How to Lose the Hounds

MAROON GEOGRAPHIES AND A WORLD BEYOND POLICING

Celeste Winston

How to Lose the Hounds

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It is a fact which I have never been able to explain, that there are those whose tracks the hounds will absolutely refuse to follow.

Solomon Northrup, *Twelve Years a Slave* (1853)

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Prologue

> When blackness, black human life, and the conditions
> imposed upon it enter discussions . . . what does this
> then do to those very discussions?
>
> **Simone Browne,** *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of*
> *Blackness* (2015)

Run!

During the small hours of February 1, 1942, on Baltimore, Maryland's thriving Black entertainment corridor along Pennsylvania Avenue, a group of people gathered around a young Black man and urged him to flee from a police officer. The man—twenty-six-year-old Thomas Broadus—was a soldier from Pittsburgh stationed at Fort George G. Meade in Maryland after being drafted into the army in 1941. That night in Baltimore, he had attended a Louis Armstrong performance with three companions.

Following the performance, Broadus and his group were stopped by white police officer Edward Bender. Their "crime" was attempting to hail an unlicensed, Black-operated taxi. Bender demanded that Broadus's group seek service from a white-owned taxi company instead. Broadus protested this police interference, arguing that he "wanted a colored cab and had a right to spend his money with whomever he chose" (*Afro-American* 1942). In response, Bender apprehended Broadus and began beating him with his nightstick.

Get away!

Broadus initially managed to break loose of Bender's wrath with the support of the crowd. Through radical feminist acts of care, several women helped free Broadus from the blows Bender wielded with his nightstick. One woman even took off her shoe to use it to beat the police officer (*Afro-American* 1942). With significant injuries inflicted by Bender's nightstick,

Broadus was only able to walk, not run, away from his attacker. While Broadus struggled to take steps away from Bender, the officer shot him in the back. Reeling from the pain of being shot, Broadus then tried to take cover under a nearby parked car. As he crouched down, however, Bender shot Broadus in the back a second time and compounded the injury of the gunshot wounds by repeatedly kicking Broadus. When some witnesses volunteered to transport Broadus to a hospital, Bender threatened to shoot them as well (Y. Williams 2015). Thomas Broadus was ultimately placed in a police car and taken to the city's only Black-serving hospital, where he was pronounced dead five minutes after being admitted.

Edward Bender was initially charged with murder and later found not guilty by a grand jury (Baum 2010). The jury reversed its decision to indict after meeting with the Baltimore police chief. An official statement from Bender's police captain justified Bender's use of excessive force with claims that Thomas Broadus had grabbed Bender's nightstick and struck the officer with it several times on the head before running away (*Afro-American* 1942). The statement also claimed that Bender's first shot that night was fired in the air and that he only fired one shot at the soldier, despite the hospital staff finding two bullet entry wounds in Broadus's body among the other injuries inflicted by Bender (*Afro-American* 1942). Bender was never prosecuted (Baum 2010). This was his second killing; he had killed a twenty-four-year-old Black man named Charles Parker in 1940 (*Afro-American* 1942).

In the wake of Thomas Broadus's murder, a group of about two thousand Black protesters marched to the Maryland state capitol at Annapolis on April 23, 1942, to demand an end to police brutality. Speaking on behalf of the protesters, W. A. C. Hughes Jr., attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and a leader of the Citizens' Committee for Justice, denounced the routine police violence in Baltimore.[1] He argued that "liberty, the pursuit of happiness and even life itself is seriously jeopardized in the city of Baltimore by the totally indifferent and frequently oppressive action by police officers." He went on to point out that since Baltimore police commissioner Robert F. Stanton took office in 1938, "there have been ten killings of colored citizens by policemen." Hughes cautioned that "a serious racial conflict may result unless some remedial steps are taken."

It is telling that the "remedial steps" laid out presaged the types of reforms suggested today when police killings occur. For example, Hughes called for "a full and complete investigation" of police abuse charges by "a

special committee of outstanding citizens" appointed by the governor. In addition, believing that racial diversity in police departments would help bring an end to police brutality, protesters requested that Black police officers be hired in Baltimore. Along those lines, the Reverend Eugene W. White, secretary of the Citizens' Committee for Justice and pastor of Providence Baptist Church in Baltimore, stated: "One of the greatest needs of our racial group in Baltimore is colored policemen in uniform to assist in upholding the laws, preventing crime and running down criminals. Baltimore has only three colored policemen who are not, and never have been in uniform."[2] Other requests included the appointment of a "colored magistrate" in Baltimore and the hiring of a second policewoman to the Baltimore police force. Protesters' demands also addressed much broader needs for more employment opportunities and Black representation in state and local government (Shoemaker 1994).

As a routinely unimaginative conclusion of highly contested police cases, a committee was formed. During the twentieth century, committees and commissions on race and civil rights became a common institutional response in the United States to quell Black rebellion without resolving its root causes (Hinton 2021). The April 1942 demonstration in Annapolis, along with meetings with Black leaders, prompted Maryland governor Herbert R. O'Conor to appoint an interracial commission "to study problems affecting Maryland's Negro population," including police relations (Governor's Commission on Problems Affecting the Negro Population 1943). After convening for months, the subcommittee on problems involving the police recommended the following:

1   That a copy of the Commission's report on "Questions Affecting the Police" be sent to the State's Attorney with the request that the Bender case be again sent to the Grand Jury.
2   That a copy also be sent to the Commissioner of Police with the request that appropriate charges against Officer Bender be formulated and tried by the Commissioner in his authority as head of the force.
3   That the Commissioner of Police appoint a colored police woman at an early date.
4   That one or more of the Negro policemen on the force be assigned to the duty of patrolmen in uniform.
5   That worthy young colored men be encouraged to prepare themselves to pass the examination and to secure places on the eligible lists.

6   That an amendment of the law relating to the Board of Police Examin-
     ers be sought, so as to secure the appointment of non-partisan examin-
     ers with long tenure in office.
     (Governor's Commission on Problems Affecting the Negro Population
     1943)

Following these suggestions, the Baltimore police department appointed the city's first three uniformed Black police officers (Y. Williams 2015). By 1950, Baltimore's police department had hired fifty Black police officers (Baltimore City Police Department, n.d.). Other reforms made in Maryland since then to combat racial police violence include diversity hires in police departments across the state beginning in the 1950s, community policing initiatives beginning in the 1980s to encourage police officers to become more familiar with their enforcement areas and collaborate with local residents to prevent and target crime, a 1995 agreement by the Maryland State Police (MSP) to end racial profiling (following a class-action lawsuit brought against MSP by the American Civil Liberties Union), a 2001 law requiring racially disaggregated data collection on traffic stops in Maryland, and a 2009 law requiring Maryland law enforcement agencies to report data on their use of Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) teams.

