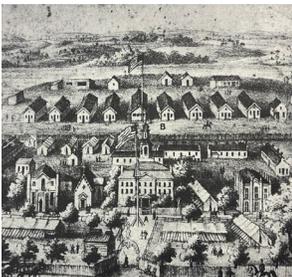
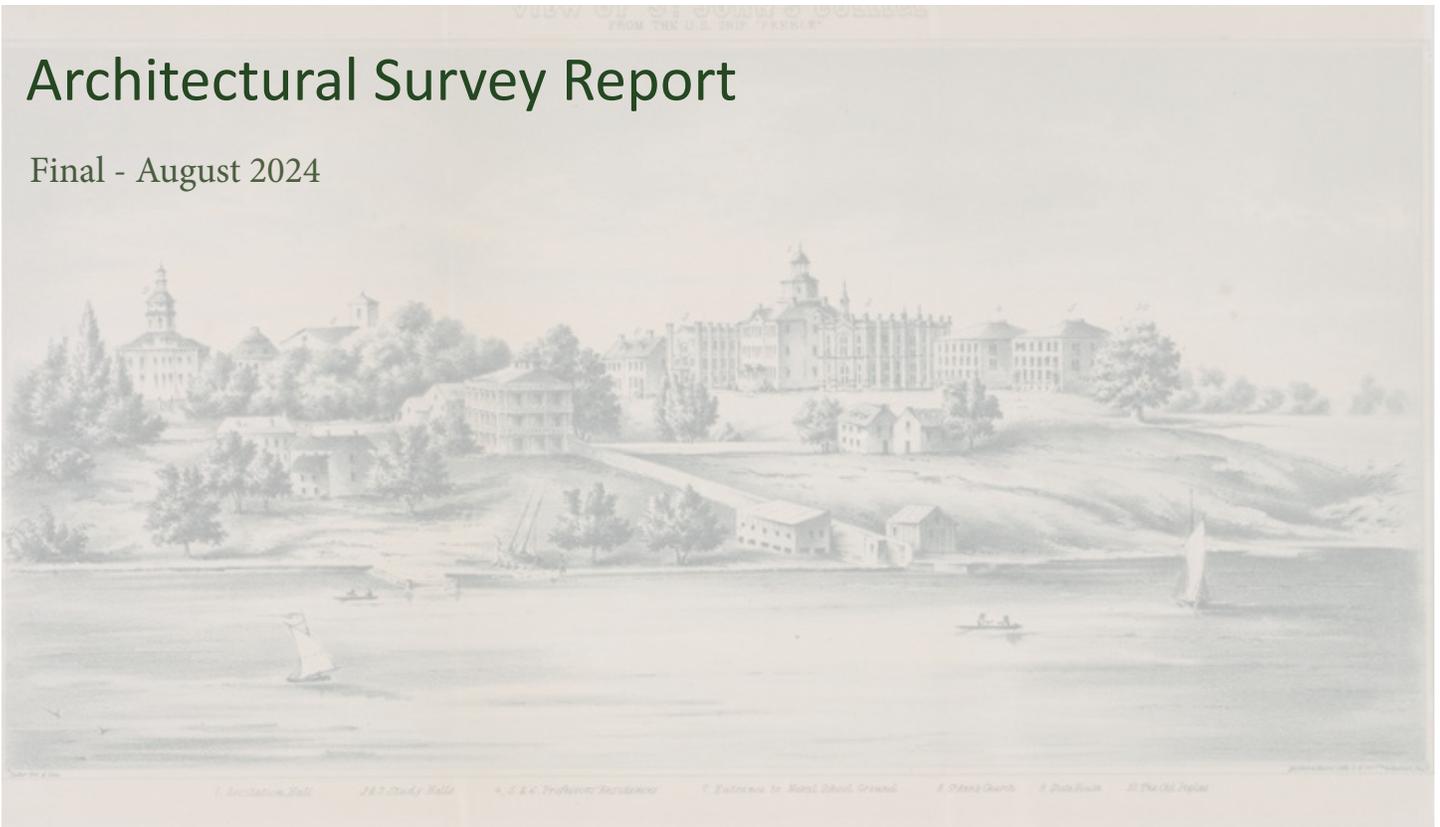


ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE

60 College Ave., Annapolis, Maryland 21401

Architectural Survey Report

Final - August 2024



EHT TRACERIES
HISTORIC PRESERVATION

440 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20001
(202) 393-1193 | www.traceries.com

Forward from the St. John's College History Task Force

St. John's College has a long, rich history—nearly 330 years' worth—longer than any college in the United States except for Harvard and William & Mary. The College History Task Force was established to research this history, particularly in relation to indigenous and enslaved people, and make recommendations to the Board of Visitors & Governors on how it should be acknowledged. The task force has representation from all the constituencies that make up the college community, including students, tutors, staff, and alumni from both the Annapolis and Santa Fe campuses.

As part of the task force's work, the college commissioned the following report, thanks to support from the State of Maryland and the France-Merrick Foundation. This report serves as a snapshot of one part of our history, with a focus on 16 of the most historic buildings on our Annapolis campus and the men for whom those buildings are named. Additional research will be considered for other focus areas.

In addition to this report, the task force has supported other projects including transcription of early college financial documents, hosting a panel discussion on Francis Scott Key, and supporting instructional activities including a Graduate Institute preceptorial on slavery in America.

Ultimately, we hope that the ensuing report, along with other future work of the task force, will encourage conversation, the hallmark of a St. John's education, among the community.

With gratitude to current and past task force members: Sarah Benson (Tutor), Salomon Cordova (SF21), Steve Crockett (Tutor), Howard Fisher (Tutor), Stephanie Harris (A24), Claudia Hauer (Tutor), Ella Hutchinson (SF25), Leslie Jump (A84), Jordan Klein, (AGI24, Staff), Emily Murphy (A95), El'ad Nichols-Kaufman (A25), Zion Peart (A21), George Russell (Tutor), Jennifer Sprague (SFGI04, SFGIEC09, Staff), Sarah Stickney (A04, Tutor), and Katarina Wong (A88). I also want to thank the work-study students who diligently scanned and transcribed early college archival records to assist the task force in our work: Sylvaine Bucher, Stephen Carino, Dongha Cha, Carolynn Ceci, Lucy Edelen, Jesse Herb, William Payne, Elsa Risgin, Diego Salinas, and Amelia Stock Cummings.

- Adrian Trevisan (A84), Task Force Chair

Table of Contents

Forward from the St. John's College History Task Force	II
1.0 Introduction.....	1
Background.....	1
Research and Design Methodology	4
Objectives.....	4
Methodology	5
2.0 Historic Context	8
Native American History	8
Slavery in Annapolis.....	14
The Founding of St. John's College	14
King William's School.....	14
St. John's College	16
St. John's College in the Nineteenth Century.....	19
Early Nineteenth Century	19
Mid-Nineteenth Century Developments	21
Slavery and the Construction of St. John's College	23
St. John's College and the Civil War	25
Late Nineteenth Century	27
The Lynching of Henry Davis	31
St. John's College in the Twentieth Century.....	33
Integration of St. John's College	41
3.0 Significant People	43
John McDowell (1771-1820).....	43

Hector Humphreys (1798-1857)	45
William Pinkney (1764-1822).....	46
Henry William Woodward (1803-1841)	48
J. Wirt Randall (1845-1912)	50
E. Berkeley Iglehart (1874 - 1920).....	51
Charles Carroll of Carrollton (1737-1832).....	51
William Paca (1740-1799)	54
Samuel Chase (1741 - 1811)	55
Thomas Stone (1743-1787).....	56
Charles Carroll the Barrister (1724-1783).....	58
Francis Scott Key (1779-1843).....	60
4.0 Architectural Survey Results	64
5.0 Summary and Recommendations	94
6.0 Conclusion	97
7.0 Bibliography	98
Appendix A: MIHP Forms.....	105

1.0 Introduction

St. John's College, located in Annapolis, Maryland, is the third oldest college in the United States with a rich history spanning 330 years. The college's establishment and continued legacy has been shepherded over the years by important figures in Maryland state history. In honor of the contributions of these individuals, the campus buildings bear the names of prominent faculty members, alumni, and statesmen.

This report provides the results of an architectural survey of properties associated with St. John's College. This Project has been financed in part with State Funds from the Maryland Historical Trust (MHT), an instrumentality of the State of Maryland. However, Project contents or opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Maryland Historical Trust. The St. John's College History Task Force, in coordination with MHT, identified the resources recorded in this study. The purpose of this project was to document the identified nineteen resources -- sixteen buildings, two monuments, and one demolished site feature -- and produce updated Maryland Inventory of Historic Sites (MIHP) forms for each resource. Field survey methods, reporting, and documentation were all conducted to meet MHT *Standards and Guidelines for Architectural and Historical Investigations in Maryland*, revised in 2019.

A major component of this project was to conduct research and document St. John's history and association with enslaved peoples, both as it relates directly to the development of St. John's campus and to the people for whom the campus buildings were named. Research was conducted to document the history of individual properties surveyed for this study as they relate to the development of the St. John's campus history and the individuals after whom campus buildings were named. MIHP forms were completed for the nineteen surveyed resources. Properties were evaluated based on National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) eligibility criteria.

Background

In July 2020, the St. John's College History Task Force began researching the history of St. John's College, located in Annapolis, Maryland, to better understand the institution's relationship with indigenous and enslaved people. St. John's College is the third oldest college in the United States. Founded in 1696 as King William's School, the institution has played an integral role in the history of the state of Maryland. During the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth century, slavery touched every aspect of life in Maryland, with slaveholders controlling much of the state's wealth, ultimately influencing its culture. St. John's College was not exempt from this history, as many members of the state legislature responsible for establishing the school were enslavers, as were the trustees who governed the institution. It is also likely that slave labor was used to construct the college's early buildings.

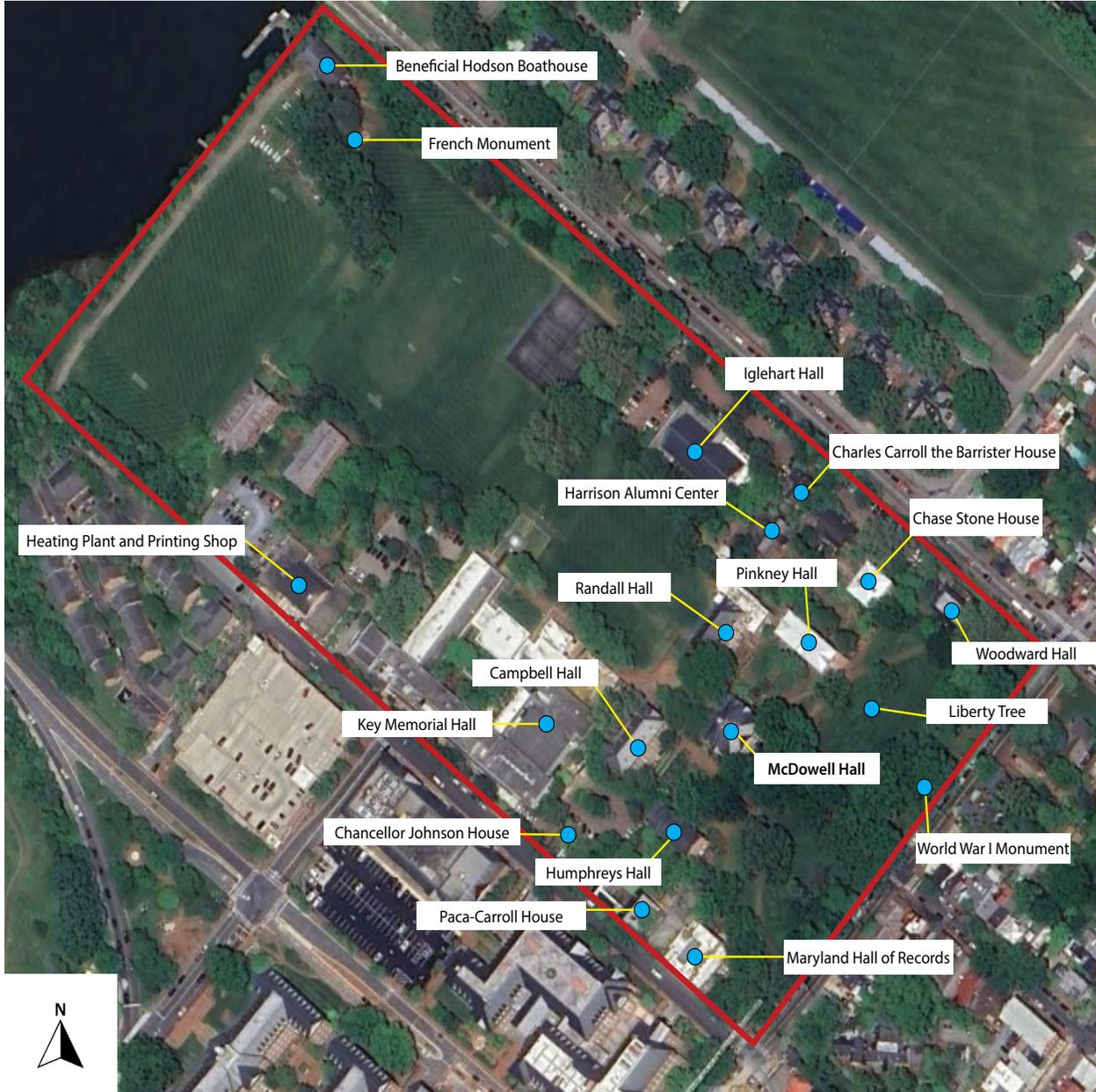
Uncovering the story of African Americans in the United States presents challenges as primary sources are often limited, and firsthand accounts from the enslaved are minimal. Most major

construction projects in Annapolis during this era included labor from slaves or indentured servants. For instance, while there is no written documentation that enslaved labor was used in the construction of the Maryland State House (1769-1779), it is likely that craftsmen hired, including carpenters; plasterers; and masons, would have brought along slaves and/or indentured servants to help with the work. Simply because there is no line item on disbursements does not mean that these craftsmen did not bring along laborers or even skilled craftsmen held in bondage. Politics may have led some to avoid the discussion of slavery. The records of St. John's College, like those of the State House, gave little insight to the institution's association with the practice. This absence does not indicate a lack of association, however, as slavery was omnipresent in Maryland and slaves were undoubtedly a source of wealth and labor in the early years of the college. Without specific names and documentation, inferences can be drawn about the past from a knowledge of the context of events surrounding the establishment and operation of St. John's College.

In recent years, relationships between American institutions of higher education and slavery have been documented, with a growing list of schools investigating and acknowledging their history with slavery and its impacts on history today. This report builds upon the work of researchers at other colleges and universities to develop an understanding of the complicated association of St. John's College with the institution of slavery, guiding steps forward in acknowledging that past. It also details the role that the college played in the continued oppression of African Americans that was omnipresent in America following the abolishment of slavery.

Prior histories of St. John's College rarely mention the association of the institution with slavery, and the continued oppression of African Americans throughout the twentieth century. This report seeks to identify the role enslaved and free African Americans played in the construction and operations of the college, as well as the relationship to slavery of those individuals the college has chosen to honor through the names of the buildings.

It is intended that the St. John's College History Task Force will use this report as a basis for future research and documentation to address specific research questions developed by the task force.



St. John's College Campus, Resources Surveyed

Research and Design Methodology

Objectives

The objective of this project was to update the MIHP forms and inventory records of the resources (buildings and objects) located on St. John's College's campus, shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Resources Recorded During the Architectural Survey

MIHP #	Name	Address	Date of Construction
AA-22	World War I Monument	St. John's College Campus	1920
AA-23	Monument to French Soldiers and Sailors of the American Revolution	St. John's College Campus	1911
AA-671	Charles Carroll the Barrister House	St. John's College Campus	1724
AA-672	Chase Stone House	St. John's College Campus	1857
AA-673	Woodward Hall	St. John's College Campus	1899
AA-674	Pinkney Hall	St. John's College Campus	1858
AA-675	McDowell Hall	St. John's College Campus	1789
AA-676	Humphreys Hall	St. John's College Campus	1837
AA-677	Paca-Carroll House	St. John's College Campus	1855
AA-678	Chancellor Johnson House	St. John's College Campus	1720
AA-679	Francis Scott Key Memorial Hall and Mellon Hall	St. John's College Campus	1958
AA-1585	Liberty Tree	St. John's College Campus	
AA-1586	Maryland Hall of Records	St. John's College Campus	1935
AA-1587	Randall Hall	St. John's College Campus	1903
AA-1588	Iglehart Hall	St. John's College Campus	1909
AA-2208	Beneficial-Hodson Boathouse	St. John's College Campus	1934
AA-2209	Heating Plant and Printing Shop	St. John's College Campus	1951
AA-2210	Campbell Hall	St. John's College Campus	1954
AA-2211	Harrison Alumni Center	St. John's College Campus	1972

The MIHP forms have not been updated since in 2004. An architectural survey was conducted by EHT Traceries between August 2023 and October 2023 to document the architectural character and features of the buildings, their current condition, and notable changes since the buildings were last recorded. The work was described in the Research Design submitted and approved by the Maryland Historical Trust grants administrator. Additionally, this scope of work included focused research to provide a better understanding of St. John's history and association with enslaved peoples, both as it relates directly to the development of the St. John's campus history

and as it relates to the people after whom campus buildings were named.

Methodology

The methodology for completing project objectives and answering questions developed in the Research Design included tasks involving historical research, architectural survey documentation, MIHP form preparation, mapping and photographs, and the preparation of a survey report. All tasks will be completed according to MHT's *Standards and Guidelines for Architectural and Historical Investigations in Maryland* (revised 2019).

Task 1 - Historical Research

Traceries conducted research to understand the association of St. Johns College with enslaved people. Research focused on the association of enslaved people with the historical development of St. John's College and the buildings studied as part of this effort. Research was specifically conducted to determine whether the college, its leadership, and/or faculty owned slaves, and if enslaved labor was used in the construction of the sixteen buildings surveyed. Specifically, research efforts concentrated on answering the following research questions:

- What relationship did the individuals after whom the surveyed buildings were named have with the institution of slavery?
- Was enslaved labor used to construct buildings on campus?
- Were free African Americans employed at St. John's?
- Did African Americans have any role in construction activities?
- Were enslaved people housed for anytime on campus?
- What are the African American associations with St. John's College after the Civil War?
- Can we identify any African American employees who worked on campus, or builders or masons working at the college in the era after the Civil War?
- How does the African American associations with the college fit into our broader understanding of the African American history of Annapolis?

Traceries also conducted research to determine the relationship with enslaved people of the individuals for whom the campus buildings are named. Individual campus buildings are named after the following individuals:

- John McDowell
- Samuel Chase
- Thomas Stone
- William Pinkney
- Hector Humphreys
- William Paca
- Charles Carroll of Carrollton
- Charles Carroll the Barrister
- J. Wirt Randall
- Francis Scott Key
- Henry William Woodward

- E. Berkeley Iglehart
- John Hicks Campbell
- John Johnson, Jr.

Research was conducted at the Special Collections archives at St. John's College and the Maryland State Archives. Traceries staff explored the collections at Mt. Moriah (now the Banneker-Douglass-Tubman Museum), the official repository of African - American material culture for Maryland. Additional research was also conducted at the Library of Congress, University of Maryland Libraries, and through online sources such as ancestry.com, newspapers.com, and mdlandrec. Tench Francis Tilghman's book, *The Early History of St. John's College*, was consulted as a primary secondary source. The sources cited in this book and its bibliography were helpful in understanding other existing primary and secondary sources. Secondary sources included:

- Local histories
- Previous MIHP records and files
- Vertical File information
- Neighborhood historic contexts/subdivision histories

Primary sources included:

- College annual reports
- Building construction documents – textual records and drawings
- Historic maps
- Historic photographs
- Aerial Photographs
- Newspaper articles
- Census records

Task 2- Architectural Survey Documentation

Traceries' architectural historians conducted a field survey to update and document the sixteen selected buildings selected in coordination with the St. John's College History Task Force. The survey was conducted in accordance with the *Standards and Guidelines for Architectural and Historical Investigations in Maryland*. Final survey documentation includes digital photography of both the exterior and, where accessible, the interior of buildings. Photographic views show the location of each resource within college, all four exterior elevations, notable exterior architectural details, and important interior rooms and features.

Task 3- MIHP Form Preparation

Buildings recorded at St. John's college have been documented on MIHP forms in accordance with Chapter IV of the *Standards and Guidelines for Architectural and Historical Investigations in Maryland*. Addendum forms were used to update previously recorded resources. The addendum forms include an updated history of each building, with notes of any African American associations, and interior and exterior architectural descriptions, with any alterations and additions described. An addendum form has also been prepared for the Liberty Tree, which has been demolished. A

full MIHP form has been prepared for McDowell Hall, the only resource not previously recorded with MIHP documentation. Per the *Standards and Guidelines for Architectural and Historical Investigations in Maryland*, a capsule summary has been prepared to accompany each MIHP form.

Task 4- Mapping and Photographs

Supporting documentation for all recorded resources will include current photographs and two USGS maps prepared at scales of 1:10,000 and 1:24,000 showing the location of surveyed buildings. Photographs have been prepared in accordance with MHT Guidelines for Digital Images and includes both 5x7 prints and digital images. The 5x7 prints will be labeled according to MHT guidelines and packaged in side-loading polypropylene photo sleeves. Digital images have been prepared in .tif and .jpg format with a pixel array of at least 3000 x 2000 and a resolution of 300 ppi (pixels per inch). Photographs have been prepared for each surveyed resource noting the number and nature of photographic views.

Task 5- Survey Report

This report documents the research and survey results and includes a description of all resources surveyed for the project and a historic context that focuses on the history of St. John's College and its association with African-Americans and enslaved people. The context also includes biographies of the individuals whom the buildings are named after, noting their connection with African-Americans or enslaved people. This report has been organized per MHT guidelines into the following chapters: 1. Introduction, 2. Historic Context, 3. Significant People, 4. Architectural Survey Results, 5. Summary and Recommendations, and 6. Bibliography and Appendixes.

2.0 Historic Context

Native American History

Early inhabitants of southern Maryland arrived over 12,000 years ago, when regional temperatures were cooler, and the climate more humid than today. The landscape was primarily open grassland, and forests of spruce, birch, hemlock, and oak. The earliest inhabitants were mobile, likely traveling in small bands for a portion of the year, hunting game, and gathering seasonal plants. Approximately 10,000 years ago, the climate began to warm, and glacial melt began to flood the Susquehanna River valley over the next several thousand years, creating the Chesapeake Bay. The rise in sea level resulted in rich marsh and swamp environments, and warming temperatures encouraged the growth of dense forests.¹

Archaeological evidence from southern Maryland suggests that early inhabitants of the state followed a seasonal pattern of hunting, fishing, and gathering from approximately 7500 to 1000 BCE. During this lengthy period, they developed specialized and diverse tools, allowing them to harvest a wider variety of plants and animals. Throughout the period spanning approximately 3500 BCE to 1000 BCE, more permanent habitation was likely occurring as populations became larger. Ceramic vessels came into use between 1000 BCE and 1600 CE, indicating more sedentary societies that likely still practiced hunting and gathering, but had also begun growing their own crops.²

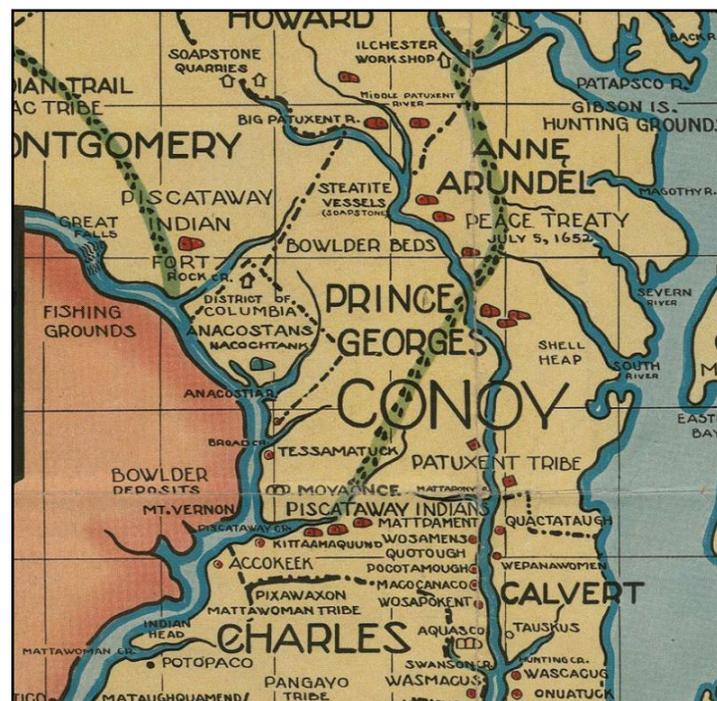


Figure 1: The Indian Tribes of the State Of Maryland as seen by Capt. John Smith - 1935. *University of Maryland.*

Just prior to the arrival of Europeans, Native Americans in southern Maryland were largely residing in semi-permanent villages, practicing a form of slash and burn agriculture. By the fourteenth century, the Piscataway were one of two chiefdoms developing in the Potomac River drainage region. The Piscataway largely controlled a significant portion of the north bank of the Potomac, while the Patawomeke inhabited the southern bank.³

1 Alex J. Flick, et al, "The Search for Zekiah Fort," (St. Mary's City: St. Mary's College of Maryland: 2012), 5.
2 Flick, et al, 6-7.
3 Flick et al, 9

In June of 1608, Captain John Smith and his crew of fourteen left Jamestown to survey the shores of the Chesapeake Bay, and likely encountered the Piscataway, although it does not appear that there was any conflict.⁴ During this period, the Piscataway were experiencing threats from more northern tribes including the Susquehannock, an Iroquoian group that was attempting to establish trade in the region. To the south was the Powhatan, Patawomeke, and the Virginia colony. The Piscataway were warily peaceful with the Powhatan; however, relations with the Patawomeke varied between times of hostility and alliance. Pressures from these surrounding groups forced the Piscataway to relocate their ancient capital on the Potomac River further north to a more sheltered location along the Piscataway Creek.

In 1634, Leonard Calvert, the appointed governor of the Maryland colony, sailed up the Potomac River to the Piscataway Creek to confer with the Piscataway emperor, or tayac, as to where the new colony should be established. Hesitant to align themselves with the European settlers, especially given their strained relations with neighboring tribes, the tayak refrained from providing specific recommendations. Ultimately, Calvert decided to settle further downriver. He purchased land from the Yaocomico and established St. Mary's.⁵

The prosperity of the new colony resulted in part due to the 1652 Articles of Peace and Friendship, which established a peace treaty between the European settlers and the local Native American tribes. As part of the Articles of Peace, settlers of the Province of Maryland received hunting rights and land along the western shore of the Chesapeake, while the local Conestoga-Susquehannock tribes were provided weapons and supplies.⁶ Relations between the English settlers and Native Americans were largely peaceful until the summer of 1675, when war broke out between the Susquehannocks and the surrounding colonies. Tensions between the colonial planters and Susquehannocks remained high through the second half of the seventeenth century. By 1677, the tribe signed a treaty with the Haudenosaunee, and much of their population moved north and was absorbed into the Iroquoian nations.⁷



Figure 2: A New Map of Virginia, Maryland and the Improved Parts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, 1719. University of Maryland.

4 James H. Merrell, "Cultural Continuity among the Piscataway Indians of Colonial Maryland," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 36, no 4 (October 1979): 553.

5 It should be noted that the Yaocomico had established a settlement in the location that became St. Mary's. Accounts claim that around the time that Calvert arrived, the Yaocomico had pre-existing plans to vacate their settlement in favor of a location that would provide more shelter from Susquehannock raids. (Flick, et al, 10-13.)

6 *Treaty between Maryland and the Sasquesahanogh Nation*, July 5, 1652.

