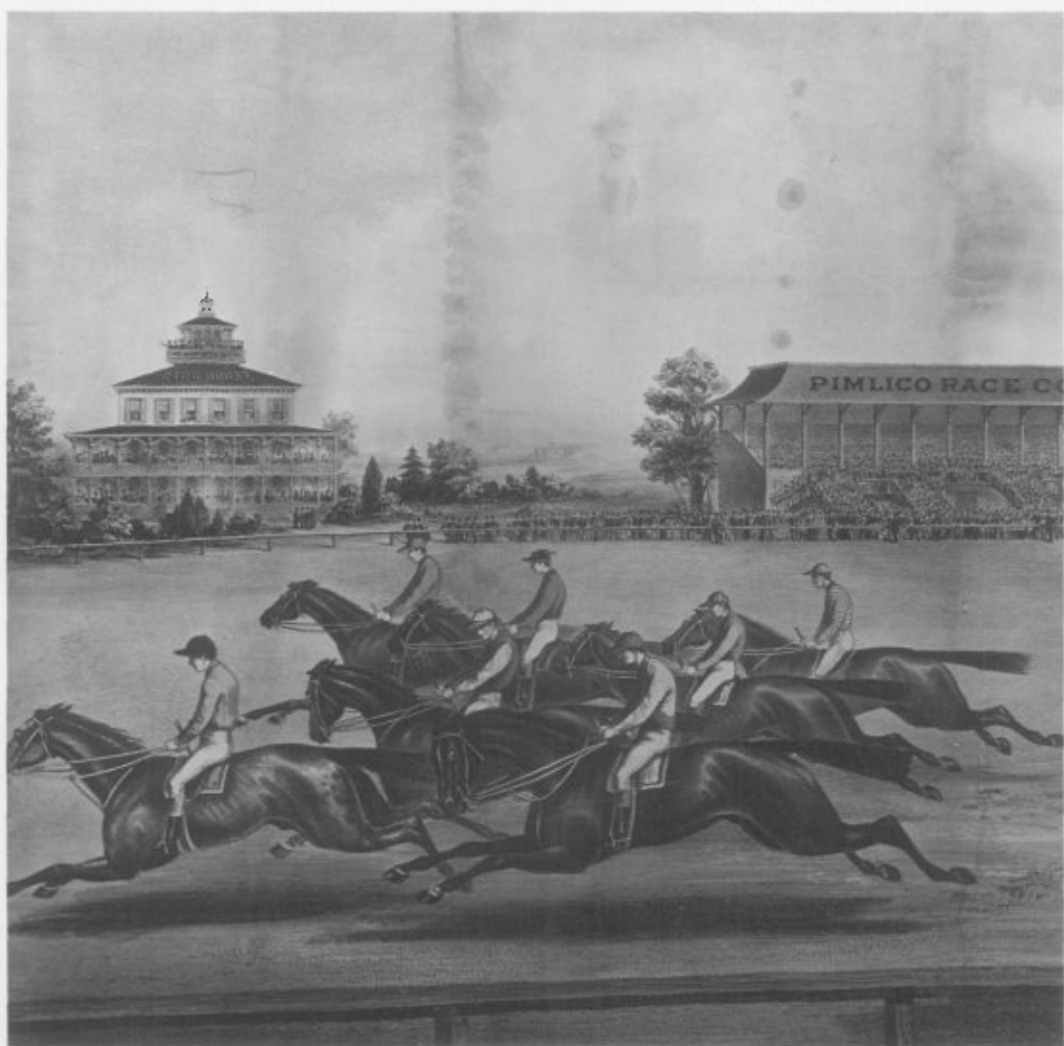


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A Century of Accommodation: The Nanticoke Indians in Colonial Maryland

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BASED ON THEIR CONTACT WITH EXPLORERS, TRADERS, MISSIONARIES, AND colonists who were from different countries, the many tribes of Native Americans inhabiting the Eastern seaboard initially were exposed to only specific facets of European culture. These Native Americans never experienced the entire range of European culture; consequently, the process of acculturation was extremely complex, impinging on the tribes from many different sources. In many instances tribes retreated as a result of culture contact. These migrations not only placed the tribes in new habitats, but brought them into contact with different aboriginal culture groups, forcing them to adapt to different cultural and environmental conditions and further complicating the process of acculturation.¹

By the end of the seventeenth century only the Nanticoke and Choptank Indians on the Eastern Shore of Maryland had withstood nearly seventy years of mounting pressure and conflict created by continuous contact with the white settlers. While many of the smaller, lesser known tribes had been forced to disperse and were later absorbed into other tribes, some groups simply vanished leaving no evidence as to their fate. Unlike the Susquehannock Indians, who finally resorted to hostility and war to resist the Europeans, and the Piscataway, who allied themselves with the Maryland colonists only to be betrayed, the Nanticokes ultimately abandoned their villages on the Eastern Shore and migrated to Pennsylvania, New York, and Canada.²

Regarding the English policy of dealing with the Indians' possessory rights, Charles Royce has argued that the Indian was overlooked and ignored in most of the original grants of territory to private companies and colonists. While the Crown granted away title to land in the New World, it left to the discretion of the grantees how to deal with the inhabitants. Significantly, however, the Indians are not completely excluded in the charter issued by Charles I in 1632 which granted Maryland to Lord Baltimore. Four phrases in the charter allude to the Indians, but fail either to stipulate the rights of the Indians, or to indicate any concern for their welfare or proper treatment. First, there is a simple recognition that the granted territory is occupied by Indians. Second, mention is made of a payment which required "two Indian arrows of those parts to be delivered at the said castle of Windsor." Third, "savages" are referred to as among the possible enemies the colonists might have to en-

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counter. Finally, the fourth allusion to the Indians is the twelfth section of the charter which authorized Lord Baltimore to collect troops and wage war on the "barbarians" and other enemies who might threaten the settlements, and "to pursue them beyond the limits of their province," and "if God shall grant it, to vanquish and captivate them; and the captives to put to death, or according to their discretion, to save."³ In effect, actual contact with the Indians would create the need to develop a policy which recognized the Indians' right of occupancy and the responsibility of the grantees to extinguish this right by purchase or other proper methods.

In the Maryland charter the King transferred to Lord Baltimore absolute authority, without reservation or exception in regard to the Indians, to deal with them in his own way as to their title to and possession of the land. Before leaving England Lord Baltimore instructed Governor Leonard Calvert that upon his arrival in Maryland he was initially to choose a place that would be "healthfull and fruitful," could be easily fortified, and would be convenient for trade both with the English and the "savages."⁴ Three important spheres of activity in Maryland would gradually lead to the formation of a land policy towards the Indians: development of missionary activities, establishment of trade relationships with the Indians, and procurement of land from the Indians for the colonists.

In soliciting potential settlers to accompany him to Maryland, Lord Baltimore declared that his "chief intention" was "to plant Christianity there." "Never more noble Enterprise entred into English hearts," he indicated, and "The Indians themselves [are] sending farre and nigh for Teachers, to instruct and Baptize them."⁵ In an early promotional tract about the colony, Lord Baltimore further publicized his purpose in colonizing Maryland.

The first and most important design . . . is, not to think so much of Planting fruits and trees in a land so fruitful, as of sowing the seeds of Religion and piety. [It is] Surely a design worthy of Christians, worthy of *angels*, worthy of *Englishmen*.⁶

After his arrival in Maryland, Leonard Calvert, conferring with the emperor of the Piscataway Indians, explained to him the purpose of their coming: "to teach them a divine doctrine, whereby to lead them to heaven, and to enrich with such ornaments of civill life as our owne country abounded withall." Seeking out the Indians, Father John Altham, a Jesuit missionary, critically pointed out the "errors of the heathens." Father Altham intended "to impart civilized instruction to [this] ignorant race, and show them the way to heaven, and at the same time [communicate] the advantages of distant countries." Completely unaware of the full implications of these conversations, Archihu, acting chief of Potomac, enthusiastically replied: "That is just what I wish, we will eat at the same table; my followers too shall go to hunt for you, and we will have all things in common."⁷ Unknown to Father Altham, who was offering the brotherhood of Christianity, Archihu was responding with generalized reciprocity, which, Elman Service states, is the form of highest altruism.⁸

Although Lord Baltimore had publicly announced his intent to christianize the Indians, his primary objectives centered on procuring land and estab-

lishing trade relations with the Indians. To further sway the interests of "noble Gentlemen" in colonizing Maryland, Lord Baltimore generously offered two thousands acres of good land to any person who would contribute 100£ for the transportation of five able men and furnish them with arms, tools, clothes, utensils, and food for one year.⁹ On March 25, 1634, Governor Leonard Calvert and an estimated two hundred and twenty-two colonists landed on the shores of Maryland and erected a cross at St. Clement's Island. In order to prevent any hostilities with the Indians, Calvert waived any question of right or superior power to the land, and agreed to purchase outright the site for a town and a thirty mile extent of land. The Piscataway Indians, who had previously decided to move further inland to avoid the raids of the Susquehannock Indians, readily agreed to the offer of Governor Calvert. Father Andrew White, in his *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland*, observed that inter-tribal conflict facilitated the procuring of land. "The Susquehanna, a tribe inured to war, the bitterest enemies of King Yaocomico, making repeated inroads, ravage his whole territory, and have driven the inhabitants, from their apprehension of danger, to seek homes elsewhere," remarked Father White, "This is one reason why we so easily secured a part of his kingdom. They move away every day, first one party and then another, and leave us their houses, lands and cultivated fields."¹⁰ This initial practice of purchasing the land from the Indians established a precedent, at least in theory, for future land transactions.