From the 1943 Governor's Commission to today, however, the State of Maryland and City of Baltimore have failed to resolve the issue of police violence. A case in point is the widely publicized and protested death of Freddie Gray on April 19, 2015. The murder of Freddie Gray occurred just days before the seventy-third anniversary of the protests surrounding the police killing of Thomas Broadus. Gray's death was the result of coordinated violence by six Baltimore police officers who, similar to the officer who killed Thomas Broadus, were either acquitted or had the charges against them dropped before going to trial.

In addition to the parallel between such tacit acceptances of police brutality spanning more than seven decades, there is commonality in the method of struggle taken up by Broadus and Gray. Like Broadus, Freddie Gray ran from the police when he was stopped. Possibly with his mind flashing through memories of his past arrests, Gray took flight with another man after a police officer made eye contact with them (*Baltimore Sun* 2015). These shared moments of Black flight across time are a central focus of this book. What happens when we understand the stories of Thomas Broadus and Freddie Gray not only for the losses of Black life they tell but also for the kinds of "life and living memory and whatever is in between"

(McKittrick 2021, 106) that emerge out of Black flight from policing? How can a retelling of police brutality through the framework of Black flight serve not as a descriptive rehearsal of anti-Black violence but instead as a lens into how we can "live with our world, differently, right now and engender new critical interventions" (McKittrick 2021, 139)? These questions mark a critical departure from the inertia characterizing the policy arena surrounding policing, wherein the prevailing queries already assume policing to be an answer to the "problem" (Du Bois [1903] 2015) of Black people and Black geographies.

Typical of this inertia, some of the same steps and policy recommendations made following the 1942 killing of Thomas Broadus were put forward in the wake of Freddie Gray's murder. For example, the Maryland Senate president and House speaker created a Public Safety and Policing Workgroup in May 2015 to address issues of policing following Gray's death. Similar to the Governor's Commission on Problems Affecting the Negro Population organized in 1942, this work group recommended that recruitment standards be evaluated and modernized to increase the presence of women, African Americans, Latinos, and other minorities in law enforcement departments (Hughes, Gruber, and Rossmark 2016). This call echoed demands for more racial and gender diversity on the Baltimore police force seven decades prior. But as the racial and gender backgrounds of the police officers responsible for Gray's murder make clear, diversity cannot resolve the issue of police brutality: three of the six officers were Black, one of whom was a woman.[3] The State of Maryland, like the rest of the United States, has proven unwilling to turn away from ineffective, stale reforms in efforts to address police violence. The long appeal of police reform reflects enduring institutional priorities across the political spectrum to legitimize the police function in enforcing the inequality and oppression integral to the development and maintenance of racial capitalism in the United States (Center for Research on Criminal Justice 1977; Maher 2021).

The state's responses to the police killings of Thomas Broadus, Freddie Gray, and the countless others whose lives have ended at the hands and weapons of police officers in the United States are deeply inadequate. Rather than quelling the violent operations of the police state, reforms set forward often focus on suppressing the fire of Black rebellion through crisis and diversity management. In addition, solutions presented for the problem of police brutality routinely involve deeper entrenchment of police presence in communities; for example, some community policing reforms even include incentives for officers to live in the areas they police. These liberal

reform approaches incorrectly "identify policing as a fundamental tool of law and order that serves the collective interests of society, and locate the problems of police in a failure to adhere to constitutional law" (Akbar 2018, 410). The consequences of this reformism include ongoing state and state-sanctioned racial violence. Instead of further investments in policing, what is needed is a turn to "nonreformist reform," which Ruth Wilson Gilmore explains as "changes that, at the end of the day, unravel rather than widen the net of social control through criminalization" (2007, 242).

In the pages that follow, I present a Black geographic history of non-reformist approaches to combatting police violence. The places where I have gathered histories and present-day stories of such approaches are rooted in the same type of defiance called for by the crowd gathered around Thomas Broadus on that winter night in 1942 and carried out by Freddie Gray in 2015: Black flight. Moreover, while it is unknown whether Louis Armstrong learned that Thomas Broadus lost his life to a police officer that night after his performance in Baltimore, Armstrong himself sang of flight from police later in his career:

> Pops, did you hear the story of long John Dean?
> A bold bank robber from Bowlin' Green
> Was sent to the jail house yesterday
> But late last night he made his getaway . . .
> While they offered a reward to bring him back
> Even put bloodhounds on his track
> Those doggone bloodhounds lost his scent
> Now nobody knows where John went
> (Louis Armstrong, "Long Gone")

Louis Armstrong's lyrics, onlookers' exhortations for Thomas Broadus to flee in 1942, and Freddie Gray's flight from police in 2015 all demonstrate that policing is a deadly force from which to escape, not a system to invest hope and resources in correcting. Such refusals of policing invite a new type of analysis that does not simply interrogate the most brutal excesses of state power but instead points toward a way out of quotidian state violence by centering radical possibilities embedded in struggles for Black life.

While this prologue centers the historical geography of Black flight in Baltimore, the book now pivots to Montgomery County, Maryland—an equally important geographic site about forty miles from Baltimore and nestled against the northwestern boundary of the US capital, Washington, DC. At the same time that critical struggles against police brutality in

major cities like Baltimore have shaped much of the police reform debate in the past century, Black geographies at other scales and places pose significant geographic confrontations with and possibilities beyond state and extralegal racial violence. We can locate Montgomery County in a diaspora that includes the nearby city of Baltimore along with other places formed through Black flight and placemaking. Within this diasporic framework for Black struggle, expanded scalar and political potentials result from engaging and recognizing places like Montgomery County: "spaces that are not normally celebrated—or even noticed—in our present geographic order" (McKittrick 2021, 182).

Alongside Thomas Broadus and Freddie Gray, who attempted to save their lives by fleeing from police, the people whose stories have shaped my writing carry a Black geographic tradition of flight that informs their organizing against and outside police surveillance and control. Their stories—and their accomplices in flight—reveal fissures in the law enforcement apparatus as well as everyday strategies of care and fugitivity that refuse, disrupt, and elude policing. It is my hope that these strategies help the reader imagine how safety can and must be ensured without police.

Introduction

How to Lose the Hounds: Maroon Geographies and a World beyond Policing is a guide to police abolition. It asks how *marronage*, the practice of flight from and placemaking beyond slavery, anticipated future Black refusals of policing. In answering this question, the book centers Black communities that have been subjected to violent excesses of police power from slavery until the present day. These communities demonstrate long-standing and ongoing ways to secure public safety and well-being without police.

The long history of Black subjection to police brutality might suggest looking beyond Black spaces for alternatives to police. In well-meaning arguments for defunding the police, for example, several prominent organizers, scholars, and politicians—including Mariame Kaba, Alex Vitale, and Congressperson Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez—have pointed to affluent, white suburbs as models for police abolition.[1] This approach is correct in asserting that abolition is already practiced in our world. Yet, as Tamara K. Nopper (2020) asserts, "abolition is not a suburb": while affluent, white suburban neighborhoods offer alternatives to police and incarceration, these spaces lack meaningful structures of accountability and harm reduction. Moreover, the very maintenance of affluent, white suburbs is predicated on the exclusion and policing of working-class people and people of color. Thus, solutions to police violence cannot involve turning away from Black spaces and toward such dominant geographies. It is precisely because Black communities are seemingly impossible sites for understanding life beyond policing that they provide critical lessons for why we must, and how we can, reimagine safety and community well-being without police. Black geographies show that abolition is "lived, possible, and imaginable" (McKittrick 2006, xii).

