacksmith, and presumably worked in Michael Jenifer Stone's blacksmith shop in Port Tobacco (indenture, MS 406, MdHS). He was hired by two local men with close ties to Thomas and his brother, Gustavus Richard Brown and Daniel Jenifer (Michael Jenifer Stone day book, SMSC). His mother's name, Hannah, comes up in correspondence between Michael Jenifer Stone and Walter Stone as an enslaved person whom Walter is interested in selling (Michael Jenifer Stone to Walter Stone, December 3, 1783, MS 406, MdHS).

² "Young Luce," age fourteen in 1778, was the daughter of Luce and sister of George. John Hoskins Stone in his correspondence refers to a man named George who runs errands for him between Annapolis and Port Tobacco (J. H. Stone to Walter Stone, October 30, 1785, and October 27, 1786, MS 406, MdHS).

³ Based on David Stone's probate inventory, Nan would be eighteen in 1778 and a daughter of Clare, who lived in Thomas Stone's Annapolis household. Nan's sisters Violette, Ann, Heth, and Clare passed into Thomas Stone's ownership and stayed in Charles County. The fate of another sister, Harmer, is currently unknown.

⁴ "Cil," child of Clem, was deemed "a cripple" and five years of age in David Stone's 1774 probate inventory.

⁵ Likely Leonard, brother of Cil, son of Clem. Leonard was an "infant" in 1774.

⁶ Sam, son of Henny, with younger siblings Rob and Nell, would have been nine years of age in 1778.

⁷ Both Thomas Stone and John Hoskins Stone signed the document in their own hand. The handwriting of the rest of the document has not been identified (John Hoskins Stone?). Less than a month earlier, on June 9, 1778, Thomas Stone and John Hoskins Stone, their parents' "surviving administrators," had submitted their final account of the estates of David and Elizabeth Stone to the Prerogative Court (Charles County Register of Wills, 1777–82, Wills AF Liber 7, f. 170–71, MSA). The consistency in the valuations of the slaves between the 1774 probate inventory and the above settlement allows matching of the names between the two documents.

APPENDIX 7

Entries for Thomas Stone in 1782 and 1783 Tax Lists

All values in Maryland current money

1782 Tax Lists, Charles County

(General Assessments)

Scharf Collection, Maryland State Archives

Port Tobacco Lower East Hundred

Owner	Thomas Stone, Esq.				
Land	Chandlers Hills	211 acres			
	Welcome	200 acres			
	Addition to May Day	120 acres	£ 974	0	0
Enslaved people	Males and females under 8 years	4	£ 40	0	0
	Males and females ages 8 - 14	0			
	Males ages 14 - 45	5	£ 350	0	0
	Females ages 14 - 36	5	£ 300	0	0
	Males above 45 and females above 36	0			
Plate		0			
Stock	Horses	9			
	Black cattle	48	£ 184	0	0
Value of other property			£ 78	0	0
Total amount			£ 1926	0	0
Assessment thereon			£ 43	0	0
Number of free males above age 18		0			
Total number of white inhabitants		0			

Source: J. Richard Rivoire, "Summary Report of Additional Research Findings," 1993, appendices 1 and 2.
Corrections by Amy Speckart.

1783 Tax Lists, Charles County
(General Assessments)
Scharf Collection, Maryland State Archives

Fifth District

Owner	Thomas Stone, Esq.				
Land		887 acres	£ 920	7	6
Enslaved people	Males and females under 8 years	4	£ 59	0	0
	Males and females ages 8 - 14	3	£ 75	0	0
	Males ages 14 - 45	6	£ 420	0	0
	Females ages 14 - 36	3	£ 180	0	0
	Males above 45 and females above 36	5	£ 120		
Plate		156 oz.	£ 65	0	0
Stock	Horses	8			
	Black cattle	22	£ 141	0	0
Value of other property			£ 350	12	6
Total amount			£ 2231	0	0
Assessment thereon			£ 23	6	2
Total number of white inhabitants		7			

1783 Tax Lists, Charles County
(Land Assessments)
Scharf Collection, Maryland State Archives

Fifth District

Name of land	Haberdeventure and Hansons Plains Enlarged
Number of acres	442 acres
Value	£ 607.15.0
[Value per acre]	
Survey, resurvey, or escheat	resurvey
Name of original survey	same name
Situation, general quality, and soil	Forest. Barren land
Improvements	1 good brick dwelling House Kitchen & nine other necessary houses
Quantity of wooded timber land	1/2 cleared

Name of land	Bridgets Delight
Number of acres	63 acres
Value	£ 47.5.0
[Value per acre]	
Survey, resurvey, or escheat	resurveyed
Name of original survey	Bryfield
Situation, general quality, and soil	Forest. stiff and poor
Improvements	3 old logged houses
Quantity of wooded timber land	28 acres wood

Name of land	Simson's Delight
Number of acres	260 acres
Value	£ 195.0.0
[Value per acre]	
Survey, resurvey, or escheat	survey
Name of original survey	same name
Situation, general quality, and soil	Forest. poor and stiff
Improvements	1 dwelling house and 1 logged house
Quantity of wooded timber land	60 [acres] wood

Name of land	Pryor's Beginning and St. Nicholas
Number of acres	75 acres
Value	£ 45.17.6
[Value per acre]	
Survey, resurvey, or escheat	survey
Name of original survey	same name
Situation, general quality, and soil	Forest. poor soil
Improvements	no improvements
Quantity of wooded timber land	mostly cleared

Fifth District *(continued)*

Name of land	Distrest
Number of acres	47 acres
Value	£ 23.10
[Value per acre]	
Survey, resurvey, or escheat	survey
Name of original survey	same name
Situation, general quality, and soil	forest. poor barrens
Improvements	no improvements
Quantity of wooded timber land	all woods

Sixth District

Name of land	Welcome
Number of acres	200 acres
Value	£ 250
[Value per acre]	
Survey, resurvey, or escheat	
Name of original survey	Welcome
Situation, general quality, and soil	1 mile from town. A light gravelly soil
Improvements	an old tobacco house
Quantity of wooded timber land	200 acres arable, 20 woodland with rail timber

Name of land	Shaws Barrens
Number of acres	52 acres
Value	£ 32.10.0
[Value per acre]	
Survey, resurvey, or escheat	
Name of original survey	Shaws Barrens
Situation, general quality, and soil	2 miles from Town. very poor stiff soil
Improvements	no improvements
Quantity of wooded timber land	52 acres woodland properly called

Name of land	Shaws Trouble
Number of acres	46 acres
Value	£ 28.15.0
[Value per acre]	
Survey, resurvey, or escheat	Shaws Trouble
Name of original survey	
Situation, general quality, and soil	2 miles from Town. very poor stiff soil
Improvements	no improvements
Quantity of wooded timber land	[blank]

Appendix 7

Sixth District *(continued)*

Name of land	Moberly, part of
Number of acres	23 acres
Value	£ 17.5.0
[Value per acre]	
Survey, resurvey, or escheat	
Name of original survey	Moberly part of
Situation, general quality, and soil	a very poor stiff soil, 3 miles from Town
Improvements	a small dwelling house, a logged kitchen, a good tobacco house, + another building very small, 25 apple trees and a few peach
Quantity of wooded timber land	23 acres arable

Name of land	Chandlers Hills with a mill seat
Number of acres	231 acres
Value	£ 922.0.0
[Value per acre]	
Survey, resurvey, or escheat	
Name of original survey	Chandlers Hills
Situation, general quality, and soil	1/2 mile from Town. a light gravelly soil and some parts hilly
Improvements	A small brick dwelling house old and yet unfinished and much out of repair, a indifferent kitchen with a brick chimney, a corn house & a large barn, a water mill with two pair of stones and a small house inhabited by a miller
Quantity of wooded timber land	Except a branches of wood this land is all arable

Name of land	Addition to May Day
Number of acres	120 acres
Value	£ [120.0.0?]
[Value per acre]	
Survey, resurvey, or escheat	
Name of original survey	Addition to Mayday
Situation, general quality, and soil	3 miles from Town. A light gravelly soil
Improvements	no improvements
Quantity of wooded timber land	120 acres wood land with rail and board timber

Runaway Advertisements

Charles County, July 22, 1770.

RAN away from the Subscriber, on Tuesday the 17th Instant, an *Irish* indented Servant Man, named JOHN MURDOCK, about 5 Feet 4 Inches high, of a ruddy Complexion, very red Hair, Beard, and Eyebrows, stutters much, especially when drunk, and is very crooked in the Shoulders: Had on when he went away, an Osnabrig Coat, Jacket, and Breeches, an old Beaver Hat, striped Linen Shirt, brown Thread Stockings, a Pair Boot Leggings, and Campaign Shoes, with Brass Buckles; he also took with him, a Horse, Saddle and Bridle. The Horse was a Bay, about Fourteen and an Half Hands high, has a Bob Tail, ridged Mane, and his Foretop cut off, has a Star in his Forehead, trots and gallops, with a high Carriage. His Brand forgot. Any Person bringing the said Servant, and Horse, to the Subscriber, or Mr. *Frederick Stone*, in *Port-Tobacco*, shall receive Four Pounds Currency.

T. STONE.

N. B. The above Servant had a Pass from me to *Annapolis*, but was ordered back after he had gone Part of the Way, and the Pass omitted to be taken from him; this perhaps he may alter, or forge a new one, as he writes tolerably well.

Maryland Gazette (Annapolis), August 2, 1770.

Courtesy of the Maryland State Archives.

RAN away on Friday the third inst. a young Negro woman named BET, of middling stature, thick, fat, and likely, and her ears bored for rings. She had on a black alamode bonnet with lace, an old blue shalloon jacket and petticoat, white linen shift, handkerchief and apron, pale blue worsted stockings with red clocks, high heel black leather shoes and silver buckles. She took with her a half worn scarlet cloak, new purple and yellow checked stuff jacket and petticoat, white linen ditto, blue and white stamped linen ditto, cambrick apron, red and white calico short gown, and black bombazeen quilted petticoat. I have been informed that a Negro woman, answering her description, was seen at Brunswick, in Jersey, with some soldiers, but to this I do not give intire credit. Any person delivering the said Negro woman to Mr. Michael Clarke in Chestnut-street, Philadelphia, to any of the Maryland officers at camp, or to the subscriber in Charles county, Maryland, shall have TWENTY DOLLARS reward and reasonable charges.

THOMAS STONE.

Philadelphia, October 16.

Pennsylvania Evening Post (Philadelphia), October 19, 1776.

Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.

Fifty Dollars Reward.

RAN away from the subscriber, living near Stafford court-house, in the commonwealth of Virginia, about the middle of May last, a negro fellow named JACK, about five feet eight or nine inches high, nineteen years old, thick made and well set, stoops in the shoulders, and his complexion black, has a remarkable scar on the top of one of his feet, but I forget whether right or left; he carried with him the following cloaths, a greenish coloured great coat of elastic cloth, with buff cuffs and cape, a white casimer vest and breeches, a brown cloth vest, and a calico vest, but these he may change for other cloaths; this negro lately belonged to the estate of Mr. THOMAS STONE, in Charles county, Maryland, and may pass himself for one of the Thomas family of negroes belonging to the said estate, who make pretension to their freedom, but the fallacy of the attempt may be easily detected, as he is quite black, whereas the Thomas family are all of the *mulatto colour*; he can also read a little. I suspect he is lurking about Baltimore or Annapolis; his mother is in the former city, who is also a runaway, and named RACHEL. I will give the above reward of fifty dollars to any person who will deliver him to me at my place of residence, or FORTY DOLLARS for securing him in any gaol, so that I get him again.

TRAVERS DANIEL, jun.

Stafford county, Virginia, October 28, 1797.

Maryland Gazette (Annapolis), January 11, 1798.

Courtesy of the Maryland State Archives.

COMMITTED to my custody as a runaway, on the 10th instant, a negro man by the name of PHILL, who says that he is the property of BALDWIN TOLLIVER, living in Orange county, State of Virginia, and that he was bought of Travers Daniel; he is about 5 feet 10 inches high, about 35 years of age, and slim made; his cloathing is an old hat, gray cloth jacket, faced with blue, ofnabrig shirt, striped country cloth trousers, and old shoes, and has lost his fore teeth below. His master is desired to come and take him away in two months from the above date, or he will be sold for his prison fees and other expences, according to law.

JOHN WELCH, Sheriff of
Anne-Arundel county.

June 24, 1799.

Maryland Gazette (Annapolis), August 8, 1799.
Courtesy of the Maryland State Archives.

APPENDIX 9

Enslaved Persons in Thomas Stone's Probate Inventories, with a Note on Other Documented Individuals

- Names are presented in alphabetical order.
- Approximate dates of birth are calculated from the ages given in the inventories of Thomas Stone's estates in Charles County and Annapolis, Maryland State Archives. (See Appendix 4, "Probate Inventories of the Estate of Thomas Stone.")
- The valuations and locations are taken from Thomas Stone's probate inventories unless otherwise noted.
- The inventories do not indicate family groups.
- Alternative spellings of the first name are put in parentheses. The surname Thomas is given in brackets if there is documentary evidence to suggest a family connection but no documentation to indicate that the individual self-identified with the family name. Only Gustavus Thomas and Violette Thomas have court-entered records of their Thomas surname.

This list should be considered an evolving resource, with future research refining what we know about these individuals.

Ann [Thomas]

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 21

Approximate date of birth: 1767

Valuation in 1788: £50

Location: Charles County

Origin: David Stone's estate in Durham Parish, Charles County. She was a daughter of *Clare* (b. ca. 1728) and a sister of Nan, *Violette Thomas*, *Heth*, and *Clare*.¹

Family: Her mother *Clare* had extensive kinship ties in Charles County and beyond as a descendant of Elizabeth Thomas and Betty Mingo. In 1790, Ann, her four children, and *Tom Triplet* were sold to Joseph Edelin of Prince George's County. The bill of sale does not refer to Ann and Tom as husband and wife, nor does it name the children. Like her sister *Violette Thomas*, Ann was to receive, according to Thomas Stone's instructions, an allotment of pork in late 1785.²

Occupation: Unknown. Thomas Stone was willing to hire her out in 1785 but discouraged her sale.³

¹ Appendix 5, "Partial Transcription of the Probate Inventory of David Stone, 1774."

² Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, December 21, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC.

³ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, November 24, December 21, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC.

