Elkton Public School. In addition, the Cecil County School Board Minutes reported on March 13, 1889 another instance in which black members of an A.M.E. Church in Elkton donated $5 for the purchase of maps for the Elkton Public School. Blacks' willingness to donate what little money they had toward the purchase of supplies for their schools suggests that education was extremely important to the black community of Elkton and that they worked together to buy supplies and build new schools.

By the 1890s and the early twentieth century, blacks' efforts to raise money for both private and public schools impressed some whites in Cecil County so much that they also donated money for the improvement of colored schools. For instance, a March 2, 1891 article in the Cecil Democrat explained, "George Blake, Esquire for Elkton, gave the colored people of this town $18.28 toward the construction of a school building and a one-fourth acre lot." Furthermore, a February 14, 1903 article in the Cecil Democrat revealed that by the twentieth century, even businesses throughout Cecil County donated small sums of money for repairs and supplies for colored schools. The article explained, "Strawbridge & Clothier donated $12 toward the purchase of stoves for a colored school in the second district." The fact that some whites donated money toward black schools in Cecil County suggests that by the late nineteenth century, some whites may have thought that blacks should have a right to a decent education. However, most importantly, whites may have given funds to black schools for political reasons, such as to win additional votes from African Americans.

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649 Ibid.
650 Cecil County School Board Minutes, 13 March 1889, p. 78.
651 Cecil Democrat, 2 March 1891, p. 2.
652 Ibid., 14 February 1903, p. 1.
653 Ibid.
Especially in the 1890s and early 1900s, black teachers attended Colored Teachers Institutes, where they learned how they could prepare better lesson plans and teach their students more effectively. These events best symbolized the efforts of Cecil County's African Americans to improve the education of black children. An April 22, 1899 article in the *Cecil Democrat* reported that a meeting of colored teachers took place that month.\(^{654}\) White Democrats may have chosen not to publish the events held during the Colored Teachers Meeting since they viewed the education of blacks as less important than that of whites. By analyzing a few pamphlets advertising Colored Teachers Institute Meetings, I was able to discern what took place at these conferences. A March 29, 1899 advertisement for the Colored Teachers Institute explained that the program would take place in Port Deposit on Thursday and Friday, April 20-April 21, 1899.\(^{655}\) The pamphlet indicated:

"On Thursday, Reverend E. E. Hughes will deliver the prayer, and Miss R. J. Walton will give a lecture on "The Importance of Teaching Mathematics to children." Also, Reverend Levi J. Coppin will give an address on the need for colored children to act morally. On Friday, Miss Mary Draper [a well-known black teacher] will give a lecture on "The Practical Teaching of Arithmetic."\(^{656}\)

In addition, a pamphlet published on December 11, 1895 revealed that a meeting of colored schoolteachers would take place on June 2-3, 1896 at Conowingo.\(^{657}\) The main essays read at the event were *The Best Method of Improving Schools, How to Teach History Effectively, The Subject of Consistency When Teaching Spelling to Children*, and

\(^{654}\) Ibid., 22 April 1899, p. 1.
\(^{655}\) *Cecil County School Board Minutes*, Colored Teachers Institute Advertisement Supplement, 29 March 1899.
\(^{656}\) Ibid.
\(^{657}\) Ibid., 11 December 1895.
The Duty of Parents to Educate Their Children. The fact that black teachers discussed the problems of the African American educational system shows that blacks sought to improve the education of their children without relying on whites to address these issues.

Sometimes blacks used Colored Teachers Institute Meetings not only to discuss key issues pertinent to black education, but also to collect money for the improvement of African American public and private schools. A February 14, 1900 School Commissioners Report explained, “At the Colored Teachers Institute Meeting, blacks raised $15.81 to help pay the bill for supplies for the colored school house at Conowingo and $1,637 for new schoolhouses in Conowingo and Cecilton. It is significant that blacks were able to raise such a large amount of money to build schoolhouses in Conowingo and Cecilton. This report may indicate that either a few blacks with considerable property donated money for the schools or that many blacks joined together to give small sums of money. Both the meeting of African American teachers and the determination of blacks to raise money for schools at these meetings symbolized African Americans’ unwavering efforts to improve their schools by training competent and competent black teachers.

In fact, blacks’ quest for a better education led white teachers to agree to give speeches on education in Cecil County at Colored Teachers Institute Meetings. The Perryville Record featured an August 12, 1892 article that reported:

The Institute for Colored Teachers was held Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday at the Providence Church in Elkton. Dr. L.B. Moore, colored, of Howard University, encouraged black teachers to tell their students to attend the university in the future. White school commissioners, such as George Biddle, gave talks on the importance of education. White speakers divided the time

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658 Ibid.
659 School Commissioners Report, 14 February 1900.
they spoke equally with blacks.\textsuperscript{660}

Also, the \textit{Cecil Star} explained in 1894, "White speakers spoke at the Colored Teachers Institute held at Mt. Zoar. In our opinion, this meeting was a great success."\textsuperscript{661} The willingness of white speakers to give lectures at Colored Teachers Institute Meetings indicates that some whites may have shared African Americans' beliefs that education was needed for the advancement of Cecil County's blacks. An October 24, 1897 article in the \textit{Perryville Record} reinforces this point by reporting:

Education allows our colored children to advance intellectually and morally. It diminishes vice, crime, poverty, and indolence. It adds to the capital as well as the moral atmosphere of the colored race. There are hundreds of educated blacks in our community who are small owners of real estate.\textsuperscript{662}

Indeed, educated black children could someday actively participate in their community since they would better understand politics, how to manage their own businesses, and how to better organize movements to press for their political and social rights. Also, the fact that a prominent black speaker from Howard University spoke at the meeting symbolizes African American teachers' hopes that black students would continue their education by going to universities or industrial training schools in Baltimore or Washington, D.C.

