

SOCIETY, HOUSING, AND ARCHITECTURE IN EARLY MARYLAND:

JOHN LEWGER'S ST. JOHN'S

GARRY WHEELER STONE

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
PART I. MANORIAL MARYLAND AND A MANOR LORD	
Chapter	
I. MANORIAL MARYLAND	5
II. SECRETARY JOHN LEWGER	63
III. ST. JOHN'S FREEHOLD: PLANTATION, ENTREPÔT, AND STATE HOUSE	89
PART II. ARCHITECTURE AND HOUSING	
IV. HUTS AND FRAMED HOUSES IN MANORIAL MARYLAND: 1634-1644	153
V. VERY MEAN AND LITTLE: PLANTERS' DWELLINGS IN MARYLAND, 1648-1674	204
VI. ADAPTATION TO THE CHESAPEAKE: THE EVOLUTION OF THE "VIRGINIA HOUSE," 1607-1750	230
CONCLUSION	340
APPENDICES	345
INDEX	406
BIBLIOGRAPHY	414

LIST OF TABLES

1-1.	Townland Ownership in 1642	25
1-2.	The Distribution of Tithable Labor Among Freeman, 1642	40
1-3.	Estimated Male Population of St. Mary's County, 1642	42
1-4.	The Arable Husbandry of Four Major Investors	44
1-5.	Maryland Tax Assessment of December, 1642 . .	46
3-1.	The Indentured Servants and Headrights of John Lewger, Sr.	92
3-2.	The Household of John Lewger, Sr.	107
3-3.	Conjectured Minimal Expense and Income from Keeping an Indentured Servant on a Large Plantation	110
3-4.	Tobacco Production per Laborer, St. Mary's County, 1637-1648	111
3-5.	Model of Land Use on St. John's Freehold, 1638-1643	114
3-6.	Free Laborers' Wages: 1642-1644	116
4-1.	Maryland House and Plantation Values, 1638-1650	180
5-1.	Dimensions of Dwellings in Maryland Records	210
5-2.	Selected Construction Costs in Maryland Records, 1656-1701	220

LIST OF FIGURES

1-1.	The Town and Port of St. Mary's, 1642	6
1-2.	Land distribution in St. Mary's County, 1642	19
2-1.	Provincial record books, 1638-1645	84
3-1.	The St. John's dwelling, c.1640	94
3-2.	The Boundaries of St. John's Freehold, February, 1640	103
3-3.	The St. John's houselot, c.1645	127
3-4.	St. John's plantation in the 1640s	129
4-1.	Brome and Culford Halls	157
4-2.	The Chapelfield House in 1696	158
4-3.	Kiplin Hall	160
4-4.	Hook House	162
4-5.	Hook House, The Ornamental Plaster Ceiling of the Parlor	164
4-6.	Essex Farmhouses, 1609	166
4-7.	Early Maryland Manor Houses	172
4-8.	An English building roofed with hedge trimmings and thatch	192
6-1.	Tobacco hanging in a reproduction of a late seventeenth-century tobacco house	234
6-2.	The Frame of Cedar Park	238
6-3.	Third Haven Meeting House elevation as framed c.1683	239
6-4.	Rearing the rafter pairs of a Virginia house	244
6-5.	The frame of Sarum	246
6-6.	Sarum, sequence of assembly	248
6-7.	Construction types	252
6-8.	Plan types	259
6-9.	Setting the end girt on its post and stud tenons	260
6-10.	Rearing the bents of a tobacco house	262
6-11.	Rearing the side wall frames of a dwelling	264
6-12.	Sotterley, the surviving framing of the phase 1 structure	267
6-13.	Sotterley, the wall sections of the phase 1 structure (slightly restored)	268

6-14.	A post-in-the-ground Virginia house braced. only by its earth-fast posts and construction shores	275
6-15.	Clasped purlins reinforcing a common rafter roof on a posted Lincolnshire dwelling . .	280
6-16.	A bent reared Dutch barn with hole-set posts and studs	284
6-17.	The evolution of the false plate	296
6-18.	St. John's c.1655	306
6-19.	St. John's c.1665	307
6-20.	St. John's, Timber Foundations	309
6-21.	St. John's: "A Particular of the Reparations and Other Things to be Made and Done at the Manor House"	313
6-22.	St. John's Manor in 1673	314
6-23.	St. John's c.1680	316
6-24.	Porch Prototypes	318
6-25.	Captain John Hicks's first house	324
A-1.	St. John's: the bay system of the 1638 box-framed structure as revealed by subsequent, post-in-the-ground repairs and additions	352
A-2.	Rearing the bent frames of a two story house with crossed summers	355
A-3.	St. John's: alternate cross sections illustrating the building as a one story, one and a half story, and two story structure	358
A-4.	St. John's: Trash Distributions	369
A-5.	St. Mary's House plan evolution	387

PART ONE

MANORIAL MARYLAND AND A MANOR LORD

Conditions propounded by the Lord Baltemore, to such as shall go,
or adventure into Maryland.

. . . for every five men which he shall so transport thither, a proportion of good land within the said Province, containing in quantity 1,000 acres of English measure, which shall be erected into a manor, and be conveyed to him, his heirs, and assigns forever, with all such royalties and privileges as are usually belonging to manors in England.

Hawley and Lewger, A Relation of Maryland, 1635.¹

From 1972 through 1976, the archaeologists of the St. Mary's City Commission excavated the remnants of a 1638 structure in St. Mary's City, Maryland. Stone foundations delineated the outline of a large, box-framed dwelling. Timber molds and construction ditches sprouting from the stone foundation marked the former positions of additions, fence lines, and outbuildings. Middens and pits yielded refuse discarded three centuries ago. These artifacts presented numerous research problems--challenges that expand as our interrogation of the artifacts becomes more sophisticated. The largest artifact on the site was the architecture of the buildings and yards. Architectural preservation was unusually good, good enough to make these buildings a significant increment to our knowledge of American frontier construction. What society produced these buildings? What do these buildings tell us

about that society? In part one I answer the first question; in part two I answer the second.

The box-framed dwelling was built by immigrants for an immigrant. The client was John Lewger, Esq., councilor, judge, and provincial secretary. In England, he had been a village rector, one of thousands. There his influence stretched little farther than the parish boundary. In Maryland, his political and economic influence stretched across hundreds of square miles of a lush, estuarine wilderness whose population (about 700 in 1642) was perhaps four times that of Lewger's former parish.² Lewger arrived in Maryland on 30 November 1637, when Maryland's first phase (March 1634 to February 1645) was little more than one third spent. During these eleven years, Maryland society was dominated by a handful of manorial lords, hence this was manorial Maryland.

Maryland was the personal product of two men--George and Cecil Calvert, the first and second Barons of Baltimore. The ideal was George's; the execution the son Cecil's. The funds and key personnel were provided by their families and friends, seconded by the missionary orders of the Roman Catholic Church. They had high expectations that Maryland would be a glorious extension of the English dominion, a fertile ground for the spread of Christianity, a money making investment, and a civil and religious sanctuary for themselves.

John Lewger was one of the men attracted by the Maryland vision. A former Anglican rector, through conversion to Catholicism he had surrendered comfortable security for penniless dependency. Maryland offered him a new beginning. With financial assistance from the

Benedictines, Lewger became a manorial lord with land rights to 6,775 acres. He established St. John's Freehold, built one of the best dwellings in the province, and headed a household that totalled, briefly, almost twenty members. But events overcame both Lewger and manorial Maryland. Falling tobacco prices and Indian attacks stifled growth and cut profits; frustrated high expectations fueled social and political competition; and religious prejudice proved inescapable. Weak political leadership aggravated these problems. In 1645, the English Civil War spilled into the Chesapeake and extinguished manorial Maryland. St. John's was plundered. John Lewger was taken prisoner to England. In 1646 he returned only to be confronted by a new tragedy, the death of his wife. At this, he surrendered the tarnished material prospects of a frontier entrepreneur for a renewed spiritual one. In 1647, he returned to England to take religious vows and become chaplain to Lord Baltimore. He would remain with this calling for twenty-eight years. "He died of the plague in the parish of St. Giles's in the Fields near to London, in sixteen hundred sixty and five, by too much exposing himself in helping and relieving poor Roman Catholics."³ This man was not a typical manor lord, but the problems he faced were common to many Marylanders. Both he and his plantation were major actors in a small drama, the founding of Maryland.

INTRODUCTION

Notes

1. Clayton Colman Hall, ed., Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910; reprint ed., New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), p. 91. The spelling and punctuation of all quotations has been modernized, except for the documents in Appendix 3.
2. Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), pp. 9, 32-33, 54; Laverton, Somerset, survey of 1650/1, S/B/L/2 (bound MSS), Duchy of Cornwall Office, London, England.
3. Anthony à Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis, ed. by Philip Bliss, 4 vols. (London, 1813), 4:696-97.

CHAPTER I

MANORIAL MARYLAND

Maryland is a province not commonly known in England, because the name of Virginia includes or clouds it, it is a country wholly belonging to that honorable gentleman the Lord of Baltemore, granted to him by patent under the broad seal of England long since, and at his charge settled. . . . It is . . . separated or parted from Virginia, by a river of ten miles broad, called Potomac River; the commodities and manner of living as in Virginia, the soil somewhat more temperate (as being more northerly.). Many stately and navigable rivers are contained in it, plentifully stored with wholesome springs, a rich and pleasant soil. . . .

John Hammond, Lear and Rachel, 1656¹

The Capital of Manorial Maryland

During Maryland's first decade, the Town of St. Mary's² and its immediate vicinity were "the Metropolis of Maryland":³ the port, store, bank, and capital of the surrounding settlement. A handful of manorial lords residing within a radius of two miles of the governor's house dominated the economy. They were the prime importers of goods and servants and the major source of credit. They controlled the fur trade and virtually monopolized the export of tobacco. John Lewger, the builder of St. John's, was a member of this group. In the early 1640s, he was among the most important merchant-planters in the province.

The St. Mary's townland was the important economic center despite an absence of urban form. In 1642, the town consisted of tenements left over from the immigrants' fort, a victualing house, a derelict grist mill, a chapel, half a dozen farms, and the edges of the adjacent manors

Darryl Wheeler Stone / Chish K Hoang 187

Fig. 1-1. The Town and Port of St. Mary's, 1642.
One symbol equals one person. Source: Appendices 1 and 2.

(figure 1-1). The concentration of economic functions in this non-urban central place was preordained to impermanence. It was doomed from the very beginning by the dispersion of agricultural land along the terraces of the region's numerous rivers and creeks. However, the sudden demise--in February 1645--of St. Mary's economic role was not the result of economic change, but of military action: the destruction of the estates of the town's planter-merchants by a Parliamentary privateer. Except for the intervention of the English Civil War, the economic functions of the Town of St. Mary's would have lingered, in gradually diminishing importance, into the second half of the century.

Maryland's form during its first decade resulted from the interaction of social structure, geography, and biology. The governor and two commissioners to whom Lord Baltimore entrusted his colony monopolized (largely by default) the labor, land, and trade of the new settlement. There was enough good land along the St. George's [now St. Mary's] River for these men to settle near each other. Two lived to perpetuate their political and economic influence to the end of the first decade. Moreover, the losses from among the gentlemen of the first expedition were replaced by like men who were encouraged to settle at St. Mary's.

A Baron's Tenants

The immigrating society transported on the Ark of Maryland was highly stratified. The Governor, the two Commissioners, and the Society of Jesus controlled at least two-thirds of the labor of the 120 servants. Only four of the fourteen other gentlemen adventurers are known to have transported the minimum number of men--five--to qualify for manorial grants. The investments of the other gentlemen adventurers were modest:

two or three servants, a share in the joint stock, or only their own transportation.⁴ Heavy attrition among the original adventurers exaggerated this initial stratification. At the end of 1638, only six gentlemen adventurers remained in Maryland from the original expedition: the two priests, two minor investors, Governor Calvert, and Commissioner Cornwaleys. While the Calverts desired a stratified society, they had hoped to attract more major investors to their colonial enterprise. The limited appeal of a Catholic haven was a major problem that the second Lord Baltimore was not able to overcome.⁵

The ranks of the servants also were stratified. Highest in social status were the gentlemen employees of the major investors: their overseers, factors, and surveyor. Equal in economic status were the master craftsmen among the expedition's carpenters, shipwrights, and smiths (indentured men who were paid good wages). At the bottom of the hierarchy were the semi-skilled and unskilled migrants: laborers, maids, and boys. They served for four years, five years, or more in return for only their keep, transportation, and freedom dues.⁶

The establishment of Maryland was a family venture, the personal project of George Calvert, the first Baron of Baltimore (d. 1632), his eldest son, the second Lord, and their relatives and friends. The Calvert family's goals for Maryland were several: patriotic, religious, and financial. Other than the complications caused by their religion, their problems were ones common to starting a high risk land development corporation with limited funds: how to attract capital and how to return a profit. The first Lord Baltimore's solution to both problems was the generous distribution of land under conditions that would attract

substantial investors, gentlemen who could provide the social and financial foundations of a new society.⁷

The Calverts' plan for populating their colony and profiting from it was to grant land to immigrants in return for payment of a nominal yearly rent. These rents--quitrents--were low: approximately 1s. 4d. for every 100 acres of freehold and 2s. for every 100 acres of a manor. But they held the promise that if enough tenants were attracted to Maryland, the volume of small rents would be great enough to make the Calverts wealthy, as it eventually did in the eighteenth century. As the costs of transporting a settler to the new world were high, estimated at £20 sterling, the land grants offered were correspondingly generous: 100 acres for every adult (50 acres for every child). For large investors there was a substantial bonus: anyone transporting five able-bodied men qualified for a grant of 1,000 acres with the privilege of erecting the grant into a manor, naming it, and holding courts baron and leet. To the investors in the first expedition, the bonus was even greater: 2,000 acres for every five adult men transported.⁸

The manorial privileges granted with large tracts were designed to attract to Maryland the younger sons of England's landed gentry, men for whom England offered limited opportunity to achieve wealth or status. The manorial privileges were more than promotional gimmicks. To both George Calvert and his son Cecilus, the second Baron, manors were intended as fundamental building blocks of a new society. The creation of manors was the Calverts' way of prefabricating social organization and structure for the new colony, social structure that was so conspicuously lacking in Virginia's second and third decades. That the first and second Lords

Baltimore should propose a hierarchical society based on land and rents is not surprising. It was the social system familiar to them as English landowners. It was the scheme that was used successfully in the colonization of Ireland (in which, as Barons of Baltimore, they were taking part) and that was proposed by some for New England. It was a scheme that would be attempted in the future by the proprietors of Carolina and Pennsylvania.

The plan met with some success. Eight of the first adventurers were well connected: the sons of his Lordship, knights, or members of Parliament. Their numbers were small, dooming Maryland to a feeble beginning and forcing the second Lord Baltimore to finance much of the expedition out of his own pocket, an expense he could not afford. The Calverts' profession of a mistrusted minority religion and their plan to create a secular society, in which any Christian could participate without discrimination, limited Maryland's appeal to a tiny minority of the English population, the younger sons of Catholic gentlemen. There was also a contradiction in the Calverts' means for populating Maryland. They envisioned a hierarchical society, but to attract settlers and servants they offered generous terms: cheap land, high wages, and short periods of service, all the ingredients needed, in time, to create a vigorous class of middling planters.⁹

Water, Soil, and Forest

When Lord Baltimore's settlers sailed into the Chesapeake, they entered a riverine universe formed less than 10,000 years ago when the waters released by melting icecaps flooded the valley of the Susquehanna River.¹⁰ The result was a gridiron of watery streets, the south-tending

Chesapeake draining east-west tributaries. These drowned valleys, practically canals, provided an excellent transportation system for collecting and exporting bulky agricultural produce. At Yoacomico, the neck between the Potomac and Patuxent is only nine miles wide. While above Portoback it widens to more than thirty miles, navigable creeks subdivide the neck further. No point in Southern Maryland is more than ten miles from navigable water. The effective distance was much less, as most of the good agricultural soils are in terraces along the rivers. Most of the first generation of settlers lived within a mile of a boat landing.

The Southern Maryland coastal plain is the exposed surface of an immensely thick sheet of sediments tipped into the Atlantic from the rock-based continent to the west. The coastal plain soils are a crazy quilt of differing sediments. While laid down in broad horizontal layers, millennia of erosion reduced the surface sheet of sediment to narrow ribbons between the rivers. The re-loosened sediments, mixed with new silt brought down from the piedmont, were remade by the rivers into a series of terraces stepping down to the present sea level from an elevation of about forty feet.¹¹

The spine of the neck between the Potomac and Patuxent is a flat upland generally unsuited for farming. Its silty surface is immediately underlain by a fragipan, a slowly permeable layer of cemented soil that holds ground water near the surface for months at a time. It is poor land for most crops and grows only low quality tobacco.

The broad terraces along the north shore of the Potomac also are poorly drained. While fair corn land, these silty soils are aerated too poorly to grow good tobacco. Better soils--the well drained sandy

loams, loams, and silt loams--are found where coarser sediments accumulated: in small patches in the Potomac terraces, along its tributaries, and especially along the Patuxent. The terraces on the south side of the Patuxent are an almost continuous band of sandy loams and well drained silt loams. All are good farm land, producing large crops of corn, wheat, and tobacco, and the quality of the tobacco grown on the sandier soils is excellent.

The Indian fields purchased by Leonard Calvert occupied the margin of one of the most fertile terraces in the lower Potomac drainage--a level plateau forty to fifty feet above the St. George's River. The terrace stretches from the foot of St. Mary's Hill to the heads of St. Andrew's Creek. Then the ground drops to a lower terrace that continues south to St. Inigoe's Creek. While the upper terrace is comparable to the best Patuxent land, the lower terrace is poorly drained and infertile except for small areas along the river banks.

The two terraces comprise a neck of land, the future St. Mary's townland. The neck is bounded on the west by the river and on the south and southeast by tidal St. Inigoe's Creek. Two silted tributaries--St. John's Creek and Hill Creek--narrow the connection to the upland. Four minor streams slice the peninsula into a series of smaller necks. In 1638, the northernmost became St. John's Freehold, the home of Secretary John Lewger.

Except for the Indian clearings, tidal marshes, and a few small barrens, all of Southern Maryland was covered with high woods, largely oaks, affording the settlers an immense amount of material. According to A Relation of Maryland (1635):

The timber of these parts is very good and in abundance. It is useful for building of houses and ships. The white oak is good for pipe-staves, the red oak for wainscot. There is also walnut, cedar, pine, and cypress; chestnut, elm, ash, and poplar; all which are for building and husbandry. Also there are diverse sorts of fruit trees, as mulberries, persimmons, with several other kind of plums, and vines, in great abundance. The mast [acorns] and the chestnuts, and what roots they find in the woods, do feed the swine¹² very fat.

The quality and type of timber varied with the soil. Trees grew best in the recent alluvium along the streams; the white oak of the "kettle-bottom" uplands frequently was stunted. Chestnut was scattered throughout the region. It was most common where the higher ground was well drained, especially on the sandy slopes above the Patuxent terraces. The better drained terraces were in mixed hardwood, largely white and red oak. Tulip poplar and sweet gum were common in the damper terraces and along the streams. On the low Potomac terraces, there were large stands of loblolly pine.¹³

The woods the settlers entered were magnificent parks, "not choked up with underscrubs," but the trees "so far distant from each other as a coach and four horses may travel without molestation." These parks were not "virgin" forests, but the deliberate creation of the Indians, who frequently fired the litter on the forest floor to drive deer or clear the undergrowth. When Captain John Smith asked a Rappahannock Indian "'What was beyond the mountains?' He answered, 'The Sun.' But of anything else he knew nothing, 'because the woods were not burnt.'" Smith explained in a marginal note: "They cannot travel, but where the woods are burnt." The burnings removed the undergrowth and fallen wood, destroyed the more flammable species such as cedar, and spaced out the trees as losses went unreplaced. In dry spots along the edge of the

upland, where the forest litter burned especially intensely, the fires killed even mature trees. Small meadows or "barrens" resulted. There was a particularly large meadow, "a barren plain," just east of the St. Mary's townland above the forks of Hill Creek.¹⁴

From Palisade to Plantation

Geography and social structure ensured the eventual development of a plantation system comparable to Cecilius Baltemore's expectations. Initially the Marylanders huddled in a fortified camp while they met their immediate needs for shelter and subsistence, took stock of their aboriginal neighbors, and familiarized themselves with their new environment. It is uncertain how quickly they scattered to plantations. In 1974, Lois Carr suggested that the dispersion began before 1637 and was complete by the end of that year.¹⁵ I hypothesize that the migration from the fort began in 1637 (after receipt of the 1636 elaborated conditions of plantation) and was not complete until 1638. No records survive from 1635-37. We can only conjecture the events of this period from the records that John Lewger began to keep on 30 December 1637 and the surviving correspondence from 1638.

Some of the data are compatible with the Carr hypothesis. During 1636, a few settlers lived outside the St. Mary's townlands. The Jesuit plantation at St. Inigoe's cannot have been started later than 1636. (In 1637, it was producing large crops of corn and tobacco.)¹⁶ At West St. Mary's Manor, Henry Fleete had cleared land, built a house, and seated tenants before leaving Maryland in 1638.¹⁷ But these seem to be exceptional cases. Fleete was an experienced frontiersman who had no fear of the local Indians, and the Jesuits were the most

aggressive agriculturalists among the first immigrants. All other references suggest that in 1637-38, the other tracts surrounding the town and fields of St. Mary's were wilderness or new clearings.

In the late 1630s, the other plantations along the St. George's River only then were being hacked out of the wilderness. Wickliffe's Creek was settled in 1637-38 by freed servants and new immigrants,¹⁸ and the future plantations to the south and west of it were not settled until 1638-39.¹⁹ A carpentry contract of 1 May 1637 may mark the beginning of construction on Cross Manor. Captain Cornwaleys did not move there until after July, 1638, and the buildings on Snow Hill Manor were not finished until 1639.²⁰ To the east of the townland the fertile plateau of St. Joseph's Hill was not planted until 1641.²¹ The first record of a freehold is from 1636 (old style), a date that probably refers to January-March, 1637. (The grantee was a former indentured servant of the Jesuits.)²²

From April, 1634, until 1637, most Marylanders may have lived in a palisaded village at St. Mary's, a nucleated settlement surrounded by its open fields. Throughout the period, its housing seems to have been within or immediately around the pales. When the open fields of the fort were broken up into farms in 1638, the subsequent surveys (1639-41) mention only the buildings, some of them explicitly described as "newly set up," of the grantees. They used no rotting cottages or other ghosts of former residences as landmarks in the surveys. When present, such landmarks were used. (The Governor's Field and St. John's surveys mention a former "rayle," the fort, the mill, and a carpenter's cabin.)²³

During these first years, the inhabitants of St. Mary's, like English villagers of the Midlands, walked to work each day into the "many large fields of excellent land, cleared from all wood," that had persuaded Calvert to settle at St. Mary's.²⁴ By the fall of 1639, the fields extended over three-fourths of a mile south of the fort along the river bank. (The surveys for the White House, Sisters' Freehold, and Greene's Freehold tracts all place their east bounds in "the Forest.")²⁵ During the first season, the Indian fields around the fort may have developed into a crazy quilt of plots, as the settlers took time from their construction work to set garden seeds and maize to supplement the Indians' plantings.²⁶ Subsequently, the open fields seem to have been parcelled out to the adventurers in large blocks, and a trace of these subdivisions survived in the Marylanders' designation of the land around the fort as the "Governor's Field."

In 1637, the adventurers began seating their other manor lands: the Jesuits at Mattapanient, Cornwaleys at St. Inigoe's, and Justinian Snow (a merchant arrived since 1634) at Snow Hill. By the end of the year, Calvert had seated tenants on Trinity Manor, and Hawley had a quarter and tenants at St. Jerome's.²⁷ While many of the settlers continued to live in the fort well into 1638,²⁸ when the Brents arrived at St. Mary's in November, large sections of the town fields were vacant. That winter they began developing plantations on the former open fields south of Key Swamp.²⁹

Temporary open field farming around a compact settlement was a common frontier pattern. What I find surprising about the Maryland example is that it seems to have survived for three growing seasons.

Except for the evidence to the contrary, I would have expected the adventurers to have begun developing their manors in 1635 or 1636. Several factors might explain their persistence at St. Mary's: a lingering fear of their Conoy neighbors,³⁰ the preoccupation of the Governor and Commissioners with the fur trade,³¹ and a reluctance to begin seating their manors until after the arrival of Lord Baltimore. Baltimore had intended to emigrate with the first expedition, but had postponed his departure from year to year due to his need to fend off the political attacks of the Virginia Interest. He did not want his absence to delay development. In 1633, he directed that each adventurer be assigned "his proportion of land . . . according to . . . the conditions of plantation." These assignments were made, but his adventurers may have been reluctant to invest major sums in manors to which they had no clear title. In August, 1636, Lord Baltimore realized that his departure would be delayed even longer. At the "suit" of the adventurers "that We would be pleased to grant unto them under our Great Seal . . . such proportions and quantities of land . . . as We have heretofore propounded," he authorized Leonard Calvert to grant land, updated the conditions of plantation, and drafted model documents for manorial and freehold grants.³² Receipt of these documents in Maryland seems to have been the signal for the St. Mary's settlement to disperse. Maryland could begin to take the form envisioned by Lord Baltimore and the other adventurers.

The settlement pattern projected by Lord Baltimore--large plantations scattered along navigable waterways administered from a port town--was copied from the Virginia James River settlement. Whether

this model was inherited from his father (who had visited Virginia in 1629) or was based on his own gleanings about Virginia development, this was a reasonable projection based on an accurate assessment of Virginia's geography in the 1620s.³³

During the first decade, Maryland--except for Kent Island and the Jesuit plantations on the Patuxent--was largely a Potomac settlement. Expansion from the fort at St. Mary's can be traced through three phases: the patenting of the land southeast of the townlands by the first adventurers; a migration of small freeholders across the St. George's River to Wickliffe's and St. George's Creeks; and then expansion up the Potomac. A fourth phase, the surveying of scattered tracts along the Potomac and Patuxent, was aborted in 1642 by the Susquehannock War (figure 1-2).

Except for Henry Fleete, the 1634 adventurers selected land away from the Indian settlements, in the large, protected neck formed by the Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac and St. George's rivers. The principal adventurers claimed most of the peninsula. Richard Gerrard (who sold to the Jesuits), Thomas Cornwaleys, John Saunders, and Jerome Hawley took up 12,000 acres south and east of the townland. Three manors (3,000 acres) surveyed for Governor Calvert occupied the end of the peninsula. In between these large blocks there was a strip of about 5,000 acres of land. I assume it was divided among the other adventurers in blocks of 1,000 or 2,000 acres. Only one record remains of these conjectured grants, a 1,000 acre neck granted to a 1634 Virginia immigrant, a carpenter who transported six servants. The other probable grantees, the middling investors in the expedition, all

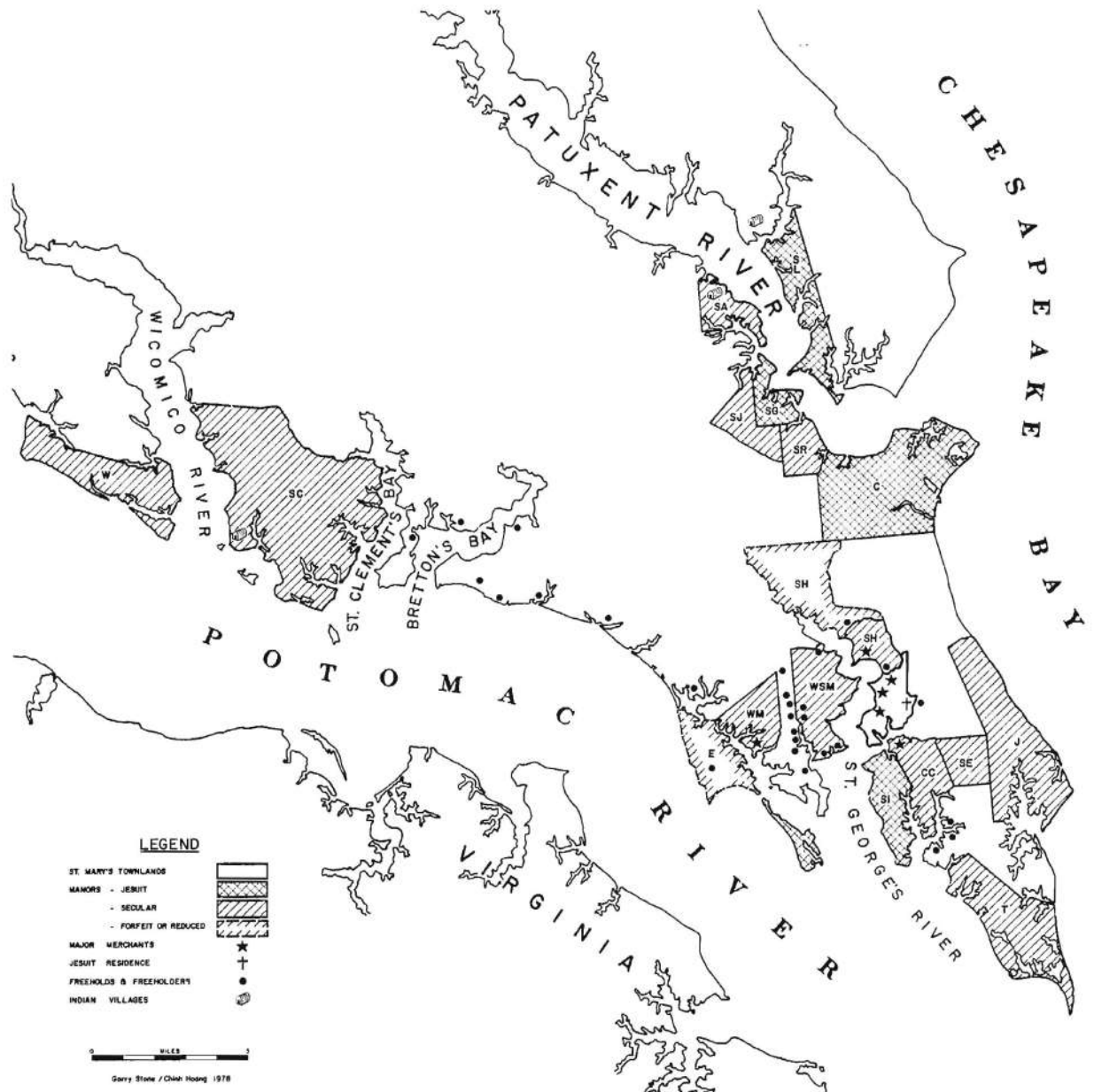


Fig. 1-2. Land distribution in St. Mary's County, 1642.

Abbreviations to Manors:

W = Wollleston

SC = St. Clement's

E = Evelinton

WM = Westbury

WSM = West St. Mary's

SH = Snow Hill

SI = St. Inigoe's

CC = Cornwaleys's Cross

SE = St. Elizabeth's

J = St. Jerome's

T = Trinity, St. Gabriel's, and St. Michael's

SL = St. Leonard's

SA = St. Anne's

SJ = St. Joseph's

SG = St. Gregory's

SR = St. Richard's

C = Conception

returned to England or died before the temporary grants of 1634-35 were replaced by formal surveys and patents.³⁴

After Justinian Snow seated 6,000 acre Snow Hill Manor, little good land remained unclaimed around the townland. When small planters (immigrants from Virginia or freed indentured servants) began taking up land in early 1637, they were forced to the west bank of the St. George's River below West St. Mary's Manor. There they quickly were hemmed in by large grants along St. George's Creek. After Thomas Gerard established St. Clement's Manor up the Potomac next to the Indian town of Mattapanient (Smith's "Secowocomoco"), a scattering of middling and small planters followed to settle south of St. Clement's Manor along Bretton's Bay and the Potomac.³⁵

The Patuxent settlement was an outgrowth of the Jesuit mission to the Patuxents. About 1637, "Maquacomen, the King of the Patuxent," gave the priests the plantation of Mattapanient at the mouth of the River, one of the three Patuxent manors surveyed for the Society in 1639.³⁶ Until 1642, English settlement on the Patuxent (other than the fort at Patuxent Town) was limited to the Jesuit lands and adjacent St. Richard's Manor, settled by Richard Garnett in 1637. (The relationship between Garnett and the Society is not known, but it seems to have been very close.)³⁷ In 1640, John Lewger patented St. Anne's Manor, but probably only as a real estate investment. (It included excellent Indian fields.)³⁸ It remained unseated.

In 1642, the Patuxent settlements began to grow. A former Jesuit servant returned with his wife, daughter, and four servants to seat

a manor, and one of the Jesuits' tenants and three immigrants surveyed small freeholds.³⁹

The August, 1642, Susquehannock attack left the Patuxent frontier a shambles: the Jesuit mission plundered and a servant killed; three of their tenants dead, others fortified up. John Lewger surrendered his patent for St. Anne's Manor. Two of the survivors--Richard Garnett and a Jesuit tenant--retreated to the relative safety of tenements on Snow Hill Manor. The townland vicinity to which they returned was significantly different from that of 1634-37.⁴⁰

By the end of 1642, the Town of St. Mary's had ceased to be a communal bivouac. The open fields had been broken up in the 1630s, and late in 1642 Leonard Calvert took possession of the buildings within the fort, extinguishing the rights of their previous owners. (The land had been patented by Calvert in 1641.) That winter his servants pulled down the rotting remains of the palisades. Except for the tenements surviving from the fort, the townland had taken the form it would have for the next two and a half decades: a neighborhood of small farms that included the homes of the colony's officials (figure 1-1). This was a town form vastly different from that envisioned by Cecilius, Lord Baltimore.⁴¹

Lord Baltimore planned a town taking a European form: the fortified residence of the Proprietor, an attached chapel, and an adjacent town. In 1633, he instructed his settlers to construct within or next to the fort "a convenient house, and a church or chapel . . . for the seat of his Lordship or his Governor." Nearby, streets were "to be marked out where they intend to place the town," and the adventurers

were to build "one by another . . . in as decent and uniform a manner as their abilities and the place will afford." Besides houselots, the adventurers were to have their just proportions of land in the town fields as well as their manorial grants in "the country adjoining."⁴²

Baltimore's expectations for St. Mary's seem to have been shaped not only by his European background, but also by descriptions of Jamestown, Virginia. His instructions as to what his settlers were to build catalog the improvements at Jamestown in the late 1620s.

When the resources of Virginia were tallied in 1625, the enumerators found "BELONGING TO JAMES CITY: church, 1; a large court of guard, 1; pieces of ordnance mounted, 4;" and 15 houselots ranging in size from one sixth of an acre to seven acres. Many of the houses fronted on two parallel streets along the river--the "New Town" surveyed by William Claiborne, 1623-25. Although small, Jamestown was the effective center of social, political, and economic power in Virginia. Resident in its fifteen houselots were the governor, former governor, councilors, and merchants. Five of Virginia's ten largest planters had their primary residences in Jamestown.⁴³

Although it is understandable that Baltimore hoped that St. Mary's would take a European form comparable to that of Jamestown, it was an unrealistic assumption. Only 140 people came on the Ark and the Dove; only 700 people lived in Maryland in 1642. In 1625, Jamestown was the capital of a colony of 1,300 Europeans and Africans, a colony, in fact, too small to support even a modest town.⁴⁴ When Baltimore's father visited Jamestown in 1629, the town was decaying. Three years

later, Governor Harvey complained that his was the only house that offered shelter to the public during meetings of the court.⁴⁵ The colony grew--to 4,914 persons in 1634--, but not its capital.⁴⁶ By 1637, Jamestown was such an embarrassment to Virginians that they reconstructed it in the first of several futile attempts at urban renewal.⁴⁷ The Chesapeake, with its superb natural transportation system, required greater population densities before real urban centers would be practical.⁴⁸

Governor Calvert and Commissioners Cornwaleys and Hawley--frequent visitors to Jamestown--were well aware of the Virginia failure in town development. They did not repeat that mistake at St. Mary's. Instead of creating a gridiron of streets, they developed a practical alternative, a neighborhood of farms seated by manorial lords: demesnes detached from manors. In 1638, Governor Calvert, Councilor Hawley, and the superior of the Jesuit mission were neighbors along the path through St. Mary's, and Councilor Cornwaleys's house was only across St. Inigoe's Creek from the Jesuit farm. In 1642 the same situation prevailed: four of the five members of the Governor's council lived within two miles of his house.

Lord Baltimore provided the legal formula through which the manorial lords dominated the ownership of townland. By the 1636 conditions of plantation, land within "the town and fields of St. Mary's" was to be granted to the adventurers at the rate of ten acres for every person transported in 1633 and five acres for every person transported during the next four years. These townland conditions never seem to have been formalized before 1636. They were not included in the first

conditions written on 8 August 1636 (specifying how manorial and freehold grants were to be made), but were an addendum added on 29 August.⁴⁹ Lord Baltimore may have composed these at the instigation of his new secretary and surveyor, John Lewger. Lewger not only would have to administer the land division, but also wished to settle in St. Mary's. The same day Baltimore composed the townland conditions, he wrote a special warrant to Leonard Calvert that Lewger was to have 100 acres of townland and two manors totalling 3,000 acres.⁵⁰

As intended, Baltimore's conditions for town grants created a community where land ownership was dominated by manorial lords. In 1642, ninety per cent of the acreage granted as townland was held by individuals who had immigrated with enough servants to qualify for manorial grants (see table 1-1). The resulting capital district facilitated communication among the province's leaders, but the virtual exclusion of small holders may not have been Lord Baltimore's intention. He probably assumed that some immigrant artisans would settle in St. Mary's by exercising their rights to five or ten acres of townland to take up a houselot, a plot in the fields, and common rights to pasture. This was not to happen. Almost every artisan--as soon as he accumulated capital enough to establish a household--combined tobacco planting with the practice of his trade. They took up tracts outside the townland, where a headright entitled them to 100 acres.

There were only two middling settlers among the holders of townland grants: an overseer for the Jesuits and a minor investor in the first expedition. Both had purchased enough rights from other immigrants to patent farmable, if small, tracts. The minor investor, Thomas

TABLE 1-1

TOWNLAND OWNERSHIP IN 1642

Owners	Headrights through 1642 ^a	Townlands	References PATENTS, 1:
TOWNLAND GRANTS			
The Society of Jesus	42	Chapel land 25 St. Mary's Hill 255 St. Inigoe's Neck 120	37-39 400
John Lewger, Secretary ^b	27	St. John's	200 51-53
Thomas Cornwaleys, Councilor	57	St. Peter's ^c	150 65-66
Margaret & Mary Brent ^b	8	Sister's Freehold 70.5	33-34
Giles Brent, Councilor	11	White House 63	133.5
Leonard Calvert, Governor	40	Governor's Field	100 121-23
Thomas Greene, Gentleman	3	Greene's Freehold	55 41-42
Mary Throughton ^b	6	St. Barbara's	50 65-68
Robert Clarke, Deputy Surveyor (agent for Jesuits)	1	Clarke's Freehold	50 171
			<u>1,138.5</u>
FREEHOLD GRANTS			
Roger Oliver, Mariner	0	St. Peter's Key	50 71-72
William Lewis, Planter (overseer for Jesuits)	0	Lewis's Neck	30 46
			<u>80</u>
TOTAL TOWN ACREAGE GRANTED			<u>1,218.5</u>

^aMinimum number of persons transported or rights purchased (table 3-1, Patent Libers, and Menard file (Annapolis: Historical Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission)).

^bReceived special warrants from Lord Baltimore.

^cAllocated to Jerome Hawley, escheated, purchased by Thomas Cornwaleys from Lord Baltimore (Calvert Papers, 1:200; PATENTS, 6:277-78, 280-82).

Greene, found his 55 acres too confining. He sold it in 1644 and moved to 500 acres in St. George's Hundred.⁵¹

Besides the townland grants, there were two freehold grants on the town peninsula in 1642. Both were on poor tobacco soils along St. Inigoe's Creek. One recipient was a second overseer for the Jesuits; the other was a mariner.

In 1642, two hundred acres on the peninsula remained unpatented: the poorly drained soils between St. Paul's Foreland and St. Andrew's Creek and the heavily forested, unwatered, center of the peninsula (see above, p. 6, figure 1-1). These vacant tracts and other woodland seem to have been used as common pasture.⁵²

"Tobaccos and Beaver"

The economy of early Maryland rested on the Indian trade and, most important, agriculture. Most seventeenth-century Englishmen were agriculturalists, and the immigrants assumed that they would continue to earn a living from the land. Lord Baltimore's vision of a manorial society, the conditions of plantation, and the personnel and tools of the immigrating society all presumed an agricultural base. Maryland's economy was to be a colonial one, producing raw materials for export to Europe. We do not know what agricultural commodities the adventurers planned to export, although Commissioner Thomas Cornwaleys did not plan to grow tobacco. (He shared King James's distaste for the weed.) For most of the other adventurers, any uncertainty about the importance of tobacco as a staple crop was banished by their first contact with the Chesapeake. In May 1634, Leonard Calvert contracted to make payment for indentured servants "in tobaccos and

beaver." Lord Baltimore's 1635 promotional pamphlet, A Relation of Maryland, computed the yearly value of a servant's labor by his probable production of tobacco, food crops, and pipestaves.⁵³

Returns from agriculture were slow in coming. The fur trade--although in the long run a minor and impermanent asset--offered hope, soon defunct, of immediate returns towards defraying "the great charge of the plantation."⁵⁴ Misfortune, inadequate organization, and competition from Virginia, New Sweden, and Montreal prevented Baltimore from realizing substantial profits from the fur trade. The immigrant investors may have fared better.

To control the Indian trade, Lord Baltimore organized a company known as the "joint stock" or sometimes as "Lord Baltimore and Company." The company consisted of two separate ventures of pooled capital. Eleven adventurers subscribed the original stock, thirty shares at £15 a share. A second stock, at £20 a share, was collected in August, 1634, and a large quantity of trade goods was shipped to St. Mary's (p. 28). This stock of truck lasted for several seasons. While the joint stock was still in existence in 1638, it may not have been active much longer.⁵⁵

Membership in the joint stock was restricted to the investors in the 1633 expedition to Maryland. Lord Baltimore and his silent partners subscribed about half of the shares in 1633 and 1634; ten of the immigrant gentlemen subscribed the remainder of the 1633 shares. Membership in 1634 was broadened slightly to include non-immigrating investors in the 1633 expedition and Henry Fleete. The Jesuits also participated, but perhaps privately rather than through joint stock.

The "Virginia Interest" ruined the 1634 season before it began. Lord Baltimore's opponents, lobbying frantically to block the creation of the colony, delayed the sailing of the Ark and the Dove from mid-August 1633 until 22 November. By the time the immigrants disembarked at St. Mary's, the local fur trading season was almost over. The Dove combed the Maryland tidewater, but could collect only 298 beaver skins (451 pounds), enough, however, to repay almost half of their initial joint stock investment. As he dispatched these skins on the Ark, Leonard Calvert wrote his business partner that they already had acquired another 233 from the Susquehannocks and hoped to get many more northern skins before the end of the summer. Calvert encouraged his partner to invest in the next stock, for although "you have not the full return you expected from your last adventure, what you find short therein, you cannot count lost, for you have so hopeful expectation of what is as good as present possession."⁵⁶

Calvert cautioned his English partners to send enough trade goods. His fellow adventurers responded handsomely. About Christmas, 1634, the Ark arrived in Maryland with:

cloth, coarse frieze:		1,100 yards
glass beads:		15 small gross
combs, box[wood]:	35 dozen	
ivory:	3 dozen	
horn:	17 dozen	55 dozen (660)
brass kettles:		300 weight
axes:		600
knives, Sheffield:		45 small gross
hoes:		30 dozen (360)
hawks' bells:		40 dozen (480) ⁵⁷

At the beginning of 1635, the adventurers in the joint stock anticipated a profitable season. The trade of the upper Chesapeake was completely in their hands. Their only serious rivals for the

northern trade were the Dutch on the Hudson and Delaware rivers and the French at far off Trois Rivières and Quebec.⁵⁸ The Marylanders looked forward to purchasing about 4,000 skins to sell in London for £2,500 to £3,000 sterling.

Their preparations started coming undone in 1634. Throughout the fur trading season, the Marylanders' big bark, the Dove, lay useless at St. Mary's, abandoned by her crew in November 1634. Violence with the Kent Islanders disrupted trading--two Maryland boats were plundered--, and just as the Marylanders were getting the upper hand, the Virginia Council, after deposing Governor Harvey, enforced a truce on the Marylanders and Kent Islanders that left Claiborne free to trade with the Indians.⁵⁹

Some early furs may have been shipped to England with the return of the tobacco fleet, but in mid-summer, a thousand weight of furs at the fort at St. Mary's awaited shipping. Finally, in August, Calvert managed to man the Dove. He dispatched her to London with the rotting furs and a cargo of wainscot timber. She never arrived. The loss, to the joint stock and the eight adventurers who owned the vessel, was over a thousand pounds sterling.

During 1636 and 1637, Claiborne had his best season ever while the Maryland joint stock may have taken in little more than in 1634. In February, 1638, Thomas Cornwaleys submitted an inventory and account for the estate of John Saunders, an investor in the joint stock. The account showed that Cornwaleys "had received of the proceed of both the stocks of the trade and . . . of the eighth part of the pinnace Dove with the profit thereof . . . one hundred and eleven pounds &

one half of beaver, and nine pound one shilling in money."⁶⁰ If Saunders had subscribed one thirtieth of each stock, the joint stock may have taken in as little as 3,350 pounds of beaver, 1634-37. While this would have more than paid for the trade goods shipped to Maryland, the profits on this volume would not have begun to cover the loss of the Dove, much less reimburse Lord Baltimore's expenses in outfitting the 1633-34 expedition.