7 Flick, et al, 19-20.

Throughout this period, the Piscataway tribe remained aligned with the Maryland colony, and Calvert granted them land to relocate their capital to the Zekiah Swamp, where they remained for approximately fifteen years. By the close of the seventeenth century however, the Piscataway's position had deteriorated. Raids by enemy tribes had killed many, and the settlers were becoming less reliant upon the Native Americans of Maryland for survival. English settlement continued to extend up the Potomac Valley, and in 1697 the tribe moved to the hills of northern Virginia. From there, the Piscataways negotiated with the governments of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania to find a place to settle in peace. In 1701, the Piscataway joined the Susquehannock, their former enemies, in a treaty with Pennsylvania, and most of their tribe moved to a village on the Susquehanna River, under the protection of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and the Iroquois.⁸

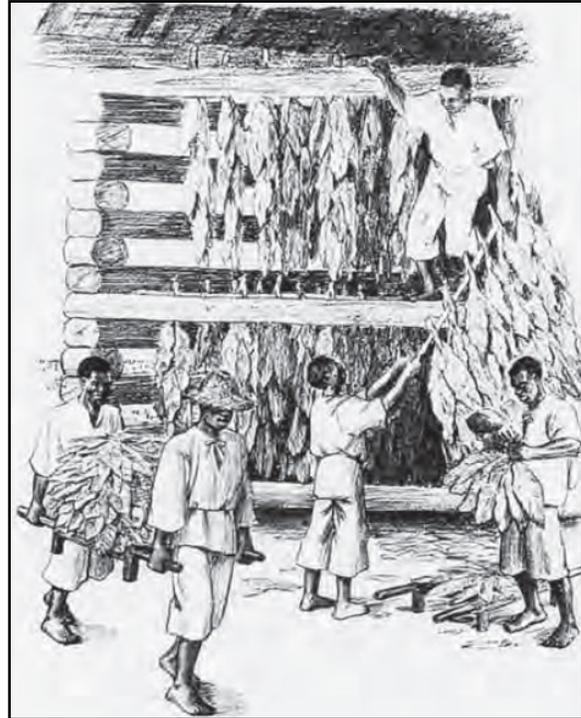


Figure 3: Enslaved men working in a tobacco barn.
Maryland State Archives, Special Collections.

Slavery in Maryland

During the late seventeenth century, tobacco dominated the economies of Virginia and Maryland. Initially, planters purchased substantial numbers of indentured servants from England, who immigrated with the intention of starting new households or plantations following their terms of servitude. By the late seventeenth century, however, the supply of indentured servants dwindled. As conditions for workers began improving in England, fewer young men elected to immigrate to the colonies.⁹

Consequently, as the labor force crumbled, the dominance of small planters in the Chesapeake region declined.¹⁰ When planters could no longer procure white English men to work as servants, they turned to English women, and eventually Irish men. After exhausting the supply of white laborers, planters turned to African slave labor.¹¹ The end of the English Royal African Company's slave trade monopoly in 1698 simultaneously made it easier for Maryland planters to purchase Africans. African slavery, which had been legalized in a series of laws starting in the 1660s, grew rapidly, and Black slaves quickly replaced white indentured servants as the primary source of plantation labor.¹² As the number of Africans being forcibly transported to the colonies increased,

8 Merrell, 569-570.

9 Aaron S. Fogleman, "From Slaves, Convicts, and Servants to Free Passengers: The Transformation of Immigration in the Era of the American Revolution" *The Journal of American History* 85, no. 1(Jun 1998): 48.

10 Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and slaves: the development of southern cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 37.

11 Kulikoff, 40.

12 Maryland State Archives, *A Guide to this History of Slavery in Maryland* (Annapolis, Maryland: Maryland



Figure 4: Twenty-eight fugitives escaping from the Eastern Shore of Maryland, 1872. *Maryland Center for History and Culture.*

the living conditions for them and their descendants worsened as whites feared becoming outnumbered by the enslaved population. In the mid-seventeenth century, planters began instituting slave codes to restrict the mobility and legal rights of those that were enslaved in hopes of staving off rebellions.¹³

The transport of slaves to the Chesapeake region began slowly in the last half of the seventeenth century, and most early slaves were forcibly transported in small groups from the West Indies.¹⁴ By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, however, approximately 3,000 Black people, many with African origins, were forced into slavery in the Chesapeake region. The transport of slaves from Africa continued into the eighteenth century, by which time more than nine out of ten slaves brought into the Chesapeake region had African origins.¹⁵ Thirty-nine percent of those with African origins came from the Bight of Biafra (present day eastern Nigeria, or adjacent Cameroon), Senegambia, and West Central Africa. Approximately three quarters of Africans whose origins were known and who were transported to the Upper Chesapeake area, including Maryland, had origins in the regions of Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and the Windward and Gold Coasts.¹⁶

During the eighteenth century, enslaved women were increasingly imported to Maryland, resulting in population growth through reproduction rather than importation. Consequentially, enslavers became less reliant on the trans-Atlantic slave trade as a labor source, leading to a decline in the

State Archives, 2020), 4.

13 Fogleman, 50.

14 Kulikoff, 40.

15 Lorena S. Walsh, "The Chesapeake Slave Trade: Regional Patterns, African Origins, and Some Implications," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (Jan 2001):144.

16 Walsh, "Transatlantic Slave Trade," 13.

practice.¹⁷ While the importation of slaves to the colony had largely ceased by the mid-eighteenth century, Maryland legislatures officially ended the colony's participation in the trade in 1774.¹⁸

Following the conclusion of the American Revolution, the institution of slavery was gradually abolished in states throughout New England and the Mid-Atlantic, while at the same time remaining firmly entrenched in the south. Maryland was situated at a boundary between the free states of the north and the slave states of the south, fostering conflicting opinions towards the persistence of the institution in the state.

On one hand, in the 1780s and 1790s, ideals of freedom were strong throughout Maryland, and enslavers manumitted thousands of Blacks. The manumissions were due in part to the fact that the state's economy was transitioning away from tobacco and towards wheat and grain farming, which required fewer field hands. The growth of the port cities, including Baltimore and Annapolis, also presented opportunities for those that were enslaved to bargain for their freedom.¹⁹ Additionally, many of the settlers who migrated to the wheat producing western region of Maryland were largely of Germans and Quaker decent. Both groups were known for their abolitionist tendencies.²⁰

At the same time, Freedoms suits filed by enslaved people also rose in popularity in nearly every colonial state during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Hundreds of freedom suits were heard in the courts of major cities throughout the country, including Annapolis. For enslaved people, freedom suits served as a public method of opposing the institution of slavery by placing enslavers on public trial in local courtrooms.²¹ Blacks filed suits for their freedom claiming a variety of reasons, including that they had been freed by deed or will but not released. Others stated that they were children of a free woman of color, white woman, or Indian forebears, and therefore were wrongfully enslaved. Some claimed that they resided in a territory where slavery was prohibited, or that they were imported to a state contrary to the law.²² In 1790, enslaved people accounted for nearly one-third of Maryland's population. By 1850, however, the enslaved population had decreased to one-sixth of Maryland's overall population.²³

On the other hand, despite pressure from abolitionists who lobbied the newly formed Maryland State legislature to end the institution of slavery, the practice remained deeply entrenched in some regions of Maryland. Growing concern that freed Blacks would threaten the existing social order led defenders of slavery to enact several laws limiting their social and political rights. In 1837, Maryland sought to strengthen the institution of slavery by passing an amendment declaring that slavery could not be abolished in the state without the unanimous consent of the General

17 Kulikoff, 5.

18 Maryland State Archives, 6.

19 Schweninger, 39-40.

20 Fields, 5.

21 Thomas, 6-7.

22 Loren Schweninger, "Freedom Suits, African American Women, and the Genealogy of Slavery," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 71, no. 1(Jan 2014): 39.

23 Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland During the Nineteenth Century*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1985, 1.

Assembly and without the full compensation of enslavers.²⁴ Two years later, the Maryland General Assembly declared slavery legitimate in the state.²⁵

Throughout the nineteenth century, Maryland was economically and politically divided along regional lines. In the northern and western portions of the state, farmers were largely dependent upon diversified agriculture, and relied little on slave labor. Farmers on the eastern shore were forced to abandon tobacco due to soil exhaustion and declining prices. Consequently, many manumitted their slaves, electing to cultivate smaller farms with free Black and White laborers. In the southern counties of Maryland, however, tobacco remained the cornerstone of the economy, and slavery was upheld by wealthy planters who retained economic and political influence.²⁶

Emancipation

The outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 was the beginning of the demise of slavery in the United States, with the opportunity for escape increasing rapidly. For the Union, freedom seekers offered valuable military labor and soldiers would prevent enslavers from entering encampments in search of runaways.²⁷ When Congress abolished slavery in Washington, DC in April of 1862, enslaved

24 Thomas. 6.

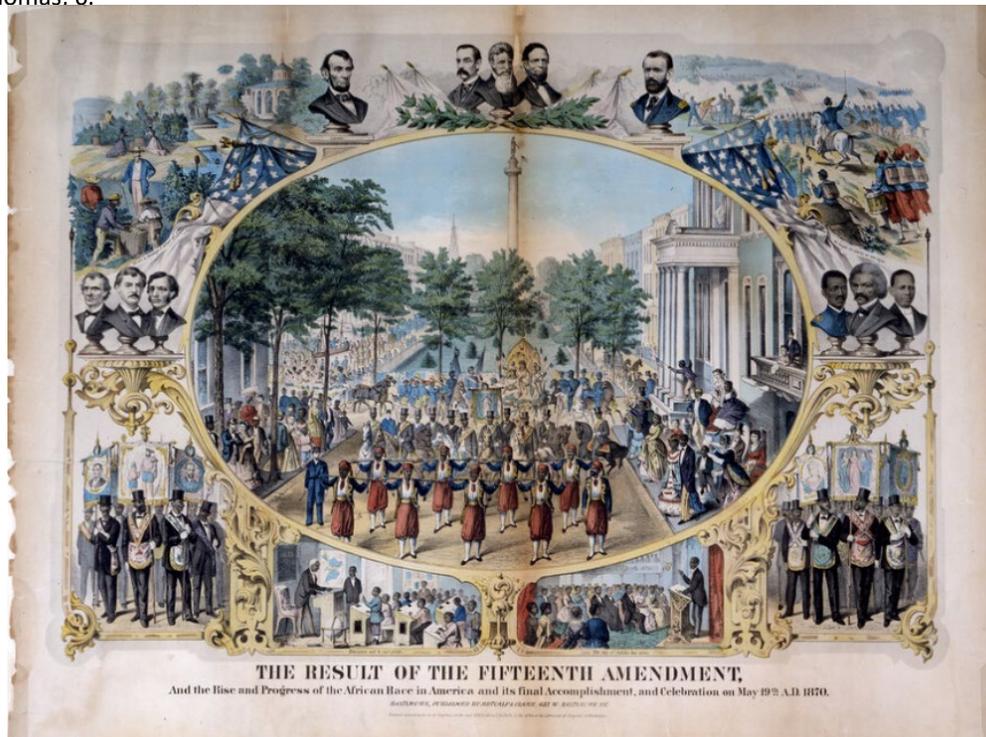


Figure 5: Depiction entitled “The Result of the Fifteenth Amendment: And the Rise and Progress of the African Race in American and its final Accomplishment, and Celebration on May 19th Ad. 1870”. *Maryland Center for History and Culture.*

25 “An Act Declaring Domestic Slavery to Be Lawful in This State,” March 20, 1840, *Session Laws*, 1839, *Archives of Maryland Online*, 600:42.

26 Maryland State Archives, 12.

27 Maryland State Archives, 20.

people from Maryland fled to the capital, finding employment with the army and navy. By late 1863, many enslavers conceded that slavery was no longer viable in the state and on November 1, 1864, Maryland ratified a new constitution prohibiting the practice.²⁸ Acts of racial terror were perpetrated against newly freed African Americans, however, with the struggle for equal rights and opportunity continuing long after emancipation.²⁹

Slavery in Annapolis

Prior to becoming Annapolis, Anne Arundel's town, as Annapolis was originally known, was little more than a village. Officially renamed Annapolis in 1695, the town grew throughout the eighteenth century, both as the seat of the provincial government and as a burgeoning bustling seaport. The mercantile industry began to establish itself within the town as early as 1700, and many of the original founding families of Annapolis sold property to merchants and importers by the early eighteenth century. Shipbuilding and tanning became the principal industries in Annapolis, and the number of artisans and craftsmen in town grew significantly by 1720, when the town had an approximate population of 469 residents.³⁰ By 1745, Annapolis was the most prosperous port in the upper Chesapeake.³¹

As the capital of Maryland, Annapolis was inextricably linked with the institution of slavery. The city's prosperous port not only allowed for the import and export of goods, but it was also a significant point of entry for the slave trade. Even so, an analysis of probate records for Anne Arundel County indicates that even when enslaved persons entered through the port of Annapolis, they were most often transported to farms and plantations located throughout Maryland instead of remaining in the city limits. Those that remained in Annapolis most often worked as domestic servants or skilled craftsmen.

Prior to 1715, only a few slaves were recorded in inventories for Annapolis city residents; however, by 1730, one third of Annapolis' White residents were enslavers.³² As most enslavers that lived in Annapolis also owned land outside of the city, it is not always clear where the enslaved labor resided. Enslaved labor in Annapolis continued to increase throughout the eighteenth century, and by 1783, forty-six percent of residents were enslavers.³³

The Founding of St. John's College

King William's School

28 Maryland State Archives, 16.

29 Fields, 137-138.

30 Edward C. Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit*, Alphabetical Index to the 1783 Tax List, Annapolis Hundred. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 14.

31 Russell Wright, *Annapolis Historic District (AA-2046)*. National Register of Historic Places - Nomination Form, 1983. National Register of Historic Places, Colonial Annapolis Historic District (66000383)

32 Jane Wilson McWilliams, *City On the Severn* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 40.

33 Papenfuse, 257-262.

In July 1694, Francis Nicholson (1655-1728), former Governor of Virginia, was inaugurated as Royal Governor of Maryland. One of Nicholson's early acts as governor was supporting the "Act for the Advancement of Learning," in which he pledged to provide funding for the establishment of a "free school" in Maryland's new capital, Annapolis.³⁴ In 1696, the Maryland Assembly responded by issuing "A Petitionary Act for Free Schools," which chartered the King William's School.³⁵ The act appointed nineteen trustees (known as the Rector, Visitors, and Governors) to serve in perpetual succession. These trustees were tasked with collecting funds from donors, rental properties, and specified provincial taxes to support a schoolmaster. Nicholson donated a parcel of land located adjacent to the State House, now the site of a statue of Baron Johann Delkalb, for the erection of a school building.³⁶ The trustees of the school hired Edward Dorsey to oversee construction of a brick school building, which was completed in 1701. Upon completion, the building was used not only as a school house, but also as a church rectory, public library, and archives. The building was also occupied by Governor's Council until the Maryland State House was completed.³⁷ By 1721, King William's School had achieved some level of stability, boasting one school master and one usher that oversaw approximately one hundred students.³⁸



Figure 6: Undated photograph of Francis Nicholson, Royal Governor of Maryland. *Virginia Humanities*.

Following his death in 1730, Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert bequeathed the school one third of his estate. The sizable endowment allowed the school to operate without being reliant on funding from the assembly, which was rife with conflict during this period.³⁹ While evidence suggests that the endowment included monetary payments, it remains unclear as to whether or not Calvert's bequest to the school included enslaved individuals. In 1763, the Maryland Assembly proposed finishing the proposed residence of former Governor Thomas Bladen and giving it to King William's School to enlarge their facilities and allow for the establishment of a

34 The term free did not imply that students attended free of charge, but rather that they would receive a liberating education. (Emily A. Murphy, *A Complete & Generous Education: 300 Years of Liberal Arts, St. John's College, Annapolis* (Annapolis, Maryland: St. John's College Press, 1996), 3.)

35 Thomas Fell, *Some historical accounts of the founding of King William's school and its subsequent establishment as, St. John's College: together with biographical notices of the various presidents from 1790-1894, also of some of the representative alumni of the College* (Annapolis: Press of the Friedenwald Co., 1894), 9.

36 Murphy, 3.

37 McWilliams, 22.

38 Charlotte Fletcher, "King William's School and the College of William and Mary," *The St. John's Review* XI, no. 2 (1990-1991): 14.

39 Fletcher, 15-19.



Figure 7: Maryland State House, attributed to Charles Wilson Peale, with brick school building adjacent to the right (1741-1827), 1789. *Maryland State Archives.*

college; however, the measure failed to pass the Upper House.⁴⁰ King William's School continued to educate students until the American Revolutionary War, at which point educational activities were interrupted by the war effort. In 1785, the Maryland Assembly passed legislation that granted the property, funding, teachers, and students of the former King William's School to the newly established St. John's College.⁴¹

St. John's College

After several attempts were made by various legislatures during the eighteenth century to establish a college for higher education in Maryland, in 1783, the Governor of Maryland, William Paca, again urged the Maryland Assembly in 1783 to place a greater emphasis on the importance of education and learning. This pressure prompted the trustees of the King William's School to announce that Reverend Ralph Higgenbotham would "open a school for the education of young gentlemen in the Greek and Latin languages, preparatory to their entering college." Six educators and three laymen were called to prepare a charter for the school, named St. John's College. The charter was officially enacted on December 30, 1784.⁴² As part of this charter, the Maryland Assembly endowed St. John's College with the unfinished and ruinous Governor's Mansion known as Bladen's Folly.⁴³

40 Fell, 17.

41 An Act for consolidating the funds belonging to King William's school in the city of Annapolis with the funds of Saint John's college. 1785 March 2, Chap. XXXIX. vol. 204, page 44.

42 Murphy, 5.

43 Construction on Governor Thomas Bladen's mansion began in 1742. In 1746, Bladen was forced to abandon the construction project because the Maryland Lower House of the Maryland Assembly withdrew support in retaliation for the governor's repeated efforts to fund King George's war.

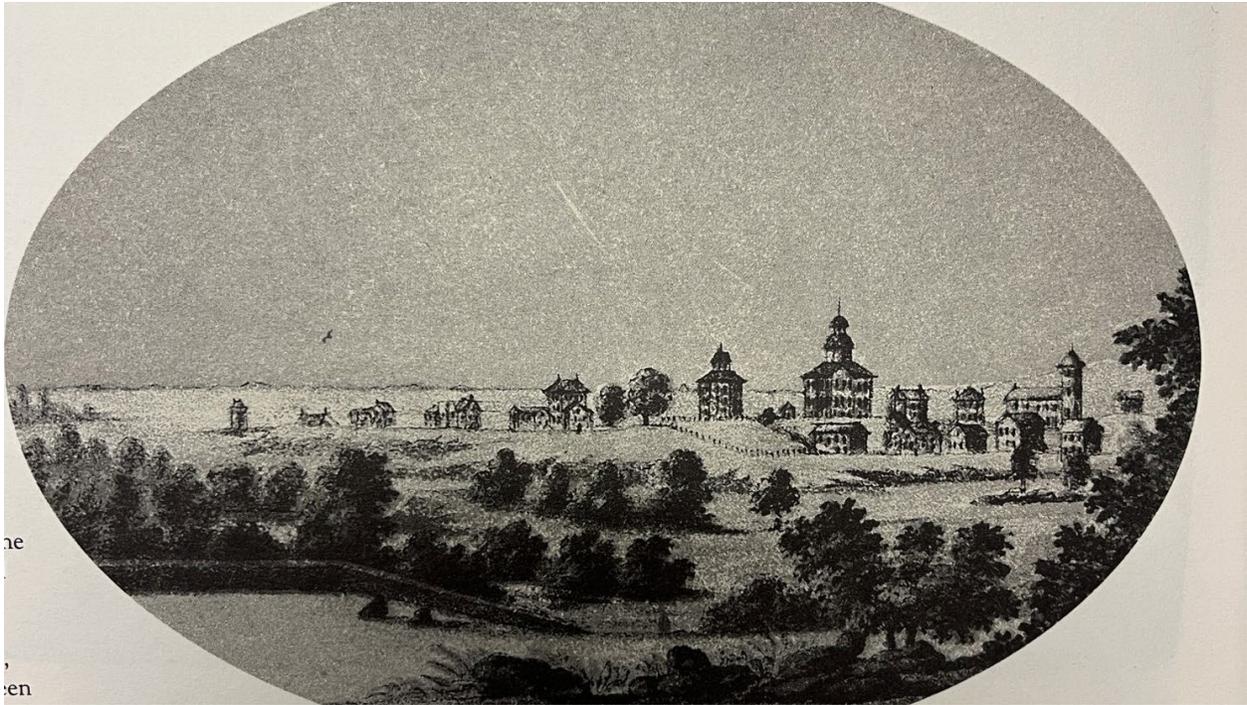


Figure 9: "View of Annapolis," 1790. Maryland State Archives.

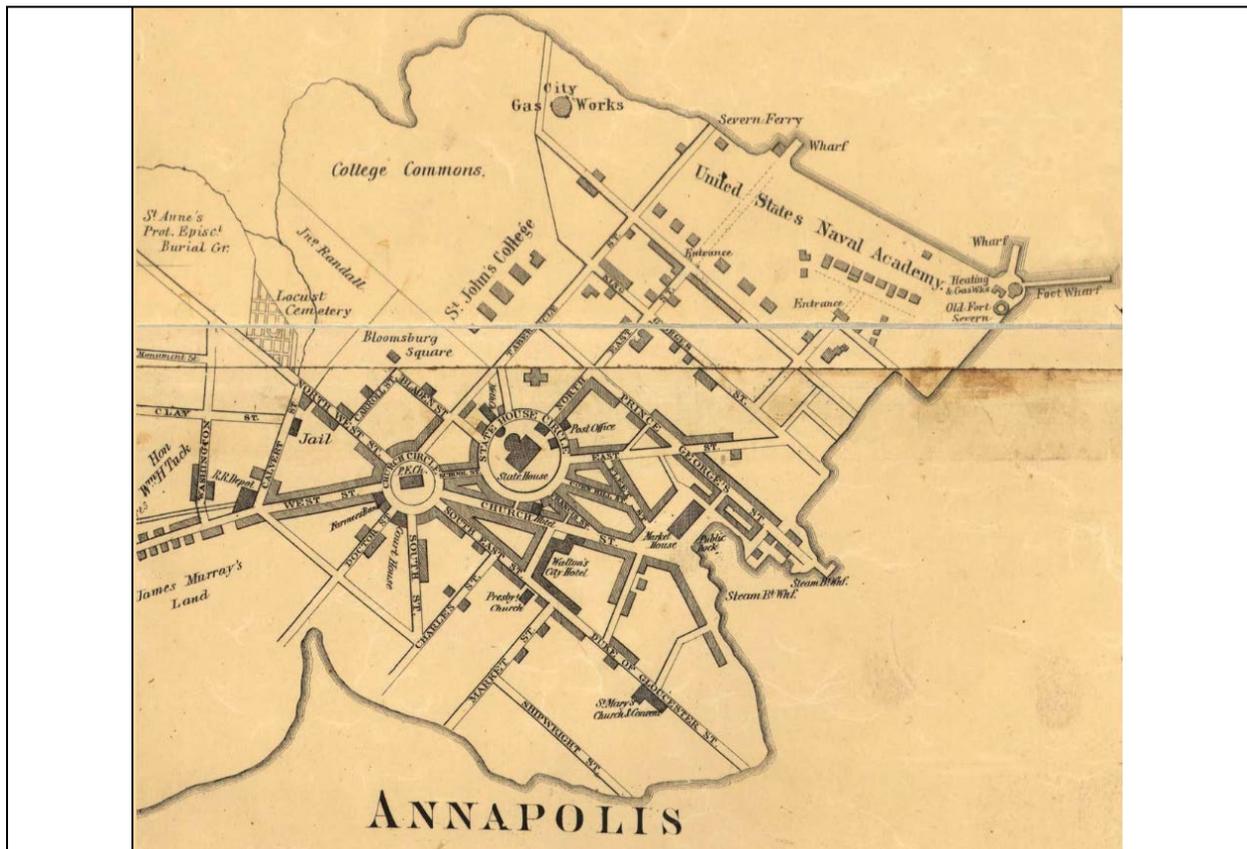


Figure 8: Detail of Annapolis from Simon J. Martenet, Map of Anne Arundel County, 1860. Library of Congress, MSA SC 1213-1-117.

The funds and property, as well as the teachers and students, previously associated with King William's School were slowly transitioned to St. John's College. On February 28, 1786, a Board of thirteen was created when the Assembly allowed four agents to join nine elected trustees. The newly elected Board was comprised of wealthy, influential white men, four of which were signers of the Declaration of Independence. At their initial meeting, the Board considered a "Proposition laid before them by the Rector and Visitors of Annapolis School in pursuance of An act of Assembly for Consolidation of the funds of King William's School with the funds of St. John's College."⁴⁴ The terms of King William's charter specified that the institution had to remain operational in Annapolis. Through an Act of consolidation, passed on March 2, 1785, the operations of the King William's School were divided into two parts: one to allow for a portion of the school's operations to be redirected towards the opening of St. John's College, and the other to allow for King William's School to be rebranded as the Annapolis Free School until it assured that St. John's would settle in Annapolis.⁴⁵

In 1786, a building committee was appointed, including Alexander Hanson, Nicholas Carroll and Richard Ridgeley, to oversee the completion of the former governor's mansion. The committee hired Joseph Clarke, the architect of the State House to finish the exterior of the building and design the interior to include classrooms, dormitories for faculty and students, and other college-related facilities. The college had difficulty raising funds for the project. By 1789, sufficient work had been undertaken to allow for the first classes to be held in the building. Work on the building was completed in 1790.⁴⁶

Contributions for the new school were largely supplied by men living on the Western Shore of Maryland, including Charles Carroll of Carrollton, William Paca, and Thomas Stone.⁴⁷ John McDowell was appointed as the first principal of St. John's College, with the Reverend Ralph Higgenbotham, the former head master of the King William's School, serving as vice principal. St. John's College was officially opened on November 11, 1789. The event was commemorated when dignitaries, students and educators led a procession from the State House to the newly repaired College Building. The first commencement took place in 1793, with two graduates. By 1806, 106 students had graduated from St. John's College. Alumni went on to become state governors, judges, and state legislators. Prominent early students included George Washington's step-grandson, George Washington Custis, as well as his nephews Lawrence and Fairfax Washington.⁴⁸ Francis Scott Key, famously known for writing the lyrics to "The Star Spangled Banner", was also a student at St. John's College from 1789 through 1796.⁴⁹

The early college was divided into three parts, the Grammar School, French School and the College Proper. The English, or Grammar School followed the same purpose of the King William's

44 Fletcher, 40.

45 An Act for consolidating the funds belonging to King William's school in the city of Annapolis with the funds of Saint John's college. 1785 March 2, Chap. XXXIX. vol. 204, page 44.

46 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, McDowell Hall (AA-675), MIHP form prepared by EHT Traceries, Inc. 2000, 14.

47 McWilliams, 114.

48 Fell, 18.

49 National Park Service, "Francis Scott Key," U.S. Department of the Interior, July 25, 2022, <https://www.nps.gov/people/francis-scott-key.htm>.