Disposition after Thomas Stone's death: Initially retained in the estate. In 1790, Walter Stone, acting as attorney for Thomas Stone's executors, sold Ann with her four children and *Tom Triplet* to Joseph Edelin of Prince George's County.⁴

Ausmin (Osmin, Ozman)

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 29

Approximate date of birth: 1759

Valuation in 1788: £60

Location: Annapolis

Origin: Dr. Gustavus Brown's estate.⁵

Family: Unknown

Occupation: Unknown. Ausmin's presence in the Stones' Annapolis household indicates that he had a domestic role. Before he came to the capital in 1786, he had been hired out to Turner, an overseer or tenant of Stone's.⁶

Disposition after Thomas Stone's death: Not recorded

Betty

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 11

Approximate date of birth: 1777

Valuation in 1788: £25

Location: Annapolis

Origin: See family.

Family: Though the inventory does not indicate who were parents were, it is possible that Betty was a daughter of *Rachael* and a sister of *Jack (Thomas)*, who were also part of Stone's Annapolis household.

Occupation: Domestic servant

Disposition after Thomas Stone's death: Betty may be "Bett" whom Thomas Stone bequeathed to his daughter Margaret in his will.

Bob

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 37

Approximate date of birth: 1751

Valuation in 1788: £70

Location: Charles County

⁴ Bill of sale, Walter Stone as attorney for Thomas Stone's executors to Joseph Edelin, Charles County Land Records, K#4:114, Maryland State Archives (hereafter abbreviated as MSA). For a transcription, see Appendix 15.

⁵ Dr. Gustavus Brown's 1762 probate inventory includes a two-year-old named Ozman at Brown's Nanjemoy estate (Petravage, "Historic Furnishings Report," 27).

⁶ Thomas Stone asked for Ausmin to come to Annapolis "as soon as his time is out with Turner" in a letter to Walter or Michael Jenifer Stone, December 21, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC. On Turner, see Chapter 4.

Origin: Unknown. In 1774, Thomas Stone purchased a man named Bob from Francis Meek in Charles County. In 1782, Charles Goodrick's siblings sold "back" to Thomas Stone a man called Bob. Was this the same person?⁷

Family: A husband or relative of *Sall*? In letters of late 1785, Thomas Stone mentioned Bob and Sall in quick succession to each other, as if one of them brought to mind the other. In November, Stone mentioned Bob and Sall in the same sentence: "I shall have some Negroes to hire next year Carpenter Tom for 1800 [pounds tobacco] with his tools. . . Bob 1200 d[itt] o. Sal for any thing above her Victuals and Clothes." A month later, Stone asked his brother Walter, "Can Sal and her Child be sold for a good price? I think it likely they may. Mick talks of buying Bob." Stone came back to the subject later in the letter, adding that Sall was to be hired out "unless a good price can be got for sale of her—and Bob." In this last reference, Stone placed a dash between the names of Sall and Bob, but again the two names appear one after the other. Whatever the nature of their connection, Thomas Stone split up Bob and Sall in his will. Bob, along with Violette, Violette's children, and Bett, were to go to Margaret, while Sall was to be Mildred's property.⁸

Occupation: Tradesman, based on Thomas Stone's instruction to Walter Stone to hire out Bob with his tools cited above.

Disposition after Thomas Stone's death: Bequeathed to Margaret Stone

Charity

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 13

Approximate date of birth: 1775

Valuation in 1788: £35

Location: Charles County

Origin: Unknown

Family: Unknown

Occupation: Unknown

Disposition after Thomas Stone's death: Bequeathed to Mildred Stone

Charlotte

Age in 1788 according to inventory: Three months

Approximate date of birth: 1787

Valuation in 1788: £5

Location: Charles County

Origin: Charles County

Family: Unknown

⁷ Purchase of Bob by Thomas Stone from Francis Meek of Charles County, 1774, for £96 current money, Charles County Land Records S#3:533, MSA (Bob's age not given); purchase of Bob by Thomas Stone from Charles Goodrick, 1782, for 17,000 pounds of crop tobacco, Charles County Land Records V#3:563, MSA. According to the deed, Goodrick's siblings "sell back" Bob to Thomas Stone in this transaction. When did Stone sell Bob to Goodrick initially? Bob was not a part of Stone's exchange with Goodrick of four slaves (a man named Henry, his wife Nan, a man called Joe, and a boy known as Clem) for Addition to May Day, a tract of 120 acres, in 1779 (Charles County Land Records V#3:402–3, 423, MSA). Bob's origins might be traced in Francis Meek's family; Meek's father bequeathed to him a male named Bob in 1765 ("Francis Meek [1693–1765]," Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia's Northern Neck Counties, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us).

⁸ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, November 24, December 21, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC; Appendix 3.

Occupation: n/a

Disposition after Thomas Stone's death: Unknown

Clare [Thomas]

Age in 1788 according to inventory: "60." **Based on David Stone's inventory, Clare was 57.

Approximate date of birth: 1728–1731 (latter date supplied from David Stone's inventory)

Valuation in 1788: £1

Location: Annapolis

Origin: David Stone's estate of Durham Parish, Charles County. According to a certificate recorded for her daughter *Violette Thomas*, Clare was the daughter of "Peg, commonly called Semple's Peg, who was the daughter of Betty commonly called Betty Mingo."⁹

Family: When an inventory was made of David Stone's estate in 1774, Clare's family at Poynton Manor included her daughters Nan, age 14, *Violette*, age 7, *Ann*, age 5, *Heth*, age 4, Harmer, age 2, and *Clare*, an infant. Remarkably, Clare, who was forty-three at the time, kept at least four of her six daughters with her as she passed into Thomas Stone's ownership; Nan was allotted to Michael Jenifer Stone, and no other documentation survives about Harmer. In late 1785, Thomas Stone directed his brother Walter, "the children of Clare I would not sell." This must be a reference to the elder Clare, as the younger Clare was only thirteen or so at the time.¹⁰

Occupation: Domestic servant, based on her location in Annapolis.

Disposition after Thomas Stone's death: Not recorded

Clare ("Young Clare," "Little Clare") [Thomas]

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 16

Approximate date of birth: 1772

Valuation in 1788: £50

Location: Charles County

Origin: David Stone's estate in Durham Parish, Charles County. A daughter of *Clare* (b. ca. 1728–1731), her sisters were Nan, *Violette Thomas*, *Ann*, *Heth*, and Harmer.¹¹

Family: None known apart from her birth family. Her mother *Clare* had extensive kinship ties in Charles County and beyond as a descendent of Elizabeth Thomas and Betty Mingo.

Occupation: Unknown. Clare was hired out in 1785 (when she was about 13), and Thomas Stone wished to continue to hire her out in 1786.¹²

Disposition after Thomas Stone's death: Bequeathed to Mildred Stone

⁹ Appendix 5, "Partial Transcription of the Probate Inventory of David Stone, 1774"; certificate of *Violette Thomas*, dated May 27, 1796, recorded October 16, 1799, Charles County Land Records IB#3:77, MSA (see Appendix 13 for a transcription).

¹⁰ Appendix 6, "Settlement for...Michael Jenifer Stone's Portion of the Estate"; Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, November 24, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC.

¹¹ Appendix 5, "Partial Transcription of the Probate Inventory of David Stone, 1774."

¹² Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 22, November 24, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC.

Evans

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 4

Approximate date of birth: 1784

Valuation in 1788: £16

Location: Charles County

Origin: Unknown

Family: Unknown

Occupation: n/a

Disposition after Thomas Stone's death: Unknown

Gerrard

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 2

Approximate date of birth: 1786

Valuation in 1788: £10

Location: Charles County

Origin: Unknown

Family: Unknown

Occupation: n/a

Disposition after Thomas Stone's death: Unknown

Gustavus (Guss) Thomas

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 17

Approximate date of birth: 1771

Valuation in 1788: £65

Location: Charles County

Origin: Born on David Stone's estate in Durham Parish, Charles County, to Monica (born circa 1739), who had four other children on David Stone's estate in 1774 (Suckey, Charles, Linder, and an unnamed infant). According to testimony in a freedom suit, Monica was a daughter of Semple's Peg, which would make her a sister of *Clare*.¹³

Family: Unknown besides his birth family. Did he recognize *Clare* as his aunt, and *Clare*'s daughters (Nan, *Violette*, *Ann*, *Heth*, Harmer, and *Clare*) as his cousins? In 1792, Gustavus's brother Charles Thomas filed a petition for freedom, claiming he was unlawfully held in bondage by Alexander Scott, in the General Court of the Western Shore, and won his suit in the same term as his brother (May 1798).¹⁴

Occupation: Unknown. In late 1785, Thomas Stone asked Walter Stone to hire out Guss "unless Guss can be sold." Guss remained on the estate, though; in 1791, Michael Jenifer Stone directed Walter to hire out Guss by the month if he could not be hired by the year.¹⁵

¹³ Appendix 5, "Partial Transcription of the Probate Inventory of David Stone, 1774"; deposition of Richard Tuson, May 10, 1796, in *Gustavus Thomas v. Lancelot (Lott) Mason*, Judgment Records JG 31:67, MSA.

¹⁴ *Charles Thomas v. Alexander Scott*, General Court of the Western Shore, May 1798, JG 39: 659–63, MSA.

¹⁵ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, November 24, December 21, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC; Michael Jenifer Stone to Walter Stone, January 2, 1791, Thomas Stone National Historic Site manuscript collection.

Disposition after Thomas Stone's death: Retained in the estate. In 1791, Gustavus Thomas filed a freedom petition in the General Court of the Western Shore against the executors of Thomas Stone's estate. The court ruled in Gustavus Thomas's favor in May 1798.¹⁶

Harry

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 25

Approximate date of birth: 1763

Valuation in 1788: £70

Location: Charles County

Origin: Harry's origins are speculative. Is this the same Harry who was recorded on David Stone's estate, age 8, in 1774, born circa 1766? According to Thomas Stone's will, Michael Jenifer Stone purchased a "Negroe Harry" from Samuel Stone's estate but had yet to pay for the man in full to Thomas, Samuel's executor. Does the Harry from Samuel Stone's estate show up in Thomas's inventory because Michael Jenifer Stone had not paid the full purchase price? Further muddying the waters, Thomas Stone sold a man named Harry (and his wife Nan) to Charles Goodrick in 1779. It also may be the case that the "Harry" in Thomas Stone's inventory is *Henry Semple*.¹⁷

Family: Unknown.

Occupation: Unknown.

Disposition after Thomas Stone's death: Unknown.

Henry Semple

Age in 1788 according to inventory: The name "Henry Semple" does not appear in the inventories, but Henry Semple's deed of manumission refers to his "faithful service" to Thomas and Margaret Stone. See *Harry*.

Approximate date of birth: Unknown

Valuation in 1788: n/a

Location: Charles County?

Origin: Unknown. Semple was not a common name in Charles County at the time. Henry likely had a personal tie to the household of John Semple (d. 1773), a Scottish merchant who lived in Port Tobacco in the 1750s and early 1760s. (See Chapter 1.)

Family: Husband of *Ibe (Ebe)*, father of Kitty and Nancy.

Occupation: Manservant? In the deed of manumission, Margaret and Mildred Stone acknowledged Henry's "faithful service to our parents and brother."

Disposition after Thomas Stone's death: Not recorded. Emancipated with his wife and children by Margaret and Mildred Stone in 1793.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Gustavus Thomas v. Thomas Stone's executors*, May 1798, General Court of the Western Shore, JG 39:653–59. I am grateful to Owen E. Lourie, Historian at the Maryland State Archives, for sharing his research on freedom suits, which brought this case to my attention.

¹⁷ Probate inventory of David Stone, 1774, Prerogative Court Inventories, Liber 117, f. 91–96, MSA; will of Thomas Stone in Petravage, "Historic Furnishings Report," 12; Thomas Stone to Charles Goodrick, Charles County Land Records V#3:402–3, 423, MSA.

¹⁸ Manumission of Henry Semple, "his wife Ibe, and their two children Kitty and Nancy," October 15, 1793, Charles County Land Records, N#4:165, MSA.

Heth [Thomas]

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 18

Approximate date of birth: 1770

Valuation in 1788: £50

Location: Charles County; possibly Annapolis

Origin: David Stone's estate in Durham Parish, Charles County. A daughter of *Clare* (b. ca. 1728), her sisters were Nan, *Violette Thomas*, *Ann*, and *Clare*.

Family: None known apart from her birth family. Her mother *Clare* had extensive kinship ties in Charles County and beyond as a descendent of Elizabeth Thomas and Betty Mingo.

Occupation: Domestic servant. In 1785, Thomas Stone suggested that Heth be hired out for £7.10.0. Two months later, he asked his brother Walter who had hired "Heth or Sall" as he wanted one of the two young women to join his Annapolis household.¹⁹

Disposition after Thomas Stone's death: Not documented.

Ibe (Ebe)

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 25

Approximate date of birth: 1763

Valuation in 1788: £50

Location: Charles County

Origin: Unknown.

Family: Wife of *Henry Semple*, mother of Kitty and Nancy who were born between early 1788 and 1793

Occupation: Unknown

Disposition after Thomas Stone's death: Not documented. Emancipated with her husband and children by Margaret and Mildred Stone in 1793.²⁰

Jack

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 40

Approximate date of birth: 1748

Valuation in 1788: £70

Location: Charles County

Origin: Unknown

Family: Unknown. Was he the father of *Jack Thomas*?

¹⁹ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, November 24, 1785, January 15, 1786, Stone Family Papers, LC.

²⁰ Manumission of Henry Semple, "his wife Ibe, and their two children Kitty and Nancy," October 15, 1793, Charles County Land Records, N#4:165, MSA. Her name is spelled "Ebe" in Thomas Stone's probate inventory.

Occupation: Servant. Jack was trusted with long-distance errands. Twice in August 1779, Michael Jenifer Stone gave “Jacke” traveling expenses for “going to Annapolis.” In December 1783, Thomas Stone sent Jack, who carried letters, and another “servant,” Webster, to Annapolis to retrieve his carriage and bring back clothes, medicine, and *Jerry*.²¹ Disposition after Thomas Stone’s death: Jack may be “John” whom Thomas Stone’s daughters in 1793 manumitted, at age 45, in consideration of his “obedience and fidelity.”²²

Jack [Thomas?]

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 10

Approximate date of birth: 1778

Valuation in 1788: £35

Location: Annapolis

Origin: Unknown. See family.

Family: A runaway ad informs us that Jack was a son of *Rachael*. Was his father the elder Jack (b. 1748)?