A good indicator of blacks' efforts to improve their schools was through their refusal to keep incompetent or immoral teachers whom they viewed as bad influences on their children. For instance, a May 24, 1884 transaction of the Cecil County School Board minutes indicated, "A petition from the colored people of the fifth district asks for the removal of their black teacher due to his improper conduct. This matter will be referred

\textsuperscript{660} \textit{Perryville Record}, 12 August 1892, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{661} \textit{Cecil Star}, 10 November 1894, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{662} \textit{Perryville Record}, 24 October 1897, p. 2.
to the trustees of the school." Also, an August 26, 1893 edition of the Cecil Democrat emphasized, "The colored school required that all their teachers take an examination before they can be hired at black public schools." In another case, the Cecil County School Board Minutes of June 11, 1889 revealed, "Blacks of Cayotts Corner School petitioned the school board to dismiss W.M. Orpitt, a colored school teacher, for using violent and threatening language, which disturbed the school children." The most likely reason why blacks selected the best schoolteachers may have been that African Americans wanted a teacher who would instill values in their children and would ensure that they received an excellent education. In addition, a good black teacher could instruct black children how to stand up to whites, how not to accept their inferior status, and how to strive for political and social rights. An incompetent teacher could corrupt the values of black children, which might lead to increased crime in African American communities. Indeed, black children were key to the future success of African American communities in Cecil County.

Since many black public schools were old, poorly ventilated, and lacked proper funding, Cecil County's African Americans continued to set up their own private schools from the 1870s through the early twentieth century. James Manley, who was from Elkton, was one of the most notable African American educational leaders of Cecil County. In fact, he later became a school trustee for black public schools of the third district. His most well-known accomplishment was the creation of both the James

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663 Cecil County School Board Minutes, 24 May 1884, p. 74.
664 Cecil Democrat, 26 August 1893, p. 2.
665 Cecil County School Board Minutes, 11 June 1889, p. 151.
666 Cecil Democrat, 2 November 1878, p. 2.
Manley Colored Day School and the James Manley Night School in Elkton.\textsuperscript{667} For both of his schools, he charged a small admission fee. However, he ensured that black children received the best education by educating them in math, reading, and writing. On November 2, 1878 the \textit{Cecil Democrat} explained:

The Colored Day School of this town, in which James Manley, colored, is principal, held a public examination in the A.U.M.P. Church last Thursday evening. Scholars behaved themselves in a laudable manner. Frank C. Miller was known for his proficiency in mental arithmetic, and Florence Bosisco for her knowledge of spelling. The principal shows considerable zeal and work in educating the children who attend his school.\textsuperscript{668}

In addition, the February 17, 1877 issue of the \textit{Cecil Democrat} revealed, "James Manley and his wife, both colored, set up a colored night school in Elkton."\textsuperscript{669} Another black private school, which was set up in Cecil County during the 1870s, was The Colored Boys School in Elkton.\textsuperscript{670} In a January 16, 1875 article, the \textit{Cecil Democrat} stated, "A colored boys’ school was established in Elkton. This school will be open three nights a week."\textsuperscript{671}

The fact that prominent African Americans, such as James Manley, set up their own private schools for African American children suggests that blacks had grown disillusioned with the quality of black public schools and hoped that private schools would provide a better education for black students. The willingness of African American parents to pay the small admission fee to send their children to Manley’s Day School emphasizes the importance of education in Elkton’s black community. Also, Manley’s Night School was important because it gave blacks who had to work as farm

\textsuperscript{667} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{668} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{669} \textit{Cecil Democrat}, 17 February 1877, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{670} Ibid., 16 January 1875, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{671} Ibid.
laborers or in factories during the day an opportunity to attend school at night. It is
significant that the *Cecil Democrat*, which often displayed prejudice against the
advancement of African Americans, extolled Manley’s establishment of a night school
and his skills at organizing programs that ensured black children were well educated.\textsuperscript{672}

Moreover, the Port Deposit Colored Private School, founded in the early 1880s,
served as a symbol of Cecil County’s blacks’ independence in setting up their own
educational facilities. The *Cecil Whig* on June 16, 1881 reported:

The Port Deposit Colored Private School closed on Thursday for examination day. Eighty-five percent of the grammar questions, eighty percent of the arithmetic problems, and ninety-five percent of spelling questions were answered correctly. Much credit must be given to the school and the students. Master Henry Hopkins has a great power of oratory among the Negro race. Hopkins gave a speech to his students in which he said, ‘We will rise from the sleep we have slept for the past decade. If we are to be recognized at any time, it must be through our education. It is impossible for the blind to lead the blind.’\textsuperscript{673}

Hopkins’ speech symbolizes the pride blacks took in improving themselves through education as well as in urging other blacks to set up additional private schools in their communities. Blacks like Hopkins believed that without education, African Americans in Cecil County had little hope of achieving social, economic, and political equality with whites. The fact that black students at the Port Deposit Colored Private School were proficient in arithmetic, spelling, and grammar reveals that Hopkins had worked hard to place his school on an equal footing with those of whites. Clearly, to many blacks, the education of African American children was the first step in the long and arduous process of gaining social and political concessions.

\textsuperscript{672} Ibid., 5 May 1877, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{673} *Cecil Whig*, 16 June 1881, p. 2.
African American Self-Help and Moral Improvement Organizations

Like churches and schools, blacks also organized sport teams, fraternal unions, and self-help organizations in Cecil County, which symbolized the strong ties that developed among African Americans as well as their independence from the white community. Such organizations were not only vital to the survival of black communities throughout the county, but also contributed to the respectability of African Americans living within those neighborhoods. In fact, from the 1880s through the early twentieth century, some members of white organizations extolled blacks’ efforts to improve their community by the founding of Temperance Societies, Literary Improvement Organizations, and Odd Fellows Fraternal Lodges.\footnote{Cecil Whig, 14 September 1890, p. 1.} Articles in both the Cecil Whig (Republican) and the Cecil Democrat (Democratic), described how white societies worked with black organizations to improve both white and black communities. Many times blacks and whites shared concern in a common cause.

However, despite the fact that white and black societies sometimes put aside racial differences to work together, whites consistently refused to integrate blacks into their organizations.\footnote{Ibid.} Some of the most important events sponsored by African American self-help organizations and moral improvement societies were lectures on topics such as The Need to Increase Literacy Among Blacks as well as movements for the prohibition of alcohol.\footnote{Ibid.} Events like marriages were also key in solidifying family bonds among African Americans in a community.\footnote{Elkton Appeal, 17 June 1892, p. 1.} Participation in moral improvement and self-help organizations strengthened African Americans’ independence from whites because
members talked about issues that were pertinent to their community and raised money for other black institutions, such as churches and schools. Thus, the establishment of African Americans’ civic organizations was vital in creating a strong black community, and these groups were the training grounds for black social and political leaders in Cecil County, who would later petition whites for political and social rights.