School, in that it taught students grammar, arithmetic, Latin and other subjects in preparation for college. In the French School, students could pay an extra fee to exclusively study the French language. The College Proper was itself divided into two parts, including the mathematics and science department, headed by John McDowell, and the English, Greek, Latin, rhetoric, logic and oratory department headed by Ralph Higgenbotham.⁵⁰

St. John's College in the Nineteenth Century

Early Nineteenth Century

John McDowell, the first principal of St. John's College, was born in 1771 near Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. McDowell graduated from and taught at the College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania). He later taught at Cambridge on Maryland's Eastern Shore. He practiced law for five years before joining the faculty of St. John's College where he served as principal from 1790 to 1806.⁵¹ During his tenure as principal, McDowell had a lasting impact on prominent students such as Francis Scott Key and Senator Robert H. Goldsborough, who graduated with the class of 1796. Both men were responsible for the founding of the Alumni Society in the 1820s and delivered orations echoing passages of McDowell's 1796 commencement address.⁵²

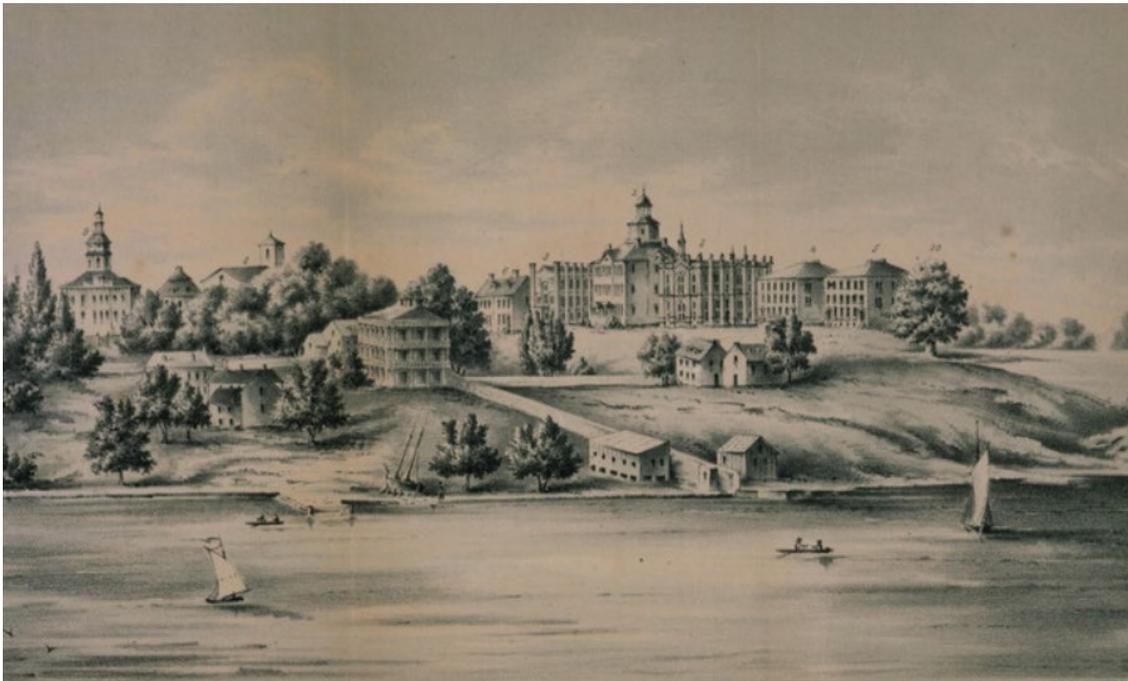


Figure 10: 1856 view of St. John's College as seen from the U.S. ship "Preble" on the Chesapeake Bay. *Maryland Center for History and Culture.*

50 Murphy, 14.
51 Fell, 61.
52 Fletcher, 67.

As a Federalist, McDowell defended St. John's receipt of state funding against Democratic-Republican legislators who demanded that all public money for education be directed to lower schools. Discouraged by the consistent uncertainty over funding, McDowell offered his resignation in 1801. The college Board persuaded him to stay on, as they felt he was essential for the survival of the young institution. The Maryland General Assembly, however, continued to make efforts to withdraw financial support from the College. Opposition was largely centered in the House of Delegates, and the Senate repeatedly blocked bills aimed at withdrawing funding. In 1805, St. John's had lost its allies in the Senate and the Upper House cut off funding from the school entirely.⁵³ McDowell resigned from St. Johns in 1806, after the legislature officially voted to revoke funding to the school. Following his resignation, McDowell relocated to his home state of Pennsylvania to become a professor of natural philosophy and third provost of the University of Pennsylvania.⁵⁴

The college faced uncertain years following the loss of state funding and McDowell's subsequent departure. Bethel Judd was selected to replace McDowell as principal. He was also appointed as rector of St. Anne's Episcopal Church.⁵⁵ In the four years that Judd served as principal, the curriculum was reorganized. Judd was responsible for adding a sophomore class and closing the English School and on-campus boarding.⁵⁶ By the time that Judd resigned from St. John's College in 1811, student morale had declined, with an increase in tardiness and misbehavior. Over the next year, the Board's attitude shifted, as members were encouraged by the election of a Federalist governor and the fact that the legislature appropriated \$1,000 per annum to the college. The Board hoped that this turn of events would entice McDowell to return St. John's to again take on the role of president, a move they hoped would improve student morale. McDowell did not return on the first invitation in 1812; however, when he was asked again in 1815, he accepted and returned to Annapolis.⁵⁷

Contrary to the hopes of the Board of Visitors and Governors, McDowell's reinstatement did not bring relief, and St. John's College continued to struggle financially. In 1818, the Board was forced to close the College. After seven months, however, St. John's College was reopened through the efforts and financial contributions of alumni. In 1819, the Supreme Court issued a ruling on the landmark case of *Trustees of Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, determining that the Dartmouth College's pre-revolutionary charter and the associated funding were inviolable. Following this decision, the Board of St. John's College addressed the Assembly, stating that the Act of 1805 was unconstitutional. While the Assembly deliberated, St. John's College was permitted to hold a lottery that raised \$22,000 for the college, helping to alleviate its financial situation.

Shortly before McDowell's death in 1820, Henry L. Davis was elected as principal and William Rafferty, the Professor of Languages, became vice principal. Davis was soon dismissed over a disagreement

53 Murphy, 16.

54 Fell, 61.

55 Judd had been ordained a priest in the Episcopal Church in 1798 and was appointed rector of St. James' Church, New London, Connecticut where he served for fifteen years. He established a missionary station in St. Augustine Florida before coming to Annapolis in 1807. (Fell, 61-62.)

56 Murphy, 15,

57 Fletcher, 65-66.

regarding public examinations, and in 1824, Rafferty rose to the position of principal of St. John's College. St. John's College's fourth president was born in Ireland, however little else is known of his early history. He first joined St. John's College's faculty in 1819, when he was elected professor of ancient languages. He served as president of St. John's College until his death in 1831. During Rafferty's administration, military training became compulsory and the Board appointed a Professor of Civil Engineering and Military Tactics. Military training would remain at St. John's College, both voluntary and compulsory, for the next century.⁵⁸

Mid-Nineteenth Century Developments

Hector Humphreys played a pivotal role in the recovery of the college during his tenure as principal from 1831-1857. Humphreys was born in 1797 in Hartford County, Connecticut, and he graduated from Yale University with highest honors. He studied law and was ordained as an Episcopalian minister, after which he began teaching and preaching. While a Professor of Ancient Languages at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut, the St. John's Board asked Humphreys to serve as principal of the college. Humphreys agreed, and during his tenure the Board largely stepped back and allowed him to guide policy and make decisions for the College. As principal, Humphreys reorganized the curriculum, placing more emphasis on science and setting up a laboratory. He made military training voluntary and split the preparatory school into two sections: the Grammar School and the English School. The Grammar School served those who aimed to attend college, and the English School



Figure 11: View of McDowell Hall in 1896. *St. John's College Digital Archives, 1898 Rat Tat*



Figure 12: 1901 view of Humphreys Hall. *St. John's College Digital Archives, 1901 Rat Tat.*

58 Murphy, 19.

was for those who did not.⁵⁹

Humphreys also raised funds for the construction of a boarding house, which was completed in 1837. This building, now known as Humphreys Hall, was intended to relieve crowding in the College Building (present-day McDowell Hall). In 1855, Humphreys encouraged the Board to expand the campus again with the addition of faculty housing and a new dormitory. Humphreys argued that fair compensation included staff housing and



Figure 13: 1894 view of Pinkney Hall (left) and the Chase-Stone House (right). *Fell, 1894*

adequate dormitory space, believing such benefits would attract a higher standard of teachers to join the faculty, leading to an increase in enrollment.⁶⁰ The first faculty house was completed in 1857, and a duplex for the president and vice president was completed later that year.



Figure 14: Aerial photograph showing the original Yale Row of buildings, c. 1870. From left to right: Paca-Carroll House, Humphreys Hall, McDowell Hall, Pinkney Hall, and the Chase-Stone House. *St. John's College Digital Archives.*

59 Murphy, 19-23.

60 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, Chase-Stone House (AA-672), MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc. 2004.

The last building completed during this building campaign was finalized in 1858 and named Pinkney Hall after the statesman William Pinkney. Pinkney had attended King William's School, and went on to serve in the Maryland legislature, where he argued strongly against the government's withdrawal of funding from the College in 1805.⁶¹

These new buildings were oriented in a straight line flanking McDowell Hall in an arrangement known as a "Yale Row."⁶² Humphreys did not live to see the completion of the construction campaign, however, as he died in 1857, after twenty-six years as principal. The Board of Visitors and Governors encountered difficulty in selecting a replacement and two potential candidates backed out of the role over financial disagreements. In August of 1857, the Board selected Cleland K. Nelson, the rector of St. Anne's Episcopal Church, to serve as principal. Nelson attempted to fill Humphreys' role by acting as a strong disciplinarian, however, he was largely unsuccessful, and more students were expelled during his four year tenure as principal than in the entirety of Humphreys' twenty-six years. At the start of the Civil War, Nelson was offered the rectorship of All Hallows in Davidsonville, which he accepted in September of 1861. Prior to leaving for his new position, census records indicate that Nelson enslaved four individuals (two women, a two-year-old girl, and a sixty-year-old man) while living on the St. John's College campus.⁶³

Slavery and the Construction of St. John's College

Documentation detailing the potential use of enslaved labor for the construction of early buildings, at St. John's College and the broader town of Annapolis is scarce. Payments for enslaved labor were most often made directly to the enslaver, leaving no information regarding the names and numbers of the enslaved people involved in the labor. One notable example of recorded enslaved labor relates to the construction of the James Brice House, located on East Street. Brice's thorough record keeping reveals that he employed a variety of laborers, including experienced builders, skilled carpenters, indentured servants, and enslaved individuals for the construction of his Georgian House, which was completed in 1767. It has been speculated by the Maryland State Archives that this approach towards construction was likely common throughout Annapolis, including the construction of the Maryland State House.⁶⁴

St. John's College's records do not detail the type of labor used for the construction of the campus's early buildings. Five buildings were constructed on the St. John's College campus prior to the abolishment of slavery in Maryland in 1864, including; McDowell Hall (1789), Humphreys Hall (1837) Chase-Stone House (1857), Pinkney Hall (1858) and the Paca-Carroll House (1855). Although evidence that details the use of enslaved labor for the construction of campus buildings was not uncovered by research conducted for this project, we can confirm that many of the architects and builders involved with early campus construction were themselves enslavers. Their involvement with slavery is detailed below.

61 Florence T. Dunbar, Historic American Building Survey, "Pinkney Hall," Blue Worksheet. October 1964.

62 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, McDowell Hall (AA-675), MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc. 2000.

63 U.S. Bureau of the Census. Eighth Census of the United States, 1860. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1860. M653, 1,438 rolls.

64 Maryland State Archives, "Use of Enslaved and Free African-American Labor at the State House." January 4, 2023, https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdstatehouse/pdf/enslaved_labor_at_md_state_house.pdf.

McDowell Hall (1789)

Construction on McDowell Hall was begun in 1742 to serve as an estate for Thomas Bladen, the Maryland colonial governor. Factionalism in the General Assembly disrupted funding for the project, and consequentially, construction ceased, leading the building to fall into disrepair. By 1784, the provincial government granted the building, then known as “Bladen’s Folly,” to St. John’s College. The college hired Joseph Clark, the architect responsible for the construction of the State House, to complete the exterior of the unfinished building and design the interior to accommodate classrooms and dormitories. By 1789, the building was completed, allowing for classes to be held on-site.⁶⁵

The 1783 Federal Direct Tax Lists indicate that Joseph Clark and his wife Isabella were enslavers, and had two enslaved people living and working at their residence in Annapolis.⁶⁶ In a letter from Isabella to Joseph Clark’s former employers, she wrote of the “many slaves” that she and her husband held.⁶⁷ Due to the lack of records, it is unclear whether those that Clark enslaved worked just in his home or in one of his several business ventures, including his construction company.

Humphreys Hall (1837)

Construction on Humphreys Hall began in 1835. The building, which was constructed by builder Elijah Wells, was completed by 1836, following the designs of prominent Baltimore architect Robert Caryl Long, Jr.⁶⁸ Historic census records do not indicate whether Wells or Long were enslavers.

Paca-Carroll House (1855)

Construction on the Paca-Carroll house began in 1855. The building was constructed by the contractor J.M. Davis and was completed by 1857.⁶⁹ Slave schedules indicate that Davis was an enslaver, having enslaved two girls, ages nine and sixteen, at his home in Annapolis in 1860.⁷⁰ It remains unclear as to whether Davis used enslaved labor in the construction of his buildings.

Chase-Stone House (1857) and Pinkney Hall (1858)

65 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, McDowell Hall (AA-675), MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc. 2000,1.

66 General Assembly House of Delegates, Assessment Records. MSA 1161, 1783, 1.

67 Maryland State Archives. “Use of Enslaved and Free African-American Labor at the State House.” January 4, 2023.

68 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, Humphreys Hall (AA-676), MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc. 2000, 1.

69 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, Paca-Carroll House (AA-678), MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc. 2000, 1.

70 U.S. Bureau of the Census. Eighth Census of the United States, 1860. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1860. M653, 1,438 rolls.

The Chase-Stone House was constructed between 1856 and 1857 by local builders Daniel M. Sprogle and Daniel H. Caulk, to the designs of the architect, Nathan G. Starkweather. Pinkney Hall was designed and built by the same team, nearly simultaneously, with construction starting in 1855 and completing in 1858. Starkweather designed the Chase-Stone House and Pinkney Hall while temporarily living in Philadelphia and Baltimore. Consequentially the construction of the two buildings was largely left to the builders Sprogle and Caulk. Sprogle was also the owner and operator of a local lumber mill, and was responsible for supplying the building materials for many Annapolis construction projects. He resided with his family at 2-3 Maryland Street (razed 1928), in a twin dwelling.⁷¹ Historic census records indicate that while living there in 1860, he enslaved a man, woman and three children.⁷² Records do not indicate that Daniel H. Caulk was an enslaver, and it remains unclear as to whether slave labor was used in his and Sprogle's construction projects.

St. John's College and the Civil War

Maryland's geographic location between the Union and the Confederacy complicated the state's political environment at the onset of the Civil War. Maryland's economy depended equally on its relationship with northern and southern states. While the state was culturally more southern, its sympathies tended to favor both Union and Confederate ideologies. The Federal government, too, relied on Maryland siding with the Union to avoid Washington, DC from being surrounded by the hostile Confederacy.⁷³

After Union troops were ambushed in Baltimore by Confederate rebels, the Federal government decided to send Union troops through the Naval Academy in Annapolis. The United States army subsequently established hospitals in Annapolis, the largest of which were located at the Naval Academy. In October of 1861, the first parole camp for Union was established at St. John's College to house and recuperate paroled Union soldiers.⁷⁴ The faculty of the college, which consisted of Dr. Nelson, Davis Stewart, David J. Capron, Rev. Russell Trevett, William H. Thompson and William H. Hopkins, was largely disbanded at this time. Of the group, only Nelson and Hopkins were to return to St. John's College.⁷⁵

The parole camp, known as College Green Barracks, consisted of eight wooden barracks constructed near College Creek. The barracks housed approximately 150 men each, and included

71 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, Chase-Stone House (AA-672), MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc. 2000, 2.

72 U.S. Bureau of the Census. Eighth Census of the United States, 1860. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1860. M653, 1,438 rolls.

73 "The General Assembly Moves to Frederick, 1861," *Maryland State Archives*, December 9, 1998, <https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/stagser/s1259/121/7590/html/0000.html>.

74 Parole camps were established by the Union Army for its own soldiers who had been captured by the Confederacy and then released on the conditions that they would honor the terms and conditions of their parole. Typically, soldiers on parole remained enlisted in the army, but in a non-combatative role. Soldiers on parole could only resume fighting if they were formally exchanged through a prisoner of war trade. While only the Union Army established parole camps, both sides had soldiers on parole, and opted for an honor system to let each side take care of housing its own paroled soldiers.

75 Tench Francis Tilghman, "The College Green Barracks: St. John's During the Civil War," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 45, no. 2 (June 1950), 94-95.



Figure 15: Photograph of a Lithograph by E. Sachse & Co republished in the 1906 *Rat -Tat* of St. John's College General Hospital and Green Barracks During the Civil War, c. 1864. *St. John's College Archives*.

bathhouses, kitchens, and warehouses for supplies. In 1862, a one-story frame building was constructed between Humphreys and McDowell Hall to serve as a chapel.⁷⁶ During the summer of 1863, the Medical Corps of the Union Army seized control of most of the college's buildings, aside from McDowell Hall, in order to transition the campus from a parole camp to a hospital, known as Division No. 2 of the Military General Hospital at Annapolis.⁷⁷ Limited classes for the College continued to be held at McDowell Hall for a time, but eventually educators were forced to relocate activities to a building off-campus. As the number of paroled soldiers grew, the Union established an additional parole camp southwest of downtown Annapolis. With over 20,000 soldiers, this camp also soon proved inadequate at providing shelter during the winter of 1862-1863. Thus, in 1863, a third camp, known as all soldiers Camp Parole, was established west of downtown Annapolis, near the tracks of the Annapolis and Elkridge railroad.⁷⁸

Annapolis had a large African American population by this period, and many men joined the Union Army during the Civil War, possibly encouraged by an encampment of African American regiments at the parole camp at St. John's College in February of 1863.

In *The Ancient City: A History of Annapolis, in Maryland 1649-1887*, author Elihu S. Riley writes:

A company of negro soldiers, on their way to Baltimore, were obliged to put into Annapolis on account of the ice during the latter part of February. They encamped at St. John's College. They paraded the streets of Annapolis, and it aroused the military

76 Murphy, 19.

77 Tilghman, 87.

78 McGlynn, 85

spirit amongst the colored people, who flocked to the camp and enlisted. One hundred and twenty went from Annapolis, about twenty of whom were rejected as disqualified. The Gazette says it learned that between two and three hundred slaves had left their masters with the determination to enlist. The Gazette approved their conduct.⁷⁹

The soldiers mentioned were likely a United States Colored Troops (USCT) group, perhaps of the Thirteenth Regiment, many of whom came from Anne Arundel County. Maryland had the second largest number of African Americans enlisted during the Civil War, and Annapolis encouraged the enlistment of both enslaved and freed African American populations. Local slave owners were encouraged to manumit their slaves and receive a bounty from the United States Government.⁸⁰

After the Maryland General Assembly abolished slavery in 1864, the state's constitution implemented a statewide system of public education. In 1865, legislation directed a portion of taxes paid by African American property owners towards the establishment of schools for African American children. The first African American schools created in Annapolis and Anne Arundel County, however, were funded through private endowments. Secretary of War Edwin Stanton granted permission for the barracks at St. John's College and Camp Parole to be dismantled to provide construction materials for the new schools, which were built by volunteers.⁸¹ The first school for African Americans in Annapolis was the Stanton School on West Washington Street, constructed immediately following the Civil War. In 1899, the frame structure was torn down and replaced with a new brick schoolhouse of the same name.⁸²

Funding from the General Assembly was reinstated to St. John's College in 1865. That year, Henry Barnard was hired as principal. St. John's College was re-opened as an educational institution in 1866. The buildings that had been used for hospital purposes during the Civil War were renovated during the late 1860s and early 1870s.

Late Nineteenth Century

As a professional educator, Henry Barnard was the first layman to act as principal since McDowell. He was devoted to public education and had served on the state Board of Education in his home state of Connecticut and neighboring Rhode Island. His first action as principal was to personally select a new faculty and to completely overhaul the curriculum. While Barnard is credited with saving the college after the Civil War, he did not act as principal long. In 1867, he was offered the position of Commissioner of the Department of Education for the United States. Barnard accepted this position, and one of his faculty members, Professor Atherton, filled in as principal until another candidate could be found.⁸³

79 Elihu S. Riley, *The Ancient City: A History of Annapolis Maryland, 1649-1887* (Annapolis, Maryland: Record Printing Office, 1887), 313.

80 Riley, 313.

81 McGlyn, 198.

82 McGlyn, 228.

83 Murphy, 33.

James Clark Welling, a graduate of the College of New Jersey, present-day Princeton University, and former editor of the *Daily National Intelligence* in Washington, DC, was selected as the new principal. Wellings studied law before accepting the associate principalship of the New York Collegiate School in 1848. Welling was a firm supporter of the Union, and he believed in indemnifying loyal holders of slaves. He advocated for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and throughout the Union by constitutional amendment and his articles on international and constitutional law exhibited a powerful influence on public opinion. Welling's first undertaking as principal was to create a new curriculum for the College. He did not adopt Barnard's radical curriculum, which involved dividing the college into numerous departments, but rather opted to retain the traditional Greek and Latin curriculum and improve the courses in English and mathematics. During his time as principal, the number of students increased from ninety to 250, and the overall condition of studies were improved.⁸⁴ Welling did not stay at St. John's long, however, as left his position as principal in 1870 and James Mercer Garnett was appointed in his place. Garnett was born in Loudoun County, Virginia, and he attended the Episcopal High School of Virginia before graduating from the University of Virginia, with a Master of Arts in 1859. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Garnett joined the Confederate army as a private in the Rockbridge artillery, taking part in the first battle of Manassas. Following the war, in 1865, Garnett began teaching at various high schools and colleges throughout Virginia, before traveling to Germany in 1869 to study manners and customs. Upon his return in 1870, Garnett accepted the appointment of president of St. John's College.⁸⁵

During the ten years that Garnett served as principal at the College, he did not significantly alter the curriculum. He did, however, allow students to substitute German for Latin and French for Greek, a change that represented the first movement towards an elective system, which was becoming popular in the United States by the end of the nineteenth century. Under Garnett's presidency, the first class since 1860 was graduated.⁸⁶

There were significant financial changes during this period as the General Assembly renewed the \$12,000 grant for another six years, along with adding \$10,000 a year to cover scholarship students. The Assembly also provided \$5,000 to improve the library and laboratory. Even so, the college still owed professors back pay and had debts amounting to over \$15,000. In 1878, the Assembly only renewed the \$12,000 grant for an additional two years and announced a reduction of the scholarship fund by half. The General Assembly did not renew the grant in 1880 and the funding was reduced to the base grant of \$3,000 with a small amount allocated for scholarship students. In response, the Board reorganized the school and declared all of the positions vacant.

In large part, the school board blamed Garnett for its financial misfortunes and Rev. John McDowell Leavitt was selected to replace him as president (with the title having been changed from principal to president in 1881). Leavitt practiced law for four years after which he was ordained a priest in the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1848. He served as president of Lehigh University in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania before accepting the presidency at St. John's College. During his time at

84 Fell, 68-69.

85 Fell, 69-70.

86 Fell, 71.

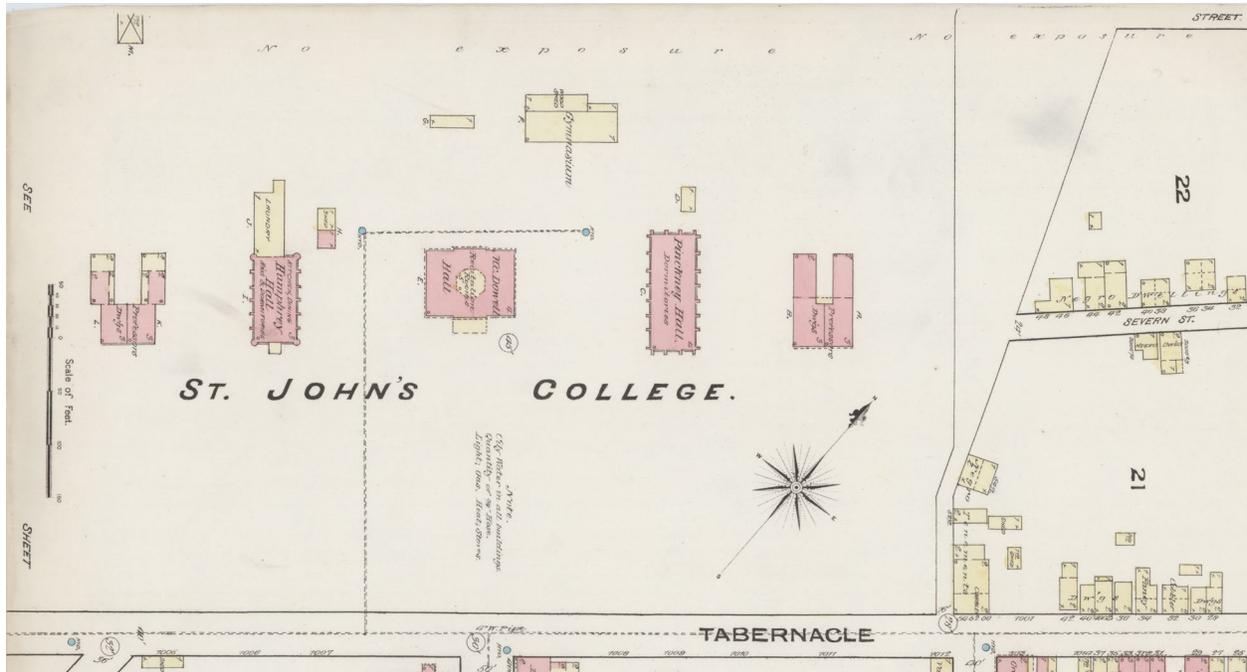


Figure 17: 1885 Sanborn Map showing southern half of St. John's Campus. Buildings or portions of buildings shaded in yellow denote wood-frame construction and those shaded in red denote brick construction.

St. John's Leavitt organized a department of mechanical engineering and started a machine shop at the College.⁸⁷ Leavitt was an avid novelist and poet, and his ideas on slavery were expressed in his novel *Kings of Capital, Knights of Labor*. Leavitt asserted that there was an inherent difference in the races, and that Blacks were unfit to govern. He maintained, however, that slavery was immoral, and that the solution may lie in the emigration of Blacks to Africa.⁸⁸

The faculty was reappointed at Leavitt's suggestion; however, several professors soon resigned due to failure to receive their promised payment. In 1882, the Maryland General Assembly provided a grant of \$7,500 a year, and eleven faculty members were hired by 1883. In 1884, the Assembly cut off supplementary funding once again and Leavitt resigned in response.

The college had no money to appoint a new president and in the spring of 1884 Professor William Hopkins took the position. Hopkins had attended the preparatory school of St. John's as a child before advancing to the

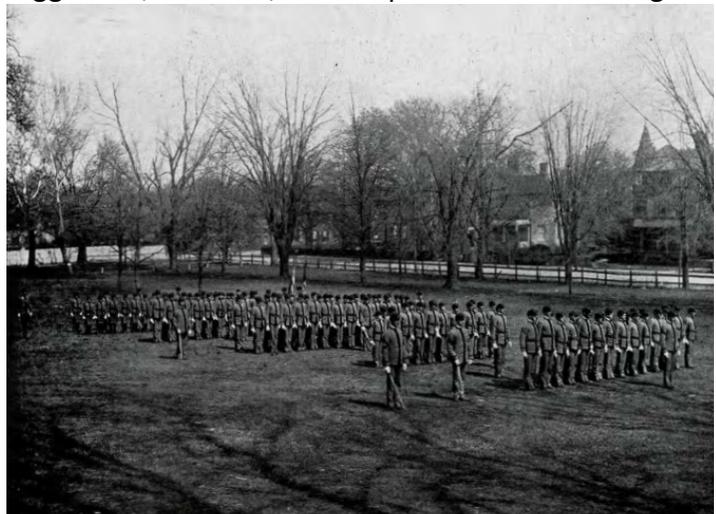


Figure 16: Cadet Corps of St. John's College. 1901 Rat Tat, St. John's College Digital Archives.