How to Lose the Hounds illuminates Black abolitionist placemaking from slavery through the present day. I explore what I call *maroon geographies*, which encompass sites of flight from slavery along with spaces of freedom

produced through continuing Black struggles. Maroon geographies constitute part of a Black placemaking tradition shaped by subversions and rejections of dominant spatial imaginaries in addition to assertions of life-affirming forms of community. Across the Americas, marronage as flight from slavery took place during the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries. Through marronage, enslaved Black people asserted their freedom, evaded slave catchers, and created communities physically removed from the dominant slave society. Maroon communities ranged from small groups to large societies, and from "hinterland" to "borderland" groups that respectively settled deep in the wilderness or, conversely, near farms, plantations, and cities (Diouf 2014). Communities of maroons also became known by names such as *palenques* (e.g., in Cuba and Colombia), *cumbes* (e.g., in Venezuela), and *mocambos* and *quilombos* (in Brazil). Those who settled in maroon communities included Black people as well as Indigenous and poor white people excluded from slave society.

Much scholarship on marronage focuses solely on the historical significance and past cultures of these maroon communities and societies (Aptheker 1939, 1947; Price 1973, 1975, 1976; Leaming 1979; Agorsah 1994; Mulroy 2003; Leone, LaRoche, and Babiarz 2005; Thompson 2006; Diouf 2014; LaRoche 2014; Sayers 2014). Notable interventions include political scientist and Black studies scholar Cedric J. Robinson's *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* ([1983] 2000) and political theorist Neil Roberts's *Freedom as Marronage* (2015), which situate marronage within ongoing histories of radical Black struggle and theories of freedom that shape the past and the present. Following Roberts's (2015, 173) call for scholars to "reorient our epistemology of freedom around marronage," marronage has gained attention in scholarship on modern Black struggles and fugitivity (Joyce 2017; Quan 2017; Lebrón Ortiz 2019; Krueger-Henney and Ruglis 2020). I continue this work by expanding the temporal landscape of marronage to engage with its enduring legacies.

This book is principally situated in Black geographies scholarship, which examines the reverberations of transatlantic slavery in our current world order. This body of work contends that the slave ship, the auction block, the plantation, and other slavery-era geographies are ongoing loci of anti-Black violence and death in the Americas, reproduced in the present day through policing, imprisonment, immigrant detention, uneven development, environmental racism, and other systematic racial violence (Woods 1998; McKittrick 2011, 2013; Bledsoe 2017; Woods et al. 2017; Wright 2018; Vasudevan 2019; J. Davis et al. 2019; A. R. Roberts 2020). Black geog-

raphies scholarship also acknowledges how spatial acts of struggle and survival exist alongside and against the "historically present" geography of Black dispossession (McKittrick 2006, 7). As part of this research on persistent Black struggles against dominant geographies, geographers have stretched the concept of marronage to understand racial liberation struggles both in and beyond the spatial and temporal spaces of chattel slavery in the Americas (Bledsoe 2016, 2017; Malm 2018; Ferretti 2019; Thomas 2020; Wright 2020; Winston 2021). This geographic scholarship makes evident that marronage is an ongoing, expansive, and fundamentally spatial practice of building alternative worlds in service of liberation.

More than just a perpetual form of flight from unfreedom, maroon geographies encompass a method of *holding ground*: a geographic practice of making and sustaining place, and a refusal to yield, bend, or compromise in the face of attack or affront. In its noun form, holding ground refers to a "bottom that an anchor can hold in" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.)—which signals the often-invisible support structures undergirding sites of struggle and resistance. Holding ground contrasts with standing one's ground, a practice rooted in colonial dispossession and codified in stand-your-ground laws that legally permit people to use force (including deadly force) to defend one's self and property even when safe retreat is possible. Whereas stand-your-ground laws uphold centuries of racist legal doctrine that promotes violence for the sake of white property, holding ground is a care-filled practice of placemaking that transgresses dominant geographies. To hold ground is to engage in the "alternative ways of thinking about land use, stewardship, accumulation, and the environment" that are central to Black freedom (Hosbey and Roane 2021, 70). Thus, as a form of holding ground, maroon geographies underscore maroons' indelible impacts in a Black radical project of producing spaces that refuse to yield to racial violence rooted in the history and legacies of slavery. Maroon geographies demonstrate that freedom is not only a political horizon but is also an already extant place constructed through the work of oppressed people to organize land, social relations, and other resources for the purpose of liberation (Gilmore 2017, 227–28).

Maroon geographies form through Black spatial efforts to rework and reclaim geographic refuse: spaces that have been refused incorporation into dominant geographies and development, and sites where the people, land uses, and material environment are cast as marginal to the workings of racial capitalism's ecologies. During slavery, maroon geographies materialized in the spaces of swamps, mountains, forests, tall grasslands,

and other "geographically difficult terrain" (J. C. Scott 2009, 6). The spatial features characterizing the so-called wilderness, such as "geographical inaccessibility, environmental detriment, [and] economic inefficiency" (Thomas 2020, 23), made such areas difficult for transformation by slave labor and thus untenable for inclusion in the racial capitalist plantation economy (Robinson [1983] 2000). Whereas land that was "not yet . . . subjugated to the rule of exchange-value" was considered "worthless waste" according to the logics of capitalism during slavery (Malm 2018, 11), it had long been invaluable to Indigenous groups inhabiting and caring for the land. Likewise, carrying their own "maroon ecology" (Malm 2018), Black people escaping slavery used this land as a critical basis for their flight to freedom from racial capitalism and the organized landscape of slavery. In Dominica, for example, the untamable forests beyond the coastlines became a "vast interior realm of maroon power where the whites dared not tread" (Malm 2018, 15). In the United States, the Great Dismal Swamp extending between Virginia and North Carolina was another site of geographic difficulty that enabled maroons to establish permanent homes beyond the confines of plantations. Where slavery took hold throughout the Americas, land subsumed into Western notions of wilderness became a premise, or necessary precondition, of freedom for maroons.

Since the abolition of transatlantic slavery, maroon geographies have continued to manifest through the reworking of a new form of geographic refuse. While most land previously considered to comprise the complicated category of "wilderness" has been tamed, occupied, or otherwise enclosed through colonization and racial capitalism—transformed into a "controlled, managed garden" (Merchant 2003, 389)—Black people continue to convert geographic refuse into "the cipher of a possible future freedom" (Malm 2018, 28). Modern maroon geographies manifest in "forgotten places" where "industries of last resort" like incarceration, oil refining, and waste management take hold while "real resolutions of economic, social, and technological problems" are "defer[red] to other places and times" (Gilmore 2008, 50). Such places, principally legible to capitalists through the register of abandonment, hold a capacity to generate new ways of life that push up against the constrictions of racial capitalism.

