

Enslaved and Free African-American in Early Nineteenth Century Georgetown

Project funded by the Humanities Council

Research Report

September 14, 2013

Submitted by Mary Beth Corrigan

Introduction

In November 2012, Tudor Place initiated a research project to enrich their interpretation of African-American life in Georgetown. The project builds upon two previous research projects. The first research project, conducted by Mary Beth Corrigan, Tudor Place staff and volunteers, established the contributions of both free and enslaved domestic servants at Tudor Place from 1805, when Thomas and Martha Peter first moved into the mansion, through 1911, when their daughter Britannia Peter Kennon died. A subsequent project completed in 2007, "Enslaved and Free: African American in Georgetown 1805 – 1880," focused specifically on Georgetown's African American community to establish this broad community's relationship to the enslaved and free workers of Tudor Place. The current research project sought to examine the communal relationships of the enslaved workers who lived and worked at Tudor Place in the 1820s, when Martha and Thomas Peter and their children resided in the mansion. To augment this history, the staff requested maps of Georgetown which identified landmarks of importance to this household; these landmarks would serve as a foundation for an interactive map planned for the Tudor Place Foundation website. In addition, the project explored the properties and slaveholdings of extended members of the Peter and Custis families living in rural Maryland to reconstruct patterns of exchange and the familial or social relationships among enslaved workers. The findings of this research project are preliminary, as the staff plans to use this information provided for planning purposes, including the development of proposals to raise funds for this interpretation.

I have examined disparate primary sources to establish connections among the descendants of Robert Peter (1726 – 1806) and his son Thomas (1769 – 1834). I emphasized use of the court records, particularly those related to the settlement of the Peter family estates to establish connections between

urban and rural residences of the Peter family. These records, particularly those pertaining to the estate Robert Peter's son David Peter (1778 – 1812), demonstrate the entanglements between the members of the Peter family and their slaves. (The abundance of documentary records pertaining to the estate of David Peter left little opportunity to study other Peter estates; nonetheless, these findings show the possibilities of further research.) In addition, the Peter Family Archives held at Mount Vernon documents the land and slaveholdings of members of the Custis-Peter families. Throughout the project, I selectively consulted with church records, census records, city directories, and newspapers. The evidence below explores what it meant to be a Peter "family slave" in the 1820s, and adds texture to the interpretation of the enslaved and free servants of Tudor Place.

Time and Place

The 1820s was a turning point for Georgetown and the Chesapeake region as a whole. The decline of tobacco agriculture, hastened by the American Revolution and War of 1812, diminished the fortunes of its elite citizens, whose wealth was based in large part on the international trade of tobacco. The planters who managed farms in Montgomery and Prince Georges counties, Maryland, and Arlington and Fairfax counties, Virginia, could no longer sustain their property holdings in the area. Opportunity opened in the western territories. Large numbers of planters sold their property and moved their entire households towards Kentucky and Tennessee especially. This exodus had profound implications for the enslaved, as planters removed their slaves and sundered their established family and communal relationships in the Chesapeake. This process was so disruptive that historians have called this migration the "second Middle Passage" to highlight its parallels to the enslavement of Africans on plantations during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. West of the Tidewater, slaves struggled (most often in vain) to remain connected with the loved ones left behind, forced to clear the lands only so that they could cultivate them for their owners. In addition to this physical labor, slaves

also began the emotionally arduous process of rebuilding family and community hundreds of miles away from the places of their birth.¹

The transformation of a tobacco economy and mass migration had a profound impact upon the elite of Georgetown and its surrounding areas. For planters who remained behind – including Thomas Peter and his brothers and sisters, heirs to the vast fortune of tobacco factor Robert Peter – the value of landholdings in Montgomery County plummeted. The abandonment of tobacco farming by so many planters created a huge supply of uncultivated land with depleted soil nutrition. The cultivation of wheat, soybeans, and other crops for sale in the domestic market did not compensate for the loss of the tobacco trade so that demand for this land remained low. Members of the Peter family never entirely abandoned tobacco production, maintained large tracts of land in Seneca and also developed strategies to maintain their foothold in the region: they substantially reduced their slaveholdings, accumulated large debts, and became proponents of the new agricultural sciences to promote their crop yields.²

Many planters developed considerable financial interests in the cities. The establishment of the capital in Washington City created demand for land and housing that proved attractive to many of these families. Between 1800 and 1820 in Georgetown, the population grew from almost 3,000 to close to 7,400 residents.³ The new capital fueled land speculation and population growth in the District of Columbia, and encouraged the landed gentry enriched from the tobacco trade to construct large urban or semi-urban mansions. In addition to Thomas and Martha Peter, John T. Mason, John Davidson and others built imposing mansions in Georgetown that set the tone for the city. In 1820, it was the center of their social lives, particularly during the winters. In addition, Georgetown elite built churches, established banks, and ran taverns and inns that also encouraged visits from the countryside.

They used Georgetown to conduct other important business: the sale of their land and slaves. The slave trade attracted traders from all over the South, especially Kentucky and Tennessee. The

taverns of Georgetown became the sites of auctions and depots for the numerous slaves sold from the city to meet the demand of southern planters. In the 1820s, High and Bridge Streets (present-day Wisconsin and M Streets) were centers for these transactions, anchored by Semmes' Tavern and McCandless Tavern. Union Tavern, located several yards east on Bridge Street, also enabled traders to identify willing buyers. (There were other noteworthy taverns, such as Shekell's and Montgomery, but discussion of these has been deferred until more research has been completed) [reference Business Landmarks map].⁴

The system was inherently unstable. The War of 1812 afforded the opportunity for many slaves to gain their freedom by joining the British army. After the re-establishment of peace, masters devoted substantial resources to prevent the escape of slaves.⁵ Slaveholders engaged slave catchers, paid jailer's fees, and widely advertised the loss of their slaves in regional newspapers and taverns to recover them. Upon their return, owners cruelly punished their slaves by inflicting corporal punishment and selling them to distant Southern locations. Slaves nonetheless risked these recriminations and fled their masters so that they could reunite with family members. The routine nature of separation certainly motivated many, if not most, runaways during this period.

The emergence of a strong free black community in the District of Columbia was the greatest threat to the security of the slave system. While the number of slaves decreased because of sale or forced migration, the free black population increased. Between 1800 and 1820 in Georgetown, the number of free blacks increased numerically from 201 to 894, increasing its portion of the Georgetown population from 7% to 12%. During those years the enslaved population increased from 731 to 1,526, but its proportion of the entire Georgetown population diminished somewhat from 24% to 21%. During the 1820s, free blacks became the majority within the African American population. In Georgetown by 1830, the free black population continued to increase to 1,209 and the enslaved decreased to 1,115,

respectively 14% and 13% of the city's entire population. These trends were even starker in nearby Washington City, where free blacks outnumbered the enslaved by a three to two margin. The sources of this population trend were clear. The regional enslaved population dramatically decreased because of sale and forced migration to western lands, but manumission contributed to this decrease as well. Newly-freed free blacks often left the countryside and found communities in Georgetown and Washington that supported their families.⁶

In addition to their own kin networks, free blacks included enslaved workers into their neighborhoods and communities. In Georgetown, African Americans established Mount Zion Methodist Church which included African Americans regardless of status. Holy Trinity Catholic Church, a predominantly white congregation, offered African Americans the sacrament of marriage. Frequently, its priest noted marriages between slaves and free blacks.⁷ The households established by free blacks were important to the enslaved as well. Free black households provided enslaved African-Americans with places to visit beyond the purview of white slaveholders. These households became significant bargaining chip with owners interested in diminishing their obligations to their slaves. Will Twine, an enslaved gardener at Tudor Place, lived with his wife at Lee's Hill (near the present-day Peabody Room). During the cholera epidemic of 1832, he died there under the care of his wife and George Washington Peter (son of Thomas and Martha Peter, 1801-1877). As the numbers of free black households increased in Georgetown, the opportunities for the enslaved to visit, live out, and attend church increased as well.⁸

Although white Georgetowners took measures to control the associations between free blacks, they never did so in a way that undermined their labor system. During the early 1830s, the cities enacted measures aimed at limiting the economic activities and the migration of free blacks. The most notable of these measures required free blacks to register with the city and carry certificates of freedom

to prove their status upon the demand of local authorities. While these measures pushed some free blacks underground, it did not have measurable impact upon the growth of the free black population.

The entire labor system depended upon the continual movement of the African American population, particularly adult males. Urban households typically employed women as domestic servants while men labored on the farms in the countryside in spring, summer, and early fall. They frequently traveled into the city to convey goods to market, run errands, and take on small jobs. These peripatetic men served an important function within enslaved and free black families, as they frequently met family members as they traveled around the area. For example, Adam Plummer, a slave owned by the Calverts of Riversdale, regularly sold his owners' produce at the Georgetown market, courted and then married a woman enslaved by Georgetown resident Sarah Ogle Hilleary. Plumber regularly visited his wife and their children in Georgetown and Washington until her sale and subsequent transfer to a plantation in Mount Hebron, Ellicott City, Maryland, in 1856. Afterwards, the Georgetown market served as a meeting place for him and members of his family where they could exchange stories and gifts.⁹

The frequent interaction among urban and rural enslaved African Americans amplified the importance of the communities established in the cities of Washington and Georgetown. Their households welcomed both permanent residents as well as those who worked seasonally in the surrounding counties. As such, these institutions played an important role in the reconstitution of family and communal ties for the enslaved whose social lives had been sundered by the second Middle Passage. An exploration of how this community served this population falls outside the scope of this research project, but it should be the subject of future interpretation.

Family slaves

Similar to other white slaveholders, the Peters considered their slaves to be a part of their family. After decades of managing a household staffed by both white and black servants following

emancipation, Britannia claimed that she yearned for the “good old days of yore,” when her servants were “one of the family.” This view was hardly unique. Owners frequently referred to slaves in familial terms. In 1824, M.A. Barclay placed an advertisement in search of Daphne, who “was raised in Georgetown, by the family of G. French.”¹⁰ James Allnutt, who owned a farm near Seneca close to the Peter family farms, identified himself as the head of a “family at this time white & black consists of Twenty seven.”¹¹

Thomas and Martha Peter, and subsequently Britannia, managed significant large economic enterprises. Like other households in Georgetown, Tudor Place depended upon the goods produced on its farms. As Britannia described in her *Reminiscences*:

There were twenty hogs brought down from "Oakland" every fall and put up in the meat house here. ___ There were hams, middlings, jowl, spare-ribs, cherries, the little griskins, the mo*se pieces, sausage and lard. That was pork worth eating _ not such as we by now, which is pickled! Everything was fried with pork in those days and a delicious flavor it gave to things too._

The hogs were cut up, salted, and packed in barrels for six weeks, after which they were hung up with white oak splits in the meat house and smoked. ___ Poor old Will Johnson went to start his fire in the smokehouse and keep it smoking but he never let the fire burn up to heat the meat _ kept it smothered and smoking continually. ___

Of course, there were more than twenty hogs raised at the farms! There were the negroes to be fed. Pork and corn meal were the principal articles of food for them. Besides, there were always hogs sent to market and sold. ___

I often think now how different it all is from what it was in those good old days. **Then, people lived for the most part within themselves!** They raised their own beef, mutton, hogs, poultry ___ and fine fowles we had. ___ We had our own dairy where the butter was made. Then, there was the garden where the vegetables were raised ___ the orchard, from which we had an abundance of fine fruit. The fruit was put up for winter use, either preserved canned or dried ___; vegetables were stored away and herbs were dried for seasoning. And where was there a place in those days without its herb garden!

