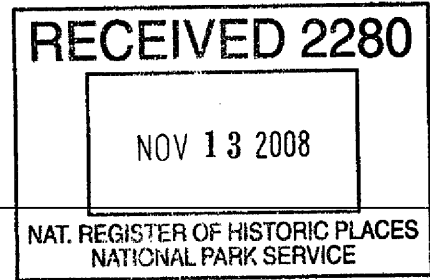


United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service



64501029

**National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form**

New Submission Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Quaker Sites in the West River Meeting, A Quaker Community in Southern Anne Arundel County, Maryland., c.1650-1785

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Quakers in Southern Anne Arundel County, Maryland, c.1650-1785

C. Form Prepared by

name/title Lauren Schiszik, Archaeologist
organization Lost Towns Project of Anne Arundel County date May 1, 2008
street & number 2664 Riva Road MS 6402 telephone 410-222-7440
city or town Annapolis state MD zip code 21401

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

 11-3-08
Signature and title of certifying official Date

State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

 12/22/08
Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

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Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and the title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

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E. Statement of Historic Context: Quakers in Southern Anne Arundel County, Maryland, c.1650-1785

The Religious Society of Friends, commonly known as "Quakers," and the founding of Anne Arundel County are inextricably linked. According to Quaker scholar J. Reaney Kelly, "from 1672 to the end of the seventeenth century, hardly a family in southern Anne Arundel County was not reached or touched in some way by the activities of the Quakers."¹ The members of the Society of Friends established a Meeting place for worship in 1672 in the West River region near the Chesapeake Bay, though they had been meeting in private homes from 1657 onward,² and a burial ground was laid out before 1671.³ This community has been called the birthplace of organized Quakerism in Maryland.⁴

The first General Meeting for all Maryland Friends was held at West River in 1672 and was attended by the founder of Quakerism, George Fox. The General Meeting resulted in a more cohesive movement of Quakerism in Maryland. Quakers were an active force in the government through the eighteenth century, and served in all levels of government. In the eighteenth century, when the Quakers and Catholics were persecuted by the Maryland government, the Quakers succeeded in protecting the civil rights of all free persons in Maryland by their successful petitioning of the Act of Establishment, which established the Church of England as the State Church. In 1778, the West River Meeting condemned and banned the ownership of slaves, almost a full century before slaves were emancipated. The Quakers' abolitionist beliefs had repercussions far into the next century. Their unique religious – and at that time, inherently political – ideologies separated and distinguished them as a people. Nearly every founder of Anne Arundel County became a Quaker, and those who were not Quaker were nevertheless impacted by or associated with the Society of Friends.

The potential pool of National Register-eligible sites associated with Quakers in Anne Arundel County is most often archaeological as only a few structures attributable to Quakers remain standing. Recent archaeological work in the region has uncovered several sites associated with Quakers and has brought to light the dramatic potential for more sites associated with the West River Meeting.

This nomination focuses mainly on archaeological resources due to the wealth of information that they can give researchers about the practice of Quaker faith in the West River region. Most of the available knowledge of Quakerism for the time periods outlined in this nomination is from the documentary record. Most of these sources focus on the ideas of faith, while archaeological excavation allows us to uncover the *practice* of faith. Quakers lack religious artifacts such as crosses and medallions; however, Quakers embody their faith through their everyday material culture – the artifacts that archaeologists uncover and analyze. Based upon the few excavations conducted at Quaker home sites, it is clear that the practice of Quakerism is more nuanced and open to individual interpretation

¹ J. Reaney Kelly, "Old Quaker Burying Ground: West River Quaker Burial Ground. Anne Arundel County, Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. 55, No. 4, December 1960, p. 340.

² J. Reaney Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1963, p. 56

³ J. Reaney Kelly, "Old Quaker Burying Ground: West River Quaker Burial Ground. Anne Arundel County, Maryland" 334.

⁴ J. Reaney Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, p. 2.

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than the tenets of Quakerism would appear to allow. The author was surprised to discover, through archaeology, the very fine material culture owned by some of the West River Quakers, as well as the artifacts related to the consumption of alcohol. Thus, archaeological excavation alone has the ability to expand our knowledge of the practice of Quakerism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the West River Region.

The historic context presented here is two-fold, equally considering the thematic context of Quakerism as a religious movement and exploring the historic context of Quakerism as a way of life for early Americans. Development of this context is also geographically specific to the West River region of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, known throughout the Quaker community as a meeting place and haven for the religious movement that so dramatically impacted the development of American society. There are three significant periods in the history of the West River Friends, and each will be addressed in depth, as it represents the shifting values and experiences of Quakerism in the West River. **The three periods are: The Establishment and Rise of Quakerism: 1656 - 1702, The Decline of Tolerance and a Shift in Quaker Engagement with the World: 1689 – 1759, and The Call for Abolition and the Decline of the West River Friends: 1759 - 1785.** First, it is necessary to understand the history of the colony of Maryland, as its founding and development as a colony were defining features of its acceptance of Quakerism. It is also imperative to understand the origins and fundamental values of Quakerism as a religious movement.

Religious Tolerance in the Founding of Maryland

The colony of Maryland was established in 1634, when 150 English colonists settled at St. Mary's City in the tidewater region of southern Maryland.⁵ Sir George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, received a charter from Charles I of England in 1632, but passed away before establishing the colony. His son, Cecil Calvert, inherited the charter from his father. The Calverts were Catholics, a persecuted religious minority in England. Maryland was known for its religious tolerance, and this tolerance was codified into law in 1649. The Act Concerning Religion, commonly referred to as the Toleration Act, assured religious freedom with full civil rights to the settlers of Maryland.⁶ Before his execution in 1649, King Charles I freely allowed the emigration of Catholics into colonial Maryland. After his demise, the Catholics feared a revocation of their freedom to practice their religion. The Act was ostensibly a piece of enlightened and altruistic legislation, but was in reality an attempt at self-preservation on the part of the Catholics in Maryland.⁷ Nevertheless, this law protected the religious freedoms of Christians. This religious freedom allowed the colony to flourish with the input of different religious groups, and also provided fertile ground for the establishment of Quakerism in America.

⁵ J. Frederick Fausz, "Emerging and Merging Worlds: Anglo-Indian Interest Groups and the Development of the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake," *Colonial Chesapeake Society* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), p. 68.

⁶ Fausz, 79; Donna M. Ware, *Anne Arundel's Legacy: The Historic Properties of Anne Arundel County* (Annapolis: Anne Arundel County, 1990) 4.

⁷ Maryland State Archives, Archives of Maryland, 1: 246; Kelly, *Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County* 1,3; Archives of Maryland, Maryland Manual 1907-08, 119: 91.

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Due to economic and political stress, Calvert's financial venture began to destabilize in the mid-1640s, causing the population to decline to less than what it had been at the colony's founding. In an effort to save his colony and compensate for his shrinking political support, the Catholic Calvert appointed a Protestant to the gubernatorial post of Maryland. Governor William Stone, in turn, promised to increase the number of settlers.⁸ He achieved this by embracing the Puritans fleeing persecution in predominantly Anglican Virginia. By 1650, Maryland counted hundreds of Virginia Puritans among its numbers, and they constituted almost two-thirds of the population. One of the first areas of settlement in the County was along the shores of the Severn River, near present-day Annapolis. Providence was settled by a group of Puritans seeking religious freedom, and the area quickly became first the population center, and quickly following, the political center of the colony.⁹ Within a year of the Puritans' arrival, the population growth prompted the General Assembly to rename Providence to reflect its larger population, and so it was designated a County, and named Anne Arundel County, after the recently deceased wife of Cecil Calvert.¹⁰

This expansion, however, was nearly overshadowed by the conflict transpiring in the colonies and their mother country. Many of the colonists harbored anti-Catholic and anti-royalist sentiments, an animosity that coincided with the Civil War raging in England and the beheading of Charles I in 1649. Virginia commissioner Richard Bennett and William Claiborne, a Virginian with economic ties to Kent Island, Maryland, and an enemy of Lord Baltimore, sought to gain control of rich trading areas by annexing Maryland to Virginia. Claiborne's aggressive self-interest instigated civil war in the unstable colony.¹¹ Disguising their motivations as religious and civil, their true purpose was to economically dominate the region by means of annexing Maryland to Virginia. They exploited the Puritan settlers' resentments and goaded them into hostile action against the Catholic and royalist Calvert. The aggression between pro- and anti-Calvert forces came to a head in Maryland in 1655 at the Battle of Severn at Providence where the Puritans decisively defeated Governor Stone's army. Claiborne and Bennett controlled the Puritan government until 1658, and unrest plagued both England and its colonies until the crowning of King Charles II reinstated the monarchy in 1660. This brief overview of the founding of Maryland sets the stage for why Quakerism as a religion was tolerated and indeed flourished as a religious and social movement, unlike the case in most other colonies established around the same time.

The Origins and Fundamental Values of Quakerism

Quakerism has its roots in the tumultuous religious environment of mid-seventeenth century England. Martin Luther's attempted Reformation of the Catholic Church and subsequent break with Rome sparked a revolution in religious thought and organization, and left no aspect of society untouched. Christians throughout Europe seized the opportunity to think and read for themselves and to demand accountability and change from the established churches. In 1652, English preacher George Fox had a vision of a gathering of people following religious tenets that came to

⁸ Al Luckenbach, *Providence 1649: The History and Archaeology of Anne Arundel County, Maryland's First Settlement* (Annapolis: Maryland Historical Trust and the Maryland State Archives, 1995) 2, 3. James C. Bradford, *Anne Arundel County Maryland: A Bicentennial History 1649-1977* (Annapolis: Anne Arundel and Annapolis Bicentennial Committee, 1977) xv.

⁹ Al Luckenbach, *Providence, 1649: The History and Archaeology of Anne Arundel County Maryland's First European Settlement*, Annapolis: The Maryland State Archives and the Maryland Historical Trust, 1995, 3.

¹⁰ Archives of Maryland, 1:292; Kelly, *Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County* 1, 3.

¹¹ Fausz, 85.

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him as revelations. He found a highly receptive group of citizens dissatisfied with the Church of England, and he proved to be a charismatic and visionary leader. His theology, derisively dubbed "Quakerism" by an English magistrate because Fox instructed his followers to tremble at the Word of the Lord, spread quickly throughout the next decade in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Holland.¹² In 1656, Quakerism arrived in the colonies.

Quakerism is distinguished by belief in the Inner Light. Quakers believe that there is a "seed" of the Divine in every person, and thus, every person is able to commune with God, without the intermediary of a priest.¹³ According to Fox, the Lord speaks to individuals in their minds, if one waits in silence and humility.¹⁴ In a country dominated by the Church of England and its rigid hierarchy of priests, those desiring more intimate contact with God welcomed this idea. Fundamental to Quaker theology are pacifism, simplicity, community, egalitarianism, and the freedom of opinion in theological issues.¹⁵ Quakers believe that the Spirit can inspire men and women just as He had in Biblical times, and that all had the ability to respond to this truth. This belief was a rejection of Calvinism's doctrine of moral inability. In further contrast to the tenets of the Reformation, the Quakers de-emphasized the role of faith in salvation, and redefined salvation as a union with and a following of the Spirit.

One of the Quakers' most recognized distinctions was their amorphous and informal Meeting. Quakers rejected the notions of clergymen, liturgy and ritual, since the only need was the experience of the Divine Presence.¹⁶ The Quakers did not always use a Meeting House to commune with God, and many Quakers held Meeting for Worship in their homes before Meeting Houses were built. Meeting Houses were, and still are, very simple structures, notably lacking the architectural flourishes that grace most Christian religious architecture. This material manifestation of the Quaker faith, and its interrelationship with domestic spheres is significant, especially when considering the types of sites one might include in this Multiple Property submission. Meetings for Worship were begun in complete silence. Quakers gathered communally and waited to hear from the Lord before sharing a message with the rest of the gathered group. Individuals, both men and women, would then stand to speak as they felt led by God.