Contemporary sites of geographic refuse are conventionally referred to as spaces of white flight, deindustrialization, and environmental hazards without considering the ciphers of freedom created there. As racial conditions of slavery resonate in anti-Black violence today in "the context of

persistent labor exploitation, hyper-surveillance, and unending incarceration," marronage continues through "border crossing, bench-warrant avoidance, and prison abolition" (Quan 2017, 184). Focusing on Black negations of policing's past and ongoing violence, this book underscores the wide span of slavery-era and more contemporary everyday Black abolitionist praxes.

A Brief History of Policing

Far from coincidental, the interconnections between Black abolitionist praxes rooted in past and present maroon geographies reflect the intertwined legacies of Black enslavement, slave patrols, and policing. In the United States, where much of this book is situated, the forerunners of modern police were known as slave patrols—or as "paddyrollers," "padaroles," "padaroes," and "patterolers" by the people they policed (K. Williams 2007, 36). Formalized in the US South at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Reichel 1988), slave patrols were employed by enslavers to maintain the dominant racial-economic order by capturing and punishing enslaved Black people who were found away from their enslavers' property without a proper pass. Patrollers also suppressed insurrections by disbursing unsupervised gatherings of enslaved Black people, searching Black homes for weapons, surveilling white people under suspicion of associating with Black people, and policing borders between "free" and slave territories.[2] Slave patrollers operated through violence, using an arsenal of guns, whips, binding ropes, and sexual assault to capture runaways and quell revolts (Wintersmith 1974; Hadden 2001). Slave patrollers' role in society was not to ensure public safety but to violently "maintain the racial and economic status quo" of slavery (K. Williams 2007, 66–67).

Slave patrol tasks were later folded into the duties of the nation's first police agencies. In southern cities, early law enforcement took the form of city patrols, guards, and night police tasked with punishing Black people traveling without passes or free papers, preventing gatherings of enslaved Black people, and generally targeting enslaved and free Black people with surveillance, harassment, and violence (K. Williams 2007, 41). Southern state laws limited or prohibited Black people from spending time in public spaces, being outside past specific times, carrying weapons, being "vagrants" (not having a job), trading goods with enslaved people, piloting a

boat, preaching, owning dogs, seeking an education, writing or circulating books, and returning to a slave state after going to a nonslaveholding state (Dance 1987, 118).

Even in northern states, police agencies shaped their policing apparatuses to constrict the mobility and agency of Black, Indigenous, and mixed-race people, enforcing local racial laws as well as the federal fugitive slave acts (Campbell 1970; S. Browne 2015).[3] In the 1840s and 1850s, police forces in northern cities also adopted southern methods like wages and uniforms for patrolmen, and twenty-four-hour patrols (Rousey 1996, 14). Even prior to the legal authorization of their use of firearms, northern police officers armed themselves with guns following the southern example (Rousey 1996, 14). Tactics initially used to control enslaved people were being retooled in both the North and the South to selectively target and police a wider array of "dangerous classes" (K. Williams 2007, 75) composed of nonwhite people, poor white workers, and not-yet-white immigrant populations.

For descendants of enslaved people still living in southern states after emancipation, police continued to function during the 1860s through the early 1960s much as they had during slavery. For a Black person, post-emancipation-era interaction with southern police still meant the likelihood of violence coupled with a revamped form of forced labor. Police often used their power to force Black people into unpaid labor through convict leasing or chain gangs (Blackmon 2008). Black Codes, a set of laws passed by southern states between 1865 and 1866, buttressed convict leasing and chain gangs by criminalizing the same sort of everyday activities prohibited among Black people during slavery, such as loitering or breaking curfew. The result was the perpetuation of a southern labor economy built on the involuntary servitude of a swelling Black prison population, which surpassed the white prison population for the first time during the second half of the nineteenth century (J. Browne 2010). It took until the early 1960s—nearly a century after the abolition of slavery—for chain gangs to be abolished in every state (Lichtenstein 1996).

Today, police remain a key part of the US racial political economy by upholding a tradition of slavery-era policing technologies, practices, and imperatives. For example, police generate revenue for local governments through fines and court fees targeted at Black people. Municipalities with higher Black populations are more likely to take advantage of fines and fees as a major source of local revenue (Sances and You 2017). Police officers also continue to perform a type of "bodily surveillance" rooted in slavery (S. Browne 2015, 146), reading skin color, hair texture, forms of dress, and

other biological and physical markers as indications of whether an individual threatens public safety and the dominant socioeconomic order. Moreover, many consequences of policing—mass "disenfranchisement, economic marginalization, and financial entrapment, including debt bondage and extreme social isolation"—are reminiscent of slavery (Quan 2017, 185).

The racial logics underpinning modern-day policing, however, resemble but "do not twin" the arrangements of slavery and the plantation (McKittrick 2011, 951). While policing traditions continue, they also evolve and operate in service of shifting goals. Police no longer function to support an economy based on Black involuntary servitude. Today, the majority of people incarcerated after being arrested by police spend their days incapacitated in public jails and prisons, neither working for free nor filling the coffers of private prison owners (Gilmore 2007, 21). According to the Sentencing Project (Buday and Nellis 2022), people incarcerated in private correctional facilities accounted for only 8 percent of the total US state and federal prison population in 2020. Moreover, as Ruth Wilson Gilmore (2017, 234) contends, struggles against mass incarceration can and should build, in part, on "the lineage of abolition extending through chattel slavery"; but "since half of the people locked up are not, or not obviously, descendants of racial chattel slavery, the problem demands a different explanation and therefore different politics" than a campaign to dismantle modern-day slavery.

Today's police suppress surplus labor to protect the current political economy rather than the slave economy of the past. Avery Gordon (2017) argues that policing has shifted from an overtly racial program of surveillance and punishment in service of unpaid labor to a system designed to preserve public order by isolating and disposing of threats to racial capitalism. These threats take the form of "surplus, disposable, and politically troublesome populations" that, in existence and through action, expose the fragility of our present world order and its organized failures to enhance political and economic freedom for all (Gordon 2017, 197). Groups disproportionately targeted by the police encompass working-class people, nonwhite people, immigrants, queer and nonbinary people, and people identified as mentally ill. The enduring racial codes operating today to justify this unevenness in policing include laws prohibiting drinking in public, possessing small amounts of drugs, making too much noise, and engaging in "disorderly conduct" (Vitale 2017, 31). Police enforce these laws through routine intimidation and violence, much like slave patrols and early police officers.

