Letters To Peggy Doleman from Jeffery Wyand during his research of 1860 - 1870 Black Census of Washington County Md from April 6, 1973 to August 1, 1974
Dear Mrs. Doleman:

I am a native of Hagerstown and still receive the Morning Herald. I saw the story in the April 2 paper about you and the history of Washington County blacks which you are preparing. It sounds like a worthwhile and needed effort.

In my spare time I conduct various genealogical and historical research, mostly related to Washington County. Most of my paternal ancestors came from the Keedysville area and I have been amazed at the size of the black population in that district in the last century. The amazement is not that they were there then, but that the black population there has dwindled to, so far as I know, zero now. My feeling may be mistaken, but I suspect that the same situation is true in various parts of the County. When a change in life style such as the apparent urbanization of the County's blacks has, there is always a danger of the loss of some information which is important in helping us understand where we are and how we got there. Therefore, I hope you'll be successful in gathering information from the more rural parts of the County as well as from the black community in Hagerstown.

While I have no memorabilia of the type which you requested, I do have access to the Hall of Records here on Saturdays. I remember how difficult it was to make trips down here to do research, so I would be willing to research any information here which you need for your manuscript. The strongest period for the items here is before 1850 when the records you seek are most sketchy. But I shall be happy to follow any records which you find to be lacking in Hagerstown or Frederick or to undertake a small project with specific goals but without a well-defined course of established research. Perhaps a black genealogy tracing the move from country to town would be fitting or a study of a specific area's blacks might help.

If you have enough to do without getting in farther or have nothing to be traced here, I shall not be offended. But I stand ready to help if possible, so long as I am here and have access to the Hall of Records. You are evidently familiar with the way in which these things sometimes piled and sometimes go quickly, so if you do call upon me please understand that I can not always produce instant answers, even though I try.

Sincerely yours,

Jeffrey A. Wyand
Dear Mrs. Doleman:

Determining the parents and sources of various freed Blacks is quite an assignment. But I'll have a try at it. I mentioned the problem to Mrs. Phoebe Jacobsen at the Hall of Records today. She is one of their better known employees. I mentioned the success which Alex Haley, the writer, had in tracing his ancestry all the way back to Africa. He is an exception, of course, but Mrs. Jacobsen pointed out that he had various family records, verbal ones, but traditions that went through generations, that helped him. So family traditions should not be ruled out as a starting point. She also repeated a story which I have read. She says that few Blacks adopted the names of their owners (former owners, I mean). The major exception being the case in which a genuine blood relation did exist. The more frequent situation was the adoption of the name of a prominent family in the area. Unfortunately, I don't have a single example with which to support these statements. She also claimed that many Negroes had two names, one for use in the black society and one for the white. Apparently the "white" name was what was used for legal purposes, etc.

I had little time to devote to your specific questions today. I did have a look at the Hagerstown section of the 1870 census. No data on Milton Jones. But I did find the following family

217 227  Hagerstown, District 3
Jacob Wheaton  age 35
Emma  34
William  9
Cordelia  6
Frank  4

All are listed as having been born in Maryland.

No time to search for H. O. Wagoner. (Could that have been a name adopted from a trade? Saw an ad for a "Wagoner", a slave for sale by Jacob Harry, in an 1820 Hagerstown newspaper.)

I find the following entries among the marriage records for Mrs. Hall.

1897  #5269  Edward Erriocoe of Clearspring, aged 24, Black
Martha Rollins of Clearspring, aged 20, Black
both single, information given June 1, 1897
married at Clearspring by John Porter June 17, 1897.

1903  #9108  Theodore Watts of Hagerstown, aged 26, colored, single
Martha Rollins of Hagerstown, aged 24, colored,
marrircl & divorced (equity 6241)
information given December 9, 1903
married by W. Hilary Coston, D.D., December 25, 1903
Ebeneser AME Church

I am not quite certain of the spelling of the clergyman's name in the second
case. Perhaps you know the correct one. I don't know if anyone finds the earlier marriage an embarrassment since it ended rather quickly in divorce. Attitudes vary about these things, so I will keep all information which passes between us xx confidential. The disposition of it is up to you. I did not search for the marriage to Armstead Hall. The indexes are too cumbersome for that unless one had a starting point. I assume Mr. Watts died. If you could supply the approximate year of his death, I could probably locate the Hall marriage record easily. Without a beginning point, it is a nearly impossible task.