In 1637, the Maryland fur trade was ripe for reform. Beginning in 1635, some of the major investors had begun trading for themselves, reducing the profits of the joint stock to that of wholesale merchant.⁶¹ Competition among the Marylanders and between the Marylanders and the Virginians was driving up the cost of beaver.⁶² Desperate for some income from his Maryland investments, Lord Baltimore included regulations for the Indian trade in the draft legislation that he sent to Maryland with Secretary John Lewger. The act--passed by the freemen--limited the right of the first adventurers to participate in the fur trade to an additional five years and required them to either rent a share of the fur trade from the proprietor or pay him a tenth of their gross receipts. The Jesuits and Thomas Cornwaleys protested bitterly. Henry Fleete returned to Virginia.⁶³ Leonard Calvert wrote his brother that if he and Captain Cornwaleys could have the trade "two or three years, rent free, I am persuaded that it would be brought . . . far more profitable." While the request may not have been granted, in 1639, John Lewger reported that "the trade of beaver is wholly now in the Governor's and the Captain's hands, without any rival, and they are joined partners in the driving of it."⁶⁴

At the time of Lewger's writing, prospects for the fur trade may have seemed brighter again. Lord Baltimore's control of the fur trade had been confirmed, and his brother had given it reality by seizing Kent and Palmer's islands. But the improvement was slight. The Susquehannock Indians, Claiborne's allies, took most of their trade to the Delaware River (where the Dutch had been joined by the Swedes), and when the French founded Montreal in 1642, the southern flow of Canadian furs declined.⁶⁵ Yet even in the 1640s the Maryland fur trade was important. It continued to hold the attention of Leonard Calvert, Thomas Cornwaleys, and the Jesuits, and they were joined by Robert Evelin, a friend of Lord Baltimore and a principal investor in the "Adventurers to Maryland and Charles River [the Delaware]." In an attempt to cut costs, "factories" or trading posts had been established at Piscataway, Patuxent, and perhaps elsewhere.⁶⁶

In 1639, the fur trade was opened up to anyone who could arm a vessel,⁶⁷ but at the end of Maryland's first decade, the manorial lords retained control of most of the fur trade. The manner in which they exercised their control was changing. Initially, the trade was under their direct supervision, seasonally occupying their servants and their personal attention. The documents preserve glimpses of Thomas Cornwaleys probing the rivers of the Eastern Shore and suggest that Leonard Calvert explored the Potomac above the falls.⁶⁸ This changed as their first servants became free and more freemen arrived. While the manorial lords continued to maintain their mariners and pinnaces, for an increasing proportion of the trade they (especially Cornwaleys) became the financiers, advancing to freemen, at interest, the equipment

and goods needed to conduct the trade. The most important and best documented capitalist-freeman relationship was the Cornwaleys-John Hallowes connection. Hallowes, a mariner, had come in the Ark as Cornwaleys's servant. After becoming free, he worked for Cornwaleys as a hired employee. Then he went into business in partnership with other freemen of St. Michael's Hundred. During the terrible season of 1643--cut off from the head of the Chesapeake and the Eastern Shore by the Susquehannock War--, Hallowes and a partner, Thomas Boys, incurred a debt to Cornwaleys (for goods and the lease of a pinnace) of four hundred pounds of "good & merchantable winter beaver." Henry Bishop and Simon Demibiel, tenants at St. Leonard's (near Patuxent Town) and small scale traders, also were indebted heavily to Cornwaleys.⁶⁹ The manorial lords' control of credit and import distribution furnished them a share of the risks and profits of the fur trade. Their involvement in the corn trade was somewhat less.

The trade in Indian corn was an adjunct to the fur trade, providing employment for men and vessels beyond the spring fur season. The corn was a cheap source of provision for the colony and an ingredient in the coastal trade with New England. When the Marylanders arrived in 1634, they found "the country well stored with corn . . . , whereof they [the natives] sold them such plenty, as that they sent 1000 bushels of it to New England, to provide them some salt fish and other commodities." (The Dove arrived in Boston on 29 August 1634.) The corn trade was regulated, but not tithed. Licensing was required only to prevent weakly manned boats from venturing among the Indians. Export of corn was prohibited when its Maryland price was above thirty pounds of tobacco a barrel.⁷⁰

Much of the purchased Indian corn may have been for local consumption; it certainly was important for provisioning the Jesuit missions. It is the coastal export trade, however, that left the clearest impression in the provincial records. The corn exporters were only a portion of the men involved in the fur trade. Of the fur traders, neither the most important (Governor Calvert), nor the minor ones, seem to have been corn exporters. Rather, the trade was in the hands of the merchants and professional mariners. After the departure of Henry Fleete, Thomas Games, a mariner and merchant of Kent Island, may have become the leading exporter. Thomas Cornwaleys also was active in the coastal trade,⁷¹ but only as a sideline to his main business, importing manufactured goods and exporting tobacco.

Lord Baltimore's colonists came to be agriculturalists. How they planned to farm is unclear to us--and it may have been unclear to them. The Jesuits' 1633 memorandum on Maryland contains wildly unrealistic expectations: three harvests a year, grain yielding five hundred to one, and a soil probably "adapted to all the fruits of Italy: figs, pomegranates, oranges, olives, etc."⁷² The immigrants' unrealistically high expectations were to be a source of frustration, but perhaps it is fortunate that their plans were vague. Chesapeake farming required them to make a major readjustment. Like newcomers to any semi-tropical forest, the immigrants had to relearn neolithic hoe agriculture.⁷³ Fortunately, the skills were simple, and they learned them quickly.

Maryland presented Lord Baltimore's colonists with agricultural potential: virgin soil in almost unlimited quantities. The region's

liabilities were the huge trees of the forest that made traditional European husbandry initially impossible, a scarcity of livestock, and limited export markets. In sum, the assets were greater than the liabilities; but for a decline in the price of tobacco, Maryland agriculture would have flourished at the end of the first decade.

Agricultural practice in manorial Maryland had three strata--a foundation of aboriginal crops (tobacco and corn) and hoe culture, the important addition of European livestock, and a veneer of European arable husbandry. The first layer provided an export and minimal sustenance, the second provided a dependable source of protein, and the third provided dietary variety and social respectability.

For tobacco and corn the forest cloaking the land was an asset. Large amounts of plant nutrients had accumulated in the mold of the forest floor. Tapping them with hoe culture was easy. The great trees of the forest could be killed by girdling--cutting "a notch in the bark a hand broad round about the tree"--, burning off any trash that obstructed planting, and breaking up the ground with hoes.⁷⁴

Tobacco growing required few tools--the axe, broad hoe, and narrow hoe--, but its culture was tedious. Sowing miniscule seeds in beds started the plants. After transplanting to the field, the plants had to be weeded, wormed, topped, suckered, cut, and cured. After curing, the leaves were stripped from the stalks and packed into hogsheads for shipment. The process required an enormous amount of labor. In the 1630s productivity was little more than half what it would be later. Jerome Hawley's estimate of 800 to 1,000 pounds per hand seems reasonably accurate. While a well managed gang might produce more

tobacco a hand, as at St. Inigoe's, planters who combined tobacco planting with a craft or part-time labor for others produced much less, sometimes as little as 400 or 500 pounds.⁷⁵ From 1639 to 1644, Maryland produced annually about 400 hogsheads (100,000 pounds) of tobacco, "an average of more than 600 pounds per taxable-age male."⁷⁶

Indian corn was nearly as important to the peopling of the Chesapeake as tobacco. It was grown easily, immensely productive, and tolerant. It thrived in a variety of soil types and could be planted from March through May. Under ideal conditions, it was estimated that one kernel of corn seed reproduced itself 1,000 times. Its culture was simple. After the ground was prepared, three to five kernels of corn were set in hills four or five feet apart, perhaps with one to three bean or squash seeds. A few hoeings completed the year's work until harvest.⁷⁷ A Virginia minister boasted in 1612 that his servants had "set so much corn . . . in the idle hours of one week, as will suffice me for bread one quarter of a year." He may not have exaggerated. During his first year in Maryland, Mr. John Cockshott, Joiner, and his two servants grew thirty barrels (150 bushels) of corn, but Cockshott was not raising tobacco. If a hand was tending tobacco, grain production was lower. On the well managed Jesuit plantation of St. Inigoe's, the overseer was obligated to produce 1,000 pounds of tobacco a hand plus "7 barrels of corn interset with peas, beans, and mazump." The overseer kept all surpluses above these quotas and reputedly did well.⁷⁸ For the settlers, corn immediately replaced European grains and garden crops as their principal food.⁷⁹

After Indian corn, animal products--milk, butter, cheese, eggs, and meat--were the most important foods. Imported animals were available in inverse proportion to their value. Cattle--prized for their milk, for the meat of the surplus males, and for the market value of breeding stock in an expanding economy--were difficult to obtain. A heifer could not be bred until her third year, and thereafter rarely dropped more than one calf a year. Their size also made cattle expensive to transport. Swine were more available and furnished the principal source of meat. With good care a sow might raise a litter of six to eight pigs, although the average probably was five.⁸⁰ Poultry--especially chickens, but also turkeys, geese, and peafowl--were the easiest to transport and breed. A hen might reproduce herself five to ten times every spring.⁸¹ In 1627 it was reported from Virginia that "he is a very bad husband [who] breedth not a hundred in a year, and the richer do daily feed on them,"⁸² and the same seems to have held true for Maryland. In 1639, John Lewger informed Lord Baltemore "for poultry, I can at this present [time] out of my own stock furnish your Lordship with 50 or 60 breeding hens."⁸³ Predators made sheep difficult to maintain. Only the manorial lords raised them. At Kent, Giles Brent pastured his sheep on an isolated island where they were safe from wolves.⁸⁴

The large quantities of land available greatly facilitated animal husbandry. The woods and marshes furnished forage for cattle and hogs. The cattle grazed on weeds and grasses in the park-like woods and along the edges of the creeks. The swine dug for roots in the swamps and fattened in the fall on the acorns and chestnuts of the

woods. Consequently, the settlers valued necks of land and islands where livestock could be confined with minimal or no fencing. Feeding livestock in winter was less of a problem than in overpopulated England. In England, the increase of a herd often had to be slaughtered each fall, and even breeding stock were kept alive with difficulty. When crop residues and hay were exhausted, farmers had to feed twigs trimmed from firewood and boughs cut from trees. In contrast, the early Marylanders apparently did not bother to cut hay. The "great husks" of corn made good fodder; on the manors there was straw. The cattle could browse through hundreds of acres of woods. While poorly tended cattle may have suffered badly, on the well managed plantations winter mortality was low. In 1643, Lord Baltimore's 54 cows and heifers dropped over 56 calves, of which at least 47 survived the winter. (Eight died "of hard winter &c" and one "by worrying of a dog.") Only two mature animals were lost from the herd that year: a heifer in calving and a cow of old age. On the other manors, reproduction seems to have been equally steady, and on Kent Island, William Claiborne's herd increased from 30 in 1631 to about 150 in 1638.⁸⁵

The greatest limitation on animal husbandry in manorial Maryland was the expense of breeding stock. Throughout the decade, a cow and calf sold for 700 to 1,000 pounds of tobacco. Goats, a substitute for cattle on the early Virginia and New England frontiers, were relatively scarce in Maryland. In the 30s, a good breeding sow was worth 150 pounds of tobacco, and poultry were worth up to 7 1/2 pounds of tobacco each.⁸⁶ The scarcity reflected in these prices was partly the natural cost of living on an isolated frontier and partly the result

of the hostility of the Virginians, who bitterly resented the Maryland interlopers. (Governor Sir John Harvey reported that Captain Samuel Mathew's faction "would rather knock their cattle on their heads than sell them to Maryland.") Anticipating the arrival of the Marylanders, in August, 1633, the Virginia assembly had prohibited the export of cattle "to another Government of this Colony now established." Harvey had provided the Marylanders with cattle in defiance of the act in 1634, but his expulsion in 1635 cut Marylanders off from this source. Until the embargo was lifted in 1638, not even prominent immigrants like merchant Justinian Snow or Councilor Robert Wintour could obtain cattle. Consequently, men began careers as tenant farmers with no or little livestock--a few hogs at the most. One tenant of the Jesuits began farming in 1637 with only "1 cock and 1 hen."⁸⁷

Beginning in 1638, cattle became easier to obtain. Virginia lifted the embargo against the export of cattle, and mariners--John Hallowes in particular--began importing cows for sale to freemen. Later in the year, the confiscation of William Claiborne's estate on Kent Island provided the proprietor with a large stock of cattle. Many were shipped immediately to St. Mary's. In the early 1640s, the manorial lords began using cattle to pay the wages of their free employees,⁸⁸ but the ownership of cattle remained socially stratified. In 1645, the manorial lords may have owned three-fourths of the cattle in Maryland. Four, together, owned 400 head, while the largest herd known to have been owned by a freeholder was only twelve or fourteen. Sheep and horses remained scarce. Their export from Virginia continued to be prohibited. In 1642, Leonard Calvert, acting for Lord Baltimore,

sent two pinnaces all the way to Boston in a vain attempt to buy mares and sheep. On the eve of Ingle's Rebellion, only Leonard Calvert and Thomas Cornwaleys are known to have owned horses.⁸⁹

The practice of agriculture was stratified socially. At the top of the hierarchy were the major investors, a group almost identical with the members of the Governor's Council. With oxen, plowmen, and maids they farmed like English yeomen while their gangs of laborers planted tobacco and corn Indian-fashion. Only the major investors had the labor required for specialization and diversification. A poll tax levied on the freemen to cover the expenses of the August, 1642, Assembly shows that only four had as many as three hands--indentured servants, inmate laborers, and adult sons. The vast majority were taxed only for their own earning power (table 1-2). The major investors could have servants herd their livestock; the freemen could do little but turn their stock loose in the woods. Hoe agriculture was practiced comparably by all. Its entrance requirements were minimal--an axe and two hoes cost only eighteen pounds tobacco--, and it was unavoidable. Tobacco was so demanding of nutrients that new fields constantly had to be hacked out of the forest, fields impossible to plow until the tree roots rotted.

The tenant farmers led a primitive, Americanized existence: daily labor at the hoe and a monotonous diet of corn pone and hominy. Russell Menard established that tenants formed a majority of the 1642 free population of Southern Maryland (table 1-3). Some farmed by themselves, a few with a wife, a very few with an indentured servant. Many joined together in partnerships of two or three to work a leasehold

TABLE 1-2

THE DISTRIBUTION OF TITHABLE LABOR AMONG FREEMEN, 1642

From a Poll Tax Assessed on Freeman August, 1642

Freemen ^a Assessed	Number Tithables ^b per Freeman
1	6
1	5
2	4
7	3
12	2
115	1
Total Freeman: 138	
Total Tithables: 179	

SOURCE: Committee for Burgesses' Accounts, 2 August 1642, Md. Arch., 1:142-46.

^aMembers of the Council, Jesuit priests, women, and their indentured servants were not assessed. Those assessed as freemen included most other free male heads of households whether individuals, partners (assessed separately), or householding employees. Some inmate (i.e., non-householding) sharecroppers and free servants are included (John at Anthony Rawlins's, James at Francis Grey's), especially important individuals (Henry Hooper, surgeon).

^bIncludes head of household, adult sons, indentured male servants, and probably some free inmate servants.

as mates, and occasionally young men joined them to work for a share in the crop. But few leaseholds were worked by more than three adults. Tenants' inventories list hogs in the woods. None mention stored food except corn (and one listing of pumpkins). Documentation shows but one tenant with cattle. Others may have borrowed or hired cattle from their lords, but lacking wives or maids, they could not convert the surplus milk into butter and cheese.⁹⁰

There is no evidence that the freeholders' cultivation of crops differed from that of the tenant farmers. Most of their households were small. None are known to have owned oxen or plough gear, and none are known to have sown wheat on land broken up with a hoe. Only diarying may have distinguished their husbandry from that of the tenants. (By 1642, most freeholders owned cattle, and they were more likely than tenant farmers to have had a wife or maid.) Most of their livestock, though, must have fended for themselves in the woods. Few of the freeholders' households could have spared a young servant or child to tend the cattle or swine, although some freeholders may have hired Indian boys to watch the livestock.⁹¹

Only the major investors could afford diversified husbandry: the equipment (oxen, yokes, plow, harrow, chains, and wain or cart) and the specialized labor of plowman, blacksmith, cow keeper, and dairy maid. The best documented of the manors is Cornwaleys's Cross, with its lavishly furnished dwelling, well equipped kitchen, bake house, servants' quarter, smith's forge, and storehouses. After the harvest of 1644, the barn and granary held wheat, oats, barley, and Indian corn worth £60. The horses, cattle, goats, sheep, and swine on the

TABLE 1-3

ESTIMATED MALE POPULATION^a OF ST. MARY'S COUNTY, 1642

<u>Freemen</u>	
Manorial lords--major investors ^b	6
--minor investors	3
Freeholders	30
Tenants (includes mates)	87
Inmate sharecroppers and wage laborers	35
Non-planting specialists (professionals, artisans, and laborers)	<u>12</u>
	173
<u>Indentured servants^c</u>	100
<u>Slaves^d</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	273

SOURCE: Menard, "Economy and Society," pp. 57, 73, 81-99; PATENTS, 1 and appendix 1 ; table 3-1; Hall, Narratives, pp. 134-35.

^aExcludes Indians. At least one Black (Mathias de Sousa) is included.

^bExcludes non-residents: Lord Baltemore, Giles Brent (on Kent Island), and missionaries in Indian towns.

^cMenard's estimates (53 minimum, 88 maximum) are low as the surviving patent libers do not list the servants of Lord Baltemore, John Langford, Mistress White, and perhaps others.

^dWhile the major investors had been trying to acquire Black slaves since at least 1638, seemingly none were acquired until 1643-44 (by Cornwaleys: Md. Arch., 4:304). Earlier, leased Black servants had worked on Kent Island (Maryland Historical Magazine, 28[1933]:39).

manor were reputed to be worth £920. The Brents' Kent Fort Manor--with its smith's shop, barn, and operating windmill--may have been a near rival to Cornwaleys's operation (table 1-4). Lord Baltemore and the Jesuits also were engaged in arable husbandry. The other major investors--less well documented--may have farmed in a similar manner.⁹²

The manorial lords' arable husbandry contributed indirectly to their prosperity. Their revenues were based on tobacco: planting it, exporting it, and importing the goods needed by small tobacco planters.

In 1634-44 Maryland's commerce was more securely in the hands of Marylanders than at any subsequent time during the century. The manorial lords' activity in importing goods, extending credit, and collecting tobaccos, firmly established them as the middlemen controlling the bulk of the trade, relegating English (and occasionally Dutch) merchants and mariners to the roles of suppliers and carriers. Thomas Cornwaleys, alternating his residence between Maryland and London, became a leading tobacco merchant in Anglo-American commerce.⁹³

The major investors dominated Maryland's trade. Thomas Cornwaleys was the foremost. Initially concentrating on the fur trade and importing, necessity forced him to deal in tobacco. When he returned to England in 1639, the London port books (custom records) record that he imported 33,000 pounds of tobacco, most of which he re-exported to the continent.⁹⁴ Governor Leonard Calvert probably was the next most important tobacco exporter. Third place rotated among several men: Justinian Snow, John Lewger, and newcomers from Virginia. A tax levied in 1642 ranks them in economic order (omitting only the

TABLE 1-4

THE ARABLE HUSBANDRY OF FOUR MAJOR INVESTORS

	Lord Baltemore ^a	Thomas Cornwaleys ^b	Giles & Margaret Brent ^c	The Jesuits ^d
Servants	X	15	8+	22[?]
Cattle	138	120	100	60
Sheep	6	X	20	
Plough	1	1	1	
Vehicle	0	wain	wain	cart
Blacksmith	0	1	1	1
Wheat		X	X	X
Barley		X	X	X
Oats		X		X
Peas			X	X

SOURCES:

^aWest St. Mary's Manor: Md. Arch., 3:141, 4:275-79.

^bCornwaleys' Cross: Cuthbert Fenwick, answer 19, 20 October 1646, in Cornwaleys vs. Ingle, Chancery C24 690/14, Public Record Office, London; Dionisius Corbin, 11 August 1645, High Court of Admiralty 13/60, Section L, PRO; Md. Arch., 10:362-63.

^cKent Fort & St. Mary's: Maryland Historical Magazine 1:139; Md. Arch., 4:455-56; Robert Turtle, 10 November 1642, in Smith and Franklin vs. Clobery et al., HCA 13/58:f.303, PRO.

^dSt. Inigoe's, St. Mary's, and elsewhere: Maryland Historical Magazine 1:140; Md. Arch., 3:178. "Servants" may include hired freemen and tenants.

tax exempt Governor and priests). Of the five leading taxpayers of St. Mary's County, only one was not a merchant. Three of the four merchants (four out of five if Calvert is included) resided in or near the St. Mary's townland (table 1-5).

The Maryland merchants' domination of their economy was based on capital and lack of competition. Lord Baltimore's manorial design meant that there always were settlers with monies to invest in trade. These were not large sums. In 1638, Jerome Hawley's merchandise was valued at £300 to £400; records connected with Lewger mention amounts of £274, £250, and £100; and Cornwaleys's 1645 imports were worth only £160. These sums were enough to allow them to dominate the trade of a province whose principal export was worth only £800 to £1,200 as it left the farm. They also had little serious competition. Maryland's tobacco industry matured during a depression.⁹⁵ Lack of interest from English merchants and mariners was more of a problem than too much competition.⁹⁶ But without the manorial lords' money and industry, outsiders would have dominated the commerce of Maryland, as English merchant-mariners did after 1645.

The merchants' capital was used to import goods and servants. When Justinian Snow died, his storehouse on Snow Hill Manor contained everything needed to sustain life, from twenty-four cases of strong waters and four casks of cheese, to ribbon, silk points, and 29,000 pins. In 1640, Leonard Calvert brought in cloth, shoes, stockings, hose, groceries, and sugar. One of Thomas Cornwaleys's shipments included 1,050 yards of cloth.⁹⁷ From 1634 to 1642, Maryland merchants imported over half the servants brought into the colony. Most they

TABLE 1-5

MARYLAND TAX ASSESSMENT OF DECEMBER, 1642

ST. MARY'S COUNTY		KENT COUNTY	
Total Tax 3,992 lb. tobacco:		Total Tax 2,178 lb. tobacco:	
Taxpayers (name or number of individuals)	Tax each	Taxpayers (name or number of individuals)	Tax each
Capt. Thomas Cornwaleys, Esq., ^a merchant-planter	800		
Capt. William Blount, Esq., merchant	350		
Mr. Thomas Weston, merchant-planter	350		
John Langford, Esq., Surveyor-General, planter	220	Giles Brent, Esq., merchant-planter	220
John Lewger, Esq., Secretary, merchant-planter	170	Mr. Richard Thomson, ^b planter-trader	176
8	150-100		
5	60-40	2	66
35	20	8	44
24	8	59	22
77		71	

SOURCE: Md. Arch., 3:123-26.

^aEsquire equals member of the Council.

^bWilliam Claiborne's cousin (Md. Arch., 3:161, 4:29, 147, 458-59, 518-19; 5:204).

kept to work their own plantations, but they sold others.⁹⁸ While some merchants, especially the newcomers, were conservative in extending credit, most of the small planters were indebted to one or another of the manorial lords. During 1642, Thomas Cornwaleys, John Lewger, and Leonard Calvert had planters' debts recorded in the Provincial Court totalling 77,287 pounds of tobacco.⁹⁹ Their credit lubricated the depressed Maryland economy and gave them first claim on the debtors' tobacco.

Depositions taken following Ingle's raid vividly describe the 1644-45 port functions of the St. Mary's townland. Before Christmas, as soon as the planters began to get their crop stripped and packed, Cuthbert Fenwick, Cornwaleys's factor, and Edward Packer, agent for Leonard Calvert, began working their way up and down the Potomac shoreline by pinnace and shallop. At the tobacco houses of their employers' debtors they carefully inspected the tobacco waiting for them. Acceptable hogsheads were credited to the planters' accounts, marked with the merchants' initials and a number, and transported to St. Mary's as weather permitted. While some tobaccos were held by the planters for direct sale to the tobacco fleet, by mid-February about half the Maryland crop had been gathered at St. Mary's and more was expected soon.¹⁰⁰

Catholic Lords and Protestant Freeman

The leadership of the major investors extended from the economy into politics, but it was a restricted leadership, limited by religious differences, personalities, and the political participation of the freemen.

Lord Baltimore intended that the manorial lords would be the province's leaders, and he appointed them to the Governor's Council, a body that doubled as the Provincial Court. While in part their role had been determined by fiat, the freemen recognized their authority and elected them to the major committees of the Assembly.¹⁰¹ That the freemen did so is not surprising. Seventeenth-century men expected that political leadership would be exercised by men with social and economic status. But while the freemen accepted the leadership of the manorial lords, they were untraditionally bold in insisting that their wishes govern their leaders.

Maryland political life was more open than that in England, a situation resulting from profoundly different circumstances. In old England, the influence of the landed and mercantile gentry was based in large part on overpopulation. Scarcity of land and employment heightened the influence of the landlords and major employers. The bulk of the commoners had to struggle to maintain a modest standard of living, with no hope of improvement. In frontier Maryland there was no lack of land or work, and the hope of improvement was the catalyst that had brought immigrants to the province. Wages were high,¹⁰² and upward mobility--from servant to tenant to freeholder and even to manorial lord--was a visible reality. The expectation of upward mobility and their lords' espousal of a minority religion diminished the freemen's deference to their superiors. Wrangling among the manorial lords further diminished their authority.¹⁰³

Their own divisions weakened the leadership of the manorial lords. Foremost was the split between the proprietary party and the remainder

of the Roman Catholic gentry. Lord Baltimore, forced to remain in England, became out of touch with his investors--competing with them for the profits of the Indian trade and proposing unrealistic legislation. His absence also aggravated the growing division between him and the Jesuits. By the early 1640s his hostility to the Society was irrational, and his actions offended the greatest part of the Catholic gentry in Maryland, especially Thomas Cornwaleys.¹⁰⁴

The personalities of Lord Baltimore's officials, Calvert and Lewger, contributed to the political problems of manorial Maryland. Neither was able to command personal loyalty. Governor Leonard Calvert was an honest man of at least average courage, and--when he had an opportunity to study a problem--of above average political judgment. But his pronounced inability to manage the Assembly suggests that he was unable to deal well with people. Lewger, his secretary, a conscientious bureaucrat of high integrity, was apparently a colorless soul. Few Marylanders made either Calvert or Lewger their proxies during General Assemblies of all the freemen. Of the manorial lords, only Thomas Cornwaleys had a flair for leadership.¹⁰⁵ The weakness of the leadership and lack of deference from the freemen turned the meetings of the Maryland Assembly into contentious, constitutional conventions, in which the gentry and the freemen (or their delegates) combined to resist proprietary legislation. At the 1638 meeting, the first for which any records survive, the entire Assembly (excepting only Governor Calvert, Secretary Lewger, and their proxies) unanimously rejected the code of laws sent over by Lord Baltimore and drafted their own. The 1639-41 Assemblies were less productive.¹⁰⁶ Little legislation

was enacted until the session of July-August, 1642, when Governor Calvert appointed Captain Cornwaleys chairman of the "Committee to Consider of all Bills."¹⁰⁷ The next session, an emergency meeting of all freemen called to consider an expedition against the Susquehannocks, ended on a sour note when Governor Calvert unwisely insisted on his tax exempt status as the representative of the Lord Proprietor. (Cornwaleys resigned from the Council in disgust.)¹⁰⁸ Although finally legislation was being enacted, constitutional questions continued to separate the representatives of the Proprietor from the other members of the legislature.¹⁰⁹

Class interests occasionally surfaced in the Assembly--the free-men's resistance to an expedition against the Susquehannocks or the fee schedules determined by the Council--, but the major issues were constitutional. Lord Baltimore's patent gave him princely authority. It was an authority questioned by most of his subjects. (In England, competition between King and Parliament was about to erupt into civil war.) Marylanders rejected or modified legislation that made opposition to the Proprietor high treason, and they continually attempted to extend the privileges of their "Parliament."¹¹⁰ One goal was triannual Assemblies, another was elimination of the Governor's right to adjourn the Assembly against its will. In 1642, one burgess even proposed the Assembly divide into an upper and lower house.¹¹¹

It is important not to overemphasize the split between the Proprietor's agents and the Assembly. Their disagreements were more like those separating the management and employees of a small, struggling, manufacturing firm, than those dividing nations. Both sides knew that

they needed each other. Maryland was a small enterprise with a total population in 1641 of perhaps 700. Only 45 freemen attended the largest General Assembly convened at St. Mary's, and delegated Assemblies were less than half that size--half a dozen gentlemen summoned by special writ (the councilors and a few others) and a scant dozen burgesses representing Kent Island and the five hundreds (precincts) of St. Mary's County. All were tobacco planters. While they might disagree during an Assembly, the rest of the year they collaborated to earn a living and keep their fledgling society functioning. Robert Vaughan, the burgess who proposed that the Assembly divide into upper and lower houses, was no enemy of the Calverts. While he disagreed with them on the proper ordering of the state, he was a trusted officer and business partner of the proprietary party--the Governor's sergeant in the militia and Secretary Lewger's business agent on Kent Island. A valued loyalist despite his political opinions, in December, 1642, now a lieutenant and gentleman, Vaughan was appointed to the County Court for Kent.¹¹²

Although the Proprietor's and settlers' disagreements on constitutional issues impeded the legislative process, they generally maintained an adequate working relationship. In 1642, the Assembly even voted Lord Baltimore a financial subsidy.¹¹³ In contrast to contemporary Virginia (where corruption was rampant and differences of political opinion were settled occasionally with blows), Maryland was well administered. Justice was dispensed with disconcerting impartiality (even Christian Indians were included), and suspected corruption was investigated.¹¹⁴ Except for the religious breach between the Roman

Catholic manorial lords and the largely Protestant commonalty, few Marylanders would have considered resorting to violence to change their government.

In England, since the Papal excommunication of Elizabeth I, Catholics had been considered political subversives requiring repression. Adherence to the Roman Catholic faith had been made treason. Its priests had been outlawed, its public worship forbidden, and its adherents disqualified from holding public office. Although under the Stuarts, informal toleration was the norm, the harsh penal laws remained. Roman Catholics were intermittently fined for not attending Anglican services, and their estates were subject to heavy taxation. In Maryland, Lord Baltimore's representatives worked intelligently to separate church and state, to repress religious controversy, and to prove that Roman Catholics could be trustworthy rulers. But with the outbreak of the Civil War, they betrayed themselves, proving to many of their Protestant subjects that Roman Catholics were politically corrupt.¹¹⁵

Maryland's leaders were royalists. Giles Brent, acting Governor during Leonard Calvert's absence in England in 1643-44, arrested a Protestant mariner for treason. Calvert returned in 1644 with a commission to attack the King's enemies. (He quickly repressed it, but not before it became public knowledge.) Their support of the King confirmed the prejudices of many: Roman Catholics were enemies of English rights as well as English religion.

Russell Menard argues that much of the weakness of Maryland society was a result of its youth. He implies that given more than a decade, habits of accommodation might have developed that would have carried

Maryland through a crisis such as posed by the English Civil War.¹¹⁶ While much of his argument is obviously true, I believe he overemphasizes the structural weaknesses of Maryland society. (On Kent Island, William Claiborne created a tightly knit, fiercely loyal community in less time, despite comparable demographic problems.) Much of Maryland's weakness was political. Leonard Calvert had a decade to earn the loyalty of a small community. Virtually all the freemen had been his suppliers, customers, or debtors. Most had attended Court or Assembly in his house. More than a few had been members of his household. Yet he had failed to create friendships that would bridge the polarization of English society in the 1640s.

As of January, 1645, Maryland was a going, but fragile concern. Benefiting from the Virginians' hard gained experience and export markets, Marylanders had successfully established a new beachhead in the American wilderness without excessive loss of life or fortune. Harsh frontier deprivation was being replaced by a rude sufficiency, a sufficiency not so rude on Thomas Cornwaleys's Cross Manor. But internal and external forces were straining the social fabric. Tobacco prices were low, Susquehannock hostility was expensive, and the relative openness of the frontier economy fueled divisive competition. Most serious were the problems created by the English Civil War in a society divided between an inept Catholic leadership and a largely Protestant commonalty.

CHAPTER 1

Notes

1. Clayton Colman Hall, ed., Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910; reprint ed., New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), p. 301.

2. It is incorrect to refer to St. Mary's as a city before its incorporation in 1668. Prior to that, the capital was referred to as "Our Town of St. Mary's," "The Town and Fields of St. Mary's," "Town Land," or, more commonly, as "St. Mary's." St. Mary's was described as a town even after its incorporation. Archives of Maryland, edited by William Hand Browne et al. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-), 5:265-66 (hereafter cited as Md. Arch.). The name "St. Mary's" was also used to refer more specifically to the seat of the proprietary government, first "Our Fort of St. Mary's" and subsequently Governor Leonard Calvert's residence. For financial purposes (the collection of quitrents), there was also an administrative district known as the "Manor of East St. Mary's." Md. Arch., 4:426; Annapolis, Maryland, Maryland Hall of Records, PATENT LIBERS, 1:46 (hereafter cited as PATENTS).

3. William Hicks's advertisement for his St. Mary's City land, (Maryland) Gazette, 10 February 1774.

4. Russell R. Menard, "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland," (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Iowa, 1975), pp. 37-38, 452-53; PATENTS, 1:37-38.

5. Menard, "Economy and Society," pp. 70-71; Hall, Narratives, pp. 115-24.

6. Harry Wright Newman, The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate (Washington, D.C.: By the Author, 1961), pp. 91-94; Raphael Semmes, "The Ark and the Dove," Maryland Historical Magazine 33 (1938):15, 21; for the relative economic status of some of Jerome Hawley's servants, see Md. Arch., 4:44-45, 59.

7. Menard, "Economy and Society," chapter 1.

8. Jerome Hawley and John Lewger, A Relation of Maryland: Together with a Map of the Country (London, 1635; reprinted in Clayton Colman Hall, ed., Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910; reprint ed., New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), pp. 91-92; Md. Arch., 3:47-48.

9. Menard, "Economy and Society," pp. 23, 30-32, 45-47; Russell R. Menard and Lois Green Carr, "The Lords Baltimore and the Colonization of Maryland," in Early Maryland in a Wider World, ed. David B. Quinn (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982), pp. 183-85; John

Bossy, The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850 (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1975), pp. 182-94.

10. M. Gordon Wolman, "The Chesapeake Bay: Geology and Geography," Proceedings of the Second Governor's Conference on Chesapeake Bay, 2(1968):15-17.

11. John D. Glazer, Coastal Plain Geology of Southern Maryland, Maryland Geological Survey Guidebook No. 1 (Baltimore, 1968); United States Department of Agriculture Soil Conservation Service, Soil Survey of St. Mary's County, Maryland (1978).

12. Hawley and Lewger, Relation, p. 79.

13. USDA SCS, Soil Survey, pp. 54-55; Maryland Geological Survey, St. Mary's County (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1907), pp. 127, 132, 183-86.

14. Hall, Narratives, p. 40; John Smith, Works: 1608-1631, ed. Edward Arber (Birmingham, England: 1884), p. 427; Albert Cook Myers, "David de Vries's Notes," Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912; reprint ed., New York: Barnes and Noble, 1959), p. 15; Thomas Morton, New English Canaan, ed. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Publications of the Prince Society, vol. 14 (Boston: 1883); reprint ed., New York: Burt Franklin, 1967; originally published in Amsterdam in 1637), pp. 172-73; Gordon M. Day, "The Indians as an Ecological Factor in the Northeast Forest," Ecology 32(1954):329-46; PATENTS, 10:196 ("barren plain" between the branches of St. John's Creek), 15:270-71, 19:132-33, 334, 22:269 ("barren plain" above Hill Creek).

15. Lois Green Carr, "'The Metropolis of Maryland': A Comment on Town Development Along the Tobacco Coast," Maryland Historical Magazine 69 (1974):126.

16. The Calvert Papers, Number One, Fund Publication No. 28 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1889), p. 206; Md. Arch., 4:35-39.

17. PATENTS, 1:97-98; Md. Arch., 1:28.

18. Beane and Charington were former indentured servants. Hebdon, Wickliffe, and Richardson were freemen seemingly transported by George Evelin. Robert Wintour was another new immigrant. PATENTS, 1:18-19, 38, 103, 121; Md. Arch., 4:15; Newman, Md. Palatinate, passim.

19. Md. Arch., 4:35, 239-40.

20. Md. Arch., 4:35-37, 39, 108-11.

21. PATENTS, 1:24, 27.

22. PATENTS, 1:38, 100-02.
23. PATENTS, 1:31-34, 41-42, 51-53, 121.
24. Calvert Papers, Number Three, Fund Publication No. 35 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1899), p. 21.
25. Figure 1-1 and table 1-1.
26. Hall, Narratives, pp. 33-34, 82.
27. Garry Wheeler Stone, "Notes on the Settlement of St. Michael's Hundred, 1634-1644," April, 1978, Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's City, Maryland (hereafter cited as SMCC).
28. Md. Arch., 4:35-39; Calvert Papers, 1:174.
29. PATENTS, 1:31-34.
30. Hall, Narratives, p. 119; Calvert Papers, 1:156-57.
31. Calvert Papers, 1:168, 188, 197.
32. Hall, Narratives, p. 22, 91-92; Md. Arch., 3:47-48.
33. Ralph Hamor, A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia (London: n.p., 1615; reprint ed., Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1957), pp. 28-33; H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia, 1622-1632, 1670-1676, with Notes and Exerpts from Original Council and General Court Records, into 1683, now Lost (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1924), pp. 120-21.
34. Stone, "St. Michael's Hundred."
35. Russell R. Menard, "A Tract Map for St. Mary's County in 1705," Chronicles of St. Mary's 21 (May, 1973):261-72; PATENTS, 1:55 (Snow Hill), 43, 62 (St. Clement's).
36. Hall, Narratives, p. 124; PATENTS, 1:39-40.
37. PATENTS, 1:61-62; Md. Arch., 4:9-10, 23.
38. PATENTS, 1:108.
39. PATENTS, 1:25-26, 129-30.
40. Md. Arch., 3:106, 149; 4:71, 94-96, 161-62, 282; PATENTS, 1:108, 166.
41. PATENTS, 1:51-53. The numerous references to the fort stop abruptly in December 1642. The only subsequent references to the fort

are in commissions from Lord Baltimore, September, 1644. Md. Arch., 1:113-14, 116; 3:114, 116; 4:159, 192.

42. Hall, Narratives, pp. 21-22.

43. Annie Lash Jester and Martha Woodroof Hidden, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person: Virginia, 1607-1625 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), pp. 26-34; Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery--American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1975), p. 119; John W. Reys, Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972), chap. 3; Nell Marion Nugent, comp., Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 1623-1666 (Richmond, Virginia: n.p., 1934; reprint ed., Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1974), 1:2-3; John L. Cotter, Archeological Excavations at Jamestown, Virginia, Archeological Research Series Number Four (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1958), map (rear pocket).

44. Morgan, American Freedom--American Slavery, pp. 396-97.

45. W. Noel Sainsbury, ed., Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1660 (London: 1860), p. 151.

46. Morgan, American Freedom--American Slavery, p. 404.

47. Reys, Tidewater Towns, p. 50.

48. Carr, "'Metropolis of Maryland,'" pp. 138-45.

49. Md. Arch., 3:48-49.

50. PATENTS, 1:34-35.

51. Md. Arch., 4:287; St. Mary's County Rent Roll, 1707, Chronicles of St. Mary's 25 (1977):326.

52. Calvert Papers, 1:196; Md. Arch., 4:427, 480.

53. Hawley and Lewger, Relation, pp. 81-83, 96-98; Calvert Papers, 3:25. One earlier piece of evidence survives, Father Andrew White's 1633 "Account of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore," but it is so vague and riddled with errors and misconceptions that it is not an accurate reflection of the Calverts' knowledge and plans; Hall, Narratives, pp. 5-10.

54. Lord Baltimore, "Declaration to the Lords," [1638], Calvert Papers, 1:226.

55. L. Leon Bernard, "Some New Light on the Early Years of the Baltimore Plantation," Maryland Historical Magazine 44 (1949):93-98;

Semmes, "The Ark and the Dove," pp. 22-23; Calvert Papers, 1:193, 209-10; Md. Arch., 4:5-7.

56. Menard, "Economy and Society," pp. 36-37; Cyprian Thorowgood, "A Relation of a Voyage . . . to the Head of the Bay," Maryland Department, Young Collection, Document 7, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Md.; Leonard Calvert to Sir Richard Lechford, 30 May 1634, Calvert Papers, 3:19-24.

57. Semmes, "The Ark and the Dove," p. 22, citing Port Book--E. 190/38, Book 7.

58. Francis Jennings, "Glory, Death, and Transfiguration: The Susquehannock Indians in the Seventeenth Century," Proceedings, American Philosophical Society 112 (1968):15-53, maps 1-3; William B. Marye, "Patowmeck above ye Inhabitants," Maryland Historical Magazine 32 (1937): 293-300.

59. Semmes, "The Ark and the Dove," pp. 18-21; Garry Wheeler Stone, "The Potomac and Upper Bay: The Virginia Interest Versus the Barons of Baltimore," Research Files, SMCC (draft).

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61. Md. Arch., 4:22-23; Calvert Papers, 1:170-71.

62. Calvert Papers, 1:190; Md. Arch., 5:205, 226.

63. Md. Arch., 1:19, 22, 28; Calvert Papers, 1:161, 164, 167-68, 173-79, 208-11.

64. Calvert Papers, 1:190-91, 197-98.

65. Jennings, "Glory, Death, and Transfiguration," p. 23; John Fullwood's deposition, Md. Arch., 5:231-32; Calvert Papers, 1:183; Myers, Narratives, pp. 7-129, especially pp. 95-116, "Report of Governor Johan Printz, 1644."

66. Md. Arch., 4:138-39, 148 (Jesuits), 156, 204 (Cornwaleys), 273 (Calvert); 3:102-03 (Evelin, Piscataway), 107 (Patuxent); Calvert Papers, 1:191, 210-11 (factories), 212, 215 (Evelin); Stone, "The Potomac and Upper Bay."

67. Md. Arch., 1:36, 38, 42-44.

68. Md. Arch., 4:22-23; Calvert Papers, 1:200-01.

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92. For Leonard Calvert's employment of a cow keep (1639), see Md. Arch., 4:90; for his cow pen (1643), *ibid.*, 4:183; for his blacksmith, PATENTS, 1:27; for Thomas Gerrard's livestock, Md. Arch., 4:135, 143; PATENTS, 1:379-80; for John Lewger, see below.
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98. Menard File, Historical Research Files, SMCC, Annapolis, Maryland; Menard, "Economy and Society," pp. 86-87; additions from PATENTS, 1; Md. Arch., 4.

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101. Md. Arch., 1:10, 12, 120.

102. Table 3-6, p. 116 below.

103. Menard, "Economy and Society," pp. 111-41.

104. Calvert Papers, 1:312, 216-21; Thomas Hughes, History of the Society of Jesus in North America, 4 vols. (London: Longman, Green, and Co., 1907-1917), Text, 1:348-502.

105. Md. Arch., 1:9, 10, 12, 94, 116-18, 130-32, 139-40; for Lewger's personality, see below.

106. Md. Arch., 1:1-110, especially p. 9.

107. *Ibid.*, 1:132-42.

108. *Ibid.*, 1:167, 173, 179, 182; 4:125.

109. Ibid., 1:117, 130, 140, 180.
110. Ibid., 1:10, 12-14.
111. Ibid., 1:117, 130, 140, 180.
112. Ibid., 1:2, 89; 3:59, 95-96, 121, 125, 127, 161; 4:186;
Calvert Papers, 1:185, 187.
113. Md. Arch., 1:120.
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ibid., 4:133-34.
115. W. K. Jordan, The Development of Religious Toleration in England, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932-1940; reprint ed., Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1965), 1:112-32; 2:54-114, 169-98.
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CHAPTER II

SECRETARY JOHN LEWGER

Your Secretary . . . is as quick as I am slow in writing, and therefore in that part a very fit subject for the place he bears, and if he proves not too stiff a maintainer of his own opinions, and somewhat too forward in suggesting new businesses for his own employment, he may perhaps do God and your Lordship good service here.

Thomas Cornwaleys to Lord Baltimore, 16 April 1638¹

John Lewger came to Maryland to do God, Lord Baltimore, and himself good service. A decade later he retreated to England. The event that defeated him--the English Civil War--was one over which he had no control, but prior to its outbreak, Lewger's Maryland performance was flawed. He did much good service, but experience and personality poorly equipped him to further his own interests or those of Lord Baltimore. Until his arrival in Maryland, he had spent most of his adult years in the halls and cloisters of Oxford. Three degrees had prepared him to be a judge, a scribe, and an accountant; and three years as a village rector had given him some exposure to farming. Neither had prepared him to be a merchant, a councilor, or a legislative lobbyist. Part of his inadequacy was due to inexperience, but part was due to personality. Seemingly, Lewger lacked both charisma and the perception to see how his words and actions were affecting others.

John Lewger was born in late 1601 or early 1602 of "genteel parents in London."² Nothing else is known of his background. In 1616,

he was admitted as a commoner to Trinity College, Oxford. Lewger proceeded to the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1619, and then to that of Master of Arts in 1622. In 1627, after admission to orders, he became rector of Laverton, Somerset, and about that time he married. He continued his studies and proceeded to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in 1632, when he was ordained priest.³ Lewger's school experience and friends shaped his life. In particular, his training as a clergyman seems to have reinforced a pre-existing sensitivity to principle rather than to people.

At Trinity Lewger made two friends who exerted a profound influence on him. One was Cecil Calvert, whose father became the first Baron of Baltimore in 1625. Lewger entered Calvert's service in 1636 or 1637 and remained in it until his death. The second, more immediate, influence was William Chillingworth. Chillingworth, a brilliant student, had remained at Oxford to teach and to help formulate England's intellectual defences against the Counter-Reformation. He engaged a Jesuit, Father John Fisher, in debate and lost. Fisher convinced him "that there must be some infallible judge in matters of faith, and that such infallibility rested, if anywhere, in the Church of Rome." Converted to Roman Catholicism, Chillingworth went to France and entered the Jesuit college at Douay.⁴

The defection of his friend made a deep impression on Lewger. According to Streeter,

to satisfy himself, or to obtain arguments with which to draw back his friend from the maze of error into which he believed he had fallen, he began himself a thorough investigation of the subject,

at the end of which he came to a similar conclusion with Chillingworth, and felt himself compelled to acknowledge the Church⁵ of Rome as the only true Church.