87 Fell, 72.

88 John McDowell Leavitt, *Kings of Capital and Knights of Labor*, (New York, Powers & Le Crow: 1886), 511-514.

collegiate department and graduating in 1859. He became a professor soon after and was the last faculty member to leave Annapolis during the Civil War, and the first to return in 1865. The new administration made the military program compulsory and instituted “extra-curricular activities” for the first time. Even so, enrollment remained low, and the financial situation was still pressing. In 1886, when Hopkins resigned to take over Goucher College, enrollment at St. John’s was at just sixty-eight students.⁸⁹

It was during this crisis that Thomas Fell was appointed president in 1886. Fell was born and raised in England and attended King’s College, London and London University. He received his first appointment in the United States as the professor of ancient and modern languages at New Windsor College, Maryland. Fell was appointed acting principal of St. John’s in 1886, and subsequently accepted the role of president of the College in 1888.⁹⁰ The first task he undertook as president was that of cleaning up the campus, which was still littered with debris from the Civil War encampments. He then sought to improve the salaries of the faculty; however, this required a larger enrollment to increase funding through tuition payments. Fell achieved this by sending out faculty to recruit students, as well as by opening the preparatory school to Naval Academy students. These tactics were largely a success and enrollment doubled in just one year. Even so, Fell’s efforts did not bring St. John’s college out of its financial slump. With the increase in enrollment came an increase in debts and by 1888 there were four mortgages on the campus property. The school owed \$18,800 and much of the faculty had not been properly compensated. The General Assembly provided a grant of \$2,256 for two years to pay interest, however true relief did not come until 1894. The Assembly granted \$6,000 a year extra to be continued indefinitely, meaning the St. John’s was receiving \$9,000 annually from the legislature, combined with tuition income.⁹¹

1898 brought yet another financial crisis for St. John’s College, as \$20,000 in mortgages at a six percent interest was held by a relative of Thomas Fell’s in England. This relative was concerned about the situation given the ongoing debate over the gold standard that was taking place in the U.S. Congress. The Maryland General Assembly sought to ensure the investor by providing the school

\$15,000 to improve or construct buildings. The financial situation of the school was further eased when James T. Woodward, a banker in New York, offered to take over the mortgage. He increased it to \$30,000 and reduced the interest to three and a half percent. In response, Woodward was



Figure 18: Undated photograph of Woodward Hall. Liberty Tree seen in the left portion of the frame. *St. John’s College Digital Archives.*

89 Murphy, 43.
90 Fell, 73.
91 Murphy, 45.

elected to join the Board. As a testament to the newly-garnered financial stability, a new building was constructed in 1900 and contained a library, physics; chemistry; and biology labs, and an armory. It was named Woodward Hall in the honor of James Woodward's father, Henry Williams Woodward.⁹²

Woodward Hall was designed in the Classical Revival style by architect T. Henry Randall, with Taylor and Chance of Baltimore serving as contractors. It was the first building constructed outside the original row of buildings. Woodward Hall was constructed perpendicular to the Chase-Stone House, northwest of the Liberty Tree.

The Lynching of Henry Davis

Following emancipation in Maryland, newly freed and enfranchised African Americans continued to face subjugation through acts of racial terror. These acts were often undertaken by 'unknown' white mobs who enacted brutal combinations of violence against African Americans facing accusations of violence or sexual assault. These mobs would act regardless of whether the victims had been found guilty of a crime under Maryland's legal system. Approximately forty occurrences of racial terror lynchings were documented within the state from 1854 and 1933. The exact number of African Americans who were killed in this manner, however, is unknown.

In early December 1906, Henry Davis, a thirty-year-old African American man from Annapolis was charged with assaulting a white woman named Annie Reid. Davis was brought to Reid's house for identification, where, according to newspaper accounts, he allegedly admitted to the assault. Aware of the potential for mob violence, the sheriff asked that a jury convene immediately. Reid could not yet testify as a result of her injuries and the trial was delayed. Davis was being held at the Annapolis jail, located on the corner of Calvert and Clay Streets at the time.⁹³

Shortly after midnight on December 21, 1906, a mob of dozens overpowered the guards that were on duty at the jail. The guards relinquished Davis's cell keys to the mob and he was taken from the jail down Calvert Street towards West Street. Many Annapolis residents joined the mob as it turned onto West Washington Street and headed towards the neighborhood known as Brickyard Hill, which was home to many Black Annapolitans.

An article published in the *Evening Capital* reported that there "was a rendezvous of the proposed lynchers on the rear campus of St. Johns College shortly before the visit to the jail was made," and that the crowd entered one of the dormitories, later identified as Randall Hall.⁹⁴ A professor urged the crowd to leave the premises, unaware of their intent. It was reported by a witness that he saw several youths in the crowd wearing ribbon bands on their head, as was the style among students.⁹⁵

92 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, McDowell Hall (AA-675), MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc. 2000.

93 "Accused Negro Confesses," *Evening Capital*, December 19, 1906.

94 "Victim Told of Lynching: St. John's College Not Implicated in the Matter in Any Way," *Evening Capital*, December 22, 1906.

95 "Student Lynchers: Mob of College Boys Hanged Davis at Annapolis," *The Washington Post*, December 23, 1906.

STUDENT LYNCHERS

Mob of College Boys Hanged
Davis at Annapolis.

ARRESTS EXPECTED SOON

Authorities Declare that They Have
Positive Evidence.

St. John's College Students, Candidates
for Naval Academy, and Annapolis
Youths Composed Mob, According to
Witnesses of Attack on Jail—Rope
from College Used for Hanging Con-
fessed Assailant of Mrs. John Reed.

Special to The Washington Post.

Annapolis, Md., Dec. 22.—It is the firm conviction of the authorities of Anne Arundel County that the lynching Friday morning of Henry Davis, the confessed assailant of Mrs. John Reid, was a ghastly lark of St. John's College students, candidates awaiting examination for the Naval Academy and Annapolis youths. Evidence is accumulating to the effect that the mob that battered down the jail doors, awed the jailers, hanged the pleading negro, and afterward riddled his body with bullets was composed of about forty schoolboys. The evidence, it is said, is more than circumstantial, and witnesses of the attack on the jail say they can identify some of the lynchers. The State's attorney is confident that some of the members of the mob will be arrested, and probably very soon.

More Students' Hats.

From the evidence so far received, it is doubtful if any man of mature years took part in the affair. All the witnesses so far interrogated say the mob was composed of young men and youths, and one man who watched the attack on the jail from a window in a house just opposite, states that he could distinctly observe the flat soft hats with colored ribbon bands such as students of colleges and schools now affect.

It has been proved almost conclusively that teams came to Annapolis Thursday night from the direction of Mrs. Reid's home, and that none returned. The grounds of St. John's College were chosen as a rendezvous and these are entirely out of the line of march from that section.

The fact that the mob utilized one of the college dormitories, turned on the light and proceeded to disguise themselves, supports the theory held by the authorities.

Not Taken to Scene of Crime.

A still stronger circumstance is the fact that Davis was taken only to the outskirts of the city, about a third of a mile from the jail, instead of being carried to the scene of the crime to be hanged. The latter course is almost the invariable practice of lynchers, and there has never been an instance in this section where it was not done except on one occasion, when the prisoner broke away and was shot to prevent his escape.

It is known that the authorities have the names of some who were actual members of the crowd, though possibly not participants in the actual lynching. These, it is thought, will be summoned before the grand jury and compelled to disclose what they know about those who composed the mob crowd.

The front of the jail was brilliantly lighted by electricity during the whole time the door was being forced open, and residents of houses just opposite had a view of all that was going on. Their evidence, it is expected, will substantiate the charge that the mob was composed of students.

College the Rendezvous.

There is a rumor current that some of the older students of St. John's had promised their co-operation, and it was for that reason that the mob assembled on the college grounds and used Senior Hall as the headquarters. From the statement of President Fell there were only about twenty boys in Senior Hall on Thursday night, the others having gone home on their Christmas vacation. It is reasonably certain that the most of these twenty were down in the hallway with the lynching party while the details of the job were being discussed and the faces of the participants blackened with burnt cork.

The rope with which the hanging was done, however, came from the college. Two or three of the slender ropes on which the tennis nets on the college courts were strung were twisted together and made a line stout enough to swing up the negro.

Might Have Averted Lynching.

Figure 19: Excerpt from "Student Lynchers," *The Washington Post*, December 23, 1906.

The actions of these students and their level of participation in the event is uncertain. According to contemporaneous reports, however, it is likely that they had some presence in the crowd that was responsible for the lynching of Henry Davis. *The Washington Post* also reported that the ropes used to hang Davis were taken from the tennis courts on St. John's College's campus. In 1906, a jury of inquest assembled to review details regarding the lynching of Henry Davis. After a month of investigation, the jury was unable to charge any one person, or group of people with responsibility for the lynching.⁹⁶

Contemporaneous reports suggest that the lynching took place on Brickyard Hill, a steep bluff overlooking College Creek that was home to many Black Annapolitans. After hanging Davis from a chestnut tree on the bluff, the crowd fired over one hundred rounds into his body in an effort to terrify the Black residents. Davis was reportedly buried in the section of Brewer Hill Cemetery for victims of smallpox; however, his grave was unmarked, and the exact location is unknown. A plaque was dedicated at Brewer Hill Cemetery on December 20, 2001, to honor Davis and other victims of mob justice.⁹⁷ In October of 2022, Nora Demleitner, the twenty-fifth president of St. John's College, submitted a written testimony acknowledging the lynching, and outlining the college's efforts towards racial justice.⁹⁸



Figure 20: Plaque in Brewer Hill Cemetery, dedicated in 2001 to victims of mob violence. *Historic Marker Database*.

St. John's College in the Twentieth Century

The college's finances continued to improve and at the start of the twentieth century, as St. John's was out of debt for the first time since the Civil War. The success of Fell's recruiting efforts meant that by the turn of the century, more dormitory space was needed to accommodate the growing class size. In 1902, the Assembly grant allowed for another building to be constructed, which would serve as a combination dining hall and dormitory. First known as "Mess Hall" or "Senior Hall," the building was renamed Randall Hall in 1912 in honor of John Wirt Randall. Randall was a member of the Board credited with obtaining a grant from the General Assembly in 1898. Born

96 Maryland State Archives. "Henry Davis." *Archives of Maryland* (Biographical Series), 2020, <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013635/html/13635bio.html>

97 Nick Lundsow, "Plaque unveiled to honor lynching victim," *The Capital*, December 2001, <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013635/images/cap21dec2001.pdf>.

98 Nora Demleitner, "Written Testimony of President Nora Demleitner, St. John's College," *Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission*.

in 1845 as the second son of Alexander Randall, a graduate of St. John's College who went on to serve as auditor of the Court of Chancery (1833-1840) and Attorney General of Maryland (1864-1868). John Wirt Randall was likewise educated as an attorney, and he served as the president of the Farmers National Bank and the Maryland State Senate. Randall Hall was dedicated in 1912, the year John Wirt Randall died.⁹⁹

Following the completion of Randall Hall in 1902, the next building constructed on St. John's College campus would be Iglehart Hall, completed in 1909. In recognition that athletics were an integral part of college life, St. John's College had constructed a temporary gymnasium to the north of McDowell Hall and Randall Hall in 1890. Rectangular in plan, the one-story building was wood frame with a side gable roof. It was not until 1908 that the money would be raised, largely through the efforts of alumni, to construct a new gymnasium. The gymnasium was designed by the Baltimore architectural firm of Wyatt & Nolting, in the Classical Revival style. The structure was completed in 1909 and was later named for Lieutenant E. B. Iglehart, who was a strong supporter of athletics as a student and alumnus. Born in Annapolis, Iglehart attended St. John's preparatory school at the age of thirteen and continued through to complete college, graduating in 1894. While attending the school, Iglehart was very active in baseball and football, serving as a coach for the college's football team while on leave from his position as second lieutenant in the army. In 1907, Iglehart was appointed Commander of Cadets and Professor of Military Science, Tactics and Law. He held this position until 1909 when poor health forced him to resign. Following his death, the gymnasium was named Iglehart Hall in his honor.¹⁰⁰

Just after work had started on the gymnasium in 1909, faulty wiring started a fire in McDowell Hall. The fire was fanned by a strong northwest wind, and the cupola fell within ten minutes. In his account of the fire, St. John's College president Dr. Thomas Fell reported that students worked together to remove much of the ammunition and ordnance that was stored in the basement of the building, in addition to books, files, records of the board of governors, and portraits of past presidents. Despite the students' efforts, the ammunition that remained in the building began to explode at intervals, further exacerbating the damage. The walls of the building were too high for water to reach so hoses had to be carried up the trees to extinguish the fire. The midshipmen and members of the community that were helping to control the fire turned their efforts to saving Humphreys Hall, Pinkney Hall, and Randall Hall. Once the fire was finally extinguished, it was observed that the two upper floors were burned, the roof and cupola were destroyed, the first floor also suffered severe damage from falling debris. The thick masonry walls, however, remained largely intact, despite being badly cracked, and considerable portions of the rear of the first floor and basement were preserved. Despite the extensive damage to the interior and roofing system of the building, the faculty, students, and community members were able to save valuable college records and furnishings. Damage was estimated to amount to approximately \$40,000, around \$29,000 of which was covered by insurance.

The Board engaged two architectural firms from Baltimore -- Wyatt & Notling and Baldwin &

99 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, Randall Hall (AA-1587), MIHP form prepared by EHT Traceries, Inc. 2000.

100 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, St. John's Gymnasium (AA-1588), MIHP form prepared by EHT Traceries, Inc. 2000.



Figure 21: Alumni in the ruins of McDowell Hall. 1910 *Rat Tat*, *St. John's College Digital Archives*.

Pennington -- to make recommendations on steps forward. Both asserted that the walls could be preserved and the building reconstructed, however, they recommended a new modern building be constructed in its place. The younger alumni requested a new building, roughly following the lines of the original, but with the addition of an auditorium to the rear. The older alumni, many of whom were helping to fund the reconstruction, refused to contribute if the building was not restored as accurately as possible. In April of 1909 the Board passed a resolution that incorporated both restoration and new construction. The front and side sections of McDowell Hall were replicated using as much of the remaining walls as possible. Despite a proposal to expand the rear of the building to create an auditorium, and the original configuration and massing of the building were retained.¹⁰¹ Tilghman presents a thorough description of the restoration, stating that:

The damaged parts of the old walls were cut out; the old timbers were removed; and the foundations were strengthened. Then the walls were filled out with new bricks and the woodwork of both exterior and interior copied as carefully as possible. The only changes in plan were that the third floor was re-arranged into the present [1940] six rooms, the original large center room being given up. The design of the stairway was also altered somewhat.¹⁰²

The center of student life throughout this period was the cadet corps. The military program, which was intended to comprise a small portion of the college's curriculum, came to dominate

101 John Christensen and Charles Bohl, *McDowell Hall at St. John's College*, St. John's College Press, 1989.

102 Tench Francis, Tilghman, *The Early History of St. John's College*. Annapolis, MD, St. John's College Press, 1984, 168.



Figure 23: Battalion Drill at St. John's College, circa 1910. *St. John's College Digital Archives, 1910 Rat Tat.*

the school's programming. Since 1885, Army officers had been assigned to the campus to run the Military Department, a compulsory part of education at St. John's. In 1905, the War Department selected St. John's as one of the ten leading military schools in the country. The preoccupation with the military program, however, began to detract from the other curriculum at the college. To the resentment of the faculty, the military department was responsible for all discipline at the school, and increasingly student time was being spent on the drill field rather than the classroom.

The issue was brought the forefront in 1914, when a student was killed in a hazing incident. A special committee tasked with investigating the episode determined that the college should remove the preparatory school and institute a sub-freshman class in its place. The committee also determined that President Fell should resign as provost of the University of Maryland to focus his attention on St. John's College. Lastly, it was recommended that disciplinary responsibility should be transferred from the military department to the faculty. While these factors may have led to the disbandment of the military department of St. John's College under different circumstances, the advent of World War I solidified its importance. In 1917, a unit of the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) of the Army, which had been established through the National Defense Act of 1916, was organized at St. Johns College.¹⁰³ For a school of its size, St. John's College had a distinguished war record with the second greatest number of officers in service during the Great War than any other college or university in the United States.¹⁰⁴

St. John's College faced criticism following the end of World War I for admitting under-prepared students and for overworking professors. The school was still financially dependent on the State of Maryland and the Board of Education, raising concerns that these criticisms might impact

103 Tilgham, 172.

104 Murphy, 62.

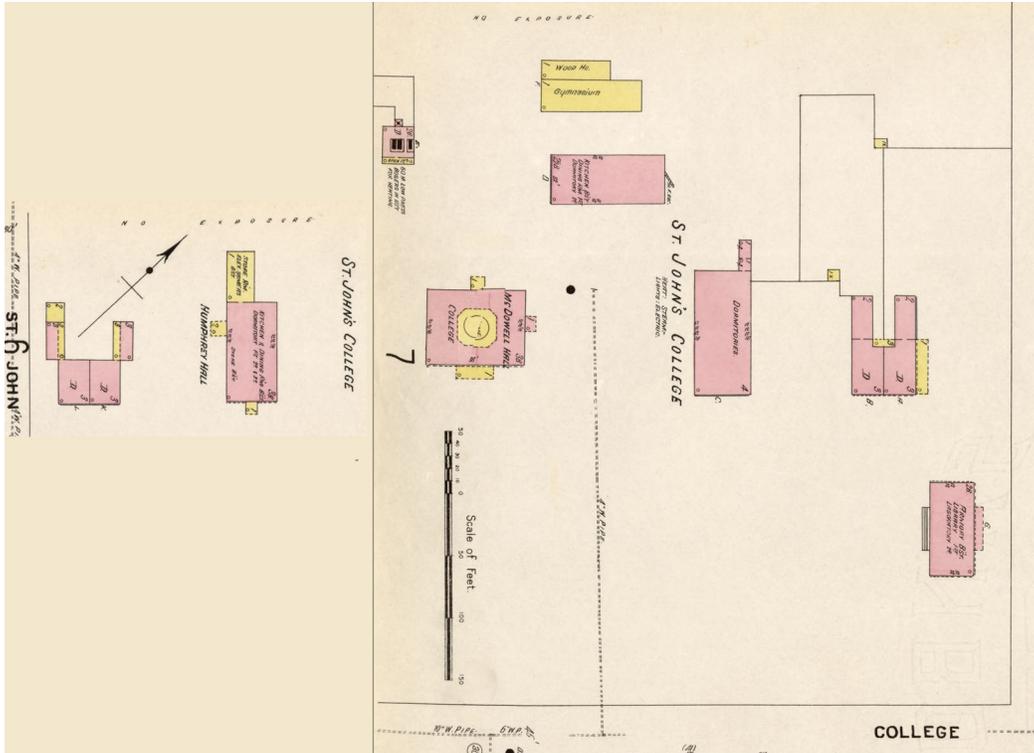


Figure 24: 1908 Sanborn Map, sheet 7 showing southern half of St. John's Campus. Buildings or portions of buildings shaded in yellow denote wood-frame construction and those shaded in red denote brick construction. *Library of Congress.*

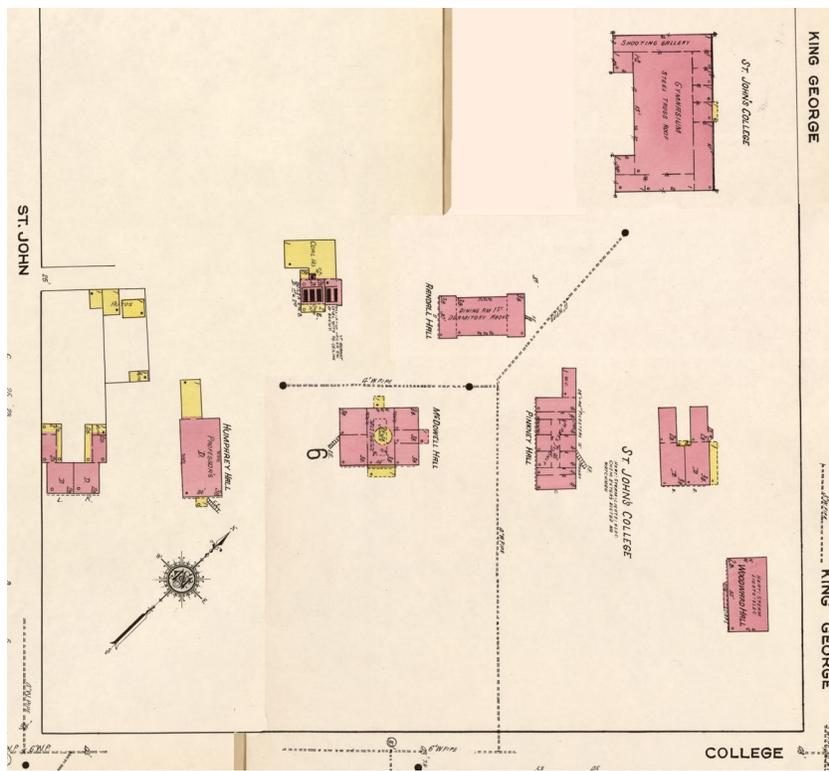


Figure 25: 1921 Sanborn Map, sheets 2 and 6, showing southern half of St. John's Campus. *Library of Congress.*

its appropriations. In 1923, Dr. Fell resigned after thirty-seven years as President of the college, with him taking the military program and the four-part curriculum that he had established. The cadet corps were initially replaced with a voluntary ROTC and Naval Reserve, however both were dissolved due to lack of interest by 1929.¹⁰⁵

Following Fell's resignation, the College elected Major Enoch Garey, a graduate of the class of 1903, as president. Under his leadership, the sub-freshman class was disbanded, and a free electives system was put in place. While Garey raised the academic standards of the College, which suffered during Fell's last years as president, he only served in the role for three years. Garey was also responsible for raising money to allow for the purchase of several historic properties in Annapolis, including the Brice House, Hammond-Harwood House, Pinkney-Callahan House, and Peggy Stewart House.¹⁰⁶

Garey resigned in 1929, and a new president wasn't selected until 1932, when Douglas Huntly Gordon was appointed. He was dismissed two years later, however, with Amos W. W. Woodcock of the class of 1902 taking his place. Woodcock had gained national attention as the Director of Prohibition from 1930-1933. During his time as president, the lacrosse and football programs prospered, and the fraternities increased in popularity. Academics began to decline, however, and Woodstock was asked to resign in 1937 after he vetoed a faculty recommendation, granting a degree to a student who did not qualify.

During the Great Depression, St. John's faced numerous financial issues. The Board had invested in Annapolis real estate, and following the stock market crash of 1929, they struggled to meet operating expenses. In response, the Board elected to revamp the curriculum and extra-curricular offerings with the hope of attracting a wider range of students. One element of the change was renewing the college's emphasis on athletic activities, including football, crew, sailing, tennis, track, and baseball. On November 3, 1934, the cornerstone for an alumni-funded boathouse was laid as part of a ceremony that also included the formal inauguration of President Woodstock. The boathouse was completed during the fall of 1935.¹⁰⁷

Also in 1934, the State of Maryland constructed the Hall of Records at the southwestern end of the campus, across the lawn from Woodward Hall, on land that had been conveyed to the state by the college.¹⁰⁸

In 1937, the academic Stringfellow Barr, was hired as president, with his colleague, Scott Buchanan acting as dean. Barr and Buchanan believed that traditional liberal arts could be used as a formal structure for learning, and developed a curriculum with "great books" as the basis for class discussions. Believing in the interrelatedness of the curriculums, they proposed that St. John's adopt an all-required curriculum with no departments or majors. Barr and Buchanan worked

105 Murphy, 67.

106 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, McDowell Hall (AA-675), MIHP form prepared by EHT Traceries, Inc. 2000.

107 *The Rat Tat 1935* (Annapolis, MD: The Junior Class of St. John's College, 1935), 130, 131.

108 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, Woodward Hall (AA-673), MIHP form prepared by EHT Traceries, Inc. 2000.

together closely to institute what was known as the New Program, and both instructed seminars in addition to fulfilling their administrative duties to the college.¹⁰⁹

In 1938, in an effort to increase on-campus student housing to accommodate the college's increased enrollment, President Barr announced that fraternities would no longer be permitted to occupy college buildings. It was at this time that the two buildings on campus, Paca-Carroll House and the Chase-Stone House, previously known by their fraternity letters, were given their present names.¹¹⁰

Compounding the difficulties caused by instituting a new curriculum at the college was a \$300,000 mortgage on the property. A committee assembled to address funding issues called for the resignation of the Board of Visitors and Governors. In its place, a new Board was nominated. The committee also recommended that the College sell the historic properties that it owned in Annapolis, including the Hammond-Harwood House at 19 Maryland Avenue (constructed in 1774), the Brice House at 42 East Street (constructed 1767-1773), the Pinkney House, now at 164 Conduit Street (constructed 1785), and the Peggy Stewart House at 207 Hanover Street (constructed 1761-1764).¹¹¹



Figure 26: Aerial view of St. John's College, circa 1955-1956. *St. John's College Digital Archives.*

109 Murphy, 80.

110 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, McDowell Hall (AA-675), MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc. 2000.

111 The Commission for the Restoration and Enlargement of Colonial St. John's College, "Historic Houses for St. John's," Baltimore, Maryland.

Additional changes included the replacement of intercollegiate sports with intramural sports, the addition of a summer term and the banning of fraternities. In 1940, married mother of two Helen Hill Miller, was hired to teach economics. Miller was the first women hired to teach at St. John's College. She only remained at St. John's for a semester before moving on to have a storied career as a journalist and author. In 1992, three years prior to her death, *The Washington Post* heralded her as "Washington's Renaissance Woman".¹¹²

While World War II resulted in low enrollments for the college, many of the faculty who had been instrumental in starting the New Program and training tutors were drafted into the service or left for war related positions. In 1943, to compensate for the low enrollment numbers, boys who had not yet graduated from high school would be admitted to the summer term. This program continued for two years until veterans returned and enrollment dramatically increased. At the war's end, however, the popularity of St. John's was established on a broader scale than before. The College was faced with another obstacle when rumors began circulating that the Naval Academy was seeking to annex the campus of St. John's. In response, Barr wrote the the Baltimore Sun, declaring:

The board of St. John's does not wish to move the college, and will not willingly do so unless the Navy assumes the responsibility for declaring the move necessary in the national interest.¹¹³

Without having been provided with a clear demonstration of the necessity for the annexation of the campus, St. John's College refused to participate in the negotiations.

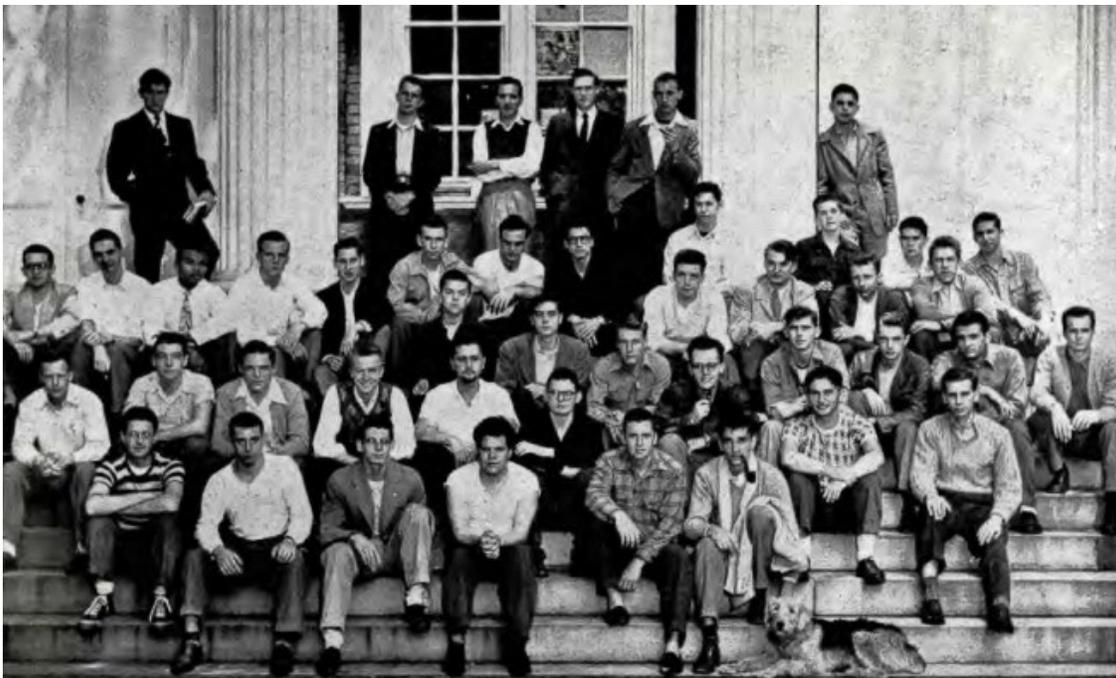


Figure 27: Photo of the 1948 St. John's College Freshmen Class. Martin Dyer is seated in the third row, third from left. *St. John's College Digital Archives, 1948 Rat Tat.*

112 Megan Rosenfeld, "The Golden Age of Helen Hill Miller," *The Washington Post*, July 7, 1992, C1.

113 "The St. John's Position," *The Baltimore Sun*, June 23, 1945.