Unfortunately for the Indians a substantial inconsistency existed between Lord Baltimore's official interpretation of the legal status of Indian land titles and voluntary purchase of them by colonists. Many ambitious settlers, apparently unable to obtain grants of land from the proprietor, purchased land directly from the Indians and then produced their Indian deed as proof of title to the land. Instituting this practice was William Claiborne of Virginia who in 1638 attempted to strengthen his claim to land in Maryland, despite Lord Baltimore's grant, by purchasing Kent Island from the Indians. Maryland authorities immediately challenged Claiborne's title to the land because the purchase had not been authorized by Lord Baltimore. The final settlement of the dispute between Claiborne and Lord Baltimore did not consider the issue of purchasing the land from the Indians.¹¹ An Act of the Maryland Assembly passed in 1649, however, sought to alleviate future controversies by declaring that titles to land acquired through direct purchase from the Indians were not valid; titles must be acquired from authorities in Maryland. Such legislation proved to be ineffective. In 1723 the Maryland Assembly complained that unsanctioned private purchasing of Indian land was continuing, and forbade it, insisting that positively no recognition would be given to a land title so secured.¹² Jane Henry, focusing on proprietary policy with regard to the property rights of the Choptank Indians, argues that the large-scale encroachment of Indian land vastly exceeded the ability of the Proprietor of Maryland to control it.¹³

A broad network of trade relations between Virginia and the Indians of the Chesapeake Bay region had developed prior to the arrival of Lord Baltimore's contingent of settlers. Trade with the Indians had proven to be a very lucrative enterprise, and Lord Baltimore predicted that the "rich trade with the *Indians* of Beaver skins would possibly yield a profit of thirty to one."¹⁴

Participation in this trade network was quite harmful to the Indians. Robert Beverley of Virginia depicted the native Indians at the time of contact as “uncultivated in Learning, Trades, and Fashions; so Innocent, and ignorant of all manner of Politiks, Tricks, and Cunning; and so desirous of the Company of the English: That they seem’d rather to be like soft Wax, ready to take any Impression.”¹⁵ Father Andrew White similarly observed that the Indians “possessed . . . a wonderful longing for civilized intercourse with us, and for European garments.”¹⁶ Both Father White and Robert Beverley realized that the avarice of the traders had instilled hostility and suspicion among the Indians towards the Europeans. Uncontrolled and unregulated trade, Beverley suggested, “created Jealousies and Disturbances among the Indians, by letting one have a better Bargain than another: For they being unaccustom’d to barter, such of them as had been hardest dealt by in their Commodities, thought themselves cheated and abused; and so conceiv’d a Grudge against the *English* in general.”¹⁷

One of the first pieces of legislation passed by the Maryland Assembly concerned trade with the Indians. Specifically, this legislation states that trade had been the main and chief encouragement of Lord Baltimore in undertaking the “great charge and hazard of planting this Province and to endue the Gentlemen and other first adventurers to come.” The bill also affirmed the sole right of the Proprietor to trade with the Indians in Maryland and declared that no trade with the Indians would be conducted without a special license from Lord Baltimore. Regulating trade with the Indians was essential because it would prevent an increase in the price of Indian corn or its being transported out of the province in “time of our greatest need,” restrict the spread of “Jealousies rumors and false news” among the Indians, and disallow poorly manned vessels to engage in trade with the Indians for fear the arms and ammunitions would fall into their possession.¹⁸ By 1650 the Maryland Assembly had eliminated the restriction requiring a license from the Proprietor and given the inhabitants of the province liberty “to trade with any Indians, for any Beaver, or other Commodities, and the same to export (Corn excepted, which could not be exported without special Leave from the Governor.)”¹⁹ Apparently, more than three decades of exploiting the fur-bearing animals had depleted this resource and substantially reduced the profits accruing to the Proprietor.

Taken as a whole these three spheres of activity wrought tremendous change in the culture and habitat of the Indians of Maryland. Jesuit missionaries firmly believed that the Indians, once imbued with Christian precepts, would become “eminent observers of virtue and humanity.” A major obstacle to be overcome was the inability of the Jesuits to communicate using the Indian language. “On account of the very many difficulties that present themselves in this Mission,” wrote one Jesuit, “there has been thus far but little fruit from it, especially among the Savages, whose language is slowly acquired by our Countrymen, and can hardly be written at all.”²⁰ Further complicating their work was the fact that the Maryland authorities would not allow the Jesuits to dwell among the Indians because of a prevailing sickness and the hostile disposition which the Indians evinced towards the English. The

Jesuits, however, were extremely persistent in attempting to learn the Indian language and through their patience and diligence succeeded in gradually converting many of the Indians.²¹

By June of 1639 the Jesuits had dispersed and established missions among several of the tribes. Father John Brock remained at the plantation of Metapannayen near Patuxent; Father Philip Fisher resided at St. Mary's, the principal town of the colony; Father John Grovener occupied Kent Island; and Father Andrew White lived with Chitomachen, emperor of the Piscataway at Kittamaqund. Within a short period of time Father White had managed not only to persuade the Indians to dress with more modesty, but succeeded in inducing Chitomachen to take only one wife. Other changes were more subtle in nature. In seeking the conversion of the Indians, the Jesuits often carried with them, as gifts for the Indians, bells, combs, fishhooks, needles, thread, and other articles.²²

Despite the apparent success of the Jesuit missionaries in gaining converts, a century later, Shikellamy, an Oneida Indian, informed the Reverend David Brainerd: "We are Indians, and don't wish to be transformed into white men. The English are our Brethren, but we never promised to become what they are. As little as we desire the preacher to become Indian, so little ought he to desire the Indians to become preachers."²³ Adding to the difficulties of the Jesuits was the fact that Lord Baltimore did not allow them to proceed freely. In their attempts to live with the Indians, the Jesuits had secured land directly from them. Such a practice was contrary to proprietary policy. Lord Baltimore disallowed their holdings, forcing the Jesuits to relinquish their Indian lands. Even though they continued to proselytize the Indians, the Jesuits never realized their desire for large-scale conversions comparable to the missionary activity in Canada and South America.²⁴ Nevertheless, the close association and daily contact between the missionaries and the various tribes of Indians produced changes in both the material and non-material culture. How pervasive these non-material changes were is conjectural. Perhaps the conversions and baptisms which the missionaries so strongly emphasized were one means of the Indians to accommodate the physical presence of the Jesuits. But one must also consider the strong possibility that the success of the conversions depicted by the Jesuits were attempts to satisfy their Superiors in Europe and authorities in Maryland as to the success of their activities.

Ultimately, the most severe problem which continually confronted the Nanticokes and other tribes in Maryland after their initial contact with Europeans was encroachment of their land. While Father White and his fellow Jesuits had foreseen in their missionary activity only the benefits to both colonists and Indians, they paid little heed to the inherent detriment to the Indian way of life. "It is much more Prudence, and Charity, to Civilize, and make them Christians, then to kill, robbe, and hunt them from place to place, as you would do a wolfe," argued Father White, for "By reducing of them, God shall be served, his Majesties Empire enlarged by the addition of many thousand Subjects, as well as of large Territories, our Nation honoured, and the Planters themselves enriched by the trafficke and commerce which may be had with

them."²⁵ The prolific slaughter of fur-bearing animals, the constant clearing of woodland for agriculture, and the destruction of plant and animal food resources disrupted the seasonal subsistence strategy of the Nanticokes. As a result they became more and more dependent on European trade goods — food, clothing, utensils, and weapons.²⁶

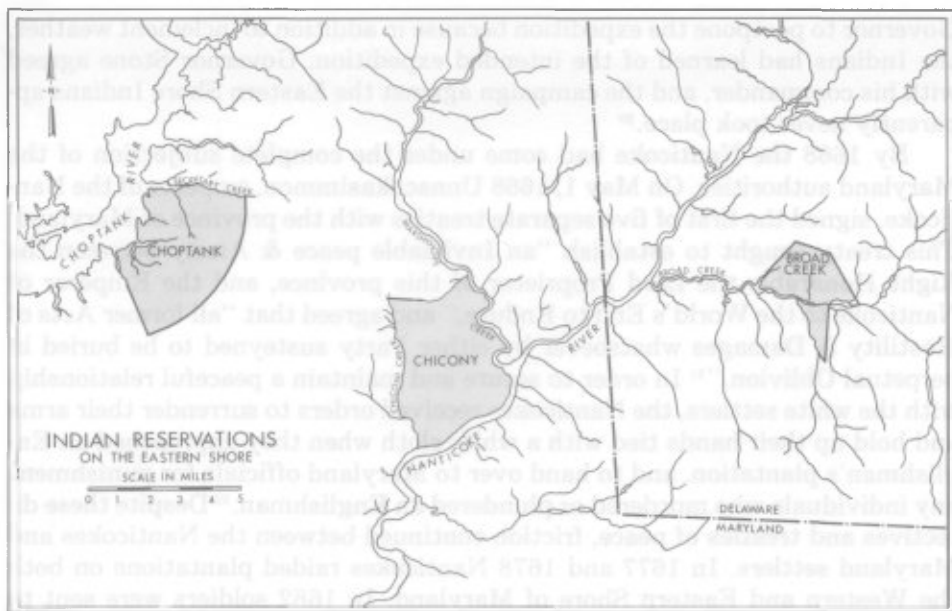
The colonial authorities of Maryland sought at an early date to protect the Indians by cautioning their inhabitants to respect the Indians' "Privileges" of hunting, fishing, and crabbing. Such admonitions went unheeded, and the early disruption of the economic environment of the Nanticokes can be evidenced by the numerous complaints registered against their killing and stealing domestic hogs and cattle. In 1666 an Indian named Mattagund appealed to Maryland officials to "Let us have no Quarrels for killing Hogs no more than for the Cows Eating the Indian corn. Your hogs & Cattle injure Us You come too near Us to live & Drive Us from place to place. We can fly no farther let us know where to live & how to be secured for the future from the Hogs & Cattle."²⁷ A half-century later similar complaints were still reaching the Maryland Assembly. In response the legislators issued a familiar statement in the following proclamation: "...severall avaricious & ill minded psons Inhabitants of this Province grdging the said Indians any Reasonable Subsistence do prevent & Obstruct them in their hunting, fishing and fowling & setting Traps . . . notwithstanding that it is Stipulated by the Government with the Indians Inhabiting within this province that they shall Exercise & Enjoy that freedom and Privilege . . ."²⁸