The wool was sheared from the sheep, washed, carded, died, spun and woven into linseys, either striped or in plads, for the womens dresses, or died plain and sent to the fulling mill to be fulled for the men's clothing. Flax was grown and woven for domestic use. The fine linen was imported, of course. On the plantations there were among the slaves shoemakers, carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, etc. ___ They were trained for those purposes. It was worth one's while to train a servant in those days and great pains was often taken to have them proficient in their different occupations. The cook was the autocrat of the kitchen and woe betide the luckless

kitchen girl who dared to disobey her orders. When she became too old to cook one of the younger women, who had been under her, maybe from childhood, was ready to take her place and **"the servant question" had no terrors for the mistress in those days.** (boldfaced emphasis mine, underlined emphasis from Britannia)¹²

Until Thomas Peter's death in 1832, the head of the Oakland household (the summer home) was the also the head of household at Tudor Place. After his death, the operations of Tudor Place depended upon the endeavors of those who no longer lived at Tudor Place. The farms of Thomas and Martha's sons John P.C. Peter (1799-1848) and George Washington Peter (1801-1877) supplied these goods as well.

The fortunes of this household were inextricably entwined with those established by their extended relations. The daughter of Eleanor Calvert (1756 – 1811) and John "Jacky" Parke Custis (1754 – 1781), Martha Custis Peter was the granddaughter of Martha Washington. In 1795, she married Thomas Peter, son of one of Georgetown's wealthiest men, tobacco factor Robert Peter with "a princely fortune of more than a half million dollars"¹³ Robert Peter presented the couple with an elegant townhouse adjacent to his own residence on the east side of Rock Creek (on the east side of the present-day K Street Bridge). Upon the death of George Washington, Martha's inheritance enabled her and her husband to purchase 8.5 acres of land in Georgetown Heights and erect Tudor Place. Martha Peter also received slaves from Martha Washington upon her marriage to Thomas Peter and again after Martha Washington's death in 1802.

Like his wife, Thomas Peter also accumulated material wealth from his family's estate; he inherited one-fifth of his father's property, including sections of present-day Tenleytown, Mount Pleasant, Poolesville, and other properties in Georgetown. Most of these properties were proximate to those inherited by his brothers – David (1778-1812), George (1779-1861), and James (1785-1808) – which included homes in Georgetown. Robert Peter also provided a share – equal to half of those received by his sons – to his daughters Elizabeth Peter Dunlop (1771-1837) and Margaret Peter Dick

(1776-1841). (He established a trust to take care of one of his sons Alexander Scott Peter, 1770-1807). Each of his heirs remained in the region. Peter's will also provided that these children received some of his slaves, after the payments of his debts. This inheritance provided Thomas Peter more than a firm economic footing, and ensured that his finances would remain tangled with his brothers and sisters for at least as long as the estate was in probate.

The slaves of Tudor Place were inextricably bound to this extended family so that, in many ways, Britannia was correct to say that each slave was "one of the family." Throughout her correspondence and reminiscences, she referred to the physical and material comforts Tudor Place slaves provided to white members of the Peter family: their support as the Peters endured sickness, their care of the young children, their ability to work a party, and their faithful performance of everyday tasks. But, the slaves were connected to the Peter family in other ways. As the dower slaves left Mount Vernon to begin life with Thomas and Martha Peter, they left behind family and friends. They were then further divided between Tudor Place in Georgetown home and Oakland in Montgomery County. As such, the transfer of Custis family slaves to Martha Peter connected these men, women, and children to three different places, all connected to a branch of Martha's and Thomas' family relations. In this way, the networks of the enslaved resembled those of their owners. As Martha and Thomas visited their relations, it was possible for their slaves to visit their own families. Work duties – particularly for those charged with conveying goods to market or between households – could reinforce these connections.

Members of the Tudor Place household – principally Martha Custis Peter, Britannia Kennon and Britannia's niece Martha Custis Williams – referred to a handful of slaves in endearing terms. Stacia, Martha Custis Peter's servant, was so beloved that she continued to receive gifts from Britannia until 1892.¹⁴ In her reminiscences, Britannia recalled "Hannah ___ such a pretty girl, not a pure negress by any means! Hannah (who belonged to me, of course) married a man belonging to Col. Carter, after which

Col. Carter wished to buy her, so I let him have her so that she might live with her husband.” Britannia proudly noted that Hannah and her husband Alfred Pope were “a most respected couple” who still lived in Georgetown.¹⁵

Britannia and other members of the family acknowledged the importance of the favorite servants among their families and friends. In their correspondence, the Peters frequently referred to receiving packages or letters from a servant. Britannia acknowledged the family’s delight upon receiving the Thornton’s carriage driven by George.¹⁶ When family members wrote their wills, they often specified that individual servants be left to a specific person. For instance, Major George Peter’s 1856 will, executed in 1861, specified which servants his family members would receive while his other slaves would be divided equally after the payment of his debts.¹⁷

It is unclear how Britannia perceived the other rural slaves held by the Peter family. Were the slaves who labored on the farms considered “family slaves”? Were all the house servants considered family slaves? They probably were not equally regarded. In her daybooks for 1852 and 1853, Britannia notes medical expenses for Maryon and a three dollar payment to “the woman that has Maryons children.” She also notes a payment received from George Washington Peter for the hire of Anthony. How did she regard Maryon and Anthony?¹⁸

Enslaved Servants of Tudor Place from 1820 - 1829

Name	Identification	Sources
Barbara Twine Cole	The daughter of Sal Twine, an enslaved man who worked at Dogue Run for the Washingtons. A dower slave, she was brought to K Street in 1795. She reportedly preferred urban life and was often sent to the countryside for punishment. Ann Chinn expects that she loved visiting relatives there so that it was hardly a real threat.	Ann Chinn, Interview at Tudor Place, February 21, 2013
Hannah Cole Pope	According to family historians, Hannah	Hannah Pope Williams interview,

(1828-1910)	Cole Pope was born enslaved at Tudor Place, the daughter of Barbara and a member of the Peter family. She was part of the dowry that Britannia brought into her marriage with Beverley Kennon and remained with Britannia after his death. She married Alfred Pope, an enslaved man who was the nephew of his owner, Colonel John Carter. Britannia sold Hannah to Colonel Carter after her marriage. According to descendant, she and her mother lived in the attic.	<i>Black Georgetown Remembered</i> ; Ann Chinn, Interview at Tudor Place, February 21, 2013; Reminiscences of Britannia Kennon, Armistead Peter Papers, Tudor Place Archives.
Will Twine (d. 1832)	An enslaved gardener at Tudor Place, who lived with his wife on Lee's Hill. Although his parentage is unknown, his surname indicates familial ties with the dower slaves. During the cholera epidemic of 1832, he fell ill and died. <i>(Perhaps he is Will Twine, age 11, at the time of transfer to Thomas Peter by his marriage to Martha Custis).</i>	Reminiscences of Britannia Kennon, Armistead Peter Papers, Tudor Place Archives; Thomas Peter Daybooks, 1795, Tudor Place Archives.
Stacia	Stacia was born a slave, the servant of Martha Custis Peter until 1854. She cared for the Peters through sickness, helped raise the grandchildren of MCP, and performed mundane chores. Thomas Peter had given her sisters, Brythe and Elizabeth, to America. Elizabeth ran away at that time.	Reminiscences of Britannia Kennon, Armistead Peter Papers, Tudor Place Archives.
Patty	A cook who lived with her free husband.	Reminiscences of Britannia Kennon, Armistead Peter Papers, Tudor Place Archives
Charles	Dining room servant who also was a footman when the carriage was taken out. One night after accompanying the family to Washington, he got drunk and let his coat catch to the wheel. His leg was amputated and later died from complications.	Reminiscences of Britannia Kennon, Armistead Peter Papers, Tudor Place Archives;
Maryan (or Maryon) and children	Notes in Britannia's daybook indicates that she provided her medical care and paid \$3 cash to someone who has Maryon's children. There are no other	Daybooks, 1852-1853, Papers of Britannia Kennon, Peter Family Archives, Mount Vernon

sources to document her role within the household.

Anthony	Enslaved man hired out to George Washington Peter between 1852 and 1853. His role at Tudor Place is unclear.	Daybooks, 1852-1853, Papers of Britannia Kennon, Peter Family Archives, Mount Vernon
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Several household slaves had a blood relationship to the Peter family. The oral histories of Ann Chinn and her relative Hannah Pope Williams, descendants of Barbara Twine Cole and Hannah Cole Pope, attest that their lineage includes members of the Peter family. Specifically, they believe that Hannah Cole Pope was the biological daughter of Barbara and one of the Peters. The Twines, among the enslaved included in Martha Washington's dowry, were familiar with the prevalence of both coercive and voluntary interracial relationships. Barbara's mother, Sal Twine, had an interracial sexual relationship with a British soldier. Ms. Chinn and her family believe that Sal was using the relationship to secure her freedom, although she never received it. After the war, she refused to work during one of her pregnancies and was branded "W" on her face. There is no textual evidence of this story. Based upon their knowledge of Washington's treatment of his slaves, the Mount Vernon staff believes the story an implausible one.

Ms. Chinn further maintains that Sal's use of an interracial relationship to gain freedom or privileges was not isolated and that her descendants leveraged coercive interracial relationships to ensure that blacks were not separated by their white slaveholders. This view suggests that the dynamics of sexual relations between the enslaved and masters were more complex than generally depicted in the historical literature. Women had their own objectives within these relationships, and they may have succeeded in securing some of them. This does not diminish the abusive and manipulative nature of these forced relationships, as they occurred within a system wherein masters dominated the most intimate aspects of daily life.