By 1945, the college was prospering financially as Paul Mellon, who had enrolled in the college in 1940, supplied financial support for various projects. Mellon left St. John's College before the completion of his second semester to join the war effort, however he maintained a firm commitment to support the College and its education program. In October of 1941, he funded the construction of a sea wall on the back campus bordering College Creek. He also supplied funds for the remodel of Pinkney, Randall and McDowell Halls.¹¹⁴

Barr and Buchanan resigned in 1946 and by 1947, John Kieffer was selected as president of St. John's. It was during Keiffer's presidency that the first African American would be integrated into the College.¹¹⁵

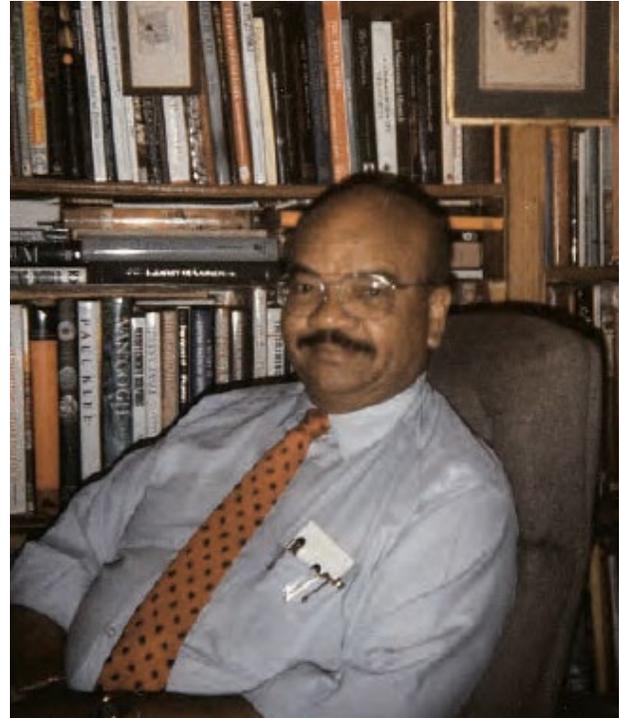


Figure 28: Martin Dyer, first African American student at St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland. *St. John's College, Greenfield Library Archives.*

Integration of St. John's College

In 1944, Willie Washington, an African American student, applied for admissions into St. John's College. The school rejected Washington on grounds that the Board felt that the segregation in Annapolis would interfere with the student's education.¹¹⁶ While the Board of Visitors and Governors continued to fear integration, citing Annapolis' segregationist tendencies, after World War II, students began to pressure St. John's College to enroll African American students. On March 16, 1948, undergraduate students gathered to vote on a resolution: "The Student Polity hereby resolves that it would welcome the admission of students of any race or color to St. John's College."¹¹⁷ The organizers of the meeting felt strongly that the challenge to dismantle segregated education must originate with the student body. The resolution passed with 162 in favor, thirty-three against and two indifferent. At a faculty meeting held on April 10, 1948, a motion that "the faculty go on record as favoring the admission of Negro students at a matter of college policy," passed unanimously.¹¹⁸

The students were persistent. They arranged visits to African American high schools in Baltimore to recruit a male to attend St. John's College. The students connected with Martin Dyer, a senior and honors student at Paul Laurence Dunbar High School. At the St. John's Board meeting on July 17, 1948, President Kieffer reported that Martin Dyer had submitted an application for enrollment and recommended that he should not be rejected on this basis of race. Despite obvious student

114 Richard J. Weigle, *Recollections of a St. John's President: 1949-1980*, St. John's College Press, Annapolis, Maryland, 1988, 10.

115 Murphy, 127.

116 Samantha Ardoin, "Past: A Tale of Integration," *The MoonXX*, no. 3 (February 2016), 2.

117 Samantha Ardoin, "Past: A Tale of Integration," *The MoonXX*, no. 3 (February 2016), 2.

118 Samantha Ardoin, "Past: A Tale of Integration," *The MoonXX*, no. 3 (February 2016), 2.

and faculty support for integration, the Board's Executive Committee voted nine to three against admitting Dyer to the college.¹¹⁹

A letter dated August 26, 1948 shows that despite the initial vote against admittance, the majority of the Board supported Dyer's admittance. At the Executive Committee meeting held on September 17, another vote on the subject was taken, this time with an outcome of six to three in favor of admitting Dyer. It is unclear what led to this change of heart. Dyer attended his first class at St. John's College on September 27, 1948.¹²⁰

Despite gaining admittance to the school, Dyer continued to face segregation from the residents of Annapolis. He stated:

...the segregated aspects of Annapolis ended at the college campus. So [the] college campus was a little enclave of freedom for Blacks to be treated like everybody else. It was almost like another country in the midst of foreign country...Annapolis was die-hard segregation. It was worse than Baltimore in that regard, I'd say...I wasn't warned, I was not warned. I'm sure that nobody at the college thought about that. They were white; they had no idea what the situation was.¹²¹

Following his graduation from St. John's College, Dyer studied law and worked for a U.S. Senator on Capitol Hill, as well as several federal government agencies.

In 1949, Richard T. Weigle accepted the role of President of St. John's College. The terms of his appointment stipulated that student admission was to be based on merit alone, and that race should not be taken into consideration. Despite the revised admissions policy, no other African American students were enrolled at St. John's college during the four years that Dyer attended. Dyer stated that racial tensions in the town of Annapolis may have discouraged students. In 1952, Everett H. Wilson, valedictorian of his segregated high school in Salisbury, was the second African American to enroll at St. John's College. Of the group of the first seven African American students at St. John's College, six had graduated from segregated high schools.¹²² The issue of race was not raised again during Weigle's presidency, which lasted until 1980.¹²³

119 Susan Borden, "Rule of Reason In a Small College Seeking Enlightenment," *The College*, St. John's College, Summer 2012, 38.

120 Borden, 38.

121 Samantha Ardoin, "Past: A Tale of Integration," *The Moon XX*, no. 3 (February 2016), 2.

122 Jamie Stiehm, "First blacks at St. John's are honored," *Baltimore Sun*, November 11, 2004, electronic document accessed at <https://www.baltimoresun.com/news/bs-xpm-2004-11-11-0411110409-story.html>

123 Richard J. Weigle, *Recollections of a St. John's President: 1949-1980* (Annapolis, Maryland: St. John's College Press, 1988), 6.

3.0 Significant People

This section details the involvement with slavery of the prominent people associated with St. John's College. The list of people discussed was generated in coordination with St. John's College. Some of the people discussed in this section provided funding for the establishment and continued upkeep of the school, while others served as presidents of the institution. Previous histories of St. John's College largely focused on the achievements of these individuals, after which many of the campus buildings are named. The purpose of this section is not to elaborate further on their individual accomplishments, but rather to outline their associations with the institution of slavery and/or subjugation of African Americans.

John McDowell (1771-1820)

The centerpiece of the St. John's College campus, McDowell Hall, was named in honor of John McDowell, the college's first principal, in 1857.

John McDowell graduated from the College of Philadelphia (present-day University of Pennsylvania) in 1771. McDowell's connections to Maryland included his fellow alumni from the College of Philadelphia where he tutored for eleven years, and those from Cambridge on Maryland's Eastern Shore, where he studied and taught for seven years beginning in 1782. McDowell practiced law for five years in Dorchester County, before joining the faculty of St. John's College in 1789, where he served as principal for sixteen years.¹²⁴

McDowell's background differed from the trustees of St. John's College, who had largely been raised in well-established communities along the Chesapeake where English ships frequently docked. Contrastingly, John McDowell was born in 1751 in Peters Township, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania. As the second son of John and Mary McDowell, John and his twelve siblings were raised in the landlocked valley, predominantly settled by Scotch-Irish immigrants, where legal disputes were settled at a personal level. McDowell's former teacher, John King, was responsible for his admittance to the College of Philadelphia in 1768. As the first student at the college to have been raised on the frontier, McDowell tutored less advanced students in exchange for tuition.¹²⁵

Following the Revolutionary War, Judge Robert Goldsborough invited John McDowell to read law in his office in Cambridge, Maryland. In 1783, he was admitted to the Dorchester County bar, where he soon established a prosperous law practice.¹²⁶ In 1789, the trustees of St. John's College sought to appoint two professors to the newly established school. They selected John McDowell to serve as the Professor of Mathematics and acting principal, and Rev. Ralph Higginbotham as Professor of Ancient Languages and Vice Principal. In August of 1789, McDowell appeared before the trustees to accept the appointment, later detailing in a letter to his father that the new position would allow him to be nearer to friends. McDowell's friends consisted of a group

124 Fletcher, 60.

125 Fletcher, 61.

126 Fletcher, 62.

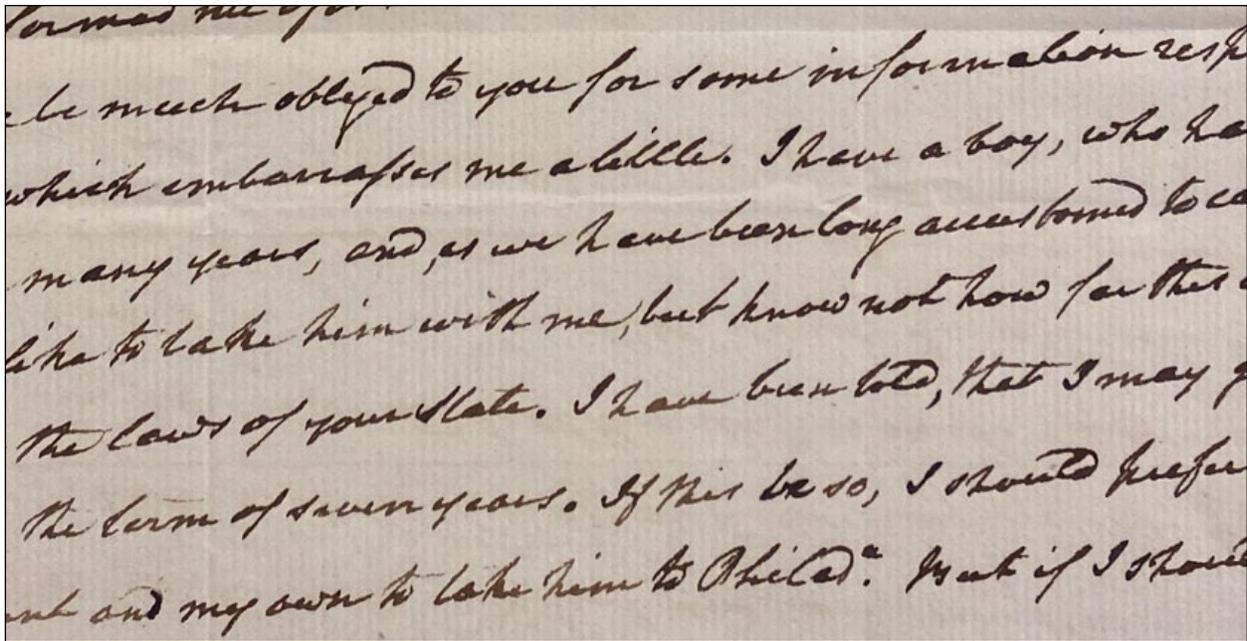
The image shows a close-up of a handwritten letter in cursive. The text is written on aged, slightly yellowed paper. The handwriting is fluid and characteristic of the late 18th or early 19th century. The visible text discusses the writer's intention to transport a boy named Joseph Williams to Philadelphia and mentions a term of seven years. The writer expresses a preference for taking the boy to Philadelphia but is uncertain about the legal process in the recipient's state.

Figure 29: Excerpt from McDowell's letters to Tilghman, detailing intent to transport and manumit Joseph Williams
Historical Society of Pennsylvania

of young Federalists, who often discussed the Declaration of Independence, and endowment of rights to all men, included Black slaves. In 1789, Nicholas Hammond presented "An Act to Promote the Gradual Abolition of Slavery," to the Maryland Legislature. The bill caused an uproar in the Assembly and was promptly tabled. Despite the opposition, some of McDowell's colleagues, including William Tilgham and William Hindman, manumitted their slaves by will.¹²⁷

Under McDowell's leadership, St. John's College prospered, attracting students from across Maryland and nearby states. By the close of the eighteenth century, however, the Maryland state Senate disagreed over the continued support of the school, leading to uncertainty regarding funding. In 1801, McDowell offered his resignation, discouraged by the conflict in the Senate. Personally, he also wanted to move closer to friends who had largely moved out of Annapolis.¹²⁸ The Board, however, persuaded him to stay on as they felt he was essential for the survival of the young college. Much to his chagrin, he kept his post. In 1806, McDowell officially resigned after the state legislature officially voted to revoke funding to the school. Following his resignation, McDowell relocated to Pennsylvania to become professor of natural philosophy and third provost of the University of Pennsylvania.¹²⁹

Census records reveal that in 1800, McDowell enslaved a forty-four-year-old man in Anne Arundel County, who likely resided with him in present-day McDowell Hall.¹³⁰ Prior to departing from Annapolis, McDowell wrote William Tilghman, a trustee with the University of Pennsylvania, stating

127 Fletcher, 62-63.

128 Fletcher 63-64

129 Penn Libraries University of Pennsylvania. "John McDowell 1751-1850," *Penn University Archives and Record Center*, 2024. <https://archives.upenn.edu/exhibits/penn-people/biography/john-mcdowell/>.

130 U.S. Bureau of the Census. Second Census of the United States, 1800, NARA microfilm publication M32 (52 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

that he would like to bring Joseph Williams, an African American boy with him to Philadelphia, despite laws forbidding the transport of enslaved people into the state. It is presumed that the man documented in the census record is who McDowell is referring to, as he states that the boy “has lived with me many years, and, as we have been long accustomed to each other, I should like to take him with me.” McDowell wrote that he wanted to bring him “both on his account, and on my own.” McDowell further detailed that he would manumit, him but wished to have him bound for seven years.¹³¹

During this period, however, laws governing slavery and the transport of slaves differed between Maryland and Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania Assembly had passed “An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery” on March 1, 1780, the first legislation of its kind in the country.¹³² The act outlawed the enslavement of Blacks born after the date of its passage while simultaneously prohibiting the enslavement of Blacks of twenty-one years of age or older for longer than seven years. In 1788, “An Act to Explain and Amend,” was passed, resolving weaknesses of the earlier legislation. Specifically, the amendment strengthened protections for slaves brought across state boundaries, by stating that slaves transported into Pennsylvania were “deemed and taken to be free.”¹³³

While Joseph Williams did travel to Philadelphia with McDowell, he was manumitted much earlier than McDowell intended, on April 8, 1807.¹³⁴ This earlier manumission was likely as a result of Pennsylvania’s restriction on the import of slaves to the state. McDowell maintained contact with Williams to some extent, and in a letter written to Rev. William Rogers on January 30, 1811, he expressed the hope that he would “make good use of the liberty he has.”¹³⁵

Hector Humphreys (1798-1857)

Humphreys Hall was completed in 1837 to serve as a boardinghouse, making it the second building constructed on the St. John’s College Campus. The previously unnamed building was christened Humphreys Hall in 1857, three months after Hector Humphreys’ death, in recognition of his contributions to St. John’s College.¹³⁶

Hector Humphreys was born in Canton, Connecticut in 1797, nearby his cousin John Brown, the abolitionist who led a raid on Harper’s Ferry in 1859.¹³⁷ Humphreys attended Yale College, after which he moved to New York City to pursue theological studies. He was admitted to the order of the Deacon in Trinity Church, New Haven on March 21, 1824. Humphreys was appointed

131 McDowell to William Tilghman, 9 March 1807, Tilghman Papers, box 17, HSP.

132 10 Pa. Stat. at Large 69, 70.

133 Dee E. Andrews, “Reconsidering the First Emancipation: Evidence from the Pennsylvania Abolition Society Correspondence, 1785-1810,” *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 64 (1997): 235.

134 Manumission Record of Joseph Williams, Series C109, August 11, 1807, Maryland State Archives.

135 McDowell to Rogers, 30 January 1811, Gratz Collection, case 7, box 14, HSP.

136 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, Humphreys Hall (AA-676), MIHP form prepared by EHT Traceries, Inc. 2004.

137 Frederick Humphreys, *The Humphreys Family in America*, (New York: 1883), 307.

Professor of Ancient Languages at the newly established Washington (present day Trinity) College at Hartford, and his success at that institution made him a promising candidate for president of St. John's College.¹³⁸

Hector Humphreys served as the principal of St. John's College from 1831-1857, and he is credited with recovering the college from the financial struggles it faced in the early nineteenth century. Many of the organizational changes that Humphreys made had a lasting impact on the curriculum and campus at St. John's. During his time as principal, Humphrey placed a greater emphasis on science and established a laboratory for research purposes. He made military training voluntary and split the preparatory school into two sections, the Grammar School and the English School. The Grammar School served those who aimed to attend college, and the English School was for those who did not. Humphreys also led the department of "Moral Science" and covered the Greek and Latin departments due to limited faculty.¹³⁹ In addition to his adjustments to the curriculum of St. John's College, he also raised funds for the construction of a Boarding House which was completed in 1837. This building, now known as Humphreys Hall, was intended to relieve crowding in the College Building, present-day McDowell Hall. In 1855, Humphreys encouraged the Board to expand the campus again with the addition of faculty housing and a new dormitory.¹⁴⁰ Humphreys argued that fair compensation included staff housing and adequate dormitory space, believing such benefits would attract a higher standard of teachers to join the faculty, leading to an increase in enrollment.¹⁴¹

According to the 1840 census, Humphreys housed one free African American man and woman while living in Annapolis.¹⁴² Historic records do not indicate that Humphreys enslaved any individuals.

William Pinkney (1764-1822)

Upon its completion in 1858, Pinkney Hall was named in honor of William Pinkney, a prominent statesman, and seventh U.S. Attorney General. Pinkney was a student of the King William's School, and argued against the government's withdrawal of financial support for St. John's College in 1805.¹⁴³

William Pinkney was born in Annapolis in 1764 in a house opposite the Chase mansion. He was the second son of Jonathan Pinkney. While Pinkney's father was a Tory loyalist, William secretly

138 Humphreys, 467-469.

139 Humphreys, 469.

140 Thomas J. Wilson, Biographical Notice of the Rev. Hector Humphreys, D.D. Late Principal of St. John's College, Annapolis, 1857, 11.

141 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, Chase-Stone House (AA-672), MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc. 2004.

142 U.S. Bureau of the Census. Sixth Census of the United States, 1840. (NARA microfilm publication M704, 580 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

143 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, Pinkney Hall (AA-674), MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc. 2004.

sided with the patriots, lending aid to General Washington's troops. After the war, the entire Pinkney estate was confiscated as punishment for Jonathan's Tory loyalty, leaving the family in destitution.¹⁴⁴

William Pinkney attended King William's School and was discovered for his orating talents by Judge Samuel Chase at a debating society. Chase was impressed by Pinkney's eloquence, offering him his library to study law. Pinkney was admitted to the bar in 1786, and in 1788 he was a delegate to the convention that ratified the Constitution of the United States, voting against the federal constitution on the grounds that it lacked a bill of rights. In 1788, during his first week in the Maryland legislature, Pinkney was placed on a committee to amend the Maryland Declaration of Rights and Constitution to provide for religious toleration. This group waged a lengthy campaign to repeal a law which forbade the manumission of slaves by last will and testament. In a speech made by Pinkney to the House of Delegates of Maryland in November of 1789, he marveled at the technicalities involved with manumission, and objected placing blame on England for the establishment of slavery in America.¹⁴⁵ Pinkney rejected the notion that freedmen would become instruments of usurpation, and pointed out that creditors could be safeguarded from losses that might accrue from manumission. The results of Pinkney's speech were minimal, and the legislature voted to continue the Act of 1752 that forbade manumission by will and testament, until the following session.¹⁴⁶

In 1796, largely through the assistance of Samuel Chase, Pinkney secured an appointment as one of the three American commissioners under Article Seven of the Jay Treaty, to settle U.S. claims against Great Britain.¹⁴⁷ In 1805 he became Attorney General of Maryland, and President Thomas Jefferson later appointed Pinkney as Minister to Great Britain in 1801. In 1811, upon his return from Britain, Pinkney was appointed Attorney General of the United States under President James Madison.¹⁴⁸

Between 1811-1816, Pinkney rose to national fame as a lawyer, presenting eighty-four arguments in the Supreme Court over his career.¹⁴⁹ After a brief term as Minister of Russia in 1816, Pinkney made his most famous appearance before the Supreme Court in 1819 in the case of *McCullough v. Maryland*. During this case, Pinkney explicated the "necessary and proper cause" giving Congress the power to establish a national bank.¹⁵⁰

144 J.D. Warfield, A.M. *The Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties, Maryland: A Genealogical and Biographical Review from wills, deeds and church records*, Family Line Publications, Westminster, Maryland, 1990, 128.

145 William, Pinkney, 1764-1822. *Speech of William Pinkney, Esq. in the House of Delegates of Maryland, at their session in November, 1789*. Philadelphia: Printed by Joseph Crukshank [1790] Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

146 Max P. Allen, "William Pinkney's Public Career: 1788-1769," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XL (1945), 217-218.

147 Robert M. Ireland, "William Pinkney: A Revision and Re-emphasis," *The American Journal of Legal History*, Volume XIV, (1970): 237.

148 Warfield, 128.

149 Stephen M. Shapiro, "William Pinkney: The Supreme Court's Great Advocate," *Yearbook 1988: Supreme Court Historical Society*, Washington, D.C. (1988), 41.

150 Shapiro, 41.

Although Pinkney's speeches were highly esteemed, few of his early speeches have survived as he did not disseminate written copies of his orations. Instead, Pinkney's fame as an orator rests largely on the well-known speeches that he made before the Supreme Court and in the United States Senate. On February 15, 1820, Pinkney delivered his reply to Rufus King of New York on the admission of Missouri to the Union. This speech portrayed Pinkney's complicated relationship with slavery as he did not directly defend the practice, but rather the right of Missouri to enter the Union without an infringement on the new state's sovereignty. Pinkney acknowledged the evil of slavery, while simultaneously defending the right of Missouri landowners to enslave people. In this speech, Pinkney stated:

Slavery engenders pride and indolence in him who commands, and inflicts intellectual and moral degradation on him who serves. Slavery, in fine, is unchristian and abominable. Sir, I shall not stop to deny that slavery is all this and more; but I shall not think myself the less authorized to deny that it is for you to stay the course of this dark torrent, by opposing to it a mound raised up by the labors of this portentous discretion on the domain of others...¹⁵¹

In 1858, upon the completion of Pinkney Hall, the building was named in honor of William Pinkney due to his association with the college that spanned back to his early education at the King William's School.¹⁵² Additionally, as a member of the Maryland State Legislature, Pinkney argued against the government's withdrawal of financial support for St. John's College in 1805. He stated "the day which witnessed the degradation of St. John's College would prove the darkest day Maryland has known."¹⁵³ Despite Pinkney's fervent efforts, the Legislature voted to repeal its charter, revoking funding from St. John's College.

Pinkney's association with slavery was complicated and contradictory. While his speech highlights his distaste with the practice, Pinkney was an enslaver himself. The 1820 census indicates that he enslaved two teenage boys and a woman between the ages of twenty six and forty five.¹⁵⁴

Henry William Woodward (1803-1841)

Upon its completion in 1900, Woodward Hall was named in honor of St. John's College graduate Henry Williams Woodward. While enrollment at St. John's College had continued to increase after the Civil War, this growth put a strain on the campus, and led the college to accrue debt. The General Assembly provided the college with relief in way of grants, including \$15,000 for the renovation and construction of buildings on the campus. The Board elected to use the funds to construct a new building to house the library and provide laboratory space. Prior to the construction of the building, New York banker James T. Woodward further alleviated the college's

151 William Pinkney, *Restriction on the State of Missouri, 1820*. Monitcello Digital Classroom, 2024.

152 Historic American Building Survey, "Pinkney Hall," Blue Worksheet, Prepared by Florence T. Dunbar, October 1964, and updated by Harley J. McKee, August 13, 1964.

153 Warfield, 220.

154 U.S. Bureau of the Census. Fourth Census of the United States, 1820. (NARA microfilm publication M33, 142 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

financial burden by taking over the existing \$20,000 mortgage. Woodward increased the mortgage to \$30,000 and reduced to interest from six percent to three and a half percent. In a display of gratitude, the Board of Visitors and Governors elected Woodward as a member, in addition to naming the new building after his father, a former student of St. John's College.¹⁵⁵

It is likely that the foundation of James T. Woodward's wealth derived from his family's slave-based agricultural wealth. His father, Henry William Woodward, graduated from St. John's College in 1822, after which he resided in Gambrills Station in Anne Arundel County. The 1830 Census indicates that he enslaved one woman between the ages of fifty-five and ninety-nine.¹⁵⁶ The Woodwards were a prominent Maryland family, and Henry's father, Henry William Woodward Sr. (1770-1822) was born at Woodward's Enclosure in 1770.

During the War of 1812, he commanded the First Company of the 22nd Regiment of Maryland, and later represented Anne Arundel County in the Maryland House of Delegates. According to the 1800 census, Henry (senior) and his wife Eleanor lived at the plantation Woodward's Enclosure, in Anne Arundel County, with four children, likely including Henry W. Woodward Jr., and nine slaves.¹⁵⁷ In 1803 and again in 1806, Woodward, Sr. posted two fugitive slave ads seeking the return of enslaved men who had fled his Anne Arundel County property.¹⁵⁸ Census records indicate that Woodward Sr. gradually increased his slave holdings, and by 1810, he enslaved fifteen individuals.¹⁵⁹ A decade later, in 1820, his slave holdings had increased to twenty-five individuals. Of these twenty five individuals, twelve were under the age of fourteen, twelve were aged between fourteen and forty-four and one was forty-five or older. Eleven members of Woodward's household were engaged in agriculture, indicating that he used his slave holdings to support agricultural production at his estate.¹⁶⁰

Thirty Dollars Reward.
RAN AWAY from the subscriber the 30th of August, Negro Man JACK, about 25 years of age, 6 feet high, dark complexion, thin visage, sour look, slender made, remarkable long feet, and thin legs, short wool; had on when he went away, an ozenberg shirt and trousers, searought coat much worn, and old hat, but I suppose has a change of clothes and changed his name, and will endeavour to pass as a free man.—
Whoever secures said fellow in gaol and gives information thereof so that I get him again, shall receive, if taken 20 miles from home 10 dollars, if 30 miles 20 dollars, if 40 miles or out of this state the above reward, with all reasonable charges if brought home.
HENRY WOODWARD.
Ann Arundel county, Fork Paruzant,)
state of Maryland, Oct. 1. 1803. }

Figure 30: Fugitive Advertisement from Henry Woodward, Sr., October 1, 1803. *Frederick Town Herald* 1803.

155 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, Woodward Hall (AA-673), MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc. 2000.

156 U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fifth Census of the United States, 1830; NARA microfilm publication M19, 201 rolls. Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

157 U.S. Bureau of the Census. Fourth Census of the United States, 1820; NARA microfilm publication M32, 52 rolls; Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

158 "Thirty Dollar Reward," *Frederick Town Herald*, 1803, 3.

159 U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fifth Census of the United States, 1830; NARA microfilm publication M252, 71 rolls. Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

160 U.S. Bureau of the Census. Fourth Census of the United States, 1820; NARA microfilm publication M33, 142 rolls; Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

J. Wirt Randall (1845-1912)

Randall Hall was dedicated to John Wirt Randall in 1903, to honor him for engineering a series of grants in 1898, that enabled St. John's College to experience an enrollment boom.¹⁶¹

John Wirt Randall was the son of Alexander Randall and his first wife, Catharine Wirt. He was also the half brother of the architect T. Henry Randall, who was born of Alexander's second marriage with Elizabeth Philpot Blanchard. John graduated from St. John's College and went on to serve as auditor of the Court of Chancery (1833-1840) and Attorney General of Maryland (1864-1868). In 1898, Randall engineered a series of grants for St. John's from the General Assembly, and Randall Hall was named in his honor. Records do not indicate that Randall enslaved people, having been only twenty years of age at the time of emancipation. Census records do indicate, however, that John's father, Alexander Randall (1803-1881), and his stepmother Eliza Philpot Blanchard Randall (1827-1895) enslaved individuals at their home on the State Circle in Annapolis.