The sports teams that Cecil County’s blacks organized not only provided entertainment for African American communities, but also represented blacks’ efforts to raise money for their own organizations and to place their teams on an equal footing with those of whites. In the 1860s, there were no recorded instances in Cecil County’s newspapers where African Americans formed their own baseball teams. It appears that the first black teams were founded in the mid-1870s. The Bulletin of the Cecil County Historical Society reported in 1998 that the first black man in Cecil County to attain professional status as a pitcher was Bud Fowler in the mid-nineteenth century. At this time, whites had prohibited blacks from playing on their teams. Earlier, blacks had been integrated with whites on the same teams. For instance, an August 25, 1878 article in the Cecil Democrat noted, “In the 1860s, whites and Negroes had played together on the same teams in Elkton and Port Deposit.” The fact that after the Civil War, whites segregated African Americans in Cecil County from their baseball teams shows the increasing prejudice among some whites in the 1870s and 1880s. In 1876, the Cecil Whig reported that in Port Deposit alone, there were three black baseball teams. It indicated:

A game of baseball will be played next Saturday by the Rock Run Colored Baseball

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679 Ibid.
Club. These blacks live in Rock Run Hollow. Also, the Dauntless Black Baseball Club, from Havre Grace, was here on Saturday and played the Riverside Black Baseball Club. Our boys were too much for them. The score was 8 to 17.  

In addition, the September 28, 1878 edition of the *Cecil Democrat* explained,

"Baseball continues to be popular in this town. The colored club from Newark and the Elkton Colored Club played on the grounds here. The Elkton Club being victorious on a large scale. The Quickstep Black Baseball Team also defeated the Newark Black Baseball Club last Saturday."  

During both the 1880s and 1890s, African Americans in Cecil County increasingly participated in baseball. While there were about 63 entries in the *Cecil Whig* and the *Cecil Democrat* in the 1870s on black sports teams, during each decade of the 1880s and 1890s, there were about 105 articles about African American sports organizations. The fact that the establishment of black teams coincided with the construction of new churches and schools suggests that at this time in Cecil County's history, African Americans were working hard to improve their communities and to develop independence from whites. One of the most notable black baseball teams in Cecil County was the Elkton Black Baseball Team. Founded in the 1870s, this club was the most well organized and skillful team in the county. A June 30, 1888 article in the *Cecil Democrat* stated, "The Black Baseball Nine (Club), from Elkton, went to Havre de Grace one day this week to play a similar nine. Our team easily defeated them." It is significant that the *Cecil Democrat* used the word "our" when describing black baseball teams. This may be the case because some whites might have been proud of the accomplishments of Cecil County's blacks. On August 6, 1884, another article in the  

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681 *Cecil Whig*, 9 June 1876, p. 1.
682 *Cecil Democrat*, 28 September 1878, p. 2.
683 Ibid., 30 June 1888, p. 2.
*Elkton Appeal* reported, “A colored baseball club from Elkton defeated another colored baseball team from Wilmington Saturday afternoon. The score was 33 to 7. The blacks from Elkton are far superior to their opponents in the field and at the bat.”

The fact that African American teams from Cecil County won so many games and are described in every article as performing professionally suggests that African Americans spent hours training for games and constantly worked hard at improving their teams.

While blacks worked diligently to improve their baseball teams from the 1870s to 1890s, in the early 1900s, African American sports teams now raised money to buy new equipment to better their teams. For example, the May 15, 1902 edition of the *Cecil Whig* revealed, “The Elkton Colored Baseball Team held events to raise money to fund new equipment for their team.”

Blacks’ efforts to buy new supplies for their sports teams in the early 1900s symbolizes African Americans’ hopes that they would place their teams on the same footing with those of whites. Indeed, many of Cecil County’s whites did take notice of blacks’ hard work in improving their baseball teams, and some white teams agreed to play African American teams. A *Cecil County News* article from July 11, 1900 indicated, “The Elkton Colored Baseball Club played a match game with the White Athletic Club from Elkton. The Elkton colored team won.”

It is significant that a black team won a game played against a better-financed white baseball club. This suggests that by the early twentieth century, African American baseball teams in Cecil County had significantly strengthened their sports organizations, and in only a few decades, were almost as well organized as white teams. None of my sources indicate that black and white teams played each other further south. The fact that in Cecil County

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684 *Elkton Appeal*, 6 August 1884, p. 2.
African Americans teams competed against white baseball clubs points to the distinct character of Cecil County as a “middle ground.”

Some of the most important organizations in Cecil County’s African American communities were fraternal lodges. These organizations allowed African Americans to solidify community ties with each other and to raise money for lectures and events, which focused on the need for blacks to improve themselves and never to rely on only whites to help them.\textsuperscript{687} Although newspapers from the 1860s do not mention instances in which blacks set up fraternal organizations in Cecil County, articles from the 1870s report many cases in which African Americans established fraternal lodges. Among the most popular black social organizations in the 1870s were the Colored Good Templars and the Black Odd Fellows Union.\textsuperscript{688} An April 3, 1875 article in the \textit{Cecil Democrat} explained, “The colored people of this town will have an Odd Fellow’s meeting on next Monday night. Also, the colored band will give a great performance in the Odd Fellow Hall. Two of the leading performers will be W.H. Turner and Punch, the Ethiopian comedian. The admission is 25 cents.”\textsuperscript{689} Also, the \textit{Port Deposit Correspondence} in an October 15, 1874 article indicated, “The Excelsior Lodge, No. 13, of the Border Colored Good Templars will meet in the Odd Fellows Hall Friday, November 6, 1874. The leaders of this organization are A.D. Evans, E.M. Tilden, and D.G. Ross.”\textsuperscript{690} These 1870s fraternal lodges in Cecil County were also important in providing money for African American communities. Without these organizations, blacks may not have been able to fund lectures, funerals, and excursion events. These societies offered an outlet for needy

\textsuperscript{687} \textit{Cecil Democrat}, 3 April 1875, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{688} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{689} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{690} \textit{Port Deposit Correspondence}, 15 October 1874, p. 1.
blacks to rely on. Fraternal lodges were important in training black leaders who not only actively participated in these organizations, but also were the leading figures in
establishing African American churches and private schools. For example, an important leader of a black fraternal lodge was Thomas Ringgold, an African American grocery store owner, who actively participated in politics, who owned $3000 worth of property, and who helped set up a school in Elkton.\footnote{Thomas Ringgold land deed, issued January 18, 1870, Cecil County Land Records.}

