

HERITAGE THEMES AND HISTORICAL PRESERVATION PLANNING IN ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY

Theme 8:

A Diverse Melting Pot: Ethnic Origins, National Influences, and Immigration

Prepared for

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October 15, 2019



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Introduction

The first European settlers of the area now known as Anne Arundel County moved from the Virginia colony to a spot on the north shore of the Severn River in 1649. These Puritans had fled north, many of them by way of St. Mary's City, to avoid increasing religious and political persecution in the colony to which they had originally migrated, continuing a near constant movement of peoples into and through Anne Arundel County that began with nomadic Paleo-Indian hunters 12,000 years ago. Over the 370 years since the first Europeans settled in the county, that migration came to include residents of the British Isles and northern Europe, Africans brought to Tidewater colonies as enslaved workers on tobacco plantations, eastern and southern Europeans seeking new opportunities in the industrializing United States, refugees from twentieth-century wars, and, ultimately, immigrants from all over the world. In some cases, Anne Arundel County was the goal of their migration. In others, residency in the county resulted from chance, serendipity, or recalculation of purpose after their initial immigration. For those who migrated freely to Anne Arundel County, the reasons for leaving their homeland and traveling great distances to establish a new home ran the gamut of human needs and desires – freedom of thought and worship, desire for new economic and material opportunities, a search for safety and well-being, a chance for redemption.

This thematic study will attempt to address the broad topic of migration and immigration for the entire history of the county, beginning with the earliest inhabitants and extending to the most recent arrivals. Because the study is focused on the historic built environment that migrating peoples created and sustained, however, it will emphasize the periods of greatest impact to the county's catalog of historic properties, especially the period between 1870 and 1920, when the largest mass migration in United States history took place. The goal is to create a context by which to understand the movement of people into and through Anne Arundel County, including its relationship to immigration in the history of the state of Maryland and the nation. As such, the study will concentrate on ethnic and national groups of people, as well as industries and activities of special relevance to the county. Because the city of Annapolis has its own independent historic preservation program, the study excludes the state capital from detailed analysis. It should be stated, however, that population numbers for the county cited in the report include Annapolis, except where noted.

Methodology

To address the multiple threads contained within the overall thematic study – which encompass individuals and ethnic groups, nationalities and empires, industry, agriculture, social and religious organizations, leisure activities, transportation, and local, national, and world events across nearly four centuries – research was necessarily broad. Three of the important industries that thrived during the great wave of immigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Anne Arundel County, and to a lesser extent in the years immediately thereafter, were truck farming, seafood harvesting, and recreation; these topics constitute continuous threads throughout the study.

Important locations of both primary and secondary information consulted at the beginning of the project were the Anne Arundel County Cultural Resources Division and the Library of Congress. The Cultural Resources Division provided historic property files and secondary sources in the Joan Cass Beck Collection on Local History, Preservation, and Archaeology. The Beck Collection includes numerous valuable books on local history that supplied necessary background on Anne Arundel County communities. Members of the Cultural Resources Division staff also provided access to resources,

especially for individual properties, from their own studies. The Library of Congress offered books, journal articles, and studies not available in the Cass Collection, and the Maryland Historical Magazine, found online at the Maryland Historical Society website, supplied several important articles on specific aspects of county and state history. In addition to supporting the broad and county-specific context for the study, these books and articles provided the source material from which the appendix of properties related to the theme was created.

The records of the U.S. Census Bureau – reviewed online through the Census Bureau website and through Ancestry.com – provided some of the most important primary documentation for both the immigration context and for individuals representing the context. The Census began to record information about the homelands of immigrants to the United States in 1850 and added details as the nineteenth century advanced into the early twentieth. Census schedules therefore supplied much information on individual Anne Arundel County residents and families, and statistical tables offered information on numbers of immigrants, birthplaces, percentages of the total population, and immigration trends at the county, state, and national levels. The level of information varied from census to census, and the Census dropped homeland information on individuals beginning in 1940, but these records constituted one of the most important sources of information supporting the present study. One of the interesting aspects of county immigration history that the Census brought to light was the importance of Baltimore as both a source of immigrant residents for Anne Arundel County and as a pool of workers, entrepreneurs, and consumers for the businesses that thrived there. Many immigrant families lived initially in Baltimore, then moved to the county, while others, especially in the twentieth century, when transportation had improved, remained city residents but found leisure opportunities or employment in the county.

The study also made use of resources held or available online at state and local historical societies, including the Maryland Historical Society, the Ann Arrundell County Historical Society, the Galesville Heritage Society, and others. These organizations hold information related to specific properties, as well as photographs and documents, and their members often possess special knowledge of the people and places in the county related to the theme. The societies provided information incorporated into the text of the thematic study, as well as leads that identified properties that have been added to the appendix.

Native American period, 11,000 BCE to 1607 CE

The mid-Atlantic's earliest inhabitants were Paleo-Indian hunters who some archaeologists think arrived around 11,000 BCE to an extremely cold climate.¹ The Paleo-Indian period marked the beginning of a long climate shift, as the retreat of the Wisconsin glaciation produced a warming trend. Paleo-Indians in the region hunted deer, mastodon, and elk.² Archaeological investigations at the Shawnee-Minisink Site in the upper Delaware Valley suggest that fishing and foraging were also likely part of Paleo-Indians' subsistence system.³ Regional patterns of migration, seasonal mobility, and interactions among Paleo-Indian groups can be discerned by identifying the sources of their material cultures, as recovered from archaeological sites. Subsurface remains of Paleo-Indians in Anne Arundel County, for instance, have been found at the Higgins site in the county's northern region, near the current location of Baltimore-Washington International Thurgood Marshall Airport. The materials recovered include Normanskill chert transported 240 miles from Greene County, New York, south of Albany.⁴ Although their movements within the county are not known in detail, the inability to store foodstuffs for extended periods of time meant that Paleo-Indians would have moved regularly to take advantage of seasonal resources.⁵

A dramatic climate shift to warmer temperatures, increased precipitation, and more seasonality marked the beginning of the Archaic period (10,000-1200 BCE). Present-day Anne Arundel County was visited sporadically by nomadic peoples during this time.⁶ A seasonal base camp was established near present-day Crofton, Maryland, at a site referred to by archaeologists as Katcef.⁷ Large base camps of settlements in the Mid-Atlantic were generally situated along floodplains.⁸ Archaeologists believe that native populations were likely drawn to the Katcef site for the riverine resources from the nearby Patuxent River, where they probably exploited the spring spawning runs of local fish species.⁹ The floodplain of the Patuxent River would also have offered floral resources and game such as turkey and deer. This period saw increased deciduous vegetation and more seasonality of plant resources.¹⁰

Populations became more sedentary as a stable climate took form during the Woodland period (1200 BCE-1607 CE). Linguistic evidence from the Middle Woodland period (500 BCE-900 CE) has been interpreted to suggest migration into the Middle Atlantic, including Anne Arundel County, of Proto-Algonquian peoples from the Great Lakes region. (During the Woodland period, the predominant linguistic tradition in the area that is now Anne Arundel County was Algonquin.) Material culture dating

¹ Ted Goebel, Michael R. Waters, and Dennis H. O'Rourke, "The Late Pleistocene Dispersal of Modern Humans in the Americas," *Science* 319 (2008): 1497-1502, "Maryland's Prehistory," Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum website, <http://www.jefpat.org/diagnostic/ProjectilePoints/MarylandsPrehistory.html#>.

² Michael F. Johnson, "Paleo-Indians: The First Virginians of Fairfax County," *Historical Society of Fairfax County Virginia Yearbook* 18 (1982), 5-6.

³ Richard J. Dent, *Chesapeake Prehistory: Old Traditions, New Directions* (New York: Springer, 1995), 128.

⁴ Dr. Zachary Singer, Archaeologist, Anne Arundel County, personal communication, May 20, 2019.

⁵ Esther Doyle Read, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, "Prehistoric Human Adaptation to the Coastal Plain Environment of Anne Arundel County, Maryland," November 1991.

⁶ Maritime Archaeological and Historical Society, *Bodkin Creek: A Maritime Archaeological and Historical Study*, prepared for the Maryland Historical Trust (April 2010), 153.

⁷ Read, "Prehistoric Human Adaptation to the Coastal Plain Environment of Anne Arundel County, Maryland."

⁸ John Milner Associates, *Colvin Run Mill Historic Site: Cultural Landscape Report*, prepared for the Fairfax County Park Authority (May 2012), 12.

⁹ Read, "Prehistoric Human Adaptation to the Coastal Plain Environment of Anne Arundel County, Maryland."

¹⁰ Dent, 177.

to the Middle Woodland period also suggests the movement of peoples into, around, or through the county. Hopewellian arrow points made of Flint Ridge chert from Ohio, for instance, have been found at seven sites around the county, and the Pig Point Adena mortuary site along the Patuxent River near Lothian has yielded Flint Ridge chert, Upper Mercer chert, stone tube pipes, and native copper from the Midwest. These remains indicate “patterns of migration, seasonal mobility, and interaction spheres,” according to Anne Arundel County archaeologist Dr. Zachary Singer.¹¹

At the time of European arrival, the land that would form the Maryland colony was home to a number of Native American groups. The Nanticokes and Choptanks were generally located on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. The area that would later comprise Anne Arundel County was also home to several Native American groups. For many years, the Susquehannocks considered present-day Anne Arundel County part of their hunting grounds. Their trails, which were usually along the ridges, provided access to the interior. Today’s state routes 178 and 2 follow these north-south pathways.¹² Patuxents could also be found in present-day Anne Arundel County.¹³ Native American sites have been found in the county on the south banks of the Patapsco River, where the quality of quartz encouraged tribes to stay at least long enough to produce a supply of arrow points, according to historian Jane McWilliams.¹⁴ While seasonal movement still took place among the native peoples when Europeans arrived, larger villages had been developed, along with outlying hamlets and resource procurement sites. Some villages were enclosed by palisades, suggesting the possibility of warfare between groups. The villages were moved as necessary, probably when nearby resources had been depleted. Cultivation of corn, squash and beans was widespread by the end of the Woodland period, but wild plants and game were also exploited.¹⁵

European and African Migration during the Colonial Period, 1608-1789

The first known European to have explored the Chesapeake Bay was Englishman John Smith, who made two voyages in 1608 in an attempt to find a path to the Pacific Ocean.¹⁶ As part of his travels, Smith explored the Severn River in central Anne Arundel County, and briefly ventured into the West and Rhode rivers.¹⁷ Looking to establish a permanent colony in the area, George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, was granted a formal charter to land north of Virginia in 1632. Raised Catholic in Anglican England, Calvert aimed to build a colony based on religious tolerance of all Christian denominations, without discrimination or persecution. Catholics would be able to hold office in Maryland, something they could

¹¹ Singer, personal communication; Jane Cox, Chief of Cultural Resources, Anne Arundel County, personal communication, May 3, 2019; Al Luckenbach, “Hopewellian Isolates from Anne Arundel County, Maryland.” *Maryland Archeology* 47:2 (September 2011), 15-21; Al Luckenbach, “A ‘Delmarva Adena’ Mortuary Complex at Pig Point.” *Maryland Archeology* 49:2 (September 2013), 3-14; Taleff, Stephanie Sperling. “The Middle Woodland Period in Central Maryland: A Fresh Look at Old Questions.” *Maryland Archeology* 44:1 (March 2008), 22-36.

¹² Jane McWilliams, “Land and People,” in *Anne Arundel County, Maryland: A Bicentennial History, 1649-1977*, ed. James Bradford (Annapolis: Anne Arundel County and Annapolis Bicentennial Committee, 1977), 1.

¹³ Suzanne Ellery Chapelle and Jean B. Russo, *Maryland: A History*, second edition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018), 9.

¹⁴ McWilliams, “Land and People,” 1.

¹⁵ “Maryland’s Prehistory,” Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum website, <http://www.jefpat.org/diagnostic/ProjectilePoints/MarylandsPrehistory.html#>, accessed August 1, 2019.

¹⁶ Maritime Archaeological and Historical Society, *Bodkin Creek: A Maritime Archaeological and Historical Study*, prepared for the Maryland Historical Trust (April 2010), 155.

¹⁷ McWilliams, “Land and People,” 1; “Annapolis John Smith History,” Chesapeake Bay Interpretive Buoy System, available at https://buoybay.noaa.gov/sites/default/files/files/an_js_history_text.pdf, accessed April 10, 2019.

not do in England. Calvert's son, Cecilius, became Maryland's first proprietor. The first settlers, who totaled 150 individuals, sailed up the Chesapeake Bay and landed at present-day St. Clement's Island in the Potomac River around March 5, 1634. The colonists moved east and formed a permanent settlement they called St. Mary's City later that month.¹⁸

From the beginning, Calvert sought to attract immigrants to Maryland in order to make the colony profitable to himself and other investors. The proprietor promised 100 acres of land for those willing to join the colony and 50 or 100 acres for every person brought to Maryland. Investors in the project also received land in the planned capital.¹⁹ As a result of these incentives, the European population in Maryland grew over the course of the 1630s, reaching between 340 and 390 people by 1642. The large investors in the colony established manors along the main bodies of water: the Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac, St. Mary's, and Patuxent rivers and their branches. Ordinary freemen placed their plantations near the manors. By 1642, settlers had claimed 37,000 acres of the available 7 million in the colony.²⁰

The first settlers in Anne Arundel County were Puritans fleeing persecution in southeast Virginia during the English Civil War. The warfare spread into England's North American colonies, with royalist Virginia in dispute with its more tolerant neighbor to the north. Around 1650, around 300 Puritans established a settlement named Providence on a north-shore peninsula at the mouth of the Severn River. Enough migrants had joined them by the following year that the Maryland General Assembly declared the region a county, which was named after Cecilius Calvert's wife, Anne Arundell.²¹

The provincial legislature would later attempt to create towns in addition to the widespread plantations and smaller farms that had been established. An example is London Town in Anne Arundel County. William Burges immigrated to the South River area of the county around 1650, obtaining 300 acres of land a year later that came to be known as Burgh. Burges prospered and became active in the social, economic, and governmental life of the county, acting as justice, captain in the militia, and delegate to the General Assembly. In 1673, Burges purchased an additional 800 acres of land; ten years later, a portion of this land was set aside for the establishment of London Town as part of "An Act for the Advancement of Trade." The legislature passed the act in part to attract new residents that would help increase Maryland's profitability. In 1706, legislation entitled "An Act for the Advancement of Trade and erecting Ports & Towns in the Province of Maryland," established London Town as an official port for the transport of colonial products, such as tobacco, to England.²²

Members of the Religious Society of Friends, commonly known as the Quakers, constituted an important group of people in the early settlement of Anne Arundel County. While many members of the society were immigrants, Quakers did not immigrate in groups. Rather, immigrants of other Protestant faiths,

¹⁸ Chapelle and Russo, 12.