Occupation: Domestic servant

Disposition after Thomas Stone’s death: Retained in the Stone family. In May 1797, Jack fled the household of Thomas Stone’s daughter, Margaret (Stone), and her husband Travers Daniel, in Stafford County, Virginia. Daniel suspected Jack may be in Annapolis or Baltimore; his mother, *Rachael*, had emancipated herself by moving from Annapolis to Baltimore. Daniel also publicized that Jack “may pass. . . for one of the Thomas family of negroes belonging to” Thomas Stone’s estate, raising the possibility that Jack and his mother were descendants of Elizabeth Thomas and Betty Mingo. According to the runaway advertisement, Jack, age 19, could “read a little.” The clothing that he took with him, namely “a greenish coloured great coat of elastic cloth, with buff cuffs and cape, a white casimer vest and breeches, a brown cloth vest, and a calico vest,” suggests his status was above that of a common field hand.²³

James

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 1

Approximate date of birth: 1787

Valuation in 1788: £6

Location: Charles County

Origin: Unknown

Family: Unknown

Occupation: n/a

Disposition after Thomas Stone’s death: Unknown

²¹ Debit on Thomas Stone’s account with Michael Jenifer Stone, Michael Jenifer Stone day book, Kremer Collection, SMSC, p. 12; Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, December 3, 1783, The Rosenbach, Philadelphia. Thomas Stone confirmed receipt of the “chariot + articles” from Annapolis in a letter to Walter Stone of December 9, 1783 (copy, Moncure Daniel Conway Papers, MS 277, Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New York).

²² Manumission of John by Margaret and Mildred Stone, “as representatives” of their father and brother, November 30, 1793, Charles County Land Records N#4:178, MSA.

²³ Advertisement by Travers Daniel Jr., for Jack, dated October 28, 1797, in *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), January 11, 1798. See Appendix 8.

Jerry Small

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 17

Approximate date of birth: 1771

Valuation in 1788: £55

Location: Charles County

Origin: Unknown.

Family: Unknown.

Occupation: Servant? In December 1783, Thomas Stone wanted Jerry, then about the age of 12, to accompany *Jack* and another servant, Webster, on a journey from Annapolis to Haberdeventure. From this we learn that Jerry was in Annapolis, though we do not know how his time was split between Haberdeventure and Annapolis.²⁴

Disposition after Thomas Stone's death: Unknown

Nell

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 2

Approximate date of birth: 1786

Valuation in 1788: £10

Location: Charles County

Origin: Unknown

Family: Unknown

Occupation: n/a

Disposition after Thomas Stone's death: Unknown

Patience

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 4

Approximate date of birth: 1784

Valuation in 1788: £16

Location: Charles County

Origin: Unknown

Family: Unknown

Occupation: Unknown

Disposition after Thomas Stone's death: Unknown

Phil

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 25

Approximate date of birth: 1763

Valuation in 1788: £80

Location: Charles County

Origin: Unknown

Family: None known

²⁴ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, December 3, 1783, The Rosenbach, Philadelphia.

Occupation: Artisan, based on his high valuation and importance at Stone's mill. See Chapter 4.
Disposition after Thomas Stone's death: Bequeathed to Mildred Stone. Port Tobacco merchant George Clements paid Mildred Stone for Phil's hire in 1794. In 1799, the sheriff of Anne Arundel County advertised the detainment of a runaway "by the name of Phill, who says that he is the property of Baldwin Tolliver, living in Orange County, State of Virginia, and that he was bought of Travers Daniel; he is about 5 feet 10 inches high, about 35 years of age, and slim made; his cloathing is an old hat, gray cloth jacket, faced with blue, osnabrig shirt, striped country cloth trousers, and old shoes, and has lost his fore teeth below." Future research should search the records of Mildred's husband, Travers Daniel, in Virginia, to confirm Phil's presence in that state.²⁵

Rachael [Thomas?]

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 40

Approximate date of birth: 1748

Valuation in 1788: £35

Location: Annapolis

Origin: Unknown

Family: Though no family of Rachael's is indicated in Thomas Stone's Annapolis probate inventory, other evidence informs us that Jack, age 10 in the Annapolis household in 1788, was her son. Was an enslaved girl in the same household, Betty, age 11, her child, too? Nine years later, Jack fled the household of Thomas Stone's son-in-law, Travers Daniel, in Stafford County, Virginia. Daniel suspected Jack would go to his mother, "Rachel," "also a runaway" who had moved from Annapolis to Baltimore. Daniel also publicized that Jack "may pass. . . for one of the Thomas family of negroes belonging to" Thomas Stone's estate. Because the freedom claims of the Thomas family were based on female lineage, Daniel's statement suggests that Jack's mother, Rachael, may have been a member of the Thomas family.²⁶

Occupation: Domestic servant. Rachael was in a vulnerable position after Thomas and Margaret Stone died. Robert Couden, an Annapolis merchant and brother-in-law to John Hoskins Stone, arranged for Rachael's hiring out for several years. In 1790, Michael Jenifer Stone, executor of Thomas Stone's estate, asked Couden to arrange to "vendue her off—She will bring very little. But I can't help it." Rachael, then in her mid-40s, left Annapolis for Baltimore sometime between September 1791 and 1797.²⁷

Disposition after Thomas Stone's death: Remained in Thomas Stone's estate but emancipated herself by moving to Baltimore.

Sall

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 22

²⁵ George Clements account with Michael Jenifer Stone, January 7, 1794–January 1, 1795, William Briscoe Stone Papers, Rubenstein Library, Duke University; *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), August 8, 1799. Appendix 8 includes the advertisement for Phil.

²⁶ Advertisement by Travers Daniel Jr., for Jack, dated October 28, 1797, in *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), January 11, 1798. The advertisement is reproduced in Appendix 8.

²⁷ Account of Michael Jenifer Stone with Robert Couden, November 6, 1787–October 15, 1791, William Briscoe Stone Papers, Rubenstein Library, Duke University; Michael Jenifer Stone to Walter Stone, June 24, 1790, Stone Family Papers, LC.

Approximate date of birth: 1766

Valuation in 1788: £50

Location: Charles County; Annapolis?

Origin: Unknown

Family: Possibly a relative or domestic partner of *Bob*; see *Bob*. Sall was a mother by late 1785.

In a letter to Walter Stone of December 1785, Thomas Stone asked, could “Sal and her child” could be “sold for a good price?” A month earlier he wanted to hire Sall out “for anything above her Victuals and Clothes.”²⁸

Occupation: Cook; domestic servant. In early 1786, Thomas Stone asked for Sall or her sister Heth to be sent to him in Annapolis. In 1791, Michael Jenifer Stone wanted “Milly’s Sall” to work for him as a cook.²⁹

Disposition after Thomas Stone’s death: Bequeathed to Mildred Stone.

Tom Triplet

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 40

Approximate date of birth: 1748

Valuation in 1788: £70

Location: Charles County

Origin: Unknown. The name “Triplet” was common on the Northern Neck of Virginia, judging from the website Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia’s Northern Neck Counties.

Family: Husband of *Ann*, who was a daughter of *Clare*. By 1790, Ann was the mother of four children whose names are unknown.

Occupation: Carpenter. Thomas Stone asked his brother Walter to hire out or sell Tom in late 1785.³⁰

Disposition after Thomas Stone’s death: Sold by Thomas Stone’s executors with Ann and her four unnamed children to Joseph Edelin of Prince George’s County in 1790.³¹

Violette (Violet) Thomas

Age in 1788 according to inventory: 23

Approximate date of birth: 1765–70³²

Valuation in 1788: £50

Location: Charles County

²⁸ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, November 24, December 21, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC.

²⁹ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, January 15, 1786, Stone Family Papers, LC; Michael Jenifer Stone to [Walter Stone], January 2, 1791, Thomas Stone National Historic Site manuscript collection.

³⁰ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, November 24, December 21, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC.

³¹ Bill of sale, Walter Stone as attorney for Thomas Stone’s executors to Joseph Edelin, Charles County Land Records, K#4:114, MSA. The bill of sale indicates that three men—Thomas Stone, John Hoskins Stone, and Edward Edelin—were shareholders in “Carpenter Tom.” The document also stipulated that only Joseph Edelin and his “heirs and assigns” were to “hold” Tom; Tom’s resale was prohibited. For a transcription of the bill of sale, see Appendix 15.

³² Violette Thomas attested in 1799 that she was twenty-nine years old, which would make her younger than Thomas Stone’s probate inventory indicated (Charles County Land Records, IB#3:77, MSA).

Origin: Born on David Stone's estate in Durham Parish, Charles County. Violette, a "yellow" woman, claimed descent from "Clare, who was the daughter of Peg, commonly called Semple's Peg, who was the daughter of Betty commonly called Betty Mingo."³³

Family: Her mother *Clare* had extensive kinship ties in Charles County and beyond as a descendant of Elizabeth Thomas and Betty Mingo. Her sisters were Nan (who came into the possession of Michael Jenifer Stone), *Ann*, *Heth*, and a younger *Clare*. Violette, a mother of at least one child by April 1785, had at least one additional child by the time Thomas Stone wrote his will. Stone recognized Violette as a head of household; in 1785, he directed that Violette receive an allotment of pork.³⁴

Occupation: Unknown. Violette and her child were hired out in 1785 on a one-year term. When the end of her term approached, Thomas Stone asked his brother Walter to hire out Violette "at some proper place." Thomas Stone did not want to sell Violette or her sisters.³⁵

Disposition after Thomas Stone's death: Bequeathed with "all her children" to Margaret Stone. In 1799, Violette Thomas became free by a deed of manumission signed by Margaret's husband, John Moncure Daniel.³⁶

Other Enslaved Individuals with a Connection to Thomas and Margaret Stone

In addition to the twenty-five enslaved people listed on Thomas Stone's probate inventories, the names of another twelve people appear in records with an attachment to his estate. Only one indentured servant has been identified; in 1770, a native of Ireland named John Murdock fled from Thomas Stone, taking with him a stolen bay horse. Based on the available evidence, Stone and his wife relied heavily on enslaved labor.³⁷

Peter is one of the first enslaved men whom Thomas Stone purchased, according to surviving documentation. Peter was reportedly "not above the age of twenty-five" and already in Stone's possession (likely as a hired man) when Stone bought him from William Barnes and Thomas Smoot in Charles County in 1774. Michael Jenifer Stone made a reference to Peter in a letter of 1791, but Peter was not included in Thomas Stone's 1788 inventories.³⁸

³³ Certificate of Violette Thomas, dated May 27, 1796, recorded October 16, 1799, Charles County Land Records IB#3:77, MSA. Appendix 13 provides a transcription of the certificate.

³⁴ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 22, 1785, and Thomas Stone to Walter Stone or Michael Jenifer Stone, December 21, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC; Thomas Stone's will, 1787, transcribed in Appendix 3.

³⁵ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 22 and November 24, and Thomas Stone to Walter Stone or Michael Jenifer Stone, December 21, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC.

³⁶ Deed of manumission for Violette Thomas, made March 27, 1797, recorded October 16, 1799, Charles County Land Records, IB#3:77, MSA.

³⁷ For the advertisement for John Murdock, see Appendix 8.

³⁸ Charles County Land Records, S#3:523-24; Michael Jenifer Stone to [Walter Stone], January 2, 1791, Thomas Stone National Historic Site manuscript collection, in which Michael Jenifer Stone wrote, "I am sorry for Peter," but the context of the remark is unknown.

Bet absconded as a young woman from Thomas Stone's Philadelphia household in October 1776. Her place of origin, and what became of her after she ran away, are unknown. The female "Bett" whom Thomas Stone referred to in his will likely was the much younger *Betty*, age ten, who worked in Stone's Annapolis household.³⁹

Margaret was at the mill in 1785, the same year that she died. Thomas Stone wrote to his brother from Annapolis, "I fear the poor creature suffered and am really sorry for her but I had no knowledge that she was in the least ill until I heard by Mrs Stone that she was very bad." Before Margaret's death, Stone expressed an interest in hiring her out to Thomas How Ridgate ("Ask Mr Ridgate to let me know if he will want Margaret"). An enslaved woman named Margaret, age thirty-three, was listed as a resident on David Stone's estate in 1774, but there is no confirmation that this is the same Margaret who Thomas Stone claimed possession of. Another possibility is that the deceased woman was Margaret (b. 1723), the mother of a family held in bondage by the former Port Tobacco mill owner Roger Smith (d. 1768). This Margaret, who had at least seven children with her enslaved husband Roger by 1768, would have been sixty-five years old in 1785.⁴⁰

Rachael and *Lucy* (*Luce*), the only recorded daughters of Margaret (Peg) and Roger in the estate of Roger Smith (d. 1768) of Charles County, are two other enslaved women who appear to have worked at or near the mill. The sisters were included in Thomas Stone's lease and subsequent purchase of Roger Smith's former property, a mill and two tracts called Chandlers Hill and Welcome. Chapter 4 provides information about these transactions. The birthdates of this Rachael and the Rachael (Thomas) in Thomas Stone's probate inventory are four years apart. Given the imprecision with which ages of the enslaved were recorded in probate inventories, it is possible that they are the same person. The name Lucy, though, does not appear in Thomas Stone's probate inventories of 1788.⁴¹

Thomas Stone hired *Will* from his sister, Catherine Scott, in 1777 and 1778, according to Catherine's son. Their sister Grace Stone also held in bondage a man named Will, who likely came from their father's estate. In 1785, Thomas Stone included "Will" among the enslaved people that he owed taxes on that year; it's difficult to say who he was referring to.⁴²

³⁹ Chapter 3 discusses Bet and her circumstances in Philadelphia.

⁴⁰ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 22, 1785 ("Margot at the mill"), November 24, 1785 ("Ask Mr Ridgate"), and Thomas Stone to Walter or Michael Jenifer Stone, December 21, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC; probate inventory of Roger Smith, taken August 2, 1768, recorded November 6, 1769, Charles County Inventories, 1766–73: 283–86, MSA; will of Roger Smith, May 18, 1768, proven June 21, 1768, Charles County Wills, AE6:28–30, MSA.

⁴¹ Charles County Land Records V#3:210, 539–42, 588–89, MSA. According to Roger Smith's probate inventory of 1768, Rachel was born in or around 1752 and her sister Lucy in or around 1760.

⁴² Alexander Scott's bill of complaint, 1805, Chancery Court, Chancery Papers, case 4647, MSA; probate inventory of Grace Stone, Charles County Register of Wills, I&A 1808–1812:416; Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, April 22, 1785, Stone Family Papers, LC.