After centuries of advances and reforms, policing in the United States continues to share the same intrinsically violent nature of historical police

apparatuses. In fact, while modern police departments stress their essential role in criminal justice and public safety, crime control remains just "a small part" of a policing system still centered on oppressive social control (Vitale 2017, 31). The danger that police disproportionately pose to poor people, people of color, people experiencing mental health emergencies, and people harmed by sexual assault is exacerbated by the idea that police protect these groups. On the contrary, police routinely respond to crises in these intersecting communities with inaction at best and with deadly force in frequent worst-case scenarios. For example, while a main justification for the need for police is to "prevent rape and arrest rapists," people who commit sexual assault "are rarely investigated, indicted, or convicted," and the police often inflict additional violence on survivors (Maher 2021, 53). Police also disproportionately use deadly force on Black Americans, who are three times more likely than their white counterparts to be killed by police; likewise, people with Latine, Indigenous, and Pacific Islander backgrounds are often twice as likely as white people to die by police brutality (Maher 2021). In addition, almost 25 percent of people killed by police in the United States in 2015 displayed signs of a mental health crisis (Saleh et al. 2018). The disproportionate policing of particular groups of people, however, is not the core issue; rather, abolitionists challenge the very act of criminalization that makes anybody vulnerable to the violence of the criminal punishment system in the first place (Gilmore 2016).[4] The persistent paradox of a system falsely purported to ensure public safety and security demands a conversation that moves beyond reform, one that extends abolitionist struggles dating back to slavery that have called for systematic flight from and refusal of policing all along.

Maroon Geographies and Police Abolition

Just as technologies of the slave patrol and early police preceded contemporary policing tools and practices, early Black struggles against policing anticipated later Black critiques and refusals of police (McKittrick 2011). In fact, contemporary organizing for police abolition—by groups like Critical Resistance; INCITE! Women, Gender Non-Conforming, and Trans people of Color Against Violence; Black Youth Project 100; and Black Lives Matter—build upon the political framing and imperatives embedded in historical struggles to abolish slavery. The movement for slavery's abolition was based on the understanding that abolition must encompass not only

the end of slavery but also the creation of a new societal formation that dismantled and transcended the very logics upon which slavery was built (Du Bois [1935] 1998; A. Davis 2003). Similarly, police abolitionists work to end policing by developing and investing in completely different infrastructures that holistically support the safety and well-being of everyone.

Much of the everyday work of police abolition is carried out by Black folk who replace policing with care and accountability in their daily lives. Since the establishment of police as a central institution in US society, Black communities have negated policing as a system that routinely threatens and ends Black lives and, in its stead, created alternative models of safety and well-being. The long history of this practice, what I call an "everyday Black life of abolition" (Winston 2020), provides critical lessons for how we, as a society, can turn away from policing. As an ever-growing group of organizers, scholars, and political actors are embracing police abolition as a necessary and near political future in the context of pervasive anti-Black police brutality, I center maroon geographies as a vital model for police abolition. Following the lineage of Black texts that return to the past in order "to give blackness a future" (McKittrick 2021, 148), *How to Lose the Hounds* returns to historical geographies of marronage to show existing and possible future worlds of freedom from policing. A path toward police abolition need not be an imagined abstraction when it is evident in the archives, folklore, and ongoing life of maroon geographies.

A stirring example of an abolitionist praxis embedded in maroon geographies comes from the Gullah Coast region of the United States, spanning from Charleston, South Carolina, to Kingsland, Georgia. There, up until at least 1915, fugitives from the law avoided police capture using the same strategies as maroons. Anthropologist H. Eugene Hodges described their tactics in a short paper published in 1971 called "How to Lose the Hounds: Technology of the Gullah Coast Renegade," which inspired the title of this book. These fugitives—locally referred to as "renegades"—evaded the police by retreating to the swamps, forests, or offshore islands that had once provided shelter for maroons in the Lowcountry regions of Georgia and South Carolina. In order to throw the sheriffs' hounds off their scent, the renegades created false trails, rubbed wild onions or turnips on the soles of their shoes, kicked their shoes against skunks' bottoms, and used household goods such as red or black pepper, pine oil, turpentine, kerosene, and gasoline to destroy the hounds' sense of smell (Hodges 1971). Hodges attributes these methods for "losing the hounds" to Black people who had run away from rice plantations in the area.

In addition to fleeing from police, some maroons in the Americas developed their own justice systems and even continued their use after slavery ended. For example, the Djuka maroon society and the Matawai maroon tribe, both in Suriname, governed themselves with their own laws, at least until the tail end of the twentieth century (Köbben 1969; Green 1977). Each of these maroon societies, which "constitute the most enduring and oldest examples of continuous marronage" (Robinson [1983] 2000), settled the majority of their societal disputes without referring to Suriname authorities, even though Suriname state law technically applied to them. For example, the Matawais used communal councils consisting of elder men and women to adjudicate cases in which community norms were violated (Green 1977). These maroon justice systems continued to operate more than a century after slavery was abolished in Suriname in 1863 (Köbben 1969; Green 1977).

How to Lose the Hounds centers maroon geographies in Montgomery County, Maryland, as models for police abolition. Located in a border state between the Confederacy to its south and the free states of the Union to its north, Montgomery County served as an important site of the Underground Railroad during the American Civil War (1861–65). Many narratives of the Underground Railroad, including William Still's (1872) famous book on the subject, mention a route to freedom that Black people took into and through Montgomery County after traveling from Virginia, across the Potomac River and the Chesapeake and Ohio (C&O) Canal that divides Virginia and Maryland (Cohen 1994, 7). In *The Potomac*, a historical account of the Potomac River, Frederick Gutheim (1949, 105) recorded that above Georgetown and Great Falls in Montgomery County, "the river became shallower, islands appeared, and here and there were places where a man [*sic*] on horseback, or a pack train, could ford a stream." Fugitives from slavery traveling north on foot or by swimming also "sought out those areas of the Potomac which offered easy access into Montgomery County" (Cohen 1994, 7).

As another geographic aid to marronage, Montgomery County's rural terrain filled with fields of tall grass, thickets, and swamps enabled those fleeing slavery to conceal themselves "from the roaming patrols that travelled the public roads" (Cohen 1995, 324). Maroons could also follow various waterways in the county in their flight north. This physical landscape combined with the county's proximity to Pennsylvania to create a significant locus of marronage. For maroons escaping from enslavement in Montgomery County and beyond, the hope of freedom lay just forty miles north of the county in Pennsylvania, where the Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slav-

ery was passed in 1780, slowly decreasing the state's enslaved population to zero by 1850 (Shaffner 1862, 252–53).