¹⁹ Ibid., 5.

²⁰ Ibid., 12.

²¹ James Bradford, "Introduction," in *Anne Arundel County, Maryland: A Bicentennial History, 1649-1977*, ed. James Bradford (Annapolis: Anne Arundel County and Annapolis Bicentennial Committee, 1977), xv; David A. Gadsby and Esther Doyle Read, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Nomination: Providence, MD: Archaeology of a Puritan/Quaker Settlement Near the Severn River, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, December 1, 2010, 13-14.

²² Mechelle L. Kerns-Nocerito, "The History of London Town, Maryland: A Case Study of an Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Tobacco Port and Its Role in the Colonial Maritime Economy," PhD. diss., University of St. Andrews, 2003, 64-71.

especially Puritans, already in the colony converted to Quakerism under the influence of missionaries such as Elizabeth Harris, who arrived in Maryland in either 1655 or 1656. Many of these converts occupied important positions in state and local government and were business leaders. William Burges was one such convert. Two important Quaker Meetings were established in southern Anne Arundel County, one in the West River area and one at Herring Creek. Meetings were held in homes before permanent structures were erected. Such a building, constructed in the late seventeenth century was located adjacent to the extant Old Quaker Burying Grounds near Galesville.²³

European settlers cleared much of the land for agriculture, particularly for tobacco cultivation. Tobacco was the primary economic driver for Anne Arundel County and colonial Maryland. Gristmills were also an important feature of the local economy. Population growth increased, and, by 1694, Anne Arundel County had become the most populous and wealthiest county in Maryland.²⁴ Annapolis, founded in 1651 as Severn, became the major economic center of colonial Maryland by the late seventeenth century. As the burgeoning commercial center prospered, so too did the surrounding county.²⁵

Most of the migrants who came to Maryland in the seventeenth century were from the British Isles. However, some French, Dutch, German, and Italian settlers came to the colony as well during this time. An early French settler was a Huguenot named Mareen Duvall, who arrived in Maryland in 1659. Duvall established Middle Plantation in what is now Davidsonville, in central Anne Arundel County, in 1664.²⁶

Maryland also became home to a significant German-speaking population in the colony's early history. In 1661, Augustin Herrman (also spelled Augustine Herman) obtained land from Lord Baltimore as payment for the map of the colony he had been hired to produce. Herrman, born in Bohemia (now part of the Czech Republic) in 1623, migrated with his family first to Zittau (now part of Germany), seeking the freedom to practice the Protestant religion. They later moved to the Netherlands, and Augustin traveled to New Amsterdam (later New York) as part of the Dutch West India Company in 1644. He moved to Maryland upon receipt of his property, which lay in Cecil County and which he called Bohemia Manor.²⁷

Herrman had traveled to Maryland as part of his work for the Dutch West India Company before moving there. Marylanders traded with the Dutch, especially in tobacco, although there were legal restrictions against such dealings, and archaeological evidence shows Maryland residents in possession of ceramics and other goods made by Dutch settlers. Herrman also reported that a few escaped Dutch servants lived in Maryland.²⁸

²³ Lauren Schiszik, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Nomination: Quaker Sites in the West River Meeting, A Quaker Community in Southern Anne Arundel County, Maryland, c. 1650-1785. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, November 3, 2008, 7-15.

²⁴ Bodkin Creek: A Maritime Archaeological and Historical Study, 14, 155.

²⁵ McWilliams, "Land and People," 1.

²⁶ Donna M. Ware, *Anne Arundel's Legacy: The Historic Properties of Anne Arundel County* (Annapolis: Office of Planning and Zoning, Environmental and Special Projects Division, 1990), 8.

²⁷ John R. Hébert and Jan T. Kozáak, "Map of Maryland and Virginia of 1660-1670 Created by Augustin Herrman," *Journal of Geographic Information System*, 2012:4, 112-116, <http://dx.doi.org/10.4236/jgis.2012.42915>, accessed April 11, 2019; Karel J. Kinsky, "Augustine Herman: The Leading Cartographer of the Seventeenth Century," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 73:4, December 1978, 352-359.

²⁸ Gadsby and Read, 11.

A German settler named George Hack came to the United States from Cologne in 1650. His name was immortalized in the naming of Hack's Point, a town in Cecil County. Many of the other early German immigrants settled in Pennsylvania and the Hudson Valley in New York.²⁹ Scottish migrants began settling in Maryland in the 1680s and in Anne Arundel County by the early eighteenth century. David, James, and Williamina Weems are believed to have immigrated between 1715 and 1720. The Weems family descended from the noble Wemyss line in Scotland. The family built a plantation known as Marshes Seat in present-day Tracys Landing, near Herring Bay.³⁰

As the large European population in Maryland continued to clear land, Native Americans found it increasingly difficult to practice their hunting and agricultural traditions.³¹ By the end of the seventeenth century, years of conflict with European settlers resulted in either the death or migration of many Native American groups. Disease also played a factor in the demise of some Native American peoples, while still others merged with other groups to form more sustainable organizations. The Nanticokes and Choptanks abandoned their villages on the eastern shore and migrated to Pennsylvania, New York, and Canada. In the 1690s, the Choptico group absorbed the Patuxents and were, in turn, merged with the Piscataway. A treaty with the Maryland colony in 1652, in which the Susquehannocks conceded much of the land they frequented, led to the abandonment of the area by that tribe by the end of the third quarter of the seventeenth century.³²

An important factor in the increase in the foreign-born population of Anne Arundel County in the eighteenth century was the enslaved labor system, which brought thousands of persons in bondage from Africa and the West Indies to the Americas. In the hundred years before the American Revolution, Maryland was the second largest slaveholding colony in British North America. Anne Arundel County developed what historian William Calderhead called a "substantial socio-economic system based on slavery." This economic system was largely derived from tobacco cultivation. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were 2,000 enslaved workers in Anne Arundel County. By 1755, over half of the county's population was held in bondage. At the beginning of the American Revolution, the total number of enslaved individuals in the county had reached 9,000.³³ By the end of the century, however, due to a decline in tobacco production in the county and a move by Quakers to ban slave ownership among their members, some Maryland owners began granting freedom to enslaved workers. In 1789, there were 250 free blacks in Anne Arundel County.³⁴

²⁹ La Vern J. Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1976), 24.

³⁰ Weems-Reynolds Family papers, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, <http://hdl.handle.net/1903.1/1310>. Accessed February 11, 2019.

³¹ Chapelle and Russo, 21.

³² Frank W. Porter, III, "A Century of Accommodation: The Nanticoke Indians in Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 74, no. 2 (1979), 175; "Maryland at a Glance: Native Americans," *Maryland Manual On-Line* website, <https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdmanual/01glance/native/html/01native/html>, accessed April 11, 2019; Adam Youssi, "The Susquehannocks' Prosperity and Early European Contact," *Baltimore County Historical Society* website, <http://www.hsobc.org/on-the-susquehannocks-natives-having-previously-used-what-is-now-baltimore-county-as-hunting-grounds/>, accessed April 11, 2019.

³³ William L. Calderhead, "Anne Arundel Blacks: Three Centuries of Change," in *Anne Arundel County, Maryland: A Bicentennial History, 1649-1977*, ed. James Bradford (Annapolis: Anne Arundel County and Annapolis Bicentennial Committee, 1977), 11; McWilliams, "Land and People," 1.

³⁴ Calderhead, 14.

Another important source of immigrant labor in Anne Arundel County was indentured servants. Even during the eighteenth century, when the system of enslaved labor that supported the tobacco industry had diminished the importance of indentured servitude, such laborers constituted a significant aspect of the immigrant population. In the twenty years before the American Revolution, for instance, forty-eight ships carrying enslaved Africans entered the harbor of Annapolis, at that time the most important port in the colony, while 317 ships arrived carrying indentured workers from Great Britain and Germany. Of the nearly 18,000 laborers imported into Maryland during this period, ninety percent were indentured.³⁵

A Period of Rest: The Early Republic, 1789-1815

Anne Arundel County escaped major damage to property and infrastructure during the American Revolution. Although the British conducted minor raids along the Chesapeake Bay during the war – destroying a cannon emplacement at Chalk Point and burning Stephen Steward’s shipyard on the West River – no major battles took place in the county. The end of the fighting did not, however, lead immediately to increased economic opportunity. Baltimore’s importance as a commercial and shipping center continued to increase in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, depressing the commercial fortunes of Annapolis and its surrounding county. At the same time, depletion of soil nutrients resulting from tobacco cultivation had left Anne Arundel County farms unproductive. The poor soils and lack of healthy vegetation caused erosion that led to silting of nearby waterways in some locations, limiting their use as transportation corridors. As a result of these conditions, many smaller farmers with diminished prospects headed west, following a national trend. In the words of Jane McWilliams, Anne Arundel County “slumbered” along with the state capital during this period.³⁶ A harbinger of future possibilities appeared in 1811, however, when a fleet of boats from Fairhaven, Connecticut, sailed into the Chesapeake Bay to begin the first commercial harvesting of Maryland oyster beds.³⁷

In the early nineteenth century, Anne Arundel County farmers began a transition from tobacco to grain cultivation, as well as crop rotation, as a means to make productive use of Maryland farmland.³⁸ Southern Maryland remained the center of the state’s tobacco production, however, and conditions abroad prevented the production of grain and flour from becoming profitable as a foreign export. War consumed much of Europe from the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 to the conclusion of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, which ended the Napoleonic Wars. The conflict involved empires and kingdoms as far west as Great Britain, as far east as Russia and the Ottoman Empire, as far north as Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and as far south as Sicily.³⁹

³⁵ McWilliams, *Annapolis, City on the Severn: A History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 40-41.

³⁶ Jane McWilliams, “Land and People,” 2; “Stephen Steward Ship Yard (18AN817),” *Maryland Unearthed: A Guide to the Archaeological Collections at the Maryland State Archaeological Conservation Laboratory*, Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum website, <http://jefpat.org/mdunearth/SiteSummaries/Site18AN817.aspx>, accessed April 2, 2019.

³⁷ Kerry R. Muse, “Anne Arundel’s Seafood Industry,” in *Anne Arundel County: A Bicentennial History, 1649-1977* (Annapolis: Anne Arundel County and Annapolis Bicentennial Committee, 1977), 75.

³⁸ Virginia Schaun, “Banking, Industry, and Commerce,” in *Anne Arundel County: A Bicentennial History, 1649-1977* (Annapolis: Anne Arundel County and Annapolis Bicentennial Committee, 1977), 92.

³⁹ “Napoleonic Wars,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Napoleonic-Wars>, accessed February 12, 2019.



Figure 1 – Philip John Thomas had his house, Lothian, constructed in 1804 in the Georgian style as a two-story, side passage residence. The two bays on the right were added in the 1850s to create a symmetrical composition. (Katherine Scarborough, *Homes of the Cavaliers*, New York: Macmillan, 1930, after page 226)

In addition to restraining transatlantic trade, the conflict also restricted transatlantic migration. Immigration to the United States from Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany had increased in the last half of the eighteenth century due to increasing populations in Western Europe, which exerted pressure on resources and living conditions and encouraged some Europeans to emigrate to improve their fortunes. With the Napoleonic Wars, however, immigration to the United States declined.⁴⁰ Historian Dieter Cunz, in his book *Maryland Germans: A History*, calls the Early Republican period in American history a time of “rest” for the immigration process, during which those who had already arrived in the United States consolidated their positions as citizens of the newly independent country.⁴¹

U.S. Census records do not document the birthplaces of American citizens during this period, and research for the theme study uncovered neither the numbers nor the names of individual immigrants who may have come to Anne Arundel County during this twenty-five-year period. In the first half of the 1800s, however, Jane McWilliams writes, “a few Irish and French had settled in Annapolis.”⁴² The continuing influence of descendants of immigrants in the early years of the republic and the consolidation of the positions of immigrant families can be seen, however, in the construction of the first stage of Lothian by Philip John Thomas (1782-1859), whose ancestor, also called Philip Thomas

⁴⁰ Raymond L. Cohn, *Mass Migration under Sail: European Immigration to the Antebellum United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 5-6.

⁴¹ Dieter Cunz, *Maryland Germans: A History*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1948), 157.

⁴² McWilliams, “Land and People,” 3.