Through the twentieth century, fraternal societies acted as the glue that held together Cecil County’s black communities. Both the \textit{Cecil Democrat} and the \textit{Cecil Whig} reported many black fraternal group meetings during the 1880s, 1890s, and the early 1900s. As in the 1870s, Odd Fellows organizations served important roles as self-help organizations within Cecil County’s African American communities.\footnote{\textit{Cecil Whig}, 10 September 1887, p. 1.} Some of the most notable African American Odd Fellows lodges in Cecil County were the Elk Lodge, No. 1278 in Elkton, and the Happy Hour Lodge, No. 2836 in Cecilton.\footnote{Ibid.} The \textit{Cecil Whig} reported in its September 10, 1887 edition:

\begin{quote}
The Maryland district held in its Odd Fellows Hall 78 lodges with 26 delegates. These colored delegates are George Gordon of Elk Lodge, No. 1278 in Elkton, and James Boddy of the Happy Hour Lodge, No. 2836 in Cecilton. At a night session, on Tuesday, John Slocum, who was the colored district manager, addressed the 78 lodges.\footnote{Ibid.}
\end{quote}

Furthermore, the \textit{Cecil Whig} reported on August 27, 1887, “The seventh annual meeting of the Maryland District Lodge, No. 14, G.U.O.A.F.O.F. Colored Union, will convene in this town on Tuesday, September 6, in the Odd Fellows Hall.”\footnote{Ibid., 27 August 1887, p. 1.} Also, the \textit{Perryville
*Record* indicated in 1899, “The colored Odd Fellows Organization of this town held a meeting and sponsored entertainment in the G.A.R. Hall on Friday evening.” In addition, an August 24, 1907 article in the *Cecil Star* stated, “The colored lodge in Elkton will meet at the Odd Fellows Hall.” The significant number of colored Odd Fellows organizations, which were established from the 1880s through the early twentieth century, suggests that Cecil County’s blacks regularly participated in self-help organizations.

Moreover, moral improvement societies were prominent among African Americans in Cecil County from 1870 to 1910. These societies served as meeting grounds for blacks to discuss issues that were pertinent to the African American population in Cecil County. The topics blacks discussed at meetings typically included crime, the prohibition of alcohol, the need to increase literacy in black communities, and the moral advancement of the colored race. Like fraternal lodges and baseball teams, African American self-improvement organizations did not emerge until the 1870s. One of the organizations most symbolic of blacks’ efforts to improve their communities was the Colored Peoples Temperance Society. This society discussed the need for blacks to support the Prohibitory Law, which banned saloons in Cecil County. Also, members addressed topics such as the negative effects of alcohol on the African American family. On August 6, 1874, the *Cecil Democrat* indicated that African Americans in Cecil County

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696 *Perryville Record*, 1 September 1899, p. 2.
697 *Cecil Star*, 24 August 1907, p. 2.
699 Ibid.
700 Ibid.
701 Ibid.
held the seventeenth session of the Colored Peoples Temperance Society at the Odd Fellows Hall in Chesapeake City. The *Cecil Democrat* stated:

Delegates from Colored Peoples Temperance Societies throughout the county discussed the temperance question in the Chesapeake City's Odd Fellows Hall. At this meeting, they passed the vote: Resolved we hail with pleasure here the the representatives of Colored Temperance Societies. We will use our influence among them to enact change in this county.\(^{702}\)

In the 1880s, some blacks also formed Local Option Clubs, which supported the prohibition of alcohol in Cecil County. A September 25, 1880 article in the *Port Deposit Correspondence* described, "A meeting of colored people was held in the Temperance Hall on Monday evening for the purpose of forming a Local Option Club."\(^{703}\) The fact that blacks held temperance meetings suggests that African Americans in Cecil County were concerned about issues that could discredit their respectable status among some whites. If a black community was noted for their immoral and disorderly behavior, this could possibly undermine their chances of later gaining their rights from the white community. Also, by participating in these societies, blacks developed a sense of self-worth and independence from whites. Some black leaders, such as William Valentine and James Boddy, who were prominent landowners, first found their voices by organizing events sponsored by moral improvement societies.

Although Cecil County’s blacks continued to organize their own separate temperance meetings, by the 1890s and early 1900s, white members of temperance organizations were willing to work alongside of African American temperance societies to enact social change. Often whites and blacks were concerned about the same issues affecting their community. Both white and black temperance organizations saw the need to work

\(^{702}\) Ibid.

\(^{703}\) *Port Deposit Correspondence*, 25 September 1880, p. 1.
together to guarantee that the sale of alcohol was prohibited in Cecil County and to
ensure that the Local Option Law was not overturned in the November 4, 1890
election.\textsuperscript{704} In 1890, the white W.C.T.U. (Women's Christian Temperance Union) wrote
a letter to the Colored W.C.T.U. of Cecil County expressing the need for both societies to
support the temperance movement and to persuade people not to vote for the repeal of the
Local Option Law.\textsuperscript{705} The September 6, 1890 edition of the \textit{Cecil Whig} features a letter
that the white W.C.T.U. sent to members of the Colored W.C.T.U. in Cecil County. The
letter stated:

\begin{quote}
Dearest Sisters,
We have a banner. I am proud that you have sent $75 for it. But don’t stop
sending money! Each union will want to contribute to our beautiful banner,
which we wish to take to the County Convention in Port Deposit on September
26, then to Atlanta for our National Convention. We know that the colored
women of our county are also anxious and ready for victory to be won this
fall.\textsuperscript{706}
\end{quote}