Lewger resigned his rectorship. What his hopes were is unknown, but his economic prospects were grim. His conversion eliminated a career in the ministry, teaching, or civil service. A refugee for conscience's sake as much as any Puritan emigrant to New England, Lewger left Laver-ton in 1634 or 1635. With his wife and son, he travelled to London, then the center of English Roman Catholicism. (Priests and chapels were attached to the Roman Catholic embassies and the household of Queen Henrietta Maria.) There he preached part-time as an Anglican to support his family. Lewger's departure from the English church was made more difficult by the reconversion of his friend Chillingworth. Lewger argued with his friend, trying to convince Chillingworth of his error, but Lewger only succeeded in embittering himself.⁶

In London, Lewger came to the attention of his former school fellow, Cecil Calvert, now the second Baron of Baltemore. Soon Lewger determined to make a new life for his family in Maryland. None of the details are known, but by September, 1635, he had helped Commissioner Jerome Hawley (returned from Maryland) author a tract promoting emigration to Maryland. The move would be expensive. A minimum of £100 was required to finance a Maryland manor.⁷ Lewger turned for help to the Roman Catholic clergy. On 11 July 1635, the Papal Envoy, Gregory Panzani, reported to Rome, "I have also recommended to Father Philips [the Queen's confessor] a very learned minister, John Lewger, one recently converted." Panzani promised to try to aid Lewger and advocated in his report that a fund be established for converted

ministers. Three times in 1636, Panzani mentions subsequent appeals from Lewger (February 27, May 28, and August 25). Eventually, Lewger raised a sum in excess of £200, probably with the help of Father William Price of the Benedictines. In 1639, Lewger was distressed that Price had not answered his letter of the previous year. "He is one who I shall ever acknowledge myself infinitely obliged to, and I beseech God reward him for all his charity to me and mine."⁸

John Lewger came to Maryland as Secretary of the Province and a manorial lord. On 29 August 1636, Lord Baltimore wrote that Lewger was to have two manors and one hundred acres of townland.⁹ The warrant suggests that Lewger intended to go to Maryland with the 1636 tobacco fleet. For unknown reasons, his departure was delayed a year. Lewger sailed in August or September, 1637, on the ship Unity. He arrived in Maryland on 28 November. He brought his wife, Ann, his nine year old son, John, three maidservants, three manservants, a boy, and enough capital to begin a substantial plantation.¹⁰

We never can know what Lewger's expectations were as he left England. It would seem reasonable, though, that he felt some measure of excitement on making the transition from rural parson to a principal in a New World experiment. For Lewger, the experiment would be a disappointment, first politically, and ultimately financially. In Maryland, he found himself in a situation with which he was poorly equipped to cope.

Contention

Lewger brought to Maryland a legislative code drafted by Lord Baltimore. The code was disagreeable to most Maryland Catholics.

Baltimore proposed reforms that challenged the financial interests and religious sensibilities of the original investors. The draft laws gave Baltimore a monopoly of the fur trade (discussed above), revised the conditions of plantation, and elaborated the machinery of a secular state. The latter legislation was aimed at preventing the Society of Jesus from assuming ecclesiastical privileges. Disagreement on the status of Roman Catholicism would bitterly divide Maryland Catholics until the intervention of the English Civil War.¹¹

Lewger's introduction to Maryland politics came two months after his arrival. On 25 January 1637/8, Governor Leonard Calvert convened a General Assembly as directed in the new commission of government from Lord Baltimore. The Assembly was to consider the draft code of legislation brought by Lewger. On the third day, the Assembly rejected the code almost unanimously. Only Governor Calvert, Secretary Lewger, and their proxies voted for it. Thereafter, Lord Baltimore's two representatives had an uphill battle to save his legislative program, but by the end of the Assembly, they were remarkably successful. About fourteen acts seem to have been salvaged intact (the total number sent by Lord Baltimore is not known) and another twenty, locally-written substitutes were enacted. Leonard Calvert wrote his older brother:

The body of laws you sent over by Mr. Lewger I endeavored to have had passed . . . , but could not effect it, there was so many things unsuitable to the people's good and no way conducing to your profit. . . . The particular exceptions which were made against them Mr. Lewger hath given you an account of in his dispatches to you. Others have been passed in the same assembly . . . which I am persuaded will appear unto you to provide both for your honor and profit as much as those you sent us did. 12

Calvert and Lewger achieved their success by persuading many of the

freemen to vote with them, but the cost was substantial. The manorial lords were embittered, and Lewger gained instant unpopularity.¹³

Lord Baltimore was convinced that the man/land ratios established by the original conditions of plantation were too low. Huge, thinly settled tracts impeded settlement and increased the danger of Indian attack. Baltimore proposed that the manorial lords surrender their old land rights and take out new patents under conditions requiring them to maintain twenty persons--fifteen of them armed--on every manor. When these changes were passed, most of the manorial lords felt cheated. Lord Baltimore had lured them to the province with a generous contract and then repudiated it. While Governor Calvert was most responsible for the passage of the legislation, it was the newcomer, Lewger, who was the lightning rod for the manorial lords' resentment. The Superior of the Jesuit mission, Father Philip Fisher (Mr. Thomas Copley), complained¹⁴

either we must lose all our buildings, all our clearings, all our enclosures, and all our tenants, or else be forced to sit freeholders, . . . I am told that Mr. Lewger defends publically in the Colony, that an assembly may dispose here of any man's lands or goods as it please.

It is to Lord Baltimore's credit that, after reading his Maryland partners' protests, he dropped his attempt to revise retroactively the conditions of plantation.¹⁵

The other major group of laws was designed to correct a second problem: confusion or disagreement on the status of Roman Catholicism in Maryland. Baltimore's charter gave him the patronage of all churches and chapels. Now, with the 1638 code of laws, he limited church jurisdiction--whether Church of England or Roman Catholic--to exclusively

spiritual matters. Baltimore's concern was to separate religion and citizenship and by so doing to make possible Catholic participation in Maryland's government. In England, a majority of the Catholic gentry had been trying to effect such a plan for over a generation. There they had been frustrated by Protestant prejudices that were being reinforced continually by the actions of Catholic missionaries and terrorists. In Maryland, the Calverts had more opportunity to achieve separation of church and state, but one of the same problems: a missionary order imbued with the goal of resurrecting the prerogatives of the Roman Catholic Church. By excluding religious bodies from temporal concerns and by denying them temporal privileges (except glebes for Church of England ministers), Baltimore touched off a bitter struggle with the Society of Jesus and their Maryland supporters. During the struggle, both sides would accuse the other of betrayal.¹⁶

Initial responsibility for the conflict is unclear. Baltimore clearly assumed that the relationship between the Proprietor and the Maryland missionaries would follow lines similar to those between the English Catholic gentry and Jesuit missionaries in England, while the Maryland Jesuits wanted to assume many of the privileges of a religious order in a Catholic country. Whether the misunderstanding was accidental or contrived is unknown. It was almost inevitable due to rapidly diverging social conditions on opposite sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

In England most Jesuit missionaries were chaplains to the wealthy gentry--dependent upon them for political protection, financial support, and aid in their struggles against the other factions of English Catholicism. Those missionaries not in the households of the powerful

led lives of deprivation and periodic danger.¹⁷

In Maryland, the Jesuit missionaries were in a vastly different environment. Here there were no hostile police or rival ecclesiastics. Nor were the missionaries financially dependent upon the Calverts. The Society of Jesus was the largest landowner in the province and the Proprietor's most important partner. Maryland was a Jesuit as well as a Calvert project. Every major investor had ties to the order, of which the Calvert's may have been representative.¹⁸ The first Lord Baltimore had educated some of his sons in a Jesuit school, had collaborated with them in defeating the secular clergy's attempt to place a bishop at the head of the English Roman Catholic Church, and had solicited their help in the colonization of Maryland.¹⁹ While the missionaries realized that they had to be discrete, it is neither surprising that their notion of discretion should diverge from that of the Proprietor nor surprising that their relationship to him would become less subservient. Hence, the missionaries began aspiring to a Maryland role comparable to that to which Bishop Smith had aspired during his short term at the head of the English Catholic Church.²⁰ Progressively, the Second Lord Baltimore would be forced into opposition to the Jesuits for the same reasons his father had once opposed the pretensions of the English secular clergy.

In 1633, Lord Baltimore had instructed that Maryland Catholics practice their religion in private. Two years later, he was politically embarrassed when the Virginia interest proved that mass was being said publicly in Maryland. Shortly thereafter, he was alarmed to learn that the missionaries were claiming some of the privileges of

ecclesiastics in Catholic countries and had become through gift and purchase the largest landholders in the province. Baltimore may have learned also that the Jesuits were claiming to have obtained some of their land by gift from the Indians, an encroachment on his proprietary rights.²¹ In 1637, Baltimore dispatched Lewger with draft legislation to end the temporal pretensions of the missionaries and to prove to the outside world that Maryland was not a Roman Catholic state.

The acts passed in 1638 provided glebes (farms) for future Anglican ministers, but otherwise recognized no ecclesiastical privileges. In Maryland, lay jurisdiction was established over matters administered by ecclesiastical courts in Europe: the issuing of marriage licenses, the recording of wills, the probating of estates, and the punishment of immorality. Economic regulations were passed and taxes levied without exemptions for clerics or religious property. Only the Proprietor could acquire land from the Indians, and no religious corporation could receive gifts of land except by the consent of the Proprietor.

The legislation placed Maryland Catholics in a dilemma. The new laws required Catholic magistrates to exercise jurisdiction illegal by Papal decrees, actions that could lead to their excommunication. After the Assembly adjourned, Councilor Thomas Cornwaleys wrote Lord Baltimore that

My security of conscience was the first condition that I expected from this Government. . . . I will rather sacrifice myself and all I have in the defense of God's honor and his Church's right, than willingly consent to anything that may not stand with the good conscience of a real Catholic. . . . Therefore, I beseech your Lordship, . . . that you will not permit the least laws to pass that shall not first be thoroughly scanned and resolved by wise, learned, and religious divines. 22

Toward the end of his letter, Cornwaleys apologized for not including

general news, noting

I doubt not but your Secretary will supply [it] who is as quick as I am slow in writing, and therefore in that part a very fit subject for the place he bears, and if he proves not too stiff a maintainer of his own opinions, and somewhat too forward in suggesting new businesses for his own employment, he may perhaps do God and your Lordship good service here. ²³

Father Philip Fisher was scandalized. He complained to Lord Baltimore that "Mr. Lewger seems to defend opinions here, that she [the Church] has no privileges by divine law. . . ." ²⁴ Father Fisher requested, "while the government is Catholic," that the Jesuits enjoy partial exemption from taxation and Indian trade restrictions, agreement that the civil magistrates exercise jurisdiction over the clerics only as temporary surrogates for ecclesiastical courts, and that the Jesuits be allowed to have as many privileges as they, the Jesuits, thought could be employed without notice being taken in England. While Father Fisher declared that he would "take no land but under your Lordship's title," he defended the missionaries' right to accept land from the Indians, and he tactlessly suggested that anyone who interfered risked excommunication. ²⁵

Lewger may well have been a stiff "maintainer of his own opinions," especially when he knew that they coincided with Lord Baltimore's, but he was hardly the ignorant radical that the Jesuits took him to be. After the 1638 Assembly, Lewger carefully outlined to Lord Baltimore the Catholic objections to the legislation. The objections were put in the form of "Twenty Cases," or questions to the Proprietor. The "Twenty Cases" were elaborations of three main questions. Did the temporal responsibilities and privileges of the Roman Catholic Church originate by gift from God or by grants from princes? Did Roman

Catholic Church law automatically extend to Catholics everywhere, or only where recognized by the State? Did Maryland Catholics sin in abridging the traditional privileges of the Church? Several of the cases referred to Lewger's own position as Commissary of Causes Testamentary. Was the discharge of his duties a sin? What should he do about a will that

giveth legacies for masses to be said for the soul of the deceased, and contains in it the profession of the testator to die a member of the Roman Catholic Church, out of which there is no salvation, with other passages contrary to the religion of England?

Should he refuse to record such a will, or was he bound to prove it, "though the Lord Proprietor may incur danger for such a record?"²⁶

Baltimore's response to the 1638 correspondence was to attempt to gain a concordat from the Society of Jesus, and he instructed Governor Calvert not to patent any Jesuit lands until an agreement had been reached. Father Henry More, head ["Provincial"] of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, attempted to placate Baltimore--a more tactful missionary, Father John Brooke, was sent to be Superior of the Maryland mission--, but there was less agreement on principles than Baltimore may have thought. The next January, Secretary Lewger reported that he had acquainted the new Superior

with what your Lordship writes touching some instructions and directions to be sent out of England for the future comportment of their part to your Lordship's right and the government there [here?]. But he made strange at most of them, as if he had received no instructions touching any of the particulars, and desired a note of what was written concerning them that they might conform themselves to it in all points so far as in conscience they might.

27

In September, 1639, Lord Baltimore's proposals were rejected by the

General of the Society. In no nation, in no part of the world, were Roman Catholic ecclesiastics to submit to lay authority. The Society's response led to an increasingly ugly quarrel between missionaries determined to reestablish the medieval status of the Papacy and an English Baron determined to attain toleration of Maryland Catholics.²⁸

Baltemore had compelling reasons for insisting that Maryland Catholics violate English law as little as possible. In 1638, the position of Catholics in England was worsening. By 1641, when Baltemore made his next bid for a concordat with the Society of Jesus, English Catholicism seemed on the edge of a holocaust. The previous November, the Long Parliament had passed new measures to suppress Roman Catholicism, and mob violence against Catholics became widespread. In July, 1641, the execution of priests resumed. Shortly, the House of Commons would declare "that they would never give consent to any toleration of the popish religion in Ireland, or in any other his majesty's dominions."²⁹

In 1641, Baltemore renewed his campaign to compel the Society to acknowledge his religious program and proprietary rights. He drafted "Four Points" for the new English Provincial to acknowledge:

1. The illegality of trade with the Indians without license.
2. The illegality of acquiring land directly from the Indians.
3. That the acts of the Maryland Assembly bound all persons, lay and clerical. Further, considering the dependency of Maryland on England, no ecclesiastical person could expect privileges other than those allowed like persons in England, nor were lay magistrates (although Catholic) compelled to recognize other privileges.
4. Lay jurisdiction over matters of morality would continue (until ecclesiastical courts were established with Lord Baltemore's assent) "without incurring the censure of Bullae

Coenae [excommunication], or committing any sin for so doing."

To compel the Jesuits to submit, Baltemore forbade them send additional missionaries to Maryland without his specific permission, and he began negotiating for secular priests to replace them. When the English Provincial continued to deny all four points, Baltemore increased his demands on the order. In November, 1641, he added the conditions of mortmain (that corporations can not acquire bequests of land without the permission of the prince) to the conditions of plantation and attached an oath to compel acquiescence. The next year he intensified his pressure by demanding the surrender of the Jesuits' Patuxent manors (tainted by their pretended title from the Indians) and by sending two secular priests to Maryland and installing them in the Jesuits' chapel in St. Mary's. When the Jesuits still refused to negotiate, Baltemore's frustration became almost uncontrollable. In November, a rumor that a Jesuit secretly had taken passage for Maryland threw him into a rage. The Jesuits, he wrote Leonard Calvert, "do design my destruction." "If they cannot make or maintain a party by among the English [settlers] to bring their ends about, they will endeavor to do it by the Indians within a short time by arming them." The laws of nature, he wrote, give men the right of self defense, even against the Pope and even if the pretended end is righteous. He directed his brother to have the contraband missionary returned, or, failing in that, to expel Mr. Copley (Father Fisher, again the Jesuit Superior). Probably only Baltemore's distaste for confrontation prevented him from ordering the mission out of the province. His patience might have paid off--the Society offered concessions in 1643 and considered

capitulating completely in 1644-- , but in 1645, time ran out for manorial Maryland. Ironically, the extension of the English Civil War to Maryland was to be more the result of Leonard Calvert's indiscretions than those of the Jesuits.³⁰

Governor Calvert and Secretary Lewger found themselves caught in the middle of Lord Baltimore's dispute with the Jesuits. Their perspective was different from the Proprietor's. The Atlantic Ocean shielded them from the English tensions that drove Baltimore into conflict with the Society. Calvert and Lewger felt, more keenly than the distant Proprietor, community and personal pressures to maintain good relations with their pastors. In daily contact with the missionaries, they knew them as devout, reasonable men, if unyielding on abstractions. Though the Jesuits' requests for privileges infuriated Baltimore, the Jesuits' practice was loyal, more so than that of other investors. The Fathers were the only minor fur traders to pay tithes on the trade to the Proprietor. While they were proud of the Indian gift of Mattapany to the mission, they based their legal title to it on valid headrights. (In contrast, Giles Brent married the daughter of the Conoy tayac in the hopes of gaining Indian lands.) Father Fisher helped suppress anti-Protestant prejudice. Baltimore's Governor and Secretary were to find it increasingly difficult to both follow their employers' instructions and be fair to the missionaries.³¹

Lewger did not relish his estrangement from the missionaries and worked to overcome it. In January, 1639, he reported to Lord Baltimore that "for the present, we have no differences at all, and I hope we shall have no more, where either part can avoid them." While,

on Baltimore's instructions, Calvert and Lewger had not issued patents to the missionaries for their lands, Lewger had surveyed the tracts, and the Fathers were in possession. The predicament of the Proprietor's representatives increased, however, as the tension between his Lordship and the Society mounted. In 1641, Governor Calvert allowed the superior of the mission, Father Fisher, to transfer his rights to St. Inigoe's manor and his townland tracts to a trustee (Cornwaleys's overseer). Then Calvert patented them in the trustee's name. Lewger also served as a straw man for the Jesuits, taking title to the mission lands at Piscataway. (In 1642, Baltimore bitterly denounced this breach of his instructions.)³² When the new conditions of plantation arrived in early 1642, Secretary Lewger reported in his dairy to Lord Baltimore:

The Governor and I went to the good men³³ to consult diverse difficulties that we had.

1. One about the publishing of the conditions of plantation . . . wherein all grants already passed were charged with the Statute of Mortmain. To this the Governor found a solution by interpreting the Article not to comprehend grants already made . . . , but that no man should have benefit by these new conditions, unless he would put all his land . . . under that condition of not alienating it, etc. And this being found . . . but a mere proposition left to man's liberty, was resolved by the Goodmen, not to be comprehended in Bullae Coenae, nor to incurr any excommunication in the publishers, etc.

2. Yet whether or not it incurred not mortal sin to be the active instrument of publishing . . . such a proposition or contract, as contained obligations against piety and good manners, and was a sin in both parties that proffered and that accepted the contract. And this they resolved, that it seemed so for the present, but they would take time to consider better of it, ere they resolved it pre-emptorily.

3. The oath upon the instructions to be tendered to all such as were to take land, etc. was resolved to be evidently against conscience, and to incurr excommunication Bullae Coenae³⁴ to publish it, or administer it, or record any such oath.

Lewger may not have reported that he and Calvert resolved the difficulty

by not transcribing into the provincial records the full text of the new conditions. The paragraphs on mortmain and the oath were omitted.³⁵

Although Lewger's sincerity soon earned him the respect of his peers, he never became a popular figure. Temperament and training had suited him better to be a bureaucrat and judge than a politician.

"Mr. Secretary"

Until 1640, John Lewger was the province's only bureaucrat. His responsibilities extended over a multitude of poorly differentiated roles. He was the secretary to the Governor, the Council, the Provincial Court, and the Assembly. As Secretary, he was a member of the Governor's Council and thus a member of the Provincial Court. He held separate commissions as Commissary of Causes Testamentary (judge of probate) and justice of the peace. He was also Attorney General, Surveyor, and Collector of Revenues. From 1637 to 1645, he lost only a few of these duties. In 1640, the Assembly elected their own clerk, and in 1642, the position of Surveyor General was resurrected and given to another individual. From 1643, he also shared financial responsibility with a treasury board, and his collector's duties were delegated to others. He had unofficial functions as well--as an employee of the Calvert family, he was their agent. But the sum of these duties only occupied Lewger part-time.³⁶

It was as "keeper of the Acts and Proceedings of our Lieutenant General" (the Governor) that the Secretary gained most of his employment. The Governor granted land, presided over the Council, and was chief judge (chancellor) of the Provincial Court. (The Council and

Provincial Court were the same group of men, but serving separate executive and judicial functions.) The Secretary handled all the paper work involved in granting land: he recorded immigrants' headrights and their subsequent demands for land based on these rights, wrote out the Governor's warrants to the surveyor, copied the resulting surveys, and drew up the patents for the Governor's signature. For this work he was paid by the persons patenting the land: thirty pounds of tobacco for a freehold or sixty pounds of tobacco for a manor.³⁷ This was only a minor function of the Secretary. A population of 700, most of whom were tenants or servants, generated few land documents. As secretary to the Council, Lewger's responsibilities were also light: the recording of a few commissions, proclamations, and minutes and the issuing of licenses. It was as secretary (and a judge) of the Provincial Court that Lewger performed the greatest part of his official work.

The Provincial Court was the main economic arbitrator of the colony and handled all serious criminal cases. (The justices of the peace and manorial courts seem to have handled minor infractions of the law and tenant-landlord problems.)³⁸ Criminal cases were few. During Maryland's first decade, there were no crimes of violence among St. Mary's County's white population, and theft was rare. From August to December, 1642, the Provincial Court heard less than a dozen cases of a criminal nature, most minor, and most handled as trespass (requiring restoration or reimbursement) rather than as felonies. Corporal punishment was administered only once. A freeman tried to persuade a maidservant to run away to Virginia, was caught, and whipped. (He

could have been hung.) The only case that created any work for Lewger as attorney general was that of Captain Giles Brent. Brent had volunteered to lead an expedition against the Susquehannocks. He then abandoned it when most of the Kent Islanders refused to go. As the St. Mary's County troops had already mustered at Kent, the fiasco was expensive. Ultimately, Brent was absolved and restored to his offices. The civil jurisdiction of the Court was infinitely more important. During the same five months in 1642, about 175 civil cases were brought before the court, most of them suits for debt.³⁹

Legislation enforced by the Provincial Court was the principal method of regulating creditor-debtor relationships in a depressed tobacco economy that was solvent only once a year (after the tobacco crop had been stripped and packed) and that lacked formal banking institutions. Acts of the Assembly provided that creditors, after recording their debts in Provincial Court, could have the tobacco and corn crops of their debtors attached, a process that prevented the debtor from legally putting his crops on the market before paying his creditors.⁴⁰ Most actions were mere formalities. In 1642, they began with the August court, when most of the major creditors had their debts recorded. More debts were filed with the court in October. In November, as tobacco was readied for shipment, the pace picked up, and almost every demand for payment was accompanied by an attachment on the debtor's crop. Most paid up without further difficulty. Those who did not had their crops seized in December. Over one hundred and sixty demands for payment were recorded, but only eighty attachments or summonses were issued. Only twenty-eight crops were seized in execution. There

was little other litigation: a few instances of breach of contract and flight to escape debts, one wrangle over land, and an accusation of slander (a fellow mariner had made a disparaging remark about John Hallowes's wife.)

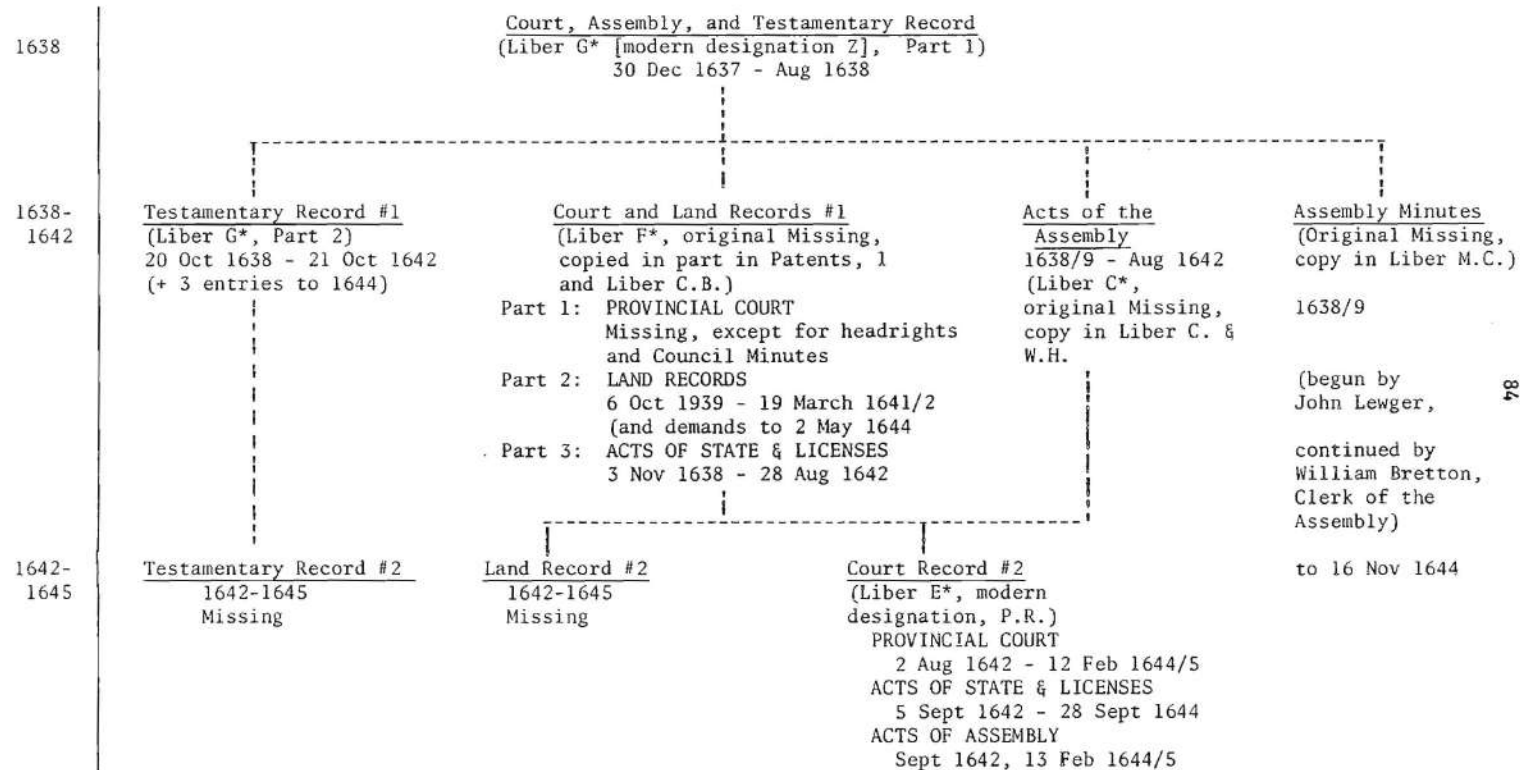
During the second half of 1642, the work of the Provincial Court kept Lewger busy for a week each in August and December and about two weeks each in October and November. By legislation, Lewger's fee was five pounds of tobacco an entry (about a shilling). In 1642, he probably earned less than 1,500 pounds of tobacco as clerk of the court. Land and testamentary fees were larger, but fewer in number. His total income from fees in 1642 hardly could have exceeded 2,500 or 3,000 pounds of tobacco. It was twice a freeman's wages, but not a great sum (approximately £20-25) and not enough to have employed a clerk, although he once tried to secure one.⁴¹ In 1639, Lewger informed Lord Baltimore: "For the clerk which I wrote for, I am now provided with one whom I intend to bring up under me, and instruct him in the art of surveying." Whoever this was, he did not work for Lewger long, as almost all the surviving records are in Lewger's handwriting. (Lewger did secure a deputy surveyor, Robert Clarke, who began laying out tracts in January, 1640.) Fortunately, Lewger wrote quickly. His formal hand was a good italic script, but when rushed he reverted to the old-fashioned secretary alphabet.⁴²

Lewger's other public responsibilities were minor and were overshadowed by his duties as agent and newsletter writer to the Calvert family. His 1643 accounts as collector fill less than a page, and probably only in Leonard Calvert's absence did Lewger need to act as

a "Conservator" or justice of the peace.⁴³ But he and Calvert were Lord Baltimore's factotums, subjected to requests for advice, assistance, and New World curiosities. Lewger passed on to the Governor the more exotic requests--for redbirds, lions, and Indian curios--, explaining that "for my part, I scarce see an Indian in half a year, neither when I do see them have I language enough to ask an arrow of them." Lewger looked out for the Proprietor's business affairs, everything from advising Baltimore on his sister-in-law's investment to providing for the secular priests sent in 1642. On Baltimore's instructions, Lewger established a plantation for the Proprietor on West St. Mary's Manor and made many of the arrangements to have the plantation constructed, staffed, and stocked. Although Governor Calvert was a good correspondent, Lewger bore the main burden of keeping their employer informed. Only three pieces of this private correspondence have survived: a complete letter from 1639 and fragments from 1638 and 1642 (the latter copied into the Jesuit archives), but it seems to have been voluminous and very detailed.⁴⁴ Fortunately, more of Lewger's public records have survived.

Two of Lewger's original record books and transcripts of three others have been preserved in the Maryland archives. From them we can reconstruct the Secretary's bound records (figure 2-1).⁴⁵ At first, all his records were entered in chronological order in one book. About September, 1638 (corresponding perhaps to his move from the fort to St. John's), Lewger set up a more structured system. The second half of his original book was converted into a testamentary record with sections for "probate matters," administrations, inventories, and

accounts. A separate court book was divided into court and council business, land records, and licenses. A third group of records was begun for the Assembly. By mid-1642, these books had been filled and three new ones were begun. By modern standards, even these records were arranged casually. Different types of records were mixed together, and when blank sections developed in the books they were filled with material placed out of chronological order. But all the material was indexed carefully. With only half a dozen books and a few files of paper, Lewger could have found any record in a few minutes. He kept his indexes current. When he was kidnapped by Ingle in 1645, his last court book, filled a few days earlier, was indexed to the final entry.



*Designations assigned by Secretary Thomas
Hatton, c.1650.
Underscored designations are mine.

Fig. 2-1. Provincial record books, 1638-1645.

CHAPTER II

Notes

1. The Calvert Papers, Number One, Fund Publication No. 28 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1889), p. 179.

2. Anthony à Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis, ed. Philip Blake, 4 vols. (London: 1813), 4:696-97; Joseph Foster, Alumni Oxoniensis (Oxford and London: Parker and Company, 1891-92; reprint ed., Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1968), 3:905. Lewger was fourteen when he entered Oxford, 13 December 1616. In depositions taken in 1645, he gave his age as first 45 (6 August: London, England, Public Record Office, High Court of Admiralty, 13/60, section K) and then as 44 (26 September: London, England, Court of Chancery, C24 690/14); Thomas Hughes, History of the Society of Jesus in North America, 4 vols. (London: Longman, Green, and Co., 1907-1917), Text 1:350, states that Lewger was born about 1602.

3. Consignation Books, Somerset Record Office, Taunton, England, Diocese of Bath and Wells, courtesy I.P. Collis, former County Archivist. David Quinn helped interpret the diocesan records. In 1637, Lewger's son was nine years old, Annapolis, Maryland, Maryland Hall of Records, PATENT LIBERS, 1:17 (hereafter cited as PATENTS).

4. Sebastian F. Streeter, Papers Relating to the Early History of Maryland, Chapter 5, "The First Catholic Secretary, John Lewger" (Baltimore: The Maryland Historical Society, 1876), pp. 219-20; W. K. Jordan, The Development of Religious Toleration in England, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932-1940; reprint ed., Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1965), 2:377-400.

5. Streeter, Papers, pp. 221-22.

6. Lewger's successor at Laverton was instituted 14 July 1635 [I. P. Collis to Garry Stone, 10 November 1976, Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's City Maryland]; Jordan, Development of Religious Toleration, 2:182-97; Chillingworth, "Reasons against Popery in a Letter . . . to His Friend Mr. Lewger," Works, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1838), 2:493-99; "A Conference betwixt Mr. Chillingworth and Mr. Lewger," ibid., 3:278-307.

7. Jerome Hawley and John Lewger, A Relation of Maryland: Together with a Map of the Country (London: 1635; reprint ed., Clayton Colman Hall, ed., Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910; reprint ed., New York: Barnes & Noble, 1967), pp. 70-112, especially pp. 93-96. Hawley's and Lewger's authorship is established by L. Leon Bernard, "Some New Light on the Early Years of the Baltimore Plantation," Maryland Historical Magazine, 44 (1949):98-100.

8. Hughes, Society of Jesus, Text, 1:359-60; Calvert Papers, 1:195.

9. PATENTS, 1:34-35.

10. PATENTS, 1:17.

11. Neither Baltimore's code nor the acts of the 1637/8 Assembly have survived, but the content of some of the bills can be inferred from their titles and comments in letters from Mr. Thomas Copley (Father Philip Fisher) and Lewger to Lord Baltimore: William Hand Browne, et al., eds., Archives of Maryland, 72 vols. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-), 1:15-22; Calvert Papers, 1:157-69; Hughes, Society of Jesus, Documents, 1:158-61; see also *ibid.*, Text, 1:383-416.

12. Calvert Papers, 1:189-90.

13. Md. Arch., 1:1-23; 3:51.

14. The Superior's family name was Copley. Within the order, a pseudonym was used to protect his identity should English officials seize the records or mail of the Society. Generally, the Superior seems to have been known by his family name, but other priests may have used their pseudonyms extensively. In England "Father Andrew White" used this pseudonym often enough so that the Second Lord Baltimore considered "Mr. Thomas White" an alias. To conceal their function, the priests appear in the Maryland records by their family names and status titles (Mr., Esq.). How Marylanders addressed their priests is unknown. In this manuscript, I have adopted the missionaries' religious pseudonyms as the accompanying titles clarify their social functions. For Father Fisher see Hughes, Society of Jesus, Text, 1:365, 562; Calvert Papers, 1:201, 203; and Md. Arch., 4:14, 45, 49, 52, 58, etc.; for Father Andrew White, see Edwin Warfield Beitzell, The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County, Maryland, 2nd ed. (Abell, Maryland: By the Author, 1976), between pp. 15 and 16; Calvert Papers, 1:201, 203; and Md. Arch., 4:14, 45, 49, 52, 58, etc.

15. Calvert Papers, 1:163, 169. The new legislation was not put into force. The old conditions were the basis of the surveys begun in 1639: PATENTS, 1:31 ff.

16. Jordan, Development of Religious Toleration, 2:76-84, 186, 189, 505-21; Hughes, Society of Jesus, Text, 1:191-92, 201-11, 246-55. Baltimore's only clear statement of his intentions for Maryland is contained in his 1633 instructions: Hall, Narratives, pp. 16-21. The relevant section of the Charter is in *ibid.*, p. 103.

17. John Bossy, The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850 (London: Darton, Longman, & Todd, 1975), pp. 49-59; J. C. H. Aveling, The Handle and the Axe (London: Blond & Briggs, 1976), pp. 111-63.

18. John Bossy, "Reluctant Colonists: The English Catholics Confront the Atlantic," in Early Maryland in a Wider World, ed. by David Quinn (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1982), pp. 162-64.
19. Aveling, Handle and Axe, p. 137.
20. Bossy, English Catholic Community, p. 57.
21. Hall, Narratives, pp. 16-23, 102-03; Hughes, Society of Jesus, Text, 1:374-75; and see below.
22. Calvert Papers, 1:171-72.
23. Ibid., 1:179.
24. Ibid., 1:162.
25. Ibid., 1:164-68.
26. Hughes, Society of Jesus, Documents, 1:158-61; Md. Arch., 3:60-61; Aveling, Handle and Axe, p. 157.
27. Calvert Papers, 1:194.
28. Hughes, Society of Jesus, Text, 1:389, 421-24, 458-59.
29. Jordan, Religious Toleration, 2:197-98; 3:18-20, 31-33.
30. Hughes, Society of Jesus, Documents, 1:166-68; Text, 1:490-564; Calvert Papers, 1:216-19.
31. Calvert Papers, 1:200; Hall, Narratives, p. 124; PATENTS, 1:19-20, 37-38; Deposition of John Lewger, 6 August 1645, in Copley et al. vs. Ingle, London, England, High Court of Admiralty, 13/60, section K [Brent's marriage to Mary Kittamagund c. Michaelmas, 1644]; Md. Arch., 3:35-39.
32. Calvert Papers, 1:194, 219-21; PATENTS, 1:38-41, 115-18.
33. I.e., the missionaries. As English persecution intensified, Governor Calvert and Lewger stopped referring to them by name. "Those of the Hill," i.e., St. Mary's Hill, was another means of referring to them.
34. Hughes, Society of Jesus, Documents, 1:164-65.
35. Md. Arch., 3:99-101; Hughes, Society of Jesus, Documents, 1:162-63.
36. Md. Arch., 1:16, 90; 3:53-54, 60, 101-02, 114-16, 140, 147, 157-59.

37. Md. Arch., 1:58, 163.

38. An Act for Judges, ibid., 1:182-84. My assumption that manorial lords dispensed justice is based on the absence of intra-manor disputes among the records of the Provincial Court. The first conspicuous exception, a suit for backrent by Leonard Calvert's overseer, is subsequent to Leonard Calvert's departure for England in 1643. Ibid., 4:208. See also, ibid., 4:480.

39. Ibid., 4:113-66.

40. Ibid., 1:153-54.

41. Md. Arch., 1:162-63; Russell R. Menard, "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland," (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Iowa, 1975), p. 272.

42. Calvert Papers, 1:179; PATENTS, 1:46, 74 ff.

43. Md. Arch., 1:52-53, 147, 182-84; 3:50, 60-61, 115, 131, 159; 4:475.

44. Md. Arch., 4:275-79; Calvert Papers, 1:182-201; Hughes, Society of Jesus, Documents, 1:158-61, 164-65; see above.

45. Some material seems to have been maintained as bundles of loose papers. These included some testamentary papers, most notably Jerome Hawley's inventory (S. E. Hillier and Garry Wheeler Stone, eds., "James Hawley contra Thomas Cornwaleys," Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's City, Maryland) and the apparently disallowed acts of the 1638 Assembly.

CHAPTER III

ST. JOHN'S FREEHOLD: PLANTATION, ENTREPÔT, AND STATE HOUSE

Acts of the first day
being 25th February 1638/9
in the morning

Assembled at the Fort of St. Marys
[The Lieutenant General, Councilors, and Delegates]

And they removed the Assembly to be held at Saint Johns¹

In 1638, Secretary John Lewger began developing a 200 acre plantation north of the St. Mary's Fort (figure 3-2). By 1640, Mr. Secretary had perhaps twenty servants working on St. John's, a crew that should have made him one of the largest tobacco producers in the province. While St. John's was never as self-sufficient as the Cross, St. Inigoe's, or Kent Fort Manors (table 1-4), Lewger employed a tailor, perhaps a blacksmith, and, briefly, a leather worker. In 1640-1641, he also was one of the most important merchants in the colony. He owned a ketch and employed boatmen. When low tobacco prices and ruinous indebtedness forced Lewger to retrench, by slight of hand (the patenting of 800 acres of adjacent upland and the substitution of tenants for indentured servants), he converted St. John's Freehold into the demesne of St. John's Manor. By virtue of Lewger's position as secretary and sometime acting governor, his modest mansion house occasionally did double duty as the province's state house.

Establishment

The Lewgers arrived in Maryland late in November, 1637, in good time to prepare ground for the 1638 crop.² John Lewger probably found temporary housing already available--houses in the fort vacated by the migration of servants to the investors' manors. After settling his household, one of his first concerns was to obtain an allocation of townland convenient to the Governor's house. To the east, along the path to the Commissioners' manors, the townland was occupied completely. But north of Governor Calvert's field, the neck on the other side of Mill Creek was vacant. There Lewger took up the hundred acres of townland granted him by Lord Baltimore. Lewger named his freehold after his patron saint, St. John.

On the south side of the neck, on the edge of the terrace above the mouth of Mill Creek, John Lewger found (or was shown) an ideal building site. Immediately adjacent to a spring, it faced south into the warmth of the sun. A stubby sand spit at the mouth of the creek made an excellent boat landing. From the fort to the spring was only an eight minute walk, assuming footlogs in the location of the subsequent crossings. There in 1638, Lewger built a large house.

By mid-1638, Lewger had eight or nine men planting and building on St. John's. Presumably, the menservants brought on the Unity began clearing and cutting timber that winter. In the spring, Lewger obtained other labor. From Captain George Evelin, he bought the indentures of a carpenter and two laborers, and he hired another carpenter freed by Evelin. (All were men brought from Kent.) He purchased another laborer from the Proprietor, and in the fall he may have obtained a

boy from Robert Wintour's estate (table 3-1).³ While malaria may have thinned his crew (his indentured carpenter died in August), at critical times Lewger may have hired other carpenters. His dwelling and tobacco houses may have been framed during the summer lull between planting and harvest. In early fall Lewger may have moved his office into the new dwelling (figure 2-1).⁴

The following February, Mr. Lewger's new house was put to public use, Governor Calvert directing that the freemen of Mattapanient and St. Mary's hundreds convene "at our Secretary's house at St. John's, there to make such nomination and election of your burgesses . . . for this next Assembly as you shall think fit." Two weeks later, when the Councilors and Burgesses gathered at Calvert's house in the Fort of St. Mary's, "they removed the Assembly to be held at St. John's."⁵

In 1639, John Lewger's new parlor may have been the largest room on the townland. In England, though, St. John's would have been considered a very modest dwelling.

St. John's was a one and a half story, frame farmhouse. For a story and a half farmhouse, it was generously proportioned (52' by 20'6") and well timbered, but it was only a farmhouse, with a large kitchen and parlor on the ground floor, chambers in a high attic, and a corn loft in the peak of the roof. A closet behind the chimney and a small, stone-walled cellar provided additional storage space (figure 3-1, appendix 3A). For a frontier dwelling, the interior was well finished with walls plastered in large panels between exposed posts, ground-laid plank floors, and glazed windows. The chimney was brick only to the top of the fireboxes. Above it was timber and plaster.

TABLE 3-1

THE INDENTURED SERVANTS AND HEADRIGHTS OF JOHN LEWGER, SR.

	Approximate Service	Alive 1642	Notes
1637: transported by Lewger on the <u>Unity</u>			
1. Martha Williamson	11/37-11/41	yes	m. [Thomas?] Pasmore
2. Ann Pike	11/37-11/41	yes	m. John Mansell by 1/43
3. Mary Whitehead	11/37-11/41	yes	m. William Edwin
4. Benjamin Cobbie	11/37-11/41		} one manservant hired to Henry Fleete, 28 Feb. - 10 Nov. 38
5. Phillip Linnie	11/37-11/41		
6. Thomas Fursdon	11/37-11/41		
7. Robert Serle, age 12	11/37-11/49		
1638: purchased from the Proprietor			
8. William Freeman	36-40		hired by Claiborne 36; seized by Md. c. 3/38
Purchased from George Evelin			
9. Andrew Baker, carpenter	c.12/36-	dead 8/38	transported by Clobery and Company
10. Thomas Baker, laborer	c.12/36-12/40		transported by Clobery and Company
11. John Hatch, laborer	c.12/36-12/40	yes	transported by Clobery and Company; free by 11/41
12. John Askue, gardener	12/34-12/38		transported by Clobery and Company
Purchased from Robert Wintour's estate?			
13. George Tailor, age 15	1/38-	yes	servant to Lewger or possibly Leonard Calvert; free by 43 or 44
Purchased from Vicountess Faulkland			
14. Barnaby Jackson, tailor	11/38-	yes	free by 3/42
1639: Richard Lee's headrights (servants did not serve Lewger)			Lee arrived 3/18/39, died 3/31/39 at St. John's. Lewger was his executor and acquired his headrights. sold by Lee to Justinian Snow
15. Christopher Moreland			
16. John Jones			
17. Ann Norris			freed by Lee's will
18. Humphrey Chaplin			freed by Lee's will
1639 or early 1640: transported by Lewger			
19. Hugh Nash	39/40-43		
20. Bartholomew Slater	39/40-43		
21. William Stiles	39/40-43		
22. Deborah Towers	39/40-43		
23. Ann Eglesfield	39/40-43	yes	m. Richard Nevitt
24. Thomas Oliver [blacksmith?]	39/40-43	yes?	sold to Leonard Calvert, c. January 1641?
c.1640: transported by Lewger			
25. Anne Reynolds [or Goldsborough?]	c.40-43	yes	m. John Shircliff
c.1641: transported by Lewger			
26. Alexius Pulton, surgeon	freeman?	yes	
c.1642: purchased (?) by Lewger			
27. Thomas Todd, skindresser and glover	c.42-45	yes	hired own freedom, 10/42; fugitive for debt, 44

TABLE 3-1: Continued

SOURCES

1. Williamson: Pats., 1:17, A B & H:150.
2. Pike: Pats., 1:17, A B & H:150.
3. Whitehead: Pats., 1:17, A B & H:150.
4. Cobbie: Pats., 1:17, A B & H:150.
5. Linnie: Pats., 1:17, A B & H:150; Md. Arch., 4:21.
6. Fursdon: Pats., 1:17, A B & H:150.
7. Serle: Pats., 1:17, A B & H:150.
8. Freeman: Pats., A B & H:150; MHM 28:187; Md. Arch., 3:76-77; 5:172, 188.
9. Baker: Pats., 1:19; Md. Arch., 5:183-84, 194; 4:34, 43-44, 105.
10. Baker: Pats., 1:19; Md. Arch., 5:183-84, 194.
11. Hatch: Pats., 1:19, 127; Md. Arch., 5:183-84, 194.
12. Askue: Pats., 1:19; Md. Arch., 5:183-84; MHM 27:349; 28:184-86.
13. Tailor: Pats., 1:18; Md. Arch., 4:85, 209-10, 238-39, 290, 300.
14. Jackson: Pats., 1:18: 2:604; Md. Arch., 1:117; 4:475.
- Richard Lee: Pats., 1:18; Md. Arch., 4:51, 76-79.
15. Moreland: Pats., 1:19; Md. Arch., 4:79, 109.
16. Jones: Pats., 1:19; Md. Arch., 4:78.
17. Norris: Pats., 1:19; Md. Arch., 4:51, 78, 108.
18. Chaplin: Pats., 1:19; Md. Arch., 4:51, 78.
19. Nash: Pats., 1:19, A B & H:150.
20. Slater: Pats., 1:19, A B & H:150.
21. Stiles: Pats., 1:19, A B & H:150.
22. Towers: Pats., 1:19, A B & H:150.
23. Eglesfield: Pats., 1:19, A B & H:150.
24. Oliver: Pats., 1:19, 27, A B & H:150.
25. Reynolds: Pats., 1:19, A B & H:150.
26. Pulton: Pats., 1:125.
27. Todd: Md. Arch., 4:243, 283.