(1601-1675), was born in Wales and emigrated to Maryland from Bristol, England, in 1651. Originally built in 1804, Lothian (AA-245) was a two-story, brick, side-passage residence in the Georgian manner standing along the road between Annapolis and Washington, D.C. An addition in the late 1850s created a central passage, bilaterally symmetrical house.⁴³ (Figure 1)

Economic Opportunity, Famine, Revolution, and Early Mass Migration, 1815-1865

With the end of hostilities in Europe came an initial surge of immigration to the United States; more than 100,000 Europeans arrived between 1815 and 1820. Many of these immigrants were “redemptioners” – indentured servants or contract workers – who paid off the cost of the journey with their labor. To account for one group of newcomers, Maryland established an office in 1818 to register German immigrants to the state.⁴⁴ The office was a harbinger of things to come, as German-speaking immigrants made up the largest group of newcomers to Maryland for the rest of the nineteenth century.⁴⁵ It was also during this brief period that “immigrant” was first used in reference to migration across the Atlantic. Prior to this time, “emigrant” was used to define anyone who left Europe to live elsewhere. Beginning in 1817, according to Dieter Cunz, “immigrant” began to be used specifically to designate those who moved to the United States. The motives that impelled the immigrants to take the journey included the poor economic conditions on the continent after two decades of war, crop failures, the scarcity of food, and the reactionary politics of the monarchies that had been re-established by the Congress of Vienna.⁴⁶

An economic downturn in the United States followed the Panic of 1819 – a financial crisis that resulted from the immature U.S. banking industry – and cut short this early wave of immigration. The high cost of travel and the disorganization of the shipping business during this time also had a negative effect on transatlantic movement. New arrivals did not begin to increase significantly until the end of the 1820s. Yearly immigration to the U.S. from Europe averaged around 8,500 people between 1820 and 1826, then jumped to nearly 23,000 for the next five years, more than 57,000 from 1832 to 1835, and close to 78,000 between 1836 and 1845.⁴⁷

The recovery of the United States’ economy during this period, a decrease in fares aboard sailing ships bound for the U.S., and failed revolutions in several parts of Europe in 1830 all contributed to this increase.⁴⁸ The improving economy in the U.S. created the need for both skilled and unskilled labor in

⁴³ “Lothian,” Maryland Inventory of Historic Places form AA-245, Maryland Historical Trust website, <https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/AnneArundel/AA-245.pdf>; Katherine Scarborough, *Homes of the Cavaliers* (New York: Macmillan, 1930), 227-230; “Philip John Thomas, 1782-1859,” Early Colonial Settlers from Southern Maryland and Virginia’s Northern Neck Counties website, <https://www.colonial-settlers-md-va.us/getperson.php?personID=I036852&tree=Tree1>, accessed February 13, 2019. Here, and throughout the study, the Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties inventory number will be cited when properties on the inventory are mentioned.

⁴⁴ Hans Jürgen Grabbe, “Before the Great Tidal Waves: Patterns of Transatlantic Migration at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century,” *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 42:3 (1997), 377-381.

⁴⁵ At this time, no nation called Germany existed. Following the lead of sources used for this study, the terms “Germany,” “German,” and “Germanic” are used to designate those areas of Europe that became part of Germany when that nation was formed after the 1870 Franco-Prussian War. See Raymond L. Cohn, *Mass Migration under Sail: European Immigration to the Antebellum United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 32.

⁴⁶ Cunz, 197.

⁴⁷ Cohn, 15, Table 2.1.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

the construction of canals, roads, and railroads, in manufacturing and mining, and in the growth of cities. The expansion of the country to the west made land available for farming at low cost. Records show that most of the immigrants arriving between the late 1820s and the mid-1840s headed to the manufacturing centers of the northeast and the developing areas north of the Ohio River, around the Great Lakes, and at the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers.⁴⁹

Immigration to the United States rose to even greater levels beginning in the late 1840s, driven by famine in Ireland (beginning in 1846), additional European revolutions in 1848, and the continuing expansion of the American economy. An average of 314,500 people per year immigrated to the U.S. between 1846 and 1854. The number dropped off to 175,000 annually from 1855 to 1860 – still more than twice as high as averages before 1845. Historian Raymond L. Cohn attributes the decline just before the Civil War to the increasing influence of nativist organizations such as the Know-Nothing Party, which scored significant electoral victories in 1854 and 1855 (including Maryland state elections) based on an anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic platform. An economic slowdown in 1857 also contributed to the lower rates of immigration in the years before 1860.⁵⁰ The majority of new arrivals from foreign lands during this period came from Germany – 43,884 of the 77,536 foreign-born residents living in the state in 1860. Ireland contributed the next highest number (24,872), while 4,235 arrived from England and 1,583 from Scotland. Fewer than three thousand (less than 4 percent) emigrated from elsewhere in the world.⁵¹

It was also during this time that Baltimore became one of the leading ports of entry into the United States, with a relatively large percentage of foreign-born residents. Between 1823 and 1840, the city ranked third in the total number of immigrant arrivals in the country; in 1860, it ranked fifth.⁵² More than 134,000 German-speaking immigrants arrived in Baltimore between 1820 and 1850. Most headed west, but nearly 54,000 thousand German immigrants or people of German descent lived in the city by the Civil War, about 20 percent of the population.⁵³ The number of immigrants arriving in Baltimore resulted in the creation of immigrant aid societies, which looked out for the welfare of the newcomers. These organizations included the German Society of Maryland and the Ancient Order of Hibernians. The German Society experienced financial difficulties in their aid work in the 1820s, resulting in a state tax on shipmasters to defray the society's expenses, based on the number of immigrants they brought to the state. Port cities across the country adopted similar laws. The tobacco trade between Baltimore and the port city of Bremerhaven had also helped forge connections between Baltimore and Germany.⁵⁴

Historians have concluded that this first great wave of mass migration to the United States had little effect on the population of Anne Arundel County. Of the county's total population of 32,393 in 1850,

⁴⁹ James M. Bergquist, *Daily Life in Immigrant America, 1820-1870* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2009), 3-9; La Vern J. Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1976), 44.

⁵⁰ Cohn, 7, 15.

⁵¹ Charles Branch Clark, "Politics in Maryland during the Civil War," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 36:3 (September 1942), 242.

⁵² Cohn, 156.

⁵³ Clark, 245.

⁵⁴ Bergquist, 92, 172; Cohn, 160.

Table 1 – Native and Foreign-Born Residents of Maryland and Anne Arundel County, 1850 to 1970

	Maryland			Anne Arundel County		
	Total Population	Total Foreign Born	Percentage of Total Population	Total Population	Total Foreign Born	Percentage of Total Population
1850	492,666	53,258	10.8	32,393	837	2.6
1860	599,860	77,536	7.7	23,900	744	3.1
1870	780,894	83,412	10.7	24,457	895	3.7
1880	934,943	82,806	8.9	28,526	830	2.9
1890	1,042,390	94,296	9.0	34,094	2,925	8.6
1900	1,188,044	93,934	7.9	39,620	3,872	9.8
1910	1,295,346	104,934	8.1	39,553	3,255	8.2
1920	1,449,661	103,179	7.1	43,408	2,074 ¹	4.8
1930	1,631,526	96,330	5.9	55,167	2,407	4.4
1940	1,821,244	82,591	4.5	68,375	2,241	3.3
1950	2,343,001	84,440	3.6	117,392	3,076	2.6
1960	3,100,689	94,174	3.0	206,634	- ²	- ²
1970	3,922,391	124,345	3.2	297,539	5,915	2.0

Source: U.S. Census, 1850-1970

¹ Reflects loss of population due to territory annexed by Baltimore in 1919.

² Not provided by the census.

only 837 were foreign born (2.6 percent). In 1860, 744 out of a population of 23,900 (3.1 percent) had been born abroad.⁵⁵ (Table 1)

While the countries of origin for county residents are not provided by the census at this time, statistics for the state of Maryland from 1850 may give an idea of the source of this immigration. The lands that would later become Germany sent the largest group of immigrants (26,936), followed by Ireland (19,557), England (3,467), Scotland (1,993), and France (537). Smaller numbers of immigrants arrived from northern European countries, as well as Spain, Portugal, Italy, Turkey, and Russia.⁵⁶ The reasons for the low numbers of immigrants to the county may have been the lack of opportunity, relative to other locations in the state and the country. As mentioned previously, Southern Maryland, including the southern portion of Anne Arundel County, remained the center of the state’s tobacco production. The availability of free enslaved labor for tobacco farming meant that the county had little need of labor

⁵⁵ The population of Anne Arundel County declined in the 1860 census due to the creation of Howard County from its northern limits in 1851.

⁵⁶ U.S. Census Bureau, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*, “Nativities of the Population,” Table XV, xxxvi and “Table of Counties, Districts, and Parishes in the United States,” xcv, <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1853/dec/1850a.html>; U.S. Census Bureau, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*, “Population of the United States: Maryland,” Table No. 4 – Free Population, Native and Foreign, by Counties, 215, <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1864/dec/1860a.html>.

arriving from Europe. The percentage of enslaved to free residents in Southern Maryland remained constant prior to the Civil War, reflecting the traditional tobacco economy. The rural county also offered limited opportunities in manufacturing and other industrial jobs that often drew immigrant laborers. Greater opportunity awaited immigrants in the northeast and in the developing areas to the west.⁵⁷

If the numbers of new immigrants to Anne Arundel County remained relatively small in the early years of mass migration, that does not mean the immigrants had no impact. The arrivals also suggest the important role Baltimore played in providing a source of new residents to the county. The Hartge family is one such example. Piano maker Anton Heinrich Gottlieb Hartje (1794-1858) arrived in Baltimore in 1832, where he became known as Henry Hartge. According to family tradition, his wife, Louisa Charlotte Constantine Amalie Wilhelmina Hartje (1799-1867), known as Emilie or Amelia, and four children joined him a year later. Records from 1860 indicate that Emilie Hartge's birthplace was Saxe-Gotha, a duchy near the center of what is now Germany in the state of Thuringia.⁵⁸ Henry Hartge initially set up his business in Baltimore, but purchased 467½ acres in Anne Arundel County across the West River from Galesville, covering what is now known as West Shady Side and Avalon Shores – purportedly to provide wood from which to make pianos. The location of the Hartge property appears on the 1860 Martenet map of the county. (Figure 2) The purchase made him one of the largest landowners in the area, according to Shady Side historian Virginia White Fitz. Hartge moved his family and business to Anne Arundel County by 1845, building a factory on Mill Point.⁵⁹

Henry Hartge died in 1858, and two sons, Fernando (1823-1883) and Emile (1826-1875), both of whom were born in Germany, continued making pianos for a short time after their father's death.⁶⁰ By 1860, however, the family seems to have derived most of its income from farming, according to the census of that year. Amelia, as she is identified in the 1860 records, is listed as a farmer with real estate valued at \$7,000 and personal estate of \$1,180. The census identifies Fernando's occupation as farmhand. Amelia died in 1867, but the 1870 census suggests that Fernando and Emile maintained the family property. The brothers' families are listed consecutively on the 1870 schedule, with Emile's occupation shown as farmer and Fernando's as cabinetmaker. The birthplace of Fernando's wife, Mary (*née* Doerr, 1820-1897), is listed as Darmstadt, in the nineteenth century a city in the duchy of Hesse in southwest Germany. Fernando's son Emile is listed as a farmhand.⁶¹

⁵⁷ McWilliams, "Land and People," 3; Suzanne Ellery Chapelle and Jean Burrell Russo, *Maryland: A History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018), 100-102.

⁵⁸ Census records from 1840 and 1850 did not reveal information definitively related to Henry and Amelia Hartge. The 1850 census does contain information on John Hartgee, a piano maker and resident of Anne Arundel County, and his wife Jane and five children. John and Jane were born in Germany, according to the census, and their birthdates generally coincide with the actual birthdates of Henry and Amelia (1790 and 1799, respectively). As it seems unlikely that two such similar families would have live in Anne Arundel County at the same time, John and Jane Hartgee may actually refer to Henry and Amelia. (*1850 United States Federal Census* [database on-line], District 8, Anne Arundel, Maryland, Page: 411A, Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2009.)

⁵⁹ Lawrence Hartge and Billy Hartge, *A History of Hartge Yacht Yard*, third edition, author published, 1999-2000, 10; Virginia White Fitz, *Spirit of Shady Side: Peninsula Life, 1664-1984* (Shady Side, MD: Shady Side Peninsula Association, 1984), 32-34.

⁶⁰ Hartge, 10.

⁶¹ Fitz, 32; *1870 United States Federal Census* [database on-line], District 8, Anne Arundel, Maryland, Page: 768A, Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2009.



Figure 2 – Henry Hartge, an immigrant from what is now Germany, became one of the largest landowners in Anne Arundel County when he purchased 467 ½ acres along the West River. (Simon J. Martenet, George W. Beall, and Amos R. Harman, *Martenet's Map of Anne Arundel County, Maryland: Shore Lines, Soundings, &c. &c. from U.S. Surveys*, Baltimore: S.J. Martenet, 1860, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2002624035/>)

Another family of German immigrants who left Baltimore to establish themselves in this same area of Anne Arundel County were the Lerches. The 1850 census schedule lists Augustus (27), his wife Martha (25), and their son Henry (5) occupying a household along with Emme (probably Emile, 29) and Lewis (23) Lerch, Frank Mechem (19), and ten others. The three Lerch men and Frank Mechem were all born in Germany.⁶² The census identifies the occupations of Augustus, Lewis, Mechem, and two other members of the household as saddlers. Virginia Fitz reports that Augustus had been apprenticed to a harness maker in Owensville before forming the Lerch Brothers Harness Factory in Baltimore, likely with Lewis.⁶³

The success of the business allowed Lerch to purchase 213 acres of land from Henry Hartge in 1850, according to Fitz. The location of the property can be seen on the 1878 Hopkins Atlas map. (Figure 3) The 1860 census, however, places Augustus, Martha, Henry, and four other children in Baltimore, identifying the head of the household as a harness maker – likely running the business Fitz refers to. The family returned to Anne Arundel County by 1870, at which time Augustus' occupation is given as farmer. Lerch hired local builder Thomas Atwell to construct a substantial house on his property, overlooking the water, which became known as the Lerch "State House." (Figure 4) Augustus and Martha also donated 1½ acres of land for the construction of a church in 1867. The Centenary United Methodist Church now stands on that property, although the nineteenth-century sanctuary burned down in 2000.⁶⁴

⁶² 1850 United States Federal Census [database on-line], District 8, Anne Arundel, Maryland, Page: 304A, Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2009.

⁶³ Fitz, 42.

⁶⁴ Fitz, 42-43, 50; 1860 United States Federal Census [database on-line], Baltimore Ward 16, Baltimore (Independent City), Maryland, Roll: M653_464, Page 728; 1870 United States Federal Census [database on-line],



Figure 3 – Augustus Lerch purchased a portion of Henry and Amelia Hartge’s land in 1850. The Lerch residence was located just south of Amelia Hartge’s home. (Griffith Morgan Hopkins, Jr., *Atlas of Fifteen Miles around Baltimore, Including Anne Arundel County, Maryland*, Philadelphia, 1878, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/73151435/>)



Figure 4 – By the late 1870s, Augustus Lerch had built a large frame house overlooking West River. (Virginia White Fitz, *Spirit of Shady Side: Peninsula Life, 1664-1984*. Shady Side, MD: Shady Side Peninsula Association, 1984, 43)

District 8, Anne Arundel, Maryland, Roll M593_568, Page 766B, Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2009, Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2009; “Centenary UMC History,” Centenary United Methodist Church, Shady Side, Maryland, website, <http://www.centenary-umc.com/templates/System/details.asp?id=30224&PID=1048962>.