Between 1642 and 1698 the Nanticokes, frustrated by land-hungry settlers and unscrupulous traders, retaliated by intermittently either staging raids or threatening war to protect themselves and their land. In 1642 and again in 1647 the Nanticokes attacked several white settlements, and in turn were declared enemies of the province. On July 4, 1647, Captain John Price and thirty to forty armed men sailed across the Chesapeake Bay to put an end to these depredations. Price was ordered to show no mercy to the Indians, to destroy their corn, burn their houses, and kill them or take them prisoners.²⁹ The objective of these punitive measures was to prevent the Indians from planting corn, hunting, or fishing which would make them more dependent on the colony. In 1652, the Susquehannock Indians signed a treaty with Maryland's proprietary officials, relinquishing their claim to jurisdiction over the Eastern Shore as far south as the Choptank River. No longer fearful of reprisals from the Susquehannocks, Maryland authorities could now carry out military operations against the Eastern Shore Indians. Shortly thereafter, the Governor of Maryland received a petition from the inhabitants of Kent Island which stated: "there hath been by the Eastern Shore Indians one Murdered and now of late one Shott, another killed, and Stript neare to his own house." The petitioners further requested that the Governor "take Some Speedy Course for the Suppressing of these Heathens, and avenging of Guiltless Blood, and the preservation of our lives with our wives and Children." Although Governor William Stone responded positively to this request, Captain William Fuller, who had been placed in command of the troops, advised the

Governor to postpone the expedition because in addition to inclement weather, the Indians had learned of the intended expedition. Governor Stone agreed with his commander, and the campaign against the Eastern Shore Indians apparently never took place.³⁰

By 1668 the Nanticoke had come under the complete subjection of the Maryland authorities. On May 1, 1668 Unnacokasimmon, emperor of the Nanticoke, signed the first of five separate treaties with the province of Maryland. This treaty sought to establish "an Inviolable peace & Amity between the Right Honorable the Lord Proprietor of this province, and the Emperor of Nanticoke to the World's End to Endure," and agreed that "all former Acts of Hostility & Damages whatsoever by either Party susteyned to be buried in perpetual Oblivion."³¹ In order to secure and maintain a peaceful relationship with the white settlers, the Nanticokes received orders to surrender their arms and hold up their hands tied with a white cloth when they approached an Englishman's plantation, and to hand over to Maryland officials for punishment any individuals who murdered or plundered an Englishman.³² Despite these directives and treaties of peace, friction continued between the Nanticokes and Maryland settlers. In 1677 and 1678 Nanticokes raided plantations on both the Western and Eastern Shore of Maryland. In 1682 soldiers were sent to punish these offenders. And in 1687 rumors circulated that the Nanticokes were planning an uprising against the colony.³³ Throughout this period the Whites continued to occupy Nanticoke land illegally.

Exasperated by the loss of their land and as a further means of accommodating the permanent presence of the white settlers, the Choptank, and later the Nanticoke Indians, requested the Maryland authorities to provide them with tracts of land legally established by a grant from Lord Baltimore. The Maryland Assembly responded with the establishment of the Choptank, Chicony, and Broad Creek Reservations (see map p. 182). In 1669 the Maryland Assembly created a reservation for the Choptank Indians. It included the land on the south side of the Choptank River, bounded on the west by the freehold of William Dorrington, on the east with "secretary Sewall's Creek (now called Secretary Creek) for breadth, and for length three miles into the woods: to be held of his Lordship under yearly rental of six beaver skins." In 1698 the Maryland legislators passed an act to create a reservation for the Nanticoke Indians of Dorchester County, but this legislation was repealed in 1704 and a similar act was passed to define the bounds of the Chicony Reservation. The reservation was described as beginning at the mouth of Chickawan Creek (now called Chicone Creek), extending up that creek to its source, then along a straight line to the headwaters of Francis Anderton's Branch, down this creek to where it enters the North West Fork of the Nanticoke River (now called Marshyhope Creek), down the North West Fork to its entrance into the Nanticoke River, and down the Nanticoke to the original line at the mouth of Chicone Creek. Chicony Reservation was surveyed for the "use of the Nanticoke Indians in Dorchester County, so long as they shall occupy and live upon the same." In 1711 the Maryland Assembly provided an additional 3,000 acres of land for the Nanticokes on Broad Creek.³⁴



Permanent residence on reservations was antithetic to the seasonal subsistence strategy of the Nanticoke. The Nanticoke's and other Algonkian tribes' economy produced a specific strategy of subsistence well adapted to different ecological zones. Ronald A. Thomas, *et al* and Daniel R. Griffith, analyzing the Indians' environmental adaptations to Delaware's Coastal Plain, identify six micro-environments available to the aboriginal population: (1) poorly-drained woodlands, (2) transitional woodlands, (3) well-drained woodlands, (4) tidal marsh and estuarine, (5) permanent fresh water, and (6) salt water bays and oceans. After the associated flora and fauna used as a foodstuff by the Indians and their seasonal fluctuations were determined, Griffith, using archaeological data, postulated four possible settlement types: (1) seasonal camps, (2) permanent camps, (3) semi-permanent camps, and (4) transient camps.³⁵ Early observations of the Indians depict this movement to seasonal camps. Sir Richard Greenville, who visited Virginia from 1585 to 1586, stated: "... the Savages disband into small groups and disperse to different places to live upon shell fish. Other places afford fishing and hunting while their fields are being prepared for the planting of corn."³⁶ Captain John Smith vividly described this seasonal subsistence strategy.

In March and April they live much upon their fishing, weares; and feed on fish, Turkeys and squirrels. In May and June they plant their fieldes; and live most of Acornes, walnuts, and fish. But to mend their diet, some disperse themselves in small companies, and live upon fish, beasts, crabs, oysters, land Torteyses, strawberries, mulberries, and such like. In June, Julie, and August, they feed upon the roots of Tocknough, berries, fish and green wheat.³⁷

The continued success of the Nanticoke in their subsistence efforts depended entirely upon freedom of mobility and access to these micro-environments at critical seasons of the year.

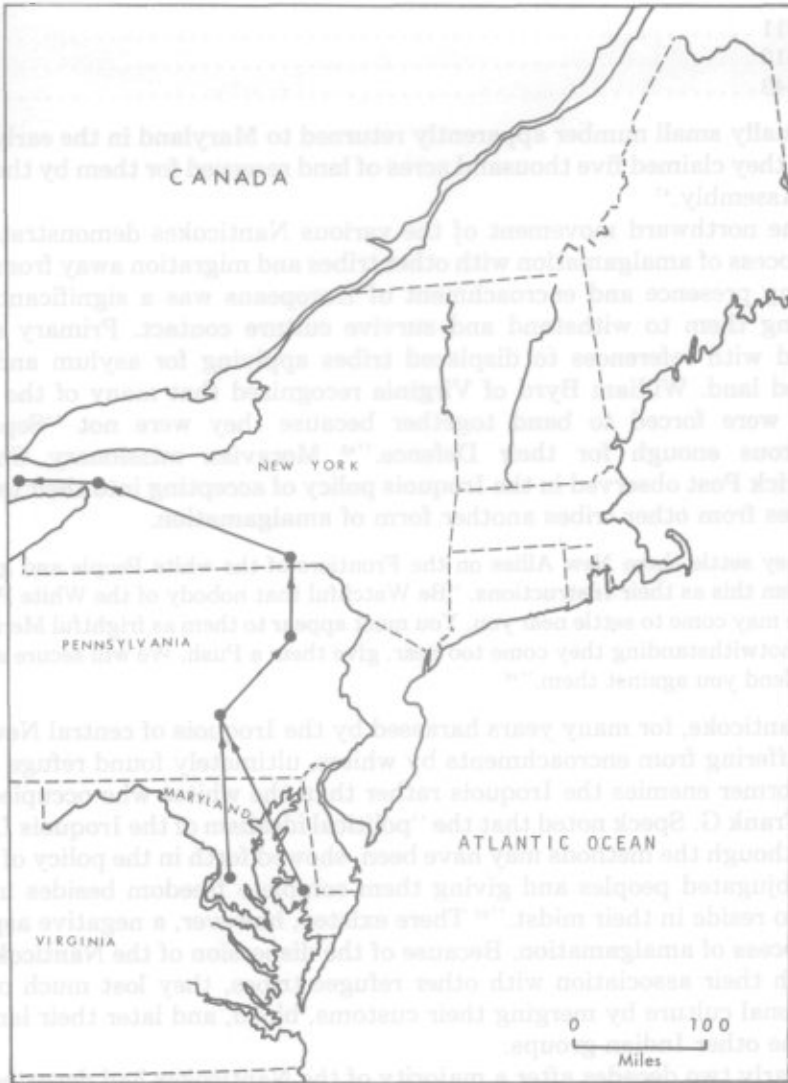
Though serving to ease the difficulties arising from land encroachment, reservations created a more serious dilemma by undermining the seasonal subsistence strategy which the Nanticoke depended upon to meet their basic needs. Two critical problems emanated from residence on the reservations: the disruption of the Nanticoke's ability to subsist in their habitat and the misunderstanding associated with the clause, "so long as they shall occupy and live upon the same." In 1711, less than a decade after removing to the Chicony Reservation, the Nanticoke bitterly claimed that their lands were worn out and insufficient for their use. They requested additional land, which was granted to them with the erection of Broad Creek Reservation. An equally grave crisis which continued to plague the Nanticoke was the "repeated and excessive trespass" on their land by white settlers. Once again the Maryland Assembly sought to stave off these offenses by assuring the Nanticoke of their "free and uninterrupted possession of the tract lying between the North Fork of the Nanticoke River and Chicucone Creek . . . so long as they or any of them should think fit to use and not totally desert and quit the same." As a final precaution, the Nanticoke were prevented from the right to sell or lease their land.³⁸