In regard to the other two people (Wagoner and Jones) I just haven't had time to get started yet. This is only the first answer, not the final one.

Sincerely yours,

Jeffrey Wyand

P.S. I'm enclosing an envelope, and if you have a moment (no rush), it would help me and maybe save repeating previous work if you could give me some brief answers to some questions:

1. Approximate death year of Theodore Watts.
2. Do you have a newspaper obituary for Jacob Wheaton?
3. Do you have a death date for A. Otho (Milton) Jones and/or a newspaper obituary?

It occurred to me that the obituaries might provide some clues to help in tracing families. Sometimes the obituaries aren't 100% correct, but more often then not they contain some nuggets.
Dear Mrs. Doleman:

I have begun abstracting the names and information from the 1870 census of Washington County for all those persons indicated as Black or Mulatto. (I should explain that there was a column in which the enumerator entered a W, B, M or I. All of those should be obvious except the last which is for American Indian. In the statistics which were kept, all those persons in a category other than W were termed 'colored'. Since that figure is given at the bottom of each page, abstracting is relatively easy. I have included the M category because I feel that those people received much the same treatment from whites that the Blacks did and tended, therefore, to be considered part of the Black rather than the white community. Also, I note that the enumerator in at least one of the election districts couldn't make up his mind who belonged in what category. The enumerators who were all white, many of them were school teachers, no doubt had some problems. But this particular one has children within the same family marked both M and B, which doesn't make much sense.) I am doing this in order to understand and learn and I will turn over copies to you when I finish. I am about 40% finished. Then I expect to do the same thing with the 1860 census and to try to identify the people who were freed between 1860 and 1870. I expect we will still have a lot of free Blacks with whom to deal, however. Depending on what comes out of this, I may take a look at the 1850 census though it is disorganized because of the way three greedy enumerators divided up the County among themselves.

At any rate, I have found the following family in the Tilghmanston Election District in the 1870 census.

75 76 Jones, Tom 40 B Stonemason
    Nancy 41 B
    Otho M 8 B
    Willie 6 B
    Nelly F 3 B
    Tom 21 B

Blind

I think this is the Otho Milton Jones which you mentioned earlier. The age agrees with the marriage license application and I have not yet found any other blind people. Although my search has been limited to the rural areas so far, it is unusual to find a Black man with a trade like Tom Jones had. Most are farm laborers. Tom and his wife were listed at being illiterate which appears to have been a problem of frightening proportions. What is worse is that few of the children are listed as having attended school within the past year. The only exception is the Beaver Creek election district (which included part of what is now Chewsville district) in which a relatively large percentage of the children went to school.

Back to Otho Jones. I wonder who the Tom aged 21 is. If he is Tom Jr. and was born free, then the Jones must have been married about 1848. If he was not born free, perhaps they were not married until about 1860. I'll look for a marriage record. At least we are on the road to finding the answers to your questions about Milton Jones. Though I have no proof, I suspect Tom Jones was a free man before 1860.
One more note. I was told about an 1864 Federal census conducted by the Freedmans Bureau of newly freed slaves. This is not the usual decennial census, of course, but a special one. The one for St. Mary's County was reportedly located there. Whether the Washington County census exists or where it is are unknown. But I'm going to call the National Archives and the State Library tomorrow and see if I can locate it. It might be something you could use and I'm sure it would be interesting in any case. I'll let you know what I find out.

Sincerely yours,

Jeff Wyand
Jeffrey A. Wyand
Dear Mrs Doleman

I have found out about a few items I mentioned before and it is time to give a report.

I mentioned an 1864 census of Blacks in an earlier letter. Some contacts with the National Archives, the State library and the Hall of Records have helped clear that up. There was a Maryland State census of freed slaves taken in 1867. The State Constitution enacted November 1, 1864 made slavery illegal in Maryland and the 1867 census was supposed to reconstruct the situation three years earlier just as the last slaves were freed. How that objective could be accomplished is beyond my comprehension. Few of the census enumerations of 1867 have survived. The Hall of Records has those for Prince George's and Anne Arundel Counties. The others are lost or locations that are unknown. So unless I can discover where Washington County's are, this Census won't help us. (This Census is the one I erroneously described as having been gathered by the Freedman's Bureau. The Freedman's Bureau was not organized until 1865. The censuses which they took exist at the Archives in fragments, and none of the fragments are from Maryland.)