One of the first testimonies of Quakerism was about the equality of men and women before God. This was a very controversial belief at the time, as in English society, women were considered to be inferior to men. Not only were Quaker women considered equal to men, but they also were considered responsible for retaining and teaching the values of Quakerism both in and outside of the Quaker community. Many women proselytized Quakerism – the

¹² Kenneth Carroll, Quakerism on the Eastern Shore (Baltimore: Garamond/Pridemark Press, 1970) 3; Delmar Leon Thornbury, "The Society of Friends in Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine, No. 29, 1934, pp. 101-115, 102. J. Reaney Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1963) 4.

¹³ Baltimore Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, Faith and Practice, Part I, Section A (Baltimore, 1988), Online Access, <http://www.bym-rsf.org/quakers/pubs/FaithNPractice/fnp2.html>

¹⁴ Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, 4.

¹⁵ Thornbury, 103.

¹⁶ Baltimore Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, Section A.

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first three Quakers to proselytize in America were women: Elizabeth Harris, Mary Fischer, and Ann Austin¹⁷ – and they were even sometimes titled "ministers." Many of the later Quaker crusaders in the anti-slavery, women's suffrage, and temperance movements were women, most notably Lucretia Mott. The Quakers held Meetings for Worship, and also held Meetings for Business and Meetings for Discipline. The Meetings for Business were separated by sex, as men and women had separate responsibilities within the Meeting.¹⁸

Though Quakerism is by no means hierarchically-arranged, there is an organization of the faith. The Yearly Meeting is the overall authority on Quaker matters; it is the top of the organization. There are also Weekly, Monthly, and Quarterly Meetings. The Weekly Meetings were held every week by each existing Meeting. In the West River Region, the earliest Meetings included the West River Meeting, the Herring Creek Meeting, both in southern Anne Arundel County, and the Clifts (Cliffs) Meeting near the Calvert Cliffs, in Calvert County. These Weekly Meetings were meetings for worship. Weekly Meetings were grouped into Monthly Meetings, where members came together to attend to the business matters of the entire region of Quakers.

Monthly Meetings served as the foundation of the larger Quaker organizational structure. These meetings were important for addressing issues at a grassroots level. The Monthly Meetings were a forum for members to raise concerns about spiritual needs, to discuss care of needy Friends, to determine the fitness of couples who intended to wed, to attend to the maintenance of meeting houses, and to discuss issues concerning the interpretation of their doctrines.¹⁹ The West River, Herring Creek, and the Cliffs Meetings were all in the same Monthly Meeting. These meetings were often held over the course of two days, requiring that many Quakers who traveled to the meeting would stay overnight in the homes of the meeting hosts. In order to avoid hospitality becoming a burden, and so that the same Quakers would not have to travel every single month, the Monthly Meeting location shifted between the three meetings. Therefore, the name of the meeting shifted every month as well, depending upon where the meeting was hosted. Thus, the Monthly Meetings held at these three locations are one and the same Monthly Meeting, despite the differences of name.²⁰

Over time, the Quakers developed – in the words of one nineteenth-century historian – a reputation of “sobriety, literacy, and reliability” and “did much to improve morals and elevate the religious tone of the community.” They were generally very peaceful and cultivated a respectable work ethic, but they maintained a distance from the rest of society by restricting much of their business and personal life to their own community. While they did not object to the accumulation of individual wealth, they promoted thriftiness and the financial (as well as spiritual) care

¹⁷ Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, 11.

¹⁸ Ibid, Section A.

¹⁹ Nesbitt, Martha M. and Mary Reading Miller. Chronicles of Sandy Spring Friends Meeting and Environs. (Sandy Spring, MD: Sandy Spring Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, 1987), 7, 21-22.

²⁰ Nesbitt and Miller, 22.

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of members of the general body.²¹ The early records of Meetings at West River show that, among other things, the members provided for the poor and assisted immigrants upon their arrival in Maryland.²²

By 1655, Quakerism was firmly rooted in Barbados – an island with ample ties to the colonists of southern Anne Arundel County – and the West Indies where many of the native inhabitants had been “convinced,” the Quaker nomenclature for conversion. Barbados became an important Quaker headquarters for launching evangelical efforts into the American colonies. Some historians have speculated that because of Maryland and Virginia’s early development of trade with Barbados, some of the island’s earliest converts may have settled in the Chesapeake Bay area. Much of this trade involved the sale of slaves from these islands to the planters in the Chesapeake Region. Most scholars, however, posit the deliberate planting of Quakerism in the colonies by traveling missionaries.

The Establishment and Rise of Quakerism in Anne Arundel County: 1656 - 1702

Quakerism in America began when Friends from England arrived to proselytize their faith among the colonists. Elizabeth Harris was the first Quaker to visit Maryland. She landed on Kent Island in either 1655 or 1656. It is unclear if she preceded Mary Fisher and Ann Austin’s evangelical mission to Boston in 1656, and it is debated as to who was the first to bring Quakerism to the colonies.²³ Nevertheless, Elizabeth Harris bears the distinction of being the first Friend who convinced settlers in America. She was the first person to deliver Quaker doctrine in the Chesapeake Bay area, and had a profound impact on the spread and development of Quakerism in Maryland.

Elizabeth Harris carried the message of the Friends to the Chesapeake area during the politically turbulent time of the English Civil War, during which the Toleration Act in Maryland had been temporarily repealed. Her reception, nevertheless, was hospitable and she was the first Quaker permitted to travel freely and preach. She won many new converts as a result, and laid the foundation of Quakerism in Maryland. Her Quaker contemporaries in New England, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, did not fare as well. When they stepped off the boat in Boston, they were immediately jailed, their literature burned, they were stripped naked and searched for tokens of witches, and were eventually sent back to England without even getting a chance to teach the “Truth.”²⁴ Subsequent missionaries to New England suffered even more abuse, including fines, prison sentences, whippings, brandings, ear-croppings, and execution.²⁵ Quakers did not fare well in Virginia, either. Quaker minister William Coale and George Wilson were incarcerated in

²¹ Carroll, Quakerism on the Eastern Shore 3-5; Robert J. Brugger, Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634-1980 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988) 30; Theodore C. Gambrell, Church Life in Colonial Maryland (Baltimore: G. Lycett, 1885) 144, 147.

²² Joseph Besse, A Collection of Sufferings of the People Called Quakers from 1650-1689, (London, 1753), II, 365.

²³ Carroll, Quakerism on the Eastern Shore, 8-13.

²⁴ Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, 12; William Sewel, The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers, New York, 1844, 203-204.

²⁵ Kees de Mooy, “In Truth’s Service: The Roots of Quakerism in Maryland, 1655-1700” The Washington College Review, 2000, <http://wc-review.washcoll.edu/2000/demooy.html>; Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, The Quakers (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 51.

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Jamestown in 1657. Wilson was so heavily chained that his flesh rotted from his bones and resulted in his death, and Coale's incarceration irreversibly impaired his health.²⁶

Quakerism spread rapidly in the Chesapeake Bay area, and in its infancy, swept through areas near Annapolis and on Kent Island. Many of the initial convincements included Lord Baltimore's commissioners, prominent officials in the Puritan government, and the progenitors of Maryland's wealthiest and most distinguished families.²⁷ William Fuller, the acting governor of Maryland after 1654, was one of Elizabeth Harris's earliest converts, and with time, at least five and probably 11 of the 24 provincial commissioners who served between 1654 and 1658 converted to Quakerism.²⁸ Harris also convinced William Durand, Maryland's Secretary of State.²⁹ Both Fuller and Durand were early residents of Anne Arundel County. The conversion of public officials while they were in office was an unparalleled event in Maryland and in fact, in colonial politics. By 1657, books published by the Society of Friends were being circulated throughout Maryland. This new religion attracted Puritans in the Severn and Patuxent River areas, as well as individuals with no particular religious affiliation. In time, the Quaker faith absorbed many adherents to Puritanism. Well-established Quaker Meetings were found throughout Anne Arundel County by 1661, and by the late 1670s, the County hosted the majority of the Meetings in the Province.³⁰

These established Meetings included the West River and the Herring Creek Meetings in southern Anne Arundel County. The Clifts (Cliffs) Meeting, near the Calvert Cliffs in Calvert County – outside of the boundaries of Anne Arundel County – were closely associated with both the West River and Herring Creek Meetings. These three Meetings formed a Monthly Meeting where all of the members would come together to discuss items of business within the realm of Quakerism. Other Meetings came into existence in the eighteenth century, such as the Patuxent and Indian Spring Meetings. The core of Quaker settlement was firmly established in the southern part of Anne Arundel County and central to that was the West River Meeting.

The West River Meeting was arguably the most influential of the Meetings in the colonial Chesapeake and beyond. It served as the Western Shore meeting site for the Yearly Meetings, and it was the site of the first gathering of all of the Quakers in the state of Maryland, at the first Yearly Meeting in 1672. As it was the most important contemporary Meeting in the area, and the core settlement of Quakers was established in the southern part of Anne Arundel County, the boundaries for this Multiple Property Area (MPA) encompass a clearly defined section of southern Anne Arundel County. The geographic boundaries for the MPA range, from north to south, from the southern shore of the South River to the southernmost border of the county, which was established in 1652. The

²⁶ Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 37.; Elbert Russell, The History of Quakerism, (New York, 1943) 25, 45.

²⁷ Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, 1.

²⁸ David W. Jordan, "'God Candle' within Government: Quakers and Politics in Early Maryland", The William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Ser., Vol. 39, No. 4. (Oct., 1982), 630.

²⁹ Kenneth Carroll, "Quaker Opposition to the Establishment of a State Church in Maryland", Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. 65, Summer 1970, 149-170; 150.

³⁰ Elihu S. Riley, A History of Anne Arundel County (Annapolis: Charles G. Feldmeyer, 1905) 43; Kelly, "Old Quaker Burying Ground: West River Quaker Burial Ground." Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. 55, No. 4 December 1960, 334-345; 335; Brugger 29.

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eastern boundary is the Chesapeake Bay, and the area is bound on the west along MD Route 2, which was known as "Severn Ridge Road" in the 17th and 18th centuries. These boundaries encompass the most densely populated area of Quaker habitation in the area, and as such include the homesites of Quakers who were active in the West River Meeting, and who had significant political, social, and religious influence in Maryland.

Initially, Friends in Maryland enjoyed total freedom to exercise their faith, allowing Josiah Coale, Thomas Thurston, and Thomas Chapman to successfully follow up on the work begun by Elizabeth Harris in 1658. However, the resulting rapid growth of Quakerism prompted Maryland's Upper House to officially record in their minutes a feeling of alarm. Authorities were beginning to view Quakers with suspicion because of their perceived threat to government, accusing them of "dissuading the people from complying with the military discipline in this time of danger and also giving testimony or being Jurors."³¹ Those found guilty of these crimes were to be sent from the colony, being whipped "from constable to constable" along the way.³² Due to their religious tenets, including pacifism and egalitarianism, Friends refused to train in the militia, bear arms, give testimony, serve on juries, address officials by their titles, or swear oaths of allegiance to the government. All of these were activities that were seen as part of a healthy and operational government. Three prominent Friends petitioned the Council in 1658 for an exemption from military obligations and oath swearing. The request offended the Council because of its seeming threat to social stability, and the three were promptly arrested. Quakers elicited further resentment when their convictions of equality prevented them from removing their hats in court. The following year the affronted Council issued an order declaring Friends to be "vagabonds and idle persons."³³

The most notable persecution occurred between the years of 1658 and 1661.³⁴ The year 1658 marked the end of the Interregnum and Protestant Oliver Cromwell's rule of Britain. At this point, the monarchy was restored with the crowning of Charles II. The Catholic Calverts were restored to power in Maryland. However, this was a time of great political unrest, and Quakers were heavily persecuted. In 1658, 30 people were charged with crimes by the Maryland government, presumably because they were Quakers. They were charged with refusing to fight, refusing to take oaths, and/or with entertaining Quakers. This last charge bore a fine of £3, 15s.³⁵ Thomas Thurston, a Quaker who had earlier freely spread the message of the Friends, was arrested upon his return to Maryland in 1659. He was banished from the colony, and was to be sent from Constable to Constable and whipped 30 lashes at each location. He only received 30 lashes at the hands of one Constable, and was then escorted from the colony. Any person caught

³¹ Carroll, Quakerism on the Eastern Shore 15; Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, 31; Archives of Maryland, 3: 362; Thornbury, 103; Kenneth L. Carroll, "Talbot County Quakerism in the Colonial Period," Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. 53, No. 4, December 1958, 326.