Marronage was thus a major ongoing practice in Montgomery County. The Maryland State Archives contain more than four hundred runaway ads posted by Montgomery County enslavers in local newspapers across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, before the state abolished slavery. The network of Black fugitivity in Montgomery County was so strong that enslavers throughout the region knew to trace the paths of their runaways there. For example, Thomas Hodgkin of Annapolis, Maryland, suspected that Frank, a man he enslaved, ran away in 1789 to Frederick or Montgomery County, where his "relations" lived (*Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* 1789). Likewise, Samuel Cissel of Clarksville in Howard County, Maryland, believed that Tilghman Johnson ran away to Sandy Spring in Montgomery County in 1859 (*Baltimore Sun* 1859). In 1845, W. M. Maddox of Washington, DC, believed that Maria, a woman he enslaved, was making her way north "through Baltimore or Montgomery county, or perhaps . . . on board of some Eastern vessel" (*Baltimore Sun* 1845). In 1857, an *Evening Star* newspaper correspondent in Washington, DC, attested to the geographic spread of fugitivity around the nation's capital: "It is quite certain that there are agents of the Underground Railroad at work in the adjoining counties of Maryland and Virginia" (*Evening Star* 1857). Maryland itself also became a final destination in many Black people's flights to freedom when the state abolished slavery on November 1, 1864, more than a year before the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution was ratified to officially abolish slavery across the United States.[5]

Black people who escaped or were emancipated from slavery as well as their descendants established more than forty Black communities in Montgomery County between the late eighteenth century and the late nineteenth century. Early Black residents took advantage of neglected and abandoned land—white society's geographic refuse—to create maroon geographies. By 1861, fifty-one Black landowners in the county owned a collective total of 17,142 acres (Afro-American Institute for Historic Preservation and Community Development 1978). These communities were often built on land deemed by white people as unworkable for living and farming due to its marshy or rocky conditions (Fly and Fly 1983). Among these communities, those established before the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment offered temporary and at times permanent safe havens for Black people fleeing slavery.[6] Likewise, Black people who established local communities in the aftermath of slavery continued building whole worlds from sites

declared unfit for human life. These communities were, to a large extent, self-sufficient. Residents developed and maintained their own businesses and community institutions—generally churches, schools, and lodges or mutual aid societies. Their "impulse toward separatism . . . is rooted in maroonage and the desire to leave the place of oppression for either a new land or some kind of peaceful coexistence" (Kelley 2002, 17).

How to Lose the Hounds focuses on seven early Montgomery County Black communities: Sandy Spring, Haiti (pronounced "Hay-Tie"), Sugarland, Ken-Gar, Lincoln Park, Scotland, and Tobytown. Together, these communities offer portions of blueprints for an expansive project of police abolition rooted in maroon geographies. The communities of Sandy Spring, Haiti, Lincoln Park, and Sugarland have direct ties to marronage. In Sandy Spring, free Black residents, along with local Quakers (who began freeing people they enslaved around 1775), provided shelter to maroons traveling north to freedom. The history of Haiti (established around 1830) provides evidence of marronage as well: for example, records indicate that enslaved Black people fled from the area on the eve of the Civil War (McGuckian 1989). In addition, although Lincoln Park was not established until 1891, some of the first Black residents are believed to have escaped from enslavement in Virginia and West Virginia and settled in the community decades prior to its official founding (Eisman 1977). Likewise, local folklore indicates that prior to the official settlement of Sugarland by freed Black people in the 1870s and 1880s, fugitives from slavery were provided shelter in a cave and received financial assistance via a money line organized by local Black people (Gwen Reese, interview with author, December 13, 2017). In Sugarland, as well as Sandy Spring, Haiti, and Lincoln Park, marronage continued after the abolition of slavery through systems of care, protection, and collaboration that originally supported flight from slavery. In Tobytown (1875), Scotland (1879), and Ken-Gar (1892)—all communities formed after slavery—generations of residents also fostered spaces of trust and cooperation that reflect early maroon geographies. One of the key lasting impacts of this geographic history is a local terrain in which the violent logics and operations of policing are constantly interrupted and discarded in favor of established community support systems.

I locate the seven Black communities of Sandy Spring, Haiti, Sugarland, Ken-Gar, Lincoln Park, Scotland, and Tobytown within a network of maroon geographies. I do this to recognize their shared development along a spatial-temporal arc connecting flight from slavery to a broader
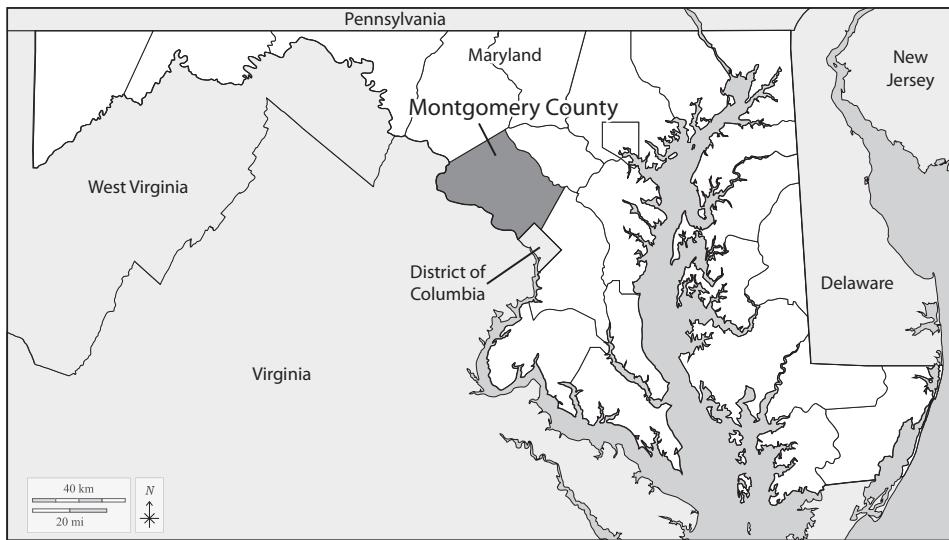
Map I.1 Montgomery County, Maryland, and surrounding states. Map by author.

geographic praxis of fugitivity through the twenty-first century. Maroon geographies exist not only where marronage is directly evident but also where its legacies can be found in folklore and examples of flight from racial violence more generally. This theoretical flexibility allows me to recast the margin—small Black suburban communities whose histories are mostly uncontained by the archives—as part of an "enlarged story field" (McKittrick 2006, xxix) of marronage and its afterlife.