The Civil War slowed immigration from Europe to the United States, but several changes had taken place by the beginning of the war that would affect the nation and Anne Arundel County after the conflict ended. One of these innovations was the widespread use of steamships for transatlantic journeys. By the end of the 1850s, the new vessels had lowered both the time it took to cross the Atlantic and the journey's cost. The effects of the transition to steam power did not become readily apparent until after the Civil War. Only 1.7 percent of passengers arriving in New York, the busiest port in the United States, came by steamship in 1854; by 1867, however, the number was 80 percent.⁶⁵

The second significant change that greatly affected Anne Arundel County was the gradual increase in fruit and vegetable production in the northern part of the county, beginning in the 1840s. The growth in production of these commodities stemmed at least in part from the rise in the populations of Baltimore and Washington, both of which doubled in size between 1840 and 1860. Improved transportation – both roads and railways – also stimulated the change, as did the availability of fertilizers, such as South American guano, from the nearby Port of Baltimore. The fertilizers increased the productive capacities of northern Anne Arundel County's sandy soil. A "fruit culture" began to take shape at this time in both Southern Maryland and on the Eastern Shore. Orchards and strawberry farms as large as 600 acres had begun to appear by the time the war started.⁶⁶ The transportation of large contingents of the Union army through Maryland to Washington and points south and the establishment of Camp Parole for Confederate prisoners and recovering Union soldiers just west of Annapolis provided additional markets during the war that also gave impetus to fruit and vegetable production.⁶⁷ While the war itself inhibited the ability of Anne Arundel County farmers to profit more broadly from "truck farming," as it came to be known, the county was primed for increased production, as well as opportunities for immigrant farmers and laborers, at war's end.

The Second Wave of Mass Migration, 1865-1924

Immigration to the United States between the end of the Civil War and the end of World War I was characterized by a substantial increase in the numbers of newcomers and by a transition in the countries from which the majority of those immigrants arrived. During the first great wave of immigration (the so-called "old immigration"), western and northern European nations supplied the largest number of immigrants; in the second wave (the "new immigration"), southern and eastern Europe furnished greater numbers. Newcomers from western and northern Europe never ceased to immigrate to the United States, but their numbers declined and were then surpassed by the new immigrants. Once again, the dominant factors in immigrants' decisions to leave their homelands were difficulties at home and economic opportunities abroad. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, Europe's population increased at a greater rate than its demand for labor. The United States, on the other hand, still had land available for prospective farmers, and the country's increasing industrialization created ever more business opportunities and jobs in the cities. The development of lower priced "steerage" sections in the large new steamships of the period reduced the costs of travel, making the trip across the Atlantic more attractive. In fact, travel costs were low enough that some foreign arrivals considered themselves

⁶⁵ Cohn, 223-224.

⁶⁶ Vivian Wiser, "Improving Maryland's Agriculture, 1840-1860," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 64:2 (Summer 1969), 105, 108, 118-119.

⁶⁷ Willard R. Mumford, *Strawberries, Peas & Beans: Truck Farming in Anne Arundel County* (Linthicum, Maryland: Ann Arundell Historical Society, 2000), 2-3.

migrant workers, arriving for seasonal work or staying a few years before returning home. The possibility of military conscription also inspired young men to emigrate as Europe continued to experience uprisings and revolutions. The numbers of new arrivals from Europe were huge – 26 million between 1870 and 1920 (compared to the 5.2 million newcomers between 1815 and 1860). The total U.S. population in 1920 was 106 million. Nationally, the largest group came from Italy – 4.2 million. From Austria-Hungary, which encompassed Bohemia, 3.9 million arrived between 1880 and 1918. Nearly 1.5 million ethnic Poles entered the United States from the beginning of the twentieth century to World War I.⁶⁸ The transition from the old to the new immigration took place gradually. German, Irish, and Scandinavian immigration peaked in the early 1880s. Before the end of the century, immigrants from southern and eastern Europe outnumbered those from the north and west.⁶⁹

The numbers and countries of origins for the state of Maryland illustrates the impacts of the new immigration. At the end of the period, in 1920, the largest group of foreign-born residents hailed from Russia and Lithuania (26,997), with Germany second (22,032), and Poland third (12,061). The fourth largest group emigrated from Italy (9,543), followed by Ireland (6,580) and England (5,115).⁷⁰ Throughout the first wave of immigration, Germany and Ireland had been the largest contributors of foreign-born residents to the state.

The Second Wave in Anne Arundel County

The foreign-born population of Anne Arundel County mirrored national trends in some ways, but differed in others. The number of immigrants in the county stood at 895 in 1870 and 830 ten years later, but leaped to 3,872 by 1900.⁷¹ A large percentage of that increase likely resulted from the availability of industrial jobs in the northern part of the county, immediately adjacent to Baltimore. Census records for an area known as Wagner's Point, so named for the meatpacking plant established there by Martin Wagner in the 1880s, identify large numbers of Polish, German, Bohemian, Austrian, Russian, and Irish immigrants living in the area. Occupations included day laborer (the largest category), machinist, packing house worker, can maker, saloon keeper, night watchman, brickmaker, baker, tailor, and cigar maker. A Chinese immigrant, Aow Ah San, ran a laundry in Wagner's Point. These immigrants were removed from Anne Arundel County census roles in 1919, however, when Baltimore annexed this area

⁶⁸ Several powerful empires, including Prussia, Russia, and Austria, partitioned the Polish state beginning in the late eighteenth century and continuing until the end of World War I.

⁶⁹ June Granatir Alexander, *Daily Life in Immigrant America, 1870-1920* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2007), 11-31; Cohn, 43; Edward Pinkowski, "The Great Influx of Polish Immigrants and the Industries They Entered," in *Poles in America: Bicentennial Essays*, Frank Mocha, editor (Stevens Point, Wisconsin: Worzalla Publishing Company, 1978), 304-305; U.S. Census Bureau, "Fast Facts: 1920," U.S. Census Bureau website, https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/fast_facts/1920_fast_facts.html, accessed March 9, 2019.

⁷⁰ U.S. Census Bureau, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*, "Country of Birth," Chapter VI, Table 10, 717, <https://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/41084484v2ch08.pdf#0,%22name%22:%22FitH%22,803>, accessed April 9, 2019.

⁷¹ These numbers are skewed by the inclusion of Annapolis's population in the count. The city was home to 506 foreign-born residents in 1870, reducing the county's total to 389. The number of foreign-born residents of Annapolis in the other census years was not discovered in documents reviewed for this study.

and other county land adjacent to the city. As a result, Anne Arundel County's immigrant population declined to 2,024 by 1920.⁷²

Established patterns of settlement continued to have an effect on immigrants' destinations, and, as a result, the German presence in Anne Arundel County remained strong. Likely resulting from the well-organized transportation connections between Germany and Baltimore, as well as established German families, businesses, and organizations, German speakers outnumbered every other group of foreign-born residents in Anne Arundel County in each decennial census between 1870 and 1920. (Table 2) The number of county residents born in eastern European countries, however, began to overtake those born in Ireland by the end of the century. The Irish had traditionally been the second-largest immigrant group in Maryland before the Civil War, but by 1890 the census identified ethnic Poles as the second-largest group of foreign-born residents in the county with 652 individuals, while the Irish ranked third with 222. In 1900, Poles, Bohemians, and British outnumbered the Irish-born in the county. At the end of the period, German- and Austrian-born residents constituted the largest group of immigrants, followed by Russians (264), Poles (178), and Italians (143). England (126) and Ireland (101) were the only other countries contributing a hundred or more foreign-born county residents.⁷³

Without large cities, Anne Arundel County had few ethnic enclaves, as Baltimore did, except for the industrial northern section that the city annexed in 1919.⁷⁴ Census records and other evidence do, however, confirm the presence of clusters of immigrant residents from the same areas of Europe and/or speaking the same language in various places in the county during this period. By the late nineteenth century, for instance, several families resided in an area that became known as "Germantown," located on the Mayo Peninsula between Whitmarsh Creek and Rhode River. (Figure 5) August Quade, an immigrant from Germany who had come to the United States as a boy in the early 1870s, was one of the earliest arrivals to the area, acquiring the property that is now 3925 Whitmarsh Lane (AA-2077) in 1885 from Samuel Carr. Quade constructed a three-bay, two-story, frame house on the property in 1894 with the help of his brother Herman.⁷⁵ (Figure 6) Over the next decade, several other immigrants from

⁷² 1900 United States Federal Census [database on-line], Wagners Point, Anne Arundel, Maryland; Page: 25 ff., Enumeration District: 0012, FHL microfilm: 1240605, Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2009; U.S. Census Bureau, *Census of the United States, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920*, U.S. Census Bureau website, "Census of Population and Housing," <https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html>.

⁷³ U.S. Census Bureau, *Census of the United States, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920*, U.S. Census Bureau website, "Census of Population and Housing," <https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html>. The means of compiling and displaying information about the population changed from census to census, growing more complex over time. In each census during the period, however, the birth countries of the population by county are given in table form. These tables can be identified by either "Country of Birth" or "Nativity" in their titles. In 1910 and 1920, a supplement was devoted to each state, which provided the relevant county data.

⁷⁴ The population of Annapolis in 1910 was 8,609, of Anne Arundel County 39,553, of Baltimore 556,435. Foreign-born residents of made up 5.3 percent of Annapolis' population, 8.2 percent of pre-annexation Anne Arundel County's population, and 13.8 percent of Baltimore's population. (Jane McWilliams, *Annapolis, City on the Severn: A History*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011, 384; 1910 United States Federal Census, "Statistics for Maryland," 842.)

⁷⁵ 1900 United States Federal Census [database on-line], Election District 1, Anne Arundel, Maryland; Page: 4, Enumeration District: 0002, FHL microfilm: 1240605, Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2009; "August Quade House," Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties Form AA-2077, July 1987, Maryland Historical Trust website, <https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/AnneArundel/AA-2077.pdf>.

Table 2 – Top Birth Countries of Immigrants to Anne Arundel County,¹ 1870-1940

	Germany/ Austria	Ireland	Great Britain ²	France	Scandinavia ³	Canada	Bohemia/ Czech.	Poland	Russia/ USSR	Italy
1870	454	228	119	22	11	11	5	0	0	0
1880	444	224	73	17	11	13	5	1	0	0
1890	1,614	222	140	18	48	19	115	652	31	6
1900	2,066	171	182	20	60	43	347	661	151	30
1910	1,725	83	188	28	75	29	- ⁴	- ⁵	863	64
1920	667	101	165	26	106	74	96 ⁶	178	264 ⁷	143
1930	844	88 ⁸	198	36	115	67	160	189	220	139
1940	714	82	213	20	95	45	110	171	191	150

Source: U.S. Census, 1870-1940

¹ Includes population figures for Annapolis.

² England, Wales, and Scotland. Ireland is listed separately due to the large proportion of immigrants originating there.

³ Scandinavia includes Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Denmark.

⁴ Bohemia is not listed as a birth country in this census.

⁵ Poland is not listed as a birth country in this census.

⁶ Beginning in 1920, immigrants formerly designated as originating in Bohemia were categorized as being citizens of Czechoslovakia, an independent nation created as a result of World War I.

⁷ Beginning with this census, this column reflects immigrants from the U.S.S.R. only. Newly independent countries formerly part of Czarist Russia are no longer included.

⁸ Includes both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland (also known as the Irish Free State).

Germany moved into the area, including Henry Bensiens, John F. Belke, and William and Frederick Witt. Behlke, his brother Hermann, and sister Rebecca came to the U.S. from Berlin, traveling with the Quade family, according to Mayo historian Caroline L. Britt Mullins. The Behlkes first settled in Pennsylvania before moving to Anne Arundel County.⁷⁶ William Witt purchased property, including a house, from the Brashears family (AA-2074), along what is now Carr's Wharf Road.⁷⁷ Not far away, at the intersection of what is now Collison Lane and Central Avenue, Henry F. Himburg opened a store and post office around 1914. Himburg, an immigrant from Altona, near Hamburg, Germany, had resided in the county at least since 1900, according to census records, which list his occupation at that time as "oystering." The 1920 census identifies him as a merchant.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Caroline L. Britt Mullins, *The History of Mayo, Maryland*. Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1996, 28, 91-92; *1900 United States Federal Census* [database on-line], Election District 1, Anne Arundel, Maryland; Page: 4, Enumeration District: 0002. Mullins lists Henry "Benzene" as one of the Germantown residents; the 1900 census record spells the name "Bensien."

⁷⁷ "Brashears/Witt House," Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties Form AA-2074, July 1987, Maryland Historical Trust website, <https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/AnneArundel/AA-2074.pdf>.

⁷⁸ Mullins, 28; *1900 United States Federal Census* [database on-line], Election District 1, Anne Arundel, Maryland; Page: 1, Enumeration District: 0002,; *1920 United States Federal Census* [database on-line], Mayo, Anne Arundel, Maryland, Page: 11B, Enumeration District: 3, Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2009. Mullins identifies the waterman-turned-merchant as "J.F. Himburg"; census records list him as "H.F." or "Henry F."

