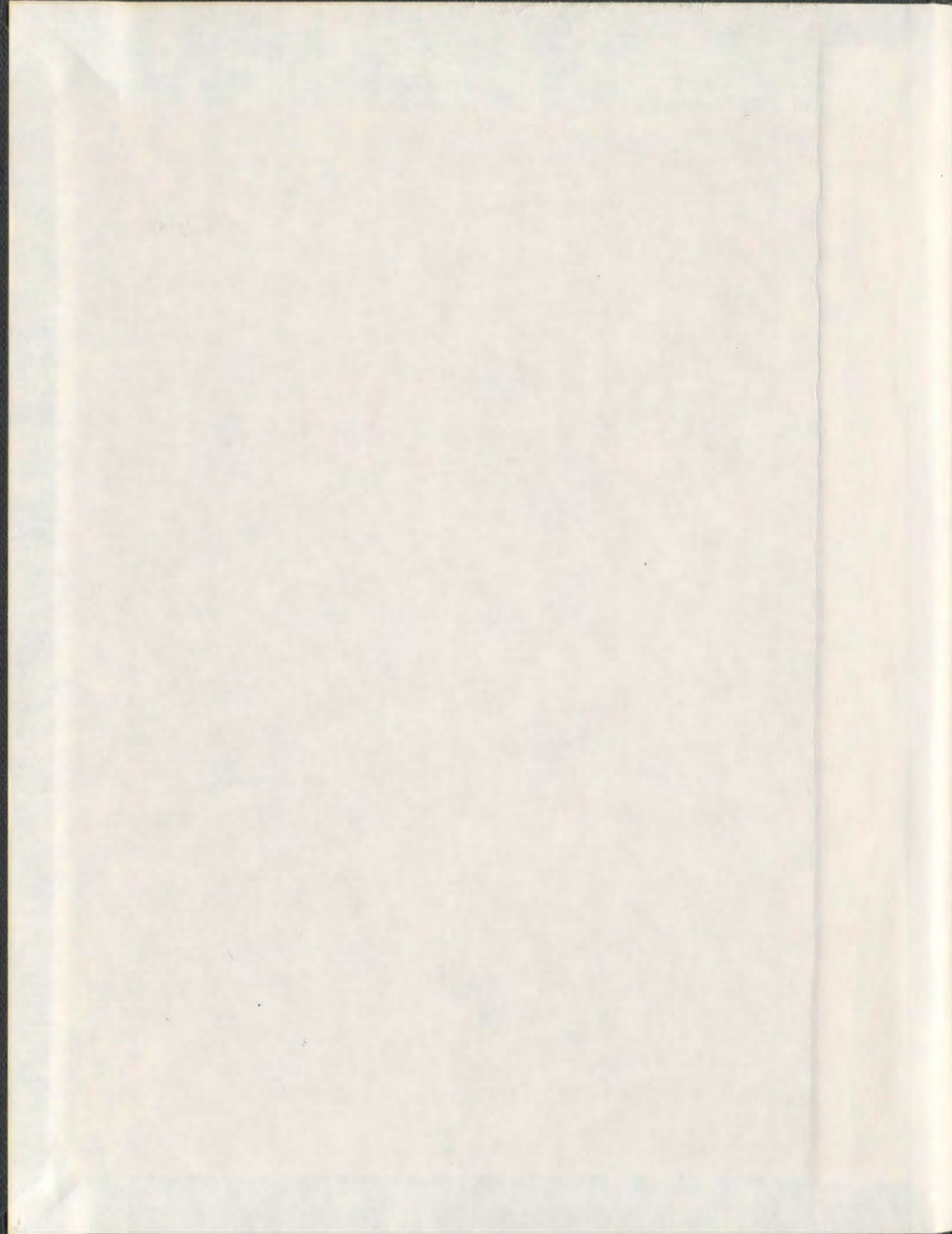


AVALON AND MARYLAND:
A COMPARATIVE HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY
OF THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEW WORLD
PROVINCES OF THE LORDS BALTIMORE
(1621-1644)

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**AVALON AND MARYLAND:
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LORDS BALTIMORE (1621-1644)**

by

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Abstract

The Calverts, a seventeenth-century English family headed by the first and second Lords Baltimore left a remarkable colonial legacy in North America. The Lords Baltimore established not one but two colonies in the 1620s and 1630s, the first becoming the Province of Avalon in Newfoundland and the second the Province of Maryland.

Avalon and Maryland examines the defining aspects of these two colonial ventures in order to better comprehend the history and archaeology of each as well as the differences in the two works and how the experiences at the first influenced the implementation of the second.

The individuals who designed and applied those proposals at the two colonies are key to understanding the decisions made. George Calvert's governmental career and economic pursuits propelled his Newfoundland colony but his evolving settlement goals would change the nature of that work and come to define Maryland. His young heir Cecil took on this design and it would prove to be his life's work. The appointed leaders of the two colonies also played a crucial role in the on-the-ground decisions and based on George Calvert's perceived problems at Newfoundland there was a shift from the leadership of military men to a trusted family member at Maryland. Further analysis of the human aspects of the colonies focuses on their populations. This work examines the population makeup of the two settlements as well as their relationships with the other groups present in each area and its impact on economic and defensive strategies. No other factor had such a powerful effect on settlement as the economic pursuits of the two colonies, predominantly the cod fishery in Newfoundland and tobacco cultivation in Maryland. These and other early commercial ventures projected or implemented in the

colonies are examined in depth. Defense also played an important role in the settlement strategy, more so for the two initial communities and the shape these fortified towns would take. The defensive strategies that were implemented were a response to the different perceived threats at the two locales. In Newfoundland, the threat was hostile European forces and naval-based. In Maryland, the dangers were more complex. There too the possibility of attack by European powers was present but they also faced potential Native American adversaries. In addition to the motives behind the settlement patterns, this examination looks at the proposed designs of the two colonies and the resulting settlement landscape. The first decades of Avalon and Maryland have left significant architectural data in the documentary and archaeological records. The construction strategies and the different structures built during this period are examined. The dwellings of the proprietor or their appointed leaders are also inspected.

This dissertation is a broad analysis of the defining aspects of the two Calvert-sponsored North American settlements: population, economics, defense, settlement, and architecture. This work also reveals the ways in which the Newfoundland colony, specifically its successes and failures, informed the strategies implemented in Maryland. Aspects of the designs would differ based on the geography, local resources, economic potential, and so forth but in many ways Newfoundland and Maryland represent a single push by the Calverts to achieve their colonial goals.

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Preface

To systematize the seventeenth-century quotes, the original documents as well as edited works have been standardized. Throughout the dissertation, all abbreviations have been expanded and italics removed, when appropriate “v” was changed to “u”, “i” to “j”, long s to “s”, thorn is changed to “th”, and the use of “ff” to denote capitalization is reduced to “F”.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The Calvert family, led by the first and second Lords Baltimore had a significant impact on the English colonization of North America in the first decades of the seventeenth century. This family sponsored not one but two settlements, the first in 1621 at Ferryland, Newfoundland that would become the Province of Avalon in 1623, the second the Province of Maryland granted in 1632 with a settlement established at St. Mary's in 1634. Though aspects of each of these projects have received a significant amount of scholarship in the past, this research did not examine the early story of the Calverts' North American plantations in its entirety. The choices made and strategies implemented in Maryland cannot be divorced from the Newfoundland enterprise. The same can be said for both projects in relation to George Calvert's investments in the East India Company or Ireland, not to mention his political career.

Though others have notably led the way, such as the examinations of the Calverts in Newfoundland undertaken by Gillian Cell (1982), Luca Codignola (1988) Peter Pope (2004), and James Tuck's and Barry Gaulton's *Avalon Chronicles*, or the Calvert-related Maryland scholarship of Lois Green Carr (1969, 1974), Russell Menard (1985), Henry Miller (1986), Timothy Riordan (2004), and Garry Wheeler Stone (1982), not to forget the seminal Calvert-family scholarship of James Foster (1983) and John Krugler (2004), the first stage of this encompassing examination was to pull together all the pertinent information regarding both of these ventures during the first decade of each project. Once the historical and archaeological data were compiled, it was then possible to begin asking

broad questions relating to the designers and leaders, the colonial and interacting populations, the development and economic schemes, defense and settlement strategies and realities, and the architectural landscapes. The field of historical archaeology is well-suited to this examination because alone, either a historical or archaeological approach would not reveal the full scope of the Calvert colonial ventures. In the earlier colony there is a lack of documentation for many important aspects of the endeavor, whereas the archaeology of the first decade is remarkably rich. In the later, relatively little archaeological work has been carried out on the first decade of settlement, yet the documentary record is often exceptional. Using the two lines of available data from each settlement, an inclusive account of the colonies begins to emerge. This project is a comparative analysis. In essence it was designed to produce two comprehensive examinations, one of the Newfoundland colony and the other of Maryland, focusing on the primary areas of inquiry discussed below and followed by a comparison of these findings. Ideally, this collection of pertinent historical and archaeological data will be well-suited for future scholars studying the seventeenth-century English colonies in North America. The project will focus on six key aspects that in many ways defined the makeup and design of the two settlements. This analysis will be followed by a comparison that examines these broad characteristics of the two colonies while discussing how the Calvert families' experiences in Newfoundland informed the decisions made in Maryland. The primary themes investigated are:

- (1) The founders and appointed leaders of the two ventures and how their experiences shaped the Calvert's Newfoundland and Maryland colonies.

- (2) The inhabitants of the two settlements, the populations that they interacted with, and the nature of those relations.
- (3) The economies of the two colonies concentrating on the environmental factors that were responsible for the staple resources (primarily cod in Newfoundland and furs and tobacco in Maryland) and how the acquisition of these staples significantly affected the development of the two regions.
- (4) The initial establishment of the two colonies, with a focus on the original settlement and subsequent development of both Ferryland/Avalon and Maryland during the first decade.
- (5) The defensive strategies employed at Newfoundland and Maryland and how these concerns guided the shape of the two early communities.
- (6) The architectural landscape, concentrating on the placement of structures and activity areas and the architectural choices made by the colonists.

These six subject areas are further contextualized and broken down to strengthen the examination and offer depth to the results. Though the avenues of inquiry must by necessity be divided into categories and chapters, all of the different areas of examination are connected and interdependent.

The first area of inquiry is an analysis of the primary agents, George and Cecil Calvert, the first and second Lords Baltimore. By examining the origins, careers, and prior investments of these men a more in-depth context for their New World decisions can be established. Another key to the larger analysis is an understanding of those other individuals who played prominent roles in the administration of the two colonies, mainly the Calvert-appointed leaders. These men played a crucial role in the decision-making of

the two ventures, specifically when it came to the settlement and defensive strategies and the interactions with other populations.

The populations of the two colonies will be examined over the course of two chapters, the first on the Calvert-sponsored settlers of Ferryland/Avalon and Maryland and the second on the others that the settlers of the two provinces interacted with. Some of these exchanges were mutually beneficial; others led to disagreements and even bloodshed. However the relationships may have played out, the other groups residing in or visiting the two locales had a significant impact on many aspects of life in the early colonies. As for the Calvert-sponsored adventurers to Newfoundland and Maryland, a series of defining characteristics will be examined including geographical origins, religious faith, and socioeconomic status; these are all aspects which shaped and defined the two settlements.

The third area of inquiry, the two colonial economies, had a dramatic effect on the forms the settlements would take and their subsequent evolution. The economic potential of the two locales was the largest factor in drawing the Calverts' initial interest as well as the great majority of the adventurers that traveled there. Both colonial economies would eventually trend toward the primary commercial pursuance of one staple resource over the first decade: codfish in Newfoundland and tobacco in Maryland. The nature of procuring these important yields will be discussed in depth, as well as the affect they had on the form of the communities that emerged. These catches and crops were not the only enterprises projected for the early settlements and these other successes and failures help reveal the economic strategies of the Lords Baltimore. Inexorably linked to resource development was the financial investment in the two projects. The Calverts may have

invested great sums in the two ventures but they did not bear the full fiscal brunt. Instead, both incorporated early strategies of spreading the risk of the initial investment among others and launched economic schemes based on the natural resources of the two regions. The larger personal investment by the Calverts in Newfoundland led them to develop new economic strategies in Maryland that would remove some of this early burden.

The fourth theme investigated will be town planning and settlement. This section will examine the form of the two initial settlements and the subsequent growth of the two provinces, centering on questions of town planning and strategy. Some of the impetus for these decisions will also be linked to the preceding chapter on the economic landscape of the two locales.

The fifth theme, looking at the defensive strategies employed in Newfoundland and Maryland, builds upon the prior area of inquiry. The approaches that the two sets of colonists took to ensure their safety offers important insight into the initial design of the fortified communities at Ferryland and St. Mary's and the larger settlements that they would become.

The settlement questions flow into the sixth theme—the types of structures that were built within the first ten years of the two colonies. Using a blend of historical documentation and archaeological data, the architecture, function, and internal layout of these dwellings, economic structures, and religious spaces will be examined. Where many of these structures such as dwellings, were constructed in stages, or where the same functional spaces changed over time, these developments are also discussed.

Finally, this analysis will conclude with an overview of the aforementioned lines of inquiry and a discussion of these results focusing on a comparison of the two colonies.

The complex and often dissimilar nature of the two Calvert-sponsored settlements does not allow for an effective comparison of every aspect. Instead, the conclusion and discussion will focus on those elements of the colonial economies, settlement strategies, population makeup, and so forth that will contribute to our understanding of how and why various aspects of these projects were implemented and developed in one colony and not the other.

Chapter 2

Theoretical, Methodological, Geographical, Historical, and Archaeological Contexts

2.1 Theoretical and Methodological Context

2.1.1 Theory

Although the research questions were not formulated under the guidance of any one specific theoretical framework, it would be an oversight not to acknowledge the theories that in many ways oriented the scholarship.

Agency theory informed this dissertation in that it accounted for the role that individuals played in planning and developing the two studied colonies. These agents made decisions based on their past experiences, economic and religious goals, and other personal motivations.

A second guiding framework was a comparative colonialist approach. Instead of subscribing to and applying a generalizing theory of colonialism, this dissertation applied a comparative perspective revealed through varying accounts of colonial experience in North America to explain and understand the formation and evolution of the two Calvert colonies. Comparative colonialism allowed me to ask questions about how and why these colonies developed differently despite having common roots.

2.1.2 Method

The goal of this project was to produce a narrative of the Calvert families' colonial endeavors. In order to achieve this research objective, I conducted a literature review of all aspects of the Calvert family history and their Newfoundland and Maryland

colonies. The secondary sources and discussions with other scholars often led to the examination of primary documents. These materials were accessed through published compilations, online databases, and archival visits to Canada, the United States, and Great Britain. Archaeological data pertaining to the primary sites of inquiry was accessed at The Colony of Avalon and Historic St. Mary's City.

Additionally, independent archaeological fieldwork was conducted at Ferryland, Newfoundland in order to reveal aspects of the Calvert-period defenses at the site. In 2009 and 2010 I led excavations focused on the southeast corner of the fortified settlement. In 2009 a series of east-west oriented 1 m (3 ft 3 in.) wide trenches were placed to locate and follow portions of the eastern perimeter trench of the colony. After finding and mapping the orientation of this defensive feature, additional excavations took place in an attempt to locate evidence of the 1621 palisade that was positioned just to the west of the ditch. In 2010 I focused my investigation on the southern border of the settlement. In addition to reexcavating features now understood to be evidence of the southern palisade, additional north-south oriented trenches were placed at intervals along the plateau to the south of the early settlement. Evidence of a shallow trench was found and a series of test trenches were placed to the west to follow the feature.

This project was a quintessential historical archaeology in that it used both historical and archaeological datasets to better understand both why and how past events took place. The documentary sources pertained to the Calvert family; those individuals they married, befriended, hired, partnered with, argued against, and physically fought. These relationships, whether they took place prior to the colonial attempts, during the projects, or between the two, all played a profound role in the motivations and decision-

making that came to define Avalon and Maryland. The archaeological investigation examined the available record of every structure that was erected in the two early colonies; again, heavily relying on the corresponding documents to fill the gaps or add context to the physical manifestation of decision-making.

2.2 Geographical Contexts

2.2.1 Newfoundland

The site of the original settlement at Ferryland is located approximately 80 km (50 m) from St. John's, Newfoundland on the east coast of the Avalon Peninsula (Figure 1). Geographically, Ferryland marks one of the first landfalls for vessels traveling across the Atlantic from Europe and this must have been one of the considerations for establishing the plantation there (Figure 2). The precise location chosen for Calvert's settlement, The Pool, was a small protected harbor within the larger harbor of Ferryland (Figure 3). This harbor is located on the north side of a long, relatively thin, east-west trending isthmus extending into the Atlantic known as The Downs. The Ferryland settlement was established on the southern edge of the harbor between the waterline and the gently rising hill to the south. To the west is a narrow strip of beach that connected the isthmus with the mainland, practically forming an island. The environment of the eastern coast of Newfoundland is subject to a humid climate with relatively cool summers and a late spring. The weather, coupled with limited topsoil, produces large tracts of low scrubby deciduous trees, expansive barrens composed of low grasses, and drowned marshy interior wetlands.

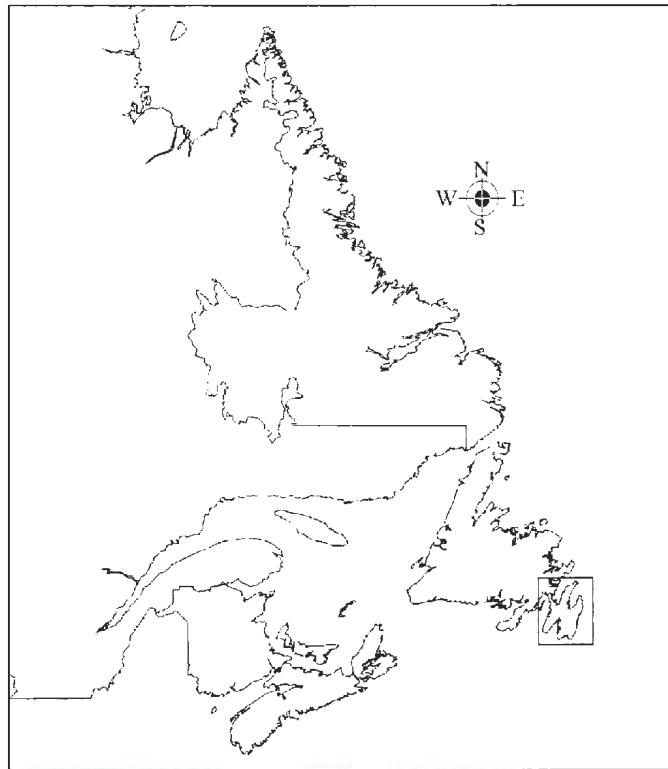


Figure 1. Map of eastern North America framing the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland. Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

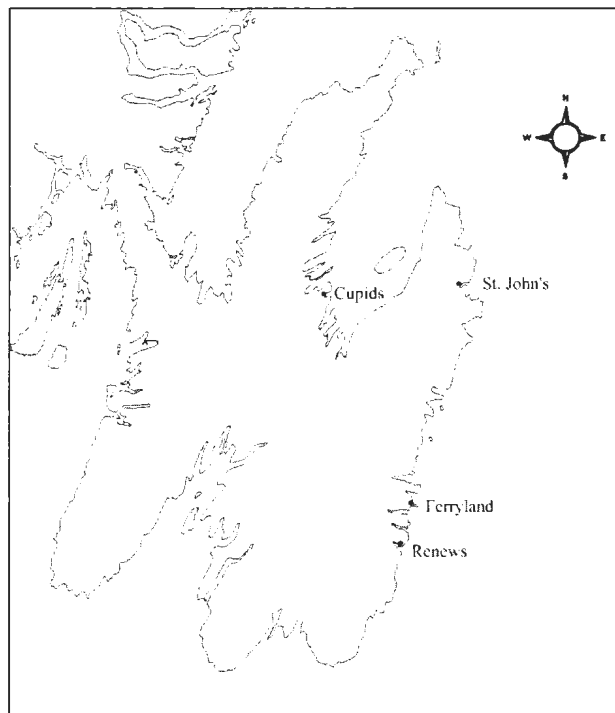


Figure 2. Map of Avalon Peninsula showing Ferryland. Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.



Figure 3. Aerial photograph of Ferryland Harbor showing The Pool. Image courtesy of James A. Tuck, Colony of Avalon Foundation.

2.2.2 Maryland

St. Mary's City is located in the modern State of Maryland, approximately 97 km (60 m) southeast of Washington D.C., on the shore of the St. Mary's River (Figure 4). The St. Mary's River feeds into the Potomac, which in turn flows into the Chesapeake Bay. The geologic forces that scraped Newfoundland clean of topsoil were also responsible for the formation of Maryland. Shaped as a result of the recession of the glaciers 10,000 years ago, the melt water flooded the region and formed what has been described as "a gridiron of watery streets" running east-west off of the north-south oriented Chesapeake Bay (Stone 1987:6). The site of the first settlement was on a large and level plain composed of high clay and sand bluffs (Figure 5). This region of Maryland is a subtropical climate zone prone to hot humid summers and relatively mild winters. The environment is host to diverse vegetation dominated by large deciduous trees in both the well-drained terraces and marshy lowlands.

2.3 European Utilization and Settlement Contexts

The seventeenth century was a period in English history which saw an intensive focus on the colonization of North America. These New World ambitions coincided with the ongoing economic expansion of English interests across the globe in an attempt to minimize a trade imbalance that had troubled successive monarchs and their governments for centuries. It is within this context of intertwined motivations of settlement and economics that the Calvert family became involved in their New World enterprises. The initial aims of financial success and the enlargement of English territories and power were present in both Calvert colonies but a shift occurred halfway through the first decade of

the Newfoundland enterprise. This change, the desire of the Lords Baltimore to provide settlements where they and their fellow English Roman Catholics could freely practice their faith, represented a religious issue deeply rooted in English society. From the reign of Henry VIII, and the subsequent split of the Catholic Church and Church of England under Elizabeth I, English followers of Roman Catholicism found themselves in an increasingly hostile environment. Barred from public office and subject to cumbersome recusancy fines, even the Catholic gentry suffered. These aspects, coupled with the illegality of a practicing clergy, caused many to look beyond the borders of England for religious concord. When George Calvert reverted to his childhood faith he saw Avalon, and subsequently Maryland, as a way to remain a loyal Englishman yet have the freedom to follow his chosen beliefs. These issues frame the social and political context of this study and will be further referenced in subsequent chapters.

2.3.1 Newfoundland Exploration and Colonization

The Island of Newfoundland has the longest history of European utilization of any region in North America. Beginning in the eleventh century, Norse colonists came to the island and settled at present-day L'Anse aux Meadows where for a few years a small population occupied the first European settlement in North America. After the subsequent abandonment of the site, it would be centuries before the island would once again play a role in the European world. The island was first officially explored by Englishmen in 1497 when an expedition led by John Cabot explored the Newfoundland coast on behalf of Henry VII (Pope 2004:13). Not long after, the region saw intensified use by European migratory fishermen.

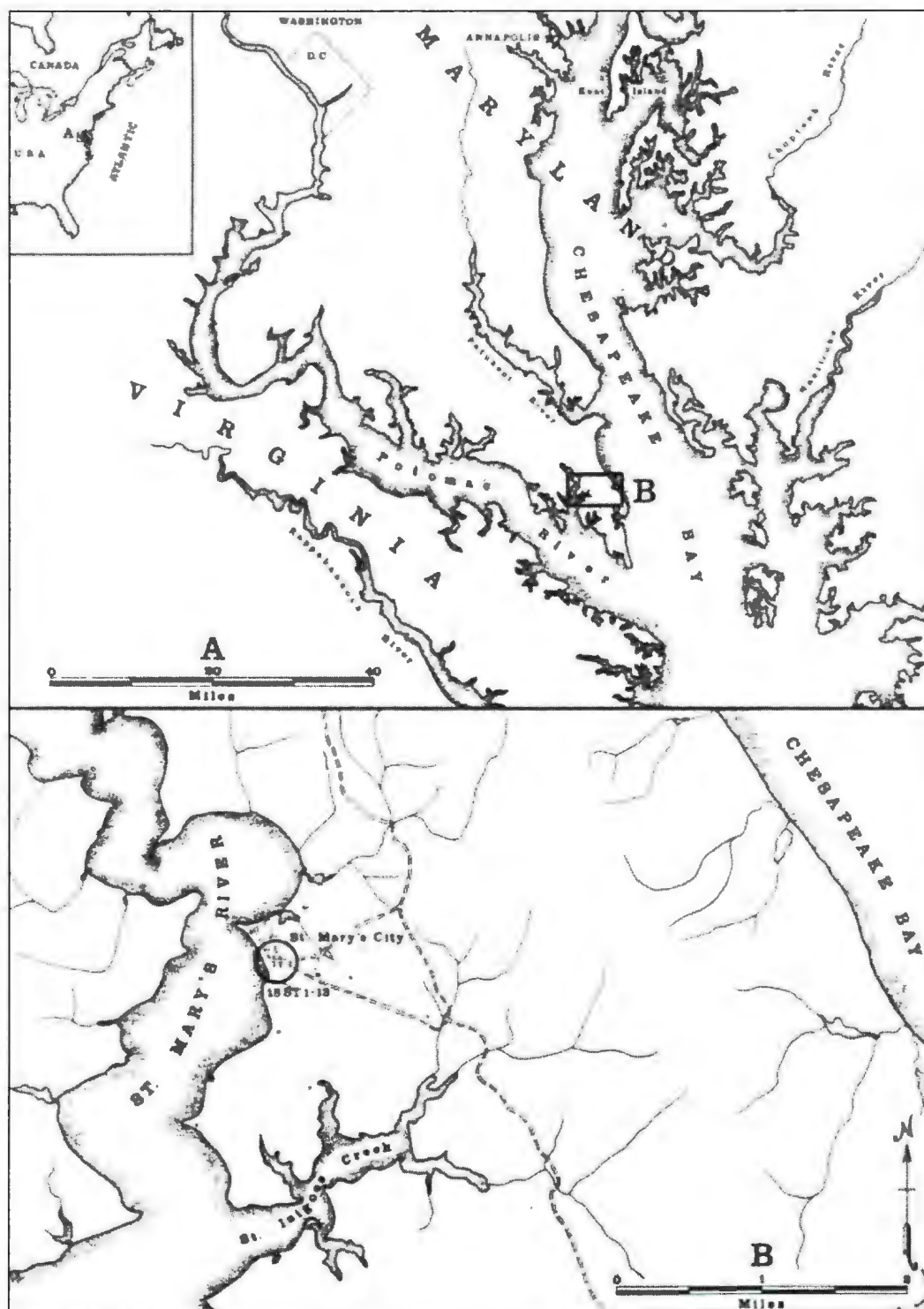


Figure 4. Map showing eastern North America, the Chesapeake Bay, and St. Mary's City and environs. Image courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.



Figure 5. Composite aerial photograph of St. Mary's City (up is north). Image courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

Ceramic evidence from Ferryland points to the use of the harbor by Basque, Breton, Portuguese, and Spanish fishermen in the early part of the sixteenth century (Tuck 1996:28; Pope and Batt 2008).

Home to one of the world's richest fish stocks, Newfoundland would see a consistent increase in the numbers of fishing vessels that voyaged to its coasts in the subsequent centuries. Notwithstanding the earlier English exploitation of the fishery, the first successful English settlement on the Island of Newfoundland was established at Cupids in 1610 by John Guy of Bristol on behalf of the Newfoundland Company. This organization, received a grant for the island with aims to promote settlement and bolster the English fishery. Though Cupids continued to be developed for the next decade, growth was slow. As a result, the company sought to raise capital and encourage others to sponsor settlements by selling off portions of their grant. The Welsh scholar Sir William Vaughan purchased one of these portions in 1616 and in the subsequent years attempted to establish a colony at Renews on the east coast of what would become the Avalon Peninsula (Cell 1982:25). Vaughan's settlement attempts appear to have met with little success which in part led to the division and sale of portions of his grant.

2.3.2 Ferryland and Avalon

In February of 1620, George Calvert, as part of his duties in the Privy Council was selected to evaluate Captain Richard Whitbourne's proposal for Newfoundland colonization. It has been suggested that the secretary's involvement in this committee first piqued his interest in the island (Menard 1985:16). Sometime before 1621 Calvert was introduced to Vaughan and learned of his interest in selling portions of his Newfoundland

property. There is little evidence suggesting how George Calvert became acquainted with Vaughan. One of the more likely possibilities was through Vaughan's brother John (Gaulton and Miller 2009:113). Despite the method of introduction, by 1621 Calvert decided to go forward with the purchase of a swath of Vaughan's land situated on Newfoundland's eastern peninsula. At the easternmost flank of this land grant was Ferryland Harbor. On 26 June 1621 Captain Edward Wynne, the man chosen by Calvert to lead his initial efforts in Newfoundland, set sail from Plymouth, England. In early August, Wynne and a small group of workers arrived at Ferryland and promptly began construction and development of the settlement.

In 1623 George Calvert petitioned for and received from James I a much larger portion of Newfoundland containing what he had already purchased from Vaughan. As his land was hitherto under the umbrella of the Newfoundland Company grant which had in turn been sold to Vaughan, a chartered grant would formalize and solidify his holdings (Cell 1969:92). Initially, Calvert was able to use his influence at court to secure at the end of 1622 a "Grant to Sir George Calvert, and his heirs of the whole country of Newfoundland" (James I 1622). This grant however did not pass in its current form, probably due to Newfoundland Company protests and that it encroached on so many existing land grants on the island (Cell 1982:258; Krugler 2004:81). Consequently, in the spring of 1623 Calvert received a charter including the newly defined boundaries under the name of the Province of Avalon (Figure 6).



Figure 6. Detail of John Mason's 1625 map included in William Vaughan's (1625) *Cambrensiu Caroleia*. Image courtesy of Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

The first reference to the origins of the name come from a 1625 letter by Father Simon Stock who wrote of the province claiming: "we have called it Avalon" continuing that the choice was an homage to "the land where Saint Joseph of Arimathea first preached the Faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ in Britain" (1625). Confirmation of these origins can be found in two collaborating documents written in the second half of the seventeenth century, one of which was possessed by the Calvert family (Codignola 1988:15). The finalized grant was larger than the one Calvert had purchased from Vaughan but restricted to portions of what would become the Avalon Peninsula (Figure 7). The new charter still included Newfoundland Company lands, suggesting they acquiesced, thinking that Calvert's connections at court could assist their mutual aims at Newfoundland colonization (Cell 1969:93). What had initially been land granted to the Newfoundland Company, then sold to Vaughan, who in turn sold to Calvert, became Calvert's through the direct license of the monarch (Krugler 2004:81).

One of the most important clauses in the Avalon charter provided that Calvert and his heirs would hold the charter "as any Bishop of Durham, within the Bishoppricke or County Palatine of Durham in oure Kingdome of England" (James I 1623). The Durham Palatinate would have been a familiar institution to a North Yorkshireman like Calvert, a region "heavily under the influence of Durham" (Thornton 2001:246). In fact, Calvert's early education may have been at Durham and his friend Sir Toby Matthew was (perhaps not coincidentally) the son of the Bishop of Durham (Thornton 2001:247).

Fundamentally, the formation of Avalon as a palatinate province effectively made Calvert the king of his domain only "to be holden" to the English monarch "in Capite by Knightes service", which was a tenorial and military contract (James I 1623).

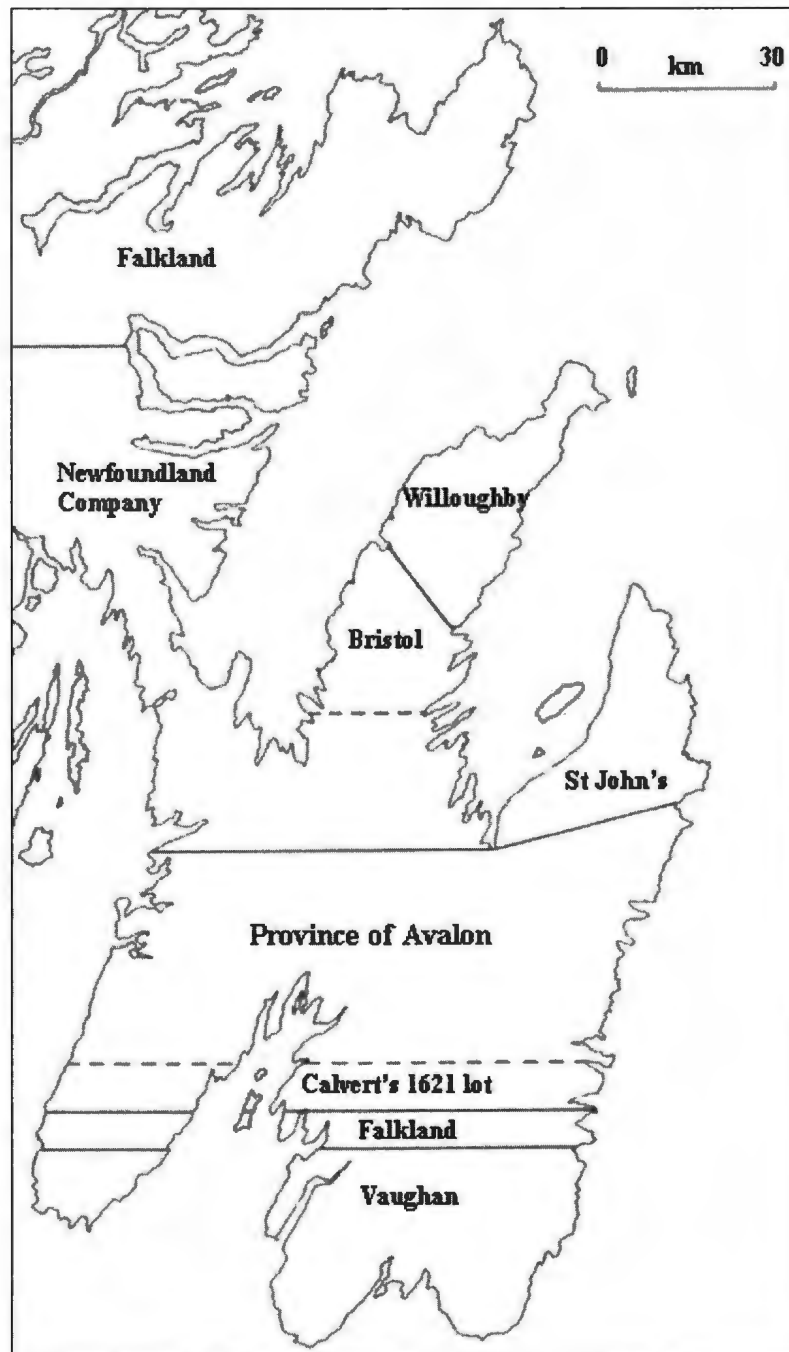


Figure 7. Map of Avalon Peninsula showing Newfoundland Company land allotments. Image adapted from (Cell 1982:21).

The grant of lands in *capite* meant that upon the death of the tenant, the crown was entitled to a portion of the rent from the following year. The knight's service confirmed that Baltimore would assist the monarch in a time of war (Sparks 1846:25).

Many past historians have seen Calvert's implementation of the palatine system as a medieval throwback. However, research has conclusively shown that this scheme of independent dominions "were not antiquarian memories but vigorous survivals" (Thornton 2001:250). This structure of rule was historically, as it was in the early modern period, a necessity for peripheral regions that required the type of sovereign leadership to defend and rule in hostile and distant locales far from the centers of state. Seventeenth-century North America epitomized these outlying regions of English rule (Thornton 2001:255). The failings of many English New World and Irish settlement ventures may have led Calvert to pursue these rights for himself and his heirs for Newfoundland and later, for Maryland (Thornton 2001:239). A further liberty of the charter was a final clause which touched upon any future "doubts, or questions, [that] should arise concerning the true sence, or understanding" of any aspect of the Avalon document "that at all tymes & in all things such Interpretacion be made thereof, & allowed in any of our Courtes, whatsoever as shall be Judged most advantagious, & favourable" to Calvert and his heirs (James I 1623). This was a truly generous grant, fitting Calvert's long service to the monarchy.

After years of unsatisfactory economic results, George Calvert (then Lord Baltimore) decided to venture to Newfoundland personally with a group of new settlers and turn around the fortunes of his undertaking. Further disappointment met Baltimore. After a period that included warfare with the French, religious turmoil in the province,

inadequate food, and harsh weather, Calvert turned his gaze and colonial aspirations southward and left what he referred to as “this unfortunate place” (1629). On the eve of his departure from Ferryland, Baltimore wrote to the king and his two friends Cottington and Wentworth regarding his plans. To Charles I he composed that despite having “strong temptations to leave all proceeding in plantations” he was yet inclined “to these kynd of works” and petitioned the king to give him a new grant within the bounds of the newly defunct Virginia territory with the same generosity shown by James I for Avalon (Calvert 1629b). Though King Charles’ response would advise Baltimore “to desist from further prosecuting your designes that way” and that men of Calvert’s “condition and breeding are fitter for other employments, then the framing of new plantations, Which commonly have rugged & laborious beginnings” the baron had already departed for Virginia to pursue his colonial goals (1629). To his friends at court Calvert asked for their continued support, writing to Cottington “I very heartily entreate you to procure me with as much speede as may be” a grant of “a Portion of some good large Territory not yet passed to any other” and from Wentworth he hoped to continue to “have your Lordshipps favor” in his New World affairs (1629; 1629c). Baltimore could have heeded his monarch’s advice and returned to England where he could “enjoye both the libertie of Subject, and such respects” as his “former services and late endeavours justly deserve” (Charles I 1629). However, he did not, writing that “not knowing how better to employ the poore remaynder of my dayes then...enlarging your Majesties empire in this part of the world” he set sail (Calvert 1629b). In a final letter from Ferryland to Wentworth he wrote of his commitment to the cause:

as our English proverb is, over shoes over boots, since I am waded thus farre, and that there is grave probability of passing this foord or rather gulfe of difficulty in the end, I will thorough by the grace of God, having better meanes in this place where I am for all things necessary to present a plan entire then another man can have that beginnes a new out of England (Calvert 1629c).

2.3.3 The Chesapeake

The Chesapeake Bay and its environs was one of the first regions that the English attempted to settle in the New World. Though the earliest attempt at Roanoke was situated on the Outer Banks of what would become North Carolina, it would still fall into the same mid-Atlantic corridor of North America comprised of North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland. Though Roanoke was doomed to fail, it would be the next attempt, at Jamestown, that would endure. Based on the banks of the James River, a southern tributary of the Chesapeake Bay, this 1607 settlement would later serve as the primary model for St. Mary's, Maryland.

In the lands comprising the future Province of Maryland, the first European settlements came in the form of trading posts designed to store goods and maintain employees who engaged in trade with the various Native American populations in the region. Though there is evidence for diverse Virginian interests operating in the bay during the first quarter of the 1600s, few of them left a significant record or any kind of permanent settlement in the tributaries north of the James. This was to change however in the early 1630s with the trade settlement established on Kent Island in the northern Chesapeake Bay. The first Lord Baltimore's 1629 visit to Virginia had given him the opportunity to survey the region and his initial desire was for land south of the established settlements (Wilhelm 1884:19). Using his strong connections at Court, Calvert pursued

his new grant (Krugler 1981:392). Baltimore wrote in early 1632 “I am about a new patent of some part of that large Territory unplanted which was once within their old Patent, and not near their Plantation” (Calvert 1632). The tract of land initially deigned for Calvert, Carolana, was prepared in February of 1632 and the grant stretched south from the James to the Chowan River in modern-day Virginia and North Carolina (Wilhelm 1884:147; Browne 1890:30). Immediately, members of the recently dissolved Virginia Company raised opposition to the grant claiming their intentions to grow sugarcane in the region (Lee 1889:222; Browne 1890:30). Fearing a drawn-out legal battle (one his son would encounter anyway) Baltimore capitulated to the protests, and began to pursue a new grant (Lee 1889:222). The adjudicators of the grants focused then upon the lands north of the James and south of New England, in part based upon the intrusion of the Dutch in that region (Lee 1889:30). George Calvert died on 15 April 1632 and 66 days later on 20 June, the Maryland charter became legal. Though the Chesapeake province would become Cecil Calvert’s endeavor, it was fundamentally his father’s “legacy” and the 1635 *Relation of Maryland* demonstrated this influence claiming the second Lord Baltimore was very much “pursuing his Fathers intentions” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:58; Krugler 2004:127).

2.3.4 St. Mary’s and Maryland

With the 1632 passing of the grant and the subsequent Maryland charter, a new level of English involvement in the Chesapeake began. The first concrete reference to the name of the province came from a Privy Council order between the drafting of the initial and final charters, stating the region to be named “Mariland in memory and honor of the

Queene” (Privy Council 1632). Charles I’s wife Henrietta Maria was also referenced in the subsequent Maryland promotional literature which included similar sentiments (White 1633:1; Hawley and Lewger 1635:1). Despite the precise origins of the name of the province, the title Maryland may have signified more than just the name of the queen. Notwithstanding Baltimore’s alleged objections to the insinuation, one researcher claims the explicit association “with the Marian cult, and this made it an avowedly Catholic colony” (Quinn 1974:396). The gentry involved in early Maryland certainly reinforce this assertion.

This land grant (Figure 8), described by some as the most generous in its rights granted by an English monarch, was made even more liberally than the Avalon charter to be held in “free and common soccage, by fealty onely” in contrast to the knight’s service in Newfoundland (Hawley and Lewger 1635:62; Browne 1890:36; Hall 1902:29). Interestingly, when George Calvert was reissued his Irish lands in 1625 they were granted “in free and common socage by fealty only for all other rents” (James I 1625). The alteration was designed by the Calverts to reduce the feudal obligations of rent and military responsibilities that could be called of the proprietor in the case of the earlier charter for the new responsibility of a rent with significantly reduced duties to the crown (Menard and Carr 1982:176). Socage was by definition a rent free of service and fealty and was a relationship of loyalty of the proprietor which in turn obliged the king to defend his granted peoples (Sparks 1846:25). This new association with the monarchy was defined by one historian as “a fixed rental in lieu of all services” (Browne 1890:35).

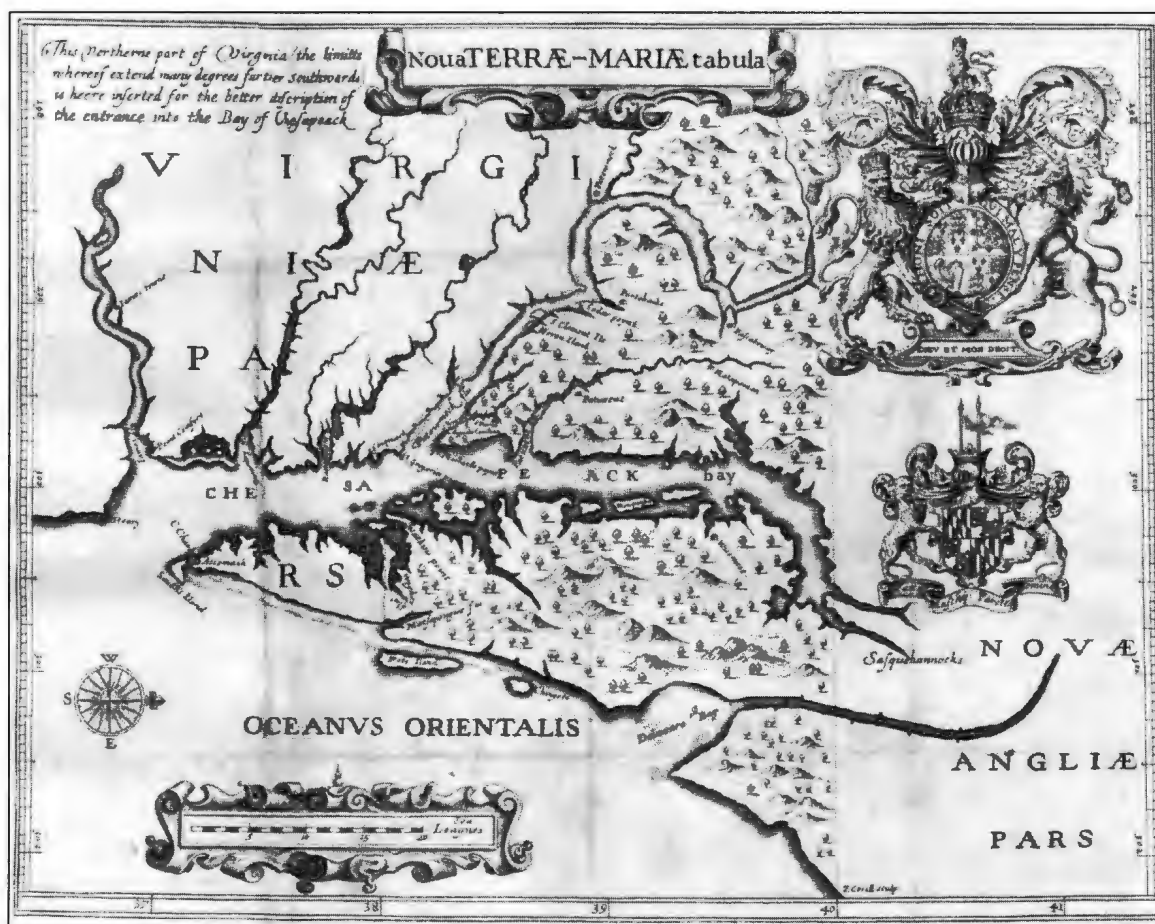


Figure 8. 1635 *Nova Terræ-Mariæ Tabula* map of Maryland (north is right). Image courtesy of Maryland State Archives.

This rent, the only fee for this monumental grant was a line included in the charter stating the yearly payment to the monarch of “two Indian Arrowes of those parts, to be delivered at Our said Castle of Windsor, every yeere on the Tuesday in Easterweeke” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:62). The charter was not a unique document; it clearly evolved from the Avalon commission, and was nearly identical (Menard and Carr 1982:174-175). The differences that did exist however resulted from the Calvert’s experiences with their Newfoundland colony and the religious conversion of the family that took place after the Avalon charter was written (Krugler 2004:122).

The Maryland proprietorship also came with ample power, including the same clause as found in the Avalon document, granting Baltimore and his heirs with the rights of a Count Palatine. The resulting Maryland palatinate was a “quasi-royal government” (Browne 1890:36). However, as in Avalon the proprietor’s powers were not absolute, the laws of the land had to be implemented “with the advise assent and approbation of the Free-men of the said Province” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:63; Menard and Carr 1982:196). Nonetheless, this did not sanction the freemen to design the edicts of Maryland, only to endorse those of the Lord Baltimore (Hall 1902:49).

One of the most significant differences of the Avalon and Maryland charters was in regard to religion. The modifications reflected both the religious aims of the venture, and the religious demographic of those involved. Though missionary activities were suggested by Stock in Newfoundland, the greater number of Native peoples and the larger clergy involvement of the Jesuits in Maryland made religious conversion a focus of the latter charter (Codignola 1988; Krugler 2004:123). The Maryland grant stated the region to be “inhabited by certaine barbarous people, having no knowledge of Almighty God”

and Baltimore was “excited with a laudable and pious zeale for the propagation of the Christian Faith” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:58). This spread of Christianity was a thinly-veiled reference to the significant interests of The Society of Jesus in the foundation of Maryland. Krugler suggests that the Jesuit involvement was reasonably public knowledge and patently the charter “in effect sanctioned a Catholic mission to the Indians” (2004b:275). George Calvert’s service to the Crown and his continued connections at court resulted in a surprisingly liberal charter. Ironically, though perhaps a blind eye was turned in regard to the Society’s involvement, other religious aspects of the grant were more restrictive to the Catholic leadership. As in Avalon, the Calverts were licensed to erect public religious structures but in Maryland these buildings were required to conform to the religious laws of England, a clause which perhaps a government official added (Hawley and Lewger 1635:60; Krugler 2004:124).

2.4 Archaeological Contexts

2.4.1 Ferryland, Newfoundland

The site of George Calvert’s Newfoundland colony has been continuously occupied (excluding the winter of 1696/7) since the 1621 arrival of Edward Wynne and his tradesmen. As a result of this protracted inhabitation, the exact site of the colonial settlement has survived in the oral history of the subsequent populations. For hundreds of years following the destruction of the Calvert-era buildings at the site, the inhabitants used the stone from these structures in their homes and elsewhere in the community. Therefore, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when historians began to take an interest in Newfoundland’s past, there survived within the community an oral

tradition of Baltimore's colony. Though many of the early studies of Ferryland may have fallen short in regard to certain historical accuracies, the proposed location of the first settlement around The Pool has always been correct.

Archaeological excavations at Ferryland have been carried out for more than three quarters of a century. The earliest scientific investigation of the site was conducted by Dr. Stanley Brooks, an avocational archaeologist from Maryland (Tuck 1996:24). Later, in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s further work was conducted at the Ferryland Pool by J.R. Harper of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, and Robert Barakat of Memorial University of Newfoundland (Tuck 1996:24). All of these early investigations recovered artifacts dating from the seventeenth-century English occupation of the site, although these excavations failed to conclusively locate architecture dating from the Calvert period. The location of these features would remain unknown until the next decade when Dr. James A. Tuck of Memorial University began to focus on the archaeology of Ferryland. Under Tuck's direction, initial testing of the area surrounding The Pool in the mid-1980s located architecture and artifactual evidence dating from the seventeenth century. After a brief hiatus, excavations resumed in 1992 and continue to the present, focusing on the occupation of the small harbor.

2.4.2 St. Mary's City, Maryland

In the mid nineteenth century, the author John P. Kennedy visited St. Mary's City and collected oral traditions relating to the first settlement of Maryland. Though used for his fictional book, these tales offer an important glimpse at the types of histories preserved within the community, accounts that often contain elements of the real events

which occurred in the past. The first scientific archaeological excavation of St. Mary's City was undertaken in the 1930s and 1940s by the architectural historian Henry Chandlee Forman. Forman's excavations revealed structures and artifacts dating from the seventeenth century and conclusively identified the area as the site of Lord Baltimore's first Maryland settlement. Based on Forman's discoveries, in 1966 the State of Maryland established Historic St. Mary's City (HSMC), a public museum for the interpretation of the history and archaeology of the site. Large-scale archaeology began in 1971 and the museum opened in 1984 and has been in operation up to the present, conducting annual excavations focused on the St. Mary's townlands (Miller 2003:229).

Chapter 3

The Proprietors

3.1 George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore

3.1.1 Early Years and Career

George Calvert was born in 1580 in the North Riding region of Yorkshire England (Krugler 2004:28, 2012 pers. comm.). He was the first son of Leonard Calvert and Alicia or Alice Crosland (see Figure 9). In 1592 there is a reference to George Calvert's early education in a document which indicates that Calvert was to "be kept at school at York" and later the same month, the details that he was to "learn with Mr. Fowberry now schoolmaster at Bilton" (Yorkshire High Commission 1592). Two years later, Calvert had traveled to London where on 28 June he matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford (Foster 1891:232). Of note is Calvert's entrance as a "pleb." or plebian, which is in stark contrast to his recognized genteel upbringing (Foster 1891:232). It has been suggested that this was either a mistake or an attempt by Calvert to save on entrance fees, since it is apparent that his father was a gentleman (Coakley 1984:256). Discussing the magnitude of a parent's investment in their child's education in the period, one historian calls their ability to meet the requirements for entrance into a college "a formidable burden" (Wrightson 1982:187). This encumbrance had become a social requirement for cultivating a young gentleman at the turn of the seventeenth century, producing "the gentleman scholar" (Wrightson 1982:188).

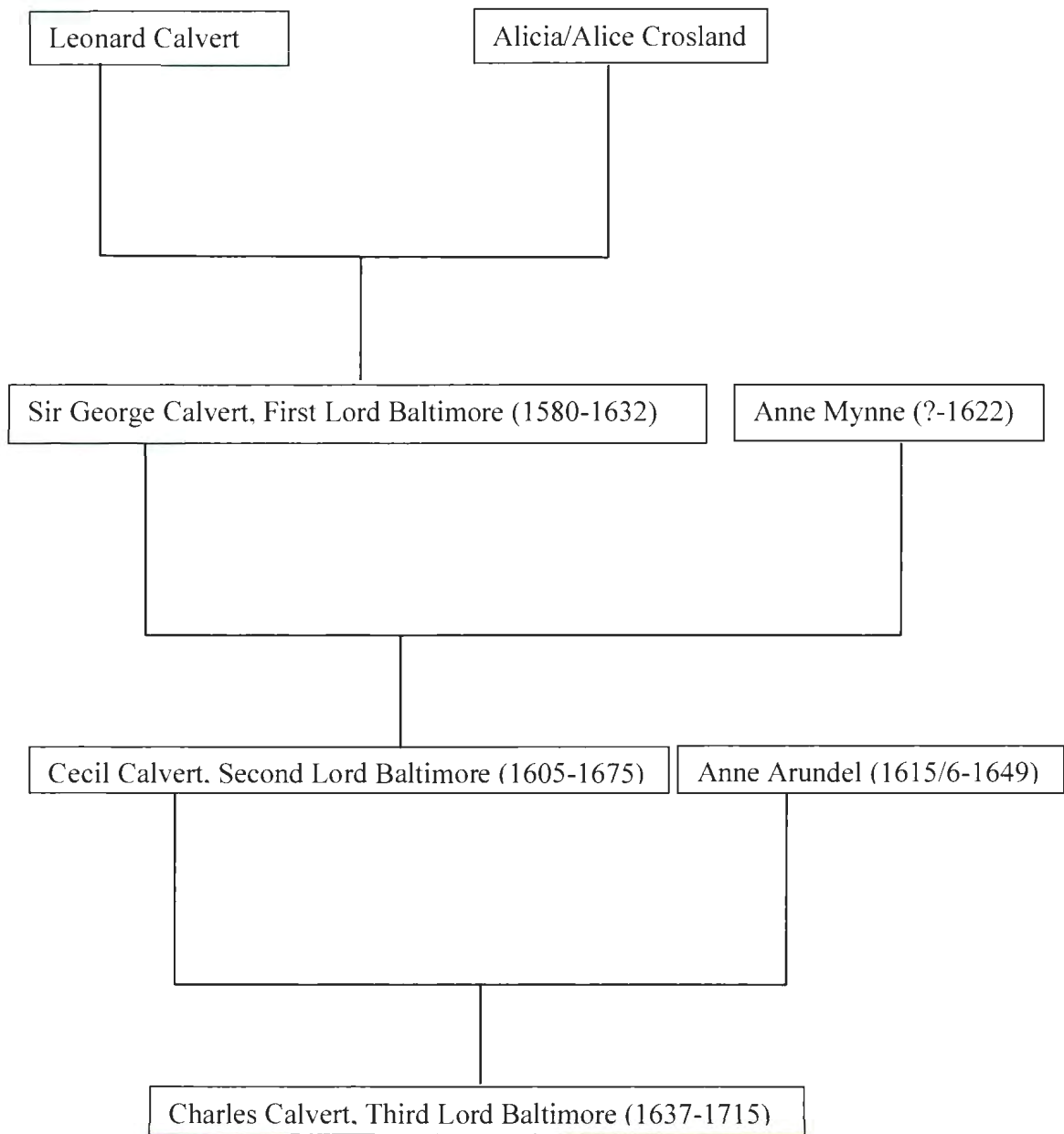


Figure 9. Calvert Family Lineages

Not without a touch of irony, one of the customary questions meeting outgoing students in 1597 debated whether or not “the planting of colonies strengthens rather than weakens a nation”, an endeavor that would occupy much of Calvert’s future energy (Smith 1931:123). In 1598 Calvert entered Lincoln’s Inn to study municipal law (Foster, J. 1891:232; Foster, J.W. 1983:54). Enrollment in an Inn of Court, as with Oxford, did not come without financial burden; the yearly charge for a student could exceed an annual fee of £40 (Wrightson 1982:187). Soon after the turn of the seventeenth century approximately 90 percent of enrolled students were from the highest social levels of English society and it was his relationship with these other young men that in many ways would mold Calvert’s future endeavors (Wrightson 1982:189). To complete ones studies at Lincoln’s Inn would on average take at least seven years, yet Calvert left after three to pursue career goals outside of law (Foster 1983:55).

Though there is little contemporary proof, the next year of Calvert’s life seems to have been engaged in a grand tour of Europe. The tour of various European countries to practice languages, view art and architecture, and so on, first became a popular and indeed social requirement of post-university genteel experiences during the period. This adventure of refinement was in many ways considered to be “the capstone to the education” for a young gentleman such as Calvert, destined for a governmental career (Foster 1983:53). From 1601 to 1603 Calvert’s activities left no documentary record. While there is no indication of the usual license to travel abroad, this does not discount Calvert’s suggested European residence (Foster 1983:55).

It has been proposed that Calvert first became involved in the English government through the age-old means of advancement, nepotism. In the spring of 1603 Calvert

arrived in England from France, carrying letters from the English ambassador to the secretary of state, Sir Robert Cecil (Foster 1983:55). This information reveals that Calvert had already been employed by Cecil, perhaps for an extended period (Foster 1983:55). A contemporary reference from another in the secretary's employ has been used to suggest that Calvert's career began as a clerk, courier, or other diminutive position; the latter post explaining his 1603 task (Foster 1983:56). Calvert's employment probably came with the assistance of his first cousin Ralph Ewens, who in the same period was granted a governmental office by none other than Sir Robert Cecil (Foster 1983:56).

Whatever the origins of his employment, Calvert quickly moved up in the hierarchy of Cecil's subordinates and through this association, the English government. By 1604 Calvert was Cecil's personal secretary and in 1606 was granted the likely-absentee office of Clerk of the Crown and assize in the Irish province of Connaught, his first governmental position outside his benefactor's staff. Calvert's organization and secretarial skills served him and his employer well. In 1609 he was made Clerk of the Signet and sat in the House of Commons for Cecil and the next year he obtained the office of Clerk of the Privy Council (Foster 1983:13; Krugler 2004:33). During this period, Calvert also served the king's interests on various diplomatic missions including voyages to France and Holland (Krugler 2004:35). In 1613 Calvert served on a commission which required him to travel to Ireland, an island which would later host one of his three settlement projects (Browne 1890:5).

Four years later in 1617, Calvert received a knighthood (Foster 1983:13). In 1619 Calvert "was sworn secretary" amid protests "that he thought himself unworthy to sit in that place so lately possessed by his noble lord and master" and made one of the two

principal secretaries of state by James I (Figure 10) (Chamberlain 1619; Krugler 2004:40). This position was at the very heart of the English government. Acting as a go-between for the king and Privy Council, the office was “the gears by which the monarch worked the Council and the Council moved the other parts of the bureaucracy” (Foster 1983:14). For more than half a decade Calvert worked to develop and implement the king’s political strategy and assist in the day-to-day functioning of the government (Krugler 2004b:270). An elaborate (and socially enhanced) pedigree and coat of arms were granted to Calvert during this period, a necessary foundation for the pinnacle of his governmental career. Coakley suggests it was Calvert’s career shift to secretary of state which warranted his family motto “*Fatti Maschii, Parole Femine*” or roughly masculine deeds and feminine words, with a suggested meaning similar to that adage of the twentieth-century American President Theodore Roosevelt’s “speak softly and carry a big stick” (1984:261).

The most personally significant chapter of government diplomacy that Calvert was involved with during his career was the Spanish Match, the negotiations with Spain to marry the Infanta, Maria Anna the daughter of King Phillip III with James I’s son Charles. The match was seen by many, including James I, as an arrangement that would bring stability and economic improvement to England. The responsibility of arranging this marriage and pursuing the complicated details of the contract in large part fell on Calvert. As a result, the secretary of state became associated with the Spanish Party or those in support of this marriage; a union which also received the support of much of the English Roman Catholic gentry, who saw an outcome they hoped, would result in relaxed anti-Catholic legislation and enforcement.



Figure 10. Miniature painting of George Calvert circa 1615-1620 by Peter Oliver. Image courtesy of the Walters Art Museum.

Not surprisingly, the match was largely unpopular, given the climate of anti-Spanish and Catholic sentiment rampant in England at the time. In 1623 and 1624 the negotiations utterly broke down, which resulted in the ostracism of Calvert and those sympathetic to the cause (Krugler 2004:94). During that period, Dudley Carleton wrote that "Secretary Calvert droops and keeps out of the way" (Chamberlain 1624). Increasingly uninvolved in governmental affairs, in part through the action of the royal favorite the Duke of Buckingham, Calvert claimed illness; although a 1624 account suggested his resignation was "not by ill health, but by fear of being displaced" (Figure 10) (Carleton 1624; Krugler 1977:489). In negotiations to depart from office, Calvert regained the goodwill of Buckingham who "assured him that he should have the option of refusing any offer made for his place" (Carleton 1624b). Receiving an ample recompense for his office, James I allowed Calvert to keep his position as a Privy Councilor and granted him an Irish barony (Browne 1890:13). Soon after, Calvert's reversion to Roman Catholicism was made public and with the death of the king and coronation of Charles I, Calvert was unwilling to swear the oaths required to remain in the Privy Council (Krugler 2004:85).

Although at one point called back to court by Charles I, in 1625 George Calvert's political career had effectively come to an end. The newly elevated Lord Baltimore was not defeated by his fall from government, for the first time he had the freedom to pursue his colonial and Irish interests that had taken the back seat to his secretaryship. Krugler observes that Calvert had changed; for the first time, "he acted boldly and with confidence", characteristics that he did not seem to previously possess (2001:11). While his land holdings were not the only focus of Baltimore's remaining years, they would consume a great part of his energies. Though the primary impetus for these projects

remained economic, his changed religious convictions also informed the decisions he was to make.

3.1.2 Religion

One of the most complicated aspects of George Calvert's life is the subject of his religion. One historian states "his boyhood and his last years bracketed his life in Roman Catholicism" (Foster 1983:4). However true, the man's spiritual transformations require a deeper analysis. Calvert's religious life can be divided into three phases; the first being his Roman Catholic upbringing for the first twelve years of life; the second, from the 1590s until 1624 where he was at least outwardly Protestant; and the third, his open practice of Roman Catholicism from 1625 until his death (Krugler 1978:510). It is certain that Calvert was born to Catholic parents. The North Riding of Yorkshire retained a strong Roman Catholic gentry community well into the seventeenth century. There are various records from the 1580s and 1590s reprimanding and fining Calvert's parents for failing to attend the state church, as well as various other indicators of their Roman Catholic faith (Krugler 2004:28). The harassment seems to have reached a pinnacle in 1592 when George and his brother were evidently discovered being educated by a Catholic tutor. As a result of this detection by the authorities, Calvert's father was forbidden "to have Catholic servants or schoolmaster in his house" along with "popish books or other trumpery or reliques of popery" (Yorkshire High Commission 1592b). Additionally, the head of household was forced to assert "that he, his wife and family would conform to the established religion" and his sons were sent away to be educated as discussed above (Yorkshire High Commission 1592b).

What occurred was the acceptance of the Church of England by the head of the Calvert household, in what was a common necessity for the Roman Catholic community in late Tudor and Stuart England. To protect the families' holdings and make the husband eligible for public office, the husband would often submit while the wife would frequently continue to practice her original faith (Coakley 1984:258; Krugler 2004:29). From this sprang Calvert's Protestant period which would span the great majority of his life and allow him to reach the highest echelons of the English government, a feat generally impossible at that time for a Roman Catholic. George Calvert's outward acceptance and open practice of Protestantism would span the period from 1592 to 1624 (Krugler 2004:30). However, the man's religious commitments during this period are far from straightforward. A Catholic or Protestant approach to Calvert's faith is too limiting "and obscures the nuances" of England's religious landscape during the period (Krugler 1978:509). Instead, the contemporary term schismatic best describes Calvert, someone who openly embraced and practiced the official faith of England while inwardly and perhaps privately retained aspects of his Roman Catholic convictions (Krugler 1978:510). Sir David Kirke would refer to Calvert as such in October of 1639, claiming that Newfoundland did not treat such "Scismaticks" kindly (1639).

Documentary material suggestive of Calvert's clandestine Catholicism comes from a 1621 letter regarding his commission of a painting with decidedly Catholic iconography (Loomie 1996). Someone who had access to Calvert's London house at that time wrote that he was "fully devoted to our religion and I consider him to be more a Catholic than anything else" going on to describe the man's "private chamber" where he displayed "several paintings of Our Lady and other saints, which he valued highly" (Van

Male 1621). Calvert learned the practical necessity of religious compliance in English society (Krugler 1978:511). Calvert's eventual reversion to Roman Catholicism resulted from a series of interactions and occurrences in the life of the secretary of state. One possible cause was the death of his first wife Anne in 1622. Another may have been Calvert's increasing involvement in the furtherance of the Spanish Match, this debate brought him into frequent contact with various English Catholic gentry who favored the proposed marriage (Krugler 1978:519). It was the debate over this marriage of the prince that led to the circumstances most responsible for Calvert's religious reversion. After a series of political developments Calvert found himself in a place where retirement seemed the only honorable course of action. According to the Roman Catholic Father Simon Stock, who would in this period become involved in the Avalon Province, he had "gained for Our Lord...two councillors of the King's Privy Council" one of which was a "lord of a land some three weeks' distance by sea", clearly referring to Calvert (1624; 1625). Though he had retained his place on the Privy Council after his reversion, Calvert's religious convictions caused him to exit from the scene informing the king that as he was now known "to be a Catholic, he could not now serve him in the same high office without exciting jealousy in others" (Salvetti 1625). It should come as no surprise that a man who had spent his life hiding his religious core to the advantage of his career would wait until that vocation had come to an end before officially reverting to Catholicism (Krugler 1978:525).

Thus began the third stage of Calvert's religious life where he openly and unabashedly practiced the religion of his youth. Calvert's long government career had secured him the political allies necessary for an English Catholic to thrive and be able to

effectively develop his colonial projects. In a period where Roman Catholicism was deemed in many ways unacceptable by the English government and population, Calvert was able to persevere through his level of wealth, status, and his court connections (Krugler 2001:12). It was during this period that Calvert married again. This time there was no documentary record of the nuptials, not surprisingly so, given that the Catholic wedding mass was an illegal institution (Krugler 1978:512).

As a Roman Catholic in a Protestant society, Calvert understood that he would need to find a way to practice his faith yet continue to pursue his colonial goals. In Avalon, his approach was tested. To this end Calvert and the majority of his family voyaged to Newfoundland in hopes of establishing themselves at Ferryland in an environment of economic gain and religious freedom. However, it is important to acknowledge that the Calverts came from the socioeconomic elite that could afford to practice their faith more-or-less openly, even in England. Calvert attempted to create a society populated by both Protestants and Catholics, where individuals could practice the Christian faith of their choice without rancor. The implementation of this religious philosophy and the results will be discussed in length elsewhere. After returning from North America in 1629, Calvert became involved in a religious debate facing English Catholics and the structure of the church in that country (Krugler 1979:53). It was out of this debate that the Calvert relationship with the Jesuit order was to develop, for they shared many of the same views on how Catholicism should operate in a country where it was effectively illegal (Krugler 1979:54). It would be this religious order that greatly assisted (and tested) the Maryland enterprise, which was George's brainchild and his son's legacy. Calvert used his religious experiences in Newfoundland to shape the

direction that Maryland would take. In some ways Avalon was the test and Maryland the implementation. George Calvert saw religion as a dividing rather than a unifying agent and attempted to separate faith-based beliefs from the coalescing principles of colonization and economic gain (Krugler 1979:55).

3.1.3 Finances and Colonial Projects

Born of genteel stock and the first son of a man with at least reasonable country wealth, George Calvert stood to inherit his father's estate. From his early career, Calvert actively pursued new sources of income for his household. George's employment with Robert Cecil, and later the government, also did not come without financial benefit. The position of Clerk of the Privy Council would have provided an annual salary in the region of £1,000 and one estimate of Calvert's annual income while secretary of state was closer to £6,000 (Rabb 1967:57; Menard 1985:9). As he moved up in office, so did his salary as well as the rewards of the rampant gift-giving associated with the early Stuart government. Calvert himself reciprocated these favors such as the "jewel" he had given to Buckingham (which was subsequently returned), thinking Villiers was responsible for his advancement to secretary of state (Krugler 2001:8). George Calvert, like so many English gentlemen of the period, saw the appeal in owning stock in the various trade companies that were expanding England's economic presence throughout the globe in the seventeenth century. In 1609 Calvert first invested in the stock of the East India Company with an outlay of £25 (Krugler 2004:78). As the years progressed, Calvert ventured increasing funds in the trading company with his stock valued at approximately £2,000 in 1629 (Rabb 1967:57; Coakley 1976:6). Calvert also pursued other sources of income,

including petitioning the king for support, which was rewarded in 1621 when he received a lucrative windfall for collecting the duties on the growing quantities of silk imported into England from the Far East (Krugler 2004:91).

Calvert also began to look into the potential of investing in New World projects from an early date. The same year of his initial investment in the East India Company he joined the second incarnation of the Virginia Company. His later involvement with this colony, after the government had repealed the charter, would lead to severe animosity between some Virginians and the Calvert-sanctioned Marylanders (Browne 1890:15). Virginia was not his only connection with New World affairs, from 1621 on he ventured significant sums in the development of his own settlement in Newfoundland. Soon after, in 1622, Calvert joined seventeen other councilors for the Council for New England, a speculative company proposing a new colony called Nova Albion in present-day Maine (Browne 1890:15; Menard and Carr 1982:173). Though that project never seems to have amounted to much, it shows Calvert's increased involvement in colonial ventures during the period (Menard 1985:14). Also in the early 1620s, Calvert was investing in property closer to home. Purchases of land in Yorkshire and in the vicinity of London were all aspects of what Foster calls "his drive to build an estate and lay the foundations of family" (1983:20). Furthermore, from his lands in Yorkshire and elsewhere he may have received additional funds from leasing the various structures and properties found on his manors (Mannion 2004:16). Another important aspect of Calvert's overall investment scheme was the grant of 2 Irish tracts he received in early 1622 making up nearly 1,600 ha (4,000 ac) in County Longford (Mannion 2004:11). Though there is little evidence for

Calvert's development of these properties during the period, his later involvement in Ireland is more telling.