Alexander Randall graduated from St. John's College in 1822, and went on to serve on the Board of Visitors and Governors. Alexander Randall practiced law for over fifty years in Annapolis, and served as Auditor of the Chancery Court from 1833 to 1840. In 1841, Randall was a member of the United States Congress. In 1851, he became a member of the Constitutional Convention of Maryland, and in 1864, was elected Attorney General of Maryland. Randall retired from his law practice in 1877, at which time he became President of the Farmers National Bank of Annapolis, of which he had previously served as director and attorney. Alexander Randall was active in Annapolis political and social life, where he acted as vestryman of St. Anne's Church, and as a delegate to the Diocesan Conventions. Randall founded and managed both the water and gas companies of Annapolis, and was an active director of this town's first railroad and telegraph company. Alexander married Catharine Wirt with whom he had five children, including John Wirt Randall.¹⁶² After her death, he married Elizabeth Philpot Blanchard, and they had seven children, including T. Henry Randall, the architect of Woodward and Randall Hall.¹⁶³

Randall resided on State Circle in Annapolis with his family, including his second wife Elizabeth, and his children, where census records indicate that in 1840, he enslaved four males.¹⁶⁴ It is unclear exactly how these numbers varied over time; however, in 1854, Randall manumitted an enslaved woman named Eliza Paul.¹⁶⁵ Alexander's sister, Eliza Randall, likewise resided in the home on State Circle, and in 1860, she held four slaves. In 1864, she manumitted an enslaved man named Richard Turner.¹⁶⁶

161 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, Randall Hall (AA-1587), MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc. 2004.

162 Warfield, J.D, A.M., 117-118.

163 "T. Henry Randall Dead: Well Known Architect of this City Dies After Several Month's Illness," *New York Tribune*, July 8, 1905.

164 U.S. Bureau of the Census (Census Record, MD), MSA SM61-97, 1840

165 Manumission Record of Eliza Paul, January 8, 1855, Series: C109, Entry: 643:4; Page:101; Maryland State Archives.

166 Manumission Record of Richard Turner, June 6, 1864, Series: C109, Entry 750:4; Page:185, Maryland State Archives.

E. Berkeley Iglehart (1874 - 1920)

Iglehart Hall, completed in 1909, was named in honor of Lieutenant Edmund Berkley Iglehart for his contributions to athletics at St. John's College. During his time as a student, Iglehart was active in the college's sport programs, and several years following his graduation, he returned to coach the football team during his leave as second lieutenant in the army. In 1907, Iglehart was appointed Professor of Military Science, Tactics, and Law, a position which he held until 1909, when poor health forced him to resign.¹⁶⁷

Lieutenant Edmund Berkeley Iglehart was born Annapolis in 1874, and he enrolled in St. John's Preparatory School at the age of thirteen. He attended St. John's College and graduated in 1894. During his time as a student at St. John's College, Iglehart held the position of left halfback on the football team, and was a member of the baseball team, as well as participating in other athletic programs at the college. Following graduation, Iglehart was a businessman in Baltimore before becoming Assistant Paymaster in the Navy during the Spanish-American War. In 1902, after enlisting as a soldier in the army, Iglehart received a commission as Second Lieutenant, and was stationed at President McKinley's tomb in Canton, Ohio. In 1907, the Government appointed Iglehart as Professor of Military Science, Tactics, and International Law, and Commander of Cadets at St. John's College, as position he held until 1909. That year, following his leadership, St. John's College was ranked among the top military schools in the country.¹⁶⁸

Iglehart was born following emancipation, and therefore he did not have any direct involvement with the institution of slavery. He did, however, descend from a family of enslavers. Records indicate that his grandfather, James Iglehart, enslaved approximately thirteen individuals at his Annapolis residence.¹⁶⁹ Historic records do not indicate that Edmund's father William Iglehart (1835-1886) was an enslaver.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton (1737-1832)

Completed in 1857 as faculty housing, the Paca-Carroll House was given its present name in 1939 in part to honor Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who had joined the St. John's College Board of Rectors, Visitors and Governors in 1786 and had donated 200 Great British pounds to the college.¹⁷⁰

Charles Carroll of Carrollton, was born in Annapolis, Maryland in 1737 into a wealthy and prominent Catholic family. He was the son of Charles Carroll of Annapolis and Elizabeth Brooke, daughter of Clement Brooke. At the age of ten, Charles Carroll of Carrollton attended a Jesuit

167 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, Iglehart Hall (AA-1588), MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc. 2004.

168 *The Rat-Tat*, Yearbook of St. John's College, 1910.

169 U.S. Bureau of the Census. Seventh Census of the United States, 1850. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1850. M432, 1,009 rolls.

170 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, Paca-Carroll House (AA-677), MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc. 2000, 2.

College, of Bohemia, on “Herman’s Manor,” in Maryland. In 1748, Charles went with his cousin John Carroll to St. Omers, in French Flanders, to attend the College of Louis le Grand in Paris. Beginning in 1757, he entered the temple to study law for three to four years.¹⁷¹ Alongside William Paca, Charles Carroll of Carrollton was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and the first United States senator to complete two terms.¹⁷²

In 1765, his father, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, bestowed upon him a 10,000-acre land tract called Carrollton, located in Frederick County. Carroll constructed a house there, but soon after it was completed, his father died and he chose to instead reside at his ancestral home of Doughoregan Manor in Howard County, established by Charles Carroll the Carrollton’s grandfather in 1707.¹⁷³

Most of Carroll’s capital was tied up in his land, and he enslaved an extensive number of individuals at Doughoregan. By the time of the American Revolution, he was one of the largest enslavers in Maryland. According to a 1773 inventory, Carroll held 331 enslaved people on his plantation, and it is speculated that this number fluctuated between 300-400 individuals.¹⁷⁴ In 1793, Carroll hired an overseer names James Shaw to keep an account book of Doughoregan Manor, which documented money spent and received, in addition to information on the slaves at the plantation. He noted the birth and deaths of slaves, as well as who was working where, and on which task. The records include a form of slave inventory from the years 1795 to 1796, which details a list of shoes given out, grouping slaves by family and quarter. The list includes four slave quarters, and 188 slaves, significantly less than the 1773 inventory. This decrease is consistent with the 1800 census, which indicates that Carroll enslaved 182 individuals that year, implying that he reduced his slave force by nearly half since 1773.¹⁷⁵

In 1830, Carroll was elected president of Maryland State Colonization Society, which was a branch of the American Colonization Society. The American Colonization Society was founded in Washington, DC in 1816 in response to the growing belief that Whites and free Blacks could not live alongside each other. The founding members of the Colonization Society proposed that , rather than offering emancipation, the safest, most effective solution to combating the increasing population of freed Blacks would be to transport them to Liberia, a colony in West Africa. Both enslavers and abolitionists held membership to the Maryland State Colonization Society.¹⁷⁶

171 Warfield, J.D, A.M. *The Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties, Maryland: A Genealogical and Biographical Review from wills, deeds and church records*. Westminster Maryland: Family Line Publications, 1990, 502.

172 Warfield, 507.

173 Warfield, 501.

174 “A list of negroes on Doughoregan Manor taken in familys [sic] with their ages on Dec’r 1, 1773,” Maryland Center for History and Culture, Carroll-McTavish Papers, MS220: 9752.

175 U.S. Bureau of the Census. Fifth Census of the United States, 1800. (NARA microfilm publication M32, 52 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

176 Library of Congress, “The African- American Mosaic: Colonization,” accessed October, 2023, <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/african/afam002.html>

William Paca (1740-1799)

Completed in 1857 as faculty housing, the Paca-Carroll house was given its present name in 1939 in part to honor of William Paca, who was among those who petitioned the General Assembly for the college charter and pledged funds for the school's establishment.¹⁷⁷

William Paca, the son of a planter from Baltimore County, was one of four Marylanders who signed the Declaration of Independence. He served as the third governor of Maryland. During his tenure, he supported the establishment of a free college in Maryland, and signed the Charter of St. John's College during his third term. He was also an early financial supporter of the institution.

Prior to this, however, Paca cemented his standing in society by marrying one of the wealthiest women in Maryland – Mary Lloyd Chew – in 1763. In 1770, Mary's brother, Philemon Lloyd Chew, died childless in 1770, at which point his land, and the people he enslaved, passed to his siblings including Mary Paca. Paca therefore inherited his brother-in-law's land at Wye Island in Queenstown, Maryland, and his slave holdings, which included ninety-two people.¹⁷⁸ In 1793, Paca constructed Wye Hall, a Georgian style manor house, on his former brother-in-law's estate. By the end of the century, Wye Island was a prosperous wheat plantation. Other built resources, including barns, out buildings, and slave quarters, were also on the site. The estate was notable for its landscape and terraces, surrounding the manor house, all of which were created through the use of enslaved labor.¹⁷⁹ The plantation at Wye Island followed the formal, hierarchical arrangement of plantations that were popular at the time; plantations, which were centered around classically-inspired manor houses, were intended to symbolize the social and racial hierarchy that characterized the plantation system, while communicating the wealth and status of the owner.

William Paca died in 1799. Upon his death, he willed individually named enslaved people to his daughters and nieces, with the rest of his slave holdings passing to his son John Paca.¹⁸⁰ The 1800 census indicates that John Paca held 118 slaves at Wye Hall following his father William's death.¹⁸¹ It is thus likely that William purchased additional slaves during his ownership of Wye Island.

In 1802, fifteen individuals enslaved by John Paca received their freedom. That year an enslaved woman named Rachel Baker submitted a freedom petition to the Queen Anne's County Court. Citing a 1681 Maryland law that stipulated that freedom passed indefinitely through the maternal line, Baker claimed that her mother, "Indian Mary" was free, which therefore invalidated her

177 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, Paca-Carroll House (AA-677). MIHP form prepared by EHT Traceries, Inc., 2000, 2.

178 U.S. Bureau of the Census, First Census of the United States (1790), Queen Annes, Maryland, Microfilm Publication M637, Roll 3, page 463, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

179 Diane Brendsel. and Terry Babb. Historic American Landscapes Survey: Wye Hall Farm (HABS NO. MD-22), 2013.

180 Anne Arundel County Register of Wills. "William Paca AA Will." 1799. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5400/sc5496/051700/051710/images/wm_paca_aa_will.pdf

181 U.S. Bureau of the Census, First Census of the United States (1790), Queen Annes, Maryland, Microfilm Publication M637, Roll 3, page 463, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

bondage by the Paca's. Indian Mary had been a free servant under Philemon Lloyd Chew, and many of her descendants were presumed to have been inherited by John Paca following the death of William Paca in 1799. The jury ruled in favor of Rachel Baker and her fourteen co-petitioners, who were freed from John Paca and awarded \$39.48.¹⁸²

Samuel Chase (1741 - 1811)

The Chase-Stone House was completed in 1857 to serve as the President and Vice President's House. In 1939, the building was converted for use as a dormitory. At that time, the building was renamed in honor of Samuel Chase and Thomas Stone.

Chase was a member of the first Board of Rectors, Visitors, and Governors, and pledged fifty Great British pounds towards the establishment of the college.¹⁸³

Samuel Chase was born in 1741 near Princess Anne, Somerset County, Maryland, as the only Child of Rev. Thomas Chase and his wife Matilda Walker. In the early 1760s, Chase began his legal career, forming a close friendship with fellow lawyer William Paca. The two worked together to lead the opposition of the 1765 Stamp Act, found the county chapter of the Sons of Liberty, and to defend the legislature against proprietary initiatives in the early 1770s. In addition, they were both signatories to the Declaration of Independence. Beginning in 1766, Chase was selected as the Anne Arundel representative to the House of Delegates, a position which he held into the 1790s.¹⁸⁴



Figure 33: 1885 view of Samuel Chase's house on Maryland Avenue in Annapolis. *Risjord.*

In May 1762, Chase married Ann Baldwin, and they had seven children. Chase began to speculate in undeveloped land, and started construction on a townhouse, however rising costs forced him to sell the half-finished dwelling and much of his landholdings. Chase's finances suffered greatly as a result of wartime disruptions of the courts, and he began several entrepreneurial undertakings to supplement his income. These included involvement with John Dorsey and Co., and a saltworks

182 Maryland State Archives, "Rachel Baker." Archives of Maryland (Biographical Series), February 25, 2013. <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5400/sc5496/051700/051710/html/51710bio.html>.

183 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, McDowell Hall (AA-675). MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc., 2000.

184 Archives of Maryland, *Samuel Chase*, *New Dictionary of National Biography Entry*, Maryland State Archives.

on the West River. Charges that Chase used knowledge from Congress to benefit his personal business ventures led him to lose his seat in Congress.¹⁸⁵

Upon the death of Chase's father in 1780, he inherited his estate in Baltimore, including seven enslaved people. The 1783 Tax Lists indicate that Chase remained in Annapolis at that time, however, where he enslaved five individuals.¹⁸⁶ Chase moved to Baltimore in 1786, after he was granted ten lots by Colonel John Eager Howard, in the hopes that he would be influential in moving the state capital to the growing city.¹⁸⁷ By 1790, Chase enslaved four people at his Baltimore home.¹⁸⁸ He resided in Baltimore until his death in 1811, at which time he was enslaving fifteen individuals.¹⁸⁹

Thomas Stone (1743-1787)

In 1939, the Chase-Stone house was named in part to honor Thomas Stone, who served on the college's first Board of Rectors, Visitors, and Governors, and pledged 100 Great British pounds towards the establishment of the college.¹⁹⁰

Thomas Stone was born in 1743 at Poynton Manor, near Port Tobacco, in Charles County, Maryland. He was one of thirteen children born to David Stone, and his mother was David's second wife, Elizabeth Jenifer. Thomas did not inherit his father's 583 acre parcel of Poynton Manor, which instead passed to his eldest half-brother. Instead, Thomas and his brother John Stone, inherited the fifty-two people enslaved by David to divide.¹⁹¹

In 1770, Thomas Stone purchased 442 acres of Haberdeventure and Hanson's Plains Enlarged in Charles County, Maryland, just north of Port Tobacco. Stone quickly amassed a large slave force at his estate, and by 1782, the Stones were among the top ten percent of slave-holding families with a plantation of twenty or more slaves in Charles County. A high proportion of the enslaved at Haberdeventure were native-born, a statistic that was mirrored across most of Charles County by this time.¹⁹²

Approximately one in three enslaved people listed in Stone's probate inventories of early 1788

185 Archives of Maryland, *Samuel Chase, New Dictionary of National Biography Entry*, Maryland State Archives.

186 1783 Tax Assessment, MSA S 1161-1-1 1/4/5/44, Maryland State Archives.

187 Risjord, Norman K. *Builders of Annapolis: Enterprise and Politics in a Colonial Capital*. Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1997, 125.

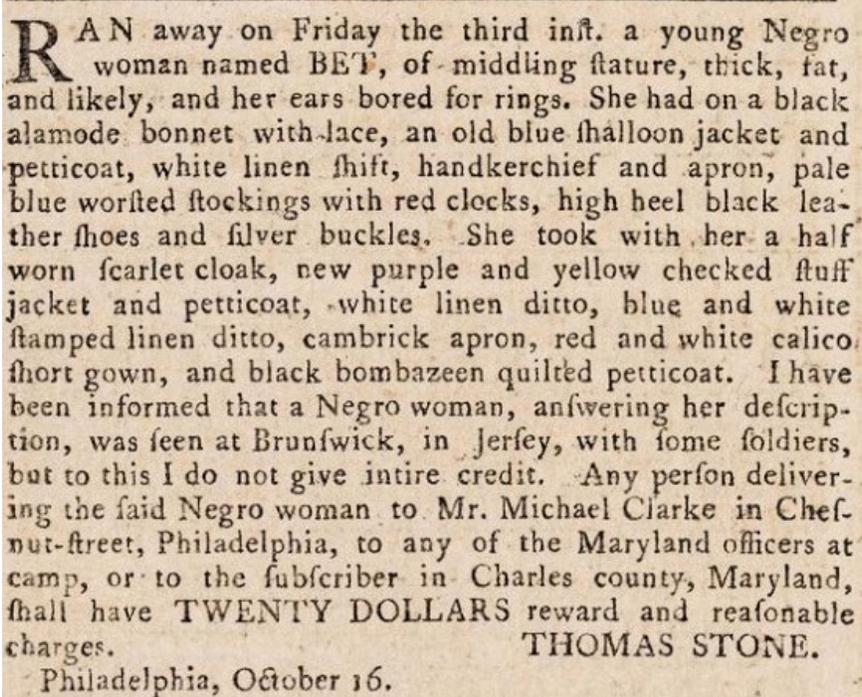
188 U.S. Bureau of the Census, First Census of the United States (1790), Baltimore Town, Baltimore, Maryland, Microfilm Publication M637, Roll 3, page 32, National Archives and Record Administration, Washington D.C.

189 Maryland State Archives, "Samuel Chase (1741-1811)." *Archives of Maryland* (Biographical Series), August 30, 2000, <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/000200/000235/html/ndnbchase.html>

190 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, Chase-Stone House (AA-672). MIHP form prepared by EHT Traceries, Inc., 2000.

191 Amy, Speckart, *New perspectives on Haberdeventure Plantation in Charles County, Maryland, 1770-1787* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, February, 2022), 120.

192 Speckart, 8.



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 34: Runaway Ad for Bet, posted by Thomas Stone on October 19, 1776. *Evening Post Philadelphia.*

obtained or attempted to obtain freedom by legal or extralegal means, between 1776 and the 1790s.¹⁹³ The most well documented occurrence was of the young, enslaved girl named Bet, who escaped from Stone's residence in Philadelphia on October 3, 1776, just as Stone was preparing to return to Maryland. Stone published an advertisement in the Philadelphia Packet newspaper offering a reward of twenty dollars for her return. The relatively high sum offered for Bet's return suggests that she was likely an enslaved houseworker, possibly tasked with caring for Margaret, Stone's wife. Bet's fate is unknown; however, after both Thomas and Margaret died in 1787, a slave named "Bett" was willed to their eldest daughter.¹⁹⁴

In 1783, Stone moved to Annapolis with his wife and family, during which time he sold or leased out many of the African Americans that he enslaved.¹⁹⁵ According to Stone's probate inventories, he enslaved twenty-five people at the time of his death in 1787. Of the twenty-five listed in the inventory, eight were known to have attained freedom following Stone's death, through legal or extra-legal means.¹⁹⁶

193 Speckart, 111.

194 National Park Service. "Bet: Freedom Seeker." U.S. Department of the Interior, August 13, 2021. <https://www.nps.gov/people/bet-freedom-seeker.htm>.

195 National Park Service. "The Peggy Stewart House," U.S. Department of the Interior, August 27, 2021. <https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/the-peggy-stewart-house.htm>.

196 Speckart, 111.

Charles Carroll the Barrister (1724-1783)

In 1955, the house that Charles Carroll the Barrister was born and raised in, originally located at the corner of Main and Conduit streets, was relocated to the St. John's College campus. The building bears the name of Charles Carroll the Barrister House in his honor.

Charles Carroll the Barrister, a cousin of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, was the son of Charles Carroll the Physician (1691-1755), sometimes referred to as Dr. Charles Carroll. Charles Carroll the Barrister was born in Annapolis in 1724. He grew up in a dwelling located at the corner of Main and Conduit Streets. That building remains extant, and is currently the Charles Carroll the Barrister House on St. John's Campus. In an effort to distinguish himself from the multiple Charles Carroll's living in Annapolis at this time, Carroll chose to add Barrister to his name. Carroll the Barrister attended school in Portugal and England prior to returning and becoming involved in Maryland politics. He served as president of the Maryland convention and was the principal author of the Declaration of Delegates of Maryland, adopted July 6, 1776.¹⁹⁷

Charles Carrol the Barrister's father, Dr. Carroll, had emigrated to the Maryland colony in 1716, after which he settled in Annapolis and amassed land holdings in the western Maryland and Baltimore regions. Historical records show that slavery was a part of everyday life for Dr. Carroll, who cared for Black people (free and enslaved) and White residents (including slaveholders) as a part of his medical practices. Carroll also enslaved individuals, sometimes accepting them as payment, other time hiring them out and selling them.¹⁹⁸

In 1730, Dr. Carroll began planning for the creation of an ironworks alongside other Maryland gentrymen, including his cousin Charles Carroll of Annapolis. In 1731, Dr. Carroll conveyed sixteen hundred acres of tract of land called "Georgia" located west of Gywnn Falls to the Baltimore Iron Works, retaining the eastern section for himself. Upon the opening of the first furnace on Charles Run, Dr. Carroll became the ironworks manager, responsible for the calculation of "hands" including enslaved workers. Like nearby ironworks to the east and in Virginia, the owners viewed slavery as the solution to a labor shortage and the cost of wages. Each partner was supposed to contribute six enslaved individuals at the onset to clear wood, and in May 1732, the ironworks began purchasing slaves. Company records from 1734 indicate that forty-three enslaved persons labored at the ironworks by that time. Blacks quickly became involved in every step of the laborious task of iron making, from construction of the complex, to transporting the products to ships. The enslaved individuals at the Baltimore Iron Works were subject to extreme conditions including hard labor, lack of proper housing, and poor nutrition, resulting in frequent injuries and ailments.¹⁹⁹

Following the death of Dr. Carroll in 1755, Charles Carroll the Barrister inherited his father's

197 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, Charles Carroll the Barrister House (AA-671), MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc. 2000, 3.

198 Teresa S. Moyer, *Ancestors of Worthy Life: Plantation Slavery and Black Heritage at Mount Clare*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015), 68.

199 Moyer, 36.



Figure 35: Undated painting of Charles Carroll the Barrister with an enslaved individual and a visitor at Mount Clare. *President Street Tours*

estate, which including his enslaved laborers, the exact number of which is unknown. In 1760, he commissioned the construction of Mount Clare at Georgia, and in the fall of that year, he brought slaves from his Annapolis home to join those who already labored there. In 1763, Charles Carroll the Barrister married Margaret Tilgham of the prominent, slave holding Tilgham family. Her dowry included enslaved persons.

By 1764, the Baltimore Iron Works was owned by five stakeholders, including Charles Carroll the Barrister. 150 enslaved individuals worked at the facility.²⁰⁰ In the early 1770s, the Carrolls resided at Mount Clare, just west of the iron works nearly year-round, where he personally held eighteen enslaved Blacks. Charles continued to purchase African Americans in the years leading up to the Revolutionary War, and when he did hire free Blacks, he paid them far less than he paid his White employees. The enslaved individuals were predominantly male, suggesting hard labor continued to support the Baltimore Iron Works. During the American Revolution, Charles Carroll the Barrister became increasingly reliant upon slave labor, as many of his White laborers enlisted in the army. Some of the enslaved individuals held by Carroll defied their bondage by escaping, including a man named Eddenborough in 1777 and a man named Jack Lynch in 1780.²⁰¹

Charles Carroll the Barrister died in March 1783, with considerable wealth and property. Tax assessments from that year indicate that in addition to his holdings at Mount Clare, he enslaved seven people in Annapolis at the time of his death.²⁰² He left all of his enslaved, approximately 115 people to his wife Margaret. In addition to the slaves he held personally, Carroll was also

200 Warfield, 502.

201 Moyer, 67.

202 1783 Tax Assessment, MSA S 1161-1-1 1/4/5/44, Maryland State Archives.

accountable for a fifth of the thirty-one individuals enslaved at the Baltimore Iron Works.²⁰³

Francis Scott Key (1779-1843)

Upon its completion in 1958, Francis Scott Key Memorial Hall, which included the auditorium and lobby, was named in honor of Francis Scott Key, who graduated from the college in 1796. The remaining portions of the building, including lecture halls and laboratories, was named in honor of alumnus Paul Mellon, who enrolled at St. John's College in 1940, and placed \$4.5 million in trust to provide an endowment for the college. The adjacent planetarium was named McKeldin Planetarium in honor of Thomas McKeldin, former Governor of Maryland and Mayor of Baltimore.²⁰⁴

Francis Scott Key was born in Frederick County, Maryland, in 1779 as the only son of John Ross Key and his wife Anne Phoebe Charlton. In 1789, Key's parents sent him to Annapolis to study at St. John's College, where he graduated in 1796. Key married Mary Tayloe Lloyd in 1802, daughter of Colonel Edward Lloyd IV, one of Maryland's most wealthy and powerful landholders. Lloyd was the owner of Wye Plantation in Talbot County, where he kept a large slave force employed in the cultivation of tobacco, corn, and wheat crops. At the time of Lloyd's death in 1796, he enslaved 320 people. No record has surfaced indicating that Mary Tayloe Lloyd brought a dowry to her marriage to Francis Scott Key; however, it is likely that the couple benefited from the wealth of her family.²⁰⁵ Following their marriage, the Keys lived in Frederick, Maryland for a few years before moving to Georgetown in the District of Columbia between 1805 and 1806. Key's uncle, Philip Barton Key, turned over his law practice to the young lawyer, and in 1807, he successfully argued his first case before the U.S. Supreme Court.²⁰⁶

Beginning with his great-grandfather, Key descended from a long line of slaveholders, and his wife Mary belonged to one of the largest slave-holding families in the state of Maryland. Key purchased his first enslaved person in 1800 or 1801, and by 1830, he enslaved six people at his Georgetown residence.²⁰⁷ Key's relationship to the institution of slavery was complex, however, and soon after beginning his law practice, he represented freed and enslaved African Americans in legal disputes (often pro bono) while simultaneously representing slave owners attempting to retain their human property.²⁰⁸

Key manumitted several slaves. In 1811, Key and Alexander McCormick, who jointly owned a six-year-old girl named Kitty, signed a document to manumit her on account that her mother was a free woman. Later that year, Key also manumitted a two-year-old boy named James and a six

203 Moyer, 84.

204 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, Francis Scott Key Memorial Hall and Mellon Hall (aa-679), MIHP form prepared by EHT Traceries, Inc. 2000.

205 Marc Leepson, *What So Proudly we Hailed: Francis Scott Key, A Life*, Leepson, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan: 2014): 6-16.

206 Leepson, 16-22.

207 U.S. Bureau of the Census. Fifth Census of the United States, 1830. (NARA microfilm publication M19, 201 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

208 Leepson, 25.



Figure 36: Landscape scene depicting Cape Palmas in Liberia, circa 1835. *Maryland Center for History and Culture.*

month old boy named Joe, however he stipulated that they would not be free until they reached twenty-five years of age.²⁰⁹

Much of Francis Scott Key's fame stems from his renown as the author of the "Star Spangled Banner," which he wrote after witnessing the Battle of Baltimore on September 13, 1814. Despite the monumentality of the occasion, Key rarely spoke of his authoring of the national anthem.²¹⁰ The War of 1812 fostered conflicting feelings for Key, who was concerned over his lack of business, and the future of Washington. He also resented Madison administration's approach to the war, as well as the British tactic of encouraging slaves to join their ranks in exchange for freedom, which many feared would result in instability in the southern states.²¹¹

Following the War of 1812, Key's legal practice was booming, and he was involved in cases both on behalf of and against African Americans. Throughout his career, he represented Black people in court, often times helping them to sue for their freedom, a service which he provided gratis. In 1816, Key also appeared as a witness on a special congressional committee established by John Randolph to investigate slave trafficking in Washington. Key testified that, in the nation's capital, free Blacks were often wrongfully seized and sold into slavery in the deep south. There is no record of Congressional action being taken on the matter, and Key continued to defend freed Blacks taken illegally by slave traders.²¹²

209 Leepson, 26.

210 Leepson, 55-64.

211 Leepson, 72-73.

212 Leepson, 76-78.

Key continued to argue on behalf of the cause of African Americans, in a case concerning a Spanish ship, the *Antelope*, that was caught smuggling slaves out of Africa in 1820. International slave trade was highly illegal by this time, and law stipulated that any discovered slaves should be returned to Africa. Spanish and Portuguese petitioners, however, claimed some of the slaves as their property. The case was first tried in Georgia, and the Circuit Court awarded nearly all of the enslaved individuals to the claimants. The federal district attorney, appealed the case to the Supreme Court, however it would be another three and a half years until it was heard. In 1825, attorney General William Wirt requested that Francis Scott Key serve as lead attorney during the trial.²¹³ Key declared that because the claimants could not identify which captives they owned, that they should all be released, stating that “by the law of nature all men are free.”²¹⁴ Ultimately, as a result of Key’s argument, thirty-nine individuals were returned to the claimants, and one-hundred and thirty-one were transported to Africa.²¹⁵

Key’s major involvement with slavery was as a founding member of the American Colonization Society, established in 1816. Key was a part of a committee of eight tasked with submitting a document to Congress to request federal funds to allow for the purchase of land in Africa for colonization. Key’s involvement with the society stemmed from his belief that freed Blacks could never peacefully exist in the United States due to prejudices among Whites, and that relocating them to Africa would simultaneously introduce “the arts, civilization, and Christianity,” there.²¹⁶ Key remained a dedicated member of the society, using his oratory talents to raise money, recruit new members, and lobby Congress to support the group’s cause.²¹⁷

Nat Turner’s Rebellion in 1831 strongly impacted slave owners, who began to fear violent uprisings of their enslaved. In response, many manumitted their slaves, including Key, who freed four of his seven slaves, shortly after the rebellion. Key allowed a forty-one year old man names Romeo to purchase his freedom for just one dollar, and later allowed his slave William Ridout to purchase his freedom for \$300. Key also manumitted sixty-five year old Elizabeth Hicks, most likely to relieve his family of the burden of her care.²¹⁸

In 1833, President Jackson nominated Key as the fourth District Attorney for the District of Columbia, a position that he would hold for eight years.²¹⁹ A significant number of the cases that Key heard involved freed and enslaved Black people, due to their high population in the nation’s capital.²²⁰ Despite Key’s many instances of support for African Americans throughout his career, he simultaneously used his position to defend against the abolitionist cause. Notable was the case of *U.S. v. Reuben Crandall*, which made headlines by questioning whether the property rights of enslavers outweighed the free speech rights of abolitionists. Crandall was a physician who was

213 Jonathan A. Richie, *He Rode Alone: Francis Scott Key as an Advocate for Freedom*, (Liberty University, College of Arts and Sciences: 2010), 68.