In a second letter to the Colored W.C.T.U., members of the white W.C.T.U. emphasized
that it was vital that both blacks and whites put aside their racial differences to fight for a
common cause. The letter published on September 14, 1890 in the \textit{Cecil Whig} explained:

\begin{quote}
A terrible crisis is upon us, which threatens the destruction of one of our wisest
and most beneficial laws. We women, already enrolled under the banner of the
Women’s Christian Temperance Union, invite you, colored sisters, to join hands
with us to fight against the licensed saloon. Should our excellent Prohibitory Law
be annulled by the votes cast on November 4, 1890, how many will learn of the
sorrow in the next four years. The triumph of the saloon means the destruction of
the home. We are desirous of forming unions among the colored women of our
county to fight against our common foe, King Alcohol. We will hold meetings
for the purpose of helping to organize Colored Temperance Unions in Cecil
County. We will meet in Mt. Zoa on September 3 and September 4. Support
the work among the colored people for the W.C.T.U. of Cecil County.\textsuperscript{707}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{704} \textit{Cecil Whig}, 6 September 1890, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{705} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{706} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{707} Ibid., 14 September 1890, p. 1.
The fact that white W.C.T.U. members addressed black participants of the Colored W.C.T.U. indicates that by the 1890s, some whites accepted blacks’ efforts to fight for a common cause. Since the white W.C.T.U. had a more accommodating attitude towards African American members of temperance organizations, blacks were willing to work with them to raise money for a banner of the W.C.T.U. Society. Also, both whites and blacks petitioned against the repeal of the Local Option Law and agreed that alcohol undermined family values and community ties. The acceptance of blacks at conventions reveals that some whites may have realized that the race issue was unimportant. This is especially evident in a January 10, 1894 article in the Cecil Whig that indicated, “Last Saturday, white and colored women of this town met at the W.C.T.U. Convention to discuss the need to eliminate alcohol. The candidates conducted themselves in the most noteworthy manner.”

A September 13, 1902 Temperance Rally, attended by both whites and blacks, also symbolized whites’ willingness to work with African Americans for the moral improvement of society.

Not only did Cecil County’s African Americans set up moral improvement societies, but also founded literary and educational societies to help boost the literacy of blacks. Starting in the 1870s, African Americans organized colored spelling bees and contests to demonstrate their knowledge in a variety of subjects. A May 22, 1875 article in the Cecil Democrat revealed:

A colored spelling bee was held in the Odd Fellows Hall last Tuesday. Mrs. Maria Johnson did very well. Mary Williams received the first prize, which was a Webster’s Abridged Dictionary. Maggie Stevenson, who won the second prize, was given a bouquet of flowers. Afterwards, ice crème and cake were served.

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708 Ibid., 10 January 1894, p. 1.
709 Ibid., 13 September 1902, p. 1.
710 Cecil Democrat, 22 May 1875, p. 1.
711 Ibid.
This event served as an important symbol of blacks’ success in education and self-improvement. Also, Cecil County’s African Americans may have sponsored such events to encourage black children to attend school. By mastering a wide range of vocabulary, blacks could impress whites with their knowledge. In addition, during the 1890s, literary societies, sponsored by Cecil County’s blacks, continued to have a prominent place in African American communities. On August 27, 1892, the *Cecil County News* explained, “A Colored Literary Society promoted literacy among blacks in Elkton and Port Deposit by holding a meeting Monday last.”

Literacy of Cecil County’s blacks was necessary in order for African Americans to understand their heritage as well as their political, social, and economic rights. Although literacy was not a necessary requirement for Cecil County’s blacks to vote, it still allowed African Americans to better understand political policies and allowed competent black leaders to lead black communities effectively.

Perhaps the most telling indication of African Americans’ emphasis on improvement through literacy and education was the establishment of the Loyal Legion by black school children in the 1880s. This organization supported educational advancement and solidarity among African American students. On March 3, 1888, the *Cecil Whig* reported, “Miss Jane Terbert, Superintendent, helped black students organize the Loyal Legion of Elkton where students raised $6 for the treasury of the club.”

The importance placed on the need to promote literacy was ingrained in African American children at an early age through the creation of such literary and educational societies. African Americans’ emphasis on education was intended to ensure that black children

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712 *Cecil County News*, 27 August 1892, p. 2.
714 Ibid.
would grow up with a zest for learning and would aspire to achieve more than their parents.

Both moral improvement societies and fraternal lodges used the money they raised to sponsor funerals and marriages as well as entertainment events, such as concerts, excursions, and lectures, which addressed the key concerns of the African American community in Cecil County.\footnote{Cecil Whig, 22 March 1890, p. 1.} On March 22, 1890, the Cecil Whig revealed, “When Rachel Hall died, the colored members of the Fraternal Union and other blacks paid for her funeral. Her funeral was one of the largest colored funerals which occurred in our county.”\footnote{Ibid.} Also, black Odd Fellows organizations sponsored dinners in order to raise money for blacks living in poverty. A September 19, 1909 article in the Cecil Whig indicated, “Jacob Miller, a member of the colored Odd Fellows Union, organized a groundhog dinner last Friday night. This event was held to raise money for unfortunate blacks living in Cecil County.”\footnote{Ibid., 19 September 1909, p. 1.} The fact that blacks helped less successful members of their community by giving them money and by paying for their funeral expenses signifies the strength of the black community and their intended independence from whites’ financial help.

Perhaps the event that most symbolized black solidarity and their willingness to help each other was the celebration of a marriage. The Marriage Law, No. 42367 passed on March 22, 1867, was important in recognizing colored marriages in Maryland.\footnote{The Marriage Law of 1867, No. 42367, sec. 1.} Chapter 42367, Section 8, of the Marriage Law stated:
Passed March 22, 1867 an act entitled to amend Article 60 of the code of Public General Laws entitled licenses by adding additional sections relating to marriages of color. Section 1 states that be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland that the following section be added to Article 60 of the code of Public General Laws to come after Section 8. Section 9 states that all marriages celebrated in this state by or between colored people are hereby confirmed and made valid.²¹⁹

The new Marriage Law, which now recognized colored marriages, was symbolic of the social concessions blacks had won from whites as early as the 1860s.

Like black funerals, marriages were important in bringing together the entire black community and symbolized African Americans’ willingness through their participation in organizations to help each other fund expensive wedding ceremonies. For example, the *Cecil Whig* revealed on July 2, 1881:

> On June 18, 1881, at the marriage of Moses McCabe, colored, and Sarah Young, colored, of Elkton, a large gathering of both whites and blacks attended the ceremony, and the Elkton Colored Fraternal Union donated money for the marriage. Also, a lavish dinner was held.²²⁰

In addition, an August 2, 1891 article in the *Cecil County News* revealed, “One of the largest marriage ceremonies among the colored population was held last week between Henry Johnson, colored, and Mary Draper, colored. The Colored Good Templars paid for the feast that followed the wedding.”²²¹ The willingness of Cecil County’s African Americans to help each other fund funerals and marriages symbolizes their independence from the white community.