Jeane entered a legal limbo during the Revolutionary War when the man who claimed her as property, Lloyd Dulany, a prominent Annapolis resident and a Loyalist, and his wife left for England in 1776. The state of Maryland confiscated Dulany's estate and sold *Jeane* to Thomas Stone in 1782. Where or in what circumstances *Jeane* lived is unknown.

Also during the Revolutionary War, Thomas Stone transferred a man named *Harry*, his wife *Nan*, another man named *Joe*, and a boy called *Clem* into the ownership of a Charles County planter named Charles Goodrick in partial payment for 120 acres of land. How the four people came under Thomas Stone's control is not presently known.⁴³

Lastly, a man named *Webster* accompanied *Jack* from Haberdeventure to Annapolis in December 1783 to bring back Thomas Stone's carriage and other articles. *Webster's* status as free or unfree is unknown.⁴⁴

⁴³ Charles County Land Records, V#3:402-3, 423, MSA.

⁴⁴ Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, December 3, 1783, The Rosenbach, Philadelphia.

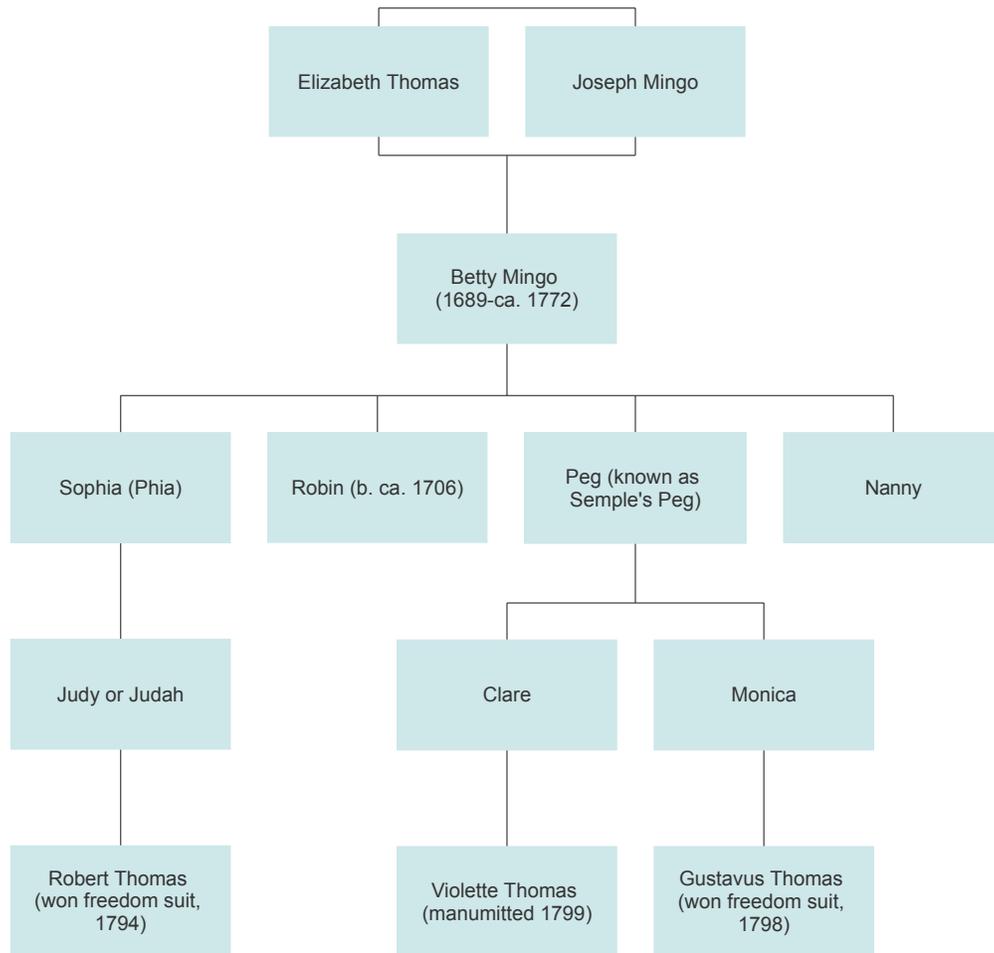
APPENDIX 10

Known Family Groups among the Enslaved at Thomas Stone's Properties

- Clare (Thomas)
 - ◇ Nan
 - ◇ Violette Thomas
 - Child by 1787
 - Child by 1787
 - ◇ Ann, married to Tom Triplet
 - Child by 1785
 - Child by 1790
 - Child by 1790
 - Child by 1790
 - ◇ Heth
 - ◇ Clare
- Sall and Bob
 - ◇ Child by 1785
- Rachael (wife of Jack?)
 - ◇ Jack (Thomas?)
 - ◇ Betty?
- Ibe and Henry Semple
 - ◇ Kitty (b. 1788–93)
 - ◇ Nancy (b. 1788–93)
- Rachael and Lucy, sisters at the mill

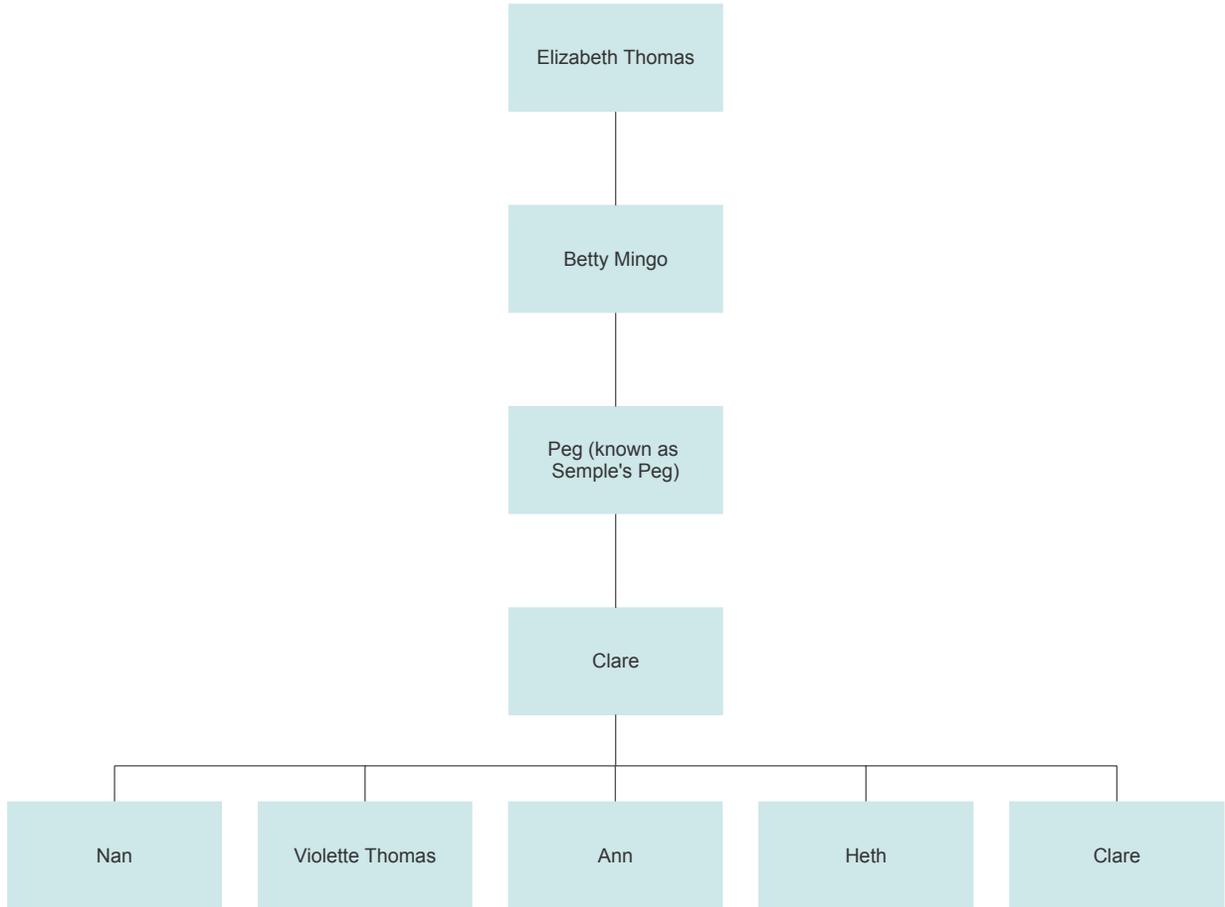
APPENDIX 11

Family Tree of Betty Mingo



APPENDIX 12

Family Tree of Clare (Thomas)



APPENDIX 13

Transcription of Violette Thomas's 1799 Deed of Manumission and 1796 Certificate

At the request of Violette Thomas the following deed of manumission was recorded this 16th day of October Anno Domini to 1799

Know all men by these presents that I John M. Daniel do hereby promise to set my negro woman Violet free from all claims of my self, my heirs, executors, or assigns, after she has faithfully served me and my family, for two years from the present date, but I also hereby declare that I do not grant her her freedom from any belief that she is intitled to liberty by being descended of a free woman, but that I do it purely in consideration of, and as a reward for, her humility and obliging conduct towards my family. Witness my hand and seal this twenty seventh day of March one thousand, seven hundred and ninety seven.

Jno. M. Daniel

Witness: [Lob's?] Thos. Watkins

At the request of Violette Thomas the following certificate was recorded this 16th day of October Anno Domini 1799.

Annapolis 27th May 1796. I certify that the bearer Violette Thomas a lusty yellow woman the common size and about twenty nine years of age (formerly the property of Miss Peggy Stone) is proved by a deposition taken concerning her right to freedom, to be of the Thomas Family who obtained their freedom in the General Court at October term 1794, as follows, viz, that she is the daughter of Clare, who was the daughter of Peg, commonly called Semple's Peg, who was the daughter of Betty commonly called Betty Mingo.

G. Duvall

Source: Charles County Land Records IB#3:76-77, MSA.

APPENDIX 14

“The Thomas Family”



O SAY CAN YOU SEE

EARLY WASHINGTON, DC LAW & FAMILY PROJECT

The Thomas Family

The Thomas family from St. Mary's, Prince George's, and Charles Counties, Maryland, and Washington, DC, sued for their freedom between 1791-1810, claiming they were descended from a free woman named Elizabeth Thomas. These cases and the families who brought them were important in American history.

- *Robert Thomas v. Rev. Henry Pile* (Charles County, MD, 1791)
- *Daniel Thomas v. Henry Hamersley* (Charles County, 1791)
- *Eleanor Thomas, Priscilla Thomas, Matthew Thomas, John Thomas, Henry Thomas v. Benjamin Reeder* (Charles County, 1791?)
- *Gustavus Thomas v. Michael Jenifer Stone & Gustavus Richard Brown, executors of Thomas Stone* (Charles County, 1791)
- *John Thomas v. Raphael Boarman* (Charles County, MD, 1792 ?)
- *Elizabeth Thomas v. Raphael Boarman* (Charles County, 1792)
- *Ann Thomas v. Raphael Boarman* (Charles County, 1792)
- *Henry Thomas v. Raphael Boarman* (Charles County, 1792)
- *Archy Thomas v. Raphael Boarman* (Charles County, 1792)
- *Harry Thomas v. Raphael Boarman* (Charles County, 1792)
- *Priscilla Thomas v. Raphael Boarman* (Charles County, 1792)
- *Betsy Thomas v. Raphael Boarman* (Charles County, 1792)
- *Rhenny Thomas v. Raphael Boarman* (Charles County, 1792)
- *Nelly Thomas v. Raphael Boarman* (Charles County, 1792)
- *Louisa Thomas v. Raphael Boarman* (Charles County, 1792)
- *Lawson Thomas v. William Campbell* (Charles County, 1792 ?)
- *Charles Thomas v. Alexander Scott* (Charles County, 1792)
- *George Thomas v. Sarah Stone* (Charles County, 1792)
- *Lucy Thomas v. David Stone* (Charles County, 1792)
- *Sarah Thomas v. David Stone* (Charles County, 1792)
- *Thomas Thomas v. Anne Stone* (Charles County, 1792)
- *Ann Thomas, Jarrett Thomas, John Thomas v. Clement Briscoe* (St. Mary's County, 1792)
- *Richard Thomas v. Thomas Attaway Reeder* (St. Mary's County, 1793)
- *David Thomas v. Nicholas Blacklock* (St. Mary's County, 1793 ?)
- *Gustavus Thomas v. Lancelot Mason* (Charles County, 1793)
- *Judy Thomas v. Rev. Henry Pile* (Charles County, MD, 1794/5)



O SAY CAN YOU SEE

EARLY WASHINGTON, DC LAW & FAMILY PROJECT

- *William Thomas v. Edmund Plowdon, executor of Ignatius Wheeler* (St. Mary's County, MD, 1797)
- *Jesse Thomas v. Edmund Plowdon, executor of Ignatius Wheeler* (St. Mary's County, MD, 1797)
- *Teressa Thomas v. Richard Barnes* (St. Mary's County, MD, 1797)
- *Susanna Thomas v. Joseph Hall* (St. Mary's County, MD, 1797)
- *Juda Thomas v. Joseph Hall* (St. Mary's County, MD, 1797)
- *John Thomas v. Joseph Hall* (St. Mary's County, MD, 1797)
- *Luke Thomas v. Joseph Hall* (St. Mary's County, MD, 1797)
- *Charity Thomas v. Joseph Hall* (St. Mary's County, MD, 1797)
- *David Thomas v. Joseph Hall* (St. Mary's County, MD, 1797)
- *Stephen Thomas v. Joseph Hall* (St. Mary's County, MD, 1797)
- *William Thomas v. Betty Ann Eden* (St. Mary's County, MD, 1797)
- *Jeremiah Thomas v. Betty Ann Eden* (St. Mary's County, MD, 1797)
- *Margaret Thomas v. Betty Ann Eden* (St. Mary's County, MD, 1797)
- *Teresia Thomas v. Betty Ann Eden* (St. Mary's County, MD, 1797)
- *Henry Thomas v. Betty Ann Eden* (St. Mary's County, MD, 1797)
- *Eliza Thomas v. Betty Ann Eden* (St. Mary's County, MD, 1797)
- *Matilda Thomas v. Betty Ann Eden* (St. Mary's County, MD, 1797)
- *Peter Thomas v. Betty Ann Eden* (St. Mary's County, MD, 1797)
- *Ann Thomas v. Betty Ann Eden* (St. Mary's County, MD, 1797)
- *Mary Thomas v. Betty Ann Eden* (St. Mary's County, MD, 1797)
- *Charles Thomas v. Betty Ann Eden* (St. Mary's County, MD, 1797)
- *Peter Thomas v. Samuel Hamilton* (Prince George's County, MD, 1797)
- *Stephen Thomas v. John Ashton* (Prince George's County, MD, 1797)
- *Charles Thomas v. Clement Smith* (Prince George's County, MD, 1797)
- *Peter Thomas v. Creedy Hamilton* (Washington, DC, 1809)
- *Walter & Dennis Thomas v. Alexander Scott* (Washington, DC, 1809)
- *Peter Thomas v. Christiana Hamilton* (Washington, DC, 1810)

If you have any information to contribute to the project about this family, please let us know.