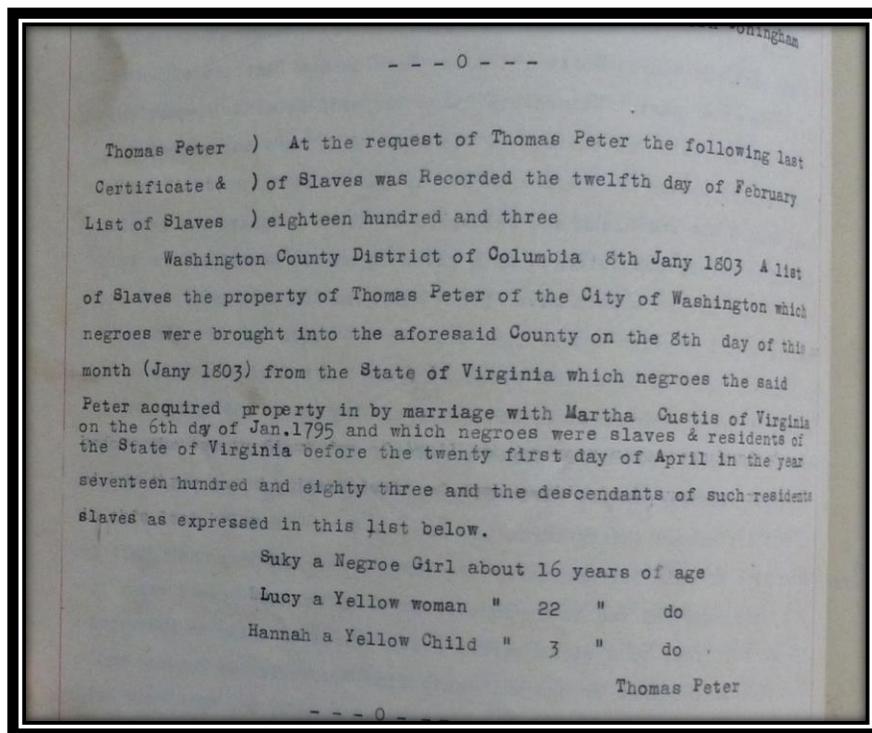
There is no documentary evidence to suggest how the Peters might have viewed these sexual liaisons and their progeny. Britannia's slave, Hannah, was certainly one of her favorites. To what extent did their biological relationship—that of half-sisters—shape that attitude? According to Hannah's descendants, this biological relationship had a profound impact upon the treatment of Hannah at Tudor Place. Certainly, it can explain the high regard Britannia held for her.

Barbara and Hannah's preferential status did not protect them from the inevitable separation from their families. Indeed, both mother and daughter worked at Tudor Place for most of their lives, but it is entirely possible that they were separated at key points during their lives. Did the Peters allow Barbara to work with young Hannah at her side? At what age, did she begin to prepare Hannah for her work role? As a dower slave, who was transferred to the household of Martha and Thomas Peter, Barbara was separation from her family and community near Mount Vernon (She was from Dogue Run, near the farms at Mount Vernon). She also was separated from kin who were transferred to the farms at Seneca and near Tenleytown in Washington County, Maryland.

In 1796, Thomas Peter sold thirty-one of the slaves Martha Custis received in her dowry. His daybook that year recorded the names and ages of each slave, grouping them by family with notations indicating who was sold with each transaction. As such, it is possible to see that Peter Twine (46) was sold with his family members Elly (30), Maklin (18), Fanny (1), but not his children Dina (12) and Lyddia (4). Examination of the daybooks shows that Thomas Peter frequently separated these family groups. The destination of these slaves is not revealed in the records. See the table attached to the end of this report which shows the known transactions made by the Peter family in the region's slave markets.

When the Peters received slaves following Martha Washington's death in 1802, Thomas Peter received a certificate permitting him to bring three enslaved women into the District of Columbia. Suky (16), Lucy (22) and the child Hannah (3) were listed as property given at the time of his marriage held in

trust until Martha Washington's death. There is no other available documentation of these slaves so that their ultimate role within the Peter household cannot be discerned.



Source: certificate and list of slaves, list compiled January 8, 1803, recorded February 18, 1803, Deedbooks, vol. I, no. 9 (1803), p.290, RG 351, Records of the District of Columbia, National Archives and Records Administration

At least one enslaved man from Mount Vernon tried to escape from a Peter family farm. In 1810, Thomas Peter placed an advertisement for the recovery of Ralph whom Thomas suspected left the farm near Seneca to re-unite with his father Sambo who remained at Mount Vernon.

Twenty Dollars Reward.

A BSCONDED from my farm at the mouth of Seneca, about the 7th of last month, a man whose name is RALPH, 21 years of age, between a black and yellow color, nearly 6 feet high, very stout made, yellowish eyes looking heavy—he has but little to say. His apparel was oznaburg shirts, a negro cotton overjacket and trousers. It is likely he has made away with them and procured other cloathing. A free negro man by name Sambo, living on Judge Washington's estate. Mount Vernon, is his father, and it is very probabic he is thereabout or in Alexandria, and with little trouble may be found.

The above reward will be given to secure him in Washington City or Alexandria jail.

Thomas Peter.

Georgetown, June 10th 1810. d.

Source: Advertisement. *Alexandria Gazette* (Alexandria, Virginia), November 8, 1810

In 1831, William B. Vinson placed an advertisement searching for three brothers -- Sandy Twine, George Twine and Clem Proctor. It is possible that these men were descended from some of the dower slaves employed by Thomas Peter in Seneca. Their descendents are numerous in Seneca today.

500 DOLLARS REWARD.

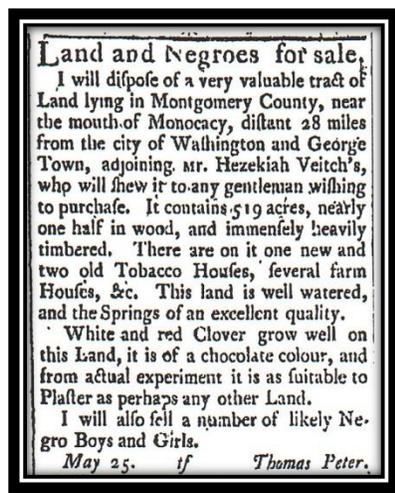
RAN away from the subscriber, living near Poolesville Montgomery county, Md. on Saturday night last, three negro men, named Sandy Twine, George Twine, and Clem Proctor. Sandy is about 26 years old, 5 feet 10 or 11 inches in height, dark complexion. George is about 24 years old, 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high, complexion a shade lighter than black. Clem is 18 years old, about 6 feet high, dark complexion, stammers very much when speaking, he plays on the fiddle. They are brothers, and likely, well made fellows. There are no known body marks by which they can be particularly described; nor can any particular description of clothing be given, other than that they are such as are usual at this season to plantation hands.

A reward of 300 Dollars will be given for apprehending and securing in jail said negroes, so that I get them again, with all reasonable expenses if brought home; or 100 Dollars for either, together with reasonable expenses.

sep 14—2w4w WM. B. VINSON.

Source: Advertisement. *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), October 12, 1831

The decline of tobacco agriculture led the Peters to sell their slaves in large numbers. Both Robert Peter and Thomas Peter tried to sell land in the rural Maryland and invest heavily in city lots. These sales eliminated the need for large rural laborers and further prompted additional sales of slaves.



Source: *Washington Federalist*, (Georgetown, D.C.) July 6, 1805

These sales were especially numerous during the settlement of estates. Here, Thomas Peter placed an advertisement offering “a number of likely Negro Boys and Girls,” from his father’s estate for sale. These children, forcibly separated from their parents, likely became part of the “second Middle Passage.”

For Sale 35 Negroes.

STOCK, Plantation utensels, &c. at Hezekiah Woods house in the District of Columbia, and within one mile of the President's House.—The Sale will commence on the 25th inst. at 11 o'clock, A. M. and the terms of sale made known on the day of Sale.

THOMAS PETER
And others, Ex'rs. of
ROBERT PETER, *Deceased.*
January 3th, 1808.

—ALSO—

For sale 150 Negroes.

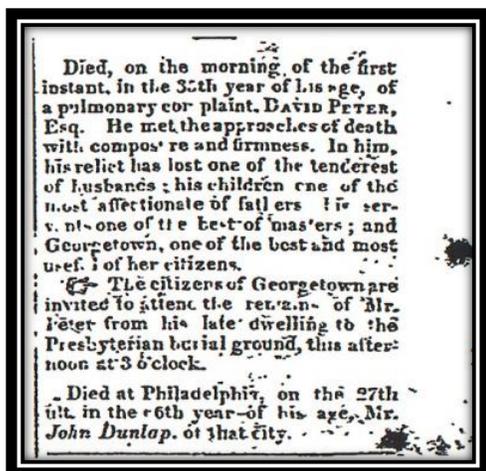
TOGETHER with Stock, Plantation Utensils &c. on the first day of February next, at Anthony Tracey's House in Montgomery, and within two miles of Messrs. Bowie and Hersey's Mill, Seneca. The terms of sale will be made known on the day of Sale.

THOMAS PETER
And others, Ex'rs. of
ROBERT PETER, *Deceased.*
January 8, 1808. ts.

Source: Advertisement. *Washington Federalist* (Georgetown, D.C.), January 9, 1808 .

Case Study: The Estate of David Peter (1778-1812)

In December 1812, approximately six years after his father Robert's death, David Peter died of pulmonary disease at the age of thirty-five. His wife Sarah Johns Peter (1777 – 1823) survived him and raised their five children: Jane Johns Peter (1800-1863); Elizabeth Margaret Peter (1804-1837); William Henry Peter (1806-1830); George Hamilton Peter (1809-??) and James Peter (1811-1836). David appointed his wife Sarah, Leonard Johns and his brother Major George Peter (1779 – 1861) as executors of his estate. Sarah and her children continued to live in their Georgetown home – referred by them as the "Mansion House" – and sustain themselves with the produce from their farm in Seneca, "Sugarlands." By 1823, both Sarah and Leonard Johns passed away, leaving Major George Peter of Montanverd and Georgetown the sole surviving executor of David Peter estate.



Source: Obituary for David Peter, which notes his exemplary conduct as husband, father, and master. *Federal Republican* (Georgetown, Maryland), December 21, 1812 .

The estate was not fully probated until more than thirty years later. The surviving executor George Peter stood at the center of a series of court cases where family members accused him of negligence and embezzlement of the estate. They questioned his management of David Peter's farms, particularly the slaves who worked the fields. The Bank of the United States sought payment of \$46,119 to cover one of David Peter's debts. It originated as a debt to the Bank of Columbia of approximately \$4,500. With interest, the debt escalated. In 1836, the Supreme Court heard on appeal the case and ordered them to pay the debt. At that point, Major Peter sold large amounts of land to cover the debts. His buyers could not pay in full so that put him in the position of a creditor to those who now bought the lands of the estate on the promise to pay. At this point, the only surviving child of David Peter, Jane Peter Beverley and her husband James Beverley sued Major Peter to ask him to close the estate. In this case, they argued that he should have sold the personal estate, particularly the slaves, to pay the debts owed the Bank of the United States. Ultimately, the Supreme Court heard this case and maintained that Major Peter needed to pay the Bank of the United States, but he properly exercised appropriate discretion in selling the real estate before the personal estate. Although this Supreme Court case was the last of the suits that pit members of his family against him, Major Peter returned to court several times to recover the debts of those who purchased lands from the estate.