One of the most important types of events funded by fraternal organizations in Cecil County was the decoration of black Civil War soldiers’ graves. Such events brought

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²¹⁹ Ibid., sec. 9.
together entire black communities.\textsuperscript{722} A June 5, 1869 \textit{Cecil Whig} article explained why African Americans in Cecil County had to sponsor their own events honoring their relatives who had fought in the Civil War. The \textit{Cecil Whig} revealed:

A ceremony of decorating graves of Civil War soldiers was performed by part of the Army of the Grand Republic. Each grave had a flag and a wreath of flowers. The colored soldiers were not invited to take part in the decoration ceremony. Some of the colored soldiers’ graves were even in the vicinity of the white Civil War soldiers’ graves.\textsuperscript{723}

The fact that whites refused to include blacks in their ceremonies for honoring Civil War soldiers shows the prejudice Cecil County’s whites exhibited towards blacks after the emancipation of Maryland’s African Americans in 1864. Since blacks may have felt disillusioned with whites, they organized their own memorial. For example, on August 24, 1865, the \textit{Cecil Whig} revealed, “Blacks set up a ceremony to honor their relatives who had died in the Civil War. This event took place in Elkton.”\textsuperscript{724} Such events were not only important in honoring the heroic deeds of African Americans’ relatives who had died in the Civil War, but also were important in reminding blacks, who gathered for the decoration ceremony, that they had a shared heritage in fighting on the Union side during the Civil War.

According to both the \textit{Cecil Whig} and \textit{Cecil Democrat}, the most important events funded by black organizations in the 1870s were excursions to places such as Annapolis and Baltimore.\textsuperscript{725} An August 10, 1872 article in the \textit{Cecil Democrat} reported, “An excursion party, which left on a steamer, landed at Tome and Co.’s wharf on Sunday at 6 o’clock. The Colored Knights Fraternal Organization of Port Deposit sponsored the

\textsuperscript{722} \textit{Cecil Whig}, 5 June 1869, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{723} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{724} Ibid., 24 August 1865, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{725} \textit{Cecil Democrat}, 10 August 1872, p. 1.
Another excursion, held by the Colored Literacy Society in Port Deposit, took place on June 25, 1874. The Cecil Whig announced, "The colored folk had an excursion on the steamer Alice from Port Deposit to Elkton last Thursday. We did not hear of any drunkenness among the blacks, and they did not indulge in fighting." In the 1870s, excursions not only provided a means for blacks to cheaply travel, but also were important in bringing together African Americans of all social classes. On these trips, blacks may have had discussions on issues that plagued their communities, such as crime, illiteracy, and poverty. The fact that blacks could afford the small fee to go on excursions signifies that by the 1870s, Cecil County's blacks had acquired enough money to attend entertainment events.

In both the 1880s and 1890s, excursions sponsored by Cecil County's African American fraternal and self-help organizations remained popular among members of the black community. On August 19, 1883, the Cecil Democrat explained, "A colored excursion left Port Deposit to go to Peach Bottom and returned in the early evening." Also, the Elkton Appeal noted on April 25, 1885, "Our colored people had a pleasant excursion on the steamer, Pilot Boy. Over 225 people attended. The colored Bohemia Band provided entertainment." Although excursions were popular throughout the 1880s, the fact that there were only ten articles in the Cecil Whig and the Cecil Democrat about black excursions may indicate that they were not as popular from 1890 to 1910. This may be attributed to the fact that black fraternal organizations funded more Uncle Tom's Cabin Shows and lectures in the 1890s and the early 1900s. However, since there

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726 Ibid.
727 Cecil Whig, 6 July 1874, p. 1.
728 Cecil Democrat, 19 August 1883, p. 2.
is limited evidence on the decrease of excursions, white papers may have decided to limit coverage on them.

Not only did black organizations fund excursions, but they also paid for African American bands to perform from the 1870s to early 1900s. The *Cecil Democrat* reported on November 5, 1874, “The Colored Band, which was sponsored by the Colored Odd Fellows Union, played remarkably well last Tuesday.”730 Sometimes black fraternal groups provided new equipment for African American bands. The November 1, 1884 edition of the *Cecil Whig* explained, “The Colored Odd Fellows Organization of Elkton had a festival to defray the current expenses of the Elkton Coronet Band. The band was very proficient in their art. They gave promise of soon equaling the best. John Hindman, colored, was the leader.”731 Also, the *Cecil Whig* indicated on November 26, 1887, “The Elkton Colored Coronet Band gave a concert in Windgate Hall in Northeast on Wednesday evening. It was largely attended. Over 100 people attended. The Colored Odd Fellows Fraternal Union, which sponsored the event, will provide funds to the colored band to buy new suits.”732 The fact that black fraternal and self-help organizations helped black bands purchase new supplies suggests how tightly knit black communities and organizations were in Cecil County. The solidarity of African American communities was essential to the survival and success of these communities. Black organizations served as important funding institutions, which helped other blacks to become stronger.

From the 1890s to early 1900s, African American bands continued to provide entertainment for black fraternal organizations and excursion events. On February 24,

730 *Cecil Democrat*, 5 November 1874, p. 1.
731 *Cecil Whig*, 1 November 1884, p. 2.
732 Ibid., 26 November 1887, p. 1.
1894, the Colored Band gave entertainment in the G.A.R. Hall. The _Cecil Star_ reported, "The Colored Band gave entertainment, and Miss Annie Brown, a colored schoolteacher, gave a recital, _The Painter of Seville_." By the early 1900s, African American band clubs had grown so strong that they were able to assert their rights against whites who refused to pay them after they had performed in a white fraternal union hall in Elkton. The _Cecil County News_ indicated in a July 1, 1908 article, "The Manor Band, a colored aggregation, furnished music for festivities at Elkton last Wednesday afternoon. The band was not paid by whites who sponsored the colored band. The band members lined up at the magistrate’s office and succeeded in collecting what was due to them." This case in the _Cecil County News_ is very significant because it demonstrates how strong the black community had become by the early twentieth century. Now blacks were able to join together to speak out against injustices committed by whites. The fact that the African American band in Cecil County was successful in convincing the magistrate that they had a right to be paid shows that by the early twentieth century, blacks in Cecil County were able to stand up for their rights.