³² Carroll, "Talbot County Quakerism in the Colonial Period" 326; Archives of Maryland, 3: 364.

³³ Archives of Maryland, 3:362.

³⁴ Carroll, "Quaker Opposition to the Establishment of a State Church in Maryland," 152.

³⁵ Joseph Besse, II, 378-80; Kenneth Carroll, "Maryland Quakers in the Seventeenth Century" Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. 100, Spring, 2005, 81-96, 84, originally published Vol. 47.

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assisting him was to be fined 500 pounds of tobacco.³⁶ His missionary partner, Josiah Coale, also returned the following year, only to be detained and then ejected from the Province. A pamphlet written by Francis Howgill titled *The Deceiver of the Nations Discovered*, published in London in 1660, describes the persecution of Quakers in Maryland at this time:

And Oh! What havock and spoil hath these Rulers in Mariland made upon their own people,...and how they have exceeded in cruelty, & what tortering and Prisoning, and Whipping, & Scourging have they made,...And instead of protecting them in that Province, and saving them from wrong, hath themselves been the chief instrument of doing them harm and wronging them, and oppressing them, and yet not for evil doing, it may be for not doffing a Hat, or because they cannot learn to be swift to shed blood.³⁷

In 1661, the government of Maryland ended its intense persecution of Quakers. This development has several possible explanations. Quaker historian Kenneth Carroll argues that the government recognized that the Quakers posed no treat to the government of the colony. Carroll posits that Friends were converting many influential colonists, and Lord Baltimore was moved by the sufferings of the Quakers, as he was a member of a persecuted religious group himself.³⁸ Historian David Jordan argues that the shift in the government's treatment of the Quakers was, in fact, a shrewd political move. The persecution of the Quakers abated in 1660, and in 1661 Calvert invited persecuted Virginia Quakers to settle on the Eastern Shore, under the protection of Maryland's religious tolerance.³⁹ By inviting Quakers and offering them a sanctuary, he gained their loyal support and also, in this case, strengthened his claim to the disputed territory of the Eastern Shore.⁴⁰ The Calverts made some accommodating concessions for the Quakers in 1661, and they allowed the Quakers to promise loyalty rather than swear allegiance, which afforded them new political influence by enabling them to hold office. The same year, the law exempted Quakers from military service and permitted them to keep their hats on in the presence of government officials.⁴¹ On the whole, the Quakers were law-abiding, and were very active in local and provincial government. They were a stable, well-educated and involved presence in the government in a very unstable time, and the Calverts became dependent upon the Quakers in governing the colony.

³⁶ Archives of Maryland, III, 364; Kenneth Carroll "Thomas Thurston, Renegade Maryland Quaker," Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. 62, No.2, June 1967, 171-192; 181.

³⁷ Quoted in Carroll, Quakerism on the Eastern Shore, 16.

³⁸ Carroll, "Quaker Opposition to the Establishment of a State Church in Maryland," 153.

³⁹ Jordan, 631.

⁴⁰ Jordan, 632.

⁴¹ Carroll, Quakerism on the Eastern Shore 20; Kenneth L. Carroll, Three Hundred Years and More of Third Haven Quakerism (Easton, Maryland: The Queen Anne Press, 1984) 17; William Hunter Shannon, "The Development of Government," ed. James C. Bradford, Anne Arundel County Maryland: A Bicentennial History 1649-1977 (Annapolis: Anne Arundel County and Annapolis Bicentennial Committee, 1977) 207.

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The harassment endured by the Quakers was primarily politically – rather than religiously – motivated, and it stemmed from the “the sincere though mistaken conception that Quakers were hostile to government, and were inculcating views that were incompatible with a well-ordered civil regime.”⁴² The alarm and persecution of Quakers dissipated after the resulting exposure to Quaker philosophy. Prestigious and respected men joined the ranks of Quakers, and became some of the most influential men in the colony during the seventeenth century. Many served in government between the years of 1658 and 1685 as county magistrates, justices of the peace, sheriffs, and members of the Assembly.⁴³ Lord Baltimore appointed Friends to the positions of sheriff and justices of the peace, while freeholders elected Quakers to serve as burgesses in the Assembly. Anne Arundel Quakers who served as justices were: William Burgess, Thomas Meeres, Samuel Withers, Francis Holland, Samuel Chew I, Samuel Chew II, Thomas Marsh, and John Homewood.⁴⁴ Samuel Chew I also served as the Anne Arundel County Sheriff, and later was also a member of the Council and sat on the Provincial Court.⁴⁵ Chew’s homesite was discovered in southern Anne Arundel County by the Lost Towns Project in 2007. At least 13 Quakers won election to the five provincial assemblies held between the years 1661 and 1675, and several Quakers served multiple terms. A few Quakers held three, five, or even as many as eight terms. These tenures were quite lengthy, and impressive in a time where 75 percent of the burgesses only sat for two terms.⁴⁶ These positions were the highest and most respected posts in the Maryland government, and Quakers were well-represented in these positions during the second half of the seventeenth century.

Though Quakers were generally tolerated, there were occasional flare-ups of persecution. In 1674 and again in 1681, Quakers requested that the Assembly allow them to say “yea” or “nay” twice in the courtroom instead of swearing oaths. Their appeal triggered more persecution, particularly from 1677 to 1679, and in 1681, the Lord Proprietor publicly railed against Quakers for their refusal to bear arms. He viewed their pacifism as a threat to the security of the Province in the event of an invasion.⁴⁷ As there was a revolution of government in 1682 in Maryland, the threat of invasion was a legitimate concern at the time. Despite the fact that Quakers faced periodic persecution in Maryland, they suffered far less than Quakers in other colonies.

West River Yearly Meeting: The Center of Quakerism on the Western Shore of Maryland

West River, on the western shore of the Chesapeake Bay south of the South River and north of Herring Bay, was a prominent hub of Quaker activity and the birthplace of organized Quakerism in Maryland,⁴⁸ as well as a well-

⁴² Rufus M. Jones, The Quakers in the American Colonies, (London, 1911), 279-280; Carroll, “Maryland Quakers in the Seventeenth Century”, 85.

⁴³ Jordan, 634 - 5.

⁴⁴ Maryland Archives, III, 16, 348, 358, 424, 534-536, V, 30, XV, 37-39, XVII, 379; Jordan, 634.

⁴⁵ Jordan, 635.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 635.

⁴⁷ Carroll, “Talbot County Quakerism in the Colonial Period,” 343; Carroll, Third Haven Quakerism, 29; Brugger, 30.

⁴⁸ Reaney Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1963, p. 2.

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known center of international trade, shipbuilding, shipping, and transport.⁴⁹ The Quakers were involved in these and many other trades. They were planters, merchants, tradesmen,⁵⁰ and businessmen.⁵¹ Most inhabitants in the area were planters, and the Quakers were no exception, with many of them establishing large estates built upon the tobacco trade. They were also slaveholders until the end of the eighteenth century. Quakers were often successful merchants in this wealthy tobacco economy. Samuel Galloway III, a Quaker, was a merchant and owned more than 24 sailing vessels built at the Stephen Steward Shipyard (18AN817) during the third quarter of the eighteenth century.⁵² Quakers were known, on both sides of the Atlantic, for their honest dealings, and a level of integrity which stemmed from their religious beliefs. This contributed to their financial success.⁵³ On the whole, the Quakers in Anne Arundel County appear to have been wealthier than their non-Quaker counterparts. A compilation of almost 2,000 probate inventories compiled, adjusted, and analyzed by Lois Green Carr and provided to the author by historian Jean Russo, asserts this point. A comparison of the adjusted estate values of Quakers and non-Quakers in Anne Arundel County was conducted for the years of 1665 and 1730. A total of 57 Quakers and 846 non-Quakers were used in this study, and the findings proved to be informative. This comparison makes it clear that overall, Quakers were wealthier than their non-Quaker peers. While 59% of non-Quakers had estates valued between £0-100, only 18% of Quakers had estates of this size. Findings show that 32% of non-Quakers had estates valued between £100-500, while 43% of Quakers had estates of this size. Estates valued £500 and above were found among a mere 9% of the non-Quaker population, though 39% of Quakers had estates of this size. Thus, being Quaker and being wealthy were not mutually exclusive in Anne Arundel County during the periods covered by this nomination. Indeed, it still is not mutually exclusive, according to Quaker historian Thomas Hamm. "Certainly, for three centuries now Quakers have had the reputation of generally being economically well-off. For some Quaker families, being indifferent to wealth while at the same possessing it was a mark of a life lived in the Light."⁵⁴

The earliest extant official record of the West River Meeting is dated 1672, when the first Yearly Meeting was held, but the Meeting had already been established for several years. Before the meeting house was constructed, Friends congregated at the homes of Friends throughout the West River area. Meetings were also held on the property of Thomas Hooker, Sr., who acquired a land patent in 1658 from Lord Baltimore. Hooker arrived in Maryland in 1649, and was later convinced by William Coale, one of the great Quaker ministers. Upon Hooker's death in 1684, he bequeathed his tract of land to his son, except for an acre and a half "which is already laid out for ye people called Quakers to meet on and bury their dead."⁵⁵

⁴⁹ J. Reaney Kelly, "The Colonial Background of Galesville," Galesville Vertical File, Anne Arundel Public Library, Annapolis, Maryland.

⁵⁰ Richard Arnold is listed as a tailor, Samuel and James White are listed as coopers. Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 107.

⁵¹ The brigantine *Betty*, out of the South River, was captained by Henry Hill, and owned by Captain Richard Hill, Mordecai Moore, William Holland, Richard Johns, Samuel Chew, Richard Harrison, Nehemiah Birkhead, and William Coale, all of whom were Quakers. Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, MD., 62; Archives of Maryland, XXV, 595.

⁵² Moser, Jason D. "A Cannonball and a Post", Maryland Archaeology, Vol. 34(1): 33-34, March 1998.

⁵³ Hamm, Thomas D. Quakers in America (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 32.

⁵⁴ Thomas Hamm, 105.

⁵⁵ Maryland State Archives, Probate Records, Wills Liber 4, Folio 28; Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, 45.

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The early years of Quakerism were fraught with discord and uncertainty. Much of the movement's leadership in Britain was periodically imprisoned. In fact, Quakerism was more tolerated in Maryland than it was in the motherland. George Fox's Doctrine of Inner Light spawned the expression and practice of multiple theories of Quakerism and invited numerous conflicting personal interpretations. This dissension brought the religion into some disrepute.⁵⁶ As a part of the push for uniformity among Friends, John Burnyeat, a Quaker leader, successfully labored on both shores of the Chesapeake between 1665 and 1672 to unify the Meetings with a spirit of collaboration. The final result of his achievements was the first General Meeting for all Quakers in the Province of Maryland at West River in the spring of 1672.⁵⁷ This event, held in West River, was the founding of organized Quakerism in Maryland. George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, traveled to Maryland from Barbados to preach at the four-day Meeting. For the first time, Province Friends from both shores received authoritative clarity and direction on the tenets of Quakerism, as well as guidelines for the structure of future Meetings for worship, discipline, and business. George Fox describes this Meeting in his Journal, and notes that people of "considerable quality in the world's account" attended the Meeting, including "five or six justices of the peace, a speaker of their parliament or assembly, one of the council, and divers others of note."⁵⁸ This first General Meeting produced a significant number of convincements, and secured organized Quakerism in Maryland.