Following Calvert's departure from government service in 1625 his financial situation changed. No longer could he rely on the salary and perks of office; instead, he was forced to depend primarily on his own investments. Upon his 1625 retirement, Calvert was allowed the right to sell the secretaryship—for which he received the ample sum of £6,000 (Green 1858:472). Calvert's perseverance and the king's goodwill resulted in a 21 year annual stipend of £1,000 for his former duty on silk importation (Krugler 2004:117). Also, as partial remuneration for his years of service, Calvert was granted an Irish baronial title. Though Charles Mayes refers to these titles as "cheap rewards for service", they did not come without economic benefit (1958:235). It was the right of the receiver to keep or sell such titles worth approximately £1,500, of which Calvert chose the former, becoming the Irish Baron Baltimore of Baltimore (Green 1858:472; Mayes 1958:238). In 1625, Baltimore moved his family to Ireland where he purchased the manor of Clohamon. The economic goals of Calvert's Irish estate were probably focused upon the timber resources of the region. Clohamon was situated on the River Slaney, an artery for the movement of timber to the larger towns of County Wexford (Mannion 2004:27).

Though deposed from office and having spent much of his fortunes and available credit on his Newfoundland venture, Calvert continued to pursue the advancement of his economic goals. The investment of tens of thousands of pounds sterling in Avalon clearly drained the Calvert family resources. A letter describing his state after returning to England in 1630 claimed he "hath not the means left to support him here, without some help" and that his proposed return to Clohamon would result in "the barbarous carriage of

the Irish (little differing in that part from savages)” and his “present fortunes, will quickly devour him” (Robinson 1630). This was not to be the case. Calvert was able, with the help of his longtime friends in the government, to breathe new life into his finances and colonial aims. Working with his son Cecil and other family members, Calvert successfully set in motion the grant and charter that would facilitate the creation of the Province of Maryland, ultimately the Calvert family’s most successful economic venture.

3.2 Cecilius Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore

3.2.1 Early Years and Career

The documentary record has not been as forthcoming with the early life of the second Lord Baltimore. Cecil was born in 1605, the first child of George and Anne Calvert. He was born in the earliest years of his father’s career, at a time that must have required nearly all of the latter’s energies. The name Cecil was in fact a nod to George’s employer, and godfather to his son, Sir Robert Cecil (Krugler 1979:51). In 1606 Cecil received baptism in the Church of England (Krugler 1979:51). For the next fifteen years, the documentary record is silent in regard to Cecil’s life. During this busy period for his parents, his mother gave birth to as many as eight other surviving children, his father had become secretary of state, accrued much of the family fortune, and established his Newfoundland colony (Russell and Russell 2005:2).

Cecil and his brothers must have received the same level of early education their father had, with either an in-house tutor and/or educational boarding outside the household. This education is evident from Calvert’s entrance into his father’s *alma mater*, Trinity College, in 1621 at the age of fifteen (Foster 1891:232). There is no surviving

evidence showing that Cecil completed his studies at Oxford, which may have been the result of his increased involvement in the families' economic and colonial pursuits (Browne 1890:87). In 1623 there is evidence that he traveled to Yorkshire where he visited his father's close friend, Sir Thomas Wentworth, a man who would later assist him in his Maryland venture (Krugler 1981:389). By 1624 it seems that an Oxford degree was no longer a goal, for Cecil received the mandatory permission of the government to travel to Europe to take part in a grand tour as his father likely had in 1603 (Krugler 2004:130).

By 1625 it appears that Cecil had shared his father's religious shift to Roman Catholicism and again there is a period of documentary silence surrounding his movements. In 1628, as a result of Baltimore's upcoming move to Newfoundland he wished to settle his future affairs regarding his heir, the only family member he wrote: "I leave behind me" (Calvert 1628). Baltimore agreed to leave Cecil the majority of his holdings "provided he marry within a yeare" and that said marriage being an appropriate and "wise fit for him" (Calvert 1628). Calvert met his father's request and married Anne Arundel, the daughter of Sir Thomas Arundel, Lord Arundel of Wardour, the head of the wealthy and politically-powerful English Catholic family (Russell and Russell 2005:3). Upon Baltimore's return to England in 1629 Cecil appears to have become heavily involved in the new push for a colony in the Mid-Atlantic (Krugler 2004:129). Cecil likely spent the next years as his father's personal secretary working closely with Baltimore to develop the new charter and secure the financial longevity of the family (Krugler 2004:130).

With the 1632 death of his father, Cecil became the second Lord Baltimore and inheritor of the Province of Avalon and the soon-to-be granted Maryland charter (Figure

11). The new province, designed by his father, was granted to the son later that year. The rest of the second Lord Baltimore's life would focus upon the development and political defense of the two provinces as well as the Irish estate, all of which were largely the accomplishments of his father. This is not to undermine the efforts and abilities of Cecil who was able to successfully defend Maryland from a host of attacks—religious, political, and military, and this at a relatively young age and with little experience in such matters.

The development of Maryland and the curation of Avalon were not Cecil's only interests over the course of the next decade. On becoming Lord Baltimore, Calvert was eligible to take part in the Irish House of Lords, though for political reasons he never did (Krugler 1981:390). Calvert also used his father's friend and his own personal political benefactor, Wentworth, to pursue a "Troop of Horse in Ireland" in 1634, though there is no record of any resulting company (1634). Krugler frames Calvert's Irish affairs as showing the ambitions of a man "who sought to manipulate the system for his own benefit, whether in England, Ireland, or America" (2004:131). Politically, he remained for the most part uninvolved, only operating so far as to advance the Maryland project. During this period he repeatedly drew upon the generosity and political might of his father's friends in the government.



Figure 11. Painting of Cecil Calvert and his grandson circa 1670 by Gerard Soest. Image courtesy of the Enoch Pratt Free Library.

With impending civil war, the second Lord Baltimore was placed in an extremely difficult situation. The supporters of the crown accepted the aid of Roman Catholic soldiers and English Catholics and the Royalist cause was seen to be synonymous (Riordan 2004:87).¹ By 1644 Baltimore was clearly a Royalist sympathizer when his brother Leonard set sail for Maryland with a royal commission to confiscate, alongside the Governor of Virginia, English ships in that colony that were associated with Parliament (Krugler 2004:179). Though this commission was never acted upon, it shows that by that time, the Calverts were the king's men.

As the war waged on, the Royalists' advantage of the earlier years began to wane. With the subsequent losses, Calvert (along with many other English gentleman of the time), attempted to distance himself from the crown and any involvement he may have had in the conflict (Riordan 2004:90). In the subsequent years, Maryland was seized under Parliamentary pretenses and later regained by the Calvert family, only to be lost again later in the century. However, for the purposes of this analysis, the first decade of Maryland came to a close with Baltimore, at the very least sympathetic to the crown, in a conflict that appeared to be going well for the Royalist cause.

3.2.2 Religion

As previously mentioned, Cecil was baptized a Protestant. Though his father was a schismatic, there is no proof of his mother's religious beliefs, other than her husband

¹ Riordan's study of the period in Maryland refutes past researcher's contention that Calvert was effectively neutral or changed sides to suit his own aims. Instead, Riordan points out the very real complications that would result if Baltimore was not supportive of the victors, a misstep that would likely result in the loss of Maryland (2004:88).

had her buried in an Anglican cemetery. George Calvert may have introduced his children to Catholic doctrines as he himself resolved his religious identity, though this, like so much of the family's religious life, is conjecture (Krugler 1979:51). Another possibility is that when Cecil traveled on the Continent in the 1620s, he may have turned to the Roman Church; for after his father's reversion he too was Catholic, taking the name Cecilius following his confirmation (Krugler 2004:131). Cecil's wife, Anne Arundel was from an openly Catholic family and the couple's first surviving son Charles, the eventual third Lord Baltimore, was the first Calvert baron living his entire life publicly as a Catholic.

As a student of his father's experience, Cecil knew the tightrope the seventeenth-century English Catholic gentry needed to walk. Indeed, the future of Maryland and his families' prosperity depended on finding a middle ground. Having been brought up in an environment where his father was forced out of necessity to practice his true faith in private, Cecil learned that religion could be a personal affair (Krugler 1979:55). Furthermore, he knew that the only way for Maryland to appeal to his own faith-based sentiments, yet still attract a wider portion of English society, church and state needed to be separate (Krugler 2004:156). Religious freedom or toleration was never the focus of Maryland, it was simply the way in which the Calvert's saw the successful operation of their plans, what Krugler calls the "*modus operandi* of the 'Maryland Design'" (1979:60).

3.2.3 Finances and Colonial Projects

Very little is known about Cecil Calvert's finances prior to his marriage and later reception of the baronial title. Cecil's nuptials with Anne Arundel satisfied his father's wishes and resulted in Baltimore granting him "the land I have in England in possession

with 2 parts of my silke farme" (Calvert 1628). With the marriage also came significant gifts from his father-in-law. According to one nineteenth-century historian, Lord Arundel secured the new couple with manors in various English counties including Berkshire and Wiltshire, and possibly elsewhere (Browne 1890:93). There is concrete evidence for the gift of Hook Farm, the manorial seat of Semley Manor in County Wiltshire and the £2,000 inheritance of Anne, both received around 1638 (Krugler 2004:162). The earnings from these manorial lands would have theoretically provided a decent income for Calvert during the following years and a series of court cases suggest that Baltimore harvested timber, imposed fines, and received rents from these lands (Krugler 2004:162). In addition, there is documentary evidence suggesting that Arundel had also given Calvert fishery rights on the River Avon and elsewhere (Browne 1890:93).

The period after his father's death in 1632 brought the most economic potential for the new Lord Baltimore as well as the accumulated debt of his father's colonial endeavors. As his father's heir, Calvert received lands in Yorkshire, London, and likely elsewhere. Additionally, the Irish manor of Clohamon and the Province of Avalon became his responsibilities. The Irish estates probably saw more attempts by Calvert to capitalize on the timber resources and rents, all largely through his appointed agents (Lyttleton 2010 pers. comm.). There is no evidence that Newfoundland was currently a source of revenue for Baltimore and there is little indication to suggest Cecil was actively pursuing the fishery. However, this is not to claim that Cecil had forsaken his father's first colonial endeavor. Calvert continued to appoint agents at Ferryland in 1633 or 1634 and theoretically received updates on any potential developments that were happening there following his father's departure in 1629 (Cell 1982:56). The groundwork was in

place for a Ferryland-based fishery though there is no surviving evidence of any actions on his part. In 1637 Sir David Kirke and others were granted the entire Island of Newfoundland, temporarily nullifying the Calvert rights and the existence of the Province of Avalon (Cell 1982:56). As a testament to the significant infrastructure constructed at Ferryland, Kirke settled in the very dwelling constructed for George Calvert and developed a thriving fishery. From 1637 Cecil attempted to recover control of the province and continued to do so until he finally regained legal control (albeit on paper) of his Newfoundland province under the reign of Charles II (Cell 1982:56).

The primary economic and career focus of Cecil's life was his Province of Maryland. Though in many ways his father's legacy, Maryland would prove to be Cecil's life work (Krugler 2004:127). Forced begrudgingly to "have deferred my own going till another Time", Baltimore would not voyage out with his first colonists as planned (Calvert 1633). The great opposition of the charter resulted in "the exhaustless resources of malignity that welcomed all calumnies, however frivolous" which demanded Cecil stay in England to time-and-again defend his colony (Brown 1890:112). In the mid-1630s Baltimore saw a way in which to further secure the fate of Maryland and recoup his family fortunes in the seemingly unlikely scenario of becoming the Governor of Virginia (Krugler 2004:161). This appointment was designed to fiscally revive the Virginia colony and Baltimore's recommended pay of £2,000 a year, not to mention the political power of the station, would have done much for both Calvert and Maryland, though it would not become a reality (Sainsbury 1860:250). In 1643 with civil war ravaging England, Cecil again attempted to depart for Maryland, but was legally barred from doing so (Browne

1890:128). Despite that Maryland would prove to be the second Lord Baltimore's opus he would never place his feet on her shores.

Baltimore's large network of lands and projects does not seem to have offset the expenses he accrued to arrange the necessary capital for setting out the first Maryland voyage in 1633. As the decade progressed, Baltimore was forced to use up increasing amounts of what his father had earlier described as "my poore fortune" (Calvert 1628). During this period, Cecil took the position of Lord Arundel's aide, perhaps as a fiscal necessity (Krugler 2004:161). By the end of the decade, Cecil was struggling. In a letter from his father-in-law, Baltimore was described as being "brought so low with his setting forward the plantation of Maryland, and with the clamourours suits and opposition which he has met with in that business" that Arundel was forced to "give him diet for himself, wife, children and servants" (1639). Maryland was not quick to supply the revenue the proprietor needed so desperately.

Chapter 4

Government Agents and Administration

4.1 Governors

In 1631 Captain John Smith wrote *Advertisements: Or, the Path-way to Experience to Erect a Plantation*. In this tract, a document possibly read by the Calverts in advance of founding Maryland, Smith discussed the importance of colonial leadership. Perhaps no other individual, including the proprietors, had such a profound influence on the shape the nascent colonies took as their sanctioned leaders. Smith wrote of the requirements of the governors of New World plantations, claiming:

This great worke, though small in conceit, is not a worke for every one to manage such an affaire, as make a discovery, and plant a Colony, it requires all the best parts of art, judgement, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence, and industry, to doe but neere well; some are more proper for one thing than another, and therein best to be employed. and nothing breeds more confusion than misplacing and misemploying men in their undertakings (1631).

These individuals who led the two Calvert colonies, their backgrounds, accomplishments, and shortcomings, will be examined in the following pages.

4.1.1 Ferryland and Avalon

Captain Edward Wynne

Captain Edward Wynne was commissioned by George Calvert some time prior to his 1621 journey to Newfoundland to choose a location and commence with the infrastructure for a fishery-based settlement. Agonizingly little documentary evidence exists relating to Wynne and aside from a handful of letters he wrote to Calvert from

Ferryland, a later treatise on Newfoundland colonization, and the scattered reference to his endeavors by contemporaries, the man remains an enigma. From these sources, a number of inferences can be made about Wynne and in-turn about the decisions he made at Ferryland in regard to the form of the settlement and types of structures built during his tenure.

Edward Wynne was a Welshman with a common regional surname, often associated with the Welsh gentry, and William Vaughan, a fellow native of Wales referred to the captain as “a Cambro-Britan” (Vaughan 1626: Part III 20). Given the gentry association of his surname, coupled with the fact that he was introduced to Calvert, possibly through William Vaughan, Wynne almost certainly came from a prominent Welsh lineage. From his few surviving writings we know that Wynne was fluent in English, probably his second language after his native Welsh. The man also had at least a parochial knowledge of literature and history, for in his later treatise he cited Sir Thomas More’s *A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation* and referenced the fourth-century Roman Emperor Flavius Gratianus Augustus (Gaulton and Miller 2009:136). These details are all suggestive of a classical education. Though the Wynne surname appeared throughout Wales during the early modern period, an extensive archival search of The National Library of Wales in 2009 failed to reveal any additional information on the captain. Nonetheless, possible clues to his origins may be found in his reference to “Snowden-hills” (Snowdonia in Northern Wales) and Milford harbor in the south (Wynne 1630/31). Another important piece of evidence to the man’s background is that Wynne was undoubtedly a military man, for a martial captaincy of the period was almost exclusively the domain of the gentry (Gaulton and Miller 2009:128). In a 1630 or 1631

document Wynne referred to his account as “according to a Souldiers abilitie” (1630/31). A common path for Welsh gentry, particularly a second or third son, would be military service, often on the Continent as a mercenary. Wynne wrote in the same document of his “observations in travaile” of which he claimed “I spent the active part of my age” (1630/31). These lines echo Wynne’s earlier sentiment from a 1622 letter where he described “the experience that I have gained by the travels of my youth” (1622b:11). While it cannot be said for certain in what contexts Wynne saw service, he likely came to the project as a captain and the defensive works constructed at Ferryland clearly reflect a classic military background.

On 4 August 1621 Wynne sailed for the New World from Plymouth, England. This departure may not have been the captain’s first for Newfoundland. Though Cell suggests that there was no evidence supporting any prior Newfoundland experience of Wynne, the *Brittish India* may prove otherwise. Cell concluded from her analysis of Wynne’s letters to Calvert that the site of the settlement “had been selected well in advance” (1982:51). Though the choice of a location may have been assisted by merchants, fishermen, or others already familiar with the region, Wynne later wrote of “Our first winter (in Anno 1620)” at Ferryland (1630/31). Based on this excerpt and statements such as “my severall Voyages, and long staies in Newfoundland” it seems plausible that Wynne was in Newfoundland the year prior to the official establishment of the colony (1630/31). A discerning investor and lifelong bureaucrat like Calvert likely required significant reconnaissance on a project that would pull considerably on his purse strings (Gaulton and Miller 2009:118). For the next half-decade, Wynne oversaw the design and construction of the settlement, developed the fishery, and ran the day-to-day

operations at Ferryland and from 1623 the larger Province of Avalon. Following his published letters of 1622, the documentary record of Wynne's leadership essentially comes to an end. One of these same letters alludes to Wynne's deteriorating relationship with Calvert when he wrote "Farre be it from me to goe about to betray you and my Country as others have beene imployed in the like trust" maintaining "that what I have undertaken either by word or writing, will be found the Characters of a true and zealous minde, wholly devoted unto your Honours service" (1622b:11). By 1625 Wynne had retired or been removed from his position.

It is the archaeology at Ferryland that has shown the impressive achievements accomplished under Wynne's leadership, with a relatively small workforce and in a short amount of time. Based upon the structures and earthworks revealed and uncovered around the Ferryland Pool, archaeologists have concluded that Wynne's letters of progress to Calvert appear to be if anything "remarkably understated" (Tuck, Gaulton and Carter 1999:148).

Sir Arthur Aston

This man is not to be confused with the more infamous Arthur Aston, his son, who was beaten to death with his own wooden leg in the battle of Drogheda. Sir Arthur Aston, the second appointed leader of Avalon hailed from an English Catholic gentry family (Lahey 1998:41). As a Catholic, a political vocation was not an option for him, so a common career path was military service. The first available details of Aston's life emerge in 1604, the year he received his knighthood as Sir Arthur Aston of County Stafford, likely resulting from distinguished military service (Codignola 1988:17; Lahey

1998:40). The same year, Aston received a license to “use and sell certain woods used in dyeing” (Anon 1604). Projects such as this were other common routes for the Catholic gentry to obtain a livelihood. It has been suggested that Aston was from County Cheshire on the Welsh-English border and possibly the son of Sir Thomas Aston of Aston (Cell 1982:270).

From 1604 there is nearly a two decade gap before Aston again appears in the documentary record. When he does emerge, the documentation is primarily related to his military activity. One insight comes from a 1625 letter of Simon Stock that alludes to Aston’s earlier exploits, claiming the man “for many years has fought in the wars against Turks and infidels” (1625b). The first explicit reference to Aston’s service is from April 1621 when he was placed in command of some 8,000 English troops that were levied by the Polish ambassador (Green 1858:249). The placement of so many soldiers under Aston’s command is evidence of a protracted and successful military career. In 1622, Aston was in Eastern Europe when he was ordered to return to England by the Russian ambassador to pay for his “several plots and practizes against the State of Russia” (Pogozue 1622; Codignola 1988:17). Upon his arrival in England, Aston was imprisoned, although his punishment was little more than a slap on the wrist—after a few days he was set free (Codignola 1988:17).

The record of Aston’s relationship with the Newfoundland settlement began in 1625. There is one indication that Calvert had some contact with Aston prior to this date, a 1622 letter at the National Archives, Kew from Aston to Calvert discussing Polish military affairs. It is unknown if the two men were more than acquaintances at that point. Unfortunately, none of the records of his involvement with the Province of Avalon come

from Calvert or Aston; therefore, we do not have any insight into the nature of the relationship. In his study of the letters of Father Stock on the matter, Codignola suggests that Calvert and Aston became very close (1988:17). This may in part be related to Calvert's religious reversion during that period and Aston's Roman Catholic background. A 1625 letter of Stock's suggests that he was responsible for the relationship between the two men referring to Aston as "our dear friend" and claiming "I have procured him the governorship" of Calvert's province (1625c). Traveling to Newfoundland in the spring of 1625, Aston was granted permission by the Privy Council "to provide hawkes and elkes for His Majesty" (Privy Council 1625). Though Baltimore seems to have planned on accompanying Aston, his design was thwarted and Stock wrote in May of 1625 that the latter, a "Catholic knight...will now leave for Avalon with two faithful servants, in hope that priests will be sent this coming year" (1625d). Mentioned earlier in the spring were fifteen or twenty Roman Catholics who were to accompany Calvert to Ferryland, though it seems that the lack of clergy discouraged their adventure (Codignola 1988:79). Nonetheless, it appears that Aston was actively developing the Newfoundland plantation. Though his writings often take literary liberties, in 1626 Vaughan wrote that Aston's people at Ferryland "doe imploy their times in building and manuring that new ground" and they could not "be spared from their Plantations, lest the wild Boares breake into their Gardens" (1626 III:21).

At some point in the summer or fall of 1626 Aston departed Ferryland for England. Why the man left is unclear, though it appears it was meant to be a temporary sojourn (Codignola 1988:42). In the spring of 1627 Baltimore wrote to Sir Edward Nicholas for the "speedy dispence of my warrant, because tyme imports me much, and Sir

Arthur Aston stays onely for it" (Calvert 1627b). Even so, while in England Aston's Avalon charge came to an end. This may have resulted from a difference of opinion with Baltimore who in May of 1627 claimed of Newfoundland that he was forced to "settle it in better Order than it is" or perhaps just a more appealing employment opportunity emerged (Calvert 1627; Codignola 1988:42). Suggestively, later that same year Aston was again involved in military operations, this time under the charge of the Duke of Buckingham against the French and Aston was killed in battle that fall (Codignola 1988:42).

Sir George Calvert

The first Lord Baltimore personally governed his Province of Avalon for the period 1627-1629. Though no records exist, he must have commissioned someone, perhaps one of the planters at Ferryland, to govern from 1626 when Aston left, to 1627 when Calvert arrived for the first of his two voyages to Newfoundland. A few years later, Joseph Mead referred to Calvert as "being governor" of his Newfoundland settlement (1630). It would not be until later in the life of the third Lord Baltimore, George's grandson Charles, that another Calvert baron would govern his province from within.

4.1.2 St. Mary's and Maryland

Leonard Calvert

The individual who physically ties the two colonial projects together was Leonard, the second son of George Calvert. Born in 1606 to George and Anne Calvert, he was not baptized until November of 1610, following the Protestant rites of the Church of England

(Russell and Russell 2005:42). Though christened a Protestant, the religion of his upbringing is left to speculation. What seems likely is that with the former secretary's reversion in 1625, Leonard followed suit with the rest of his siblings and converted to Roman Catholicism.

Likely educated alongside his older brother Cecil, Leonard must have received a considerable early education (Menard and Carr 1982:203). In 1625 when Baltimore moved his family to Ireland an observer wrote that he "left two children at Waterford to be brought up in a private school of humanity" (Rothe 1625). Similarly, in 1629 after shipping them back from Newfoundland, Lord Baltimore's younger sons went to St. Omer's College, a Jesuit school for English Catholics located just across the English Channel (Hughes 1907:206). Although Leonard undoubtedly had a firm educational foundation, there is no evidence that he followed in his father's and brother's footsteps to an Oxford college. The only other scholastic data comes from the registry books of Gray's Inn where on 8 August 1633 they marked the admittance of "Leonard Calvert, Esquire, second son of George, Lord Baltimore, deceased" (Foster 1889:201). The Inns of Court offered both an entrance into law and/or an important part of the standard education of a gentleman (Prest 1972:21, 23). In addition, the inns and a vocation in law, specifically at Gray's was one of the few career havens for the younger sons of Roman Catholic gentry (Prest 1972:178, 183). It is possible that following the death of his father and the subsequent reshuffling of the Maryland plans, Leonard sought to pursue an education in common law. One caveat to this proposal is that on the very same day in 1633, Cecil Calvert was also admitted to the inn and many of the honorific admittances for gentry were made at the August readings (Prest 1972:9). A further complication was

that originally, before delays caused by challenges to the grant, the Maryland expedition was to sail in mid-August (Carr, Menard and Peddicord 1984:1). If Leonard was to accompany the first settlers, then the admission to Gray's Inn could only be token.

The period where we know the most about Leonard's activity, at least prior to the Maryland venture, is related to the brief time when his father was living at Ferryland. The Lord Baltimore's entire family, except Cecil, journeyed to the Province of Avalon in 1628 with intentions to stay for an indefinite period. In that spring and summer, Calvert was involved in a naval campaign against the French who were harassing the English fishery within the bounds of his province. Calvert captured 2 vessels and took 67 French prisoners who he was forced to accommodate at Ferryland for the summer (Cell 1982:280). During this affair, Calvert directed his two ships along with another English vessel to engage and locate the French attackers (Cell 1982:280). A 1628 letter from Baltimore to Buckingham suggests Leonard's role in the affair, when his father described the campaign and how "I sent forth the greate ship agayne with all the Seamen I had heere and one of my sonnes, with some gentlemen and others that attend mee in this Plantation" (Calvert 1628b).

One thing that Baltimore realized during the encounters was the need for strong naval support to protect his settlement and the fishery within the bounds of Avalon. Leonard apparently accompanied the prizes back to England where he and his brother-in-law petitioned the government for use of the captured *St. Claude*, which in December of 1628 was "to be lent to the lord Baltimore for twelve monethes and to be delivered to Master Leonard Calvert" (Calvert 1628c). In March of 1629 Leonard was issued a letter of marque for the 300 ton *St. Claude* (Bruce 1860:152). The next month, Calvert left

Studland Bay, Dorset where he “was Capteine in a voyage to the Newfoundland” to resupply and protect the colony at Ferryland (Day 1629). The period of warfare between England and France was fleeting, and George Calvert penned his concerns to Cottington from Ferryland in August of 1629, writing “With my sonne Leonard I know not what to do, now wee have peace with our neighbors”, going on to claim that though he did “not desire warres to maintaine my children upon the spoiles” he was troubled for Leonard’s future nonetheless (1629). After the winter of 1628/9 Calvert sent his children back to England claiming: “after much sufferance in this wofull country” (1629). Leonard also departed Ferryland, sailing for Southampton towards the end of August at the helm of the *St. Claude* (Anderson 1931:39).

From 1630 to 1633 there is no evidence of Leonard Calvert’s actions. One possibility is that the young man was employed alongside his brother-in-law William Peasley as one of his father’s assistants/secretaries (Mannion 2004:35). The new push for what would become the Maryland grant seems to have involved much of the family, especially his older brother Cecil. George Calvert’s aforementioned letter to Cottington shows the father’s concern over his second son’s livelihood, a fact which may have led to Leonard’s involvement in the venture. With the death of the first Lord Baltimore, Leonard inherited £900, the majority of which was probably invested in the Maryland venture, including the purchase of an eighth part of the *Dove* and his fur trading “adventure” with Sir Richard Lechford, both arrangements made in October of 1633 (L. Calvert 1633; Lee 1889:49; Lee 1899:15).

Sailing aboard the *Ark* of Maryland for the New World on 22 November 1633 was Governor Leonard Calvert (Figure 12).



Figure 12. Painting of Leonard Calvert circa 1630s by unknown artist. Image courtesy of Maryland State Archives.

It was only after Baltimore realized that he could not travel to Maryland in person that “hee appointed his brother, Master Leonard Calvert to goe Governour in his stead” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:2). The exact date of this first commission made by Baltimore is unknown but in 1637 as a result of his showing “Such wisdom, Fidelity, Industry, and other virtues, as Render him Capable and worthy of Trust” Leonard who had been the “Lieutenant Generall, Admirall, Chief Captain and Commander As well by Sea as Land” was also made the provincial “Chancellor, Chief Justice, and Chief Magistrate” of Maryland (Maryland Council 1637). The subsequent years were spent leading and developing the Maryland government as well as his and Baltimore’s lands and other economic ventures.

From 1634 until 1643 Leonard Calvert remained in Maryland. In April of that year he wrote “I am determined to goe for England” and accordingly set the Maryland government in order, designating Giles Brent as governor in his absence (Calvert 1643).

During his months in England Leonard must have discussed his brother’s plans for Maryland and the precarious place of the family amidst the civil war. While there, the king granted Calvert and the Governor of Virginia the right to take Parliamentary ships “and also all Plate money goods Chattells and Debts of any Londoners whatsoever or any of our Citties Towns or places in Actual Rebellion against us” in Virginia (Charles I 1644). It seems that Calvert left England in the summer or early fall of 1644, likely sailing from the Royalist controlled port of Bristol (Riordan 2004:156). Though there is no evidence that Calvert acted upon his royal commission, through his acceptance, Calvert and Maryland became openly sympathetic to the Royalist cause (Riordan

2004:157, 159). The commission itself was not important; rather, it was the fact that others knew of the charge that put Maryland's future in jeopardy (Riordan 2004:159).

Calvert was a relatively young man when he died in 1647 from a possible snakebite, not yet 40 years of age (Riordan 2004:298). He had seen numerous New World colonies, had led and developed the fledgling Province of Maryland and crossed the Atlantic more times than many professional sailors of the day (Riordan 2004:19). In contrast to some of the earlier synopses of Leonard Calvert, Riordan has illustrated the difficult position that the man often found himself in (2004:20). Leonard was repeatedly caught between his brother the proprietor and the people of Maryland, forced to be loyal to his family while attempting to satisfy the best interest of Maryland, which he often had a closer understanding than the absentee Lord Baltimore (Riordan 2004:20). Calvert was able to choose what he perceived to be the right course for Maryland even when contrary to his brother's wishes. This capacity is illustrated in a 1637 letter to Baltimore on a new set of laws in which Leonard claimed "there was so many things unsuteable to the peoples good and no way conducing to your proffitt" (Calvert 1638). Though the man had his faults, and poor decisions were made, Riordan's rightfully points out that "No other figure combined the authority, leadership, and perseverance necessary to succeed" in the difficult circumstances that Maryland faced in the first decade of its existence (2004:296). Leonard Calvert helped lay the foundations of an English colony that would eventually grow and thrive to become one of the most successful in the New World and he did this in the face of an often hostile Virginia, religious intolerance and disagreement, and Native American conflict.

Giles Brent

The governor departed Maryland bound for England in 1643 and in his absence he “appointed and elected” Giles Brent as deputy governor (Calvert 1643). Brent was the youngest son of Sir Richard Brent, a Roman Catholic lord from Gloucestershire (Riordan 2004:26). In 1637 Giles sent a number of servants to Maryland and followed in the following year with some of his siblings (Riordan 2004:26). Involved in both the joint stock company and developing their plantations in Maryland, the Brents were one of only a few families of Catholic gentry that had moved to the province in its first decade, apart from the initial adventurers (Menard and Carr 1982:182). Throughout the studied period, Brent struggled in his relations with others. Riordan describes the man as a disagreeable character, claiming he “had a tendency to become jealous, petty, and argumentative” (2004:27). In 1644 Brent married the former ward of his family, Mary Kittimaquund, who was the daughter of a Piscataway chieftain. It has been suggested that this marriage occurred solely as a means to obtain land from the Natives (Stone 1982:76).

Despite his possible character flaws and moral ambivalence Brent’s station in Maryland opened the door for governmental aspirations. By 1642 Brent, alongside Calvert, Cornwallis, and Lewger, dominated the government offices of the province (Riordan 2004:27). In that year the governor commissioned Brent to lead a military force against the Susquehannock and various other Native tribes in the region. Brent sailed to Kent Island with the mustered men from St. Mary’s where he was to gather more, though he hesitated there long enough that the mission northward was scrapped. According to Lewger, Brent’s inaction was responsible for the failed mission and charges were brought against him by the province (Riordan 2004:46-47). Nonetheless, the very next year when

Leonard Calvert prepared to leave for England, it was Brent who he chose to act as provisional governor. The roughly one-year period that Brent governed saw the removal of Lewger from office in what Menard called the struggle “for preeminence in provincial affairs” and the groundwork laid for the 1645 Protestant takeover of Maryland (1985:104). In 1643, when Richard Ingle (the principal tobacco trader to Maryland), claimed Charles I was “no king” until “he joins with the honorable his house of Parliament”, he was arrested for treason under the orders of Brent (Maryland Provincial Court 1643; Stone 1987:31). Ingle was later able to flee Maryland with the help of Thomas Cornwallis but would return in 1645 and stage a Protestant takeover of the colony, igniting what would later be referred to as The Plundering Time (Middleton and Miller 2008:154). The takeover of the province was the result of deep-rooted problems within the colony and England itself. That being said, the actions of Brent unquestionably helped seal the fate of Maryland, an outcome that may or may not have been inevitable.

4.2 Other Agents

4.2.1 Ferryland and Avalon

During the first two years of George Calvert’s Newfoundland settlement, Wynne does not appear to be the only agent commissioned by the secretary to carry out his plans for the colony. The 1622 letters from Ferryland record the arrival of a Captain Daniel Powell on 18 April and ten days later, he wrote to Calvert of his arrival with “all the company, whose names I sent you in the List” (1622:6). Powell, like Wynne, appears to have been a military leader, and also like the governor probably Welsh, given the surname (Cell 1969:92). In his letter to Calvert, Powell referred to the new arrivals at

Ferryland as “our people” denoting his involvement in the affairs of the colony (1622:7). In the same document, the captain suggested the development of a new plantation in the nearby harbor of Aquaforte, requesting of Calvert the additional laborers necessary for that project. Perhaps Powell was sent out with the specific goal of developing a second Calvert-sponsored settlement in Newfoundland.

According to a document associated with a 1652 court case, when Calvert departed Newfoundland, he “left an agent” at Ferryland, a man by the name of Hoyle (Poole 1652). Hoyle may have been a previous employee of Calvert’s, one of the settlers who accompanied him in 1628, or even someone associated with the fishery. All we know for sure is that some time later Calvert’s agent was “carried away by one Ralph Morley” marking a cryptic end to the record of another enigmatic figure of Avalon (Poole 1652). Evident from the same later court case, after Hoyle’s removal, Calvert commissioned four Ferryland residents, George Leese, William Poole, Sydney Hill, and Sydney Taylor to jointly govern the settlement (Lahey 1982:131). According to William Poole, two years after Hoyle had left, a “Captain William Hill took possession of the Mansion House at Ferryland” and the leadership of the province (1652).

The stewardship of Hill, likely a military officer in the vein of Wynne and Aston, has left little documentary record. In the later recollections of the second Lord Baltimore we learn that he sent Captain Hill “as his deputy thither, to take possession thereof and to manage his interest there for him” (Calvert Counsel 1651). From this same account it is clear that Hill governed the “plantation and province” *i.e.* both Ferryland and Avalon “and gave account yearly to him of his proceedings and of the profit” for the following four or five year period (Calvert Counsel 1651). In the recollections of Cecil Calvert, his

father had left behind him “officers necessary for the government of the people, and the preservation of the place” (n.d.). Avalon’s third appointed leader was deposed in 1638 with the arrival of Sir David Kirke who along with his associates had received a grant of the entire island of Newfoundland (Cell 1982:56). According to a 1650s account, Kirke and his men “by force of arms turned the said Captain Hill out of possession of the Lord Baltimore’s chief Mansion House” (Calvert Counsel 1651). With Hill “not finding himself able to withstand the power of the aforesaid Sir David” he moved first out of the mansion then finally across the harbor from The Pool (Pratt 1652). This action marks the temporal end of this current analysis of the Calverts in Newfoundland.

4.2.2 St. Mary’s and Maryland

Thomas Cornwallis

One of the two “worthy and able Gentlemen” that the second Lord Baltimore “joined in Commission” with his brother Leonard was Thomas Cornwallis (Hawley and Lewger 1635:2). The details of his upbringing are incomplete but he described his wealth as “A Poore younger brothers fortune” and was related to Cecil Calvert as cousin through marriage (Cornwallis 1638; Menard and Carr 1982:181).

Cornwallis and the other commissioner (Jerome Hawley) were from the beginning involved in the leadership of the enterprise. On the journey to Maryland they consulted with Leonard to ensure the travelers were adequately prepared (Lee 1899:32). Later, with the 1637 arrival of Lewger and Lord Baltimore’s orders for the colony, Cornwallis was made a councilor with Leonard Calvert, Hawley, and the secretary (Steiner 1903:69).

Throughout the first decade of Maryland he played a crucial role in the leadership and government of the province.

His place in the government was not the only provincial function Cornwallis served during his time in Maryland. Described later as “that noble, right valiant, and politick soldier”, the man was the premier military leader during the first decade of settlement (Beauchamp 1648:22). Certainly, his services were called on numerous times in the first decade of Maryland, against the Kent Islanders and Natives alike. A 1642 military declaration showed the reliance of the Maryland leadership on his “knownen prudence & experience in martiall affaires” (Maryland Council 1642).

Although Cornwallis served the proprietor from the outset as a commissioner, his primary interest in Maryland seems to have been economically guided and prior to his departure for the Chesapeake, Cornwallis had invested in the joint stock company established for the enterprise. Nonetheless, his financial goals should not diminish Cornwallis’s commitment to some of the religious ideals of early Maryland. Thomas had been raised a Roman Catholic in a country that penalized its practitioners in numerous ways. In a 1638 letter to Baltimore, Cornwallis wrote “my Securety of Contiens was the first Condition that I expected from this Government”, showing the importance placed on the religious liberties promised in Maryland (1638).

The principal area of Cornwallis’s investment in Maryland was in labor. In the first decade of the province he transported more than 50 servants to work his lands, assist in his economic ventures, and to sell their labor to other Marylanders (Menard and Carr 1982:181). Cornwallis became heavily involved in the economy of Maryland providing the advanced capital needed by others to finance their own tobacco plantations (Stone

1987:17). In 1642 Cornwallis was owed the tobacco equivalent of more than £600, a significant figure (Land 1981:29). Money-lending was not his only involvement in the tobacco trade. Cornwallis grew and exported the crop and he became one of the premier English tobacco merchants (Menard and Carr 1982:203). The returning cargo vessels brought Cornwallis various dry goods and truck that was then sold to the other colonists, evident from the extensive inventory of goods lost at his Cross Manor after Ingle's sack of the province. Lastly, though the joint stock venture may have been a failure, Cornwallis continued to ply the fur trade with the Native peoples of the Chesapeake.

Jerome Hawley

The second man commissioned by Baltimore to assist in the organization and functioning of the early government of Maryland was Jerome Hawley. One of the few eldest sons involved in the enterprise, Hawley's father was a Roman Catholic merchant in Middlesex (Stone 1982:390). Deserving in 1635 the title of esquire, Jerome had been a courtier to Charles I's Catholic wife Queen Henrietta Maria (Hawley and Lewger 1625:56; Middleton and Miller 2008:132). Like Cornwallis, Hawley was invested both economically and idealistically in the Maryland enterprise. His economic involvement began even prior to their departure when he had bought into the fur trade stock and owned a portion of the *Dove*.

Assisting the governor and Cornwallis in the early years of the province, Hawley helped develop the government of Maryland. The man was also one of the authors of the 1635 promotional tract *A Relation of Maryland* (Hawley and Lewger 1635). Hawley traveled to London in 1635 where he petitioned the king for his appointment in Virginia

(Neill 1876:84). At that same time, Baltimore was attempting to gain the governorship of that colony with a proposal to turn around the colony's floundering budget, though Hawley's proposal was chosen and in 1637 he was made the treasurer of Virginia (Krugler 2004:161). In 1638, Hawley passed away (Stone 1982:390).

John Lewger

Lewger appears to have come from an affluent London family, likely the son of Philip Lewger, a scrivener (Middleton and Miller 2008:133). Baptized Anglican in 1601, Lewger attended Trinity College, Oxford receiving a Bachelors and Masters Degree (Middleton and Miller 2008:133, 137). A few years later, Lewger was ordained within the Church of England and until 1635 preached and taught the Protestant dictums (Middleton and Miller 2008:137). In that year, he converted to Roman Catholicism, no small detail given that he was a Church of England priest. Soon after, it seems that Lewger became reacquainted with Cecil Calvert, his classmate at Oxford and in 1635 he assisted Jerome Hawley with the writing and editing of the 1635 *Relation* (Bernard 1949:100; Middleton and Miller 2008:137). In the spring of 1637 Lewger's employ by Baltimore was formalized when he was made the Secretary of Maryland with the additional duties of councilor, collector of quit-rents and customs, judge of the probate, surveyor general, among other responsibilities (Steiner 1903:69; Middleton and Miller 2008:132, 137).

He arrived in the Chesapeake at the end of November with his family, servants, and money to establish a plantation of his own (Stone 1982:66). While residing within the fort at St. Mary's, Lewger began establishing his nearby dwelling house and plantation of St. John's. In addition to his provincial duties, Lewger was also a Calvert employee or

agent, who among other things managed Baltimore's livestock (Stone 1982:78). Like Cornwallis and other Maryland gentry, Lewger became heavily involved in advancing funds to various tobacco plantation owners as an additional source of income for his household (Land 1981:29).

4.3 Administration of Government

4.3.1 Ferryland and Avalon

An important aspect of the two colonies is how the colonial governments functioned, specifically regarding the rights of the inhabitants. The record concerning Ferryland begins in 1623 with the elevation of Calvert's land grant to the Province of Avalon. Though no evidence of the day-to-day operation of Avalon have survived, the charter demonstrates the form that Calvert envisioned his government to take.

In regard to the legislative branch of the government, Calvert and his heirs were granted the power "to ordaine, make, Enact, and under his & their seales to publish any Lawes whatsoever appertaining either unto the publique state of the sayd province" (James I 1623). Unfortunately, none of these laws, if indeed created, have survived to the present despite the clause that they were "to be published" (James I 1623). Regardless of the law enacted, the power granted to the proprietor was far from absolute, there were two primary restrictive clauses placed into the charter. The first was that the laws were by requirement to "stand with reason and be not repugnant, nor contrary" to those of England (James I 1623). The second check on governmental power was that all laws would need to be passed by majority "by and with the advice, Consent & approbation of the freeholders of the sayd Province" that Calvert could "assemble in such sort & forme

as to him shall seem best" (James I 1623). However, the charter somewhat nullified this requirement by citing the difficulty to quickly assemble in a new and geographically large colony, thus giving Calvert the right to enact laws without this consent if circumstances should dictate (Cell 1982:262). When Baltimore resided in Ferryland he would have had ample time to call an Avalon Assembly, as the majority of the permanent residents of European descent in the province resided in the vicinity of Ferryland. However, no record of any such congress has survived.

The second aspect of government illuminated by the charter was the judicial branch which granted the right "to establish Judges & Justices, Magistrates, & officers" to enforce these laws (James I 1623). Theoretically, the accused would stand before these officers in the "Establishment of Justice, Courtes & Tribunalls" (James I 1623). However, the proprietor had the ultimate power in the decision, for the charter granted him the right to pardon any individual "before Judgment, or after" (James I 1623). During Baltimore's tenure at Ferryland he was heavily involved with negotiations with various fishing captains and merchants, took 67 French prisoners, presumably oversaw the probate inventories of a handful of settlers that expired, and performed other administrative duties. It stands to reason that aspects of his responsibilities would have included governmental or court-related functions. The fact that none of these records survive is likely a result of the poor curation of these documents rather than a non-functioning government.

The Avalon charter laid out the governmental strategy proposed by George Calvert for his Newfoundland province. To what end these rights were exercised cannot now be answered. The charter itself was the direct antecedent of the Maryland document,

representing a province that saw the significant enacting and recording of the granted privileges.

4.3.2 St. Mary's and Maryland

Building upon the previous charter, the government of Maryland was originally organized in much the same manner as Avalon. The right of the proprietor to enact the laws of the land was the same, yet the specifics relating to the design of the assembly was different. Where the first document allowed for the design of their choosing, the second showed their plan to allow for voting by proxy mentioning the “delegates or deputies” of the Maryland freemen (Hawley and Lewger 1635:63). Although every freeman of Maryland was rightfully allowed to be present at the provincial assembly, most chose to pass their votes to various men, very often members of the gentry. The first Maryland Assembly gathered in February of 1635, whereupon they wrote a code of law for the province which they sent to Baltimore (Meyers 2007:373). Calling an assembly without the edict of Baltimore effectively reversed the power granted by the charter and all proceedings were rejected by the proprietor (Krugler 1976:20). Cecil subsequently drew up his own set of laws in 1637 according to his sole right as stated in the charter (Krugler 1976:20). In 1638 the first official Maryland Assembly met and summarily rejected the set of laws sent to the governor. Leonard wrote to Baltimore that “The body of lawes you sent over by Master Lewger I endeavored to have had passed by the assembly at Maryland but could not effect it” in that they would not benefit either the freemen or the proprietor (Calvert 1638). Baltimore eventually came to terms with the deadlock and realized that in order to properly grant Maryland the legal stability it needed, he would

need to compromise his rights. In August of 1638 Cecil wrote to the governor granting him the right “to give assent unto such laws as you shall think fit and necessary” dependent upon the proprietor’s authorization (Calvert 1638; Neill 1876:98). The provincial assembly would meet again in each of the following four years up to 1642. The body would not meet again until after the Plundering Time.

The court system was also an active institution in early Maryland. The charter too saw the addition of more specifics regarding the establishment and implementation of the legal institutions (Hawley and Lewger 1635:64). One new enactment was the institution of manorial courts, which were perhaps envisioned to deal with many of the petty cases of the province. There are some records of manorial court proceedings, though the provincial court dealt with the overwhelming majority of early Maryland cases. The period 1634 to 1644 saw court cases deliberated by juries of freemen spanning every aspect of colonial life and the resulting disputes. The Avalon and Maryland charters were nearly identical, but only in Maryland did the government have the time and freedom to develop.

Chapter 5

Populating the Settlements

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the recruitment strategies, place of origin and population growth, and the economic and religious characteristics of those men, women, and children that set sail from the Old World to Newfoundland or Maryland in the 1620s, 1630s, and 1640s. These adventurers brought with them the customs, ideas, and social preconceptions that had defined their lives. Upon landing in the Americas, these cultural ideas and values changed and adapted to suit the new environments, living situation, and developed the structure of daily life that was to be the settler experience in the two colonies. This chapter will use the surviving documentation in an attempt to understand how these peoples' backgrounds in many ways informed the types of colonial settlements that emerged.

5.2 Promotional Campaigns and Recruitment

5.2.1 Ferryland and Avalon

The evidence that Sir George Calvert and his partners had a recruitment policy for his Newfoundland project comes in the form of various promotional tracts printed during the first years of the colony. The print campaign commenced within a year of Ferryland's settlement with the 1621 printing of *A Letetr* [sic] *Written By Captaine Edward Winne*. This pamphlet consisted of two letters from Wynne to Calvert that discussed his first days in Newfoundland and their plans for the settlement. Others have questioned the reason to

publish a list of mistreatments regarding the fishery which makes up much of one letter (Cell 1982:50). Indeed, the document reads more like an update for an investor rather than a typical promotional tract filled with promise for the settlement. This suggests that the secretary wanted to begin promotion and used whatever was available to do so.

The next surviving printed work related to Calvert's Newfoundland settlement reflected the cooperation of the secretary and Richard Whitbourne, a captain and former supervisor of Vaughan's plantation on the island (Cell 1982:24). Whitbourne's knowledge of Newfoundland, its economy, and his devotion to the idea of settlement, drove him to produce several works promoting colonization of the island. The evidence suggests Calvert first came into contact with Whitbourne in 1620 when the secretary was part of a Privy Council commission which decided to publish and widely distribute the captain's 1620 treatise *A Discourse and Discovery of New-Found-Land* (Cell 1982:100, 101; Menard 1985:16). Through his position on the council and his relationship with Henry Cary, Lord Falkland, Calvert secured the inclusion of a series of letters from Wynne and other agents at Ferryland in the 1622 and 1623 versions of the *Discourse*. Falkland, like Calvert had received land in Newfoundland from Sir William Vaughan. Portions of their Newfoundland plantations were adjacent, South Falkland lying just to the south of Calvert's grant, and the two men seemed to have previously known one another from Oxford, the Privy Council, or Ireland (Cell 1982:45). Perhaps not coincidentally, Cary had sat with Calvert on the same commission which promoted Whitbourne's *Discourse* and began to be advised on his colony by the captain soon thereafter (Cell 1982:38, 100). In addition to the inclusion of the Ferryland letters, the tract also contained contact information for Calvert. Whitbourne specifically mentioned

Calvert's project citing the certain success of the venture with the help of additional investors, claiming that the secretary was "well pleased to entertaine any such therein, as will repaire unto him, upon fit and convenient conditions" (1622).

The incorporation of both Calvert and Falkland's material in Whitbourne's publications signaled an increased cooperation between the two neighboring colonies and their sponsors. In 1623 *A Short Discourse of the New-found-land* was published. This tract was written by T. C., likely Thomas Cary, a relative of Falkland (Cell 1982:39). The publication was printed in Dublin and aimed specifically at Irish investment, particularly the Old English families (Cell 1982:38). The collaboration of the two men suggests a dual interest in this group of possible investors and that they also shared a London office for recruitment (Cell 1982:50). A 1623 letter to Falkland illustrates his connection with Calvert when it described Master Bawle "a gentleman of the privy Chamber" who was interested in becoming a governor or other high officer in one of the two colonies (Welstead 1623). Upon receiving this honor, Bawle allegedly claimed that "he would adventure both his person and the best parte of his estate" continuing that "Other gentlemen there be of his quality with desire to be adventurers some in person others estate" (Welstead 1623). Though there are no surviving records of these recruitment outcomes, they demonstrate the strategy of Falkland and Calvert to recruit men of quality capable of bolstering their colonies with both funds and settlers.

In addition to the published works mentioned above, Calvert's Newfoundland plantation received mention in various other promotional literature of the time. Though these works were probably not specifically commissioned by Calvert, they may have contributed to interest in his Newfoundland project. The first of these publications was *An*

Encouragement to Colonies (1624) by Sir William Alexander. Another 1624 tract was Richard Eburne's *Plaine Path-Way to Plantations* that described the progress of Calvert's plantation and suggested that the secretary was "well pleased to entertain any that will either adventure with him or serve under him upon very fit and fair conditions" (1624 III:107). Two of the other publications praising the enterprise came from Sir William Vaughan. Both Vaughan's Latin *Cambrensiū Careolia* (1625) and *The Golden Fleece* (1626) commended the work of Calvert and his agents in developing the Newfoundland plantation. A later work by Robert Hayman entitled *Quodlibets* (1628) reflected similar sentiments. Though all these tracts were produced to further the settlement of Newfoundland in general, their specific mention of Calvert's settlement or the subsequent Province of Avalon, must have contributed to interest in emigration.

5.2.2 St. Mary's and Maryland

In contrast to the Newfoundland enterprise, recruitment for the Province of Maryland drew upon a well-organized campaign of published promotional tracts. This literary campaign for Maryland settlement was in many ways filled with the generic call-to-profit of so many contemporary publications put out to draw investors and planters to the various seventeenth-century North American settlements. Despite some of the similarities these works may have had with existing literature, they offer some potential for understanding the types of settlers and speculators that they were meant to attract. The first official publication related to Maryland was not so much a promotional piece but a defensive one, made in response to Virginian claims against the grant (Krugler 2004:119). The 1633 *Objections Answered Touching Mariland* was submitted to the Lords

Commissioners for Foreign Plantations and was an attempt by Baltimore, and likely the Jesuits, to confront the heavy opposition to the charter (Hanley 1957:332; Krugler 2004:119). At the root of many of the early attacks on the charter were economic motivations. The fears of some Virginian interests regarding Maryland competition in the various trades were the very same elements of many of the subsequent promotional tracts that most appealed to prospective adventurers, the potential for their economic prosperity in the New World.

Unlike the Avalon venture, a promotional tract was printed and distributed even prior to the departure of the first ships to Maryland. This work was *A Declaration of Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Maryland* published in 1633. This tract has been credited to Father Andrew White, a man Krugler describes as the Calverts' "major publicist" in the Maryland venture (Wroth 1983:9; Krugler 2004:102, 134). The *Declaration* briefly laid out the proposed model for Maryland, describing the intentions, land allotment strategy, trade potential, and fauna of the region. This work was designed to recruit additional Protestant planters to the venture, whose membership Baltimore understood to be necessary in order to reduce the religious attacks from England (Carr and Papenfuss 1983:xx). In 1629 after returning from the Chesapeake, the first Lord Baltimore was alleged to "extol that country to the skies" and this publication did the same, using previously published accounts of Virginia and elsewhere as a template for the usual promotional themes (Pory 1630). The document also laid out the manorial strategy, the mainstay of the settlement design, informed interested parties how to arrange for shipping and the obtaining of servants, and pressed the advantage of the trade "and sundry other

incouragements & priviledges if they go in this first Voyage” urging potential adventurers that when they “repayre to my Lord, they shall better understand” (White 1633:2, 7).

The first work circulated after the establishment of St. Mary’s was *A Relation of the Successful Beginnings of the Lord Baltimore’s Plantation in Maryland* (1634). This document was comprised of elements of the *Relatio Itineris in Marylandium* and a similar English version, *A Briefe Relation of the Voyage unto Maryland* (Lee 1899:26). These two earlier works, though anonymously written, have also been accepted as the products of Father White who chronicled the Atlantic crossing and subsequent arrival and first weeks in Maryland. White’s journal was the first account of the new colony and spoke far more specifically of the realities facing any potential adventurers (Krugler 2004:134, 135).

The next piece of literature was published in 1635 as *A Relation of the Lord Baltemore’s Plantation in Maryland* and was in fact a compilation of numerous accounts from the early colony. This tract drew heavily upon White’s description and the authorship is evidenced by the later statement of William Peasley that claimed “A Relation of Marie Land...was written and conceived or composed by Mr. Jerome Haulie and Mr. John Lugar two of the adventurers to the said plantacon” (1637). This key promotional work included an account of the first settlement, a description of the flora and fauna of the province, a map of Maryland, specific directions for potential adventurers, a standard indenture contract, and the stipulations of the charter itself. Though still attempting to appeal to Protestants, the document contained within a list of the gentleman adventurers who traveled to the Chesapeake the year before, whose names and religion would have been explicit to many fellow recusants. Copies of these books

were “to bee had, at Master William Peasley Esquire; his house on the back-side of Drury-Lane” showing Calvert’s brother-in-law’s further involvement in the enterprise. “or in his absence, at Master John Morgans house in high Holbourne” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:N.p.). Furthermore, the tract discussed the most ideal types of servants to transport and that an interested party could be informed “how and where hee may provide himselfe of as many as hee please” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:52).

The final discourse for Maryland colonization that was produced before 1644 was *A Short Treatise Sett Downe* by Robert Wintour in 1635. This document apparently was never printed but instead passed around to prospective adventurers (Krugler 1976:7). Wintour was a Roman Catholic gentleman and traveled in the same circles as Baltimore and some of the 1634 gentlemen adventurers to Maryland. This tract is unique in that it was meant to appeal to a very specific portion of English society, the younger sons of the Catholic gentry (Krugler 1976:12). The document came in the form of a letter to a “C.J.R.”, Wintour’s friend Captain John Reade whom he was attempting to entice to join the venture (Krugler 1976:13). Wintour himself would later heed his own advice and immigrate to Maryland. All these promotional tracts were for the most part directed at potential investors, not prospective servants (Carr 2004:289). In a poorly literate society, the printed word failed to reach much of the population.

Other Recruitment Strategies

The Society of Jesus was most active in recruitment through less-documented methods. Using their contacts in the English Catholic community and through the transportation of their own servants, the Jesuits were one of, if not the most significant

force in recruitment during the first decade of Maryland. George Calvert understood this potential when he negotiated with the order for their involvement in the enterprise and their annual letter of 1633 reflects this participation claiming numerous Catholics had invested funds and “servants, these latter being of the first necessity there” (Society of Jesus 1633). The Fathers had, of necessity, created networks of communication and support throughout the English Catholic community and these webs of communication were implemented to gain support for the project (Krugler 1979:66). Tellingly, all of the gentry involved in the first voyage were connected to the Society (Bossy 1982:162). The covert promotional campaign of the priests was crucial in supplying adventurers and servants throughout the first decade.

The publication of pamphlets and treatises was not the Calverts’ only strategy to populate Maryland. After 1644, the leadership of seventeenth-century Maryland would continue to invite the immigration of various religious outsiders that saw in the province a place where they too could practice their faith in relative peace. Though for the most part, the Lutherans, Presbyterians, Quakers, and so on, largely came to Maryland in the decades following the 1630s and 1640s, there is evidence of this same strategy within the colony’s first decade of settlement. Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts Bay recorded in his journal an offer made by the Calverts to a Captain Gibbons of Boston in 1643 for “a tender of land in Maryland to any of ours that would transport themselves thither, with free liberty of religion, and all other privileges which the place affords” (1643). Though this invitation was not accepted, it was illustrative of the later policies of the Maryland government.

5.3 Peopling the Settlements

5.3.1 Ferryland and Avalon

The first inhabitants of the Ferryland settlement consisted of Edward Wynne and eleven others. A portion of these men arrived in Newfoundland on 17 August 1621, of whom Wynne wrote that “The 5 persons and provision from aboard the Benjamin, are safely arived here” (1621:11). It seems that this small group of men labored under the direction of the governor for most, if not all of the first year. Among the same packet of letters Wynne requested of Calvert various individuals to supply specific requirements of the upstart settlement as well as “about the number of twenty persons more” (1621:20). Wynne further acknowledged the shift of the project from infrastructure expansion to settlement and economic development with the assertion that “women would bee necessary heere for many respects” (1621:20). These requests were met in the following year. The majority of information regarding the individuals living and working at Ferryland in the next year of the project also come from the letters of Edward Wynne, specifically one in 1622 in which he submitted a list of 32 “names of all those that stay with me this yeere” (1622b:14). Many of these 32 were brought out by Captain Daniel Powell “who conducted the new supply of men, that went for the Plantation” in the spring of that year (1622:6). In the same letters Wynne sent a list of individuals he saw necessary for the growth of the colony, writing

that such be sent hither hereafter, may be such men as shall be of good strength: whereof wee stand in need of sixe Masons, foure Carpenters, two or three good Quarry men, a Slator or two, a Lyme-burner...a couple of strong maids...and a convenient number of West-country labourers to fit the ground for the Plough (1622b:12).

Wynne also requested tailors and a gunner though not before warning “that no more boyes or girls be sent hither, I meane, upon your Honours charge, nor any other persons which have not beene brought up to labour: for they are unfit for these affaires” (1622:12-13). Wynne’s caution suggests some of the same issues of idleness facing early Jamestown and echoes John Smith’s claim that “such Gallants as were sent me...could doe nothing but complaine, curse, and despaire, when they saw our miseries” (1631).

From 1623 to 1625, we have very few clues regarding the population growth of the Ferryland settlement. In the latter year, Calvert’s colony became the royal grant of the Province of Avalon. At that time Calvert was taking a greater interest in his Newfoundland property as he withdrew from politics and perhaps this was reflected in his recruitment for the settlement. The documentary record is silent. However, the archaeological evidence strongly suggests that Wynne received at least a large portion of the thirteen or fourteen additional tradesmen he requested in 1622. The enormous amount of construction completed after Wynne’s final surviving letter to Calvert in 1622 demonstrates a significant workforce, including the specific expertise of the “slator” and “lyme-burner” that he had asked for (Wynne 1622b:12). Another possibility is that the Ferryland settlement saw a slow population increase from fishermen abandoned or given the option to remain in the New World to make way for extra cargo space and supplies, in the same way that the numbers of the New England settlements were yearly bolstered in the period (Vickers 1994:131). Population research focusing on the region in the latter part of the century has identified the names of a handful of individuals who had arrived in the settlement during the 1620s, though their precise date and methods of arrival remains uncertain (Pope 2004:57, 532-535). Undoubtedly, there were additional arrivals during

this period. Once the surviving documentary record reemerges in 1625, the nature of the colony had undergone significant changes. This year ended a period where settlement had probably not seen the same focus that economic pursuits had. With the retirement of Calvert from his government duties, coinciding with his open commitment to Roman Catholicism, he increased his efforts on populating his Province of Avalon.

Discussing the Avalon developments in May of 1625, Stock wrote “of those that thought to go some have departed without regulars or seculars, some have gone to Ireland, while the others are dispersed here and there, though yet with the hopes of departing this coming year” (1625e). Those that departed without clergy were probably accompanying the new manager of Avalon, Sir Arthur Aston and consisted of the “Fifteen or twenty more Catholics” mentioned by Stock in March of that year (1625f). The Irish group was the Lord Baltimore and his household. Perhaps additional settlers followed Calvert to County Wexford and his township and manor of Clohamon. According to the contemporary report of John Mason, Baltimore was prepared “for the transportation of him selfe and 80 persons” to Newfoundland aboard two vessels (1625). His plans were thwarted however and a 1625 letter to the Reverend Joseph Mead recorded that Calvert “was going to Newfoundland, but is stayed” due to heightened concerns about a potential war with Spain (Anon 1625; Cell 1982:52).

Early in 1627 Stock wrote that “those Christians from Avalon have come here and in the spring intend to return” (1627). Apparently Aston and some portion of the Catholics that accompanied him to Newfoundland returned to England in 1626 or 1627. There is no evidence that the settlement was abandoned during this period; instead, it has been proposed that it was placed under another’s charge while Aston attended to some

unknown business (Codignola 1988:42). Though Aston intended to return to Avalon, circumstances led him to leave Calvert's employ. By May, Baltimore was instead planning to voyage in person on the vessel secured for Aston and prepared for his Newfoundland passage that had been aborted two years earlier. Planning on returning to England by "Michaelmas", at the end of September, this was a journey to assess his estate that by then he considered grossly mismanaged (Calvert 1627). In October of that year, Stock mentioned the arrangements for priests for the settlement to tend to "the Catholics there, who are approximately twenty" (1627b). This note likely refers to the twenty or so Catholics that accompanied Baltimore on his trip to Newfoundland earlier that year (Codignola 1988:163). What is unclear is whether these individuals that joined Calvert in 1627 remained behind when he returned to England. What we do know is that Baltimore immediately began preparations to return to his province, this time to establish himself on the island with plans to "remain there himself in person for some certain yeares" (Charles I 1628).

In 1628 Lord Baltimore was granted a license by the king for himself, "his wife and family, and such other of our good and Loving subjectes as shall bee willing with him to transport themselves thither" to Avalon (Charles I 1628). Calvert's family and household must have been a significant part of the "100 Persons" he mentioned residing in the settlement during the winter of 1628/9 (1629b). Other than Cecil Calvert, who remained in England, all of Baltimore's children and son-in-laws accompanied him to Ferryland. Judging by the later figures given by Baltimore, a number in the region of at least 50 settlers, in addition to his family and household, appear to have voyaged to Ferryland with him in 1628 (Cell 1982:293). According to a 1630 letter to Propaganda

Fide, "Calvert took with him not only Protestants, but some Catholics, who were happy to travel thither and escape the rising storm of persecution in England" (Lagonissa 1630). It is also important to acknowledge that during part of the summer of 1628, Baltimore was forced to accommodate the 67 French prisoners at Ferryland, bringing the total number of residents perhaps closer to 200 individuals (Cell 1982:288).

The year 1629 saw a significant reduction in the population of Ferryland and the greater Province of Avalon. That August, Calvert wrote that he had sent his children back to England, after a particularly trying winter (Cell 1982:292). Later that year, Lady Baltimore would also depart Ferryland, sailing not to England but for Virginia. Her departure for the Chesapeake marked the first concrete step in the shifting focus of Baltimore to a land grant in that region of North America. Writing to Cottington, Calvert described the approximately 40 planters in his "company" who planned to continue on with him to the Tidewater colony (1629). These 40 people must have been Calvert's followers for he wrote in 1629 that "unlesse this Portion be granted me I am utterly undone in my reputation and authority with these people who have putt themselves under my gouvernement" (Calvert 1629; Lahey 1982:130). With the earlier departure of Baltimore's family and household, and finally himself and religious cohort, the population of Avalon was significantly reduced. This also must be coupled with the ten or so settlers that had died during the winter of 1628/9 (Cell 1982:296). In a 1631 letter from Stock it is confirmed that "nearly all the Catholics who were there" had returned with Calvert to England and those who remained in the settlement were "some thirty heretics and two or three Catholic women, with no priest or minister" (1631).

5.3.2 St. Mary's and Maryland

The exact number of colonists onboard the *Ark* and *Dove* as they sailed for Maryland has been a source of debate. There are discrepancies in the documentary record. The promotional literature is one source; the 1635 *Relation*, stated "the number of neere 200 people, imbarked theselves for the voyage" (Hawley and Lewger 1635:2). In contrast, the second Lord Baltimore's 1633 account to Wentworth claimed that "two of my Brothers gone with very near twenty other Gentlemen of very good Fashion, and three hundred labouring Men" (Calvert 1633). The documentary evidence suggests that the oath of allegiance was taken by 128 passengers at Gravesend, though the vessels may have taken additional Roman Catholic passengers at the Isle of Wight (Ives 1936:108). Recent historians suggest that the Jesuits and other Catholics either boarded after the oaths were given or hid onboard the vessels, proposing a passenger list in the range of 131 to 148 souls (Carr *et al.* 1984:2). Most of the counts suggested above are valid but for the purpose of consistency, this examination will use the figure of 200 submitted in the 1635 *Relation* as the approximate original number of voyagers to Maryland. The aforementioned account was written in part by Hawley, a passenger and eyewitness, and falls well below the largest figure given by Baltimore. If the number was overstated for the purpose of promotion, it was not excessively so, based upon the quantity administered the oath at Gravesend. Indeed, when Baltimore later wrote to the Lords Commissioners for Foreign Plantations he corroborated this statement when he wrote of "having seated already above two hundred people" in Maryland (Calvert n.d.b).

Following the initial settlement, with the loss of "about a dozen" in the Atlantic crossing, there was a steady influx of additional colonists to the province throughout the

first decade (White 1633b). There is no evidence for the arrival of a second voyage orchestrated by Baltimore and the other investors, such as the one that arrived in 1634 (Karinen 1959:369). However, the *Relation of the Successful Beginnings* ends dated 15 July 1634 with the suggestion that potential adventurers need make arrangements for the transportation in Baltimore's "shipping; beyond which time it will not be possible for any to partake in this second Voyage" (White 1634:14). The title itself referenced the land allotment conditions "for the second voyage intended this present yeere, 1634" (White 1634:N.p.). The results of this voyage, if it did occur, are unknown. Certainly, new planters and servants arrived in a piecemeal fashion onboard the various merchant vessels already voyaging to the Chesapeake. An additional source of newcomers was Virginia where many appreciated the liberal land grants promised by Baltimore. By far though, the largest population of new arrivals to the province was indentured servants. These men, women, and children were, for the most part, shipped over by the Maryland gentry and the Jesuits. A later deposition revealed that the Calvert family, in the first year alone transported as many as 40 of these servants to Maryland (Bernard 1949:98). Those servants that survived the seasoning, a period of illness referred to in 1638 as "the common sickness prevailing in the colony" brought on by malaria, dysentery, or other ailments, and completed their indentures could begin the process of forming their own plantations and in some cases one day import indentured servants of their own (Society of Jesus 1638). Also, the continued implementation of the promotional campaign, such as the 1635 publication of the *Relation* demonstrates that additional English settlers were actively being recruited for the province.

In 1638 European population estimates for St. Mary's County were around 200 individuals, with that of all of Maryland being only 100 more in the range of 312 (Karinen 1959:369, 376). The next year's data suggests a significant rise for St. Mary's, within the range of 240 to 280 (Karinen 1959:376). With the turn of the decade, a suggested range for St. Mary's County was between 350 and 400 individuals, including the 1637 annexation of Kent Island (Karinen 1959:375; Menard 1985:41). Though originally settled as a separate entity from Maryland, the Kent Island community would later be incorporated into the province.

Based on the Maryland Assembly data from 1642, the total European population of the province was between 500 and 650 people (Karinen 1959:370). The great majority of this population growth occurred in the years between 1634 and 1640 where it stabilized or slightly declined until the end of the studied period (Menard 1985:41). Though these numbers may be impressive in relation to the Newfoundland statistics, the province was slow to populate, especially in comparison to the growth in Virginia or New England (Land 1981:26).

5.4 Socioeconomic Status

It is possible to effectively divide the socioeconomic spectrum that made up these New World plantations in much the same way that this aspect of life was viewed at the time, in the tripartite system of sorts: the best, the middling, and the lower or meaner (Wrightson 1991). All of these fluid classes of English society were present in both Newfoundland and Maryland during the first decade of each settlement, with the further addition of chattel slavery in the latter colony. This final category of people was

essentially property owned by members of the highest socioeconomic bracket, the gentry. Though the North American colonies in some ways restructured the meanings of these status designations, it is important to understand how they were seen in England at the time. Keith Wrightson gives a breakdown of what he refers to as the way in which this “hierarchy of estates and degrees” was perceived in the period, starting at the top of the scale with the “titular nobility; knights, esquires, and ‘mere’ gentlemen; leading citizens and members of the learned professions; yeoman farmers; husbandmen; artisans; cottagers and laborers; and paupers” (1991:35). Though these categories were significantly blurred and open to interpretation, especially in the challenging social environment of the New World, they offer a sound starting point for the analysis of these differences in the two colonial populations discussed below.

5.4.1 Ferryland and Avalon

The socioeconomic ranking of the earliest Calvert-sanctioned settlers at Ferryland is evident from the list of 32 individuals living at the community in 1622. Edward Wynne and Daniel Powell were trained soldiers and likely lesser Welsh gentry. Also at the top of the list and presumably positioned there owing to their social rank, were the names of Nicholas Hoskins and Robert Stoning. The only documentation associated with the former comes from a 1622 letter he wrote to William Peasley styled for publication as “a Gentleman living at Ferryland” (Hoskins 1622:15). Stoning seems to have been of similar stock. We know that upon his arrival at Ferryland in 1622 he carried with him letters from George Calvert which may imply his standing in the enterprise (Wynne 1622:1). In addition, Wynne wrote of the “stones, kernels and seeds that Stoning brought me” again

implying his deeper involvement in the venture (1622b:11). Hoskins wrote of himself and “Master Stoning” venturing into the woods to the east of Ferryland to assess the potential of the land (1622:16). A final member of the upper ranks of Ferryland related to the spiritual wellbeing of the settlers. In 1621 Wynne wrote Calvert of the need of a “learned and a religious Minister” (1621:20). Though he does not appear to have lingered long with his flock, as his name is not seen on Wynne’s list, we can see earlier in 1622 that “upon the last of June Master James came hither”, this being the minister Richard James (Wynne 1622:1; Birch 1848:53). Also present in this period was the “Salt-maker Master John Hickson” (Wynne 1622:1). Despite being a tradesman, however specialized, the title of master may denote a high social ranking for the man (Simpson and Weiner 1989e:444).