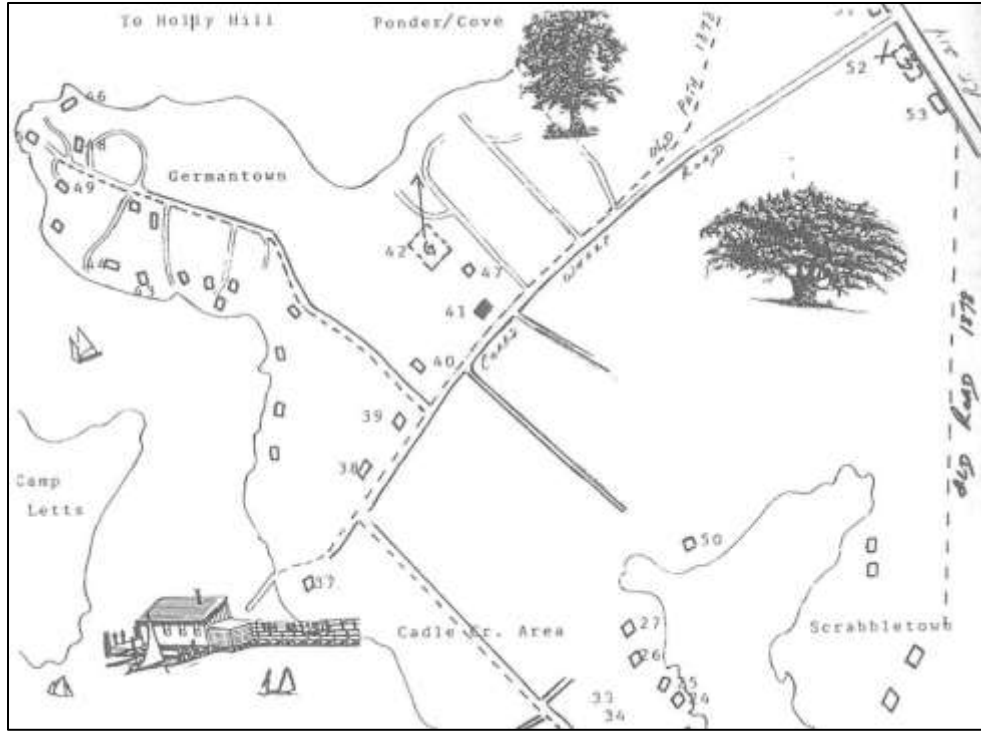


Figure 5 – Germantown (upper left) was a cluster of residences on the peninsula bordered by Whitemarsh Creek and Rhode River. August Quade lived at no. 46 on the map, while William Witt lived at no. 38. (Caroline L. Britt Mullins, *The History of Mayo, Maryland*, Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1996, 84)



Figure 6 – August Quade and his brother Herman built the three-bay section of this house on the right in 1894. (“August Quade House,” Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties Form AA-2077, July 1987, Maryland Historical Trust website, <https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/AnneArundel/AA-2077.pdf>)



Figure 7 – Christ Lutheran Church in Elvaton was constructed in 1908 to serve the German immigrant population of the area. (“Christ Lutheran Church,” Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties Form AA-1058, September 1996, Maryland Historical Trust website, <https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/AnneArundel/AA-1058.pdf>)

The density of immigrants from the same country sometimes resulted in the development of institutions and the construction of buildings to serve that community. Such was the case with Christ Lutheran Church in Elvaton (AA-1058), another community of German immigrants on the Pasadena peninsula. Lutheran services in the area had been conducted by an itinerant minister in private homes until Rev. F.W. Lowenstein of St. Paul’s Lutheran Church in Curtis Bay began to minister to the Elvaton faithful. Christ Lutheran Church was organized on April 13, 1908, and the cornerstone of the church building was laid in December of that year. Although a new church was constructed in 1965, the original church, called Listman Chapel, remains standing behind the current sanctuary.⁷⁹ (Figure 7)

The Maryland Bureau of Immigration

From the beginning of the period, Maryland actively sought an increase in immigration to the state to provide both labor and capital to improve the state’s post-Civil War economy. The initial impetus to the

⁷⁹ “Christ Lutheran Church,” Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties Form AA-1058, September 1996, Maryland Historical Trust website, <https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/AnneArundel/AA-1058.pdf>; “CELC Historical Highlights,” Christ Evangelical Lutheran Church website, <http://celc1908.org/Church-History.html>, accessed February 28, 2019.

government's efforts was an agricultural labor shortage that resulted from the end of the system of enslaved labor that had enabled farmers on the Eastern Shore and in Southern Maryland to cultivate tobacco for two centuries. Many of the freedmen who had labored in that system left the area to seek better lives after the war, and the large antebellum plantations were broken up into smaller farms. Between 1850 and 1910, the average size of a Maryland farm decreased from 212 to 103 acres. The availability of manufacturing jobs in cities like Baltimore also encouraged residents of the countryside, both black and white, to seek better pay elsewhere.⁸⁰

To combat the issue, the state sought, in historian Eleanor Bruchey's words, "to divert to the Maryland countryside some of the newcomers pouring into the country to repopulate land abandoned because of the Civil War and the migration of Negro and white farm labor to the city."⁸¹ Specifically, the state legislature passed laws to encourage immigration to the state in 1866 and 1867, and the new post-war Maryland constitution lodged the responsibility for implementing those laws in an office of the Department of Labor and Agriculture. Later called the Bureau of Immigration, the purpose of the office was "to facilitate the settlement of industrious persons in the State." To accomplish this task, the bureau sent agents to each ship arriving in Baltimore to welcome immigrants and offer them employment if they wished to remain in Maryland. An 1869 report from the Department of Labor and Agriculture proclaimed the success of this effort – doubling the number of arrivals at the Port of Baltimore who remained in the state between 1868 and 1869 – while noting the competition from agents of private companies and aid societies who were not averse to spreading false information to attract immigrants to their own clients.⁸²

The bureau also placed agents in the ports of Liverpool and Bremerhaven to encourage immigrants to consider Maryland as a desirable destination and translated favorable "communications" about the state into German to be distributed in that country. The Labor and Agriculture report bemoans the lack of knowledge of and interest in available agricultural land in Maryland, especially in the tidewater, including Anne Arundel County. According to the report, immigrants preferred farmland to the west, away from the Eastern Seaboard, which was considered crowded and possessing fewer opportunities.⁸³ In subsequent decades, the bureau would attempt to correct that situation through the publication of pamphlets extolling Maryland virtues for "Farmers, Manufacturers, and Capitalists," translated into several northern European languages. The pamphlets, numbering thirty-two or more pages of text, plus numerous photographs, praised Maryland's climate, productive soils, abundant water supply and fisheries, transportation system, market advantages, opportunities for successful businesses, and home-owning possibilities. The photographs depicted towns, farms, and homes throughout the state, including Anne Arundel County.⁸⁴ (Figure 8)

⁸⁰ Eleanor Bruchey, "The Industrialization of Maryland, 1860-1914," in Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, editors, *Maryland: A History, 1632-1974* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1974), 396-398.

⁸¹ Bruchey, 399.

⁸² "Immigration," *Report of the Superintendent of the Department of Labor and Agriculture of the State of Maryland for the Years 1868 and 1869* (Annapolis: William Thompson, 1870), 3-6. The quotation can be found on page 4.

⁸³ *Report of the Superintendent of the Department of Labor and Agriculture*, 10-12, 15.

⁸⁴ *The State of Maryland and Its Advantages for Immigrants, Especially Farmers, Manufacturers, and Capitalists*. Baltimore: Maryland Bureau of Immigration, 1904, Hathi Trust website, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/>



Figure 8 – Among other images, the Maryland Bureau of Immigration used this photo of an Anne Arundel County house to attract potential immigrants. (*The State of Maryland and Its Advantages for Immigrants, Especially Farmers, Manufacturers, and Capitalists*. Baltimore: Maryland Bureau of Immigration, 1909, after page 16)

By later in the century, the Bureau of Immigration sought to lure immigrants already in the country to the state. Jane McWilliams cites reports stating that the bureau's agents sometimes traveled to the Midwest to disseminate information about Maryland's advantages to immigrants who had initially settled there. In 1897, three such families formed a "colony called Winchester," presumably associated with the town of that name along the Severn River.⁸⁵ McWilliams' research also shows that, in the early twentieth century, the Bureau of Immigration's efforts to convince immigrants who had settled in the Midwest to relocate to Maryland may have had some effect in Anne Arundel County. Records show that immigrants who had settled in Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, and Nebraska purchased eight farms in Anne Arundel County in 1909. The effectiveness of the bureau's efforts is not known entirely, but in 1911, immigrants, who made up 8.2 percent of the county's population in 1910, owned thirteen percent of its 2,038 farms.⁸⁶

13960/t07w73r6k. Research discovered versions of this brochure in German, Dutch, and Danish, with the earliest dated 1896.

⁸⁵ McWilliams, "Land and People," 4.

⁸⁶ McWilliams, "Land and People," 4; U.S. Census Bureau, "Table 31: Foreign White Stock According to Country of Origin by States: 1910 and 1900," *Census of the United States, 1910*, U.S. Census Bureau website, "Census of Population and Housing," <https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html>.

Truck Farming

These immigrant farmers participated in the truck farming boom that boosted Anne Arundel County's agricultural fortunes beginning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The boom had greater effects on the northern part of the county, the sandy soils of which were especially suited to the production of truck crops, which included strawberries, plums, raspberries, pears, peaches, peas, beans, tomatoes, sweet potatoes, and cantaloupes. Although it had its beginnings before the Civil War, truck farming became increasingly profitable as the populations of cities such as Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia grew, as prosperity increased so that citizens could afford perishable fresh produce, and as transportation to bring such products quickly to market improved. The development of industrial canning capabilities expanded markets for such crops as tomatoes and peaches. In the early twentieth century, Anne Arundel County led the state in the production of strawberries and sweet potatoes, and Maryland led the nation in strawberry production. Anne Arundel County's truck farming acreage stood second only to Harford County among Maryland jurisdictions. E. Roderick Shipley contends that truck farming was the major source of income in the northern part of the county from the late nineteenth century until World War I. Tobacco farmers in South County also began to supplement their incomes during this period by growing strawberries, orchard fruits, and tomatoes for city markets.⁸⁷

Immigrants proved crucial to establishing truck farming as significant to Anne Arundel County's agricultural economy, as they helped resolve the labor shortage that resulted from freedmen and white workers moving to Baltimore and elsewhere after the Civil War. In 1871, a county farmer lamented the labor situation in a local newspaper. A year later, however, James Legg of Annapolis arranged for thirty German laborers to work at his truck farm in the county. The arrangements were made, according to a newspaper story, with "the emigrant agent at Baltimore" – quite possibly from the state Bureau of Immigration. In 1873, the *Maryland Republican* reported that immigrants of all ages, mostly German-speaking residents originally from central Europe but then living in Baltimore, filled the county's strawberry fields, and in 1874 a newspaper story reported the "parade" of wagons carrying immigrant workers through city streets and into the countryside. Willard Mumford, in his book *Strawberries, Peas & Beans: Truck Farming in Anne Arundel County*, speculates that prospective farm laborers may have been recruited from city jobsites. As truck farming increased throughout the county, the use of immigrant laborers also grew. By the end of World War I, as many as 10,000 immigrants became temporary residents of Anne Arundel County in the late spring and early summer to pick the produce, according to the *Baltimore Sun*. As the system matured, the immigrants were most often described as being either Polish or Bohemian.⁸⁸

The immigrant workers, known as "pickers," frequently consisted of women, children, and older family members, who traveled to the farms for six to eight weeks during late May, June, and early July while fathers remained on the job in the cities, sometimes visiting on the weekends. The nature of the housing provided for the laborers depended on the size of the farm and its profitability. In some instances, houses built originally for tenant farmers were used, but in many cases the farmers constructed "shanties" to house larger groups of workers. Mumford describes them as often two stories tall with a room on each floor, of board and batten construction, with gable roofs covered with wood shingles.

⁸⁷ Mumford, 4-6, 24; McWilliams, "Land and People," 4; E. Roderick Shipley, "Truck Farms in North County," 68-70.

⁸⁸ Mumford, 6, 58-60; Alice Channing, *Child Labor and Maryland Truck Farms* (U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Bureau Publication no. 123. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1923), 23-24.



Figure 9 – Summer laborers often lived in two-story “shanties,” like this one on the Bottomley farm in Anne Arundel County. (Lewis Hine, “Three families live in this shack: one room above and one below,” National Child Labor Committee Collection, Library of Congress, July 7, 1909, [http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/ncl2004001703/PP/.](http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/ncl2004001703/PP/))

(Figure 9) Small windows were located below the eaves. Each “shack” might hold four families, and rows of such buildings were constructed on each farm. Fireplaces of mud were built outside, as were wood sheds for food preparation and dining. Newspaper reports in the early twentieth century often suggest happy laborers working outdoors in the sunshine, but the immigrants’ situation could hardly be called idyllic. One newspaper account described the backbreaking work and the difficult living conditions. In this instance, seventy-five people lived in one two-story, 45 by 20-foot wood building in “pens of bedding” – family spaces divided from each other only by low boards. (Figure 10) There were no toilet facilities, although this camp had a well with a pump to provide water, and the owner provided wood for fuel.

A study of Anne Arundel County immigrant labor camps by the National Child Labor Committee published in 1923 documented the poor sanitary conditions of the camps. More than half of the families in the committee’s survey had no toilet facilities, and the study deemed only one of the twenty-five camps to have adequate accommodations. In some cases, the immigrants constructed privies for themselves, but many of these were near the water supply. About half of the families studied used a spring or a brook for water; the other half dug their own wells. In all cases, trash and wastewater were simply thrown out of the shanties, and no attempt was made between seasons to collect and discard the waste. Despite these conditions, however, Mumford points out that many of the families continued the summer harvest work year after year, often on the same farms. The harvest provided an opportunity for the immigrants to earn money while also escaping the summer heat in the city and gave children the chance to be outside. Over a forty-year period, the willingness of these immigrants to make



Figure 10 – Pickers’ housing consisted generally of single, open rooms on each floor. Low wood boards divided the family spaces from each other. (Lewis Hine, “Interior of a shack occupied by berry-pickers,” National Child Labor Committee Collection, Library of Congress, ca. 1909, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/ncl2004001972/PP/>)

the best of the conditions under which they labored helped to make Anne Arundel County one of the largest producers of fruits and vegetables for city markets in the country.⁸⁹

Immigrants did not simply function as laborers in the agricultural economy. As pointed out earlier, newcomers owned thirteen percent of Anne Arundel County farms in 1911. Mumford, in his study of truck farming in the county, identifies ten immigrants who owned truck farms in the county at around this time. Mumford’s list includes immigrants from Germany, such as Benjamin and Phillipina Klug, who purchased property in the Pasadena area in 1902. Their farmhouse also acted as a local post office and telephone company headquarters.⁹⁰ These immigrant farm owners also employed immigrant pickers from Baltimore. One documented instance of this practice was the farm of Henry Emil Gertz, an immigrant from Eastern Europe, whose Polish laborers were captured in photographs taken in 1914.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Mumford, 61-68; Channing, 25-28.