William G. Thomas III • wgthomas3@gmail.com • (402) 472-2414

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EARLY WASHINGTON, DC LAW & FAMILY PROJECT

The Thomas Family

The Thomas family tree is based on court records from the National Archives in Washington, DC, the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, and Thomas F. Brown and Leah C. Sims, "To Swear Him Free": Ethnic Memory as Social Capital in Eighteenth-Century Freedom Petitions," in *Colonial Chesapeake: New Perspectives*, ed. Debra Meyers and Melanie Perreault (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006).

- Elizabeth Thomas – a Welsh woman
 - + Joseph Mingo – arrived in Charles County, MD, prior to 1680
 - Lewis Mingo – b. abt 1681
 - Elizabeth "Betty" Mingo – d. abt 1772
 - + Harry Cooper ?
 - Margaret "Peg" Thomas
 - Henry Thomas – b. abt 1745
 - Margaret "Peg" Thomas
 - Richard Thomas – filed freedom suit in 1793 against Thomas Ataway Reeder
 - Peter Thomas – filed freedom suit in 1797 against Samuel Hamilton
 - Lawson Thomas – filed freedom suit in 1792 against William Campbell
 - Monica Thomas
 - Gustavus Thomas – filed freedom suit in 1791 against Thomas Stone
 - Charles Thomas – filed freedom suit in 1792 against Alexander Scott
 - Betty Thomas
 - George Thomas – filed freedom suit in 1792 against Sarah Stone
 - Lucy Thomas – filed freedom suit in 1792 against David Stone
 - Sarah Thomas – filed freedom suit in 1792 against David Stone
 - Thomas Thomas – filed freedom suit in 1792 against Anne Stone
 - Clare Thomas
 - Jenny Thomas
 - Gustavus Thomas – filed freedom suit in 1793 against Lancelot Mason
- Robin Mingo

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- Sophia Thomas
 - Judah "Judy" Thomas - b. abt 1752
 - Robert Thomas - filed freedom suit in 1791 against Rev. Henry Pile
 - Eleanor Thomas - filed freedom suit in 1791 against Benjamin Reeder
- Nanny Cooper
 - John Thomas - filed freedom suit abt 1792 against Raphael Boorman
- Jenny Thomas
 - Henry Thomas - b. abt 1745
 - Jenny Thomas
 - Daniel Thomas - filed freedom suit in 1791 against Henry Hamersley
- Sarah Thomas
 - Letty Thomas
 - Richard Thomas
 - Jerry Thomas
 - Eleanor Thomas
 - David Thomas - filed freedom suit in 1793 against Nicholas Blacklock
 - Ann Thomas - filed freedom suit in 1792
 - Richard Thomas
- ◻ Charles Mingo
 - + Mary Curtis
 - Jonathan Curtis

If you have any information to contribute to the project about this family, please let us know.
William G. Thomas III • wgthomas3@gmail.com • (402) 472-2414

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APPENDIX 15

Transcription of Bill of Sale for Ann, Tom, and Children, 1790

At the request of Joseph Edelin the Following Bill of Sale was Recorded this 28th day of June Anno Domini 1790. Maryland Charles County to wit March 25th 1790. Know all men by these presents. that I, Walter Stone Attorney for Michael Jenifer Stone and Gustavus Richard Brown Executors of the Estate of Thomas Stone Esquire for and in consideration of the Sum of one Hundred and Ten pounds Maryland Currency to me in hand paid or Secured to be paid, the receipt whereof I the said Walter Stone Attorney as aforesaid do hereby Acknowledge: have given Granted, Bargained and Sold, and do by these presents, give, grant, Bargain and Sell, unto Joseph Edelin of Prince Georges County, one negroe Woman called Ann, and her four children; to have and to hold the said negroe Ann and her four children for the only proper use and behoof of him the said Joseph Edelin his Heirs and assigns, the right and property of and in the said negroes Ann and her four children to the said Joseph Edelin his heirs and Assigns, against all manner of Persons whatsoever, will forever Warrant and defend. and the said Walter Stone attorney as aforesaid have also given, granted, bargained and sold and by these presents do give grant bargain and sell unto the said Joseph Edelin his Heirs and assigns all the right, title Interest and property of Thomas Stone Esquire of Colonel John Hoskins Stone and of Edward Edelin in and to one negroe man called Tom, a Carpenter to have and hold the said carpenter Tom for the only proper use and behoof of him the said Joseph Edelin his heirs and assigns. In witness whereof I have hereunto fixed my hand and seal the date and year first above written.

Test. James A. Corr
David Griffith

Walter Stone, attorney for
M J Stone & G. R. Brown,
Exrs. of T. Stone

On the back of the foregoing Bill of Sale was thus written to wit. . . on the Thirteenth day of May 1790 came Walter Stone Attorney for Michael Jenifer Stone and Gustavus Richard Brown Executors of Thomas Stone Esquire. . . and acknowledge the negroes Ann and her four children and Carpenter Tom therein mentioned to be the right and Property of Joseph Edelin, his heirs and assigns therein mentioned.

Source: Charles County Land Records, K#4:114, MSA.

APPENDIX 16

Transcription of Grace Stone's Account with John and Walter Stone, November 23, 1790, to September 30, 1791

D^r Miss Grace Stone, In Acct with John & Walter Stone

1790			Currency		
November	23	To 5½ yd kersey a 4/. Thread 1/. 2 doz buttons a 8 ^d	1	4	4
		3½ yd. Osnabrig a 1/6. Thread 1/. 1p. yarn hose 2/9		9	
December	8 th	6 yds plains a 3/9. thread 1/. 1 p yarn hose 2/9 for Sall	1	6	3
	16	Sundries for Negroe Sall Viz ^t			
		5 yds Osnabrig a 1/8. 1½ yd. Linsey a 2/9/		12	5½
		1 p. Shoes 8/4. 1 oz thread 6 ^d		8	10
	25	2 ½ yd Blk pealong a 7/6. 2 pr Shoes a 7/6. 1 hank Silk 10 ^d	1	14	7

1791					
January	3	1 p. hose ¾. ½ yd Rapping a 2/4 for Jim		4	6
	11	paid for making a Shirt for Bill		1	6
	13	Eleanor Davis		17	8
		5 yds osnabrig a 1/6. thread 1/.		8	6
	18	6 yds Rolls for Winny 7/.		7	
	19	1 yd. wh. flannel 3/. Tea & Sugar 3/8 for Winny		6	8
	22	1 p Shoes for Bill 11/3		11	3
February	2	8 yds Cotton a 2/9. Thread 1/. for 3 Children	1	3	
		cash paid Midwife's fee for Winny		15	
	9	2½ yd kersey a 3/. 1 oz thread 6 ^d for Basil		8	
	22	2¼ yds kersey a 4/. buttons 8 ^d . thread 1/. for Bill		10	8
March	18	paid for making a pair breeches for ditto		3	
	26	cash pd for Cutting out d ^o d ^o		1	3
April	4	1 hat for Bill 7/6. 1/4 yd. plains for ditto 11 ^d ¼		8	5¼
	25	1 yd osnabrig for Basil 1/8.		1	8
June	7	7 yds osnabrig 1 1/8. ¼ osnabrig .. 1/3 for Bill		12	11
Septem.	24	3½ yd. osnabrig for Sall		6	1½
	26	R. Fergusson 2¾ yd. modr a 10/6	1	8	102
		ditto 4 yds Crape a 4/6.		18	
		Henry Barnes 10 yds ditto a 4/6	2	5	
		4 hks. Silk a 10 ^d . Thread 1/. 6¾ yd. Calimanco a 2/3		19	6¼
	2 yds. Brown holland a 2/4		4	8	

Appendix 16

			Cr		
1791			£ 18	18	8
Septem	30	To balance ...	7	2	5

Contra

1791					
Feb.y	3	By Richard Mitchell for hire of Will	8	1	3
May	10	By George Simpson 1 Month's hire of ditto	1	17	6
		By Cash rec ^d . of Barton Flannigan and part of Bill's hire	1	17	6
Sep.	30	By Balance p Debit	7	2	5
			£ 18	18	8

Glossary

Kersey: A kind of coarse narrow cloth, woven from long wool and usually ribbed.

Osnaburg: As a mass noun: a kind of coarse linen (and later cotton) cloth originally made at Osnabrück, used especially for making rough hard-wearing clothing, or for furnishings, sacks, tents, and so forth. As a count noun (usually in *plural*, sometimes treated as *singular*): a quantity of this; (also) an item or items made of such cloth, *especially* (formerly) clothing given to servants or slaves.

Pelong: A kind of silk fabric.

Crape: A thin transparent gauze-like fabric, plain woven, without any twill, of highly twisted raw silk or other staple, and mechanically embossed, so as to have a crisped or minutely wrinkled surface.

Calimanco: A woolen stuff of Flanders, glossy on the surface, and woven with a satin twill and chequered in the warp, so that the checks are seen on one side only; much used in the eighteenth century.

Holland: A linen fabric, originally called, from the province of Holland in the Netherlands, Holland cloth. When unbleached, it is called brown Holland.

Document Source: William Briscoe Stone Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University.

Word definitions supplied from the *Oxford English Dictionary Online*.

Transcriber: Crystal O'Connor

APPENDIX 17

Probate Inventory of Grace Stone, 1811

Inventory of the goods, chattels and personal estate of Grace Stone late of Charles County deceased, appraised. . . this 12th day of June 1811

Winney	“about” age 39	160.00
Child	age 1	50.00
Harry	age 25	340.00
Ann	age 16	260.00
Charles	age 14	280.00
Basil	age 12	220.00
Luce	“I guess” age 85	—
4 old trunks		2.00
1 old bed + 2 pillows		4.50
1 small pitcher		0.20
2 old books		0.50
wearing apparel		5.00
Total		<hr/> \$1522.20

Appraisers John B. Wills and Will Vincent

Sworn by administrator of the will, John [E.?] Ford, on August 14, 1811

Source: Charles County Register of Wills, Inventories and Accounts 1808–12, p. 416, MSA.

APPENDIX 18

Agreement between Walter Stone and Thomas Ostro (Osston), January 10, 1787

Articles of Agreement made this day between Walter Stone for Thomas Stone & Thomas Ostro Witnesseth that the said Ostro covenants & Obliges himself to take charge of manage & Conduct the said Stone's Mill near Port Tobacco & a field adjoining to the road together with such Stock as shall be Comitted to him, and Negroe Phil—for the year 1787, and to raise hogs at said place & to find Horses to work said field for which said Ostro is to be allowed one tenth part of the Clear profits of said Mill, one fifth part of the pork raised—provided not above five thousand weight is to be raised in any one year, and one half the clear profits of the said Land, and the said Ostro binds & obliges himself to conduct the said Mill & property diligently & faithfully, & to Obey the said Stone's directions respecting the same & In all things to act as a faithfull carefull & Thrifty manager for said Stone & to do Justice to all customers coming to said Mill & to keep the same in good and proper repair, and the said Ostro obliges himself to treat and use the Negroes of the said Stone which may be at the Mill with care and humanity, & to have no Drinking or Gaming at the Mill & the said Stone shall have free liberty to turn off the said Ostro at any time if his in any manner misbehaves himself & of which the said Stone shall be Sole Judge—and to render at the End of every four Months on oath, if required by the Stone a fair faithfull and Just account to the said Stone of all and every thing appertaining unto the Mill, In witness whereof the parties have hereunto set their this 10th day of Jan^y 1787

Witness
Rd. Tubman

Thomas Osston
WStone

Inventory of the Goods at the Mill¹

2 Mill Peckers²
1 Chain
4 Cows & 1 Yearling
3 old Plows
1 Sow & 4 Shoats
1 narrow Ax
1 Sorrel Mare & 1 Colt
1 pr Hinges
1 Skew Bald Horse³
1 Whip Saw
Fredereck's Mare
2 old Hilling hoes
2 oxen
1 adz
1 Coulter⁴
1 Cart
1 Pot & Dutchoven
1 Hand Saw

Rd. Tubman

Thomas Osston

NB. 1 pr Hand Mill Stones

Source: Wanamaker Scrapbook, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹ Inventory is in a different hand.

² *Oxford English Dictionary* (hereafter abbreviated as *OED*): A mill-pick (also millpeck) was “an iron tool for producing a corrugated surface on a mill stone.” The word dates to the fourteenth century.

³ *OED*: Skewbald is an adjective, especially with horses, meaning “irregularly marked with white and brown or red, or some similar color.”

⁴ *OED*: A coulter is the “iron blade in front of the share in a plough; it makes a vertical cut in the soil, which is then sliced horizontally by the share.”

APPENDIX 19

Legal History Research Methods and Results

by Amy Speckart, PhD, and Edward A. Bradley, PhD

Introduction by Amy Speckart, PhD

The Scope of Work for the Thomas Stone National Historic Site Historic Resource Study called for documentation of Thomas Stone’s legal career “as a means for determining [Stone’s] role, influence, and relationships in Charles County and beyond.” As this brief introductory essay will make clear, I took a collaborative approach to crafting and executing a research plan for examining court records at the Maryland State Archives. I will explain key research selection decisions, identify the research goals, and discuss unexpected discoveries and obstacles.

Early on, I sought the advice of Paul D. Halliday, Professor of History at the University of Virginia, author of a landmark work in English Atlantic legal history, *Habeus Corpus: From England to Empire* (2010), on how to start the process of acquiring data on Stone’s legal career. Professor Halliday suggested a method of sampling court records that he had recently used in the former British colony of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). Choose three years, Professor Halliday suggested, and read across those years in a selection of higher and lower courts, looking for evidence of Stone’s appearances.

Owen E. Lourie, Historian at the Maryland State Archives, suggested ways for Dr. Edward A. Bradley, a research professional I had hired to conduct work at the Maryland State Archives, and me to refine this approach based on the available records. Mr. Lourie suggested starting with the higher courts—the Provincial Court and the General Courts of the Eastern and Western Shores. The quality of the records for the higher courts is higher and more consistent than for the county courts. Mr. Lourie further suggested starting our work with dockets in which we could find references to Thomas Stone much more quickly, in the dockets’ abbreviated notation form, than thumbing through pages of judgments.