The first two years of the settlement has some of the best documentary evidence regarding the names and economic status of the people residing there. However, after Wynne’s replacement in 1625 there are a few individuals of note, primarily the second governor of Avalon, Sir Arthur Aston. Though from a later account, there is a 1630 reference to “another gentleman of about the same rank, but a heretic” involved in the Avalon enterprise (Lagonissa 1630). Although there is no indication who this other man was, Aston was an English Knight from a wealthy and powerful Roman Catholic family.

With the more personal involvement of Baltimore in the late 1620s comes more information regarding individuals of high socioeconomic status at Ferryland. In 1627 when Calvert journeyed to Avalon to assess his investment, he was one of the highest ranking individuals to ever step foot on the island. According to *Quodlibets*, in 1627 the “right worshipfull William Robinson...Esquire, come over to see Newfound-Land with

my Lord of Baltamore” (Hayman 1628:100). Though he likely did not stay on after Baltimore’s departure, the presence in Ferryland of an esquire is of note, a title generally reserved for gentlemen holding places of esteem in their communities (Wrightson 1991:39). Also accompanying Calvert were members of the Roman Catholic clergy who often travelled under the secular aliases of gentlemen, a rank that they were frequently accustomed to. When Baltimore returned to Avalon the following year he was accompanied by numerous other high ranking individuals. The documentary record is most informative regarding the clergy and his family members including his sons-in-law William Peasley and Sir Robert Talbot. Also present in Ferryland during that period was the Anglican minister Erasmus Stourton.

George Calvert was an English knight and Irish Baron, not to mention the former secretary of state. He and his family were accustomed to a much more comfortable lifestyle than the majority of Englishmen. The arrival of gentry in the New World was far from a singular occurrence; Roanoke and Jamestown, among other colonies, had many note-worthies as adventurers. However, that does not detract from the fact that the makeup of Ferryland in 1627 had a significant population of gentry. These were the rank of society who, when forced to decide which necessities of daily life they would need to meet their requirements in a distant and sparsely populated island, chose expensive Ming porcelains and other such social trumpery (Miller 2005).

From the 1622 list there is also evidence of some of the middling sort dwelling at Ferryland. One man representing the “learned professions” was a surgeon by the name of Roger Fleshmen who appears to have been accompanied by his son Digory who was young enough to be considered one of the “Boyes” overwintering that year (Wynne

1622b:14; Wrightson 1991:35). There is also some evidence of individuals who had come, not as servants or employees of the project but to settle and plant within the bounds of Calvert's land; their presence could be confirmation of an early settlement strategy. The names of husband and wife, John and Anne Bayly, along with presumably John's mother the "Widdow Bayly" appear to represent a settling family (Wynne 1622b:14). Henry Dring, listed as a "Husbandman" could represent one such person, although it should be acknowledged that Calvert was actively pursuing the raising of cattle in his colony and Dring could have been enlisted to further these goals (Wynne 1622b:14).

Also included among this socioeconomic bracket would have been the various tradesmen mention by Wynne in his letters. The tailor William Sharpus and his wife Elizabeth were residents of the community by 1622, though Wynne still requested that Calvert "send Taylors" (1622b:13). There were two smiths to operate the smithy on the western edge of the fortified community. Thomas Wilson and John Prater must have forged much of the hardware needed in the buildings being constructed in the early years. They also would have had to fix tools and weapons in a land far from a monger and long between resupply vessels. These men probably aided some of the English fishing vessels who would have seen the great benefit in a resident smithy, not to mention the desire of Calvert and his agents to have positive relations with the migratory fishery. Quarrying and working the local slate was the aptly named Benjamin Hacker, and fitting it was the vocation of James Bevell the "Stone-layer" (Wynne 1622b:15). Nicholas Hinckson, Robert Bennet, and William Hatch were carpenters. These men played the largest role in constructing many of the early timber-framed structures raised on the south side of The Pool. Beyond the listed construction crew at Ferryland, Wynne had much grander projects

in mind. Asking Calvert to “give expresse order” to the following requests, Wynne asked for “sixe Masons, foure Carpenters, two or three good Quarry men, a Slator or two” and a lime burner (1622b:12). Representing the primary means of income for the settlement, and the way to which Calvert hoped to recover his investment, was the cod fishery. The attempts to cultivate this venture at Ferryland and establish a resident-based fishery can be seen in the inhabitants of the colony in the early years. Of the 32 residents, 3 were listed as “boats-masters”, another was simply a “fisherman”, and yet another was a cooper to assist in the storage of the catch (Wynne 1622b:14).

At the lowest end of the social ladder were the servants. Among those listed were three boys and two girls, all save for Fleshman were likely maids, servants, or apprentices. These children inspired Wynne to implore Calvert to send only those willing and able to work and that no more youngsters be sent (1622b:14). Wynne’s request implies that the majority of the aforementioned youths may have been employed or transported by the proprietor. Sibell Dee is listed as a maid and Mary Russell probably shared her profession but Wynne requested more, asking for proficient domestics “that (besides other worke) can both brew and bake” (1622b:14).

5.4.2 St. Mary’s and Maryland

One of the failures of Calvert’s Newfoundland colony was the apparent inability of the venture to appeal to members of England’s affluent families. George Calvert was never able to populate his Province of Avalon with the types of settlers that, through their social standing, would facilitate a stable and growing settlement. Menard suggests that this failure was in part due to the poor allure of the fishery for such wealthy individuals,

claiming Baltimore specifically “rewrote his charter with an eye towards enhancing the possibility of creating a landed gentry in Maryland” (1985:19). George Calvert’s answer was the implementation of a manorial system of land grants. Theoretically, these affluent manorial lords would also bring in large numbers of servants. As the indentures expired, new servants would be transported to the settlement. The released workers would then rent property or establish their own plantations. Though this would never be a reality on the shores of Newfoundland, George Calvert saw the necessity to establish Maryland with the numbers and wealth necessary to ensure the new province’s long-term survival and growth.

A key to the Maryland design was the recruitment of the gentry. Whereas the titles and other commendations granted by the Avalon charter failed to entice many affluent individuals, the implementation of the manorial aspects of Maryland was designed to change the second colony’s fate. The subsequent promotional campaign was in large part focused on the younger sons of the English Catholic gentry. The Calverts were not the first to attempt this strategy; Sir Humphrey Gilbert had envisioned a similar Catholic New World settlement scheme in the 1580s (Carr and Papenfuse 1983:xiii). These types of men would be ideal for the venture in that they were not eligible for the great inheritances of their first-born brothers and as young men they would perhaps be more willing to adventure to distant and unfamiliar lands. At least for the first decade of Maryland, aspects of this plan appeared to be working. In a further attempt to appeal to the upper range of English society, the names of the genteel adventurers “gone in person to this Plantation” were published in the 1635 *Relation* (Hawley and Lewger 1635:56). This list of gentlemen, esquires, a captain, and the children of noble birth such as “Richard Gerard,

son to Sir Thomas Gerard Knight and Baronet" or the sons of "Lady Anne Wintour" and so on, was representative of the highest status group in early Maryland (Hawley and Lewger 1635:56). In the treatise written by Captain Wintour before his own voyage to the province, he described this population of "Master adventorors" as "men well borne of noble education great frends, not bankrupts either in meanes or credit" who could continue to "live in their owne country as highe in repute and esteeme amongst the best" (Wintour 1635). According to Wintour, these adventurers had to be approved by Cecil Calvert, who was "rather cautious and wary whom he admits into so noble a society" he required the proper recommendations and assurance that these men were "free from any taints in life and manners" (1635). Given the financial pressures placed upon Baltimore's purse at the time, this level of character-based caution seems unlikely. Despite the process of selection, the numbers of gentry onboard the first ships to Maryland were relatively insignificant, particularly upon comparison with the initial population of Jamestown that had approximately 50 percent claiming that rank (Horn 1994:27).

Near the close of Maryland's first decade, there still existed a relatively vibrant, yet still predominately Catholic, gentry in the province. In 1642 there were six men worthy of the title esquire and another thirteen that of a gentleman (Menard and Carr 1982:202). As was the development elsewhere in the English world, in Maryland the gentry were not solely a leisured class; instead, they were actively involved in all aspects of the colonial economy (Menard and Carr 1982:202; Wrightson 1991:38). Few of these gentlemen were among those who arrived in 1634, and only Governor Calvert, Thomas Cornwallis, and two others remained in the province by 1642 (Menard 1985:51). Of the original "Gentlemen adventurers", some had succumbed to the Tidewater seasoning and

died, while others had moved on (Hawley and Lewger 1635:56). This touches on one of the major differences regarding the gentry when it came to settlement; whereas for most New World emigration was a one-way ticket, this was not always the case for the upper class (Menard 1985:99). The New World was often seen as a way (often inappropriately so) for young gentlemen to accrue a fortune and return home to England. Unfortunately, the inability of Baltimore to establish a permanent ruling class failed to create the stability he saw as a key to ensuring the success of the colony (Menard 1985:100). In some ways this aspect of early Maryland society contributed to the 1645 overthrow of the province.

Relatively few men or women of the middling ranks were present in early Maryland (Menard and Carr 1982:200). Nonetheless, from a 1642 list of freemen, there were numerous vocations that fell into this social bracket including barber-surgeons, a blacksmith, brickmason, boat builders, carpenters, coopers, and so forth (Menard and Carr 1982:202). While many of these tradesmen and artisans may have first come to the colony in the 1630s as servants, by that time they had earned their freedom. Given the low numbers of skilled craftspeople in the Chesapeake and the high wages they could earn, these men were able to secure a comfortable lifestyle for themselves in early Maryland.

The middle range of Maryland society would become dominated by ex-servants who had satisfied their indentures (Menard and Carr 1982:201). The province offered the potential for relatively quick socioeconomic movement for many in an upward process where “servants became freemen, freemen became planters, and planters became freeholders” (Menard and Carr 1982:204). Freed servants who lived more than a decade beyond the end of their indenture were likely to be landowners (Carr 1992:283).

While “upward mobility remained high for men of talent” in Maryland, for every success story, there were countless more who died before acquiring land of their own, or who struggled for their remaining days leaving little permanent mark in the documentary record (Land 1981:30). The majority of recently freed servants remained dependent on their former masters as tenants, unable to release themselves from the network of loans necessary to cultivate and sell tobacco (Menard and Carr 1982:201). Nonetheless, Maryland offered very real possibilities that England did not, and this “control of one’s life” was the attraction for many (Carr 1992:282). Those individuals who did not arrive in Maryland as freemen had a very real chance to improve their social standing, if not finding their way to the very top, at least to the middle (Carr 1992:284).

Forming one of the lowest social rungs of the province, and the largest population group, was the indentured servants and recently freed laborers working as tenants or on small plantations of their own. There were an estimated six servants to every freeman in the first years of the settlement, shifting slightly to seven to every three by 1637 (Wyckoff 1936:61). The 1635 *Relation* suggested that the more affluent adventurers choose servants skilled in various trades that might assist their fledgling plantations such as a “Carpenter...Mill-wright, Ship-wright, Boate-wright, Wheele-wright, Brick-maker, Brick-layer, Potter; one that can cleave Lath and Pale, and make Pipe-staves, &c. A Joyner, Cooper, Turner, Sawyer, Smith, Cutler, Leather-dresser, Miller, Fisherman, and Gardiner[s]” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:52). Tradesmen were not the only suggested group of servants for the same tract claimed “any lusty young able man, that is willing to labour and take paines” would do (Hawley and Lewger 1635:52).

The Jesuits wrote of the province in 1638 that “settlements of this kind are not usually supplied from the best class of men” though there were exceptions such as the man “of noble birth” that “had been reduced to such poverty by his own unrestrained licentiousness, that he sold himself into this colony” (Society of Jesus 1638). In some cases, as with enslaved persons, indentures were commoditized and traded (Games 1999:89). Unlike servant duties in England, the Maryland contracts were longer and offered fewer rights to the indentured individuals when it came to their treatment (Carr 2004:293). This, coupled with the a ten to fourteen hour work day, six days of the week, made for a laborious four-year contract (Menard and Carr 1982:204-205).

At the very lowest rung of the social ladder were the enslaved laborers. The labor of first-period Maryland did not generally consist of enslaved Africans or Native Americans; that bracket was dominated by the indentured servants. Though some of the latter category “called their circumstances slavery”, there was a clear difference between an indenture and chattel slavery (Carr 2004:293). On the first voyage to Maryland the Jesuits seemed to have brought on a man of African descent, Matthias de Souse though he was not a slave but a servant who eventually sat on the Maryland Assembly (Carr *et al.* 1984:34). In 1638, Secretary of Virginia Richard Kemp responded to Baltimore’s request for labor discussing “Ten Negroes to be transported to St. Maryes for your use” though it is unclear whether or not the individuals were ever delivered (1638). Later, in the early 1640s a labor shortage forced Leonard Calvert to attempt to sell his Maryland properties for seventeen slaves, though the plan never came to fruition (Carr *et al.* 1984:34). One of the few pieces of documentary evidence regarding slavery in Maryland’s first decade came from an estate inventory of Cornwallis, who in the mid-1640s had three enslaved

workers (Riordan 2004:196). Although Maryland would later become the home to a slave labor-based economy, the first years of the province did not see a significant enslaved workforce on its plantations.

5.5 Religion

The topic of George Calvert's retirement from government and his subsequent reversion to Roman Catholicism has dominated many of the past analyses of his and his son's colonial projects. Nonetheless, religious motivation, identity, and dispute are crucial aspects of this analysis and had a profound influence on nearly every aspect of life in the two colonies.

The largest religious disparity between the two colonial projects is in regard to the practiced faith of the proprietors. When George Calvert first became involved in Newfoundland colonization, he was overtly a practicing member of the Church of England and remained so until his reversion to Roman Catholicism in 1625. In 1623, when the charter for the Province of Avalon was written and sealed, it was seen by the king as a land grant deeded to a Protestant subject. However, it is of import, as some have pointed out, that the Avalon document failed to include the oath of supremacy, common to other contemporary charters and the bane of English Catholics (Ives 1936:49; Lahey 1982:119). The documentary record suggests that even at that time Calvert was coming to terms with his religious faith and may have specifically left this clause out of the charter. In Newfoundland, George Calvert and his heirs were given the right to establish "the Patronages and advousons of all churches which (as Christian Religion shall increase) within the sayd Region" (James I 1623). These rights were granted with the clause "that

no Interpretation be admitted thereof, whereby Gods holy & true Christian Religion, or the allegiance due to us...may in any things sufferr" (James I 1623). Interestingly, and perhaps tellingly, the language used was decidedly vague. The charter for Maryland however was written by and for a Catholic proprietor. The Maryland document again granted the same "licence and power, to build and found Churches, Chappells, and Oratories" within the grant (Hawley and Lewger 1635:60). However, there was a notable difference related to the faith of the Calverts: the additional clause that these structures "be dedicated, and consecrated according to the Ecclesiasticall Lawes of our Kingdome of England" (Hawley and Lewger 1635:60). This new addition made it clear that the erection of public Roman Catholic churches would not be abided by the crown.

5.5.1 Ferryland and Avalon

There are two different religious periods in the history of the Calvert's Newfoundland settlement. The first phase was from the founding in 1621 to roughly 1625, a period when George Calvert was involved in the English government and at least publicly a Protestant. The second period in Ferryland and Avalon's religious history relates to the subsequent phase, from 1625 to Calvert's departure from Newfoundland for Virginia in 1629 during which the province took on a decidedly Roman Catholic influence.

Protestant Period (1621-1625)

While there may be some evidence for the Roman Catholic leanings of George Calvert in this period, there is none that suggests the same for his first appointed leader.

As early as 1621 Wynne requested that Calvert send “a learned and a religious Minister: that then your Honour may be pleased by Gods assistance” (1621:20). It seems that the same year, Wynne’s request was answered with the arrival of “Master James” at the end of June, and judging by the fact that he carried various letters from Calvert, he was probably personally commissioned by the secretary (1621:1). This man was the scholar and traveler Richard James who was later recalled to have been “sent minister thither” to Ferryland (Mead 1630; Rollmann 1997:48). By 1622 James had apparently moved on from Ferryland as he was not mentioned among the 32 who resided in the community that winter (Wynne 1622b:14; Rollmann 1997:48). From 1622 to 1625 there is no further record of clergy in Ferryland or the religious life of the settlement. This was all to change with the coming reversion of Calvert and the subsequent shift in the leadership of Ferryland.

Roman Catholic Period (1625-1629)

At some point in 1624 or 1625 Wynne was replaced by Sir Arthur Aston, who in contrast to the Welshman was a Roman Catholic. There is evidence that Aston was introduced to Calvert by the Discalced Carmelite Father Simon Stock, a man who also took credit for the secretary’s conversion. Regardless of introduction, both were part of the relatively small and close-knit English Catholic gentry. While the commission of Aston did not necessarily change the economic focus of the Newfoundland project, from that point on, Ferryland took on a different role than it had previously. For the first time, there is evidence that Calvert and some of his coreligionists saw Avalon as a place they could economically thrive while having the freedom to practice their religion openly.

Calvert's newfound faith did not transform Ferryland into a Roman Catholic settlement. The great majority of the settlers in Calvert's province were Protestant, and he apparently continued to bear the responsibility of providing Anglican ministers. The Reverend Erasmus Stourton was one such cleric who became a resident of Ferryland in 1627, likely by Calvert's own invitation (Lahey 1998:29). This man was described by Hayman in 1628 as "Preacher of the Word of God, and Parson of Ferry Land" (1628 II:102).

The first recorded attempt to recruit Catholic clergy for the province comes from Stock's letters to Rome. In a series of correspondences sent in 1625, Stock repeatedly sought available clergymen claiming that some colonists had already "departed without regulars or seculars", while many more recusants "would go to live there were sufficient members of the clergy to accompany them" (1625e; 1625g). Accepting that no priests from his own order would be willing or able to venture to Newfoundland, he wrote in 1627 that he had "procured two secular priests to go thither" (Stock 1627b). These two secular priests were Anthony Pole and Thomas Longville and they first arrived at Ferryland with Baltimore on his initial voyage to the province in 1627. According to Stourton, Father Longville left with Calvert after the short visit to the island and Pole remained behind in the community (Stourton 1628; Lahey 1998:28). When Baltimore returned to Ferryland with his family in 1628 he was accompanied by another priest, Father Hacket, which may have been either an alias for the priest Anthony Whitehair or perhaps a member of the Irish clergy (Lahey 1998:44).

In a letter from Stock to Rome regarding the Jesuit involvement in the enterprise he wrote "two fathers of the Society went thither around Easter of the year 1629 and

returned here before the following feast of the Nativity of Our Lord” (1631). These two men, Fathers Alexander Baker and Lawrence Rigby, left Ferryland soon thereafter with Baltimore and his followers bound for Virginia and then England (Hughes 1907:198, 199; Codignola 1988:186). These events effectively marked the end of the first decade of Calvert’s Newfoundland enterprise and the dawning of the Maryland venture. In the same letter, Stock recalled that Baltimore was “sorry to be back and says that it is his intention to return thither once more” and significantly, that he was cooperating with the Jesuits on the new venture (1631).

Religious Tensions

With the commission of Aston, a new religious dichotomy came to the Province of Avalon. A letter to Propaganda Fide, the Catholic Church’s organization overseeing missionary efforts, touched upon the source of the tensions, in that Calvert was allegedly accompanied by both Catholics and Protestants (Lenhart 1929:505). The first recorded religious dispute resulted from the concerns of Erasmus Stourton. By October of 1628, Stourton was in Plymouth, England where he reported the Roman Catholic clergy and rites taking place in the colony and stated his plans to pursue the matter with the Council of Lords at London (Lenhart 1929:505). Among other things, Stourton claimed that the Catholic clergy did unlawfully “every sunday sayth Masse” practicing the “ceremonies of the church of Rome in as ample a maner as tis used in Spayne”, and noted with repugnance that: “this examinant hath seene them at Masse” (1628). The Roman Catholic clergy on the Continent were also less-than pleased with the arrangements, when the Nuncio in Flanders wrote in 1630 of the dual practices in Ferryland that “the heretics do

as they please” (English College 1630). A report sent to Rome in 1630 claimed that “under Calvert’s roof; in one part, Mass was said according to the Catholic rite; in another, the heretics performed their functions” (Lagonissa 1630). This account does not necessarily suggest that simultaneous services occurred within Baltimore’s 10.9 by 7 m hall (36 by 23 ft); rather, it may imply that they were merely carried out in various buildings of his compound or within the bounds of the fortified community (Gaulton 2010 pers. comm.).

The open practice of the Catholic faith was not Stourton’s only complaint. The Reverend’s other claim against Baltimore was that a child of the Protestant resident William Poole was baptized Catholic under orders from Calvert and “contrary to the will of the sayd Poole” (Stourton 1628). Pope suggests that this episode puts into question Calvert’s commitment to religious toleration in his colony, though he points out that his or the priest’s motives could have been altruistic based on the child’s health or other circumstances (2004:90). The Roman Catholic dictum that an unbaptized child could not be admitted to heaven may have caused Calvert or the clergy to disregard the father’s wishes (Rowlands 1985:164). Despite this purported conflict, the Calverts later employed the same William Poole as their agent in Avalon, suggesting some level of congeniality or at least reconciliation between the parties (Pope 1998:79).

Evidence of Calvert’s views of Stourton and his behavior while in the province has also survived. According to a 1629 letter to the king, Baltimore referred to Stourton as a “notoriously lewd and wicked” and “audacious man” who he had “banished [from] the Colony for his misdeeds” (Calvert 1629b). In another letter, Calvert referred to “that knave Stourton” and his labors at destroying his colony, seemingly suggesting that

Stourton was a pawn for parties interested in the failure of Avalon either for religious or political reasons (1629). Ultimately, Stourton's claims were made without consequence. Baltimore's many years of government service and the contacts he made with their "advertisement of the affairs of that part of the world" ensured that the Council of Lords turned a blind eye to the charges (Calvert 1629c; Krugler 1981:385).

Baltimore believed that through the power granted by the charter "he could contain religious animosities and keep them from disrupting the developing community" (Miller *et al.* 2011:172). In hindsight he was mistaken, yet Avalon formalized his vision for a more successful colonial scheme elsewhere. George Calvert, and his son Cecil were neither Roman Catholic zealots nor pie-in-the-sky idealists promoting religious pluralism; rather, they were "practical visionaries" (Krugler 2004b:275). This meant that the Lords Baltimore navigated the political and religious tightrope necessary to ensure the families' commitment to colonization, economic livelihood, and integrity of faith. To do so they developed a policy based upon both "expediency and principle" tested in Avalon and established in Maryland (Krugler 2010 pers. comm.).

5.5.2 St. Mary's and Maryland

The Roman Catholic proprietor and gentry involvement in the Maryland venture were by no means hidden from the public eye. However, beneath this was another significant religious force, the Society of Jesus. The involvement of this group was a key element to the colonial project's success. The Jesuits had connections with many of the Roman Catholic gentry whom George Calvert desperately needed to participate, yet these persons would not adventure without the religious accompaniment of priests. In addition,

the order had a long history of establishing missions, a characteristic ideally suited for the enterprise (Bossy 1982:162). Through their significant involvement, Maryland became “not just a Catholic venture, but a specifically Jesuit one” (Bossy 1982:162). Even from Avalon the first Lord Baltimore wrote to Father Andrew White where according to the Jesuit, Calvert “said to mee in a letter from newfound Land that I would devide even every and the very last bitt with your Lordship” (White 1638). Father Stock substantiated these claims in 1631 when he wrote “that the fathers of the Society have a mission or a special commission for those places in America” (1631). The first Lord Baltimore had struggled with Stock and the Carmelite Order regarding Avalon and wanted to ensure a religious presence to meet his families’ and fellow Catholics’ spiritual needs in the New World. From the documentary record, it is clear that Baltimore only sought out the involvement of the Jesuits after the assistance of other orders had failed to materialize (Krugler 2001:13). It seems likely that George Calvert and the Jesuits first became associated over a debate regarding the place of the Catholic gentry in England (Bossy 1982:162). Accordingly, the Jesuits needed Calvert’s high profile to lead the cause and the baron needed the Jesuit investment and influence with potential adventurers in Maryland (Bossy 1982:163).

It has been suggested that it was Father Richard Blount, the leader of the English Jesuits and a man associated with Lord Arundel, who George Calvert first approached regarding the new colony (Ives 1936:69). The first documentary evidence of the Jesuits involvement comes from White’s later letter discussed above. Probably soon after Baltimore had contacted White, and certainly by 1633, the Jesuit had become heavily involved in the Maryland enterprise (Hughes 1907:19). White seems to have jumped

headlong into the project, authoring various Maryland promotional tracts (Carr 1969:77; Krugler 2004:134). In 1633 Blount wrote to his superiors for authorization “to dispatch some of ours, in company with English gentlemen or merchants, who were contemplating new settlements in the West Indies” (1633). A letter from March of that year recorded the departure of Cecil’s ships, claiming “The Lord Baltimor goeth on lickwise with a new plantation in Virginia, and most that goe I thinke are Catholicks and friends to the Jesuits who send two of theirs to be their ghostly fathers” (Southcot 1633). The 1634 annual letter of the Jesuits conflicts slightly with the above account:

Last year, by the good grace and authority of the King, and under the auspices of a certain Catholic baron, a considerable colony of Englishmen, largely Catholics, was taken out to the hither shores of America. With them two priests of Ours, with a coadjutor; another priest and another coadjutor followed (Society of Jesus 1634).

These priests and brothers were firstly, Fathers White and Altham, followed by Father Rogers and Brother Wood, the latter two having returned to England by 1636 (Hughes 1907:269).

Upon the establishment of St. Mary’s, the Jesuits administered to the spiritual needs of Maryland’s Catholics from a series of chapels in the community. In 1637, Father Thomas Copley (also known as Philip Fisher) arrived in the colony; he would be in the forefront of the religious friction between the Society and Baltimore (Krugler 1979:66). Between 1638 and 1643 a handful of Jesuit Priests arrived in the colony. Some stayed, some perished, and others departed.

In 1642 two additional clergymen ventured to Maryland, Fathers Gilmett and Territt (Riordan 2004:80). The difference between these men and the aforementioned was they were not Jesuits but secular priests. Resulting from friction between himself and the

Society of Jesus, Baltimore sought to usurp the Jesuits and establish a secular mission in Maryland. Though the mission failed to materialize, these two priests arrived in the province where they functioned as Baltimore's personal clergy, paid for out of his Maryland estate (Riordan 2004:77, 100). Thus with the closing of the first decade, Maryland had a significantly larger, and somewhat more complicated resident clergy than Avalon. However, glaringly absent were any Protestant clerics, especially given the statistically greater Protestant community. Baltimore did not encourage or obstruct the Anglican Church in Maryland and this resulted in a one-sided, at least formally defined, religious landscape (Krugler 1979:65). As the great majority of Protestants in the province were servants or poorer tenants, they failed to effectively organize the necessary network or funds to establish a priest during the first decade of settlement.

Built upon the ideals of his father, Cecil Calvert designed Maryland upon the notion that for the "greater good" of the community and by appealing to secular fidelities, people could overcome their religious differences (Krugler 1979:55). Through necessity if not intention, Maryland society had to be a more secular one to allow for private adherence to Catholicism (Krugler 2004b:284). Religious toleration did not guide the creation of the province, instead it was the operating system of the strategy (Krugler 1979:60). This new form of society that differentiated between church and state was a novel experiment that did not come without conflict from all sides (Middleton and Miller 2008:159).

Missionary Activities

An important religious aspect of Maryland, proposed but never undertaken in Avalon, was the cause of religious conversion. It was access to the Native populations of America that greatly enticed the involvement of the mission-oriented Society of Jesus to the project. Father White recalled that at the first formal meeting of the governor and Native leaders Leonard Calvert informed them that their purpose was “to teach them a divine doctrine, whereby to lead them to heaven” (1633b). In the early years of the venture, the movements of the Jesuits were restricted for safety and their missionary efforts were turned primarily towards the European population. Foremost, the fathers were interested in tending to their existing flock though the annual letter of 1638 reveals an aggressive conversion campaign among the Protestant servants. The document recalled that “among the Protestants, nearly all who have come from England this year 1638, and many others, have been converted to the faith” (Society of Jesus 1638). The account continued “there are Protestants as well as Catholics in the colony, we have labored for both and God has blessed our labors” (Society of Jesus 1638).

Once missionary activities commenced with the Native groups, the various Jesuit fathers spread across the surrounding province. Working primarily among the Algonquin tribes neighboring St. Mary’s, the missionary efforts were coupled with Jesuit trading interests. The annual letter of 1639 recorded the whereabouts of Father White, the most active missionary during the period, then residing at Piscataway “having lived in the palace with the emperor himself of the place” (Society of Jesus 1639). During the first decade of Maryland, White lived with the Patuxent, the Portobago, and the aforementioned Piscataway (Land 1981:41). White was even successful in the baptism of

the above-mentioned Piscataway emperor who was “won over by the attentions of the Catholics” (Society of Jesus 1639).

Religious Tensions

Whereas Newfoundland had two religious phases, Maryland from the beginning was a colony ruled and governed by Roman Catholics. The province was designed from the start by the openly Catholic George and Cecil Calvert and was seen in part as a place that they and their coreligionists could practice their faith with reasonable autonomy. Religious tolerance therefore was a crucial necessity to allow a faith, in effect illegal in England, to be quietly practiced in the New World. On the other hand, the religious aspects of the venture offered the opponents of the project a “convenient way of moving against the colony” (Krugler 1979:56). Although the money and power positions of the planners and adventurers were securely made up of Catholic individuals, they still walked a tightrope given the fact that the great majority of Marylanders (even if they were largely servants) were Protestants and capable of rising up or making grievances that could cost the Calverts their charter. Seeing the need for religious modesty and lack of conflict, specifically in the long and tight-quartered crossing of the Atlantic, Cecil Calvert supplied his governor and commissioners with explicit directions for dealing with just such an issue. Baltimore wrote

that they suffer no scandall nor offence to be given to any of the Protestants, whereby any just complaint may heereafter be made, by them, in Virginea or in England, and for that end, they cause all Acts of Romane Catholique Religion to be done as privately as may be, and that they instruct all the Romane Catholiques to be silent upon all occasions of discourse concerning matters of Religion; and that the said Governor & Commissioners treat the Protestants with as much mildness and favor as

Justice will permitt. And this to be observed at Land as well as at Sea
(Calvert 1633b).

Seemingly contrary to the directives of Baltimore regarding the subtlety of the Catholic celebrations, at their first arrival in Maryland, the Jesuits “offered” mass and “erected a crosse, and with devotion tooke solemne possession of the Country” (White 1633b). This act could be interpreted as an unabashed declaration to the Protestants that the Roman Catholics of Maryland were free to practice their faith.

The Jesuit involvement in the financing and recruiting of the venture, not to mention the spiritual needs of the Catholic gentry and leadership of the early colony, seems to have given them a certain amount of freedom, or at least boldness when it came to their religious intentions. The alleged promises made by George Calvert to the sect were significant and implied great freedoms for the clergy in Maryland. Not surprisingly, this relationship would prove to be extremely complicated for the young province. At the root of the issues that would later develop were the very different, and sometimes conflicting, expectations of Baltimore and the Jesuits regarding religion in Maryland (Middleton and Miller 2008:151). The Calverts understood that in order to allow for the practice of Roman Catholicism in the province they had to do so quietly. The conflict in this model was that the Calverts needed the full cooperation of the Jesuits for financing, populating, and ministerial duties; yet at the same time they could not officially recognize the church or grant the Jesuit Fathers any government-sanctioned benefits (Middleton and Miller 2008:151). The public endorsement of an ecclesiastical institution other than the Church of England would be the end of Baltimore’s Maryland and so the Jesuits were granted lands as gentlemen, consistent with the other adventurers in the project

(Middleton and Miller 2008:151). The Jesuits argued that they should be entitled to certain liberties appropriate to their investments, more akin to those freedoms they practiced in Catholic countries of the period (Middleton and Miller 2008:151).

Though the Province of Maryland may have been founded in part with principles of religious freedoms, this did not preclude its residents from conflict over their spiritual differences. From the outset, the Calverts acknowledged the need to keep religion in the background, particularly in matters of state, to ensure the survival of their grant and their ability to protect their own and fellow Roman Catholics' rights to practice their faith. At various times throughout the first decade of settlement, religion and difficulties surrounding the pluralist population became issues of contention. Indeed, it would be religious tensions that resulted in the temporary overthrow of the proprietary government in 1645.

One of the first recorded instances of serious religious tension in the province comes from the court records of 1638. The matter arose when William Lewis, a Roman Catholic plantation owner, entered a room to find two of his servants reading a book out loud "to the end he should heare it" that claimed "that the Pope was Antichrist, and the Jesuits, Antixpian [antichristian] ministers" and so on (Maryland Provincial Court 1638). Appalled that within his own household he would need to suffer such slander to his faith, Lewis stated that no such books were permissible on his property. To this the servants claimed maltreatment, demanding that their religious rights were being infringed upon while Lewis claimed their "Ministers are the Ministers of the divell" and that their "books are made by the instruments of the divell" (Maryland Provincial Court 1638). The affair was brought to the attention of Cornwallis and other Maryland leaders by Lewis who

discovered that the involved servants had written a petition containing their perceived slights, planning to “procure all the Protestants hands to it” and deliver it to the Virginian governor Sir John Harvey (Maryland Provincial Court 1638). Seemingly, the servants were deliberately provoking Lewis and knowing he would react; they were attempting to strike a blow at the Catholic-controlled government of Maryland (Riordan 2004:9). The petition would not find its way to Virginia. Cornwallis acted immediately, which may have staved off the type of rebellion that would not be avoided in 1645 (Riordan 2004:10). When the case reached the Maryland Court the adjudicators, all Catholics, found Lewis the only guilty party, suggesting the commitment of the government to “pacifying the Protestant faction” (Riordan 2004:9).

The same tensions reemerged in 1642 when another religious conflict came to the Maryland Courts. According to a petition presented by David Wickliff on behalf of the “Protestant Catholicks of Maryland”, Thomas Gerard, another Roman Catholic plantation owner, had barred his servants from practicing their religion (Maryland General Assembly 1642; Riordan 2004:27). According to the petition, Gerard had removed the Protestant religious books, and took away the key to what appears to have been a small Anglican or bi-religious chapel or “house” that had been constructed on his property and used for services (Maryland General Assembly 1642). Again, the Catholic Maryland government sided against a coreligionist, finding Gerard guilty of a misdemeanor and ordering him to return the items and to pay 500 lbs of tobacco towards the “maintenance of the first minister as should arrive” in the province (Maryland General Assembly 1642). These conflicts reflected one of the major defects of the Maryland design in that many “were not content under a policy of toleration but strove for the restriction of religious

freedom” (Riordan 2004:10). As was seen earlier in Avalon, religious pluralism was met with opposition from all quarters. When these religious differences were further exposed by the social inequality of the early province, the seeds were planted and these feelings would in 1645 grow into an anti-Catholic and anti-Proprietary group that aided in the overthrow of the colony (Riordan 2004:28).

A third area of religious contention in the province did not come from animosity and mistrust between the Catholic and Protestant settlers, it divided the Roman Catholic community itself. The root of the issue was Baltimore’s anticipation that in Maryland the Jesuits would operate behind a façade of secularism as they did in England, and the Jesuits expected to have the visibility and rights granted them in Catholic Countries such as France and Spain (Riordan 2004:68). With the 1637 arrival of Father Copley, the new leader of the Maryland mission, the Jesuits began to push for greater privileges (Krugler 1979:66). In England, the Jesuits developed a pattern of establishing themselves with the catholic gentry, acting as a private chaplain for them and any coreligionist tenants they had and in return the priest would be supported and protected by the gentleman. This arrangement ideally suited Baltimore’s manorial plans for Maryland. However, instead the Society saw all of Maryland as Baltimore’s manor (Riordan 2004:54). As such, they expected Baltimore or some other public source in the province to provide for them. This would have meant supporting a church other than the Church of England, and by doing so would have compromised the charter (Riordan 2004:55).

From this conflict emerged two sides: on one the Jesuits and the majority of the Catholic planters championed by Cornwallis and on the other, Lord Baltimore, supported by the perpetual middlemen Governor Calvert and John Lewger (Middleton and Miller

2008:153). In a 1638 letter showing his concern to Baltimore, Cornwallis wrote of his hopes “toe see this differens betwixt the Church and Government well reconciled agayne” (1638). Cornwallis, strongly in support of the Society, claimed “I will rather Sacrifice myself and all I have in the defence of Gods Honor and his Churches right” than compromise the “Good Contiens of A Real Catholick” (1638). What Cornwallis failed to realize was that to give the Jesuits what they desired—the freedoms they practiced in a Catholic country—would result in some of the very losses he claimed so willing to make.

The issue that set off the primary round of conflict between the government and the unofficial clergy of the colony came in the form of Native lands granted directly to the Jesuits by the Natives, removing Baltimore from the process of land allotments. To attempt to take control of the situation, Baltimore sought to implement a policy wherein the Jesuits could only receive land from Calvert himself, including lands they had previously purchased from other settlers (Riordan 2004:79). In a 1642 letter, Baltimore instructed the governor “not to suffer anie grants of anie Lands for the future to pass my Seale here to anie Member of the Hill there nor to anie other person in trust for them” (Calvert 1642b). Additionally, Calvert sought to remove the Jesuits from Maryland altogether and instead establish a Secular mission in the province. Baltimore implemented a “prohibition” upon all Jesuits entering the province and when in 1642 he learned of the arrival of “another member of those of the Hill” he saw it as a personal “high affront” (Calvert 1642b). The conflict became so serious that the Jesuits in England attempted to persuade Baltimore to change his Maryland policy by means of his family. Perhaps failing to see the complexities of the situation facing Baltimore, or how easily the province could fall if the Jesuits were not controlled, his sister and brother-in-law seem to

have sided with the Society (Krugler 1979:71). In a 1642 letter to Governor Calvert, Baltimore wrote that the dispute “caused a bitter falling out between my sister Peasely and mee, and some discontentment also betweene mee and her husband about it” (Calvert 1642b).

The answer came in the form of a compromise. Though Baltimore had earlier planned to implement a policy that forbade any concern or a trustee acting on its behalf from holding lands, this plan was withdrawn (Riordan 2004:82). Baltimore entered into negotiations to purchase the Jesuit townlands that had been deeded to the Jesuits’ lay trustee and “to purchase for his Lordship of master Copley a certaine house & land apperteining called the Chappell house” (Maryland Provincial Court 1644; Riordan 2004:82). This transaction would secure the chapel as Baltimore’s property, ensuring that it would be legally seen as a private structure and not jeopardize the charter (Riordan 2004:102). In turn, the Jesuits accepted that all lands in Maryland would be held for them by lay trustees, which was an acceptance of their position in Maryland as a legally cloaked organization (Riordan 2004:84). Additionally, all the Native lands that the Jesuits had previously received were left out of the new patents (Riordan 2004:84). The issues between Baltimore and the Jesuits were not totally resolved, nor were the frayed relationships with the Maryland gentry. A bigger conflict lay ahead for Baltimore and the Province, and religion was at the very heart of it.

The first decade of Maryland settlement came to a close in 1644. However, the proceedings of 1643 and 1644 set into place a course of events that would in 1645 result in the overthrow of the proprietary government. When in 1643, acting Governor Giles Brent arrested the merchant Captain Richard Ingle on charges of treason for publically

slandering Charles I, it effectively sealed the pro-Royalist fate of the province. As Puritanism grew in strength, so too did anti-Catholic sentiment in England (Middleton and Miller 2008:151). When the Royalist forces openly accepted the enlistment of Roman Catholics, the cause and the faith were seen as tantamount (Riordan 2004:87). Even though Baltimore never openly declared his support of the monarchy, the evidence clearly indicates his backing of the Royalist cause (Riordan 2004:90).

Chapter 6

Population Interactions

6.1 Introduction

One of the most interesting aspects of the Newfoundland and Maryland colonies is the other populations the two groups of settlers came into contact with. The nature of these relationships in some ways defined the defensive and martial strategies, settlement patterns, and economics of the two colonial settlements. The following chapter will examine these groups and the nature and evolution of their relationship with the Calvert-sponsored settlers.

6.2 Ferryland and Avalon

When Wynne and his crew arrived at Ferryland in 1621, they entered into a dynamic environment populated by various European groups. The Island of Newfoundland was not a region never-before trod upon by European feet (as much of the rest of North America was); it was a land that had been occupied (albeit seasonally) by Europeans for over 100 years and by Native groups for thousands of years.

6.2.1 The Beothuk

In his 1622 *Discourse*, Whitbourne wrote of Newfoundland's Native peoples claiming that "Neither are there in that part of the Countrey any Savages, to oppose and resist our men planting" adding "Those that are there, live in the North and West parts of the Countrey" (1622). By 1621, the Beothuk Natives were no longer a presence on the

easternmost peninsula of Newfoundland. Previously, in the later sixteenth and possibly into the early seventeenth century, members of this population made their way to Ferryland and other east coast harbors to among other things, collect iron and other implements left behind by the migratory fishermen (Pastore 1993; Marshall 1996; Gaulton 2001). Indeed, Beothuk arrowheads have been found in some of the very same contexts at Ferryland as mid-sixteenth-century European ceramics. When Whitbourne wrote “there is not the least signe or appearance, that ever there was any habitation of the Savages, or that they ever came into those parts, to the Southward of Trinity Bay” he may have been right, at least when it came to anything more than temporary occupation (1622).

The absence of Native peoples close to Ferryland did not stop interested parties from proposing interactions for various reasons. Even Wynne later suggested the Beothuk were the key to accessing the Newfoundland fur trade (Gaulton and Miller 2009:127). Members of the Catholic clergy were also interested in this group and the potential of the colony as a launching point for the religious conversion of North America’s Native populations. Father Stock wrote of this population being “few and of a benign disposition, intending no harm to foreigners, though idolaters all” (1625c). Though Stock had grand plans for Avalon as a missionary base in the later 1620s, Baltimore either outright rejected or at least failed to encourage the work (Krugler 2010 pers. comm.). The proprietor’s lack of interest, coupled with the unavailability of clergy and Stock’s unwillingness to travel to the island, ensured that this plan for the Natives failed to materialize.

6.2.2 The Migratory Fishermen

For Calvert's Newfoundland settlement, there was one group more than any other that represented the inter-population interactions taking place: the migratory fishermen. Writing of the nearby harbors of Fermeuse and Renews in 1622, Whitbourne mentioned that there yearly arrived "about eight hundred English men" (1622). Calvert's harbors of Aquafort and Ferryland likely saw comparable numbers. From the first days of the Ferryland settlement, Wynne and his laborers came into contact with this population. The arrival of the governor and his men must have caused a bit of a stir in the relatively static community of fishermen that came year-after-year to the same harbors and beaches. Writing to his employer in 1621, Wynne described how "all the Masters as well as the common sort throughout this Harbour have used me kindly" perhaps to his surprise he had "not discerned so much as a sowre aspect upon mee amongst them all" (1621:16). In his first letters, Wynne even described many acts of generosity by the fishing captains. There is some evidence for a possible reason behind the "many good turns" that Wynne and his men received from the fishermen (1621:16). It seems that the captains operating out of Ferryland and the adjacent harbors were eager for controls to be put into place regarding the practices in the Newfoundland fishery and may have seen Calvert (as secretary of state) a potential ally. Wynne wrote of their concerns to his employer, asking for the cessation of ballast dumping in the harbor, the protection of fish processing structures, the management of timber, and so on (1621:9). Within a year, the novelty of the settlers was beginning to wear off. Again Wynne wrote to Calvert of the civility of the fishermen, however this time he noted that "some likes not our flourishing beginning and prosperity" (1622b:14).

For many decades, the east coast of Newfoundland was the seasonal domain of the English fishery. Yearly, thousands of men would arrive on its shores accustomed to building stages and temporary dwellings, felling trees for construction and firewood, and so forth. With the arrival of individuals set upon permanent settlement in their midst, business-as-usual was challenged. Perhaps the average fishermen would not have cared about this fact, but those in charge were well aware of its implications. As more English men and women adventured to the settlement they would require more and more land. It was only a matter of time before the fishing crews would be outcompeted for the best locations. At the same time, the fishing interests had influential proponents in the government. As early as 1621, Calvert argued in the House of Commons against a bill that he and other Newfoundland proprietors deemed unsympathetic to their colonial interests. Effectively the legislation, supported by some West-Country merchants, was designed to prevent the permanent residents of Newfoundland from yearly taking the ideal harbors for fishing before the arrival of the migratory crews (Miller *et al.* 2011:175). It was likely Calvert's opposition and political clout that caused this and subsequent similar acts of legislation to fail to pass (Krugler 2004:78). Though Calvert was willing to fight the fishing interest, in defense of his perceived rights, he also needed to maintain good relations with the group and directed his governor to be sure to "use them with all humanity" (Wynne 1622b:14). Though Keith Matthews (2001) and others have rightly rejected the traditional and overly simplistic view of the fishery-versus-settlement model for Newfoundland colonization, the arrival of settlers in Ferryland must have been a red flag for the fishing captains of the region and the legislation did attempt to emplace

restrictions on the residents to try to protect the migratory interests. The Ferryland settlement challenged, if only on a small scale, the Newfoundland *status quo*.

As with so many aspects of Calvert's Newfoundland venture, the documentary record is silent in regard to the continued relations between the migratory fishery and the colony. It is not until 1629 that the record reemerges regarding the nature of these interactions. Baltimore's stay in Newfoundland obviously did not go as he had planned. One aspect of his disappointment with Ferryland was the fishermen, who he claimed to be "ridding my hand of them as of the most barbarous people that ever man had to do withal" (Calvert 1629c). There are some clues regarding the social climate which produced these scathing words from Baltimore. In the same letter, Calvert implored Wentworth to protect his interests "If my name come in question upon any Grubbling complaint of those fishermen", going on to claim that he had "contynuall quarrels" with this group (1629c). These squabbles might be explained in a later account by Cecil which discussed his father's time in Avalon. According to his heir, Calvert had been working on a plan "to raise a Custome upon all the Fishe taken" in Newfoundland which would be used to hire ships and construct forts to protect the fishing fleet and their annual inbound and outbound journeys (Calvert n.d.). This effort was a result of Baltimore's campaign against the French in 1628, discussed in a later chapter. According to Cecil, his father had worked out a treaty between himself and "most of the Captaines and principall Fishermen" and that allegedly "the business in short time after, was like to have beene concluded and agreed" (Calvert n.d.). Calvert's 1629 abhorrence for this group could be explained by his attempts to raise a tax upon the fish caught in his territory, an action that would have likely provoked anger from that quarter. What is puzzling is Cecil Calvert's

claim that the strategy nearly succeeded. Baltimore's letter to Wentworth only suggests exasperation. Despite whether or not the subsidy was close to being agreed upon, it is suggestive that this was the cause of much of the first Lord Baltimore's apparent conflict with the migratory fishermen operating within Avalon.

6.2.3 Other English Settlements

In the 1620s there were a handful of other colonial projects on the eastern part of the island. The longest-established was Cupids in Conception Bay to the west. Others such as the Lord Falkland's settlement or the community developing at St. John's were also contemporaries of Calvert's colony. Calvert and Falkland cooperated on recruitment for their projects; perhaps this collaboration extended to other aspects of their colonies as well. One clue comes from a 1622 letter of Wynne to Calvert where he wrote "I looke for a Mason, and one more out of the Bay of Conception" (1622b:15). This evidence implies that there were laborers available in some of the other settlements, and that the various colonial leaders were willing to allow them to ply their trades at the other plantations. Presumably, any tradesmen free of contracts could come and go as they pleased. Understandably, cooperation would have been a necessity in such a marginally populated island when it came to skilled labor, physicians, and so forth.

6.2.4 The Dutch

Although there is no specific reference to the Calvert-sponsored settlers at Ferryland interacting with men from the Netherlands, it was a possible if not likely occurrence during the first decade. The Dutch involvement in Newfoundland was

primarily through the sack trade, discussed in a later chapter, a shipping enterprise that they dominated throughout the studied period (Pope 2004:127). In 1620, just one year before the Ferryland settlement was established, the Netherlander David de Vries was contracted to purchase fish from the English captains at that and adjacent harbors (Pope 2004:98). If de Vries and his countrymen were a common sight on the east coast of Newfoundland during the period, it stands to reason that Wynne and subsequent leaders interacted with them, perhaps commissioning their ships to carry Calvert's fish to market.

6.2.5 The French

Calvert and his colonists interacted with a group of Frenchmen in the year 1628. During this period, citizens of Avalon took part in a naval campaign against a small fleet of French privateers led by Raymond de la Rade, bent on plundering the English fishery (Cell 1982:279). George Calvert was forced to take part in this conflict as the established leadership of the province. In a letter to Buckingham, Baltimore wrote "I am faine to fighting with Frenchmen who have heere disquieted mee and many other of his Majesties Subjectes fishing in this Land" (Calvert 1628b). According to Calvert, that summer Raymond de la Rade "with three shipps and 400 men" entered the harbor of Cape Broyle, two harbors north of Ferryland, and attacked the English fishermen operating there (1628b). Apparently, the French privateers seized two fishing vessels, along with their catches and provisions. Learning of this, Calvert sent 2 vessels and around 100 men to intercept them. The French vessels were alerted of Baltimore's ships and fled the scene, leaving behind the captured ships and "bootie" as well as 67 of the French force (Calvert 1628b). Learning of the marooned Frenchmen, Baltimore sent a "Companye" of his men

into the woods to secure them and bring them to Ferryland (Calvert 1628b). From the documents, it seems that the French sailors and soldiers did not resist the proprietor's men. Writing of these "prisoners" Baltimore alluded to the great charge and presumably, lack of space they were forced to endure at Ferryland having "beene troubled and Charged with them all this sommer" (Calvert 1628b; 1628c).

Soon after capturing the Frenchmen, the proprietor received word that the enemy vessels had moved north to Conception Bay whereupon he "sent forth the greate ship agayne" to give chase (Calvert 1628b). Missing de la Rade to the east, Calvert's ship, along with an English man-of-war, sailed south of Ferryland to the harbor of Trepasse where the vessels captured "for the hurte they have donne us" six French ships almost fully laden with processed cod (1628b). The six vessels were brought to Ferryland "into his Lordshipps harbor under command of his Fort" where they were moored for the next two months (Anon 1628).

The captured vessels were then sailed, along with the prisoners, to England. Returning with the prizes, Peasley petitioned the government for the loan of a ship and "a lettre of Mark antidated or some other power from their lordshipps to enable him to recover his proporcion" of the prizes (Anon 1628). Baltimore was first granted the *Esperance* but finding the vessel in an ill state of repair, his son-in-law was able to instead obtain the more battle and seaworthy *St. Claude* which in December of 1628 was "to be lent to the lord Baltimore for twelve monethes and to be delivered to Master Leonard Calvert" (Calvert 1628c). Leonard Calvert, who had accompanied Peasley and the prizes back to England, was made her captain on a voyage to carry provisions to the settlement and offer defensive support if necessary (Anderson 1931:39). However, by the

time Leonard arrived back in Newfoundland, the English and French were again at peace (Morris 1874:21).

As a result of Baltimore's Newfoundland campaign against the French, he sought a course that would protect the region's fishery in the future as well as his own coffers. Calvert wrote to both Buckingham and the king in this regard. In 1628 he suggested two men-of-war could patrol Newfoundland waters from the spring to fall and that the financial burden would be borne by "the fisherye it selfe", suggesting that among the many fishing interests the cost "will be but a small matter and easilie borne" (Calvert 1628b; 1628e). Years later, the second Lord Baltimore suggested that his father planned more specifically to implement a tax on the fish caught within Newfoundland and from this custom "hee would mainteyne a sufficyent strength, both at sea and land, for their defence, and to conduct them [the English fishing vessels] home with safety" (Calvert n.d.). Though Cecil wrote that there had been a "treaty" between his father and the primary fishing factors in the region and that the terms were close to being concluded, it was never finalized or put into place (Calvert n.d.).

6.3 St. Mary's and Maryland

When the passengers of the *Ark* and *Dove* arrived in the Chesapeake Bay in 1634 they entered a landscape populated in conspicuous contrast to Newfoundland. While the harbors surrounding Ferryland had not seen Beothuks for many decades, the land that would become St. Mary's was very much still home to the Piscataway people. Even after more than a century of devastation from European disease, the Chesapeake Bay was home to thousands of indigenous peoples in the second quarter of the seventeenth

century. Adding to the complexity of the interactions was the great diversity of the different Native American societies calling the bay and its estuaries home. As discussed here and elsewhere, the Marylanders had very different relationships with the various Chesapeake Native populations. As in Newfoundland, the Chesapeake and surrounding region was also home to various other English and European populations.

6.3.1 The Virginians

The Calvert relationship with the Englishmen and women of Virginia began many years before the Maryland charter was penned. In many ways the relations between the Marylanders and Virginians was predetermined by the actions of George Calvert as privy councilor and secretary of state. It was in this context that Calvert was first involved in the affairs of the Virginia Company, of whom he was a shareholder and policy maker. As the seventeenth century progressed, the Virginia Company suffered from poor organization and leadership. In 1624 James I saw no other recourse than the dissolution of the company to start anew. Spearheading this policy in the Privy Council was none other than the king's secretary, George Calvert. Unfortunately for Calvert, his visibility as the king's voice in the council regarding the colonial policy was to earn him the animosity of many of the wealthy and powerful members of the old Virginia Company (Andrews 1945:91). These same men would continue to haunt the Maryland endeavors for many decades to come.

In 1629, when Baltimore departed Newfoundland, he set sail with much of his household to ports southward. Months before, Lady Baltimore and others had sailed to Jamestown to wait upon Calvert's arrival. Various scholars have maintained that Joane

Calvert stayed with Lord Baltimore's sister at her husband's plantation of Chapline's Choice on the banks of the James River (Vaughan 1991:38; Mannion 2004:35). This plantation did exist but it is unclear if it was actually associated with Calvert's sister. A more likely scenario may be that Lady and later, Lord Baltimore stayed at John Harvey's residence at Jamestown, a man who would later be one of the few Virginians friendly to the Calvert cause in Maryland (Straube 2010 pers. comm.).

Determined to start a new colonial project in Virginia or the vicinity, Calvert must have been disappointed when they "welcomed him with a chill that matched the Newfoundland winter he had fled" (Miller *et al.* 2011:179). It appears that his reputation as the king's man and a force behind the end of the Virginia Company preceded him to the settlement on the James River. Not only was he openly Catholic in a staunchly Protestant colony, but many used him as a scapegoat for the collapse of the company, a venture Baltimore would later recollect that King "James understood it to be damned for ever" (Calvert 1632). The animosity nearly became physical, for in 1630 the Virginian Thomas Tindall was "to be pillory'd 2 hours for giving my Lord Baltemore the lye & threatening to knock him down" (Virginia Council 1630).

Calvert's time in Jamestown and Virginia was doomed from the very start when he was administered the oath of supremacy, a pledge designed to reveal the true loyalties of Roman Catholics following the Gunpowder Plot (Krugler 1978:513). Refusing to admonish the power of his church, the Virginian government used this document to bar the prolonged residence of Baltimore in the colony. In a 1629 account of the affair Governor Pott and members of the Virginia Council wrote to England that they were very much willing "to render unto his Lordshipp all those respects which were due unto the

honor of his person” and that they “desired to receive and entertain him, as being of that eminence and degree whose presence and affection might give great advancement to this Plantation” (1629). The account reeks of insincerity. It seems implausible that Calvert’s reversion and retirement from office was not public knowledge among Virginia’s elite. Considering Calvert’s involvement in the dissolution of the Virginia Company and his high profile in London, Pott or some of his councilmen must have known of the man’s conversion. Instead, it is suggested that it was because of this knowledge that the oath of supremacy was administered. Many in the Virginian government were suspicious of Baltimore’s arrival and his motivations, knowing well that he was interested in developing a colony in the region.

It was in many ways the political dealings of the first Lord Baltimore that would prove to put into effect one of the largest struggles of the second Lord Baltimore and his Province of Maryland. From the first arrival of the Maryland ships, Leonard Calvert and the commissioners traveled with strong warnings from the second Lord Baltimore. In his directions Cecil made it quite clear that the Virginians were to be seen as a potential threat. Baltimore directed his leaders to “avoid any occasion of difference with those of Virginea and to have as litle to do with them as they cann this first yeare” fearing that a “publique quarrel” between the two colonies could “disturbe the buisness much in England in the Infancy of it” (Calvert 1633b). The Calverts understood that they needed Virginia for supplies and other support in the early stages of colonization. Though privately suspicious of anti-Maryland factions in the older colony, they attempted to create an outward face of concord, publishing in a promotional tract that they “acknowledge themselves glad that Virginea is so neere a neighbor” not without hinting

at the conflict claiming “only they wish that they would be content their neighbours might live in peace by them” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:12).

Lord Baltimore’s apprehension about some of the Virginians was well-founded. A 1634 letter discussing the growing animosity recorded that in Virginia “it is accounted a crime almost as heynous as treason to favor, nay allmost to speak well” of the new province so much so that there resulted a “kind of strangenesse and distance between those of the best sort in the country who have formerly bene very familiar and loving one to another, only because the one hath bene suspected but to have bene a well wisher to the Plantation of Maryland” (Yonge 1634). In 1634, Governor Harvey wrote that the mere mention of assisting the new colony was attacked by members of the council wherein “almost all [are] against me in whatever I can propose especially if it concerne Maryland” (1634). In the same letter, Harvey shed light on the anti-Maryland “faction” which he legitimately suspected was “nourished from England” based on the arrival of letters that summer to a Captain Mathews, a man he alleged “the patron of disorder” (1634). The “many Letters and secrett intelligences” circulating among the council members that year were signs of the impending arrival of the Marylanders and the political storm that was signaled by their appearance in the Chesapeake (Harvey 1634). One of the men involved in these ominous “meetings and consultations” was William Claiborne (Harvey 1634).

In at least partial response to Baltimore’s interest in settling the region, in 1631 Claiborne and his partners established a fur trading outpost in the northeastern part of the Chesapeake Bay. The primary settlement on Kent Island quickly became a thriving community primarily based upon trade with the Susquehannocks that also resided in that general region. The inhabitants of this settlement, along with their leader, were the most

active anti-Maryland population in the early years of the colony. In 1621 Claiborne arrived in the Tidewater and by 1627 if not earlier, he was involved in the Native trade in the northern Chesapeake and received commissions from subsequent Virginian governors to carry out this traffic. In 1629, perhaps not coincidentally the year Calvert arrived at Jamestown, Claiborne became involved with a London merchant firm, Cloberry & Company to establish a trading post in the northern Chesapeake Bay. The site chosen for the proposed settlement was an island earlier named Winston's by John Smith. In 1631, Claiborne and his partners were authorized to trade in "corne, furies or any other commodities in all parts of New England and Nova Scotia, where there is not already a patent granted to others for sole trade" (Charles I 1631). This commission was granted exclusively for the right to trade; it was not a land grant, and the settlement at Kent would technically remain a glorified trading post. The land was never legally owned by the group (Browne 1890:96). Though the Kent settlement was geographically positioned for trade, its timing was designed; at least in part, to challenge the intentions of the Calvert family in the region. Much of the friction between Claiborne and the second Lord Baltimore came from a clause in the Maryland charter which granted the lands specifically "*hactanus inculta*" or in English "not yet cultivated and planted" (Hawley and Lewger 1635:58; Land 1981:12). As early as 1633 there was a formal challenge to the charter made by the Virginians on the grounds that this Virginian-sponsored settlement already existed within the patent (Browne 1890:43). From that point on, Claiborne challenged Baltimore's claim, maintaining that even though it geographically fell within the bounds of Maryland (because Kent was founded prior to the charter), it should be excluded from the grant (Land 1981:12).

From the year 1631, Kent was settled, where according to Claiborne, they “built houses, palisaded a fort”, sowed crops, raised livestock, and so on (1631). In 1634, the young settlement saw further growth following the arrival of two ships with 37 men and substantial cargos of trade goods and other necessities to assist in the enterprise (Steiner 1903:50). In 1636, the settlement continued to thrive. Claiborne wrote they were “employed in perfecting the mills” framing two more as well as “the church” (1636). Though the settlers may not have had any legal claim to the island; the community clearly was more than a mere trading post and was a thriving town.

When the first Maryland ships sailed from England they carried directions regarding how to deal with Claiborne and his people. Baltimore, well aware of the Virginian’s animosity, directed his leaders “to invite him kindly to come unto them” and if he complied, inform him that Kent lay within the bounds of Maryland and to “lett him know that his Lordshipp is willing to give him all the encouragement he cann to proceede” (Calvert 1633b). Realizing that this ideal scenario was not likely to transpire, Lord Baltimore ordered that “If he do refuse to come unto them upon their invitation, that they let him alone for the first year”, but foretellingly to assess the “strength” of his settlement (Calvert 1633b).

Soon after reaching Virginia the colonists learned from Claiborne himself that “the Indians were all in armes to resist” them “having heard that 6 Spanish ships were a coming to destroy them all” (White 1633b). According to the 1635 *Relation* these same rumors caused a later rift between the Marylanders and their Native neighbors and caused the colonists to hasten the completion of their defensive works (Hawley and Lewger 1635:10). The Marylanders were led to believe that the origin of this rumor was none

other than Claiborne, though an inquiry into the root revealed the Algonquins' belief that the Marylanders' own guide Henry Fleet had lied about Claiborne's role in the reports claiming "all the lyes would redound uppon him and lye uppon him as high as his necke, and at last breake his necke" (White 1633b; Anon 1676). Father White also agreed, writing that Fleet "had beene a firebrand to inflame the Indians against us" (White 1633b). In response to these accusations and the subsequent examination, Baltimore agreed with Fleet's insistence of Claiborne's involvement in the Spanish rumor, as did Hawley and Lewger's promotional work cited above. Whether or not it was Fleet or Claiborne who caused the misunderstanding with the Natives, it would benefit Baltimore and his claims to Kent Island to be able to accuse the Kent leader of this attempt to incite violence. Writing in the autumn of 1634, Baltimore ordered Governor Calvert to, assuming Claiborne had "continued his unlawfull courses", "seis upon his person and detain him close prisoner at St Maries upon that accusation against him in Captain Fleetes examination" (Anon 1676). Furthermore, as long as it could be carried out "without notable prejudice to there owne Collony for want of suficient strength to defend themselves" Baltimore ordered that "they likewise take possession if they can of his Plantation in the Isle of Kent" (Anon 1676). Though this early mission failed to materialize, the period of conflict between the two settlements had only just begun.

From the start, there is real evidence that Claiborne and his factors attempted to incite the Native Americans to attack the Marylanders (discussed below) but the first documented bloodshed that would take place was between the Kent Islanders and men from St. Mary's in a series of small naval encounters that occurred in 1635. The conflict began when the Kent Islanders took a Maryland vessel trading in the north of the bay; in

turn, the Kent ship the *Longtail* was taken by a group of Marylanders (Steiner 1903:57; Riordan 2004:11). These minor encounters escalated on 20 April 1635 in what would later be known as The Battle of the Pocomoke when the Marylanders in two pinnaces, the *St. Helen* and *St. Margaret* met a third pinnacle from Kent Island (Riordan 2004:24). The Maryland men, led by Thomas Cornwallis met a group commanded by Claiborne's factor, Lieutenant Ratcliff Warren who, according to the account did "with force and armes that is with gunnes and pistolls charged sword and other weapons...feloniously and as pyrates and robbers an assault did make" (Maryland Provincial Court 1637). An eyewitness claimed the Marylanders returned fire only after being placed "in bodily feare", killing Warren and two others while a single man from St. Mary's perished (Maryland General Assembly 1637). Apparently, Cornwallis and the Maryland vessels were sanctioned to enforce the rights of Baltimore in the bay to ensure that other vessels were trading with a license from the proprietor (Riordan 2004:24). According to a later Maryland inquest into the encounter, the proprietary stance was that Claiborne encouraged the assault and allegedly did so "by a speciall warrant or commission" to Warren "to seise take and carry away any the pinnaces or other vessells belonging to St maries" (Maryland Provincial Court 1637). The argument that the act was "contrary to the peace of or Sovereigne Lord the King, his crowne and dignity" was used as further license for the Maryland government to later seize Kent Island (Maryland Provincial Court 1637).

The beginning of the end for Kent Island's independence from Maryland came with the involvement of one man, Captain George Evelin. In 1636 Claiborne informed his London partners that he was to voyage personally to England in response to the legal feud with Baltimore (1636). To direct some of the Kent operations in his absence, Captain

Evelin was sent to the Chesapeake. Cloberry sent Evelin specifically to manage the joint stock company associated with the Native trade in the northern Chesapeake (Menard 1985:97). In a puzzling set of circumstances, Evelin arrived at Kent where he was quick to speak critically of Maryland and its leadership claiming that the governor was “a very Duncce and Blocked [blockhead] when he went to schoole” and that “Claiborne’s Commission from the king...was firme and strong against the said Maryland Patent” (Anon 1676). It seems that his attitude was merely a ruse designed to gain the trust of Claiborne; upon the latter’s departure for England, Evelin’s demeanor completely changed. Soon after, he began the process of Kent’s reconciliation with Leonard Calvert and Maryland (Menard 1985:97). Apparently, Evelin knew the Calvert family prior to his involvement with Cloberry and Kent Island and his brother Robert was one of those sympathetic to the Lord Baltimore in the government of Virginia (Steiner 1903:63; Menard 1985:97). There is a strong likelihood that Evelin and Calvert had planned the takeover of Kent prior to the end of 1636 (Menard 1985:97). If true, this is another testament to the second Lord Baltimore’s ability to cunningly navigate the province through trying conditions. By 1637, with his letter of attorney from Cloberry & Co., Evelin took “full possession and command of all the Plantations, houses, goods, Mills, servants and whatsoever else” that belonged to the aforementioned firm (Anon 1676).

The ploy of Evelin did not in itself end the conflict with the islanders; it merely severed the relationship between Claiborne and Cloberry & Co. In February of 1637 the Maryland government proclaimed that for their misdeeds, including inciting the Natives and the attacks on the Maryland vessels, the governor and militia were warranted to sail to the settlement and “reduce the inhabitants of the said Iland to their due obedience to the

Lord Proprietor, and by death (if need be) correct mutinous and seditious offenders” (Maryland Council 1637b). In a March 1638 petition to the king, Baltimore’s language and intentions were clear, “the said Clayborne and his Servants are guilty of Piracy and murder” (Calvert 1638b). In late November of 1637 Governor Calvert first attempted to carry out the mandate. Setting sail with 20 armed men and Cornwallis as his “assistant” the expedition found “the weather so fowle” they were forced to abort (1638). The final days of Kent Island independence came with Calvert’s second attempt to seize the settlement in 1638. Again accompanied by Cornwallis and this time 30 “musketeers” the governor described the siege, having arrived

a little before sunne rise, at the southermost end thereof where Captain Cleybornes howse is seated within a small Fort of Pallysadoes, but findeing the gate towards the sea at my comeing fast barred in the inside one of my company beeing acquainted with the place quickly fownd passage in at an other gate and commeing to the gate which. I was at opened unto me, so that I was arrived and entered the fort without notice taken by any of the Ileand (Calvert 1638).

The seizure of Kent Island was carried out with no reported resistance despite Calvert’s estimate of “one hundred and twentie men able to beare armes” residing therein (1638). The primary agent of the feud, William Claiborne, was conveniently absent from the settlement at the time. Notwithstanding later negligible troubles with Kent and its satellite communities, the 1638 conquest of the island gave Maryland lasting control of the region and Kent was annexed into the province (Steiner 1903:85). That April, after years of court battles, the proprietary claim to Kent was settled by the Lords Commissioners, granting “Right & Tytle of the Ile of Kent & other places in question to be absolutely belonging to the Lord Baltimore, & that noe plantation of Trade with the Indians ought to be within the precincts of his Pattent without Lycence from him” (Lords Commissioners 1638).

6.3.2 The English in New England

From the earliest period of the Maryland settlement, there was interaction with the Puritans of New England. Soon after their arrival in 1634, The *Dove* was sent “with a freight of Corne & other comodities to New England” (Fritter 1636). Indeed, New England vessels already had established trade links with Virginia and with the arrival of the Maryland colonists also began operating in those waters as well. In 1642 Father White enlisted the transportation services of a “hard-hearted and troublesome sea-captain of New England” a region the Jesuit referred to as “the very dregs of all Calvinist heresy” (Society of Jesus 1642). Despite the mutual religious aversions of the Puritans and Catholics, economics dominated their dealings. Nearing the end of the first decade of settlement, in an attempt to bring more Protestant interests to the province, the Calverts even sought to entice New England Puritans to take up land in Maryland (Neill 1867:79).

6.3.3 The Dutch

The Mid-Atlantic region of North America was not solely colonized by the English nation. There were other European states present in the vicinity of the Province of Maryland, indeed within the bounds of the grant. The granting of the Maryland charter alone also suggests the urgent need of the English crown to block the inroads of the Dutch in the region (Browne 1890:30; Riordan 2004:11). In Baltimore’s declaration to the Lords he stated this very purpose, writing of the “late incroachment of the dutch nation in those parts, who have planted and fortified themselves northward between the old Colony of Virginea, and the English Colonies planted in New England” (Calvert n.d.b).

Paradoxically, the Dutch actually helped facilitate the success of early Maryland. Dutch merchantmen had long been a fixture of the Chesapeake and its tributaries, arriving seasonally to collect the processed tobacco for transportation to Europe (Carr *et al.* 1984:25). One of these Dutch merchants operating in the bay in 1643 observed that though the great majority of the 34 trading vessels in the region were English, there were also 4 from the Netherlands (Menard 1985:219). These numbers steadily rose during the English Civil War when the disruption of English trade left the Chesapeake a relatively open market for Dutch traders (Menard 1985:219).