Thus, this book demonstrates that just as marronage is itself a method of holding ground, the study of marronage demands a similar methodological approach. To hold ground methodologically involves rejecting conventional ideas of what counts as historical and geographic knowledge in order to recast marginalized historical geographies as part of a real, material basis for constructing places of freedom. What analytical possibilities are afforded by expanding how we define and delineate historical geographic practices? How might we include and center alternative knowledges as valid parts of the historical geographic record? What seemingly unlikely connections might be drawn across place and time through refusing the methodological impulse to exhaustively account for and document historical causality and continuity? In efforts to understand ongoing histories of
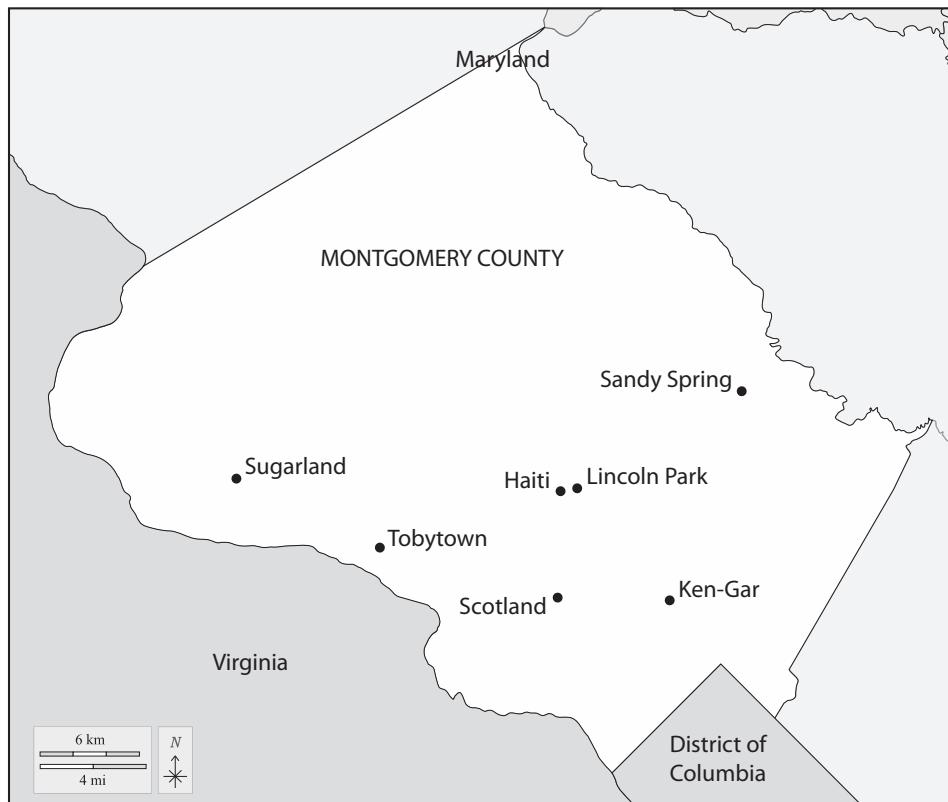
Map I.2 Black communities in Montgomery County study site. Map by author.

anti-racist organizing and placemaking, holding ground against the fore-closures of conventional ways of knowing highlights the value and radical promise of geography done differently.

Using the framework of maroon geographies, I aim to illuminate and counteract the willful erasures of a thriving tradition of Black community and fugitivity. In general, the prevalence of marronage has been frequently denied or minimized in the United States by scholars. While many historians of marronage have devoted their attentions to the Caribbean and Central and Latin America, marronage in the context of the present-day United States has methodically been reduced to the actions of individuals called "fugitives," "runaways," "banditti," and "outliers" (Diouf 2014, 3). Such atomization of the phenomenon of Black flight is partially a legacy of white southerners who habitually disavowed the pervasiveness of Black

fugitivity and other threats to slavery. In contrast, I use the term *marronage* to emphasize the systematic nature of Black flight from slavery and to connect sites of marronage in the United States to maroon communities across the Americas. Thus, *How to Lose the Hounds* is a project of what H. L. T. Quan (following Toni Morrison) calls "fugitive rememory" (2017, 182) as it re-remembers the history of Black communities, marronage and its carefully hidden legacies.

In building connections between marronage and the foundations for police abolition in Montgomery County's Black communities, this book asks three central questions: (1) What modes of safety and security did Montgomery County's early Black communities develop as alternatives and barriers to state and state-sanctioned policing? (2) How are definitions and practices of safety and security sustained across slavery-era and contemporary maroon geographies in Montgomery County? and (3) How do the social, political, and physical geographic arrangements of Black communities in Montgomery County model what Katherine McKittrick calls "more humanly workable geographies" (McKittrick 2006, xii), compared to the current terrain of policing? To address these questions, this book brings together historical and contemporary archival documents, including slave narratives, runaway slave advertisements, newspaper articles, police records, and the papers of local Black community institutions. To gain grounded information on local policing and Black placemaking beyond it, I also interviewed eighteen former and current residents of historically Black communities in Montgomery County. This approach offers a geographic perspective on the legacies of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Black community organizing and their salience for Black abolitionist praxes today.

Nevertheless, I do not claim that Black communities operate uniformly and constantly in an abolitionist praxis or that Blackness is always aligned with abolition. Even in the Black communities that are the focus of this book, residents have varying and conflicting views and approaches toward policing. Across the United States, Black people have played a central yet complex role in shaping harsh US criminal legal policies over the past sixty years. With rising Black political power and numbers of Black elected officials, particularly following the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, numerous Black leaders and their constituents advocated to secure what they saw as a historically denied civil right to access police and courts for their own safety; many also embraced "tough-on-crime measures" as part of efforts to protect the Black "community" from crime (Forman 2017, 11).

At the same time, Black rebellions took hold in every major US city between the mid-1960s and early 1970s to protest police brutality and broader systems of racism and anti-Black violence in the United States. In efforts to bridge the gap between formal politics and this direct action, Black elected officials spearheaded campaigns in the 1970s to bring housing, health care, welfare, schools, job training, and other social services to Black neighborhoods (Forman 2017; Hinton 2021). Black politics were thus animated by demands not only for police but also for other state resources denied to Black communities.

By the end of the twentieth century, however, state investments in Black communities mainly took the form of policing. In the 1970s and 1980s, austerity measures and the "war on drugs" in the United States operated in tandem to shrink budgets for social welfare programs and increase financial support for police intervention in Black and other marginalized neighborhoods. During this time, Black elected officials began supporting bigger police forces and increased police efforts to combat drug-related crises. For example, the Congressional Black Caucus sponsored the Reagan administration's Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986, which allocated $1.7 billion for the war on drugs and deepened racial disparities in policing and incarceration by establishing much harsher sentences for crack cocaine offenses than for powder cocaine (Taylor 2016, 100). During the 1980s and 1990s, many everyday Black folks also called for investments in policing to combat drug use, drug distribution, and intracommunity violence—all of which sparked anxieties in Black communities that were strategically appropriated by the state to rationalize the war on drugs (Murch 2015). The limited state-sponsored options for addressing drugs and violence, however, did not fully circumscribe Black neighborhoods. Even during crisis, Black communities like those in Montgomery County still provide a wealth of thoughtful and imaginative approaches to safety and security that do not always or solely rely on police.

The Story to Come

In the following chapters, I discuss how generations of residents in Montgomery County's historically Black communities have lived and continue to live out abolitionist praxes in their daily lives. Despite various social and economic pressures, including real estate development and speculation, urban

renewal, rising property taxes, and demographic changes, some of these communities still survive or existed up until recently as enclaves of Black life. As part of ensuring their freedom, many residents of these communities developed alternatives and barriers to policing that still shape local maroon geographies. From outwitting slave catchers to not relying on police to resolve issues or ensure safety in their communities, the residents of Montgomery County's Black communities offer us already existing abolitionist praxes that can inform present and future attempts to abolish the police state. I center these communities' past and present placemaking and collective strategies of valuing their own humanity as a model for police abolition: the end of policing and the creation of new forms of safety and security.

Chapter 1 focuses on the history and folklore around marronage that have shaped and continue to shape Black communities in Montgomery County. From surviving tales of legendary escapes from slavery to continued ways of life, Black freedom still takes place as marronage. This chapter draws attention to important sites of struggle and connects the historical practice and the present-day remembrances and manifestations of marronage in Montgomery County. Further, I explore how Black community members' stories about their history are part of a larger Black folklore tradition around Black flight. I contend that the survival of this folklore has allowed Black community members to remain relatively conscious of enduring legacies of marronage.