Despite these protective measures, the abuse and disregard of the Nanticoke's right to occupy the reservations continued. In some instances diverse "Trespassers and Wasters" destroyed Indian land "by falling, mauling, and carrying away the Timber off from such Land, and refus[ing] to pay and satisfy the said Indians for the same."³⁹ In violation of the laws passed by the Maryland Assembly, some people rented and settled on Indian land, and then failed to pay the agreed upon rent. While certain individuals clandestinely purchased the land from the Indians and built farmsteads, others simply squatted on the land and assumed ownership by right of occupancy. In 1759 a delegation of the remnants of several tribes assigned to reservations on the Eastern Shore informed Governor Horatio Sharpe that they were severely reduced in number, suffering from a shortage of food, and being forced from their land. The Indians appealed to Sharpe to consider the "Pitiful Scituation and Condition if we cannot have the freedom and Privilege which we were allowed of in Antient Times."⁴⁰

Although they tried to reside within the confines of the reservations, the Indians were repeatedly thwarted in their efforts by land-hungry whites. While venturing forth into the woods to hunt and build cabins for shelter, the Indians recounted, "some of the White People when we go out of them will set them on fire and burn them down to the ground and leave us Destitute of any Cover to Shelter us from the weather."⁴¹ One incident vividly portrays the conflict between the Indians residing on reservations and Englishmen who desired to gain possession of their land. In 1723 Captain John Rider and Isaac Nicholls claimed that they had gained legal possession of a large tract of land on an Indian reservation because they had found the reservation deserted ex-

cept for one Indian, William Asquash, the son of the late Nanticoke emperor. Testimony established that Rider had physically ousted Asquash and set his cabin on fire, building in turn a clapboard house of his own. The Indians, returning in the Fall of the year, took up residence and burned the house erected by Rider. They testified that Rider had indeed found their towns uninhabited because most of the Indians had "gone out to their hunting quarters according to their usual practice." The Maryland authorities ruled that Rider and Nicholls were trespassers and had no right or title to the land.⁴² The argument continually advanced by the Europeans to justify their actions was that the Indian land appeared to be deserted and abandoned. The terms of the reservation grants stipulated that the land reverted to Maryland as soon as the Indians ceased to occupy it. In actuality the Nanticoke had not abandoned the land but were merely following their traditional subsistence strategy of seasonal migration to food resources.

Beginning in the early 1740s several groups of Nanticoke left their homes on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and emigrated to Pennsylvania. An attempt by the French to unite the various tribes in Maryland and Pennsylvania in an uprising against the English settlers prompted the Nanticoke to abandon the Eastern Shore. In 1742, after a century of abuse, hostility, and misunderstanding, the Nanticoke agreed to participate in this revolt. The Indians of the Eastern Shore congregated in a swamp called Winnasocum along the Pocomoke River to join in a war dance. Fortunately for the Maryland settlers, a Choptank Indian informed the authorities of the pending uprising, and the plot came to an abrupt end. The Maryland Assembly severely reprimanded the Nanticoke for their part in the conspiracy and warned them that "We have it in our Power to take all your Lands from you, and use you as your ill Designes against Us have deserved. . . , but We are rather desirous to use you kindly like Brethren in hopes that it will beget the same kindness in You to Us."⁴³ Unmoved by this dubious overture of friendship, a delegation of Nanticoke Indians appeared in 1744 before the Maryland authorities and requested permission to leave the province and live among the Six Nations.⁴⁴ By 1748 a majority of the Nanticoke had removed to the Juniata River and Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania, while another group established a village at Chenango near present day Binghamton, New York. Soon after constructing a village at Juniata, delegates from the Nanticoke and several other tribes complained to the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania that Whites "were Settling & design'd to Settle the Lands on the Branches of Juniata." The delegates insisted on their removal because this was the hunting ground of the Nanticoke and other Indians living along the Juniata. Within a short time the Nanticoke moved to Wyoming Valley only to be forced out in 1755 with the outbreak of hostilities during the French and Indian War. By 1765 they had temporarily resided at Oswego, Chugnut, and Chenango in New York. From New York the remnants of the Nanticoke tribe settled in Canada and came completely under the dominance of the Six Nations. This resulted in their being virtually denationalized by the Iroquois (see map).⁴⁶



NANTICOKE MIGRATION, 1748-84

Charles M. Johnston, in his documentary study of the Six Nations at Grand River Reservation in Ontario, argues that the number of Nanticoke during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was negligible when contrasted with the population of the Six Nations, thus relegating the tribe to a minor role in political affairs and the economy.⁴⁶ The following census figures reflect the small number of Nanticoke living on the Grand River Reservation:

1785	11
1810	9

1811	10
1813	2
1843	47

An equally small number apparently returned to Maryland in the early 1850s where they claimed five thousand acres of land reserved for them by the Maryland Assembly.⁴⁷

The northward movement of the various Nanticokes demonstrates how the process of amalgamation with other tribes and migration away from the increasing presence and encroachment of Europeans was a significant factor enabling them to withstand and survive culture contact. Primary sources abound with references to displaced tribes applying for asylum and being granted land. William Byrd of Virginia recognized that many of the Indian tribes were forced to band together because they were not "Separately Numerous enough for their Defence."⁴⁸ Moravian missionary Christian Frederick Post observed in the Iroquois policy of accepting into their territory refugees from other tribes another form of amalgamation.

They settle these New Allies on the Frontiers of the white People and give them this as their Instructions. "Be Watchful that nobody of the White People may come to settle near you. You must appear to them as frightful Men, & if notwithstanding they come too near, give them a Push. We will secure and defend you against them."⁴⁹

The Nanticoke, for many years harassed by the Iroquois of central New York and suffering from encroachments by whites, ultimately found refuge among their former enemies the Iroquois rather than the whites who occupied their land. Frank G. Speck noted that the "political idealism of the Iroquois League, harsh though the methods may have been, showed forth in the policy of adopting subjugated peoples and giving them complete freedom besides inviting them to reside in their midst."⁵⁰ There existed, however, a negative aspect to the process of amalgamation. Because of the dispersion of the Nanticoke, and through their association with other refugee tribes, they lost much of their traditional culture by merging their customs, blood, and later their language with the other Indian groups.

Nearly two decades after a majority of the Nanticokes had departed from the Eastern Shore they initiated proceedings to sell their remaining land in Maryland. Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the northern colonies, corresponded with Governor Horatio Sharpe in 1767, requesting him to give the Nanticokes "all the Assistance and protection you can, and direct how their rights there are to be disposed of."⁵¹ Although Governor Sharpe indicated that he could not proceed with this matter until the Assembly convened, the following year the Maryland Assembly passed "An Act for Granting to the Nanticoke Indians a compensation for the lands therein mentioned."⁵² The Nanticokes received \$666.66 in exchange for relinquishing their claim to any land in the province of Maryland.

A remnant group of Choptank Indians, often mistaken by many later observers as Nanticokes, continued to live on their reservation land. In 1798

the Maryland Assembly appointed Henry Waggaman, William B. Martin, James Steele, Moses Le Compte, and William Marbury as commissioners to purchase the land belonging to the Choptanks residing in Dorchester County. They were ordered "to repair to the Indian settlement near Secretary's Creek, in Dorchester county, and to contract, covenant, and agree . . . with the Choptank Indians inhabiting the said settlement, for the purchase of the right, title and interest of the said Indians, to all and singular the lands and tenements aforesaid . . . There shall be reserved to the said Indians, for their own cultivation and improvement, a quantity of the said land, not exceeding one hundred acres, to be laid off by the said commissioners as to include their present settlements, and a suitable proportion of the woodland." Finally in 1801 the Maryland legislators assumed control of the remaining Choptank land after Molley Mulberry died without leaving any descendants.⁵³ Even though the Nanticoke and Choptank Indians had relinquished their land in Maryland, several families of Indian descent remained on the Eastern Shore.