Not all the interactions between the Marylanders and the Dutch were as mutually beneficial as the tobacco trade. The two groups of colonists were very much in competition over the Native fur trade, the initial economic push of the Maryland venture. In the very first year of the settlement, the Marylanders trading in the north of the Chesapeake Bay found they had just missed a major consignment of furs that was instead bound for the “Dutch plantation” (Thorowgood 1634:1). Having established themselves south of New England and adjacent to the homeland of the Five Nations Iroquois, the Dutch were a dominant force in the fur trade south of New France, bolstered further by the willingness of the Netherlands to trade firearms with the Natives (Riordan 2004:35). Signs of this competition were evident in a 1642 letter from Baltimore to his brother asking “I wonder why you gave such kind entertainment” to a group of “Dutch, who came it seemes to St. Maries the last yeare being some of those who are planted in Delaware bay within my province” (Calvert 1642).

6.3.4 The Swedes

The Dutch colonies were not the only regional competition for Maryland during the first decade of the province. In 1638 the colony of New Sweden was established in what is now the State of Delaware. The limited data relating to the relationship between the Swedes and Marylanders is of a decidedly hostile tone. Like the Dutch and in contrast to the English, the Swedes were willing to exchange rifles with their Native trade partners (Riordan 2004:35). Not only was the Swedish colony competing with the Maryland fur trade but they were settled just to the north of the bay, even closer to the market than the Dutch and adding further pressure to the increasingly crowded (and complicated) northeast seaboard of the continent. In this period the Swedes became personally involved in the anti-Maryland campaigns of the Susquehannocks. They realized that the subjugation of this Chesapeake tribe would theoretically result in Maryland's spread to the northern bay, in the very region where their small colony was planted (Jennings 1982:220). To ensure the survival of the Susquehannocks, the Swedes armed their warriors and even supplied them with training (Jennings 1982:220). A 1648 account described the Swedish strategy of "hiring out three of their souldiers to the Sasquehannocks" who instructed them on European military techniques (Beauchamp 1648:18). The poor results for the Marylanders in their 1644 war with the Susquehannocks (discussed below) were in part the result of Swedish involvement.

6.3.5 Native Americans

Perhaps the most dynamic cultural interaction that took place across early Maryland was the one between the Europeans and the various indigenous populations

they came into contact with. The relationships that developed between the Marylanders and the Natives were as varied as were the different groups of Native peoples who called the region home. Well aware of the past troubles between the Natives and the Virginians, the leaders of Maryland sought for peaceful relations with their new neighbors. The fundamental difference between the two colonies was that whereas those of Virginia fought their neighbors and made treaties with those nations further away, the Marylanders logically did the opposite (Riordan 2004:33). The 1635 *Relation* claimed "It is much more Prudence and Charity, to Civilize, and make them Christians, then to kill, robbe, and hunt them from place to place, as you would doe a wolfe" (Hawley and Lewger 1635:37). The same year Wintour wrote that "the planters in Virginia have heretofore felt their rage" as a result of efforts "to extirpate and destroy them, a thing as you know diametrically opposite to the dictamens of our Colonists" (1635).

The 1634 range and population of the various Native groups residing in and around the Chesapeake Bay is an important element for understanding the subsequent relationships that developed between them and the Marylanders. Forming a loose confederation of tribes under Piscataway leadership and speaking a common Algonquin dialect, the Choptico, Doag, Mattawoman, Patuxent, and others resided in the region directly surrounding the site of St. Mary's (Land 1981:22). The populations of these various tribes numbered 1,000 at the greatest and the smaller groups considerably fewer. Across the bay on the Eastern Shore of Maryland were the Nanticoke, with approximately 1,500 members. In a similar scenario to the Piscataway there were smaller associated Eastern Shore tribes including the Choptank, Pocomoke, and Wicomoco (Land 1981:22). To the north were the Iroquoian-speaking Susquehannock, who were periodically at war

with the lower Maryland tribes. This group reportedly had as many as 6,000 members in 1647 even after a devastating smallpox epidemic had struck the group (Jennings 1982:219). An estimate from 1660 was a population of approximately 4,000 individuals with as many as 700 warriors. An overall Native population estimate ranges from 8,000 to 10,000 but if we accept the 1647 account it may have been much higher (Land 1981:22). When considering that the Anglo-European population of the Province of Maryland numbered fewer than 1,000 throughout the first decade, the indigenous estimates are significant.

The Piscataway

The Native Americans that the Marylanders first came into contact with were members of the Piscataway nation, a loose confederation of Algonquin-speaking tribes scattered across the western shore of the Chesapeake Bay. From Father White's account we learn that upon arriving in the Potomac River, Leonard Calvert

was advised not to settle himselfe, till he spoake with the emperour of Pascatoway, and told him the cause of his comeing...he tooke our pinnace and went therein higher up the river...to Patomecke towne, he found there the king thereof a Childe, governed by Archihoe, his uncle...From here they went to Pascatoway, the seat of the Emperour, where 500 bowmen came to meet them at the water side, here the Emperour, lesse feareing then the rest came privately aboard (1633b).

The Jesuit's account of Calvert's meeting with the emperor claimed that the Native leader "perceiveing we came with good meaneing towards them, gave leave to us to sett downe where we pleased" (White 1633b). The 1635 *Relation* contained a more specific and slightly less genial answer of the emperor's which was "'that he would not bid him goe, neither would 'hee bid him stay, but that he might use his owne 'discretion'" (Hawley

and Lewger 1635:4). Whatever the emperor's answer, the governor deemed it sufficiently welcoming, so he sailed south once more to begin negotiations for a portion of land on which to found the first settlement.

The colonists arrived at a village called Yaocomico, and populated by a group identifying with the place name "called the Yaocomacoes" (Hawley and Lewger 1635:5). After a day of entertainment, Calvert and those with him were invited to spend the night in the house of the king whereupon the following day he proceeded to "shew him the country; and that day being spent in viewing the places about that towne, and the fresh waters" (Hawley and Lewger 1635:73).

Calvert and his advisors liked what they saw and entered into negotiations to purchase land for the settlement. On the east side of the river Calvert met with "the Werowance and the Wisoes of the Towne" and presented them with gifts of cloth, axes, knives, tools, and likely other truck after which they "freely gave consent that hee and his company should dwell in one part of their Towne, and reserved the other for themselves" (Hawley and Lewger 1635:6). This purchase of "the space of thirtie miles [78 km²] of ground" included the clause that "those Indians that dwelt in that part of the Towne, which was allotted for the English" gave them their dwellings as well as "some come that they had begun to plant" and that after the harvest season, the remaining Natives would depart the community (White 1633b; Hawley and Lewger 1635:6).

There are a few surviving insights into life in St. Mary's during the period that some of the original residents of Yaocomico still remained. Writing of the "few Indians" who were "to stay by us till next yeare" White painted a portrait of the early days of a colony perhaps not dissimilar to those first interactions at Jamestown or Plymouth

(1633b). He wrote that the Yaocomico “are daily with us and bring us turkie, partridge, oysters, squirrels” and “bread and the like” (White 1633b). The priest went on to describe how the Natives would come “running to us with smileing countenance and will help us in fishing, fouling, hunting, or what we please” (White 1633b). The account from the 1635 *Relation* may have been slightly more accurate, claiming that the Yaocomico taught the English to hunt and the quarry was either given as gifts or “the meaner sort would sell them to them, for knives, beades, and the like” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:10). Again, this tract shared the same glowing testimony that the locals “in all things dealt very friendly with them” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:10).

Interest and good will were not the only incentives for the Yaocomico to allow the settlement of St. Mary’s to develop. The local population had for some time been subject to attack from other tribes to the north. Within the last few years there had been raids by both the Susquehannocks and a band of the Five Nations Iroquois from present-day New York State (Carr 1974:125). In a clever strategic move, the local Native ruler saw the value in having the English colonists between themselves and the Susquehannock raiders. White clearly stated this fact claiming the warfare with the northern tribe “made them more willing to enterteine us” and that this arrangement was a way to secure “themselves of greater safety, by liveing by us” (1633b). A further insight of this strategy comes from the 1635 *Relation* which discussed the nature of the warfare, in that the Susquehannocks had raided the local Algonquins “partly for superiority, partly for to get their Women, and what other purchase they could meet with” and that the latter’s willingness to depart their village for the English was in fact based upon the fact that “the yeere before...[they] made a resolution, for their safety, to remove themselves higher into the Countrey where

it was more populous, and many of them were gone thither before the English arrived” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:7).

According to the 1635 *Relation*, the groups “made mutuall promises to each other, to live friendly and peaceably together, and if any injury should happen to be done on any part, that satisfaction should be made for the same” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:7). One example of the Native American attempt to reduce friction occurred in the early years of the province. After three Englishmen were killed (actually men from Kent Island), the responsible tribe sent a messenger to St. Mary’s to make redress for the action claiming it was “the rash act of a few young men” and of their continued “desire to live in peace and love with you, and are ready to make satisfaction for the Injury” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:34). Perhaps surprisingly, the Maryland government also made efforts to live up to these promises and members of the provincial government included their allied Natives among those citizens deserving of lawful protections (Middleton and Miller 2008:148). Though Maryland juries did not always see the Native Americans as equals in the eyes of the law, the fact that the colonial leaders repeatedly attempted to make it so is worthy of note (Middleton and Miller 2008:148). Despite the ideals of the government, the European settlers did not always (or perhaps generally) see the Native inhabitants of Maryland as their equivalents and thusly often abused their hospitalities and differing philosophies. The use of “wines and hote waters” was early found to be a medium to increase the receptivity of the Native Americans when trading for goods and property (White 1633b; Land 1981:43). The Jesuits seem to have used religion in much the same manner. Unfortunately, the Natives’ views of the colonists have not generally survived. It is important not to discard the idea that they may have also seen the Marylanders as less

than their equals. The one-sided documentary record should not lead one to assume the Native groups were simply the downtrodden in the relationship.

The Susquehannock

The Iroquoian-speaking populations of the Chesapeake, specifically the Susquehannocks in the northern part of the bay, had a complicated relationship with the Marylanders. This was the same group that had periodically raided the tribes nearest to St. Mary's, and by placing themselves in between the two populations, the Marylanders had inadvertently thwarted their own future relations with the Susquehannocks. To further complicate the situation, this same nation was needed by the Marylanders because of the group's involvement in the rich fur trade of the continent's interior.

The first record of interaction between this group and Europeans comes from 1608, when John Smith met a group of Susquehannock in the Chesapeake (Jennings 1982:219). From the presence of trade goods in their cargo, it is clear that they were already involved in direct or secondary trade with Europeans, likely the traders of New France. The nature of their involvement in the fur trade would continue to develop, placing them in a key position as "intermediaries in trade between the tribes of the far interior and the new European colonies along the Atlantic coast" (Jennings 1982:219). From the first months of the settlement men from St. Mary's ventured north to trade with members of this tribe. Cyprian Thorowgood described their dealings with a "nation at the head of the baye called the Sasquasahannockes" (1634:1). When the Marylanders first came upon the Natives they were already at trade with men from Kent Island who

promptly attempted to persuade the Natives in Thorowgood's words, to "take part with them against us" (1634:1).

This group was periodically referred to in the period as "the most savage and warlike of these regions" and a 1612 estimate claimed they could "make well neere 600 able and mightie men" numbers that they implemented in their periodic raids on the Piscataway villages to the south (Strachey 1612:48; Society of Jesus 1642). This and other accounts described the population as "liveing in pallizadoed townes" an observation that supports claims of a society accustomed to warfare (Thorowgood 1634:1).

During the 1630s, regardless of the prodding by the Kent Islanders, the Susquehannocks were at peace with and traded periodically with the Marylanders (Riordan 2004:35). This relationship was to change with the turn of the next decade. The root of Maryland's coming troubles with this northern tribe was the preexisting relations between the Native societies of the Chesapeake Bay. When the settlers arrived in 1634 they were literally settling "in the middle of a warzone" between the Susquehannocks and the Piscataways (Riordan 2004:34). The Marylanders had settled by, and allied themselves with, the latter population producing friction between them and the Susquehannocks from the start (Riordan 2004:34). Further pressure was added to the situation when in 1638, the Jesuits were cleared by Baltimore to set up missions with the Piscataways, which was a possible cause for the Susquehannock to strike before their Native enemies could too greatly benefit from this association (Riordan 2004:36).

At the first meeting of the Marylanders and the Susquehannocks, men from Kent attempted to incite conflict, though the Natives were not swayed by the Virginians and proceeded to trade with the men from St. Mary's. Unfortunately, the seed of mistrust had

been planted when Thorowgood went on to claim that on the same trade voyage an unrecorded event occurred which caused friction between them and the Susquehannocks (1634:1). It is possible that these two groups could have developed a long-term peaceful and lucrative relationship more akin to the tribes neighboring St. Mary's if traders from Kent, the Dutch, and the Swedish had not intervened (Riordan 2004:33). However, this interference occurred and had a dramatic effect on their dealings.

In 1639, Governor Calvert began preparing expeditionary forces for an assault on the Susquehannocks, which failed to materialize, as did a subsequent plan for 1640 (Land 1981:45). Though Native raids occurred in the few preceding years, 1642 saw a significant increase in attacks on the peripheral plantations of Maryland. In September of that year the assembly declared that the Susquehannocks and two Eastern Shore tribes were the enemies of Maryland (Browne 1885:16). After warning those tribes friendly to the province that they must bear a white flag or suitably prostrate themselves when approaching a Marylander, the Lord Baltimore's citizens were authorized to "shoote or kell any Indian or Indians in any the parts of the patuxent river that shalbe seene or mett either upon the land or water" (Maryland Council 1642b) By early the next year, as a result of "some reason & Accidents since hapning" the assembly did "utterly repeal and reverse" the former act, though the declaration of war remained (Maryland Council 1642c). Although hostilities continued, the open season on any Native American who came into contact with a Marylander apparently resulted in a loss of life deemed either morally unacceptable or strategically disastrous to the Maryland leadership.

Perhaps not surprisingly, it was the Jesuit properties that were first targeted by the Native attacks (Riordan 2004:36). The Jesuits wrote in 1642 that "we fear that we may be

compelled to abandon Pascataway, on account of its proximity to the Sesquesehanni...An attack having been recently made on a place of ours, they slew the men whom we had there" (Society of Jesus 1642). We learn also from a 1644 document that the Jesuit's "Mattapanian house" had been plundered on two separate occasions (Maryland Council 1644). In the summer of 1642 eight Marylanders were recorded to have lost their lives during these raids (Riordan 2004:38). In June, the settlers dwelling on the northern frontier and elsewhere were put in "a posture of defence against the Indians" (Maryland Council 1642d). Furthermore, specific fortified dwellings were designated to receive the settlers during an attack. Current political tensions with Cornwallis led the governor to sanction Giles Brent, a strong promoter of the campaign, to captain the expedition against the Susquehannocks (Riordan 2004:44-45). That year an act was made by the assembly for "an expedition against the Sesquihanoughs" in response to "the late outrages upon the English" granting the right to levy every third able man within the province (Maryland General Assembly 1642b). For political reasons of his own, Brent failed to move beyond the mustering point at Kent Island and after vacillating there with the militia, the mission was canceled (Riordan 2004:45).

Another expedition took place during the summer/fall of 1643 and was led by Cornwallis who, for the time being, was again on good terms with the government. Cornwallis sailed north with a force of Maryland volunteers intent upon sacking the primary village of the Susquehannocks, which was a fortified community containing as many as 900 inhabitants (Riordan 2004:112). Derived from a letter written by an alleged knowledgeable party, "Master Robert Evelin", came the following pro-Maryland account of the expedition:

for at the last Maryland March against them, these 250 having surprised in the reeds, and killed five English men with the losse of one of theirs, Captain Cornwallis...losing but one man more, killed with fifty five of his, and but raw and tired Marylanders, twenty nine Indians as they confessed, though compassed round with two hundred and fifty (Beauchamp 1648:22).

Though the above account would suggest a minor victory on behalf of the Maryland militia there is some evidence to the contrary. One small hint into the outcome of the campaign comes from a June 1644 commission to Fleet “for restoring as much as you can gett of the armes & other goods lost or left in our last march upon them” suggesting a hurried departure by Cornwallis and his men (Maryland Council 1644).

In the early summer of 1644 the Maryland government sought to peacefully conclude the late warfare with the Susquehannocks. Choosing a man who had dealings with the group in the past, the government commissioned Henry Fleet to discuss terms. Fleet was directed to travel to Piscataway and meet with the Susquehannock delegates and if upon finding the “most & best reasons to perswade to peace” sanctioned to “enter into treaty of peace with them” (Maryland Council 1644). However, the government was cautious, fearing a Native uprising and warning Fleet of their possible motives “to confederate & unite all the Indians of these parts in some generall league or plott for the cutting off of the English: in maryland, as they have most savagely attempted in virginea” (Maryland Council 1644). The results of this meeting are unknown, though it seems like no accord was reached for the Marylanders and Susquehannocks remained officially at war until the late 1640s (Riordan 2004:156). This continued warfare was however not intensive, as the Susquehannock threat diminished as a result of smallpox and conflict with other Native groups to the north (Land 1981:45).

Chapter 7

Economics

7.1 Introduction

The following chapter will examine the funding and exploitation of natural resources by the two Calvert-sponsored colonies. The first section examines the economic means of the Lords Baltimore, from which the majority of the funding for the colonies seemingly came. However, neither of the ventures could be financed completely by the proprietors; both had some, if not significant, backing of other individuals. Last, the chapter will investigate the various attempts that were made in the two settings to produce equity for the proprietors, investors, and colonists, including what would become the dominant economic enterprise of the two locales: cod fishing and tobacco cultivation.

7.2 Funding the Ventures and Economic Partnerships

7.2.1 Ferryland and Avalon

George Calvert did not carry the financial burden of the Newfoundland project on his shoulders alone. Unfortunately, the identities of those involved, or indeed the nature of their involvement, remain largely unclear. From the extraordinary sums allegedly spent by the Calverts (discussed below) it is difficult to imagine that the costs were not shared with other investors. Lacking concrete documentary evidence, we must instead look to dated accounts, and vague references for the nature of the financial involvement of others in the venture. One such account comes from a 1670 comparison of Calvert's Newfoundland colony with that of George Popham in what would become Maine. The

author wrote that Popham's settlement was designed with a common stock with many investors while Calvert's "left every one to provide for himself" (Lloyd 1670:38). This must be in reference to the various planters that ventured to Ferryland, suggesting that they were left to their own devices for starting plantations of their own. More importantly for this discussion is the suggestion that there was no joint stock component to the settlement of Ferryland or Avalon. However, there are a handful of references to individuals financially involved with Calvert in the project, though the specifics of their involvement are unclear. The first example comes from Calvert's agent Daniel Powell in 1622, who in a letter to the secretary referred to "the rest of the Undertakers" in the project (1622:8). Another possible reference comes from a 1623 letter from Calvert discussing the English privateer Captain Nutt who assisted him and his "associates" in the Newfoundland plantation (Calvert 1623). It is possible however that Calvert was referring to Wynne and his other agents rather than investors (Gaulton 2011 pers. comm.). There is also some evidence of Calvert's campaign to recruit new investors from Whitbourne's *Discourse* that mentioned the proprietor and "al those which are already Adventurers with him" (1622). These adventurers could have ventured in the project either in person or financially. The tract goes on to affirm the achievements of the young plantation, particularly "if more such worthy persons bestow their assistance either in purse or otherwise" suggesting others were currently involved (1622). The only named investor in Calvert's project was George Cottington, a former employee of the secretary who wrote in 1628 of both his stake in Baltimore's fishery and an "adventure by land which I shall ever account desperate" (Cottington 1628; Cell 1982:55).

Despite the limited involvement by others, the available data suggests that Calvert was the primary investor in his Newfoundland project and provided the great majority of the investment. Unfortunately, most of the estimates for his outlay at Ferryland and Avalon come decades after the fact and therefore must be received with some degree of skepticism. A series of estimates came in 1652 when various individuals who resided at Ferryland in the 1620s testified in this regard. At the low end of the spectrum was the account of Philip Davies who claimed Calvert “did not expend £12,000 as she hath heard the said Lord Baltimore speak himself” (1652). Others generally claimed significantly more, such as Anne Love and Amy Taylor who maintained the late Baltimore had spent between £17,000 and £20,000 (Love 1652; Taylor 1652). The former sum was allegedly learned from Calvert himself. Cecil Calvert asserted in 1637 that his father had made a similar investment in excess of £20,000 “to the great impoverishing of his estate” and later in 1660, revised the figure to more than £30,000 (Cell 1982:298, Pope 1992:150; Pope 1998:72). Even the lowest figure would have been significant in the 1620s. This sum amounted to a fortune, likely in the low millions by today’s standards, and came from a man who seems to have wagered the majority of his fortune on the venture (Pope 1992:150).

The next question is where did this money come from? Chapter 3 examined the seemingly substantial fortune that Calvert had accumulated from his inheritance, career, and investments. In addition to this accumulated capital, Calvert also drew upon the services of various moneylenders (Coakley 1976:6). In 1628 Calvert requested that John Harrison, one of the Farmers of Customs, obtain a £700 bill of exchange from the financial advancer Philip Burlamachi (Harper 1929; Coakley 1976:11). To further

complicate and contribute to this financial story, this bill was connected through debt or payment to a Master Willet (possibly of Bristol) and a Christian Box or Boc of Dublin (Coakley 1976:11). The latter man must be the Dutch merchant Christian Bor that was operating in Dublin and possibly engaged in the timber industry with Calvert at Clohamon (Mannion 2004:27). There is evidence of a more significant transaction when in 1629 Calvert's first wife's brother George Mynne conveyed £6,000 of stock, to Burlamachi (Coakley 1976:6). These few documentary records fail to illuminate the £20,000 or more investment, suggesting that either the sum may be an overestimate or there is much that is left to be understood regarding the financial networks which supplied the endeavor (Krugler 1976:18). As discussed in a later chapter, the archaeology suggests these numbers to be accurate, if not understated. Calvert realized the difficulty of finding investors for the "adventure by land" so he planned to use the Newfoundland fishery as a "cooperative enterprise promising immediate returns" that could be used to fund settlement and other economic and infrastructure-related ventures (Cottingham 1628; Menard and Carr 1982:179).

7.2.2 St. Mary's and Maryland

The 1632 death of Baltimore left Cecil Calvert with the soon-to-be official grant of Maryland, along with what appears to have been the depleted fortune of his father. Newfoundland had left the first Baltimore near insolvent and his newly proposed project needed substantial funding (Krugler 1981:386). One way in which Maryland succeeded where Newfoundland had failed, was in its attraction of others willing to adventure physically and financially alongside Baltimore. This fact was due in large part to the very

different realities of settlement in the two regions and the increased focus of the latter charter to entice the English gentry (Menard 1985:19). Although the level of their individual involvement is not always specified, the 1633 voyage to Maryland was populated by various “Gentlemen adventurers”, mostly the younger sons of the Roman Catholic gentry (Hawley and Lewger 1635:56; Menard and Carr 1982:182). In the 1634 *Relation* there were specific instructions for those that “bee unwilling, to trouble” themselves to voyage in person or send servants could instead “imploy some money upon this Plantation” (White 1634:13). The other large and silent partner in the venture was the Society of Jesus. Brought into the project by the first Lord Baltimore, the Jesuits were a huge force in recruiting adventurers and funding, while also supplying their own servants for the initial settlement (Lee 1889:205). The Jesuits and the leadership of the group were responsible for two-thirds of the indentured servants among the first settlers (Stone 1987:5). The 1633 annual letter of the order discussed the venture, writing that “many Catholics showed great liberality, and contributed money” and servants (Society of Jesus 1633). Despite the evidence suggesting more involvement of affluent families in the second Calvert project, the predominantly Catholic list of adventurers may have caused the Protestant gentry to hesitate in becoming involved (Menard and Carr 1982:179). As a result, the project was underfunded, again placing the primary burden on the shoulders of the Lord Baltimore; this was exactly the scenario George and Cecil were so eager to avoid (Menard and Carr 1982:179).

Having learned a lesson in Newfoundland about the long periods of expense before the hope of profit, the Calverts understood that to recoup the initial outlay and properly finance the continued growth of the colony they would need an immediate

source of income without any infrastructure investment (Menard and Carr 1982:179; Stone 1987:14). The perceived answer to their monetary concerns came in the form of the fur trade with the Native residents of the Chesapeake and its estuaries. To meet this goal, Baltimore implemented a joint stock company (discussed below) with eleven of the adventurers including the Jesuits, and various Calvert family members (Lee 1889:210; Menard and Carr 1982:180; Stone 1987:14).

There is little evidence regarding the actual estimates for the initial investment in Maryland. One historian suggests the second Lord Baltimore spent as much as £40,000 on the 1633 Maryland expedition (Steiner 1903:20). This estimate seems excessive despite Baltimore's claim to have expended "of so great sumes of money" (Calvert n.d.b). Unfortunately, there is little evidence of what the actual amount may have been. In Cecil's Declaration to the Lords he claimed to have "disbursed by himself and his freinds above tenn thousand pounds for the settling of a Colony" (Calvert n.d.b). Though it was almost certainly true that he and others had "the greatest part of their fortunes...thereupon engaged", he had not invested in the infrastructure at St. Mary's in the way his father had at Ferryland in the 1620s (Calvert n.d.b).

7.3 Economic Ventures

7.3.1 Animal Husbandry

The following section will examine the types of livestock raised in the two locales for both food and potential profit. Husbandry was an integral part of English and colonial life in the seventeenth century and attempts to raise and develop herd stocks was seen in nearly every New World colony of the period. It is important to note that from the

beginning years, both projects heavily focused upon raising cattle. This is especially noteworthy given the origins of the Calvert family in a region of England with long ties with this livestock. In fact, one contemporary claimed George Calvert's father "was but a Grasier" and even their surname likely had old English origins derived from the occupational term calf-herd (Anon 1676; Coakley 1984:256).

Ferryland and Avalon

One of the earliest proposed ventures in Ferryland for both sustenance and profit was the raising of livestock. Though out of necessity important for providing meat, eggs, and dairy for the settlement, animal husbandry also offered a potential source of trade between Calvert and his settlers as well as the migratory fishing fleet. Cattle husbandry was even projected for the plantation prior to Wynne's arrival, for in his first letter he requested of his employer "not to send any Cattle the next yeere" citing a shortage of necessary fodder (1621:12). The next year, Wynne offered insight into the possible size of the projected livestock herds claiming that "of Pasture land, we have already to serve at least three hundred heads of Cattell" (1622b:9). Presumably, Calvert's herd never reached these numbers, in fact there is little physical evidence from the period of the raising of livestock. However, that is not particularly surprising given the low archaeological visibility of such activities and the possibility that this venture may have been attempted somewhere outside the original settlement. Even in 1621 Wynne mentioned certain "Champion" ground two miles to the west of the settlement "fit for the Farme" which he was projecting for the following year (1621:20). It is interesting that he claimed it suitable for farming, suggesting that this may have been a venture beyond the sustenance of the

settlement. Indeed, large numbers of livestock raised in Ferryland would have been well-positioned for sale throughout Newfoundland and even the other colonies. The 1624 account of Sir William Alexander acknowledged the raising of cattle at Ferryland where he claimed there was already a “broode” of livestock at the settlement including “Kowes” (1624:25). Another record of this activity in the first decade of Ferryland came in a 1625 reference to Calvert hiring a vessel for transporting cattle to his plantation (Calvert 1625). A final documentation of this endeavor at the Calvert-sponsored Ferryland settlement is a 1651 account which referenced Baltimore’s “divers cattle” residing in the colony in 1638 (Calvert Counsel 1651).

In addition to cattle, Alexander referenced other types of “beastial” being raised at Ferryland (1624:25). In the first year Wynne mentioned the generosity of various fishing captains, who provided him with more than a dozen chickens for both eggs and meat (1621:15;16). The birds were numerous enough to warrant the construction in 1622 of a “hen-house” (Wynne 1622:3). In addition to this, the governor left a list of various farm animals that he desired sent to Ferryland including “Goates, a few tame Conies for breede, as also Pigs, Geese, Ducks and Hens”, all staples of the various seventeenth-century colonies (Wynne 1621:13).

St. Mary’s and Maryland

Even prior to the departure of the first Maryland adventurers, the promotional literature was projecting the economic importance of livestock to the colony. The 1633 *Declaration* chronicled the fantastical, claiming “the nearest woods are full of...wild bulls and cows” referencing the very real herds of bison in the general vicinity of the

Spanish holding in the southwest (Anon. 1633b). This multi-thousand mile geographic discrepancy would not have alarmed many potential readers in the 1630s. After the first settlement, the 1635 *Relation* set a slightly more realistic course of action for the potential husbandman. This tract suggested the purchase of Virginian cattle and pigs and claimed that the best course was to “carry a superfluitie” of textiles, spices, and other goods in exchange (Hawley and Lewger 1635:50). Accordingly, it was suggested that £4 to £5 would purchase a cow and 20 to 30s “a breeding Sow” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:50). Both the 1635 *Relation* and Wintour’s unpublished document of the same year proposed the sale of pork and bacon to the ships trading in the region for “transport to other countrys” or “other parts” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:23; Wintour 1635). Wintour suggested an annual profit of £150 for this sale, also pointing out that raising of pigs was cheaper than cattle, contrasting the £500 suggested investment in 20 cattle with the £30 that would provide for an adequate swineherd (1635). In addition, pigs could readily feed themselves on the “acorns chestnutts, and other sorts of mast and fruits” widely available in the Maryland forests (1635). This was true because the Maryland landscape with its forests and wetlands, like so much of North America, was exceedingly well-suited for animal husbandry (Stone 1987:20). The Marylanders likewise found it unnecessary to harvest hay for their cattle; instead, they used the readily available byproducts of their corn crop and straw (Stone 1987:21).

Though environmentally ideal for husbandry, the acquisition of pigs and cattle was not to be such an easy undertaking for the Marylanders. As a result of Virginian animosity, the assembly banned the exportation of cattle in advance of the soon-to-be established colony (Stone 1987:21). This flew in the face of the 1633 letter from the king

to the Governor and Council of Virginia which directed them to assist Baltimore's colonists (Sainsbury 1860:170). The Virginian Governor Harvey was supportive of the enterprise, writing in 1634 "I sent unto them some Cowes of myne owne, and will do my best to procure them more" but illuminated the passions of those who opposed the move writing "that they would rather knock their Cattell on the heads then sell them to Maryland" (1634). White wrote in 1634 of the 100 plus hogs at St. Mary's "and some 30. Cowes; and more wee expect daily" that the Marylanders received from the "Achomack" plantation, presumably at the request of Harvey (1634:9). The governor's support of Maryland in part resulted in his removal from office the next year, which temporarily ended the supply of Virginian livestock (Stone 1987:21). The unwillingness of many to sell to Marylanders and the great expense of procuring animals for breeding was the principal limitation on raising livestock in the early province (Stone 1987:21).

The best evidence for the raising of cattle in Maryland comes from the St. John's property owned by John Lewger, the provincial secretary and manager of Baltimore's livestock (Middleton and Miller 2008:142). The archaeological evidence also documents the livestock raised on the property, where excavations revealed the remains of cattle, chickens, pigs, and sheep (Middleton and Miller 2008:143). By 1638 animal husbandry, raising cattle in particular, became significantly easier in Maryland. That year, the Virginian embargo on the exportation of cattle came to an end (Stone 1987:21). In the fall of the previous year Baltimore had placed a personal order in Virginia for the purchase of 40 cattle, 10 sows, and 40 hens and Leonard Calvert requested an additional order for his brother of 10 ewes and a ram (Lee 1889: 149, 151). The Baltimore herds were additionally bolstered by the confiscation of the Kent Island and Palmer's Island holdings

of Claiborne amounting to approximately 200 additional heads of cattle, though many of these may have been later returned (Steiner 1903:84-85). A few years later in 1643, Baltimore had 54 cows under Lewger's management which gave birth to over 50 calves, the great majority surviving (Stone 1987:21). In a region ideally suited to husbandry, once past the trade blockades of Virginia, animal husbandry thrived at many of the large Maryland plantations.

7.3.2 Mining

Ferryland and Avalon

While mining would not become a viable enterprise in either of the colonies in their first decade, the potential was projected and acknowledged in the charters of both. The Avalon document mentioned the "Veines, Mines & delves...of Gold, silver, Gemmes and pretious Stones, and all other whatsoever be it of Stones, [and] Mettalls" (James I 1623). A clause found in both charters involved the standard rights of the Crown to collect one fifth part of the "Gold and silver Oare" that was discovered (James I 1623). The early contexts of the Ferryland stone storehouse excavations even revealed fragments of crucibles, possibly used in the testing of local ores (Tuck *et al.* 1999:150). Newfoundland is a truly mineral-rich island, but there is no evidence for much interest by George Calvert in pursuing this potential. In the early 1630s Wynne wrote of the region "as for Oare...I hold not fitt to specifie" and the Calverts appear to have been content with the same information during the period (1630/31).

St. Mary's and Maryland

Though St. Mary's never received the same feverish pursuit of gold that Jamestown did earlier in the seventeenth century, the second Lord Baltimore informed his leaders to discover if there was "proper earth for the making of saltpeeter" and if there was any "probability of Iron oare or any other mines" in the largely unexplored region (Calvert 1633b). Though Wintour may have proclaimed "it be certaine there be mines both of iron and copper in abundance" on the shores of the Chesapeake, the largely alluvial deposits of the settled area precluded any real mineral potential during the period (1635).

7.3.3 Fur Trade

Ferryland and Avalon

There is scattered evidence from Newfoundland regarding attempts to harvest animal pelts for sale. Though this never appears to have been a large enterprise—in part due to the relative scarcity of fur-bearing mammals—it deserves mention here as it was one of the ways that Calvert and his colonists hoped to make a living in seventeenth-century Newfoundland. The fur trade developed alongside the fishery and was implemented by the French as early as the mid sixteenth century (Farnie 1962:207). Certainly, the seasonal pursuit of furs would become an English endeavor slightly later in the seventeenth century, as one 1660s account of the region described "in the winter, the planters employ themselves" in part with "catching beaver" (Yonge 1663:60; Pope 2004:339). The first surviving reference to the fur trade at Ferryland comes from a 1622 letter of Nicholas Hoskins who wrote "Foxes heere are many, and as subtill as a Foxe, yet

have we coozned many of them of their rich coates, which our worthy Governour keepes carefully, as also of Cattagenas and Otters, whose coverings wee preserve as fitting presents for greater persons" (1622:17). In his account, Hoskins alluded to the furs as potential gifts, perhaps revealing that there was never much of a thrust to develop the industry. The next reference came seven years later in a letter Baltimore wrote from Ferryland. Calvert claimed to a friend that the proceeding winter "hath yielded us not 3. furre scarfs and those not good" (1629). This seems to imply that fur trapping was already a winter enterprise by the time Baltimore was dwelling at Ferryland. Baltimore's discouragement may reflect his growing financial concerns and an attempt to find means other than the fishery to make his province profitable. A document written by Calvert's former agent described his personal views on the potential of the Newfoundland fur trade. Wynne wrote of the island that "Sundry sortes of very good fures are had there, but farre greater quantities might be obteyned among those Natives, if by way of trading they were lookt after" (1630/31). The Natives he referred to were the Beothuk, of which Ferryland and the entire Avalon Peninsula was markedly devoid by the 1620s. This population could be found further northwest on the island and were involved in trade earlier in the century with John Guy and his plantation at Cupids.

St. Mary's and Maryland

In contrast to Ferryland where pursuit of furs was minor and seems to never have amounted to much, Maryland's involvement in the enterprise was significantly different. Knowledgeable of the financial strain placed on the family by the Ferryland venture, George and Cecil Calvert devised a plan to help bear the heavy burden of Maryland's

early years (Stone 1987:14). Designed to access the rich trade of the various Native tribes living in the region, primarily those in the northern bay, a joint stock company was incorporated to raise the capital necessary for the implementation of this goal. It is possible that this trade was something that the first Lord Baltimore researched during his short stay in Virginia. If not, he and his son most certainly discussed their plans with various knowledgeable parties in London in order to devise the best way to go about their projected venture in Maryland. By the 1630s the New England fur trade was “the most highly developed enterprise” in those settlements, statistics the Calverts were likely well aware of (Bailyn 1955:23). The 1633 *Declaration* contained a description of the trade in furs claiming that “some Merchants bring from thence this last yeare, as many as were worth 10000 pounds, and the returne of these commodities with which they traded for these Beavers with the Natives, yeelded them thirty for one” (White 1633:4). This enticement, likely exaggerated, must have been designed to attract potential adventurers and investors to the enterprise. Tied into this projected initiative were the Jesuits. The Calverts saw their relationship with the Society as a multi-faceted and beneficial arrangement, for with the missions of the fathers lay the means of solidifying their relations with the Natives, a necessity of the fur trade (Krugler 2004:139).

The enterprise, sometimes called Lord Baltimore and Company, was established prior to the 1633 departure of the *Ark* and *Dove* (Stone 1987:14). The initial venture was organized to be carried out immediately upon arrival in Maryland. A group of 11 financial “adventurers” were involved in the first stock comprised of 30 shares; all were owned by gentlemen who voyaged to Maryland, save for Baltimore (Bernard 1949:95). The 10 investors who had sailed for North America appear to have bought in at the cost

of £15 a share and the remaining interest was owned by Lord Baltimore resulting in a £450 investment (Bernard 1949:95). Upon arrival in the region, the leaders commissioned the Virginian trader Captain Fleet to guide and interpret for them. Fleet was very active in the fur trade, operating "three barks" in the pursuit, and secured his continued access to the region by serving the government and was rewarded by the leaders "a proportion in our beaver trade" (White 1634:4). Soon after reaching Maryland, the contingent began actively pursuing the enterprise. The account of Thorowgood, a man that White claimed "drives his Lordships trade", documented his voyage in April of 1634 in a pinnace bound for the Susquehannock territory "at the head of the baye" (Thorowgood 1634:1; White 1634:8). Upon arrival in the region, the Marylanders learned of the significant competition from both the Virginians of Kent Island who they actually met at trade and who "had gotten 700 skins" and the Dutch whose plantation had just received "40 men leaden with beaver" (Thorowgood 1634:1). Unfortunately for the Marylanders, their arrival in the bay precluded them from the prime start to the trading season which stretched from early March to late June of which Leonard Calvert wrote "by reason of our so late arrivall here we came too late for the first part of the trade this yeare: which is the reason I have sent home so few furs" claiming that "wee have lost by our late comeinge 3000 skins, which others of Virginia have traded for, but hereafter they shall come noe more here" (Calvert 1634; Steiner 1903:40; 43). It was the anti-Maryland element or "Virginia Interest" that destroyed the joint stock's chances at success the first year by causing the delays in the launch of the expedition that resulted in a late arrival in the Chesapeake (Stone 1987:14). Undeterred, the group continued to pursue the trade with the Natives and incorporated the purchase of corn into their design with the unimpressive

totals in the beaver category at only £28 which sold for 10s per lb (Bernard 1949:97).

Though there is no surviving list of the trade goods used in the initial stock, Hawley and Lewger suggested the types of items interested parties should pack with them for the voyage such as “a superfluity of Knives, Combes, and Bracelets...and some Hatchets, Howes, and Axes” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:50).

Although the initial trade failed to meet all expectations, the investors continued to see the potential of the enterprise. In 1634 a second stock was organized to supply the much-needed capital to ensure the future of the company. Writing of the trade, Leonard Calvert claimed “that the quantity of trucke we brought over last is nothinge, in respect of what is here to be vented, and there is not anythinge doth more indanger the losse of commerce with the Indians, then want of trucke to barter with them” (1634). A shipping inventory has survived of the new goods brought over in 1634 aboard the *Ark*. The cargo destined for the trade included 1,100 yards of coarse frieze, 180 boxes of small glass beads, 420 boxwood combs, 36 ivory combs, 204 horn combs, 300 weight of brass kettles, 540 Sheffield knives, 480 hawk’s bells, and 600 axes (Semmes 1938:22; Stone 1987:15).

The “second part of our trade” Leonard Calvert described as being “now in hand” in May, appeared to have been significantly more successful (1634). Writing to his personal business partner in the venture, Sir Richard Lechford, he listed “the quantity of skins lately come in is 233 of beaver, 53 muskatt skins, 17 otter skins” and “In Indian coates one rich fox skins coat, fower loose fox skins and one coat of martin skins” (Calvert 1634). Though an improvement upon the first part of the season, Leonard

Calvert's optimistic words that the trade was "like to prove very beneficial" failed to materialize (1634).

The remainder of 1634 and 1635 came with devastating results for Lord Baltimore and Company. Competition continued, then turned to bloodshed with the Kent Islanders. In an unrelated incident the crew of the *Dove* deserted while landed in Virginia (Semmes 1938:14; Stone 1987:15). Despite the competition with Kent Island and other setbacks, the perception of success in the trade was still alive and well for the Maryland colony when in 1635 Wintour wrote to a friend that "the fures alone will largely requite his adventure" (1635). Wintour would later pursue the Maryland trade for himself as revealed by the 40 beaver pelts, of significant worth, listed in his 1638 probate inventory (Krugler 1976:21).

Meanwhile, fur stocks were accumulating at the St. Mary's storehouse while the investors attempted to arrange for a new crew for Baltimore's ship (Semmes 1938:20). A 1636 eyewitness explained that "beaver is subject to bee wormeaten & decay", a reality that stemmed from the "longe lyeing at Mariland for want of Marriners" (Fritter 1636). According to the account, when the ship was finally crewed, she sailed for England with 1,000 weight of "beaver in caske" plus a large quantity of timber for wainscot, but the ship and crew were "cast away & loste" to the Atlantic (Fritter 1636). The desperately needed quantity of furs and other goods, not to mention the loss to Baltimore and the other part-owners of the *Dove*, was in excess of £1,000, a price the company could not easily bear (Stone 1987:15). Not surprisingly, the accounts of the investors were not glowing. Jerome Hawley wrote that in the first year he had lost and did "not get anything by this said adventure" (Peasley 1637). In a 1638 letter regarding the matter, Father White

wrote of “the bad successe of the two former in which every body was losers” (1638).

While the trade company was still in existence as late as 1638, there is skepticism regarding its continued longevity after this date (Stone 1987:14). Though the record may be silent regarding the continuation of the joint stock, the Maryland fur trade persisted.

The late 1630s and early 1640s saw the continued importance of the fur trade; by this time, the joint stock had given way to the interests of a handful of Maryland factors, primarily Leonard Calvert, Cornwallis, and the Jesuits (Stone 1987:17). By the late 1630s a partnership of the two former men dominated the trade in the northern Chesapeake (Riordan 2004:24). These gentlemen and many of the other large plantation owners plied their own vessels in the trade, in addition to being the primary suppliers (Cornwallis in particular), of credit and truck for smaller interests in the pursuit of furs (Stone 1987:17). In a 1638 letter to Baltimore, Cornwallis illuminated the workings of the trade, protesting the “Inconveniencs” he suffered when instead of “fetching the Truck, and carrying what beaver I could get, from and toe Virginia”, he made the required stop at St. Mary’s, presumably to pay duty on the goods and furs (1638). A similar conflict occurred in Virginia between the government and planters; the latter preferred the right to ship and receive from private plantations while the administration wanted all imports and exports routed through sanctioned ports (Reps 1965:93). A 1638 letter from Father White to Baltimore contains evidence of a change in the eyes of the proprietor regarding the enterprise. According to the Jesuit, Calvert intended to implement an excise upon the traders “to pay the tenth of their cloath and the tenth of theyre beaver for five years” and then from that period on they would “have no more right in trade” (White 1638). By prohibiting the trade outside licensed individuals, Baltimore and his partners would

completely control the exchange with the Natives in the region. Fearing the implementation of this new policy, White warned that as a result “the trade wilbee diverted from us and a markett sett upp in some neighbouring land” (1638).

In the earliest days of the Maryland settlement men from St. Mary’s ventured far to the north of the bay to trade for furs. Though the Susquehannocks offered the best access to inland tribes and furs, the Marylanders also had trade networks with the Piscataway and other populations closer to the settlements. St. Mary’s, formerly the village of Yaocomico, was in the early 1630s a trading location for Henry Fleet (Neill 1876:20). Kent Island was founded as a trading post, and when annexed into Maryland, offered an easier way to access the northern Chesapeake Native trade. In 1638 White suggested additional trading posts or “factoridges” that would be serviced by “one man in each with sufficient truck” (1638). The implementation of these posts at Piscataway, Patuxent, and so forth was a cost-cutting strategy, a way of store-housing the trade goods and furs for more convenient distribution and pickup (Stone 1987:17). A letter from the Jesuits acknowledges such a post in reference to an individual “who was staying among them for the sake of trading” (Society of Jesus 1638). White further suggested three primary posts, the first at Palmers Island, north of Kent “for the trade of the Sasquesahanoes”, a second along the Nanticoke River to access the tribes of the Eastern Shore, and a third at “Anacostans for the Mattomecks”, presumably the Anacostia River (1638). Though the joint stock was a failure, the trade in furs continued to be a source of revenue for the Calverts and other government insiders throughout the first decade of Maryland.

7.3.4 Fisheries

Ferryland and Avalon

The Newfoundland cod fishery, perhaps the richest the world had ever seen, would change the economic and colonial face of England. By the first decade of the 1500s, Breton and Norman vessels were plying the Newfoundland waters for codfish (Fagan 2006:226). The Bristol ship *Gabriel* was the first documented vessel fishing for cod off Newfoundland in 1502 (Pope 2004:15). This extraordinarily rich fishery would in the following centuries “generate more wealth in Europe than all the gold of the Indies” (Fagan 2006:226).

Though not as prevalent on the fishing grounds of Newfoundland as other nations in the early decades of the fishery, the number of English ships greatly increased from around 100 vessels in the 1590s to as many as 250 by 1615 (Fagan 2006:240). Baltimore’s own calculations from 1628 claimed “300. Shippes are yearly occupied” with the English trade worth “by Comon Compute 300 thousand poundes a yeare” (1628d).

Though the waters off Newfoundland hosted both what was referred to as a “wet” and “dry” fishery, the English fleet pursued the latter shore-based inshore fishery rather than that further off on the Grand Banks (Pope 2003:236). Arriving in April or May, the vessels would establish themselves in a harbor, often returning year after year to the same sites. One later seventeenth-century account from a harbor adjacent to Ferryland described the yearly arrival of the English vessels stating how upon the choice of harbor “the ship is all unrigged, and in the snow and cold all the men go into the woods to cut timber” for the necessary structures of the enterprise: dwellings, cookroom, stages, and flakes (Yonge 1663:56). These preparations could take as much as a month to construct

or repair the structures and boats required for the season (Pope 2003:236). Prior to the fishing, the crews also had to catch suitable bait. Each ship was composed of numerous 5-man boat crews described by Yonge as “the boat’s master, midshipmen, and foreshipman” that would crew a boat of “3 or 4 tons and will carry 1000 or 1200 cod” (1663:57). Each day, these men would row out to the fishing grounds and bottom-fish using simple hand-lines with hook and weight (Pope 2003:239). With just a few lines per crew member, the process of reeling in a fish, removing the cod and re-baiting the hook, would have been continuous work. In one year a single 5-man crew could process a whopping 20,000 fish (Pope 2003:237). Landing the cod was only the first part in a long and laborious process. With the daily return of the fishing crews who were accustomed to “row hard and fish all day” began the work of the shoremen whom Yonge perhaps exaggeratingly claimed “rest not above two hours in a night” (1663:60).

The shore work began with the unloading of the day’s catch at the stage. Using long spear-like implements the boat crews would pass the codfish up to the awaiting men (Poynter 1963:57). This malodorous scene was described in 1663.

a boy takes them and lays them on a table in the stage, on one side of which stands a header, who opens the belly, takes out the liver, and twines off the head and guts (which fall through the stage into the sea) with notable dexterity and suddenness. The liver runs through a hole in the table, into a coole or great tub, which is thrown into the train fatt (Yonge 1663:57).

The liquefied train oil was an important and lucrative byproduct of the fishery and was used as lubrication for machinery, defined as “trains” in the early modern period (Pope 2003:243). Next, the header passed the headless and gutted fish to the splitter “who with a strong knife splits it abroad, and with a back stroke cuts off the bone” (Yonge 1663:57).

The subsequent stage was the salting process. Following the application of the salt, the fish was laid out for three or four days, washed in fresh water and set to dry for a day or so. Finally, the fish was placed on wooden flakes or beach cobbles until suitably dried.

By the end of July, the fishing season neared an end and by August or September most vessels set sail (Pope 2004:29). Coinciding with the winding-down of the season was the arrival of the sack ships. These cargo-carrying vessels were a Dutch introduction to the Newfoundland fishery, though they were subsequently implemented by the English, sack ships were designed to transport the fish quickly to market (Pope 2004:243). Those fishing vessels using the services of the sack ships would have their catches tallied and weighed and “carried on board, laid, and prest snug with great stones” (Yonge 1663:58). With only an estimated 10 percent of the early seventeenth-century English-caught fish ending up in England, there next ensued a rush for the Continent (Fagan 2006:244). The sack ships and fishing vessels sailed for the ports of Iberia and the Mediterranean where the tenets of supply and demand rewarded the first to arrive (Pope 2003:245). This marked the yearly end of the migratory cod fishery of Newfoundland and the coming ice and snow that would cap the island until the springtime thaw and arrival of the ships and fishermen the following year.

The cod fishery, along with its various supplemental industries, was the primary focus of George Calvert’s economic investment in Newfoundland. The fishery was seen by Calvert as a means to offset his investment in the settlement and development of Ferryland, while waiting for the increased involvement of investors wary of the initial risk (Menard and Carr 1982:179). From the early days of the settlement, Wynne discussed the particulars of the trade and the potential for complementary industries writing that “here

are two fishing seasons, the former for dry fish, and the latter for Cor-fish: werewith (together with the traine of the whole)” and that many vessels were involved in the enterprise (1621:8). In the same letter Calvert’s agent mentioned making salt, the use of hemp and flax for the manufacture of “Nets and Lines for fishing” tar production, and the availability of timber resources for “Masts, and yards for Shipping” (Wynne 1621:8).

One of the supportive industries implemented by Calvert was the production of salt for use as a preservative for the codfish. As early as 1621 Wynne wrote to Calvert of the potential of salt, writing it does “becken unto your Honors perseverance” (1621:7). A year later the governor wrote of the arrival of “the Salt-maker” John Hickson and mentioned that the Ferryland “Salt-worke” was under construction (Wynne 1622:1, 4). Singing the praises of the operation, in a later letter Wynne told Calvert that Hickson “hath performed his part with a great deale of sufficiency, by whom I have sent your Honour a barrell of the best Salt that ever my eies beheld” (1622b:12). The theory was, that if the salt could be manufactured locally, it would cut down on the price of purchasing and carrying it from Portugal or France, as many English vessels were accustomed to do (Fagan 2006:239). Additionally, the product could be sold to other English ships involved in the Newfoundland fishery. In 1622 Whitbourne wrote of the plantation having available for sale “above 150 quarters of Salt at a very cheape hand” (1622b). Insight into Wynne’s (and Calvert’s) intentions for the local production of salt comes from the *Brittish India* where Calvert’s former governor proposed that by leaving the outbound holds empty of salt, they could instead be stocked with goods and supplies for the Newfoundland settlements, thus involving the “West-country-traders that way” who would become greater economic “partners in the undertaking” (1630/31).

We do not know exactly what transpired with the salt-making attempt; perhaps the time and cost to refine the sea water was too much. The project was abandoned and we hear no more of it from Calvert's Ferryland. Perhaps the project suffered the same fate as the similar attempted works in New England where William Bradford called the saltmaker "an ignorant, foolish, self-willed fellow" who purportedly made great claims of the endeavor in England but in the New World "could not do anything but boil salt in pans" (1620-47:146, 147). In fact, in a later document written by Wynne he suggested that the salt be "carryed thither, and laid up safe in Storehouses" (1630/31).

The 1623 Avalon charter gave Calvert and his heirs the right to "the Fishinges of all sortes of fishe, Whales, sturgions and other Royall fishinges in the Sea or Rivers" though there was the substantial clause to allow the "free liberty of fishing...and the Priviledges of salting & drying their fish upon the shoares" preserved for all English subjects (James I 1623). The establishment of a resident fishery at Ferryland was a challenge to the migratory fishermen who had a long history of operating out of that and adjacent harbors. The particulars of Calvert's fishery in Newfoundland must be reconstructed from a handful of seventeenth-century documents. The first clue regarding Calvert's attempts with a settlement-based fishery comes from Wynne's list of Ferryland residents referencing a handful of "Boats-masters" and fishermen (1622b:14). Another letter from that year mentions the involvement of a vessel when Whitbourne wrote of Calvert's "shipp which is to sett forward in February next, and to spend the next Sommer in Fishinge" off Ferryland, claiming that fish "maye be bought of master Secretary Calvert" (1622b). Hypothetically, Calvert hired a vessel and crew entire to operate as

much they had in the past, except the ship and boat crews would have the new infrastructure of the settlement as a base of operations.

Though seemingly off to a solid start, the Calvert fishery seems to have failed to live up to the secretary's expectations in the subsequent years. Any record of what transpired in the settlement has not survived, though from the archaeology it is clear that Wynne continued to develop the infrastructure, such as the stone wharf and storehouse that were constructed during these early years before 1625. When the former governor later wrote of the Ferryland project, it seems that he was suggesting that too little focus was placed on the fishery, with too much energy placed on cattle husbandry and other projects (Gaulton and Miller 2009:123, 125). Further evidence of the poor return comes from Cottington, a former employee of Calvert and investor in his fishery enterprise. In 1628 he wrote that "there was a certayne account due to mee upon our fishing adventure, at Newfoundland (more mony then now I should disburse that way" though he claimed that at least some of the involved parties were "satisfied to the full with an odd neglect of mee" (Cottington 1628). For the most part, the fishery failed to meet the expectations of Calvert and his associates in the venture. By the spring of 1627 he wrote to Wentworth that he was to voyage to Newfoundland and personally turn around his fortunes claiming "I had rather be esteemed a Fool by some for the Hazard of one Month's Journey, than to prove myself one certainly for six Years by past, if the Business be now lost for the want of a little Pains and Care" (Calvert 1627). After a brief personal inspection of his holdings in 1627, Lord Baltimore set sail for Newfoundland the next year with plans to stay indefinitely.

While in Newfoundland, Calvert attempted to revitalize his fishing enterprise. In the fishing season of 1628 Baltimore employed fishermen at Ferryland. That year the skirmishes with the French and the caring for the subsequent prisoners resulted in Baltimore “neglectinge his plantacion & fishing” costing him a projected £2,000 which prompted him to describe his venture as “my poore fisherie heere” (Anon 1628; Calvert 1628e). When Leonard Calvert returned to Avalon in May of 1629 with the 300 ton *St. Claude*, his goals were both defensive and economic. That spring and summer the vessel, according to the ship’s master Stephen Baker, “tooke fish there” (1629). An account of their activities described a Thomas Walker who “went dayly to the Lord Baltimores and Came back againe to theire shipp in the evening, and the said ship being there employed in fishing by the Lord Baltimore aforesaid” and that Walker “did take account of the said Lord Baltimores parte of the fish there taken” (Day 1629). It seems that Walker was Calvert’s factor, a post described by Whitbourne in 1622 as the individual charged to inventory the fish catch and “make sales and imploymentes thereof at Bordax [Bordeaux] or any other place in France, or the coast of Biskay” (1622b). That year’s activity suggests the *St. Claude* operated as a transport or sack ship for Baltimore’s fish and conceivably the catches of other fishing ships in the region (Pope 2004:126). Given the time the vessel spent in Newfoundland, and the fact that it was previously a French fishing vessel, is suggestive that it was operated that season like other English migratory ships. On or around 23 August, the *St. Claude* and crew, after “having laden themselves they sett sayle” for Southampton (Baker 1629).

Later accounts of Calvert’s fishery reveal the construction or supply of approximately 20 or 30 boats and the 60 ton *Anne* (Pope 1998:79, 81, 89; Pope

2004:126). If these numbers are correct, and each of these ships employed a 5 man crew, the number of men and boys involved in Calvert's fishery would have been in the range of 100 to 150 individuals. This number however, probably does not reflect permanent residents at Ferryland. More likely, the crews mentioned were largely made up of those associated with the fishing ship that Baltimore contracted for the 1628 season. It is possible that the boats were constructed at Ferryland in order to free up space in the holds of the hired vessel. This would have been one of the ways in which a settlement-based fishery could benefit from its situation. All of these vessels were purportedly "employed to catch fish" whereas the catches were processed on "divers stages" (Davies 1652; Slaughter 1652). Unfortunately for Calvert, when his contemporaries described his fishing efforts at Ferryland, the general consensus was that "Baltimore rather lost than got" (Slaughter 1652). Perhaps Baltimore's fishermen were of the same ilk as those men commissioned by the New Englanders whose master, Bradford called "a very drunken beast" who "did nothing (in a manner) but drink and guzzle and consume away the time and his victuals" (1620-47:146).

In 1629 Baltimore and the majority of his most-recent colonists departed for Virginia with hopes for a new charter in that region of the Americas. In letters justifying his reasons for leaving Newfoundland, the fishery was not specifically mentioned. However, the economy likely played a major role in Calvert's change of colonial focus. Warfare and economic issues had significantly reduced the Newfoundland fish trade to approximately a third of what it was in the early 1620s (Pope 2004:124). Though economics certainly played a role in Calvert's decision to depart, it is more likely that he realized that his goals for settlement and the growth potential of Newfoundland could

never meet his expectations. Already fully invested in Avalon, the decision to commit to a new venture elsewhere, with all new establishment costs, must have related to other factors in addition to Newfoundland's poor economic outlook. Though Baltimore wrote "I am determined to committ this place to fishermen that are able to encounter stormes and hard weather" he was not abandoning the venture (Calvert 1629b). Instead, he was acknowledging the viable economic potential of Newfoundland, and the fact that to see his broader settlement plans come to fruition, he would need to look elsewhere. Just a year before, Baltimore wrote to the king that "I meete with greate difficulties and Incumbrances at the beginning, (as enterprises of this nature commonlye have" acknowledging that his Newfoundland project was yet in the early stages (1628e). The fishermen Baltimore planned to leave Avalon were not members of the migratory fishing fleet, he was instead likely mentioning his own hired vessels at least in part crewed or directed by his own employees. While there is no evidence that George or Cecil Calvert financed fishing vessels for Ferryland in subsequent years, there is no reason to discount the possibility. The sparse records mentioning the various vessels hired by Calvert in the 1620s all came from secondary sources and it remains a very real possibility that the family continued to promote this endeavor using the support of the Ferryland settlement. Though their involvement in the day-to-day affairs of Ferryland and any later Ferryland-based fishery is unclear, the Calverts continued to invest in Avalon for many years to come. It is inappropriate to suggest, as many nineteenth-century historians have, that the family would have turned their backs on their enormous investment in Ferryland. Nonetheless, in the next decades Baltimore's aforementioned fears penned to Wentworth in 1627 would become a reality when the Kirke family, building on Baltimore's

investment in infrastructure, was able to establish the “first commercially successful resident fishery in the region” (Pope 2004:143).

St. Mary's and Maryland

Like many of the other projected economic possibilities for Maryland, the fisheries received high praise in the promotional literature, including material published prior to the first expedition. Though the fish stocks of the Chesapeake, the adjacent Atlantic Ocean, and rivers of the region could never compare to the Newfoundland fishery, the Calverts were nonetheless interested in pursuing this as an economic possibility for the province. It seems that the experiences of George Calvert in Newfoundland informed the rewriting of his first charter when it came to this aspect of his family's rights in Maryland. One change in this regard was the addition of an entirely new section where it was made explicit that English subjects were free “to cut and take underwood, or twiggs there growing, and to build Cottages and Sheddss necessary in this behalfe” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:73). Where the Avalon charter warned against the careless destruction of timber resources, the Maryland document attempted to clarify what appears to have been an issue in Newfoundland.

In Cecil Calvert's 1633 instructions to his leaders, he was still pursuing the possibility of fishery-related income in Maryland when he requested that they investigate the possibility of making salt there (Lee 1889:140). As his father had in Newfoundland, the son saw the potential in a domestic source of this necessary aspect of fish preservation. Perhaps he envisioned his own ships taking on a cargo of salt in Maryland and sailing north to the fishery off his Province of Avalon. Indeed, the 1635 *Relation*

listed fishing as one of the primary livelihoods for potential adventurers. Going beyond the mere necessities needed to supply sustenance, the tract described the various “necessaries for a boate of 3 or 4 Tunne” and the different nets and hooks needed for catching cod, mackerel, and herring (Hawley and Lewger 1635:51). The same year in his unpublished promotional tract, Wintour touched on the subject in his glowing, if not totally accurate manner, claiming “there is as great plenty of it as in any fishing place in the knowen world” (1635). Projections aside, there is little evidence for the economic pursuit of a Maryland fishery during the first decade of settlement.

7.3.5 Rents and Licenses

Ferryland and Avalon

For the economic benefit of the proprietor and the effective functioning of the government, the charter of Avalon formalized the rights of the Calverts and their citizens when it came to taxation. The Newfoundland charter, and eventually that of Maryland were extremely liberal in regard to the rights of the proprietor to impose duties. An important aspect of the Avalon economy was the exemption, not only of Calvert but also of his settlers, from English taxes. According to the 1623 document, the English monarchy would never

cause to be Imposed any Imposition, Custome or other Taxation, in or upon the dwellers or Inhabitanes of the sayd Province, or upon any of their Landes, Tennementes, Goodes, or Chattelles within the sayd Province, or upon any of their Goodes or Marchandizes to be charged, or discharged within the sayd Province (James I 1623).

Furthermore, the charter allowed for an additional ten years relief of importation duties from Avalon to England and Ireland “without paying in any sort any manner of Subsidy,

Customs, Tax or Imposition whatsoever, unto us" (James I 1623). This significant clause would have meant that Calvert's fish catches would have been free of taxation upon arrival at market, a liberty he must have exercised in his various fishing seasons. Furthermore, Calvert was granted power to collect all "the subsidies, Customs, and Impositions payable, or accruable within the Portes Harbours...for all Goodes & Marchandizes there to be laden & unladen" (James I 1623). This meant that Calvert and his heirs could establish mandatory trade ports of entry into the province at which he could enforce his own taxation policy on the merchandise (Lahey 1982:118). There are no surviving records of the implementation of these strategies in Avalon. The recorded arrival of supplies and goods from England were vessels associated with Calvert so theoretically, no duties would have been charged anyway. Given Calvert's ability to procure for himself various financial windfalls throughout his career, one would think that these taxes would have been applied in Newfoundland. The fact that in the late 1620s when Baltimore was in Ferryland he looked into the implementation of "a Customs upon all the Fishes taken there" is suggestive that other such policies may have already been extant (Calvert n.d.).

St. Mary's and Maryland

As in Newfoundland, the Maryland charter exempted the residents from royal taxation and at the same time granted Baltimore and his heirs the right to impose realistic duties of their own "to be reasonably assessed (upon any occasion) by themselves and the people there" (Hawley and Lewger 1635:74). The levies and licenses implemented by the Calverts were designed to meet two goals, the first to support the public needs of the

colony, such as paying government officers and providing for the defensive needs of the settlements. The second objective was to add to the much-depleted coffers of Baltimore, necessary to ensure the future of the family's lifestyle and the continued legal fight to retain the charter. These income-producing measures were comprised of different licenses, largely related to the fur trade, a tobacco tax, and a port levy upon every vessel trading in Maryland waters, as in Avalon (Browne 1890:92). By 1650, there is evidence that these policies were applied when all trading vessels entering or leaving Maryland waters were obliged to anchor off Fort St. Inigoes (Browne 1883:292; Shomette 1998:480). As early as 1638 Cornwallis complained of the "bayting at St. Maryes" of his furs, which shows that from very early in the history of the province Baltimore was implementing his granted rights (1638).

The final major tax strategy employed in Maryland was the quit-rent. According to the charter, all the lands of the province were effectively owned by Baltimore, and every landholder was renting the property from the proprietor in perpetuity. Perhaps in response to the largely singular investment of George Calvert in Newfoundland, both George and Cecil sought to implement a financial strategy in Maryland that would ensure a continued and growing income for the family through these rental fees (Menard and Carr 1982:177; Krugler 2004b:276). The initial terms of this plan was laid out in 1635. A freeman traveling to Maryland alone or with his family, was responsible for "a quit rent [of] 12 pence for every fifty acres [20.2 ha]" (Hawley and Lewger 1635:40). Those adventurers transporting less than 5 servants would in regard to the larger land allotment pay a greater yearly fee of "2 shillings for every hundred acres" and at the wealthier end of the spectrum, those transporting enough people to be eligible for a manor required the

yearly fee of 20s (Hawley and Lewger 1635:39). These relatively minor rents did not immediately replenish the exhausted family fortune of the Calverts, though over time as the population of Maryland grew, these yearly rents became significant.

7.3.6 Tobacco Cultivation

The practice of tobacco smoking was first introduced into Europe by sailors and traders traveling from the Americas and smoking the cured leaf quickly spread up the social ladder to those who could afford the high early price of tobacco. In the first decades of the seventeenth century, as the demand for tobacco grew, so too did the concern of the government regarding the trade deficit with the Spanish who controlled the market of the leaf (Wyckoff 1936:11). Though the plant was undoubtedly grown for consumption earlier, it was the Virginian resident John Rolfe who in 1612 was allegedly the first Englishmen to cultivate tobacco for profit (Wyckoff 1936:13). Tobacco crops were grown or attempted throughout the colonies, but the climate and soils of Virginia were ideally suited for cultivation. Estimates of colonial tobacco exports demonstrate a startling rise in production from about 9,000 kg (20,000 lbs) in 1618 to more than 23,000 kg (500,000 lbs) by 1627 (Wyckoff 1936:21). The crop almost perfectly suited all ends of the trade. For the tidewater colonies of Virginia and later Maryland, this lucrative crop required little investment, labor, and business acumen (Andrews 1984:295). At the other end of the spectrum, the colonial production of tobacco replaced a commodity formerly purchased from foreign nations and made steps to right the trade imbalance (McCusker and Menard 1985:118).

Ferryland and Avalon

In 1622 Richard Whitbourne wrote of George Calvert's Ferryland settlement, claiming the colonists were hard at work "cleansing of land" for "Tobacco", among other things (1622). We do not know if tobacco was ever grown at Ferryland, Wynne certainly experimented with other potential crops such as grapes. One would think the low nutrient and thin topsoil, along with the climate, would have been enough to quickly discourage this enterprise on the east coast of Newfoundland. Though Ferryland never saw the pursuit of tobacco as a cash crop for the venture, its settlers were certainly part of the increasing tobacco culture and economy of England. Archaeology has revealed tens of thousands of tobacco pipe fragments from Ferryland contexts following the 1621 arrival of Calvert's employees.

St. Mary's and Maryland

Despite the fur trade being the initial economic ambition of Maryland as described in the proceeding pages, the first Lord Baltimore saw the potential in tobacco cultivation. Writing of his plans to sail south from Ferryland in 1629, George Calvert claimed that he "may yet do the King and my Country more service there by planting of Tabacco" (1629). With this line, tobacco was for the first time documented "as a main incentive to the establishment of an American colony" though its projected importance for the venture would quickly diminish (Wroth 1954:12). It seems that in preparation for sending the first colonists to Maryland a great deal of thought was put into the potential sources of income for the Calverts and the rest of their investors. While cultivating tobacco must have clearly been considered, it seemed that the prudence of George and Cecil Calvert led to

their downplaying the crop. The boom and busts that plagued the Virginia tobacco growers earlier in the century would not have escaped George Calvert's eye, having been deeply involved with the affairs of that colony (Menard and Carr 1982:198). His knowledge of the pitfalls of overdependence on the crop likely led to the economic focus on other possibilities. Evidence of this strategy can be seen in the promotional literature for the province where the 1633 *Declaration*, the 1634 *Briefe Relation*, and the 1635 *Relation* make absolutely no mention of tobacco cultivation. The 1635 *Relation* does mention the plant, but only as one of a handful of crops and other sources of potential gain. Despite the first Lord Baltimore's 1629 reference to tobacco, neither he nor his son saw the plant "as an integral part of Maryland's future" merely as one part of an agricultural medley (Menard and Carr 1982:198). When Wintour listed in 1635 "corne, hempe, flaxe, rape, wood, pease, beanes, barley, tobacco, [and] hops" the crop's lack of prominence is clear, though elsewhere he wrote "Tobacco and the profitt to be made of it is a thing so knowen I need not speake of it" (1635).

For the initial years of the settlement at St. Mary's the official strategy at least was to pursue sources of revenue other than tobacco. In a 1638 letter to the second Lord Baltimore Thomas Cornwallis echoed that sentiment claiming "your Lordship: knowes I came not hither for toe plant Tobacco" (1638). Nonetheless, Cornwallis was well aware of the potential for profit in the crop, begrudgingly claiming he was forced to resort to what he could "fetch out of the Grounde by Planting this Stincking weede of America" (1638). The attempts of the Calverts to actively pursue the fur trade and other resource production, and at least not encourage the cultivation of tobacco as a staple of the province, would not inhibit its rise to Maryland's economic vanguard. It seems that

tobacco, and the potential income it could supply, quickly took hold of the fledgling settlement. Seemingly within the first decades of the colony George Alsop's 1666 claim that "Tobacco is the only solid Staple Commodity of this Province" held true (1666). So thoroughly and quickly the crop took hold that, throughout the first decade, the government issued the requirement to avoid potential starvation that mandated "every hand planting Tobacco this Crop doe plant and tend two acres of corne" (Maryland Council 1641).

In the spring of the year, tobacco cultivation began. Alsop described the process:

between the months of March and April they sow the seed...in small beds and patches digg'd up and made so by art, and about May the Plants commonly appear green in those beds: In June they are transplanted from their beds, and set in little hillocks in distant rowes, dug up for the same purpose; some twice or thrice they are weeded, and succoured from their illegitimate Leaves that would be peeping out from the body of the Stalk. They top the several Plants as they find occasion in their predominating rankness: About the middle of September they cut the Tobacco down (1666).