Chapter 2 explores two local moments of flight from policing that occurred more than a century apart in the same location in Montgomery County. The first involves a group of maroons who confronted the county militia while traveling along a major county road in 1845, and the second focuses on a Black woman named Carolyn Twyman, a resident of Tobytown who refused to sign a ticket and fled from police officers on that same road in 1972 after they stopped her for a routine traffic charge. These two moments of flight from police create openings for reimagining a world beyond police. I also position Twyman's moment of flight as an extension of the "fugitive infrastructure" (Cowen 2017) of her neighborhood, Tobytown. Fugitive infrastructure supports ordinary people to organize and sustain life when possibilities for survival seem limited. Tobytown's fugitive infrastructure provides a lens through which to understand placemaking beyond policing as it took place during 1970s urban renewal.

Chapter 3 addresses what might fill openings left in the absence of police. I outline a model of maroon justice rooted in examples from Montgomery

County's Black communities and situate it in a broader discussion of restorative and transformative justice principles. Restorative justice encompasses coordinated efforts by groups of people to collectively repair relationships and restore peace following conflict and harm. Interlinked with restorative justice, transformative justice gives name to efforts by people to achieve broader collective liberation alongside restoring individual and community well-being. Examples of maroon justice in this chapter highlight the significant role of the Black church in resolving community disputes and issues, as well as a general practice among Montgomery County's Black residents of developing their own community-level forms of conflict resolution and definitions of justice.

Chapter 4 critically engages the ideal of "community" and the possibilities for developing radically unbounded practices of community that transcend conservative appropriations used to legitimize policing. The chapter interrogates the development of "community policing" beginning in the 1960s and focuses on ways that residents of Montgomery County's Black communities have defined community beyond policing. From their establishment, these communities have fostered a level of human connectivity and communal trust and care that often precludes their need to rely on police. Central to this chapter is a discussion of Black epistemologies and practices of community rooted in marronage and characterized by radical visions of and for spaces that fulfill human needs. These Black geographic visions show that community safety and security should be defined beyond policing. They also demonstrate that safety and security beyond policing mean something much more complex and far-reaching than simple one-to-one alternatives to state-based police and emergency response teams. It means turning away from police and turning toward community institutions of support and care.

Chapter 5 draws lessons from maroon geographies for abolition policy: plans and actions undertaken to produce a world without police. In an ongoing context of anti-Black state violence, I discuss how Black justice organizing can hold the state accountable outside of investments in existing state formations. Maroon geographies demonstrate how to move toward police abolition through both radical spatial transformations and strategic entanglements with the state. This chapter also explores how the commitments and goals of marronage are echoed in Black struggles against police violence in the United States and across the globe. Just as police have inherited a violent system of control and surveillance, the people

who are policed have a geographic blueprint for fleeing and producing place beyond policing.

The epilogue concludes the book with a creative speculative vision for a world built on the absence of policing and incarceration and the presence of life-sustaining systems. This final story models how current and future liberation struggles might build upon the spatial artifacts and surviving geographic knowledge and practices comprising the sediment of unfinished "freedom dreams" (Kelley 2002).

Notes

Prologue

1 The Citizens' Committee for Justice was the product of combined efforts of churches, ministers, the *Afro-American* newspaper, the NAACP, and other groups in the city of Baltimore. All quotations from Hughes and White are from the *Baltimore Afro-American* 1942.

2 Black police officers in Baltimore at the time were prevented from wearing uniforms "so as not to intimidate whites" (Baum 2010, 40).

3 Epitomizing the failures of police diversity as a solution to police violence, in 1967, the Montgomery County, Maryland, police department held a recruitment drive at local military installations to integrate its all-white police force (Rovner 1967). The siting of police recruitment on military grounds exemplifies how increased diversity does not counter police violence; in this case, the militarization of police was only further entrenched. In addition, Black police officers have not proven to be less prejudiced or less violent than white officers (Moskos 2008).

Introduction

1 Organizer Mariame Kaba, in a 2017 interview with John Duda of The Real News Network, described the suburb of Naperville, Illinois, as a place where abolition is practiced already in the absence of police and metal detectors in schools and in the presence of jobs, housing, and health care. Sociologist Alex Vitale pointed to wealthy suburban communities when asked about his vision for the future during a 2020 NPR interview with Ari Shapiro about defunding the police. He explained that residents in these communities are able to mobilize their own resources for drug treatment and mental health care as alternatives to police involvement. In a 2020 virtual town hall, Congressperson Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez argued that suburbs show us what a world where

we defund the police looks like (Dixon 2020). She contrasted suburban investments in schools and school counselors with the urban school-to-prison pipeline to explain how funding from police in cities could be shifted to improve safety for young people.

2 For a discussion of the connection between slave patrols and border patrols, see Jimenez 2000, 35.

3 The Fugitive Slave Acts of 1793 and 1850 authorized law enforcement to apprehend and return alleged runaways who escaped from one state into another state or federal territory. The 1793 law allowed judicial authorities to deny Black people a jury trial in the determination of their alleged fugitive slave status. The 1850 law also prohibited alleged fugitives from testifying on their own behalf and imposed penalties on people who helped enslaved people escape and law enforcement agents who refused to enforce the law.

4 On the argument of Ruth Wilson Gilmore's "Too Soon for Sorry," delivered as the 2016 Marion Thompson Wright Lecture at Rutgers University–Newark, see https://www.newark.rutgers.edu/news/racism-past-present-prison-policing.

5 Slavery was abolished in Maryland through the passage of the Maryland Constitution of 1864. Despite its earlier abolition of slavery, Maryland did not necessarily denounce slavery more than other southern states. For example, within Montgomery County, 76 percent of voters in the Maryland Constitutional Election of October 1864 voted against the constitution because they did not want an end to slavery in Maryland. Statewide, 52 percent of Maryland County voters voted against the constitution (Wagandt 2004). In fact, after the county votes had been tallied, the *Maryland Union* newspaper jubilantly headlined on October 20, 1864: "MARYLAND REDEEMED! THE NEGRO-ROBBING CONSTITUTION DEFEATED! DEATH KNELL OF ABOLITIONISM! MARYLAND SAFE FOR MCCLELLAN! HANG YOUR HEADS FOR SHAME—YE SCOUNDRELS!" It was not until the votes of Maryland's soldiers fighting in the US Civil War were counted that the constitution was approved. The soldiers overwhelmingly supported the new constitution, and consequently slavery was abolished in Maryland with its passage.

6 Maryland had the largest free Black population in the country between 1810 and 1865 (Fields 1985, 1). In 1860, across the state of Maryland, there were almost as many free Black people as there were enslaved: eighty-seven thousand. In fact, Maryland's large free Black population was a major grievance among Maryland enslavers, especially in light of the continuous losses of enslaved laborers who escaped from the border state (Brackett 1890).