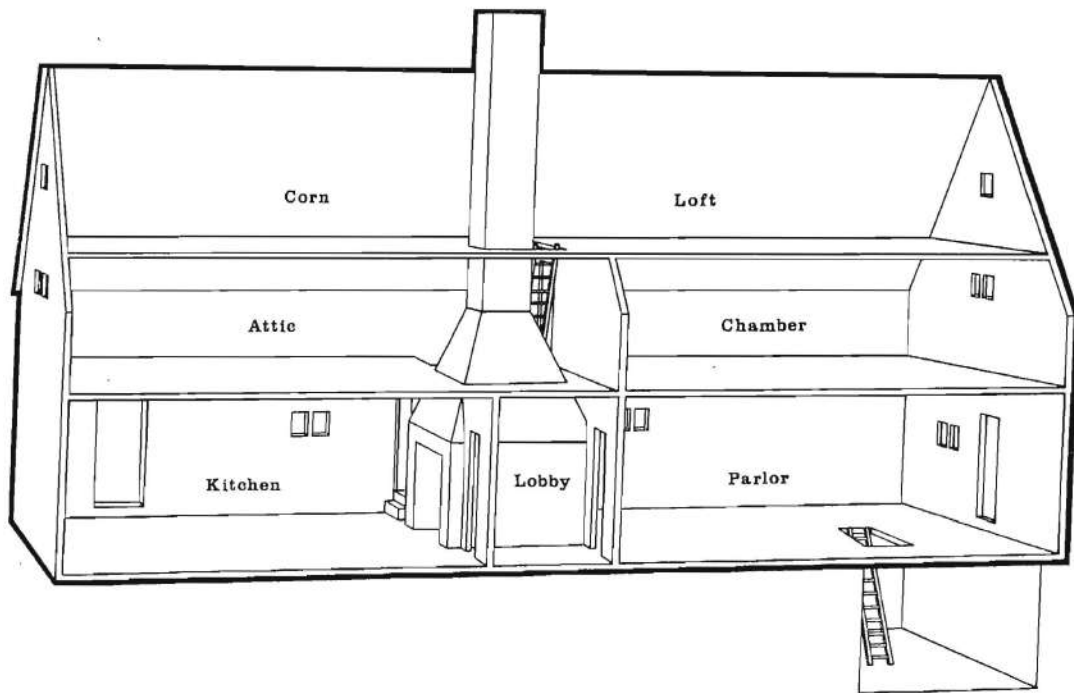


Fig. 3-1. The St. John's dwelling, c.1640.

By the housing standards of the prosperous English Southeast, where Lewger grew up and this house type originated (figure 4-6), St. John's was a modest home, in most ways equivalent to the dwelling of a minor yeoman--a middling farmer working a small farm with the labor of his family and a couple of servants. By Chesapeake standards, it was a gentleman's home. Lewger's dwelling was set off from the houses of the commonalty by its large rooms, cellar, brick fireplaces, plastered walls, plank floors, and glazed windows. When completed late in 1638, St. John's was the second best dwelling in the province (chapter 4). For the time and the place St. John's was a dwelling that a man could take pride in, and the archaeological remains of the house, particularly the evidence of an unusually large parlor with its own exterior entrance, suggest that Lewger was proud of it. During construction, Lewger seems to have modified his dwelling so that it could serve, on an interim basis, as the meeting place of the Maryland Assembly.

State House and Office

In 1638, the Provincial Assembly lacked an adequate meeting hall. This had been made clear to Lewger two months after his arrival in Maryland when thirty men squeezed into one of the rooms within the fort⁶--most likely the 18' by 17' hall of the St. Mary's House. As Lewger constructed his own house, he saw an opportunity to provide a public service and enhance his own status. Lewger left the parlor end of his house unpartitioned, thereby creating a room measuring 23'8" by 19'10". A door cut in the gable wall gave it its own entrance. The cost to Lewger was minimal. The resulting floor plan, however, was exceptional. Few farmhouse parlors have exterior entrances, and

farmhouse parlors as large as that of St. John's are virtually unknown.⁷ Governor Leonard Calvert had partitioned the parlor end of his house--a smaller space only 17' by 18'--into a parlor, little parlor, and bedchamber (appendix 3B). Comparable inner rooms are common in seventeenth-century English and New England farmhouses. Presumably, Lewger planned to partition his parlor into similar spaces--perhaps a parlor, child's bedchamber, and study--as soon as a public town house was constructed (and one was authorized but not constructed in 1639).⁸ Lewger's ploy was successful; the 1639, 1640, and 1641 Assemblies met in his house.

Except for meetings of the Assembly, from 1639 to 1643, St. John's was largely the private residence of the Secretary. Even as Lewger's office it was basically only a study--the place where he transcribed records and drew up papers, balanced accounts, and kept the records and the great seal. (The public office of the province was Leonard Calvert's house.)⁹ Temporarily, the Assembly stopped meeting at St. John's after Governor Leonard Calvert added a "great room" to the back of the St. Mary's House c.1641. During the three Assemblies of 1642, only one afternoon meeting is known to have been held at St. John's.¹⁰

The Governor's St. Mary's House was the administrative center of the province until 1643. There Leonard Calvert presided over meetings of the Court and Council. Between formal meetings, he and Lewger frequently sat as magistrate and clerk, hearing complaints, recording demands, and issuing warrants towards the next court. If business came up unexpectedly, it was easy to send for the Secretary. Most of the other public business, even that within John Lewger's jurisdiction

as judge of probate, was conducted at Calvert's house during the formal and informal meetings of the Court and Council.¹¹

There certainly must have been exceptions. During Calvert's absences, Marylanders with urgent business would have sought out Lewger at St. John's, and at other times they might have gone there to arrange for a survey or to seek legal help in matters to which the Governor was a party. But the loss of the Court Book for 1638-1642 makes it impossible to know if these exceptions were common enough to make St. John's a public place before 1643.¹²

When Leonard Calvert left for England in April, 1643, St. John's became the state house of the province.¹³ Before leaving, Calvert had leased his house, townland, and servants to tobacco planter Nathaniel Pope.¹⁴ When Acting Governor Giles Brent came to town, he used St. John's as his office. In the intervals between Brent's visits, Lewger was one of only two magistrates in St. Mary's County. His house was its administrative center, doubly so, as the sheriff, Edward Packer, was a member of Lewger's household (table 3-2).

Calvert's departure threw on John Lewger most of the administration of justice for St. Mary's County. Brent lived on Kent Island, and three other members of the Council were out of the province.¹⁵ Of the St. Mary's County councilor-magistrates, only James Neale remained, and he lived on the Potomac frontier in St. Clement's Hundred. In 1643-1644, he was an infrequent visitor to the St. Mary's townlands.

During 1643, the absence of the Governor from St. Mary's paralyzed the administration of justice. Judge Lewger sat regularly, but largely only as a recorder. While sitting alone, Lewger passed judgment in

only seven suits, some of which were within his jurisdiction as a justice of the peace. Lewger's reluctance to pass judgment in substantial matters was well grounded. While in the absence of the Governor, several Councilors could comprise a legal court, only the Governor or his appointee could determine causes by himself. Some cases were disposed of during Brent's July and November visits, but by January term, an obvious backlog of cases had accumulated. Justice was being delayed contrary to Maryland law and practice.¹⁶

In January, 1644, Brent faced up to the problem caused by his residence on Kent Island. He authorized "John Lewger, Secretary . . . (in the absence of the Lieutenant General from St. Mary's) to hear and determine any civil cause with liberty of appeal to either party."¹⁷ During the next eight months, Lewger's duties evolved into those of part-time acting governor for the western shore. He opened the March term of the Provincial Court promptly when Brent was late and sat as the only judge in April and June. At St. John's, Lewger passed judgment in suits for debt and trespass, arraigned felons, issued minor commissions and passports, and squelched an anti-Catholic rumor. In June, he was confronted with a crisis. Word reached St. Mary's that the Susquehannocks were sending ambassadors to Piscataway. Their purported purpose was to negotiate peace with the Conoy, but the Marylanders suspected that their end was to effect an alliance against the whites. (In Virginia, the second Powhatan War had begun in April.) With the support of the St. Mary's County gentry, Lewger sent Henry Fleete to Piscataway with detailed instructions to negotiate a treaty with the Susquehannocks or to fight. Lewger issued the instructions

in his own name, but signed Brent's name to Fleete's commission.¹⁸

In August, Brent learned of Lewger's commission to Fleete. Enraged, he suspended Lewger from the Council and Provincial Court. Less than a week after Lewger dutifully transcribed Brent's order for his dismissal into the court book, Leonard Calvert returned to Maryland. Calvert recommissioned his friend as Secretary, Attorney General, Councilor, and judge.¹⁹ When the Assembly met the following February, it convened at "Mr. Pope's house at . . . St. Mary's" (Leonard Calvert's former residence).²⁰ St. John's reverted to its role as the private residence of the Secretary.

Planter

Dear Brother

I would have you to pass a grant unto Mr. John Lewger and his heirs of one hundred acres of land within the plots assigned for the town and fields of St. Mary's, and also to grant him any two manors . . . either upon the firm land or any peninsula, codd, neck, or point of land upon any river, that may with most ease and speed be enclosed, and not exceeding the quantity of three thousand acres in the two manors and . . . any one island in the Bay of Chesapeake, lying between the mouths of Patuxent and Patowmeck River, . . . 29th August 1636.

Signed Cecilius Baltemore²¹

Lewger's work as "Mr. Secretary" was secondary to his main occupations, planting and trading. He perhaps was better prepared to be a planter than for any of his Maryland roles, except that of judge. As rector of Laverton, Lewger and his servants had farmed the glebe, a husbandman's portion of 75 acres.²² While there were differences between the old world farming of Laverton and the new crops, new technology, and new social conditions of the Chesapeake frontier, still there was much continuity. Watching servants, weather, and crops

required the same care; cattle, dairy, and garden required the same skills. Unfortunately, John Lewger's planting is not well documented. The only information to survive is the headright and land entries in the patent libers (land records), a 1639 letter mentioning hogs and poultry, and the inventories of Lord Baltimore's livestock at St. John's.

More than the other major investors, Secretary Lewger was a large-scale freeholder rather than a manorial lord. He was slow to claim his rights to manor lands, slow to set up tenant farmers. Lewger's tardiness may reflect both circumstances and character. Initially he was discrete in not claiming a manor, as the proposed conditions of plantation he brought with him to Maryland set requirements he could not have met (i.e., the maintenance of twenty men on every manor). Not until December, 1640, two years after these conditions had been disallowed, did Lewger patent a thousand acre manor, named St. Anne's after his wife, on the Patuxent. He surrendered it in 1642, when it became a minor liability during the Susquehannock War. By then, his affairs were so embarrassed by his overextension in trade, that he found it expedient to sell rights to Thomas Gerrard to 2,000 acres of land, which Gerrard used to expand St. Clement's Manor to 6,000 acres. Other rights were assigned to former servants as part of their freedom dues. But by special warrant and the importation of settlers, Lewger had accumulated rights to 6,775 acres. Less than half were used or sold before his departure from Maryland.²³ Seemingly, Lewger was disinterested in land or seignoral rights for their own sake. In contrast, his peers relished the responsibilities of manorial lords. They were the scions of the aristocracy and squirarchy, and for them

land and rents were the most respectable and dependable source of status and income.²⁴ While Lewger must have shared the general English respect for landed wealth, nothing in his background suggests he had experience in dealing with tenants. Apparently a private person, he shied away from the landlord-tenant diplomacy required of a manorial lord.

Lewger's preference to be a farmer rather than a landlord is hinted at from the beginning. While Leonard Calvert, Jerome Hawley, and the Brents were content with small townland demesnes of sixty to one hundred and fifty acres, Lewger wanted a larger plantation at St. Mary's (table 1-1). By December, 1639, he had acquired rights to 410 acres of townland: 100 acres by special warrant, 90 acres for transporting his family and servants, 20 acres from the estate of Richard Lee, and 200 acres assigned by Thomas Cornwaleys. Lewger entered a demand for 300 acres of townland, and on 4 December 1639, Leonard Calvert issued Lewger a warrant. The warrant authorized "Mr. Surveyor" to set out for himself 200 acres "lying nearest together about St. John's" and 100 acres more on the north side of St. John's Creek "beginning on the north at a swamp called Pope's Swamp." Lewger may have measured the land previously, as he recorded the survey and patent for the two necks the following day. Unfortunately for Lewger, the northern neck already was occupied, and its occupant, Nathaniel Pope, apparently did not consider his tenure temporary and had no intention of becoming a tenant of Lewger's. Pope must have complained to Governor Calvert, as Lewger's warrant, survey, and patent were cancelled. In February, 1640, both men patented their respective necks. The exclusion of Pope's Freehold reduced St. John's to 200 acres.²⁵

As redefined in February, St. John's Freehold was bounded on the west by St. Mary's Bay and Mill Creek, on the south by a line beginning in Mill Creek "below the house now in the tenure of Phillip West, Carpenter" and running east "into the woods" to the foot of St. Mary's Hill. The east bound was a line drawn north to just above the forks of St. John's Creek, and the north bound followed the north edge of the marsh to the river.²⁶

Plotted on a modern topographic map, the bounds of the freehold enclose about 185 acres of firm ground. Ninety of these acres are level terrace--superior land for corn, wheat, and high quality tobacco. The remainder consists of hillsides, banks, and ravines. While some slopes along the St. George's River are plantable, most of the rest are wasteland. Thirty-five of these acres--broken land along St. John's Creek--were too rough to have been cut for firewood or timber. Lewger's inclusion of these banks and ravines within the freehold was deliberate. By doing so he was able to extend the freehold's boundaries to include all the marsh along St. John's Creek.

Lewger laid out St. John's Freehold to take in all the low ground along the lower course of St. John's Creek. As unstable ground, it was not included in the calculated acreage of the freehold. His first patent was for three hundred acres of "visible land besides the water and swamps of the creek." Lewger clearly valued this low land. When Pope's Freehold was excluded, Lewger retained "all the marshes and low grounds on both sides the said creek called St. John's."²⁷ It is safe to assume that he intended to use the marsh for hay and pasture.

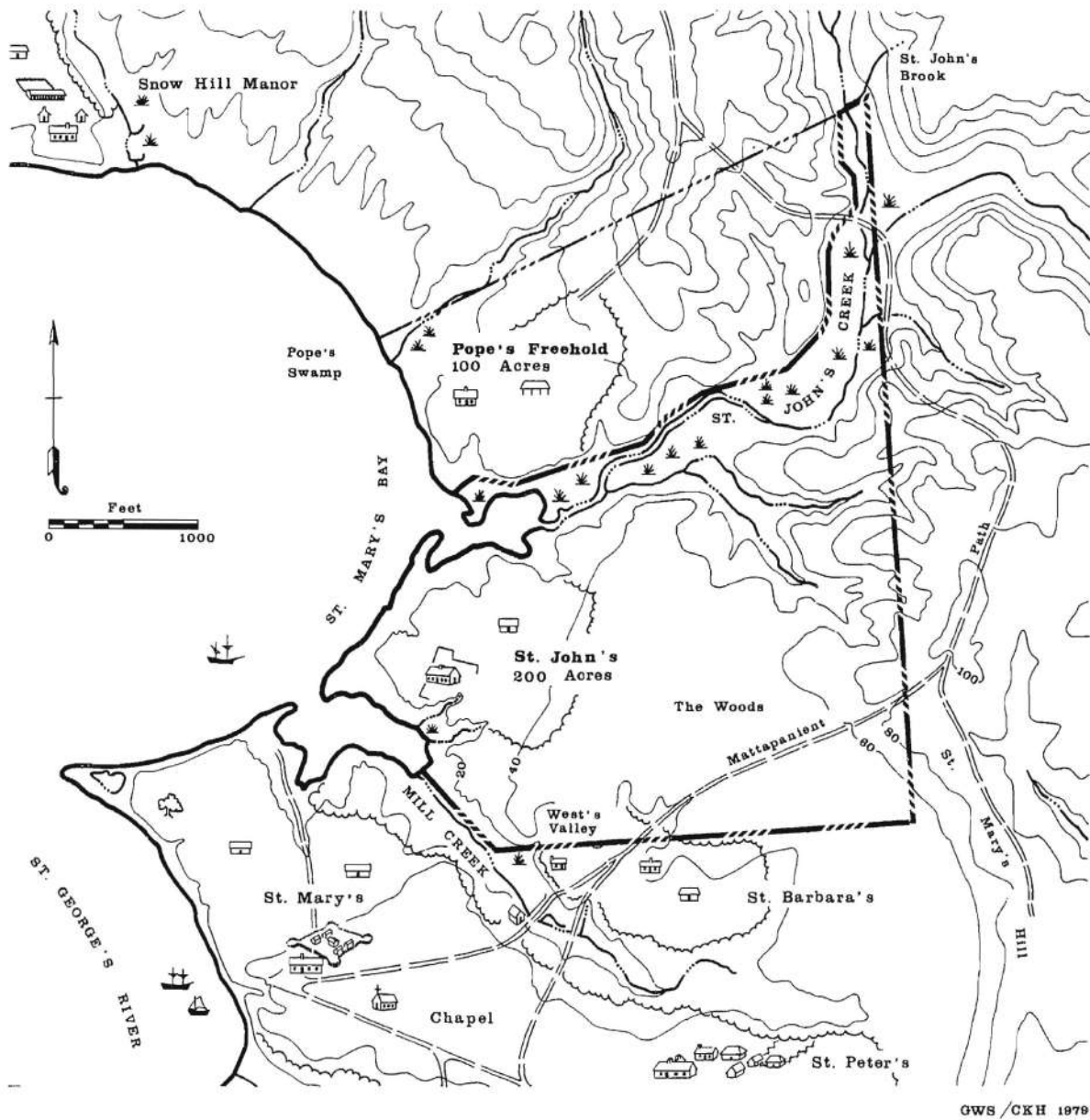


Fig. 3-2. The Boundaries of St. John's Freehold, February, 1640.

By laying out his freehold to include twenty or thirty acres of marsh at the cost of paying rent on thirty-five acres of unusable waste, Lewger demonstrated an active interest in livestock husbandry. In England, the wetlands along the streams, rivers, and seashores were the country's best hay meadow and pasture. Lewger's Laverton glebe had included a small parcel of hay meadow along the stream. Doubtless, he was aware that immediately to the west of Laverton, on the other side of the Mendip Hills, extensive river marshes created an important cattle rearing district.²⁸ Probably too, he had read John Smith's injunction to mow the coarse New World marsh grasses for hay.²⁹ In America he found another use for marshes. The roots of marsh "flags and reeds" fed hogs before the forest nuts were ripe.³⁰ The previous January, he had written Lord Baltemore that he planned to invest an adventure of Lord Baltemore's sister, Mrs. Eure, in a hog plantation:

I do resolve the speediest way of employing it to the greatest profit, will be by a stock of swine, which may be kept some 6 mile hence at the head of the St. George's River where all the chief marshes be in which the swine delight; and [t]here I intend to settle a plantation of mine own this spring, [with servants] who shall plant corn for the swine, and shall build sties and necessary pens for them, and shall lead them out to their places of feeding; and Mrs. Eure's stock shall buy the swine, and I will keep them for one half of the increase . . . To this purpose, I do now send one of my men with the Governor to Virginia to lay out for 30 or 40 breeding sows if they may be had. 31

Apparently the breeding sows were not forthcoming, as nothing seems to have come of the project. Lewger's letter demonstrates his interest in marshland, intensive husbandry, money manipulation, and his decisiveness and willingness to take risks. (The latter two characteristics also are apparent in his career as a merchant.) We do not know how profitable he found the St. John's marshes. While the nutritional

value of Chesapeake marsh grasses is less than that of English marsh grasses, cattle and hogs were run in St. Mary's County marshes into the twentieth century.³² At present, most of the St. John's marsh is too wet to pasture or mow, but in the seventeenth century (when the sea level was lower), it may have been usable.

Only snippets of information survive about Lewger's animals. In his 1639 letter to Lord Baltimore, Lewger offered to stock his Lordship's plantation at West St. Mary's with poultry: "I can at this present out of my own stock furnish your Lordship with 50 or 60 breeding hens at any time."³³ During 1642, Lewger promised a cow to a servant, but his own herd may not have been large. Part of his wages as Lord Baltimore's agent were paid in cattle. According to Cecilius Baltimore's 1643 instructions, Secretary Lewger "for his care and pains in writing of the accounts yearly and in my other affairs there" was to have each year twenty barrels of corn, two steers, and the use of six milk cows.

My said Secretary being at the charge of keeping of the said six kine, and of rearing the calves that come of them till they be weanable, and then to deliver the said calves at my farm at West St. Mary's . . . provided always that the said Secretary make . . . provision of fodder and housing.

Lewger was still building up his own herd. During 1643-44, instead of four steer, Lewger took two steers and two cows, and he bought one of the heifer calves. The 1644 inventory of his Lordship's cattle lists four kine and one bull at St. John's.³⁴ The same inventory reveals that the Proprietor's sheep--four ewes and two rams--were kept at St. John's. This flock may have been the remnants of ten ewes and a ram, a gift promised by Secretary Richard Kemp of Virginia to Lord Baltimore

in January, 1639. If Kemp did give Baltimore eleven sheep during 1639, the small size of the flock in 1644 reflects consistent losses to predators. During 1643, wolves had killed a ewe, a ram, and two lambs. In 1973, we found buried behind Lewger's dwelling what may have been one of their victims: a ewe with her hindquarters torn off. She represented an immediate loss of three members to a flock, as at her death she carried two, nearly full term lambs in her womb.³⁵

John Lewger's headright entries suggest that in the late 1630s and early 1640s, he was probably the sixth or seventh largest tobacco producer in the province.³⁶ From 1637 to 1640, he imported or purchased the labor of 21 men and maids. Lewger may have sold the time of some, but he seems to have been a buyer rather than a seller of labor. If this last assumption is correct, and if St. John's had a reasonably healthy household, from 1638 to 1642, Lewger would have had six to nine men working his tobacco crop.

Table 3-2 presents a conjectural reconstruction of Lewger's household. Its estimate of the number of indentured servants is high, as only documented attrition is included. Only a few of the menservants are known to have survived their service. Some, besides Lewger's carpenter, must have died during it. (About one person in six died during their first four years in Maryland.)³⁷ The health of the St. John's household may have been above average. The location was good, and food and medical care may have been better than in small planter's households. At least five of Lewger's maids lived long enough to marry. But we do not know whether Lewger sold or hired out some of his indentured servants. During February, 1638, he hired a man to Henry Fleete,

TABLE 3-2

THE HOUSEHOLD OF JOHN LEWGER, SR.

Conjectural Reconstruction

(Population estimates are inflated as only documented attrition is included.)

	1638	1639	1640	1641	1642	1643	1644	survived service
<u>Family</u>								
John Lewger, Sr., Secretary	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	
Anne Lewger, wife	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	
John Lewger, Jr., b. 1628	b	b	b	b	b	b	m	
Cicely Lewger, b. in Maryland		?	g	g	g	g	g	
Anne Lewger			?	?	?	?	?	
<u>Indentured servants</u>								
Martha Williamson	w	- w	w	w				yes
Anne Pike	w	w	w	w			-(married)	yes
Mary Whitehead	w	w	w	w				yes
Benjamin Cobbie	m	m	m	m				
Phillip Linnie	m	m	m	m				
Thomas Fursdon	b	m	m	m				
Robert Serle, age 12		b	b	b	m	m	m	
William Freeman	m	m	m					
Andrew Baker, carpenter	died							
Thomas Baker, laborer	m	m	m					
John Hatch, laborer	m	m	m	-		?		yes
John Askue, gardener	m							
George Tailor, age 15	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	yes
Barnaby Jackson, tailor		m	m	m	-			yes
Hugh Nash			m	m	m	m		
Bartholomew Slater			m	m	m	m		
William Stiles			m	m	m	m		
Deborah Towers			w	w	w	w		
Ann Eglesfield			w	w	w	w		
Thomas Oliver, blacksmith?			m	sold?				?
Anne Reynolds			?	w	w	w	?	yes
Thomas Todd, glover						m	-	yes
Mathias de Sousa, boatman					-	m	-	yes
<u>Free servants</u>								
trainee surveyor		m						
Edward Packer, sheriff					m	m	-	yes
Thomas Speake, gentleman					m			yes
Thomas Mumms, laborer					m			yes
John Kent, carpenter						?	?	
Indian Peter, hunter							m	
<u>Totals</u>								
males	9	11	14	10	11	7	4	
females	4	4	7	8	5	5	3	
total	13	15	21	18	16	12	7	

SOURCE: Table 3-1 and Appendix 1, and see notes to text.

m = man, w = woman, b = boy, g = girl, - = absence known.

but any subsequent bills of sale were destroyed with the 1638-42 court book. I suspect that he did sell or hire out some of his maids. Five seems more than he could have employed in the kitchen, dairy, and garden. In general, though, Lewger appears to have been a purchaser of servants. In 1638, he acquired the indentures of several men who had only partial terms remaining. One probably had only a year left to serve.

Was Lewger a successful planter? We do not know. The degree of his managerial skills is unknown, and accidents of nature and man--hail, fire, or shipwreck--could have altered the balance in his ledger in minutes. But whatever his skill and luck, he must have found it increasingly difficult to operate St. John's at a profit after 1640. The agricultural crisis resulting from a slump in tobacco prices was particularly acute for Lewger. St. John's was a relatively young plantation. Its major income-producing crops probably were limited to tobacco, and perhaps corn and hogs. Lewger also had no financial cushion from his mercantile activities. Thus, when the price of tobacco fell below the cost of production--as it did in 1642-43--Lewger was forced to retrench. As his servants' indentures expired, they were not replaced. Instead, Lewger rented some of St. John's to tenants.

In the early 1640s, Lewger and his fellow manorial lords were in an economic bind. Tobacco prices were falling while production costs--primarily labor--seem to have remained constant. Keeping an indentured servant on a plantation such as St. John's required considerable outlay--perhaps £11 a year (table 3-3). The initial cost of a servant, £6 to £12, was minor compared to the continuing expense

of clothing, feeding, and caring for an "apprentice." Clothing was the greatest outlay, as every year a manservant might wear out a suit, several shirts and drawers, and a couple of pairs of shoes and socks. Some food could not be produced on the plantation: salt, oil, and provisions for the sick (wine, sugar, and dried fruit). The manorial lords also had to import hardware, nails, gunpowder, and shot. They had to pay overseers for producing the crop, coopers for making the hogsheads in which it was shipped, and carpenters for keeping the tobacco houses and quarter in repair. Maids were maintained to cook, wash, and tend the dairy. A servant on the home farm of a manor probably led a more comfortable existence than many small planters. This, at least, is suggested by the recommendations of A Relation of Maryland, William Claiborne's disbursements, and the outlays of others for maids, medical services, and clothing. As English gentlemen, the manorial lords were supposed to be generous housekeepers.³⁸ In the early 1640s, however, manorial living standards and profits were taxed by falling tobacco prices and limited production. At 2.5d. to 1.8d. sterling per pound of tobacco, a servant's annual cost--roughly estimated at £11--equalled 1,000 to 1,500 pounds of tobacco.

During Lewger's years in Maryland, tobacco production per laborer seems to have averaged about 1,000 pounds. Four crop sizes are available (table 3-4). They average 914 pounds of tobacco a laborer, a figure that underrepresents actual yields. One observation is the estimated value (in pounds of tobacco) of a crop hanging in a tobacco house (presumably the appraisors discounted it for the cost of stripping and packing). Even the figures for marketed crops may be net

TABLE 3-3:

CONJECTURED MINIMAL EXPENSE AND INCOME
FROM KEEPING AN INDENTURED SERVANT
ON A LARGE PLANTATION

EXPENSE PER YEAR	
Initial cost (+ 4)	£ 2.10.00
Supervision, cooking, etc.	2.00.00
Clothing	3.10.00
Housekeeping provisions	1.00.00
Tool replacement	5.00
Miscellaneous	15.00
Freedom dues (+ 4)	1.00.00
Total	£11.00.00

INCOME PER YEAR			
(in pounds of tobacco)			
	minimum	average	maximum
Tobacco (see Note)	750	1,000	1,250
Corn sold	90 (3 bbl. @30)	250 (5 bbl. @50)	450 (6 bbl. @75)
Total	840	1,250	1,700 lbs. tobacco

(in pounds sterling at three different prices for tobacco)

@3d. per lb. tob.	£10.10.00	£15.12.06	£21.05.00
@2.5d. per lb. tob.	8.15.00	13.00.05	17.14.02
@2d. per lb. tob.	7.00.00	10.08.04	14.03.04

NOTE: For average yield, see table 3-4. Extreme weather variations can result in crop yields 20 to 22 per cent above and below the average. (Edward Swecker, St. Mary's County Agricultural Extension Agent, telephone conversation with Garry Stone, 5 January 1979.)

SOURCES: Captain William Claiborne's disbursements, 1631-36, Maryland Historical Magazine 28:30-43, 172-88; "Necessary Provisions as Every Adventurer Must Carry," 1635, Hall, Narratives, pp. 93-96; Father Andrew White to Lord Baltimore, 20 February 163[7/]8, Calvert Papers, 1:206; Justinian Snow's inventory, 1639, Md. Arch., 4:79-83; Harrington vs. Calvert, Md. Arch., 4:271; Nicholas Gwyther's account, 1646, Md. Arch., 1:222; Menard, "Economy and Society," p. 475.

TABLE 3-4

TOBACCO PRODUCTION PER LABORER
ST. MARY'S COUNTY, 1637-1648

growing year	lbs. tob. per hand	condition	status	reference
1637	1,000+	sold	St. Inigoe's Manor	<u>Calvert Papers</u> , 1:206
1639	878	sold	mateship	<u>Md. Arch.</u> , 4:90
1646	950	sold	Cornwaleys's Cross	<u>Md. Arch.</u> , 1:222
1648	850+	housed	mateship	<u>Md. Arch.</u> , 4:466

NOTE: I have excluded two observations used by Menard ("Economy and Society," p. 490). Both are from the inventories of men who did not work full time in their crop.

poundage after the expense of tobacco hogsheads (and perhaps other costs) was deducted. In the 1640s, a 1,000 pound crop would have been barely adequate for Lewger to have met his expenses.

Lewger's development of St. John's Freehold coincided with a slump in tobacco prices. From 3d. a pound in 1639, the farm price of Maryland tobacco fell to 2.5d. in 1640 and 1.8d. in 1643.³⁹ While in 1637, the Jesuits' return of 1,000 pounds of tobacco a hand (the surplus went to their overseer) would have given them a profit of several pounds sterling a hand, by the winter of 1639-40, when Lewger marketed what was probably his first full crop, almost a thousand pounds a hand would have been needed to meet operating expenses. As the price fell further, it became even harder to earn a profit from planting. In 1646, during the inflation following Ingle's Rebellion, a Cross Manor crop of 950 pounds of tobacco and 8.5 barrals of corn a hand failed to pay the minimal costs of provisions, clothing, replacement tools, and repairs. Fortunately, unlike small planters, Lewger did not have to sell his tobacco in Maryland at the farm price. He shipped much of it to England. Even after paying freight and customs, he probably earned a penny a pound as an exporter--a profit that would have helped cover his losses as a planter (see page 130).

Undoubtedly, Lewger grew corn on St. John's. Its season of planting and harvesting preceded and followed those of tobacco. It could be grown on land worn out from tobacco, and its culture was simple, productive, and frequently profitable. How much corn Lewger grew is unknown. He had a wide range of choices thanks to his corn wages from the Proprietor (20 barrels in 1643) that would have fed much of his

household. Lewger could have minimized food production in order to concentrate on tobacco, or he could have grown large amounts of grain, especially if he finished large numbers of hogs on corn before slaughtering them. Corn could be a profitable crop in its own right. While just after harvest a barrel of corn was worth only 30 pounds of tobacco, the price might treble by spring.⁴⁰ Lewger could have grown wheat, barley, and peas on St. John's (table 3-5). Diversified grain production would have reduced his outlay for imported drink and provisions, and he could have sold his surpluses to small planters and the tobacco fleet. In 1642, he was paid 220 pounds of tobacco for providing a barrel of corn (100 pounds of tobacco) and two bushels of dried peas (120 pounds of tobacco) to provision the expedition against the Susquehannocks.⁴¹

Had St. John's been an older plantation, the decline in tobacco prices might not have been so disastrous for Lewger. He would have had cattle to sell--a cow and calf or a fat steer was worth almost as much as a laborer's tobacco crop--, fruit to press into cider and perry, and relatively stump-free old fields more suitable for small grain and peas.⁴² But without this additional income and heavily in debt from his trading ventures, Lewger was unable to replace his servants as their indentures expired. From perhaps nine hands in 1640, his crew fell to one indentured servant in 1644 (table 3-2).

In 1644, Lewger could have marketed little tobacco of his own growing. Unless he and his son worked regularly in the fields, Lewger's one indentured servant would have kept busy producing food for the household.⁴³ Lewger's Indian hunter may have watched the cattle,

TABLE 3-5

MODEL OF LAND USE ON ST. JOHN'S FREEHOLD, 1638-1643

hands		crop acreage ^a				cultivated acreage		cleared			uncleared		
		tobacco	corn	garden & orchard	total	previously cleared	newly cleared	housing & yards	cultivated	old fields	arable	waste	marsh
1638	6	6	12	1 ^b	19		(19)	1	19		75	90	25
1639	6	12	12	1	25	(19)	(6)	2	25		68	90	25
1640	9	18	18	3 ^c	39	(27)	(12)	2	39		54	90	25
1641	6	12	12	3	27	(27)		2	27	12	54	90	25
1642	6.5	13	13	3	29	(29)		2	29	10	54	90	25
1643	5	10	10	3	26	(24)	(2) ^d	2	26	15	52	90	25

SOURCE: Table 3-2.

Assumptions:

1. One hand tends two acres of tobacco, two acres of corn.
2. Overseer, artisans, and boys = .5 hand each.
3. Mortality = .25 of those not known to have survived.
4. One hired laborer in 1643.

NOTES:

^aOther possible crops: wheat, barley, and peas.^bGarden, fruit tree nursery, peach orchard?^cAssumes orchard of 250 trees.^dCleared in part for firewood and timber.

but it is unlikely that he worked in the fields. Hiring free labor was prohibitively expensive unless Lewger had some profitable sideline requiring labor. Free laborers' wages ranged from 1,100 to 1,500+ pounds of tobacco a year (table 3-6). Cattle could be exchanged for labor, but Lewger seems to have had none to spare. In 1642, he hired a laborer with the promise of a cow, but Lewger assigned payment to one of his own debtors, manorial lord Thomas Gerrard. In 1643, one of Lewger's former servants worked on West St. Mary's Manor to obtain a heifer.⁴⁴ At best, Lewger may have been able to persuade some of his former menservants to stay on the home farm to work for full shares of the tobacco and corn crops. In return, the freedmen would have helped with the other chores of the plantation, but the crop that the freedmen made would have been theirs to sell.⁴⁵

In order to earn some income from St. John's, Lewger became a landlord by expanding St. John's into a 1,000 acre manor and letting land to tenants. The change probably took place in 1644, for in a mortgage of 1643, Lewger designated St. John's as a freehold. When his son sold the land seven years later he described it as a manor with "housing and tenements." The survey and patent for the manor were lost apparently during Ingle's Rebellion. In 1659-60, a diligent search failed to locate them.⁴⁶ The additional 800 acres probably were on the upland to the northeast of the freehold. Both the adjacent Snow Hill and St. Barbara's lands continued their separate existences, and, in 1662 and 1686, warrants for nearby parcels directed the surveyors not to infringe on the manor lands.⁴⁷ The upland is poor tobacco ground, but it provided firewood and pasture for more households.

TABLE 3-6

FREE LABORERS' WAGES: 1642-1644

			<u>Md.</u> <u>Arch.</u>
1642	1 year	= 1,500 lbs. tob., 3 bbl. corn, and waistcoat	4:166
	11 months	= 1,100 lbs. tob. and clothing	4:201
1643	1 year	= 1,500 lbs. tob	3:141-42
	1 year	= 1,100 lbs. tob. w/cask	4:271
	1 year	= 1 cow, 2 young steers*	4:276
1644	1 year	= 1 cow and 1/2 steer*	4:276
	1 year	= 1 heifer and 1 [cow] calf*	4:276
	10.5 months	= 800 lbs. tob. and transportation (120 lbs. tob. @month during summer)	4:284
	9 months	= 1,500 lbs. tob.	4:306

*The complete contracts are not known. Other payment (clothing, bedding) may have been included.

The Household

Frequently, the archaeologist's most perplexing task is identifying the former households that occupied an excavated site. These men and women are the subjects of our research, yet often we cannot determine their numbers, occupations, and status. Our incomplete knowledge of the St. John's household is illustrative. We can construct only a rough outline of the innholders who leased St. John's between 1667 and 1684, and after 1684 the occupants of St. John's are unknown (chapter 6). But for manorial Maryland, the owner of St. John's never has been in doubt. Dozens of documents establish John Lewger's residence, and the patent libers record the names of his wife, son, and indentured servants. The 1638 and 1642-44 court books identify free servants and lodgers or tenants. The information is adequate to roughly model the size and composition of Lewger's work force (table 3-2) and suggest how the population of the plantation changed as Lewger's crew of indentured servants evaporated.

The population of St. John's Freehold reflected the general demographic conditions of the Chesapeake. Lewger's household was predominately male, young, and infertile.⁴⁸ Mr. Secretary's family may have consisted of only five members: John Lewger, Esq., Mrs. Anne Lewger, son John born in Laverton in 1628, and one or two girls born in Maryland: Cecilia and perhaps Anne. Cecilia (named in honor of her father's employer) probably was born within a few years of the Lewgers' arrival in Maryland. In 1644, "Cicely Lewger" was named a beneficiary in a will, suggesting that she survived the uncertainties of infancy.⁴⁹ She may have had a younger sister, Anne.⁵⁰ The gap of a decade or

more between the birth of John, Jr., and Cecilia suggests that Mistress Anne was Lewger's second wife or that the Lewgers lost children to diseases in Laverton or London. Before May, 1647, the Lewger family was truncated permanently by the death of Mrs. Lewger and John Lewger's decision to enter the priesthood.⁵¹

Until 1643, the bulk of Lewger's household was formed of young, indentured men and women. To them fell the hard work of the farm and the houselot. Except during inclement weather, six days a week the men toiled in the fields and forest, their work varying with the seasons. During the winter they would have spent much time in the woods, girdling trees and grubbing underbrush, splitting fence rails and firewood, and cutting timber for carpenters and coopers. In March, an eight month cycle of field labor began: setting corn; transplanting tobacco; hoeing corn; hoeing, worming, and suckering tobacco; curing tobacco; then getting in the corn. Then the tobacco had to be stripped and packed, hogs slaughtered, and firewood got in against the winter. As the field labor slacked off, there might have been time for hunting, and during the winter some of the men might have been called upon to help collect the hogsheads of tobacco owed Lewger or to help load the shipping that came to take it away. The maids' work varied, too, with the seasons: from spring to fall there was the garden, dairy, and (when they had time) field work, but there was always the cooking and laundry for a household of from fifteen to twenty people.⁵² After Cornwaleys's mill went out of operation, their work was compounded by the terrible chore of beating corn into meal with mortar and pestle.⁵³ This monotonous task fell most heavily on them and the invalids, for

during the growing season the able-bodied men worked in the fields.⁵⁴ These men and maids were mere sojourners at St. John's for the length of their indentures. Their goal was to start plantations of their own. While the men may have stayed at St. John's on shares for a year or two beyond the expiration of their indentures (in order to accumulate the credits needed to purchase livestock and land), the maids probably married as soon as their indentures terminated or were purchased by prospective husbands.

Besides his hands and maids, Lewger acquired the skills of several specialists to reduce his household expenses. In 1638, he purchased the indenture of a tailor, Barnaby Jackson. Jackson did not serve a full indenture with Lewger. Lewger may have released him early in exchange for making clothes for the household during the remaining time of his indenture. (Thus Lewger was relieved of supporting Jackson.) Jackson set up shop at St. Mary's--probably in the fort--and made good use of his freedom. He soon rented a tenement on the townland, acquired a servant to work it, bought cattle, and then land.⁵⁵ About 1641, Lewger imported a surgeon, Alexius Pulton. Pulton never may have been a dependent of Lewger's--he was definitely a freeman in 1642 when he seems to have been living in the fort--, but probably he was obliged to provide free medical care (and perhaps barbering) for the St. John's household (table 3-1 and appendix 1).⁵⁶

About 1641-42, Lewger purchased a glover, Thomas Todd, and set up a tan yard at St. John's. Todd's manufactures were intended more for sale than for household use. Lewger's tan yard was one of several attempts to establish leatherworking in the Chesapeake.⁵⁷ Lewger's

venture met with approval as it provided a local market for skins and reduced dependence on England. During the March, 1642, Assembly, a bill was read to

prohibit the exportation of deer skins to the end they might be dressed in the country, but because the leather dresser could not undertake to take of all the deer skins of the country till he had provision of tallow etc. out of England, it was respited till next Assembly. ⁵⁸

In October, Lewger freed Todd. Todd agreed to dress

the 46 skins now in the limepit, and to make up so many of them after they are so dressed as will make 12 pairs of breeches and 12 pairs of gloves . . . ; and for every year afterward . . . as the service should have [en]dured by the indentures to pay unto John Lewger or his assigns . . . fifty good skins of the best dressed, whereof ten may be fawn skins; and to pay the said quantity of skins yearly before the 14th day of April, and to let the said Mr. Lewger have the refusal of all the skins to be dressed and wares made up by the said Thomas Todd . . . , and at the end of the said term he is to deliver up the tools lent him by Mr. Lewger to work with. Viz: 1 stock, 1 beam knife, 1 withe. ⁵⁹

Todd also seems to have moved to the fort and was soon deeply in debt. Early in 1644 he fled the province. ⁶⁰

Freemen also worked at St. John's. Other than the carpenters who helped build the plantation, our knowledge of these inmates largely starts with the 1642 court book. Suits from that year establish or suggest the presence of a mariner, laborer, and gentleman on the freehold. Later documents relating to Richard Ingle's arrest for treason in February, 1644, indicate that there were several freemen at St. John's. While two may have been long time employees, the others probably were lodgers.

During 1642, Mathias de Sousa may have been sailing Lewger's ketch. Apparently a Portuguese mulatto, de Sousa had been imported by the Jesuits in 1634. In March, 1641, (a freedman since at least

1639) he skippered the Jesuits' pinnace in a fur trading voyage to the Susquehannock River. From perhaps March, 1642, through February, 1643, a puzzling reference places him in Lewger's employ. When de Sousa was sued by John Hallows for a debt of 500 pounds of tobacco, John Lewger had execution of the judgment deferred proving that de Sousa had disposed "of his person to the satisfaction of Mrs. Lewger's just debts." Was this contract a protective trust for de Sousa while he paid back his fur trading losses, or had he indentured himself to the Lewgers to help them pay off their debts? In either circumstance, the covenant suggests friendship between de Sousa and the Lewgers predating 1642. Had de Sousa worked on Lewger's ketch previously?⁶¹ Had he lodged at St. John's between earlier voyages?

Two other freemen seemingly at St. John's in 1642 were Thomas Mums, planter, and Thomas Speak, gentleman. Mums was a nearly anonymous laborer, a former indentured servant of the Jesuits. A resident across the river in St. George's Hundred, he may have been only a part-time worker at St. John's. (It is he who sued Thomas Gerrard for the cow promised Mums by Lewger.⁶²) Speak was a literate, free immigrant who arrived in Maryland about 1639. During 1642 he seems to have been under contract to Lewger--his October wages as a soldier in the Susquehannock expedition were paid directly to Lewger, and he was at St. John's when testimony was needed about a felony. Speak may have been an overseer for Lewger, perhaps one of two, as another literate employee, Edward Packer, sheriff of St. Mary's County, seems to have lived at St. John's during 1642-44.⁶³

In January, 1644, Richard Ingle, master of the ship Reformation, was arrested for treason, tried at St. John's and acquitted. Before he could be tried again, he escaped with the assistance of Thomas Cornwaleys. In 1645, while in England, Lewger testified about Cornwaleys's actions as they had been described to him by sheriff Edward Packer and some of the guard "being then of this deponent's family at their coming home from the said ship."⁶⁴ Previous Maryland testimony names five men involved in Ingle's arrest and the subsequent trials who may have been members of Lewger's family (i.e., the household). Two were members of the guard, a third was the sheriff, and two were sheriff's deputies. Three of these men, Edward Packer, George Tailor, and John Hatch, may have had connections to St. John's going back to 1638.

Both Packer and Tailor had been brought to Maryland in 1637 by Captain Robert Wintour, planter, fur trader, and former commander of the Ark.⁶⁵ Packer was a young freeman, one of two brought by Wintour to keep him company and help supervise his enterprises. After Wintour's death during the summer of 1638, Packer and his mate, William Nausin, had to look for new employment.⁶⁶ Packer or Nausin may have been the potential clerk to whom Lewger referred in January, 1639. ("For the clerk which I wrote for, I am now provided with one who I intend to bring up under me, and instruct him in the art of surveying.")⁶⁷ In 1640, the two young men were developing a plantation on Wickcliffe's Creek,⁶⁸ but by August, 1642, Packer seems to have been living at St. John's (appendix 2). In September, he was appointed sheriff of St. Mary's County, a position to which he was reappointed in 1643.⁶⁹ While there is no direct evidence that he was an overseer for Lewger, this

conclusion seems inescapable. Underemployed after the evaporation of Lewger's labor force at the end of 1643, he quickly found employment as a manager. He was briefly attorney for Leonard Calvert after the death of Calvert's overseer. Then in July, he took command of Henry Fleete's pinnace. Before going to sea, he made a will bequeathing "one half of all he hath to Cicely Lewger; and 500 pounds of tobacco to the chapel." Upon his return in the fall of 1644, he resumed the office of sheriff and was employed by Leonard Calvert to inspect and receive tobacco.⁷⁰

George Tailor may have been an indentured servant of John Lewger's. Sold to settle Wintour's estate, Tailor first appears in the records as a freeman in St. Mary's townland contexts that suggest he spent the years 1638-42 as a servant on St. John's. Early in 1643, he was part of the crew on the ketch that John Hallowes had leased from Lewger. In January, 1644, he was a member of the guard of the Reformation, and twelve months later he was commissioned "to bring into the port of St. George's River . . . the bark called the Virginia" (for customs inspection). The previous November, "by order from John Lewger, Esquire, Secretary," he acted as a strawman in transferring Lord Baltimore's interest in five horses from Leonard Calvert to Lewger and from Lewger back to Leonard Calvert. These references suggest that Tailor had been a servant of Lewger's--one of the hands who had helped sail his ketch.⁷¹ Tailor's experience as a boatman and trader made him a logical choice to help guard the Reformation.