It turns out that there was an earlier Census of slaves in Maryland taken in 1831. This work grew out of the Colonization Society which was
responsible for the establishment of Liberia and encouraging free Blacks to emigrate to Africa. Once again, the known schedules are limited to Anne Arundel and Prince George's County. I'm not too hopeful about finding either of these items for Washington County. They could be tucked away in the Courthouse, but the Hall of Records people failed to find them some years ago when they exhaustively searched each Courthouse in the State. I'm going to read the Paws enabling the censuses to try and find hints of their disposition. It is also possible, but unlikely, that the Historical Society in Hagerstown has them.

We were in the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore on Saturday looking for some advertisements concerning an old house. The source was The Washington Spy, the oldest known Hagerstown newspaper which was published in the 1790's. The MTTS has the only known file of this newspaper. I noted an ad for one Molly Hagen who ran away, was captured in Hagers-town, could produce no certificate of freedom and was going to be sold by the sheriff. Also saw an ad for the sale of a pregnant slave, but without a name. I note these two items just to tell you that they exist. I did not copy them because the fair thing, it seems to me, would be to copy all such ads.
from this paper. (The marriages, deaths, etc., all deserve to be copied, too). But the difficulty of getting to use the file makes the abstracting a nearly impossible task. However, if you would like a few sample advertisements just to show the sort of thing which was going on, let me know. Next time we're there we'll copy a few. We had little time Saturday.

According to the list of tombstones copied by Webster Piper in the 1940's, Jacob E. Wheaton died November 8, 1924. If he was important enough to have a park named for him, he may have had an obituary in the newspaper. We looked on Saturday in Baltimore but neither the Pratt Library nor the Historical Society has the proper newspapers. So the last resort is the Herald-Mail office. They have a microfilm file of papers which I have used and I'm certain you could, too. Perhaps an obituary would tell about his voting, if it was the first, and his life. If you should wish me to look for the obituary, I'll do it, but it will be sometime until I get to Hagerstown. (I want to look at the Manuscript Records and Certificates of Freedom books.)

My search of the 1870 census is about 60% complete. A small amount of Clearspring remains as does all of Hagerstown. In addition,
I've gotten through the statistics of the Federal Censuses for 1790 through 1870 for Washington County. I'll do the remainder as I get time. The summaries are at the State Library, which is closed on Saturdays. The remarkable trend is the rapid decline of slavery (numbers of slaves) in Washington County beginning about 1830. Perhaps the effect of opposition to slavery being voiced by various dominant religious denominations in the area was taking hold. For example, Mennonites were arriving about then and the Church of the Brethren always opposed slavery. The United Brethrens eventually came out against it, though it took awhile. Where the Methodists and Lutherans stood, I don't know. Asbury's work amongst the Blacks might not be a certain indicator of opposition to slavery. There was also a depression about that time ending the few plantation-like farms in the County.

Among the items at the State Library are the returns from the 1880 Census. When I get there I'll search for Mrs. Martha Rollins Hall. Those two marriage licenses were not in agreement on her age, but the Census record of when she was less than 10 should give an accurate answer. In the 1870 Census, I find a Tom and Martha Rollins in the Tilghmanpton election district who are probably her parents. They are not listed with any children and appear to have been recently married.
I will have a list of free Negro heads of families in 1830 in Washington County, soon. This will be incomplete since the pre-1850 census records name only heads of households. Free Negro heads of families living with white families are not identified by name. But we may find a clue to the Wagner's parents.

That is about the extent of my current progress. I hope to supply some better information shortly. Then there might be a delay since we might move nearer Baltimore. All my historical work will stop while that change is in progress.

Best Regards

Jeff Wyand
Dear Mrs. Doleman:

Finally making some progress, but far from finished. I had a day off on the 17th and I spent most of it in the State Library. Not everything got finished, but I can get the rest of the needed information on my lunch hours.

I got about half the way through the 1880 census of Washington County. I have not yet found Martha (Rollins) Hall. But I did find the following.