214 *The Antelope*, 23 U.S. 66 (1825).

215 Richie, 68.

216 Richie, 84

217 Leepson, 82-86.

218 Leepson, 130.

219 Thomas, 244.

220 Leepson 140-143

arrested in Washington, D.C. on charges of possessing pamphlets that portrayed slavery as cruel. With this case, Key aimed to set a precedent by silencing abolitionists, calling the trial “one of the most important cases ever heard” in Washington.²²¹ Crandall was jailed for eight months until April of 1836 when he stood trial. Key charged Crandall with five counts including publishing of libels with the intent to excite insurrections among the enslaved and free African Americans of Washington.²²² Key’s motivation for his aggressive and persistent persecution of Crandall may have resulted from a desire to defend the American Colonization Society, which Crandall’s pamphlets attacked vehemently. Additionally, it may have been a method of repairing his reputation with those that distrusted him for his frequent defense of freed Blacks, or an attempt to gain favor with Jackson’s successor, Vice President Martin Van Buren, in the lead up to an election year.²²³ Regardless of the motivation behind Key’s prosecution of Crandall, the jury found him not guilty of all charges.²²⁴ The unrest caused by the trial, however, resulted in a restriction of Washington’s Black Codes in response to white anxieties over the number of free African Americans in the city.²²⁵

221 Leepson, 181.

222 Thomas, 255.

223 Leepson, 181-182

224 Library of Congress. The trial of Reuben Crandall, M.D. Washington City, 1836.

225 Leepson, 185-186

4.0 Architectural Survey Results

The architectural survey recorded and evaluated and recorded nineteen resources on the St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland. The resources included sixteen buildings, two monuments, and one demolished site feature.

Table 1: Resources Recorded During the Architectural Survey

MIHP #	Name	Address	Date of Construction
AA-22	World War I Monument	St. John's College Campus	1920
AA-23	Monument to French Soldiers and Sailors of the American Revolution	St. John's College Campus	1911
AA-671	Charles Carroll the Barrister House	St. John's College Campus	1724
AA-672	Chase Stone House	St. John's College Campus	1857
AA-673	Woodward Hall	St. John's College Campus	1899
AA-674	Pinkney Hall	St. John's College Campus	1858
AA-675	McDowell Hall	St. John's College Campus	1789
AA-676	Humphreys Hall	St. John's College Campus	1837
AA-677	Paca-Carroll House	St. John's College Campus	1855
AA-678	Chancellor Johnson House	St. John's College Campus	1720
AA-679	Francis Scott Key Memorial Hall and Mellon Hall	St. John's College Campus	1958
AA-1585	Liberty Tree	St. John's College Campus	
AA-1586	Maryland Hall of Records	St. John's College Campus	1935
AA-1587	Randall Hall	St. John's College Campus	1903
AA-1588	Iglehart Hall	St. John's College Campus	1909
AA-2208	Beneficial-Hodson Boathouse	St. John's College Campus	1934
AA-2209	Heating Plant and Printing Shop	St. John's College Campus	1951
AA-2210	Campbell Hall	St. John's College Campus	1954
AA-2211	Harrison Alumni Center	St. John's College Campus	1972

The survey team consisted of members of Traceries, who recorded these resources during the architectural field investigations conducted in August and October of 2023. Field survey methods, reporting, and documentation were undertaken in accordance with the MHT *Standards and Guidelines for Architectural and Historical Investigations in Maryland*, revised 2019. Notable features and additions/alterations were recorded during survey. All resources were recorded using digital photography. Interiors of the buildings were accessed, and notable interior features were recorded. Campbell Hall was under renovation during the time of survey and thus the interior was

not accessible. The remainder of this section provides a summary of the survey findings. More detailed descriptions can be found in the individual MIHP forms in Appendix A.



Figure 37: St. John's College Campus, resources surveyed.

World War I Monument (AA-22)
Year Constructed: 1920
Sculptor: Hans Schuler



Figure 38: View of World War I Monument, looking northwest. *EHT Traceries, October 2023.*

The monument to St. John's College alumni who served and died in World War I stands in front of McDowell Hall along College Avenue in Annapolis. Facing southwest toward a brick campus walkway and perpendicular to the road, the monument consists of a bronze relief panel on a limestone stele and is centered within a circular patio paved in hexagonal brick pavers. The bronze relief panel depicts the allegorical figure of Alma Mater resting on a shield that lists twenty-four names and graduation dates of alumni who died in the war. On the reverse side, a recessed limestone panel framed by cove molding is inscribed with the following: ERECTED BY THE ALUMNI OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE TO THEIR FELLOW ALUMNI WHO IN THE WORLD WAR GAVE THEIR ALL. FOUR HUNDRED AND FIFTY-TWO OF OUR MEN ANSWERED THEIR COUNTRY'S CALL. THERE IS NO RECORD THAT ONE FAILED IN HIS DUTY. A projecting rectangular piece of limestone sits at the base of the limestone panel. A bronze plaque is centered within the projecting limestone piece, which explains the significance of the bronze relief panel on the reverse side of the statue.

The World War I Monument, erected in 1920, is significant for its commemoration of the 452 alumni who served and twenty-four of whom died in the Great War. It is also an outstanding example of the work of the Baltimore sculptor Hans Schuler, and is representative of the monumental stele memorial.¹

1 Nancy Kurtz, "Maryland Historic Trust State Historic Sites Inventory Form: St. John's College World War I

Monument to French Soldiers and Sailors of the American Revolution (AA-23)

Year Constructed: 1911

Sculptor: J. Maxwell Miller



Figure 39: View of Monument to French Soldiers and Sailors of the American Revolution, looking northwest. *EHT Traceries, October 2023.*

The Monument to French Soldiers and Sailors of the American Revolution stands in a grove of trees above College Creek at St. John's College in Annapolis. Facing east toward the lawn and playing fields in the north corner of campus, the monument features a high-relief bronze panel mounted in a pink granite stele with a gray granite base. The bronze panel features the classical female figure of Memory in the foreground. Memory's right arm is intertwined with a laurel branch and her left arm rests atop a shield that stands at her side. Her gaze is downcast to two small gravestones, one for the French soldiers and one for the French sailors. Memory stands against a low relief background of the French army marching out of the frame, rifles on their shoulders.

The Monument to French Soldiers and Sailors of the American Revolution commemorates the French soldiers and sailors who were buried along College Creek during the Revolutionary War. It is also a significant early work of the renowned Baltimore sculptor J. Maxwell Miller, and as a monumental stele memorial.² The monument was dedicated on April 18, 1911, and many dignitaries, including President William Taft and the French Ambassador, attended the dedication ceremony.

Monument," November 18, 1994.

² Nancy Kurtz, "Maryland Historic Trust State Historic Sites Inventory Form: Monument to the French Soldiers and Sailors of the American Revolution," April 1, 1994.

The Charles Carroll the Barrister House (AA-671)
Year Constructed: 1724
Architect: James W. Burch (1955 Renovation)



Figure 40: Northwest elevation of the Charles Carroll the Barrister House, looking southwest. *EHT Tracerics*, October 2023.

The Charles Carroll the Barrister House was originally constructed circa 1724 at the northwest corner of Main and Conduit streets for physician (chirurgion) Charles Carroll, one of the most affluent men in colonial Maryland. The building was relocated to the St. John's College campus in 1955, after the owners were forced to convey the property at a public auction. Joseph G. and Florence Greenfield purchased the building with plans to replace it with a store, prompting protest from preservationists. The owners donated the house to Historic Annapolis, which raised money to fund the relocation of the building. The Commission for the Restoration and Enlargement of Colonial St. John's College had expressed interest in preserving historic buildings as a service to the public and as a means to reduce expenses of the campus. Historic Annapolis coordinated with St. John's College to successfully relocate the building to the campus in 1955.

The dwelling was the birthplace of Charles Carroll the Barrister, the eldest son of Dr. Charles Carroll and principal author of the Declaration of Delegates of Maryland. When first constructed, the building was two stories, entirely wood frame, and T shaped in plan. The building was altered in 1746, when the side elevations of the main block of the building and a portion of the rear wing were dismantled and rebuilt in brick. In 1955, the building was moved to its present location on St. John's Campus. At that time, a new basement was constructed, a new brick end wall on the rear wing was constructed, and the upper parts of the chimneys were rebuilt. Despite its

relocation, the building survives intact to its eighteenth-century period. It is a two-and-a-half-story, T-shaped frame structure with brick end walls laid in all-header bond. It is set upon a raised brick foundation and is covered with a cross gable roof, clad with slate shingles. The building features brick end chimneys and gable-roofed dormers.³ The building measures 16' x 42' (main block) and 16' x 42' (rear wing). The building is significant for its association with St. John's College's role in early preservation efforts in Annapolis. The Charles Carroll the Barrister House, one of Annapolis' larger colonial townhouses, is also significant as a one of the few surviving examples of early 18th century architecture.

3 Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, Charles Carroll the Barrister House (AA-671), MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc. 2000.

Chase-Stone House (AA-672)
Year Constructed: 1857
Architect: Nathan G. Starkweather



Figure 41: Northwest elevation of the Chase-Stone House, looking southeast. *EHT Traceries, August 2023.*

The Chase-Stone House at St. John's College was constructed in 1856 by local builders Daniel M. Sprogle and Daniel H. Caulk to the designs of architect, Nathan G. Starkweather. In 1939, the building was named in honor of local statesmen, Samuel Chase and Thomas Stone, who served on the first Board of Rectors, Visitors, and Governors, and pledged money towards the establishment of the college. The building was one of three buildings constructed on the campus in the 1850s. It is located at the northeastern end of the row of buildings that forms the nucleus of St. John's College campus. The building continued to serve as residence of the principal and vice principal until 1929, when it became a fraternity house. In 1939, after fraternities were disbanded on St. John's campus, the building became a men's dormitory. In 1963, under the direction of local architect James Wood Burch, the duplex underwent significant alterations, particularly on the interior, to combine the two dwellings and create one dormitory for twenty-seven students.

The rectangular red brick building, which is named in honor of local statesmen Samuel Chase and Thomas Stone, is laid with running bond faces southeast to College Avenue and the City of Annapolis. The building features a symmetrical fenestration and elaborate wooden cornice with a wide frieze board with recessed panels interspersed with paired wooden brackets and decorated at its highest point, by a row of lentils. The building is capped with a hipped standing seam metal roof and features two center chimneys, and two end chimneys at the northwest elevation. The

northwest elevation of the building was significantly altered during the 1963 conversion of the building into a single dormitory. At that time, the building's original rear wings were removed, and the rear wall extensively rebuilt. In 2019, the standing seam metal roof was replaced in-kind, and the gutters were removed for the installation of drip edge flashing at the building perimeter.

Woodward Hall (AA-673)

Year Constructed: 1899

Architect: Henry T. Randall (1899); Rogers, Taliaferro, Kostritsky, and Lamb (1968-1969); Cho, Wilks and Ben (1968-1969)



Figure 42: Southwest (front) and northwest elevations, looking east. *EHT Tracerics, August 2023.*

Now known as the Barr-Buchanan Center, Woodward Hall was constructed in 1899. Woodward Hall was the first of two buildings at St. John's College designed by Annapolis-born architect T. Henry Randall in the Classical Revival style of architecture. Named in honor of Henry Williams Woodward, the brick building initially housed the college library, biological laboratory, chemical and physical laboratories, and the armory. It is designed in a traditional, turn-of-the-20th century Classical Revival Style defined primarily by red brick walls, a double-height Corinthian portico, and a bold and projecting Classical cornice. In 1968, Woodward Hall was completely gutted and rebuilt on the interior. At the same time, the basement of the building was excavated and a below ground level was added under the original building and an aboveground extension made towards the rear of the building. In 1996-1997, the library was moved to the newly renovated Greenfield Library, and Woodward Hall was again remodeled, and rededicated as the Barr Buchanan Center. As a result of these major alterations, the interior of Woodward Hall has no historic intact features. The building now houses the Graduate Institute and King William Room, where final oral examinations are given.

Woodward Hall is located at the eastern corner of St. John's campus, between the group of buildings that form the nucleus of the campus and College Avenue. It was the first building constructed at St. John's College outside of the original "Yale Row" of buildings and later served as a counterpoint to the Maryland Hall of Records (now Greenfield Library), built in 1934. The building is a two-story,

cube-like, brick structure set upon a raised basement. This raised basement is articulated with alternating rows of recessed brick simulating rusticated stone and has a molded brick watertable. The five-bay wide façade is divided into three parts consisting of a central projecting pavilion, defined by an engaged portico of double story Corinthian columns, and side wings. The walls are laid in five-course American bond and are pierced with pairs of long casement windows, with Classical moldings, including cushion friezes and corseting. The building is covered with a flat roof, with a central monitor (a 1996 addition), and features a bold Corinthian order cornice with a three-part architrave, an unadorned frieze and an ogee cornice with modillions.

Pinkney Hall (AA-674)

Year Constructed: 1858

Architect: Nathan G. Starkweather; Schwarz Purcell (1993) Alt Breeding Schwarz (1998)



Figure 43: Southeast elevation of Pinkney Hall, looking northwest. *EHT Traceries*, August 2023.

Construction of Pinkney Hall at St. John's College began in 1855 by local builders Daniel M. Sprogle and Daniel H. Caulk to the design of architect Nathan G. Starkweather. Named in honor of local statesman and former Attorney General of the United States William Pinkney, the building was constructed as a dormitory and faculty boarding house for 100 men. The Gothic Revival Style dormitory was one of three buildings constructed on the campus of St. John's College by the academic institution in the 1850s. Although completed by 1858, the building was not occupied until after the Civil War, when the college commenced classes again and enrollment increased.

The building has been altered at several points since its construction. Between 1891 and 1897, a brick addition at the northwest elevation was constructed. This addition was enlarged in 1908. In 1942, the building was renovated, with the removal of the richly decorated finials that originally capped the massive brick buttresses above the roofline. In May of 1993, the exterior fire escape at the northeast elevation was removed, attic vents and new bathroom facilities were installed, and exterior stairs and landings were replaced. In 1998, the brick was repointed and repaired, some brownstone sills were replaced, a new roof and windows were added to the rear addition, and handicap accessible ramps were installed.

Pinkney Hall is an imposing brick dormitory and faculty boarding house structure designed in an

exuberant Gothic Revival style that was clearly inspired by (and in response to) the castellated Gothic Revival-style Humphreys Hall. Rectangular in plan, the building measures 40' x 95', and rises four full stories. Seven window bays, divided by massive brick piers or buttresses, give it a vertical thrust. The building is covered with a low-pitched roof, with a parapet wall featuring gables on center of all four elevations, and a corbeled brick cornice. The roof and gables are sheathed with standing seam metal. The building features many original 2/2 and 4/4 wood sashes throughout, all set within round and segmentally arched openings.

McDowell Hall (AA-675)

Year Constructed: 1742; 1789; 1909; 1952

Architect: Joseph Clarke (1789)



Figure 44: East elevation of McDowell Hall, looking west. *EHT Tracerics, August 2023.*

McDowell Hall was named in honor of St. John's College's first president, John McDowell in 1857. The building was originally constructed to serve as the Maryland Colonial Governor's Mansion. While construction on the building began in 1742, it was not completed until 1789, by which point it was owned by St. John's College. Upon its completion, it served as the first building on St. John's campus. The building was largely rebuilt following a disastrous fire in 1909. Today, McDowell Hall stands as the centerpiece of St. John's College campus. The building, which is rectangular in plan, is characterized by its cube-like massing and bold central pavilion. The three-story building is set upon a raised brick foundation, has brick walls laid in both English and Flemish bond, and is covered with a hipped roof. Brick end chimneys and a prominent central cupola rise from the building's roof. The building is divided horizontally into three principal levels by prominent brick belt courses, and vertically into nine equal bays of symmetrical window openings. The brick wall surfaces, though substantially rebuilt in areas, offer finely detailed brickwork and mortar joints, elegant brown sandstone quoining on the principal facade, brick belt courses, and a stone water table and at the basement-level.

By 1784, the house, which had become known as "Bladen's Folly," was granted by the provincial government as the future site of St. John's College. The all-male college, chartered in 1784, completed the construction of the building. Joseph Clarke, who designed the dome of the State

House, was responsible for the design and construction of the roof and cupola. In 1789, classes were held in the first two rooms finished. McDowell Hall was named in honor of St. John's first principal, John McDowell. The prominent Georgian style brick building was the only structure on the original four-acre campus until 1835. The building has been used as dormitories, classroom/lecture halls, offices, and banquet/ball room by the now co-educational college. During the Civil War, it served as the headquarters of the Union Army Medical Corps. The structure was severely damaged by fire on February 20, 1909, and again in November 1952. Each time it was rebuilt to its original configuration. The centerpiece of St. John's College campus for over 200 years, McDowell Hall is one of the oldest academic buildings in continuous use in the United States. The building is significant for its association with education in colonial Maryland, Governor Thomas Bladen, and the enduring and innovative St. John's College. McDowell Hall is also significant architecturally as a well-developed, large-scale example of the Georgian style.

Humphreys Hall (AA-676)
Year Constructed: 1837
Architect: Robert Cary Long, Jr.



Figure 45: Southwest elevation of Humphreys Hall, looking northeast. *EHT Traceries*, August 2023.

Humphreys Hall was constructed in 1835-1837 as the first building built specifically for use by St. John's College. The building was constructed by builder Elijah Wells to the design of prominent Baltimore architect, Robert Cary Long, Jr. Named in honor of college Principal Reverend Hector Humphreys, who served as President of St. John's College from 1831 through 1857, the building was initially constructed as a dormitory and boarding house. By the end of the 1920s, the building had been converted from a dormitory to a classroom and laboratory building used by the Science Department. In 1958, under the direction of architect C. Frederick Houston, the building was returned to its original use as a dormitory.

Located just southwest of the older Georgian-era McDowell Hall, Humphreys Hall is an imposing brick structure designed in a castellated Gothic Revival style by Baltimore architect Robert Cary Long, Jr. Rectangular in plan, the building measures 35' x 70', is six bays long and rises three full stories above a raised basement. Humphreys Hall is characterized by its fortified Medieval appearance, including octagonal towers at its four corners, double-height windows with spandrels and continuous drip molds, and brick buttressing on the side walls. Originally, the building was further enhanced stylistically by buttress caps that rose well above the buildings' roofline. These have since been capped off at the cornice. A pronounced Gothic-revival-style wood entry porch sheltering the southeast gable end of the building also historically enhanced the building. This

porch, probably removed in 1958, was square in plan and featured pointed-arched openings with label molds on its three exterior walls, a crenellated parapet roof, and buttress towers flanking the principal entry.

Paca-Carroll House (AA-677)
Year Constructed: 1857
Architect: J.M. Davis



Figure 46: Southeast elevation of Paca-Carroll House, looking northwest. *EHT Tracerics, August 2023.*

Completed in 1857, the Paca-Carroll house was named in honor of William Paca, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton who joined the St. John's College Board of Rectors, Visitors and Governors in 1786, in addition to granting funds towards the establishment of the college.⁴ The building was constructed by contractor/builder J.M. Davis as a duplex for two faculty members and their families, is a two-and-a-half-story, six-bay wide brick building designed in a traditional, but late example of the Federal style with Greek Revival detailing. The Paca-Carroll House is rectangular in plan, measuring approximately 50' x 30', and is six bays wide with two, side-passage entry doors. The bricks are laid in five-course American bond. The gable roof is clad with slate shingles and features two pairs of interior slab brick chimneys, one of which was rebuilt during the 1980 renovation. The site of the Paca-Carroll House was extensively altered in the 1990s when an addition was added to the adjacent Greenfield Library.

The building, facing southeast towards Annapolis, is located at the southern end of the row of buildings forming the nucleus of St. John's College. The building has undergone significant architectural changes throughout its history. In 1929, the building was converted into a fraternity house and, in 1939, it was renovated for use as a dormitory. The interior of the duplex was

⁴ Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, Paca-Carroll House (AA-677), MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc. 2000, 2.

combined and the two parts of the duplex united during renovations in 1955. The Paca-Carroll House was again completely renovated and enlarged in 1980. In 1980, the building was enlarged with a substantial addition at the rear, connected to the original structure by a hyphen. The interior originally contained two mirror-image layouts with a side-passage and a room-behind-room plan. As a result of these changes, the building retains little of its original configuration of space and interior features. The building presently serves as a dormitory for forty-nine students.

Chancellor Johnson House (AA-678)

Year Constructed: 1720

Architect: Unknown



Figure 47: Northwest elevation of the Johnson House, looking south. *EHT Traceries*, October 2023.

The Chancellor Johnson House was constructed circa 1720 at 9 Northwest Street. By 1778, Allen Quynn, a cordwainer and former Mayor of Annapolis, owned the dwelling on Lot 71 until his death in 1821. Ten years later, in 1831, John Johnson, Jr. purchased the modest wood frame dwelling, in addition to the several other brick and wood frame buildings on the property. Serving as Chancellor of Maryland, Johnson and his family owned the gambrel roof house at 9 Northwest Street until 1918. Threatened with demolition, in 1937, the building was given to St. John's College. It was relocated to the southwestern edge of the campus, south of Mellon Hall on St. John's Street.

Typical for its period, the Johnson house is a one-and-a-half-story, five-bay wide structure. It is rectangular in plan and measures approximately 14 x 40 feet. The wood frame house is raised upon a rebuilt concrete foundation, has random-width beaded weatherboard walls and is covered with a steeply sloped gambrel roof sheathed with wood shingles. A distinctive T-shaped brick chimney (rebuilt following the building's relocation) with corbeling projects off-center from the roof's peak. Three asymmetrically placed shed dormers allow for a full attic story on the interior of the modest house. The interior is divided into three rooms on the first floor and three rooms plus a corridor on the second floor.

Chancellor Johnson's brother, Reverdy Johnson, was a graduate of St. John's College (class of 1811). As such, the building is commonly mistakenly referred to as the Reverdy Johnson House.

Francis Scott Key Memorial Hall and Mellon Hall (AA-679)

Year Constructed: 1958

Architect: Richard Neutra, Robert E. Alexander



Figure 48: East corner of Key Memorial Hall, looking southwest. *EHT Traceries, August 2023.*

Francis Scott Key Memorial Hall and Mellon Hall at St. John's College was begun in 1956 and completed in 1958. Upon its completion, Francis Scott Key Memorial Hall, which included the auditorium and lobby, was named in honor of Francis Scott Key, who graduated from the college in 1796. The remaining portions of the building, including lecture halls and laboratories, were named in honor of alumnus Paul Mellon, who enrolled at St. John's College in 1940, and placed \$4.5 million in trust to provide an endowment for the college. The adjacent planetarium was named McKeldin Planetarium in honor of Thomas McKeldin, former Governor of Maryland and Mayor of Baltimore.⁵

Pioneer Los Angeles architect Richard Neutra and his partner of ten years, Robert E. Alexander, designed the building in the flat-roofed modern style for which Neutra was internationally known. The large complex as originally constructed included an auditorium and lobby denoted as the Francis Scott Key Memorial Hall (now referred to as Francis Scott Key Lobby and Auditorium), lecture halls and laboratories for the science and music departments (entitled Mellon Hall), and the McKeldin Planetarium. The dedication ceremony was held on May 22, 1959, with President Dwight D. Eisenhower as the primary speaker. The building was enlarged in 1989 by the construction of a one-story wing to the east elevation, an addition designed by the Annapolis firm of Weller, Fishback, and Bohl. In 2002, the building renovated and a new addition, designed by the Baltimore-based architectural firm of Ziger/Snead, was constructed. The building was again modernized between 2020 and 2023.

In plan, the building features two wings of classrooms and laboratories organized along central corridors, and terminates at either end with key architectural spaces, namely the planetarium

⁵ Laura Trieschmann and Kim Williams, Francis Scott Key Memorial Hall and Mellon Hall (aa-679), MIHP form prepared by EHT Traceries, Inc. 2000.

and the auditorium. The southwest corner of the building is dematerialized in plan by a prominent aluminum and glass stair tower, while the unfenestrated limestone walls of the rear of the auditorium bolster the southeast corner. The principal entry to the auditorium, located at the northeast corner of the building, is a flat-roofed steel canopy that penetrates the glass-walled surface and fulfills the architect's modernistic two-fold goal of "breaking the box" and blending the man-made structure into its natural surroundings.

Liberty Tree (AA-1585)

Year Constructed: N/A

Architect: N/A



Figure 49: Former location of liberty tree. *EHT Traceries, October 2023.*

The country's last Liberty Tree was located on the north side of St. John's campus, on the south side of Pinkney Hall. The tree is said to have dated to the fourteenth century, though other accounts date it to the sixteenth century. The Liberty Tree was taken down in December 1999 after suffering severe damage following a series of storms during the last quarter of the twentieth century. The site of the former Tulip Poplar tree is now an open field on the northern side of the St. John's College Campus.

Maryland Hall of Records (Greenfield Library) (AA-1586)

Year Constructed: 1935

Architect: N/A

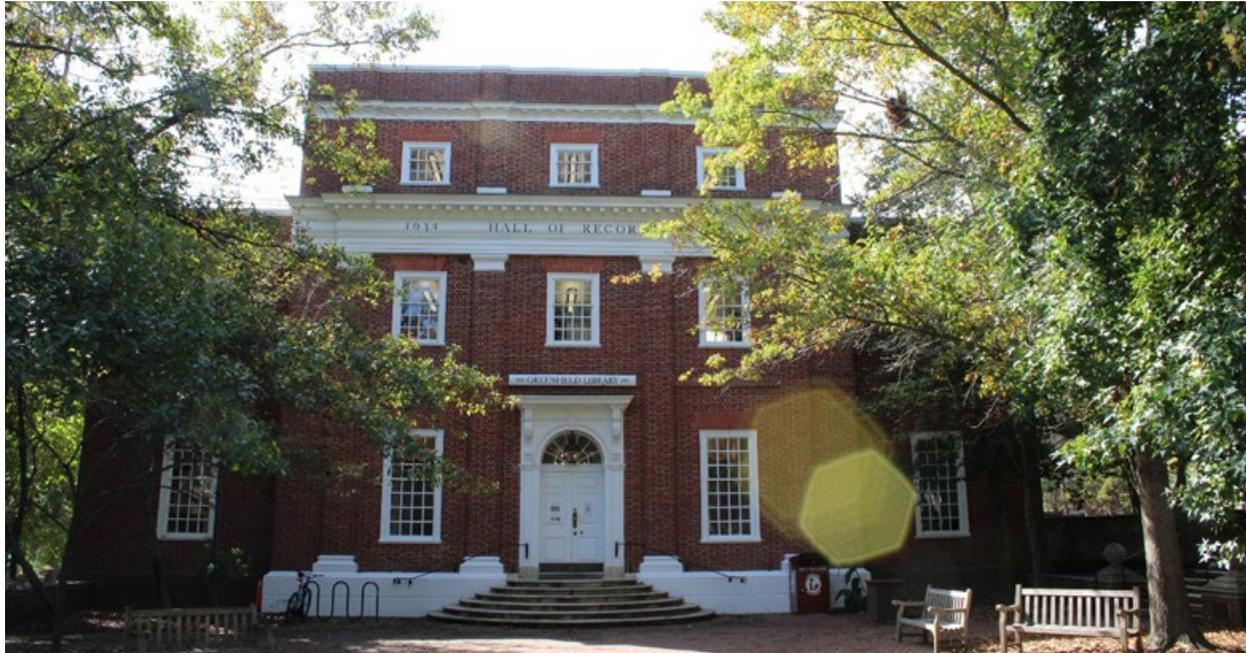


Figure 50: Northeast elevation of the Maryland Hall of Records, looking southwest. *EHT Traceries, October 2023.*

On February 21st, 1934, the Visitors and Governors of St. John's college conveyed the land situated on the north side of St. John's Street to the State of Maryland for a sum of ten dollars. The college conveyed the land to the state "for the special use and purpose of erecting and maintaining there on the building mentioned as the "Memorial Hall of Records." The Maryland Hall of Records was completed in 1934 by the State of Maryland and designed by Laurence Hall Fowler. The building was constructed to serve as the first archival institution for Maryland, in celebration of the tercentenary of the founding of the state. The Maryland State Archives operated within the building into July of 1986, at which time it relocated its collection to a new building constructed on Rowe Boulevard. Following the relocation of the state's collection, ownership of the Hall of Records Building was transferred to St. John's College. Between 1994-1996 the Hall of Records was completely renovated as part of the conversion to Greenfield Library to the designs of Travis Price Architects Inc. During this renovation, an underground addition was constructed, extending the basement level west. Partitions were removed at the interior, and a central three-story, open riser staircase was installed.