Three other apparent inmates of St. John's (sheriff's deputies and a member of the guard) owed their appointments more to their

availability and dependence on Lewger than to any other qualification. These men were Daniel Duffill (a guard and deputy sheriff), John Hatch, and John Kent (deputies only). Duffill and Hatch were laborers; Kent was a carpenter. Duffill probably was a former servant of Leonard Calvert. Early in 1644, he seems to have been at St. John's, as in January he gave testimony without being summoned, and in February his name appears first in a list of witnesses. Duffill may have worked at St. John's during 1643, or he may have stayed there for the winter only, exchanging his labor for his food. Duffill was a ne'er-do-well with an ugly disposition. The following June, as he and two other armed debtors fled the province, they vented their frustration by trying to organize a mutiny among indentured servants. Lewger issued a warrant for their arrest, "and in case of resistance to shoot them."⁷² Hatch was a model citizen. A former indentured servant of Lewger's, in 1642, he and a mate started a plantation on St. Clement's Bay. The next year, he returned to work for wages at West St. Mary's in order to acquire livestock for their farm. Early in 1644, Lord Baltimore gave up tobacco planting, sold his apprentices, and discharged most of his hired servants. Hatch's appointment as a deputy suggests that he boarded at St. John's before returning to St. Clement's Bay.⁷³ Kent seemingly was another of Baltimore's employees who relocated at St. John's or one of its tenements. When John Lewger inventoried Lord Baltimore's property in 1644, he listed at St. John's "carpenter's tools in the custody and use of John Kent."⁷⁴

We know the names of three other members of the guard of the Reformation--John Hampton, Edward Hall, and John Metcalfe. While none

may have been residents of St. John's, they must have been at least seasonal residents of the townland vicinity, and their occupations provide additional evidence that in 1644, the St. George's River continued to be the port of Maryland. They were "landsmen," but like Tailor, all were men accustomed to handling boats and firearms.⁷⁵ The commander of the guard, John Hampton, "Planter," was involved deeply in the fur trade. So, on a lesser scale, was planter-trader Edward Hall. John Metcalfe, "Gentleman," initially had been an overseer or tenant of Cornwaleys's. In the early 1640s, he was out of the province much of the time. Presumably, he was a transient trader. Unlike Duffill, these men were not laborers. (Hall had a servant of his own.) They could have been tenants on one of the nearby manors, or they may have been lodging in some townland ordinary or farmhouse.⁷⁶ (Did tenements survive still from the fort?)

The information on the St. John's household is unusually good, but still seriously flawed. None of it is deliberate census information. All is the accidental by-product of legal records, records marred by incomplete survival. We may know the names of most of Lewger's indentured servants, but with a few exceptions, we do not know how long they persisted on the plantation. While the court books provide us with the names of some free inmates, it would be naive to think that they provide us with a complete list for even those periods covered by the surviving records. The records do illustrate the complexity of a large household adequately to warn us against simplistic interpretations. With St. John's, our problems in correlating people and places are compounded by our incomplete archaeological knowledge.

We have located the manor house, but only one of its subsidiary dwellings, and none of the agricultural buildings.

The Plantation

Where did the inmates of St. John's lodge--in Lewger's kitchen, loft, or quarter? Our certain knowledge of Lewger's building ends with the great house constructed in 1638, but carpenters were working at St. John's in 1639 and 1642.⁷⁷ Of necessity there were other buildings: tobacco houses, a hen house, and at least one quarter.

During the excavations we located a small building--perhaps a quarter--adjacent to the Lewgers' dwelling (figure 3-3). While possibly not as old a dwelling as the main house,⁷⁸ it is unlikely to have been constructed much later than John Lewger, Jr.'s, sale of St. John's in 1650. It was a modest building, nineteen feet long by fifteen feet wide. It might well be a structure built in the 1640s, if, at that time, an earlier quarter (or quarters) was turned over to tenant farmers. The building was built cheaply with unplastered walls and wooden foundations.⁷⁹

Little is known of the surroundings of Lewger's house except what was revealed within the narrow compass of the excavations. In 1644, Lewger purchased from Lord Baltimore a cow calf identified as "now running in his yard." This may have been the wattled enclosure in front of his dwelling.⁸⁰ To the rear of the house, another brushwood fence enclosed a narrow backyard. Behind this service space, an early post, rail, and pale fence enclosed an animal pen 28 ft. by 42 ft. A post structure stood in the center of it. These features may have been a fold yard and shed for Lord Baltimore's sheep. (The

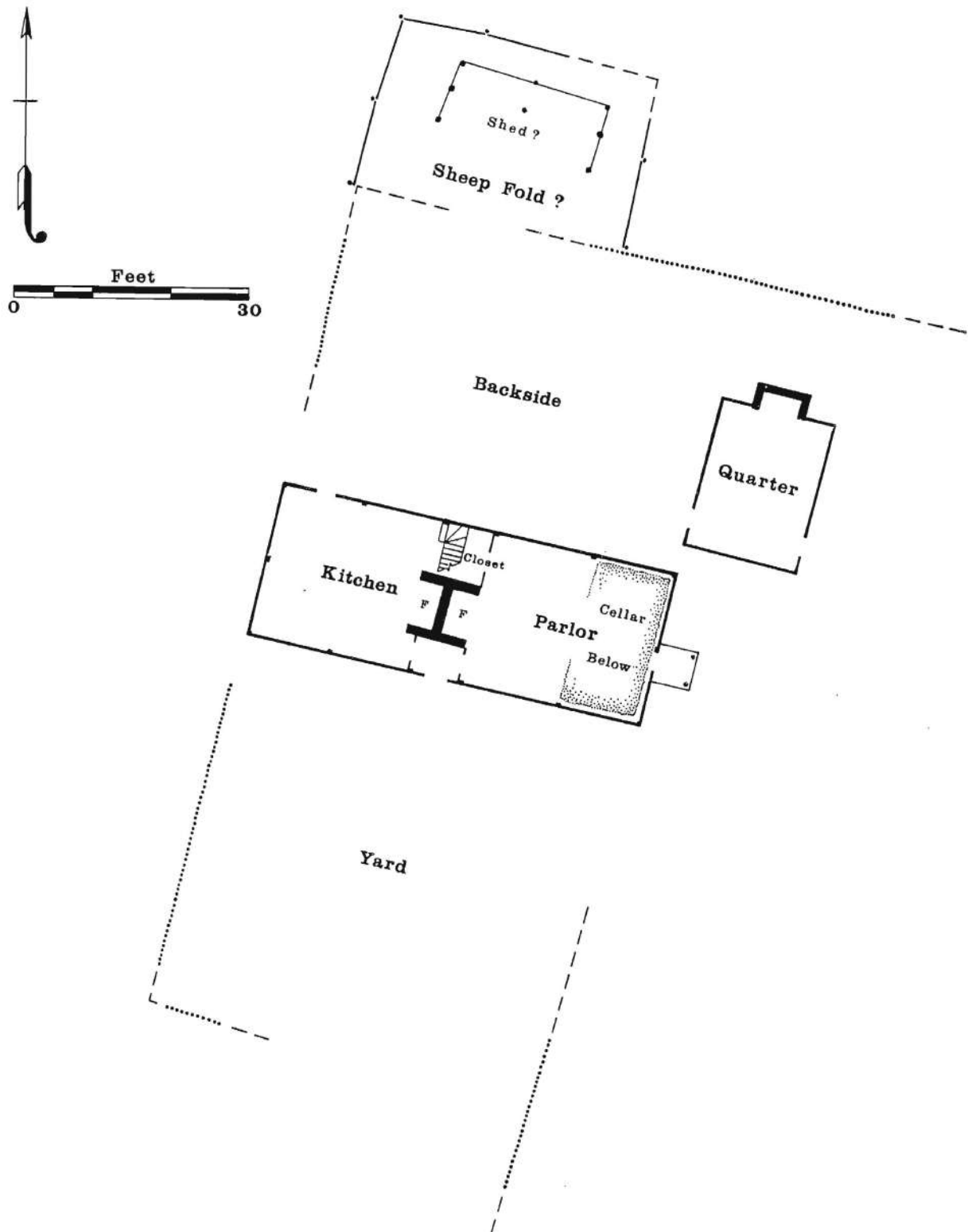
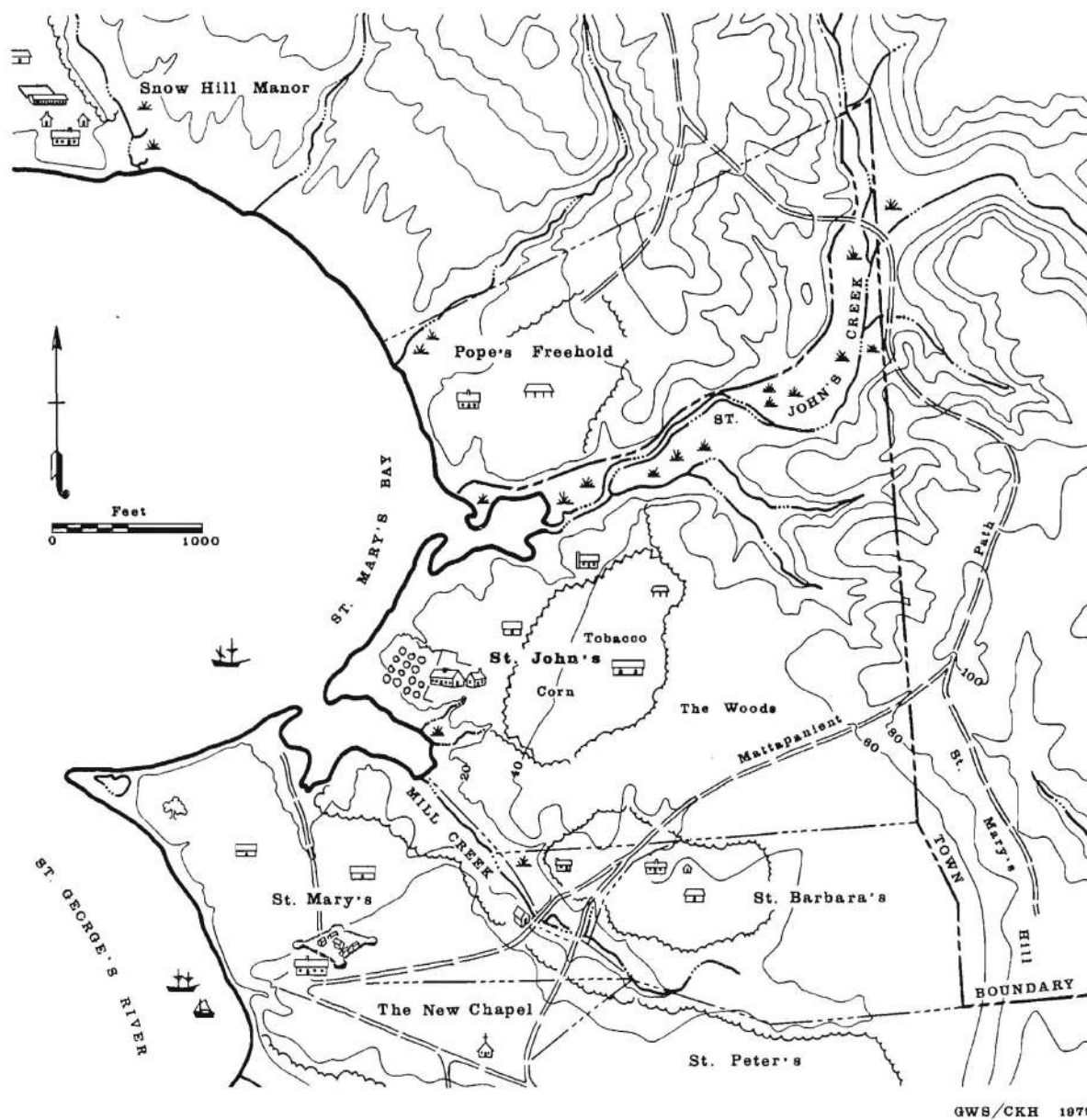


Fig. 3-3. The St. John's houselot, c.1645.

post holes cannot be dated and interpreted with any precision; the posts might have been supports for a wood pile.)

A garden and orchard would have been necessary adjuncts to the dwelling's surroundings. In 1635, Hawley and Lewger recommended bringing to Maryland "kernels of pears and apples (especially of pepins, pearemaines, and dusons) for making hereafter of cider and perry; the stones and seeds of all those fruits and roots, and herbs, which he desireth to have." The first adventurers had planted "all sorts of garden roots and herbs, as carrots, parsnips, turnips, cabbages, radishes with many more; . . . also muskmellons, watermellons, cucumbers."⁸¹ In 1638, Lewger purchased the services of a gardener, and, in season, much of the food for the St. John's household would have come from the garden. The orchard would have begun to bear well only as Lewger left Maryland. (Apples require five to nine years to produce fruit; pears, four; peaches, three.)⁸²

We can conjecture some of the larger setting of the plantation. Its western half was surrounded by wooded banks, water, and marsh. On the south, the forest was interrupted by neighbors' clearings and the footpath leading to the Patuxent. At the edge of the forest, worm rail fencing⁸³ enclosed twenty or thirty acres of tobacco and corn fields. Closer to Lewger's dwelling were ten to fifteen acres of worn-out land, some of it replanted in orchard and perhaps English crops. Cattle would have grazed the rest. Everywhere (unless the Indian fields had extended this far) would have been the scorched stumps or carcasses of the defeated forest trees, but the details of the man made environment are not retrievable.



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Fig. 3-4. St. John's plantation in the 1640s.
Source: table 3-5.

St. John's could have had the appearance of either a rough-hewn park or a fertile wasteland. The New World was a landscape that could be "shaped . . . as you please." In hindsight (and from the comfort of an Essex manor house), John Smith advocated that settlers retain some of the magnificent trees to outline their "orchards, vineyards, pastures, gardens, walks, parks, and cornfields." But in early Virginia, the norm had been to "carelessly or ignorantly cut down all before you," and the tree girdling that Smith also recommended left the countryside looking like the victim of a devastating forest fire.⁸⁴ In 1631, an English settler was horrified by the appearance of Barbados tobacco plantations. "Your ground and plantations . . . lie like the ruins of some village lately burned--here a great timber tree half burned, in another place a rafter singed all black. What digged or weeded for beauty? All are bushes and long grass."⁸⁵ Initially, Lewger may have sown grass and clover seed in his old fields, but by 1644, with little help, he would have been hard pressed to keep tree sprouts and seedlings from infiltrating his pasture.

Merchant

St. John's was a center of trade as well as production. Starting as a commission merchant in 1638, by 1641, Lewger was the second or third largest importer in the province. He accomplished this at the cost of going heavily in debt, and after 1641, he reduced his importing while collecting the tobaccos owed him and liquidating his debts. Our knowledge of Lewger's trading is based on three sources: a 1639 letter to Lord Baltimore, a 1641 lawsuit against one of his English

suppliers by their creditor, and the debts recorded in the 1642-44 Maryland court book.

His letter to Lord Baltimore suggests that Lewger had made contacts in the mercantile community before leaving London. By January, 1639, Lewger already had received a consignment from one merchant and was expecting another from a second. Lewger's first and principal supplier was John Smith, a linen merchant expanding into the tobacco trade. Smith had sent Lewger a venture of £100 with the 1638-39 tobacco fleet, largely in liquors (of which Lewger disapproved). In his letter, Lewger advertised his willingness to accept from others consignments of goods "(such as I have sent to Mr. Smith for) . . . and shall be able (I hope) to return to the adventurers twenty upon the hundred profit."⁸⁶

Lewger was well situated to learn the merchant's art. His home was at the center of the province, his neighbors were its principal traders, and as a judge, he was immersed in the details of the economy. During his first year and a half in Maryland, he probated the estates of two competitors: Jerome Hawley and Justinian Snow. Thomas Cornwaleys and Leonard Calvert remained the only major merchants in the province. Lewger also seems to have been alert to any opportunity. (According to Cornwaleys, Lewger was "forward in suggesting new business for his own employment.")⁸⁷ In 1638, he was briefly an attorney for Clobery and Company, and the next year he made a modest investment in the Indian trade. (Lewger provided trade goods used to purchase Indian corn for export to New England on the pinnace Francis. Cornwaleys was another partner.)⁸⁸ In January, 1641, Lewger seized an

opportunity to take a major share in the trade of the province.

About the beginning of November, 1640, the Richard and Anne, Richard Ingle, Master, left London for Maryland.⁸⁹ On board were cargoes for Thomas Cornwaleys's factor and Leonard Calvert, plus goods and servants worth £274. 10s. freighted by the ship's owners. When the Richard and Anne arrived at St. Mary's, Ingle offered the cargo for sale. Lewger took it and began bartering the goods and servants for tobacco, but most of the crop was committed already to others. Lewger was able to exchange only about half the goods for tobacco--51 hogsheads worth. The rest he held or sold for tobacco of the next crop. The 51 hogsheads were loaded on the Richard and Anne and were consigned to one of three London merchants--Thomas Cornwaleys, Edward Harris, or John Smith--if they would pay for the merchandise, freight, and customs. These costs came to about 9.7d. per pound of tobacco--well above the London wholesale price. All three men refused to accept Lewger's bill of exchange. The ship's owners were forced to dispose of the tobacco themselves, and Lewger remained in their debt.⁹⁰

Lewger had made a mistake in purchasing Ingle's cargo, as he had to sell some of the goods on credit. Most Maryland merchants gave no credit or extended it only to a few. Cornwaleys was an exception, but he had the capital necessary to carry his debtors (and thus had first claim on their crops). Lewger's plunge left him deeply in debt. He owed Ingle's partners for half their cargo, and in 1642 his debts to John Smith totalled £215.⁹¹ While his Maryland credits may have covered his English debts, interest and damage payments added to his costs. (Lewger's Maryland accounts earned no interest.) Until he

could liquidate his debts, Lewger was forced to reduce the scale of his trading. The December, 1642, tax assessment ranks him only fourth or fifth among Maryland merchants (table 1-5).

The 1642-44 court book shows that Lewger was making a determined effort to collect his debts. From August, 1642, through April, 1643, Lewger recorded 35 debts in Provincial Court totalling 28,442 pounds of tobacco--the equivalent of nearly 100 hogsheads. Only Cornwaleys had greater credits.⁹² Most he collected. If had collected all of them, he might have escaped debt entirely, but Giles Brent defaulted in a covenant to pay Richard Ingle 8,000 pounds of tobacco. To settle his English accounts, Lewger seems to have borrowed from Thomas Cornwaleys. In April, 1643, he mortgaged St. John's to Cornwaleys to secure a loan of 10,000 pounds of tobacco (about £83).⁹³ By the end of the year, he seems to have been solvent again; no further suits for debt were recorded against him in the Provincial Court. Thereafter, Lewger was cautious in extending credit--a general trend in a depressed economy made doubly uncertain by the outbreak of the English Civil War.

The court records show that Lewger's trading sphere extended as far as Kent Island. To deliver his goods and collect tobacco, he had become the owner of a ketch, a small, two masted coasting vessel.⁹⁴ As a vessel owner, importer, and creditor, Lewger was drawn inevitably into the fur trade, although he may have never been a major participant.

Little information survives about the use of Lewger's ketch in the fur trade except for the disastrous spring of 1643. In January,

Thomas Cornwaleys leased Lewger's ketch for 43 pounds of tobacco a day and turned it over to John Hallows and Thomas Boys. Cornwaleys furnished them with trade goods. Hallows took two shares in the merchandise; Boys took one share. Hallows purchased another 200 arm's lengths of roanoke (shell beads) from Lewger. The partners recruited a crew including two men from the townland: George Tailor of St. John's and Roger Oliver from St. Peter's Key (where Boys lodged with Oliver). Their first voyage came to a premature end when the unseaworthy ketch grounded. While on the ketch or its replacement, their trucking with the Indians turned into a brawl. According to Hallows,

being on the deck and called by Thomas Boys to help Roger Oliver, he leaped down into the hold and saw an Indian and the said Roger struggling together, whereupon this deponent knocked the Indian on the head with the barrel of a gun, and presently after he saw the said Roger fall down with a wound which the Indian had given him . . . and being distracted for some time with perils of his life in the hold with other Indians

It was six hours before his mates had a chance to check on Oliver.

His throat had been cut.⁹⁵

The season left the partners heavily indebted to Cornwaleys: Hallows owned 268 pounds winter beaver, 73 arm's lengths of roanoke, and 11 arm's lengths of peake; Boys owed 135 pounds beaver.⁹⁶

In 1644, no longer able to man his pinnace, Lewger sold the ketch for £50.⁹⁷

Conclusion

Gaps in the Calvert papers and Maryland archives hide much of Maryland's first Secretary. Lewger, the family man, has disappeared without a trace. We know more about him to evaluate him as a planter

and businessman. He seems ambitious, decisive, and inexperienced. His public personality is best recorded. We know him to have been politically naive and inept, but a competent administrator and an outstanding judge.

As a legislator, Lewger was a party man, a dutiful employee who voted the Baltimore platform when even Leonard Calvert conceded the futility of countering the Assembly's opposition.⁹⁸ But as a judge and Councilor, Lewger was resolutely impartial, despite cost to himself or the Calverts. His most remarkable opinion was issued in *Cornwaleys versus Calvert, Lewger, and Langford*. The suit grew out of Baltimore's instructions to purchase the Jesuits' chapel at St. Mary's so that secular priests could be installed. Baltimore's employees--the Governor, Secretary, and Surveyor General--negotiated the purchase with Cornwaleys (as agent for the Jesuits) and gave him a bill of exchange in payment. When in 1643, Baltimore received the bill--for £200--he refused payment and instructed his employees to return the building. (Apparently the cost exceeded Baltimore's ability to pay.) He also directed acting Governor Giles Brent that any suits about the protested bill be suspended until Lord Baltimore's arrival in the colony. (He was planning to come with the fall shipping.) Cornwaleys was enraged and filed suit for £400 against Calvert, Lewger, and Langford. Brent requested his Councilors' opinions on whether or not legal process should be allowed. James Neale stated that Baltimore's instructions were binding. Lewger tried to escape giving an opinion, claiming conflict of interest, but when Brent insisted, he stated that Brent "hath an authority and obligation to do justice without delay." Brent

agreed, and allowed Cornwaleys to attach the property of Lewger, Langford, and Calvert. If subsequently Brent had not changed his mind, Lewger would have been ruined.⁹⁹ Lewger may not have been popular, but he was respected. While sitting as chief magistrate, January to June, 1644, only one case was appealed from him to the full court.

Lewger's impartiality extended to his detractors--especially Giles Brent. Their troubled relationship illustrates the forces simultaneously sundering and mending Maryland society. Frontier societies are notoriously weak. Thin populations limit face-to-face relationships, kinship links are few, and unrealistic expectations for material advancement fuel disruptive competition.¹⁰⁰ At the same time, small populations force economic and political rivals to cooperate.

Captain Giles Brent was almost a caricature of the frontiersman. He was brave, vigorous, difficult, and perhaps venal. Shortly after his arrival in Maryland, he forsook his peers to settle in relative isolation on Kent Island. After the troubles of the 1640s, he retreated even further from civilization to settle among the Indians on the south shore of the Potomac, where he named his new plantation "Peace." Before then, he gave John Lewger much pain and some satisfaction.

Brent alternately attacked Lewger and solicited his help. In 1641, Brent publicly humiliated Lewger for his laxness in probating estates on Kent Island. In 1643, he reneged on a covenant to pay 8,000 pounds of tobacco to Richard Ingle. (Brent owed Lewger 3,923 pounds of tobacco.) In 1644, he dismissed Lewger from the Council. Yet, in 1642, Lewger supported Brent when the latter championed the right of Kent Islanders to sail to Virginia without a pass from Leonard

Calvert, and during most of 1643-44 they cooperated adequately as Acting Governor and Secretary/Attorney General and as fellow merchants. In January, 1645, four months after Brent had dismissed Lewger from the Council (and three months after Calvert had reappointed him), Brent requested Lewger's help. Brent delivered to Lewger two petitions to the Council requesting their assistance in compelling Governor Leonard Calvert to honor two covenants with the Brents (for cattle and land). As senior Councilor (after the Governor), Lewger responded immediately. He sent a polite, but firm, letter to Calvert directing him to fulfill his covenants or justify his action to the Council, "between this and Monday next."¹⁰¹

The quarrels between Maryland's leaders were symptomatic of the erosion of Maryland's social fabric. Depressed tobacco prices frustrated men's expectations, while from every direction, tensions emanating from religious and political conflict threatened to splinter Maryland society. Russell Menard has asked why Maryland's polity was so fragile, why it would degenerate into anarchy in 1645. His catalog of social problems is impressive: conflict with Virginia, quarrels between Lord Baltimore and the Jesuits and Lord Baltimore and his investors, religious tension, the immaturity of the gentry, and differences between the gentry and commonalty on taxation and Indian policy. He identifies as the primary sources of disorder both latent religious differences that reemerged with the outbreak of the English Civil War and the newness of the society, a newness that meant a lack of legitimizing traditions, rapid upward social mobility that eroded deference to the Council, and a frontier population--largely young, male, and

unmarried--that was uninhibited from expressing dissent by families or estates. The structural weaknesses of manorial Maryland led Menard to hypothesize that in 1645, Maryland society exploded from internal conflicts. He relegates outside forces largely to the role of catalysts.¹⁰² He underestimates the role of the English Civil War, and he exaggerates internal political and social conflict. While Maryland society was weak, political accommodation kept it functioning until revolution was imposed from outside.

While Menard carefully describes the external pressures on manorial Maryland, he fails to appreciate to what extent all of them stemmed from religious prejudices reinforced by political conflict. Claiborne's hatred of Maryland was as much religious as social and economic. His passionate opposition was central to the hostility of the Virginia interest. Claiborne's opposition was also the catalyst for both the Susquehannock War and the Giles Brent-Leonard Calvert feud. The hostility of English Protestants towards Catholics was the source of the quarrel between Lord Baltimore and the Society of Jesus and the tragic alignment of Maryland Catholics behind Charles I. The rupture between Cornwaleys and the Calvert party was another result of the English Civil War.

Cornwaleys's alienation from Lord Baltimore stemmed from Baltimore's attempts to force the Jesuit mission to maintain a low public profile. Baltimore was trying desperately to prevent Maryland from being drawn into the holocaust overtaking Catholics in England. The chapel incident was only the last of a series of issues. The spark that ignited Cornwaleys's suit against Calvert, Lewger, and Langford--

Lord Baltimore's failure to pay for the chapel--was in part the result of the financial exactions that Lord Baltimore had suffered as a result of the Civil War.¹⁰³ The immediate cause of Cornwaleys's departure, though, was not the result of the chapel incident, but the first stage of the Ingle affair, in which Cornwaleys, as a political moderate, tried to prevent the Marylanders from further antagonizing London's Protestant tobacco merchants. His political pragmatism resulted in a heavy fine and threats against his life, and as a result, Cornwaleys left the province in March, 1644, until passions could cool.¹⁰⁴ Cornwaleys's alienation from the Council and Lord Baltimore was the most serious schism in Maryland's leadership. The other illustrations that Menard uses to prove that in 1644-45 "Maryland's leadership was on the brink of collapse"¹⁰⁵ in fact prove the opposite. Despite conflicts, Maryland's leaders generally were able to set aside their differences to keep the government and society functioning.

In January, 1645, Leonard Calvert clumsily reactivated most of the quarrels of 1644. At the beginning of the court term, he sued Cornwaleys's overseer for an unpaid bill of exchange. Cornwaleys had refused to pay the bill in retaliation for Lord Baltimore's refusal to pay for the chapel. Immediately, Cornwaleys's overseer reopened the suit against Calvert for the £200 owing for the chapel, and Giles Brent (not wanting to lose his share of the Governor's assets), reactivated his suits against Calvert for security for Kent Fort Manor, which Calvert had sold to Brent and Claiborne now threatened to repossess, and for his wife's unpaid dowry cattle. (Calvert had been her guardian.) When the Council directed Calvert to comply or show cause, Calvert

refused, and the sheriff (Edward Packer, now Calvert's overseer) refused to attach Calvert's property. When Brent responded by appointing a special deputy to attach Calvert's goods, Calvert issued a warrant for Brent's arrest. Lewger, the impartial jurist, processed the paperwork against one and all, citing all parties to February court. By late January, 1645, Maryland's government may have been approaching the breakdown that Menard hypothesizes, but it is important to note what transpired.¹⁰⁶

Throughout the crisis, the Provincial Court continued to function, routinely processing routine cases, including suits for debt of Calvert, Cornwaleys, and Brent, and while Calvert absented himself from most of the session during the first part of February, the attendance of the remainder of the court was unusually good. (The Council may have been demonstrating solidarity against an inept leader.) Brent was not arrested, and he continued to sit on the Court. Even more important, the legal crisis scheduled for February never took place. Calvert did not prosecute his suit against Cornwaleys, and Cornwaleys's overseer and Brent did not prosecute their suits against Calvert. Twenty-two hogsheads of Calvert's tobacco had been attached; these now were certified to be Calvert's property. Except for the explosion of animosity between Brent and Calvert, the entire affair may appear more formidable in retrospect than it was in actuality. The primary aggrieved party, the Jesuits, were Governor Calvert's securities in his countersuit against Brent.¹⁰⁷

Not only did the manor lords back away from conflict, but accommodation between the Catholic Council and the Protestant commonalty

was greater than Menard recognized. While disagreements over the prosecution of the Susquehannock War had divided the Council and the freemen in 1642 and 1643 (with the result that some freemen had refused to pay their military assessments), in 1644 the second Powhatan War had made it clear that expensive action was unavoidable. In August, Lewger and the other St. Mary's County Councilors seem to have obtained widespread support for the establishment of a garrison at Piscataway. In January, 1645, Governor Leonard Calvert appointed a committee to assess its costs on the hundreds, and in doing so he demonstrated the excellent judgment that characterized his more deliberate decisions. His appointees consisted of a Catholic councilor from St. Clement's Hundred, a Protestant merchant from St. George's Hundred, John Lewger from St. Mary's Hundred, and from St. Michael's Hundred, Thomas Sturman, cooper, planter, and Protestant malcontent from Kent Island. Early in February, Calvert convened a one day meeting of the Assembly to extend the garrison at Piscataway. A defense appropriation bill was passed, and Calvert managed to defuse some of the tension resulting from the Civil War. During the Assembly, Thomas Sturman asked Calvert if he had any commission "from his Majesty for Maryland as he had for Virginia for the seizing . . . of any Londoner's ships or goods . . . under obedience of the Parliament?"¹⁰⁸

Calvert replied that he had not, nor would he permit such a commission to be enforced while he was Governor. The Assembly then declared that, they would have free trade, and there should be no interruption to the trade of ships from London or anywhere else.¹⁰⁹

Although seriously divided, on 11 February 1645, Marylanders of all ranks and persuasions were working together still.

During the fall and winter of 1644, Marylanders carried on business as usual, and the business of Maryland was tobacco. From St. Clement's Bay to Kent Island, freemen and servants stripped and packed tobacco. Before Christmas, enough of the leaf was in cask that agents of the manorial lords began visiting tobacco houses and marking hogsheads to their masters' use. The Civil War was a concern. Governor Calvert had returned from England with a commission against the King's enemies and Claiborne was threatening a descent on Kent Island, but foremost in men's minds was the disruption in commerce resulting from the war. Would shipping arrive to buy their tobaccos? Richard Ingle had not yet come, and after his treatment the previous year, some may have doubted that he would return. When a Dutch ship arrived in Virginia about Christmas time, its merchant was told that there was little tobacco left in Virginia, "but if he pleased to go to Maryland . . . he might have good trading there, because one [Ingle] that did use to trade thither had . . . not lately been there and for that they stood in want of many things." As the merchant considered this, a boat arrived from Maryland, inviting him to come to Maryland "promising him good trade." This innocent act sparked the explosion that destroyed manorial Maryland.

CHAPTER III

Notes

1. Archives of Maryland, ed. by William Hand Browne et al. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-), 1:32.
2. Hawley and Lewger recommended that settlers arrive between Michaelmas [29 September] and Christmas. Jerome Hawley and John Lewger, A Relation of Maryland: Together with a Map of the Country (London, 1635; reprinted in Clayton Colman Hall, ed., Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910; reprint ed., New York: Barnes & Noble, 1967), p. 92.
3. The hired carpenter was Philip West. Md. Arch., 4:27; Annapolis Maryland, Maryland Hall of Records, PATENT LIBERS, 1:35 (hereafter cited as PATENTS).
4. A new court book was started in September, 1638, as only testamentary records survive from the September sessions. Md. Arch., 4:47, 103.
5. Md. Arch., 1:28, 32.
6. Ibid., 1:2-4.
7. R. C. Watson, "Parlors with External Entrances," Vernacular Architecture 6 (1975):28-30; Eric Mercer illustrates no parlor this large: English Vernacular Houses (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1975).
8. Provision for a public meeting hall may have been included in the 1638 act "for building of the town," the text of which has been lost. Md. Arch., 1:20. The 1638 legislation seems to have been disallowed. The next year a more modest bill was read providing for the building of a "town house." It was not enacted. Ibid., 1:75-76.
9. This hypothesis is based on a reconstruction of the business of 2 August 1642 (Md. Arch., 1:142-46; 3:104-05; 4:113-15) and a rough correlation of the few records surviving from October, 1638, to July, 1642 (Md. Arch., 3:80-104; 4:47-113).
10. Md. Arch., 1:32, 90, 103, 113-14, 120, 127, 167. Calvert may have delayed until then to spend his own capital to improve the house. The building had been intended as the residence of the Proprietor (Hall, Narratives, p. 21). By 1640, the Governor may have decided to make improvements, despairing of his brother's immediate appearance. This, at least, is suggested by the scanty evidence. Leonard Calvert had the "Governor's Field" surveyed in August 1640 (PATENTS, 1:141). In March, 1642, Governor Calvert took possession of the tenements in the fort (Md. Arch., 4:159, and see above).

11. See above, note 10; Md. Arch., 3:105-31; 4:113-203.
12. These conjectures are based on examples dating from before or after the gap in the records. In April, 1638, while Calvert was in Jamestown, Lewger presided over the Court. The Calvert Papers, Number One, Fund Publication Number One (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1889), 1:193; Md. Arch., 4:29-32. 9 January 1644-5, Giles Brent went to St. John's to file two petitions against the Governor. Md. Arch., 3:162-63.
13. The sources for this and the following paragraphs are Md. Arch., 3:130-51; 4:201-85.
14. Md. Arch., 3:130; 4:453-54.
15. Trafford and Blount never returned from Virginia, and Langford left with Calvert. Md. Arch., 4:200.
16. "An Act for Judges," Md. Arch., 1:182-84.
17. Md. Arch., 4:229.
18. *Ibid.*, 3:148-50, 163.
19. *Ibid.*, 3:157-60.
20. Giles Brent, 7 August 1645, High Court of Admiralty 13/60, section K, Public Record Office, London, England.
21. PATENTS, 1:34-35.
22. Taunton, England, Somerset Record Office, Laverton Glebe Terrier, 1638/9, courtesy I. P. Collis.
23. PATENTS, 1:19, 21, 108, 125, 127, 129; A. B. & H:150.
24. Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol. 4: 1500-1640, H. P. Finberg, gen. ed. (Cambridge: The University Press, 1967), pp. 290-301, especially 294-95 (the estate of Cornwaleys's grandfather).
25. PATENTS, 1:17, 19, 34-37, 51-54.
26. Lois Green Carr, "St. John's Freehold," Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's City, Maryland, pp. 15-24.
27. PATENTS, 1:37, 53.
28. Thirsk, Agrarian History, 4:77-78, 179-85.
29. John Smith, Works, ed. by Edward Arber (Birmingham, England, 1884), pp. 951-52.

30. Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia: From Whence Is Inferred A Short View of Maryland and North Carolina, ed. by Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956), p. 78.

31. Calvert Papers, 1:196.

32. Lois Green Carr, personal communication; J. Mitchell Morgan, Morganza-Turner Road, St. Mary's County, Maryland, Interview Number Two, 13 November 1976, Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission, pp. 2-3, 6.

33. Calvert Papers, 1:199.

34. Md. Arch., 3:141-42; 4:216, 236, 272, 276-77.

35. Md. Arch., 4:277-78; Calvert Papers, 1:151; Henry M. Miller, "An Analysis of Seventeenth-Century Sheep Burials from the St. John's Site, St. Mary's City, Maryland, April, 1978," Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission. In 1643, another ram was "killed by Mr. Secretary for provision in his sickness."

36. Lewger ranked behind Cornwaleys, Lord Baltimore, Leonard Calvert, the Brents, Thomas Gerrard, and perhaps the Jesuits.

37. Lorena S. Walsh and Russell R. Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake: Two Life Tables for Men in Early Colonial Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine 69 (1974):211-27.

38. Thirsk, Agrarian History, pp. 437-42.

39. Russell R. Menard, "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Iowa, 1975 (Xerox University Microfilms), p. 475. The price rise in 1644 was due to a small crop resulting from "unseasonable" weather. Md. Arch., 3:144.

40. Md. Arch., 3:119; 4:84, 89-90, 113.

41. Ibid., 3:119, 122. Lewger could have grown or purchased the corn and peas.

42. Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, personal communication.

43. "Mr. Secretary" may have been little help in the fields. Theoretically, at least, his social status restricted his exercise to grafting and pruning in the orchard except during the harvest, when even a gentleman could lend a hand. Wallace Notestein, The English People on the Eve of Colonization (New York: Harper & Row, 1954; Harper Torchbook, 1962), pp. 47, 64, 69.

44. Md. Arch., 4:216, 236, 276.
45. Lois Green Carr and Russell R. Menard, "Immigration and Opportunity: Servants and Freedmen in Early Colonial Maryland," The Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake, Essays Delivered at the 32nd. Conference in Early American History, College Park, Maryland, November 1-2, 1974 (mimeograph), pp. 296-99.
46. Md. Arch., 4:202; 10:70; Annapolis, Maryland, Maryland Hall of Records, Rent Rolls, 0:5.
47. PATENTS, 5:421; 9:506-07, 511-12; 22:269. Into the early eighteenth century, the manor survived as a void between neighboring surveys. See Russell R. Menard, "A Tract Map for St. Mary's County in 1705," Chronicles of St. Mary's 21 (May 1973):261-72.
48. Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd. series, 34 (1977):542-55.
49. Md. Arch., 4:73.
50. In 1658, an Ann Lewger migrated to Maryland. Upon her marriage to William Tattershall, Gent., she received a special warrant for 500 acres from the Proprietor. PATENTS, 4:568, 618.
51. Thomas Hughes, History of the Society of Jesus in North America, 4 vols. (London: Longman, Green, and Co., 1907-1917), Documents, 1:35-36; Anthony à Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis, ed. by Philip Blake, 4 vols. (London, 1813), p. 697.
52. Carr and Walsh, "The Planter's Wife," pp. 561-63.
53. Cornwaleys dismantled his mill between 1638 and 1643. In 1645, the irons and brasses were stored on Cross Manor. Calvert Papers, 1:174; Md. Arch., 4:275; Examination of Cuthbert Fenwick, Court of Chancery c24 690/14, PRO.
54. William Claiborne's servant rosters, "Claiborne vs. Clobery," Maryland Historical Magazine 28 (1933):180-87.
55. Table 3-1 and Appendix 1; Md. Arch., 3:120; 4:285, 354, 447, 475; PATENTS, AB&H:37; and see Career File, Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission.
56. Table 3-1 and Appendix 1.
57. In Virginia, the servants of Councilor Samuel Mathews tanned hides and made them into shoes, and on Kent Island, Mathew's protege, William Claiborne, dressed leather. A Perfect Description of Virginia (London, 1649; reprinted in Peter Force, comp., Tracts (Washington, D.C., 1844; reprint ed., Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter

Smith, 1963), vol. 2, no. 8; "Claiborne vs. Clobery," Maryland Historical Magazine, 28:37.

58. Md. Arch., 1:121.
59. Ibid., 4:283.
60. Ibid., 4:192, 196, 214, 220, 224, 227, 240, 243-45.
61. PATENTS, 1:37; Md. Arch., 1:120; 4:48, 85, 138, 155-56.
62. PATENTS, 1:37-38; Md. Arch., 1:144; 4:216, 236, 305.
63. Md. Arch., 3:119, 122; 4:134; PATENTS, AB&H:237.
64. John Lewger, 26 September 1645, answer 6, in Cornwaleys vs. Ingle, Court of Chancery C24 690/14, PRO.
65. Harry Wright Newman, The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate (Washington, D.C.: By the Author, 1961), pp. 271-73.
66. Md. Arch., 4:47, 106.
67. Calvert Papers, 1:198.
68. Adjacent to Wintour's former plantation, PATENTS, 1:102-03.
69. Md. Arch., 3:117, 137.
70. Ibid., 4:73, 273, 280-81, 294, 348-49, 351-52.
71. Ibid., 4:85, 106, 209-10, 238-39, 290, 300.
72. Md. Arch., 4:153, 164, 172, 181, 183, 234, 279-80; PATENTS, 1:27.
73. Md. Arch., 1:145; 3:141; 4:276; PATENTS, 1:127.
74. Md. Arch., 3:141; 4:260, 279.
75. Ibid., 4:247.
76. Hampton, Md. Arch., 1:146; 4:113, 120, 155, 166, 172, 178, 180, 196-97, 220, 226, 231-32, 245, 330; Hall, ibid., 4:221, 244, 256, 270, 275; Metcalfe, ibid., 1:4-5, 168; 3:127; 4:39, 45.
77. Md. Arch., 4:108, 127.
78. Robert Winston Keeler, "The Homelot on the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake Tidewater Frontier" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, March, 1978), pp. 68, 150-51.

79. Garry Wheeler Stone, "Archaeological Analysis of 'the Room called the Kitchen' (18 St 1-23)," 1976, Archaeology Files, St. Mary's City Commission.
80. Md. Arch., 4:272. Chesapeake cattle yards generally were referenced as "cow pens," as milk cows were the only cattle normally confined.
81. Hall, Narratives, pp. 82, 98.
82. John Hayes Melady, The Home Owners' Complete Garden Handbook (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1952), pp. 82-83 and s.v.
83. H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia, 1622-1632, 1670-1676, with Notes and Excerpts from Original Council and General Court Records, into 1683, now Lost (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1924), pp. 120-21; Jones, Present State, p. 77.
84. Smith, Works, pp. 949-50, 952.
85. Sir Henry Holt, "The Voyage of Sir Henry Colt Knight to the Ilands of the Antilleas . . .," in Colonising Expeditions to the West Indies and Guiana, 1623-1667, ed. by V. T. Harlow, Hakluyt Society, 2d. series, no. 55 (London, 1925):66.
86. Calvert Papers, 1:197.
87. See above, p. 71.
88. Md. Arch., 5:186; 4:33-34, 90-91, 112, 262-63.
89. Overseas Exports by Denizens, 1639-40, Port Books, London, (E. 190/41/1), f.150-53, PRO.
90. Hubbardsey vs. Penniston, Allen, Ingle, et al., HCA 24/102 no. 190; 13/57, ff. 152-54, 169, 194, 224; Menard, "Economy and Society," p. 472 (tobacco prices); London Port Books E. 190/43/5, E. 190/44/3 (customs duties). Assuming an average size hogshead, Lewger had shipped 16,000 pounds of tobacco. The three duties (poundage, tunnage, and customs) totalled 4.5d. per pound of tobacco, and freight was about 1.2d. per pound of tobacco.
91. Md. Arch., 4:188-89.
92. Ibid., 4:113-86; Menard, "Economy and Society," p. 87.
93. Md. Arch., 4:185-86, 188-89, 197, 202.
94. Ibid., 3:119, 122; 4:186.

95. Ibid., 4:196-97, 203, 209.
96. Ibid., 4:206, 242.
97. John Lewger, 26 September 1645, answer 21, in *Cornwaleys vs. Ingle*, Court of Chancery C24 690/14, PRO.
98. Md. Arch., 1:94-95.
99. Ibid., 3:135-37, 143; 4:217-18, 243-44, 263.
100. Stephen I. Thompson, Pioneer Colonization: a Cross-Cultural View, An Addison-Wesley Module in Anthropology, No. 33 (1973):12, 15-17; Menard, "Economy and Society," pp. 111-22.
101. Md. Arch., 1:105, 107, 173-74; 3:151, 162-63; 4:126-34, 140-41, 150-56, 160-65, 185-86, 197, 418.
102. Menard, "Economy and Society," pp. 111-42.
103. See above, pp. 52-58, and Md. Arch., 3:143.
104. Md. Arch., 3:166-67; 4:265.
105. Menard, "Economy and Society," p. 142.
106. Md. Arch., 3:162-63; 4:264, 292-305.
107. Ibid., 4:293 (Cuthbert Fenwick, Gent., and Thomas Copley, Esq., were Calvert's securities).
108. Md. Arch., 1:205; Deposition of Giles Brent, 7 August 1645, High Court of Admiralty 13/60, section K, PRO.
109. "Richard Ingle in Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine 1 (1906):130.
110. Md. Arch., 3:161; 4:348-49; Deposition of Henry Stockdon, 22 October 1645, High Court of Admiralty 13/60, section Q, PRO; "Richard Ingle in Maryland," p. 131.

PART TWO

ARCHITECTURE AND HOUSING

English immigrants to the Chesapeake brought with them English expectations and English skills. Upon their arrival they found their inherited technology poorly suited to their new home. Inflated frontier wages made the construction of a "fair," English-framed house extremely expensive, while unframed temporary structures of European pattern quickly were destroyed by an inhospitable environment. Innovation was rapid, sustained, and productive. Three important stimuli were termites, timber, and tobacco. Another was the continuing frontier conditions resulting from rapid immigration, high mortality, and swidden agriculture. Quickly synthesizing Norman-derived wall framing, peasant roof construction, and virgin timber, immigrant carpenters developed the post-in-the-ground "Virginia House." This first "Virginia House" was an inexpensive, modular structure that could house any domestic or agricultural function. By 1700, Anglo-American carpenters had so refined their techniques that 30 man days could convert oak trees into a "25 foot dwelling house with chimneys and partitions."¹ But even as they were perfecting their invention, evolving social conditions made the post-in-the-ground, impermanent construction obsolete. During the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the "Virginia House" was redesigned as a box-framed structure. While still inexpensive,

given good foundations and reasonable maintenance, this new model would endure almost indefinitely.