In the somewhat vague description from the 1635 *Relation*, a man, presumably with the assistance of servants, purportedly could produce in a single season a crop of "betweene 800 and 1000 pound [360 and 450 kg] weight" of tobacco (Hawley and Lewger 1635:22). The "goodnesse of the ground" mentioned in the aforementioned tract was of the utmost importance to the success of crop (Hawley and Lewger 1635:22). It was the pursuit of these nutrient filled soils that led the early Marylanders to settle along the various rivers and streams of the region that offered the best potential for agriculture (Walsh 1988:201). The crop was also quick to exhaust this soil, depleting in three years what had taken thousands for nature to provide (Carr 2004:296). These few seasons of tobacco

cultivation, required twenty years fallow, and while manure would shorten this process, it negatively affected the taste and smell of the product (Carr 2004:296).

After the tobacco was harvested began the curing phase. According to Alsop, to dry the leaf-covered stalk the colonists required the tobacco “houses” or barns “to bring it to its purity” (1666). This vital outbuilding for a tobacco plantation was designed around the 1.5 m (5 ft) drying platforms called “rooms”, comprised of 3 m (10 ft) bays averaging 12.2 m (40 ft) in length (Stone 1982:214). The plants were hung upside-down to dry and then stripped from the stalk. The final stage in the cultivation and curing of the tobacco came to an end when the prepared leaf was “tyed up in bundles, and packt into Hogs-heads” whereupon it was “laid by for the Trade” (Alsop 1666).

The location of suitable soils was not the only aspect of tobacco cultivation that had an effect on the settlement patterns of early Maryland. The parceled crop was both heavy and easily damaged, which required transportation other than by land (Carr, *et al* 1984:20; Walsh 1988:201). The answer came in the form of the network of waterways, creeks, and rivers that the plantations were already clustered around for their optimal soils. Alsop wrote that from November to January the ships arrived in the region “all Merchant-men loaden with Commodities to Trafique and dispose of...with other necessary Goods, priz’d at such and such rates...for Tobacco at so much for the pound” (1666). These ships would dock along the primary rivers and waterways and disperse their sloops, as did the Maryland factors, to navigate the smaller tributaries to retrieve the hogsheads from the various plantations and storehouses of the estates (Walsh 1988:201). The Marylanders arrived on an economic scene established by trial by earlier Virginians. The processes of producing and selling tobacco had become standardized and this

facilitated the easy implementation of the enterprise on the Maryland plantations (Land 1981:27).

The Marylanders arrived on the economic tobacco scene at a well-suited moment, the years just before their arrival had resulted in a significant decline in the price awarded for Virginian tobacco (Menard and Carr 1982:198). Following the customary boom and bust pattern of the tobacco economy the year 1634 saw as much as a 600 percent increase in tobacco prices from 1 to 4 or 6d a lb (Land 1981:27; Menard and Carr 1982:199). Though these prices would fall in the subsequent years to 3d a lb in 1638 and even less according to some estimates, these early years of high prices helped establish a solid foundation for many Maryland tobacco growers (Land 1981:28; Menard and Carr 1982:199). However, tobacco would never again bring the exorbitant prices of the early seventeenth century. The subsequent increase in production resulted in an annual decrease in price of approximately 15 percent from 1618 to 1625 and around 4 percent in the following years, well into the seventeenth century (Menard 1985:203). Nonetheless, tobacco would continue to be the primary cash crop of Maryland for centuries to come. Using the system established by the Virginians, the most common form of exchange took place between the individual plantation owners and factors for the large Maryland traders, who would in turn then deal with the shipmasters (Walsh 1988:200). According to the reports, more than half of the Maryland tobacco crop was shipping out of St. Mary's itself (Stone 1987:27). The remaining planters would deal with the ships' factors or ship their own crop on consignment (Wyckoff 1936:62). Particularly during the early years of Maryland when the shippers and brokers were unfamiliar with the newly-settled region, the smaller producers of tobacco were heavily reliant upon the large plantation owners for

their established contacts (Walsh 1988:205). As in the seventeenth-century resident cod-fishery in Newfoundland, most of the payment, regardless of middleman, was made in goods necessary for survival in the colony and the continuation of the economic enterprise (Walsh 1988:205).

The residents of the new colony had an advantage in addition to timing, the form of their government. The first benefit of the palatinate government was that Baltimore's settlers were not restricted to sell tobacco only to England as were the Virginians and Bermudans (Wyckoff 1936:29, 45). Additionally, the king did not have the same rights to impose trade regulations as he did in the other colonies (Wyckoff 1936:45). Although there were subsequent busts in the market, growth in all sectors of the trade was on a steady rise from this period. The 175 London merchants involved in tobacco the year Maryland was founded had grown to the region of 400 by the turn of the next decade (Menard 1985:89). Including all the English colonies, the approximately 160,000 kg (350,000 lbs) of leaf processed in 1630 had increased to 680,000 kg (1,500,000 lbs) in 1637 and to as much as 6,800,000 kg (15,000,000 lbs) in the 1660s (Menard 1985:205, 218). The documentary evidence suggests that this growth was most dramatic in the 1630s, just when the Province of Maryland was established (Menard 1985:205). Estimates specific to Maryland list an exportation number for 1639 at approximately 45,000 kg (100,000 lbs) with a production assessment in excess of 270 kg (600 lbs) per each man of age in the province (Land 1981:28; Menard and Carr 1982:198).

So prevalent was the tobacco economy in Maryland that by 1637 it had already become "the money of account" in the province (Land 1981:28). In a region where specie was rarely available, tobacco was used to pay taxes, obtain goods, settle personal

accounts, and every other transaction associated with currency (Land 1981:28; Menard and Carr 1982:198). An early example from 1638 came when the courts fined an individual not pounds sterling but “500 weight of tobacco” (Maryland Provincial Court 1638). Tobacco culture entered every aspect of life in the colony, including the very description of the inhabitants. Though the term “planter” was formerly used to describe one who “planted colonies”, in the Chesapeake it also quickly came to mean one who raised this cash crop (Land 1981:28). Though downplayed by the Calverts, and looked down upon by some of the gentry, tobacco was king in early Maryland. In the 1678 words of the third Lord Baltimore, “the only considerable Comodity of this Provynce is Tobacco and perhaps they will never be able to fynde any comodity for Trade which cann ever bring soe great an advantage to the Crowne of England” (Calvert 1678). In regard to Maryland he was correct.

Chapter 8

Town Planning and Settlement Growth

8.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the design of the communities that were planned and implemented at Ferryland and St. Mary's under the leadership of George and Cecil Calvert. Prior to the arrival of the first settlers, a great deal of preparation was necessary to ensure the foundation of a successful colony. This chapter will discuss both the intended goals of the Calvert family and the New World communities that were realized. The subsequent growth of the two settlements as they expanded beyond the bounds of the original fortified communities will also be examined. Finally, this chapter will focus on both how and why the two colonies grew in the manner that they did.

While specific philosophies of town planning were not often executed in England until late in the seventeenth century, the new settlements of Ireland, the West Indies, and North America allowed for and saw the implementation of their design in advance of construction (Miller 1999:73). An analysis of English colonization of North America regarding methods of town planning and the function the towns were to play, must begin with an investigation of the Irish plantations of the period (Reps 1972:8). Irish colonization was both a precursor to, and contemporary with, New World attempts and many of the same themes seen time and again in North American settlements were earlier implemented on that isle. One sixteenth-century proponent of Irish colonization described the importance of urban settlements, claiming these towns "together engendereth civility, policy, acquaintance, consultation, and a firm and sure seat" (Smith 1572). The largest

factor that defined the establishment of these new English communities, be they on the Continent, Wales, or Ireland, was that the inhabitants were a minority surrounded by potentially hostile native populations (Garvan 1951:40). Defense was not the only factor at issue; agricultural potential and the perceived need of an urban space to act as an economic and political center for subsequent settlement also played a role. In 1624 Bradford described the importance of compact settlement in early New England citing “that they might be kept close together, both for more safety and defense, and the better improvement of the general employments” (1620-47:145)

Ireland in many ways was both “a way-station and a laboratory for the planting of settlements in America” (Elliot 2002:239). Many of the men (potentially the majority), associated with the colonization of Virginia had Irish settlement roots and the Calverts were heavily involved in Irish ventures of their own (Reps 1972:8). From an analysis of the various new towns of Ireland that took form in the early modern period general themes emerge. Very similar strategies were implemented in the New World. Though the forms of these settlements and colonies took on numerous configurations, two general plans dominated: the “geometric” and “informal” (Reps 1965:126). Ferryland was a linear community based upon a central street and using the parameters of the natural landscape as a guide for subsequent organic growth. The projected design for St. Mary’s was a grid of streets and cross streets forming a very regular and geometrically defined space. These forms, the “crucial variable in the creation of cities” had a profound effect on the evolution of the communities and the lives of their residents (Miller 1999:72). Both Ferryland and St. Mary’s began by necessity as fortified communities, a trait shared with

the majority of other seventeenth-century settlements and colonies and it was from this form that they subsequently evolved and grew.

8.2 Initial Settlement

The choice of an initial location for the settlements at Ferryland and St. Mary's must have been the topic of long discussion by the first and second Lords Baltimore. As both of these men well knew, a poorly chosen plot could all but doom a fledgling colony during its most vulnerable stage. Across North America, colonial leaders established plantations based on safety, economics, and food production in varied order of importance. This was certainly the case at Ferryland, where besides an excellent location for the fishery, the readily defendable harbor and adjacent pastureland played a crucial role in choosing the site (Lahey 1982:116). Maryland was no different, with the same three themes governing the settlement locality.

8.2.1 Ferryland

There is some evidence regarding the manner in which Ferryland was chosen as the original settlement in Calvert's Newfoundland grant. According to Sir William Vaughan, Calvert was in advance of Wynne's arrival "perswaded by some, which had more experience in the gainfull Trade of Fishing, then in the Scituation of a commodious Seate for the Wintring of his new Inhabitants" (1630:68). This account, acknowledging the later winter-woes of the colony, suggests that for Ferryland the initial location was dominated by economics versus habitation concerns. Despite how and why Ferryland was

chosen, in 1621 Governor Wynne established himself in that harbor, describing the general locale as

pleasant and as profitable a Harbour as any in the Land. It is endowed with about 100 acres [40 ha] of pasture land, and as much more of that which is woodie: all which lying to the Sea-boord of the beach, which severs it so from the Maine, that it is almost an Iland. There is likewise about 200 acres [80 ha] more, lying close to the Harbour, the which (with some labour) may be made good pasture land (1621:5).

Arriving in 1622, Daniel Powell further described the more specific area chosen for the colony. The Pool where the settlement was located at the base of a gentle hill

on the South-east, and defended with a hill, standing on the further side of the Haven on the North-west: The Beach on the North and South sides of the Land lock it, and the Seas on both sides are so neere and indifferent to it, that one may shoot a Bird-bolt into either Sea. No cold can offend it, although it be accounted the coldest Harbour in the Land, and the Seas doe make the Land behinde it to the South-East, being neere a 1000 Acres [404 ha] of good ground for hay, feeding of Cattell, and plenty of Wood, almost an Iland, safe to keepe any thing from ravenous beasts (1622:6).

Judging from the geographic layout of both Ferryland Harbor and The Pool, the choice of the precise settlement site must have been largely defensive. The harbor has only one relatively narrow entrance, which in theory could be easily defended. The plantation was protected from the south by a hill and the only land access to the position was via a thin isthmus that could also be easily secured. Very similar circumstances resulted in the shift from Charlestown to Boston in 1630 where there were excellent harbors and the thin strip of land separating it from the mainland was easily defensible (Reps 1965:140). Perhaps here we see the military experience of Wynne at work, though Calvert may have chosen Ferryland in advance, it might have been Wynne who selected the easily protectable Pool.

Once the spot for the settlement had been chosen, Wynne and his laborers quickly began work on the infrastructure of the community. In that first year, Wynne made a plan

of the early colony and submitted it to his employer (Wynne 1621:12). Unfortunately, this plan did not accompany the documents for publication. A letter from 1622 alluded to both the progress made and the overall design Wynne was implementing in Ferryland. Writing to Calvert, his governor explained the future construction plans. The documentary evidence relating to this early period comes to an end with Wynne's proposed future ambitions "whereon (with your Honours leave and liking) I hope to fortifie: so that within the same, for the comfort of neighbour-hood" he planned to add "another row of building" that would "be so pitched, that the whole may be made a prettie streete" (1622:4). Wynne's words echo a 1620 account from Plymouth, Massachusetts where the town was laid out "having two rows of houses and a fair street" (Figure 13) (Winslow 1620). Early Plymouth however had the bisecting "high way" sketched by Bradford in his 1620 plan of the settlement, though the seven houselots he included were all seemingly located along "the streete" (1620). Ferryland was developed with a linear design, where a single street forms the spine of the settlement (Reps 1965:126).

This layout was shared by a number of communities in English North America including Salem, Massachusetts and Providence, Rhode Island both settled in the 1620s and 1630s (Reps 1965:126, 138). Although Jamestown began as a triangular fortified town, within less than a decade of the settlement a street extended from the fort, flanked on each side with houses (Figure 14) (Reps 1972:16). Reps suggests a cognizant connection between the Jamestown design and the towns earlier established in Ulster (1972:16).

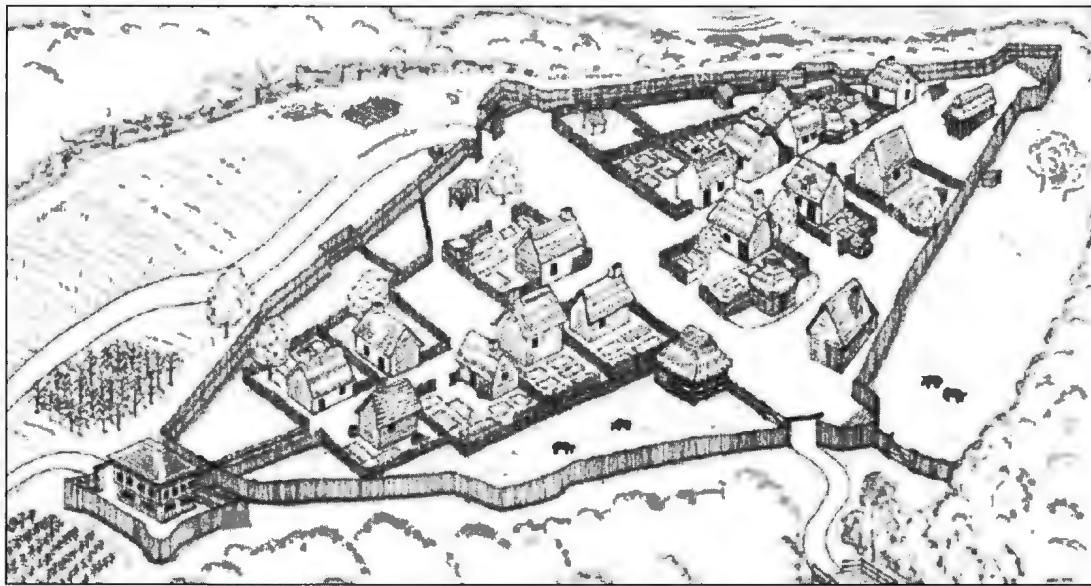


Figure 13. Conjectural illustration of Plymouth circa 1627. Image courtesy of Plimoth Plantation



Figure 14. Conjectural illustration of Jamestown circa 1614 by Sidney E. King. Image courtesy of Colonial National Historic Park, Yorktown, Virginia, National Park Service.

Although Eric Klingelhofer questions a “direct causal and chronological relationship” between the Irish and Virginian works claiming that “English military planning for its colonies had become more adaptive to local conditions and less tied to past practices” one cannot divorce the experiences of the two regions (2010:79-80). The connection is nevertheless central, while the Irish fortified settlements were “not transported unchanged”, the practice continued to change and evolve to suit local conditions and requirements (Lucchetti 2010:104).

The central street that Wynne referred to was revealed by archaeological excavations. Not unlike a 1674 account of the streets of Boston “paved with pebble stone”, the main thoroughfare at Ferryland was comprised of fist-sized cobbles collected from nearby beaches and placed in a bed of fine beach gravel (Josselyn 1674). The “prettie street”, though only partially revealed by excavations, appears to have run the entire length of the original fortified community, approximately 120 m (400 ft) with a width of 4 m (13 ft) (Figure 15) (Wynne 1622:4; Gaulton and Tuck 2003:205).

Archaeology has shown the early settlement at Ferryland to be a well-planned, engineered, and skillfully executed group of structures and functional spaces. Because Calvert’s political career must have left little time for him to plan and strategize his young colony, the existing documentary evidence points to Wynne as the force behind many of the design decisions. This is not to suggest that Calvert left the project solely in the hands of his agents; the evidence suggests the contrary. From the handful of surviving letters from Wynne to Calvert in 1621 and 1622, there is reference to no less than four no longer extant letters that had been written by the secretary (Krugler 2004:79).



Figure 15. (left) East end of Ferryland's cobble street (facing east) Image courtesy of James A. Tuck, Colony of Avalon Foundation.

In the years before his arrival in 1628, Calvert probably sent many more directions to his agents, but they simply have not survived. Unfortunately, the details of Calvert's involvement in the initial years of the colony cannot now be answered. One clue in Wynne's 1622 letter suggests the proprietor was intimately involved when he wrote in the postscript "Your Honour hath greater hopes here, then heretofore I have beene able to discerne" (Wynne 1622:5; Krugler 2004:80). Regardless, the developments that were made at Ferryland must have required a great deal of planning, as well as the skill and leadership to see them to fruition.

Illustrating the advance planning of the design were Wynne's words "to enlarge this little rome", one of the first goals he and his men set out to accomplish within the confines of the small harbor (1622:4). The need for more level ground to accomplish his design scheme was satisfied through a series of labor intensive stages. The first phase consisted of the excavation of the sloping hill to the south of The Pool and the subsequent deposition of this material on the beach to the north, accomplishing what Wynne described as "a double benefit, the one of ridding and preparing the way to a further worke, the other of winning so much voyd or waste ground" (1622:4). Further to the north, "towards the Low water-marke" Wynne wrote in 1622 that "We have a Wharfe in good forwardnesse" (1622:4). In 2002 excavations revealed this wharf. Forming the waterside of this feature was a quay comprised of a series of wooden barrels, thirteen were revealed, five of which have been excavated (Figure 16). The empty barrels were filled with earth and stone and sunk into place.



Figure 16. (left) Ferryland barrel wharf (facing west). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

Then, the area between the natural high tide mark and the barrels was filled with the excavated earth from the hillside and wood chips from the preparation of timbers for the other building projects (Gaulton and Tuck 2003:202). In some areas of the site, excavations have revealed as much as 1.8 m (6 ft) of fill deposited during this period. This was a common reclamation process where wharfs were first constructed then later linked by horizontal quays with the enclosed portion subsequently filled (Reps 1992:141).

In the next few years, almost certainly before the 1625 departure of Wynne, a new and significantly more extensive seawall was constructed. This new stone wharf face was positioned approximately 3.7 m (12 ft) to the north of the earlier barrel line with the difference likewise filled in with the same construction debris as the former wharf and leveled off with loads of ballast and other fill to form an acceptable surface (Gaulton and Tuck 2003:203). This new double-faced slate-stone construction had in places a width of approximately 2.5 m (8 ft) with a clay bond reaching a surviving height of as much as 1.2 m (4 ft) (Gaulton 1997:12; Gaulton and Tuck 2003:203).

The far eastern portion of the seawall exposed by excavations lies to the northeast of a large stone storehouse (discussed in Chapter 10). Here the feature is oriented approximately north-south following the line of the defensive ditch just to the east. Perhaps this portion led to a gun emplacement at the outer edge of The Pool or another wharf structure of some kind. Overlain by the modern road, this area for now must be left to conjecture. Where the seawall turns west, directly north of the storehouse, it continues in an east-west orientation for approximately 63 m (206 ft) (Figure 17).



Figure 17. Aerial photograph of Ferryland stone seawall (northwest is up). Image courtesy of Gord Carter, Currency Museum, Bank of Canada.



Figure 18. Southwest corner of excavated seawall (facing north). Rightmost portion seen in preceding image. Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

Next, the feature turns northwest angling roughly at 45 degrees for just under 5 m (16 ft) where it resumes the east-west orientation again for approximately 23 m (75 ft). At that point, the seawall makes a turn to the south for 16 m (53 ft), then one to the east, and finally another to the south. At the southwest corner of the seawall (Figure 18) a “keyhole-shaped basin or slipway” may have been intended to facilitate easy maintenance of the small vessels engaged in Calvert’s fishery project (Tuck and Gaulton 2001:94). With this great feat of stonework and earth, in some areas much taller than a man, Wynne reclaimed in excess of 365 m² (3,937 ft²) of land from the sea (Gaulton and Tuck 2003:203).

Ferryland was a small but densely settled community, with buildings constructed nearly touching one another; much of the additional space was likely used for gardens or firewood storage. The central cobble street divided the east-west axis of the community and the north-south was comprised of three terraces (Figure 19 and 20). The northernmost elevation was defined by the waterfront complex of stone wharf and storehouse, likely with other associated storage buildings. At the southern edge of this terrace was a large stone wall which may have extended for most of the town, which raised the elevation and buttressed the earth of the second terrace (Figure 21) (Gaulton, Tuck, and Miller 2010:57). At this level were the street and the majority of structures built under Wynne’s leadership in the 1620s. Further to the south, behind the brewhouse, stone mansion, etc. may in fact have been a third terrace (Gaulton *et al.* 2010:58). A stone kitchen for the manor complex and an adjacent leveled-off area suggest the proposed further development of the topography.



Figure 19. Aerial photograph of the interior of The Pool showing modern roadway which closely superimposes cobble street (facing southwest). Image by Craig Dobbin Jr., courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation



Figure 20. Conjectural illustration of Ferryland circa 1628. Drawn by author.



Figure 21. Stone retaining wall that divided the waterfront terrace from the primary elevation of the settlement (facing east). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

There is no evidence regarding the allotment of land within the early fortified community at Ferryland. In many ways, Ferryland appears to have been more of a “company town” in its early years, more akin to these communities given that nearly every structure in the settlement was probably owned by Calvert and associated with the mansion house complex, staff housing, and/or his economic goals (Garner 1992:4). Nevertheless, by 1622 there were apparently some planters involved in the endeavor, likely residing within the fortified settlement. If so, their houselots must have been relatively small and narrow, given the relatively cramped nature of the community as revealed by the excavated buildings. If there was not sufficient space adjacent to the houselots for a kitchen garden, then the residents would have had to look outside the palisades for space. Presumably, the hillside to the south of the settlement would have been strewn with small garden lots, very likely similar to those eighteenth- and nineteenth-century divisions that are still extant in the meadows surrounding the site (Figure 22).

8.2.2 St. Mary’s

Fortunately, a much more extensive documentary record has survived regarding the type of settlement the second Lord Baltimore envisioned for Maryland. As Cecil Calvert inherited the Maryland project from his father, both of the men must have placed their stamp on the projected design for the province. The 1633 *Declaration* reveals that the second Lord Baltimore’s decisions relied heavily upon “the papers his noble Father, an eye-witness [to colonization and the Chesapeake] left him” (White 1633:2).



Figure 22. *A plan of Cape Broil, Capeling Bay, & Ferryland Harbor, 1752* by Edmond Scott Hylton showing the Ferryland Pool with field/garden divisions (north is to the right). Image courtesy of the National Archives, Kew WO 78/319.

The experiences of the Calverts alone did not guide the operation, for the same tract described the employment of “the true printed Historie of Captaine Smith” and “hundreds living in the City of London, who have beene themselves there” (White 1633:2). Clearly, the Proprietor of Maryland was using the experiences of his father in Newfoundland and others in the Chesapeake to develop a model for settlement, having used the “advice of grave and experienced persons, having taken due prospect upon all those inconveniences, which a long time have hindered, and of the meanes which have helped forward other Plantations” (White 1633:1). By the 1630s a wealth of colonization literature and experience was available, and the Calverts took advantage of these sources.

One way in which Baltimore attempted to control the early days of the colony was by providing very specific instructions to the governor and his commissioners. Cecil Calvert was not the first to do so; Sir Walter Raleigh, the London Company, and various New England plantations supplied their leadership with detailed guidelines for their first settlers (Reps 1972:55). One aspect concerning the suitability of the location was health-related. Baltimore wrote to his appointed leaders that “their chiefe care must be to make choice of a place first that is probable to be healthfull and fruitfull” (Calvert 1633b). According to Leonard Calvert, the site was chosen in part because it consisted of “land beinge high and free from swamps and marshes” (1634). The Calverts were attempting to establish the first settlement on high, dry, and well-watered lands in contrast to the low lying, fetid site of Jamestown, despite those earlier colonist’s directions to avoid “a low or moist place because it will prove unhealthfull” (Anon 1606; Wyckoff 1936:43; Kornwolf 2002:711). In his instructions, Baltimore directed that “where they intend to settle the Plantacon they first make choice of a fit place, and a competent quantity of ground for a

fort within which or neere unto it a convenient house, and a church or chappel adjacent may be built” and that “they likewise make a choise of a fitt place neere unto it to seate a towne” (Calvert 1633b). The second Lord Baltimore projected the construction of a fort that incorporated the proprietary structures and an adjacent town, not dissimilar to Plymouth or many of the Irish settlements. Presumably the projected fort would have served primarily as a place to withdraw in times of peril. The Maryland leaders had specific directions to found a settlement with the requisites of having good water and soil, that it was easily fortified, and well positioned for trade with the Natives and other Europeans (Calvert 1633b). Cecil’s commands continued, requesting that

they cause all the Planters to build their houses in as decent and uniforme a manner as their abilities and the place will afford, & neere adjoyning one to an other, and for that purpose to cause streetes to be marked out where they intend to place the towne and to oblige every man to buyld one by another according to that rule and that they cause divisions of Land to be made adjoyning on the back sides of their houses and to be assigned unto them for gardens and such uses according to the proportion of every ones building and adventure and as the conveniency of the place will afford (Calvert 1633b).

From this document it becomes apparent that Baltimore was attempting to establish an orderly and systematic settlement from the beginning that presumably would be able to grow in a methodical manner.

A gridiron of streets surrounded by regular lots was not a new development in the New World. Indeed, many of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century communities in Ireland, such as Londonderry employed some version of this design (Reps 1965:130; Miller 1999:73). Jamestown was another early settlement that had a projected grid plan, however loose, and there is evidence that the Calverts looked to this settlement when designing their strategy for Maryland (Miller 1993:75). Similar plans were implemented

in many New England communities of the first half of the seventeenth century (Miller 1999:74). Clearly Baltimore, like many others elsewhere, was attempting to develop an orderly, well-planned community in Maryland that would act as an economic and political hub for the subsequent plantations and settlements that he projected would develop.

Upon reaching Virginia, the Marylanders were directed by the proprietor to “inquire if they can find any to take with them, that can give them some good informatione of the Bay of Chesapeacke and Pattowomeck River” and if any such person could “give them some light of a fitt place in his Lordshipps Countrey to sett downe on” (Calvert 1633b). After they embarked for Maryland they met Captain Henry Fleet who, according to Father Andrew White, in exchange for trade rights agreed “to serve us, being skillfully in the tongue, and well beloved of the natives” (1634:4). Fleet was a fur trader, principally involved in the northern Chesapeake and one of the competitors of Claiborne and the Kent Islanders (Neill 1876:38). As a result of having been a Native captive for half a decade, he learned the Algonquin language (Land 1981:42). Two days after sailing from Point Comfort in Virginia, the ships made their first official Maryland landing on an island in the Potomac, which they christened St. Clement’s, where they waited while Leonard Calvert and Fleet ventured north to negotiate with the leader of the Piscataways (Hawley and Lewger 1635:5). According to the 1635 *Relation*, Calvert found the region around St. Clement’s “not fit, for many reasons, to seate himself as yet so high in the River” and set off on a recognizance voyage to the south (Hawley and Lewger 1635:5). According to White, it was the size of the island which was deemed unacceptable, in his words “but 400 acres [160 ha] bigg, and therefore too little for us to settle upon” (1634:3).

Perhaps the organizers were following the advice sent with the Jamestown colonists to look for an “island that is strong by nature” or Leonard’s own experience at the near-island that was the Ferryland isthmus (Anon 1606).

Upon the guidance and direction of Fleet “who knew well the Countrey” they traveled up the St. George’s (later St. Mary’s) River and “anchored at the Towne of Yoacomac” home to a population of Piscataway by the same name, where they negotiated for the purchase of a piece of land for their “first Colony” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:5-6). White described the environs, with a waterway

as bigg as the Thames: which we called Saint Georges river: it runnes up to the North about 20. Miles [32 km] before it comes to the fresh. This river makes two excellent Bayes, for 300 sayle of Shipps of 1000. Tunne, to harbour in with great safety. The one Bay wee named Saint Georges, the other (and more inward) Saint Maries. The King of the Yaocomoco, dwells on the left-hand or side thereof; and wee tooke up our seate on the right (1634:4).

Hawley and Lewger described the setting as “a very commodious situation for a Towne, in regard the land is good, the ayre wholsome and pleasant, the River affords a safe harbour for ships of any burthen, and a very bould shoare; fresh water, and wood there is in great plenty (Hawley and Lewger 1635:6). The general location of the first settlement is well-established; the exact site of the first town however, remains the subject of debate (Carr 1969; Riordan 1991).

Despite the current uncertainty, the settlers landed at what is now St. Mary’s City and commenced negotiations with the Native American inhabitants. Father White wrote in 1634 of the land transaction stating “wee bought of the King for Hatchetts, Axes, Howes, and Clothes, a quantitie of some 30 miles [78 km²] of Land, which wee call Augusta Carolina (1634:4). Though the name Augusta Carolina can be found in various

early documents, the “Towne wee call Saint Maries” or the “plantation we call St Maries” became the dominant designation (White 1634:4; Hawley and Lewger 1635:6). There is some evidence that the site chosen was based upon Fleet’s use of the village as a trading post in the years before 1634, for in a 1631 journal entry he mentioned the Native community (Neill 1876:20; Forman 1938:180). Needless to say, in the words of White, Fleet “had brought us to as noble a seat as could be wished” (1633b). The choice of Yaocomico may have been Fleet’s but the decision to plant on previously populated land was probably made back in England. Building upon earlier colonies and the works of John Smith, the new Marylanders chose “to seate upon an Indian Towne, where they found ground cleered to their hands, gave them opportunity (although they came late in the yeere) to plant some Corne, and to make them gardens” thus ensuring the plentitude of food, the lack of which was the bane of many new colonies (Hawley and Lewger 1635:10). In a 1634 letter to his business partner Leonard Calvert wrote of the strategy that “what I most looked for” was a “field cleered and left by the Indians” (1634). The establishment of St. Mary’s on previously cleared lands saved the colonists a massive amount of time and labor and ensured that they could quickly focus their efforts on sowing crops and constructing their fortifications and dwellings (Brooke 2003:61).

On 27 March 1634 the governor officially “tooke possession of the place, and named the Towne Saint Maries” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:7). Given the perceived threats from all quarters, the fort requested by the proprietor became one in the same as the initial town. The “Conditions of the plantation” included in the 1634 *Relation* explained the decision for a town and a fort

as the stragling manner of dwelling used heretofore by our English in forraine Plantations, hath bin found by experience to be very inconvenient, without comfort or security; besides the disorder and distraction, which it causeth in the government. And that at last (feeling the effects of that error) they have bin compelled to unite themselves together in one place (White 1634:12).

Cecil Calvert's desire to see a well-developed and populated town emerge in Maryland was either modeled after the first hand observations of the first Lord Baltimore, or his own knowledge of Virginian settlement; with its diverse plantations governed from a central economic hub (Stone 1987:9). From the beginning St. Mary's was desired and designed to eventually evolve into a New World city (Kornwolf 2002:711). As part of this strategy additional steps were taken by Baltimore to ensure the proper growth of the community and the outlying lands. The original voyagers to Maryland included the proprietor's surveyor Robert Simpson who was directed to survey the lands surrounding the settlement and to "assigne every adventurer his proportion of Land both in and about the intended towne, as also within the Countrey adjoyning" as per their stake in the venture (Calvert 1633b). Calvert was quick to include the provision that "in and about the first intended Towne" and adjacent lands that suitable property be reserved "for his Lordshipps owne proper use and inheritance" (1633b). Baltimore hoped that by designating townlands early it would ensure the future development of an urban community.

Presuming that the governor and other leadership of the venture followed Baltimore's directions, the general form of the community would have been a gridiron of streets within the 360 by 360 ft (110 by 110 m) fortification described in 1634. Evidence of this comes from the *Relatio* which was translated to read "we laid out the plan of a

city, naming it after St. Mary's" (White 1634b). The way in which the approximately 12,040 m² (129,600 ft²) of internal space was actually divided remains uncertain (Figure 23). William Strachey described the very similar layout, although triangular, of early James Fort that at "the midst is a market place, a Store house, and a Corps du guard" (1610). In an oft-repeated situation, the St. Mary's adventurers "began to prepare for their houses, and first of all a Court of Guard, and a Store-house" (Hawley and Lewger 1635:8). As in Ulster, Jamestown, and even Ferryland for that matter, security and storage were the Marylanders' first architectural priorities (Brown 1890:82; Garvan 1951:40). Perhaps the guard house acted in the way that the meetinghouses or market space of many early New England communities did, forming the focal point of a central open space used for mustering the militia and other assemblies (Reps 1965:120). Planners for both Londonderry and Coleraine implemented similar designs with four streets congregating in a central square (Reps 1972:15). In post-1622 Virginia, the most commonly occurring settlement layout was a group of buildings surrounding a "centrally placed main house, like the *corps de guard* of a fort" (Klingelhofer 2010:81). Forman suggests as much for St. Mary's, proposing that for the first years the Maryland Assembly was held at the fort, presumably within the court of guard, a structure he speculated was the "principle building" within the palisades (1938:199).

If Baltimore's instructions were closely followed, the lots would have been relatively small and perhaps narrow to allow for the portions of land "adjoyning on the back sides of their houses" for use as gardens and so on and to maximize the number of divisions on each projected street (Calvert 1633b).



Figure 23. Conjectural illustration of the initial town of St. Mary's circa 1634, by Cary Carson. Image courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

White's 1634 *Relation* claimed that Baltimore, for safety concerns "intends, that all his Planters, shall dwell together at first, at or as neere as may be unto St. Maries Towne" suggesting that the majority, if not all of the early dwellings, were within the enclosure (1634:13). The dimensions of the individually granted "plot of ground fit for a house and garden, to build upon" that made up the community are left to speculation (White 1634:13). The house lots for Plymouth were relatively small, with dimensions of approximately 15 by 5 m (48 by 16 ft) (Kornwolf 2002:958). The home lot size at Salem was significantly larger, with the average measuring approximately 31 by 24 m (100 by 80 ft) (Reps 1965:126). If the St. Mary's lots measured somewhere in between, at approximately 18 by 12 m (60 by 40 ft), a size that could easily accommodate a cottage and a small kitchen garden, this would allow for around 50 individual divisions within the confines of the palisade. Though this number is somewhat arbitrary, and it supposes that the lots would have been relatively equal (they probably were not), it does give an idea of what the designers attempted to implement in early Maryland.

As with the first year of the Ferryland settlement, there is a documentary reference to Baltimore's request "to send his Lordshipp a Platt of it and of the situation", a map that unfortunately eludes researchers (Calvert 1633b). Barring the appearance of this plan, the illumination of the specifics waits upon future archaeology. Though Maryland scholars agree that for a few years following 1634, the fort was the town of St. Mary's, when the first structures may have been built in the surrounding townland is open to interpretation. Baltimore's directions for the colony offer some insight and/or additional questions when he wrote of his requisite "convenient house", he was presumably referring to the Calvert House (discussed in Chapter 10), situated near the bank of the St. Mary's and currently

interpreted to have been built within a year or two of the settlement (Calvert 1633b). Cecil wrote further that in addition to the fort they nearby situate the town, showing the intent for the fortification to evolve into an incorporating township (Calvert 1633b). This is very much like what archaeology has revealed in Virginia where the initial establishment of James Fort was expanded and incorporated into a larger surrounding settlement. Though the evolution of St. Mary's would prove to be complex, archaeological excavations show that in some ways, aspects of Baltimore's plans for town growth did come to fruition (Miller 1999:75).

Another landscape feature of the early community was the surrounding field systems. These "many large fields of excellent land, cleared from all wood" that the Natives had cut prior to the arrival of the Marylanders were quickly utilized to ensure that the settlement would have sufficient food for the first year (Calvert 1634). The land allotments during this early stage may not have had any bearing on the promises of the charter, as we can see by the early 1640s the land comprised of the fort and its immediate environs had become the sole property of Governor Calvert. However, during the first years when the settlement consisted solely of the fortified community, fields for crops and livestock outside the bounds of the fort must have been allotted. One likely scenario would have been the implementation of some form of strip farming and common woodland and pasture for livestock and building needs (Reps 1965:121). A clustered settlement surrounded by narrow strips of agricultural land was a reoccurring scenario in many New England communities in the period and was a common form of practice in England at the time (Reps 1965:120). In form, at least for the first few years, St. Mary's probably had much in common with the village-centered farming communities that

developed in New England with nearly all the population living within the dense settlement and tending their surrounding field plots (Reps 1965:120).

A final construction of the first years of St. Mary's were wharf facilities. The second Lord Baltimore's instructions to the colonists urged that the location of the first settlement "be convenient for trade both with the English and savages", an aspect which of necessity would have called for sufficient waterfront access (Calvert 1633b). Many of the gentlemen adventurers were early involved in the fur trade and would have required the port facilities necessary to load and unload vessels and store their truck and furs. Though these amenities clearly existed from the first years of the settlement, there is no specific evidence regarding their design and makeup. The 1668 inventory of the then occupant of the Calvert House mentioned "the Landing" presumably that of the town (Maryland Provincial Court 1668). Private landings also sprung up following the diaspora from the fort, however, it stands to reason that the works at St. Mary's would have been the most significant, given that much of the trade arrived at and left from that port. Unfortunately, there is currently little available data on these important structures.

8.3 Settlement Growth

In Newfoundland and Maryland, the Calvert projects were designed with expectations for both the initial settlement and for their subsequent growth. In the charter of Avalon we see George Calvert's hopes for the eventual need "to Errect and Incorporate Townes into Burroughs, and Burroughs into Cittyes" and so on (James I 1623). Later, in Maryland the language and intent had changed in regard to the form of settlement. There, in partial response to the failure in Avalon to draw the numbers necessary for consistent

growth, the strategy changed to a design that focused upon the implementation of manorial land grants.

8.3.1 Ferryland and Avalon

From the second year of Calvert's Newfoundland enterprise there is evidence of interest, and potentially action, in pursuing the establishment of settlements in addition to Ferryland. Captain Powell proposed this plan to Calvert in 1622, writing

I have, since my coming, beene a little abroad, and finde much good ground for Medow, Pasture, and arable, about Aquafort...The neerenesse of the place, and the spaciousnesse of those grounds aforesaid, will give comfort and helpe to the present Plantation, and quickly ease your Honours charge, if a Plantation bee there this next Spring settled. If therefore it will please your Honour to let me bee furnished against that time, but with thirteene men, and give mee leave to settle my selfe there (1622:6).

According to Sir William Vaughan, "Before the sayd Lord ever beganne his Plantation, he cannot deny, but I advised him to erect his Habitation in the bottome of the Bay at Aquafort" continuing on to imply that preceding any settlement, Calvert was also considering Aquafort "for in his Letters hee complayned that unlesse hee might be beholding to me for the assignment of both those places out of my Grant, he was in a manner disheartned to plante on that Coast, by reason of the Easterly Windes" (1630:68). Rather than heeding Vaughan's purported advice, not to mention his own knowledge of the easterlies, and under the alleged poor guidance of his agents, Calvert had his plantation established at "the coldest harbour of the Land, where those furious Windes and Icy Mountaynes doe play, and beate the greatest part of the Yeare" (Vaughan 1630:69). While we may never know if Powell's request for men and resources for an additional settlement to the south of Ferryland were met, a likelihood diminished by

Vaughan's claim that he "bestowed all his charge of building at Feriland", nonetheless we catch a glimpse of how additional settlement could have progressed (1630:69).

Effectively, Powell was requesting a similar number of laborers and presumably, the similar financial outlay that Wynne had initially received. Given the charge of the first settlement it seems unlikely that Calvert could have raised the capital to meet this request.

Directly to the north of Ferryland Harbor was Caplin Bay (modern day Calvert). A map from the 1660s shows that this area had been settled at least by that date, though presumably earlier (Figure 24). Another nearby harbor that may have been early settled was just north of Caplin Bay, Cape Broyle. In 1628 Baltimore referred to this area as "a harbor of myne" which although likely only represents that it fell within his land grant, could nevertheless suggest some occupation (Calvert 1628b). When conducting a survey of the region in the 1670s the Royal Navy observed that Caplin Bay was home to one or two plantations (Pope 2004:7). In a 1652 deposition by Amy Taylor, she claimed that in 1636 she was "then living in another harbour", possibly nearby Fermeuse to the south (1652b). Within the same account, Taylor claimed to have been in the region when Baltimore was in Avalon, which supports the possibility that she and others were already residing outside of Ferryland (1652b). Though written some years later by Cecil Calvert, who never ventured to Newfoundland in person, he claimed that his father had sent "severall times diverse Colonies of his Majesties subjectes, to plant in severall habors" (n.d.). This account clearly made the claim that George Calvert's Newfoundland settlement extended beyond Ferryland, though such an account would clearly benefit the Calverts.

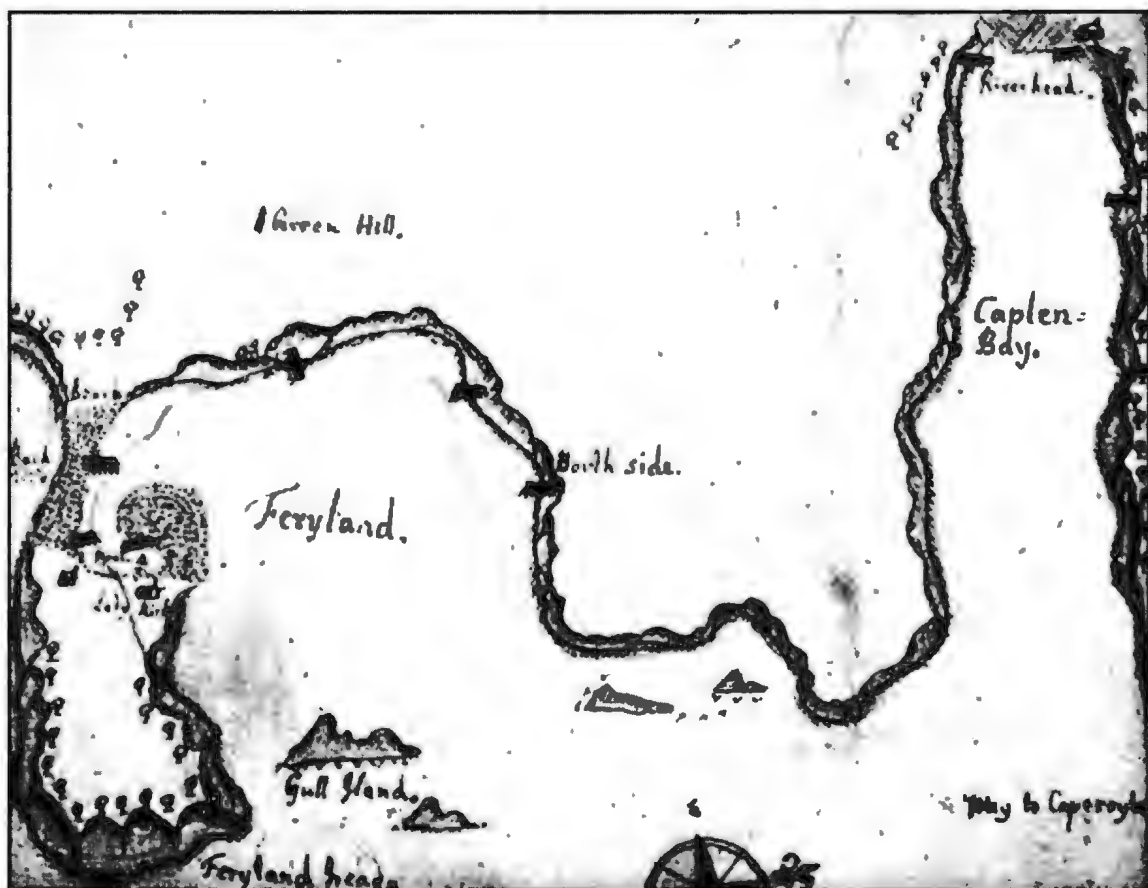


Figure 24. Map of Ferryland and Caplin Bay by James Yonge circa 1663 (north is to the right). Image courtesy of the Plymouth Athenaeum.

Regardless of whether or not Aquafort or some of the other harbors in Calvert's tract were settled, there is some evidence of the spread beyond the original fortified community. Following the hypothesis that the structures constructed by Wynne were primarily to serve the Calvert families' interests, *i.e.* the needs of their fishery project and employees, any additional settlers at Ferryland would have by necessity constructed their own accommodations and outbuildings. Given the fact that the original 1.6 ha (4 ac) which made up the initial fortified community would not have offered adequate space for the dwellings, gardens, firewood, etc. of the 100 plus individuals known to be present in Ferryland in the first decade, we must look elsewhere for their accommodations. The logical growth of the settlement, as can be seen from later seventeenth-century maps, would have first been around the adjacent harbors. The subsequent spread from The Pool to the north and west would have allowed for the room necessary for kitchen gardens and fishery-related space and outbuildings, yet at the same time, the proximity necessary to use The Pool settlement as a place of succor if circumstances should call for it. In her analysis of seventeenth-century Newfoundland, Cell suggests fish processing required so much space that the early settlers at Newfoundland probably quickly spread out from the initial settlements, a scenario that was likely reflected at Ferryland (1982:99). A one-time resident of Ferryland recalled that in the year 1638, the Calvert's agent William Hill, was removed from the mansion house "from which he went afterwards to the north side of the harbour" (Pratt 1652). At this date there must have been dwellings all around Ferryland Harbor and the subsequent bays, and they likely existed within the first decade of settlement. Governor Bradford of Massachusetts described a similar scenario in 1623 when the settlers there were "all striving to increase their stocks. By which means they

were scattered all over the bay, quickly, and the town, in which they lived compactly till now, was left very thine [thin], and in a short time almost desolate" (1623). The Newfoundland shore fishery hindered "clustered" or "communal settlement" and instead encouraged plantations thinly spread along the beachfront that was so necessary for the trade (Cell 1982:57). Eburne wrote in 1624 that Ferryland had "some hundred people or thereabout inhabiting and employed in building of houses, ridding or clearing of grounds for pasture, arable, and otherlike uses" (1624 III: 107). This account portrays the community as vibrant and expanding. Perhaps the reality did not mirror the description so closely, but the Ferryland settlement was certainly seeing growth.

8.3.2 St. Mary's and Maryland

The initial period of settlement in Maryland within the fortified village was not the implementation of the Calvert land grant plan. This strategy, with its various forms of land tracts granted based upon the number of settlers brought into the province first emerged with the gradual spread from the fort to individual plantations. From the birth of the settlement to approximately 1637, Maryland was comprised of the fortified town with all Marylanders living within or at least in very close proximity to the fort (Stone 1987:8). The central settlement surrounded by farmland lasted for three years due to the perceived threat of attack from the Native Americans, the preoccupation of the colony's leadership on the fur trade, and lastly, that they may have delayed the official establishment until the expected arrival of the proprietor (Stone 1987:9). When the settlers began to leave the fort, its relative abandonment appears to have taken place rapidly. However, the fort continued to stand and be occupied until at least 1642, when the record shows that

Leonard Calvert removed an individual who was living within one of its preexisting structures. Earlier, in 1641 the governor patented a 100 ac (40.5 ha) tract of townland "nearest together about the fort" which appears to have included the defensive structure and the buildings within (Calvert 1641). The first decade of migration from the fortified community took place in four subsequent phases: the first was the grants adjacent to the townlands to the southeast, the second was the establishment of a number of small plantations across what would become the St. Mary's River, the third was a spread up the Potomac River, and the last was dispersed settlements throughout the region of the Potomac and Patuxent Rivers (Stone 1987:9).

The subsequent shift from the centralized town to scattered settlements was based on two primary factors, the structure of the manorial land model and the needs of crop cultivation, primarily tobacco. Stone fittingly describes the form of settlement in early Maryland as "the interaction of social structure, geography, and biology" (1987:3). The early manors created diverse hubs surrounded by the smaller plantations of tenants and freeholders. These new manors and plantations were positioned to access the rich cultivatable land found along the many waterways that made up the coastal region of the western shore of the Chesapeake Bay. No other factor had the influence on the Maryland pattern of settlement than that of tobacco cultivation and the subsequent stages of selling the processed leaf (Menard and Carr 1982:197). The land necessary to grow the staple was only part of the equation; the need for water access to move the dried and packed crop to pick-up points for the merchants was just as imperative (Walsh 1988:200). The resulting settlement pattern created a landscape of "broadly but thinly scattered" plantations established adjacent to the many waterways of the region (Walsh 1988:201).

This dispersal has been described as “the breakdown of the nucleated farming community” a typical European communal form that did not persevere in many parts of the New World where seemingly unlimited land and new agricultural strategies hindered the development of dense settlements (Reps 1965:119). Developmental parallels can be observed between Maryland and the earlier colony of Virginia, where both had pre-planned settlement designs, both saw continued encouragement of town development and at each the landscape, economics, and the opposition of the colonists greatly hindered urbanization (Reps 1965:94).

St. Mary's Townland

Baltimore's projected plan for the town of St. Mary's was very different from the settlement that emerged in Maryland. Calvert had planned the community, made up of approximately 607 ha (1,500 ac), to be equally divided among some of the first adventurers in 2 or 4 ha (5 or 10 ac) plots (Carr *et al.* 1984:23). At the center of this proposed city would be Baltimore's residence and chapel, a form of community not uncommon in the Old World (Stone 1987:11). In fact, this projected setting was not so unlike the one that Cecil inherited from his father at Clohamon. The Irish manor house was surrounded by the symbolic and defensive bawn and situated on a small hillock overlooking the Baron's mill and town. One of the obstacles standing in the way of the proprietor's plan was the very strategy he devised to facilitate it, the granting of land based on the number of family members and servants an adventurer transported to Maryland (Carr *et al.* 1984:23). Instead of the small plots suitable for a townhouse and kitchen garden, the most prominent adventurers were granted townlands made up of on

average more than 40.5 ha (100 ac), perhaps in part motivated by land speculation. These large allotments, quite ironically so if acquired for speculative purposes, all but ensured the demise of any hopes for a thriving urban community (Carr *et al.* 1984:23). Instead, Leonard Calvert and the other commissioners apparently abandoned the town concept, likely acting upon their observations in Virginia and the similar failure there to establish dense communities (Stone 1987:12). Instead of insisting that the settlers would “buyld one by another” at St. Mary’s, the leaders of Maryland were satisfied with what Stone calls “a practical alternate—a neighborhood of farms seated by manorial lords” (Calvert 1633b; Stone 1987:12).

Following the dispersion from the fort, the population of St. Mary’s saw a severe decline. By the later 1630s the townland consisted of approximately 12 houses in an area of around 13 km² (5 m²), hardly the thriving hub of the province that was projected by Baltimore (Carr *et al.* 1984:23). From the period of migration from the fort, to the end of the first decade, it has been suggested that the population numbers for the townland was in the range from 75 to 100 inhabitants (Miller 1986:3). By the early 1640s the only dwellings in the close vicinity of the original settlement were the governor’s house, Lewger’s St. John’s, an ordinary, and the surviving tenements inside the fort’s palisade (Stone 1987:3). Making up the remainder of the approximately 486 ha (1,200 ac) of townland granted by 1642, was only a handful of other plantations, and those significantly spread out (Figure 25) (Stone 1987:13). Though the fort remained until at least 1642 when Leonard Calvert removed the last tenants, soon thereafter the palisades were likely dismantled (Stone 1987:11). The second timber chapel also stood at that time, and perhaps included, or had associated accommodations for the clergy.

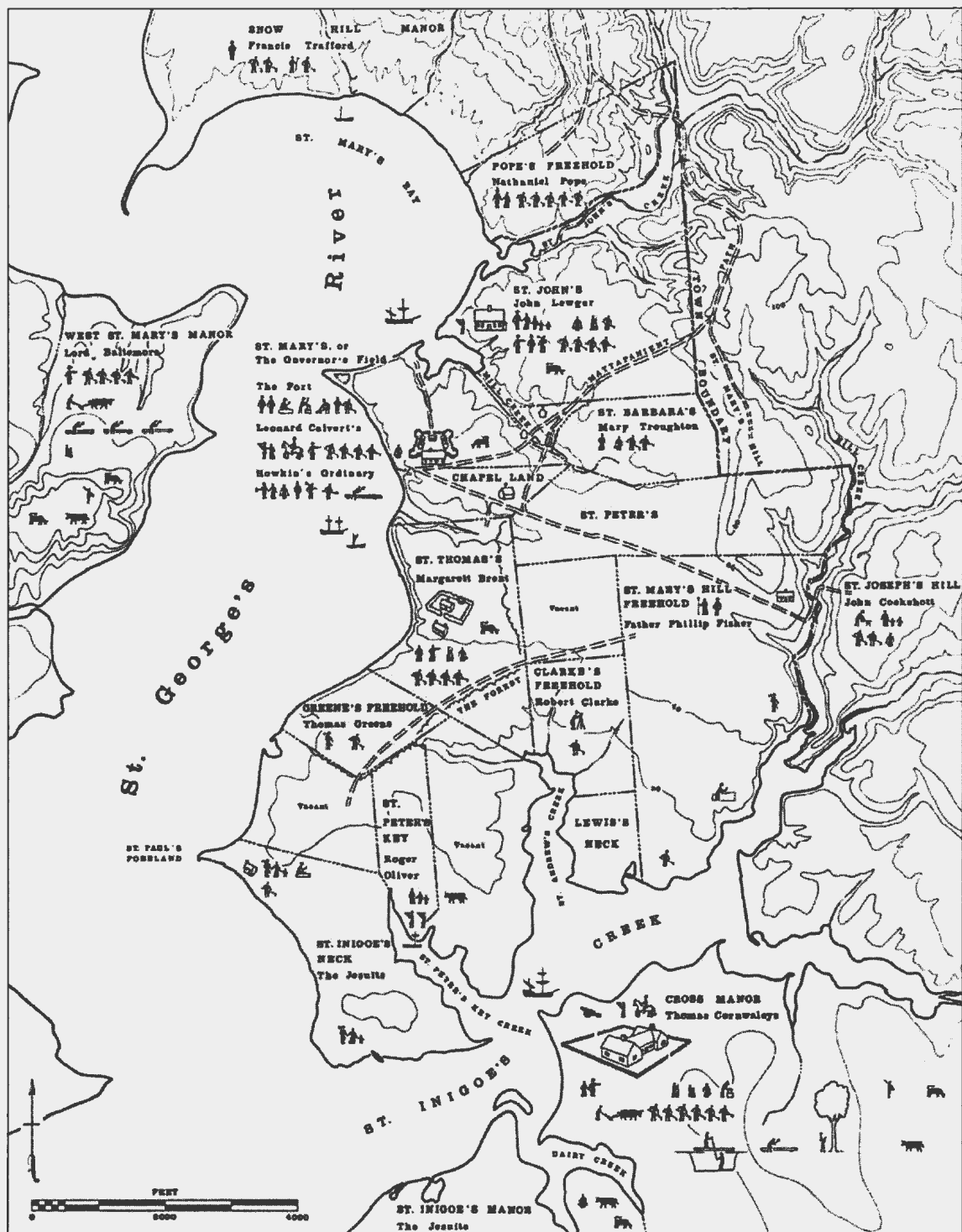


Figure 25. Map of St. Mary's townland circa 1642 showing reconstructed land divisions and number of settlers. Image courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

For the most part, a visitor to St. Mary's would have encountered a few buildings surrounded by the fields cleared by the Piscataway and currently planted by the servants of Calvert, Lewger, and the adjacent tract-owners (Stone 1987:8). Though little documentary or archeological data is currently available, another visual aspect of St. Mary's that continued to exist after the settlement dispersed was the existence of some type of waterfront complex. St. Mary's continued to be the primary hub for shipping tobacco, furs, and other merchandise to and from Maryland. Leonard Calvert's residence likely overlooked the mooring and storage facilities for a vibrant trade that took place within the province. Perhaps it would have been this aspect of the settlement that would have been most impressive to an onlooker.

The reality was that the manor system and the resulting tobacco economy of Maryland did not lend itself to densely packed settlements. The tobacco merchants did not go to St. Mary's to pick up the product when they were able to collect at the manors or other more convenient locales. The production of the crop generated "few forward linkages" of the type that promoted town development (McCusker and Menard 1985:132). The tobacco economy was not one that required a great deal of processing or specialization and associated structures. Even later in the century, when the affairs of the government and assembly were such as to draw greater numbers to St. Mary's, the influx of individuals was always temporary. The inns and ordinaries constructed to meet this sporadic demand made up the majority of the settlement. In 1630 Captain John Smith described the settlements of Virginia in much the same manner, claiming "Their Cities and Townes are onely scattered houses, they call Plantations, as are our Country Villages" (1630). It is important to bear in mind that these observations were made even

after a significant amount of planning and construction had actually gone into town development. In the end, the tobacco economy ensured that St. Mary's City would never grow to sufficiently earn its designation. The population of the townland at St. Mary's saw its peak in the initial years of settlement and declined from that point on.

Manors

At the heart of the Maryland design was the structure of the proprietary land grants that would be allotted to adventurers. The Calverts devised a strategy which would allow them to grant manors, and all the associated benefits, to those individuals they deemed able to meet the requirements for such rights. In the charter of Maryland this strategy was laid out. Though the brainchild of the first, it was to the second Lord Baltimore that Charles I granted the right "to erect any parcells of land within the Province...into Mannors" and to the lords of the said manors would pass the right "to hold a Court Baron, with all things whatsoever, which to a Court Baron doe belong, and to have and hold viewe of Frank-pledge" (Hawley and Lewger 1635:76). This view of frank-pledge was a periodically held court for the tenants of the manor that would be administered by the manorial lord (Simpson and Weiner 1989c:149). The original stipulations for securing a Maryland manor was that any adventurer transporting 10 men between the ages of 20 and 60 would receive a 1,214 ha (3,000 ac) manor "for every such tenne" for the yearly fee of "600 Pound weight [272 kg] of good Wheate: and such other services as shall be generally agreed upon, for publike use, and the common good" (White 1634:12). By 1635 the conditions had been altered to more realistically entice potential adventurers. The new manorial allotment strategy called only for a minimum of

5 men between 16 and 50, and for this number they would be granted 405 ha (1,000 ac) manors for a yearly quitrent of 20s or what would soon become the tobacco equivalent (Hawley and Lewger 1635:39).

It has been a mistake of past researchers to see the manor design as merely an antiquated scheme of social control that the Calvert's implemented in the New World. Much of the scholarship of the last century described the practice as the execution of a "medieval manorial system" in an early modern context (Forman 1938:309). Stone counters this aged interpretation citing that the Maryland model "duplicated the social system familiar to the lords Baltimore as English landowners and colonizers of Ireland" (1987:6). Further yet, research on the origins of the Calvert charters has breathed new vitality into our understanding of the nature of these documents claiming the model was not out-of-date. Instead, "it was the adoption of a currently existing example of constitutional autonomy for another, broadly comparable, peripheral territory" (Thornton 2001:244). Based upon the failings of the Virginia charter, of which the first Lord Baltimore was well aware, subsequent colonial charters shifted from the administration of English shires and Irish implementations to the governments of the English palatines (Thornton 2001:239). The palatinate government which the Maryland charter, and the Avalon charter before it, drew from was Durham in north Yorkshire, a region near George Calvert's birthplace and a community where he likely received his early education (Thornton 2001:246-247). In the 1623 Avalon charter, as in the 1632 Maryland document, Baltimore and his heirs were granted the rights in common with "any Bishop of Durham, within the Bishoppricke or County Palatine of Durham in oure Kingdome of England" (James I 1623). The fundamentals of this clause gave the Calverts the rights and

abilities to protect their New World holdings in a way that earlier outlying territories such as Durham required (Thornton 2001:255). George Calvert saw the need for this quasi-royal power to be able to guide and protect a colony so far from the helping, or hindering, hands of the royal government.

One of the rights granted by this form of government, the manorial form of tenure, would perceivably get the appropriate type of adventurers involved in the province and secure theirs' and Baltimore's mutual success. Krugler also describes this over-emphasis on the feudal aspects of the strategy pointing out that the perpetuation of the Catholic Church in England was directly linked to the manorial system (1979:74). Within these English manors, or "Catholic enclaves", the manor lords could house and fund the priests, covertly operating in the country and at the same time employ servants and tenants who shared the same faith, thus also allowing these individuals to worship in a relatively safe environment (Krugler 1979:53). These manors of the English gentry safeguarded Catholicism in a nation that had all but outlawed the faith. The system was one that would have been familiar to most of those who voyaged to Maryland, an arrangement comprised of expansive rural land grants occupied by tenants whose landlords supplied the requisite administration and stability (Riordan 2004:12). However, the Protestant regions of England were shifting away from this traditional form of local government to new varieties of agriculture, land use, and manufacturing, and the manorial system relied on the residents' endorsement of the arrangement to ensure its survival (Riordan 2004:12). The future of Maryland would very much depend upon this response.

Menard and Carr describe the intent of manors as fundamental to Maryland society "both as an instrument for social control and as a focal point for community

loyalties" (1982:178). Furthermore, the development of manors was seen as a way to generate "the social structure so conspicuously lacking" in Virginia's first decades (Stone 1987:6). Of additional importance is that the system was also intended to provide the quitrent cash-flow largely deficient in the first Lord Baltimore's venture in Newfoundland (Krugler 2004:276). A further insight is the religious associations the system had for Catholics in England, a service the Calverts hoped they would quietly provide in the Chesapeake (Krugler 2004:276). Though no longer extant, a 1638 letter to Baltimore references a chart of the Maryland Province "devided into Countres, Baronies, Lordships" and of the anticipated development of "Citties and townes" and specifically "more market townes" (White 1638). Baltimore intended to create a system where "he was the lord of the Maryland manor, supported by his liege people, each of whom was lord of his own manor" creating the deference and support that was lacking in Avalon (Krugler 2004:144).

The granting of manors had an unexpected consequence for the Calverts' design; they greatly affected the population distribution of the early province, placing the power in the hands of the gentry minority (Menard 1985:45). Working against the urbanization of St. Mary's these manorial plantations offered additional "centers of credit and services" adjacent to undeveloped lands that enticed new adventurers in the province (Carr, Menard, and Peddicord 1984:22). As early as 1633 Baltimore directed his commissioners "that they assigne every adventurer his proportion of Land...within the Countrey adjoyning, according to the proportion of his adventure and the conditions of plantacon" (Calvert 1633b). Many seem to have hesitated, perhaps out of reluctance to develop lands for which they did not yet hold official titles (Stone 1982:17). That is not to

say that provisional grants of manors were not made and developed during this period. West St. Mary's Manor was granted to Henry Fleet as early as 1634, though it would not be officially patented until 1640 and Jerome Hawley received the early grant of St. Jerome's Manor. Riordan suggests the existence of other early allotments such as St. Gabriel's, Trinity, and St. Michael's Manors granted to Governor Calvert, that were officially patented in 1641 (2004:66). It would be logical that Leonard Calvert would be one of the first to receive a provisional grant. In 1636 Baltimore wrote to the governor authorizing him to proceed with the official land grants under his updated conditions

We Doe further will and authorise you that every 2000 acres [800 ha], and every 3000 acres [1,200 ha], and every 1000 acres [400 ha] of Land So to be passed or Granted as aforesaid unto any Adventuror or Adventurors, be erected and created into a Manor to be called by Such name as the Adventuror or Adventurors Shall desire, And We Doe hereby further authorise you, that you cause to be Granted unto every of the Said Adventurors within every of their Said Manors respectively and unto his or their heirs, a Court Baron and Court Leet, to be from time to time held within every Such Manor respectively (Maryland Council 1636).

This action signaled the spread from St. Mary's and what would effectively mark the beginning of manorial Maryland (Stone 1982:17). Many of the earlier allotted provisional grants were reconfirmed at this time or in the subsequent years (Riordan 2004:66). By 1642 nearly two dozen manors had been surveyed in all of Maryland (Figure 26). These manorial grants comprised more than 80 percent of the total land patents awarded by Baltimore (Land 1981:23). The 12,545 ha (31,000 ac) of manor land nevertheless paled in comparison to the approximately 2,800,00 ha (7,000,000 ac) making up the province (Land 1981:26).

One very apparent consistency of these grants, was the strong Catholic association, illustrating the overwhelming faith of the manorial lords.

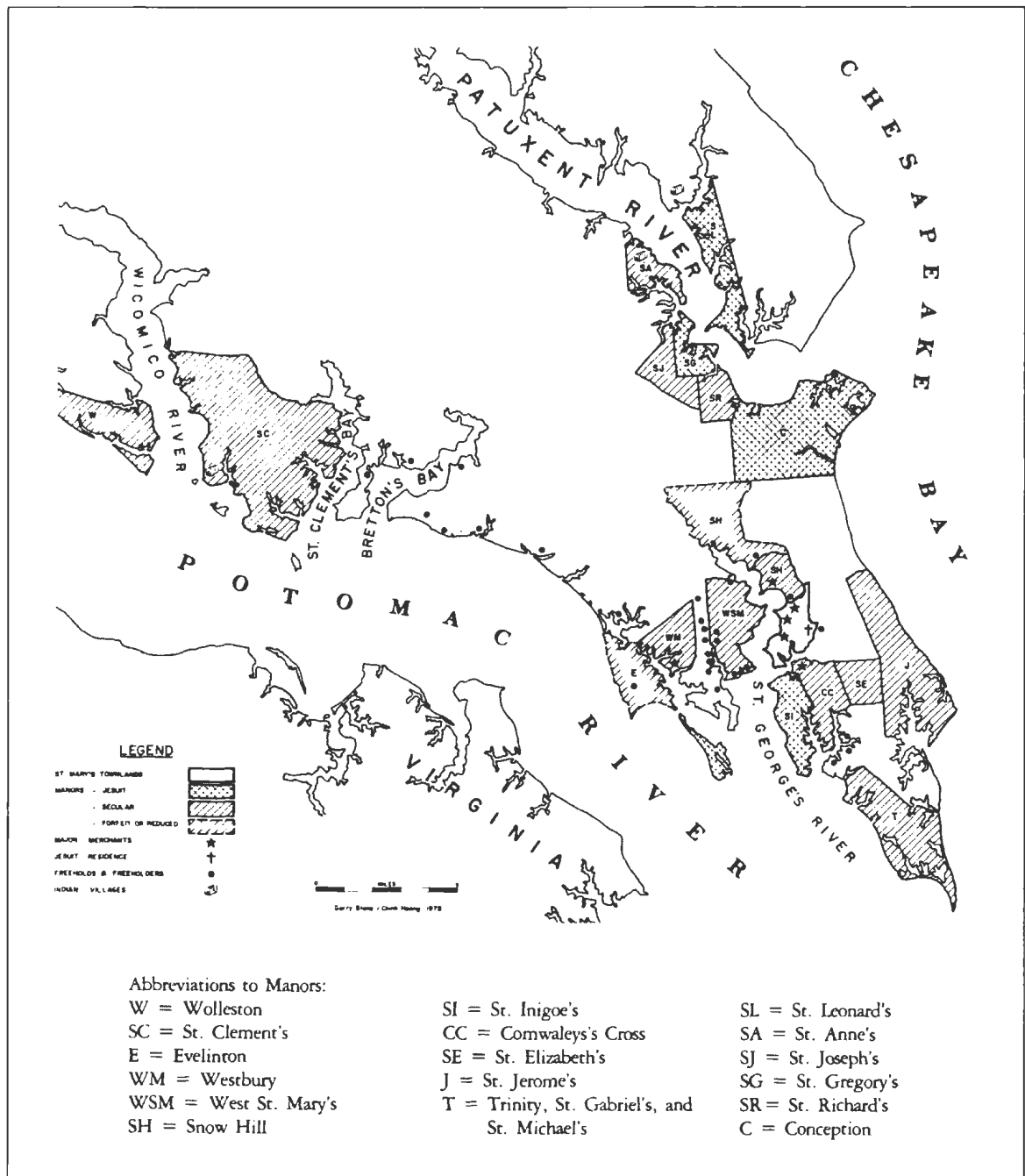


Figure 26. Map of early Maryland manors circa 1642. Image courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

For the first decade of Maryland, the manorial design implemented by Baltimore was in large part successful. Manors had been established in a radiating pattern around the townlands of St. Mary's and the lords and tenants were established therein; improving and developing the properties (Riordan 2004:18). With the 1645 seizure of Maryland by Richard Ingle and the *Reformation*, the Calverts temporarily lost control of the province. When proprietary rule was regained, the character and focus of the colony was forever changed in regard to the manor system (Riordan 2004:3). Though nearly 60 manors would be established in the first decades, they never developed as they were projected, "Maryland became a land of yeoman planters, not a land of great lords of manors to whom all lesser inhabitants owed obedience" (Carr and Papenfuse 1983:xi). The many freeholds that had existed in-between the manors of early Maryland would prove to become the dominant form of tenure in the later province.

Counties and Hundreds

To help facilitate the effective implementation of militia, taxes, and other governmental strategies, the province was divided into hundreds, and later into counties. By 1642 there were five hundreds in all of Maryland: Mattapanient, St. George's, St. Clement's, St. Mary's, and St. Michael's. A hundred was traditionally associated with the division of an English county that contained its own court, but in Maryland as in Virginia, it denoted a more general division of a county (Simpson and Weiner 1989d:491). Earlier, in 1637 St. Mary's County was formed to include all the aforementioned hundreds (Karinen 1959:375; Menard and Carr 1982:191). In 1637 there was an additional hundred in the county comprised of Kent Island and its satellites, though in 1642 Kent became a

county of its own (Karinen 1959:375-376). The different hundreds for the most part represented distinct nodes of settlement in the province. St. Mary's Hundred was primarily defined by settlement focused around the townland discussed above and in 1642 contained 24 percent of the taxables of the county (Menard and Carr 1982:194; Kornwolf 2002:710). The other nearby hundreds were St. Michael's and St. George's. The 1642 population of these 3 divisions was in the range of 270 individuals (Menard and Carr 1982:191). Clearly, the population of early Maryland was still clustered within the vicinity of the 1634 settlement. Further afield were the more recent and less densely inhabited Mattapanient and St. Clement's Hundreds. According to estimates the population of the pair consisted of approximately 100 Marylanders (Menard and Carr 1982:191). St. Clement's and the other hundreds grew as the manorial lords brought in servants and tenants which resulted in the establishment of what amounted to "a tiny colony on the outer fringes of prior settlement" (Walsh 1988:204). The manorial lords offered the infrastructure needed by their tenants and the small adjacent freeholders and the province expanded and grew.