**Williamsport District**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jones, Samuel W.</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Stone Mason</td>
<td>Md.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53 wife Ann</td>
<td></td>
<td>Keeping House</td>
<td>Md.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 son Otho Milton</td>
<td></td>
<td>Broom Maker</td>
<td>Md.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 son William L</td>
<td></td>
<td>Farm Laborer</td>
<td>Md.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorsey, Henrietta 22 step. dau. Servt.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In an earlier letter I sent you the entries for this family from the 1870 census. In that one the father is called Tom and the mother Nancy. I suspect that Samuel W. is the father's correct name and that the 1870 census is in error. The change in the mother's name apparently reflects the death of Nancy and the marriage to Ann Dorsey. I shall have to look for the marriage license. Your original question concerned the mother of Otho M. Jones, and whether she was a slave belonging to a Hager family. The question now is did that refer to his mother or step mother? Perhaps further work with different records will give the answer, but it is probably the natural mother who could have been the slave. The last three columns above refer to the place of birth of the person named his mother, and his father, respectively. The fact that Samuel Jones did not remember the places of birth of his parents could be an indication that he had been a slave.

In District 3, Hagerstown on West Franklin Street I find

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moxley, Robert 50</td>
<td></td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>Md.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 wife Eliza</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Md.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 son Richard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Md.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 son Thomas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Md.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 daughter-in-law Annetta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Md.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheaton, Jacob 38</td>
<td></td>
<td>son-in-law Laborer</td>
<td>Md.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 daughter Harriette</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Md.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 granddau. Ellen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Md.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 boarder Frank</td>
<td></td>
<td>works in barber sp.</td>
<td>Md.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 William</td>
<td></td>
<td>Servt.</td>
<td>Md.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Adella</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Md.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This record shows that Jacob Wheaton's first wife died between 1870 and 1880 (the 1870 census record I sent earlier shows the wife's name to be Emma.) and that he married Harriette B. Moxley in that same decade. The children by the first wife are treated as boarders. The entry is supposed to show the relationship to the head of the household. The three children were no relation to Robert Moxley, but boarder seems an odd entry. This record explains the names on the tombstones at Rose Hill. I am hopeful the newspaper obituary will still answer your original question on Jacob Wheaton.
While it may not be of interest to you, I found the following entry in the Sharpburg district in 1880

209 254 Doleman, Wilford 28 Laborer Va. - -
Laura 32 wife Md. Md. Md.,
George J. 7 son " " "
Daniel W. 5 son " " "
Clarence T. 1 son " " "
Arie V. dau. " " " born in Feb.

I have also had an opportunity to explore the manumissions etc. a bit farther. We had occasion to be in Hagerstown last week (My grandmother died) and I had a few minutes in the Courthouse. We found the entries in the indexes for the land records for the recorded manumissions. You are familiar with these, I believe. We also found a volume of manumissions in one of the cabinets in the basement. I suspect that these records duplicate those in the land records, but I will find that out eventually. What we did not find were certificates of Freedom because they are down here.

I should note that the 1831 law requiring the granting of annual licenses was largely ignored. That is, few of the Blacks followed the law and there was little coercion to do so. Some details are given in "Maryland In Africa" by Penelope Campbell, especially on page 177.

I also have a list of the Black heads of households on the 1830 census in Washington County which I shall type up separately and send along.

Hope I am being of some assistance. The 1870 census abstracts are complete except for about two-thirds of Hagerstown. Hopefully it will be finished before the end of the month.

After June 30, my address will be
654 Charante Court
Glen Burnie, Md. 21061
June 4, 1973

Dear Mrs. Doleman,

I have more disappointing news. The Maryland Historical Society has replied to my inquiry about the 1832 Census of Free Negroes. This is the one I wrote about previously, that was taken as part of the effort to force emigration to Liberia.

The Historical Society reports that the census was in their collection in 1937, but disappeared between then and 1970 when they microfilmed The Maryland State Colonization Society papers.

So that is one setback. But there is other data. I shall begin photocopying the 1870 census this week and hopefully will finish the original and making the copies within two weeks.

Sincerely,

[Signature]
Dear Mrs. Doleman:

I have concluded my search of the Washington County census of 1880 and I did not find Martha Rollins (Hall). I can think of three possible reasons for this: 1. I missed the listing; 2. She wasn't living in Washington County then; 3. She doesn't appear there for one reason or another. If you would like to know any details which appear about her on the 1880 census and you can give a general location for her residence in that year, I will look again. Perhaps this is not an important point. As a side issue, I might point out that the 1890 census was almost totally destroyed by fire and the 1900 and later census records have not yet been released by the Federal Government. The 1880 census for the entire State of Maryland is available here at the State Library.