The documentation for the cases related to the estate of David Peter is voluminous. I went through nearly two thousand pages of documents of the Chancery Court, part of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia (RG 21, Entry 20, National Archives) and the Civil Case Papers (RG 21, Entry 6, National Archives). In addition, there is correspondence within the Major George Peter Papers, part of the Peter Family Archives that supplement these records. Although I have not studied the auditors' reports, depositions and account receipts to ascertain how Major Peter finally put together the payment to the bank, there is much to be learned about the relations among the Peter family and their slaves.

The decline of tobacco created a reversal of fortunes for the Peters. During the War of 1812 and its aftermath, Sarah Peter and her children maintained their lifestyle, which included parties at the Georgetown mansion and boarding schools, by living off the estate without re-paying its debts. Major Peter had explained that he did not wish to interfere with the work of Sarah Johns Peter and Leonard Johns, who had passed away by 1832. Perhaps the family calculated that the value of slaves and land could only go up and were deliberately waiting to pay David Peter's debts. If so, they certainly calculated incorrectly.

The attached advertisements provide some idea of the extent of the sales. This is not a complete account of the lands sold. Nonetheless, these advertisements provide insight into the enormous impact of the settlement of David Peter's estate, particularly repayment of debts to the Bank of the United States, upon the fortunes of the family.

LAND FOR SALE.

The subscribers, executors of the late David Peter, will sell at private sale the following Lands, lying in Montgomery county, state of Maryland, to wit—“Carcerock” containing 170 1/2 acres; “The Hay Park” containing 40 acres, “Dowl’s Discovery,” containing 127 acres; part of “James’ park” 149 acres, and part of the “Resurvey on Honesty,” containing 220 acres. These lands all lie adjoining each other, and binding upon the river Potomack, not more than 2 miles from Georgetown. There are several tenements on them, and pay a good yearly rent. Persons wishing to view the lands, are desired to call upon Mr. Barton Duly, who lives near them, and is well acquainted with the lines and land—For further particulars, information may be obtained by calling upon the executors, in Georgetown.

SARAH PETER, *Exe’x.*
GEO. PETER }
L. H. JOHNS, } *Exe’x.*

march 1—1f

Source: *Federal Republican* (Georgetown, D.C.), March 19, 1803

VALUABLE PROPERTY FOR SALE.

THE subscribers offer for sale a valuable tract of Land in the District of Columbia. It lies directly north of the city of Washington, and is bounded by Rock Creek. This tract contains about 450 acres, with a fine body of wood on it. Its proximity to the city renders it valuable and highly desirable property—its distance therefrom being about 3 miles. The new turnpike road passes thro’ it, and there is attached to it the finest mill seat on Rock Creek. A small part of this land lies on the west side of the Creek. This tract will be divided to suit purchasers, and may be bought on very fair terms.

Also, is offered for sale Lots in the City of Washington, lying in the first ward, and contained in the following squares, viz: sq. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, and south of 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, and south of 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 29, 31, 32, 34, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 51, 72, 75, 100, 149, 174, 183, 202, 205 These lots are very valuable, and in improving situations; and they are offered on very advantageous terms. Apply to Leonard H. Johns, George Peter, or J. B. Beverley, Georgetown.

ort 18—d1a 3u1

Source: *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.) February 7, 1821

Loudoun County, to wit:

BE it known, that GEORGE RICHARDS this day personally appeared *Edever ards*, a Justice of the Peace in and for said County the annexed *Trustee sale of the land of David Peter Sweets* for ~~two months~~ *successively*, commencing on the *24* day of *Sept* Genius of Liberty, printed at Leesburg, Va. ~~and that he posted the same a~~ of Loudoun County. Given under my hand this *22^o* day of *Oct*

Ans. Marbury Esq. Trustee of the heirs to Geo. Rich.
1836
Oct. 22 To 5 insertions in Genius of Liberty
adv. for sale of Land

A FARM IN THE SUGAR LANDS FOR SALE AT AUCTION.

ON WEDNESDAY, the 26th day of October next, at 12 o'clock M., at the Seneca mills tavern, in Montgomery county, Maryland, the subscriber will offer at public auction, to the highest bidder, by virtue of authority vested in him for that purpose, the valuable farm in the county aforesaid, lying in the "Sugarland Hundred," of which David Peter died seized. It contains about 647 ACRES of land; the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal passes through it, and it is distant about twenty miles from Georgetown, D. C. The tract may be divided into two valuable farms, and if found desirable, the subscriber will sell it in two parts. The subscriber will be prepared with a plat exhibiting the land with such division at the time of sale.

Terms of Sale.—Five per cent. on the amount of the purchase money, will be required, in cash, of the purchaser or purchasers on the day of sale; the residue on a credit of two years, to be secured by bonds with approved security, bearing interest from the day of sale, and a written instrument in the form of a deed of trust of the premises to the subscriber, containing an authority to resell the same, after a reasonable notice, in case the purchaser or purchasers shall fail to pay his or their said bond, and the interest thereon; on the maturity of the bond and payment of the purchase money, the subscriber will convey to the purchaser or purchasers all the estate of the said David Peter and his heirs, which is believed to be unquestionable in the premises. The bonds and conveyances to be made at the cost of the purchasers. If the terms of sale be not complied with in twelve days from the day of sale, the subscriber resumes to himself the right to resell, at the risk and cost of the defaulting purchaser.

JOHN MARBURY,
 Trustee of the heirs of D. Peter.

Sept. 24.—ts.

Source: Advertisement, *Genius of Liberty* (Leesburg, VA), September 24, 1836 found in Rules 4, case 265, box 130 (*President & Directors of the Bank of the United States vs. John B. Beverley & his wife, & others heirs and representatives of David Peter, dec'd*), folder 1 of 5; RG 21, Entry 20, NARA.

VALUABLE CITY PROPERTY FOR SALE AT AUCTION.—On Tuesday, the 24th day of May next, at 10 o'clock A. M. at Fuller's Tavern, in the City of Washington, the subscriber, being fully authorized to do so, by the will of the late David Peter, and by a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, will offer at public auction, to the highest bidder, the following real estate in the said City of Washington, of which the late David Peter died seized, to wit, in

Square No. 1, Lots Nos. 1, 4, 17, 18, 21. Lots 1, 4, being on the Basin.

Square north of No. 4, Lot No. 1.

Square No. 2, part of Lot No. 1, valuable water lot.

Square south of No. 17. —The whole 8,151 square feet water property.

Square No. 5, Lots Nos. 5, 13, 14, and part of 15, with the western of the two large three-story Brick Houses.

Square No. 6, Lot No. 6.

Square No. 9, part of Lot No. 2. Valuable water lot on the canal and river.

Square south of No. 12, Lot 3. Valuable corner and water lot.

Square No. 13, Lots Nos. 1 and 14.

Square No. 12, Lot No. 10.

Square No. 22, Lot No. 5.

Square west of Square No. 23, Lot No. 1. Water Lot.

Square No. 14, Lots Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 17, 18. The first four Lots fronting on Pennsylvania Avenue.

Square No. 15, Lots Nos. 4, 7, 9, 10.

Square No. 16, Lots Nos. 1, 24, 25, 28.

Square No. 17, Lots Nos. 4, 10, 11.

Square No. 18, Lot No. 1.

Square No. 19, Lot No. 4.

Square No. 20, Lots Nos. 9, 10, 16.

Square No. 24, Lots Nos. 15, 19, 21.

Square No. 25, Lots Nos. 4, 12, 13, 18.

Square No. 29, Lot No. 4.

Square No. 31, Lots Nos. 4, 5.

Square No. 32, Lots Nos. 3, 14.

Square No. 33, Lots Nos. 12, 13, 15.

Square No. 37, Lots Nos. 1, 2, 13, 21.

Square No. 40, Lots Nos. 3, 7.

Square No. 41, Lots Nos. 6, 11, 13.

Square No. 42, Lots Nos. 4, 7.

Square No. 51, Lots Nos. 6, 10, 12, 13.

Square No. 72, Lots Nos. 1, 6.

Square No. 73, Lots Nos. 10, 15, 16, 19.

Square No. 100, Lots Nos. 5, 18, 19, 23, 24, 30, 31.

Square No. 149. The whole Square, being 3,308 square feet.

Square No. 174. The whole Square, being 76,581 square feet.

Square No. 188. The whole Square, being 83,080 square feet.

Square No. 202. The whole Square, being 74,853 square feet.

Square No. 205. East half containing 134,738 square feet.

The terms of sale are, one-fifth of the purchase money in cash on the day of sale, the residue on a credit of one and two years, in equal sums, to be secured by bonds with surety approved by the subscriber, bearing interest from the day of sale, and a deed of trust of the premises to the subscriber, authorizing a re-sale of the same after reasonable notice, if the purchaser fails to pay his bonds, or either of them, and the interest accrued thereon. On the payment of the whole purchase money, the subscriber will convey to the purchaser all the estate, in fee simple, of which David Peter died seized, which is believed to be unquestionable. The bonds and conveyances to be made at the cost of the purchasers. If the terms of sale be not complied with by the purchasers within three days after the sale, the subscriber, at his option, may re-sell the Lot or Lots and premises of each defaulting purchaser, at his risk and cost, on a notice of not less than ten days in some newspaper of the county.

GEORGE PETER,
Surviving Executor of David Peter.

ap 22—2awts

Immediately after the above sale, and on the same day, and at the same place, the subscribers will sell at auction the easternmost of the two three-story Brick Houses, with the lots of ground and back buildings appurtenant thereto, in Square No. 5, being part of Lot No. 15 and Lot No. 16, in the City of Washington, on K Street, near the Lower Bridge.

Terms 5 per cent. cash on the day of sale, and the balance on a credit of two years, on bonds with surety approved by the subscribers, bearing interest from date, with a deed of trust of the tenor above mentioned. On the payment of the purchase money, the subscribers will convey the title they hold, believing it to be indisputable. Bonds and conveyances to be made at the purchaser's expense, and the same right to re-sell, for want of compliance with the terms of sale, as is reserved in the above sale by George Peter, executor of David Peter.

GEORGE PETER,
Surviving Executor of David Peter.
JNO. MARBURY,
Trustee of the heirs of Wm. H. Peter.

ap 22—2awts

Source: *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), 1836 found in Rules 4, case 265, box 130 (President & Directors of the Bank of the United States vs. John B. Beverley & his wife, & others heirs and representatives of David Peter), dec'd, folder 1 of 5, Entry 20, RG 21, NARA.