This historic Meeting is considered the beginning of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends, which is the second oldest Yearly Meeting in the United States,⁵⁹ and is very active today. The General Meeting was held every six months thereafter, alternately at West River and Third Haven in Talbot County on the Eastern Shore.⁶⁰ The West River Meeting became the parent organization of Friends for the entire Western Shore of Maryland, as the Third Haven Meeting became the parent organization of Friends for the Eastern Shore.⁶¹ Along with hosting the Yearly Meeting, West River also hosted Monthly Meetings. By 1697, the Quakers had erected their West River Meeting House on the property bequeathed to them by Thomas Hooker, Sr. The West River Meeting House was a small frame structure and though its precise location is unknown, the parcel of land it once stood on has been clearly defined. As the number of attendees increased, an additional structure was necessary to accommodate the Yearly Meeting. In 1700, the Friends erected a tenthouse, a framework covered in canvas, adjacent to the Meeting House, to accommodate the increased attendance at Yearly Meeting.⁶² This temporary structure gave Tenthouse Creek its name. Friends who traveled some distance to the Yearly Meeting slept in tents pitched in the surrounding fields, called

⁵⁶ Ibid., 339.

⁵⁷ The Maryland General Meeting preceded the Pennsylvania General Meeting by nine years. Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, 35.

⁵⁸ George Fox, Journal of George Fox; Being an Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, Christian Experiences, and Labour of Love, in the Work of the Ministry, of that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, who Departed this Life, in Great Peace with the Lord, the 13th of the 11th Month, 1690 (London, 1891), II, 164.

⁵⁹ The New England Yearly Meeting was founded in 1661.

⁶⁰ The Third Haven Meeting House is still standing and still is host to the Third Haven Meeting. Carroll, "Talbot County Quakerism" 328.

⁶¹ Kelly, "Old Quaker Burying Ground: West River Quaker Burial Ground" 334-339.

⁶² Maryland State Archives, Anne Arundel County Land Records, Liber I. H. #1, folio 594.

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tenting fields. The Meetinghouse itself was expanded in 1706. The West River Meeting operated continually until 1785, after which it merged with the Baltimore Meeting, and the Monthly and Yearly Meetings were moved to Baltimore.⁶³ The West River Meetinghouse remained after the Yearly Meeting moved to Baltimore in 1785, and it may have been standing as late as the Civil War.⁶⁴ Now only the Old Quaker Burying Ground, which had been adjacent to the Meeting House, still remains.

The majority of Fox's labors in America were concentrated along the Eastern Shore, and after the meeting at West River, Fox traveled around to various local Meetings. He concluded his travels in October with a stay at Cedar Point, John Edmondson's home at Third Haven in Talbot County, where he conducted another five-day General Meeting similar to the one held the previous spring. The first three days of the Meeting were spent in worship, and many attended, including "many Protestants of divers sorts, and some Papists; amongst these were several magistrates and their wives, and other persons of chief account in the country."⁶⁵ So many people attended the Meeting that, according to Fox, "[T]here were so many boats at that time passing upon the river, that it was almost like the Thames....And one of the Justices said, 'he never saw so many People together in that country before.' It was a very heavenly meeting."⁶⁶ The efforts of Burnyeat and Fox in the early 1670s rejuvenated Quakerism throughout the Chesapeake and added numbers to their ranks and respectability to their movement.⁶⁷ The presence of William Penn and Lord Baltimore at a 1682 West River Meeting confirmed this rising acceptance and prominence of Friends.

Yearly Meetings were attended by all of the Friends in the Province. The Meeting was four days long, and was split up into three days of worship, and one day for meeting business or discipline. Samuel Bownas, a British Friend who attended the Yearly Meeting in West River in 1727, described the business aspect of the Yearly Meeting, "Many people...transact a deal of trade with one another, so that it is a kind of market or exchange, where the captains of ships and the planters meet and settled their affairs; and this draws abundance of people of the best rank to it."⁶⁸ It is clear that it was not just Quakers attending the Yearly Meeting, but also non-Quakers who engaged in the business end of the large gathering.

Nearly every family that settled in the West River region could be found on the membership rolls of West River Meeting. These individuals comprised the social, economic, religious, political, and cultural fabric of the early colony, and their influence cannot be overstated. Thanks to the meticulous minutes and records kept by Quakers, historian J. Reaney Kelley has compiled an extensive list of names of Friends living in West River in the second half

⁶³ Kelly, "Old Quaker Burying Ground", 345; The 250th Anniversary Celebration of the Founding of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends 1692-1922. (Westminster, MD, 1922). Pennsylvania 1681, New York 1695, North Carolina 1698.

⁶⁴ The exact date of the erection of the Meeting House is unknown. Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, 57.

⁶⁵ Fox, II, 179.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 179.

⁶⁷ Carroll, Quakerism on the Eastern Shore, 34-41.

⁶⁸ Quoted in Samuel M. Janney, History of the Religious Society of Friends, from Its Rise to the Year 1828: Vol. 3, originally published Philadelphia, PA, 1860, pg. 197-198; electronic edition more recently published in the Digital Quaker Collection, Earlham School of Religion, Richmond, IN, 2003.

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of the seventeenth century and through the first half of the eighteenth, and the list includes: John Larkin, Thomas Miles, Thomas Sparrow, Solomon Sparrow, Elizabeth Kensey, Richard Johns, Kensey Johns II, Richard Ewen II, Benjamin and Elizabeth Lawrence, Rachel Marriarte, Edward and Honor Marriarte, generations of the Galloway family, the Sprigg family, the Talbott family, Christopher Rawles, John Brown, Richard Mosby, Ann Webb, Samuel Chew, Mary Thomas, Jane Roberts Fishbourne, Henry and Mary Hill, Joseph Cowman, Mary Paca, Isaac Johns, William Coale I, Phillip Coale, William and Margaret Smith Richardson, Elizabeth Thomas, Elizabeth Skipwith (daughter of Thomas Thurston) and the Skipwith family, Jacob Duhattee, the Arnold family, Phillip and Sarah Harrison Thomas, John Waters, Samuel Waters, John Giles, Jacob Giles, Thomas Hawkins, James White, William Ford, Richard Beard, Robert Clarkson, John Homewood, and Thomas Hooker I and II.⁶⁹ Several of these prominent Quakers were also active members of the South River Club, a venerable social club begun in the colonial period, touted as the oldest such organization in America. The South River Clubhouse remains standing today, and is individually listed on the National Register (NR-57). Documentary evidence has allowed historians to link many of these names to specific properties, increasing the potential for archaeological and historical research and in many cases, operating as the impetus for further investigation and resulting in the discovery of new archaeological sites and historical information.

A religious census made in 1698 of Quakers and other Protestant dissenters in Maryland, showed that there were six Quaker meeting places in Anne Arundel County at that time.⁷⁰ The first was the Meeting House at West River for Yearly Meetings, the homes of William Richardson I and Richard Galloway II for Weekly and Monthly Meetings, and at the home of Samuel Chew, at Herring Bay, for Quarterly Meetings. Chew's home site (18AN1385) was recently discovered by the Anne Arundel County archaeology program. John Belt hosted Weekly and Monthly Meetings at his house, on a property now called "Velmead" near the Patuxent River, as did Ann Lumbolt (Lambert), whose home was near the head of the South River.⁷¹ There were more meeting places for Quakers in Anne Arundel County than in any other county in Maryland at that time. Thus, not only did Maryland have the largest population of Quakers at the time, but it appears that, given the fact that Anne Arundel County had the most meeting houses, the County also had the largest Quaker population in the Province.

In 1699 and 1700, Quakerism reached its greatest strength in Anne Arundel County.⁷² According to the Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends, "by 1700 there were about 3,000 Quakers in Maryland, possibly the largest religious body in the colony at that time."⁷³ This is most likely due to the efforts of British Friends sent to convince people in Anne Arundel County between the years of 1698 and 1702, when establishment of the Church of England in Maryland was dangerously pending.⁷⁴ Samuel Galloway I, writing from West River in 1699, stated "Truth prospers

⁶⁹ Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland.

⁷⁰ Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 86.

⁷¹ Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 86.

⁷² Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 59.

⁷³ Baltimore Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, Section A

⁷⁴ Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 86-87.

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with us and there is a greater convincement amongst people that I have known in my time."⁷⁵ However, this swell of Quaker numbers in Anne Arundel County was rapidly depleted in the next several decades.

The West River Meeting's burial ground is located near Galesville at Route 255 and Route 468, as known as Muddy Creek Road. The archaeological remnants of the West River Meeting House are believed to be adjacent to or within the bounds of the burial ground, and this property (once owned by Thomas Hooker as discussed above) likely contains archaeological remains of other Quaker related sites, though a comprehensive archaeological survey has yet to be conducted. The burial ground became an exclusive resting place for generations of Quakers, including the prominent Friend Richard Galloway II, who was buried there in 1735 or 1736. None of the Friends in the burial ground has a marked grave, however. At that time, Quakers did not mark or install headstones for their graves due to their desire for simplicity and privacy, and the custom of the Friends was to bury their deceased next to each other in order of their passing, rather than in family plots, though a written record was kept of everyone buried in the burial ground.⁷⁶ The stone markers at the burial ground do not mark Quaker graves. Instead, they mark the graves of people of other Christian denominations who were put to rest there beginning in 1785,⁷⁷ the same year that the Yearly Meeting was moved to Baltimore. The oldest gravestone is dated 1812.⁷⁸ The Quaker Burial Ground is the oldest known cemetery in Anne Arundel County.⁷⁹

The Decline of Tolerance (1689 - 1702) and A Shift in Quaker Engagement with the World: 1702 - 1759

The Glorious Revolution in Britain had a profound impact on the government of Maryland, as well as on the freedoms afforded to Quakers and Catholics in Maryland. In 1689, Charles Calvert, the third Lord Baltimore and the Catholic proprietor of Maryland was stripped of his governorship, and a new royal Protestant government controlled Maryland. A series of laws, between the years of 1692 and 1702, established the Church of England as the religion of Maryland. This government did not accommodate the Quakers attestations in place of oaths, and thus the Quakers lost many rights. The government also levied a church tax of forty pounds of tobacco per person per year upon men, women, and slaves.⁸⁰ This tax provided for the establishment of Anglican Churches and financial support for the Anglican ministers. The Quakers fought the establishment of the Church of England both by petition and non-observance.⁸¹ In fact, it was partially due to the Quakers' efforts that it took 10 years for the Church of England to be legally established.⁸² The loss of rights afforded to Quakers as well as the institutional subjugation of Quakers and

⁷⁵ Backhouse, James. The Life and Correspondence of William and Alice Ellis of Airton, (London:1849), 164.

⁷⁶ Martha C. Nesbitt and Miller, Mary Reading, Chronicles of Sandy Spring Friends Meeting and Environs, (Sandy Spring, MD: Sandy Spring Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends), 1987, 158.

⁷⁷ Kelly, "Old Quaker Burying Ground: West River Quaker Burial Ground", 343.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 343.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 334.

⁸⁰ Kelly, "Old Quaker Burying Ground: West River Quaker Burial Ground", 344.

⁸¹ Carroll, Maryland Quakers in the Seventeenth Century, 94.

⁸² Michael J. Graham, "'The Collapse of Equity': Catholic and Quaker Dissenters in Maryland, 1692 - 1720", Maryland Historic Magazine, Vol. 88, No. 1, Spring 1993, 7.

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Catholics irrevocably changed the Quaker community and contributed to the community's shift in engagement with the rest of society.

One significant consequence of the revolution of government in Maryland was the exclusion of Quakers and Catholics from serving in a public office, as it required taking an oath of allegiance to the crown. In 1692, three Quakers were elected to the assembly, but were not allowed to serve. Their "[r]efusal to swear allegiance to the crown led to refusal to seat them."⁸³ From then on, Quakers no longer served in government in Maryland. Governor Francis Nicholson later commented on the difficulty of finding men for responsible positions in the government, as some of the best qualified were Quakers or Catholics.⁸⁴

The Quakers fought the Act of Establishment -- the Act that set the Church of England as the State Church -- both by petition and non-observance. This Act was passed in 1692, 1694, 1696, 1700, and 1702, and the Quakers succeeded in getting most of them repealed, which is why there was a series of laws. The Act would be repealed, and so the government of Maryland would then pass the Act again. In 1695, the Quakers petitioned the Governor and the Assembly that they be freed from oath taking and from paying the tobacco tax, but their appeal was rejected.⁸⁵ The Maryland Quakers then appealed to their brethren in London to try to get the Act annulled by the King. The King repealed the 1692 and 1694 Acts in Council on January 4, 1695/96, declaring them void.⁸⁶

In 1697, Quakers in Maryland presented "The Case of the People Called Quakers" to Governor Francis Nicholson. In it, they listed all problems they faced because they were not allowed to give attestations in lieu of oaths, and this list included: their inability to testify in court on their own behalf; their inability to serve in offices of the government and thus were "unable to be serviceable to both the King and the Inhabitants;" in the case of intestate deaths, estates were opened for "a stranger" to administer the estate, usually at the injury of the widow and orphans. They also requested relief from the tax administered by the Anglican Church⁸⁷ as they were not members of the church, nor did their faith support the notion of ministers, who lived off of the support of their parishioners. The Quakers appealed to the tradition of religious tolerance in Maryland, in place since the inception of the colony, and a legally protected right that induced many people, including Quakers, to settle in Maryland. The Quakers argued that they had come to Maryland "expecting to enjoy the liberty of their consciences without being debarred of their English rights and privileges."⁸⁸ The Quakers argued that they were entitled to the same rights as other Englishmen, and that these rights had been stripped away by the new government. Their pleas went unheeded.