The reaction of an aboriginal people to the presence and culture of an intrusive and colonizing people is, to a certain degree, conditioned by their cultural background, their present political, social and economic organization, the degree of their cultural self-sufficiency, and their population numbers.⁵⁴ Conversely, the attitude and reaction of the intruding culture towards an aboriginal people is influenced by their immediate objectives: exploration, conquest, colonization, or exploitation. Also important is whether the indigenous people are part of an integrated village with tribal organization under the control of a headman or chief, or if they are semi-nomadic and food-gatherers with no settled villages, permanent gardens, and centralized political authority. In the latter case the intruders often perceive that these individuals are less than human and thus possess no culture. For this reason they are unlikely either to recognize, let alone respect, native ways, customs, beliefs, and values, or to adjust to them their method of economic, administrative, or spiritual invasion. From the intruder's point of view any adaptation or change in such an instance must be all on one side: that of the aboriginal culture.⁵⁵

In the case of the aboriginal population of the Chesapeake Bay region, the Jesuit missionaries hoped to ameliorate through conversion the spiritual and ideological values of the Indians, while the traders and settlers sought to aggrandize their positions by altering the economic base of the Indians by encroachment on their land and through the introduction of material goods dependent on a foreign technology. Although the Nanticoke and other tribes in Maryland possessed a sophisticated political organization with a centralization of authority, had devised a variety of economic adjustments to their habitat, and were able to satisfy all of their basic needs by a combination of food-gathering, hunting, fishing, and agriculture, by the beginning of the eighteenth century the population of Indians in Maryland had decreased significantly.⁵⁶ In order to protect their habitat the Nanticoke and other tribes had sought legal council, waged war, and resigned themselves to reservations, but to no avail. As a final means of accommodating the Europeans and preserving some semblance of their traditional culture, individual families of Nanticoke

began, as early as 1722, to leave Maryland; and by 1748 a majority of the tribe had removed to the Juniata River and Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania. In 1768 they sold their remaining land in Maryland.

One of the most significant consequences stemming from the contact between the Nanticokes and European settlers was the dramatic decline of their population. Raphael Semmes, in his study of aboriginal Maryland from 1608 to 1689, calculated the total aboriginal population to be 6,500. James Mooney, estimating the aboriginal population of America north of Mexico, noted the following for Maryland:

Maryland	1600	1907
Conoy or Piscataway, Patuxent, etc.	2,000	Extinct
Tocwogh and Ozinies	700	Extinct
Nanticoke, etc.	1,600	80 (?) mixture
Wicomico	400	20 (?) mixture

According to John Smith the Nanticoke in 1608 numbered between two and three thousand. In 1730 the Reverend David Humphreys observed that "the number of the native Indians did not exceed 120, who had a small Settlement on the utmost Border of the Parish, where it adjoins to Maryland."⁵⁷ In 1756 it was estimated "that there are about 140 Indians in Maryland who reside in the populous parts of the Country on several Tracts of Land that have been reserved for their Use since the English first settled here, these domestic Indians are well inclined and live in good Harmony with the Inhabitants."⁵⁸ James Mooney and Cyrus Thomas, in their article on the Nanticoke in the *Handbook of American Indians*, stated: ". . . the majority of the tribe, in company with remnants of the Mahican and Wappinger, emigrated to the W. about 1784 and joined the Delaware in Ohio and Indiana, with whom they soon became incorporated, disappearing as a distinct tribe. A few mixed-bloods live on Indian r., Delaware."⁵⁹ By the close of the eighteenth century there was a general consensus, although later proved inaccurate, that no Indians remained in Maryland.⁶⁰

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2. Detailed tribal histories for Maryland are sadly lacking. Background information of the Piscataway and Susquehannock may be found in Alice L. L. Ferguson, *The Piscataway Indians of Southern Maryland* (Accokeek, 1960); idem, "The Susquehanna Fort on Piscataway Creek," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 36 (March 1941): 1-9; Wm. B. Marye, "Piscataway,"

- Maryland Historical Magazine* 30 (September 1935): 183-240; and Donald A. Cadzow, *Archaeological Studies of the Susquehannock Indians of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1936).
3. Charles C. Royce, *Indian Land Cessions in the United States*, 18th Annual Report, 1896-97, part 2 Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, D.C., 1899), pp. 549-551.
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 6. *An Account of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore, 1633* in *Narratives of Early Maryland*, Clayton C. Hall, ed. (New York, 1910), p. 5.
 7. Father Andrew White, S.J., *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland*, Fund Publication, no. 7 (Baltimore, 1874), p. 34 [Hereafter cited as White, *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland*].
 8. Elman R. Service, *The Hunters* (Englewood Cliffs, 1966), pp. 14-20.
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 12. Wm. Hand Browne, et al., *Archives of Maryland*, 72 volumes to date (Baltimore, 1883-), 34:738-740.
 13. Jane Henry, "The Choptank Indians of Maryland under the Proprietary Government," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 65 (Summer 1970): 171-180.
 14. *A Declaration of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1929), p. 4. "There is a lucrative trade with the Indians," exclaimed Lord Baltimore, "a certain merchant in the last year, exported beaver skins to the value of 40,000 gold crowns." *An Account of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore*, p. 8.
 15. Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, edited with an Introduction by Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill, 1947), p. 16.
 16. White, *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland*, p. 41.
 17. Beverley, *History and Present State of Virginia*, pp. 29-30.
 18. *Archives of Maryland*, 1:38, 42-44.
 19. *Archives of Maryland*, 1:307-308.
 20. White, *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland*, p. 54.
 21. *Ibid.*, p. 85; and B. U. Campbell, "Early Missions Among the Indians in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 1 (December 1906): 293-316.
 22. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.
 23. Wm. M. Beauchamp, ed., *Moravian Journals Relating to Central New York 1745-66* (Syracuse, 1916), p. 7; and Kenneth G. Hamilton, "Cultural Contributions of Moravian Missions among the Indians," *Pennsylvania History* 18 (January 1951): 1-15.
 24. Roy Harvey Pearce, *The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization* (Baltimore, 1953), p. 18.

25. "Of the Naturall Disposition of the Indians," in *Narratives of Early Maryland*, ed. Clayton C. Hall (New York, 1910), p. 90.
26. [Pennsylvania Archives]. *Colonial Records*. Edited by Samuel Hazard (Harrisburg and Philadelphia, 1838-1853): 4, pp. 707-708. "Every now and then the English have chided us that we would have Perished if they had not come into the Country and furnished us with Strowds and Hatchets and Guns and other things necessary for the Support of Life. But we always gave them to understand that they were mistaken, that we lived before they came amongst us, and as well or better, if we may believe what our Forefathers have told Us. We had then room enough and Plenty of Deer, which was easily caught, and tho' we had not Knives, Hatchets, or Guns, such as we have now, yet we had Knives of Stone and Hatchets of Stone, and Bows and Arrows, and these Served our Uses as well then as the English ones do now. We are now Straitned and sometimes in want of Deer, and Lyable to many other In-conveniences since the English came among Us, and particularly from that Pen and Ink work . . ." For a complete analysis of the relationship between Indians and European traders see George Irving Quimby, *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods* (Madison, 1966); Wilbur R. Jacobs, *Dispossessing the American Indian: Indians and Whites on the Colonial Frontier* (New York, 1972); and Georgiana C. Nammack, *Fraud, Politics, and the Dispossession of the Indians: The Iroquois Land Frontier in the Colonial Period* (Norman, 1969).
27. *Archives of Maryland* 2:15. In 1712 the Maryland Assembly finally addressed the "great Evil accruing to this Province by the Multiplicity of useless horse, mares, & colts that run in the woods." *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1765), 1712 Chapter 4. In 1666, and again in 1692 and 1699, the Maryland Assembly passed "An Act prohibiting Trade with the Indians, for any Flesh dead or alive, except Deer and Wild Fowl." This law strongly suggests that the Indians, accustomed to selling the meat of wild game to the colonists, continued this practice after the supply of these animals decreased by killing domestic animals.
28. *Archives of Maryland* 33:22-23 and 73-74.
29. *Archives of Maryland* 3:191.
30. *Archives of Maryland* 15:143-148; 8:31, 35, and 36; 17:311; 5:547; 23:456-457; 29:229; 33:311; and 34:207. Raphael Semmes, *Captains and Mariners* (Baltimore, 1937) succinctly narrates these expeditions. For a brief summary see C. A. Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians: A Refugee Tribal Group of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1948), pp. 37-44.
31. *Archives of Maryland* 5:29-30 and 558-559; 8:533-536; 26:442-444; and 28:587-589.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Archives of Maryland* 5:547. In 1687 two Nanticoke assaulted Richard Enock and Francis Freeman, who lived in Baltimore County, wounding them and Enock's wife when she came to his assistance. A group of white settlers went to the "Indian Cabinn" and demanded the perpetrators to surrender, but they had already fled. A month later the circumstances surrounding this particular incident were made public. The murder of Enock was to avenge the earlier slaying of a Nanticoke Indian. The report stated "the Indian [Annockohill the white Indian] did doe prejudice to the murthered Enock's stock by cutting his Piggs Eares off & Tails and when the reason was demanded why they did doe they said the Piggs eat their corn and when Enock's Wife spoke chidingly they said the Englishmen would not chide nor scold when they killed the Nanticoke Indian last Spring." *Archives of Maryland* 8:5 and 10.
34. *Archives of Maryland* 29:20. *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1765), 1704 Chapter 58; 1711 Chapter 1; John Kilty, *The Land-holder's Assistant* (Baltimore, 1808), pp. 350-359; and Henry H. Hutchinson, "Indian Reservations of the Maryland Provincial Assembly on the Middle Delmarva Peninsula," *The Archeologist* 13 (October 1961): 1-5. The underlying motive for providing the additional land to the Nanticoke concerned the fear among several of the Maryland legislators about the hostilities in North Carolina with the Tuscarora Indians. *Archives of Maryland* 29:10 and 45.
35. Ronald A. Thomas, Daniel R. Griffith, Cara L. Wise, and Richard E. Artusy, Jr., "Environmental Adaptation on Delaware's Coastal Plain," *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 3 (1975): 35-90; and Daniel R. Griffith, "Ecological Studies of Prehistory," in *Transactions of the Delaware Academy of Science*, ed. John C. Kraft (Newark, 1976), pp. 63-81.
36. *An Account of the Particularities of the employments of the English men left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greeneville under the charge of Master Ralph Lane General of the same, from the 17. of August 1585. until the 18. of June 1586. at which time they departed the country, in The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (New York, 1965), Vol. 8, p. 338.