In the recent Centennial edition of The Morning Herald I noted several references by Harry Warner to Black history. I assume you supplied that to him (it is unfortunate that he gives no credits or footnotes). It is all first class information.

The 1870 census abstracts are nearly complete. I expect to finish this week. I hope to finish the photocopies next week and send them along, perhaps with data on the Black population of Washington County from 1790 to 1970. As we are moving to Glen Burnie at the end of the month, it will be sometime until I get to the 1860 census, but I expect to complete it this summer.

Sincerely yours

Jeffrey Wyand
906 Primrose Road  
Annapolis, Md. 21403  
June 19, 1973

Dear Mrs. Doleman:

I have finally completed the abstracts from the 1870 census and the photocopies of them. I will be sending them (a set of the photocopies) along to you within the week. I realize that this is not exactly what you asked me to do, but I needed to do it to get some background. Also, I am working on some other projects which should provide some good data, but it will be some time before they are finished. I don't think you ought to hold up your work waiting for me.

The census abstracts need some explanation. Because of the limitations of the copying machine, the extreme right margin is not fully reproduced. It contains two sets of numbers which the enumerators used. One is the number of families visited and the other is the number of the household. The importance is that all the people following a set of numbers were domiciled under the same roof. That is, whenever a number appears a new household is being reported. Where there are servants living singly with a family or on a farm I have reported the name of the head of that household or the farmer in the line, just to the right of the occupation. The names of the people are listed, their age, a B designation for Black or M for mulatto. Then comes the state of birth. If the State is Maryland I frequently neglected to enter it. All persons listed as having been born outside of Maryland are so listed on the abstracts. Then comes occupation, if given, followed by entries on real and personal property holdings and literacy. At the beginning of each election district there are some summary statistics which have been compiled from the following pages. (I should note that I did not always agree with the official count. My worst error is in the Hagerstown district where I was low by 6 out of nearly 900.)

It seems unnecessary to point out the terrible illiteracy problem and the grim prospect considering that so few Black children had been in school in the previous year.

I was unsuccessful in finding the marriages of Samuel Jones and Jacob Wheaton which the census indicated took place between 1870 and 1880. I shall look once more.

I have assembled various statistics from the 1790 through 1970 census records. I hope to make formal graphs and send them along to you before we move at the end of this month. But no promises.

Sincerely yours,

Jeffrey A. Wyand
908 Primrose Road  
Annapolis, Md. 21403  
June 23, 1973

Dear Mrs. Doleman:

As I have had time, I have been copying data from the certificates of freedom recorded by the Register of Wills for Washington County. So far I'm about half the way through them. They are quite interesting and may help provide some clues in my attempt to answer your question about the source of the Black people who reached Washington County.

One of your other questions concerned Otha Milton Jones. I've sent some abstracts concerning him from various census records. In looking them over, I note that on the 1870 entry the head of the household is one Tom Jones who is apparently O. Milton's father, though there is no proof. Tom's age is given as 40. On the 1880 census the family relationships are stated and the name of O. Milton's father is clearly given as Samuel W. Jones. Samuel W.'s age in 1880 is given as 54. Now clearly these two items don't match even in one regard, yet I don't consider that a big problem. Samuel W. Jones did not know where his father and mother had been born and he may well have been a slave, not even accurately knowing his own age. Well, in the Certificates of Freedom I have found an entry dated April 22, 1847 for one Samuel W. Jones. Normally these certificates detail the mechanism by which the person became free and go on to issue a license to the person to remain in the County (this stems from the Act of 1832 which I wrote about earlier and which I believe you are familiar with). But the Certificate for Samuel W. Jones just mentions that he is a free man suggesting to me that he had been free for some time. I don't see a deed of manumission recorded in the land records for him. The license to remain in the County (which was renewed in 1848, I don't know after that) describes Samuel W. Jones as being "very dark, stout built, with a scar on the left side of his upper lip." His age is given as 33 and his height as 5' 10¾". Apparently we won't know more about Samuel W. Jones until the 1860 and 1850 census records are searched. I'll get to that in time. I recall your original question involved Samuel's wife, but perhaps we'll learn more about her through him.