⁹⁰ Mumford, 19; Cunningham, 72.

⁹¹ Frederick H. Doepkens, *Farming in Anne Arundel County* (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2011), 58; 1930 United States Federal Census [database on-line], Precinct 2, Anne Arundel, Maryland, Page: 5A,

Another farm owner identified by Mumford was Joseph Frank Andrzejewski (identified as “Andrzejewski” in the 1920 census). Andrzejewski emigrated from Poland in 1892 and purchased farmland in what is now Millersville in 1919 (AA-889). A number of Joseph Andrzejewskis appear in the census records for 1900 and 1910, but none in Anne Arundel County. Joseph’s wife, Annie, was born in Maryland to German parents. Andrzejewski, too, used “pickers” during the summer harvest season. By 1930, the Andrzejewski farm was worth \$9,000, and Joseph and Annie had added four more children to their brood.⁹²

Maritime Industries

The increase in the numbers of immigrants arriving in Anne Arundel County coincided with the establishment of commercial harvesting of oysters, which had only become widespread in Maryland in the 1880s. By 1904, 32,000 people in the state made their living dredging oysters in the coastal areas of the state. A year later, Elihu Riley gives the number of Anne Arundel County residents involved in harvesting, packing, and shipping oysters as around 2,000.⁹³ Not surprisingly, given the nearby rivers and creeks, that occupation predominated in and around Germantown at the turn of the century. Of the twenty residents whose occupation is identified on the 1900 census page that included William and Frederic Witt and Henry Bensien, “oystering” is associated with sixteen of them. The youngest of these was fourteen years old. The watermen included Frederic Witt and the sons of William Witt and Henry Bensien. John F. Behlke and his three sons were oystermen, as was August Quade.⁹⁴

Oystering as a livelihood was not without its dangers, however, especially for newly arrived immigrants, who were often hired right off the boat in Baltimore, before they had acquired much knowledge of local conditions and customs or the dominant language. In the early years of the industry, oyster boat captains were often a law unto themselves when they were on the water, and the trips could last for days at a time. This situation sometimes led to mistreatment of immigrant tongers, and in 1884, a captain abused and then murdered a German immigrant. The incident led to ultimately successful efforts by the German Society of Maryland to lobby for the passage in 1890 of a state law that protected all oyster dredgers, requiring contracts with stated salaries and registering captains and crews. A Bureau for the Protection of Oyster Dredgers was also established by German, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, and French immigrant societies. The oyster industry subsequently helped weaken the law by supporting

Enumeration District: 0006; *1940 United States Federal Census* [database on-line], Anne Arundel, Maryland, Page: 9B, Enumeration District: 2-6, Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2009. Census records from 1930 identify Gertz’ country of birth as Russia and the language spoken in his home as German. The 1940 census states that he was born in Poland.

⁹² Mumford, 19; *1920 United States Federal Census* [database on-line], Census Place: Gambrills, Anne Arundel, Maryland, Page: 12B; Enumeration District: 14; 1930; Census Place: Election District 4, Anne Arundel, Maryland; Page: 6A; Enumeration District: 0018, Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2002, 2010.

⁹³ McWilliams, “Land and People,” 6; Maryland Bureau of Immigration, *The State of Maryland and Its Advantages for Immigrants, Especially Farmers, Manufacturers, and Capitalists* (Baltimore: Maryland Bureau of Immigration, 1904, Hathi Trust website, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t07w73r6k>), 20; Elihu S. Riley, *A History of Anne Arundel County, in Maryland: adapted for use in the schools of the county* (Annapolis, Maryland: C.G. Feldmeyer, 1905), 121.

⁹⁴ *1900 United States Federal Census* [database on-line], Election District 1, Anne Arundel, Maryland; Page: 4, Enumeration District: 0002, Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2009.



Figure 11 – The shell mill building (left) and the oyster processing building of the F. & H. Benning Company in Galesville. (“F. & H. Benning Company,” Historic American Engineering Survey, HAER no. MD-138, 2007)

amendments favorable to the boat captains, but efforts by the immigrant societies eventually led to federal legislation that protected workers of all nationalities.⁹⁵

Despite their potential vulnerability as newcomers, however, some immigrant families in the county managed to advance from laborer to business owner in maritime industries. Examples include Frank and Harry Benning and Emile Alexander Hartge, all sons of immigrants who had their homes and businesses along Tenthouse Creek in Galesville. Carl and Fredericka Benning (originally Bunnieg) emigrated from Germany in 1890, according to census records. They moved to Galesville in 1901, where Carl purchased 9¾ acres of land along the creek. Carl, as well as sons Frank and Harry, are listed as oyster tongers in the 1910 census. In 1913, the brothers purchased the property from their father and founded F. & H. Benning Company, “Dealers in Oysters, Lime, Soft Crabs, & Fish.” The business, which consisted of two buildings, one to process seafood, another to grind the oyster shells, continued to be profitable into the 1950s.⁹⁶ (Figure 11)

⁹⁵ Cunz, 328-330.

⁹⁶ Justine Christianson, “F. & H. Benning Company,” Historic American Engineering Survey, HAER no. MD-138, 2007, 2-6; *1910 United States Federal Census* [database on-line], Election District 1, Anne Arundel, Maryland, Page: 3A, Enumeration District: 0001, Lehi, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2006. Carl is listed as Charles C. Benning in the 1910 census; his wife’s name is unreadable. There is some question as to the couple’s immigration date. The 1910 census lists it as 1890, but Harry and Frank’s birthplace is given as Maryland. Since the sons were 26 and 24 years old in 1910, the elder Bennings may have immigrated earlier.

Emile Hartge (1849-1925), son of immigrants Fernando and Mary Hartge and grandson of Henry and Amelia Hartge, purchased 17½ acres at Whitestake Point across the West River from his family's property. Hartge farmed, harvested oysters, sold both produce and seafood, and repaired and built boats, mainly for area watermen. (He was himself listed as a waterman in the 1900 census.) About 1880, he built a two-and-a-half-story Folk Victorian house on the property (AA-2447), where he and his wife Susan raised ten children. From 1888 to 1894, Emile acted as deputy commander of the Maryland Oyster Police Force, whose job it was to keep poachers out of the state's oyster beds. Emile's son, Ernest Henry (Dick) Hartge (1895-1979), took over the boat yard when his father died. There he designed and built pleasure boats that became popular with Chesapeake yachtsmen.⁹⁷

The Hartges' transition from working boats used by oystermen, crabbers, and fishermen to pleasure craft employed for recreational purposes parallels a trend in the use of Anne Arundel County waterways that began in the late nineteenth century, a trend that affected both the onshore built environment and the immigrants who lived in and visited the county. With the increasing prosperity that the expanding economy fostered at this time, many Americans possessed the wherewithal to pursue various leisure pursuits. Improved infrastructure, including roads, railroads, and steamships also gave city dwellers the opportunity to escape to the countryside on weekends and for vacations. In Maryland, the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries offered a variety of activities, and some Anne Arundel County landowners and businessmen adapted the assets they possessed to this increased recreational appetite. Some farmers sold property they owned along the water, broken up into lots, for city dwellers who wished to build a vacation home. Other shorefront property owners built cottages to rent in the summer or on the weekends or turned their own homes into boarding houses. As the recreational industry matured, larger developments were undertaken, including resorts with hotels and amusements and summer colonies for holidaymakers who wished to remain along the water for longer than a few days.⁹⁸

Immigrants to Maryland both created and took advantage of the recreational opportunities that Anne Arundel County's miles of shoreline offered. Galesville had become a recreational destination as early as 1886, helping the Hartge boat yard to expand its market. One immigrant who at least supplemented his agricultural income with recreational business was Augustus C. Schmidt, originally from Germany. In 1903, Schmidt bought a 166-acre farm bordering the Patapsco River and Rock Creek. After a decade of working the land, raising cantaloupes, watermelon, strawberries, tomatoes, beans, and potatoes, he began to sell waterfront lots on this property for use by vacationers. Baltimore mayor William Frederick Broening made the first purchase. The Riviera Beach Development Company incorporated Schmidt's property into its summer colony development in the 1920s.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Lawrence Hartge and Billy Hartge, *A History of Hartge Yacht Yard* (Author published, 3rd edition, 1999-2000), 10-13, 22-26; "Hartge Yacht House," Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties Form AA-2447, July 8, 2013, Maryland Historical Trust website, <https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/AnneArundel/AA-2447.pdf>.

⁹⁸ Mandy Melton, "Anne Arundel County's Historic Beach Resorts (Late 19th-Early 20th Century)," prepared for the *Learn S'Mores History Project*, Anne Arundel County Trust for Preservation, June 2017, 7-9.

⁹⁹ Isabel Shipley Cunningham, *The Pasadena Peninsula: A Closer Look at the Land Between Two Rivers* (Pasadena, Maryland: Pasadena Business Association, 2001), 93; Alice Tyson and A. J. Reed, "Discovering Our School Community," Riviera Beach School, 1955-1956, Riviera Beach, Maryland website, <http://riviera-beach-md.org/beachhistory.html>, accessed January 31, 2019, 7-8.



Figure 12 – This postcard, produced around 1920, depicts a building at Altona Beach, a resort community on Stoney Creek. (“Waterfront Scene at New Altona Beach, Md.,” aapc_0095, Digital Maryland website, <https://digitalmaryland.org/digital/collection/aapd/id/228/rec/178>, accessed April 6, 2019)

Charles Merriweather Christian developed Outing Park, later called Green Haven, at the western end of Stoney Creek, not far from Riviera Beach. He sold small lots at lower prices on his 712-acre property, mainly to working German and Polish families from Baltimore.¹⁰⁰ Some beach names may recall the homeland the owners left or perhaps even suggest the background of the clientele the resort sought to attract. John Fait developed Altona Beach around 1899 as a resort hotel, featuring dining room, carousel, swings, and other features typical of the Maryland resorts. (Figure 12) Altona was the city near Hamburg, Germany, that storekeeper Henry Himburg hailed from. Altona Beach, now known as Altoona Beach, was located along Stoney Creek near Green Haven. By 1920, advertisements began to identify it as “New Altona Beach.”¹⁰¹

The End of Mass Migration

Federal laws to control immigration had begun in the midst of the second great wave of mass migration to the United States, when Congress passed a ban on Chinese immigrants in 1882. As time went on, and the number of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe increased, concern grew in some parts of the country that the tide of newcomers might overwhelm citizens who had lived here for generations.

¹⁰⁰ Cunningham, 101, 104; Melton, 24.

¹⁰¹ Melton, 14,

National and ethnic groups were discussed as separate races at this time, and anti-immigrant rhetoric expressed alarm that the “American race” might be “diluted” by interaction with the newcomers. World War I and the Russian Revolution led to fears of radicalism being imported into the country along with the immigrants, and economic problems immediately after the war raised alarms related to the prosperity of American-born residents. Federal legislation responded to such fears by expanding categories of people who were not allowed into the country as potential citizens. Under these laws, would-be immigrants could be excluded for medical reasons (1891) or for political beliefs (1903). In 1917, the exclusion zone for potential immigrants from Asia was more broadly defined, and literacy became a requirement for all immigrants. World War I had already caused a decline in immigration from Europe, especially from Germany, and the Quota Act of 1921 imposed a limit on the total number of immigrants and on the number from each country. The legislation based the quotas on census data from 1910. In 1924, a more stringent Immigration Act was passed, which used the lower numbers of the 1890 census as the baseline data on which quotas were calculated. The act lowered the total number of immigrants allowed to enter the country, from 358,000 per year to 165,000 – later to decline to 150,000. Legislators also engineered the calculations to favor immigrants from western and northern Europe, and the courts interpreted the laws to exclude immigrants from Asian countries, including Japan and India.¹⁰²

Immigration in the Era of Quotas, 1924-1965

As a result of the quota laws, the percentage of foreign-born residents in the United States declined from 13.2 percent to 11.6 percent between 1920 and 1930, after hovering between 13 and 15 percent for more than fifty years. The last time the percentage of foreign-born residents had dipped below 12 percent was 1850, when 11.2 percent of the population had been born abroad. The percentage of foreign-born residents also declined in Maryland and Anne Arundel County. Census records indicate that between 1920 and 1930, the percentage of foreign-born state residents decreased from 7.1 to 5.9 percent, while the county experienced a decrease from 4.8 to 4.4 percent.¹⁰³ (Table 1)

While the quotas severely limited European immigration, world events created a category of potential newcomers not recognized before: refugees. Immigrants had fled war, persecution, and famine in their home countries for the United States since the nation had been founded, but this migration was handled through the generally open national immigration policy. It was only after the establishment of quotas in the 1920s that politicians, relatives, and interest groups sought exceptions to or new interpretations of existing laws to accommodate refugees. Events that gave rise to the increase in the numbers of refugees during this period include the establishment of the Soviet Union in the wake of the Russian Revolution, the breakup of the German, Austro-Hungarian, and Ottoman empires after World War I, the rise of fascism in Italy in the 1920s and Nazism in Germany in the 1930s, the Spanish Civil War between 1936 and 1939, and the worldwide displacement of peoples resulting from World War II.

Throughout the period, however, the nativist attitudes and fears that had led to the 1920s U.S. quota laws held sway politically. An important restriction imposed on both immigrants and refugees during this period was the requirement that they have enough funds or property to satisfy financial needs on

¹⁰² Alexander, 42-43; Elliott Robert Barkan, *And Still They Come: Immigrants and American Society, 1920s to the 1990s* (Wheeling, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, 1996), 16-17.

¹⁰³ U.S. Census Bureau, *Census of the United States, 1930*, “Census of Population and Housing,” <https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html>.

their arrival. Politicians sought to limit, or eliminate, immigrants whose care would require expenditure of public funds. The success of efforts to provide shelter to persecuted peoples or individuals fleeing war or famine was therefore limited. The U.S. State Department, for instance, estimated in 1945 that 20-30 million refugees worldwide would seek new homes as a result of the war. Using his executive authority, President Harry Truman allowed 40,000 refugees to come to the U.S. in 1947, and in 1953, Congress passed the Refugee Relief Act that created 205,000 additional openings – hardly sufficient to ameliorate the worldwide refugee situation.¹⁰⁴

Maturation of the Resort Industry in Maryland

The immigrants who arrived in Anne Arundel County during this period, or those already residing in the county, faced a rapidly changing world, fueled by local, national, and world events. Prosperity increased as the 1920s progressed, giving rise to, among other things, the expansion of Anne Arundel County businesses that catered to the growing city of Baltimore. This was especially true of the recreational industry. During the 1920s, developers planned larger, more elaborate resorts to attract city dwellers than they had during the pre-war years, as well as summer colonies that encompassed hundreds of lots.