⁸³ Maryland Archives, XIII, 354, 366; Lois Green Carr and David Jordan, Maryland's Revolution of Government, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974), 212-3.

⁸⁴ "Royal Period" 142; Carr and Jordan, 214.

⁸⁵ Kenneth Carroll, "Quaker Opposition to the Establishment of a State Church in Maryland", Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. 65, No. 2, Summer 1970, 149-170, 157. Archives of Maryland, XIX, 55-56, 155, 185.

⁸⁶ Carroll, "Quaker Opposition to the Establishment of a State Church in Maryland", 157-158.

⁸⁷ Graham, 18; William Stevens Perry, ed. Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church (4 vols.; New York: AMS Press, 1969) 4:4, 6.

⁸⁸ Text in Perry, Historical Collections, 4:6.

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The Quakers therefore went to the King to get the 1696 Act repealed, and this time several Maryland Quakers traveled to England to petition the King themselves. Friends Richard Johns, Samuel Galloway, Samuel Chew, and Nehemiah Birkhead presented the petition.⁸⁹ This Act, too, was declared null and void by the King in 1699,⁹⁰ and the news was sent to the Quakers of Maryland before it reached the Maryland government, and so it was Samuel Chew, Richard Johns and Nehemiah Birkhead who presented a copy of the repeal to Governor Blackiston (who replaced Nicholson).⁹¹ The 1700 and 1702 Acts of Establishment were upheld by King William III and Queen Anne, respectively. The King's comments on the 1700 Act stated that the act should "not be put too vigorously into execution,"⁹² but that was little comfort for the Quakers. When Queen Anne upheld the Act of 1702, the Quakers finally lost their rights completely. Additionally, the government regularly fined and imprisoned Quakers and also raided Quaker homes for not paying military assessments or refusing to go the war.⁹³ It was a very uncertain existence for Quakers after the rise of the Anglican government.

The Quakers also fought the Act by refusing to pay the tobacco tax that funded the building of Anglican Churches and supporting the Anglican priests. In 1694, a paper was presented at the Yearly Meeting at West River, which cautioned Friends "to keep to their Antient Testimony and not to Concern with fighting or taking away mens Lives nor Contributing towards maintaining Idollatrous priests nor their houses of Worship."⁹⁴ In 1696, Governor Nicholson noted that the tax for the establishment of the Anglican Church "is much balked at by papists, Quakers, and dissenters who are pretty numerous."⁹⁵ In a letter written by a group of Maryland Anglicans to the Archbishop of Canterbury, they state that "[c]ould the Quakers clean themselves of the 40 £ per Poll, the Papists might all pretend to do so; because they have Priests of their own to provide for...we may Expect many that have their Religion still to choose to turn either Papist or Quakers; and refuse to pay too."⁹⁶ Though the Quakers held no official power in the political sphere, they were able to get the first three Acts of Establishment repealed, and unnerved the government with their acts of defiance. They served as an example for other groups by their non-observance of the tobacco tax, with the Catholics apparently following the Quakers lead in non-observance of the tax. Anglicans worried that people without a religion would choose to join the Quakers simply to avoid payment of the tobacco tax.

In 1692, Quakers lost the ability to serve in government because they were required to swear oaths, and were not afforded concessions to give attestations instead. Previously, Quakers had served at all levels of government.

⁸⁹ Carroll, "Quaker Opposition to the Establishment of a State Church in Maryland," 160; Minutes of Meeting for Sufferings (London Yearly Meeting), XI, 275, 281; XII, 32. These manuscripts are found in Friends House Library, London.

⁹⁰ Carroll, "Quaker Opposition to the Establishment of a State Church in Maryland," 162; Archives of Maryland, XXIV, 5; Fulham Papers, II, 134.

⁹¹ Carroll, "Quaker Opposition to the Establishment of a State Church in Maryland," 163; Archives of Maryland, XXIV, 4-5.

⁹² Carroll, "Quaker Opposition to the Establishment of a State Church in Maryland," 166.

⁹³ Nesbitt and Miller, 30.

⁹⁴ Third Haven Minutes, I, 128.

⁹⁵ Carr and Jordan, 203.

⁹⁶ Carroll, "Quaker Opposition to the Establishment of a State Church in Maryland," 161; Fulham papers, II, 100.

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Some men whose families had been stalwart Friends from the beginning started to show up on the assembly in the mid-eighteenth century, names such as Chew, Galloway, Bond, Birkhead, and Edmundson. These same families had served in the government for several generations, and now, in order to continue doing so, the men left the Quaker community and converted to Anglicanism, thus allowing them to swear loyalty to the crown to be able to serve. Some kept their ties to the Quaker community through a Quaker wife, but others abandoned the Quaker community altogether.⁹⁷

The arrival of Anglicanism in Maryland contributed to the decline of Quakerism in another way. Before the 1690s, if Quakers left the Friends, they did not have another Protestant religious community readily available to them. However, the Anglican Church brought a religious alternative to Quakerism.⁹⁸ Quakers who left the Friends, or were disowned by the Friends, were willingly taken in by the Anglicans.

The final action that led to the decline of Quakerism was brought on by the Quakers themselves. The Quakers changed the way they interacted with the rest of society. From their inception, they proselytized their faith and gathered many believers. At this point, however, they turned inward, separating themselves from the greater world. This period of Quakerism is known as Quietism. This action was a method of self-preservation from the persecution they experienced at the hands of the government. However, this self-preservation also led to a decrease in their numbers.

One method of self-preservation was the Quaker ban on marrying outside of the faith. When a Quaker couple considered marriage, their choice of partners had to be sanctioned by their Meeting. A marriage was essentially a community decision. The community plays a large role in a Quaker marriage, serving as counselors and supporters to the couple throughout the entirety of the marriage. Thus, it was the community that made the ultimate decision on unions between Friends. However, starting in the eighteenth century, it became very common for Quakers to marry non-Quakers. At Third Haven Meeting, the sister meeting to West River, one-third of marriages in the first half of the eighteenth century were marriages to non-Quakers. Quaker Meetings began disinheriting and disowning Quakers who chose non-Quakers as spouses. From 1692 to 1720, 34 disownments occurred among Maryland Friends, and 22 were for disorderly marriages. Many other Quakers who were not disowned for marrying non-Quakers left the Quaker community also.⁹⁹

Documents show that beginning around 1700, the Quakers in the West River region began facing issues concerning wealth and how it affected their adherence to the values of their faith. This was a particularly pointed issue for the Quakers of this region, as they were mainly planters. The tobacco trade was highly lucrative, and many Quakers in Maryland were demonstrably wealthier than non-Quakers.¹⁰⁰ Yet this wealth caused a strain on some of

⁹⁷ Graham, 15.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 15.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 14.

¹⁰⁰ Michael Graham, "Meetinghouse and Chapel: Religion and Community in Seventeenth-Century Maryland", in Colonial Chesapeake Society, edited by Lois Green Carr, Phillip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, The University of North Carolina Press, 1988, pp.242-274, 270.

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the core values of Quakerism. From the founding of the Society of Friends, there was a testimony of plainness in speech and living. Friends were expected to wear clothes that were modest, avoiding ostentation and unnecessary decoration. This principle also applied to the architecture of their homes and meetinghouses and the furniture therein.¹⁰¹ However, both documentary and archaeological evidence show that the West River Quakers did indeed have fine material possessions. In minutes from a Women's Meeting in 1703, the women discussed the morally debilitating effects of wealth and possessions, concluding that Friends should be

...very careful to keep out of all Imitation of fashions which the world runs into but to keep our plainness of Speech & Plainness of Dresses both in our selves and in our children, laboring in our selves and with them to be clothed with the meek spirit of Jesus as such are waiting for his coming.¹⁰²

Unlike other religious groups, Quakers do not have religious artifacts, such as medallions, crosses, and so on. For Friends, what carries religious significance is their everyday material culture. Their daily things are supposed to embody their values of Quakerism – their value of simplicity, also known as plainness. The Quakers themselves embody that value through their dress and speech, in the manner of Bourdieu's notion of habitus. According to Wilmer Cooper, "early Friends were committed to acting truth in their daily lives,"¹⁰³ in the practice of plainness and self-denial.

The Quakers have no set rules about what constitutes simplicity in their material culture, though it is even today a source of constant discussion. Simplicity, in the Quaker model, is defined "not by what it is but by what it is not."¹⁰⁴ Howard Brinton, a Quaker scholar, clarifies that "simplicity meant the absence of all that was unnecessary, such as ornamentation in dress, speech, manners, architecture, and house furnishings."¹⁰⁵ It aimed to remove anything that would foster pride or distract from one's personal relationship with God.

It was up to each Quaker to decide what simplicity meant for him or her, and thus, it is subjective and negotiable. The level of simplicity in which the Quakers lived was also informed by their stations in life. Quakers recognized social stratification, and leaders such as Robert Barclay and William Penn advocated for a sliding scale rule for following the tenet of simplicity. The line between simplicity and extravagance was defined according to the size of a Quaker's estate and his rank in society.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Baltimore Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, Faith and Practice, Section A (Baltimore, 1988).

¹⁰² Graham, 15; Maryland State Archives, Women's Yearly and Half-Yearly Meeting Minutes, folio 83.

¹⁰³ Wilmer Cooper, "The Testimony of Integrity in the Religious Society of Friends", Pendle Hill Pamphlets. Walingford, PA: Pendle Hill. 1991, 16.

¹⁰⁴ Roger Homan, "The Aesthetics of Friends' Meeting Houses" Quaker Studies Vol. 11 No. 1, 2006, pp.115-128, 117.

¹⁰⁵ Howard Brinton, Friends for 300 Years New York: Harper & Bros. 1952, 135; Frederick B. Tolles "'Of the Best Sort but Plain': The Quaker Esthetic", American Quarterly Vol. 11 No.4, Winter 1959, pp.484-502, 487.

¹⁰⁶ Jack D. Marietta, "Wealth War and Religion: The Perfecting of Quaker Asceticism 1740-1783" Church History. Vol. 43 No. 2 June 1974, pp. 230-241, 231.

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It was due to some Quakers' lack of discipline in following the tenet of simplicity that led some Meetings to set rules about what constituted "extravagance" in dress and material things. The quote from the West River Women's Meeting above is an example of such a censure. In light of this understanding of simplicity, it is perhaps not surprising that the excavations of Quaker domestic sites conducted by the Lost Towns Project of Anne Arundel County uncovered high quality goods. Materially, the Quaker sites excavated in the West River region do not exhibit any remarkable difference from non-Quaker sites dating to the same time period in the county. If anything, the Quakers exhibit a higher level of material culture than their non-Quaker counterparts. For example, at Skipworth's Addition (18AN795), a Quaker site dating from 1664-1682, 67% of the ceramic vessels recovered are refined or table wares. Two other temporally-comparable sites revealed much lower percentages of table wares. The ceramic vessels at Swan Cove (1660-1675), a Protestant tradesman's homestead, had 43% refined wares. The Chalkley Site (1677-1685), a Protestant tobacco planter's homestead, has a mere 27% refined wares. It appears that the difference in refined wares is a difference of wealth, not of faith, as the Skipworths were wealthier than the other two site owners.¹⁰⁷ However, there is also a difference in the level of material culture recovered from each Quaker site, also apparently due to varied levels of wealth.