Though we are quite busy with packing, I hope to get three graphs of population in good form this week and will send you copies without comment.

Sincerely yours,

Jeffrey Wyand

New address
654 Charnock Court  
Glen Burnie, Md. 21061
Dear Mrs. Doleman

Here is another item which I copied that I thought you might be interested in. Though it will be of less utility than the census records, there could be some helpful data here. It could also prove a bridge, as the deeds of manumission could, from freedom into bondage in an attempt to answer your original question about the source(s) of Washington County Blacks. (I don't mean to exclude the immigration of free Blacks as another source by that statement.)

These few pages contain the information which was recorded by the Register of Wills of Washington County in three small volumes titled, by the Hall of Records, Certificates of Freedom. More accurately, records of Negroes freed by will and licenses of residence are recorded in those volumes. The records of those freed by will are in every way analogous to deeds of manumission that the Clerk of the Court recorded. But the manumission was accomplished by a deceased person rather than one living. The was no fee paid to the owner in this case. The first column in my transcript of the records indicates whether the items refer to freedom granted by will (w) or by deed of manumission (d of m). The next several columns of information should be self-explanatory. I was a little reluctant about copying the items listed under distinguishing marks. I did copy the items which you see there which are not necessarily completed. Some might be upset or embarrassed by those comments and understandably so. If so, I apologize most sincerely for I would not wish to embarrass or offend anyone. The descriptions were part of the record for future identification purposes if a question should arise. They do provide additional information which could aid someone. Furthermore, I compared the data to what I know about various of my own ancestors and decided that if I could know such information about them, I would wish to. Therefore, I did copy relevant and, hopefully, unoffensive items. The small r under the raised or born in County column means that the record reports that the person concerned was raised in the County. None say born there. Similarly a W.C. in the next column indicates that the person resides in Washington County. At first I thought that this was valuable information, but it later became obvious that it was part of the form of the standard record. So I don't consider it to be absolutely reliable. The final column indicates renewal for licenses of residence after the date shown under "Date of the Record." Generally these licenses were granted in the year stated for the term of the following year. You will recall that the very restrictive law of 1832 required free Blacks to obtain a license for each year's continued residency within the State of Maryland. The license was based upon testimony of two or more whites of the good behavior of the subject free Black. You will also recall that this law was widely ignored and the brevity of these records proves it. (Compare the population of free Blacks in Washington County for 1840 with the number listed in this record, for example.) Items preceded by d of m refer strictly to licenses which the Register of Wills had charge of. Items preceded by a w refer to a recording of the freedom of someone who became free by will and may also include the granting of a license.
It appears that in a few cases Negroes freed Negroes. (See Noah Pickney on page 3 or Sarah Williams on page 4.) I have read that freed slaves sometimes purchased their relatives (especially spouses) and kept them in bondage to avoid exposing them to the restrictive laws which were laid on free Blacks. The bondage, of course, was more of a legal camouflage than actual slavery. I have also read that manumissions were forbidden after 1860, yet there are a few in this list. I can not explain that. In the original records when a person's height is given, the records refer to such-and-such high, not tall. I suppose that to be an example of the regard that whites held for the Black man, though it is also possible that the record reflects a now archaic, but then universal, synonym for of high for tall.

At any rate, I hope that these records, which are not available in Hagerstown, might be of some use to you. I hope to do some work with the 1860 census, as I did with the 1870 census. But I will be beginning some evening study in September and have a number of items to clear from my desk before then. So it will be some time before I can get that work out to you. But if you don't hear from me for a while, it will not be because I have lost interest. And feel free to call on me should any short questions arise that I can help with from down here. I'm still hoping to come up with more on Jacob Wheaton from his obituary, if there is one.

Sincerely yours,

Jeff W.
Dear Mrs. Doloman

Here are the graphs I promised. In general they are, I hope, self-explanatory. The page which contains two graphs lacks some data simply because the method of the reports of the census were not consistent. So for some years I had no data. In those years I've drawn a dashed line connecting the points for which information was available.