African American organizations in Cecil County not only sponsored entertainment events, such as excursions and concerts, but also held contests and exhibitions, which represented the skills and knowledge that blacks had acquired. The _Port Deposit Correspondence_ indicated on July 14, 1877:

A colored youth from this town conceived the idea of traveling into the world to obtain an iguana lizard, which he transported in a chicken box. He also brought back valuable snakeskins and a Bobo Bird from the Bahama Islands. He will be holding an exhibition this week to discuss the things that he learned while he

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734 _Cecil County News_, 1 July 1908, p. 2.
735 Ibid.
was traveling around the world.\textsuperscript{736}

Also, a November 1, 1886 article published in the Cecil Democrat stated, "A husking match was held in the second district. Phil Robert, a ninety-one year old colored man, won the contest held at Drennen's Store."\textsuperscript{737} Both the exhibition and contest were important in demonstrating to the white community that Cecil County's blacks were knowledgeable and skillful. The exhibition of animals from around the U.S. symbolized blacks' efforts to learn about the wonders of the world. Also, the fact that an African American from Port Deposit was able to travel the world suggests that even by the 1870s, some blacks in Cecil County acquired enough money to go on trips to foreign countries. In addition, the husking contest served as an important event, which displayed to the white community the farming skills Cecil County's blacks had learned.

Furthermore, black organizations in Cecil County funded lectures on topics pertinent to their community, such as the moral improvement of blacks and the need for African Americans to take pride in their heritage. Starting in the 1880s, lectures became popular events in Cecil County's black communities. During the mid-1800s, African American fraternal organizations, such as the Colored Odd Fellows, sponsored notable African American speakers, like Frederick Douglass, who spoke about the need for blacks in Cecil County to improve themselves.\textsuperscript{738} The January 2, 1886 edition of the Cecil Democrat explained, "Mr. Frederick Douglass, the colored statesman, was here on last Tuesday evening. He delivered a lecture on the self-made man. Afterwards, he went to Port Deposit where he visited several colored families. He left from Rising Sun on the

\textsuperscript{736} Port Deposit Correspondence, 14 July 1877, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{737} Cecil Democrat, 1 November 1886, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{738} Ibid., 2 January 1886, p. 2.
evening train.”\textsuperscript{739} The fact that African Americans living in Cecil County sponsored lectures given by notable black leaders like Frederick Douglass, who was a leading black Republican, suggests that the moral advancement and betterment of their county was extremely important to Cecil County’s blacks. Lectures continued to be popular among the black community through the early twentieth century. A June 28, 1894 edition of the Cecil Democrat stated, “George Williams, colored of Newark, Delaware, gave a lecture on The Science of Music.”\textsuperscript{740} He also urged his audience to acquire an education. Furthermore, a January 1, 1908 article in the Cecil Whig indicated, “The Colored Young Friends Association sponsored Charles Alexander, a colored man of Boston, Massachusetts, to give a lecture on the subject Optimistic Side of Negro Progress.”\textsuperscript{741} Such lectures were important in informing Cecil County’s blacks about the efforts of African Americans elsewhere to enact social and political change.

Besides lectures, Uncle Tom’s Cabin Shows, sponsored by colored fraternal unions and self-help organizations, were popular in Cecil County from the mid-1880s to the early twentieth century. The August 21, 1886 edition of the Cecil Whig stated, “On Thursday last, the Colored Band of Elkton and St. Augustine gave a street performance. Also, the Colored Washburnes Uncle Tom’s Cabin Company gave a great performance. Some of the most notable actors were Frank Miller, Charles Bowser, and Amos Bradley.”\textsuperscript{742} Many of the largest and best-known Uncle Tom’s Cabin Shows in Cecil County were held in the 1890s and early 1900s. On July 3, 1893, the Cecil Whig indicated, “Five-hundred fifty-six tickets were sold for the Uncle Tom’s Cabin Exhibition

\textsuperscript{739} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{740} Ibid., 28 June 1894, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{741} Cecil Whig, 1 January 1908, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{742} Ibid., 21 August 1886, p. 2.
last Friday evening.”

In addition, on April 4, 1903, the Cecil Democrat explained, “An Uncle Tom’s Cabin Troupe came to Elkton on Tuesday. The street was filled with 2,000 people. They paraded in costume down the street. They were accompanied by a brass band and complained about the insults and injustices of the south.” Uncle Tom’s Cabin shows were important events, which brought together the black community to celebrate the heritage of their ancestors who had been slaves in the south. Also, Uncle Tom’s Cabin Troupes informed Cecil County’s blacks about the prejudice in the South and their need to fight for their social and political rights. The fact that blacks paraded in the streets to protest the injustice in the south indicates that by the twentieth century, the African American community in Cecil County had become more politically active in speaking out against prejudice and in pressing for their political and social rights.

Like churches, schools were the primary institutions of social progress and the advancement of Cecil County’s African Americans. The first black schools that emerged before the Civil War were set up in the basement of churches. Both adults and children enthusiastically attended these schools to receive a rudimentary education and basic moral instruction. After the emancipation of Maryland’s slaves in 1864, blacks continued to build their own separate schools and held fundraising events to buy supplies. By 1872, Maryland passed the Public School Law, which called for separate but equal public schools for Maryland’s African Americans. In reality, the new black public schools were far from equal and lacked proper funding and supplies. As a result, blacks continued to build their own private schools from 1872 to 1910, which served as symbols of their independence from the white community.

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743 Ibid., 3 July 1893, p. 1.
744 Cecil Democrat, 4 April 1903, p. 1.
In addition, social organizations, such as moral improvement societies and fraternal lodges, formed in the decades after emancipation, served as the glue that held together the black community and were the training grounds for future black political leaders, such as William Valentine. Sometimes, both whites and blacks attended temperance conventions and shared common concerns. Also, social organizations were the forums for the discussion of social and political rights. Therefore both churches and schools strengthened Cecil County's black communities.
Conclusion:

A Future of Limits, A Future of Hope

Leadership and the Assertion of Social and Political Rights in the Years Before 1910 and the Years Following the First Decade of the Twentieth Century

As this thesis demonstrates, Cecil County developed along a “middle ground” both before the Civil War, and in subsequent decades. Like northern states in the antebellum era, it focused on building an industrial economy, and whites had more moderate attitudes toward African Americans. Yet like southern states, Cecil County had developed on slave labor, especially in the southern parts of the county. However, well before 1860, the county had a higher proportion of free blacks than in any comparable rural county in slave states outside of Maryland. Therefore, Cecil County could not be accurately characterized as “northern” or “southern,” but rather somewhere in between.