Taking into account the records that were available, Dr. Bradley and I selected three years to document the beginning, middle, and end of Thomas Stone’s legal career—1771, 1779, and 1786. After examining the higher courts, our next priority was the county courts to which Stone was admitted, starting with Stone’s home county, Charles County, and Prince George’s County. Given that no Charles County court records from between 1781 and 1787 survive, Mr. Lourie assured us that Prince George’s County would be a good stand-in for Charles for 1786. Our third priority was Baltimore County, Frederick County, and the Mayor’s Court of Annapolis.

Dr. Bradley conducted the research itself, carefully examining dockets to find Thomas Stone's appearances. For each appearance of "TS" as counsel Dr. Bradley recorded in spreadsheets the information provided by the dockets, which includes, for every suit, the names of the plaintiff and defendant, counsels' initials, county of origin, and a description of the case in abbreviated form. Dr. Bradley also took photographs of each appearance of "TS." The spreadsheets and the photographs will be submitted to the OAH and NPS with other research notes for this HRS.

One weakness of this docket stripping approach is positively identifying each occurrence of the initials "TS" as a reference to Thomas Stone. How do we know that the initials "TS" on the dockets refer to Thomas Stone? (I thank Mr. Lourie for raising this question.) A comprehensive study of lawyers in colonial Maryland, Alan F. Day's *A Social Study of Lawyers in Maryland, 1660-1775* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989), particularly its appendix of biographies, gave us some assurance that there were no other lawyers in the higher courts with the initials "TS" during Stone's lifetime, but Day ended his examination of court records in 1775. Another source of assurance is that a court clerk would have distinguished between two men with the same initials. For instance, clerks wrote down "Jgs" to refer to Thomas Jennings, presumably in order to avoid confusion with Thomas Johnson, another prominent lawyer active at the time. Otherwise I trusted Dr. Bradley's judgment as he spent day after day in the Maryland State Archives reading room, examining the manuscript record. His biggest challenge with respect to the initials was not separating various forms of "TS" but in distinguishing the letters "TS" from "TJ," and this was most difficult for the Provincial Court record of 1771. By 1779, Stone had gained more notoriety, and the "TS" appears in more distinct form. Dr. Bradley and I are reasonably confident that our results document Thomas Stone's appearances in the higher courts in three selected years.

As it turned out, Dr. Bradley's meticulous work documenting the appearance of Thomas Stone's initials on the dockets of the higher courts absorbed all the research hours that I had budgeted for his work. In fact, we did not finish a complete sample of the year 1786 in the General Court of the Western Shore; Dr. Bradley made a full record of Stone's appearances at the May session, but we ran short on time and did not record the October session. Thomas Stone had more cases by far come before the May 1786 session of the General Court of the Western Shore than any other session Dr. Bradley examined (247 in May 1786, in contrast to 63 in May 1779 and 27 in the Provincial Court in September 1771). Possible reasons for the heavier caseload include debt collection after the close of the Revolutionary War and Thomas Stone's full-time residence in Annapolis, giving him more time to plead cases in the general court. Dr. Bradley and I did not foresee such a dramatic rise in Stone's higher-court caseload when we made our research plan.

From the higher-court dockets alone, Dr. Bradley harvested far more data than could be analyzed for this HRS given time constraints. Nonetheless, a more comprehensive project should consider examining the Chancery Court (created in 1776, with no docket until 1784) plus the county courts. The best complement to this study would observe the same sampling techniques in order to identify patterns in Thomas Stone’s law practice.

Report by Edward A. Bradley, PhD

The research at the Maryland State Archives aimed at detecting patterns in Thomas Stone’s legal career through an analysis of Maryland court records—specifically, dockets from the Provincial Court (1771), the General Court of the Eastern Shore (1779 and 1786), and the General Court of the Western Shore (1779 and May 1786). This research method posed several challenges—including incomplete (or nonexistent) listings of forms of action, obscure legal abbreviations, and multiple spellings of an individual’s surname. Nevertheless, based on this sample, we discerned that the large majority of Stone’s cases involved debt or property (ejectment, trespass, etc.) matters; he worked on relatively few criminal cases or petition for freedom cases. Stone seemed particularly active during the GCWS May 1786 term, as his caseload was heavy at that time. As would be expected for a resident of Charles County, a large portion of Stone’s casework originated either in Charles County or in neighboring Prince George’s County. Research in Prince George’s County court records might be worthwhile.

The following is a breakdown of our research under the categories of Forms of Action, Counsel in Stone’s Cases, Stone’s Co-counselors, Stone’s Repeat Clients, County of Origin, and Monetary Value of judgments/settlements. Commentary (in italics) is interspersed throughout.

Initials have been matched to individuals based on knowledge of the period and Day’s *A Social Study of Lawyers in Maryland, 1660–1775*, Appendix B, “Biographical Appendix.”

Total Number of Docket Appearances by “TS”

Provincial Court, September 1771: 27

General Court of the Eastern Shore, 1779: 19

April 1779: 10

September 1779: 9

General Court of the Eastern Shore, 1786: 17

April 1786: 13

September 1786: 4

General Court of the Western Shore, 1779: 150

May 1779: 63

October 1779: 87

General Court of the Western Shore, 1786: [247+]*

May 1786: 247

*Data not recorded for October 1786 session of General Court of the Western Shore

Forms of Action in Thomas Stone's Cases

Many cases (164 out of the total 460 recorded) did not have a form of action listed. It is safe to assume that a considerable percentage of these cases involved debt, ejectment, or trespass.

Provincial Court, September 1771

Debt: 4

Ejectment: 5

Replevin: 1

Trespass: 5

General Court of the Eastern Shore, April and September 1779

Debt: 2

Ejectment: 4

Trespass: 6

General Court of the Eastern Shore, April and September 1786

Ejectment: 9

Replevin: 1

Scire Facias: 2

General Court of the Western Shore, May and October 1779

Assault: 6

Debt: 24

Ejectment: 44

False Imprisonment: 4

Replevin: 9

Scire Facias: 2

Slander: 6

Trespass: 15

Trover: 2

General Court of the Western Shore, May 1786

Debt: 95

Ejectment: 23

Petition for Freedom: 5

Replevin: 7

Scire Facias: 12

Trespass: 3

Counsel in Thomas Stone's Cases

Initials-only listings indicate that more than one Stone contemporary had those initials.*

*The initials "JH" and "JTC" were difficult to distinguish from one another.

Provincial Court 1771

Samuel Chase (SC): 11 appearances (6 plaintiff, 5 defense)

George Corbin (GC): 1 appearance (defense)

JH: 9 appearances (1 plaintiff, 8 defense)

Thomas Jennings (Jgs): 11 appearances (8 plaintiff, 3 defense)

Thomas Johnson (TJ): 12 appearances (8 plaintiff, 4 defense)

William Paca (WP): 3 appearances (1 plaintiff, 2 defense)

John Rogers (JR): 9 appearances (6 plaintiff, 3 defense)

James Tilghman or James Tilghman III (Til): 2 appearances (2 defense)

General Court of the Eastern Shore 1779

Francis Curtis (FC): 1 appearance (defense)

G: 9 appearances (7 plaintiff, 2 defense)

RG: 6 appearances (5 plaintiff, 1 defense)

RGG: 3 appearances (3 plaintiff)

JH: 1 appearance (1 plaintiff)

Thomas Jennings (Jgs): 3 appearances (3 defense)

Luther Martin (LM): 5 appearances (2 plaintiff, 3 defense)

Joseph Nicholson Jr. (JN): 3 appearances (3 defense)

Josiah Polk (JP): 1 appearance (defense)

PS: 1 appearance (defense)

Gustavus Scott (GS): 2 appearances (1 plaintiff, 1 defense)

JW (not in list of TS contemporaries): 1 appearance (plaintiff)

Robert Wright (RW): 5 appearances (5 defense)

Solomon Wright (SWt): 1 appearance (plaintiff)

General Court of the Eastern Shore 1786

G: 1 appearance (plaintiff)

RG: 10 appearances (2 plaintiff, 8 defense)

WH: 4 appearances (2 plaintiff, 2 defense)

Peregrine Leatherbury (PL): 4 appearances (4 defense)

Luther Martin (LM): 9 appearances (6 plaintiff, 3 defense)

Gustavus Scott (GS): 3 appearances (1 plaintiff, 2 defense)

WT: 1 appearance (plaintiff)

Robert Wright (RW): 2 appearances (2 plaintiff)

General Court of the Western Shore 1779

JSC: 1 appearance (defense)

WC: 6 appearances (2 plaintiff, 4 defense)

Jeremiah Townley Chase (JTC): 12 appearances (6 plaintiff, 6 defense)

Samuel Chase (SC): 34 appearances (23 plaintiff, 11 defense)
Francis Curtis (FC): 2 appearances (2 defense)
G: 40 appearances (24 plaintiff, 16 defense)
JH: 36 appearances (12 plaintiff, 24 defense)
Thomas Bedingfield Hands (TH): 1 appearance (defense)
Thomas Jennings (Jgs): 23 appearances (10 plaintiff, 13 defense)
Luther Martin (LM): 3 appearances (1 plaintiff, 2 defense)
Joseph Nicholson Jr. (JN): 5 appearances (3 plaintiff, 2 defense)
PP (not in list of TS contemporaries): 2 appearances (2 plaintiff)
RR (not in list of TS contemporaries): 4 appearances (2 plaintiff, 2 defense)
John Rogers (JR): 25 appearances (17 plaintiff, 8 defense)
John Allen Thomas (JAT): 1 appearance (plaintiff)
W: 1 appearance (plaintiff)
JW (not in list of TS contemporaries): 7 appearances (5 plaintiff, 2 defense)

General Court of the Western Shore 1786

JA (not in list of TS contemporaries): 1 appearance (defense)
JC (not in list of TS contemporaries): 2 appearances (2 defense)
Jeremiah Townley Chase (JTC): 27 appearances (16 plaintiff, 11 defense)
Samuel Chase (SC): 47 appearances (21 plaintiff, 26 defense)
Francis Curtis (FC): 4 appearances (1 plaintiff, 3 defense)
GD (not in list of TS contemporaries): 19 appearances (8 plaintiff, 11 defendant)
JD (not in list of TS contemporaries): 2 appearances (2 defense)
WD (not in list of TS contemporaries): 5 appearances (4 plaintiff, 1 defense)
JH: 21 appearances (10 plaintiff, 11 defense)
ZH (not in list of TS contemporaries): 1 appearance (plaintiff)
Aquila Hall (AH): 1 appearance (defense)
Thomas Jennings (Jgs): 66 appearances (39 plaintiff, 27 defense)
EK (not in list of TS contemporaries): 1 appearance (defense)
DM (not in list of TS contemporaries): 7 appearances (3 plaintiff, 4 defense)
Luther Martin (LM): 43 appearances (22 plaintiff, 21 defense)
PP (not in list of TS contemporaries): 3 appearances (1 plaintiff, 2 defense)
Robert Pitt (RP): 34 appearances (28 plaintiff, 6 defense)
RR (not in list of TS contemporaries): 29 appearances (13 plaintiff, 16 defense)
MS (not in list of TS contemporaries): 22 appearances (15 plaintiff, 7 defense)
RS (not in list of TS contemporaries): 9 appearances (5 plaintiff, 4 defense)
T (not in list of TS contemporaries): 1 appearance (defense)
John Allen Thomas (JAT): 32 appearances (17 plaintiff, 15 defense)

Thomas Stone's Co-Counsels

Initials-only listings indicate that more than one Stone contemporary had those initials.*

*The initials "JH" and "JTC" were difficult to distinguish from one another.

Provincial Court 1771

Samuel Chase (SC): 2 co-counsel appearances

George Corbin (GC): 1 co-counsel appearance

JH: 5 co-counsel appearances

Thomas Jennings (Jgs): 3 co-counsel appearances

Thomas Johnson (TJ): 3 co-counsel appearances

John Rogers (JR): 3 co-counsel appearances

General Court of the Eastern Shore 1779

G: 4 co-counsel appearances

RG: 3 co-counsel appearances

RGG: 2 co-counsel appearances

Thomas Jennings (Jgs): 1 co-counsel appearance

Luther Martin (LM): 5 co-counsel appearances

General Court of the Eastern Shore 1786

RG: 9 co-counsel appearances

WH: 1 co-counsel appearance

Luther Martin (LM): 6 co-counsel appearances

Gustavus Scott (GS): 1 co-counsel appearance

WT: 1 co-counsel appearance

General Court of the Western Shore 1779

WC: 2 co-counsel appearances

Jeremiah Townley Chase (JTC): 2 co-counsel appearances

Samuel Chase (SC): 4 co-counsel appearances

Francis Curtis (FC): 1 co-counsel appearance

G: 26 co-counsel appearances

JH: 5 co-counsel appearances

Thomas Bedingfield Hands (TH): 1 co-counsel appearance

Thomas Jennings (Jgs): 2 co-counsel appearances

Joseph Nicholson Jr. (JN): 4 co-counsel appearances

John Rogers (JR): 7 co-counsel appearances

RR (not in list of TS contemporaries): 4 co-counsel appearances

W: 1 co-counsel appearance

JW (not in list of TS contemporaries): 7 co-counsel appearances

General Court of the Western Shore 1786

JC (not in list of TS contemporaries): 1 co-counsel appearance

Jeremiah Townley Chase (JTC): 10 co-counsel appearances

Samuel Chase (SC): 35 co-counsel appearances
Francis Curtis (FC): 2 co-counsel appearances
GD (not in list of TS contemporaries): 2 co-counsel appearances
JH: 4 co-counsel appearances
Thomas Jennings (Jgs): 4 co-counsel appearances
Luther Martin (LM): 16 co-counsel appearances
Robert Pitt (RP): 1 co-counsel appearance
RR (not in list of TS contemporaries): 8 co-counsel appearances
MS (not in list of TS contemporaries): 6 co-counsel appearances
RS (not in list of TS contemporaries): 1 co-counsel appearance
John Allen Thomas (JAT): 5 co-counsel appearances

Thomas Stone's Repeat Clients

Provincial Court 1771

Davis, Henry (2 appearances)
Edwards, Martha (2 appearances)
Kingsbury/Kingsberry, John (2 appearances)
Marshall, James (2 appearances)

General Court of the Eastern Shore 1779

Caulk, Judith (for James) (2 appearances)
Chase, Samuel (2 appearances)
Earle, Richard Tilghman (5 appearances)
Handy, Henry (2 appearances)
McComb, Eleazer (2 appearances)

General Court of the Eastern Shore 1786

Chase, Samuel (2 appearances)
Hall, Francis (2 appearances)
Llewellyn, John (Lessee) (2 appearances)
Macubbin, Nicholas (2 appearances)
Summers, James (Tenant) (2 appearances)
Thomas, William (2 appearances)

General Court of the Western Shore 1779 (3 or More Appearances)

Allen, Bennett (7 appearances)
Calvert, Benedict (11 appearances)
Carroll, Charles (6 appearances)
Gauntt/Gaunt, Fielder (4 appearances)
Howard, James (4 appearances)
Key, Philip (4 appearances)
Lord Proprietary, or wife of (6 appearances)
Somershill, William (5 appearances)

Urquhart, Alexander (4 appearances)

Thomas Stone represented fifty (50) clients at least twice in the GCWS 1786 session.