Through the excavations of Quaker sites in the West River region, it has become clear that Quaker sites can be identified only through the correlation with documentary research, and that there is no Quaker "material footprint" at Quaker sites. Rather than let this discovery become a cause for concern regarding the eligibility of Quaker sites for the National Register, it is a cause for even greater interest in such sites. These Quakers were more complex, in practice, than the tenets of their faith suggest. Our understanding of Quakerism in this period comes from epistles, journals, Meeting records, and texts on the ideas of faith. Archaeological excavation allows us to uncover the *practice* of faith, and the Quakers offer a unique opportunity to do so, as theoretically, their domestic possessions embody their Quaker values. Thus, domestic and religious realms are one and the same, and their material culture reflected their tenet of simplicity, however they chose to interpret it. It will only be through further archaeological excavation that the true breadth of the lived experience of Quakerism in the West River region will become more clear.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the wealth of the Quakers of this region and the lifestyle it afforded them became more and more at odds with the dominant interpretation of simplicity. As the eighteenth century progressed, the Quakers as a whole moved away from the world at large, especially material temptations, and the emphasis on simplicity became more pronounced. Some Quaker families gave up their faith so they could maintain their lavish lifestyle, and others who remained Quaker appear to have begun overlooking the testimony of simplicity in favor of fashionable dress and showy material possessions. Mary Peisly and Catherine Peyton, two British Friends, traveled in the colonies in 1753 and 1754. They attended a meeting at West River, and Catherine Peyton wrote in her journal about the West River Friends, "That they were principally the offspring of faithful ancestors; but many have taken their flight on the wings of vanity and earthly riches, and slighted the truly valuable eternal inheritance."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ C. Jane Cox, Dennis Kavadias, and Al Luckenbach "Skipworth's Addition (1664-1682): Limited Testing at a 17th Century Quaker Homelot, Anne Arundel County, Maryland" *Maryland Archaeology*, Vol. 36 No.1, March 2000, pp. 1-10, 6.

¹⁰⁸ Janney, 319, 320.

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Another reason for the decline of Quakers in Anne Arundel County was that many Quakers relocated to other parts of Maryland as these areas were settled. Thus, there were many more Meetings, but with smaller populations in each Meeting. The shift in population in Maryland and the growth of new Meetings probably played a role in the closing of older, more established Meetings. In the 1750s, several Meetings were established. Sandy Spring Friends Meeting was founded in 1753, and its establishment was decided on and recorded in the West River Meeting Minutes. The Sandy Spring Meetinghouse was built on the land of Richard Snowden – a Friend – and many of the first members of the Meeting were from other Western Shore Meetings, such as the Richardsons and Thomases from West River, the Hollands of Herring Creek Meeting, the and Johns of the Clifts (Cliffs) in Calvert County.¹⁰⁹

The Quaker community in Anne Arundel County significantly changed during the early to mid-eighteenth century with many Quakers marrying outside of the faith, leaving the faith so that they could serve in office or have a lifestyle in keeping with their wealth rather than their faith, or faithful Friends moving away from the West River area and attending newer Meetings in other parts of Maryland. However, all of these factors took a toll on the Quakers of the area. A British Friend, Edmund Peekover, wrote these comments on the state of Quakerism in Maryland in 1742:

I went...to West River, Herring Creek, Potuxent, and the Clifts. There are very few of the ancients remaining, Peter Sharp and the Galloways, and the Johns's and the Harris's being gone, that is, the old People of these Families, and which I have understood were the Principals of these Meetings. Some few of their offspring come now and then to Meetings, but have quite lost the Mark, both in Appearance and Conversation... Things are at a Low Ebb in these parts.¹¹⁰

The Call for Abolition and the End of the West River Friends: 1759 - 1785

The mid-to-late seventeenth century was a time of economic opportunity and growth for the Maryland colonies. Tobacco was the basis of the economy, and settlers established farms that matured into large plantations. During the seventeenth century, the abundance of opportunities created a flexible social hierarchy. The progenitors of many wealthy families came as indentured servants and eventually became the owners of great estates.¹¹¹ The tobacco production process was highly labor-intensive, requiring a significant base of cheap labor. The utilization of white indentured servants declined as a continuous supply of slaves took their place. By the eighteenth century, the entire socio-economic system of Anne Arundel County was dependent upon slavery, and it has been surmised that for

¹⁰⁹ Nesbitt and Miller, 8-10.

¹¹⁰ From "Abstract of the Journal of Edmund Peekover's Travels in North America and Barbadoes", *Journal of the Friend's Historical Society*, 1 (1903-1904), 95-109; 107.; Graham, 15-16.

¹¹¹ Bradford, *Anne Arundel County Maryland: A Bicentennial History 1649-1977*, (Annapolis: Anne Arundel and Annapolis Bicentennial Committee, 1977) xvi.

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the hundred years preceding the American Revolution, Maryland was the largest slave-holding colony in British North America.¹¹²

Quakers are generally recognized for their abolitionist beliefs and their testimony against holding men in bondage. However, this testimony did not exist until the late eighteenth century. Maryland Quakers were slaveholders for over a century until the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Maryland categorically banned their members' involvement in the slave trade in 1777.¹¹³ It was even customary for some Quakers, after attending the Yearly Meeting at West River, to procure their slaves from nearby ships.¹¹⁴ However, Friends have a long history of vocal individuals and Meetings unequivocally espousing the evils of holding humans in bondage. As early as 1688, the Germantown, Pennsylvania Meeting denounced slavery. William Dixon emancipated two slaves in his will in 1684, and generously provided each of them with fifty acres of land, a house, and the beginnings of a flock. In 1696, Eastern Shore Quaker William Southbey condemned the practice, and William Penn set an example by emancipating his slaves in 1700.¹¹⁵ Due to the Quaker belief in the inherent equality of all men, the concern over the ethics of slavery intensified. Ralph Sandiford published *A Brief Examination of the Practice of the Times* in 1729 in which he argued that slavery and the slave trade were contrary to the teachings of Christianity. Others, such as Benjamin Lay, Anthony Benezet, and John Woolman, rose up from the ranks of Friends to condemn slavery. Woolman wrote the compelling *Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes: Recommended to the Professors of Christianity of Every Denomination* in 1754 and visited Maryland in 1766 to advance his anti-slavery beliefs. In response to his influential testimony, a large number of manumissions occurred between 1767 and 1771.

Friends in Maryland began to debate the issue of slavery in June of 1759 when the first minutes concerning slavery appears, but it was nothing more than an exhortation to exercise caution when importing or buying slaves, to treat their slaves kindly, and to teach them Christianity. A year later at West River, as recorded in the minutes, this had evolved into an "uneasiness with buying Negroes," and five months after that, at Third Haven Meeting on the Eastern Shore, Friends were discouraged from buying or selling slaves.¹¹⁶ In May of 1762, the Yearly West River Meeting further restricted Quaker involvement in the slave business by requiring the consent of Monthly Meeting before any member could import, buy, or sell a Negro. In 1769, Friends were advised against slaveholding. The Yearly Meeting was advised in 1773 to continue with their concern over slaveholding, and to work "with those who are in the practice of holding slaves."¹¹⁷ A conditional disownment, or excommunication, was determined in 1777 at

¹¹² William L. Calderhead, "Anne Arundel Blacks: Three Centuries of Change," ed. James C. Bradford, Anne Arundel County Maryland: A Bicentennial History 1649-1977 (Annapolis: Anne Arundel County and Annapolis Bicentennial Committee, 1977) 11.

¹¹³ Kenneth Carroll, "Maryland Quakers and Slavery", Quaker History, Vol. 72, 1983, 216, 222, 223.

¹¹⁴ Carroll, "Maryland Quakers and Slavery", 215; Commemorative Exercises of the Two-Hundredth Anniversary of the Friends' Meeting-House at Third Haven, (Easton, 1884), 23.

¹¹⁵ Carroll, Quakerism on the Eastern Shore 129-131; Doris Cornwell, "Religious Institutions," ed. James C. Bradford, Anne Arundel County Maryland: A Bicentennial History 1649-1977 (Annapolis: Anne Arundel County and Annapolis Bicentennial Committee, 1977) 171.

¹¹⁶ As quoted in Carroll, Quakerism on the Eastern Shore, 133-34.

¹¹⁷ Carroll, "Maryland Quakers and Slavery," 222; Third Haven Minutes, III, 28.

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the Yearly Meeting to be the consequence of slaveholding,¹¹⁸ and this consequence took effect the following year. After this pronouncement, many Friends freed their slaves. Others freed their slaves upon their death, and thus it was a slow process for all of the Quakers to free their slaves.¹¹⁹

The fortunes of many Quaker tobacco planters had been built upon slave labor. For many Quakers, releasing their slaves meant a plunge into economic ruin, even forcing some to move west and start anew.¹²⁰ That so many followed their convictions and lost their wealth and livelihood because of it is a testament to the strength and fortitude of the Quaker people. However, the strong stance taken against slavery led to a decline in the numbers of Quakers in the West River area, and in Maryland in general. The Quakers who freed their slaves could not survive in the economy as planters, and so moved west or became involved in other industries. The Ohio Yearly Meeting was founded in 1812 by the Baltimore Yearly Meeting for Quakers from Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas who had moved westward following the freeing of their slaves.¹²¹ Maryland Quakers also became involved in other industries, most notably the Ellicott brothers who founded their flour mills in the 1800s in what is now known as Ellicott City. However, some Quakers did leave the faith so that they could keep their slaves, and thus, their wealth, status, and livelihood.

Quakers took a vested interest in the well-being of the African Americans in their community. A committee for the "care and oversight" of "the negroes amongst us," whether slave or free, was established in 1774 at Third Haven, West River Meeting's sister Meeting on the Eastern Shore, and the Quakers offered spiritual and material assistance to all blacks.¹²² In 1784 at Third Haven, a committee was set up to ensure that the liberty of freed African Americans was protected. The Quakers later played a large role in helping slaves escape to freedom through the Underground Railroad. Quakers became stalwart friends of fugitive slaves, providing them with meals, compassionate assistance and hiding them from their would-be captors.¹²³

In 1785, the Western Shore meeting place for the Maryland Yearly Meeting was moved from West River to Baltimore.¹²⁴ That same year, the Quaker Burial Ground began to be used as a resting place for people from other Christian denominations. The fact that the exclusively Quaker cemetery became non-sectarian the same year that the Yearly Meeting site moved to Baltimore seems to suggest that the Quakers were no longer a viable group in the West River region, and no longer had control over the burial ground. This appears to be the conclusive end of one of the earliest Quaker strongholds in America.

¹¹⁸ Third Haven Minutes, III, 84.

¹¹⁹ Carroll, "Maryland Quakers and Slavery," 224.

¹²⁰ Baltimore Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, Section A.

¹²¹ Baltimore Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, Section A.

¹²² Third Haven Minutes, III, 28.

¹²³ Marion Wilson Starling, The Slave Narrative: Its Place in American History (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1988) 33-35.

¹²⁴ Kelly, "Old Quaker Burying Ground," 345.

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Conclusion

Indisputably, the West River region is important to the history of Maryland and to the national development of Quakerism. An understanding of West River Quakerism contributes to the knowledge of the development of Anne Arundel County and the origins and organization of Quakerism in America. Though physically no longer a presence in West River, the Quakers of this region were integral to shaping the social, political, and legal landscapes of early Maryland. In turn, these values shaped the development of the state of Maryland and its people. This was the geographic center of faith for Friends in the region, and it was the genesis of organized Quakerism in Maryland. Quakers were well-established in the Provincial government through the end of the seventeenth century. They were a powerful economic force in the region, acting as planters, merchants, and businessmen. They maintained their civil rights for ten years when the government of Maryland tried and ultimately succeeded in stripping them of their rights. They involved themselves in humanitarian efforts within their community, and by the late eighteenth century, they expanded these efforts to the community of African Americans. They were the progenitors of families whose status and importance lasted through the eighteenth century and beyond. They maintained their religious and moral values even when it led to their own financial ruin. When slavery was an entrenched socio-economic norm in colonial society, West River Friends denounced the practice, which ultimately led to the demise of Quakerism in the West River region. Quakerism helped form a burgeoning country, and the West River Quakers left very few on the Western Shore of Maryland River unaffected by their beliefs. The physical landscape in the West River still holds the remains of their tenure, both above and below ground, and their rich heritage deserves recognition, preservation, and further research.