INTRODUCTION

Note

1. Charles County, Maryland, COURT AND LAND RECORDS S#1:371,
A#2:13.

CHAPTER IV

HUTS AND FRAMED HOUSES

IN MANORIAL MARYLAND: 1634-1644

. . . in the meantime, I am building of a house to put my head in, of sawn timber framed a story and half high, with a cellar and chimneys of brick, to encourage others to follow my example, for hitherto we live in cottages [emphasis is original]
Thomas Cornwaleys to Lord Baltimore, 16 April 1638 ¹

Lord Baltimore's colonists sailed into the Chesapeake with high expectations. Buoyed by advertisement of a fur trading bonanza, they hoped to create new estates for themselves as manor lords, yeomen, and husbandmen. Few realized most of their expectations, and for none was failure greater than for the colony's Catholic leaders. They did not augment their social status. They did not escape religious and political strife. They failed to establish and maintain a European standard of living. Nowhere is their failure more obvious than in housing.

Surprisingly full information is available on both the architectural backgrounds of Maryland's first leaders and their New World dwellings. For Secretary John Lewger, we have on the one hand the glebe terrier (property description) of his Somerset rectory, and on the other hand, the superbly preserved foundations of the house that he built on St. John's Freehold. For Governor Leonard Calvert, we can

contrast the surviving Yorkshire house that his father built in the 1620s, with the foundations of the house that the Governor built in the 1630s and enlarged in the 1640s. No physical remains have been located of Commissioner Thomas Cornwaleys's English or American homes, but depictions and fragments survive of three of his family's ancestral homes, while the plan of his American home is preserved by a room-by-room inventory. Additional information is available about the St. Mary's Town residence of another member of the Governor's Council. For these men--especially the three original commissioners of the colony--immigrating to America meant physical deprivation. In the Chesapeake they lived in modest farmhouses. Two were but overgrown cottages, while the third, though well designed, was small. In England, they had belonged to the best housed segment of English society: the wealthy gentry with lucrative ties to the royal court.

In the early seventeenth century, the quality of English gentry housing varied widely. At one extreme were the courtiers' great houses with their enormous apartments for entertaining royalty. At the other extreme were Northern gentlemen's modest homes, some yet unlofted, outwardly resembling the late medieval homes of peasants in more prosperous parts of England.² Between these extremes, it is possible to estimate the architectural background of the three initial commissioners of the Maryland colony. All had been exposed thoroughly to the upper levels of English society and housing. Jerome Hawley was a member of the royal court. Thomas Cornwaleys and Leonard Calvert were scions of the aristocracy.

Jerome Hawley, Esq., was an ambitious member of the Middlesex mercantile gentry. A connection with the Earl of Somerset had given him the dubious distinction of being imprisoned in the Gate House during 1615. Later, "after the accession of Charles I, Jerome Hawley was a member of the royal court and was one of the 'sewers' or superintendents of the banquets and entertainments of the Queen Consort, Henrietta Maria." The inventory taken after his death in 1638 reveals that he attempted to maintain aristocratic standards on the Maryland frontier.³

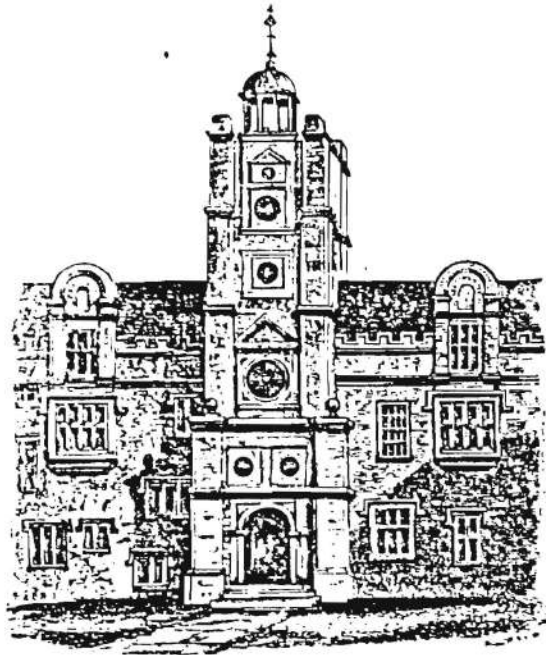
Thomas Corn^waleys, Esq., was the son of a knight. A great grandfather, Sir Thomas Corn^wallis (c.1516-1604), had been Comptroller to the Household of Queen Mary, and his grandfather had been Treasurer for Henry, Prince of Wales. Charles II would make a cousin Baron Corn^wallis of Eye. Two of the family's homes stood into the nineteenth century. The splendor of a third can be estimated from documents.⁴ All were familiar landmarks in the East Anglian world into which Thomas Cornwaleys of Maryland was born.⁵

The clan seat was Brome Hall, Suffolk, on the Roman road between Norwich and London. Sir Thomas Corn^wallis constructed Brome between 1562 and the 1590s. A nineteenth-century engraving (figure 4-1A) illustrates the main block as a two and a half story brick structure lavishly decorated with stone. A tower accented the entrance. The buildings seem to have been arranged in traditional fashion around a courtyard. A sumptuously furnished chapel and a great hall open to a handsomely timbered roof were impressive features. While the great communal hall was a backward looking feature, there were a large private dining room

on an upper floor and a fashionable and very expensive (£497+) walking and picture gallery. Although its cost (above £2,000) was modest compared to the inflated costs of early seventeenth-century palaces, Brome Hall was one of the great houses of Suffolk. In the tax of 1674, it ranked third in the number of hearths (45). The family also owned an expensive town house in Norwich.⁶

In 1571, Sir Thomas purchased the cloister of a former college, and in 1573-1579, he improved it into perhaps the finest dwelling in the city of Norwich--it was the only residence illustrated in elevation on a 1696 map (figure 4-2). The initial cost of the dwelling and land was £400, and Sir Thomas spent another £700 or £800 for a "new gallery, a porter's lodge, a new hall, a better kitchen, a court paved with Purbeck stone." "This capital messuage . . . with yards, gardens, orchards, etc." was sold in 1609, but young Thomas Cornwaleys must have been aware of the richness of his great grandfather's former town house. A partial inventory and lease of c.1665 mention tapestry hangings, the gilt leather hangings of the long gallery and little parlor, the hall, cellar, brewing office, preserving room, baking office, kitchen, buttery, larder, wet larder, scullery, wash house, and two stables. The central block of the house was replaced in 1755, but the wings still stand.⁷

Another fashionable dwelling that Thomas Cornwaleys of Maryland may have known was Culford Hall in Suffolk. It stood on one of the western routes from his family's lands in northern Norfolk south towards London.⁸ From 1614 until 1659, it was the home of Lady Jane Cornwallis Bacon, mother of Frederick, Baron Cornwallis of Eye. A widow during



BROME HALL, 1620.



CULFORD HALL, 1612.

Fig. 4-1. Brome and Culford Halls.

SOURCE: Jane Lady Cornwallis, The Private Correspondence of Jane Lady Cornwallis (London: S. & J. Bentley, Wilson, & Fley, 1842), frontispiece and p. 305.

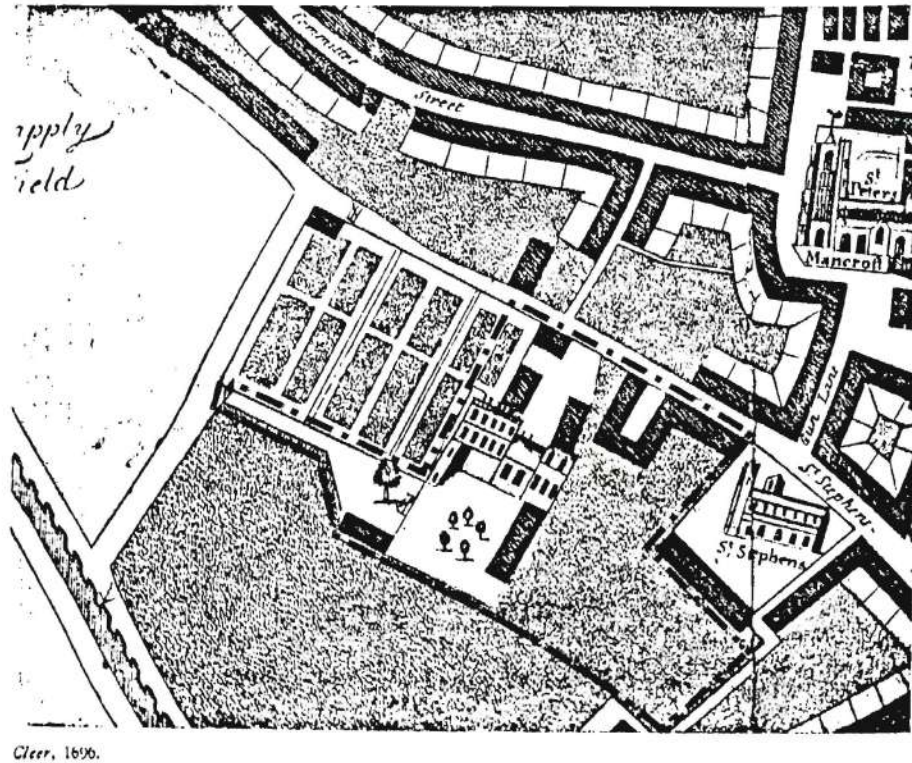


Fig. 4-2. The Chapelfield House in 1696.
The approximate area owned by Sir Thomas Cornwallis is outlined thus:

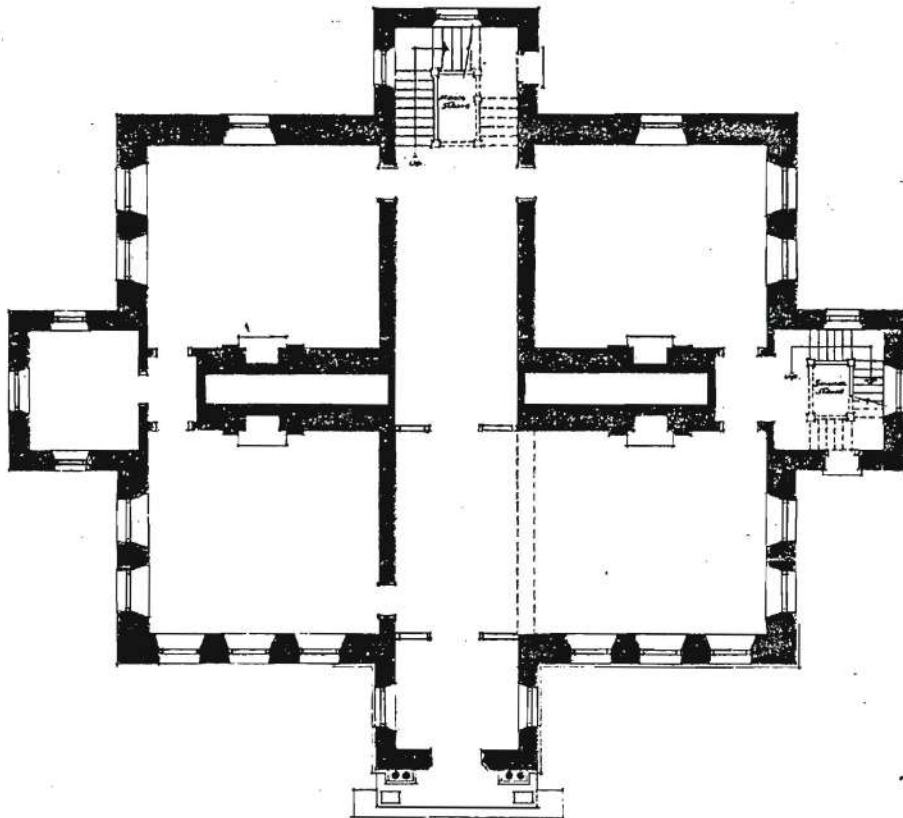
The large pleasure garden west of the house was, in 1609, an apple orchard known as the Cherry Ground, at which time it belonged to the City. Sir Thomas may have leased the Cherry Ground, as a map of 1658-1681 shows it attached to the house.

SOURCE: B. Cozens-Hardy, "The Norwich Chapelfield House Estate since 1545 and Some of its Owners and Occupiers," Norfolk Archaeology 27 (1938-1940):352-58.

most of this time, she divided her attention between the Bacon and Cornwallis families. The house had been built in the early seventeenth century, perhaps in 1612. A nineteenth-century engraving reveals that it was a large house of three stories and a garret (figure 4-1B).⁹

Governor Leonard Calvert was the son of a parvenu. His father, George, the first Baron of Baltimore, came from the middling Yorkshire gentry. Provided by his family with an education at Trinity College and a European tour, a fortunate meeting with Sir Robert Cecil, later the Earl of Salisbury, gave George Calvert the chance he needed. With hard work he rose from being a secretary to Cecil to six years as one of the principal secretaries to James I. A shift in diplomatic strategy cost Sir George Calvert his position in 1625, but his loss of office was sweetened by the gift of an Irish baronetcy.¹⁰

George Calvert's secretaryship was worth £2,000 a year. About 1622, on the family's lands at Catterick in the North Riding of Yorkshire, he constructed Kiplin Hall to advertise their success. Although small compared to great structures such as Audley End or Hatfield, it is far more commodious and pretentious than ordinary early seventeenth-century Yorkshire manor houses.¹¹ Kiplin is a brick building two and two-thirds stories high, trimmed with stone, and embellished with towers, numerous gables, and chimneys.¹² Its symmetrical exterior is not out of the ordinary--it resembles the early work at Hatfield House, the palace of Lord Baltimore's former patron.¹³ The interior plan is extraordinary--an almost completely developed Renaissance double-pile plan with four large rooms on the ground floor, a central passage, and well



Conjectural plan of Kiplin Hall as built by Lord Baltimore

Fig. 4-3. Kiplin Hall.

SOURCE: View from the West, *Victoria County History, A History of Yorkshire North Riding* (London: Constable and Company, 1914), 1:307; conjectural plan, courtesy the Reverend Michael Farina.

placed stairs--a precocious plan in the development of the medium-size country house.¹⁴

Brome, Culford, and Kiplin were exceptional houses built by men with court connections. More typical of the good, new, gentry dwellings were homes of second generation immigrants: Brooke Manor and Hook House. Both were modern stone structures of two stories and a garret.

Brooke Manor house at Whitechurch, Hampshire, was the home of Robert Brooke, Esq., who immigrated to Maryland in 1650. A photograph of the house reveals that it is a three unit structure. Its fenestration suggests that the central unit was a lobby with a stylish framed stair. The chimneys suggest the presence of a rear wing.¹⁵ More is available about Hook House, the boyhood home of Governor Charles Calvert, the Governor of Maryland, 1661-1684, and the fifth owner of St. John's Freehold, St. Mary's City.

Hook, the manor house of Semley, Wiltshire, was built on the estates of Wardour Castle by Thomas, Lord Arundell, as a present for his daughter Anne and her husband, Cecil Calvert, the Second Baron of Baltimore. The building was constructed during the years 1636 and 1637, parallel to the construction of the first Maryland manor houses. The building is U-shaped in plan. The entrance, between the wings, opens into the hall. To the left were the butteries and kitchen. To the right were the dining room and parlor, each as large as the hall (figure 4-4). The increasing segregation of the aristocracy from their servants had demoted halls into vestibules and servants' dining rooms.¹⁶ The plaster ceiling of the parlor is decorated with nautical



PRINCIPAL ELEVATION

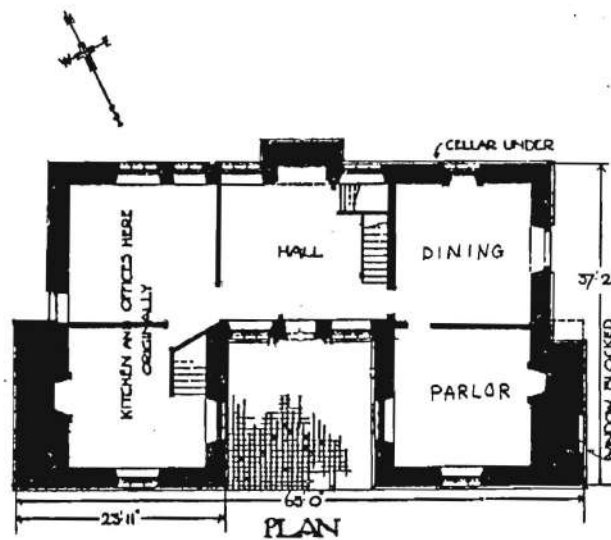


Fig. 4-4. Hook House.

SOURCE: Thomas Garner and Arthur Stratton, The Domestic Architecture of England during the Tudor Period, 2nd ed. (1929), plate XXXVI.

scenes commemorating the Calverts' contributions to the development of the British empire (figure 4-5). Hook House was a comfortable, fashionable, and relatively modest residence. Hundreds like it were being constructed during the Stuart period by the gentry. The house cost £313 14s. 1d., approximately 1/120th the cost of Hatfield.¹⁷

It is difficult to estimate the housing to which ordinary immigrants to early Maryland were accustomed. None of their homes are known to have survived, and even their places of origin are largely unknown. The few who can be traced came from all parts of England.¹⁸ While most of the immigrants seem to have come from the heavily populated southern half of England, the living standards to which they were accustomed would have varied. London, the most important point of departure, was at the heart of the lowland Southeast, while Bristol, probably the second most important port of embarkation, is in the poorer highland zone. And Maryland attracted proportionately more immigrants from the backward, thinly populated northern counties--where Catholicism was strongest--than did the parallel migration to Massachusetts Bay.¹⁹ Thus immigrants to Maryland came from both the highland and lowland zones--areas differing markedly in living standards and architectural accommodations.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the typical English peasant's house was a one story* dwelling two or three rooms or bays long.²⁰ Variation in quality and quantity of accommodation was enormous.

*I use "story" to describe wall height, not number of floors, following Carson, "The 'Virginia House'."

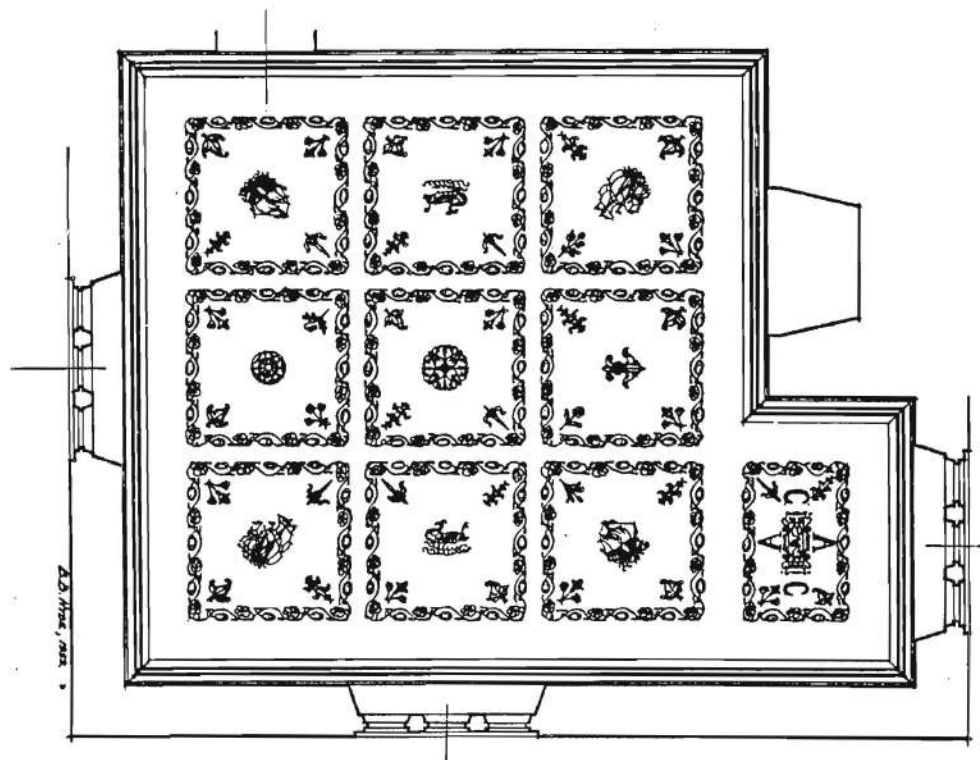


Fig. 4-5. Hook House.

The Ornamental Plaster Ceiling of the Parlor.

SOURCE: Bryden Bordley Hyde and Marion V. Brewington, "New Light on the Ark and Dove," Maryland Historical Magazine 48 (1953), p. 188.

In the prosperous Southeast, most rural houses were well framed buildings three rooms long and at least partially lofted. In the West and North, most houses were still impermanent, medieval structures, frequently unlofted, and occasionally their two units were separated only by the hearth. In a few instances, cattle occupied one room.

The best housed English peasants were those of Essex and Kent. Convenient access to London markets had brought them prosperity. Beginning in the late middle ages, the most successful built scaled down versions of gentry dwellings. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the yeoman's ideal farmhouse was a center chimney, hall and parlor dwelling, of two full floors and a garret, with a rear wing for service. Such buildings survive in great numbers and dominate architectural historians' perceptions of East Anglian architecture.²¹ But, the meticulous John Walkers' estate maps of Essex show that at the beginning of the seventeenth century, most rural houses were only one story high (figure 4-6).²² Some, with a cross wing, clearly were medieval structures modernized with the addition of a chimney. Many of the single story dwellings also were modernized medieval structures. Among the 1635-1640 Writtle inventories, a majority of the husbandmen still had halls open to the roof.²³ The typical husbandman's home included a hall, sometimes lofted, a parlor, inevitably chambered over, and one or two pantries (buttery and milk house). Kentish housing was comparable or perhaps slightly better. The Kentish peasant may have been quicker to chamber over his hall and to build structures a story and a third or a story and a half tall.²⁴



Fig. 4-6. Essex Farmhouses, 1609.
 Detail from John Walker, Senior, and John Walker, Junior,
 "A True Plat . . . of Housham Hall."
 SOURCE: Essex Record Office.

The brick chimneys, glazed windows, and upper stories illustrated in the Walkers' maps are products of the so-called housing revolution, a process well underway by 1600. Its improvements were most dramatic outside of the Southeast, as impermanent medieval structures were replaced by professionally carpentered buildings. By 1600, East Anglian, two story, center chimney structures (or their cousins) had spread to the western Midlands and Wales. But, the further from the Southeast, the less complete was the revolution. In Wiltshire, husbandmen were still building partially lofted houses in the 1620s.²⁵ In the West Midlands, Wales, and Devon, ordinary men's homes were so poor that few have survived. The good, new, two story buildings of timber (in Wales or the Midlands) or in stone (in Devon) were exclusively the resort of gentlemen.²⁶

To the north of Essex, with some notable exceptions (such as the prosperous valleys of southeastern Yorkshire), a similar decline in housing standards prevailed.²⁷ In Norfolk, one room laborers' cottages were not uncommon, while in Oxfordshire, their numbers were increasing (due to overpopulation),²⁸ and in parts of Lincolnshire, some one and two bay structures lacked partitions and lofts.²⁹

The worst English housing was in the extreme west and north. In Cornwall until the mid-sixteenth century, many husbandmen lived in houses with "walls of earth, low thatched roofs, few partitions, no planching [ceilings] or glass windows, and scarcely any chimnies."³⁰ Even more primitive were late sixteenth-century dwellings in Cheshire with the "fire in the midst of the house, against a hob of clay, and their Oxen under the same roof."³¹ Except for the exclusion of the

oxen, until the mid-seventeenth century, unpartitioned, unlofted, clay walled buildings were the norm in parts of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and the Northern Counties. Cruck framed, these dwellings were two to four bays long.³² But, even where housing was most primitive, obvious improvements were being made, as husbandmen added partitions and chimneys to their homes, while gentlemen tacked on additional parlors or built conspicuously new, two story dwellings.³³

As Maryland's future manorial lords sailed into the Chesapeake in 1634, they knew that they had traded relative comfort for at least temporary deprivation. As investors in the Maryland venture, they were acutely aware of the cost of planting a new colony. Some had knowledge of the process of colonization. A brother of Jerome Hawley was governor of Barbados, while Leonard Calvert had been with his father in Ireland, Newfoundland, and perhaps Virginia.³⁴ While they were aware of their limited means, it seems probable that they expected to be able to build and live modestly "in the manner of England." They had reason to expect to be able to do so. English immigrants to Ireland had dotted the Irish landscape with English style manorial villages. Their substantial architecture was a symbol of the triumph of English civilization over Irish barbarity, as in 1620s Virginia, the "New Town" on Jamestown Island was a symbol of the English conquest of the James River frontier.³⁵ In Maryland, Lord Baltimore directed his settlers to replicate these accomplishments. But, as geography and demography would defeat his desire for an English style town (as it already had defeated the Virginians), so frontier inflation would frustrate his settlers' desire to live "in the manner of England."

On the Irish frontier, an English sized investment produced an almost English quality house. In Maryland, however, this was not to be the case. Here, construction wages were thrice those of England and Ireland.

In England, craftsmen's daily wages varied considerably, but 1s. 5d., the wage paid in the Midlands, may represent a fair average.³⁶ These wages were substantially reduced if the employer fed the workmen. Wages in Ireland may have been similar, and, as a result, in Ireland a small, but substantial, tenant house 36 by 16 ft. and one and a half stories high might cost from £25 to £40. These were permanent, "English" buildings, with masonry chimneys, dormered upper chambers, and slate roofs.³⁷ In Maryland, one merchant's investment of above £25 produced only a poorly framed cottage, with a thatched roof and a dirt floor (appendix 3D, "Snow Hill").

During the 1630s, Maryland carpenters could claim wages two to three times those paid in England or Ireland plus free food. Wages ranged from 20 pounds tobacco a day to 300 pounds tobacco a month.³⁸ When tobacco was at 3d. a pound, these wages equalled 5s. to 3s. 3d. a day. Even when, in 1641, tobacco dropped to 2d. a pound, Maryland wages, at 3s. 4d. to 2s. 2d. a day, remained substantially higher than in England or even Massachusetts (where, after soaring to 3s. a day, they were reduced by decree to 2s. a day). Under exceptional circumstances, Maryland woodworkers earned even more. In 1644, a shipwright was paid 1 1/2 pounds beaver (12 to 15 shillings) for two days' work.³⁹

Inflated wages like these eroded the purchasing power of all classes, from a beginning planter with 500 pounds tobacco to spend

on a dwelling to the merchant planter with several hundred pounds sterling to invest carefully. Except for an occasional vacant Indian clear field, the frontier offered little for nothing. Developing it was an expensive, labor intensive process. Even at the level of the small planter, not all his credit could be squandered on a dwelling. Most of the investment had to be in productive goods: household necessities, cleared land, curing houses, and a crop of tobacco and corn. For the merchant planter, there were additional expenses: servants and their necessities (including housing), trading goods, and shipping. A relatively small portion could be spent on a house. Thus, though they invested sums upwards of a thousand pounds in Maryland, even men like Leonard Calvert, Jerome Hawley, and Thomas Cornwaleys found themselves living in what at first glance might have been mistaken for an English husbandman's cottage.

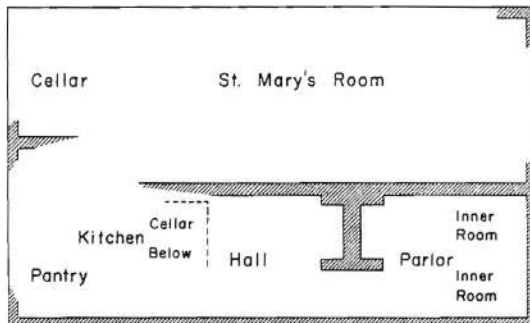
From 1634 through 1643, Maryland's manorial lords built six houses of which we have documentary or archaeological knowledge (see appendices). A considerable range of accommodation is present, with a cottage-like structure at one end and a modest gentleman's residence on the other. They share several important characteristics. All were basically one story, wooden buildings of rudimentary, English construction. In general, conveniences (such as service rooms) or genteel touches (such as exterior porches) were lacking. In their simplicity they resembled frontier houses in Ireland and Massachusetts. The imprint of time is clear on these houses. The least adequate were built in the initial haste of frontier settlement. The better dwellings were built later in relative leisure.

The architectural development of Maryland began late in March, 1634, when the settlers from the Ark of Maryland rowed ashore to transform the Indian village of Yoacomico into the Town of St. Mary's. For two more months they camped on board their ship while they quickly threw up a guardhouse and a storehouse, enclosed them with a palisade, and started building a mill and houses, houses that Thomas Cornwaleys would characterize two years later as "cottages."⁴⁰ Most were "cottages" in that they were cheap, temporary structures that disappeared within eight years. Others were "cottages" only in that they were modest. One, much enlarged, remained in use another sixty years.

Four of Maryland's first manor houses were no more than generously scaled cottages. These buildings were Snow Hill, Piny Neck (or St. Gabriel's), and the first sections of St. Mary's and St. Peter's. All four were one story buildings of wood. Only the St. Mary's and Peter's dwellings had cellars, and two (St. Mary's and Snow Hill) had timber and mud flues above their brick fireboxes. Three of them may have been built as three unit structures, while the fourth may have had only two units (figure 4-7).

Oldest of the cottage manor houses was St. Mary's. I believe that it was the "convenient house . . . for his Lordship or his Governor" that Lord Baltimore directed be constructed during the first year of the colony. He expected to move into this house about January, 1635. He was forced to postpone his departure from England from year to year, and in his absence, his brother, Governor Leonard Calvert, occupied the structure. In 1641, obviously with his Lordship's permission, Governor Calvert took personal possession of the building.

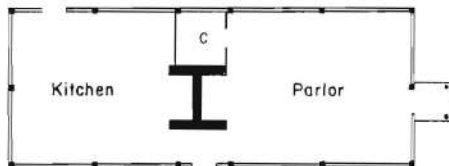
ST. MARY'S



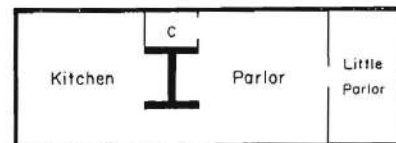
PINY NECK



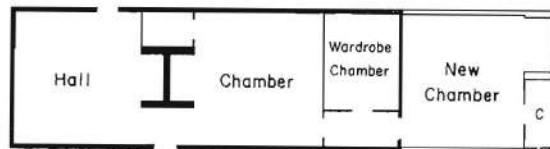
ST. JOHN'S



SNOW HILL



ST. PETER'S



THE CROSS HOUSE

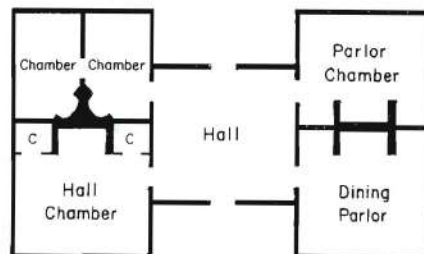


Fig. 4-7. Early Maryland Manor Houses.
Excavated and Conjectured Plans.

Our knowledge of the house is based on the documents in appendix 3B, Dr. Forman's plan of the late seventeenth-century underpinnings, and the 1981 test excavations by the St. Mary's City Commission. While the original length of the structure is in doubt, the plan is recognizable as that of a lobby entry farmhouse. The chimney is in the East Anglian position against the rear wall, presumably to make room in the lobby for a newel stair. To the east of the chimney was a large unit containing the parlor suite--the principal lodging chamber and two inner rooms. To the left of the chimney was the hall. Because of the public functions of the house, the hall never can have been a kitchen. If the first kitchen was an outbuilding, it is possible that the original house consisted only of hall and parlor units. It seems more likely that the kitchen, or possibly the kitchen and store-room, were parts of the original structure, in which case the building was 50 or 60 ft. long. The 1668 inventory lists low beds, tables, and forms in both the hall and parlor lofts, suggesting that by that time the lofts were dormered. The 1668 kitchen may have been open to the roof, as the detailed inventory enumerates no kitchen loft or loft-like cluster of kitchen furnishings.

In the early 1640s, Governor Leonard Calvert constructed a "large house" at Piny Neck on St. Gabriel's Manor.⁴¹ In March, 1643, he contracted to sell 3,000 acres (the manors of St. Gabriel's, St. Michael's, and Trinity) and this house. As his house was only an unfinished shell at that time, Calvert agreed to

finish the dwelling house at Pinie Neck with a stack of brick chimneys (containing two chimneys [fireplaces]) near about the middle of the house now standing, and to make the partition by

the said chimneys, and doors and windows, and to underpin the frame of it with stone or brick. ⁴²

Thus the house was to be improved as a center chimney, two room dwelling (figure 4-7). Note that the agreement does not include a loft floor, ground floor, or stair. Was their installation yet being deferred?

The sale contract fell through, but as it probably was a year before Calvert learned this, the building may have been completed as specified.

Largest of the cottage manor houses was St. Peter's, the dwelling constructed for Commissioner Jerome Hawley. It probably was almost as early as the St. Mary's House, as it had been enlarged prior to Hawley's death in July, 1638. Our knowledge of his dwelling is based exclusively on his inventory. The nucleus of the house consisted of a hall, a ground floor chamber, and perhaps a wardrobe chamber (figure 4-7). By 1638, a "new chamber" with a closet had been added. Only one loft was listed in the inventory, and it was a storage space. A cellar contained wine and beer. A kitchen and a backhouse seem to have been a separate building or buildings. The other structures on the demesne were a servants' house, a cornhouse, a little storehouse, a thatched storehouse, and a cowhouse (appendix 3C).

Snow Hill was the least substantial of the cottage manor houses. Incomplete at its owner's death, his administrator completed the building. From the administration account that he submitted (appendix 3D), much can be inferred about a frontiersman's house.

Snow's land was a mile and several creeks north of St. Mary's Fort, too far away for Snow to have lived in the fort while supervising the development of his plantation. Instead, Snow had carpenters erect for him a cottage apparently of three rooms: kitchen, parlor, and little parlor. As soon as the roof and walls were covered and the loft floor laid, Snow moved in--into a house without windows, fireplace, closet, or ground floor (other than the "ground").

Maryland's first manorial lords built cottages from frontier necessity, not preference. They improved their houses as opportunity permitted. Commissioner Jerome Hawley added a second parlor--the "new chamber" of his inventory--before July, 1638, and in 1641 or 1642, Governor Leonard Calvert so enlarged the St. Mary's House that even by English standards it would have been considered a farmhouse, albeit an odd one.

While the St. Mary's House was a spacious cottage (possibly as large as 18 by 60 ft.), it was an inadequate Governor's residence in the absence of any public buildings. The largest room in the St. Mary's House may have measured only 17 by 17 ft. Between 1641 and March, 1642, Leonard Calvert doubled the size of the structure by adding a second row of rooms behind the first row (figure 4-6). While the plan of this addition now is unclear--the existing center chimney may date from a late seventeenth-century remodelling--the addition consisted of two food stores or "cellars" and a spacious public room. The new public room, the "great room called St. Mary's," remained an important assembly hall throughout the seventeenth century. The addition may

have been open to the roof like a Surrey school house of 1637.⁴³ Neither the 1668 nor 1687 inventories list lofts above the added rooms.

Another farmhouse was built in St. Mary's Town in 1638, the St. John's Freehold residence of the Governor's secretary, John Lewger, Esquire. A 1637 immigrant, Lewger apparently resided in the St. Mary's Fort until he could move into a good residence. Excavations have revealed the plan of his house, a 52' by 20'6" farmhouse with a lobby entry backing unto an axial chimney with two fireplaces (figure 4-7). A combination of archaeological and documentary evidence (see appendix) suggests that the building was a story and a half in height. In the 1650s, the upper chambers contained good feather beds with hangings. Below were a spacious kitchen (20 by 19 ft.) and an exceptionally large parlor (20 by 23 ft.). This large parlor may have been the result of an accident. The details of the house plan suggest that Lewger intended to subdivide the parlor into a parlor and inner room or rooms along the line of the west wall of the cellar. This would have created a 20 by 13 ft. parlor and two smaller rooms, perhaps a bed chamber and a study/office. However, the large parlor was convenient for public meetings, and its subdivision was deferred (the St. Mary's great room had not yet been constructed). St. John's qualifies as a farmhouse as much from quality of construction (width, height, and original cellar) as from length. It compares favorably with the largest 1622 timber farmhouse in the Irish Londonderry Plantation, a one and a half story, 46 by 21 ft. dwelling.⁴⁴

The five manor houses described above were all unpretentious products of folk design. They were cottages and farmhouses in which

form followed function. St. John's had a parlor end that was three feet longer than the other, and St. Mary's was even more lopsided. By adopting vernacular structures as interim dwellings and by improving them piecemeal as their means afforded, these men revealed that Renaissance concern for formal design had yet to dominate their thinking. One of their peers was a notable exception to this rule. He was Thomas Cornwaleys, the builder of the Cross House. A capable, brave, and proud man, he built a frontier house that, while small in size, shows that he was sensitive to the aesthetic and social implications of architecture.

We have two sources of information for the Cross House: Cornwaleys's 1638 statement that he was building a house "of sawn timber framed a story and a half high, with a cellar and chimneys of brick," and the room-by-room inventory of the house's furnishings and hardware reconstructed after the pillaging of the dwelling in Ingle's Rebellion. The inventory names six rooms. The stated height of the house excludes the possibility that they formed a three unit, two story structure; the inventoried furnishings and hardware prevent arranging them in a one story L, T, or double pile plan. The only room arrangement that is compatible with all the information is a U-shaped or H-shaped floor plan. The plan was an ancient one; Cornwaleys's adaptation of it was up-to-date.

The rooms of the Cross House were arranged in the medieval hall and cross wing plan that remained popular in England well into the seventeenth century. The entrance was into the central hall. One cross wing contained the dining parlor and the best furnished bed

parlor. The other wing contained another well furnished bed parlor ("the great chamber next the hall") and two smaller chambers. The plan of the Cross House appears to have been very similar to that of Hook House, the small gentleman's residence constructed by Thomas, Lord Arundell, for his daughter and Lord Baltemore in 1636-1637 (figures 4-4, 4-5). Hook House, with two full floors and garrets, was twice as large as the Cross House, but Hook was the more traditional structure. At Hook, the service rooms (kitchen and buttery) occupied one wing with room in the floors above for servants' lodging. Hook's hall still retained some of its traditional function as a living room. At Cross Manor, the architectural segregation of social classes was much more complete. Service functions and most servants had been banished to outbuildings, and the hall had been downgraded from a living room to that of an unheated vestibule, a large and imposing social barrier between the manorial lord's tenants and his family.

The hall-vestibule was an important Renaissance feature, but one accepted only slowly in England. It was rare in farmhouses of this period, and it was yet incompletely accepted in aristocratic dwellings. Kiplin Hall, despite an avant-garde, double pile plan with central passage, had its principal entry into one end of the largest entertaining room (figure 4-3). On the large early Maryland manors, the social segregation of servants was the norm--the almost inevitable result of cramped housing, the Governor's and Commissioners' aristocratic backgrounds, and their large crews of field hands. But the hall-vestibule of the Cornwaleys's Cross dwelling is an extraordinary

example of the transference of aristocratic architectural standards to a new frontier.

Maryland's first manor houses clearly bear the imprint of frontier development. The best structure, Cornwaleys's Cross, was built unhurriedly by a manorlord who had been in the colony three years. The least adequate houses were those built in haste--Snow Hill and the initial segments of St. Mary's and St. Peter's. The same phases of sequential development are even more obvious in the housing of the ordinary planters.

Initially, most Marylanders were dependents--indentured servants living in "gangs" in the quartering houses of large tobacco plantations.⁴⁵ As they became free and as free immigrants straggled in from elsewhere, each of these households began an individual assault on the Maryland wilderness: plantation size, mini-frontiers each with its own material gradient to ascend. Documents record next to nothing of the architecture of these small frontier farms, but the prices assigned to them by estate appraisors and carpenters provide contemporary estimates of their value (table 4-1), estimates that track their success in developing the frontier.

Plantation value was largely a function of age and initial capitalization. The appraisal of the most valuable plantation in the table (no. 10) was justified by noting that the owner "hath built and dwelt upon it these 4 or 5 years." The least valuable (no. 2) was a clearing less than a year old. The economic status of the pioneer was equally important. The least valuable plantations (nos. 1, 2) are those of recently freed servants, while one of the most valuable (no. 5) was

TABLE 4-1

MARYLAND HOUSE AND PLANTATION VALUES, 1638-1650

Date	Description	Acres	Title	Value lbs. tob.	Value sterling	Record	Status	Md. Arch.
1638	Bryant, Edlow, & Bishop's house		lease	60	15s.	inventory	recently freed servants	4:30-31
1638	3 houses, 50 clear acres		unpatented	300	E3 15s.	sale	small planter	4:15
1640	dwelling, other housing, plantation		lease	1,000	E10	inventory	tailor, small planter	4:92
1642	house and plantation		lease	900	E7 10s.	inventory	planters, traders	4:94
1642	house and plantation	50	freehold	1,800	E15	inventory	1641 immigrant, Mr., Joiner	4:99
1642	tenement in fort		lease	500	E4 3s.	sale	barber, planter	4:159
1642	dwelling in plantation		lease	440	E3 13s.	cost	planter	4:169
1643	house and plantation		freehold	1,800	E15	sale	planter to planter	4:188
1643	house and plantation		lease	1,800	E15	sale	mate to mate, "gentleman"	4:223
1643	4 or 5 year old plantation	700	freehold	3,500	E29 3s.	sale	planter to gunsmith	4:239-40
1643	plantation		lease	700	E5 17s.	sale	planter to gunsmith	4:264
1647?	house frame		freehold	500	E4 3s.	appraisal	planter, lieutenant	4:364
1648	house and plantation			450	E3 15s.	inventory		4:386-87
1649	house and plantation			400	E5	inventory		4:499
1650	house and plantation;			1,600	E20	inventory		4:526
	patent for uncleared land	250		500	E6 5s.	inventory		

MANORIAL VALUES

1639	Crayford: shed addition, chimney lathed		freehold	500	E4 5s.	cost		10:62
1639	Snow Hill: completion costs	6,000	manor	5,000	E62 10s.	cost	Mr., merchant	4:110-11
1643	St. Mary's House, plantation, servants	100	freehold	15,000	E125	sale	Governor to planter, Mr.	4:270
1646	St. Mary's House, plantation	100	freehold	4,000	E33 7s.	confiscation	Mr. to Governor	41:454
1647	Piny Neck House, 3 manors	3,000	manor	7,000	E58 7s.	inventory	Governor	4:321
1647	Kent Fort, damage to	1,000	manor	5,000	E41 13s.	appraisal	Captain, Esquire	4:456
1646	Cross Manor, movables	2,000	manor	314,760	E2,623	claim	Captain, Esquire	appendix 3E

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4. 1642	house and plantation		lease	900	E7 10s.	inventory	planters, traders	4:94
5. 1642	house and plantation	50	freehold	1,800	E15	inventory	1641 immigrant, Mr., Joiner	4:99
6. 1642	tenement in fort		lease	500	E4 3s.	sale	barber, planter	4:159
7. 1642	dwelling in plantation		lease	440	E3 13s.	cost	planter	4:169
8. 1643	house and plantation		freehold	1,800	E15	sale	planter to planter	4:188
9. 1643	house and plantation		lease	1,800	E15	sale	mate to mate, "gentleman"	4:223
10. 1643	4 or 5 year old plantation	700	freehold	3,500	E29 3s.	sale	planter to gunsmith	4:239-40
11. 1643	plantation		lease	700	E5 17s.	sale	planter to gunsmith	4:264
12. 1647?	house frame		freehold	500	E4 3s.	appraisal	planter, lieutenant	4:364
13. 1648	house and plantation			450	E3 15s.	inventory		4:386-87
14. 1649	house and plantation			400	E5	inventory		4:499
15. 1650	house and plantation; patent for uncleared land	250		1,600 500	E20 E6 5s.	inventory inventory		4:526

MANORIAL VALUES

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only one year old, but it had been established by a literate craftsman of yeoman or gentle status, Mr. John Cockshott, a man who immigrated with his family, four servants, and household goods worth almost £100.⁴⁶ The importance of initial capital is even more obvious when the values of Maryland plantations and manors are compared.

Frontier plantations were worth remarkably little. Even after nine years of cultivation, Leonard Calvert's one hundred acre St. Mary's plantation and house were worth only £100, the value of John Cockshott's household goods, while Mr. Cockshott's plantation was worth only £15 (no. 5). A squatter's frontier improvements (no. 2) were worth only £3 15s. When the value of the unimproved land (see no. 15), clearings, and fencing is subtracted from the values given in table 4-1, little is left to assign to the pioneers' dwellings.

If half of the value of a plantation is assigned to its dwelling, then many of the ordinary planters of manorial Maryland lived in homes valued at 60 to 1,600 pounds tobacco, the equivalent of 3-4 to 80-125 man days of carpentry. For boarded, as opposed to thatched and daubed houses, a substantial discount must be made to allow for the cost of nails. Only the best plantation listed can have had on it a dwelling approaching in quality the tipsy cottage on Snow Hill Manor. Snow's administrator spent 1,600 pounds tobacco to complete Snow's unfinished dwelling, of which 840 pounds were spent on brick fireplaces and 409 pounds on window sash. Many frontier dwellings were worth less than Snow's windows. In sterling, the frontier homes in table 4-1 were worth perhaps 15s. to £20. In England and Ireland, where labor rates were a third of those of Maryland, a good tenant house cost £20-40.⁴⁷

The value of frontier dwellings as estimated from construction costs and plantation values fall into two groups: those dwellings worth from 60 to 500 pounds tobacco and those dwellings worth from 800 to 1,600 pounds tobacco. These two groups correspond roughly to Carson's categories of "hut" and "house." The reasons for considering the 60 pound dwelling a hut are obvious. At the most, it was worth four days' work of a carpenter or two weeks' work by its owners.⁴⁸ It can have been little more than a thatched dugout or a turf walled hut. Even the best "huts," those dwellings worth no more than 30 days' carpentry, may have lacked lofts and chimneys. While they may not have been small, they certainly were unframed buildings only partially carpentered. Many may have had wattle and daub walls and thatch roofs. The houses (buildings worth a minimum of 30-45 days' carpentry after discounting the cost of nails and hinges) must have afforded better accommodations. How much better is unknown, as only through future archaeology can we determine how quickly Marylanders learned to build the inexpensive, clapboarded "Virginia House" then evolving in the southern Chesapeake (chapter 6).