The building is designed in the Georgian Revival Style. Cubical in form, the Hall of Records building makes a strong volumetric statement. The center block of the building rises three stories and is flanked by two slightly recessed two-story wings. The center block is I-shaped in plan. All three components are topped by a flat roof. A large skylight was added to the western half of the third story roof. The building has masonry bearing walls, steel beams, and reinforced-concrete floor and roof slabs. Terrace walls are located to the northwest of the building.

The building is faced with specially hand-made brick that is designed to look like colonial Annapolis brick in size, color, and texture. The brick is laid with tight joints in Flemish bond. The steps, coping, and finials of the terrace walls are white marble, while the exterior cornices, window frames and sash, and doors are wood, and elements such as copings, windowsills and the capitals and bases of pilasters are limestone.

Randall Hall (now Fielding-Rumore Hall) (AA-1587)
Year Constructed: 1903
Architect: T. Henry Randall



Figure 51: Southwest elevation of Randall Hall, looking north. *EHT Traceries, August 2023.*

Constructed in 1903, Randall Hall, now Fielding-Rumore Hall, was the second of two buildings designed by Annapolis-born architect T. Henry Randall in the Beaux-Arts style of architecture. The large three-story brick building was constructed to house the college dining hall, kitchen, and dormitory rooms. Originally known as Mess Hall and Senior Hall, the building was renamed in 1912 in honor of John Wirt Randall. As well as being the half-brother of the building's architect, John was a former student of the college, and Attorney General of Maryland responsible for securing a series of grants for the school from the General Assembly. Generally rectangular in plan, Randall Hall measures approximately 40 feet by 90 feet. It is set upon a raised foundation and constructed of brick, laid in 5-course American bond. The structure is covered with a steeply pitched-hipped roof, clad with slate shingles. A single brick chimney with corbeling projects from the front slope of the hipped roof near the ridge. The building's principal elevation, the northeast end wall, is characterized by its Baroque treatment, including a projecting central entry bay featuring an engaged pedimented door surround of built-up pilasters and columns, an arched window, and a segmental arched pediment rising above the main roof line. The side walls are defined by bays of round-arched openings on the first story and alternating triangular and segmental-arched pedimented dormers in the half-story, all indicative of Renaissance treatments. A bold Corinthian cornice creates a visual break between the second story and the dormer level (a full third story).

On the interior, the building is notable for its graceful stair, located in a sumptuously appointed reception room, and for its elegant dining hall ornamented with Corinthian columns, a Georgian Revival-style mantel, and Georgian Revival door and window treatments. The building was enlarged in 1980 by the construction of a modern kitchen wing.

Iglehart Hall (AA-1588)
Year Constructed: 1909
Architect: Wyatt & Nolting



Figure 52: Northeast elevation of Iglehart Hall, looking southwest. *EHT Traceries, August 2023.*

St. John's College raised the necessary funds in 1908 to construct Iglehart Hall the following year. The brick building, standing one-and-a-half-stories in height, was completed in 1909 to the designs of Baltimore architects Wyatt & Nolting. The gymnasium was named in honor of alumnus Lieutenant Edmund Berkeley Iglehart, who had been a great supporter of athletics. The Classical Revival style building was designed as a state-of-the-art gymnasium in the Georgian Revival Style of architecture. It is a long and low-lying red brick, gable-roofed building, laid in Flemish bond, and characterized by a bold projecting portico on the main facade and expansive Renaissance-inspired arched openings in the gable ends. The main block of the building rises one-and-a-half-stories, while a lower, one-story wing with a flat roof envelops three sides of the central block. The interior of the building reveals a light-filled gymnasium measuring 120' x 160' with an exposed metal truss roof spanning the entire room. A wood running track, suspended from the metal truss roof, encircles the room at a height of twelve feet. Supported by steel tie rods extending from the roof truss, the track was considered to embody state-of-the-art technology at the turn of the 20th century.

By the turn of the twentieth century, enrollment at St. John's College had expanded substantially, largely due to President Thomas Fell's recruiting efforts. One of the greatest enticements for increased enrollments was sports. By 1908, St. John's College raised the necessary funds to construct a permanent gymnasium on the campus. The building was completed in 1909 to the designs of Baltimore architects Wyatt & Nolting.

Beneficial Hodson Boathouse (AA-2208)
Year Constructed: 1934
Architect: Unknown



Figure 53: Northwest elevation of the Beneficial-Hodson Boathouse, looking southeast. *EHT Traceries, October 2023.*

The Beneficial-Hobson Boathouse was constructed in 1934 at a time when St. John's College was promoting extra-curricular and sporting activities. The building is a two-story frame building clad with wood shingles. The building sits on a concrete block foundation, which is exposed at its northwest end. The building is covered by a front gable roof with exposed rafter ends and sheathed in asphalt shingles. The boathouse was designed in accordance with the Shingle Style of architecture. Located at the bank of College Creek, the building's primary elevation faced the waterfront. As was typical of boathouses design and construction, the first floor of the boathouse housed boats and equipment, while the second floor, with its large open social hall, provided a place for students to host events and meetings.

The interior of the building was renovated in 1989. As part of this work, the lower level was redesigned for expanded usage of by the St. John's College Rowing Club and small boat sailors and the upper floor was redesigned so the space could be used as an event and gathering space for a variety of student activities and meetings. The Beneficial Company and its charity, the Hodson Trust, were major donors to the project. Consequently, the building was renamed as the Beneficial-Hodson Boathouse.

Heating Plant and Printing Shop (AA-2209)
Year Constructed: 1951
Architect: Unknown



Figure 54: Southwest and partial southeast elevations of the Heating Plant and Printing Shop, looking north. *EHT Traceries, October 2023.*

St. John's College constructed the 13,200 square foot heating plant and vocation shop in 1951 at the southwestern edge of the upper playing field. The brick building, designed in the Colonial Revival style, was the second heating plant to be erected on the college campus, replacing the circa 1897 Koogler House. Despite its utilitarian function, the building is designed in a reduced, but formal Georgian Revival Style, in keeping with the other mid-twentieth century campus buildings. It is constructed of concrete block, but faced in red brick, laid in Flemish bond. The building features a central, gable-roofed main block that is enveloped by lower one-story wings and connected by a round-arched colonnade. It has a symmetrical arrangement of openings, articulated by molded window trim, concrete sills, imposts and keystones, and wood cornices and other classical detailing. The roof features two inside end chimneys and is covered with slate shingles.

Campbell Hall (now Edensword Hall) (AA-2210)

Year Constructed: 1954

Architect: James R. Edmunds



Figure 55: Northeast elevation of Campbell Hall, looking southwest. *EHT Tracerics, October 2023.*

Constructed in 1953-1954, Campbell Hall, now Edensword Hall, was built on the previous site of the Koogle House, as the final dormitory erected on the campus of St. John's College. The dormitory was named in honor of Levin Hicks Campbell, a graduate of 1893, whose grandson provided funds for the construction of the building. The building's overall massing and detailing (though greatly reduced) was clearly inspired by the older Randall Hall. It is a three-story Flemish bond brick building, raised upon a full-story basement, and covered with a hipped roof, with cross end gables, sheathed with slate shingles. Rectangular in plan, the building extends nine bays long and is three bays wide. Like Randall Hall, the principal elevation is in the end wall, which is divided into three parts, including a slightly projecting central pavilion and wings. The central pavilion is dominated by the Colonial Revival-style main entry door and is further accentuated by a pedimented gable over the pavilion.

In 1951, women were admitted to St. John's College for the first time; however, despite being afforded admissions, there was not a designated on-campus dormitory for women. The Board of Rectors, Visitors, and Governors therefore initiated a campaign to raise funds to erect a woman's dormitory on the campus. Milton Campbell, grandson of Levin Hicks Campbell (class of 1793), donated the final \$75,000 matching funds need to construct the new dormitory. The dormitory, named in Campbell's honor, was designed by Baltimore-based architect James R. Edmunds, Jr. in accordance with the Colonial Revival Style. Construction began in 1953, and the building was dedicated in October 1954.

Harrison Alumni Center (AA-2211)
Year Constructed: 1972
Architect: James Wood Burch



Figure 56: East corner of the Harrison Alumni Center, looking southwest. *EHT Traceries*, October 2023.

St. John's College constructed the 4,600 square foot Harrison Alumni Center, originally the Harrison Health Center, in 1972. The building is named for John T. Harrison (class of 1907), whose wife provided the needed funding for the building's construction. It was designed by Annapolis architect, James Wood Burch in the form of a Greek cross, the emblem of the American Red Cross. The two-story building contains the infirmary, patient guestrooms, and an apartment. The Harrison Alumni Center is a cruciform-shaped brick building that fits neatly into its site between the Carroll the Barrister House and Randall Hall (now Fielding-Rumore Hall). While the overall massing of the building (defined by steeply pitched gable roof and red brick walls) is sympathetic to the surrounding 18th and 19th century buildings on the campus, the Harrison Alumni Center clearly defines itself as a modern addition to this historic landscape.

5.0 Summary and Recommendations

The goal of this MHT funded grant project was to update the MIHP inventory records for the nineteen surveyed resources. As part of this, National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) evaluations were made for each resource. Additionally, the scope of work included research to provide a better understanding of St. John’s history and association with enslaved peoples, both as it relates directly to the development of St. John’s campus and to the people for whom the campus buildings were named. Specifically, research was conducted to determine whether the college, its leadership, and/or faculty were enslavers, and if enslaved labor was used in the construction of the sixteen buildings surveyed.

Twelve of the resources surveyed (AA-671, AA-672, AA-673, AA-674, AA-675, AA-676, AA-677, AA-678, AA-1586, AA-1587, AA-1588, AA-2208) contribute to the Annapolis Historic District. Of these resources, four (AA-671, AA-676, AA-677, and AA-678) also contribute to the Colonial Annapolis Historic District. All of these resources retain sufficient integrity to continue to convey their significance to the historic district(s).

Seven resources surveyed (AA-22, AA-23, AA-679, AA-1585, AA-2209, AA-2210, and AA-2211) do not contribute to either the Annapolis Historic District or the Colonial Annapolis Historic District.

This study recommends that five of the resources surveyed meet NRHP criteria for individual listing. The following table summarizes this recommendation.

Table 2: Summary Table of Recommendations

MIHP Number	Name	NRHP Individual Eligibility Recommendation
AA-22	World War I Monument	Not Eligible
AA-23	Monument to French Soldiers and Sailors of the American Revolution	Potentially Eligible (Criterion Consideration F)
AA-671	Charles Carroll the Barrister House	Not Eligible
AA-672	Chase Stone House	Not Eligible
AA-673	Woodward Hall	Not Eligible
AA-674	Pinkney Hall	Not Eligible
AA-675	McDowell Hall	Eligible (Criteria A, B, and C)
AA-676	Humphreys Hall	Not Eligible
AA-677	Paca-Carroll House	Not Eligible
AA-678	Chancellor Johnson House	Not Eligible

MIHP Number	Name	NRHP Individual Eligibility Recommendation
AA-679	Francis Scott Key Memorial Hall and Mellon Hall	Eligible (Criterion C)
AA-1585	Liberty Tree	Not Eligible
AA-1586	Maryland Hall of Records	Eligible (Criteria A and C)
AA-1587	Randall Hall	Eligible (Criteria A)
AA-1588	Iglehart Hall	Not Eligible
AA-2208	Beneficial-Hodson Boathouse	Not Eligible
AA-2209	Heating Plant and Printing Shop	Not Eligible
AA-2210	Campbell Hall	Not Eligible
AA-2211	Harrison Alumni Center	Not Eligible

The Monument to French Soldiers and Sailors of the American Revolution is recommended potentially eligible under Criterion Consideration F: Commemorative Properties because the monument's sole function is commemorative. The monument is an early work of the prominent sculptor J. Maxwell Miller, and the bronze relief, which portrays classical female figure of Memory, was cast by the Roman Bronze Works, a New York City foundry that was established by Riccardo Bertelli in 1899. It thus expresses the aesthetics and craftsmanship of the period when it was made.

McDowell Hall is recommended for individual designation under Criteria A, B, and C. The building is significant for its association with Governor Thomas Bladen (Criterion B) and with the growth of Annapolis as the capital of colonial Maryland. The building is also significant for its association with education in colonial Maryland and the founding of St. John's College (Criterion A). McDowell Hall also significant architecturally as a well-developed, large-scale example of the Georgian style (Criterion C).

Francis Scott Key Memorial Hall and Mellon Hall is recommended for individual designation under Criteria C as being one of the few buildings designed by the renowned Modernist architect Richard Neutra on the east coast. The building is considered by many scholars to be the best of Neutra's collegiate designs.

The Maryland Hall of Records is recommended for individual designation under Criterion A and C. The Maryland Hall of Records is significant as the first archival institution for the state of Maryland, and as a symbol of the celebration of the tercentenary of the founding of the state. It was also one of the first modern state archive facilities in the nation. The Maryland Hall of Records is also an exemplary example of Georgian Revival Style architecture, particularly with its collection of reproduction colonial-era moldings.

Randall House is recommended for individual designation under Criteria A as being the site where a mob of White people rendezvoused prior to lynching an African American man named Henry

Davis in December 1906. A plaque was dedicated at Brewer Hill Cemetery on December 20, 2001, to honor Davis and other victims of mob justice. Additional research can be conducted to further document the lynchings and other acts of racial violence that took place in Annapolis during the Jim Crow era.

Building upon the work that was completed for this study, it is recommended that a historic district nomination be prepared for St. John's College to document the history, evolution, and significance of the institution. Further research and evaluation can be conducted to determine what resources should contribute to the historic district.

6.0 Conclusion

This report documents the results of an architecture survey project of nineteen resources associated with St. Johns College in Annapolis, Maryland. The resources in this study were constructed between 1724 and 1972, and include sixteen buildings, two objects, and one demolished site feature. Founded in 1696 as King William's School and chartered as St. John's College in 1784, the institution has played an integral role in the history of the state of Maryland. The college's establishment and continued legacy has been shepherded over the years by important figures in Maryland state history. In honor of the contributions of these individuals, the campus buildings bear the names of prominent faculty members, alumni, and statesmen.

Uncovering the story of African Americans in the United States is complicated by the limited number of primary sources and firsthand accounts during the years prior to the Civil War. The records of St. John's College provide little insight to the institution's association with slavery. This absence, however, is not an indication of a lack of association with the practice, as slavery was omnipresent throughout Maryland during the early years of the college. Records do not detail the type of labor used for the construction of the St. John's College's early buildings; however, five of the buildings documented in this survey were constructed on the St. John's College campus prior to the abolishment of slavery in Maryland in 1864. These include: McDowell Hall (1789), Humphreys Hall (1837) Chase-Stone House (1857), Pinkney Hall (1858) and the Paca-Carroll House (1855). The architects and builders responsible for the buildings are known to have personally enslaved African Americans.

A list of prominent people associated with St. John's College was developed in coordination with the college. Previous histories of St. John's College place emphasis on the achievements of these individuals, after which many of the campus buildings are named. This report aimed not to further outline their accomplishments, but rather to detail their association with the institution of slavery, and/ or subjugation of African Americans. Research concluded that, with few exceptions, the men who supported the college during its establishment derived their wealth, directly or indirectly, from a legacy of slavery. The College will use this report as the basis for discussions related to how to best acknowledge its history and future studies to further document its history. For more information or to provide comment, visit sjc.edu/about/leadership/board-visitors-governors/task-forces/college-history."

7.0 Bibliography

1783 Tax Assessment, MSA S 1161-1-1 1/4/5/44, Maryland State Archives.

"Accused Negro Confesses," *Evening Capital*, December 19, 1906.

"An Act Declaring Domestic Slavery to Be Lawful in This State." March 20, 1840, Session Laws, 1839, Archives of Maryland Online, 600.

Allen, Max P. "William Pinkney's Public Career: 1788-1769." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XL (1945), 211-229.

Annapolis Mayor and Aldermen. (Assessment Record), MSA M72-4, Slaves, 1860.

Anne Arundel County Register of Wills. "William Paca AA Will." 1799.

Archives of Maryland. *Samuel Chase, New Dictionary of National Biography Entry*. Maryland State Archives.

Ardoin, Samantha. "Past: A Tale of Integration," *The Moon*, February 2016, Vol. XX, Issue 3, 2.

Borden, Susan. "Rule of Reason In a Small College Seeking Enlightenment." *The College*. St. John's College, Summer 2012, 38.

Brendsel, D. and Terry Babb. Historic American Landscapes Survey: Wye Hall Farm (HABS NO. MD-22), 2013.

Christensen, J. and Charles Bohl. *McDowell Hall at St. John's College*. Annapolis: St. John's College Press, 1989.

The Commission for the Restoration and Enlargement of Colonial St. John's College. "Historic Houses for St. John's." Baltimore, Maryland.

Dunbar, Florence T. Historic American Building Survey, "Pinkney Hall," Blue Worksheet. October 1964.

Fell, Thomas. *Some historical accounts of the founding of King William's school and its subsequent establishment as St. John's College: together with biographical notices of the various presidents from 1790-1894, also of some of the representative alumni of the College*. Annapolis: Press of the Friedenwald Co., 1894.

Fields, Barbara Jeanne. *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland During the Nineteenth Century*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1985.

Charlotte Fletcher, "King William's School and the College of William and Mary," *The St. John's Review* XI, no. 2 (1990-1991).

Flick, Alex J. et al. *The Search for Zekiah Fort*. St. Mary's City: St. Mary's College of Maryland: 2012.

Fogleman, Aaron S. "From Slaves, Convicts, and Servants to Free Passengers: The Transformation of Immigration in the Era of the American Revolution." *The Journal of American History* 85, no. 1(Jun 1998).

General Assembly House of Delegates. Assessment Records. MSA 1161, 1783, 1.

"The General Assembly Moves to Frederick, 1861." Maryland State Archives. December 9, 1998. <https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/stagser/s1259/121/7590/html/0000.html>.

Humphreys, Frederick. *The Humphreys Family in America*. New York: 1883.

Ireland, Robert M. "William Pinkney: A Revision and Re-emphasis." *The American Journal of Legal History*, Volume XIV, (1970): 237.

Kulikoff, Alan. "Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800." Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986.

Leavitt, John McDowell. *Kings of Capital and Knights of Labor*. New York, Powers & Le Crow: 1886.

Leepson, Marc. *What So Proudly we Hailed: Francis Scott Key, A Life, Leepson*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan: 2014.

Library of Congress. "The African- American Mosaic: Colonization." Accessed October, 2023. <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/african/afam002.html>

Library of Congress. The trial of Reuben Crandall, M.D. Washington City, 1836.

A list of negroes on Doughoregan Manor taken in familys [sic] with their ages on Dec'r 1, 1773, Maryland Center for History and Culture, Carroll-McTavish Papers, MS220: 9752.

Lundskow, Nick. "Plaque unveiled to honor lynching victim." *The Capital*, December 2001.

Manumission Record of Eliza Paul, January 8, 1855. Series: C109, Entry: 643:4; Page:101; Maryland State Archives.

Manumission Record of Joseph Williams. Series C109, August 11, 1807. Maryland State Archives.

Maryland State Archives. "A Guide to this History of Slavery in Maryland." Annapolis, Maryland, 2020.

Maryland State Archives. "Henry Davis." Archives of Maryland (Biographical Series), 2020. <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013635/html/13635bio.html>

Maryland State Archives. "Rachel Baker." Archives of Maryland (Biographical Series), February 25, 2013. <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5400/sc5496/051700/051710/html/51710bio.html>.

Maryland State Archives. "Samuel Chase (1741-1811)." Archives of Maryland (Biographical Series), August 30, 2000. <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/000200/000235/html/ndnbchase.html>

Maryland State Archives. "Use of Enslaved and Free African-American Labor at the State House." January 4, 2023. https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdstatehouse/pdf/enslaved_labor_at_md_state_house.pdf.

McDowell, John. McDowell to Rogers, 30 January 1811. Gratz Collection, case 7, box 14, HSP.

McDowell, John. McDowell to William Tilghman, 9 March 1807. Tilghman Papers, box 17, HSP.

McGlyn, Bethany J. *Who Built the City on the Severn? Slavery, Material Culture, and Landscapes of Labor in Early Annapolis*. University of Delaware, 2020.

McWilliams, Jane Wilson. *City On the Severn*. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.

Merrell, James H. "Cultural Continuity among the Piscataway Indians of Colonial Maryland," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 36, no 4 (October 1979): 553.

Moyer, Teresa, S. *Ancestors of Worthy Life: Plantation Slavery and Black Heritage at Mount Clare*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015.

Murphy, Emily A. *A Complete & Generous Education: 300 Years of Liberal Arts, St. John's College, Annapolis*. Annapolis, Maryland: St. John's College Press, 1996.

Penn Libraries University of Pennsylvania. "John McDowell 1751-1850." *Penn University Archives and Record Center*, 2024. <https://archives.upenn.edu/exhibits/penn-people/biography/john-mcdowell/>.

National Park Service. "Bet: Freedom Seeker." U.S. Department of the Interior, August 13, 2021. <https://www.nps.gov/people/bet-freedom-seeker.htm>.

National Park Service, "Francis Scott Key." U.S. Department of the Interior, July 25, 2022, <https://www.nps.gov/people/francis-scott-key.htm>.

National Park Service. "The Peggy Stewart House." U.S. Department of the Interior, August 27, 2021. <https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/the-peggy-stewart-house.htm>

Papenfuse, Edward C. *In Pursuit of Profit, Alphabetical Index to the 1783 Tax List, Annapolis Hundred*. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.

Pinkney, William. *Speech of William Pinkney, Esq. in the House of Delegates of Maryland, at their session in November, 1789*. Philadelphia: Printed by Joseph Crukshank [1790]. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Pinkney, William. *Restriction on the State of Missouri, 1820*. Monitcello Digital Classroom, 2024.

The Rat-Tat. Yearbook of St. John's College. 1910.

Richie, Jonathan A. *He Rode Alone: Francis Scott Key as an Advocate for Freedom*. Liberty University, College of Arts and Sciences: 2010.

Riley, Elihu S. *The Ancient City: A History of Annapolis Maryland, 1649-1887*. Annapolis, Maryland: Record Printing Office, 1887.

Risjord, Norman K. *Builders of Annapolis: Enterprise and Politics in a Colonial Capital*. Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1997.

Roche, D. and Zach Sparks. "A Look at the Precolonial Culture of the Chesapeake." *Severna Park Voice*, November 3, 2016. <https://severnaparkvoice.com/stories/a-look-at-the-precolonial-culture-of-the-chesapeake,13057/>

Rosenfeld, Megan. "The Golden Age of Helen Hill Miller." *The Washington Post*, July 7, 1992, C1.

Schweninger, Loren. "Freedom Suits, African American Women, and the Genealogy of Slavery," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 71, no. 1(Jan 2014).

Shapiro, Stephen M. "William Pinkney: The Supreme Court's Greatest Advocation." Yearbook 1988: Supreme Court Historical Society (1988): 40-45.

Speckart, Amy. *New perspectives on Haberdeventure Plantation in Charles County, Maryland, 1770-1787*. National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. February, 2022.

Stiehm, Jamie. "First blacks at St. John's are honored." *Baltimore Sun*, November 11, 2004. <https://www.baltimoresun.com/news/bs-xpm-2004-11-11-0411110409-story.html>

"The St. John's Position." *The Baltimore Sun*. June 23, 1945, 6.

"Student Lynchers: Mob of College Boys Hanged Davis at Annapolis." *The Washington Post*. December 23, 1906.

"T. Henry Randall Dead: Well Known Architect of this City Dies After Several Month's Illness." *New York Tribune*. July 8, 1905.

"Thirty Dollar Reward." *Frederick Town Herald*. 1803, 3.

Tilghman, Tench F. *The Early History of St. John's College in Annapolis*. Annapolis: St. John's College Press, 1984.

Thomas III, William G. *A Question of Freedom: The Families Who Challenged Slavery from the Nation's Founding to the Civil War*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020).

Treaty between Maryland and the Sasquesahanogh Nation, July 5, 1652.

Trieschmann, L. and Kim Williams. Chase-Stone House (AA-672). MIHP form prepared by EHT Traceries, Inc., 2000.

Trieschmann, L. and Kim Williams. Humphreys Hall (AA-676). MIHP form prepared by EHT Traceries, Inc. 2000.

Trieschmann, L. and Kim Williams, McDowell Hall (AA-675). MIHP form prepared by EHT Traceries, Inc., 2000.

Trieschmann, L. and Kim Williams. Paca-Carroll House (AA-678). MIHP form prepared by EHT Traceries, Inc. 2000.

Trieschmann, L. and Kim Williams. Pinkney Hall (AA-674). MIHP form prepared by EHT Traceries, Inc. 2000.

Trieschmann, L. and Kim Williams. Randall Hall (AA-1587). MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc., 2000.

Trieschmann, L. and Kim Williams. Humphreys Hall (AA-676). MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc. 2000.

Trieschmann, L. and Kim Williams. Iglehart Hall (AA-1588). MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc. 2000.

Trieschmann, L. and Kim Williams. Woodward Hall (AA-673). MIHP form prepared by EHT Tracerics, Inc. 2000.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. Fourth Census of the United States, 1820; NARA microfilm publication M32, 52 rolls; Records of the Bureau of the Census. Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fifth Census of the United States, 1830; NARA microfilm publication M252, 71 rolls. Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. Eighth Census of the United States, 1860. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1860. M653, 1,438 rolls.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. Fifth Census of the United States, 1830. (NARA microfilm publication M19, 201 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. First Census of the United States, 1790. Queen Annes, Maryland, Microfilm Publication M637, Roll 3, page 463, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. Fourth Census of the United States, 1820. (NARA microfilm publication M33, 142 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. Second Census of the United States, 1800. NARA microfilm publication M32 (52 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. Seventh Census of the United States, 1850. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1850. M432, 1,009 rolls.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. Sixth Census of the United States, 1840. (NARA microfilm publication M704, 580 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Walsh, Lorena S. "The Chesapeake Slave Trade: Regional Patterns, African Origins, and Some Implications," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (Jan 2001).

Walsh, Lorena S. "The Transatlantic Slave Trade and Colonial Chesapeake Slavery," *OAH Magazine of History* 17, no. 3 (Apr. 2003).

Warfield, J.D, A.M. *The Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties, Maryland: A Genealogical and Biographical Review from wills, deeds and church records.* Westminster Maryland: Family Line Publications, 1990.

Weigle, Richard, J. *Recollections of a St. John's President: 1949-1980* Annapolis, Maryland: St. John's College Press, 1988.

Wilson, Thomas J. *Biographical Notice of the Rev. Hector Humphreys, D.D. Late Principal of St. John's College.* Annapolis, Maryland: 1857.

Wright, Russel. *Annapolis Historic District (AA-2046).* National Register of Historic Places - Nomination Form, 1983.

"Victim Told of Lynching: St. John's College Not Implicated in the Matter in Any Way," *Evening Capital.* December 22, 1906.

Appendix A: MIHP Forms

This section is forthcoming

EHT ||| TRACERIES
HISTORIC PRESERVATION

440 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20001
(202) 393-1199 | www.traceries.com