General Court of the Western Shore May 1786 (3 or More Appearances)

Armstrong, James (3 appearances)

Beckwith, William (3 appearances)

Bowie, William Sprig (3 appearances)

Contee, Alexander (& Company) (3 appearances)

Contee, Thomas (11 appearances)

Deakins, William (4 appearances)

Fowler, Thomas (administrator of Hazeldine) (8 appearances)

Grahame, Asenath (7 appearances)

Hall, Philip (4 appearances)

Hudson, Jonathan (9 appearances)

Lee, Richard (administrator for Philip) (4 appearances)

Mason, George (6 appearances)

McFadon, Alexander (3 appearances)

O'Neal/O'Neil, Bernard (4 appearances)

Reeder, Thomas A. (3 appearances)

Steward, Richardson (3 appearances)

Watson, Henry (3 appearances)

West, Stephen (25 appearances)

Wilcoxon, William (3 appearances)

Wilks, Joseph (3 appearances)

Thomas Stone represented forty-eight clients at least twice in the GCWS May 1779 session.

County of Origin

Provincial Court 1771

Charles (13 appearances: 5 Ejectment, 3 Trespass, 2 Debt, 1 Replevin, 2 Not Listed)

Frederick (4 appearances: 1 Debt, 3 Not Listed)

Prince George's (3 appearances: 1 Debt, 2 Not Listed)

Queen Anne's (1 appearance: Not Listed)

Saint Mary's (6 appearances: 2 Trespass, 4 Not Listed)

General Court of the Eastern Shore 1779

Cecil (1 appearance: Debt)

Dorchester (1 appearance: Not Listed)

Kent (2 appearances: Not Listed)

Queen Anne's (6 appearances: 4 Trespass, 1 Ejectment, 1 Not Listed)

Somerset (4 appearances: 2 Trespass, 1 Debt, 1 Not Listed)

Talbot (3 appearances: 3 Ejectment)

Worcester (2 appearances: Not Listed)

General Court of the Eastern Shore 1786

Caroline (2 appearances: 1 Ejectment, 1 Not Listed)

Cecil (3 appearances: 3 Ejectment)

Dorchester (1 appearance: 1 Replevin)

Kent (3 appearances: 2 Scire Facias, 1 Not Listed)

Queen Anne's (2 appearances: 2 Ejectment)

Talbot (3 appearances: 3 Ejectment)

Worcester (3 appearances: Not Listed)

General Court of the Western Shore 1779

Anne Arundel (26 appearances: 8 Ejectment, 6 Debt, 4 Replevin, 2 Trover, 1 Trespass, 1 Assault, 4 Not Listed)

Baltimore (8 appearances: 2 Debt, 2 Ejectment, 1 Debt/Replevin, 3 Not Listed)

Calvert (2 appearances: 2 Ejectment)

Charles (28 appearances: 11 Ejectment, 1 Assault, 16 Not Listed)

Frederick (18 appearances: 5 Ejectment, 4 Debt, 1 False Imprisonment, 8 Not Listed)

Harford (3 appearances: 3 Ejectment)

Kent (1 appearance: 1 Ejectment)

Montgomery (4 appearances: 3 Ejectment, 1 False Imprisonment)

Prince George's (20 appearances: 9 Trespass, 7 Ejectment, 1 Debt, 1 Replevin, 2 Not Listed)

Saint Mary's (29 appearances: 6 Debt, 6 Slander, 4 Assault, 2 Ejectment, 2 Replevin, 2 Scire Facias, 1 Debt/Replevin, 1 Trespass, 5 Not Listed)

Not Listed (11 appearances: 4 Trespass, 3 Debt, 2 False Imprisonment, 2 Not Listed)

Sixteen out of twenty appearances in Prince George's County cases involved either Trespass or Ejectment.

General Court of the Western Shore 1786

Anne Arundel (36 appearances: 13 Debt, 5 Ejectment, 4 Scire Facias, 2 Replevin, 12 Not Listed)

Baltimore (30 appearances: 8 Debt, 5 Ejectment, 17 Not Listed)

Calvert (6 appearances: 2 Ejectment, 1 Debt, 1 Scire Facias, 2 Not Listed)

Charles (27 appearances: 7 Debt, 2 Petition for Freedom, 1 Ejectment, 1 Trespass, 16 Not Listed)

Frederick (11 appearances: 5 Debt, 1 Scire Facias, 1 Trespass, 4 Not Listed)

Harford (4 appearances: 1 Ejectment, 1 Replevin, 2 Not Listed)

Montgomery (29 appearances: 22 Debt, 2 Petition for Freedom, 5 Not Listed)

Prince George's (77 appearances: 32 Debt, 5 Ejectment, 4 Scire Facias, 2 Debt/Replevin, 2 Replevin, 1 Debt/Scire Facias, 1 Trespass, 30 Not Listed)

Saint Mary's (14 appearances: 4 Debt, 1 Ejectment, 1 Petition for Freedom, 1 Scire Facias, 7 Not Listed)

Washington County (3 appearances: 2 Ejectment, 1 Debt)

Not Listed (11 appearances: 11 Not Listed)

Twenty-two out of twenty-nine Montgomery County cases involved debt.

Thirty-four out of seventy-seven Prince George's County cases involved debt—probably more than thirty-four, as thirty cases did not have a form of action listed.

Monetary Value

Provincial Court 1771

Wallace and Waters v. Kingsbury (“confessed for 30£”)

Wootton v. Davis (“[Debt] 200£”)

Wootton v. Davis (“[Debt] 500£”)

General Court of the Eastern Shore 1779

West and Hobson v. Jones (“Judgment for 3000£ [Sterling]” and “[Defendant] amerced [50 pounds of tobacco]”)

Jamieson, Johnston, and Brooke v. Thompson (“[Defendant] amerced [50 pounds of tobacco]”)

Earle v. Bryan (“Bryan fined [7 shillings, 6 pence]”)

General Court of the Eastern Shore 1786

None

General Court of the Western Shore 1779

Allen v. French (“[Debt] 200,000 [pounds?] [tobacco]”)

Wedershandt v. Meadows (“The [plaintiff] agrees to release this [Judgment] on payment of 250£ pounds. . . and the cost of suit”)

Plater v. Bruce (“[Sheriff] [Frederick] amd. 5£. - Sept. Ct. 1773. fur. amd. 5£. Sept. 1774. - fur. amd. 50£ nisi 2d day of last Ct. - fur. amd. 50£ nisi this Ct. Nar - [Sheriff] further amd. [Damages] & Cost Nisi 2d day next Ct.”)

Gaunt v. Christ (“False [Imprisonment]; Cepi; Sher. amd. 100£. Nisi 2d day next Ct.”)

General Court of the Western Shore May 1786

Hughes v. Cox (“[Judgment conferred?] for 2538:9.4£ [?] [& Co.?] to be ret'd. on payt. of 1269.4£ S [?] with [?] from 29th July 1783 & [?] paymts. if any to be all”)

Hughes v. Bowie (“[Judgment conferred?] for 2538:9.4£ [?] [& Co.?] to be ret'd. on payt. of 1269.4£ S [?] with [?] from 29th July 1783 & [?] paymts. if any to be all”)

Hughes v. Cox (“[Judgment conferred?] for 2538:9.4£ [?] [& Co.?] to be ret'd. on payt. of 1269.4£ S [?] with [?] from 29th July 1783 & [?] paymts. if any to be all”)

Sothoron v. West (“confd. for 77.11.6£”)

Fowler v. Williams (“[Judgment]. for Principal & Costs & 10.1.2£ for 3 1/2 years Int.”)

Dorsey v. Jacques and Couden (“[Fiat?] to be rel. on payt. of 500£ [?] & Costs with Int on the same till paid”)

Mason v. Rutland (“[Judgment]. [conferred?] for 3234£ [?] & Costs”)

Washington v. Ireland (“Judt. for 1863.5£ [?] & Costs to be [reld.?] on payt. of [principal] Int & Costs of suit”)

Grahame v. Garn and Russell (“[Damages?] 330.17.3£ [Sterling]; [?] for £62.0.7 denial of [residue?]”)

Fowler v. Wheeler (“[Judgment confirmed?] for 56.9.2£ Cur & Co.”)

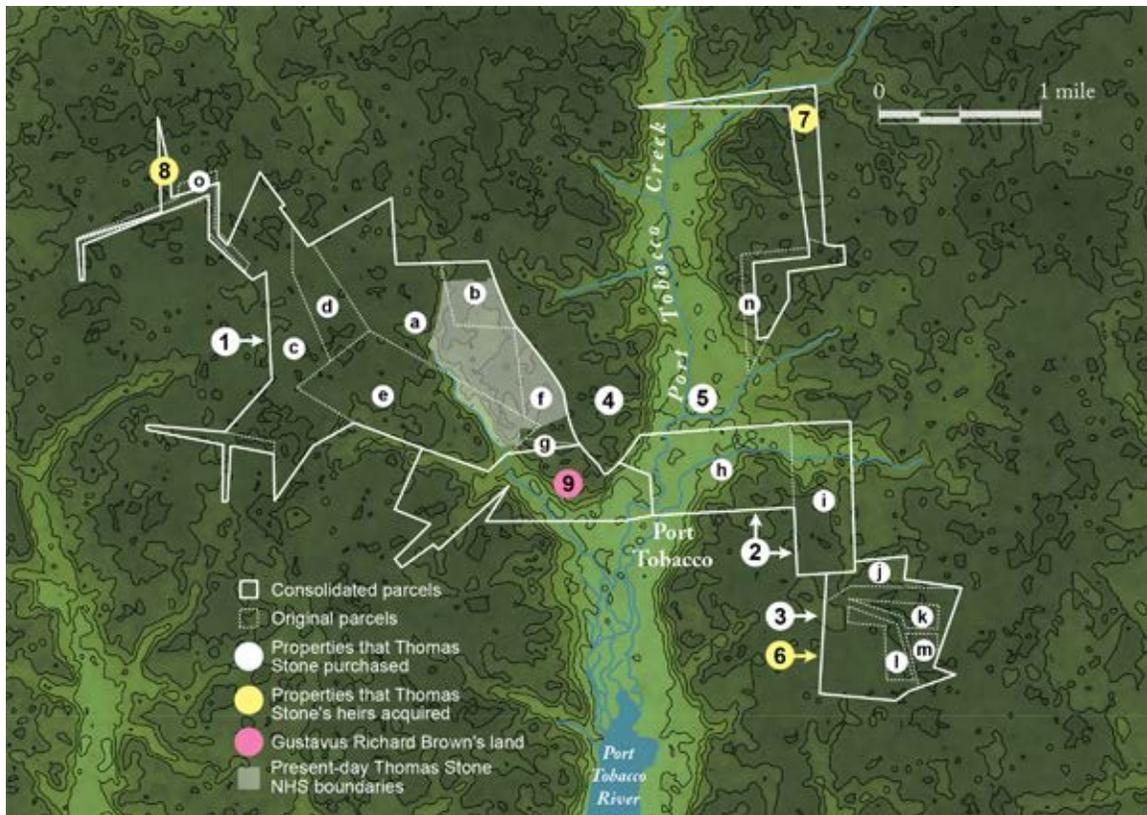
Fowler v. Dorsey (“[Judgment] for 86.12.5£ Cur & Cost; signed 3d June 1786; Writ of Error filed 12th Feb. 1787; Cost 526 [Tobacco]”)

Hall v. Jacob (“Co. 595 [Tobacco]”)

Lyles v. Eversfield (“[Amd.?] 1000 [Tobacco]”)

Mattingly v. Roberts (“Casa for Costs - 5332 [Tobacco]”)
Grahame v. Rogers and Rogers (“[Damages?] 547.3.2£ - Costs 549 [?] [Tobacco]”)
Ferguson v. Patterson (“Casa for Costs 549”)
Grahame v. Russell (“[Damages?] 3819.13.4£ [Sterling] Co. 1000”)
Paul v. Edelen (“[Debt] 63250 [?] - Co. 993 [?]”)
Paul v. Stonesheet (“[Debt] 63250 [?] - Co. 668 [?]”)
Clagett v. Weems (“[Damages?] 126.14.1£ Co. 1274 [?]”)
Fowler v. Philpot (“Atta. [Damages?] 3653.3.5£ Co. 720”)
Lee v. Whitaker (“[Damages?] 1/4]99.10.8£? - Co. 605 [?]”)
Lee v. Young (“[Damages?] 122.15.5£ - Co. 605 [?]”)
Lee v. Williamson (“[Damages?] 10£ - Co. 605 [?]; [?]”)
Lee v. Rogers (“[Damages?] 354.7.5£; Co. 605 [?]”)
Fenwick and Wife v. Aisquith (“Fifa [Debt?] 76700 & .696.15£ [Tobacco?] - Costs 8461 [?] & £34.13.3 [Contd.?] Cur - To lie in this office”)
Grahame v. Moore (“[Damages?] 307.1.9£ - Co. 673 [?] [Tobacco?]”)
Hudson v. Hawkins (“[Debt] 69605 [Tobacco?]”)
Gordon et al v. Busey (“[Debt] 5960 [Tobacco?] & 480.13£”)
Murdock v. Marbury et al (“[Debt] 800£”)
Murdock v. Hanson (“[Debt] 1646£”)
Murdock v. Tolson (“[Debt] 1646£”)
Matthews v. Bowie (“[Debt] 800£”)
Anderton v. Hollyday (“[Debt] 607.17.10£”)
Scott v. Rutland (“[Debt] 367.10£”)
Dick v. Hardy (“[Debt] 70000 [pounds?] [Tobacco?]”)
Dick v. Jenkins (“[Debt] 70000 [pounds?] [Tobacco?]”)
Contee v. Burgess (“[Debt] 800£”)
Contee v. Barnes (“[Debt] 800£ [Sterling]”)
Walker v. Brown and Wife (“[Debt] 282.7£”)
Contee v. Mackall (“[Debt] 800£”)
Yerbury and Waldron v. Rutland (“[Debt] 2054.9.6£ [Sterling]”)
Brooks v. Worthington (“[Debt] 1000£”)
Gordon et al v. Watson (“[Debt] 300.3.8£”)
Gordon et al v. Beckwith (“[Debt] 300.3.8£”)
Gordon et al v. Watson (“[Debt] 300.3.8£”)
Gordon et al v. Beckwith (“[Debt] 300.3.8£”)
Gordon et al v. Watson (“[Debt] 300.3.8£”)
Gordon et al v. Beckwith (“[Debt] 300.3.8£”)
Russell v. O’Neill and Deakins (“[Debt] [lb.?] 57000 [Tobacco] - value £3000”)
Barnes v. Maddock (“[Debt] 378.5.8£ Cur & 135.17.6£ [Sterling]”)
Cuninghame, Bogle, and Findlay v. Orme (“[Debt] 244.7.9£”)
Cuninghame, Bogle, and Findlay v. Hunt (“[Debt] 286.3.2£”)
Hayes v. Wilcoxon (“[Debt] 486.5.8£”)
Smith v. Wilcoxon (“[Debt] 1500£”)