On all of the graphs you'll see two lines after 1930, one dashed and one solid. I believe the solid line is correct, but the dashed line follows the official census records. The reason for the difference has to do with the establishment of the Penal Farm, later known as the State Reformatory for Males, which is now called Maryland Correctional Institution. The institution was established sometime between 1930 and 1940. On the 1940 census I noted 184 black males and no black females in the Tidewater District. The curious imbalance between the sexes led me to look back at other data. The earlier census records show that the black population for that district had fallen to essentially zero by 1920. Then the NCI came to mind. I followed this through on later census records and, reduced the Black population to zero, and deducted the same amount from the total county population. My reasons for this were twofold. The first is that while there are apparently a large number of black males at NCI who live there year-round, they are, in my opinion, not native indigenous Washington population. While I don't deny these people's existence, I would hope we would agree that they are not in the
same category with the other black citizens included in the county.
The second reason is that the indigenous black population of Washington County is so small both in absolute and percentage terms that a small factor can appear as a large change. What I'm trying to say will be clear if the graph showing the percentage of negroes in the county is consulted. After a large decline, the uncorrected graph shows an upswing. But when the inmates are subtracted, one sees that the upward trend is really quite small, if it is there at all. So the inmate population is large compared to what might be called the "free black society" and must be deducted if only the ordinary population is to be accurately characterized and understood.

One final note. The reason for putting the graphs in which two appear on the same page, was to see if there had been an "urbanization" of blacks in Washington County. That is, did the rural people move to Hagerstown? The graphs, I think, do not show that. While the number of Hagerstown blacks has slowly risen, and the graph shows the 80% of the blacks in the County live in Hagerstown, the more significant trend is the disappearance of rural Blacks. The increase in the percentage in Hagerstown came about partly because the total population in all the county dwindled over the years. But the drop in the rural population was not compensated for by an increase in Hagerstown's population. So either the rural people gradually left, or their children left and they got old and died, un replaced. I think the latter case is more likely with the children going not to Hagerstown but to some large metropolitan area like D.C. or Baltimore. Unfortunately, I have no statistics to substantiate this theory.

Hope these graphs are of some help.

Sincerely,

Jeffrey Wyland
Dear Mrs. Doleman:

I was very pleased to hear from you, especially since I have been silent for so many months. My own progress in my avocations is, like your own, controlled by other outside influences. I should not have been so coy about my studies. In addition to my job, I am going to school in the evenings at U. of Md. School of Law in Baltimore. This has been far more taxing than I expected and little beyond my employment and school work has gotten completed recently. (If were not for my wife, I would have to have made a choice between these two activities.) So I hope that you can be patient with me just a little longer.

No doubt your work has been so well received because it merits approval. I, too, hope that it serves to help straighten some things out by telling us how we got to where we are and what we should do to get where we want to be. It is in that spirit that I contributed what little effort and assistance that I have. I did it out of a desire to help what I felt was a worthy and neglected area of research and out of a selfish desire to learn more myself. While I have in the past charged some people for genealogical research, it has only been when they hired me to do something which I would not have otherwise done. What work I did for you (and myself) I did because I wanted to. So I can't charge or accept any pay for it. Therefore, I feel obliged to return your check. I only hope that you won't feel that I am an ingrate, for I do appreciate your offer, but it is not expected or necessary. My expenses have been so minimal that I have no problem absorbing them.

You are absolutely right about my promise to treat the 1860 census as I did the 1870 one. I have had the microfilm of the census returns since sometime in August and I just haven't been able to get to it. One of the problems, of course, is finding and using a reader. Because of the census reels I have as well as some Hagerstown newspapers, I am now trying to acquire a reader to use at home. If and when I get that, there should be no problem in doing the 1860 work. If I don't get one for a while, I'm afraid that I can't promise anything until June when school will be finished. If you can't wait until then, and I shall understand if you can't, you may consult to copy at the Hagerstown library. John Frye can direct you to it. But I have never found their facilities very helpful for copying. (Only one reader, others want to use it, desk is small, etc.) But I do intend to fulfill my promise just as soon as I can.

While in Hagerstown on one of my short visits, I looked for a Jacob Wheaton obituary using about a two week period around the death date on the tombstone. Using the files at the newspaper office, I, likewise, found nothing. About the best that I can conclude is that Black people were simply ignored at that time unless they some peculiar or unusual characteristic or attribute which made it difficult to pretend they didn't exist.
I checked back through the 1870 data I sent you and I find that Election District 8, Rohrersville, was also called Pleasant Valley. So it was not omitted. But I don't see the real estate ownership which you suggest some one (John Frye?) told you about. Nor do I see it on the Sandy Hook district. I can think of two possible reasons. One is that census takers missed the data. Or that the time being talked about came later. Perhaps it was closer to the turn of the century. Maybe the 1880 census would show it. (The 1890 census was destroyed by a fire and the 1900 census has only now been opened and under very restrictive limitations.) I don't dispute John's contention which he has shared with me. I'm just not sure of the era.