Chapter 9

Defense

9.1 Introduction

A reality facing the seventeenth-century English colonies in North America was the necessity for defensive strategies. If not the first concern of those planning and developing these settlements, safety was always a high priority. By understanding the defensive tactics employed, a better understanding of how these communities developed and evolved can be gained. The form and location of the defensive works defined the parameters of early settlements and their subsequent growth patterns, and the military affairs of the two colonies had a profound effect on the cultural and economic interactions taking place within the community.

This chapter focuses on a number of different aspects of the martial and defensive characteristics of the two Calvert-sponsored settlements. An appropriate starting point is the charters of the two Calvert provinces. Though the Avalon document dates after the initial settlement at Ferryland, this manuscript offers an important glimpse at the designs of the Calverts in regard to protecting their property and tenants from attack. The charters of Avalon and Maryland are nearly identical regarding the military rights of the proprietors. As with many aspects of these documents, the Avalon charter served as the template or guide for the later province. At the heart of these charters was the Bishop of Durham clause that gave the proprietor the power to meet any potential military hostility with force of their own, a right seen by the Calverts as a necessity in a peripheral territory far from the assistance of the monarchy. These rights, granted successively by James I

and Charles I, were intended by George Calvert to facilitate the defense of his holdings from the “Incursions of Salvages, or other Enemyes, Pyrats, or Robbers” (James I 1623). To better protect their lands, Calvert and his heirs were granted the freedom “to build & fortifye Castles, fortes & other places of strength” to secure both “the publique & their own provate defence” (James I 1623). To supply these fortifications with firepower, the proprietors were granted the right to legally transport “armes & Warlike Instrumentes offensive and defensive” without the burden of paying customs, taxes, etc. (James I 1623). Not only was the right to defend the province granted, but the ability “to make Warr & prosecute the Enemyes & Robbers aforesaid, as well by sea, as Land, Yea even without the Limites of the sayd province”, a substantial right on its own (James I 1623). Over the approximately twenty year period covered by this study of the two settlements, practically all of the aforementioned legal rights were exercised. The first and second Lords Baltimore were repeatedly tested in the two regions by physical attacks within the bounds of their charters, Native raids on the frontier, and even the forced seizure and subsequent loss of proprietary control. To meet these demands the Calverts implemented a strategy of defensive constructions, training forces, and military actions.

9.2 Martial Forces

9.2.1 Ferryland and Avalon

Stipulated in the charter was the right of the Calverts to “Leavy Muster and Trainee all sortes of Men” for the purpose “to make Warr & prosecute the Enemyes” of the province (James I 1623). Any prisoners taken as a result of warfare were at the mercy of the proprietor and his officers who were legally permitted to “putt them to death by the

Lawe of Warr, or to save them" (James I 1623). Finally, there was a clause included in the charters that granted authority in the time of a hypothetical "Rebellion, suddain Tumult, or sedition if any should happen...power, liberty, and authority by himselfe, or his Captaines Deputyes, or other Officers...to exercise the Lawe Military" (James I 1623). This right gave the Calverts and their agents the power to go so far as to prosecute those residents that "shall refuse to serve in the Wars" (James I 1623). The charter also included the specification for the establishment of a provincial Captain General (the commander-in-chief) with all the powers associated with the title (James I 1623; Simpson and Weiner 1989:873). There is no evidence for this role being filled in Avalon though there is ample evidence regarding those individuals charged with the defense of the settlement. The first and second appointed leaders of Ferryland and Avalon, Wynne and Aston, both had established military careers. While it cannot be said for certain in what contexts Wynne saw service, his writings and the defensive works at Ferryland clearly reflect a European military background. For Aston, there is a more revealing record of various Continental campaigns and the leadership of thousands of troops under his charge. The appointment of these men demonstrates the clear intent of George Calvert to establish leadership at his settlement capable of defending his interests if necessary. This strategy can also be seen in the records of Jamestown, the Popham Colony, and many other seventeenth-century settlements that were stocked with similar types of military men who had served in the Elizabethan and later campaigns in Ireland or on the Continent, schooled in what John Pory referred to as "the University of War" (1619).

The only references to martial affairs at Ferryland prior to Baltimore's 1628 arrival were the letters of his governor. In 1621 Wynne requested "a Drumme, and a Ship

Ancient”, the former item presumably to direct or call the residents to arms and the second, a signal flag, to perhaps assist in communication between the different gun emplacements (Wynne 1621:17; Cell 1982:257). Governor Wynne also called for various men capable of defense including a gunner and his equipment and others fit to “help to gard the place” (1622b:13). The sole mention of men of Avalon being called to service was in 1628 when Baltimore was residing at Ferryland. The exact details of this impressment against the French are not available but Baltimore enlisted 2 of his vessels, one a 360 ton 24 gun ship and the other a 60 ton barque with 3 or 4 guns and “some hundreth men (being all the force wee could make upon the suddayne) in this place where I am planted” (Calvert 1628b). Later, Baltimore sent out the larger ship a second time, crewed according to the proprietor by “all the Seamen I had heere and one of my sonnes, with some gentlemen and others that attend mee in this Plantation” (Calvert 1628b). The son was Leonard, though the gentlemen remain a mystery, given how little we know of those who accompanied Baltimore to Ferryland. The second Lord Baltimore later recalled that his father’s ships were “manned by his owne Planters” (Calvert n.d.). The settlers alone could not likely provide that many men able to bear arms. Instead, the 100 men listed in the first operation were probably composed of both residents of Ferryland and English fishermen operating in the harbor (Browne 1890:23).

9.2.2 St. Mary’s and Maryland

One of the second Lord Baltimore’s first orders for his brother and commissioners was that “they cause all sorts of men in the plantation to be mustered and trained in military discipline and that there be days appoynted for that purpose either weekly or

monthly” (Calvert 1633b). From their first arrival, Maryland was a much more hostile environment than Avalon and the conflicts of the first decade illustrate this. Carrying the same rights as the earlier charter, in Maryland however, more evidence has survived regarding the implementation of these proprietary privileges.

Among the names of those adventuring to Maryland on the first ships was “Captaine John Hill”, the only individual listed with a military title and accordingly he may have been selected to serve the military needs of the settlement (Hawley and Lewger 1635:56; Scisco 1940:166). That being said, both Edward Wintour and a William Humber, men listed as “having beene Adventurers in this first voyage” were listed as captains in the 1634 *Relation* (White 1634:11). However, all three men promptly disappear from the record and not long after the arrival of the expedition in Maryland, perhaps even by the first landing at St. Clement’s, Cornwallis was referred to as a captain for the first recorded time (White 1634:4; Scisco 1940:166). Cornwallis would prove to be the foremost military leader in the early province which prompted the government to assert in 1642 their reliance upon his military experience (Browne 1885:127). At the top of the Maryland militia force was Governor Calvert who in 1637 received the commission from Baltimore to become “Lieutenant Generall, Admirall, Chief Captain and Commander As well by Sea as Land of our Said Province of Maryland and the Islands to the Same belonging” (Maryland Council 1637). Calvert’s only known military experience came from his involvement in the Avalon affairs discussed above.

Throughout the first decade, the volunteer militia continued to muster periodically. As the population grew and the settlement expanded so too did the list of provincial officers. By the late 1630s and early 1640s the various hundreds began to have

their own bands of militia, periodically assembled and directed by individually appointed sergeants (Scisco 1940:167; Riordan 2004:201). By that point, the province had two sergeants, two lieutenants, a captain at St. Mary's, and commander at Kent Island (Riordan 2004:201). One man, Robert Vaughan, served a storied military career during the period commencing his profession as sergeant of the band from St. George's Hundred, later Lieutenant at St. Mary's, and finally the "Comander of Palmers Island" (Anon 1676; Scisco 1940:167-168). It seems that the various settlement clusters of early Maryland all had a militia band associated with their accompanying hundred. How disciplined these groups were remains unclear, though there was certainly some level of organization (Scisco 1940:169). The series of small campaigns enacted by the government against the Kent Islanders or various Native groups saw the recruitment of these same men. Despite on various occasions the government granted their officers the "necessary & sufficient power for the levying and mustering of souldiers", the evidence suggests that some of the campaigns were comprised of volunteer musketeers as well (Maryland Council 1642).

9.3 Perceived Threats

9.3.1 Ferryland and Avalon

In contrast to the great majority of New World fortifications (excluding Bermuda), the defensive development of the Ferryland colony was based upon the assumption that any attacking force would be of European origin. The early settlement of Ferryland coincided with a relatively peaceful period in England's history. Suggestively, the greatest immediate perceived threat to the small settlement was attack from the pirate

vessels that frequented the coasts of Newfoundland to prey on the relatively weakly armed fishing ships. Either by true brigands or state-sanctioned privateers, Newfoundland fishermen, and by association Newfoundland planters, had long suffered from their assaults. In the early 1630s Wynne wrote "It is well knowne, that our said Fishermen, have beene pillaged there (almoste these twentye yeares) by Pirats" (1630/31). William Vaughan also mentioned these Newfoundland-patrolling "Raggamuffins [who] make havocke of their Ships, Mariners, Goods, and Plantations" (1626:21). Richard Whitbourne had personally witnessed this havoc and was actually taken hostage by French pirates in the year just prior to Calvert's involvement in Newfoundland (Cell 1982:24). Having assisted Whitbourne with the distribution of his Newfoundland treatise, the secretary likely discussed the potential threats to Newfoundland settlements. Despite his fears, Calvert in 1621 paradoxically enlisted the aid of Captain Nutt, an English pirate, to defend his young plantation from French attack (Krugler 2004:82). In 1623 when Nutt was elsewhere captured and accused of piracy, Calvert labored to get the man pardoned for "defending us from others which prehapps in the infancy of that worcke might have done us wronge" and had even got the pirate's captor imprisoned for the deed (Calvert 1623; Lahey 1982:117).

Despite the initial peace, perhaps more than any other threat, fear of attack by French vessels had the greatest influence on the substantial defensive strategies employed at Ferryland. Given the number of French ships yearly fishing in that region of Newfoundland and the long history of warfare between England and France, this nation was certainly seen as a potential menace. Indeed, during Lord Baltimore's later residence

at the settlement, the threat became very much a reality as a result of the recently erupted Anglo-French War (1627-1629).

9.3.2 St. Mary's and Maryland

As a result of the charter-related struggles with members of the Virginia Company, and evident in Baltimore's instructions to his commissioners, from the very beginning of Maryland there was a fear of attack from the older colony. In the precarious early period in the English colonization of North America, it is intriguing that one of the greatest fears of attack held by the Maryland colonists was from their own countrymen. Representative of the Virginia threat was the trading post established on Kent Island under the leadership of William Claiborne, a man described by Father White in 1634 as one "of our chiefe enemies" (1633b).

An equal threat to the safety of the Marylanders was the various groups of Native Americans residing within the bounds of the province. During the first months of the colony, there was tension between the settlers and their Algonquin neighbors, but those issues were resolved without incident. Instead, it would be the Iroquoian groups residing to the northward that would be the cause of greater concern for the young colony.

9.4 The Defensive Structures

As discussed in the preceding chapter, by necessity, all the seventeenth-century English North American colonies were initially designed (at least in part), with defense in mind. These colonists entered a world they often rightly perceived to be exceptionally hostile and the following sections will examine how they physically met this hostility

whether it be from European or Native American threats. In 1631 John Smith wrote of establishing plantations, stressing the necessity “with the best convenient speed...[to] erect a Fort, a Castle or Cittadell” (1631). This advice was heeded throughout the colonies, yet carried out in very different ways dependent upon the circumstances meeting the various settlers. Writing of these threats that “dictated defensive design”, Charles Hodges highlights the two primary factors that resulted in New World fortification developments: first, the threat of attack by the “floating batteries and arsenals” comprising European warships of the day and second, the distance and accuracy (not to mention stealth) of the Native bow and arrow (1993:184).

As with the form and town planning of the settlements, the English colonists drew upon the military traditions of an extensive history of European warfare. What emerged in North America were not the Continental ideals of fortification, or reproductions of the bawns and palisades of Ireland; instead, colonies were defended by an amalgamation of all these ideas, suited to meet the perceived needs of the various English colonies. Fortified towns and farmsteads were designed by both military men with experience in Ireland and the Continent or laymen, largely unfamiliar with formal European defensive strategies (Hodges 1993:209). The result was the diverse defensive landscape of seventeenth-century English America.

Fort Raleigh at Roanoke, was one of the works that most closely followed traditional European military dictums, with “a high palisado of great trees, with cortynes and flankers very Fort-like” (White 1590). James Fort, another early work, had numerous antecedents on the other side of the Atlantic but the large and time-consuming earthworks had given way to palisades. George Percy described Jamestown in 1607 as constructed

“triangle wise, having three Bulwarkes, at every corner, like a halfe Moone” designed primarily to protect from the Natives evidenced by his claim that “We had made our selves sufficiently strong for these Savages” (1607). In contrast, Don Diego de Molina described in 1613 the uselessness of the Virginian works against a European foe claiming “the forts which they have are of boards and so weak that a kick would break them down, and once arrived at the ramparts those without would have the advantage over those within because its beams and loopholes are common to both parts—a fortification without skill and made by unskilled men” (1613).

Though not completed to specification, based on the submitted plan and the archaeology, Popham’s bastioned Fort St. George design was projected for a waterborne, European adversary (Figure 27) (Brain 2007). Fortified settlements like Plymouth “within which within a high Mount, a Fort, with a Watch-tower, well built of stone, lome, and wood, their Ordnance well mounted” were perhaps suited to meet both European and Native threats if need required (Smith 1631). Another account from early Massachusetts further illuminates the Plymouth works which according to Edward Winslow in 1622 consisted of “four bulwarks or jetties without the ordinary circuit of the pale, from whence we could defend the whole town in three whereof, are gates; and the fourth, in time to be” (1624). Modern Plymouth historians have used these accounts to propose a somewhat asymmetrical diamond-shaped form for the palisaded settlement with an overlooking blockhouse or mount (Goldstein 2007:28). Both Old and New World adversaries required very different defensive measures; each of these reactions are represented in the Calvert-colony tactics.

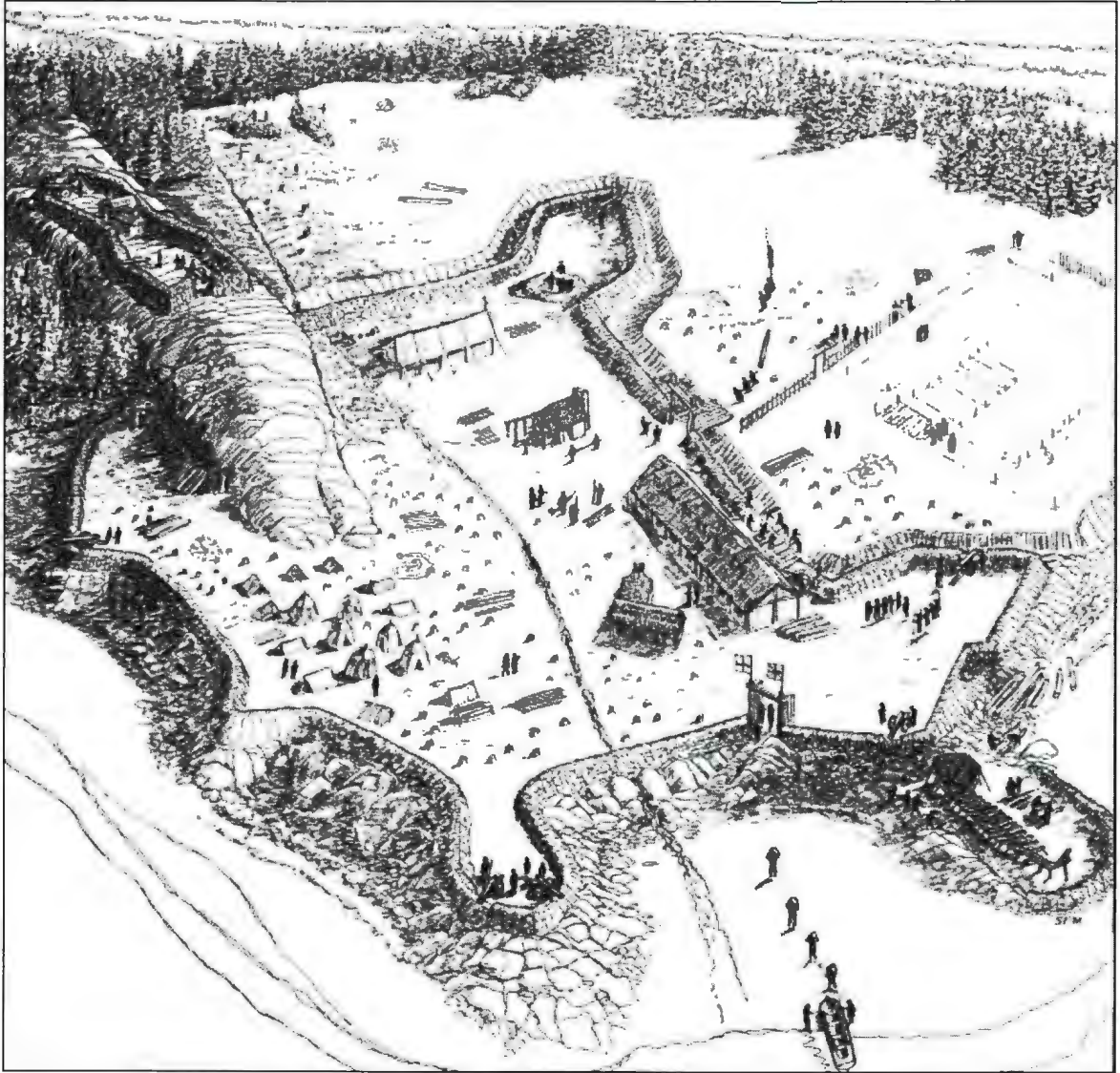


Figure 27. Conjectural illustration of Fort St. George circa 1607 by Sam Manning. Image courtesy of Jeffrey Brain and Sam Manning.

9.4.1 Ferryland and Avalon

An invaluable source of documentary evidence regarding the early defensive developments in Newfoundland has survived in a series of letters from Edward Wynne to George Calvert. Using these documents (which discuss the first two years of work carried out under the governor's leadership), in conjunction with the extensive archaeological fieldwork at the site, reveals a clear picture of many aspects of the early defensive works. The accounts left by Wynne reflect the initial efforts of fortifying the site. These include the creation of an earthen rampart that Wynne discussed as "the raising up of a face of defence to the water-side ward, with the earth that we digged" for various structures and the "palizado" which surrounded the entire settlement (1622:3). The details of this palisade were described as enclosing "the Plantation about foure Acres [1.6 ha] of ground, for the keeping off of both man and beast, with post and rayle seven foote [2.1 m] high, sharpened in the toppe, the trees being pitched upright and fastened with spikes and nayles" (Wynne 1622:3).

Evidence of these initial defensive measures has been discovered in the form of an earthen rampart or berm and possible evidence of the palisade that ran along the crest of this earthwork. A section of the rampart was revealed by excavations, oriented roughly north-south, on each side of the eastern termination of the cobble street (Figure 28). Where revealed, the rampart was faced on the west side by a stone retaining wall and based upon the wall's orientation it appears to run to the north forming the eastern edge of the stone storehouse (discussed in the next chapter) (Figure 29). However, the archaeological evidence suggests that the associated palisade may have here taken a different form than that described by Wynne. Excavations revealed a north-south oriented

trench cut through part of the sterile fill of the earthwork, as well as the original sod layer and subsoil beneath (Figure 30). This feature, presumably a slot-trench palisade, was originally excavated to approximately 60 cm wide and 60 cm deep (2 ft by 2 ft) before it was subsequently filled in. Although the palisade enclosing the settlement may have been primarily constructed with the posts and rails as described by Wynne, the use of continuous posts along the rampart makes practical sense, given the ease of raising it using the earth from the ditch to buttress the fence while also raising the height of the earthwork (Keeley, Fontana and Quick 2007:58).

Evidence of the post and rail palisade has also been revealed at the site of the early settlement. Excavations have exposed a line of large postholes at the southeastern edge of the fortified community, measuring approximately 2.4 m (8 ft) apart. Based upon the location of these features and their relationship to the defensive ditch discussed below, the current hypothesis is that they likely represent the posts from the southern portion of the 1622 palisade (Tuck 1993:308.309; Gaulton and Tuck 2003:201). One possibility is that Wynne was attempting to maximize the amount of time the enclosure wall would stand before needing repair. By minimizing the amount of wood that was placed directly into the ground, perhaps Calvert's governor was acknowledging the dampness of the soil and the speed at which wood decomposed. In the 1650s one observer would recall that "in the Newfoundland" after only a few years wooden structures "will be spoiled and rotted and come to nothing" (Smith 1653). Another possibility is that this form of palisade was easier to construct in the rocky soil of Ferryland, though the archaeological record suggests that Wynne's laborers met excavation requests with nothing but enthusiasm.



Figure 28. (left) East end of cobble street showing stone-faced rampart sections (facing south). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation. **Figure 29.** (right) Aerial photo showing rampart retaining wall (see arrow) oriented with east wall of storehouse in foreground (facing south). Image by Craig Dobbin Jr., courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.



Figure 30 Slot trench at crest of rampart. Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

The two types of palisades encountered archaeologically at Ferryland also happen to be the two most common forms found at the early seventeenth-century settlements of Virginia (Muraca and Brudvig 1993:139). The widespread use of the various forms of the palisades, coupled with the fact that early Ferryland had both varieties, suggests that the types were relatively interchangeable and it was really function rather than form that mattered to the designers.

While the record is silent regarding the defensive works after 1622, the archaeological evidence has been much more forthcoming. Although Wynne wrote in 1622 that Ferryland was a “durable Chattel” he had more grandiose defensive plans for the future settlement (1622b:13). Archaeologists continue to be surprised by the sheer amount of work put into the works of Calvert’s colony. Although the earthen rampart was mentioned in Wynne’s letter, his “face of defense” has proven to be significantly more.

Excavations have revealed an impressive ditch network currently exposed at the entire southeast corner of the settlement (Figure 31). This consists of a 6.1 m wide (20 ft) defensive ditch, complete with stone scarp and counterscarp for much of its length. This feature was possibly open to the water’s edge to the north which would have formed a wet moat at high tide, similar to what may have defined a portion of the defensive ditch at Flowerdew in Virginia (Hodges 1993:192; Tuck and Gaulton 2001:99). From the north, the excavated portion of the ditch runs south for approximately 13.5 m, (44 ft) turns to the southwest for 6.1 m (20 ft) and south again for 7.6 m (25 ft) (Tuck and Gaulton 2001:98). At this point the ditch intersects the end of the cobble street where there was a fixed wooden bridge that spanned the trench (Figure 32).



Figure 31. Defensive ditch with southeast bastion visible at the crest of hill (Facing south).

The western side would have required a significant gate for defense and a series of postholes may be evidence of a gatehouse (Carter, Gaulton and Tuck 1997:55).

As the earthen ditch ran to the south (Figure 33) and up the steep hill, it jogged out to the east around an earth and stone gun emplacement. Test excavations have revealed a great deal about the southeast corner of the settlement (Figure 34). The earthwork or flanker that sat at the southeast flank was constructed in part with a massive amount of soil taken from the hillside just to the south, evident from large borrow pits forming a semicircle to the south and east of the feature. Preliminary investigations of the mount show that a great deal of stone was also incorporated into the structure. This likely included a magazine or court-of-guard such as the 1.8 by 1.8 m (6 by 6 ft) feature at Flowerdew which is believed to be a powder magazine (Hodges 1993:196). The remaining portions of the earthwork, for over time much has slumped or eroded to the north, measure approximately 8 m (26 ft) on the northern axis and 15 m (49 ft) on the eastern (Tuck 1996:39).

In the same way that the Flowerdew bastions were likely protected from erosion by the use of wattle fences and stacked sods, excavations of the Ferryland earthworks revealed evidence of stacked turfs, and the northern side of this mount may have incorporated vertically or horizontally lain tree trunks to hold back the tons of soil and rock at the top of the steep slope (Hodges 1993:211). This earthen mount likely housed some of the ordnance requested by Wynne and commanded the harbour to the north and east of the settlement. Two adjacent test trenches support this theory, when excavations revealed cannonballs within the lowest fill layers of the defensive ditch.



Figure 32. (left) Aerial view of eastern end of cobble street and bridge supports (top is south). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.



Figure 33. Defensive ditch as it begins to ascend the hill to the southeast flanker (seen in background) (looking south). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.



Figure 34. View showing the remains of the mount at center. The ditch turned directly beneath the excavation crew (facing north). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

With the revelation that the defensive ditch skirted the hill just eastward of the earthwork, additional testing was done to locate the turn and subsequent southern line of this enclosure. The corner itself appears to follow the curve of the excavated borrow scar in the hillside and just to the south of the earthwork, the ditch, originally excavated below the subsoil was located running in an east-west orientation. A few meters to the west, the ditch was again intersected with much the same alignment though it was slightly trending towards the north. Additional trenches to the west confirmed the existence of this feature running under an eighteenth-century structure, reaching a maximum depth of more than 60 cm (2 ft) lower than the 1700s ground surface. Here at the western edge of the earthen mount, excavations were halted to protect a later feature so the next trench was placed further to the west. In the profile at the northern end of the subsequent unit there was evidence of the continuation of the defensive ditch, though much more shallow than the aforementioned sections, likely due to agricultural disturbance. The feature had an east-west orientation just to the south of the bastion, made a turn to the north under the later stone feature, and turned westward again to skirt the edge of the slope. This changing orientation would have created a flanker from which defenders would have had a field of fire along the exterior wall of the southern palisade. Though additional units failed to reveal any more of the ditch further to the west, it is suggested that the ditch and palisade would have continued on that line forming the southern edge of the 1620s fortified community and that subsequent plowing and erosion of the hillside has removed all traces of the shallow feature.

Although some areas of the site have yet to see intensive archaeological investigation, the location of additional gun emplacements can be suggested. The western

edge of the original settlement lay at the point where the narrow isthmus of land from the mainland connects to the Ferryland Downs. In 1995 limited archaeological testing in this area revealed evidence of stacked sods in the soil profile. Indication of this construction method was also seen in the profile of the southeast bastion or flanker and is evidence that a similar structure stood in the southwest corner of the early settlement (Tuck 1996:39). Further support for this theory comes from a 1711 account describing the location which stated "on the East end of this Isthmus...are the remains of some Pallisados with a sort of earthen Breastwork formerly cast up to defend the Passage...but is now decayed" (Lilly 1711:12). Whether or not this breastwork was one constructed under Wynne's direction or a later work constructed by Captain William Holman in the 1690s will be left to conjecture (Prowse 1895:213). What is important is that this location was used defensively, and if it was an earthwork constructed in the later seventeenth century it may have been following a pattern that already existed at the site. A second gun emplacement more-or-less due west of the earthen mount previously discussed would guard a nearby western gate to the settlement and at the same time command the harbor to the south of The Pool. Additionally, these two bastions, with their elevated positions, as at Flowerdew, would permit the defenders a field of view to fire along the southern, eastern, and western palisade walls of the Ferryland fortification (Hodges 1993:201). Given the extensive defensive network on the eastern side of the settlement, it stands to reason that Wynne would have implemented a similar ditch and rampart system to the west as well. With no reasonable landing location on The Downs, the western edge of the fortified town would be more likely to face a landward attack. Based upon this, it is suggested that

future excavations will reveal a similarly impressive defensive curtain marking that flank of the colony.

At least one other location has been partially excavated which may have served as a mount for cannon or smaller guns to protect the settlement. Excavations in the northeast corner of the site, just to the west of the ditch have revealed a westward turn of the scarp revetment. Marking the northern edge of The Pool was a stone wharf complex also constructed under Wynne's leadership. At the far eastern edge of the wharf the stone wall turns northward, perhaps meeting with the western turn of the revetment discussed above. The confluence of these walls would form a platform perfectly suited to mount ordnance to control The Pool or the harbor to the north. Unfortunately, this hypothesis cannot be tested as the feature is directly under a modern roadway. Nonetheless, the settlement would have likely required some defensive structures on the northern border of the site in conjunction with the two previously discussed emplacements which formed the southern border of the community.

There is little evidence for any additional fortifications at early Ferryland other than those based around The Pool. One later account by the second Lord Baltimore claimed his father had constructed "fortes", for the defense of the province and another eyewitness claimed he had "made also places of succour and defense for ships and vessels that came into those parts" however this possibility must be left to speculation (Love 1652; Calvert n.d.). After Kirke took control of the province in the late 1630s he claimed to have brought more than twenty cannon of which he wrote in 1639 that "hee there planted in several places and Forts in Avalon for the better securitye of that place" (1639b). It is possible that these cannon were used to further defend positions earlier

fortified by Calvert. Certainly, later in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Ferryland and the vicinity were home to multiple gun emplacements designed to protect the harbor. Perhaps this was also the case during the Calvert period.

Based upon the documentary and archaeological records, the defensive works at Ferryland clearly illustrate a model based upon defense from a European foe (Figure 35). From the outset, the site was chosen at least partly due to the ease of defending the settlement from a seaborne attack; Eburne described it as such in 1624 as “a place well fortified and secured” (1624 III:107). The incorporation of permanent materials such as stone and the well-engineered angles of the ditch and earthworks strengthen the argument that Wynne had a significant amount of military experience and know-how. Few other English North American settlements demonstrate the same amount of energy and effort in the design of their defenses. Discussing the early fortifications of Bermuda, Edward Cecil Harris claims “the paucity of structural remains of the first English forts in the New World” exemplifies the significance of their composition. The same holds true for Ferryland (1997:33). Situated on land that was nearly an island, in a harbor only accessed by a relatively thin entrance, in Wynne’s words the works were designed to “command the Harbour, and secure all” (1622b:11). At least during the first decade of settlement, Wynne’s assertion would not be tested.



Figure 35. Conjectural illustration of Ferryland defensive structures circa 1628. Drawn by author.

9.4.2 St. Mary's and Maryland

Prior to the sailing of the *Ark* and *Dove*, the Calverts and their investors spent a great deal of energy developing a course of action that would be undertaken by the colonists in the first weeks of their arrival in the Chesapeake. Using the experiences of his father and others, Cecil Calvert understood that one of the greatest lessons learned from the settlements of the past was the need for well-organized leadership and a well-designed plan to be implemented upon arrival in the New World. Bearing this in mind, Cecil wrote to his appointed leaders that firstly, the location should be a healthy and fertile environment, “next that it may be easily fortified” and lastly that it be well positioned for trade (Calvert 1633b). In these instructions, can be seen Baltimore's concerns for the fledgling settlement, perhaps in the order he deemed most important: healthiness, defense, and economics.

As previously mentioned, the debate about the exact location of the fort at St. Mary's remains unresolved. There are a handful of different accounts from the 1630s that give slightly dissimilar versions of the distance of the fort from the river, and these differing accounts have led to varied interpretations. Firstly, the establishment of the settlement off the Potomac on its tributary of the then St. George's River, may have been following the advice earlier given to the founders of Jamestown to settle “a hundred miles from the river's mouth, and the further the better, for if you sit down near the entrance” they would be more susceptible to an attacking European force (Anon 1606).

Writing of the initial Maryland landing at St. Clements Island, Father White pointed out that given its size it was “too little to seat upon for us: therefore they have designed it for a fort to Command the river, meaneing to raise another on the maine land

against it, and soe to keep the river from forraigne trade, here being the narrowest of the river” (1633b). Though St. Clement’s would not prove to be home to a fortification it shows the early plan for such a fort. Additionally, there is evidence for a second fort constructed in 1637 called Fort St. Inigoes (discussed below) that was located and designed to serve this very purpose (Shomette 1998:477). John Smith constructed two smaller positions in Virginia, one at the point where Jamestown Island met the mainland and the other on the opposite shore of the James River (Kornwolf 2002:535). In addition, the Virginians established a well-armed fortification at Point Comfort “to defend the entrance to that river”, in contrast to the numerous other works erected “for the defense against the Indians” (Maguel 1610; Anon 1611). It seems likely that the Maryland leadership were interested in establishing a similar network of forts around St. Mary’s.

Defensive purposes would not be the only benefit of establishing the fortified town on the bluffs overlooking the river. The community at St. Mary’s was supposed to grow into a thriving capital for the province and as such, would by necessity form the naval hub for shipping to and from the colony. From his writings it is clear that Cecil Calvert desired the growth of a bustling town. One would expect that the closer the wharves and storehouses were to the ordnance, the better this would be overall for the safety of the community. Indeed, the center of the township that would develop later in the seventeenth century was immediately adjacent to the St. Mary’s riverbank, an area where early period artifacts, most notably early trade beads have been excavated, the latter being an important indicator of the initial fur trade carried out by the Marylanders (Miller *et al.* 2006:41).

The argument for a slightly inland fortified town is also valid. Archaeological surface collection on the field adjacent to the Mill Stream has revealed artifact types and distributions consistent with what one would expect from the fortification. Artifacts recovered include early-period ceramics and trade beads and perhaps most convincing was the artifact distribution, an L-shape scatter measuring approximately 107 by 76 m (350 by 250 ft) with the recovery of two cannonballs at the corner (Riordan 1991:376, 378). An examination of the potential threats to the settlers is also a key to the inland hypothesis. Riordan has made a strong argument for this model, in maintaining that from the beginning, the fort was designed primarily in response to a Native American threat. While the traditional site overlooking the river was ideal for defending against a naval assault, it would have been a poor choice for terrestrial warfare against the Natives, as the nearby geography would assist an attacking force (Riordan n.d.:1). Supporting this argument was Governor Calvert's description of the defensive works as "a fortification (we thinke) sufficient to defend against any such weake enemies as we have reason to expect here" (1634).

This being said, perhaps the St. Mary's model followed that of Flowerdew Hundred where that fortified community satisfied both naval European and Native land-based threats. The older Virginian settlement effectively had the waterside defended by large ordnance and earthen bastions and the landward side a shallow ditch and stockade (Hodges 1993:192). This scenario would have met both potential threats to the colony and made sense of both the cannon and anti-personnel ordinance (discussed below) brought by the first Maryland settlers.

Aside from the debate over the actual location of the fort, the documentary evidence remains the greatest source of information. Baltimore warned his commissioners that upon their arrival in the province “that they cause constant watch and ward to be kept in places necessary” (Calvert 1633b). This advice was duly heeded and the settlers established a “Court of guard...which they kept night and day” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:5). This court of guard, an Anglicized version of *corps de garde*, can be defined as either a group of soldiers at guard or a physical structure designed for protection (Simpson and Weiner 1989b:958). According to White’s account and the 1635 *Relation* it was set up in part to protect their goods and the men and women who went to shore, suggesting the former definition (1634:4).

Meanwhile, the majority of the settlers likely remained onboard the two vessels while the governor and other leaders were negotiating with the Natives. While they waited, some of the men “were imployed in felling of trees, and cleaving pales for a Palizado” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:5). It is likely that these posts were being prefabricated for wherever the chosen settlement site would be. Under the guidance of Captain Henry Fleet, Calvert and other leaders of the group chose a location occupied by a Native American village situated on what would become the St. Mary’s River. The 1635 *Relation* described the location as “a very commodious situation for a Towne” and goes on to say that the site was “so naturally fortified, as with little difficultie, it will be defended from any enemies” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:6). In addition to storage facilities, the first order of business was the establishment of another “Court of Guard” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:8). This court of guard seems more likely to be the second definition of the term, in that it was an actual structure, such as a guard house. White’s

Relation claimed “wee have built a good strong Fort or Palizado” and Hawley and Lewger’s tract merely stated that the fort was equipped with ordnance “and such other meanes of defence as they thought fit for their safeties” (White 1634:9; Hawley and Lewger 1635:11). The most descriptive account of the fort comes from Leonard Calvert who described it as “a pallizado of one hundred and twentie yarde square [110 m²], with fower flankes” (1634).

When the settlers were hastened “to finish the Fort” from fear of Native attack, a feat which they accomplished “within the space of one moneth”, expediency probably would have called for a palisade with flankers, probably not massive earthworks and defensive ditches (Hawley and Lewger 1635:11). As the corner mounts would have presumably housed the ordnance, these would have required a significant amount of soil or timber to create elevated positions for the guns. If the entire work was completed in a relatively short period of time, excluding that spent on house construction, food acquisition, and so on, than substantial defensive works seem unlikely. Given that the archaeology has not yet been tested, and the documentary record will not likely produce new material, we are currently left to the sources available.

This enclosure comprised a fortified town of just under 1.2 ha (3 ac), .4 ha (1 ac) smaller than the community at Ferryland. The palisade was designed to protect the homes of the original settlers and was large enough to accommodate the subsequent growth of the community that the second Lord Baltimore visualized (Riordan 1991:372). In a scenario very similar to that attempted at Jamestown earlier in the century, the Calverts endeavored to develop a central town that would become the hub of the province.

Fort St. Mary's was not the only fortified structure in the early province. From the Native troubles of the early 1640s comes evidence of less formally fortified houses. This type of dwelling, often referred to as a "fort" in the documentary record, was probably little more than palisaded enclosures surrounding a residence and possibly some outbuildings (Maryland Council 1642e). A 1642 proclamation describing the protocol in the time of an attack directed the planters of various hundreds to flee to "the house of Thomas Steerman", "the house of Master Weston", or any "Such house as Shall be thought defensible" (Maryland Council 1642e). These fortified households, such as one on Kent Island described by Governor Calvert as a house "seated within a small Fort of Pallysadoes" must have been a common site throughout early Maryland (1638). Other similar fortifications were located on Kent and its satellite community at Palmers Island, the latter, called Fort Conquest was probably little more than the aforementioned fortified structures and manned by a small garrison (Browne 1887:230; Riordan 2004:111). Designed to protect the southern plantations from the Susquehannock raids, this small fortification was largely ineffective (Riordan 2004:114). Another small garrison, and presumably a similarly makeshift fortification, was constructed and established at Piscataway in 1644 (Browne 1883:205). These structures, erected to oppose a Native threat were never substantial, probably lacked ordinance, were likely quickly and cheaply constructed, and little documentary record has survived regarding their particulars.

The only other fortification constructed by the province within the first decade was Fort St. Inigoes. The precise location of the structure has remained uncertain. Tradition has suggested Fort Point, though Riordan proposes nearby Priest Point based on the geography of the latter locale and circumstantial evidence surrounding Ingle's sack of

the province (2004:203-204). Regardless of the precise location, this fort was apparently designed to defend river access northward of St. Mary's. It has been suggested that construction of the fort may have taken place in 1638 when Thomas Copley wrote that Lewger "hath demaunded of me to be paid this yeere fifteene hundred weight of Tobacco towards the bulding a fort" (Copley 1638; Riordan 2004:202). By 1642 the fort stood, when in the case of a Native raid "every housekeeper inhabiting in St Michael hundred between St Inigo's Creek and Trinity Creek" were to immediately "carry his women and Children...unto St Inigo's Fort" (Maryland Council 1642e). A later record from 1650 referred to "the repairing and reedifying of St Inego's Fort" (Maryland General Assembly 1650). Though this date falls outside the present study, it is suggested that if the fort needed repairs by 1650, it was likely the same fortification constructed in the late 1630s (Shomette 1998:477). As for ordnance, the same 1650 record referenced "the Gunner of the said Fort" and his duties of "looking to and providing and fitting the Guns and making them usefull and ready for service" (Maryland General Assembly 1650). The precise number of guns must be left to conjecture but it seems likely that some portion of the original weapons brought in 1634 (discussed below) would have been mounted therein. Clearly, from the small size of the garrison, this was another relatively diminutive fortification and typical of what defined the majority of the early defenses of the province (Riordan 2004:204).

9.5 Ordnance

Ramparts and palisades are only one aspect of the defensive works surrounding these seventeenth-century North American settlements. Another necessary component of

the safety of those who inhabited these communities was the ordnance that defended their earthen and post walls. The 1607 Hunt Map of Fort St. George depicts nine cannon in a projected view of the settlement, although a written account listed “12 pieces of Ordinaunce” (Strachey 1612:172; Brain 2007:12). The guns mounted at James Fort and environs in 1608 were recalled to be “four and twentie peece of Ordnance, of Culvering, Demiculvering, Sacar and Falcon and most well mounted upon convenient plat-formes” (Smith 1624). By 1623 there were at least six pieces at Flowerdew consisting of a full range of calibers and at the end of that same decade Plymouth also had six cannon (James 1963:76; Hodges 1993:188). While having heavy guns was a staple of seventeenth-century English settlements in North America, the types and numbers of ordnance varied.

9.5.1 Ferryland and Avalon

From the early days of the Ferryland venture, Wynne saw the need for armament, requesting of Calvert “to send me 3 Peeces of Ordnance, a full Saker, a Minion, & a lesser Peece for our defence” (1621:17). A year later, it seems that the appeal had still not been met. In a more urgent tone the governor wrote that Calvert “of necessity must send some Gunnes and a Gunner with his necessities: for the place and time doe require it” (Wynne 1622b:11). While there was no firmly established size and weight of the various types of guns in the seventeenth century, the shot of the period generally conformed to approximate categories. From a contemporary list compiled by Captain John Smith in 1626, a saker is listed as a 3,500 lb (1,587 kg) gun shooting a 3 1/4 in. (8.3cm) ball weighing just over 5 lbs (2.3 kg), a minion was a smaller 1,500 lb (680 kg) gun which shot a 3 in. (7.6 cm) ball weighing 4 lbs (1.8 kg) (1626). As for a smaller gun, Wynne

could have been referring to any of a long list of lesser cannon or swivel-mounted weapons. One could infer from this request that the three guns Wynne requested could potentially represent three separate gun emplacements at the site, possibly those discussed above.

As part of a later court case a sometime resident of Ferryland recalled that Calvert “was at great costs and charges in making forts and platforms and providing of ordnances and ammunition for them” (Allward 1652). A conflicting statement comes from the same court proceedings, where another individual claimed “there was not...that this deponent ever saw or hath heard of, any great guns or ordnance whatsoever, either mounted or on ground” (Hill 1653). Judging from the amount of work and construction completed by Wynne during his tenure at Ferryland, it seems likely that George Calvert would have accommodated his request. After all, Calvert would have been anxious to defend his Newfoundland holdings, and he would have been all-too-aware of the very real threat of attack from foreign powers jockeying for control, or pirates and privateers looking to prey upon the lucrative cod fishery. While archaeological and documentary information regarding the types of ordnance mounted at Ferryland is lacking, there are some clues to the types of guns that defended the plantation. Though many pieces of cannon shot have been recovered over the course of the excavations at the site, the great majority date to later periods of occupation.

Only a handful of these artifacts are suggestive of that earlier history of the site being examined here. Excavation of the defensive ditch produced three small-caliber cannonballs measuring just over 5 cm (2 in.) and weighing approximately .9 kg (2 lbs) apiece. These projectiles could represent the “lesser Peece” of ordnance requested by

Wynne in 1621. Based upon contemporary figures, the smaller gun sent to Ferryland in the early 1620s could have been a “Falcon” or “Falconet”, weapons that would have fired balls consistent with the finds (Smith 1626). These artifacts were recovered from the fill layer of the defensive ditch and may represent unfired shot scattered about the area associated with the southeast gun emplacement. However, it cannot be stated that these unquestionably date to the Calvert-period.

9.5.2 St. Mary’s and Maryland

In contrast to Newfoundland, there is a significant amount of evidence relating to the ordnance brought to defend early Maryland. A 1634 document reveals that Baltimore was sued for payment of four sakers and four demi-culverins (Steiner 1909:252). While the general statistics of a saker have been discussed above, the Maryland sakers were recorded as weighing approximately 1,000 lbs (453 kg) less, at 2,500 lbs (1,133 kg), showing the great diversity in the proportions of these weapons (Steiner 1909:252). Smith records a demi-culverin as a slightly larger piece of ordnance with a 9 lb (4.1 kg), 4 in. (10.2 cm) ball, and the documents indicate the Maryland guns weighed approximately 3,000 lbs (1,360 kg) each (Smith 1626; Steiner 1909:252). Again, there was enormous variation in the size of these cannon, and Smith’s measurements reflect a single point in that spectrum. These guns represent a significantly larger investment in armament than those requested by Edward Wynne for Ferryland. In addition, the Maryland settlers brought the weapons with them whereas Wynne did not receive them for at least more than a year after his arrival. If all these weapons were destined for the fort at St. Mary’s, then a saker and demi-culverin for each of the four flankers would have offered a

formidable defensive position within the fort. Indeed, if the fortified town was positioned overlooking the river, it could have been a menacing presence to any enemy ship in the area. It is also important to suggest that the guns could have been intended for use at a number of different positions, such as the later-built Fort St. Inigoes. While not conclusively associated with the early settlement, a number of guns have been found in the general vicinity of St. Mary's. Various experts have examined this ordnance and they were found to include both sakers and demi-culverins consistent with the types presumed to have been brought in the first voyage to Maryland (Peterson 1971:5; Shomette 1998:491).

In the account sent by Leonard Calvert can be seen the progress of the fort where they had "mounted one peece of ordnance, and placed six murderers in parts most convenient" (1634). While this record does not account for the eight guns mentioned in the legal proceeding against Lord Baltimore, it likely represents the current progress of arming the fort. Interestingly, the account mentioned an additional six murderers, mounted breech-loading anti-personnel swivel guns (Hodges 1993:195). Another reference pertaining to the ordnance at the fort comes from the 1635 *Relation* which essentially substantiates the other account, claiming the settlers "mounted some Ordnance, and furnished it with some murtherers" (Hawley and Lewger 1635:11). The one difference between this later account and the aforementioned one is the reference to ordnance in the plural. This adds credence to the speculation that more of the sakers and demi-culverins were later mounted within the fortification. A final reference to the fort also contributes to this theory when White's *Relation* claimed they had "mounted...one good piece of Ordnance, and 4. Murderers, and have seven peeces of Ordnance more,

ready to mount forthwith" (1634:9). Despite Gary Ralph's caution, the fact that White mentions exactly eight cannon, the precise number Calvert entered into contract for, is strong evidence for the number of large guns brought to the startup colony (2009:23).

Other references to ordnance during the first decade of Maryland come from four different sources. The first, a 1642 letter from Baltimore to the governor merely portrays the former's interest in receiving "a speciall care of my ordnance there & send me a particular note of them the next yeare & an information in what condition they are" suggesting Baltimore's personal stake in the large armament (Calvert 1642). Perhaps the continuation of Native raids prompted Baltimore to ensure the viability of the provincial guns. The other three references reveal ordnance not likely associated with the first expedition to the colony in 1634. In 1638, when Robert Wintour's estate was inventoried, it included two swivel guns among other firearms (Ralph 2009:24). The second came as a result of the previously discussed mission against the Susquehannocks where the Marylanders lost ordnance. In 1644 when Fleet was commissioned to negotiate for peace with the Susquehannocks, he was urged to inquire about the return of "two feild pieces" (Maryland Council 1644). Apparently, the guns were not returned, for even in the late 1640s the cannons were prominently displayed in the Susquehannock settlement (Riordan 2004:156). A final reference to ordnance "with Carryages" came from the 1646 deposition of Cuthbert Fenwick regarding Cornwallis's estate (1646). Cornwallis had three cannon at his manse at Cross Manor including two welded iron guns and one cast-iron piece (Riordan 2004:194).

Archaeological work at the site of the original settlement has added to the discussion on the ordnance brought by the settlers to Maryland. Surface fieldwork

conducted in the Governor's Field, an area thought to be one of the possible locations for the fort, revealed two cannonballs. These two artifacts were both consistent in size and weight to sakers or demi-culverins and represent the majority of the few cannonballs found across the entire vicinity of St. Mary's. A second area of archaeological interest regarding the early defensive works at St. Mary's were artifacts recovered from the excavation of a later fortified household on the townland. This site was fortified after the overthrow of the proprietary government in 1645 and became known as Pope's Fort. This fortification consisted of an earthwork constructed around the dwelling formerly occupied by Governor Calvert. Two additional cannonballs were discovered, one from a saker the other a demi-culverin, and a shattered fragment from the barrel of the latter type of gun. These artifacts probably represent ordnance associated with the proprietary government, and were likely part of the eight guns brought to the province with the first settlers, and later moved to the fortification in 1645 (Riordan 2004:232).

Chapter 10

Buildings and Architecture

10.1 Introduction

The most basic and necessary requirements of any colony are the construction of spaces to sleep, cook and eat, warm or cool, and carry out the countless other tasks that make up everyday life. This chapter will examine the documentary and archaeological records as they relate to the architectural choices made in the two seventeenth-century Calvert-sponsored settlements in North America.

10.2 Early Dwellings

Dwellings are arguably the most important structures in any settlement. The construction of lodgings for the colonies was not a single-phased process. Upon first reaching their respective destinations in 1621 or 1634 the travelers and workmen, out of necessity, continued to dwell onboard their ships while surveying and preparing the desired ground and necessary materials for construction. The 1635 *Relation* specifically references the Marylanders who “lay aboard the ship” as they constructed their first houses (Hawley and Lewger 1635:8).

The first dwellings constructed or adapted by the two groups of colonists were not likely seen as permanent accommodations. Once time or safety concerns made it possible, many of the settlers certainly anticipated constructing better residences. This period of architectural compromise was not exclusive to the Calvert settlements. In a record from what would later become Maine, the colonists spent 1612 “in their ill-built and bleak

Cottages” having to “endure one whole winter there” in those sparse accommodations (Strachey 1612:35). A similar experience met the settlers in Charlestown, Massachusetts in 1630 where initially “the multitude set up cottages, booths and tents about the Town Hill” (Young 1846:378).

10.2.1 Ferryland

In a 1624 tract on Newfoundland colonization Richard Eburne described the likely necessity upon first arrival to “dwell in Tents and Pavillions, as Souldiers doe now in the Field” or “Tradesmen in a Faire” (1624:20). The need for accommodation more significant than canvas tents would quickly become a reality in Newfoundland, where even the summers could necessitate a roaring fire. Eburne went on to describe the next stage in constructing accommodations for the settlers, writing that they must “soone erect some Cabbins and small houses, which may for a time, some yeeres if need bee, serve for habitation, and afterward when they can build better, may be converted to inferiour uses” stating the reality of all new settlement projects that “Men must bee contented at first with low and plaine buildings” (1624:21). In the account of James Yonge, he described similar temporary dwellings constructed by the Newfoundland fishermen as “made of a frythe [weave] of boughs, sealed inside with rinds, which look like planed deal, and covered with the same, and turfs of earth upon” (1663:56). In Whitbourne’s discourse on Newfoundland, he wrote of William Vaughan’s settlement at Renews where in a year the colonists had “not so much as to make themselves an house to lodge in, but lay most shamefully in such cold and simple roomes all the winter, as the Fishermen had formerly built there for their necessary occasions” (1622).

Though there are no surviving clues to how Wynne and his tradesmen met the need for dwellings after their first arrival in Ferryland, it is possible that they continued to sleep on one of the vessels commissioned to bring them and their supplies to Newfoundland. Or, as described above, they may have brought tents that were set up around The Pool, used the makeshift accommodations previously constructed on the shore by fishermen, or even hurriedly constructed similar shelters of their own. As the archaeological evidence is unlikely to survive and the exact scenario will probably never be known, these are all possible responses to their needs for shelter while they constructed more permanent dwellings.

10.2.2 St. Mary's

Upon the purchase of what would become the town of St. Mary's from the Yaocomico Indians, the Marylanders entered into an unusually cooperative relationship with the Native peoples of the region. Not only did the colonists positively interact with their new neighbors, they actually lived side-by-side in the same village. The Werowance, or leader of the village, agreed to the trade terms that the Yaocomico that were living on the portion allotted to the Marylanders "freely left them their houses" (Hawley and Lewger 1635:6). At the time of their arrival, many of the original villagers had already moved into the interior of the country and these earlier departures conveniently left many other Native dwellings unoccupied and available for the colonists. Writing of the temporary homes of many of the first Marylanders, Father White's *Relation* described the Native lodgings as

all built heere in a long halfe Ovall; nine or tenne foote [2.7 or 3 m] high¹ to the middle top, where (as in ancient Temples) the light is admitted by a window, halfe a yard square [46 cm]; which window is also the chimney, which giveth passage to the smoake, the fire being made in the middest of the floore (as in our old halls of England)...And now at this present, many of us live in these Witchotts (as they terme them) conveniently enough till better bee set up: But they are dressed up something better then when the Indians had them (1634:7).

While the specifics are unclear, some of the Native-built or the Marylanders' own quickly-raised dwellings were probably occupied for an extended period of time, perhaps even as long as the fort was the primary settlement. Though many of the more affluent adventurers may have initially raised timber-framed or post-in-ground structures, their servants, as well as any subsequent arrivals of planters would have likely availed of these previously occupied dwellings.

10.3 First Period Structures

Once the initial need for shelter had been met, a general trend in New World colonization was the construction of more permanent dwellings. Here I will refer to this new stage of construction as first period architecture. Although the dwellings themselves may have been diverse in their form and quality, they were nonetheless the first attempt by the settlers to create a constructed environment that went beyond the immediate necessity for warmth and shelter. In regard to the two Calvert settlements, all of this architecture was constructed within the walls of the fortified communities of Ferryland and St. Mary's.

¹ The *Briefe Relation* gives a length of "20 foot [6.1 m] long" (White 1633b).

10.3.1 Ferryland

Almost immediately after their arrival in Newfoundland, Wynne and those under his charge set to work upon some of the structures that would form the infrastructure of George Calvert's settlement. From the documentary and archaeological record we are able to reconstruct a number of the buildings that comprised the early community at Ferryland.

Structure 17 First House

One of the first permanent structures (if not the first) that Wynne and his men built at Ferryland was a dwelling that would house them while they pushed forward with the development of the land around The Pool. In his first surviving letter to Calvert in 1621 Wynne mentioned this structure, describing that "the frame is in hand, and almost ready for the rearing" and that "the seller is already diged" (1621:11). This timber dwelling described by Powell in 1622 as a "house which is strong and well contrived. [that] standeth very warme" is one of the better-described houses in early Newfoundland or indeed the early seventeenth-century English colonies of North America (1622:6). Wynne's 1622 description of the structure after completion offers a rare glimpse at the internal layout of an early modern North American dwelling. The governor described the story and a half dwelling as "being 44 foot [13.4 m] of length, and 15 foot [4.6 m] of bredth, contayning a hall 18 foot [5.5 m] long, an entry of 6 Foot [1.8 m], and a Cellar of 20 foot [6.1 m] in length, and of height, betweene the ground floore and that over head, about 8 Foote [2.4 m]...with onely one Chimney of stone-worke in the hall" (1622:2).

The accuracy of Wynne's description may not need to be left to speculation (Figure 36). Just south of the modern roadway excavations revealed a timber framed building located, as Powell described, "at the foot of an easie ascending hill" that could be the dwelling first mentioned by Wynne in 1621 (1622:6). The excavated structure was 4.6 m (15 ft) wide and oriented lengthwise north-south. The northern termination of the dwelling lies concealed under the modern road and the southern seemingly ends at a stone fireplace and to the west at a narrow 1.1 m (3 ft 6 in.) passage. At a later date, the southern wall of the stone fireplace was incorporated into the northern wall of Structure 16 and a southern doorway or passage, if it was located alongside the chimney base, would have later allowed access into an enclosed portion of the cobbled courtyard associated with the proprietary complex (discussed below).

When Structure 17 was built the mansion house complex did not yet exist, and the first kitchen (discussed below) likely stood on the same general but smaller footprint of the later stone hall. Rather than originally having the gable fireplace, Structure 17 likely continued to the south of the chimney block for 6.1 m (20 ft) forming the cellar. The approximately 15 ft (4.6 m) width of the dwelling is also consistent with Wynne's description of the first house. While the 18 ft (5.5 m) length of the hall cannot be tested with only approximately 3.9 m (13 ft) of undisturbed sill remaining, there are other suggestive clues. Beneath the remnants of the wood floor of the stone hall, in line with the eastern footing of Structure 17, were revealed three large postholes. However, extensive testing below the cobble pavement of the adjacent courtyard did not reveal a matching line to the west (Gaulton 2010 pers. comm.). It is possible that a sill or posts did not leave a lasting footprint in this area.



Figure 36. Structure 17, facing south. Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

Additionally, the section of the structure north of the fireplace had a slate footing which could have been easily removed at the southern end to make way for the later construction project. Based upon the removal of the stone kitchen to allow the construction of the stone hall, dismantling half of a timber-framed structure would have required minimal effort. Further support for this structure as the first house is found in Wynne's reference to the "convenient passages, both into the Kitchin and the roome over it" (1622:2). One possible answer is that these access ways were to and from the first house that the majority of Wynne's crew resided in for the first years. As the kitchen would have been the primary area where food was prepared in the settlement it would make sense that easy access would have been important to the primary dwelling.

There are a few additional details regarding the interior of the structure. There is evidence of floor joists running perpendicular to the long axis of the dwelling; the remaining boards measured approximately center-to-center 40 cm (1 ft 4 in.). The stone fireplace measured 1.5 m (5 ft) across with slightly angled walls to a 75 cm (2 ft 6 in.) depth. The additional width of the eastern portion of the chimney stack suggests that it may have been designed to accommodate a ceramic oven or the placement of a second floor hearth (Tuck 2010 pers. comm.; Tuck and Gaulton 2012).

The governor described the upper configuration as "being devided above, that thorowout into foure chambers, and foure foot [1.2 m] high to the rooffe or a halfe storie" (Wynne 1622:2). These four rooms probably housed the majority, if not all of the tradesmen that accompanied Wynne at Ferryland in the first years. Capping this half story was the roof, another aspect of colonial housing often left to the imagination. In 1622 Wynne wrote that the "rooffe over the Hall, I covered with Deale boords, and the rest with

such thatch as I found growing here about the Harbour, as sedge, flagges and rushes” claiming that this provided “a farre better covering then boords, both for warmth and titenesse” (1622:2). This account sheds light on how during the first period of settlement at Ferryland the workmen used what was locally available to reduce construction time and optimize efficiency to suit their architectural needs. The thatched roofing of the first years may have proven to be temporary. Wynne’ request for “Tiles for a beginning, whilst the Slate-quarry is in fitting”, anticipated changes to the nature of Ferryland roofing (1622b:13).

First Kitchen

One of the first structures that Wynne’s crew constructed at Ferryland was a kitchen. These buildings were defined in various ways in the seventeenth century, often synonymous with the terms brew or bakehouse. As Ferryland’s documentation and archaeological evidence shows there was a separate structure that served the baking, and likely brewing needs of the settlement, the kitchen probably served the more general cooking requirements. The medieval kitchens of England and Wales, at least for manors, evolved from outdoor cooking, to specific structures entirely detached from the dwelling portion of the household (Forman 1948:26; Barley 1990:12). These structures were prevalent across the socioeconomic household spectrum well into the sixteenth and seventeenth century (Martin and Martin 1997:85). Therefore, it comes as little surprise that the kitchen at Ferryland would be a similarly detached structure. Though from this period, there was a movement to greater incorporation of these functional spaces inside the house, it was slow and not a comprehensive occurrence (Cummings 1979:5). Indeed,

George Calvert's Yorkshire residence at Kiplin appears to have had completely separate cooking structures.

The documentary evidence for the Ferryland kitchen is not insignificant. According to a letter from the governor, construction of the building was completed in 1622. Wynne wrote to Calvert that they had progressed "with our kitchin, of length 18. foot [5.5 m], 12. foot [3.7 m] of bredth, and 8. foot [2.4 m] high to the eves, and walled up with stone-worke, with a large Chimney in the same" finishing with "Over the Kitchin I fitted another Chamber, All which, with a staire-case and convenient passages, both into the Kitchin and the roome over it" (1622:2). This structure was seemingly designed to serve two different functions: to assist with the sustenance of the community, and to house additional workers or residents. Some variant of this internal layout was found to be the norm for most detached kitchens of the period (Martin and Martin 1997:87).

In 2002 excavations uncovered the northeast corner of a stone structure that was initially thought to be this kitchen. However, further excavations proved that the building was actually a large stone hall built for the leadership of the settlement. This realization raised the question of where the stone kitchen mentioned by Wynne actually was located. This early and substantial stone structure with all likelihood should have been in the area already excavated on the south side of the cobble street and at the eastern edge of the early settlement. This was where the majority of the early structures mentioned by Wynne were located, including the brewhouse, parlor, and so on. It is likely that this was the same area that Wynne chose for this important structure. Further evidence for this as the location is found in Wynne's letter in which he described how the construction of the "Kitchin roome" required a great deal of excavation (1622:3). This presumably

referenced the removal of the natural subsoil slope which he described as “a very laborious worke” (Wynne 1622:3).

A possible answer to the seeming absence of the kitchen is the current hypothesis that the structure was incorporated into the main stone hall of the later mansion house. Evidence supporting this theory comes from the location of stacked bonds in the southern wall of the mansion house, and an early cobble floor and drain (Tuck 2009 pers. comm.). We can examine these parts of the mansion house for possible fossilized portions of the kitchen that have survived within its walls. If this interpretation is correct, the eastern wall of the stone hall was originally constructed as the east wall of the kitchen (Figure 37). To the west of this wall, forming the southern end of the structure was a 2.4 m (8 ft) wide fireplace, also original to the kitchen. Just beyond the western edge of this fireplace was a second stacked bond delineating the original location of the western exterior wall of the kitchen. If the wall had extended north of this point it would have given the structure the approximately 12 ft (4 m) width described in Wynne’s letter. The 18 ft (5.5 m) length of the kitchen is also suggested by the archaeological features. Just at the point where the proposed northern wall of the building was located, there are traces of a cobble pavement that predated the floorboards of the later mansion house (Figure 38). Originally, this cobble floor would have been an exterior space, possibly marking the location of the front entrance into the kitchen.



Figure 37. Eastern portion of later structure thought to be the 1622 kitchen, facing south. Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

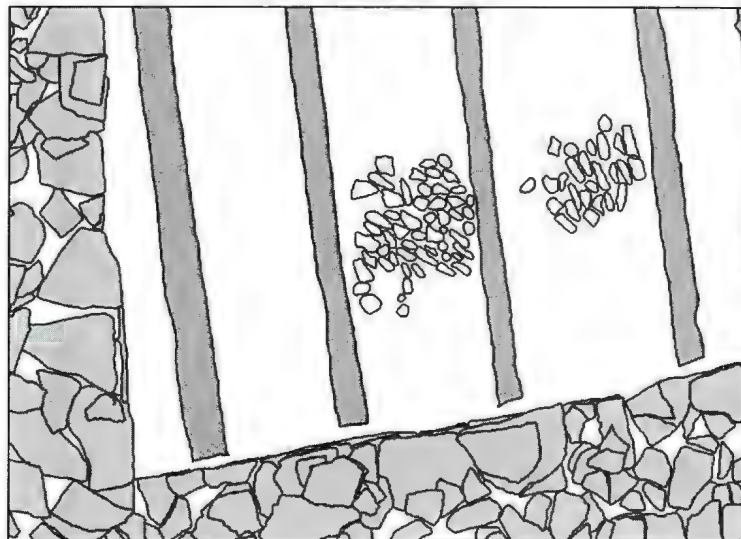


Figure 38. Detail of cobble pavement predating timber floor (south is up). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

Structure 6 Brewhouse

One of the first buildings constructed at Ferryland, recorded as being underway in 1622, was a brewhouse. A staple of an English manor house, these structures served the dietary needs of the household for bread and beer. Brew and bakehouses were also a common colonial reality, records of which exist from the various English settlements in seventeenth-century North America. The 1607 conjectural map of Fort St. George's listed a bakehouse and Captain John Smith described 1629 Virginia as having "two brew-houses" (Smith 1630; Brain 2007:10). The most numerous types of outbuildings constructed in seventeenth-century New England included these structures (St. George 1982:165). William Harrison wrote of English mansion houses in 1577 that various functional spaces including the brewhouse were not found "under the same roof"; instead, they would be "separate from the first one of them from another" (1577). The complex of structures constructed at Ferryland in the first years—kitchen, parlor, and of course brewhouse—were similarly spread out across the settlement.

As early as 1621 Wynne was asking Calvert to send to Ferryland "such as can brew and bake" (1621:13). The following year, in another letter the governor informed his employer that they had "broken much ground for a Brew-house roome" (Wynne 1622:4). Again he requested that Calvert send "a couple of strong maids" who were equipped to produce the beverages and bread that sustained any English household of the period (Wynne 1622b:12). The brewhouse/bakery was a common functional combination, requiring the same features, supplies, and workforce (Tuck and Gaulton 2003:199).

In 2001 excavations uncovered this structure just west of the earthen rampart and south of the cobble street (Tuck and Gaulton 2003:197). Structural changes in the 1630s

or 1640s and twentieth-century disturbance have left very little of the original timber-framed building. To the north of the structure is a later seventeenth-century cobble pavement which may demarcate the northern limits of the original building. The southern limit of the structure is much better preserved, comprised of a dry-laid stone fireplace and chimney base (Figure 39). Measuring east-west 4.6 m (15 ft 3 in.) and north-south 2.6 m (8 ft 6 in.) the fireplace block incorporated two large North Devon earthenware bread ovens (Figure 40), one at each interior corner and measuring approximately 60 cm (2 ft) wide and 80 cm (2 ft 6 in.) deep (Tuck and Gaulton 2003:198). The walls of the fireplace angle inwards and at the base were two large slabs of slate possibly used to support a large cauldron for brewing (Tuck and Gaulton 2003:197). To the northeast of the fireplace, a 3.7 m (12 ft) deep, log and plank-walled square well was discovered that served the water needs of the structure (Figure 41). Very few artifacts were found within the well which suggests that it was capped, excluding the likely pump mechanism that retrieved the water (Tuck and Gaulton 2003:198). One interpretation of the brewhouse is that this water source was incorporated into a wellhouse of some form which was separate from the brewhouse proper, though the archaeological data preclude any certainty (Clausnitzer 2011 pers. comm.). Given the later disturbances it is unclear as to whether this water source was within the structure or in an associated outbuilding. All evidence of the original floor has been eradicated by later construction. Based upon his analysis of other brewhouses, Arthur Clausnitzer suggests the structure originally had a cobble floor, because wood would quickly decay from the brewing activity (2011 pers. comm.). Due to the lack of flooring evidence, the exact limits of the building are unclear.

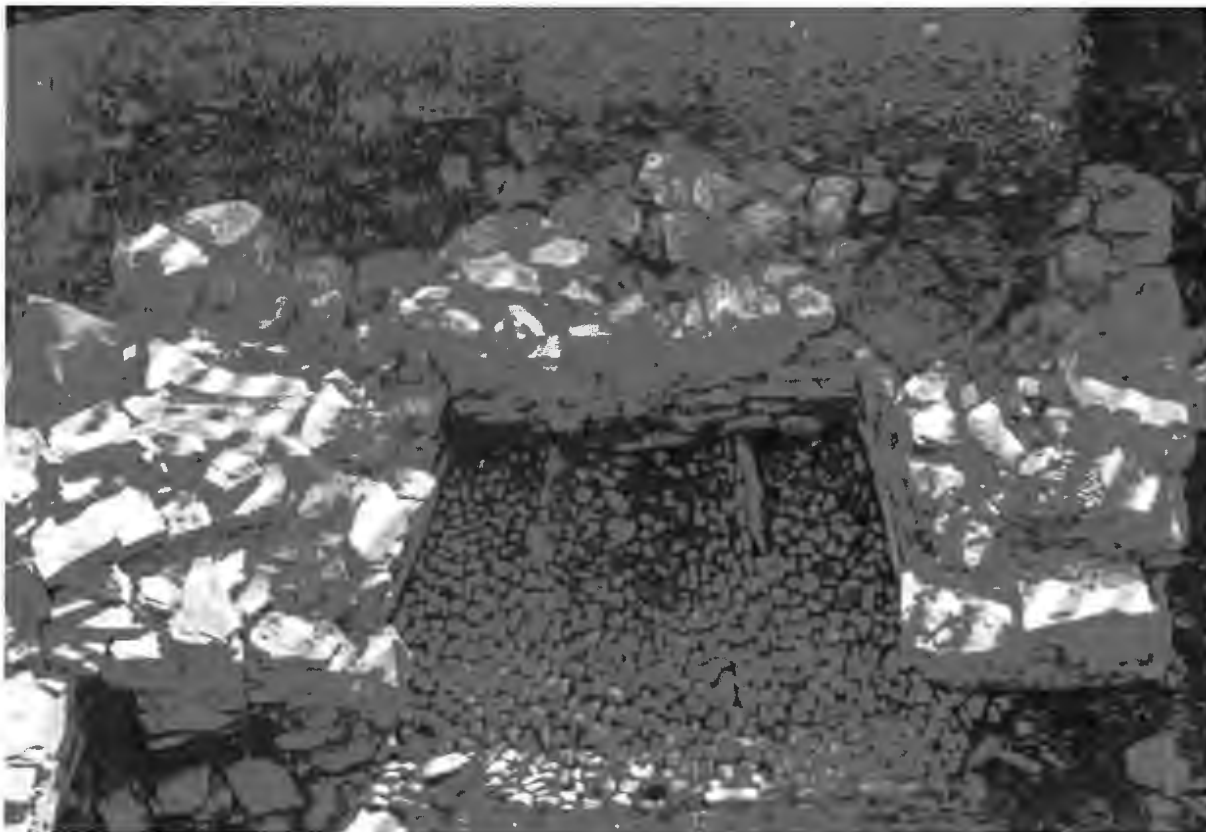


Figure 39. Structure 6/Brewhouse fireplace (cobbles likely postdate the Calvert period). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

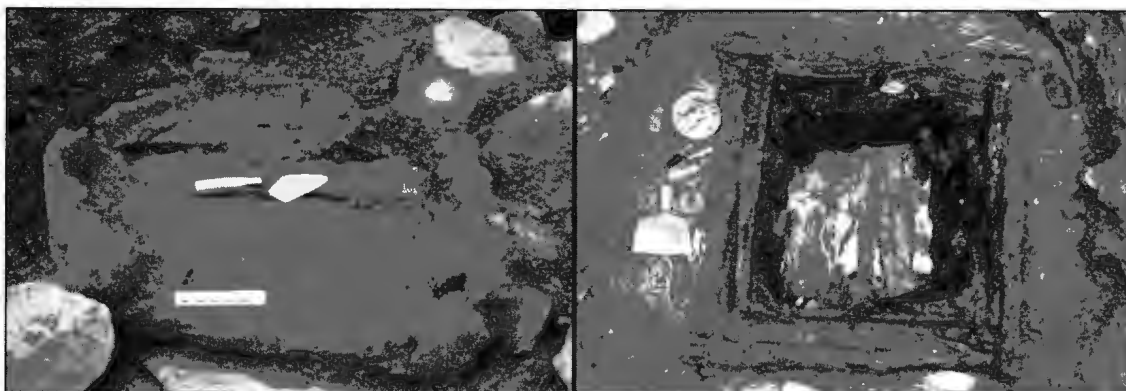


Figure 40. (left) One of two bread ovens associated with the fireplace. Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation **Figure 41.** (right) Structure 6/Brewhouse well. Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

Based upon midden distributions, a rough outline of the brewhouse can be suggested in the range of 6.1 by 3.7-4.9 m (20 by 12-16 ft) (Tuck and Gaulton 2003:199; Clausnitzer 2010 pers. comm.). Like the first house, the brewhouse may have originally had an organic roof covering. However, from the large number of roofing slates recovered in the area, the structure certainly later boasted a slate roof typical of many of the other Calvert-period buildings at Ferryland (Tuck and Gaulton 2003:199).