Housing in manorial Maryland was far more primitive than in contemporary England. How acutely settlers felt this deprivation must have depended on their English background. Maryland frontier life was vastly different from an aristocrat's experience at a country seat or a London town house, but perhaps not significantly harsher than Daniel Clocker's experience in Cumberland or John Hallows's in Lancashire.⁴⁹ Studies of modern pioneers have found that the higher the socio-economic status of the colonist, the more they expect to achieve.

on the frontier. The middle class immigrant's high level of expectation may result in acute frustration when confronted by frontier deprivation or economic reverses. Conversely, "it is the pioneer from the most impoverished background who is likely to adjust most satisfactorily to life on the frontier."⁵⁰

Some settlers adjusted well to the relative material deprivation of the Maryland frontier. Like many of their contemporaries in New England, having moved once or twice already, they had no hesitance in picking up and homesteading again if they saw an opportunity to better their circumstances.⁵¹ Gunsmith John Dandy moved four or five times before finally settling at Newtown. Perhaps a majority of small planters moved once or twice.⁵²

On the other hand, many settlers from the ranks of the lowland English gentry and yeomanry must have felt an acute sense of material deprivation. One suspects this was true of Robert Wiseman, Gentleman, the son of an Essex knight. Wiseman was a 1634 immigrant who nine years later was farming a leasehold worth only 1,800 pounds tobacco (no. 9). This was certainly true of the three aristocratic leaders of the 1633 expedition to Maryland--Governor Calvert and Commissioners Cornwaleys and Hawley. The documents make it clear that they were conscious of their architectural deprivation and sought in other areas--especially clothing and furnishings--to maintain the material symbols of their English social rank. The contrast between their possessions and those of merchant Justinian Snow are revealing.

Justinian Snow was a thrifty businessman in the yeoman tradition. His focus was on improving his estate. His store was superbly stocked,

and his servants were saving seven pigs per litter, a record not regularly exceeded in St. Mary's County until the mid-twentieth century.⁵³ For his personal use, he had the minimal outfit required by a gentleman pioneer. The furniture of his "manor house" consisted largely of beds and chests. His apparel was adequate, but inconspicuous. A pioneer without frills, Snow ate from wooden trenchers and carried an "old" sword. Only the most trivial object of conspicuous consumption can be found in his inventory--a glass demicaster.

Jerome Hawley, Esq., was a very different person. At his death, he was a Councilor of Maryland and Treasurer of Virginia. His St. Peter's dwelling abounded with status symbols. In his wardrobe chamber and new chamber, Hawley had clothing worth £91 8s. 10d. A great chest and its contents were worth another £30 9s., and the other furnishings of his parlor were worth £40 4s. 10d. Yet at his death in July, 1638, this former attendant to Queen Henrietta Maria was roughing it still in an incompletely furnished cottage. The contents of his hall were worth only £2 12s. 3d., less than those of many English yeoman.⁵⁴

A significant period of time separates Hawley's 1638 inventory and the Cross Manor inventory of 1646. As of 1638, Hawley had yet to show a profit on his Chesapeake investments, while in the early 1640s Cornwaleys may have been earning handsome profits. By 1645 no trace of frontier scarcity marred the interior of the Cross House. While it was a small dwelling, every room was furnished completely, elegantly, and expensively. In his dining room stood a cypress chest containing fine damask and diaper table linens "full worth" £150.

The walls of his bed parlor were hung with six pieces of "forest work tapestry" valued at £25, and his bed, bedding, and its curtains were worth another £25. No visitor who entered his house could escape knowing that Cornwaleys was a wealthy, influential person.

However dearly Cornwaleys's and Calvert's houses may have cost them in inflated wages, they left clear expressions of their opinions of their dwellings in their readiness to leave them. When Calvert returned to England to confer with his older brother in 1643, he leased his St. Mary's plantation to a yeoman planter. The lease had a purchase option that the yeoman promptly exercised, and when Calvert returned to Maryland in 1644, the St. Mary's House belonged to Nathaniel Pope.⁵⁵ Only Ingle's Rebellion and Calvert's early death prevented him from dying in another house. Cornwaleys began preparations to build a replacement structure for the Cross House in 1652 that only the default of the brick maker prevented him from effecting.⁵⁶ He left Maryland in 1659, never to return after he inherited the family estates in 1661.

Three dominant factors shaped building construction in manorial Maryland: the timber rich, stoneless setting; the immigrants' English background; and the inflated costs of frontier construction. Frontier inflation undid many of the advances of the English "housing revolution." Second floors disappeared, lofts were not dormered, and masonry was minimized. Only St. John's seems to have been more than one story high. The 1638-1645 inventories of St. Peter's, Snow Hill, and the Cross House list no furniture (other than servants' mattresses) in the lofts. One story construction was a practical expedient. It reduced

the weight of the timbers that men (there were few draft animals in Maryland in 1634-1638) had to drag to the construction site, it simplified joint cutting, and it speeded rearing the frames. Eliminating dormers made the roofs go up more quickly, and dormers could be cut in later. More important than second stories were ground floor rooms large enough to serve large households and, especially for the province's officers, the public. Hence, the manor houses, at least St. Mary's and St. John's, were oversized versions of husbandmen's dwellings.

A second major compromise was the use of timber chimneys. In England, a brick chimney with elaborate multiple flues was often the most decorative element of a farmhouse exterior. Especially in East Anglia, they were social symbols as well as necessities.⁵⁷ In 1622, when the Crown set architectural standards for dwelling construction in Ireland, James I decreed that "the freeholders or upwards to make his chimney of stone or brick, and the farmers and yeomen to make their chimneys of framed timber English like"⁵⁸ In manorial Maryland, only the Cornwaleys's Cross and Piny Neck houses may have had completely brick chimneys. St. Mary's, St. John's, and Snow Hill had timber flues above brick fireboxes, and on Kent Island, the two large dwellings confiscated from Clobery and Company and William Claiborne both had timber chimneys.⁵⁹ The timber flues of Snow Hill may not have been even of "framed timber." The four carpentry days spent on this chimney were not enough time to have mortised and tenoned a frame. While still "English like," it probably was a simple, nail joined structure of poles and rods.⁶⁰

While simplified, Maryland's first manor houses had "decent English form." They possessed glazed windows and chimneys, and at least four of them (the Cross House, St. John's, and Leonard Calvert's two houses) were "framed," i.e., box-framed, structures. Wide social acceptance of impermanent frontier architecture would require more than a half decade. Until then, those who could afford to do so built "framed" buildings. Even where expedients were adopted, these were still English expedients. And, this is only to be expected. Good domestic architecture was important to Englishmen, and the immigrants, clients and carpenters alike, were Englishmen with little prior experience with the Chesapeake. Except for superficial substitutes (clapboard for weatherboard, riven scantlings for poles), they retained their English technology.

Initially, English immigrants tried to make few concessions to their environment. At least two early immigrants hedged their enclosures despite having to burn rail timber to clear their land.⁶¹ Others thatched buildings despite the absence of good thatching material. Seemingly, at least one manorial lord--Provincial Treasurer Giles Brent--walled some of his buildings with mud. His dwelling at St. Mary's Town was known as the "White House," possibly a reflection of his having whitewashed wattled walls to protect mud plaster.⁶² On his Kent Fort Manor (purchased from the Calverts after its confiscation), he had a fireproof frame barn. In 1647, while retreating from an attempt to retake the island, Claiborne's men "put fire to the barn, whereby the wall [ground] plate [sill] was burned in two," but the walls and roof did not catch fire. Presumably the wall panels were filled with

wattles and mud plaster.⁶³ Despite their fire resistance, daubed walls were poor protection against Chesapeake thunder storms and termites. Those immigrants who could, quickly switched to clapboard construction. But even as they adapted, they did so clumsily. St. John's was framed in the English manner, with each bay custom dimensioned for the convenience of the interior. The resulting irregular post and stud spacings were tedious and expensive to clapboard. Developing an inexpensive clapboard house would be one of the major innovations of seventeenth-century Chesapeake carpenters.

The carpenters of manorial Maryland came in three ways. Most were servants transported by the major investors, four others had been brought to Kent Island by Clobery and Company, and a few were experienced frontiersmen from Virginia. The carpenters associated with the construction of St. John's are illustrative.

Three carpenters and possibly a fourth can be associated with the construction of St. John's and its outbuildings, 1638-1642. These men are Andrew Baker, Philip West, Francis Gray, and, possibly, Thomas Pasmore. All were hired as Lewger brought no carpenters with him. Baker was an indentured servant whose time Lewger bought; West was an indentured servant working on his own, while Gray and Pasmore were freemen. Baker and West were former servants of Clobery and Company on Kent Island; Gray's path to Maryland is unknown, while Pasmore was an old hand. He had resided in James City for more than a decade before migrating to Maryland with his servants in 1634. At times Pasmore and Gray employed other carpenters. Baker died early--on 20 August 1638 during the construction of St. John's.⁶⁴ The inventory of Baker's

goods lists most of the tools needed to carpenter a good "English" house:

	lbs.	tob.		lbs.	tob.
1 broad axe	10		8 chisels	10	
2 adzes	10		4 gouges	4	
2 hatchets	6		6 planes	12	
2 chalk lines	2		10 plane irons	8	
1 wedge	3		7 augers	15	
1 froe	4		3 per bits	2	
1 handsaw	2		1 hammer	6	
1 spokeshave	2		1 pike	6	
				<u>102</u>	

St. John's is a clear example of "English" construction: a box-framed, bent reared structure, quite possibly with ground floor ceilings decorated with crossed summer beams. Its glazed windows, cellar, and lobby entry-center chimney plan mark it a modern, if modest, farmhouse. The details of its plan (stair behind the chimney) and framing (exposed bay posts and transverse summers) suggest a western or Midlands design source--perhaps Lewger's Somerset experience. St. John's appears to have been a more ambitious structure than the first section of St. Mary's: certainly wider and possibly a half story taller. The interior may have been well finished. The c.1637 Fairbanks House in Dedham, Massachusetts, is surviving proof that an early house need not have been primitive. At least one of Lewger's carpenters owned all the tools needed to have chamfered tie beams and door heads, carved post jowls, and molded the edges of door and partition plank.⁶⁶

The information about the construction of the other manor houses is meager, but helpful. Cornwaleys's brief description of his house emphasizes three "English" features: brick cellar, brick chimneys, and sawn framing timber. Sawn framing was expensive, but resulted in regular walls. Another aspect of contemporary English carpentry

is given in Leonard Calvert's description of his Piny Neck house. Calvert's promise to underpin the sills with stone or brick tells us that they were supported only by temporary construction blocks.⁶⁷ In England, short timber pilings ("blocks" or "needles") also were used as permanent foundations under outbuilding sills. The early outbuilding behind the St. John's parlor is a Maryland example of a building with blocked sills.

The St. John's outbuilding is one of three known examples of "framed" minor buildings. It was a small, modest building, about 19'6" by 15' (6 1/2 by 5 yards?) constructed as a quarter or storehouse apparently in the early 1640s. Its sills were supported by six hole-set timber blocks (figure 6-20). Its walls were not plastered and its floor was not framed. (While there seems to have been a floor, it only may have been ground-laid slabs.) The second example was the framed barn on Kent Fort Manor described above. The third was a house frame on a freehold of St. Clement's Manor. The frame, "all the great work of a house ready framed or fitted" had been shaped just before or after Ingle's Rebellion. In the following economic dislocation, the owner fell behind in his quit rents, and his landlord "fetched away" all the tenant's movables, including the house frame. Its appraised value, 500 pounds tobacco, was more than that of many early dwellings (table 4-1, no. 12; table 5-1). The frame was probably that of a new dwelling, the modest, but substantial, house of a planter slowly working his way up the frontier gradient. The structure would have been his--Lieutenant Lewis's--third or fourth abode in Maryland: the "gang house" on St. Inigoe's Manor (where he was overseer), perhaps a

temporary house of the St. Mary's townland, and an earlier, impermanent house on St. Clement's Manor. Even at the end of Maryland's first decade, there were few "framed" houses. In 1647, the only framed buildings on Governor Leonard Calvert's lands were the St. Mary's and Piny Neck dwellings. Most of the buildings of manorial Maryland were impermanent, if "English," structures.

Temporary huts and impermanent houses played an important role in the development of the Maryland frontier. Initially, time did not permit "framing" all the housing required, and even later, "framed" construction remained too expensive for many uses. The best description of temporary huts is from a description of William Claiborne's 1631 settlement on Kent Island:

While the Africa stood by the houses were built, one large timber framed house and several thatch-roofed huts set on crotches and raftered with a covering of brush. Then a warehouse and two smaller storehouses were grouped with these, while a start was made on palisades to surround the whole. It was not until the first week of October that everything was finished. The palisades still lacked gates but the four guns had been strategically⁶⁸ mounted.

The crotchets were the wall posts of the huts. Natural forks at the tops supported pole plates and joists. On top of them, brushwood was stacked in a roof-like shape and the resulting mound thatched with marsh grass. The model for these craftless, temporary shelters is European. In seventeenth-century Essex, similar shelters were used to cover grain stacks, carts, and hog stys.⁶⁹ Cottages "raftered" with mounds of hedge trimmings were constructed in England into the nineteenth century (figure 4-8). Probably the walls of the Kent Fort huts were wattled and daubed--a building method familiar to most rural

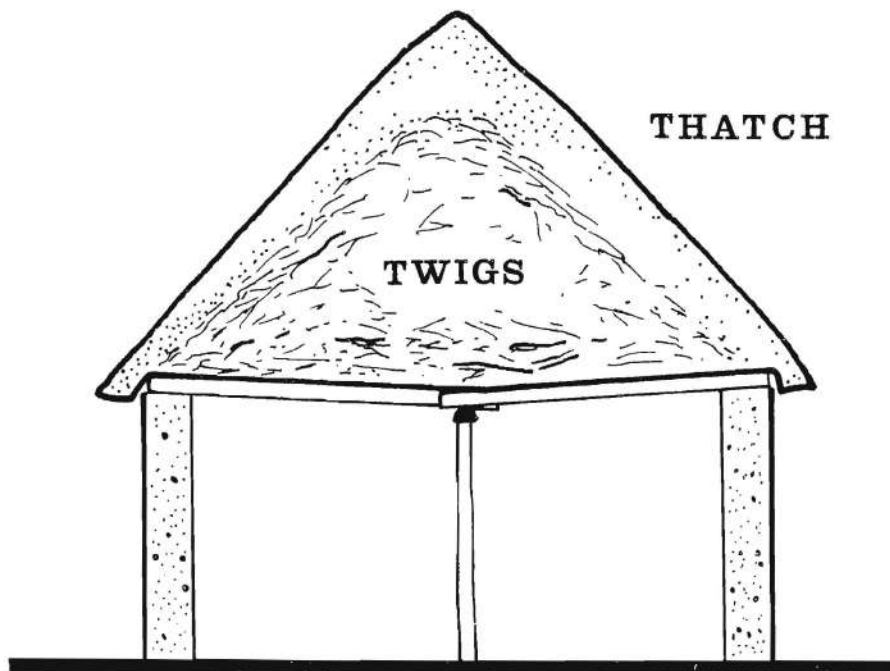


Fig. 4-8.

An English building roofed with hedge trimmings and thatch.

SOURCE: J. E. C. Peters, "The Solid Thatch Roof," Vernacular Architecture 8 (1977):25.

DRAWING: Stone.

laborers. The need for such primitive construction is obvious. All the structures described above were built in about six weeks by laborers and four skilled men (the ship's cooper, Claiborne's carpenter, and two carpenters hired from Virginia). Most of the carpenters' time must have gone into the "large timber framed house." The huts must have been built by their occupants.

Similar temporary structures must have been common in early Maryland. Although no explicit descriptions survive, the early court records contain hints of such structures. The labor that went into the 1638 hut of Bryant and his mates can be estimated from its value, 60 pounds tobacco, the equivalent of three to four days of a carpenter's time or two weeks of a laborer's (table 3-6; appendix 3D). In 1642, Francis Gray contracted to build 300 ft. of housing for Surveyor John Langford, Esq. Most of this housing would have been temporary agricultural structures, as it was to have been built by two or three carpenters in less than three months.⁷⁰ The minor value of temporary structures is suggested by a 1638 description of housing on a frontier Virginia plantation. The description mentions, as an afterthought, that "there was one hundred foot of thatched housing besides on the same."⁷¹ A thatched hovel could be built by anyone with a minimum of experience. Needed only were a planter's tools: an axe to cut crotchets and poles, a hoe or spade to dig the post holes, a hammer to nail on the studs, and a sickle or knife to cut the thatch. The plantation values listed in table 4-1 (nos. 1, 2, 12-14) suggest that many small planters' first shelters were cheap, temporary structures comparable to the huts, cottages, and wigwams of the Massachusetts Bay pioneers.⁷²

While many small planters spent their first year or so in a hut, the plantation values in table 4-1 suggest that many soon replaced their huts with cottages worth several hundred pounds of tobacco (nos. 3, 4, 6, 7). Before the end of Maryland's first decade, some built substantial, if unframed, houses worth 1,000 pounds tobacco and upwards (nos. 8, 9, 14). Other, better financed, immigrants (no. 5) had built such structures immediately. Unfortunately, except for professionally carpentered Snow Hill, the documents do not reveal who built these buildings. Most householders had at least a few carpentry tools.⁷³ Some may have built their own houses, while others may have hired carpenters only to help with the difficult parts. The documents are equally unrevealing on the architecture of Maryland's first cottages and impermanent houses. Eventually, archaeology will illuminate this aspect of frontier development and adaptation. In Virginia, the excavation of sites such as Wolstenholme Town, Flowerdew Hundred, and the Maine (all c.1619) have revealed that Englishmen brought with them many regional forms of impermanent architecture. Some proved unsuitable to the Chesapeake environment. The more durable aspects of others quickly were amalgamated into the "Virginia House" (chapter 6).

Poor housing was a condition of the frontier, not its essence. Men came to Maryland for inexpensive land.⁷⁴ The magnitude of this opportunity can be clarified by comparing Maryland with Laverton, Somerset, the tiny community where Lewger had been rector. There land was both expensive and unavailable.

The social structure of seventeenth-century Laverton is revealed by a comprehensive manorial survey (real estate appraisal) of 1650/1.⁷⁵ The manor and parish consisted of only 1,034 acres. Mr. William Read, tenant of the demesne, farmed 365 acres. Mr. George Farrel leased another 203. Over three fourths of the land of the parish was controlled by these two men, two religious corporations, the proprietor of the fulling mill (for finishing woolens), and gentlemen who owned land in adjacent parishes. There were only two medium sized farms: the rector's glebe of 75 acres and a tenement of 60 acres. Another seven families farmed a total of 74 acres. They must have supplemented their agricultural earnings by weaving or laboring on other men's land. Two households had only cottages and garden plots on the waste of the manor, plots held at the pleasure of the lord of the manor.

Laverton land was expensive or about to become expensive. In 1642, Mr. William Read paid £600 for the lease of the demesne farm. While in Lewger's day the customary rents of the small copyholders were still low, the 1650/1 surveyor proposed raising them from 3 to 13 shillings an acre! In Maryland, the annual quitrent on 100 acres of freehold land was only 1s. 4d. (6 to 8 pounds tobacco). Land in Maryland was not free. It cost a young, indentured immigrant 4 or 5 years' labor as an "apprentice in husbandry" and several more as a laborer or tenant while he acquired the credit, tools, and stock needed to survey land and begin a plantation, but if he escaped early death, he might acquire an estate of several hundred acres.⁷⁶

John Lewger is one of the few immigrants who may have been as well housed in Maryland as in England. In Laverton, his parsonage

seems to have been a one or one and a half story dwelling of three units. A 1638/9 glebe terrier describes it as "seven rooms (videlicet) four under and three upper."⁷⁷ Its four lower rooms were likely a parlor, kitchen, buttery, and milk house or study. Possibly the four lower rooms of the Laverton parsonage occupied fewer square feet than the large kitchen and parlor of St. John's. But, as for the other immigrants, Lewger's opportunities in Maryland were not architectural. In Laverton, Lewger's opportunities had been strictly circumscribed: limited by the economic and social position of the landed gentry, by the finite bounds of the glebe (it remained 75 acres for the next two centuries),⁷⁸ and by the laws that excluded him from the professions after his conversion to Catholicism. Maryland offered Lewger and the other Catholic investors many kinds of opportunity: opportunity to participate in government, in trade, and in large scale agriculture. Some of Maryland's promise was illusive. Lewger was unable to use more than a small fraction of his rights to 6,775 acres, but had Lewger's son been more capable, the rights he inherited could have become the basis of a large estate.

For those more capable and lucky, Maryland offered substantial opportunity. Thomas Cornwaleys and Thomas Gerrard were conspicuously successful gentlemen. From the commonalty, Nathaniel Pope is an outstanding example. A yeoman immigrant, Pope was an unusually successful planter despite declining tobacco prices. At the end of less than a decade in Maryland, he owned 200 acres, approximately nine servants, and the large St. Mary's House.⁷⁹ When Richard Ingle displaced the Catholic manorial lords in 1645, "Mr. Pope" became one of the

leaders of the province.⁸⁰ Seemingly, other Protestant immigrants appreciated the open society of the Chesapeake frontier. Before 1645, they vigorously participated in the Maryland Assembly. In 1645, most welcomed Ingle's coup, and, in 1647, when Calvert rule was re-established, many opted to abandon their developing freeholds to migrate to the south side of the Potomac. There, in Northumberland and Westmorland counties, they established Protestant societies in which they could have large roles. While frontier architecture is an important guide to the problems of transferring metropolitan material culture to a new ecological and social setting, it is important to remember that for most frontiersmen, present comfort is less important than expectations of future economic and social advancement.⁸¹

CHAPTER IV

Notes

1. The Calvert Papers, Number One, Fund Publication No. 28 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1889), 1:174.
2. Mark Girouard, Life in the English Country House (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), pp. 81-118; M. W. Barley, The English Farmhouse and Cottage (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), p. 175.
3. Harry Wright Newman, The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate (Washington, D.C.: By the Author, 1961), pp. 226-29.
4. Alan Simpson, The Wealth of the Gentry, 1540-1660 (Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1963), p. 142; Lady Jane Cornwallis, The Private Correspondence of . . . , 1613-1644 (London: S. & J. Bentley, Wilson, & Fley, 1842), pp. xxxiv-xxxix; B. Cozens-Hardy, "The Norwich Chapelfield House Estate," Norfolk Archaeology 27 (1938-40): 351-84.
5. While declining in relative importance, medieval traditions of family loyalty and hospitality remained strong. See Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500-1800 (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), pp. 85-90, 123-31.
6. Simpson, Wealth of the Gentry, pp. 161, 166-67; F. Schoberl, History of Suffolk (London, 1812), pp. 199-200; Suffolk in 1674, Being the Hearth Tax Returns, Suffolk Green Book, No. XI, Vol. 13 (Woodbridge: George Booth, 1905), pp. 45, 335-36.
7. Simpson, Wealth of the Gentry, pp. 166-67; Cozens-Hardy, "Norwich Chapelfield House," pp. 370-72, 381.
8. Their estates were at Beeston, Mileham, and Burnham Thorpe. See A. W. Hughes Clark and Arthur Campling, eds., The Visitation of Norfolk, Anno Domini 1664, Harleian Society Publications, Vol. 85 (London, 1933), p. 56; Lady Jane Cornwallis, Private Correspondence, pp. xxxv, xxxix.
9. Cornwallis, *ibid.*, pp. ix-xi.
10. James W. Foster, "George Calvert: His Yorkshire Boyhood," Maryland Historical Magazine 55 (1960):262-63; John D. Krugler, "Sir George Calvert's Resignation as Secretary of State and the Founding of Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine 68 (1973):239-46.
11. Barley, English Farmhouse, pp. 113-17, 169-74; Samuel Buck, Samuel Buck's Yorkshire Sketchbook (Wakefield, West Yorkshire: Wakefield

Historical Publications, 1979), passim; Mark Girouard, Robert Smythson (South Brunswick, New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., n.d.), pp. 18-19.

12. Victoria County History, A History of Yorkshire North Riding (London: Constable and Company, 1914), 1:303, 307; J. T. Cliffe, The Yorkshire Gentry (London: University of London Atholene Press, 1969), pp. 103-04; Foster, "George Calvert," p. 268.

13. Lawrence Stone, Family and Fortune: Studies in Aristocratic Finance in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 63-91; Buck (Yorkshire Sketchbook, p. 225) recorded another house, larger than Kiplin, with a resemblance to Hatfield.

14. Girouard, English Country House, pp. 136-38, 150-51; Peter Smith, Houses of the Welsh Countryside (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1975), pp. 241-43.

15. Charles Francis Stein, A History of Calvert County (Baltimore: By the Author, 1976), p. 430.

16. Girouard, English Country House, pp. 88-103.

17. The original construction account for Hook survives in the Arundell archives. Mr. John Talbot Arundell provided a copy with the assistance of the Reverend Michael Farina. For the cost of Hatfield, see Stone, Family and Fortune, p. 91.

18. Lois Green Carr, "Origins of Settlers: Summary of Areas to which Settlers in St. Mary's County were Connected," Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's City, Maryland.

19. Anthony N. B. Garvan, Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial Connecticut (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), p. 6; Anne Yentsch, "Regional Variation in the Communities of 17th Century Maine and Massachusetts," paper presented at the Washington Area Seminar on Early American History, 10 March 1982 (mimeograph), table 1; Michael Ghirelli, A List of Emigrants from England to America, 1682-1692 (Baltimore, Maryland: Magna Carta Book Company, 1968); John Bossy, The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850 (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1975), pp. 77-107, 404.

20. Barley, English Farmhouse, pp. 7-8; Eric Mercer, English Vernacular Houses (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1975), pp. 28-29.

21. Cecil A. Hewett, "Some East Anglian Prototypes for Early Timber Houses in America," Post-Medieval Archaeology 3 (1969):100-21; and even Barley, English Farmhouse, pp. 140-41.

22. The accuracy of the Walkers depictions has been established by Arthur Edwards and the late K. C. Newton. (Newton to G. W. Stone, 19 August 1977.) The estate maps of the two Walkers (father and son) are described in F. G. Emmison, ed., Catalogues of Maps in the Essex Record Office (Chelmsford: Essex County Council, 1947, 1952, 1964).

23. Francis W. Steer, ed., Farm and Cottage Inventories of Mid-Essex: 1635-1749 (Chichester, England: Phillimore, 1969), pp. 71-86.

24. Barley, English Farmhouse, pp. 67-77, 139-45.

25. Barley, English Farmhouse, pp. 161-62; Mercer, English Vernacular Houses, p. 26.

26. Barley, English Farmhouse, pp. 96-100, 108-12; M. W. Barley, "Rural Housing in England," in The Agrarian History of England and Wales, ed. by Joan Thirsk (Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1967), pp. 748-49; Smith, Houses of the Welsh, pp. 123, 155-63, 183, 190-91, 217; Peter Smith, "Rural Housing in Wales," in The Agrarian History of England and Wales, ed. by Joan Thirsk (Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1967), pp. 773-74.

27. Barley, English Farmhouse, pp. 50-51.

28. Ibid., pp. 59, 74-76, 142.

29. Ibid., pp. 49-50, 80, 89; Barley, "Rural Housing in England," pp. 763-65.

30. Mercer, English Vernacular Houses, p. 8.

31. Barley, English Farmhouse, p. 119.

32. Ibid., pp. 113, 117-22; Mercer, English Vernacular Houses, pp. 8-9, 38, 47.

33. Barley, English Farmhouse, pp. 169-76.

34. Alexander Brown, The Genesis of the United States (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964), 2:911; Thomas M. Coakly, "George Calvert and Newfoundland: 'The Sad Face of Winter,'" Maryland Historical Magazine 71 (1976):1-18.

35. Brooke S. Blades, "'In the Manner of England,'" Ulster Folk-life 27 (1981):39-56.

36. Wages were lower in the North and higher in London and the West. John Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume IV: 1500-1640, general editor, H. P. R. Finberg (Cambridge: The University Press, 1967), p. 599; Stone, Family and Fortune, p. 101; Henry Best, Rural Economy in Yorkshire in 1641, Being the Farming and

Account Books of Henry Best of Elmswell in the East Riding, ed. by C. B. Robinson, Publications of the Surtees Society, vol. 33 (Durham, England: George Andrews for the Society, 1857), p. 140.

37. Blades, "'In the Manner of England,'" pp. 45-49.

38. Archives of Maryland, ed by William Hand Browne, et al. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-), 4:73-74, 110, 175.

39. Abbott Lowell Cummings, The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 41; Md. Arch., 4:104, 194, 227, 273.

40. Lois Green Carr, "The Founding of St. Mary's City," The Smithsonian Journal of History 3 (1968-1969):77-100; Clayton Colman Hall, ed., Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910; reprint ed., New York: Barnes & Noble, 1967), pp. 73-76.

41. Md. Arch., 4:321.

42. Md. Arch., 4:189.

43. Mercer, English Vernacular Houses, p. 27.

44. Blades, "'In the Manner of England,'" p. 50.

45. Md. Arch., 4:275; 10:133.

46. Md. Arch., 4:96-99; Patent Libers, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland, 1:24 (hereafter cited as PATENTS).

47. Blades, "'In the Manner of England,'" Barley, English Farmhouse, pp. 209, 245-46. The only English building cost comparable to that of John Bryant's hut (no. 1) is a 1623 barn (hovel?) built for a Yorkshire husbandman at the cost of 13s. (Best, Rural Economy, p. 156.)

48. While during the harvest, a free laborer earned almost as much as a carpenter, on an annual scale they earned much less--approximately 4 pounds tobacco a day plus their keep (table 3-6). Thus the off-season labor of a freeman was worth relatively little.

49. Carr, "Origins of Settlers"; Lois Green Carr, "The Clocker Family of St. Mary's," Chronicles of St. Mary's 20 (1972):141-50.

50. Stephen I. Thompson, Pioneer Colonization: a Cross-Cultural View (Reading, Massachusetts: an Addison Wesley Module in Anthropology, No. 33, 1973), pp. 18-19; Joseph B. Casagrand, Stephen I. Thompson, and Philip D. Young, "Colonization as a Research Frontier: The Ecuadorian Case," in Process and Pattern in Culture, ed. by Robert A.

Manners (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1964), p. 317.

51. Kenneth A. Lockridge, A New England Town: The First Hundred Years (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1970), pp. 63-64, note 10.

52. Career Files, St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's City, Maryland.

53. Md. Arch., 4:79-83; Mr. Edward L. Swecker, County Extension Agent, St. Mary's County, Maryland, personal communication.

54. Steer, Farm and Cottage Inventories, passim.

55. Md. Arch., 4:270.

56. Md. Arch., 10:267.

57. P. Eden, "Smaller Post-medieval Houses in Eastern England," East Anglian Studies, ed. by Lionel M. Manby (Cambridge, England: W. Heffer & Sons, 1968), p. 89.

58. Blades, "'In the Manner of England,'" p. 42.

59. Maryland Historical Magazine 28 (1933), pp. 31-36; Md. Arch., 10:62.

60. Vernacular Architecture 2 (1971): cover illustration.

61. PATENTS, 1:33-34, 68-69.

62. A Lincolnshire mud and stud cottage is known as the "White Cottage." Mercer, English Vernacular Houses, pl. 38A.

63. Md. Arch., 4:456.

64. Baker: Md. Arch., 4:34, 43, 105; 5:183-84, 196; West: ibid., 1:29; 4:27; PATENTS, 1:70; Gray: Md. Arch., 4:39-40, 108, 127, 175; Pasmore: ibid., 1:29; 4:105, 485; PATENTS, 1:72-73.

65. Md. Arch., 4:43; Cummings, Framed Houses, p. 45.

66. Cummings, Framed Houses, pp. 61-65, 110, 175, 184.

67. Norman M. Isham and Albert F. Brown, Early Connecticut Houses (The Preston and Rounds Company, 1900; reprint ed., New York: Dover Publications, 1965), p. 14; David Dymond, "A Fifteenth Century Building Contract from Suffolk," Vernacular Architecture 9 (1978), pp. 10-11; Richard Harris, Discovering Timber-Framed Buildings (Princes Risborough, Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications, 1978), pp. 16-17.

68. Nathaniel C. Hale, Virginia Venturer: A Historical Biography of William Claiborne, 1600-1677 (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1951), p. 152.
69. Thomas Tusser, Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry (London: James Tregaskis & Sons, 1931), pp. 111, 292-93.
70. Md. Arch., 4:175, 182.
71. Susie M. Ames, ed., Records of Accomack-Northampton, Virginia, 1632-1640 (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1954), p. 104.
72. John Winthrop, Winthrop's Journal "History of New England," ed. by James Kendall Hosmer, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908; reprint ed., New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966), 1:53, 54, 58, 90, 98.
73. Garry Wheeler Stone, "Woodworking Tools in Maryland Inventories, 1638-1650," Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's City, Maryland.
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75. S/B/L/2 (bound manuscript), Duchy of Cornwall Office, London, England.
76. Menard, "Economy and Society," pp. 224-37.
77. Somerset Record Office, Taunton, England.
78. 1846 tithe award and map, *ibid.*
79. Table 4-1; Md. Arch., 3:130.
80. Md. Arch., 4:415, 418.
81. Thompson, Pioneer Colonization, pp. 8-10, 18-19; Casagrande, "Colonization as a Research Frontier," pp. 318-19.

CHAPTER V

VERY MEAN AND LITTLE:

PLANTERS' DWELLINGS IN MARYLAND, 1648-1674

The principal place or town is called St. Mary's, where the General Assembly and Provincial Court are kept But it can hardly be called a town it being in length by the water about five miles and in breadth upwards towards the land not above one mile in all which space excepting only my own house and buildings wherein the said courts and public offices are kept there are not above thirty houses and those at considerable distances from each other and the buildings (as in all other parts of the Province) very mean and little and generally after the manner of the meanest farmhouses in England. Other places we have none that are called or can be called towns.

Charles Calvert, Lord Baltimore,
to the Lords of Trade and Plantations,¹
26 March 1678

In 1678, all but a handful of Maryland farmhouses remained "very mean and little." Despite the passage of thirty years since the repopulating of Maryland, the province retained much of the appearance of a frontier. While in the older parts of Maryland, Indian trading and subsistence hunting were things of the past,² population densities were thin, urbanization was nil, and most planters remained housed in crude dwellings of riven boards and wattle and daub. Many were little better than cabins. The development of New England was quite different. By 1660, southern New England was filling up with villages, towns, and bustling ports. In the older districts, most frontier shanties had been replaced by well framed "English" houses.³

When immigration to Maryland resumed in the late 1640s, it was under conditions profoundly different from fifteen years earlier. The influence of the Catholic manorial lord had been shattered by Civil War in England and Ingle's coup in Maryland, but to the ordinary man, immigration to Maryland was an attractive choice. Land was cheap and tobacco prices were favorable. For over a decade Maryland attracted English yeomen and husbandmen and Virginia freedmen, many of whom brought wives and families with them. The tough and lucky among them prospered and swelled the ranks of immigrants by purchasing servants. Their infant ventures were not disrupted by social catastrophes. While the 50s and 60s were not without their political excitements, none were such as to break the continuity of planting and harvesting except for a few of the elite. Thus those spared by disease or accident had opportunity to work their way up the frontier gradient--from hut to house to better house--, and had time, too, to learn new architectural tricks from the old timers and to invent a few of their own.

When Richard Ingle sailed away in the spring of 1645, he left the shattered province under the control of its Protestant yeomen backed by a small garrison. While the garrison was supported by gun point taxation, and while freelance cattle rustling depleted Catholic herds, insecurity of property was never so great as to force the Catholic freeholders to the hostile shore of Virginia. Some Catholic households even kept their firelocks and cannon. Two councilors (Gerrard and Greene) persisted throughout the disorders, and in the spring of 1646, John Lewger returned to St. John's. During 1646, Protestant government was elaborated. The new sheriff was John Hatch, a former deputy sheriff

and an ex-servant of John Lewger. A Virginia militia captain was installed as Governor with the nominal consent of Leonard Calvert, and an Assembly was convened in December. During the Assembly, Leonard Calvert reappeared at the head of an armed band and took charge in a bloodless counter coup.⁴

In 1647, Maryland stood at the threshold of a flood of immigration that would increase her population fifty fold over twenty-five years. At first, this was not apparent. Despite Leonard Calvert's best efforts, his restoration of Calvert rule led to an exit of disgruntled Protestants that may have more than compensated for the return of emigree Catholics. In 1647, the population of St. Mary's County may have declined to less than 200. But improving tobacco prices reversed the population flow. The population of Maryland soared from about 325 in 1648, to 2,400 in 1657, to 9,000 in 1667, to 15,000 in 1675. At the beginning of this period, Maryland consisted of less than one hundred households. By 1675, several hundred new households were being formed each year.⁵

This new wave of immigration differed from immigration to manorial Maryland. During Maryland's first decade, 85 per cent of her immigrants came as indentured servants, and most were the servants of the manorial lords. The new immigration included proportionately more freemen, more women, and fewer servants controlled by major investors. This was especially true of the beginning of the period. From 1648 through 1652, over half of the immigrants arriving in Maryland came as free persons, and a majority of them came in household units. Many of the immigrants were recently married, former Virginia servants,

but others were English husbandmen and yeomen. The new immigrants included well capitalized merchants and members of the Calvert family, but they were too few to dominate society as they had during manorial Maryland.⁶

The improved mix of immigrants should have facilitated social maturation, and, to some extent, it did. But, during the period 1648-1675, Maryland's progress along the frontier gradient was limited for reasons geographic, demographic, and economic. Geographic restrictions were important. The older, settled parts of Maryland did not fill up with settlers and sprout hamlets, towns, and cities--the normal course of frontier development.⁷ Instead, the immigrants spread out along the navigable waterways. In 1678, the new Lord Baltimore, Charles Calvert, reported:

The people there not affecting to build near each other, but so as to have their houses near the waters for conveniency of trade, and their lands on each side of and behind their houses, by which it happens that in most places there are not fifty houses in the space of thirty miles.⁸

Urban centers were nonexistent, and population densities were thin, too thin to support many specialist craftsmen or to stimulate social competition.

Equally important in retarding the maturation of frontier Maryland were frightful demographic conditions. Mortality was extremely high. Between 1633 and 1681, 32,000 persons migrated to Maryland, yet at the end of that period, Maryland's population was only about 19,000.⁹ Many settlers died soon after being exposed to the new maladies of the Chesapeake. Those who survived their first year could expect to live only another twenty years or so. Population fertility

was reduced further by the large proportion of settlers who still came as indentured servants, as they could not marry until after their indentures had expired. As a result, few immigrants survived to see even one of their children attain his majority.¹⁰ Early death truncated the accumulation of wealth and made uncertain its transmission from generation to generation.

The immigrants' problems were complicated by economics. While they became increasingly proficient in growing tobacco, their rising productivity was nullified by falling prices. The Maryland value of a pound of tobacco decreased from three pence in 1649 to one penny in 1674. And Maryland planters' ability to invest in consumer goods was checked continually by their need to reinvest in producer goods. Without servants, they could not plant large crops, and the expiration of servants' indentures every four or five years subjected their masters to the double expense of freedom dues and new servants.¹¹

But the primary culprit for the frontier quality of Maryland housing in the 1670s was the pace of immigration to Maryland. It was very unlike that to New England, where initially heavy immigration rapidly declined. More immigrants (about 3,000) came to Maryland, 1668-1671, than lived in the province in 1657 (about 2,400).¹² To a large extent, in the 1670s Maryland was a frontier populated by recent immigrants living in new dwellings.

Cary Carson aptly described immigrants' housing as a progression through three stages.

For many . . . it was a hut first, followed as soon as could be by a weatherproof but cheaply built house, which was not expected to last longer than it took its owner to accumulate enough capital

to build a more substantial dwelling. Over and over again homesteaders on each new frontier moved in the same three steps from primitive shelters to the temporary, impermanent buildings to the "fayre houses" that many yeomen and even husbandmen were used to from England. ¹³

For the economic and demographic reasons sketched above, few early Marylanders succeeded in graduating from temporary houses to well built homes. The few who are known to have done so, like Captain Thomas Cornwaleys and Governor Charles Calvert, were exceptional men who supplemented the proceeds of planting with the profits of commerce and office.

The poor quality of Maryland housing during the third quarter of the seventeenth century is mirrored in the records of the Provincial and county courts. Thirty some court cases provide descriptive information on housing. Of these, 21 give dimensions (table 5-1). While only two cabins and no temporary shelters are described (being largely outside the commercial economy), impermanent structures are well represented. While several are replacements for earlier, inferior buildings, none qualifies as a well built, permanent home. Even the best framed houses lacked masonry foundations and chimneys. The typical planter's home was a one story, two room house, 25 or 30 feet long, without glazed windows and planked floors. For every gentleman who lived in a better house, several small planters lived in 10 or 15 foot dwellings.

One room houses are recorded in three different sizes: 10 ft., 15 ft., and 20 ft. dwellings. The larger examples provided three times the floor space of the tiny 10 ft. dwellings. This was an important range in accommodation, with miserable cabins at one end and almost

TABLE 5-1
DIMENSIONS OF DWELLINGS IN MARYLAND RECORDS

1648 - 1674

Dimensions (ft.) L W	Description	Value	Date	Location	Occupant	Title	Occupation	Tenure	Source
10	Cabin + coffin =	200t	1648	St. Mary's	Edward Hall		Planter	freehold	10:197-98
15 x 15	floored, clapboard lined, Welsh chimney		1663	Charles	Mary Gordon & maid		Widow	12 months	53:503
			1653	Charles or Virginia	Paul Simpson	Gent.	Mariner	life tenant	10:141-42
15		300t	1656	Patuxent River	Henry Catchman		Cooper		10:476
15 x 10	+ bedstead & forms =	350t	1671	Charles	Nicholas Grasse		Planter	freehold	60:354-55
20			1652	Charles	William Hugent	Mr.		lease ?	10:363-64
20	(same tenement, St. Thomas Manor: Walsh 1980:3)		1655	Charles	James Linsey	Mr.	Planter	15 yr. lease & freehold	53:127
20 x 15	Welsh chimney		1659	St. Mary's	Richard Abrahall	Mr.	Planter	tenant	41:281
25 x 25	locust ground sills, plastered, + porch	8t + labor	1658	Westmoreland, Virginia	Richard Wright	Mr.	Merchant		41:366-67
25 x 20 + 10 gable shed		500t	1658	Charles	William Empson		Planter	tenant	53:26-28
25	2 outside chimneys	1,000t	1661	Charles	tenement or quarter		on Wollaston Manor		41:526
25 x 18			1666	Somerset	Jas. Barnebe's heirs		Planter	freehold	54:669-70
25 x 12			1670	Charles	Gho. Shenstone & Charles Wooley		Planters	tenants-at- will	60:305
25 + shed	& outside chimney	1,200t	1669	Dorchester	F. Tarsell, T. Fisher & J. Kirke		Planters	freehold	51:71-72
25		700t	1674	St. Mary's	John Piper		Planter	lease	Inv. & Acct. 1:45-46
25 x 34 + porch	stack brick chimneys, floor, staircase, wainscot, plaster, casements & glass + prison 25x15 & 1 acre	20,000t	1674	Charles	John Allen	Gent.	Merchant	freehold	60:615-16
30 & gable shed			1654	St. Mary's	John Hambleton	Mr.	Planter?	freehold	10:405-06
30 x 18	2 chimneys		1657	Kent Island	John Jenkins & Henry Goat		Planters	15 year lease	54:80
30 x 20	ground sills, hall w/Welsh chimney, unheated chamber, dirt floors		1666	Charles	George Thompson	Gent.	Planter, land speculator	freehold	60:113-14
40 x 20	lengthening of above, 2nd chim- ney, closets, plank floors, stair, walls filled & sealed	2,500t+	1666	Charles	George Thompson	"	"	"	"
40 x 25 + porch	locust ground sills, 5 rooms below, planked loft w/dormer windows	3,500t+	1661	Charles	James Neale	Esq.	Planter	manor lord Wollaston Manor	Forman 1934:2
50		1,000t	1669	Dorchester	Daniel Jones		Planter	freehold	51:71-72
55			1672	Charles	Francis Swanson	Gent.	Surgeon	wife's dower	TP5:369

SOURCES: Architecture--volumes of the Archives of Maryland as indicated; Inventories and Accounts, Maryland Hall of Records; Lorena S. Walsh, "Historical Survey of Cedar Point Neck," SMCC, 30 August 1980; and Henry Chandler Forman, Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland (Easton, Md., Haverford, Pa.: By the Author, 1934); Biography--St. Mary's City Commission, "Career Files," Annapolis; Lorena S. Walsh, Biography Files, Saverna Park, Maryland; Lois G. Carr, personal communications.

average housing at the other. While for freeholders, the smaller structures were rarely more than temporary expedients, from the late seventeenth century, the 20 ft. house was the modal dwelling in Southern Maryland.¹⁴

The smaller structures, while not numerous among the mid-century sample, are not unique examples of frontier deprivation. Another "ten foot dwelling house" appears in a 1680 record,¹⁵ and 15 ft. dwellings crop up regularly in contemporary and subsequent Virginia and Maryland records, especially as tenant houses. Fifteen foot houses are mentioned in Southern Maryland leases of 1681, 1691, and 1710, and parsimonious landlords continued to build comparable dwellings (16 ft. by 12 ft.) into the nineteenth century.¹⁶ But for freeholders, 15 ft. houses seem to have been temporary housing only. Presumably, this was even truer of 10 ft. dwellings, most of which probably were built as temporary cabins or future outbuildings. (Other 10 ft. dwellings were built or recycled as quarters.)¹⁷

Most of the one room houses listed in table 5-1 were explicitly tenant housing or the first dwellings of beginning planters. The only obvious exception is Edward Hall's dwelling. When Hall sold his 10 ft. dwelling in 1648, he had been a freeman for six years and a servant owner for part of that time, but Hall may have been less motivated to improve his dwelling than most. Illiterate, unmarried, and a part-time fur trader, seasonally he was away from his plantation for extended periods.¹⁸ The man to whom he sold his house was a more typical cabin occupant, being a recent immigrant from Virginia.

Hall had lived in his 10 ft. house by himself or with a servant or mate. His buyer, though, was a more settled type, a man who quickly acquired a wife and then three children.¹⁹ Was he able to construct a better house before the children arrived? Small one room dwellings did shelter families as well as single men. In 1691, when a Charles County planter divided his plantation, leasing half and a 15 ft. house to a tenant, he was careful to specify that the tenant "was to make no other use of the land than what he, his wife, and children can tend, except it be to take in a boarder or a man to tend corn." The tenant was obligated to help his landlord build a 20 ft. house on the other half of the plantation.²⁰ Was the 15 ft. house the landlord's former dwelling, and was the 20 ft. house his new abode?