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F. Associated Property Types

Name of Property Type: House lots

Property Type Description: The bulk of life in seventeenth and eighteenth century in the West River region took place in one or more areas surrounding the domestic dwelling house and its related service buildings. Though few Quaker house lots in the West River have been excavated, it can be deduced that their patterns of settlement and development of the house lots are similar to, if not the same as, others in the region. Providence, north of modern-day Annapolis, was home to Quakers as well during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and excavations there have found early house lots that included a dwelling structure, kitchen garden, and orchard, and their associated fences and ditches and service outbuildings. Later house lots may have included a dairy, detached kitchens, quarters for laborers, and other outbuildings.

Seventeenth-century dwelling houses in the Chesapeake were most often impermanent, post-in-the-ground buildings, although significant variations from this norm occur. Seventeenth-century settlers sometimes constructed buildings with ground- or trench-laid wooden sill buildings, as well as buildings with laid sandstone or limestone foundations. In almost all cases, the buildings were framed with local timber. Only public buildings or those that belonged to the very wealthy were constructed of brick. Archaeological research is the one of the most informative means for understanding the distribution and variability of impermanent structures, particularly in the Chesapeake region, where, unlike other regions with more stable climates, seventeenth and eighteenth century post-in-ground structures do not survive to the present day.¹²⁵

Storage pits or cellars existed under or near many dwelling houses. These cellars were often filled with artifacts when the storage function of the cellar or dwelling itself passed out of use. The information that can be extracted from discrete sealed deposits is an important, if not indispensable part of the archaeology of such sites. This is particularly true when the site has been used for agriculture in the more recent past. Plowing destroys or disturbs much of the natural stratigraphy of an area, leaving only deeper features intact. On typical seventeenth-century sites, trash-filled cellars, post-holes, and other deep depressions such as borrow pits, are the predominant "sealed" archaeological features.

As the seventeenth century progressed into the eighteenth century, some landowners began to accumulate wealth and construct more permanent structures, dividing the landscape into more specialized segments, which often included separate quarters for servants or slaves, as well as service buildings such as wash houses. The buildings began to include more intricate features, such as porch towers and casement windows. Some homes were built on a grand scale, such as the five-part Georgian mansion, as exemplified by Tulip Hill, which is on the National Register and was built by a Quaker. Historical research has shown that other grand Quaker homes existed, such as that of Samuel Chew, but have not survived intact to the present day. However, the remnants of these buildings can be uncovered archaeologically.

¹²⁵ Cary Carson, et al. "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies" in Material Life in America, 1600-1860. edited by Robert Blair St. George, Northeastern University Press, 1988, pp. 113-158, 113.

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Property Type Significance: House lot sites are eligible under Criterion D. The impermanent nature of dwelling houses and service buildings makes archaeological research the most informative venue for exploring the variability of architecture and material culture in the West River. Historical research and limited archaeological excavation has raised many questions about the material, spiritual, and political lives of the West River Quakers, and there is great potential for more extensive study. Archaeological excavation is the main vehicle through which much of this research can be conducted, as historical texts available to us offer only a limited view into the lives of the Quakers.

Domestic sites offer a unique view into the material culture of Quakers. Very little is known about the physical and material manifestations of the faith during this early time period. There was a Quaker tenet that called for simplicity of speech, of dress, and of material wealth, and Quakers were expected to embody their faith in both themselves and their material world. Archaeological excavation allows us to examine how this tenet was practiced, and preliminary analysis suggests that the actual *practice* of Quakerism encompasses a breadth of behaviors, as evidenced by their possessions. The goods recovered from their home sites can inform us about the physical and material manifestations of their faith, how they themselves interpreted and negotiated their tenets of faith. How do these artifacts compare to the material culture of non-Quakers during the same period? How do the Quaker sites compare to one another? Does the quality and amount of material culture shift over time? These are questions that can be addressed only through archaeological excavation, and can interrogate the practice of faith.

Property Type Requirements: House lot sites will be eligible if they contain archaeological deposits associated with Quaker domestic life in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century West River. Plow zone deposits and sealed features meet this requirement. Intact features such as middens, cellars, or posthole/mold complexes should exist in most cases on house lot sites and will offer the most valuable archaeological information to support eligibility.

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Name of Property Type: Agricultural Outbuildings and Landscapes

Property Type Description: Agricultural outbuildings include structures associated with farming or animal husbandry such as tobacco barns or chicken coops are often located outside of the house lot area. This may also include buildings such as milk houses or dairies, provided that they lie outside of the main locus of the house lot. Further, this property type may also include the fences that are often found in association with agricultural activities and farm field boundaries and road systems associated with the historic agricultural use and occupation of the site.

Agricultural buildings were, like dwelling houses, impermanent buildings usually made fast by burying structural components in the ground. Extant agricultural outbuildings exist within the multiple property area. However, there are certainly many more agricultural outbuildings that exist only in the archaeological record. Subsurface archaeological features, particularly post hole/molds, are available for research.

Property Type Significance: Agricultural outbuildings are significant under National Register criterion D. Due to their impermanent nature, archaeological research is well suited to answer questions about the nature and distribution of these buildings and their associated landscape and features. Scholarly understanding of seventeenth and eighteenth century agriculture is based heavily on information produced by historians, so systematic study of the material remains of agriculture, including agricultural building location and construction, has the potential to lend a new dimension to this type of scholarship.

As many known Quakers were successful planters, this type of resource will also offer the chance to compare and contrast the agricultural practices of Quakers to other non-Quaker planters. These resources may provide the opportunity to understand the Quakers' success as planters, such as what practices they incorporated that aided in their success, and possibly whether any beliefs and socio-religious practices had any impact upon how they operated their plantations.

Property Type Requirement: Agricultural outbuilding sites will be eligible if they contain deposits associated with farming or livestock-related activities that occurred at the site. These include post holes and post molds, as well as plowed deposits. It is unlikely that the archaeological remains of outbuildings will contain large concentrations of artifacts, and it is equally likely that plowing has occurred atop such sites. Thus, careful examination of soils recovered from plow zone deposits, along with careful consideration of the remaining buried features, are necessary to properly interpret such buildings. Remnant colonial landscapes offer another material dimension to the study of Quaker related agricultural sites. Within the boundaries of the MPS presented here, the edges and layout of colonial farm fields and road systems survive on today's landscape.

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Name of Property Type: Quarters

Property Type Description: Quarters were living areas for laborers, indentured and enslaved, that are separate from the property owner's main dwelling house. Many of the inhabitants of such quarters, from the late 1660s on, were probably enslaved African or African American, but some indentured servants also inhabited quarters. Quarters can exist adjacent to the owners' home, or on larger, wealthier, plantations, at some distance from the dwelling house. A quarter could be a single family structure, a duplex, a barracks-style building, or another type of structure used to house the enslaved.

Such buildings do not occur on the County's earliest seventeenth-century archaeological sites (ca. 1650 - 1676), but are linked with the rise of the institution of slavery in the West River and the Chesapeake in the third quarter of the 17th century. Prior to this period, indentured servitude played a major role in providing labor for the tobacco plantations. However, the introduction of large-scale slavery on large plantations – a practice the Quakers adopted – and the increased segmentation of the landscape, led to the need for more laborers on remote parts of the plantation. Increased segmentation of the plantation landscape in this period is related to a more general move toward an early modern worldview, and with the development of racism as a parallel institution to slavery. From the late seventeenth through the eighteenth centuries, West River Quakers were active planters who utilized enslaved labor. Thus, Quarters should exist on Quaker-owned plantations.

One standing slave quarter dating to the eighteenth century is known to exist within the boundaries of the MPS and the ruins of others possibly associated with Quakers have been reported. A few written descriptions of quarters dating to the seventeenth century exist. It is likely that the quarters were built using earthfast construction techniques. In the cluster of buildings discovered archaeologically at the Willson Site (18AN1188), one may have been used as a Quarter.

Property Type Significance: Quarter sites are significant under National Register Criterion D. In addition to providing evidence about the daily lives of servants and slaves who inhabited them, quarters also attest to some of the fundamental changes that occurred in seventeenth-century society. Early in the settlement of the Chesapeake, settlers generally shared their dwelling houses with their bound or hired laborers. However, toward the third quarter of the century, planters, particularly wealthy ones like many Quakers, began to move their laborers to separate buildings. This move is an indication of increased social stratification in what many researchers have argued was originally a very traditional, but highly egalitarian society – it is one of the first transformations that made eighteenth-century society possible. Just how this transformation occurred is a compelling topic for scholars of the past, and its reflection in the landscape is a valuable source of information for archaeologists. This transformation is even more compelling if discovered in a Quaker context.

Due to their impermanent nature and the low status of their inhabitants, extant examples of such buildings are rarely encountered. Archaeological research is best situated to inform a study of how such buildings were built, where they were placed, how their occupants lived, what their diet was like, and to what belief-systems they subscribed.

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While the archaeological study of slavery has increased in the since the mid 1970s,¹²⁶ few primary documents about slaves or slavery exist from the seventeenth- or eighteenth-century Chesapeake. Archaeological sites, then, are a primary source of information about a group of people who might otherwise remain "invisible." The Quaker belief in human equality led the Maryland Quakers to ban slavery among their members in 1780, and to form a committee to care for African Americans, both enslaved and free. Quarter sites of slaves owned by Quakers may hold a unique potential for research about the practice of Quaker tenets as they relate to slavery, and the lives of slaves under Quaker slaveholders. There is also the unique opportunity to correlate dates of emancipation of slaves by individual Quaker slaveholders with the dateable material culture found at the site.

Property Type Requirements: Quarter sites will be eligible if they contain deposits associated with the domestic activities of the laborers, mostly African slaves, who lived there. Because it is likely that plowing has disturbed such deposits, plow zone deposits can provide valuable archaeological data. Subsurface deposits, such as an intact midden, filled cellars, or posthole/molds, if present, are also acceptable.

¹²⁶ Theresa A. Singleton and Mark D. Bograd, The Archaeology of the African Diaspora in the Americas, Columbian Quincentenary Series, Guides to the Archaeological Literature of the Immigrant Experience in America, Number 2, The Society for Historical Archaeology, 1995, 14.

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Name of Multiple Property Listing

Name of Property Types: Religious Sites

Property Type Description: Religious sites include sites associated with religious ritual that are not within the boundaries of a house lot or other property type. Such sites include meeting houses, the place of worship for Quakers. The earliest meetings of Friends occurred in homes, thus nomination of such site types is an intricate exercise. In fact, religious sites and house lots may well overlap in function and use. The approximate site of the West River Meetinghouse is known, as it was originally on the property of the Quaker Burial Ground, which still exists as a cemetery. Documentary evidence states that it was built before 1697, was a frame structure, and was expanded in 1706. The exact location of the structure is unknown. There was also a "Tenthouse" that was built around the head of Tenthouse Creek that was built to hold the large Yearly Meetings. The last day of the Yearly Meeting was a Meeting for Business, and a British Friend, Samuel Bownas, mentions the business transactions that went on between the "captains of ships and the planters,"¹²⁷ showing that, at least informally, the business meeting was an event for both Quaker and non-Quaker alike. Thus, these religious structures also served as centers for secular meetings and gatherings as well, and thus potentially have domestic artifact scatters.

Other Meetinghouses were built around the area for groups of Quakers who met in a weekly or monthly capacity. Another meeting house within this MPS whose approximate location is known is the Herring Creek Meeting, near the mouth of Herring Creek. There were more Meetinghouses in this area whose locations are unknown. Archaeological reconnaissance and further documentary research can be used to determine the locations of these meeting sites. Additionally, Meetings for Worship and Business were held in numerous Quaker homes.