After the Civil War, Cecil County continued to develop along a different path. For example, during the Reconstruction era, Cecil County’s self-reconstruction only lasted until 1867. It was not as harsh as federal Reconstruction, which disenfranchised disloyal citizens who had joined the Confederate cause. After 1867, Democrats in Maryland redeemed the state and overturned any loyalty requirements by issuing the Constitution of
1867. Elsewhere in the South after redemption, Democrats usually dominated politics and once Jim Crow’s systems were put in place, two-party systems were non-existent. While white Republicans in the South typically responded to Jim Crow by trying to exclude blacks, similar to the North, Cecil County’s Republican Party never attempted to “lily white” their party but consistently accepted blacks as delegates and speakers at both local and state conventions.

The inclusion of African Americans in Cecil County’s Republican Party was the key factor in the existence of a two-party system. However, Cecil County differed from other southern states in that African Americans were neither elected nor appointed to local offices and in the decades following it. This may have been the case because the Republican Party in Cecil County had fewer blacks than whites. As a result, they may have believed that there was no need to reward blacks since they had enough white Republican voters. Another possible reason why blacks were not chosen for top Republican posts could be attributed to the patterns of clientilism and patronage from the antebellum era that discouraged the kind of black leadership, which would be required for these offices.

Another major difference between Cecil County and most slaveholding areas was that throughout this period (even during disenfranchisement campaigns) blacks met in public places to discuss politics with little or no repercussions of violence. The more moderate attitudes of whites set apart Cecil County from its more southern neighbors in which Lynch Law was a common feature of society. Although Cecil County had the Ku Klux Klan and other anti-black societies, these groups issued fewer threats (and rarely acted upon) too Republicans and blacks than in other southern states. Indeed, even at minstrel
shows, which sometimes mocked successful African Americans, violence rarely occurred.

Maryland in general, including Cecil County, also had significant differences from northern states just across the Mason-Dixon line, like Pennsylvania and New Jersey in that it enacted Jim Crow legislation legally segregating African Americans in public conveyances, such as railroad cars and steamship seats. Yet, Cecil County was not the North either. Nowhere in the North, did de jure segregation exist and states like Pennsylvania, in the post-Civil War era, never passed Jim Crow legislation. However, in 1904, Cecil County passed the Kerwin Act, which excluded blacks from public places. Also, Cecil County was similar to other southern states in that it segregated blacks from white public schools. One reason “Jim Crow” took a milder form was that the county already had well-developed social institutions in the black community prior to emancipation.

As in both the North and South, African American churches served as the primary meeting grounds for the discussion of social and political rights and a place where blacks shared a sense of community and heritage. The establishment of a number of independent African American churches before the Civil War set apart Cecil County from almost any rural slaveholding area to its south. African American leaders such as William Valentine were active in setting up churches, like the Bethel A.M.E. Church and the Friendship Church long before the Civil War. Even the most elite free African Americans in cities like Charleston and New Orleans did not establish their own churches until after 1865. The efforts of Cecil County’s blacks to construct their own churches prior to emancipation would allow them to better organize these institutional networks.
Again, as in the other former slave states, Cecil County’s African Americans viewed education as vital to the moral improvement of their communities. Indeed, with sufficient literacy, blacks could acquire better jobs and develop independence from the white community. However, unlike in the South under federal Reconstruction, the Freedmen’s Bureau did not aid in the construction of new schools for African Americans. As a result, blacks set up their own private schools where they could regulate the standard of education their children received. One of the best testaments to Cecil County’s blacks’ determination to acquire educations was the establishment of Manley’s Day and Night Schools in the 1870s. When these schools were constructed, both adults and children crammed into small classrooms to receive rudimentary reading and writing skills. The fact that free African Americans had already set up schools before the Civil War contributed to well-organized private schools after emancipation. In addition, moral improvement organizations also helped lay the groundwork for the assertion of black rights in the years after the Civil War.

By 1910, Cecil County’s African Americans had built the foundations of black leadership and exhibited their independence from the white community by setting up their own churches, schools, and social organizations. In 1910 and in the following decades, these institutions would serve as nuclei of the black community. Also, African Americans continued to vote in large numbers and actively participated in the Republican Party. This may be attributed to the fact that blacks never were disenfranchised, and lynching and other violent crimes against African Americans were not widespread. Nevertheless, at the dawn of the twentieth century, blacks could not occupy major positions within the Republican Party and did not hold elective office nor would they for
decades to come. The “middle ground” means that Cecil County’s African Americans were literally stuck in the middle between a world in the South where blacks were totally powerless and subject to lynching and one in the North, where segregation was only de facto and where blacks ran and were elected for political office. Cecil County stays on this halfway Jim Crow system until the late 1950s and 1960s.

The fact that Maryland had developed along a “middle ground” was most evident during the 1912 presidential campaign. On May 4, 1912 speech given by President William Howard Taft spoke at Elkton, before a white and black audience. This is significant because further south whites often excluded blacks from participating in the Republican Party and audiences would have strictly segregated blacks. In his speech, Taft warned people that his challenger, a Progressive candidate Theodore Roosevelt, was not a defender of the constitution. He stated, “Are you willing? Do you wish to place the guarantees of your life, liberty, and property that are implanted in the constitution to such a method of determining whether you shall have the writ of habeas corpus and those other rights that are secured to you by the fundamental law? It is a destruction of constitutional government, I say to you my friends with the dark-colored skins. Where will our colored friends be with the 14th and 15th amendments, and those things that they rely upon to secure them what the war brought about...”745 This speech that Taft gave is the kind he would have delivered in Pennsylvania, Ohio, or Michigan. The fact that he gave this speech to a mixed audience and that he appealed for black votes in a former slave state is distinctive. This reinforces Cecil County’s “middle ground” status.

During the twentieth century, Cecil County’s African Americans would continue to fight for their social and political rights. Even though blacks did not gain many

additional concessions, it is significant that they were able to hold onto what they had. In
other southern states, blacks were disenfranchised and did not vote consistently in large
numbers. Conversely, Cecil County’s blacks turned out at every election from 1870
through 1910. Thus, by 1910 Cecil County’s blacks looked toward a future of hope but
realized that they had to overcome many obstacles.
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