VALUABLE CITY PROPERTY FOR SALE AT AUCTION, without reserve.—On Saturday, the 18th of May next, at 12 o'clock M., at E. Dyer's auction store, in the city of Washington, the subscriber, under the will of the late David Peter, and by a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, will offer at public auction to the highest bidder, the following real estate in the city of Washington, of which the late David Peter died seized, to wit:

Lots Nos. 17 and 18, in square No. 1
 Part of lot No. 1, in square No. 2, valuable water lot
 All of square south of square No. 17, the whole 8,151 square feet, water property
 Lot No. 6, in square No. 6
 Lot No. 1, in square No. 13
 Lot No. 1, in square west of square No. 23
 Lot No. 2, in square No. 14
 Lots Nos. 4, 7, 9, in square No. 16
 Lots Nos. 1, 24, 25, 28, in square No. 16
 Lots Nos. 4, 10, 11, in square No. 17
 Lot No. 1 in square No. 18
 Lot No. 4 in square No. 19
 Lots Nos. 9, 10, 16 in square No. 20
 Lots Nos. 16, 19, 21 in square No. 24
 Lots Nos. 4 and 18 in square No. 25
 Lot No. 4 in square No. 29
 Lots Nos. 4 and 5 in square No. 31
 Lot No. 6 in square No. 51
 Lots Nos. 15 and 16 in square No. 73
 Lot No. 5 in square No. 100.

The terms of sale, one-fifth of the purchase money in cash on the day of sale, the residue on a credit of one and two years in equal sums, to be secured by bonds with surety approved by the subscriber, bearing interest from the day of sale, and a deed of trust of the premises to the subscriber, authorizing a resale of the same after reasonable notice, if the purchaser fails to pay his bonds, or either of them, and the interest accrued thereon. On the payment of the whole purchase money, the subscriber will convey to the purchaser all the estate in fee simple of which David Peter died seized, which is believed to be unquestionable. The bonds and conveyances to be made at the cost of the purchasers. If the terms of sale be not complied with by the purchasers within three days after the sale, the subscriber, at his option, may resell the lot or lots and premises of each defaulting purchaser at his risk and cost on a notice of not less than ten days in some newspaper in the county.

Immediately after the above sale, and on the same day and at the same place, and on the same terms above stated, the subscriber will resell at auction, at the risk and cost of the former purchaser, who has failed to comply with the terms of his purchase,

Lot No. 4, in square No. 1, in the city of Washington, on the basin.

GEORGE PETER,
 Surviving Executor of David Peter.

ap 15--eodtds

Source: *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.) May 3, 1839

These records help establish the extent of the Peter family's enterprises. Major Peter's management of the estate, particularly "Sugarlands," was continually at issue in these cases. Although it is unclear whether Major Peter personally profited from the farms of David Peter, the depositions, account records and other documentation used to establish how the farms operated reveals how urban seats such as Tudor Place rested on the labors of enslaved people, the income generated from renters, the management of overseers, and the support of local sheriffs. The Peters of Tudor Place might have

been able to live within themselves, as Britannia claimed, but it depended upon their authority over a large labor force.¹⁹

Members of the Peter family shared information regarding the agricultural sciences and other matters that affected their day-to-day operations. In their depositions, Thomas Peter and John P.C. Peter in particular – demonstrated a strong knowledge of Major Peter’s affairs. This suggests their interdependence and that their shared concerns created a similar approach to the management of these farms.

The financial system tied David Peter’s brothers and sisters to the outcome of these cases. At several points in this litigation, Thomas Peter appeared to minimize his liability in the case. He appeared in the hopes of pressing Major Peter to pay some of his promissory notes upon which he had acted as an endorser. In that capacity, a bank could seek to collect from Thomas so that he and later his son and executor John P.C. Peter, appeared several times to press Major Peter to repay his debts.

Despite his liability in this case, Major Peter remained a man with substantial property holdings. As an heir to Robert Peter, he was bequeathed with considerable property near Seneca, Rockville and the District of Columbia. According to the 1850 census, his Poolesville property alone was valued at \$1,000 and 71 slaves worked that farm. Further research would determine the extent of his holdings (not a principal concern at this time).

Death, or probate, was a final reckoning for debtors or their families. David Peter and his family lived off their land and slaves for many years without paying off their debts. Although creditors continually tried to recover debts, probate represented their last chance for collection so that they pressed harder and, in some cases, sought repayment on long ignored debts which, in turn, led to the sale of significant amounts of property. While this undoubtedly created stress upon the wealthy families, it was especially perilous for those enslaved by them.

Within all the court records, there is no clear accounting as to the fate of the slaves held by David Peter's estate. Typically, owners sold their slaves before selling their real estate and generally did so with little consideration of their families and communities, but it appears that Major Peter, the widow Sarah, and her sons James and Hamilton used these slaves as if they owned them. It is unclear how many slaves were sold by the estate before the litigation began. The manager of Sugarlands Farm, Leonard D. Williams, testified that Major George Peter purchased at least two of them, a man named Singleton and a boy named Jim.²⁰ A list of twenty-six slaves within the David Peter estate, appraised for a total of \$4,972.00, provides information to consider, but it is undated and does not identify their location. (It is unlikely these were the only slaves held by David Peter at his death in 1812. The list is attached below). By the time his estate was settled, most of the slaves would have hardly known David Peter, if at all. In other words, the estate largely consisted of the children of slaves managed by David himself. Several witnesses noted the deaths of slaves throughout their testimony as well.

An Inventory of the Personal Property of David Peter, deceased [n.d.]:

Benjamin	28 years old	\$450.00
Fanny	24 " "	\$450.00
Humphrey	29 " "	\$400.00
Bantram	45	\$300.00
Henry	24	\$375.00
Singleton	18	\$350.00
Bet	60	\$25.00
Sybell & child	40	\$ 250.00
Rebecca		\$175.00
Charles		\$100.00
H**** child		
Charity	30	\$250.00
James	7	\$200.00
Milly	5	\$120.00
Eliza	3	\$75.00
Matitan	20	\$250.00 [illegible]
Maria	18	\$275.00
Dennis	11	\$275.00
Nancy	30	\$250.00
Bett	5	\$150.00
an old blind woman		
Sam		\$150.00
Hillary		
Peggy		\$150.00 [value for Hillary and Peggy combined]
*****ands		

Source: Papers of Major George Peter, Peter Family Archives, box 1, folder 11, Mount Vernon.

The ownership of David Peter's slaves remained ambiguous until its final settlement, and proved a constant source of tension for Major Peter and his heirs. The relationship between Major Peter and James became particularly tense when James, only one-year-old at the time of his father's death, assumed legal control over his own farm in Virginia. According to several witnesses, James took horses and slaves from Sugarlands. In 1831, Major Peter accused James of stealing slaves from the estate for the purposes of sale. In a letter to his uncle, James denied the charges, stating that "No Uncle George

you have done me injustice” and that he hardly intended to sell those slaves.²¹ Evidently, the slaves remained on James’ farm, as five years later, George Peter secured a writ of replevin to recover those slaves taken by James: Abraham; Mary and her two children, Ann (10) and Robert (8); Kitty and her five children, Eveline (8), Harriett (7), Sam (6), Charity (3), and Cornelia (9 months); and Jerry (32). Major Peter subsequently sold them for a total of \$2,819.²² In addition, in 1836 James had sold Humphrey (19), who was still a boy when James brought him on his farm.

James Peter to his uncle Major George Peter, April 21, 1831

Dear Uncle

After mature consideration and having weighed all things well I willingly acknowledge myself in error, I feel well assured that I have done you much injustice and feel now from my heart **** for, you no doubt have heard many things that I have said that are without foundation, yet at the same I have in the heat of passion (when I have heard that you have made it your business to try to injure me in all places of public resort) said many things of you that on better reflection I have been ** for but too proud to acknowledge~ My even I heard that you had asked Hamilton wheather I had any hand in smuggling the negroes off. Now Uncle George was this kind in ***, did I not take them off in open daylight if I had wanted to sell them why did I not take them to Virginia and then sell them No Uncle George you have done me injustice too. had I have had my own way no power on earth could have parted me from the negroes Jerry in particular, but it is done and I think it will not be long *** all things in this world will cease to trouble me__ I hope that this will serve to erase all unkind feelings from the mind of one that I should like live and die in peace with more then this your consent I know wish

Yours affectionately
James Peter

Source: Papers of Major George Peter (1779-1861), box 1, folder 5, Peter Family Archives, Mount Vernon

The ambiguities of ownership in an estate created stress for the slaves and several took matters into their own hands. Some slaves ran away: Humphrey in 1819; Dennis in 1825; Henson (n.d.); Harrison (n.d.); Bill with slaves of John P.C. Peter (c. 1832); James; and Eliza. Of this group, Humphrey, Dennis, Henson, and Harrison were captured and one deponent recalled the sale of Humphrey. While

the fate of many remains unclear, Bill and the slaves of John P.C. Peter successfully escaped. (See the attached table)

Robert Dick, Margaret Peter's husband and Thomas and David Peter's brother-in-law, testified, "that he knew negroes Wat. & Bill, belonging to the estate of the late David Peter, who were put in the jail in Washington by Mr. Wm. Ramsey [husband of David's daughter Elizabeth] upon suspicion of setting fire to the mansion house in GeoTown__ that Bill was sold by Mr James Kincaid agent for the heirs of David Peter and Wat. was sent to the Maryland farm because he could not be sold & was unfit for use, where he died."²³

Source for manuscript below:

Dick - the United States.

5

} In Chancery.

James W. Beverley & others

Robert Dick a witness for the complainants,
of lawful age, being duly sworn, deposes & swears -

that he knew negroes Wm. & Bill, belonging to the
estate of the late David Peter, who were put in the jail in Wash.
D.C. by Mr Wm Ramsey upon suspicion of setting fire to the
mission house in Jan 1861 - that Bill was sold by Mr James

Kincaid agent for the heirs of David Peter, and Wm. was sent to
the farm, because he ^{could} not sell ^{he got} & was unfit for use, where he
died - that he knew two negro women belonging to the estate of
David Peter, named Sarah & Nance, both of whom died on
the Sugar land farm, about ten years ago - they were both

cripples. - that he also knew an old blind woman named Polly
belonging to David Peter's estate - who died on said farm about
two or three years ago - that he also knew a negro

man named for Bill who belonged to David Peter's estate &
ran away from said Sugar land farm - in company with
some negroes belonging to Mr John P. C. Peter - this he thinks
was about ~~the~~ seven years ago - said negro deponent believes
was never recovered - he never returned to the Sugar

RG 21, entry 20, Rules 4

Case 265

Folder 20f5

There is one other documented record of the imprisonment of a slave from the David Peter estate, although the reasons for his detention are unknown. His wife, who was raised in Georgetown, fled from her owner in all likelihood to be near her imprisoned husband.

TEN DOLLARS REWARD.