Structure 14 Parlor

One of the first recorded structures built at Ferryland was a small dwelling described by Wynne as the “Parlour” with the dimensions of “fourteene foote [4.3 m] besides the Chimney, and twelve foot [3.7 m] broad” (1622:3). By the seventeenth century in parts of England and her colonies the parlor “had become the principal ground-floor sleeping room” (Cummings 1979:28). Though traditionally thought of in terms of a room within a dwelling, this space was in fact originally a stand-alone building at Ferryland. With reference to the accommodations of the second floor or “lodging Chamber over it”, we must view this structure as more of a dwelling or tenement than a portion of a hall and parlor dwelling (Wynne 1622:3). The ground floor may have been more of a common area with the sleeping quarters segregated to the second floor. Wynne’s description reveals that each floor had a heat source and “to each a Chimney of stone-worke” and providing access between floors “Staires and a Staire-case” (1622:3).

Excavations have revealed a structure closely matching Wynne’s 1622 description just south of the cobble street/modern roadway at the east end of the original settlement (Figure 42).



Figure 42. Aerial view of Structure 14/Parlor (right is north). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

This timber framed structure runs lengthwise east-west approximately 6.7 m (22 ft), with a width of approximately 4.3 m (14 ft). These external measurements are compatible with Wynne's internal dimensions of 14 by 12 ft (4.3 by 3.7 m) excluding the chimney. Like many of the other early structures at Ferryland, the timber framing was set upon slate-stone sills. The parlor had a timber floor and there is evidence of 20 cm (8 in.) floorboards nailed to the east-west oriented floor joists (Figure 43). The easternmost portion of the structure was composed of a stone hearth/fireplace base and platform for the wooden stairway mentioned by Wynne. The ground-floor hearth was framed in dry-laid stonework with what appears to have been an earthen floor. The hearth superstructure measured 2.4 by 2.3 m (8 by 7 ft 6 in.). The platform that housed the stairway was just less than 1.4 m (4 ft 6 in.) in width.

Given the limited information available and Wynne's reference to the structure being "of convenient height", a one and a half story structure (like the first house) seems likely (1622:3). The documents describe a second fireplace serving the room above. This chamber probably consisted of the full dimensions of the structure and may have been fairly low given the slanted eaves of the dwelling. Though built in the first two years of settlement, this building would later be incorporated into the mansion house complex with the construction of the two-story stone principal dwelling for the leadership of the settlement. This larger complex of structures will be discussed in a later section.



Figure 43. Planview of parlor showing evidence of floor joists. Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

Structure 21

In 2005 excavations directly south of the modern roadway revealed a timber framed dwelling (Figure 44), unfortunately, the overall dimensions of the structure must remain unresolved pending the removal of a modern roadway that overlies the northern portion of the dwelling. The east-west internal dimension or width of the structure is approximately 4.6 m (15 ft), with a timber sill set upon a slate stone footing measuring approximately 25 cm (10 in.) wide. The available archaeology represents just less than 12.2 m (40 ft) of the original north-south axis of the building. The interior of the structure was completely floored in fist-sized cobble bedded in fine gravel.

Dividing the two primary ground floor rooms was a central fireplace block and a narrow passageway on the western side of the stonework. The passageway between the northern and southern rooms of the dwelling was 1.5 m (4 ft 11 in.) wide and directly to the west of the chimney was revealed a 2.6 m (8 ft 6 in.) spatial division, perhaps marking the location of a western exterior doorway. Once this space was framed, possibly with doorways to the cellar and hall, the structural plan suggests that this partition actually formed a lobby entrance (Gaulton 2011 pers. comm.). This hypothesis is strengthened by the archaeological evidence, which revealed an east-west oriented gravel walkway directly to the west of the structure. To the south of the block was a room measuring internally just over 4 m (13 ft) deep on the east side and 5.3 m (17 ft 6 in.) deep on the west. These dimensions were originally more consistent as the southern portion of the chimney stack was added to at some later point.



Figure 44. Structure 21 showing cellar in background (looking south). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

The western dimension is greater, in that the room appears to have incorporated a few feet of the passageway between the stone chimney base and western exterior wall. This room was framed to the south by a dry laid stone retaining wall resulting from the excavation and subsequent buttressing of the subsoil of the hillside. The southern wall was wider than the structure, with a length of 5.3 m (17 ft 5 in.) and an approximate thickness of 60 cm (2 ft). To combat the inevitable runoff from the hillside, the builders constructed a cobble drain, starting in this room at the southwest corner of the chimney block and curving to the northwest, where it runs parallel to the western wall of the structure for its entirety. This room, being in part below grade, would have resulted in a cooler environment, well-suited to storage and preservation of foodstuffs and as such likely served as a cellar. The exterior dimensions of this 5.9 m (19 ft 6 in.) room closely match the 20 ft (6.1 m) length mentioned by Wynne for the first house (Structure 17 discussed above) and likely reveals a similar layout to that no longer extant cellar.

The full dimensions of the northern room are unavailable due to the aforementioned roadway, though the excavated portion measures in excess of 3 m (10 ft). This room is interpreted as the hall as it had sole access to the first floor fireplace. This stone-built fireplace consists of an opening of 2.4 m (7 ft 10 in.) with a depth of 1.1 m (3 ft 7 in.). Forming a border between the fireplace and the cobble floor is a flat rectangular slate apron measuring more than 2.5 m (8 ft 6 in.) long. Directly to the south of this slate apron was another portion oriented east-west but placed upright to guard against the spill of ash and embers from the fire. In the southeast corner of the fireplace opening was revealed a segregated heating compartment (Figure 45).

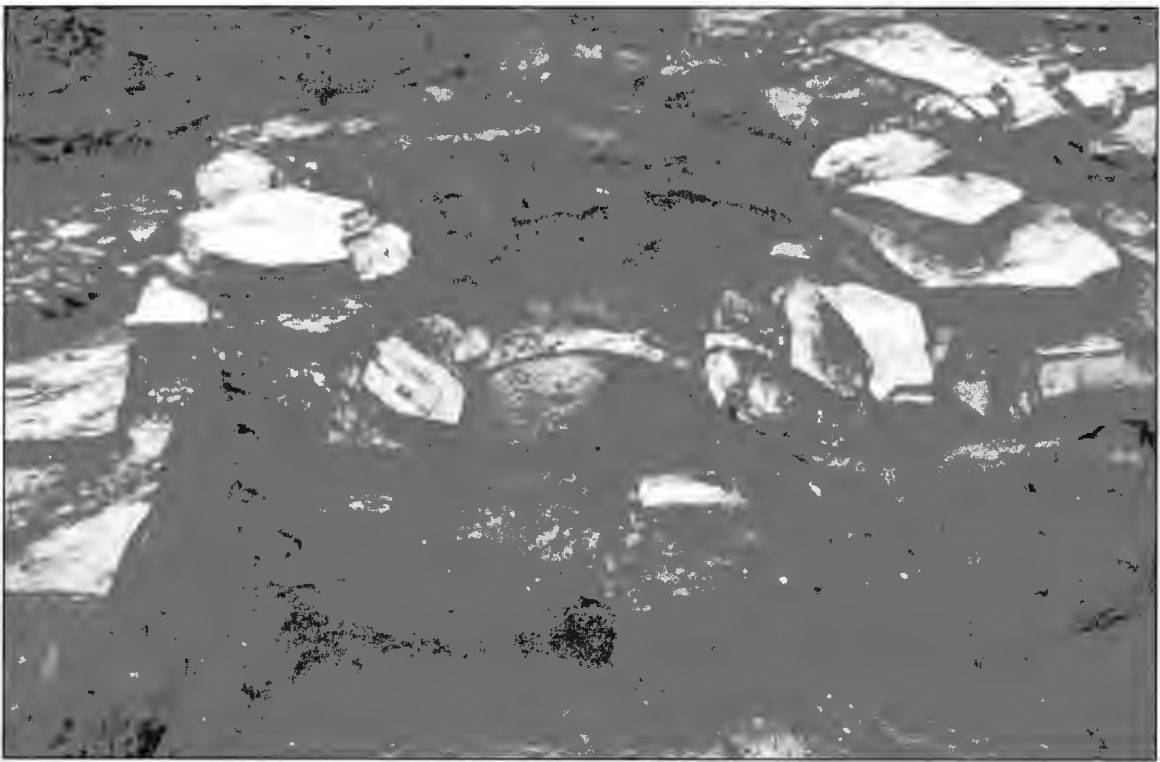


Figure 45. Structure 21 Furnace. Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

This element was constructed after the original fireplace, consisting of a stacked bond that runs the east-west width of the chimney base on the southern few feet of the stonework. The 46 cm (1 ft 6 in.) opening of this element was formed by a thick iron arch and interior dimensions have a depth of 1.3 m (4 ft 3 in.) and a width of 1.1 m (3 ft 9 in.). Initially thought to have been the location for a bread oven, its height was too low for the making of bread and therefore may have been a furnace constructed for boiling down seawater to make salt (Tuck 2010 pers. comm.).

There is some evidence for the location of the stairway that granted access to the second level. The excavated footprint revealed a timber division of the flooring in the northwest side of the hall. This approximately 1.5 m (5 ft) corridor has been proposed as the location for a stairway, accessed from the lobby entrance or the hall (Gaulton 2011 pers. comm.).

10.3.2 St. Mary's

Early Dwellings

For the first few years of the Province of Maryland, the settlers at St. Mary's must have lived within or close to the fortified town. According to the 1635 *Relation*, soon after the purchase of the townland, the settlers "began to prepare for their houses, and first of all a Court of Guard, and a Store-house" (Hawley and Lewger 1635:8). Some of the settlers and their servants seem to have occupied the dwellings in the English portion of the village that had been abandoned by the Yaocomicos. Others appear to have begun hastily constructed structures of a type so prevalent in the Virginian settlements of the period. This alacrity was escalated with the heightened fear of attack from the Natives,

when along with the construction of the fortifications, the inhabitants of St. Mary's "proceeded with their Houses and finished them, with convenient accommodations belonging thereto" (Hawley and Lewger 1635:11). Unfortunately, there is currently no archaeological evidence of this first period of construction within the fortified community.

Throughout early Maryland, many settlers spent their first months or year in inexpensive and quickly-erected structures and based upon plantation values, then constructed more substantial dwellings worth significantly more in the range of several hundred lbs of tobacco (Stone 1982:194). Once the immediate need for housing had passed, timber framed structures of modest size and workmanship must have been erected within the fortified settlement. Evidence from a structure that may be the first chapel suggests that many, if not all of these buildings, were the hastily constructed, relatively inexpensive structures that also characterized early Virginia. Research elsewhere in the Chesapeake suggests that the majority of the dwellings within the fort, as was the case throughout early Maryland, had soil floors, unglazed windows, and wattle and daub chimneys. There were likely no plaster walls or tiled roofs, instead clapboard was used for both surfaces (Middleton and Miller 2008:139). While largely left to speculation, these very modest structures must have dominated the fortified community. Offering insight, in 1638 Cornwallis wrote of these dwellings claiming that "hithertoe wee Live in Cottages" (1638). Though a word open to interpretation, in early modern England the term cottage was generally associated with the laborers' dwellings of feudal holdings (Simpson and Weiner 1989b:997).

After the privatization of the fort, some of the dwellings within were occupied by various tenants and newcomers to the province. Upon his arrival in Maryland the provincial treasurer John Lewger probably occupied one of these dwellings while his house (St. John's) was being constructed (Stone 1982:90). In fact, there was a specific request by Lord Baltimore that such structures be available from the very beginning of the settlement. As late as 1642 there is evidence of various tenants including a lease valuation of £4, 3 s for a barber living at a "tenement in [the] fort" (Stone 1982:180). This barber, a blacksmith, and possibly others, were probably dwelling in some of the better-quality structures built by the initial settlers (Stone 1982:119). If, only eight years later, the properties were valued at around £4, it is suggestive of their modest construction.

10.4 The Calvert New World Manor Houses

10.4.1 Ferryland Mansion House Complex

The Mansion House at Ferryland first appears in the documentary record in the 1651 court case between the second Lord Baltimore and Sir David Kirke over the possession of Avalon. Though not specifically referenced until decades later, all of the supporting documentary and archaeological evidence demonstrates that this complex of structures was built in the 1620s. This residence, designed for the leadership of the colony and presumably the proprietor when present, was composed of a series of structures surrounding a central stone hall (Figure 46). The mansion house complex saw a series of construction phases: the first consisted of buildings completed in 1622 including a parlor, the kitchen, and one or two other stand-alone structures that would later be incorporated into the compound.



Figure 46. Conjectural illustration of mansion house complex and nearby structures (facing south). Structures not precisely to scale. Drawn by author.

The final phase consisted of the stone hall, a timber framed stable, a stone cellar, and a stone kitchen. The subsequent construction phases and the resulting structures will be discussed below.

Structure 26 Aborted Hall

Archaeological evidence that may substantiate the incorporated kitchen theory previously discussed has been found further to the west. To the west of Structure 21 and an adjacent tenement (Structure 22 discussed below) excavations revealed a partially completed stone foundation (Figure 47). The portion of the structure actually begun consists of the northwest corner of a dry laid stone building measuring approximately 4.5 by 2 m (14 ft 9 in. by 6 ft 6 in.). Additionally, the builders' trench for the structure had been partially prepared spanning more than 3 m (10 ft) further to the east of the started foundation. The eastern portion of this builders' trench for the north wall of the projected structure underlies the Calvert-period Structure 22 and establishes an earlier date, perhaps within the first years of the settlement, for the incomplete building. Excavations following the southern line of the partial western wall revealed a large bedrock outcrop. There is evidence that some of this rock was removed, but it probably led to the abandonment of the site for this structure. Of note is the fact that the wall width of the aborted structure, 80 cm (2 ft 8 in.), is nearly identical to that of the stone hall of the completed mansion house (Gaulton and Tuck 2007:8). It is very unlikely that any attempt at a large stone building predated Calvert's ownership of the land.

Therefore, this examination must look to Wynne's period of governance to understand the purpose of the effort. The evidence suggests that this incomplete structure

was intended to be the stone mansion house that was later constructed at the site of the original kitchen. Perhaps after the kitchen was completed, this project began and when the builders reached the bedrock to the south, the plans for construction in this part of the site were no longer realistic. Therefore, the decision to construct in an area known suitable to the east was implemented, even though it meant the partial dismantlement of the stone kitchen and the first house.

Preexisting Structures

At least three preexistent structures were absorbed in some way into the mansion house complex. The first of these impacted buildings, and perhaps most severely so, was the kitchen. As discussed above, the evidence suggests that this stone structure was partially dismantled and incorporated into the southwestern walls of the stone hall. The second structure that was built as a separate unit but was later incorporated through the construction of adjacent buildings was the parlor (Structure 14). The incorporation of this dwelling appears to have had little effect on the structural aspects of the space, though possibly it may have resulted in changing patterns of access based on doorways. Also potentially built at the same time as the stone portions of the complex was a yet unidentified east-west oriented structure directly to the west of the parlor (Figure 48). This timber framed building has no evident heat source and spanned the area from the parlor to Structure 17 (discussed above) to the west. These three buildings would have effectively blocked direct access from the cobble street to the stone hall to the south. Structure 17 was the third unit constructed prior to the stone component of the estate. This dwelling was actually incorporated into the northwest corner of the stone hall.



Figure 47. Northwest corner of Structure 26/Aborted Hall (facing north). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.



Figure 48. Southern sill of unidentified structure north of the stone hall (facing west). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

Substantiating the proposed dating sequence is the fact that the stone fireplace and chimney at the southern end of this dwelling was incorporated into the stone wall of the mansion with fully stacked bonds.

There are a handful of documentary references to the later versions of this complex. The religious conflicts of the late 1620s produced various accounts of Catholic and Protestant services being simultaneously conducted within Baltimore's residence. These accounts could be referencing the use of these preexisting spaces that by 1628 would have been considered part of the larger mansion. Another account comes from a 1652 document which claimed that Calvert's agent Hill was deposed by Kirke from his position and moved "into a little house adjoining" the mansion (Pratt 1652). This reference to a small dwelling could have been the parlor or Structure 17.

Structure 16 Stone Hall

A 1652 recollection of Ferryland in the 1630s described that "one Captain William Hill was dwelling and residing in the chief Mansion House at Ferryland" (Pratt 1652). The primary component of this mansion was excavated in 2004/5 just south of the cobble street bisecting the seventeenth-century community at Ferryland (Figure 49). Structure 16 was a stone hall, with exterior dimensions of 11 by 7 m (36 by 23 ft) that composed the heart of the manor complex built for the administrator or proprietor of the province.

Based upon calculations from the quantities of collapsed stone within and around the foundation and the roughly 76 cm (2 ft 6 in.) thick walls, this hall originally stood at

least a story and a half, and quite likely a full two stories in height (Figure 50) (Tuck 2008 pers. comm.). Though a precise date of construction for the building is not available, it most certainly was built under the guidance of Wynne and his craftsmen before his 1625 departure. As Gaulton points out, Wynne's 1622 letter "hints at the construction of something big at Ferryland" wherein he requested the services of "sixe Masons, foure Carpenters, two or three good Quarry men, a Slator or two, a Lyme-burner, and Limestones" (Wynne 1622b:12; Gaulton 2009). Evident from the copious amount of roof slate, the structure incorporated the quarry and slaters, and a later brick drain along the northern wall of the building suggests of the orientation of the roof, with east and west gable ends. The only other evidence of external details comes from recovered window glass that suggests that there were glazed windows in the eastern wall of the structure, and likely elsewhere as well (Gaulton 2009).

The primary entrance to this stone hall has been somewhat elusive. The earlier interpretation of the structure was that the entrance at the northeast measuring approximately 1 m (3 ft 6 in.) wide would have been the primary access to the interior (Figure 51). However, as additional excavation was carried out it became clear that slightly to the north of this doorway was a timber framed structure (discussed above) that blocked immediate access to the cobble street. Instead, it seems that this entrance potentially offered access to this unidentified building, the parlor, and perhaps the stable. If this is the case, the primary entrance to the stone building was the larger western doorway measuring approximately 1.8 m (6 ft) wide (Figure 52). In many ways this orientation makes more sense, as a visitor to the household would not have immediate access to the proprietor's primary residences.



Figure 49. Structure 16/Stone Hall with incorporated Structure 17 chimney base (facing southeast). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

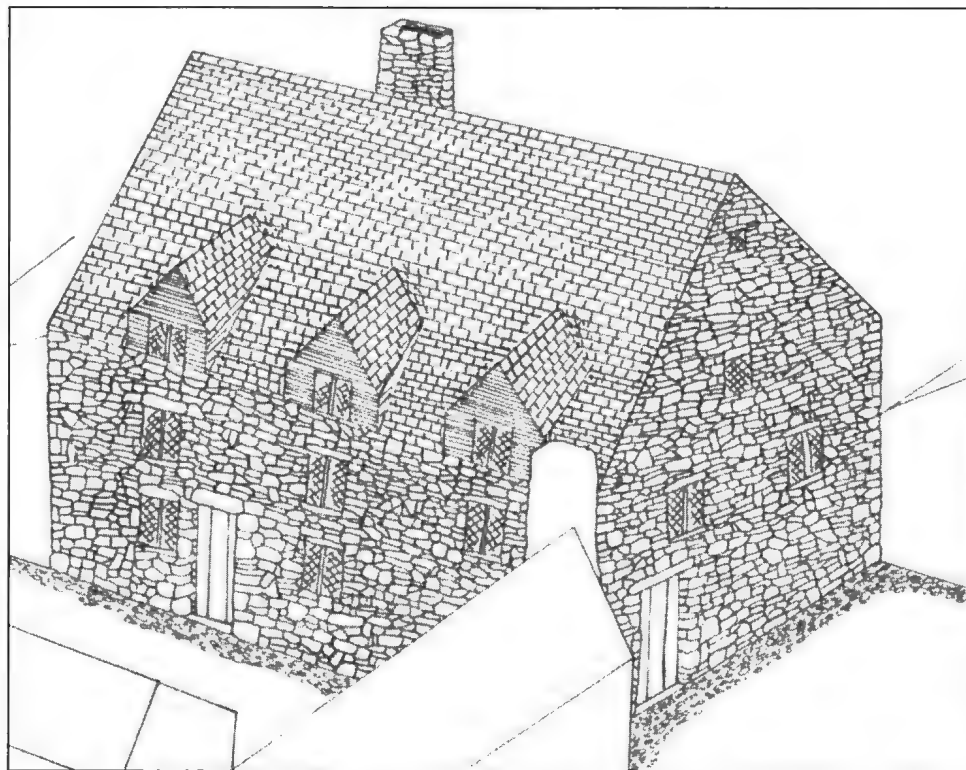


Figure 50. Conjectural illustration of Structure 16/Stone Hall (facing southeast) Drawn by author.



Figure 51. Northern entrance to Structure 16/Stone Hall. Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.



Figure 52. Western, and primary entrance to Stone Hall (Structure 16). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

Instead, one would find entrance into the cobble courtyard, and only from there would they have potential access to the first floor of the stone mansion (Lyttleton 2010 pers. comm.).

The heat source for the hall was revealed at the southeast corner of the structure, composed of an 2.4 m (8 ft) wide and 1.1 m (3 ft 6 in.) deep fireplace (Figure 53). The interior was paved in small cobbles and contained by a double row of orange brick. As suggested earlier, this fireplace was likely the remaining heat source from the stone kitchen constructed in the first years of the settlement. With the adaptation of the structure, or potentially for the other chamber above mentioned by Wynne in 1622, a deposit of excavated brick to the north of the fireplace likely denotes the existence of a second story fireplace off the same stack. Though seventeenth-century examples of lateral fireplaces can be found throughout many areas of present-day Great Britain, it is important to look for meaning in the Welsh examples that Wynne likely drew upon (Brunskill 2000:57). There, the lateral fireplace was where an enclosed stack first developed in dwellings, a "position favored in the upper-class halls" (Smith 1975:46). Barley writes: "nowhere is the lateral chimney plan found in cottages and houses of the lowest status, and it is the only chimney pattern of which this can be said" (1990:252). The interior walls of the hall also incorporated the skills of the craftsmen requested by Wynne and excavations revealed ample sign of lime plastered walls.

Underfoot would have been a timber floor. Archaeology revealed thirteen shallow north-south trenches wherein were placed the joists that held the east-west oriented floorboards (Figure 54) (Gaulton 2009). Given the elevated flooring there is no evidence of the structure's internal layout.



Figure 53. Structure 16/Stone Hall first floor fireplace (facing south). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

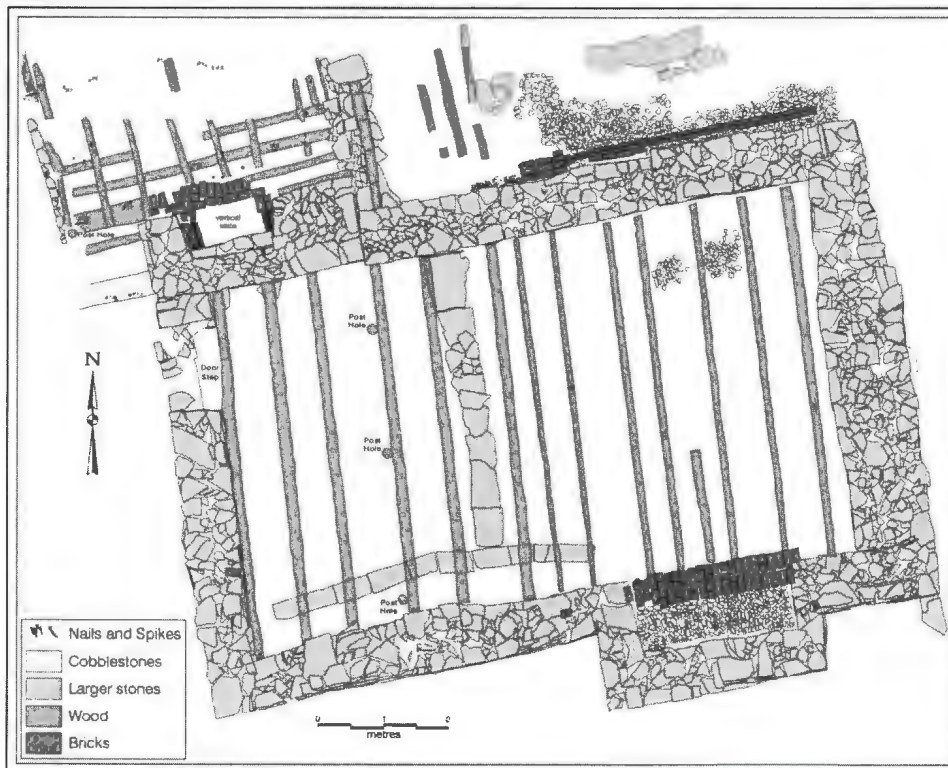


Figure 54. Planview of Structure 16/Stone Hall. Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

Possibly the entire space was open save for a small lobby and perhaps a stairway by the western entrance to the hall. A corner stairway makes the most sense, to allow for the conservation of internal space. Presumably, the second floor would have been divided into two or more chambers with the chief bedchamber at the east to access the second floor fireplace. Based upon evidence of a man-made plateau to the south of the hall, there may have been a second floor doorway to allow access to an area that may have contained a private garden (Lyttleton 2010 pers. comm.). Testing in that area revealed no sign of structures, which alone is suggestive, given that nearly every portion of level ground at the site was utilized. The final half story or garret would have likely offered storage and further accommodations, perhaps for domestics.

Cobble Courtyard

Just to the west of the stone hall, excavations revealed a cobblestone floored courtyard (Figure 55). This open space, measuring 5.5 by 4.6 m (18 by 15 ft), permitted access to the western door of the hall, the north door of the cellar (Structure 18, discussed below), possibly a southern door of Structure 17 and an eastern door to Structure 21. To the west of the courtyard was the eastern wall of Structure 21 that effectively enclosed three sides of the courtyard. Based upon the previously discussed points, the hall door, as accessed through the courtyard, was the primary entrance to the mansion. Therefore, the open courtyard would have offered an initial reception area for callers. The northernmost portions of the courtyard are lost to the modern roadway so it is difficult to project how people and goods would move through the area. Just north of the hall door there is evidence that the cobble floor was bisected by some form of wall.



Figure 55. Cobble courtyard (facing south) showing east-west division in foreground. Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

Upon observation, there is a clear division in the cobble pavement showing where a partition was later filled in with beach stones. This feature could have marked a combination of a wall and gate or perhaps it was a later solid divider placed by the Kirke family after making other significant changes to the complex.

Structure 18 Cellar

A stone storage structure was built to the south of the cobble courtyard. This building was constructed with lime mortar and had 76 cm (2 ft 6 in.) thick walls (Figure 56). With exterior dimensions of approximately 7 by 5 m (22 ft 6 in. by 16 ft 6 in.), the structure revealed evidence of a partially cobbled entranceway. Access was through a nearly 1.5 m (5 ft) doorway, likely sized to accommodate bulk goods and foodstuffs, entering from the adjacent courtyard. The ground level must have contained a stairway or ladder which led to a 2.4 by 2.4 m (8 by 8 ft) cellar that reached to a depth in excess of 2.4 m (8 ft) (the feature has not yet been fully excavated). The thickness of the walls suggests the presence of a possible second floor, at the very least a half floor or garret space. If the second story was limited only to a loft space, it would have likely been used as additional storage. The same may be true even if there was a full second floor as there was no evidence of a fireplace anywhere within the remains of the structure.

There is virtually no documentary evidence regarding this stone building and cellar. The structure was not mentioned by Wynne in 1621 or 1622 as being complete, or even under construction. Though the structure survived until the 1696 French destruction of Ferryland, there are clues that suggest it was constructed during the Calvert-period.



Figure 56. Structure 18 showing excavation of cellar (facing north). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

Early artifacts located within the builder's trench and within the structure are evidence of this. In addition, the structure was fully stone and consistent with the orientation and architectural proficiency of Wynne's tradesmen, not to mention that it is clearly part of the mansion house complex. As with the stone hall, this cellar must have been constructed in the years between 1622 and 1625 after which Wynne was no longer at Ferryland. The complete mansion house complex appears to be the culmination of the work Wynne and his men began in the early 1620s.

Structure 19 Kitchen

Directly to the south of the cellar, excavations revealed a second stone building believed to serve as the kitchen for the mansion house compound (Figure 57). This building has thick walls consistent with the cellar and nearly identical dimensions of 6.1 by 4.9 m (20 by 16 ft) with the shorter axis being the east-west orientation. As can be seen, the kitchen and the cellar shared a common width, wall construction and thickness, as well as abutting one-another they may in fact represent a single structure serving as kitchen and buttery (Gaulton 2011 pers. comm.). A stone structure bonded with lime mortar and oriented with all the other Calvert-era structures at the site, this building must have been raised during the same period.

At the south wall of the building was revealed a fireplace measuring 1.8 m by 9 cm (6 by 3 ft). In connection with the cellar to the north, these areas likely served the food preparation and storage needs of the compound. Access between the two buildings or rooms is unclear; perhaps there was a passage running from the kitchen to the second story of the cellar.



Figure 57. Structure 19/Kitchen (at rear) during excavation (facing south). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

Or potentially, the entrance was on the east side to the small terrace that is also directly behind the stone mansion house. A cobble pavement found just to the east of Structure 19 suggests that this terraced area was incorporated into the compound, perhaps as access for the domestic staff between the hall and service wing.

Structure 30 Stable

There is no documentary evidence that specifically mentions any kind of equine stable at Ferryland. However, there are scattered references to horses in the colony during the period, most notably Sir William Alexander's 1624 reference to the settlement "having already there a broode of Horses" (1624:25). An account from 1652 also mentioned the "six or seven horses" that Baltimore had left behind at Ferryland in 1629 (Slaughter 1652b). Given that Calvert and his household had horses brought to Ferryland, and the need for indoor housing of these animals during the colder months, it is logical that there would have been a structure to accommodate them. Directly to the east of the stone hall of the mansion house complex, archaeology revealed a timber framed structure that seems to have served this purpose (Figure 58). This building, measuring 6.7 by 4.3 m (22 by 14 ft) was constructed upon a slate footing and was paved with cobblestone throughout the interior (Gaulton and Tuck 2008:54). In support of the use as a stable, there was no evidence for any kind of heat source associated with the structure. Additionally, the cobble floor was designed to permit the flow of liquids to the north where it would have emptied into a stone and brick-lined drain which begins in the northern part of the structure and likely intersects with a series of drains to the east which were constructed in the Calvert period (Gaulton and Tuck 2008:55).



Figure 58. Structure 30/Stable (facing south). The voids in the cobble floor were the result of later occupation. Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.



Figure 59. Excavated circular feature within Structure 30/Stable floor. Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

Soil testing from the floor of the structure revealed evidence of parasites that are associated with mammals, including horses. A final piece of evidence, a circular void in the cobble floor next to the western wall (Figure 59), likely once housed an open barrel, perhaps a water basin (Gaulton and Tuck 2008:55). If indeed animals were housed in the structure, its close proximity to the Calvert dwelling would support the case for horses. The very charter of Avalon called for such animals though all parties knew that James I or his heirs would never require the “white horse, whensoever and as often as it shall happen that Wee...shall come into the sayd Territory” (James I 1623). Nonetheless, horses were a fixture of early Avalon and this structure evidently accommodated them.

10.4.2 The Calvert House in Maryland

Initially, the second Lord Baltimore had planned to personally lead the first voyagers to Maryland. The hostile interests of Virginia and their attack of the charter made this impossible, at least initially. In his 1633 instructions to the governor and officials Baltimore called for the construction of “a convenient house...for the seat of his Lordshipp or his Governor or other Commissioners for the time being in his absence” (Calvert 1633b). The structure here referred to as the Calvert House may have originated in response to Cecil’s demand for a seat in Maryland. An exact date for the original construction has not yet been established: the archaeology poses a number of complications and the documentary record is equally open to interpretation. The available data and the current hypothesis suggest that this structure was constructed in the initial years of the settlement, possibly as early as 1635. As Baltimore continually attempted to find the appropriate moment to voyage to Maryland and the significant lag in

communication between Old and New World, it seems likely that the governor would have quickly built a structure worthy of his brother's rank. Following Baltimore's 1633 instructions, Leonard Calvert must have moved into the dwelling soon after its completion. The architectural and artifactual record suggests the southern portion of the structure was the original house as the northern portion (discussed below) overlay early artifact-bearing contexts (Miller 1986:20). This residence measured a substantial 15.2 by 5.5 m (50 by 18 ft) and was constructed of a timber frame on a non-bonded sandstone foundation (Figure 60 and 61). Internal divisions suggest that the house was comprised of a hall and parlor bisected by a central brick H-shaped fireplace base topped with a timber framed chimney, with a kitchen and pantry on the east end and on the west a heated room with a fired earthen-walled cellar (Stone 1982:380; Miller 1986:20). Artifactual evidence suggests that the chimney stacks may have had a protective and decorative layer of flat tile, similar to Lewger's St. John's house (discussed below) (Stone 1982:365). There are other structural similarities between the Calvert House and circa 1638 St. John's (Miller 1986:20). This could potentially point to the Calvert House as the inspiration for the structure later built for the province's treasurer. Subsequent inventories of the residence point to single-story construction with an approximately 250 m² (2,700 ft²) ground floor (Stone 1982:378).

At some point in its early history the house underwent significant structural changes which culminated in an impressive 20.4 by 12.2 m (67 by 40 ft) structure (Figure 62). Though the addition was made before Leonard Calvert's death in 1647, his inventory merely described the building as "A large framed howse" (Maryland Provincial Court 1647).

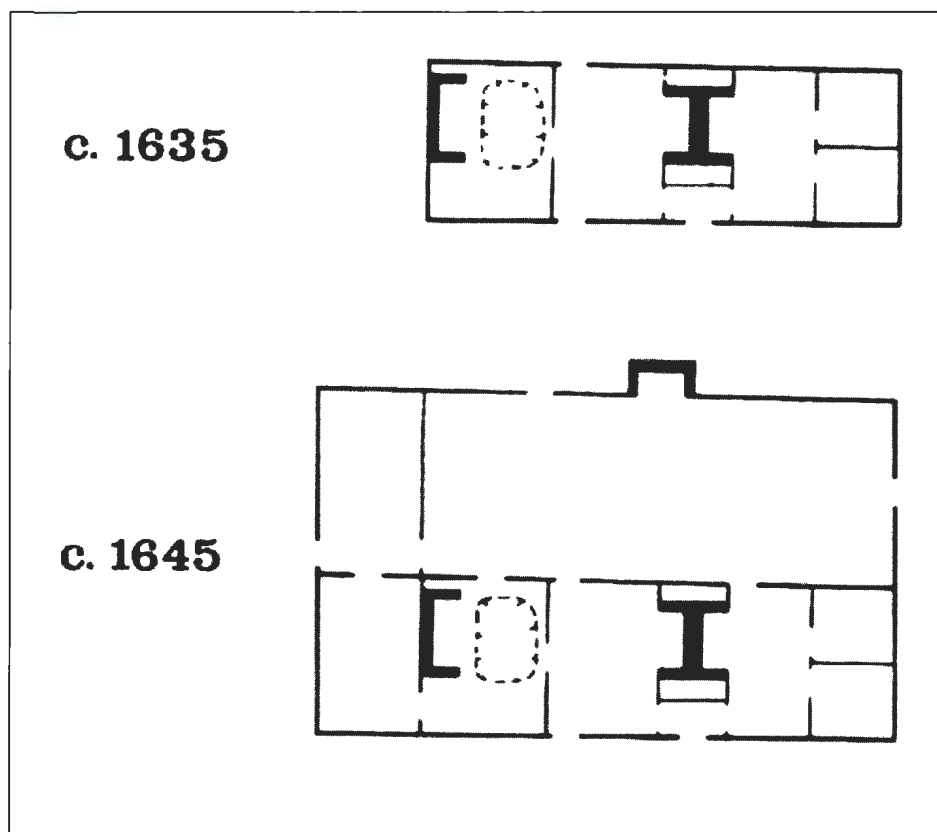


Figure 62. Internal layout and evolution of the Calvert House. Image courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

Based upon the documentary record, early artifacts, and the alignment of the 1645 Pope's Fort defenses oriented to the full dimensions of the structure, it is clear that the structure reached its full proportions by the mid-1640s (Miller 1986:20). A 1668 probate inventory of a subsequent owner mentioned the majority of the addition described as the "great room called St. Mary's" (Maryland Provincial Court 1668). This space measured approximately 14 by 7 m (45 by 22 ft), staggering, considering that this room alone doubled the size of the entire homes of most early Marylanders (Miller 1986:21). The name and magnitude of the room offers insight into its purpose and date of construction. Miller suggests that a 1639 act passed by the Maryland Assembly "for the building of the Towne house" for governmental use resulted in the expansion of this dwelling (Maryland General Assembly 1639; Miller 1986:21). Suggestively, by 1642 the Maryland Assembly was convening at the Calvert House, a role it would serve for the majority of the next two decades (Miller 1986:21). Stone's interpretation is much the same, citing the fact that from 1639 to 1641 the Maryland Assembly met at St. John's, which would not have been the case had the great room already stood (1982:381). Furthermore, he suggests that the addition was constructed between Leonard Calvert's 1641 patent of the Governor's Field property and the meeting of the 1642 assembly (Stone 1982:381).

Riordan has offered an alternate perspective on the property. Based upon his analysis of the original sandstone footing of the structure, he found that evidence of this stone was found on at least three of the four exterior walls of the completed structure (2004:347). He proposes that if the northern portion of the house was later, then the sandstone footing should have been found bisecting the structure rather than on the far northern wall (Riordan 2004:347). Based upon his one-build theory, Riordan proposes a

much later date of construction for the dwelling between 1641 and 1642 (2004:347). He based this date on the fact that as late as January of 1642 the governor suggested the Maryland Assembly meet at the fort rather than his house and that the 1641 patent of land did not mention a preexisting dwelling on the property, something inconsistent with other surveys from the period in early Maryland (Riordan 2004:347). Using the same documentary and archaeological record, two very different interpretation of the site have been suggested, both quite valid. A precise architectural evolution of this structure must wait upon future excavation and analysis.

Despite the debate over the structural timeline of the Calvert House, once it reached its full dimensions, the internal function is less open to interpretation. The architectural evidence suggests the completed structure was a double pile construction consisting of two approximately east-west oriented rows of rooms covered by double A-framed roofs (Miller 1986:18). The two piles were divided by a central passageway bisecting the house, an unusual feature that was perhaps added later for privacy or resulted from repairs (Stone 1982:380). The 1668 inventory of Captain William Smith offers the most detailed glimpse at the internal layout of the structure. The southern and possibly original portion of the dwelling consisted of the "lodging Chamber" which contained on the east side both a "Bedd Chamber" and "the Parlour within the afore said Room" (Maryland Provincial Court 1668; Miller 1986:21). The remaining first floor space consisted of the "Hall" in the middle and finally "the Kitchin" to the west (Maryland Provincial Court 1668; Miller 1986:21). There was also reference to loft spaces in the southern portion of the structure, referred in the inventory as "the Roome over Captain Smyths Lodging Roome" and "the Chamber over [the] Hall" (Maryland

Provincial Court 1668). By this time, the structure also contained significant storage space including “the Store” adjoining the kitchen and both a “Wine” and “Meate Cellar” (Maryland Provincial Court 1668; Miller 1986:21). The north half of the structure was comprised almost entirely of “the Greate Roome called St. Maryes” with a small cellar on the west side (Maryland Provincial Court 1668). With no documentary reference to additional loft space associated with the north portion of the structure, The St. Mary’s room may have been entirely open to the peak of the roof (Stone 1982:381). As a room designed to house a large assembly of freemen, this theory seems valid. This structure began as “a modest English style farmhouse” but within a few years became the largest building in all of Maryland (Miller 1986:23). Once the structure had reached its full 20.4 by 12.2 m (67 by 40 ft) dimensions it had become one of the largest dwellings in all of English North America (Figure 63).

Outbuildings

The space surrounding the Calvert house is also important, though the archaeological record is weak for the earliest period (Miller 1986:27). This dearth of feature data is likely due to the intensive occupation of the site as Pope’s Fort in the mid-1640s (Miller 1986:70). When the building stood in the 1630s or early 1640s there would have been a full suite of associated fenced enclosures, functional activity areas, and outbuildings. The structure may have been originally built for Lord Baltimore and later occupied by the governor, but it was more than a Calvert seat of power in St. Mary’s, it was an operating plantation.

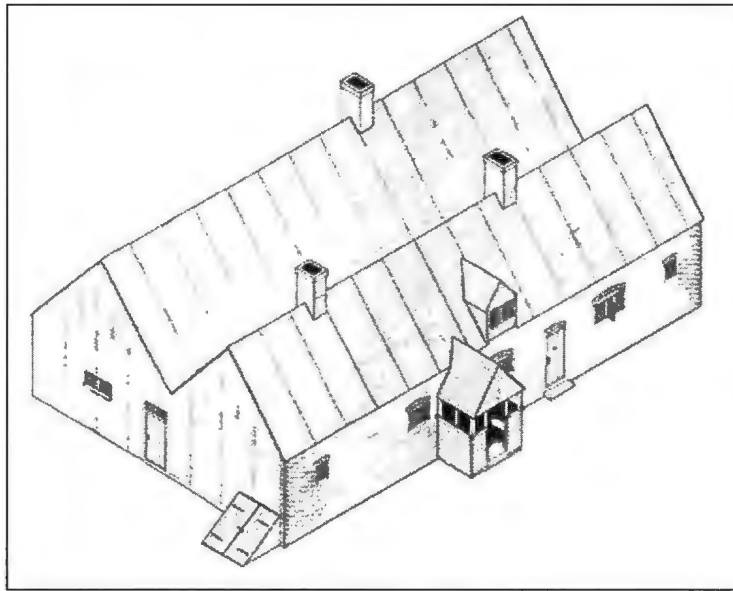


Figure 63. Conjectural view of Calvert House circa 1645. Image courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

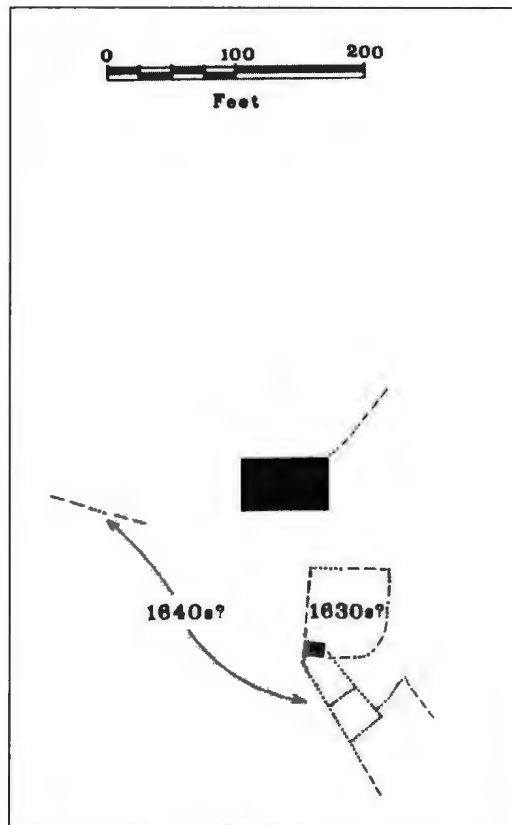


Figure 64. Conjectural view of Calvert House (in black) and environs (top of image is north). Image courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

Like any Maryland gentry house, the residents would have required the associated buildings and work areas that allowed such a household to function smoothly.

Excavations have revealed traces of a wooden fenced enclosure to the south of the house that based upon stratigraphy may date to the first years of settlement. Further evidence of the association of this activity area with the Calvert house is that it is precisely oriented to the dwelling (Miller 1986:27). Within this enclosure, excavations revealed three aligned postholes much larger than a fenceline and spaced 2.3 m (7 ft 6 in.) apart that have been proposed as the wall of a structure, possibly associated with animal husbandry (Miller 1986:70). Whereas the aforementioned enclosure is not irrefutably associated with the Calvert house, another fenceline is. Excavations revealed a fenceline beginning at the northeast corner of the Calvert house with a diagonal orientation, the same approximate alignment as the southern feature previously discussed (Figure 64) (Miller 1986:27). As the seventeenth century progressed, the orientation of the enclosures and later structures in the vicinity of the Calvert house shifted. Based upon this later shift and the stratigraphic record, researchers are granted a view, albeit faint of the environs of the property during the early years of Maryland.

10.5 Second Period Structures

The second architectural phase of the two colonies occurred beyond the walls of the fortified towns. Whereas the architectural data regarding Ferryland is dominated by the first period of construction, the current documentary and archaeological evidence from Maryland is primarily composed of this later stage in the growth of the settlement.

10.5.1 Ferryland and Avalon

Unfortunately there is very little information regarding the architectural forms that were constructed outside the original 1.6 ha (4 ac) palisaded settlement at Ferryland. The evidence suggests that the great majority of the known structures that were constructed within this fortified community were commissioned for, and to be used by the Calverts and their employees. As new settlers arrived they would have likely required permanent accommodation elsewhere in the harbor. Given the meager information available we must look for probable architectural developments outside The Pool based upon scattered documentation and later maps.

Dwellings

The only reference to an early dwelling outside the small harbor, albeit a decidedly vague one, comes from a much later document. This recollection from 1652 described how Baltimore's agent was removed from the mansion in 1638 and moved to the adjacent shore of the harbor to the north "where after some years of dwelling...[he] departed this life" (Pratt 1652). This reference only suggests that there were additional dwellings outside of the palisaded settlement, not what they may have looked like. The only visual indications of the types of dwellings that may have been constructed come from two imprecise later seventeenth-century maps. The first was drawn by James Yonge in 1663 that shows a remarkably sparse Pool with just two modest looking dwellings (Figure 65). One of these represented the residence of Lady Sara Kirke, who was known to inhabit the Calvert-period mansion house complex.

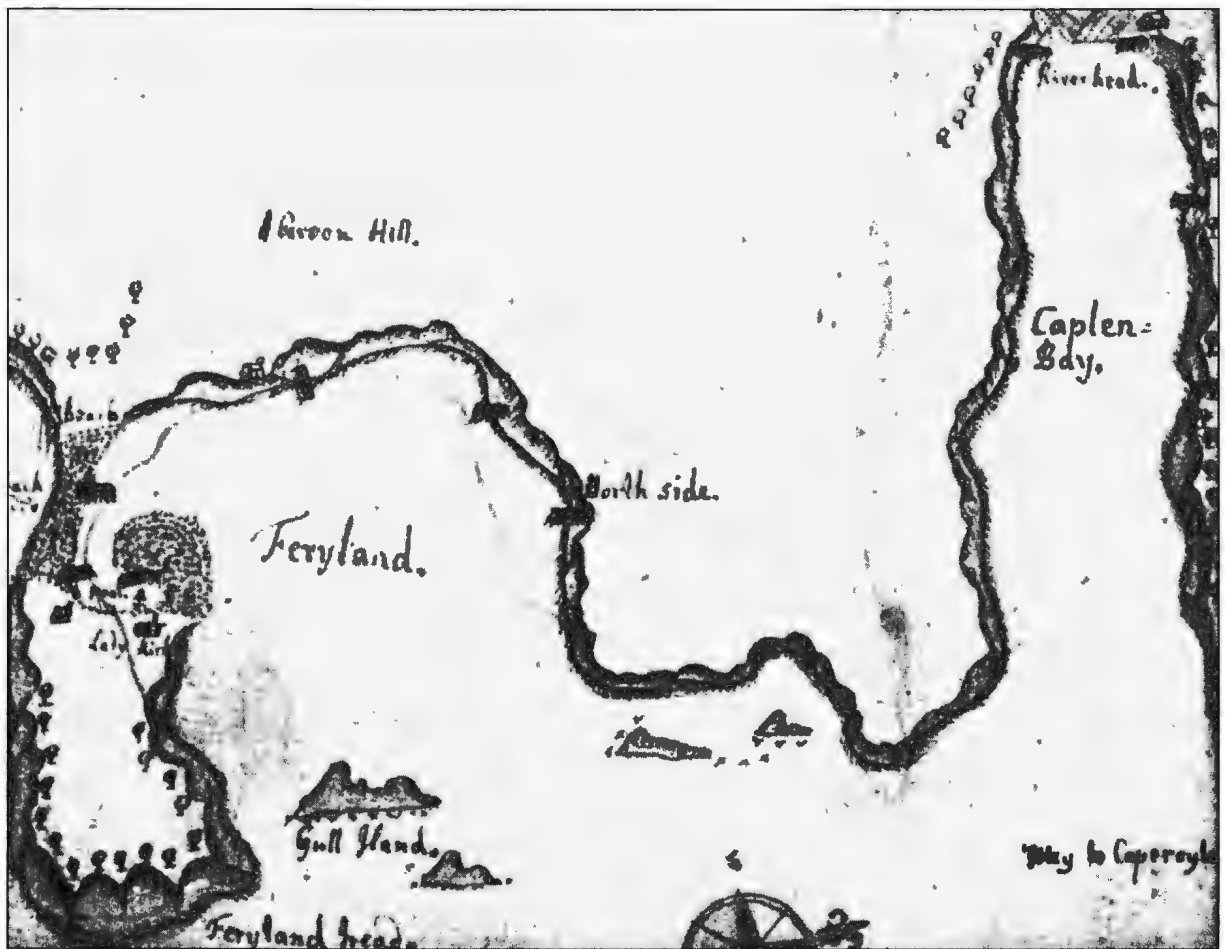


Figure 65. James Yonge's circa 1663 map of Ferryland and vicinity showing plantations and stages along the adjacent harbors (north is right). Image courtesy of The Plymouth Athenaeum.



Figure 66. Detail of 1693 Fitzhugh map showing Ferryland plantations. Image courtesy of Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Based on Yonge's understatement of both the size and number of structures known to be standing at the settlement, perhaps the sprinkling of small dwellings and stages he illustrated around the adjacent harbors may have also been minimalistic. All that can be said of the architectural illustrations are that they represent dwellings with gable end chimneys that could be either stone or wattle and daub. A second seventeenth-century illustration, an inset of Augustine Fitzhugh's map of 1693 (Figure 66) also offers some architectural insight into early Ferryland. Although the placement of the settlement is inaccurate and represents a significantly later date than the studied period, this illustration shows a multitude of relatively modest dwellings spread along the harbor. In the absence of archaeology and the extremely limited documentary record, a very conjectural assessment of the later dwellings at Ferryland would be relatively small timber framed structures akin to two later seventeenth-century structures excavated at The Pool measuring 11.9 by 5.3 m (39 by 17 ft 6 in.) and 9.1 by 4.6 m (30 by 15 ft) (Nixon 1999; Crompton 2000).

Public Structures, Inns and Ordinaries

In some ways, the majority of the structures excavated to date at Ferryland from the Calvert-period can be seen as public buildings. Insofar as George Calvert was funding and supplying much of the colony during his tenure, the forge, brewhouse, kitchen, and so on were constructed to serve the larger needs of the early colony. As the record becomes hazy after the first two years, this may have changed as new settlers arrived and were perhaps left to pay for the services of the smithy or the brewing of beer and baking of

bread. It remains unclear what the relationship of the public would have been with the proprietor's buildings and services.

10.5.2 St. Mary's and Maryland

Not surprisingly, the great majority of architectural data relating to the dwellings of Maryland come from the highest socioeconomic element of the colony. The handful of manors that were constructed by the wealthiest Marylanders left the most documentary traces. While we will discuss the dwellings and outbuildings of the Maryland elite in the following pages, it is important to acknowledge that these more substantial residences were a very small minority of the architectural landscape in early Maryland.

Dwellings

In 1678 Charles Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore's son, wrote of the dwellings in the province claiming "the buildings...[are] very meane and Little and Generally after the manner of the meanest farme houses in England" (Calvert 1678). The freed servants, tenants, and modest freeholders primarily constructed small and simple dwellings. The nature of these structures, pervasive throughout the Tidewater has been described in a previous section. To give a general idea of the value of these dwellings, at the lowest end of the spectrum was the 1638 arrangement of three recently freed servants all sharing the lease of "a third part in the house" which revealed the extremely low valuation of the dwelling at only 15 s and the flexibility in household arrangement (Maryland Provincial Court 1638b; Stone 1982:180). Another plantation from the same year containing 3 houses and 50 cleared ac (20.2 ha) was valued at £3 15s (Stone 1982:180). At the highest

end of these assessments was a 4 or 5 year old plantation with 700 ac (283.3 ha) valued in 1643 at £29 3s, though this primarily reflected the land value (Stone 1982:180). Of the 11 extant plantation values from the period, only the aforementioned was in excess of £15 with the majority being valued significantly less than £10 (Stone 1982:180).

Cross House

One of the best documented dwellings constructed in the first decade of Maryland was the home of Thomas Cornwallis, built in 1638 on his Cross Manor. Up until that point, it has been suggested that Cornwallis resided within the fort at St. Mary's, perhaps in one of the cottages he referred to in that same year (Cornwallis 1638; Stone 1982:399). Writing to Baltimore of his project, Cornwallis claimed to be "building of A house toe put my head in, of sawn Timber framed A story and half hygh, with A seller and Chimnies" (1638). Though there has been no archaeological examination of the site, the current analysis is blessed with the 1646 deposition of Cuthbert Fenwick, an agent of Cornwallis which included a room-by-room inventory of the property. From this inventory various researchers have conjecturally reconstructed the internal layout of the Cross House in the 1640s (Figure 67). Apparently, the dwelling was H or U-shaped with a large central hall (Stone 1982:400). From the inventory it is clear that each of the two wings had chimney stacks, which in contrast to most Maryland dwellings may have been fully brick (Stone 1982:186). Based upon the specific reference to fireplace equipment in the document, the parlor wing may have had an H-shaped fireplace supplying a separate heat source to each of the two rooms (Riordan 2004 332).

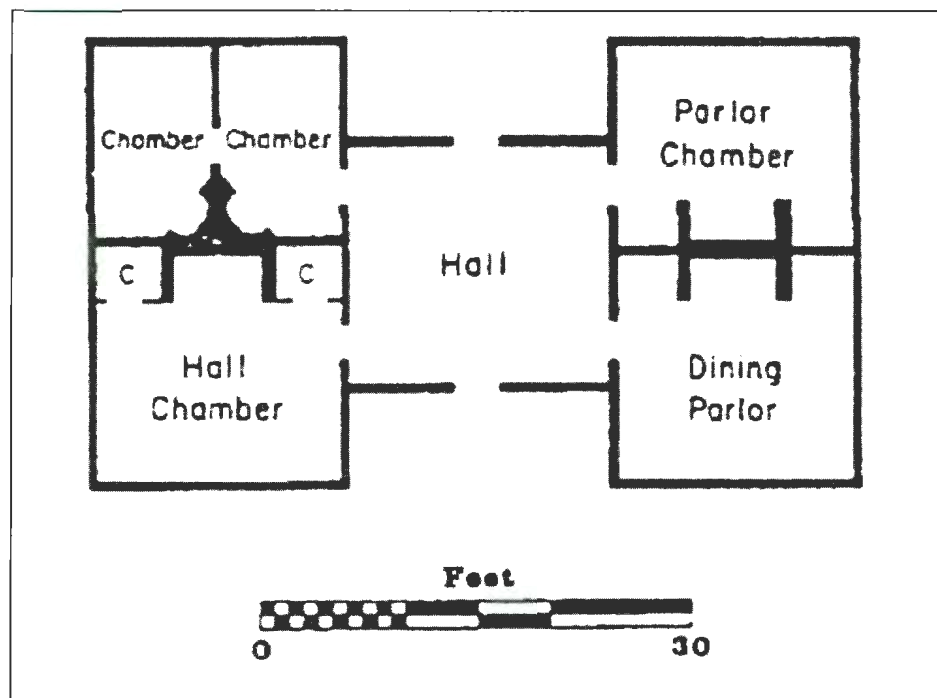


Figure 67. Conjectural layout of Cornwallis's manor house. Image courtesy of Garry Wheeler Stone

Stone suggests the left wing also had a central fireplace block, but perhaps one allowing for three openings (one for each room) though Riordan cites the documentary evidence only reflects a single fireplace in one of the smaller chambers (Stone 1982:172; Riordan 2004:334). The rooms mentioned in the 1646 inventory include “the Parlour...the Parlour Chamber...the great Chamber next the hall...the two little chambers by the Hall” and a series of lofts making up the half floor (Fenwick 1646). The dwelling likely had between six and eight rooms, not including closets and lofts (Riordan 2004:195). Additionally, the manor house likely had the cellar mentioned in the previously discussed letter to Baltimore that based upon the archaeology was a common element of the Maryland gentry housing in the period (Riordan 2004:197). From the sequence of the inventory it appears that the manor house was laid out with the hall in the center with front and rear doorways based on the reference to the “2 great locks upon the doors” (Fenwick 1646; Stone 1982:400). Based on these observations, the two wings of the dwelling contained on one side the dining and sleeping parlors and on the opposing wing the great chamber and two smaller bedrooms. The architectural form employed by Cornwallis was significantly different from all other known early manors in Maryland. Instead of constructing the central fireplace hall and parlor dwelling that was built by others in the Maryland gentry he pursued the “imitation of avant-garde aristocratic housing” (Stone 1982:400). Judging by the inventory we can begin to understand how Cornwallis expected his dwelling “to Encourage others to follow my Example” in that it was a significant departure from the modest structures previously built in the province (1638).

From the inventory we also get a glimpse of the types of outbuildings and functional spaces that made one of the most affluent manors of early Maryland. A “Bake

howse” served much of the dietary needs of the household, while a servants’ quarter housed some of the large workforce needed to operate the plantation (Fenwick 1646). Various storage structures for corn, tobacco, and trade goods, further dotted what must have appeared more like a small town than a plantation in the Maryland countryside (Stone 1982:401). To protect his holdings, Cornwallis was prepared for the possibility of attack or siege, a reality that eventually came to Cross Manor. The manor was likely palisaded and the documents reveal that there was “one Cast Iron Gunn” and two other welded iron canon protecting the manor house (Fenwick 1646; Riordan 2004:191).

Snow Hill

This 6,000 ac (2,428 ha) tract of land north of St. Mary’s was seated in 1637 by Justinian Snow (Stone 1982:394). Little is known about Snow other than he was a gentleman and merchant who settled in Maryland in 1634 having transported himself and six servants to the province with according to his land patent “great stocks of money and goods” (Stone 1982:9, 394). Upon receiving his grant, Snow began developing his plantation, which subsequently concluded with his 1639 death. As a result, an inventory was created of his progress and the subsequent costs to complete the structures at Snow Hill. Snow’s 1639 inventory references a three unit plan consisting of “the Parlor...the littell Parlor” and “the Chamber” (Maryland Provincial Court 1639). This structure was likely comprised of a lobby entrance on a central stack with two parlors as bedrooms and the third room or chamber being a hall-kitchen with an undivided loft above (Stone 1982:394). The resulting form would not have been out of place among the gentry’s houses of Maryland, or indeed many of the English New World colonies. Because the

structures on Snow Hill Manor were not completed during Snow's lifetime, there is an extensive list of the charges required to complete the job, which offers a rare glimpse at carpentry and architecture in the early colony. The account also mentions the outbuildings making up the rest of the plantation including a "store", "corne loft &c", "an outhouse necessary for servants lodging &c", "10. hogsties" and an enclosed "hog-court" (Maryland Provincial Court 1639b). In addition, there was the ubiquitous "tobacco housing" that was mentioned, but not specifically so, in the account (Maryland Provincial Court 1639b).

The structure was poorly built—based upon the fact that the whole dwelling exhibited a tilt when the workmen came to complete the project (Stone 1982:394). The quality of the framing was not the only issue facing the property; the fact that the roof was blown off is suggestive of the expediency of a thatched or certainly poorly-attached clapboard roof (Stone 1982:395). It is interesting to note that this structure, seemingly lacking in any kind of frills or embellishments, was deemed suitable by a man with significant resources. The great majority of the documentary or archaeological record of the architecture of the period comes from the Cross Manor, St. John's, or the Calvert House, three dwellings though modest in some ways, should not be taken as representative of the more affluent Maryland homes of the period. Instead, Snow intended to dwell in a manor house that apparently had a timber framed chimney, was earthen floored, and possibly a post-in-ground constructed dwelling with severe roof issues and a structural tilt (Stone 1982:395-396).

St. John's

John Lewger was a fellow pupil at Oxford with Cecil Calvert and in 1637 commissioned by Baltimore to travel to Maryland and take the position of the provincial secretary, collector of rents, surveyor general, and other duties (Middleton and Miller 2008:137). Arriving in Maryland in the same year, Lewger and his household of wife, son, and three servants, probably lived for the first year in one of the recently vacated cottages or tenements within Fort St. Mary's (Stone 1982:90; Middleton and Miller 2008:137). In 1638 Lewger was organizing the labor of as many as 9 men on his 200 ac (80.9 ha) property comprised of the prime land just north of the largely vacated fortified town (Stone 1982:89-90). By the end of 1638, the dwelling house St. John's had been completed for Lewger, along with the assorted outbuildings necessary to house servants, raise tobacco and livestock, and allow for the daily operation of a plantation (Middleton and Miller 2008:138). Upon completion, St. John's also served as the meeting house for the Maryland Assembly for the next few years, a testament to its size in comparison with the other structures currently in the neighborhood (Stone 1982:91).

Initially tested archaeologically in 1962 by Forman, the first intensive excavations at the site were conducted in the 1970s by HSMC (Middleton and Miller 2008:138). The archaeology revealed evidence of a timber framed structure set upon a large cobblestone foundation measuring 15.8 by 6.2 m (52 by 20 ft 6 in.) with a central H-shaped chimney base and a cellar under the eastern floor (Figure 68 and 69) (Middleton and Miller 2008:138). The dwelling was likely constructed with a three unit plan, suggesting that Lewger planned to divide the eastern half of the structure into two separate spaces (Stone 1982:371).



Figure 68. St. John's site excavations (facing northwest). Image courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

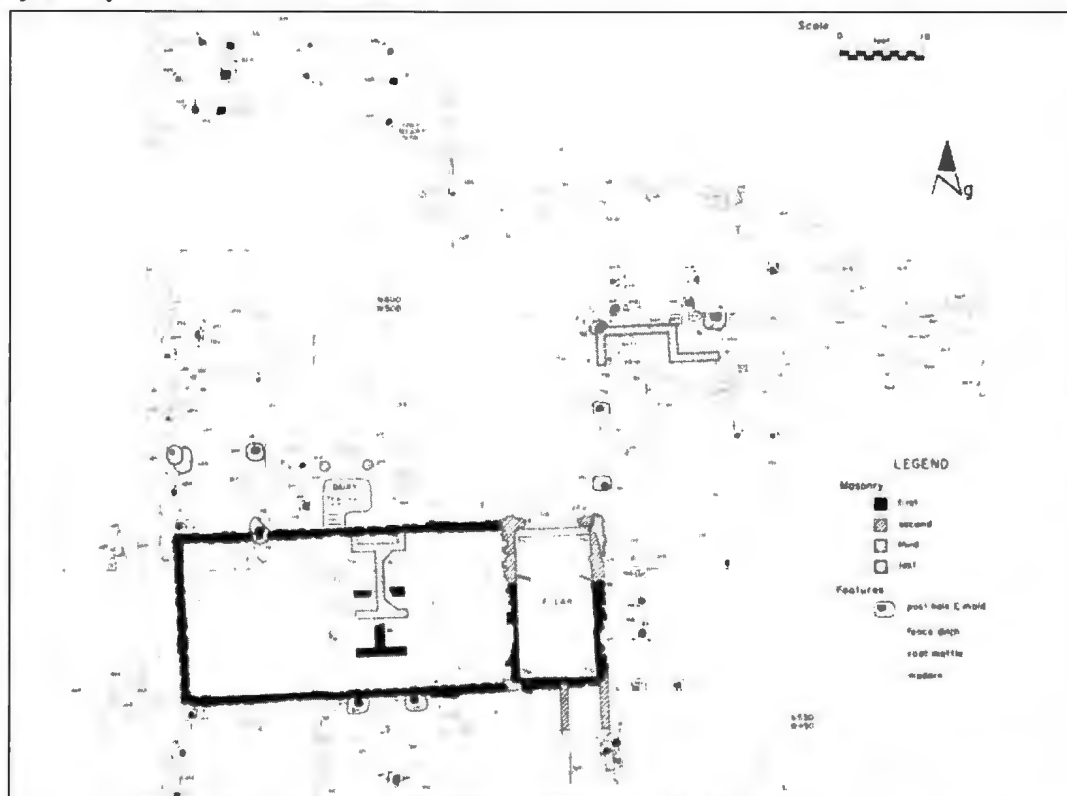


Figure 69. Planview of the St. John's site. Image courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

The resulting arrangement however was two ground-floor rooms, to the east a 7.3 by 6.1 m (24 by 20 ft) space and to the west one of 6.1 by 6.1 m (20 by 20 ft) with a small lobby entrance directly onto the chimney-side wall from the south (Middleton and Miller 2008:138).

Artifact distributions have been used to develop the spatial usage of the two rooms. The data suggests that the smaller western room served as the kitchen and the eastern room with its serving and dining-oriented artifacts was the parlor (Stone 1982:368; 370). Though originally his plans may have been to partition the large room referred to here as the parlor, Lewger left it open and even placed an entrance in the eastern gable end of the room (Stone 1982:95). This large space with its own entry was likely designed to meet the needs of the provincial assembly, a body which appears to have met in this room periodically between 1639 and 1643 (Stone 1982:96). Throughout this period, until the construction of the St. Mary's Room at the Calvert House, this was quite likely the largest room in all of Maryland (Stone 1982:272).

Although the architectural evidence from the site revealed that the dwelling could have been a story and a half or two full stories, the available data suggests the former (Figure 70). The construction employed large structural posts that supported crossed summer beams "designed to support fully loaded second floors, not attics" (Stone 1982:357). The current data suggests that St. John's was the only dwelling in the first decade of the province to have a finished half floor, all others being loft space, including the governor's residence and Cross House (Stone 1982:356). While during the period two story dwellings may have been "the ideal of the English gentry and yeomanry" it was a rarely realized ideal in early Maryland (Stone 1982:357).

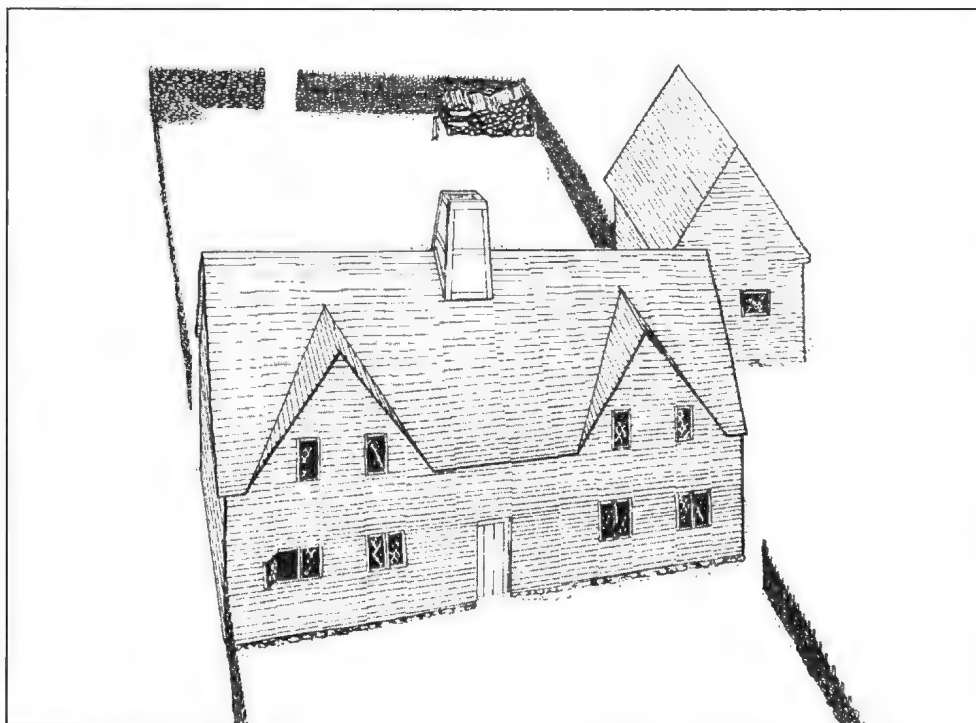


Figure 70. Conjectural illustration of St. John's circa 1640. Image courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.