Property Type Significance: Religious sites are significant under National Register Criterion D. The blending of the domestic and the religious spheres is of great interest when researching Quaker Meeting places and their role as religious versus domestic sites. Though there were not many Meeting Houses within the area of the MPA, there were many private homes in which meetings were held. These meetings were well documented. Thus, in the case of the West River Meeting, there are many sites where the "religious" sites and the "domestic" sites are one and the same site, and the locations of these sites are relatively easy to find. For the Quakers, the domestic and the religious can coexist, and thus a home site can also be considered a religious site as well. Additionally, Meeting Houses were also spaces for secular events as well. Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings were held at Meetinghouses, and these Meetings were held to discuss Meeting business, or even, in the case of the Yearly Meeting, trade and socialize. Thus, the definitions of "domestic" and "religious" spaces are much broader in the case of the Quakers than among other religious groups.

Little is known about the architecture of these Quaker Meetings, and no extant examples of seventeenth and eighteenth Quaker meetings exist within the MPS area. Archaeological research into such sites is the only way to gain knowledge about how they were constructed and, most important, how they were distributed throughout the area.

¹²⁷ Samuel M. Janney, History of the Religious Society of Friends, Vol. 3, 197-198. Accessed through the Digital Quaker Collection Electronic Edition, Earlham School of Religion, Richmond, IN 2003

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Property Type Requirements: Religious sites will be eligible if they contain deposits associated with religious and secular activities that occurred there. Due to the fact that these deposits are likely to be ephemeral and that plowing may have disturbed such deposits, plow zone deposits are acceptable. Subsurface deposits, such as intact midden strata, filled cellars, or posthole/molds may also be present on religious sites.

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Name of Multiple Property Listing

Name of Property Type: Cemetery and Mortuary Sites

Property Type Description: Cemetery or mortuary sites are the locations of more than one human burial associated with the Quakers or their slaves and not within the boundaries of house lots or other property types.

Property Type Significance: Cemetery and Mortuary sites are significant under National Register Criteria A and D. The sites provide valuable information about attitudes and customs associated with the early modern mortuary tradition. Quaker cemeteries generally did not contain markers during the time period that is spanned in this Multiple Site Property nomination. Traditionally, Quakers were buried in the order in which they passed, not in family plots, and the graves were unmarked. Hence, the graves of Quakers within the boundaries of the West River Quaker Multiple Property area are unmarked, and the historical boundaries of the burial ground are unknown. There are other Quaker cemeteries within the Multiple Property area, including known family plots. Archaeological research on these sites can provide valuable information concerning nutrition, injuries, and pathologies of the Quaker population during the mid-seventeenth to late eighteenth centuries in the West River region.

Property Type Requirement: Cemetery or mortuary sites will be eligible if they contain more than one human burial dating to the mid-seventeenth to late eighteenth centuries that is believed to have been Quaker or associated with Quakers.

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G. Geographical Data

Verbal Boundary Description

From the shores of the South River to the southern Anne Arundel County boundary on a north to south axis, and the shore of the Chesapeake Bay to Solomon's Island Road (MD Route 2) form the eastern to western boundaries of the Multiple Property area.

Major towns within this boundary include Londontown, Edgewater, Mayo, Collinson's Corner, portions of Harwood, Owensville, Galesville, Shady Side, Lothian, Sudley, Tracy's Landing, Churchton, Deale, Friendship and Rosehaven.

Historically, the MPS boundaries encompass the South River, West River and Herring Creek Hundred, bound on the west along MD Route 2, which was known as "Severn Ridge Road" in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Major roads within the boundaries of this MPS include Route 2 (Solomon's Island Road), Route 214 (Central Avenue), Route 468 (Muddy Creek Road), South River Clubhouse Road, Contee's Wharf Road, Mill Swamp Road, Cumberstone Road, Owensville Road, Nutwell-Sudley Road, Route 258 (Bay Front Road), Franklin-Gibson Road, Fairhaven Road, and Friendship Road. Many of these roads were established during the period of significance for this MPS, and in fact connect known historic sites, both archaeological and extant structures associated with prominent Quakers living in the district during its period of significance.

These historic sites include several that are already individually listed on the National Register (i.e. Holly Hill, a large plantation owned by Richard Harrison; Tulip Hill, the centerpiece of a large plantation built by the Galloway Family; Burrages End, home of John Burrage; Larkins Hills, the grand home and plantation of John Larkins; and Cedar Park/Ewen-upon-Ewenton, the plantation of Richard Ewen.) The boundaries also include buildings listed on the Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties and known to have been associated with Quakers, though many of these have not yet been formally evaluated for National Register eligibility. Finally, there are numerous archaeological sites listed on the State of Maryland Inventory that are associated with Quakers, including several included in this initial MPS, as well as several that have been recently identified and/or investigated. One of these in particular, the Chew Site (18AN1372), has substantial archaeological deposits that are intact, and retain sub-surface integrity, and is likely National Register eligible.

Boundary Justification

The West River Meeting was central to the rise of the faith throughout the western shore of Anne Arundel County and beyond. For the purposes of this MPS, the boundaries of the West River Meeting's immediate influence has been limited based upon the historic reach of the faith, the interrelationships between its members, and upon both historic and modern political boundaries. The most active members of the West River Meeting included citizens of Anne Arundel County's colonial society from the South River at the northern end, to the southern reaches of Anne Arundel County at Herring Bay and Holland Point.

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The West River Meeting's religious, social, economic, and political influence seems to have extended to modern-day Route 2, also known as Solomon's Island Road. This road was known as "Severn Ridge" during the period of significance detailed in this MPS, and follows much of the same route as it did in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As such, the Route 2 boundary has been established as the westernmost reach of the MPS.

While the West River Meeting interacted with those members of the "Cliffs" district in Calvert County, the southernmost geographic boundary for this submission has been drawn at the border of the two counties, which had nearly assumed its modern form by 1656. To a lesser extent, the West River Meeting interacted with the Patuxent district (to the west) and the Broadneck district (to the north), yet the primary impacts (e.g., religious and business interactions on a weekly and monthly basis) were not felt by these surrounding meeting districts.

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H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

The Multiple Property Submission of archaeological sites associated with Quakers in the West River region of Anne Arundel County, MD, is based on archaeological and archival work carried out over a decade by The Lost Towns Project of Anne Arundel County. The Project Director, county archaeologist Dr. Al Luckenbach, along with intern Kim Lackey and staff Lauren Schiszik, C. Jane Cox, John Kille, Anthony Lindauer, Mechelle Kerns-Nocerito, Shawn Sharpe, Erin Cullen, and Lauren Franz, have performed archaeological and historical research on Quaker sites in West River as well as in other parts of Anne Arundel County. They will continue to research these sites, leading to more additions to this Multiple Property Submission. A graduate school intern with the Lost Towns Project, Kim Lackey, prepared an early draft of this MPDF. Schiszik used the initial draft as a basis upon which to reshape, rewrite, and update the MPDF. Cox, Kille, Sharpe, Cullen, Franz and Schiszik are archaeologists who, working under the auspices of Anne Arundel County's Department of Planning and Zoning, conducted archaeological explorations at Quaker sites. Lindauer and Kerns-Nocerito are historians who have studied the history of Anne Arundel County for years.

Between 1991 and 2007, archaeologists have identified several sites around the West River associated with the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century occupation of Quakers. All have been archaeologically tested. All retain their integrity in the form of remaining seventeenth- or eighteenth-century features and plow zone deposits.

The historic context for this Multiple Property Submission was developed through the use of primary sources, principally those land and probate records stored at the Maryland State Archives, as well as records reprinted in the journal *Archives of Maryland*. Secondary sources include those by Carroll, Kelly, and others. Archaeological data was drawn from the collections stored at the Anne Arundel County archaeology lab. The geographic area was defined based on historic research and archaeological research in the West River region.

Significant property types were created based on functional uses reflected in historical documentation and as known through comparable archaeological sites in the region.

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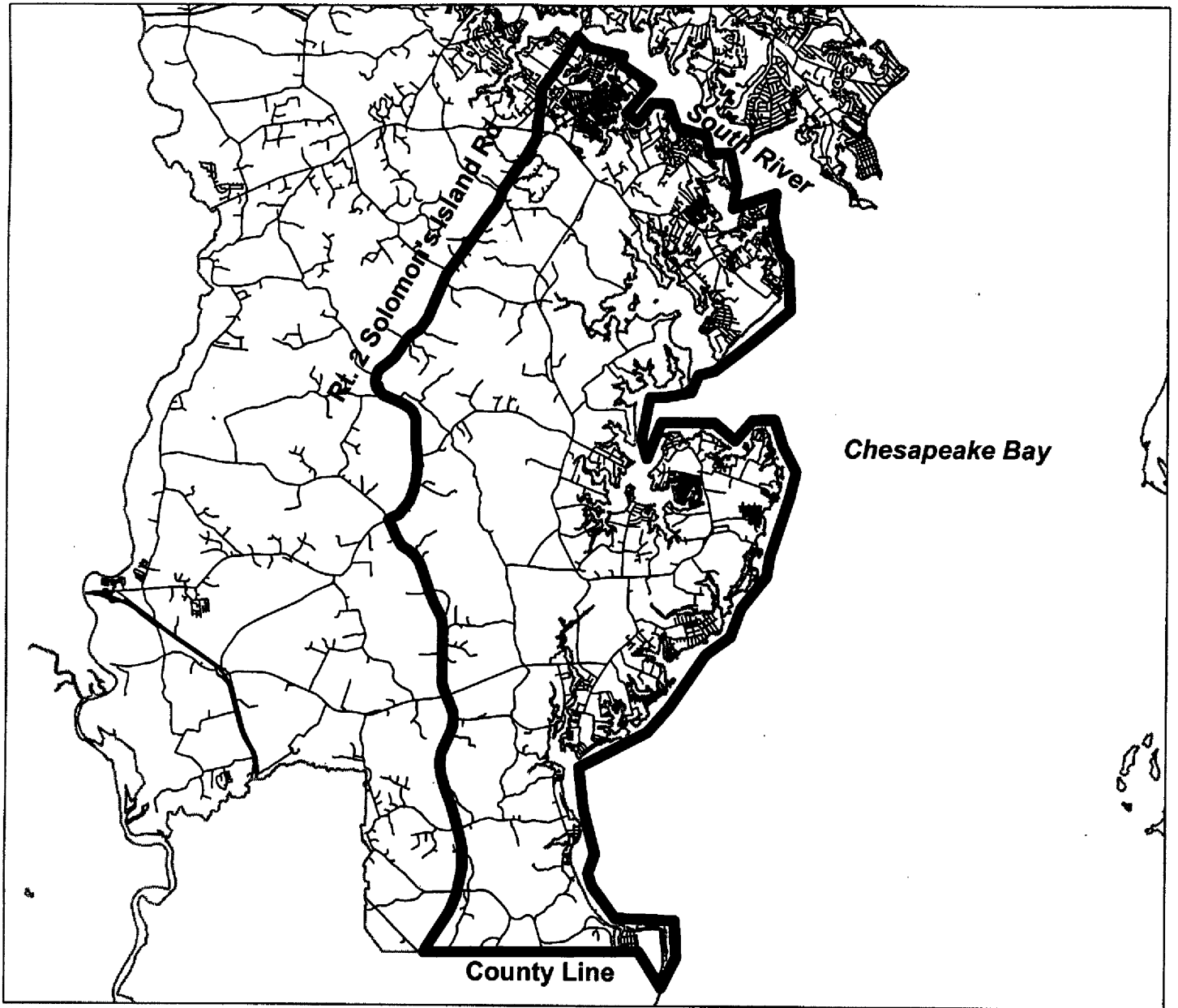
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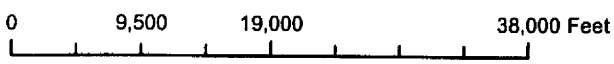
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Boundary of Multiple Property Area for National Register Nomination entitled "Quaker Sites in the West River Meeting; a Quaker Community in Southern Anne Arundel County, Maryland; c.1650-1785."



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