37. Edward Arber, ed., *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England 1580-1631*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1910), p. 68.
38. *Archives of Maryland* 29:20.
39. *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1765), 1756 Chapter 9, "An Act for Quieting the Differences that have arisen, and may hereafter arise, between the Inhabitants of this Province and the several Indian Nations, and for Punishing Tresspassers on their Land."
40. *Archives of Maryland* 31:356.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Archives of Maryland* 34:522; and 35:267 and 369. A similar situation developed when Roger Fowler built a farm on the Chicony Reservation. The Maryland Assembly ordered Fowler to remove from the reservation land. The Choptank Indians indicated that "the English have Very much Incroached upon them in Settling within the Bounds of their Land at Choptank so that they are now Drove into a small narrow neck called Locust Neck." *Archives of Maryland* 33:311-312.
43. *Archives of Maryland* 28:257-270 for a complete account of the plot. Also, Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians*; and idem, "The Nanticoke Indians in Early Pennsylvania History," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 67 (October 1943): 345-355.
44. *Archives of Maryland* 28:338-339.
45. For an extended treatment of the migration of the Nanticoke from the Eastern Shore of Maryland to Canada see Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians*. "The 6 nations after conquering the Delawares removed them & gave them Lands to plant & hunt on at Wyoming & Juniata, on Susquehanna, but the Pennsylvanians, covetous of Lands made plantations there & spoiled their hunting grounds. . . ." "The French to whom they were drove back took advantage of it, & told them tho the French built trading houses on their Land they did not plant it. . . , but the English planted all the country, drove them back so that in a little time they wou'd have no land." L. Mulkearn, ed., *George Mercer Papers Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia* (Pittsburgh, 1954), p. 302. "But now the Lands all round them being settled by white People," wrote one Pennsylvania official, "their hunting is spoiled And they have been long advised by the Six Nations to leave the place and go higher up the River and Settle either at the Mouth of Conodogwinnet, Chiniotta or up at Shamokin." *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* 4 vols. (Harrisburg, 1851), 4:656-657. Also, *Archives of Maryland* 28:338-339.
46. Charles M. Johnston, ed., *The Valley of the Six Nations. A Collection of Documents on the Indian Lands on the Grand River* (Toronto, 1964), pp. xl, 52, 203n, 281, and 307. Frank G. Speck visited the remaining Nanticoke living among the Iroquois in the 1920s. *The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians with a Review of Linguistic Material from Manuscript and Living Sources; an Historical Study* (Wilmington, 1927).
47. *Report of the Select Committee on the Claims of the Nanticoke Indians made to the House of Delegates* (Annapolis, 1853). This group of Nanticoke came from Canada to seek compensation for their land in Maryland. "We are driven back," lamented one of their aged warriors, "until we can retreat no further. Our hatchets are broken — our bows are snapped — our fires are nearly gone out. A little longer and the white man will cease to pursue us, for we shall cease to exist." After reviewing the claims of the Nanticoke, the committee concluded: "Our forefathers dealt justly with the Indians — Maryland never failed in any of her obligations; but, always friendly, shielded under her protecting wing, the red men of the forest; and, finally, when they determined to leave our borders, and remove with the bones of their ancestors to a distant home, paid all that was required, and thus our forefathers and theirs parted friends."
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49. Pennsylvania Archives 1758-1759, Frederick Posts's Papers, Delivered with his Journal, 19th Jan'y 1759. Manuscripts Department, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
50. Frank G. Speck, *Indians of the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1922), p. 3.
51. *Archives of Maryland* 32:209-211.
52. *Archives of Maryland* 14:471 and 512.
53. The fate of the Choptank Indians parallels that of the Nanticoke. After they sold the last parcel of their reservation land, and with the death of Mary Mulberry, the Choptanks

- ceased to exist as a tribal entity. One should not discount, however, the possibility that some of the individual Choptanks joined with other remnant groups on the Eastern Shore, but lost their identity within the broader collective assortment of Indians. *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1817), vol. 3 1801 Chapter 101.
54. A. P. Elkins, "Reaction and Interaction: A Food Gathering People and European Settlement in Australia," *American Anthropologist* 53 (1951): 164-186. For an older, but still insightful treatment of culture contact see Earl E. Muntz, *Race Contact* (New York, 1927); Melville J. Herskovits, *Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact* (New York, 1938); and Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville J. Herskovits, "A Memorandum on Acculturation," *American Anthropologist* 38 (1936): 149-152. A more recent perspective is Edward H. Spicer, ed., *Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change* (Chicago, 1961).
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 57. James Mooney, *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico*, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, no. 80 (Washington, D.C., 1928), p. 6; and Raphael Semmes, "Aboriginal Maryland, 1608-1689. Part Two: The Western Shore," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 24 (September 1929): 195-209. Also David Humphreys, *An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London, 1730), pp. 159-168.
 58. *Archives of Maryland* 31:146.
 59. [James Mooney and Cyrus Thomas], "Nanticokes," *Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology* no. 30 (Washington, D.C., 1910), pp. 24-26.
 60. For a discussion of the remnant Nanticoke tribe see Frank G. Speck, "The Nanticoke Community of Delaware," *Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation* 2 (1915); C. A. Weslager, *Delaware's Forgotten Folk: the Story of the Moors & Nanticokes* (Philadelphia, 1943); and Frank W. Porter III, "Anthropologists at Work: A Case Study of the Nanticoke Indian Community," *American Indian Quarterly* 4 (February 1978): 1-18.

BOOK REVIEWS

London Town: A Brief History. By Donald Shomette. (Londontown, Md.: London Town Publik House Commission, Inc., 1978. Pp. viii, 84. \$3.50.)

The modern visitor to the London Town Publik House will find it hard to imagine that this was the site of one of Maryland's bustling eighteenth century port towns. Shomette's brief monograph recreates the rise and decline of the Anne Arundel County town.

London Town had its start as one of Maryland's legislated towns of the 1680s, a part of the colonial government's efforts to foster urban growth. Nevertheless, by the early eighteenth century little had developed there. Gradually, with a little additional coaxing by the authorities, a few merchants and tobacco factors settled on the South River site. By the 1730s, with prosperous businessmen like James Dick and Anthony Stewart, London Town was flourishing. Despite its excellent location for trade and the strategic ferry located there, the town soon entered into decline. The designation by the Maryland legislature in the late 1740s of another nearby area as a tobacco inspection center drew the trade from London Town, and by the start of the American Revolution there was little left of the town except for a few craftsmen. The history of the area from the nineteenth century until the 1960s was that of the use of the mid-eighteenth century vintage Publik House as the Anne Arundel County Almshouse and disappearance of the traces of earlier years.

Shomette's short study provides a good overview of the South River town. It is obvious that the restrictions in the scope of the book are a result of the lack of a large amount of primary sources other than the administrative records of the ferry, land transactions, and the almshouse; this unfortunately causes a lack of a first hand feeling of the life of the merchants, craftsmen, servants, and slaves who resided there. *London Town: A Brief History* is an interesting and enjoyable footnote to the colonial history of Anne Arundel County and Maryland. The sketch should be read along with Edward Papenfuse's history of colonial Annapolis, John Repts' study of town planning in Maryland and Virginia, and Carville Earle's portrait of All Hallow's Parish. Hopefully, the continuing good work of the London Town Publik House Commission, indicated by the initial publication, will add more to our understanding of the South River community.

Baltimore City Archives

RICHARD J. COX

A Right to the Land: Essays on the Freedmen's Community. By Edward Magdol. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977. Pp. xiv, 290. \$8.50.)

This book is an effort to examine the struggle of Afro-Americans for land and community life. Specifically, the author attempts "to pay closer attention to the Afro-American freed people in the Reconstruction era" by responding to suggestions made by W. E. B. DuBois in 1935 in *Black Reconstruction*. The volume is thus designed to be a working class study of blacks with the focus on Reconstruction. Though the aim to meet DuBois' challenge is praiseworthy, the book does not convincingly delineate the labor theme, even if it is admitted that such a theme is central. To use an appropriate figure of speech, the author has chewed off more than he has digested.

Despite its claim to "careful use" of freedmen's archival records not available to DuBois, the work relies heavily upon printed sources; and though the use of records of the Freedmen's Bureau (Record Group 105 in the National Archives) is claimed and indeed cited, the examination is peripheral, if not superficial. Admittedly, it would have taken a prodigious effort to examine Record Group 105, a voluminous yet invaluable source; but the author chose to select for examination an essentially limited portion in quantity and geography. Scholars who have examined Record Group 105, either in breadth or depth, are well aware that its range of materials relate to many facets of Afro-American life during the middle years of the nineteenth century. Thus, the author's citations of documents for Georgia and Mississippi, for example, would hardly validate his thesis for areas of the upper South or borderlands, particularly Maryland. An examination of the Bureau's records for Maryland, as the author perhaps realizes, could have led to different conclusions.