Figure 71. St. John's chimney stack showing subsequent replacement (facing south). Image courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

The original chimney platform was made using a base of cobblestone with three or four successive brick courses (Figure 71) (Stone 1982:363). This H-shaped chimney base effectively created two separate fireplaces, one each for the kitchen and parlor measuring 1.8 m wide and 91 cm in depth (6 by 3 ft) (Stone 1982:364). In what was generally the case in early Maryland, even among the dwellings of the gentry, there was probably a timber framed fireplace hood and chimney. It has been suggested that the recovery of a small assemblage of terracotta flat tiles at the site may reflect their use for lining the portion of the chimney which extended above the roofline (Stone 1982:365). It remains unclear what covering the roof had, it potentially boasted clapboard, shingles, or even thatch (Stone 1982:372). Research has shown that there was a large closet directly adjacent to the chimney, a location often reserved for the stairway. Based upon this observation, access to the second floor was gained from a stairwell positioned behind the chimney or in a corner of the kitchen or parlor (Stone 1982:364). The flooring of St. John's was constructed with wide planks that were nailed to large floor joists that had been placed in shallow excavated trenches in the clay (Middleton and Miller 2008:140). Evidence of these upright nails suggests they once held floorboards measuring approximately between 20 and 30 cm (9 in. to 1 ft) wide (Stone 1982:373). Beneath these floorboards in the parlor was a wood-lined cellar (Figure 72) measuring 6.1 by 3.1 m (20 by 10 ft) (Middleton and Miller 2008:139).

St. John's exhibited finishing treatments that would have been quite uncommon in early Maryland.



Figure 72. St. John's cellar showing later brick and stonework (facing northwest). Image courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

The large timbers that framed the interior of the structure were likely well-carpentered, a somewhat rare trait in the early province, and based upon Stone's research of the carpenters and their tools, likely "accented with chamfers terminated with decorative stops" (1982:372). The recovery of large quantities of plaster made from local oyster shell suggests that the interior walls were plastered, another uncommon architectural embellishment of first decade Maryland (Middleton and Miller 2008:140). A final aspect of the architecture revealed by archaeology was the existence of glazed windows. Though glass panes were common to the gentry dwellings of Maryland, excavations revealed triangular and pentagonal glass from the early period deposits of the site likened to the ornate windows often represented in Dutch paintings of the period (Middleton and Miller 2008:141).

The five bay timber-framed dwelling that John Lewger commissioned in Maryland was a form quite common in England in the 1630s. This architectural model was often seen in East Anglia, the region where Lewger hailed from and even resembled the actual rectory where he resided for a time. This has been used to suggest that Lewger drew upon the familiar when deciding upon a plan for his Maryland home (Middleton and Miller 2008:142). In a place and time where expediency and lack of carpentry skill guided much of the architectural projects, St. John's was instead "an English house transplanted on the Maryland frontier" (Middleton and Miller 2008:140). Whereas in many parts of England, St. Johns would have been consistent with the dwelling of the middling ranks, "by Chesapeake standards, it was a gentleman's home" (Stone 1982:95). With the suite of architectural embellishments, and the sheer size, nearly twice that of the

average dwelling in the province, Lewger's St. John's was a remarkable residence for early Maryland (Middleton and Miller 2008:139).

The precise dates of the various outbuildings making up the rest of the plantation are not as clear as that of St. John's itself. Research shows that though the main house was finished by the end of 1638, carpenters were plying their trade at the property in both 1639 and 1642. One structure potentially built sometime in the 1640s was a 5.8 by 4.6 m (19 by 15 ft) timber framed building that was likely a servants' quarter. To the south of the dwelling, or the front yard, there was evidence of a wattle fenced enclosure and the northern yard served more of the husbandry needs of the plantation. There, excavations revealed signs of an early post and rail enclosure of 12.8 by 8.5 m (42 by 28 ft) containing a post-in-the-ground structure and lean-to, all of which comprised what was a possible fold yard and outbuilding for Baltimore's sheep, the maintenance of which Lewger was charged (Stone 1982:126). The landscape surrounding St. John's would have likely consisted of 8 to 12 ha (20 or 30 ac) of corn and tobacco fields, in addition to orchards, and pastureland for cattle (Stone 1982:128).

Other Manor Houses

Although never as numerous as the more modest structures, early Maryland was dotted with manorial seats. The aforementioned examples represent some of the grandest, but as one can see they differed greatly in plan, quality of construction, and size.

Public Structures, Inns and Ordinaries

Once the Maryland settlers began the gradual spread from the fortified town at St. Mary's there arose the need for public accommodation in the township, primarily for the affairs of government. When the assembly or other functions of the provincial government were called, the influx of the freemen from the various manors and hundreds would have required overnight rental facilities. The first direct mention of a public house in Maryland comes from a 1641 license for "William Howkins to keep an Ordinary or Victualling House at or near Saint Marys" though there are no additional particulars (Maryland Council 1641b). Certainly later in the century, St. Mary's would be home to a handful of such establishments but the above is the only record from the first decade.

10.6 Economic Structures

Both of the Calvert-sponsored colonies were fundamentally economic ventures. This is not to undermine the settlement and religious goals of the two, yet at the heart of the viability and sustainability of the two settlements was the need for financial returns. The following section examines the structural manifestation of these economic aims in Newfoundland and Maryland.

10.6.1 Ferryland and Avalon

Stages and Flakes

An important architectural aspect of the Newfoundland fishery was the quickly built stages and flakes. These necessary processing and drying structures would have been essential for Calvert's fishing ventures as well as any resident fishery that developed

at Ferryland. Yonge gave a general description of the fishing stages during his time in the region writing that construction was “begun on the edge of the shore, and built out into the sea, a floor of round timber, supported with posts, and shores of great timber. The boats lie at the head of them, as at a key, and throw up their fish” (Figure 73) (1663). Given that a migratory fishing crew could not depend on using the same structures every year, little extra effort was put into these buildings. Instead, the arriving crew expected to make yearly repairs to these simple structures upon their first arrival in Newfoundland. This however may not have been the case for Calvert’s Ferryland assemblies. If Wynne was commissioned to construct stages for fish processing in the community it is possible that future excavations will reveal much more substantial and permanent structures. Repeatedly in the 1652 depositions of the case between Baltimore and Kirke, individuals testified to the stages constructed in the region under Calvert’s proprietorship (Pope 1998).

The flakes were crucial, yet extremely simple structures, described in 1663 as “boughs thinly laid upon a frame, like that of a table” (Yonge 1663:58). They simply needed to elevate the fish to allow for the air circulation necessary for the curing process. Possible archaeological evidence of a curing platform was found to the west of The Pool where was revealed a rough timber structure adjacent to a no longer extant pond, which not coincidentally once carried the name Flake Pond (Figure 74) (Tuck and Gaulton 2001:92). Another common means of drying the Newfoundland catch, one requiring less preparation but more space, was laying the salted fish directly onto the natural cobble beaches.

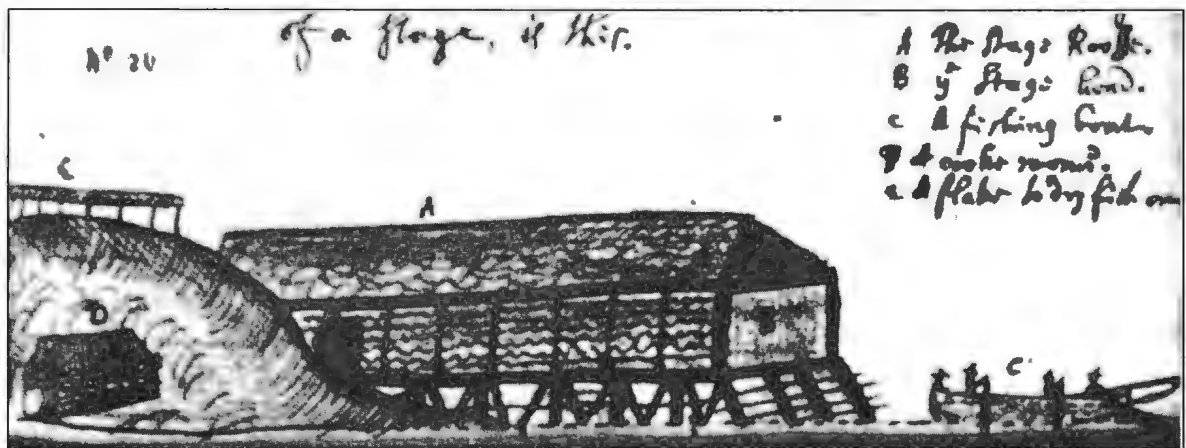


Figure 73. Yonge sketch of Newfoundland stage circa 1663. Image courtesy of The Plymouth Athenaeum.



Figure 74. Ferryland Flake Pond and flake circa 1934 (facing southeast). Image courtesy of The Rooms, St. John's, Newfoundland.

There is early eighteenth-century evidence of this activity at Ferryland when Christian Lilly described the harbor “(being generally a Beach of small Stones) is also at present the chief Place where the People of Ferryland cure or dry their Fish.” (1711:11).

Storehouses

Structure 22 Storehouse/Tenement

One of the initial architectural needs of the Ferryland settlement was a secure and dry location to store the supplies and foodstuffs needed by Wynne and his workers.

Though the ships they arrived on may have served for a time, a structure on land was a necessity. In 1621 Wynne mentioned the favor of a local fishing captain who “did spare mee halfe his Stage” at Ferryland “to put my provision in at the first landing of them” (1621:15). By 1622, and likely earlier, storage space had been constructed. In a letter to Calvert, Wynne described the construction of “a tenement of two roomes, or a storie and a halfe, which serves for a Store-house till wee are otherwise provided” (1622:4).

Although the structure may have been purpose-built for the accommodation of Calvert’s employees or newly arriving colonists, in this early stage of the settlement it served as storage space, prior to the construction of the stone storehouse discussed below.

Archaeological evidence fully substantiates Wynne’s letter. Directly west of Structure 21 excavations uncovered a timber framed structure of 4.3 by 3.7 m (14 by 12 ft) (Figure 75). This building, with ground laid sills contained a stone fireplace approximately 2 by 1.5 m (7 by 5 ft) located in the southeast corner (Figure 76) (Gaulton and Tuck 2007:8). Excavation revealed that this heat source was constructed on top of the wooden floor of the structure, suggesting it was put in at a date following the initial construction.



Figure 75. Structure 22 (facing roughly south). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.



Figure 76. Structure 22 fireplace base (facing north). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

This evidence corroborates Wynne's account claiming the use as a storage facility until "otherwise provided" (1622:3). The fireplace consisted of a slate platform placed upon a layer of bedding sand, which in turn was directly above the plank flooring. While very little remains of the stone used in the construction, the size and layout suggests that it was a hooded fireplace. These heat sources with wood or wattle and daub hoods were often referred to as Welsh fireplaces and were a common fixture of the North American colonies, primarily those of the Chesapeake. The later use of the structure as a tenement implies that function, rather than form, was the goal. Ease of construction, in contrast to the stone chimneys of some of the other early structures, and the swiftness of its implementation, likely resulted in this heating and cooking form.

Structure 1 Stone Storehouse

The aforementioned structure, and others like it, only served the storage needs of the plantation for the first few years. Sometime before 1625 when Wynne left Ferryland, a much more significant storage facility was constructed. In the early 1990s archaeological excavations along the southern shore of The Pool revealed a large stone-built and slate-roofed structure dating from the Calvert period (Figure 77 and 78). This structure was constructed of 76 cm (2 ft 6 in.) thick dry-laid stone walls (Gaulton 1997:21). One insight into the early date of construction was that no builders' trench was revealed during excavations; instead, the walls were placed then the area around them was covered with fill as part of the reclamation project previously discussed (Gaulton 1997:21). When the structure stood, it measured externally an impressive 17.8 by 5.6 m (58 ft 6 in. by 18 ft 6 in.) (Gaulton 1997:13).

Just to the north of the structure ran the stone seawall that would have allowed the docking of small to medium-sized vessels directly adjacent to a large cargo doorway into the structure from the north side. The storehouse floor was in part paved with large flagstones while the rest consisted of a well-packed earth floor (Gaulton 1997:6). At the western gable end was a somewhat unique structural element: a privy measuring 2.7 by 1.2 m (9 by 4 ft) and with a depth of approximately 1.2 m (4 ft) (Figure 79) (Gaulton 1997:15). Cleverly designed, this two-seated facility was incorporated into the seawall which ingeniously resulted in the flushing of the catch basin at high tide. Gaulton suggests a possible source of inspiration for the Ferryland waterfront design, the port of Plymouth. He cites the fact that both Wynne and Powell sailed for Ferryland from this port and archaeology in the 1960s revealed a substantial stone quay with waterside structures and three privies that were integrated into the seawall, being periodically flushed by the tides (Gaulton 1997:16). These findings were well-mirrored by those excavations along the south side of the Ferryland Pool.

This stone storehouse, in connection with the stone quay, formed the physical foundations of Calvert's economic venture at Ferryland, the very "base for his colonial enterprise" (Gaulton 1997:12). Wynne would later write that these Newfoundland "Storehouses" were ideally suited "for the Magazine, Salt, Stoage of Fish, and all other occasions" of the plantation (1630/31). Although significant waterfront premises would one day develop in all of the seventeenth-century English colonies in the Americas, nowhere was such a substantial (in both scope and materials) compound erected in the very first years of settlement.



Figure 77. View of Structure 1/Storehouse (facing southeast). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.



Figure 78. Conjectural painting of Ferryland Structure 1/Storehouse and quay by David Webber (facing south). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.



Figure 79. Ferryland privy during excavation (facing north). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

The considerable investment in energy and specie that went into this endeavor may have later caused Baltimore to question the viability of his Newfoundland goals, but it was this very infrastructure that helped ensure the later financial success of the Kirkes. Wynne was correct in his views regarding the importance of these economic structures for a colony well-positioned for the fishery and trade, but the recoupment of the vast initial expense would not be quickly realized (Gaulton and Miller 2009).

Blacksmithing

In 1622 Governor Wynne wrote to Calvert that “The Forge hath beene finished this five weekes” (1622:4). Not surprisingly, for any developing colony a blacksmith and his services would be a necessary component of that growth. It was the initial years of the colony that saw the most significant construction at Ferryland, and in turn would have called for large numbers of architectural hardware as well as tool repair, etc. (Carter 1997:94). The Ferryland forge facilitated these needs and a 1622 letter from Wynne referenced the two resident “Smithes” Wilson and Prater, who must have carried out much of this crucial work (1622b:15).

In 1983, 1986, and 1994 excavations revealed this 1622 forge (Figure 80). Wynne and his work crew would have quickly required a working smithy to assist in the various construction projects and the architectural evidence is suggestive of their haste (Carter 1997:79). Similar to other early structures to the east, the site of the smithy was carved out of the sloping hill to the south of the enclosed harbor. Archaeology revealed that the seventeenth-century excavators prepared an area approximately 3.5 by 5.2 m (11 ft 6 in. by 17 ft) (Carter 1997:78).



Figure 80. Forge during excavation (facing south). Image courtesy of the Colony of Avalon Foundation.



Figure 81. Conjectural painting of Ferryland forge by David Webber (facing south). Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

It appears that this rectangular cut into the subsoil represented the approximate dimensions of the structure. The expediency previously discussed seems to have caused the builders to place upright boards in shallow slots or directly on the ground nearly abutting the subsoil walls on the south, east, and west sides of the smithy. The floor space was clearly demarcated by manufacturing waste from the forge forming a rectangular workspace with an approximate 9 cm (3 1/2 in.) division between the subsoil walls, showing the original bounds of the space. Minimal architectural evidence for the north side of the building suggests that the front remained open or to combat the elements, large swinging doors would have allowed light and ventilation (Figure 81) (Carter 1997:79). As there was no evidence of window glass, the structure probably incorporated unglazed windows for additional visibility and aeration (Carter 1997:84). Much of the architectural hardware, tools, weapons, and so on of early Ferryland were forged and fixed within this small structure. One of the first buildings constructed by Wynne's men, its temporal assignment denotes its importance to the development of the settlement.

10.6.2 St. Mary's and Maryland

Storehouses

As in every other colony, the storage of perishables and various goods was also of great import from the start of the Maryland enterprise. One of the very first structures undertaken at St. Mary's was the "Store-house" (Hawley and Lewger 1635:8). Based upon the available literature and previous colonization attempts, particularly the near failure of Jamestown from lack of foodstuffs and supplies, it would seem that Baltimore strived to have the adequate provisions and storage facilities necessary to preserve those

goods for the fledgling community. In a 1636 deposition there is a clear reference to “the comon storehouse” at St. Mary’s where the “beavers & divers other goods” associated with the joint stock were stored (Fritter 1636).

The majority of storehouses in early Maryland were established for the fur trade and the need to store truck as well as pelts waiting for shipment to Europe. Even if the first St. Mary’s storehouse was not constructed primarily for this industry, it surely served these purposes from the early days of the province. In 1639 the Jesuits described their plantation of Mattapanient as “a sort of storehouse of this mission, whence most of our bodily supplies are obtained” (Society of Jesus 1639). The plantation contained storage facilities for the goods and foodstuffs needed by the order but also the growing exchange they had with the Native populations that they missioned with. Cornwallis had a storehouse at Cross Manor where among other things he stockpiled “tradinge Axes and howes” (Fenwick 1646). This structure served both his needs for the Native trade and traffic with the other Marylanders. As the first decade progressed, the fur trade gave way to tobacco as the dominant economic pursuit of the settlers. The documentary evidence suggests that the great majority of this crop was picked up by merchants at St. Mary’s which would have necessitated significant storage facilities in close vicinity to the waterfront premises.

Mills

The establishment of a gristmill at St. Mary’s was an early priority and a 1635 account claimed the colonists had “set up a Water-mill for the grinding of Corne” (Hawley and Lewger 1635:11). Thomas Cornwallis wrote in 1638 regarding this

“building of the mill”, likely on Mill Creek just to the east of the first settlement, of which he purportedly lost a great deal “by the Ignorance of A fooleish milright whoe set it upon A Streame that will not fill soe much” (1638). Despite the setback with the mill, Cornwallis persevered, claiming his intentions of “removeing of it toe a better Streame” (1638). In the same year, the assembly passed an act “for the setting up of a water mill for the use of the Colony” (Maryland General Assembly 1638). Along the aptly named Mill Creek is evidence of two different periods of damming that may represent the initial failed attempt to create the necessary hydraulics and the second remedied version (Hurry 2005:2). The only other reference to milling in the first decade comes from Kent Island, where in 1636 Claiborne wrote of their employment in finalizing the mills claiming they had framed two more that year (Steiner 1903:62).

Blacksmithing

As with any settlement, the initial needs of the Maryland colonists would have required the services of a smithy. It seems likely that among the first group of settlers there was a blacksmith who operated within the fortified community. The first evidence of one in the colony comes from the early 1640s when an ex servant of Lewger was leasing one of the tenements in the fort (Stone 1982:119). Evidence of the industry, in the form of slag and scrap, was found precisely in the area Riordan proposes for the fort site and without question the general area of the first settlement (1991:377). Likely, most of the larger plantations had some blacksmithing capabilities and early-on one was established at Kent Island (Steiner 1903:63). Though concrete evidence is currently

sparse, there is no doubt that blacksmiths were operating in the colony from the very first years of the enterprise.

10.7 Religious Spaces

Religion was an integral part of English life in the early modern period. Whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, for the great majority of the seventeenth-century English population, prayer was an important aspect of daily life. In the Calvert-sponsored New World colonies religious practice was realized according to the adaptations of the practitioners to the different circumstances that met them. How these individuals constructed the physical aspects of their spiritual world in Newfoundland and Maryland will be the focus of the following sections.

10.7.1 Ferryland and Avalon

There is no evidence that a chapel or church of any kind was constructed at Ferryland during the first decade of the settlement. From the little documentary evidence of worship in the colony, it seems that existing structures were used for this purpose, rather than buildings specifically designed for prayer. The first reference to religious leaders comes from a 1622 request by Wynne, but no mention is made in regard to where they would have worshipped. As late as 1628 when Baltimore and his household were residing at Ferryland, we know that religious services were taking place in the settlement “under Calvert’s roof” (Lagonissa 1630). While it remains unclear exactly which buildings were used to conduct the Roman Catholic and Protestant services, it is clear that there was no existing church or chapel at that time. Instead, as in England, the Roman

Catholics would have been accustomed to services in private chapels or altars within their homes. The followers of the Church of England would have been required to do the same at Avalon. What is intriguing is that Calvert felt compelled to allow a place of worship for the Catholics and Protestants on his property though he had no legal obligation to do so. Baltimore was keenly aware of the need to alleviate religious tensions as much as possible in the settlement, a philosophy that he would instill in his sons Cecil and Leonard in Maryland.

10.7.2 St. Mary's and Maryland

Given the much larger religious influence in early Maryland, primarily from the Jesuit involvement and the Catholic voyagers on the *Ark* and *Dove*, the construction of places of worship was a prominent goal from the start. In his directions to his commissioners Baltimore called for the construction of "a church or a chappel" as one of the required edifices to be raised in the province (Calvert 1633b). Although this building would by legal necessity be a private structure of Baltimore's, it presumably would have been accessible to all the Roman Catholic settlers at St. Mary's. Soon after the establishment of the settlement, the Jesuit priests transformed one of the Yaocomico dwellings into a makeshift chapel. Writing of the first days at St. Mary's in 1634, White explained that "in one of these houses we now doe celebrate, haveing it dressed a little better then by the Indians, till we get a better, which shall be shortly as may be" (1633b).

The improved chapel projected by White was constructed by the Jesuits in the subsequent years, certainly by 1638 (Riordan 1991:372). When Baltimore called for the building of a chapel back in 1634 he had envisioned a transplantation of the English

Catholic manor to Maryland. The religious structure would be contained within his personal property and thus was not subject to the religious stipulations of the charter that required that a public church conform to the state religion. This clause in the charter differed from that of the Avalon document, and was likely in response to the subsequent Catholicism of the Calvert family, yet Baltimore's intention was to have a private chapel, seemingly free from the restriction placed on public structures (Krugler 2004:124). This cloistered form of worship had survived in England since the state's separation from the Roman Catholic Church, primarily among the gentry, and was the model the Calvert's intended to transfer to Maryland.

Evidence of a structure that may be the first purpose-built chapel or another early building associated with the Jesuits was found in the fields of St. Mary's. Excavations in the Chapel Field, the later sight of a Roman Catholic brick chapel, uncovered a series of twelve large rectangular postholes. An irregular structure, this building was 12.8 m (42 ft) in length with a varied width of between 4.9 to 5.5 m (16 and 18 ft) (Riordan, Miller and Hurry 1994:96). On the north, the width of the structure was 4.9 m (16 ft) at decent 90 degree angles with the 2 side walls. In contrast, the south end was a full 60 cm (2 ft) wider with widely differing connection angles with the side walls. The structural posts of the building were not well aligned with the opposing element on the opposite side and this would have added difficulty to raising the structure, an element of Chesapeake construction that would be remedied in the early period of Maryland colonization (Figure 82) (Riordan *et al.* 1994:96). The irregular construction of this structure has been used to suggest an early date for its erection given that the architecture revealed unacquaintedness with a construction form commonplace in later Maryland (Riordan *et al.* 1994:96).

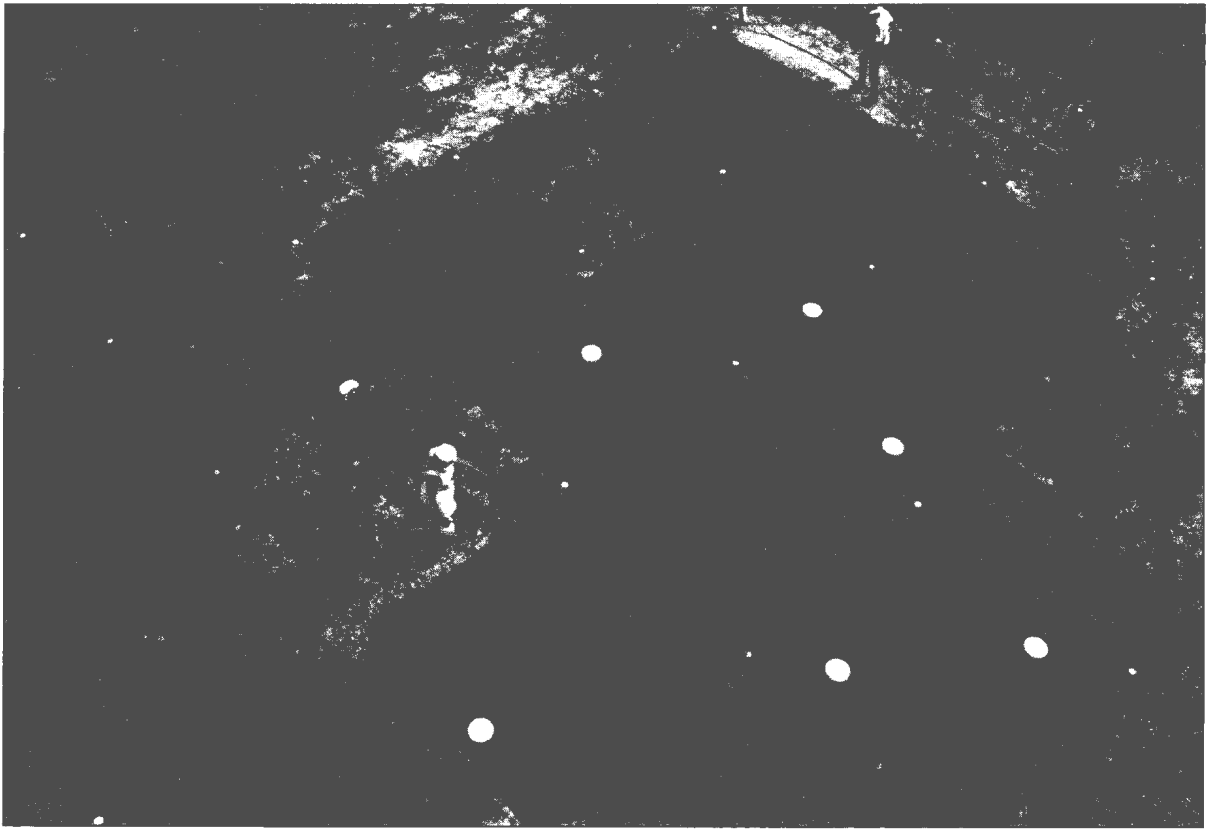


Figure 82. Early timber framed structure associated with the Jesuits (facing northeast). Postmolds in white. Image courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

The artifacts help reveal what the structure looked like. This timber framed building probably had some wooden flooring, evident from the recovery of distinct flooring nails throughout the area (Riordan *et al.* 1994:89). The general absence of brick and generous quantities of wattle and daub suggest a framed chimney with a possible brick firebox (Riordan *et al.* 1994:89). The presence of a probable fireplace implies that the structure at least in part served a domestic function. However, it has been suggested that the building could have served as both a dwelling for the Jesuits and as a place of worship for the Roman Catholic community (Riordan *et al.* 1994:98). Though no artifacts were recovered in the preliminary excavations at the site that associate the structure with a religious function, there are a number of important factors that point to both an early construction and Jesuit ownership. Firstly, the structure was on land that a later Roman Catholic chapel was built upon, with clear Jesuit associations. The building predates this brick chapel because it would have stood immediately in the way of the front façade (Riordan *et al.* 1994:96). Secondly, what appear to be the earliest graves associated with a vast burial ground in and around the dwelling and later chapel site appear to be oriented to this earlier structure (Riordan *et al.* 1994:97). This being said, the building could easily be one in a series of early Jesuit structures built at the site. Archaeology has revealed structural postholes underlying the later brick chapel, perhaps suggesting the reuse of the exact site of the first chapel (Miller 2011 pers. comm.).

Further evidence supporting this probable location of the original chapel is that according to land documents, the structure was supposedly in close proximity to the original fortified town. Riordan's argues that the fort was located on the Governor's Field and the first chapel site would have been similar to that of the later brick chapel. He has

further suggested that because colonists had died in the first years of the settlement, when they were all still living with the fort, that a burial ground would have been necessary somewhere in close proximity to the town site. In the later 1630s when people left the fort for individual plantations, the burial ground would have been well-established and the chapel along with it (Riordan n.d.:1). A late 1630s account may further substantiate this theory when it referred to “the Chappell yard neere the fort” (Maryland General Assembly 1639b).

The evidence indicates that at some point in 1641 the Jesuits constructed a new chapel at St. Mary’s (Menard 1985:85). Baltimore referred to this project in 1642 as “the building of the New Chappell” (Calvert 1642). Another 1642 document, a notice on threats from Indian attack also references this second chapel, warning no man to “to goe to church or Chappell” without proper armament (Maryland Council 1642f). If the previously discussed structure is an indication of the construction methods employed in the first chapel, it would come as no surprise that just a few years later a new building was necessary. The construction of this public chapel placed the proprietor and his tenuous hold on his charter in jeopardy by going against the clause on religious structures in the province. A way to resolve the issue of a public chapel was for Baltimore to purchase the property, and evidence of this can be found in his 1644 letter showing his design to purchase from “master Copley a certaine house & land appteining called the Chappell house” (Maryland Provincial Court 1644). This 1641 chapel probably only stood until 1645 when Maryland was overthrown by Ingle and his supporters. It has been suggested that this was one of the targets of Ingle’s campaign and his followers would have burnt it along with other dwellings associated with Catholicism in the province

(Riordan *et al.* 1994:98). As this faction was based in the nearby Pope's Fort, it would seem likely that the Roman Catholic chapel would have been a prime target for destruction. Some charcoal associated with the aforementioned excavated structure has been suggested as a possible sign of this destruction though admittedly the burning of a large timber framed structure would likely leave more of a lasting archaeological record (Riordan *et al.* 1994:98). Interestingly, some of the postmolds found below the brick chapel show distinct signs of fire, though subsequent burials and the construction of the brick structure have destroyed much of the evidence (Miller 2011 pers. comm.).

There is also evidence that chapels used by the Christians of the province were constructed at some of the larger plantations and Native villages in the first decade of settlement. Though no architectural or archaeological evidence currently exists there are some documentary sources that reveal their presence. In 1638 the disgruntled servants of a Roman Catholic wrote a petition touching on their claims of anti-Protestantism in the province of which they "intended at the Chappell that morning to procure all the Protestants hands to it" (Maryland Provincial Court 1638). What chapel they intended to meet at is unclear. It seems highly unlikely that the Jesuits would have condoned the use of their structure for Protestant services. Perhaps the chapel was a structure or household designated by the population for religious purposes, wherein a literate Protestant would presumably administer some form of service. Possible corroboration comes from a 1642 event regarding Protestant prayer, presumably on St. Clement's Manor when Thomas Gerard, the Catholic landowner was charged "for taking away the Key of the Chappel and carrying away the Books out of the Chappel" (Maryland General Assembly 1642). This account appears to be describing a structure used specifically for the religious practice of

the Protestant servants and leaseholders on Gerard's manor. This reference is the only solid proof of even an unofficial Protestant church during the period.

10.7.3 Burial Grounds

A reality and consequence of life in any North American colony was the necessity of a place to lay the dead. The internment of the deceased and any associated ceremony was in general a religious affair. Though members of the clergy may not always have been present to mark the occasion, this ceremony most often included an acknowledgement of a higher power and some religious institution. Though they did not typically include significant standing structures, burial grounds made an important mark upon the landscape of both settlements. The following section will discuss the evidence for the burial of the dead in Ferryland and Maryland in their respective first decades.

Ferryland and Avalon

To date, the Calvert-period cemetery at Ferryland has not been discovered. No standing stones mark the site of the burial ground, and local tradition only points to a location somewhere on the headland behind and east of The Pool known locally as The Downs. There are a few pieces of surviving documentary evidence relating to the death and burial of members of the early settlement at Ferryland, all relating to the period when Calvert was living in the colony. Previous to this, from 1621 to 1628 it seems likely that there was loss of life; however the archival record remains mute. One of the cited factors resulting in Calvert's departure from Avalon was the harsh winter of 1628/9. In a letter to Charles I he wrote "my howse hath beene an hospitall all this wynter, of 100 persons 50

sick at a tyme, myself being one and nyne or ten of them dyed” (Calvert 1629b). Another reference to these or other deaths at the colony came from a 1629 inquiry describing one of the Roman Catholic priests accompanying Calvert and his retinue who was seen to “bury a dead Corps with burning Tapers” (Huntresse 1629).

Archaeological evidence for the location of the original graveyard at the settlement points to a location somewhere on the gradual sloping plateau directly south of The Pool. To date, three fragments of locally manufactured slate headstones have been located, all in the southeast region of the original fortified settlement. The largest stone fragment was recovered from one of the lowest fill levels of the defensive ditch that formed the eastern edge of the colony. The stone (Figure 83) was inscribed with the words “H[ERE] LYETH T[HE BODY OF] NICKHOLOS [H] WHO DE PAR[TED] THIS LIFE [THE ? DAY] [OF MA]RCH [?]” (Tuck, Gaulton, and Carter 1999:151). The location where the artifact was uncovered and the name Nicholas in conjunction with the first letter of the surname (apparently an “H”) makes the N. H. who wrote to William Peasley in 1622 a likely candidate (Tuck, Gaulton, and Carter 1999:151). A man by the name of Nicholas Hoskins was listed near the top of Wynne’s list of those who were with him at Ferryland in the same year and points to him being the same “Gentleman living at Ferryland” who wrote from the colony (Hoskins 1622:15). We know that in the early years of the settlement there were skilled stonemasons present, and a marker of this craftsmanship probably was designed for an individual of higher rank. If this Hoskins was the same man denoted by the grave marker, his 1622 letter ended eerily with the line “your poore will-wishing friend is alive, and in good health at Feriland” (1622:18).



Figure 83. Ferryland gravestone. Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

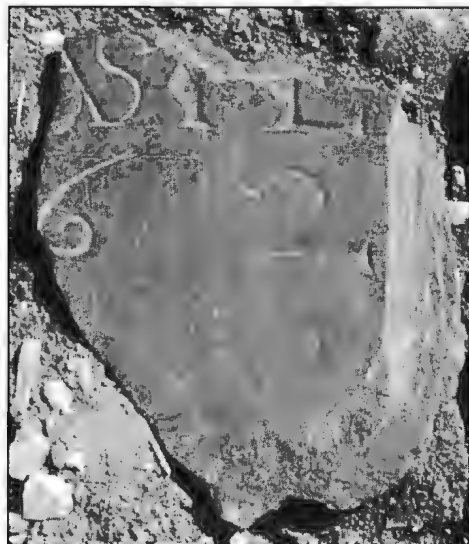


Figure 84. (left) Ferryland gravestone fragment. Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation. **Figure 85.** (right) Ferryland gravestone fragment. Image courtesy of Colony of Avalon Foundation.

A second stone fragment (Figure 84), also found in the southeast corner of the settlement, likely dates to the same period. A small piece of the marker, etched with a “6” and a “2” with a faint *fleur-de-lis* set between what was possibly the century and decade is potentially all that remains of one of the gravestones from the first decade of English settlement at Ferryland (Tuck 2010 pers. comm.). The third fragment is even less informative (Figure 85). The discovery of these gravestone sections in the same general area to the southeast of The Pool points to a cemetery location somewhere on the rise to the south. Whether the stones broke and slipped down the slope due to natural processes or were vandalized by later fishermen or settlers will remain a mystery, but future testing to the south or east will likely reveal the original burial ground.

St. Mary's and Maryland

Based on the theory that the later brick chapel was placed in the vicinity of the earlier timber framed Roman Catholic Church at St. Mary's there is likely archaeological evidence of the graves from the first years of the settlement. Nine graves revealed by geophysical survey that were placed to the south and east of the earlier chapel, an orientation that would be expected, likely represent some of the burials which occurred during the early years of the province (Figure 86) (Riordan *et al.* 1994:97-98). Once the colonists began to depart the fortified town to establish manors and plantations, more and more burials may have taken place outside of St. Mary's proper. One would presume there were small graveyards associated with the larger plantations as can be seen in Virginia during the period. Also, it must be acknowledged that many of the Protestants of Maryland may not have wished to be interred in a Catholic burial yard.

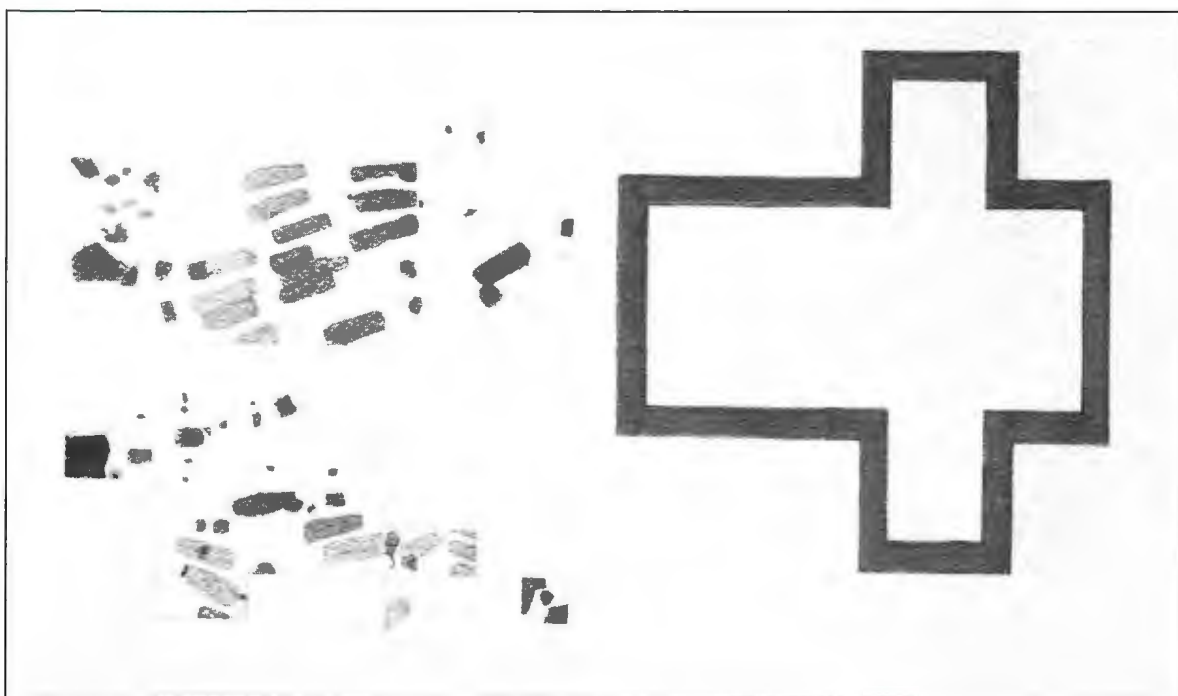


Figure 86. Planview showing the graves oriented to early timber framed structure rather than the brick chapel (north is up). Image courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City.

The documentary evidence of the St. Mary's burial ground does reveal some interesting aspects of the human side of the functional space. The first reference to the death of a Marylander within the bounds of the province came from the will of a "master william Smith" in the year 1635 (Maryland Provincial Court 1635). The Jesuit father's wrote from Maryland in 1638 that "We have buried very many", suggesting that from the seasoning and other causes, the cemetery numbers were significantly bolstered year after year (Society of Jesus 1638). That same year the Society wrote of a Catholic resident of Maryland that "Since his burial" presumably at St Mary's, "a very bright light has often been seen at night around his tomb, even by Protestants" (Society of Jesus 1638). It is interesting that the word tomb is used, in that it perhaps suggests a more significant marker of some kind. Certainly within the later brick chapel, important members of the church were buried below the floors. However, tomb could simply be a result of translation in that the letters were written in Latin. Though this fanciful account primarily illustrates the beliefs, even superstitions of the time, it does reveal the importance and mysticism placed upon this functional space. For many who came to Maryland, both servants and gentry, the graveyard would quickly become their permanent New World residence. Untimely death was an unfortunate reality of early Maryland and these locales served a key function in the community. For those who believed in a Christian afterlife, and the necessity of appropriate religious rites to mark that passing, the graveyard served as that physical conduit between the worlds of the living and dead.

Chapter 11

Discussion and Conclusions

The first and second Lords Baltimore and the Calvert family were highly unusual in their devotion to the sponsorship of English New World settlements in the first half of the seventeenth century. Few, if any, other English families devoted the equivalent level of resources or time to the colonization of North America. Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of this family, led by George and then Cecil Calvert, was that they managed and developed not one, but two separate colonies in very different regions of the North American continent. This dissertation implemented a holistic approach in order to explore the historical archaeology of both Avalon and Maryland. The goal of the project was the thorough examination of six primary areas of inquiry. These areas of investigation were the analysis of the founders and leaders, colonial and Native inhabitants, economies, settlement and defensive strategies, and the architectural landscapes of the two colonies. The main themes of these topics are then compared and discussed in the following pages. By observing these central characteristics of the two settlements the resulting work reveals a cohesive narrative of the establishment and development of the two colonies. Undeniably, a great deal of scholarship has been carried out on the Calverts and their two colonial ventures. However, these works, while in many cases groundbreaking, did not set out to analyze either of the two colonies in their entirety. An approach of this kind and scope has not previously been undertaken. Instead of focusing on narrower topics such as Baltimore's mansion house, the tobacco industry of Maryland, or individual plantations, this dissertation looked at the entire social, economic, architectural, and defensive

landscape of both colonies. The rich documentary record framed the individuals involved and their social and economic motivations, and the archaeological data secured this evidence into the context of the physical world. The synthesis of such a rich database of pertinent documentary, historical, and archaeological resources has resulted in a significant compilation of information on both settlements. This work has furthered our understanding of the involved parties, financial organizations, the recruitment strategies, economic landscapes, settlement schemes, approaches to defense, and archaeological findings.

The two provinces that would ultimately evolve from the Calverts' ventures, Avalon in Newfoundland, and Maryland bordering the Chesapeake Bay, in many ways differed in strategy, implementation, and development. In order to truly begin to understand the motivations of the Calverts in regard to their colonial legacy both of these projects must be examined at one time. In many ways each of these schemes were the culmination of the first Lord Baltimore's experiences in government, religion, and colonization with the earlier venture at Newfoundland having a profound effect on the latter project both through its successes and failures. Without question, disappointing results are often the wellspring of progress. For the two colonies of the Calvert family, and for cross-colonial analysis in general, this examination has implications for broadening our understanding of settlement, defense, and economic-related colonial themes and why certain strategies for New World settlement were implemented in one region yet not another. When some of the population or economic variables are the same, but the strategies employed are different, we can look to other factors that may have resulted in disparities. Through the side-by-side analysis and comparison of Avalon and

Maryland we can eliminate at least some of the variables, because these locales were sponsored by the same family, settled by similar populations, with many of the same projected economic and social goals, in approximately the same time period.

The initial dissimilarity encountered when attempting to compare the two New World colonial ventures of the Lords Baltimore is the geography. The first settlement, on the Island of Newfoundland far north in the cold waters of the Atlantic was built on the rocky shores long stripped of their topsoil by the frozen power of the last ice age. In comparison, St. Mary's, the founding settlement of the Province of Maryland, was based on the high clay banks of an estuary of the Chesapeake Bay in a region blessed by the alluvial deposition from these same climactic forces. The geographical and ecological differences in these two communities had a profound impact on the potential economic enterprises, the form of the settlements, social interactions, and the availability of building materials.

The first important factor to understanding the decisions made in these New World colonies was the people who were charged with the leadership of the ventures. In the case of the examined settlements, foremost in the planning stages and subsequent government were the Lords Baltimore, George and Cecil Calvert. The man who would become the first Lord Baltimore brought the Calvert family to the forefront of English society. Reaching the high office of secretary of state to James I, Calvert's involvement in New World settlement evolved from a compilation of economic and expansionary motives. In 1621 when he first became personally involved in the sponsorship of his own settlement in Newfoundland he was fully engaged in matters of state. Not to understate his interest in the enterprise that was decidedly economic and settlement-oriented, but at

least initially, Ferryland and later the Province of Avalon represented one aspect of his economic and status-oriented portfolio resolved to advance the names and monies of his family and monarch. After 1625 when Calvert retired from office and began to live publically as a Roman Catholic, his involvement and aims for the colony changed. From that date on, Calvert was nearly singly focused upon his New World goals. Though Baltimore's and his fellow Catholics' religious freedoms factored into the new model, economic gain and self-aggrandizement remained of the utmost importance. George Calvert's long career and deep understanding of the workings of the English government granted him the ability to design charters and manipulate the law and councils for the benefit of his projects in a way rarely if ever seen in the leadership of other colonial ventures. George Calvert had a front row seat to the successes and failures of numerous contemporary colonies, and he implemented this awareness when designing and developing his own New World ventures. Though faced with hardships, the first Lord Baltimore was able to rely upon his experience and perhaps as importantly, the friendships he had cultivated during his career. The Calverts were able to proceed with their works through the assistance of men such as Wentworth and Cottington, who had risen to power when the family most needed their aid. George Calvert created the wealth that he and his son would need to establish their New World ventures and persevere in the face of great economic and social opposition. Though Newfoundland by all accounts failed to meet his expectations, it was an ailing Baltimore who in the early 1630s began designing a new project in the Mid-Atlantic region of North America. This time however, Cecil Calvert became intimately involved in the plans. Newfoundland may have been abandoned by Calvert's person, it was not however seen by the family as a failed

enterprise. Subsequent Lords Baltimore would be involved in the region throughout the entire century. Instead, father and son realized their settlement-oriented design for the colony was inappropriate for the economic and weather-related climates of the province. Stemming from this hard-earned experience was the Maryland colony.

Cecil Calvert did not have the career or experience of his father. He did however share some of the religious understandings, having been raised in some form of correspondence to the state religion yet converting to Roman Catholicism around the same time as his father. Cecil's career demonstrates the man's devotion to the goals of his father regarding economic and political gain, securing Roman Catholic religious freedoms, and the increase of English influence in the New World. When in 1632 Cecil became the second Lord Baltimore he was a relatively young man defending a bitterly opposed charter with substantial Catholic associations in a period where anti-Catholic sentiment was often used as a battle cry for other motives. It is true that Cecil relied heavily upon the court connections made by his father before him, yet it was his own abilities to navigate the system that are a testament to his Province of Maryland. It was George Calvert's vision, yet while he had a profound impact on the design and settlement strategy of Maryland, it was Cecil who guided its application. In many ways Cecil Calvert was able to accomplish more than the first Lord Baltimore, particularly when we acknowledge that the son had none of the experience and fewer connections than his father had relied upon for his Newfoundland endeavor. Furthermore, as a result of including land originally part of the earlier colony, the Maryland charter induced the hostility of members of the recently dissolved Virginia Company. Though not falling within the scope of this study, the second Lord Baltimore was artfully able to regain

control of both the Maryland and Avalon provinces after losing Newfoundland to a Royalist and Maryland to those sided with Parliament during the English Civil War. Both Lords Baltimore accomplished and wagered a great deal at and on the two colonies. While Avalon did not develop the way that Maryland did, it must not be looked at as entirely a failure compared to the latter. Nor can we say that Cecil Calvert succeeded where his father did not. Instead, the successes of the latter settlement must acknowledge the trials of the first. Both of these colonial projects were spokes in the wheel of the Calvert families' experiences, investments, and achievements. An analysis of one cannot be separated from the other.

The Lords Baltimore were not the sole leadership of the two settlements. The governing of both ventures was assisted by various captains, commissioners, and other factors who aided in different aspects of the planning, recruitment, finances, and so forth of the two enterprises. While these other individuals deserve mention it was the primary agents of the two colonies, aside perhaps from the proprietors, that had the greatest effect on the two settlements. This influence probably even superseded that of the proprietors when it came to the on-the-ground decisions made far from the guidance of the predominantly England-residing owners. The most prominent difference relating to the governing of the two colonies was that the first enlisted the aid of two subsequent military captains while the second was led by Cecil Calvert's younger brother, Leonard. Possibly Wynne, and certainly Aston, the first two leaders of Ferryland and Avalon, were men schooled on the battlefields of the Continent and perhaps Ireland. Like many of the other New World colonies of the period, the founder chose men with this sort of leadership and defensive experience to lead and develop his initial settlement. A downside of this

approach, particularly to an absentee proprietor such as the first Lord Baltimore, was being able to ensure that men such as these carried out their orders in a time and place where personal reconnaissance was not always a realistic option. Despite the debate on whether Wynne or Aston failed George Calvert and his design, the proprietor was clearly unhappy with the economic development of the province during their tenure.

The perceived remedy implemented by Cecil Calvert was through the leadership of his brother, Leonard. George Calvert's second son was not new to North American settlements or defense, he had accompanied his father to Ferryland and had commanded a vessel commissioned to resupply and protect the Province of Avalon. As a family member and younger brother he was presumably trustworthy and loyal in a way that a hired officer or other non-relative could never be. However, Governor Calvert did not prove to be a simple pawn or lackey for Baltimore. Instead he made decisions, sometimes against the counsel of the proprietor, which he thought were to the best advantage of the province, its inhabitants, and his eldest brother. Instead of reliance upon the military leadership gained in European conflicts, Leonard used his and his families' experience in colonial affairs to guide his decision-making and leadership in Maryland. The shift from appointed agents to family members and/or self-governance was a policy implemented by subsequent proprietors throughout the seventeenth century.

At the heart of both colonial projects in the 1620s through 1640s were the actual people who adventured their fortunes and persons to North America. Though there are significant gaps in the documentary record, it appears that the financial burden for the Ferryland venture lay largely upon George Calvert. There were other investors in the project, but it seems that the financial strain of the first colony led the Calverts to pursue a

significantly larger promotional and investment campaign for Maryland. Finances were not the only reason for this. In the first ten years of the Ferryland settlement, the population grew slowly. The only period when the colony was home to a significant population corresponded with the short stay of Baltimore and his household in 1628/9. The small construction crew sent with Wynne to establish the infrastructure of the colony may have saved the early settlement from hardship but it certainly did not promote accelerated growth. Indeed, this does not appear to have been an early goal of the enterprise, as Wynne only requested twenty more individuals for the following year. In great contrast to the dozen or so at first and the 32 listed as living in the colony the next year, Maryland began with a European population well in excess of 100, possibly even as high as 300 souls. Between the two ventures, the Calverts realized that the success of a colonial undertaking in the form which they envisioned depended heavily upon the number of adventurers recruited for the project. The family also understood that settler interest and recruitment was largely dictated by the environmental and economic potential of life in the said colony. Though the population of Ferryland would grow to a figure comparable to the initial adventurers to Maryland after an entire decade of development, residency would plummet to a few dozen after the 1629 departures of Baltimore and his followers. In Maryland, there would be a steady climb in numbers, despite the low life expectancy and poor sex balance, to between 500 and 600 people by the end of the first decade.

The religious populations of the two settlements were also disparate. Ferryland was established by a Protestant governor and its population conformed to the Church of England as did its proprietor George Calvert until the year 1625. From that point on, the

colony and its population developed a decidedly Roman Catholic element. Though practitioners of both faiths would continue to reside in the Newfoundland harbor, Baltimore's religious shift changed the face of Ferryland and in many ways informed the later Province of Maryland. From the start, Maryland was a Roman Catholic dominated province. While the number of Protestant indentured servants would always outnumber the Catholics, the power structure was extremely biased in favor of the minority group, and this disparity repeatedly emerged during the first decade in the form of religious strife. One very important faction of the Roman Catholic presence in the Maryland design was the Society of Jesus. The Catholic clergy was also involved in Avalon from the period of George Calvert's retirement and religious tensions also erupted there, but never to the degree in which they would in Maryland. The Jesuits also played a crucial role in the recruitment of English Catholic gentry, key to the Calverts' manorial design; the transportation of their own fathers and servants, and very likely the funding of the original venture. Their perceived return on the investment was a springboard to the North American continent and the hundreds of thousands of Native Americans they sought to convert. Along with the order's somewhat clandestine involvement came great risk for the charter, for the Jesuits lived in England on pain of death, and their presence in Maryland was intolerable for many English subjects.

The planters that made up the two communities are not the only area of population-related interest for this study. Of import to defense strategies, economics, and so on were the other groups with whom those of Ferryland and Avalon or St. Mary's and Maryland came into contact with. By the 1620s the region surrounding Calvert's Newfoundland grant was devoid of Native peoples; the other groups the settlers came into

contact with were all fellow Europeans. The largest presence, albeit a seasonal one, was English migratory fishermen. Despite being assisted by members of this group in the early years, by Lord Baltimore's departure in 1629 he only had harsh words for this seasonal population. Calvert's settlers established themselves in a prime harbor, long used by fishermen to land and process their catch. The founding of a permanent settlement, competing for resources, establishing new rules for conduct, and the possible initiation of taxation and other legal policies, must have caused friction. These fellow Englishmen were not the only group that Calvert's settlement interacted with during the period. In 1628 England and France were at war and French privateers were harassing the English fishery in the region and Baltimore and his ships were involved in a minor naval campaign against them. What did result from this exchange was the capture of more than 60 French prisoners of war, who were detained at Ferryland during much of that summer. Though little documentary evidence exists regarding this period, the influx of so many young Frenchmen in the small settlement must have resulted in significant discord.

While eastern Newfoundland lacked any significant Native population in the 1620s, Maryland was quite different. When the *Ark* and *Dove* arrived in the Chesapeake they entered a region populated by tens of thousands of Native Americans, comprised of various confederations and tribes. The area encompassing what would become St. Mary's was long associated with various bands of the Piscataway nation who throughout the period were strongly allied with the Marylanders. In actuality, the colonists resided in the same village with a portion of this population for a period, a level of sociability and cooperation rarely seen in seventeenth-century English America. It was their continued relationship with this group that actually caused conflict with other Native populations.

Historically adversaries of the Piscataway, groups such as the Susquehannock in the north eventually saw the English in the same light. This latter group being the access point to the rich fur trade of the interior, forced the Maryland traders to often walk a tightrope of diplomacy to keep the trade alive. Trade alone did not add to these complicated relationships, the Jesuit interests in conversion resulted in additional friction. Throughout the first decade, the interactions between the Native peoples and the Marylanders were a complex component of colonial life completely absent in Avalon.

Like the earlier Calvert settlement, Maryland's relationship with the other English populations present in the region was also often tense. Though the governor of Virginia favored the startup colony from the beginning, few others in that government felt the same. Secretary Calvert's involvement in the dissolution of the Virginia Company did little to bolster their support for his son's colony. The Catholic leadership and clergy of Maryland, while not the primary reason for the Virginian animosity, would often be the spark for that hostility. At the root of this issue was the encroachment of the new province on the economy of Virginia. The most dynamic relationship between the two groups came from the population of Virginians residing at the trading settlement on Kent Island. Established just at the time when the Maryland charter was making its way through the English bureaucracy, the community was clearly within the later bounds of the province, though this was disputed for decades. Needless to say, this relationship resulted in bloodshed and ultimately occasioned the forceful taking of Kent by militia from Maryland. Though Kent and its residents would be incorporated into the province, the old animosities long endured among much of the population. It is surprising that so many thousands of miles from their homeland, on a continent contested by various European

powers, the principal social conflicts facing the settlers of both Avalon and Maryland were with their fellow countrymen.

Following the traditions of Yorkshire and northern Wales, the raising of cattle was proposed at Ferryland during the early years. A way in which the Calverts saw the means to recoup their investment in early Maryland, largely in response to the low initial profitability of the fishery in Newfoundland, was the fur trade with the various Native American groups that occupied the region. Though each colonial venture saw the development of these and other economic enterprises in the early years, both quickly resulted in the domination of single staple industries, the cod fishery in Newfoundland and tobacco agriculture in Maryland. Though George Calvert had early on seen the potential in other economic endeavors in addition to the fishery and its subsidiary industries, by the time that he departed the colony in 1629 he was resigned to leave the venture to that former pursuit and little else. The fishery also had a significant impact on the subsequent settlement around Ferryland and the other adjacent harbors. A settlement composed of dispersed plantations needing the appropriate space for ocean access and processing and drying their catches is what ultimately evolved from the original clustered settlement.

Though based upon a different staple, the results in Maryland were much the same. Tobacco cultivation required significant lands to meet the nutrient-demanding crop and the early Marylanders quickly dispersed from the fortified community to scattered plantations. Again, in the Chesapeake the Calverts were attempting to create a dense urban community but were denied by the resulting needs of the economic staple of the colony. However, the major difference between the economic aspects of the two ventures

was that where Ferryland was ultimately an economic failure for the first Lord Baltimore, Maryland would eventually be a success for subsequent proprietors. This success would not come quickly, or without significant tests for the second Lord Baltimore, but eventually it would restore the family coffers that had seen significant vacancy as a result of the substantial investment in both ventures.

Both Ferryland and St. Mary's were in certain aspects preplanned communities. The former was based on a combination of the topography, defensive characteristics, and economic potential of Newfoundland. In a unique plan, likely developed by Calvert and Wynne to ensure the viability of the settlement and reduce the chance of catastrophe like that seen at early Jamestown, a small group was sent in advance to construct the necessary structures needed to support a growing population and allow for subsequent economic growth. The early settlement took the form of a densely clustered seaside village tucked into a small protected harbor and bisected by a main cobble thoroughfare. At least in the initial years, the community was a corporate colony or company town with the majority, if not all the structures, built by and for Calvert's employees. Though the community failed to share the subsequent growth of many New England towns, Ferryland started life much like many of the Puritan colonies, from a simple linear design that was allowed to evolve in a freeform organic manner. Calvert likely envisioned a lucrative and growing community-based fishery that would create a steady demand for additional employees. These new workers would be motivated to immigrate with their families, who would in turn promote the establishment of supplementary fishery and service industries, and eventually all would generate additional tax income for the proprietor. Calvert's fishery was not the success he had anticipated and the subsequent settlement was not

dense; it did nonetheless focus on the cod fishery and the requirements of that enterprise for sufficient drying and processing space.

The planning of Maryland's first settlement of St. Mary's was decidedly different. The Calvert-backed workforce sent to construct the Newfoundland settlement was replaced by a much larger effort composed of numerous initial adventurers and their servants who would share in the initial cost and development. The leaders of the 1634 expedition to the Chesapeake brought with them specific instructions from the second Lord Baltimore regarding the form he wished the settlement to take. In contrast to the linear and somewhat simple design of Ferryland, here was projected a grid of streets with associated organized homelots and garden spaces. As in Virginia, Calvert projected an urban governmental and economic hub of his province from the first. The original fort was to give way to an expanding township complete with Baltimore's private estate. This new vision of the Calvert family fits well into the changing colonial goals of the first Lord Baltimore after 1625 in which he focused more intensely on immigration. Though Newfoundland was not found to be a suitable locale for his settlement-oriented schemes, Maryland was.

The Calverts implemented a strategy for recruitment and settlement that would grant to adventurers of the appropriate means and rank manorial lands of which they would be the lordly leaders. These lords would lease lands to various tenants and freely administer their estates. In turn, these plantations would pay rents and their allegiance to Baltimore who held the land from the English crown. At the center of these various lordly holdings would be the projected city of St. Mary's and the Lord Baltimore. Though little evidence is currently available, it seems that the first years of the colony closely followed

the settlement guidelines sent by the proprietor. However, the strategy to grant all the adventurers with townlands as well as their larger land grants was flawed. The wealthiest of the colonists received substantial portions of the projected townlands, and in part hindered the expansion of the township itself. Rather than numerous small freeholders establishing themselves within range of the initial settlement, the whole region surrounding St. Mary's was dominated by just a handful of plantations. This was not the only hindrance to the growth of the community. After just a few years living within the dense fortified town, the Marylanders quickly began to take up residence on their various holdings granted by the terms of their original adventure. Though tobacco culture was not actively promoted by the Calverts it quickly became clear that it would become the dominant economic pursuit within the province. The agricultural needs of the crop did little to assist in the formation of clustered settlement. Instead, vast portions of land were needed to meet the great nutritional appetite of the crop. As in Virginia, Maryland settlement would take the shape of scattered plantations based along the rivers and creeks necessary to transport the processed tobacco. Nonetheless, the manorial system did thrive for the first decade of Maryland. Ultimately, this meant that the dispersed plantations would often have a central hub based upon the lord's manor that was, in turn, surrounded by tenant farmers and smaller freeholders dependent on their wealthy neighbors for goods and other services.

In both Newfoundland and Maryland, economics proved to dictate the settlement patterns that would ultimately evolve. Though at Ferryland the settlement may have been modeled after a West-Country or Welsh fishing village, the economic reality that resulted was in fact very different from those Old World communities. In contrast, Newfoundland

and its fishery were weeks away from any potential market. This situation, coupled with the needs for drying and salting the cod occasioned a significant need of the Ferryland planters for sufficient space to prepare and preserve the catch. What resulted was individual plantations spread across the nearby harbors, not the dense settlement envisioned by the designers. In a strikingly similar situation in Maryland, the economic focus on tobacco and its voracious appetite for land, coupled with the very liberal land allotment policy of Baltimore and the suitability of the Chesapeake waterways for easy-access by merchants to the tobacco crops, inhibited the growth of urban centers from the very start. In both of the Calvert colonies, subsequent Lords Baltimore attempted to found nucleated villages in hope that they would develop into urban capitals for their provinces. Instead, as was common across so many of the early seventeenth-century colonies in North America, the economic realities stood in the way of the designers' plans.

A crucial component of the earliest period of settlement of both regions was the necessity for defense and the subsequent defensive works that were constructed. Key to understanding why certain strategies were employed at the two settlements is an acknowledgement of the perceived threats to the two colonies. In Newfoundland the threat was predominantly from other European vessels or nations. Whether attacked by English pirates or French privateers a hostile naval force was the most likely foe and the extensive stone and earth defensive works at Ferryland were designed to meet this potentiality. Based upon current evidence, nowhere else in early seventeenth-century English America, except Bermuda and the Caribbean, were such extensive works constructed. Indeed, the substantial and permanent nature of the defenses may have also contributed to George Calvert's financial anxieties.

In contrast, the perceived threats of the Maryland colonists were more complicated. While Maryland also had to contend with potentially hostile Europeans, including their fellow countrymen from Virginia, a more significant threat was the various Native American groups. Former conflicts between the Virginians and their Native neighbors likely guided and informed a defensive strategy largely based upon the potential of attack from these groups. Though the precise location of Fort St. Mary's remains unresolved, the available documentation suggests that the Marylanders saw the greatest potential of attack to be land-based. Though the first colonists brought significantly more armament than the Ferryland venture, many of these were small anti-personnel weapons. Another aspect of the Maryland works that differed greatly from those at Newfoundland was the seeming permanency of the earlier project. Although archaeological evidence does not exist, the documentary evidence suggests that the Maryland works were constructed of timber and earth and were completed far more quickly than those at Ferryland. While the unavailability of stone and the requisite skilled craftsmen may have played a role in Maryland, at least initially, expediency was the key.

From the beginning, there was another component to the defensive strategy of Maryland, perhaps also modeled after Virginia. The Maryland leaders planned to erect fortifications on the primary river access to St. Mary's. Originally intended as two corresponding fortifications near the first landing at St. Clement's Island, in 1637 a single position served the function: Fort St. Inigoes just downriver of St. Mary's. Like the Virginian fort at Point Comfort, these works were designed to give advance warning and defend the settlement from an attack by a naval foe. Therefore, both potential threats were acknowledged from the first days of the settlement and likely even earlier, during the

planning stages. Whereas the Newfoundland works were probably designed by Wynne, for George Calvert was fully entrenched in his governmental responsibilities, Maryland's design saw the much greater involvement of its proprietor. Wynne was a military man and his experiences defined the type of defensive structures he built: primarily in the tradition of European battlements. Leonard Calvert would have drawn upon his own observations of fortifications, largely of New World and possibly Irish structures. These works were primarily designed as defense from Native foes and were often constructed more rapidly and of less permanent materials. In many ways the defensive aspects of the Maryland design both drew from the Virginian strategies and the fiscal lessons learned in Newfoundland.

The forms that the two settlements initially took were largely the result of the fortifications that were constructed at the outset. Perhaps the principal difference between the two Calvert ventures was the overall focus of the projects. Ferryland primarily began as an economic venture, designed to house crews of fishermen and other associated laborers in the employ of George Calvert. The recruitment of planters for the venture was either a secondary objective, or met with little success, for it was not until the later 1620s with the arrival of Lord Baltimore that the colony saw any significant influx of settlers. This may in part be why Wynne started off with just a group of eleven tradesmen to create the infrastructure of the settlement. In contrast, Leonard Calvert arrived in Maryland with approximately 200 people of various socio-economic backgrounds. The second Lord Baltimore envisioned a substantial settlement and requested that all these settlers build side-by-side along predetermined streets. There, the fort at St. Mary's was seen by Baltimore as the starting point for a much larger community. Though St. Mary's

was not destined to develop the way the Calverts had hoped, this settlement scheme contrasts greatly with the single street of Ferryland lined with a row of dwellings facing the harbor. The defensive strategies of the two locales influenced and in-turn were influenced by other variables.

The Calvert plantations in Newfoundland and Maryland consisted of the various structures necessary for life in the colonies. Storehouses, ordinaries, chapels, kitchens, and most importantly dwellings, were constructed by the Calvert-sponsored colonists to meet the various needs of everyday life in the New World. Each settlement saw similar stages of dwellings. Immediately upon arrival, the small group under Wynne's command, or the significantly larger, under the leadership of Leonard Calvert, likely met their immediate need for accommodation with temporary housing. In Newfoundland, the seasonal fishermen had long traditions of simply-carpentered and quickly-erected structures to meet their temporary needs and Wynne and his men likely followed suit. In Maryland, many of the settlers must have done the same, while others adapted derelict Piscataway dwellings to suit their needs. This preliminary stage did not last long for most in either colony and the settlers soon fashioned dwellings and other necessary buildings constructed with techniques adapted to suit the locally available construction materials, skill level, and environment of North America.

One of the largest differences between the architecture of the two settlements was in the building materials. This was not as much a factor of choice rather than availability. In Newfoundland, many of the structures built for Calvert were of local stone while in Maryland little of this resource was available. The availability of skilled labor was perhaps of equal importance. There is an absence of all stone construction at Ferryland in

the decades following this studied period. This is likely the result of Wynne's specialist tradesmen no longer operating in the community. Labor had a similar effect on the architectural landscape of early Maryland. While some structures were notably constructed by skilled hands, others, gentry and common alike, suffered from the common New World woes brought on by unskilled carpentry and the need for expediency. It is logical that the realities and resources of the New World resulted in these compromises, sometimes even for the wealthy.

The types of structures constructed in both locales were not unlike in size and form to many seen across rural England, Ireland, and colonial North America. In Newfoundland and Maryland the colonists reconstructed the types of structures they were familiar with and that suited their needs for living, housing animals, and storing and manufacturing goods. In Newfoundland and Maryland, indeed across English North America, the colonists built according to recognized traditions of form and dimension.

In discussing the manor properties constructed for the proprietors of Avalon and Maryland, there were some key differences. In Newfoundland the manorial complex built for Baltimore was very much a medieval compound composed of a variety of stand-alone structures that served the needs of the household. At the center was the hall, surrounded by smaller living accommodations. To the west was a private courtyard that allowed access to the hall and the service wing to the south composed of kitchen and cellar. The manorial compound requested by the second Lord Baltimore in Maryland may not have been that different. There, Cecil may have envisioned a similar complex when he called for the construction of a dwelling with an adjacent chapel within or near a small fort. Instead, Leonard Calvert constructed a compact and relatively modest timber framed

structure presumably meant for his brother upon arrival. It was likely only after subsequent additions that the governor's house reached more imposing dimensions.

As a result of looking at these key aspects of the two settlements a broad impression of the Newfoundland and Maryland ventures during the first decades is revealed. An investigation of the early years of Maryland must include an examination of the earlier colony at Newfoundland, and this examination must look at all the important aspects of the two in order to better understand the many ways in which they were so intimately linked. The family connection and time period are what call for the present investigation but I believe this analysis illustrates the potential outside of the Calvert colonies.

A comparative analysis of a single characteristic of two North American colonies can begin to expose why certain strategies were or were not implemented. Through these types of cross-colonial analyses researchers will be better able to understand why decisions were, or were not, made in North America in the early modern period. Cross-colonial and comparative investigations of defensive strategies, economic motivations, and so forth, offer potential for understanding life in the seventeenth-century colonies. Now that so many of the colonial projects of English North America have been examined, these types of comparative studies can be undertaken. Whether focused upon defense, economics, architecture, population, or other phenomena, these sorts of examinations have great potential for adding to our understanding of this important period in world history. However, these comparisons cannot be carried out in a vacuum, economics dictated settlement, population interactions prompted defensive strategies, and so on.

In the 1620s and 1630s George and Cecil Calvert established not one, but two settlements on the shores of the New World. The family's commitment to the cause of colonization was rarely equaled in the period, bearing the majority of the planning and financial burden of both enterprises almost solely upon their shoulders. The English colonization of seventeenth-century North America was informed by the nations' recent history of physical and economic expansion across Europe, the Atlantic, and indeed the globe. The Calverts also accessed this rich knowledge of tradition and practice, but they were likewise and perhaps most importantly, guided by the families' own specific and significant experiences in these matters. Although aspects of their two colonies have received a great deal of scholarly attention in the past, this investigation sought to pull them together in a manner that has not yet occurred. Indeed, others have cited the connection between the two seventeenth-century projects, illustrating some of the ways in which Avalon guided Maryland. However, this is the first attempt at an inclusive historical and archaeological investigation of what I consider to be the key formative features of the two colonies. Discussed side-by-side in the body of this work, many of these subjects illustrate either the continuance of specific goals implemented in Newfoundland and carried over to Maryland or in other cases perceived failures in the first that resulted in a changed strategy in the second. This work is meant be both a testament to the Calvert families' commitment to colonization and the enormous amount of historical scholarship and archaeological investigation that has been undertaken to reveal evidence of their New World endeavors. I strongly believe that this examination moves us toward a more cohesive understanding of the Calvert's contribution to the

English settlement of North America and how various elements of their colonial projects were planned, implemented, and ultimately evolved.

These were not two separate projects carried out by the same family, they were a single venture. Although the setting changed from Newfoundland to Maryland and the methods of generating wealth and attracting settlers evolved to suit the setting and the Calverts' changing goals, it was a colonial idea first implemented in 1621 and lasting far beyond the 1634 voyage to Maryland. When other projects have focused on one aspect or one setting, this study sought to examine them all within the context of the Calvert family's colonial legacy. By doing so, it has shown the evolution of their plans and the depth of their commitment to seeing them through.

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