RAN AWAY from the subscriber, on Saturday, the 27th of December, a Negro Woman, named DAPHNE, has a husband (now in jail) belonging to the estate of the late David Peter, calls himself William Sock, or Stock. She is about 41 years of age, five feet two or three inches high, thick set, and bulky, but well proportioned. Had on a very dark olive cloth twilled dress, with a skirt to the body like a jacket, linen apron, checked muslin handkerchief, black silk bonnet, blue cloth shawl. She was raised in Georgetown, by the family of Mr. G. French. She was concealed in Georgetown four years ago, for several months, and advertised by Dr. Ewell. I think she is in or about town at this time. Any person taking her and lodging her in jail, shall receive the above reward on application to

M. A. BARCLAY,
in G street.

Jan 17-54

Advertisement placed by M.A. Barclay, owner of the enslaved African-American woman Daphne. He suspected that her escape was connected to the imprisonment of William Stock (or Sock), who was owned by the estate of David Peter. Stock had married this woman, who was raised in Georgetown and maintained her communal ties there, so much so she had previously hid from her owner for several months.

Source: Advertisement. *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), January 17, 1824 .

SLAVES TRADED BY THE PETER FAMILY, 1790 - 1850

→ This table shows when and why the Peter family participation in the slave trade. The individual accounts included below are derived from documentary sources from Peter Family Papers held at Tudor Place and Mount Vernon, court records, and newspaper advertisements. I have not tried systematically to uncover their participation in the trade by surveying newspaper advertisements. In the account books, there are frequent references to advertisements placed in newspapers. Where I have found those explicit references, I tried to find the advertisement. Each entry notes a single transaction, often supported by multiple sources. It should be noted that it is unclear how many of Robert Peter's slaves were sold in 1808. It appears that there are several advertisements that indicate subsets of all the slaves put on the market at that time.

Slave name	Owner	Date	Explanation	Buyer	Source
Ned	Robert Peter	1790	Notation in account book listing slaves belonging to Robert Peter. Listed in account book lists him with slaves at Fortune, one of his properties.		Account book, Robert Peter, November 10, 1790, Robert Peter Papers, Peter Family Archives, Box 1, folder 51, Mount Vernon
Jack	Robert Peter	May 1794	Notation in account book listing slaves belonging to Robert Peter. Listed in account book with Rachael, Hezo, Letty, and Jack who were not sold with him.	Thomas Beall	Account book, Robert Peter, November 10, 1790, Robert Peter Papers, Peter Family Archives, Box 1, folder 51, Mount Vernon
Peter Twine (46), Elly (30), Maklin (18), Fanny (1)	Dower slaves of Martha Custis Peter	May 10, 1796	Entries in Thomas Peter's daybook, 1796-1799. Presuming that Peter that TP listed slaves in his daybook in family groups, these were members of the same family and separated from Lydia and Dina.		Thomas Peter's Daybooks, Ms. 2, Thomas and Martha Custis Peter, box 1, folder 19

Slave name	Owner	Date	Explanation	Buyer	Source
Dina (12) and Lyddia (4)	Dower slaves of Martha Custis Peter	November 11, 1796	Entries in Thomas Peter's daybook, 1796-1799. Presuming that Peter that TP listed slaves in his daybook in family groups, these were members of the Peter Twine family. Peter Twine, Elly, Maklin and Fanny were sold separately.		Thomas Peter's Daybooks, Ms. 2, Thomas and Martha Custis Peter, box 1, folder 19
Rose (11) and Susan (8)	Dower slaves of Martha Custis Peter	May 10, 1796	Entries in Thomas Peter's daybook, 1796-1799. Presuming that Peter that TP listed slaves in his daybook in family groups, these girls were daughters of Michael (40) and Molly (28), sisters of Elvy (7), Anna (4). Jim (3), and Polly (6 mo.). There were no notes regarding the disposition of these slaves.		Thomas Peter's Daybooks, Ms. 2, Thomas and Martha Custis Peter, box 1, folder 19
Esther (26), Bob (8), and Squire (6)	Dower slaves of Martha Custis Peter	May 10, 1796	Entries in Thomas Peter's daybook, 1796-1799. Presuming that Peter that TP listed slaves in his daybook in family groups, these slaves were mother and children. They are not listed in the daybooks alongside other family members.		Thomas Peter's Daybooks, Ms. 2, Thomas and Martha Custis Peter, box 1, folder 19

Slave name	Owner	Date	Explanation	Buyer	Source
Betty (30), Jinny (9), and Mike (1)	Dower slaves of Martha Custis Peter	May 10, 1796	Entries in Thomas Peter's daybook, 1796-1799. Presuming that Peter that TP listed slaves in his daybook in family groups, these slaves were mother and children. They are not listed in the daybooks alongside other family members.		Thomas Peter's Daybooks, Ms. 2, Thomas and Martha Custis Peter, box 1, folder 19
Arbour (50), Poly (14)	Dower slaves of Martha Custis Peter	May 10, 1796	Entries in Thomas Peter's daybook, 1796-1799. Presuming that Peter that TP listed slaves in his daybook in family groups, these slaves were mother and children. They also were separated from Darky and John.		Thomas Peter's Daybooks, Ms. 2, Thomas and Martha Custis Peter, box 1, folder 19
Darky (23), John (2)	Dower slaves of Martha Custis Peter	May 10, 1796	Entries in Thomas Peter's daybook, 1796-1799. Presuming that Peter that TP listed slaves in his daybook in family groups, these slaves were mother and children. They are not listed in the daybooks alongside other family members, these slaves were mother and child. They were separated from Arbour and Poly.		Thomas Peter's Daybooks, Ms. 2, Thomas and Martha Custis Peter, box 1, folder 19
Bob (36), Sall (36), invalid), George (7, insane) and Ned (6)	Dower slaves of Martha Custis Peter	May 10, 1796	Entries in Thomas Peter's daybook, 1796-1799. Presuming that Peter that TP listed slaves in his daybook in family groups, these slaves were parents and children. They were separated from Will (17) and Arney (14), Kate (13), Else (9)		Thomas Peter's Daybooks, Ms. 2, Thomas and Martha Custis Peter, box 1, folder 19

Slave name	Owner	Date	Explanation	Buyer	Source
Kate (13), Nancy (13), Fanny (12), and Mary (11)	Dower slaves of Martha Custis Peter	May 10, 1796	Entries in Thomas Peter's daybook, 1796-1799. Presuming that Peter that TP listed slaves in his daybook in family groups, Nancy, Fanny and Mary were daughters or granddaughters of Milley (34) and Sam (60). Kate, perhaps the daughter of Bob and Sall, was sold with them.		Thomas Peter's Daybooks, Ms. 2, Thomas and Martha Custis Peter, box 1, folder 19
Else (9)	Dower slaves of Martha Custis Peter	May 10, 1796	Entries in Thomas Peter's daybook, 1796-1799. Elsey was listed with Bob, Sall and others.		Thomas Peter's Daybooks, Ms. 2, Thomas and Martha Custis Peter, box 1, folder 19
Sam (60), Milley (34) and Molly (16)	Dower slaves of Martha Custis Peter	November 10, 1796	Entries in Thomas Peter's daybook, 1796-1799. Presuming TP listed slaves in family groups, these slaves were parents or grandparents to Molly but also Nancey, Fanny and Mary who were sold separately. Sale took place in Georgetown		Thomas Peter's Daybooks, Ms. 2, Thomas and Martha Custis Peter, box 1, folder 19

Slave name	Owner	Date	Explanation	Buyer	Source
Gaspar, Silvia, Lucey, Anthony, Charles	Thomas Peter	November 10, 1796	Note states that these were not dower slaves. Presuming TP entered slaves as families, these slaves were sold as a group.		Thomas Peter's Daybooks, Ms. 2, Thomas and Martha Custis Peter, box 1, folder 19
John	Estate of Thomas Dick	12/31/1803	per statement of executors' account	Robert Peter	Account record of John Laird for estate of Thomas Dick, 1803- 1821, Papers of Major George Peter, Peter Family Archives, Mount Vernon
~12 slaves	Estate of Thomas Dick	7/27/1803	Advertisement states intention to sell 12 slaves. These may be sold and noted in account book separately.		<i>Washington Federalist</i> (Georgetown), July 27, 1803
Patty (18)	Estate of Thomas Dick	12/30/1803	for 100 pounds	Edward Magruder and Sam Magruder	Account record of John Laird for estate of Thomas Dick, 1803- 1821, Papers of Major George Peter, Peter Family Archives, Mount Vernon
Aaron	Estate of Thomas Dick	7/4/1804	sale of Aaron, who ran away and was then captured after the death of Thomas Dick	David Wright of Duplin County, NC	Account record of John Laird for estate of Thomas Dick, 1803- 1821, Papers of Major George Peter, Peter Family Archives, Mount Vernon
Jenny	Estate of Thomas Dick	11/8/1803	for 100 pounds	Wm. Cecil	Account record of John Laird for estate of Thomas Dick, 1803- 1821, Papers of Major George Peter, Peter Family Archives, Mount Vernon
George	Estate of Thomas Dick	10/3/1803	per statement of executors' account	William Perkins	Account record of John Laird for estate of Thomas Dick, 1803- 1821, Papers of Major George Peter, Peter Family Archives,

Slave name	Owner	Date	Explanation	Buyer	Source
					Mount Vernon
Fanny	Estate of Thomas Dick	2/7/1804	per statement of executors' account	Zephania Beall	Account record of John Laird for estate of Thomas Dick, 1803-1821, Papers of Major George Peter, Peter Family Archives, Mount Vernon
Frederick Simon Lambert Tom Betty	Estate of Thomas Dick	3/8/1804	per statement of executors' account		Account record of John Laird for estate of Thomas Dick, 1803-1821, Papers of Major George Peter, Peter Family Archives, Mount Vernon
Kitty	Estate of Thomas Dick	3/16/1804	for 250 [unclear]	Thomas Wilson of Pennsylvania	Account record of John Laird for estate of Thomas Dick, 1803-1821, Papers of Major George Peter, Peter Family Archives, Mount Vernon
150 unnamed slaves	Estate of Robert Peter	February 1, 1808	150 slaves at auction at Anthony Tracy's House near Hersey's Mill in Seneca, Montgomery County, Maryland. Thomas Peter, executor. Advertised in <i>Fredericktown Herald</i> and <i>Washington Federalist</i> .		<i>Washington Federalist</i> , January 9, 1808 and January 20, 1808; receipt for advertisement, Ms. 2, Thomas and Martha Custis Peter, Box 1, folder 10.
35 unnamed slaves	Estate of Robert Peter	January 25, 1808	35 slaves at auction at "Hezekiah Woods' house in the District of Columbia, within one mile of the President's House.		<i>Washington Federalist</i> , January 9, 1808 and January 20, 1808