Moreover, although no competent historian of Afro-American history could disagree with the author's inclusion or allusion in his first three chapters (all of which is prologue) to such well known phenomena in Afro-American history as self-help, self-sacrifice, and cultural responses (such as the "extended family"), a concerned historian may well raise serious questions about continuity and perspective. For example, the author ignores the formation, potential, and function of the historic free black community as a background factor in inspiration and leadership for community building during Civil War and Reconstruction. He could have called attention to antecedents, especially to Maryland, for example, where Baltimore had the largest free black community in the nation. This reviewer suspects that if the author had pursued the development in Maryland, he would have found diminishing or questionable validation for his theme which is, namely, the working class origins of black communities.

The author should be commended for his use of many wide ranging secondary sources and the delineation in Chapter 6: "Shall We Have the Land?" This chapter is the one most pertinent to his theme, the best in the book. The heaviest archival citations from the important Record Group 105 are brought into best use for the first time; and the presentation of the selected area (mainly Georgia and South Carolina) commands respect. However, the remaining three chapters of the book appear to be extrapolative, but not altogether without some helpful glimpses.

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W. A. Low

Behold! The Polish Americans. By Joseph A. Wytrawal. (Detroit, Mich.: Endurance Press, 1977. Pp. xi, 667. \$15.00.)

Students of Maryland history cannot expect to learn much about this state's Polish American population in Wytrawal's heavy volume. The study lacks a coherent theme. The reader is not sure whether the emphasis is a review of Poles in America and their achievements or how Polish Americans figured in the major episodes of American history. Dr. Wytrawal attempts to link the history of Poland with the cultural heritage of the immigrants. What emerges is a review of the political and diplomatic history of that people which tells us little about the forces that prompted thousands to leave for the new world. We do not learn about the setting for migration and the fact that Poles from the Prussian regions predated those migrating from the Austrian and Russian regions. We learn nothing about the effect of this pattern upon the communities in America.

The study includes chapters on intergroup relation, the Polish and the Irish American clergy, the Jews, blacks and Indians. These topics are treated in an adversary manner. The Irish American clergy and Jews are criticized for being unfair to the Poles. The Poles are praised for their strong support of the Catholic religion, historical tolerance of the Jews and good works among the black and Indian populations. Heavy emphasis is placed upon events in Europe especially wars and the service rendered by Polish Americans in these conflicts. No mention is made of Polish American activities in influencing American policy (except for Ignacy Paderewsky).

Large chunks of the Polish American experience lay unnoticed, such as the role of the immigrants in the labor forces. Why did Poles choose heavy industry? Wytrawal mentions a socialist labor leader but does not mention the more radical groups such as the communists. Although he discusses Jewish-Polish interaction, he is ambivalent about the identity of the Polish Jew. (Jews seem to have considered origin important enough to govern dating, marriage and resident patterns in America. See *Bintel Brief: Sixty Years of Letters from the Lower East Side to the Jewish Daily Forward* [Doubleday 1971].)

Dr. Wytrawal draws upon a variety of materials for his study. References from foreign language books, newspapers, dissertations, secondary works, contemporary news articles fill his footnotes and bibliography. Yet his choices are not comprehensive. While he cites an article by Edward Kantowicz, he does not cite the information gathered in Kantowicz's study of Poles in Chicago (dissertation, University of Chicago, published in 1976) nor does he use Caroline Golabs study, "The Immigrant and the City: the Polish Communities of Philadelphia 1870-1920" (PhD. dissertation, Howard University, 1973), John Parot, "The American Faith and the Persistence of Chicago Polonia 1870-1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, North Illinois University). Although he writes about the Polish American Historical Association he fails to make use of some material included in its journal particularly the work of John Parot that deals with first and second generation Polish neighborhoods in Chicago and the different patterns of accommodation with their black neighbors.

Dr. Wytrawal has produced a compendium of information. His chapters on the Polish Irish Encounter (conflict with the Catholic Church), the Rise of Fraternal Organizations, Polish Cultural Heritage and Polish Cultural Organizations in America provide a detailed account of the events in Polish American history. Unfortunately he does not do more than provide profiles of these events and activities; no attempt is made to analyze their impact.

Students of ethnic history ought to view this study as a prod to further research. Until researchers begin to dissect the many crosscurrents in the experience of America's ethnic communities, we will remain ignorant of its importance. Here in Maryland we suffer from our lack of information about one of our major immigrant groups. Perhaps some hard working scholar will do for Maryland what Dr. Wytrawal attempted to do for the entire nation.

Towson State University

JEAN SCARPACI

Intellectual Life in the Colonial South, 1585-1763. By Richard Beale Davis. (3 vols. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1978. Pp. xxxi, 1810. \$60.00.)

This work should remain a reference source for a long time to come. It is a mine of information that is readily accessible through a marvelously thorough 59-page index.

The three volumes are arranged into ten chapters, an introduction and an epilogue. Volume one contains the introduction and first three chapters that deal with the promotion, discovery and history of the five provinces south of Pennsylvania; the image and reality of the North American Indian in each of them; and various types of formal education that took root in each. The four chapters that compose volume two discuss literacy — books, libraries, printing and reading; the individual, evangelical and established varieties of religious experience; the role of the sermon and religious text in each society; and science, technology and agriculture. Volume three's three chapters embrace the fine arts; literature — primarily belletristic; and what Davis calls "The Public Mind: Politics and Economics, Law and Oratory." This last chapter is followed by an epilogue which summarizes the author's main contentions and extrapolates some of them forward in time. Readers would do well to begin this work by reading the epilogue first. Finally, each volume contains a bibliographic essay on the sources for each of its chapter subjects in addition to its cited references.

Davis's thesis is that colonial southerners were a literate and cultured people, and that they made a variety of contributions to the American mind and spirit. Here, he takes issue with New Englanders who have identified their region as the wellspring of American culture, and especially with their "emphasis and concentration on the Puritan religious mind as the source of the American intellectual tradition and thus of the American spirit" (p. xxiii). To me, Davis successfully demonstrates that a southern colonial mind existed, that it was highly complex and involved more than agrarian and Old World ideals, and that its various elements have become an integral part of American culture.

Take Maryland's experience for example. Its colonial culture was certainly rich and sophisticated. The extant letters of Henry Callister, the Reverend Thomas Bacon, Dr. Alexander Hamilton, the Dulanys and Bordleys, Horatio Sharpe, and the records of the Tuesday Club reveal much information on a variety of subjects encased in graceful styles. True, they are post-Addison, Defoe, *The Spectator*, and therefore parallel the general change in literary style that swept English culture in the early eighteenth century, but precious few personal letters (only two from the 1660s, for example) have survived from the seventeenth century.

Indeed, relatively few Maryland — and southern for that matter — documents have survived the ravages of time; and this is true for books as well. Estate inventories reveal that Marylanders maintained libraries of varying size and content as early as 1637. Religion, law rhetoric, science, and mathematics were characteristic seventeenth-century interests, but tastes then shifted during the eighteenth century to include politics, history, travel, literature, the classics, medicine, and philosophy. One can see the Enlightenment and secularization in this latter list.

Keenly aware of events beyond their province — and therefore hardly provincial, educated Marylanders supported the establishment in 1727 of the first southern newspaper, the *Maryland Gazette*. Edited by English-born William Parks, the *Gazette* became a vehicle for nearly every form of literature and simultaneously established a broad public readership for it. Far more people were exposed to Ebenezer Cook's *Sotweed Redivivus* in 1730, for example, than who were to his now-John Barth-made-famous *Sot-Weed Factor* in 1708. The *Gazette* itself was revived by Jonas Green in 1745. Less versatile and catholic in interests than Parks, Green wrote better prose and it was under his editorship, until his death in 1767, that the *Gazette* flowered into one of the finest newspapers of the colonial period. Both its plain style that paralleled the plain style of the Great Awakening and its discussion of economic, political and social problems were superb.

Davis discusses similar developments in connection with religion, the law, politics, agriculture, architecture, painting, music, and the theater, but his discussion of Maryland's colonial education system is most interesting, and different from that of Virginia's. Roman Catholics, and mainly English Jesuits, implemented the early attempts to institute public education. But gradually, Protestants settled in Maryland established their own schools; and, by the 1690s when they outnumbered Roman Catholics and established the Church of England, addressed the issue of province-wide, free public schools.

In 1694 the General Assembly authorized the establishment of several free schools in each county. They were to teach Christian doctrine according to the Church of England, Latin, Greek, and writing, and they were to admit "Indian Youths." In reality, funds were only provided for the creation of King William's School — later to become St. John's College — in Annapolis. Further legislation during the 1720s resulted in the same experience: funds never materialized for the realization of the county-based, public free school deal.

Nevertheless, schools existed and proliferated throughout Maryland during the eighteenth century. These were private in the sense that they were not publicly supported but men and women supported them in their private, voluntary capacities. However, many of these schools functioned as public or semipublic ones, and they taught religion according to the Church of England's doctrines. Other schools were sectarian. Since the Toleration Act of 1649, which guaranteed religious freedom to all faiths, German Baptists, Mennonites and Lutherans settled in Maryland and established their own schools. So, too, did Scots-Irish Presbyterians (Samuel Finley's "New Light" one being the most influential), Quakers and Roman Catholics. No college or university was established in colonial Maryland, however, partly because Maryland taxes supported the College of William and Mary in Virginia (though few Marylanders attended it), and partly because Marylanders did not perceive, in any unified way, the need for one in their province. Moreover, higher education traditionally fell within the purview of Church policies, rather than secular politics, and the occasion for the secular state to assume responsibility for higher education did not occur until disestablishment at the time of the Revolution.