The creation of the new and larger resorts took place during a time when the private automobile rapidly gained favor as a personal mode of transportation. (Automobile registration increased by nine hundred percent in Maryland between 1916 and 1938.) The increased use of cars spurred a demand for additional and improved roadways, and resort destinations influenced county planners in the location of such infrastructure, as new roads were built or existing roads improved to facilitate access to the summer getaways. The Maryland State Planning Commission even recommended a new parkway south of Annapolis. “The prime reason for this Parkway,” the commission reported in 1937, “is to replace the winding alignment of the present shore road with a modern motorway feeder to the increasingly numerous shore communities, and to future beach parks on the Chesapeake Bay and its estuaries.” Such a parkway was never built, but authorities directed public funds toward improving existing roadways and establishment of additional routes, especially in South County areas previously reached only by steamboat. The rise in automobile ownership eventually put the steamboat lines out of business, but the infrastructure put in place during this period remains the backbone of the transportation network along Anne Arundel County’s shoreline communities.¹⁰⁵

Immigrants and their offspring participated in the growth and maturation of the resort industry in Anne Arundel County in the same ways as native-born residents. New and larger summer colonies required construction of houses, hotels, amusement parks, and other structures. As one example among many, Pasadena experienced a growth spurt in the years after World War I that was addressed in part by Joseph Groh, a war veteran and son of a German immigrant, who became a successful contractor after apprenticing as a carpenter.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Susan F. Martin, *A Nation of Immigrants* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 154-179.

¹⁰⁵ Melton, 9-11; McWilliams, “Land and People,” 6; Maryland State Roads Commission, *Preliminary Report of the Maryland State-Wide Highway Planning Survey*, in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Public Roads, 1938, 1; Maryland State Planning Department, *Regional Planning: Part IV – Baltimore-Washington-Annapolis Area* (Baltimore: Maryland State Planning Commission, November 1937). 47

¹⁰⁶ Cunningham, 109-111; *1920 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]; Census Place: Pasadena, Anne Arundel, Maryland; Page: 2A; Enumeration District: 11, Provo, Utah, Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2002, 2010.

Another example of newcomers who took advantage of the popularity of summer resorts in Anne Arundel County were brothers Samuel and Gustav Kurtz, who came to the United States from Austria along with six members of the family in 1909. It is not clear where the Kurtzes resided when they first came to the U.S., but by 1920, they lived in Baltimore in a house owned by John (69) and Elizabeth (52) Kurtz, parents of Samuel, Gustav, and four other children. John earned a living as a laborer for a railroad company, while Samuel (24), Gustav (18), and oldest son John, Jr. (28) were bakers. One daughter, Teresa (22), worked as a clerk. By 1930, three separate Kurtz households existed in Baltimore, with Samuel and Gustav perhaps living next door to each other, and John, Jr., in the same ward, but some blocks away. Since Elizabeth Kurtz lived with her son Gustav in 1930 (along with her three daughters), it seems likely that John, Sr., had passed away since the previous census. Between 1920 and 1930, Samuel married the former Anna Wundirn, an immigrant from Hungary, and Anna's brother Michael lived with them. All three Kurtz brothers continued in the baking business, and all three owned their own homes.¹⁰⁷

In the early 1930s, Samuel and Gustav Kurtz acquired land along the Patapsco River in Pasadena and developed Kurtz's Pleasure Beach, which opened in 1933. (Figure 13, AA-2522) Stories differ as to the nature of the acquisition; the land was either purchased for personal use or acquired as payment for a loan. Accounts also differ as to the reason the successful bakers decided to branch out into recreation. According to Isabel Shipley Cunningham, so many friends visited the Kurtzes at the beach that they decided to build a resort. A newspaper story published on the occasion of the beach's eighty-fifth anniversary in 2018, however, indicates that the Great Depression caused the change. According to this account, the scarcity of baking supplies in the 1930s forced the brothers to seek another way to earn a living. Kurtz's Pleasure Beach featured 750 picnic tables, along with pavilions, bathing beaches, an octagonal dance hall (later enclosed), and slot machines when those were made legal in 1943.¹⁰⁸

Immigrants also took advantage of other business opportunities and jobs derived from Anne Arundel County's recreational industry. The legal residence of several of these individuals was Baltimore, but a few seemed to have owned property in or eventually moved to the county. Cunningham relays the story of a man named Henry Stroback, who, in 1932, began renting boats from his dock at the end of Lake Drive at Bayside Beach at the mouth of the Patapsco River. In 1936, he opened a small store and captained three fishing boats.¹⁰⁹ In the 1930 census, a man named Henry Stroback, a trucker and son of German immigrants, lived in Baltimore in a house he owned worth \$5,000. Stroback's household

¹⁰⁷ *1920 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]; Census Place: Baltimore Ward 20, Baltimore (Independent City), Maryland; Page: 6B; Enumeration District: 348; *1930 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]; Census Place: Baltimore, Maryland; Page: 4B; Enumeration District: 420; *1930 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]; Census Place: Baltimore Ward 20, Baltimore (Independent City), Maryland; Page: 6B; Enumeration District: 650, Provo, Utah, Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2002, 2010. Some slight discrepancies exist in the census records. The 1920 records state that all members of the family came to the United States in 1909, while later records use 1907 and 1908 for different individuals. Also, the 1930 census record for the John Kurtz, Jr., referred to in the text indicates that his birthplace was Bavaria, Germany, rather than Austria. Other information, however, identifies him with this family. His occupation (baker), age, and immigration date all correspond to 1920 census records for John Kurtz, Jr.

¹⁰⁸ Melton, 30; Cunningham, 126; Sharon Mager, "Kurtz's Beach Celebrates 85h Anniversary," *Pasadena Voice*, May 15, 2018, <http://www.pasadenavoice.com/community/kurtz-s-beach-celebrates-85th-anniversary>, accessed September 18, 2018.

¹⁰⁹ Cunningham, 148.



Figure 13– Two of the buildings, along with a seawall can be seen at Kurtz Pleasure Beach in this undated photograph. (Collection of Jack Kelbaugh, reproduced in *The Pasadena Peninsula*, by Isabel Shipley Cunningham, 127)

included his wife Helen, two children, his mother Lena, and his brother Albert, who was a printer. By 1940, Henry (43) and Helen (31) and their children (now three in number) lived in Anne Arundel County. The census identifies his occupation as the proprietor of a grocery store, and he also had a boat dock. His mother and brother lived together, perhaps next door to Henry and Helen and their children.¹¹⁰

Entrepreneurs established bus lines to transport holidaymakers from city to beach as highways improved during the twentieth century. One of these was Walter Koryta (also spelled Koryto in the census), who drove a bus from Baltimore to Green Haven on weekends, probably beginning in the 1930s. Koryta, a Polish immigrant who came to the United States in 1903, ran a grocery store in 1930, but ten years later, when he was 67, census records identify his occupation as chauffeur. His wife Mary (49), the daughter of Polish immigrants, and his son Stanley (22) helped in the business.¹¹¹ Two other

¹¹⁰1930 *United States Federal Census* [database on-line]; Census Place: Baltimore, Baltimore (Independent City), Maryland; Page: 16B; Enumeration District: 655; 1940 *United States Federal Census* [database on-line]; Census Place: Anne Arundel, Maryland; Page: 15A; Enumeration District: 2-13; Provo, Utah, Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2002, 2012. The 1930 census spells the name “Strobach.” It also identifies Lena and Albert as his mother-in-law and brother-in-law, respectively. Since they all have the same last name, however, it seems more likely that they were related by blood.

¹¹¹ Cunningham, 148; 1930 *United States Federal Census* [database on-line]; Census Place: Baltimore, Baltimore (Independent City), Maryland; Page: 3A; Enumeration District: 18; 1940 *United States Federal Census* [database on-line]; Census Place: Anne Arundel, Maryland; Page: 6B; Enumeration District: 4-22; Provo, Utah, Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2002, 2012. The 1930 census identifies Koryto’s place of birth as Austria, but his mother tongue as Polish. The 1940 census states that he was born in Poland.

Polish immigrants, Joseph and Francis Gonet also ran a bus between Baltimore and Green Haven in the 1930s, according to Cunningham. The Gonets' bus was partially subsidized in order to bring prospective buyers to the site.¹¹² Since Green Haven was founded as a summer colony for Polish and German families, the use of Polish bus drivers living in Baltimore may suggest an attempt to establish a "pipeline" between Polish communities in the city and summer resorts in the county.

The Decline of Truck Farming

Truck farming continued to be profitable in the 1920s, as it had been before the war. Maryland led the nation in tomato production in 1923 and was second the next two years. Anne Arundel County contributed its fair share to this production, and it was during this time that South County tobacco farmers turned a greater portion of their acreage to truck crops as a result of the decline in tobacco prices. The industry suffered during the Depression, however, when the prices farmers were able to get for their produce dropped precipitously. Many of the fruits and vegetables sold from truck farms came to be considered luxury items during hard times, causing a decline in demand. Nearly a quarter of Maryland farms faced bankruptcy by 1932, and truck farm income dropped from \$27 million in 1927 to \$11 million in 1932. Many county farmers sold land to ward off bankruptcy. With the decline of truck farming during the period, the use of immigrant labor to pick the produce declined as well. The quota laws and the Depression essentially ended the practice of using pickers on Anne Arundel County farms.¹¹³

Immigrant, as well as native-born farmers, adapted to the situation as best they could. George C. Schmidt, son of German immigrant August Schmidt, whose farm was eventually incorporated into Riviera Beach, built a sandstone roadside stand on Mountain Road in Pasadena, from which he sold his produce in the 1930s. Many other county farmers followed this practice through the Depression, World War II, and into the post-war years. Schmidt also placed advertisements offering to haul stone, sand, gravel, and wood and to grade land. By 1940, the census listed his occupation as contractor, whereas in 1930 he had been listed as a farmer.¹¹⁴ William and Peter Schramm, sons of Louis Schramm, who had immigrated to the U.S. from Germany in 1866, transitioned part of their family farm from truck produce to flowers beginning in 1930. The business produced gladiolas for the wholesale market, as well as flower arrangements, bouquets, and potted plants. Later in the period, the Schramms also began raising turkeys for market.¹¹⁵

The onset of World War II provided a brief stimulus for truck farmers, as the Washington and Baltimore markets once again included customers willing and able to pay for fresh produce and the numerous military bases needed comestibles as well. The revitalization of the industry was, however, limited to the war years. The availability of fruits and vegetables from other parts of the country, along with improved transportation infrastructure to move the produce to market and the rapid suburbanization of Maryland

¹¹² Cunningham, 148-149.

¹¹³ Cunningham, 114, 149; Mumford, 7.

¹¹⁴ Cunningham, 149-151; *1920 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]; Census Place: Election District 3, Anne Arundel, Maryland; Page: 2B; Enumeration District: 9; *1930 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]; Census Place: Curtis Bay, Anne Arundel, Maryland; Page: 15B; Enumeration District: 11; *1940 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]; Census Place: Anne Arundel, Maryland; Page: 62A; Enumeration District: 2-13; Provo, Utah, Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2002, 2012. The 1930 census record lists George Schmidt's wife's name as Alice M. Schmidt, the same as their daughter. Other records list her name as Margaret.

¹¹⁵ Cunningham, 149, 154-155; Mumford, 26, 50; Chappelle and Russo, 262.

counties near Washington and Baltimore, signaled the end of truck farming as a large-scale economic engine after the war. Farmers relied on roadside stands from which to sell their produce in the late 1940s, and some returned to tobacco production.¹¹⁶

After World War II

Unlike the post-Civil War period, when Anne Arundel County farmers abandoned much of their cropland due to the labor shortage, many post-World War II farmers transitioned into another market – real estate. Following a national trend that was encouraged by government housing loans and improved highways that made commuting feasible, suburbs began replacing rural land in the county in the post-war years, especially in the north. Anne Arundel County’s population increased 71 percent between 1940 and 1950 and 300 percent between 1940 and 1960. The increase encompassed city residents moving to the suburbs as well as residents new to the area arriving from other locations. After World War II, Maryland became the fifth-leading state in attracting new residents from other parts of the country. The percentage of the county’s land area used for farming dropped from 48 percent in 1948 to half that total twenty years later, and the crops grown changed from tobacco, truck produce, corn, sweet potatoes, and fruit to corn and soybeans.¹¹⁷

In addition to new housing, other development altered Anne Arundel County’s traditional balance of rural versus developed land after the war, including the establishment of Friendship Airport (now Baltimore-Washington Thurgood Marshall International Airport), which opened in 1950. The airport was built on 3,200 acres of former farmland that included Cedar Farm (Benson-Hammond House, AA-118), which had employed immigrant pickers during the boom years for truck farming. Westinghouse built a manufacturing plant near the airport a year after it opened and quickly became the county’s largest employer. Highway construction also reduced the amount of farmland in the county.¹¹⁸

The Chesapeake Bay Bridge opened on July 30, 1952, linking Sandy Point in Anne Arundel County to Queen Anne’s County on the Eastern Shore. The bridge had the effect of opening the Eastern Shore to greater numbers of visits by vacationers and a corresponding decline in visits to Western Shore resorts in Anne Arundel County. Additional factors that negatively affected county resorts at the end of this period were the demise of casinos, which were phased out by law beginning in 1963, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which banned discrimination based on race, religion, or national origin. Some resort owners closed rather than integrate their establishments, while the courts and public pressure closed others whose owners refused to obey the law.¹¹⁹

Although some of the county’s traditional businesses went into decline after World War II, the economy as a whole for the state and the county grew. Farms were fewer in number, but they were more productive, as management, machinery, fertilizers, and pesticides improved. Baltimore remained an important east coast port. While manufacturing continued in the state, especially near Baltimore, the growth in government jobs, technology, and the service economy helped suburban areas such as Anne Arundel County replace their previous reliance on agriculture and recreation.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Mumford, 7-8.