Slave name	Owner	Date	Explanation	Buyer	Source
49 slaves, named	Estate of Robert Peter	1/28/1808	Account that shows the purchase of 49 slaves from Slashes and Sugarlands	Robert Peter	List of property purchased by Robert Peter from the estate of Robert Peter at Slashes, Sugar Lands & Rock Creek Quarters, Robert Peter Collection, Peter Family Archives, Mount Vernon
50 unnamed slaves	Estate of Robert Peter	December 16, 1809	advertisement offering 50 slaves at auction.		Receipt for advertisement, Ms. 2, Thomas and Martha Custis Peter, Box 1, folder 10.
unspecified number	Estate of Robert Peter	December, 1809-January 1810	two separate advertisements for sale of slaves, one ending 1/12/1809 and another ending 1/1/1810		Receipt for advertisement, Ms. 2, Thomas and Martha Custis Peter, Box 1, folder 10.
50 unnamed slaves	Estate of Robert Peter	1809	Advertisement in Hagerstown for the sale of 50 slaves from Sugarlands, run by Thomas Peter (unclear whether this is part of the same sale advertised in December 1809 and January 1810)		Receipt for advertisement, Ms. 2, Thomas and Martha Custis Peter, Box 1, folder 10; Hagerstown Gazette, December 19, 1809
3 unnamed slaves	Estate of Robert Peter	1810	Broker sold three "Negroes at Union Tavern."		Receipt from broker, Ms. 2, Thomas and Martha Custis Peter, Box 1, folder 10 and Federal Republican (Georgetown, DC) October 28, 1812
Peg	Thomas Peter	1810	Account that shows sale of slave Peg for \$201.	James Dunlop	Receipt, purchase of James Dunlop from Thomas Peter, Jan 1, 1810, Thomas Peter Papers, Peter Family Archives, Box 2, folder 45, Mount Vernon

Slave name	Owner	Date	Explanation	Buyer	Source
unspecified number	Estate of Robert Peter	1811	advertisement placed for sale of Pipe Tomahawk and "a number of Negroes," listed by Thomas Peter and David Peter		Receipt for advertisement, Ms. 2, Thomas and Martha Custis Peter, Box 1, folder 10.
Jim Dembis alias Isaac Turner	Major George Peter	3/24/1831	Sold for \$190. Jim Dembis previously had run away from George Peter.	William d. Collins of Salisbury (an agent for Woolfalk of Baltimore)	Jonathan Donovan for Reuben Tall to George Peter, March 24, 1831, Major George Peter Papers, Peter Family Archives, box 3, folder 9, Mount Vernon
Jerry, Nancy, Ann, Robert, Kitty, Eveline, Harriett, Sam, Charity & Cornelia Humphrey	Estate of David Peter	4/10/1836	Sold by order of the Court. These slaves had been held by James Peter (son of David and Sarah, 1811-1836)		Account of receipts by George Peter, RG 21, Ent. 20, Rules 3, case 376, box 104.
	Estate of David Peter	c. 1836	Sold by James Peter. JP had taken Humphrey when he was still a boy from slaves that were part of his father's estate. Humphrey was 18 or 19 when sold.	T.S. Poole	Deposition of William Carlisle, RG 21, Ent. 20, Rules 4, case 265, box 130
Charity and Fanny	Estate of Beverley Kennon	January 1845	Probated in Virginia because slaves were inherited by his first wife	James McDowell	Mumford to Kennon, February 8, 1845, Ms. 7 Britannia Kennon Papers, Box 1, folder 22 and Bill of complaint submitted by Conway Robinson on behalf of Britannia Kennon, Box 1, folder 27, Tudor Place Archives
Henry	Estate of Beverley Kennon	February 1845	Probated in Virginia because slaves were inherited by his first wife	John Y. Mason	Bill of complaint submitted by Conway Robinson on behalf of his client Britannia, Britannia Kennon Papers, Box 1, folder

Slave name	Owner	Date	Explanation	Buyer	Source
Hannah	Britannia Kennon	1845	Sold to Colonel John Carter because his slave Alfred wanted to marry her.	Colonel John Carter	Reminiscences of Britannia Kennon, August 1895, Ms. 14, Armistead Peter Collection, box 69, folder 24, p. 2.
50 unnamed slaves	Estate of Beverley Kennon	December 1847	Advertisement listed by Britannia Kennon for the sale of her late husband's plantation and 50 slaves.		Richmond Whig, December 1847 enclosed in letter Mumford to BK, December 7, 1844 in Ms. 7, Britannia Kennon Papers, Box 1, folder 21.
George and John	Major George Peter	February 26, 1850	Power of Attorney to Leonard Candler, who noted that he was supposed to sell two negro men George & John for at least \$1350 each. Candler sold George for \$625	Mr. Williams "purchased him very reluctantly as he has been to see him & found him a bad talker and from his appearance." Further explained that prices for cotton and sugar declining, so the price of slaves.	Power of Attorney, George Peter to Leonard W. Candler, February 26, 1850, and Leonard W. Candler (Darnestown) to Major George Peter, 6 March 1850, Papers of Major George Peter (1779-1861), Peter Family Archives, box 3, folder 5, Mount Vernon
Mary and unnamed slaves	James Dunlop	1836	Letter states that he sold "negroes" for \$3115.00. States that one of these slaves Mary has complained of being sick and he believes her resistant to the sale.	Grandy	Scrapbook of documents related to George Peter, now held by Mount Vernon

Slave name	Owner	Date	Explanation	Buyer	Source
Henson	Estate of David Peter	n.d.	Was working at farm of Hamilton Peter, who sold Henson after his capture for \$350.		Deposition by Robert Dick, November 20, 1839, RG 21, Entry 20, Rules 4, case 265, box 130, National Archives
Bill	Estate of David Peter	n.d.	Sold after he was accused of setting fire to the Mansion House with Wat. (David and Sarah Peter). Sold by William Ramsey. Wat. was sent to farm because he was too old to be sold.		
Singleton and Jim	Estate of David Peter	n.d.		Major George Peter	Deposition by Leonard D. Williams, manager of Sugarlands, November 20, 1839, RG 21, Entry 20, Rules 4, case 265, box 130, National Archives

SLAVES WHO TRIED TO ESCAPE FROM THE PETER FAMILY

Several Peter slaves ran away. Like other slaveholders, the Peters employed slave catchers, worked with sheriffs, and placed advertisements to try to recover their property. Although a handful of these fugitives managed to hide from their owners and presumably live in freedom, most of them were captured and were later sold. Note the gender imbalance: men were more likely to runaway than women. This list is hardly complete, as there was no systematic effort to find every advertisement placed by the Peters. Nonetheless, it should provide some insight into the circumstances and consequences of slave flight.

Slave names	Year	Owner	Explanation	Source
Dennis	1825	Estate of David Peter	Record of expenses for recovery of Dennis. Total of \$27.07. Cross reported in a deposition that he later sold Dennis for \$320.	Account record of bills paid to Alex Neill, sheriff, July 21, 1825, RG 21, Entry 20, Rules 3, case 376, box 104; Deposition by Leonard D Williams and John Cross, November 20, 1839, RG 21, Entry 20, Rules 4, case 265, box 130. National Archives
Humphrey	1819	Estate of David Peter	The following people testified that Humphrey or Umphrey) ran away: Manager of Sugar Land. Noted in expense account of George Peter in 1821 (for 1819 payment).	Deposition by Leonard D Williams, November 20, 1839, RG 21, Entry 20, Rules 4, case 265, box 130, National Archives; Account maintained by George Peter, RG 21, Entry 20, Rules 4, case 265, box 130, folder 2, National Archives
Henson		Estate of David Peter	Henson ran away from Hamilton Peter's estate. HP caught and sold the slave.	Deposition by Robert Dick, November 20, 1839, RG 21, Entry 20, Rules 4, case 265, box 130, National Archives
Harrison	n.d.	Estate of David Peter	Cross captured the slave and delivered him to Major George Peter in Georgetown.	Deposition by Robert Dick, November 20, 1839, RG 21, Entry 20, Rules 4, case 265, box 130, National Archives
	n.d.			

Slave names	Year	Owner	Explanation	Source
Eliza		Estate of David Peter	Recalls that one of the slaves given to Sarah Peter escaped.	George W. Peter to Robert Dunlop, December 15, 1839, RG 21, Entry 20, Rules 4, case 265, box 130, National Archives
James	n.d.	Estate of David Peter	James ran away from the farm, and deponent did not recall his recapture	Deposition by William Dame, November 26, 1829, RG 21, Entry 20, Rules 4, case 265, box 130, National Archives
Aaron	n.d. 1803	Estate of Thomas Dick	Entries in account book indicate that John Heugh, estate manager, paid for jailor's fees in Washington and then again traveled to Elkton for Aaron. Aaron was sold in July 1804 to owner in David Wright of Duplin County, North Carolina.	Estate of Thomas Dick in account with John Laird, executor and Trustee, Peter Family Archives, box 1, folder 13, Mount Vernon; <i>Washington Federalist</i> , July 6, 1803;
Bill	c. 1832	John P.C. Peter and Estate of David Peter	Bill ran away from Sugarlands with slaves belonging to J.P.C. Peter. Dick believed they were never recovered.	Deposition by Robert Dick, November 20, 1839, RG 21, Entry 20, Rules 4, case 265, box 130, National Archives
Daphne (41)	1824	M.A. Barclay	Barclay suspected that Daphne's escape was connected to her husband's imprisonment in the Washington jail. Also notes she had been raised in Georgetown.	Advertisement listed in <i>Daily National Intelligencer</i> , January 17, 1824
unnamed	1824	Major George Peter	for jailor's fees of \$27 paid to sheriff Alex Neele, sheriff of Washington County	Bill issued by P. Hardin to George Peter, Major George Peter Papers, Peter Family Archives, box 1, folder 15.

Slave names	Year	Owner	Explanation	Source
Jim Dembis, alias Isaac Turner	1831	Major George Peter	Note received from slave catcher who apprehended Isaac Turner, who claimed he was free. Also includes a statement of expenses for capturing Jim. Subsequent letter states that he was able to sell Jim to William D. Collins of Salisbury, Md. Buyers reluctant to buy him because they feared he was free so that the sale price was relatively low.	Jonathan Donovan for Reuben Tall to George Peter, March 24, 1831, and Reuben Tall, July 28, 1831, to George Peter, box 3, folder 9, and Major George Peter Papers, Peter Family Archives, Mount Vernon
Ralph (21)	1810	Thomas Peter	Ralph had left Seneca. TP believed he was likely returning to his father Sambo on the Mount Vernon plantation of Judge Washington. Suspected he was in Alexandria.	Advertisement listed in <i>Alexandria Gazette</i> , November 8, 1810
Sandy Twine (26), George Twine (24) and Clem Proctor (18)	1831	William B. Vinson	Owner notes that these are brothers and one plays fiddle.	Advertisement listed in <i>Daily National Intelligencer</i> , October 12, 1831
Elizabeth	1826	Thomas Peter	When America Peter married William George Williams, Thomas and Martha Peter gave America two enslaved women: Brynne and Elizabeth, sisters of Martha's house slave Stacia, as part of America's dowry. Elizabeth ran away. Her fate is unknown.	Servants' bios

FRIENDS, NEIGHBORS, COLLEAGUES AND A FEW ANTAGONISTS OF THE PETER FAMILY

The Peters relied upon a substantial network of friends, business associates and neighbors. This list was compiled to guide future research on the Peters and the Georgetown neighborhood. Time has not permitted complete research into the availability of collections that might include documentation of the Peters. Since many of these people are connected to the Southern elite, it is clear that the documentation is rich. Every person on this list is named in a document, and I noted the associated document by number as it appears in the research database given to staff.