Hayes and Hayes v. Wilcoxon (“[Debt] 600£”)
Gordon et al v. Lockett (“[Debt] 249.17.10£”)
Gordon et al v. Dent (“[Debt] 748.4.10£”)
Gordon et al v. Chase (“[Debt] 972.3.10£”)
Gordon et al v. Craik (“892.7£”)
Gordon et al v. Blandford (“[Debt] 210.17.2£”)
Gordon et al v. Lee (“[Debt] 417.0.3£”)
Boarman v. Contee (“[Debt] 870.5.5£”)
Galloway v. Hudson (“[Debt] 2533.2.3£”)
Ridley and Pringle v. Hudson (“[Debt] [lb.?] 48057 [Tobacco]”)
Ridley and Pringle v. Hudson (“[Debt] 145£”)



- ① Haberdeventure (1077 acres, patented in 1787), made up of the following tracts:
 - a. Haberdeventure and Hanson's Plains Enlarged
 - b. Hanson's Plains
 - c. Part of Hansonton
 - d. Bridget's Delight
 - e. Simpson's Delight
 - f. Part of St. Nicholas
 - g. Part of Betty's Delight and Prior's Beginning
- ② Plenty (510 acres, patented 1787), made up of the following tracts:
 - h. Part of Chandlers Hills
 - i. Welcome
- ③ Land purchased from Thomas Hopewell (1784)
 - j. Moberly
 - k. Hopewell's Discovery
 - l. Shaw's Trouble
 - m. Shaw's Barrons
- ④ Part of St. Nicholas, exchanged by Thomas Stone in 1783 for a part of St. Nicholas lying on the west side of Port Tobacco-Piscataway Road
- ⑤ Port Tobacco Great Mill (20 acres with mill seat, leased 1777, purchased 1782)
- ⑥ Moberly Enlarged (285 acres, patented by Thomas Stone's heirs in 1806)
- ⑦ Addition to May Day Enlarged (196 acres, patented by Thomas Stone's heirs in 1794)
 - n. Addition to May Day
- ⑧ Distrest Corrected (60 acres, patented by Thomas Stone's heirs in 1794)
 - o. Distrest
- ⑨ Rose Hill, Gustavus Richard Brown's residence (447 acres, patented 1789)

Map of Charles County land owned by Thomas Stone and his heirs, 1770–1806.

Data supplied by Donald E. Zimmer. Drawn by M. Roy Cartography. Also appears as Figure 5 on page 29 of the main report.

APPENDIX 20

Documentation for the Map of Charles County Land Owned by Thomas Stone and His Heirs, 1770–1806

Note: The numbers, letters, and colors used throughout this appendix correspond to the map in Figure 5, on page 29 of the main manuscript (repeated here on page 312 for ease of reference).

- ① Thomas Stone obtained a patent for **Haberdeventure** with 1077 acres in 1787 after a survey conducted in 1784 and 1785 (Patent Records IC#C:62, MSA S1195-480). The patent included the following tracts:
 - a. **Haberdeventure and Hanson’s Plains Enlarged**, 442 acres, purchased by Thomas Stone from his uncle Daniel Jenifer in 1770 (Charles County Land Records S#3:127). Jenifer created the 442-acre tract by patent in 1768 by combining 150 acres of Haberdeventure and 75 acres of Hanson’s Plains (both of which he had purchased in 1763 from Joseph Hanson Harrison and his wife Mary) with vacant land (Harrison and wife to Jenifer, 1763, Charles County Land Records L#3:339; patented 1768, Patent Records BC & GS 37:94, MSA S1195-481). The 1763 deed acknowledged the possibility of a legal challenge to the transfer of land for up to seven years. Jenifer therefore may not have had clear title to sell the property until July 1770. The resurvey for the 1787 patent adjusted the size of the whole to 432 acres.
 - b. **Hanson’s Plains** contained 75 acres according to the 1763 deed between the Harrisons and Jenifer (Charles County Land Records, L#3:339).
 - c. Part of **Hansonton**, 277 acres, purchased by Thomas Stone from William Harrison in 1785 (Charles County Land Records, Z#3:131). The resurvey for the 1787 patent adjusted the acreage to 272 acres.
 - d. **Bridget’s Delight**, 63 acres, 1779, bought of Robert Fergusson (Charles County Land Records, V#3:411). Fergusson held power of attorney from Henry Riddell, Glassford and Company’s chief factor in Maryland who had left for Scotland by March 1778. Riddell acquired Bridget’s Delight in 1776 when William Lindsay, who owned a pew in Port Tobacco parish church, defaulted on a debt. (Stone purchased a total of three tracts that were formerly held by William Lindsay; see *Simpson’s Delight* and *Distrest*.)¹
 - e. **Simpson’s Delight**, 260-300 acres, purchased in 1779 and 1782 from William Lindsay Jr. of Charles County and Sherbourne Stewart of Great Britain (V#3:435, 591, 592). The resurvey for the 1787 measured the size at 276 acres. Like Bridget’s Delight, the

¹ Richard K. MacMaster and David C. Skaggs, eds., “The Letterbooks of Alexander Hamilton, Piscataway Factor,” *Maryland Historical Magazine* 61 (June 1966): 153n, 61 (December 1966): 310n; “Henry Riddell (1746–after 1777)” and “William Lindsey [i.e., Lindsay], by 1726–1779,” *Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia’s Northern Neck Counties*, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us, accessed October 9, 2019; William Lindsay to Henry “Riddle,” November 21, 1776, Charles County Land Records, V#3:130. Fergusson recorded his power of attorney from Riddell in Charles County court in September 1779 (Charles County Land Records V#3:415).

title for Simpson's Delight fell out of the possession of the Lindsay family and into the hands of merchants. Within weeks of the death of William Lindsay in February 1779, Thomas Stone wrote to Mr. Matthew Blair, attorney for Cunningham, Findlay, and Company, "There is a Tract of Land called Simpson's Delight near Me containing between 250 + 300 acres which is claimed by Sherbourne Stewart Heir of John Stewart Merchant in London. This Land I would willingly buy." Late that year, Lindsay's son William Jr. sold his claim to 260 acres of Simpson's Delight to Thomas Stone for £100 Maryland currency. In July 1782, Michael Jenifer Stone acquired full title to the property (300 acres by patent) for his brother Thomas in two transactions, one with Maryland's commissioners for confiscated property and another with Sherbourne Stewart in Britain. William Lindsay Jr. was living on Simpson's Delight when he conveyed it to Stone (V#3:435).²

- f. Part of **St. Nicholas**, 73 acres in 1787 patent, conveyed by Gustavus Richard Brown in 1778 (Charles County Land Records V#3:260, 273). See *St. Nicholas* below.
 - g. Thomas Stone acquired part of **Betty's Delight**, 8 acres, and **Prior's Beginning**, 10 acres from Gustavus Richard Brown in 1778 (Charles County Land Records, V#3:260, 273).
- ② Thomas Stone patented **Plenty** in 1787 with 510 acres (Patent Records IC#B:638, MSA S1195-1237), made up of the following two tracts:
- h. Part of **Chandlers Hills**, 310 acres, bought of Henry Smith in 1777 and Ignatius Wheeler Jr. and his wife Henrietta (Smith) Wheeler, widow of Roger Smith in 1782 (Charles County Land Records V#3: 205, 588; 1787 Plenty patent for measurement)
 - i. **Welcome**, 200 acres, bought of Henry Smith in 1777 and Ignatius Adams in 1778 (Charles County Land Records V#3: 205, 293, 588-9)

Why Thomas Stone excluded the mill from Plenty has not yet been explained.

- ③ Land purchased from **Thomas Hopewell**, 1784 (Charles County Land Records Z#3:80).
- j. **Mobberly**, 45 acres
 - k. **Hopewell's Discovery**, 51 acres
 - l. **Shaw's Trouble**, 46 acres
 - m. **Shaw's Barrons**, 52 acres

² Thomas Stone continued in his letter to Matthew Blair of February 17, 1779, "I would give 21/ Sterling [i.e., £1.1.0 sterling per acre] in London for the Land provided a Title can be made by proper powers from Mr. Stewart to some persons here" (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, in Jefferson, "Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Select Primary Sources"). Blair is identified as an attorney for Cunnighame, Findlay, and Company in Stone's deed for Distrest, 1779, Charles County Land Records V#3:344 (see also MacMaster and Skaggs, eds., "The Letterbooks of Alexander Hamilton, Piscataway Factor," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 62 [June 1967]: 144n). For the early history of Simpson's Delight, see "Alexander Simpson (1629-70)," in *Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia's Northern Neck Counties*, www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us, accessed March 11, 2021; and Charles County Court Proceedings, 1671-74, in *Archives of Maryland*, 60:476-78, 523-25, which describes Simpson's Delight as "lying in the Woods" on the west side of Port Tobacco Creek "neare an old Indian field" (523).

- ④ **Part of St. Nicholas.** Thomas Stone in 1783 exchanged with Thomas Semmes the portion of St. Nicholas lying on the west side of Port Tobacco-Piscataway Road for part of Haberdeventure and Hanson's Plains lying on the east side of the road to form the surviving eastern boundary of Haberdeventure (Charles County Land Records Z#3:50).³
- ⑤ **Port Tobacco Great Mill** with mill seat, 20 acres. In late 1776, upon signing a lease with one of Roger Smith's heirs, Thomas Stone initiated his acquisition of the mill, the land on which it stood (part of Chandlers Hills), and two enslaved women, Rachael and Luce, who may have worked at the mill. In 1782, Stone acquired legal ownership of the land and the women and secured the remaining thirteen years of the eighty-year lease of the twenty-acre mill seat and water mill (Charles County Land Records, V#3:539, 588, 590). See Chapter 4 for details about Thomas Stone's acquisition of the mill. Who owned and controlled the mill immediately after Thomas Stone's death is uncertain.
- ⑥ **Mobberly Enlarged**, 285 acres. In 1789, Michael Jenifer Stone as guardian to Thomas Stone's heir-at-law, Frederick Stone, requested a survey of Mobberly Enlarged, which consolidated Thomas Stone's purchases from Thomas Hopewell, added a fifth tract, Shaw's Folly, and incorporated vacant land. Maryland's land office returned the certificate for Mobberly Enlarged in 1789, but another seventeen years passed before Frederick's next-of-kin, Margaret (Stone) Daniel and Mildred (Stone) Daniel and their husbands applied for a patent for Mobberly Enlarged (Patent Records IC#R:475, MSA S1195-759).
- ⑦ **Addition to May Day Enlarged** expanded Thomas Stone's 1779 purchase of (n), **Addition to May Day**, made up of 120 acres (Charles County Land Records V#3:402-3). In partial payment for the land, Stone sold to Goodrick four enslaved people (Harry, his wife Nan, Joe, and Clem). Frederick Stone's guardian, Michael Jenifer Stone, commissioned a survey of these 120 acres in 1789, and the Land Office issued a patent to Frederick in 1791 (Patent Records IC#F:473, MSA S1195-46). A year later, Michael Jenifer Stone initiated a survey of an "enlarged" Addition to May Day, which became 196 acres, and Frederick's sisters Margaret and Mildred obtained the patent in 1794 (Patent Records IC#K:41, MSA S1195-48).
- ⑧ Thomas Stone acquired a 47-acre tract aptly named **Distrest (o)** from his neighbor Ann Lindsay, the widow of William Lindsay, in April 1779 (Charles County Land Records V#3:344; see also *Bridget's Delight* and *Simpson's Delight* above). With the purchase, Stone paid off William Lindsay's mortgage of the land to Cunninghame, Findlay, and Company. Stone did not include Distrest in the 1784–85 survey of Haberdeventure. In 1786, Stone initiated a survey to expand Distrest's boundaries. The Land Office returned a certificate for **Distrest Corrected** at 60 acres on April 5, 1787. Stone died later that year. Stone's surviving heirs, Margaret and Mildred Stone, acquired the patent of Distrest Corrected in 1794 (Patent Record IC#K:30; MSA S1195-328).
- ⑨ **Rose Hill**, 447 acres, patented 1789. Owned by Gustavus Richard Brown.

³ Thomas Stone discusses the St. Nicholas property in a letter to Maryland's Commissioners for Confiscated Property in a letter dated July 17, 1782, Houghton Library, Harvard University, transcription in Jefferson, "Thomas Stone: A Chronology of Select Primary Sources."

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Short Titles and Abbreviations

BDML	Papenfuse, <i>Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature</i>
CLR (1996)	John Milner Associates, et al., Cultural Landscape Report for Thomas Stone National Historic Site
HRS (1998)	John Wearmouth, Historic Resource Study for Thomas Stone National Historic Site
LC	Library of Congress, Washington, DC
MdHS	Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore
MSA	Maryland State Archives, Annapolis
SMSC	Southern Maryland Studies Center, College of Southern Maryland, La Plata

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Edward C. Stone Collection of the Autographs of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence
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