¹¹⁷ McWilliams, “Land and People,” 7-9.

¹¹⁸ Mumford, 26; McWilliams, “Land and People,” 8.

¹¹⁹ Chappelle and Russo, 270; Cunningham, 220; Melton, 11.

¹²⁰ Chappelle and Russo, 273-279.

The playing field for prospective immigrants also changed over the last half of this period. Individual governmental actions over the years began to erode the national origins system that had been established in the 1924 Immigration Act. A limited number of Chinese had been allowed to immigrate and become citizens in 1943, for instance, followed by Filipinos and Indians being granted the right of citizenship in 1946. Other changes that made the law less restrictive were made in 1952. Despite these changes, the restrictive laws of the 1920s had the effect that their proponents had hoped for: the number of foreign-born residents of the United States dropped sharply, from 14.7 percent of the nation's population in 1910 to 5.4 percent in 1960.¹²¹ In Maryland, declines also took place, although not so drastic since the percentage of foreign-born residents in the state's population was lower to begin with. Immigrants made up 7.9 percent of the state population in 1920, 3.0 percent forty years later. (Table 1) The percentage of foreign-born residents in Anne Arundel County was not available in the 1960 census data reviewed for this study. However, in 1950, the percentage of foreign-born white residents of the county stood at 2.6 percent, the lowest proportion since 1850.¹²²

Contemporary Immigration, 1965-2019

The piecemeal changes to immigration law during and after World War II set the stage for a sweeping alteration of the United States policy toward new arrivals from abroad in 1965. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which amended legislation of the same name from 1952, replaced the stringent Immigration Act of 1924. Although it maintained limits on immigration, it removed preferences for some nationalities and races, committing the United States for the first time to equal treatment of potential immigrants of all nationalities. The bill attempted to bring immigration policy into line with other legislation designed to remove discrimination from American law, such as the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Additional revisions to the act followed, in 1980, 1986, and 1990, refining numerical caps and categories of immigrants, accounting for refugees, and seeking to halt illegal immigration, but they did not change the overall nondiscriminatory policy.¹²³

The result has been an overall increase in immigration to the United States – and to Maryland and Anne Arundel County – and a change in the immigrants' origins. Already by 1980, immigrants from Korea, Vietnam, China, El Salvador, and Mexico had made their mark in Maryland, and thirty years later, the new residents hailed from Central and South America, the Philippines, West Africa, the Caribbean, and the former Soviet Union.¹²⁴ The percentage of foreign-born residents in the state averaged 13.4 percent between 2013 and 2017, up from 3.2 percent in 1970. In Anne Arundel County, 2 percent of the population was foreign born in 1970; the average between 2013 and 2017 was 8.3 percent.¹²⁵

¹²¹ Barkan, 67-68, 115-116.

¹²² U.S. Census Bureau, *Census of the United States, 1950 and 1960, "Census of Population and Housing,"* <https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html>.

¹²³ Barkan, 115-116; Tom Gjelten, "The Immigration Act that Inadvertently Changed America," *The Atlantic*, October 2, 2015, The Atlantic website, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/10/immigration-act-1965/408409>, accessed August 5, 2019; Martin, 183-184.

¹²⁴ Chapelle and Russo, 262, 318.

¹²⁵ U.S. Census Bureau, *Census of the United States, 1970, "Chapter C, General Social and Economic Characteristics: Maryland,"* <https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html>; U.S. Census Bureau, "Quick Facts: Anne Arundel County, Maryland," U.S. Census Bureau website, <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/annearundelcountymaryland>, accessed August 14, 2019.

While the countries from which people came to the United States in the last fifty years may differ from earlier waves of migration, their reasons for leaving and the patterns of their movement, adjustment to their new homeland, and community life remain similar to those of their predecessors. The opportunity for better lives and turmoil within their own countries have proved to be the predominant reasons for immigrants to the United States to have left the countries of their birth. Beginning in the 1970s, for instance, when new policies encouraged skilled workers to immigrate, a large number of native Koreans moved to Maryland, many working in Baltimore area factories such as Bethlehem Steel, much as that company drew Isaac Yrttimaa as well as other Europeans to the city earlier in the twentieth century. By the 1990s, 30,000 native Koreans and Americans of Korean descent lived in Baltimore, 10,000 in Anne Arundel County.¹²⁶ In other cases, war provided the impetus for immigration, as the European revolutions in the second quarter of the nineteenth-century likely had for the Hartge and Lerch families. A civil war began in El Salvador in 1979, for instance, and was not resolved until 1992. By one estimate, 800,000 Salvadorans fled the country before the conflict ended, with 15 percent landing in the United States or Canada. Maryland became one destination for the refugees. In Anne Arundel County, 6,815 residents had immigrated from Central or South America by 1990, according to the census (1.6 percent). El Salvador and Mexico accounted for the large majority of these residents.¹²⁷ The end of the Vietnam War in 1975 and the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 are also examples of world events that affected immigration to the United States.

As in earlier movements of peoples, networks of family and friends often provided information and financing for the latest wave of immigrants, and the national groups tended to live near, or at least form communities of, people from their home countries. Although Christianity was a minor religion among the Koreans, for example, immigrants from that country formed a dozen Christian congregations in Anne Arundel County by the early 1990s. These religious affiliations then became sources of information to help newcomers negotiate the American way of life.¹²⁸ Many of the Salvadorans in the county learned that work was available in Baltimore and Anne Arundel County through their relatives and followed them to the communities they established. Members of some families would immigrate and save their money, then return home and bring family members back to this country.¹²⁹

The Korean Christians frequently rented space in existing churches or buildings in which to practice their faith. It seems likely that other ethnic groups also used, rented, or built space for communal purposes, whether religious, social, or political. Unlike earlier generations of migrants, the earliest built remains of which were most likely to have been residences or perhaps places of business, many of the earliest properties associated with the latest wave of immigrants – and therefore those that could prove to have historic significance – may be communal facilities, such as churches, schools, community centers, or ball fields, in additions to residences and businesses.

¹²⁶ Angela Gambill, "In a Strange Land, Koreans Find Comfort at Church." *Baltimore Sun*, July 31, 1991, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹²⁷ Paul Shread, "Latin Immigrants Escape from Turmoil Back Home," *Baltimore Sun*, June 9, 1991, 1; "Hispanics Reveal Fears, Frustrations," *Baltimore Sun*, August 23, 1991, G1, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹²⁸ Gambill.

¹²⁹ Shread, "Latin Immigrants Escape from Turmoil Back Home," "Hispanics Reveal Fears, Frustrations."

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Appendix

Anne Arundel County Heritage Theme 8: A Diverse Melting Pot

Properties Related to the Theme

	MIHP NO.	NAME	ADDRESS	DATE	STANDING?	RELATION TO THEME
1	AA-0118	Benson-Hammond House/Cedar Farm	7101 Aviation Boulevard, Linthicum Heights, MD 21090	ca. 1820-1830, ca. 1870	YES	Used as a truck farm, relying on immigrant labor.
2	AA-0129	Hancock's Resolution	2795 Bayside Beach Road, Pasadena, MD 21122	1785	YES	Used as truck farm. Such operations traditionally relied on immigrant labor.
3	AA-0198	Champ's Adventure (Elizabeth's Fancy)	3011 Patuxent River Road, Davidsonville, MD 21035	1800 (SDAT)	YES	Martin Zehner, Sr., who emigrated to U.S. from Bavaria in 1927, purchased the property in 1935.
4	AA-0298	Kolb's Store	1000-1002 Main Street, Galesville, MD 20765	late 19th century, early 20th century	YES	First owner Emile Lerch was a German immigrant. John Kolb, the son of German immigrants, purchased the property from Lerch.
5	AA-0889	Joseph and Annie Andrzejewski House (John Mills Farm)	480 Ski Lane, Millersville, MD 21108	1920 (SDAT)	YES	Joseph Andrzejewski was born in Poland around 1888; Annie's parents were born in Germany.
6	AA-0933	John Stoll House	401 Jerome Avenue, Linthicum Heights, MD 21090	ca. 1889	YES	Stoll was a farmer of German descent.
7	AA-0990 (Linthicum Heights HD)	Schweinsberg's Grocery Store	700 South Hammond's Ferry Road, Linthicum Heights, MD 21090	first quarter of 20th century	YES	Frederick Schweinsberg and Henry Volkenand, who ran the store, both emigrated from Germany.
8	AA-1058	Elvaton/Christ Lutheran Church/Listman Chapel	8245 Jumpers Hole Road, Elvaton, MD 21108	1908	YES	Built for German-speaking Lutheran population in Elvaton.
9	AA-2068	Contees Wharf Houses (Cottages A and B)	734 Contees Wharf Road, Edgewater, MD 21037	early 20th century	YES	Herman Quade, an immigrant from Germany, may have built one or both cottages.
10	AA-2074	Brashears/Witt House	1024 Carrs Wharf Road, Edgewater, MD 21037	1930 (SDAT)	YES	William Witt, born in Germany, acquired land from Bashears family.
11	AA-2075	Henry Behlke House	3919 Whitemarsh Lane, Edgewater, MD 21037	late 19th century, with later additions	NO	Henry Belhke was a member of a German family that settled in this area.
12	AA-2076	Willy Behlke House	3900 Whitemarsh Lane, Edgewater, MD 21037	ca. 1915	NO	Willy Belhke was a member of a German family that settled in this area.

13	AA-2077	August Quade House	3925 Whitemarsh Lane, Edgewater, MD 21037	1894, with 1911 addition	YES	Quade emigrated from Germany in 1886 at age 8 or 9.
14	AA-2078	Old Witt House	1036 Taylorville Lane, Edgewater, MD 21037	late 19th century	NO	Witt family hailed from Germany. No other information on the historical inhabitants of this house was discovered.
15	AA-2285	Kinder Farm	1001 Kinder Farm Park Road, Millersville, MD 21108	1925 (current farmhouse)	YES	Several members of the Kinder family immigrated to the United States from Germany in the 1890s and purchased property adjacent to each other.
16	AA-2285-1	Gustave E. and Martha Kinder Farm House	adjacent to 1001 Kinder Farm Park Road, Millersville, MD 21108	ca. 1905	YES	Gustave made the first land purchase in the Kinder family in 1898, after immigrating from Germany.
17	AA-2377	Blob's Park	8012 Max Blob's Park Road, Jessup, MD 20794	ca. 1910 with later additions	NO	Blob immigrated from Germany in 1893 with two brothers. After farming his land for many years, he opened Blob's Park in 1933.
18	AA-2447	Hartge Yacht House	4881 Church Lane, Galesville, MD 20765	ca. 1880, with later addition	YES	Emile Alexander Hartge was the son and grandson of German immigrants. Hartge purchased property in 1883, although construction on the house may have begun earlier.
19	AA-2452	Casper and Bertha Wilde House	212 Jumper Hole Road, Millersville, MD 21108	ca. 1909	YES	Casper and Bertha both immigrated to U.S. from Germany in 1880. The house was built using concrete blocks manufactured on the site.
20	AA-2522	Kurtz Pleasure Beach	2070 Kurtz Avenue, Pasadena, MD 21122	1933/1948	YES	The Kurtz brothers were bakers who emigrated from Austria to Baltimore.
21	AA-2546	Anna M. Erickson Summer House	862 Mill Creek Road, Arnold MD 21012	ca. 1946	YES	Anna Erickson was the daughter of a Finnish mother and a Swedish father. The property was one of about thirty Magothy Shores, most purchased by immigrants from Scandinavia.
22	AA-2547	Isaac and Aili Yrttimaa House	868 Mill Creek Road, Arnold MD 21012	ca. 1943	YES	Isaac Yrttimaa was a Finnish immigrant who moved to Baltimore and first worked at Bethlehem Steel. He and his wife purchased the property

						as a summer retreat and later retired there.
23	AA-2548	Raymond and Anna Yrttimaa House (Tovio and Ida Tammi Cabin)	864 Mill Creek Road, Arnold MD 21012	ca. 1942, 1958	YES	Finnish immigrants Tovio and Ida Tammi purchased the property in 1942 and built a concrete block cabin. Raymond Yrttimaa, the son of Isaac Yrttimaa, bought the property in 1952 and built a house there in 1958.
24	AA-2549	Augustus and Martha Lerch House	4944 Hine Drive, Shady Side, MD 20764	ca. 1880	YES	Augustus Lerch immigrated from Germany in 1848 with two brothers. He purchased 213 acres of land in 1850. Around 1880 he had a large residence built on the property.
25	AA-2550	Fritz and Ida Knopp House	6054 Drum Point Rd, Deale, MD 20751	ca. 1910	YES	Ida Jane Knopp purchased 3 5/8 acres of land in 1908. The existing house was probably built shortly thereafter. Fritz was the son of German immigrants.
26	none	Benjamin and Phillipina Klug House	8149 Waterford Road, Pasadena, MD 21122	1900 (SDAT)	YES	The Klugs emigrated from Germany and purchased 29 acres in 1902. Their farmhouse became a store, post office, and telephone company.
27	none	F&H Benning Company	1014 Benning Road, Galesville, MD 20765	ca. 1913	YES	Carl Benning emigrated from Germany in 1890 and moved to Galesville in 1901. He purchased property on Tenthouse Creek. His sons, Frank and Harry, bought the site in 1913 and established F&H Benning Company.
28	none	Himburg Store and/or Post Office	1413 Central (Beverley) Avenue, Edgewater, MD 21037	1950 (SDAT)	YES	Mullins (<i>History of Mayo</i> , 28) says Himburg, from Germany, opened a store at Collison Lane and Mayo Road around 1914. Subject property is one owned by Himburg, altered.
29	none	Henry Emil Gertz Farm	1251 Saint Stephens Church Road, Crownsville, MD 21032	1918 (SDAT)	YES	A photo in Doepkens (<i>Farming in Anne Arundel County</i> , 58) shows Polish pickers from Baltimore on Gertz's truck farm. Gertz immigrated from either Russia or Poland. Not certain that subject property belonged to the Gertz farm.