This list does not include those associated to the Peter family by marriage. Manuscript collections related to these families are especially relevant. These family names include: Washington, Custis, Lee, Lewis, Law, Calvert, Dandridge, Beverley, Kennon, Dick, Laird, and several other prominent Maryland and Virginia families. Their records are especially important, as their correspondence and legal papers would show connections to the Peter family households and their slaves.

Name	Identification	Document	Date
Addison	prominent Georgetown family	2	1852
James Allnutt	appraiser of Sugarlands farm	360	1839
Miss Williana Armistead	Armistead sold slaves to Beverley Kennon; she presented bill for partial payment of them to BK; brought suit against the estate.	8, 9, 21	1844-1845
John Bankman	Merchant who handled the purchase of foodstuffs, delivered to Slashes.	282	1796-1807
Washington Bowie	handled the inspection and shipment of tobacco for Major George Peter	306	1808-1815
Henry Brisco	gardener, who worked as a day laborer for BK	303	1852-1853
Leonard Candler	Import-export dealer from Darnestown who sold clothing, stoneware, medicine and other items to George Peter in Montgomery County. He also handled the disposition of slaves.	224-226	1835, 1850
William A. Christian	cousin of Miss Armistead, who represented her.	8, 9, 23	1844-1845

Name	Identification	Document	Date
Doctor George Clark	physician who provided medicine for slaves in the estate of David Peter	328	1820
Thomas Corcoran	grocer in Georgetown, whose name appears numerous times in the records		
Doc Cragin	physician	303	1852-1853
John Cross	born and raised on lands adjoining Sugarlands; employed by Major Peter to track down Dennis.	352	
George Washington Parke Custis	served as co-executor of Martha Washington will with Thomas Peter	MW will	1802
Julius Dandridge	served as co-executor of Martha Washington will with Thomas Peter	MW will	1802
Bartholomew Dandridge	served as co-executor of Martha Washington will with Thomas Peter	MW will	1802
Thomas Dawson	blacksmith and farmer who lived 4 1/2 miles from Sugarlands	343	1839
William Deakins	a merchant who imported items for Robert Peter, including the purchase of slaves. Died ~1800.	259-263	1776-1791
Jane DelaRoche	MCP attended her wedding	2	1852
Frances Dodge	partner of David Peter; held property with him	322	
Dorsey Benjamin Forrest	counsel for Major Peter as he brought suit to Lewis A. Summers		
Joseph Forrest	auditor, Bank of U.S. vs. heirs of David Peter		
Jonathan Gwinn	appeared in court on behalf of Robert Peter	277	1796
Nathan T. Hempstone	justice of the peace who testified on behalf of Major George Peter	361	1839
John Heugh	manager who ran the store for Thomas Dick's estate and helped settle accounts	245, 311, 395	1803

Name	Identification	Document	Date
Reverend W. Hoff	performed wedding ceremony for Beverley and Britannia	302	1842
John Janney	of Alexandria. He arranged for Thomas Dick's passage to Barbados and helped with arrangements after his death.	311	1803
Leonard Johns	neighbor of Sarah and David Peter and Thomas and Martha Peter in Georgetown. He also was named executor to the estate of David Peter. He is a relative of Sarah John's Peter, David's wife.		
William Johnson	overseer, David Peter's estate	330	1823
Francis Scott Key	political rival of Major George Peter and attorney for plaintiff (vs. Major George) in several Chancery Court cases.		
James Kincaid	handled transactions for David Peter and his estate, including the sale of slaves	322, 324	1824
William Laird	executor of Thomas Dick's estate	Estate inventory, Thomas Dick, Thomas Dick Collection	1803-1821
Doc Linthicum	physician	303	1852-1853
Lowndes	prominent Georgetown family	8	1866
Benjamin Mackall	renter of lands, part of David Peter's estate	359	
G.B. Magruder	Trustee, St. John's Episcopal Church		1826
Marbury William Marbury	Trustee, appointed to sell lands belonging to David Peter's estate	350	
John Marbury	Trustee, David Peter's estate		1826
John T. Mason		276	1796

Name	Identification	Document	Date
General Mason	Trustee, David Peter's estate		1826
John D. Mumford	cousin of Beverley and George Kennon. He handled the probate of Beverley Kennon's his estate in Virginia. The letter is from Richmond. (Beverley Kennon's mother was Elizabeth Munford).	10-15, 17-18, 20-21, 24-28	1844-1849
Alex Neale	Sheriff of Montgomery County who helped in the recovery of runaway slaves for George Peter.	228	1824
William J. Nichols	president of Union Bank. Lender to George Peter	375	1839
Joseph Nourse Mr. Nourse	handled the distribution of Britannia's annuity	303	1852-1853
Thomas Poole	physician who wrote to George Peter regarding the medical status of his slave Jim.	241, 312	
Benjamin Ray	Sheriff	276	1799
Thomas Reid	justice of the peace who took depositions in President & Directors of the Bank of the United States vs. John B. Beverley & his wife, & others heirs and representatives of David Peter	369	1839
Doc Riley	family doctor	1	1847
Conway Robinson	attorney who took over Beverley Kennon estate after Mumford left for CA in 1849	29-34, 40-42	1849-1857
Clement Smith	Clement Smith owned property near Sugarlands; purchased Parrott Mansion (re-named it Elderslie); and president of Farmers & Mechanics Bank of Georgetown	343	

Name	Identification	Document	Date
William Stewart	Trustee, St. John's Episcopal Church and partner of Peter family members.		1826
Benjamin Stoddert	worked with Robert Peter re: sale of some land	264	
Roger Taney	political rival of Major George Peter		
Templeman			
William Thornton	architect of Tudor Place		
Anna Maria Thornton	personal friend of MCP		
Leonard Williams	Overseer and manager of Sugarlands, first hired by David Peter, and then re-hired by George Peter to manage estate	348	
Doc C. Worthington	Trustee, St. John's Episcopal Church		1826

¹ The impact of these mass migrations of Africans and African-Americans upon their culture has long been a subject of historical inquiry. The work of Ira Berlin has influenced my characterization of the impact of the decline of tobacco on the family and community ties of slaves. See especially the following works by Ira Berlin, "'Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society in British Mainland North America.'" *American Historical Review* 85 (February 1980): 44-78; *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998); and *The Making of African America: The Four Great Migrations* (New York: Penguin Books, 2010).

² On the decline of tobacco production in Montgomery County, see J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland, vol. 1* (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1968), 653-72. This citation appears to be misplaced, unless Scharf specifically reference the Peter family.

³ Mary Beth Corrigan, "A Social Union of Heart and Effort: The African American Family on the Eve of Emancipation," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland College Park, 1996, p. 330-331.

⁴ Mary Beth Corrigan, "'Imaginary Cruelties? A History of the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia,'" *Washington History* 13:2 (Fall/Winter 2001/2002), 4-27.

⁵ Gene Allen Smith, *The Slaves' Gamble: Choosing Sides in the War of 1812* (New York: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2013).

⁶ Corrigan, "A Social Union of Heart and Effort," 330-331; Mary Beth Corrigan, "The Ties that Bind: The Pursuit of Community and Freedom among Slaves and Free Blacks in the District of Columbia," in *Southern City, National Ambition: The Growth of Early Washington, 1800-1860* (Washington: George Washington University Press, 1994) 69-90.

⁷ Mary Beth Corrigan, "Making the Most of an Opportunity: Slaves and the Catholic Church in Washington," *Washington History* 12:1 (Spring/Summer 2000), 90-101.

⁸ Reminiscences of Britannia Kennon, August 1895, p.1-2, Armistead Peter Collection, Tudor Place Archives, box 69, folder 24.

⁹ "'I Think I Shall Never Be Comfortable Again. . . ': The Family During Slavery" Anacostia Community Museum website (http://anacostia.si.edu/Plummer/Docs/Family_Slavery.pdf), accessed September 10, 2013.

¹⁰ *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), January 17, 1824.

¹¹ Depositions taken in Poolesville, Montgomery County, November 20, deposition by James Allnutt (continuation), Rules 4, case 265, box 130 (*President & Directors of the Bank of the United States vs. John B. Beverley & his wife, & others heirs and representatives of David Peter, dec'd*), RG 21, Entry 20, National Archives and Records Administration.

¹² Reminiscences of Britannia Kennon, May 12, 1899, pp. 50-51.

¹³ "Observations for Mr. Dunlop in his reference with Major Peters on the will of Robert Peter, n.d." Legal Papers re: Robert Peter's Estate, Ms. 316 James Dunlop Papers, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

¹⁴ Account book, 1892-1895, Ms. 7, Britannia Peter Kennon Papers, Box 3, folder 12, Tudor Place Archives.

¹⁵ Reminiscences of Britannia Kennon, August 1895, p. 2.

¹⁶ Reminiscences of Britannia Kennon, n.d., p. 2

¹⁷ Will of George Peter, written 24 March 1856 and presented to Montgomery County Register of Wills on 20 August 1861, Papers of Major George Peter, Box 3, folder 7, Peter Family Archives, Mount Vernon.

¹⁸ Daybooks, 1852-1853, Papers of Britannia Kennon, Peter Family Archives, Mount Vernon.

¹⁹ See especially, Depositions taken in Poolesville, Montgomery County, Maryland, by Thomas Reid, Rules 4, case 265, box 130 (President & Directors of the Bank of the United States vs. John B. Beverley & his wife, & others heirs and representatives of David Peter, dec'd), Entry 20, RG 21, National Archives and Records Administration.

²⁰ Deposition by Leonard D. Williams taken in Poolesville, Montgomery County, November 20, 1839, Rules 4, case 265, box 130 (President & Directors of the Bank of the United States vs. John B. Beverley & his wife, & others heirs and representatives of David Peter, dec'd), Entry 20, RG 21, National Archives and Records Administration.

²¹ James Peter to his uncle Major George Peter, April 21, 1831, Papers of Major George Peter (1779-1861), box 1, folder 5, Peter Family Archives, Mount Vernon.

²² Account of receipts by George Peter on sales city lots etc since the decision of Supreme Court, Rules 3, case 376, box 104, Entry 20, RG 21, NARA; and Civil Appearances, November term 1836, box 559, case 1, Entry 6, RG 21, NARA.

²³ Deposition of Robert Dick, December 4, 1839, Rules 4, case 265, box 130 (President & Directors of the Bank of the United States vs. John B. Beverley & his wife, & others heirs and representatives of David Peter, dec'd, folder 2 of 5, Entry 20, RG 21, NARA.