I have a book here which I acquired a long time ago when I started to look into this work. It's a reprint and I haven't looked at it for a long time. It is interesting up to a point, but then the author gets bogged down in a lot of legalism about decisions of the Court of Appeals. It has served its purpose here, so I'll send it along for your use. You've probably seen it before, "The Negro in Maryland" by Brackett. You are welcome to have it as a gift. If it is of no use to you, or you use it and get finished with it, you might offer it to the library in Hagerstown. With the interest in Black history they should want to add it to their collection, even if they already have a copy or two. I'll be cheap and send it at the book rate, so don't expect it for a few days.

I shall try to be of more help to you just as soon as I can.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]
Dear Mrs. Doleman:

Here, finally, is a copy of my abstracts from the 1860 census of Washington County. I regret the delay in supplying this information, but I have been quite busy with summer projects of all sorts.

The statistics are summarized on the first page. My counts of non-whites in many of the districts do not agree with the official figures. It is my conclusion that whoever counted the people on the returns gathered by the enumerators made serious errors. They calculated the total number of persons in the district more or less correctly. Then the number of Black and mulatto citizens were counted, often far too few, and the result subtracted from the total to arrive at the number of whites. Thus the number of non-whites is frequently much too low in the original and whites much too high. The percentage change for the white counts is not large, but is significant for the non-whites. I have not gathered all the same statistics for the 1860 census as for the 1870. The explanation is that the returns appear insufficiently uniform to draw valid conclusions. The particular areas of trouble are the literacy and school attendance questions. The best that can be said, I believe, is that fewer Black children were in school in 1860 than the appallingly low number that were in school in 1870. The statistics on occupation and ownership of real estate do appear to be credible.

My copying of this census probably was not as accurate as was my work with the 1870 returns. I believe I may have allowed a few white persons to have gotten onto my list. See particularly a Myers family in Hagerstown. The confusion resulted from an indication that a white family was living in a Black household which was, of course, not the usual order of things in those days. I believe, however, that the return was accurate and that I erred in listing the Myers.

Otho Milton Jones cannot appear here, of course, since he was not born until 1862. But I note that I can not find his father either by name or occupation. I believe that this result adds further credence to the story that Otho's mother was a slave and his father probably was, too. About the only person who did show up that we have discussed before was Jacob Wheaton. In the Hagerstown district you will find

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Weadon</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emily</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I don't quite know what happened to Robert since he doesn't appear on later census records. Perhaps he died young. Emily, you recall, was Wheaton's first wife who apparently died between 1870 and 1880.

If I had more time, and I wish that I did, I would attempt some cross correlation between the 1860 and 1870 abstracts. It might give some clues as to whether people changed family names (I had some preliminary looks and thought I detected it), but any result would lack convincing proof unless other data were brought in. The limited cross checking I did do for one of the rural districts does indicate that the people either could not count too well or did not know their ages too well. One would expect that each census would show the person nine to eleven years older, but that is not always the case here.

My time will become more limited soon when school starts, but I will still be glad to help you whenever and with whatever I can. My microfilm reader should be operational in a few months and then the scanning of my census and newspaper records will be easier. I shall let you know of any "finds" that I make that might be of use to you. It occurs to me to try and copy the 1850 census. The organization of the Washington County returns is very poor and some skill would be required to make the most useful geographical identification. The Maryland Genealogical Society is currently running a project to copy that census and perhaps we should wait to see what their results are. From what I've seen (people copying districts with which they have no familiarity) I do not expect too much.

Again, let me know if there is anything else I can do.

Sincerely yours,

Jeffrey A. Wyand

P.S. I note that I have not explained the format of the abstracts. It is the same as last time. Location on census, name, age, "color", place of birth if other than Maryland, occupation, real and personal property, literacy. If the subject was a servant or farm worker and listed in the household or farm of employment, the head of the household is also given for reference. In a few places some servants seem to have been counted both in the household of their employment and also in their own families. Both listings are generally shown in the abstracts.