I have touched very briefly on merely one of the five southern provinces and cannot do full justice to the breadth of knowledge and interpretive framework of even Maryland. The work as a whole contains myriad ideas and conceptions about related and unrelated developments, is well written and easy to read, and the few typographical errors that I found did not really mar the text. It is an impressive achievement.

University of Maryland Baltimore County

GARY L. BROWNE

Coasting Schooner: The Four-Masted Albert F. Paul. By Robert H. Burgess. (Newport News, Virginia: The Mariners Museum, 1978. Pp. XXII, 269. \$7.50.)

In this book Mr. Burgess, using largely contemporary manuscript sources, thoroughly chronicles the career of one of the many but little known workhorses of the American coastal trade on the Eastern seaboard. This trade was not glamorous and ultimately not profitable but at least it served to prolong for a few decades a way of life peculiar to the sailing merchant marine. Happily, this permitted a few maritime historians, such as Mr. Burgess, to record the operation and style of these coasters, inspired by personal observation.

Mr. Burgess contributes two chapters on the building, launching and early career of the *Albert F. Paul* and a third describing the men and women responsible for her handling and management. The fourth chapter is a transcription of the journal of James S. McCullough, a seaman on the schooner during two trips from New York City to Georgetown, South Carolina, in 1933. There are three lengthy appendices giving a complete list of all the voyages of this schooner from 1917 to 1942, an assortment of facts and figures including a typical stores list and a chandlery list for a voyage in 1940 and a discussion of her rig and paint scheme. The most interesting appendix to study is the tabulated and chronological record of the *Paul's* receipts and expenses throughout her career.

There is a particularly interesting and well written foreword by Mr. Fred F. Kaiser discussing the history and decline of the coasting schooners and giving pertinent comments on a number of facts and incidents in the career of the *Albert F. Paul*. Mr. Burgess has provided an extensive assortment of photographs that permit a thorough visual record of the schooner and the people involved in her life. This book will be a joy to the enthusiasts of the last days of the American sailing coasters but also contains much information and many insights of interest to the serious historian of American maritime trade and the seaman's life.

FERDINAND E. CHATARD

A Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination. By Michael Kammen. (New York, N.Y.: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978. Pp. xxi, 369. \$15.00.)

In his earlier Pulitzer Prize-winning study, *People of Paradox* (1972), Michael Kammen argued that American national character from its very origins grew from and into a complex and continual coexistence of contradictory strands. He felt that too many historians had searched for a unifying and consistent theme within the American experience and thus had oversimplified the whole American story.

In *A Season of Youth* Kammen asserts that historians have also limited themselves by pursuing another kind of oversimplification. They have ignored what an analysis of popular culture might tell us about national value. In particular, historians have paid insufficient attention to what the popular mind has thought about its own past. Historians have concentrated too much on trying to reconstruct a factual past while ignoring what the non-academic majority thinks of the past.

Kammen believes that in the works of novelists, poets, painters, sculptors, and film makers one can actually see the popular national myths and ideas about the American past being created and changing through time. To investigate these artistic achievements is to see how the vast majority of Americans have used history to meet their own needs and aspirations.

Kammen does not contend that American artists and writers have been particularly original. They have too much reflected national aspirations themselves. It is in the work of creative artists, however, that we see most clearly what national values have been. The few widely influential historians, if they can be called such in the professional sense, have been those like Parson Weems who have followed the emerging tastes of the popular culture.

Kammen believes that the most formative experience in shaping national values and myths has been the popular remembrance of the American Revolution: "Insofar as we have a feeling for tradition at all . . . the American Revolution has been at its core. The Revolution is the one component of our past that we have not, at some point or

other, explicitly repudiated." (p. 15) National sentiment eventually rejected Puritanism and the Cavalier myth of the South as embodiments of national purpose. Even the Civil War, which might seem to have the strongest alternative claim as a source of national tradition, finally "came to be regarded as our darkest hour precisely because the basest qualities in our character briefly came to the ascendancy then." (p. 258) The Revolution, however, increasingly became a unifying non-controversial phenomenon.

The reason for the enduring primary of the Revolution in the national imagination lies in the way artists, beginning with popular historical novelists in the early nineteenth century, began to use memories of the Revolution to fulfill a need. By 1820 Americans wanted a tradition instead of constantly overcoming one. As the young republic matured, the popular mind, now imbued with the idea of material progress, saw the very lineaments of its material life changing rapidly. The public needed a reference point in the past from which one could measure this progress and change in order to understand it and take pride in it. The Revolution was the obvious beginning point from which a new destiny had come.

It was the contemporary artist and popular writer of the time who clarified this larger public yearning by using a metaphor drawn from immediate and familiar experience to explain societal change. The passage of an individual through the stages of life itself was that immediate experience. The Revolution became the imaginative equivalent of a national rite of passage from dependent youth to early independent adulthood with all the attendant awkward strength, yearning for autonomy, and fumbling idealism of the individual adolescent. The break with Britain was indeed a family quarrel.

Kammen maintains that historical novels became the most influential source of information which created in the larger public mind the consciousness of the Revolution as a national rite of passage. Influenced by Walter Scott and led by James Fenimore Cooper, novelists such as William Gilmore Simms, James Kirk Paulding, and John P. Kennedy, accompanied by many lesser lights, felt compelled to dramatize the origins of American nationality. Their achievement was to create a recurring national hero, a boyish protagonist, in many cases an orphan, who on the eve of the Revolution has won no respect and has little self-esteem. He is drawn into the Revolution, often tested in battle and many times in captivity, and then emerges as a true man, self-confident and respected.

Later novelists embellished this basic theme with other messages to the public — pro- and anti-slavery arguments, post-Civil War de-emphasis of violent hostility between Britain and America, and a tendency by the late nineteenth century to underscore the conservative sanity of Revolutionary leaders. The basic theme promoting the obvious analogy between young individuals and the young nation passing from dependent youth to autonomous adulthood remains ever present, though, from Cooper to Kenneth Roberts.

At the hands of painters and sculptors the national rite of passage also appears as an important evocation of American self-consciousness. The change in the central subject of painting and sculpture from a pre-Civil War emphasis on the signing of the Declaration of Independence and specific Revolutionary individuals in heroic poses gave way to gory battle scenes (the Civil War influence) and later in the Wyeth and Pyle school to the Revolution as adventure, paralleling a maturing America's search for greater challenges. In the 1930's depression-era painting and sculpture, often sponsored by the WPA, linked national legend with political rebellion and social protest as an older society showed the doubts of middle age.

The popular iconography of the American Eagle is symbolic of the changing attitudes toward the Revolution in the nineteenth century. In its first use in 1782 the

Eagle was accompanied by maiden Liberty, thus joining together Liberty and Power. By the 1820s the Eagle was accompanied by Prosperity in scenes of harmony and stability. The Revolution was being de-revolutionized as the nation matured.

Kammen's contribution to an understanding of what the Revolution has meant to the popular imagination is a significant one. Although one might question his premise that professional historians, particularly in their textbook writing, have had almost nothing to do with the popular conception of the Revolution, the author has amassed a train of widely admired artistic and literary works which support his point that the popular view of the Revolution has often differed from the scholarly one.

Kammen presents his findings in a sprightly style that at times is overly colloquial but is for the most part clear and engrossing. Some of his interpretations of specific historians are hastily drawn. Kammen appears perplexed, for instance, as to why the post-Civil War history of Herman E. Von Holst was unpopular. Von Holst's explanation of the course of American history solely in terms of the struggle over slavery was just what the popular mind in its anxiety to bury the Civil War traumas did not want to read.

The most interesting and disturbing implication of Kammen's theory that the Revolution came to mean a rite of passage from youth to maturity is, of course, the fact that a nation can come of age only once. Therefore, its most meaningful experience in its own mind may be over and done with and its own future less the subject of optimism and hope.

Washington College

ROBERT FALLAW

NEWS AND NOTICES

URBAN HISTORY CONFERENCE

An URBAN HISTORY CONFERENCE, emphasizing interdisciplinary approaches to urban studies, will be held at Dickinson College, November 16-17, 1979. This conference is jointly sponsored by Dickinson and the Central Pennsylvania Consortium. All interested in participating should submit proposals for papers or sessions to Jo Ann E. Argersinger, Department of History, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA 17013.

This History Department of the University of Maryland Baltimore County announces a new graduate program in Historical Studies. The program leads to a M.A. degree and is characterized by a strong emphasis on the new thematic, comparative and interdisciplinary approaches to the study of the past. Most graduate courses will be offered during the evening hours. Graduate teaching assistantships are available for a number of qualified students. Applications for September 1979 admissions are due by August 1. For admission application forms, general information about the Historical Studies program, and a Graduate School Catalog, contact:

Dr. Franklin Mendels, Director

Department of History

UMBC

5401 Wilkens Avenue

Baltimore, MD 21228

or telephone 455-2312.

This Historical Society of Kent County announces the Tenth Annual Candlelight Walking Tour to be held in Chestertown, Maryland on Saturday, September 15, 1979. The Tour will be held from 6 to 10 pm and will include visits to fifteen historic homes and buildings located throughout Chestertown. For further information write:

Candlelight Walking Tour

Historical Society of Kent County

Chestertown, MD 21620



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The Green Spring Valley: Its History and Heritage, made possible through the generosity of the Middendorf Foundation, Inc., is on sale now at the Maryland Historical Society for \$35.00 and can be ordered by mail. All mail orders must be prepaid. Add \$2.00 for postage and handling. Maryland residents include \$1.75 for sales tax.

As this is a limited edition, early ordering is advised.