Two 20 ft. dwellings appear in the mid-century records. Both are leaseholders' homes. One is described as 20 ft. by 15 ft. with a Welsh chimney. Most likely it and the other were one room dwellings. Only rarely are partitions specified for 20 ft. structures.²¹

The commonest house type to appear in the mid-century records is the small, two room house, 25 or 30 ft. long. Three were tenants' and a leaseholder's homes, one may have been a quarter, and two were built for or by freeholders. In size these houses varied from 25 ft. by 12 ft. (300 sq. ft.) to 30 ft. by 20 ft. (600 sq. ft.). Most or all were divided into a kitchen and a chamber, rooms commonly described as the outward and inward rooms.²² In some cases both rooms were heated, in others only the outward room had a fireplace. Several dwellings were constructed with gable-end sheds presumably used as pantries and storerooms.

Larger farmhouses seem to have been rare except among the elite. The court records list only one planter's home long enough to have been partitioned into three units. It was 50 ft. long. The third room can have been either a second chamber or a service room. Documents and archaeology illustrate both arrangements.²³

Of course, the merchant-planters at the top of Maryland society could afford better housing, housing that rivaled or exceeded the manor houses of the first generation. When Councilor John Bateman died in 1663, his dwelling contained a hall, parlor, new chamber, kitchen, milk house, cellar, and three chambers in the attic. Outside were a quarter, store, stable, hog pen, tobacco houses, and other unnamed out houses.²⁴ His buildings were dwarfed by those of fellow merchant Robert Slye (who, at his death in 1671, may have been the wealthiest merchant in the upper Chesapeake). Slye's extensive buildings were typical only in consisting largely of one story (or story and a half), two room buildings. The family lived in a hall and parlor dwelling accented with a porch tower. Their well furnished bed chambers were in the attic. The downstairs rooms were used for dining, entertaining, and business only--they contained no beds! All the service functions were assumed by outbuildings--a two room kitchen, a two room dairy and brewhouse, a carpenter's shop, and a stable range that included stabling, a saddle room, a servants' quarter, the overseer's room, and the tailor's room. A new hall and parlor dwelling housed other servants, his married son (?), and merchandise that could not be crammed into the store. Other merchandise overflowed into a tobacco house, and a boat was stored in a vacant "pot house" [pottery?]. A large

orchard surrounded the buildings.²⁵

Slye and Bateman were exceptional--Slye for his extensive domestic and craft industries and both men for their stores, stables, and quarters. Slye's inventory lists 25 servants and slaves. Bateman's 1663 crop was produced by 15 hands. Curing his tobacco crop would have required seven to eight average size tobacco houses.

Besides a dwelling, the essential structure for a Chesapeake plantation was a tobacco house or houses. Tools, grain, and (perhaps) even chickens could be squeezed into the dwelling, and cattle could (and usually did) fend for themselves in the woods. But tobacco was too bulky to cure in a dwelling, and it would spoil if it got wet. After tobacco houses, the next most common outbuilding listed in documents was a hen house, and after it, hog pens or hog houses. Few ordinary planters had other structures.²⁶

The mechanics of tobacco curing quickly standardized tobacco house dimensions. Until the mid-eighteenth century, tobacco houses inevitably were constructed in longitudinal modules of 10 ft., a result of the hybridization of 5 ft. wide curing scaffolds ("rooms") and 10 ft. bays. About 1650, immigrant merchant-planter Robert Brooke built two, huge, temporary tobacco houses in size rivalling English tithe barns: one measured 100 ft. by 32 ft., the other 90 ft. by 32 ft.²⁷ Tobacco barns this large were impractical as they entailed men carrying arm loads ("turns") of tobacco considerable distances.²⁸ His experiment was not repeated. Instead, Maryland planters built tobacco houses 20 ft. wide and 30, 40, 50 and 60 ft. long. Forty foot houses were the most common. A tobacco house this size could cure about 2,400 pounds

of tobacco--the crop of one and a half hands.²⁹

Except for Slye's Bushwood Plantation, most of the structures cited so far have been tenant's or beginner's buildings. As circumstances permitted, dwellings could be improved, extended, or replaced, as their owners worked their way up the frontier gradient. While any improvement requiring a carpenter was expensive relative to the amount of tobacco that one man could grow in a year, typical expenses varied from a few hundred pounds of tobacco--300, for example, for the labor in "sealing and planking" one room 13 ft. square--to several thousand pounds for a major renovation or addition.³⁰

If a dwelling initially was well framed, piecemeal improvements and additions may have been the commonest means of improvement--witness Mr. Bateman's "new room" cited above. A particularly detailed carpentry contract describes a Charles County gentleman's home before and after improvement.

In 1666, Mr. George Thompson--a planter, land speculator, and sometime County Clerk³¹--was living in a kitchen and chamber dwelling measuring 30 ft. by 20 ft. While of superior construction (silled and doubled studded), the dwelling's walls were uninsulated, its floors were the ground, and its loft could be reached only by climbing a ladder. A wood and mud "Welsh" chimney heated the kitchen. At the cost of 3,800 pounds tobacco, Thompson renovated his house into a comfortable hall and parlor dwelling. The work included building a kitchen outbuilding (800 pounds tobacco), lengthening the dwelling chamber and constructing an inside chimney (400 pounds tobacco), building a closet (floored, sealed, shelved, and illuminated by a window) on each

side of the chimney (300 pounds tobacco), repairing the hall chimney and building a "Welsh" stair (250 pounds tobacco), planking the hall and parlor floors (700 pounds tobacco), filling (insulating) the walls with timber and mud and sealing them [with clapboard] (600 pounds tobacco), and reroofing the building (approximately 500 pounds tobacco). Warm, dry, convenient, and well maintained, Thompson's dwelling represents an ideal that few mid-century buildings met.³²

An alternate route to better housing was the construction of a new house. A hut might be supplanted by a small house, or a 15 ft. house by a 20 ft. house (see above). At the other end of the social scale, manor lords like Captain Thomas Cornwaleys or Governor Charles Calvert could plan new homes of timber and brick.³³ Considerably less pretentious, but still well up the social scale, are three wooden gentlemen's houses for which construction specifications survive. All three are based on English rather than Chesapeake prototypes. In contrast to the typical Virginia plan--two rooms linked end to end--, these elite homes are two rooms deep. Their plans reflect a growing seventeenth-century English tendency to bring more service rooms (and, sometimes, chambers) into the house through adding an outshut [shed] to the back of a structure.³⁴

Two of the American buildings have rear aisles that are integral components of the structure. In 1658, Mr. Richard Wright contracted for the construction of a dwelling 25 ft. square with a projecting porch. The porch opened into a large hall behind which the aisle covered a semi-subterranean cellar. The structure was box-framed on locust ground sills. The hall was finished with a plank floor, plastered walls,

closets to each side of the interior chimney, and an enclosed stair. Three years later, Captain James Neale, Lord of Wolleston Manor, contracted for a larger, single-aisled structure: 40 ft. by 25 ft. with a porch, again box-framed on locust sills. The plan appears to have been that of a center chimney, kitchen and parlor dwelling, with three small rooms in the aisle behind. While the loft was left unfinished, it was roughed in for chambers with a plank floor, a small fireplace, windows in the gables, and two facade dormers. Good prototypes for these buildings can be found in the South of England.³⁵

Conforming more to the emerging Chesapeake tradition was a dwelling begun by William Allen, Gentleman, in 1674. While still under construction, Allen sold the building to the Commissioners of Charles County for a court house. The structure was a one story and loft building, 25 ft. long by 22 ft. wide. There was an 8 ft. by 10 ft., two story porch on the front, and a 12 1/2 ft. shed across the rear. The shed was partitioned into two rooms. The main structure had a single ground floor room with one chamber above and another over the porch. An exterior brick chimney stack provided fireplaces for the lower room and the loft. The lower room was "to be well wainscotted, the upper room well daubed and sealed with mortar, white limed and sized, and the shed sealed and lined with riven boards." The house was to be finished with "all necessary and convenient doors, locks, keys, bolts, latches, hinges, staircases, stairs, windows, window frames, casements and glass to be well glazed . . . above and below, and all the rooms well planked on the floors." The structure was the best finished and most expensive mid-century dwelling for which a record survives.³⁶

These descriptions are a misleading record of Maryland housing, 1650-1675. In general, they reflect structures as first built rather than as subsequently improved. For example, Mr. James Linsey, lessee of a 20 ft. house in 1655, in 1661 sued a carpenter for failing to floor a room--by 1661, Mr. James Linsey, sometime sheriff of Charles County, was no longer living in one room.³⁷ A second bias of these records is that they exaggerate the quality of housing. Six of the 22 buildings are those of gentlemen: merchants, a manorial lord, a land speculator, and a physician-planter, representatives of a group that comprised only 5 to 10 per cent of the population.³⁸ It is less easy to correct for a third bias. Most of the buildings described in these documents--at least 15 of the 22--are known to be carpenter-built structures. In only one case--where a landlord agreed to provide his new leaseholders with nails to build a 30 ft. dwelling--is there a suggestion that ordinary planters built their own homes. But other leases and correspondence suggest that many beginning leaseholders built their own homes.³⁹ One Maryland record is quite explicit. In the settlement of a dispute between a widow and her son, the son agreed to "build himself a dwelling house . . . if health permit."⁴⁰ Flimsier even than leaseholders' homes were the dwellings built for tenants-at-will, none of which are included in the 1650-1675 descriptions. Surely, if all the tenant cabins and occupant-built huts and houses were represented (as they are in the 1798 tax list), our picture of housing would be grimmer.⁴¹

Having recognized the biases in these records, what do they tell us about third quarter Maryland housing? First, until about 1675,

most dwellings were constructed exclusively of timber, iron, and mud daubing. Of the 22 dwellings in table 5-1, only one had a brick chimney, only two were plastered, and none had a masonry foundation. (Three of the gentlemen's specifications list ground-laid sills; one seems to call for hole-set wall posts with interrupted sills.) Second, the specifications for gentlemen's homes are much more detailed than those for ordinary planter's homes. The specifications for gentlemen's homes include stairs, windows, and plank floors. These are never listed for ordinary planters' homes. What this contrast means can be sharpened by analysing building costs.

Table 5-2 contains the construction costs of 21 Maryland structures carpentered or contracted between 1656 and 1701. As measured by outbuilding costs, rudimentary shelter--a roof, four walls, and a door or two--cost from one to two pounds tobacco per square foot. The square foot cost of an average farm house was little more--2.5 pounds tobacco--suggesting that ordinary plantation dwellings were little more than boxes to which chimneys had been attached. During this half century, building costs in pounds tobacco seem to have remained fairly constant. Either carpenters lost economic ground, or (more likely) their productivity increased roughly parallel to the increasing productivity of planters.

The smallest dwellings in table 5-2--the cabin and the two 15 ft. houses--can have been little more than huts. Measuring by cost per square foot, the 15 ft. houses were no more than large hen houses--boxes with a door and perhaps a shuttered window. As first finished,

Table 5-2

Selected Construction Costs in Maryland Records, 1656-1701

Date	Structures/Features	Dimensions in Feet	In Pounds of Tobacco		*Farm Value Tobacco in Pence Sterling	Source**
			Value	Est. Cost @ Square Ft.		
1669	Hen Houses	10x10	200	2	1.15	MA, 60:353-54
1670		-	120		1.15	Test. Proc., 6:123
1665	Tobacco Houses	50	900	0.9	1.10	MA, 54:382-83
1680		40	800	1	1.00	Charles Co., I #1:20
1694		30x22	850+d	1.3	.75	Charles Co., S #1:370
1701		30	600	1	.95	Charles Co., Y #1:143
1656	Dwellings	15	300	2	2.0	MA, 10:476
1658		25x20+10 end shed	500	0.7	2.0	MA, 53:26-28
1661	2 outside chimneys	25	1,000+n	2.5	1.50	MA, 41:526
1661	sills, plank floored loft, dormers	40x25+10x8 porch	4,320 ^e	4.0	1.50	Forman 1934:2
1663	cabin		150 ^e	1.5	1.55	MA, 53:503
1667	sills, chimney, closets, floors, insulation	10x20 addi- tion	1,170 ^e	5.6	1.10	MA, 60:113-14
1667	Kitchen: sills, 2 partitions, Welsh chimney	20x16	800	2.5	1.10	MA, 60:113-14
1671		15x10	300 ^e	2	1.05	MA, 60:354-55
1674	brick chimney, plank floors, wainscot, etc.	25x34	10,000+	10+	1.00	MA, 60:615-16
1681	sills, jettied false plates, ext. chimney	20x22+10' closet	1,100	2	.80	Charles Co., K #1:159
1686	2 outside chimneys	28x16+2 closets	1,800	3.5	1.00	Charles Co., N #1:171
1694	chimneys and partitions	25	950	2.4	.75	Charles Co., S #1:371
1701	2 outside chimneys	25+6 ft. shed	1,040	2.5	.95	Charles Co., A #2:13

Notes: +n=plus nails
+d=plus carpenter's diet
e=estimated cost

Sources: *Russell R. Menard, "Farm Prices of Maryland Tobacco, 1659-1710," Maryland Historical Magazine 68(1973):80-85, "A note on Chesapeake Tobacco Prices, 1618-1660," 1973. Research files, SMCC

**Maryland Archives; Maryland, TESTAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS: Charles Co., MD, COURT & LAND RECORDS; Forman, Early Manor and Plantation Houses.

it seems unlikely that they or the cheap 25 ft. house thrown up in 1658 had chimneys or lofts.⁴²

The ordinary Maryland dwelling, a structure 20 to 40 ft. long and 15 to 20 ft. wide, cost about twice as much per square foot as a tobacco house. Much of the additional cost was occasioned by the wooden chimneys, one or two of which are invariably listed. Presumably, the price of a dwelling generally provided for window shutters and clapboard loft floors, but this is all. As initially completed, most of these structures seem to have been unglazed, uninsulated, unfurnished, dirt-floored shells.

This interpretation of the documentary record agrees only partially with seventeenth-century accounts of Chesapeake housing. The four authors quoted below concur that ordinary dwellings were all wood structures. Otherwise, three opinions are presented: that planters' homes were remarkably comfortable, remarkably miserable, or varied with the planters' means.

1656: John Hammond wrote that Virginians and Marylanders are-- pleasant in their building, which although for the most part they are but one story besides the loft, and built of wood, yet contrived so delightful, that your ordinary houses in England are not so handsome, for usually the rooms are large, daubed and whitelimed, glazed and floored, and if not glazed windows, shutters which are made very pretty and convenient.⁴³

1679: Jasper Danckaerts reported (after spending a miserable November night in a miller's new house on the New Jersey frontier)--

Most of the English . . . have their houses made of nothing but clapboards. They are not usually laid so close together, as to prevent you from sticking a finger between them, in consequence either of their not being well joined, or the boards being crooked, when it is cold and windy the best people plaster them with clay. . . . If you are not so close to the fire as almost to burn yourself, you cannot keep warm.⁴⁴

c.1684: an anonymous Virginian wrote that--

For covering the house [roof], ends, and sides, and for the loft [floor] we use clapboard, which is rived feather-edged, of five foot and a half long, that, well drawn, lies close and smooth. The lodging room may be lined with the same, and filled up⁴⁵ between, which is very warm.

1687: a Huguenot refugee stated--

Some people in this country are comfortably housed. The farmers' houses are built entirely of wood, the roofs being made of small boards of chestnut, as are also the walls. Those who have some means, cover them inside with a coating of mortar in which they use oyster-shells for lime. It is as white as snow, so that although they look ugly from the outside, where only the wood can be seen, they are very pleasant inside, with convenient windows and openings. . . . Whatever their rank, and I know not why, they build only two rooms with some closets on the ground floor, and two rooms in the attic above; but they build several like this,⁴⁶ according to their means.

While an airy and whitelimed clapboard dwelling may have been pleasant in comparison to a mud walled European cottage, John Hammond's statement that usually Chesapeake rooms "are large, daubed and whitelimed, glazed and floored," must be dismissed as propaganda. The other three publications are more helpful. The c.1684 description of a Chesapeake dwelling is a straight-forward account, and its important qualification about clapboards--the if "well drawn, lies close and smooth"--provides an important reconciliation between Danckaert's bitter condemnation of clapboard carpentry (which must be applicable to many roughly carpentered and owner built frontier homes) and the evidence of surviving early structures (all gentlemen's homes built by master carpenters), where the clapboard does lie "close and smooth."⁴⁷ Our French reporter's "some people in this country are comfortably housed" is a judicious and frustrating summary, for no documents tell us what proportion of Maryland's planters had the initiative and skill to daub

their homes before winter came, or eventually accumulated the means to have their rooms plank floored, sealed, and glazed.

It was the finishing touches that inflated the cost of a plantation dwelling and demarcated gentlemen's from ordinary planter's dwellings. Mr. Thompson's plank floors cost 1 pound tobacco per square foot, his wall filling and sealing cost another $3/4$ pound tobacco per square foot, and his two closets cost as much as a 15 ft. house.

Compared to finish work or masonry, rough carpentry was inexpensive. During the second half of the century, an ordinary 25 ft. dwelling seems to have cost about 1,000 pounds tobacco, of which as much as a third would have been the cost of nails.⁴⁸ The remainder--700 pounds tobacco--might have paid for only 25 to 30 days' labor.⁴⁹ Thus the building of a 25 ft. Virginia house--felling and shaping the timber, getting it in place, cutting the joints, raising the frame, and covering it in--would have taken a crew of three men less than two weeks. Even allowing for their longer hours, this is an impressive accomplishment. If anything, Chesapeake carpenters became increasingly efficient in running up plantation buildings, as the tobacco cost of building seems to have remained fairly constant during the second half of the century despite the decreasing value of tobacco and increasing farm productivity. If the prices in table 5-2 are representative, the cost of an ordinary dwelling declined, 1650 to 1700, from $2/3$ s of one hand's tobacco crop to $1/2$ of one hand's crop. How did Chesapeake carpenters accomplish this? They did it by refining the "Virginia house," a lightly framed, clapboard structure. The Virginia house was a vigorous hybrid developed by crossing English traditions of

rough-and-ready construction with the marvelous timber resources of the seventeenth-century Chesapeake.

CHAPTER V

Notes

1. Archives of Maryland, William Hand Browne, et al., eds., 72 vols. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-), 5:265-66.
2. Lorena S. Walsh, "A Culture of 'Rude Sufficiency': Life styles on Maryland's Lower Western Shore between 1658 and 1720," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Nashville, Tennessee, 3 January 1979, Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's City, Maryland, pp. 15-16.
3. Samuel Maverick, "A Brief Description of New England," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 2nd series, vol. 1 (1885), p. 247; Abbott Lowell Cummings, The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 202-09; Cary Carson, et al., "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies," Winterthur Portfolio 16 (1981), p. 160.
4. Edward Ingle, Captain Richard Ingle, the Maryland "Pirate and Rebel," 1642-1653, Fund Publication No. 28 (Baltimore: The Maryland Historical Society, 1884), pp. 25-26, 34-35, 46-47; Md. Arch., 1:209, 221; 3:174-98; 4:308-16, 321-24, 330-32, 349-51, 357, 380-84, 389, 418, 429, 453.
5. Russell R. Menard, "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Iowa, 1975 (Xerox University Microfilms), pp. 145-46, 214-24; Md. Arch., 3:178, 183, 194.
6. Menard, "Economy and Society," pp. 153-71; 217-24.
7. Joseph B. Casagrande, Stephen I. Thompson, and Philip D. Young, "Colonization as a Research Frontier: The Ecuadorian Case," in Process and Pattern in Culture, ed. by Robert A. Manners (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1964), pp. 311-15.
8. Md. Arch., 5:266.
9. Menard, "Economy and Society," pp. 176-79.
10. Lorena S. Walsh, "'Till Death Us Do Part:' Marriage and Family in the Seventeenth Century," The Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake, Essays Delivered at the 32nd Conference in Early American History, College Park, Maryland, November 1-2, 1974 (mimeograph), pp. 162-63, 193-95.

11. Menard, "Economy and Society," p. 476; Carson, "Impermanent Architecture," pp. 168-69.

12. Menard, "Economy and Society," p. 215.

13. Carson, "Impermanent Architecture," p. 140.

14. Lorena S. Walsh, "Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705: A Study of Chesapeake Social and Political Structure," Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1977, p. 248; Garry Wheeler Stone, "Artifacts Are Not Enough," The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers 11 (1976), pp. 47-48.

15. Md. Arch., 70:318-20. In areas of contemporary England, many of the rural poor lived in cottages this small. (M. W. Barley, The English Farmhouse and Cottage (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), p. 59.)

16. Northumberland County, Virginia, Land Court Records, 1652-65:f.66; Nell Marion Nugent, comp., Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 1623-1666 (Richmond, Virginia: 1934; reprinted, Baltimore, Maryland: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1974), 1:491; S. E. Ayres and M. C. Beaudry, "Some References to Construction Details, York Co. [Virginia] Records," n.d., Chesapeake File, St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's City, Maryland, p. 1; Md. Arch., 70:87; Charles County, Maryland, Court and Land Records, R#1:193; C#2: 168; Bayly E. Marks, "Economics and Society in a Staple Plantation System," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1979, pp. 51-54, 62.

17. In 1651, a Surry County, Virginia, carpenter contracted to build "a house of two lengths of boards [8 to 12 ft total] . . . for a quartering house." (James D. Kornwolf, Guide to the Buildings of Surry and the American Revolution (n.p.: Surry County, Virginia 1776 Bicentennial Committee, 1976), p. 59.) The 1698 appraisors of a Charles County plantation appended to the list of dwellings "also two old small houses which were formerly dwellings, the one twenty foot and the other ten foot long, not worth repairing." (Charles County, Maryland, Court and Land Records, V#1:374-75.)

18. In 1644 he was "of Virginia," and in February, 1645, he seems to have been boarding on the St. Mary's townland. Career File, St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's City, Maryland; especially Md. Arch., 4:270; and see above, p. 125.

19. Career File, St. Mary's City Commission; especially Md. Arch., 10:156-57.

20. Charles County, Maryland, Court and Land Records, R#1:193.

21. Ayres and Beaudry, "Some References," p. 2 (1668, 20 ft. dwelling with a partition); Md. Arch., 60:113-14 (1667, 20 ft. kitchen

with end partitioned into two service rooms.

22. Md. Arch., 10:141-42; 53:264-65.

23. Md. Arch., 54:669-70 (1666 will specifying bed in middle room); Hallowes site, see below, figure 6-8E.

24. Md. Arch., 57:45-50; Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland, TESTAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS, 1E:100.

25. TESTAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS, 5:152-90; Md. Arch., 65:506-08.

26. This paragraph and the following one are based on 21 descriptions of 1655-1674 Maryland plantations and tobacco houses abstracted by the St. Mary's City Commission staff. See Chesapeake File, categories 34 and 343, Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission.

27. Md. Arch., 10:278.

28. William Tatham, An Historical and Practical Essay on the Culture and Commerce of Tobacco (London: Vernor and Hood, 1800; facsimile reprint in G. Melvin Herndon, William Tatham and the Culture of Tobacco (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1969)), pp. 25, 34. Only one Maryland planter in sixteen owned a cart, 1652-1674 (Lois Green Carr, telephone conversation with Stone, 6 November 1980).

29. Md. Arch., 67:344; TESTAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS, 6:163-64. This is much more tobacco than could be hung in a modern barn this size. Seventeenth-century Orinoco tobacco was heavier than the modern varieties grown in Maryland, and seventeenth-century planters thoroughly wilted their tobacco before housing it closely spaced on the stick and the rail. Assuming that a seventeenth-century tobacco house was three tiers high in the carcass with another three partial tiers in the roof, each 5 ft. "room" would have held about 240 sticks of tobacco, hung 4 to 4 1/2 in. apart and yielding about 1 1/4 pounds of stripped tobacco per stick. Tatham, Tobacco, pp. 24-30, 126-27; J. Mitchell Morgan, Robert A. Stone, telephone conversations with G. W. Stone, 27 October 1980, Chesapeake File category 249, Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission.

30. Charles County, Maryland, COURT AND LAND RECORDS, P#1:9 (1688).

31. Career File, St. Mary's City Commission.

32. For walls "filled" with timber and mud tempered with grass, see Claire K. Tholl, "Query re: 'Filled Wall' Construction," Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology, vol. 12, no. 2 (1980), pp. 124-26.

33. Md. Arch., 10:267 (Cornwaleys's contract for 36,000 brick, 1652); for Charles Calvert's c.1667 timber and brick house, see chapter VI.
34. Eric Mercer, English Vernacular Houses (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1975), pp. 69-73.
35. R. H. Cake, Elizabeth Lewis, and J. Noon, "Paulsgrove House and 17th-Century House Plans in Hampshire and West Sussex," Post-Medieval Archaeology 6 (1972):160-74.
36. Stone, "Charles County Courthouse, Maryland," in Carson, "Impermanent Architecture," pp. 195-96.
37. Md. Arch., 53:109.
38. Lois Green Carr, personal communication.
39. William Fitzhugh, William Fitzhugh and his Chesapeake World, 1676-1701, ed. by Richard Beale Davis (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1963), p. 202.
40. Md. Arch., 41:518.
41. Stone, "Artifacts Are Not Enough," pp. 47-48.
42. Winthrop notes one chimneyless dwelling (John Winthrop, Winthrop's Journal "History of New England", ed. by James Kendall Hosmer, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908; reprint ed., New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966), 1:90). Orlando Ridout V has located an eighteenth-century description of one in Maryland (Carson, "Impermanent Architecture," p. 162). Henry Chandlee Forman may have located evidence of others on Nantucket (Henry Chandlee Forman, Early Nantucket and Its Whale Houses (New York: Hastings House, 1966), pp. 97-100).
43. Clayton Colman Hall, ed., Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910; reprint ed., New York: Barnes & Noble, 1967), pp. 297-98.
44. Jasper Danckaerts, Journal, 1679-1680, ed. by Bartlett Burleigh James and J. Franklin Jameson (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), pp. 96-97.
45. William T. Buchanan and Edward F. Heite, "The Hallows Site: A Seventeenth-century Yeoman's Cottage in Virginia," Historical Archaeology 5 (1971), p. 41; Carson, "Impermanent Architecture," p. 144.
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Code numbers are those assigned by the Maryland Historical Trust and
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CHAPTER VI

ADAPTATION TO THE CHESAPEAKE:

THE EVOLUTION OF THE "VIRGINIA HOUSE," 1607-1750

But should not advise to build either a great or English framed house, for labor is so intolerably dear and workmen so idle and negligent that the building of a good house to you there will seem insupportable

William Fitzhugh to Nicholas Hayward,¹
30 January 1686/7

Like most immigrants, English voyagers to the Chesapeake brought with them the desire to establish an improved version of English culture, but their hope to build upon former lifeways failed to allow for a demanding new environment. The Chesapeake forced its new citizens to improvise new solutions to fundamental social and economic problems.² The settlers had moved from a densely populated island to a thinly settled frontier; from a highly stratified society to a (temporarily) open one; from intensive arable agriculture to extensive swidden tillage; and from a benign, mild climate to a harsh, semitropical region. Nowhere are their adjustments more obvious than in architecture. In England, building timber was scarce and expensive. In the Chesapeake it was free for the felling. In England, an old house stock was being rebuilt slowly. In the Chesapeake, a whole new housing stock was needed instantly and reconstructed continually. In England, buildings were custom crafted to meet the unique demands of client or site. In the Chesapeake, frontier demand and wood working fostered

standardized, modular construction. One of the settlers' creative adaptations to their new ecological niche was a new architectural style, the "Virginia house." Rapidly developed (by 1675), it remained a vital, evolving tradition for another 75 years.

Initially, the Virginia house was a rough and ready form of construction produced by a variety of factors: English architectural traditions, the Chesapeake environment, and the social and economic requirements of the tobacco frontier. Its development can be traced through four stages:

1. Substitution and selection (1607-c.1650).
2. Evolution (c.1650-1675).
3. Refinement (c.1675-1725).
4. Readjustment (c.1725-1750).

The first period was characterized by adjustments to negative factors: the need for cheap housing, the unavailability or unsuitability of traditional cheap English materials (thatch and mud), and the inability of traditional modes of peasant construction to withstand the onslaughts of Chesapeake termites. One positive factor discovered early was that American hardwood could be riven into board substitutes for tile and plank. A second was that a more termite resistant cottage could be concocted by combining the heavy framing of posted buildings with the simple joinery used in peasant stake construction.

The Virginia house evolved as a recognizable type during the third quarter of the seventeenth century. Lightweight, riven board roofs and walls were one distinguishing characteristic. It permitted the development of a second, a simple roof frame of collar-coupled,

common rafters. Increasingly, tobacco house roofs were supported by false plates, members that simplified framing the tobacco houses as curing scaffolds. Wall frames were posted heavily at short bay intervals with ground sills protecting the feet of studs and boarding. Most Virginia houses were short lived, flimsy buildings framed post-in-the-ground, but occasionally, gentry dwellings and even outbuildings were box-framed.³

During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the lessons learned in framing tobacco houses were applied increasingly to dwelling construction. The basic engineering problems had been solved by 1682-1684, the date of the oldest surviving "Virginia" roof, but the joints of this roof are based on English prototypes (figure 6-3). It took another 40 years to work out Chesapeake solutions for every detail: on the cheapest satisfactory way to join a rafter to a plate, frame a ceiling, or brace a wall. Three Maryland farmhouses survive from c.1710-1717. All differ in their framing. The first completely evolved house dates from c.1725 (below and figure 6-17).

The primary thrust of seventeenth-century carpentry had been to develop the cheapest possible structure that would stand for one generation. In early eighteenth-century Maryland, changes took place that created a desire for more permanent construction. Coming of age was a native born population that benefited from inherited capital. Beginning in 1713, it benefited, too, from improved tobacco prices.⁴ The new desire for permanence first manifested itself in improved gentry construction, but by 1740, the change was widely affecting construction for ordinary planters. Most new Virginia framed dwellings were

box-framed on sills underpinned with blocks or brick. Even for out-buildings, post-in-the-ground construction was replaced largely by box-framed or log construction.

While frontier expediency and free riving oak and chestnut were the starting points for the development of the Virginia house, its structural evolution was determined by the housing needed to cure the colonists' tobacco crop. Unless copiously ventilated during curing, tobacco rots. Stringing individual leaves on lines proved too expensive. Quickly they devised the alternate still used today--impaling the butts of tobacco plants on riven sticks (laths). If plants are spaced carefully on the sticks and the sticks on a scaffold--with the plants given a final shake as the stick is placed--no leaf will touch another as the plants air dry. Thus, to cure their crops of tobacco, the colonists needed structures scaffolded vertically and horizontally for hanging tobacco (figure 6-1). While the height between scaffold "rails" or "tier poles" had to be slightly greater than the length of a cut tobacco plant, their horizontal spacing was a matter of convenience--convenience in carpentry (riving sticks), agriculture (handling tobacco), and architecture (subdividing space). The stick five feet long (the same length of the boards covering the buildings) was adopted no later than the 1650s. It reinforced the predilection of most Englishmen to build in decimal units, and the five foot clapboard and the five foot tobacco stick became an unstoppable combination that determined the modules of most Chesapeake buildings until the mid-eighteenth century (when the five foot board and stick were replaced largely by the four foot board and stick).⁵



Fig. 6-1.

Tobacco hanging in a reproduction of a late seventeenth-century tobacco house, the "New Tobacco House" on Mr. Spray's Plantation, St. Maries Citty, Maryland.

John O'Rourke, Carpenter

Photo: Stone

In a similar manner, convenience in building tobacco house scaffolding helped determine the structural systems of Chesapeake buildings. Given the generally free availability of rivable old growth hardwood or straight, slender, second growth poles, the easiest way to construct scaffolds was to run the tier poles and rails across the width of the tobacco houses and to evolve a structure in which the building frame could double as a scaffold. Thus developed the tie beam and collared rafter roof frame. Nine times out of ten this structure would be twenty feet (four lengths of clapboard) wide. Twenty feet is about the greatest distance that tier poles can span without a central support. And there was an advantage in keeping the scaffolding system simple, as the lower tier poles were removed every winter after the crop was struck so that the floors of the houses could be put to other purposes for the next six or seven months.

The extensive influence of tobacco house construction on Chesapeake architecture was, in part, a result of the large numbers built. Most plantations had more tobacco houses than dwellings, and tobacco houses had to be replaced every decade or so. Tobacco quickly depleted the ground on which it was grown, and it was impractical to transport tobacco far through stump choked fields. Even if a tobacco house was sited carefully at the center of three or four future fields, eight to twelve years after the house had been built, it would be obsolete and either abandoned or torn down for its material.⁶ Hence, Chesapeake carpenters built three or four tobacco houses for every dwelling that they framed. The leaf was the Virginia carpenter's best client. By the late seventeenth century, the dwellings that he built for ordinary

planters were distinguishable from tobacco houses only by their windows and chimneys. In 1687, a poorly built, unfinished dwelling was described as having "not one tittle of workmanship about it more than a tobacco house work."⁷

One way of defining the seventeenth-century Virginia house is to state what it was not. It was not "a great or English framed house." In 1687, a Potomac merchant--William Fitzhugh of Stafford County, Virginia--wrote a prospective immigrant:

But should not advise to build either a great or English framed house, for labor is so intolerably dear and workmen so idle and negligent that the building of a good house to you there will seem insupportable, for this I can assure you, when I built my own house, and agreed as cheap as I could with workmen and as carefully and diligently took care that they followed their work, notwithstanding we have timber for nothing but felling and getting in place, the frame of my house stood me in more money in tobacco @8 shillings per cent [hundred] than a frame of the same dimensions would cost in London, by a third at least, where everything is bought, and near three times as long preparing.

Seventeenth-century Chesapeake documents are clear on the meaning of "framed." "Framed work" had "ground sills." Ground sills by themselves did not make a "great or English" framed house. One of the less expensive structures in table 5-2 was a silled Virginia house with jettied false plates. Rather, a "great or English" framed house was one in accord with the latest contemporary English practice: heavy principal members, carefully cut joints, and competent finishing--a labor intensive structure. A hint of such a structure is given in a c.1680 contract for a "frame" house where the internally exposed tie beams and posts were to be "squared by a line and planed."⁹ A more comprehensive impression of a "great" framed house can be gained from surviving structures.

Three of Maryland's four oldest frame structures are great or English framed houses despite "Virginia" plans. Phase one of Holly Hill, Anne Arundel County, is a 25 ft. hall and parlor house dating from 1698.¹⁰ Well built (by Chesapeake standards), it had a full cellar, brick chimneys, a box-framed carcass, and a wind-braced, principal rafter roof. More substantial is Cedar Park, also in Anne Arundel County, a 50 ft. dwelling dating from 1702. Cedar Park is the best joined and heaviest framed structure to survive in the Chesapeake. Most of its wall posts are 10 by 12 in. in section, and its 8 by 9 1/2 in. wall plates must have required derricks to raise. Every joint in its carcass and principal rafter roof frame is mortised and tenoned, and all the major joints are artfully shouldered or tapered to avoid weakening the joint or member. Ironically, Cedar Park is not a "framed" structure, but a post-in-the-ground building with interrupted sills (figure 6-2).

A contemporary definition of a great framed house survives for the Third Haven "great meeting house" in Talbot County. According to its 1682 construction specifications, the house was

to be strong, substantial framed work with good white oak ground sills and posts, double studded and well braced, with girders and summers and small joists, the roof to be double raftered (every two feet) and good principal rafters, and the upper floors to be laid with plank. . . .

11

These specifications were not followed during construction. Only the walls were framed as first envisioned--double studded and extremely well braced (figure 6-3). For the rest of the structure, Virginia engineering was substituted: a common joist [tie beam] ceiling frame, and a common rafter roof with trusses spaced at the ordinary distance

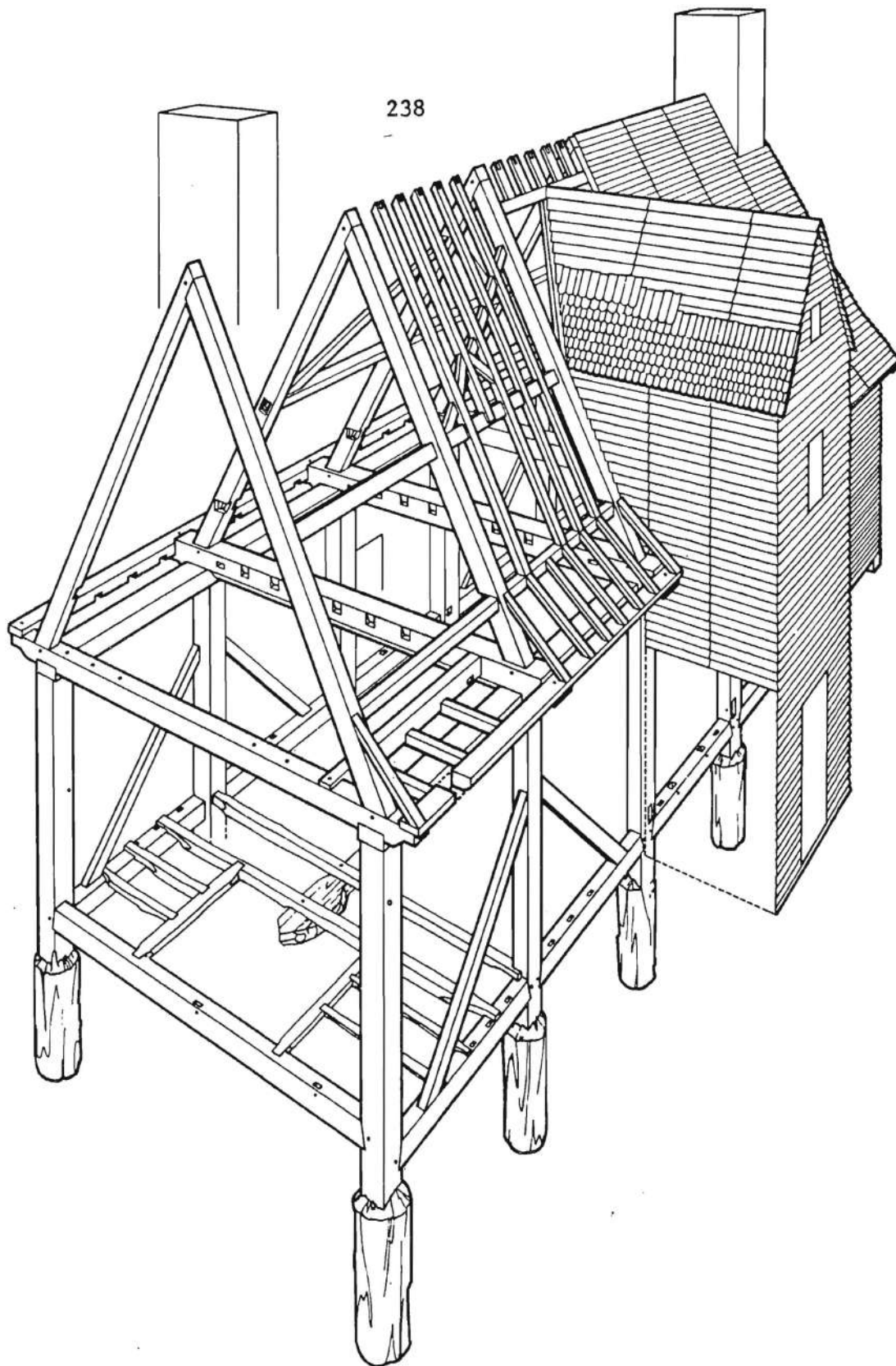


Fig 6-2.

The Frame of Cedar Park, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, as built in 1702.

Dating: American Institute of Dendrochronology

Drawing: Cary Carson and Chinh Hoang

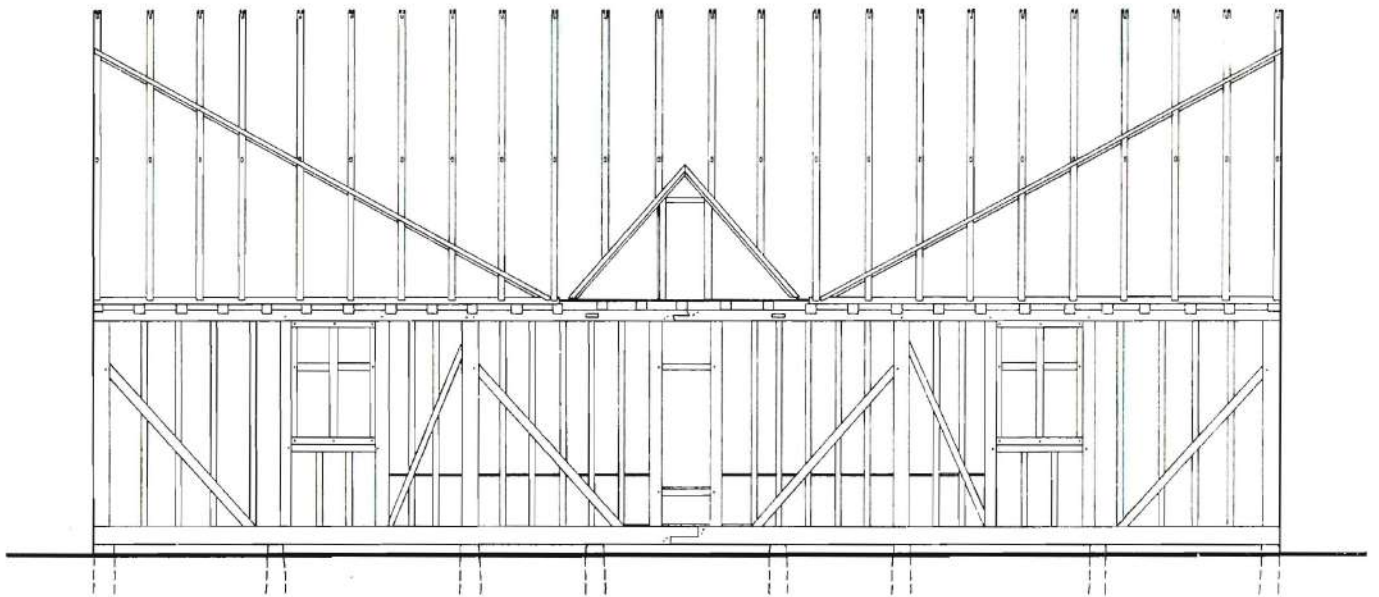


Fig. 6-3.
Third Haven Meeting House elevation as framed c.1683.
Drawing: Stone and Chinh Hoang

of 30 to 36 inches. Yet the joining and finishing of the meeting house is superior. The roof is braced and the apex and collar joints are mortised, tenoned, and pinned. The roof was covered with round butt shingles nailed to lath. As at Cedar Park, the secondary members are sawn, and all exposed timber corners are chamfered, rounded, or beaded.

Generalizing from these three examples, a great or English framed house had heavy, neatly finished principal members, secondaries that frequently were sawn, and a box-framed carcass and principal rafter roof mortised and tenoned so that they were rigid, unified, structural systems.

The Virginia house was almost the opposite of the "English framed" house. In the Virginia house, as many joints as possible were lapped and nailed, and much of the rigidity of the structure was dependent upon its wooden skin. Cary Carson hypothesizes that the Virginia structural system evolved from a combination of traditional peasant stake construction and New World clapboarding.¹² In a number of British building traditions--stake, wattle, and daub; mud and stud; cob; and turf--earth walls were reinforced with stakes or slight posts ["puncheons" or "punchs"].¹³ Puncheon buildings enclosed with clapboards are described in 1623 when Virginia structures were categorized as "few or none of them being framed houses, but [they are] punches set into the ground and covered with boards." Cheaply built houses continued to be the norm. In 1647, Virginians confessed "the poverty of the country . . . will not admit a possibility to erect other than such houses as we frequently inhabit." In 1662, their confession became explicit: "Our ability [is] not extending to build stronger" than

"a house after the form of a Virginia house."¹⁴ But a building type that was a cause for embarrassment, evolved, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, into a superior adaptation to the Chesapeake environment.

The Virginia house was several things. In the seventeenth century--and increasingly so in the eighteenth--it was a plan type, a structure a story and a loft in height, one or two rooms long, with end chimneys. By the eighteenth century, Virginia houses had a well crystallized structural system in which the wood cladding of roofs and walls played a major structural role.¹⁵ Roofs were constructed of common rafter trusses with little or no wind-bracing other than that provided by their clapboard or lath and shingle covering. While in eighteenth-century construction, the box-framed carcass would stand by itself, the studs between the bay posts were sometimes little more than nailing lath (some as little as 2 by 2 1/2 in. in section), lath that were fixed in position by their cladding of boards or planks.¹⁶ In the seventeenth century, when most Virginia houses were earth-fast rather than box-framed, even the rigidity of some carcasses may have been dependent upon their clapboard skins. Seemingly, it is this combination of light framing and clapboard siding and roofing that is the nucleus of the seventeenth-century definition of the Virginia house.

The key to the development of the Virginia house was the availability of free riving, old growth hardwood, especially for boarding. Riven boarding had been used in England--for flooring and siding--, but decreasingly so by the seventeenth century.¹⁷ Riven English oak remained important for basketry, cooperage, fencing, gates, ladders,

furniture, and lath, and German cleft timber--klappholt or clapboard--was being imported for cooperage and wainscot.¹⁸ It was in this last form, as an export saleable to coopers and joiners, that Englishmen first recognized the value of riven American oak. In 1607, as soon as the Virginia Company landed its men at Jamestown, they began riving clapboard to lade the ships returning to England.¹⁹ While at first Virginians clad their houses with thatch, bark, mats, and mud, by the early 1620s, they were covering their housing with thinly riven clapboard.²⁰ Even earlier, they had used riven scantlings to frame their cabins.

While riven, feather-edge boarding had to be rediscovered, Virginians immediately recognized the expediency of splitting timber into rough, fence quality scantlings. The walls of the first church at Jamestown were "rails of wood," and the 1623 clapboard houses cited above had wall frames of earth-fast puncheons that may have been riven.²¹ From that point, it was but a short step to the realization that clapboard and riven scantlings could be incorporated into more regular structures. A 1650 pamphlet lauded the ease with which outbuildings could be erected in Virginia, at

no more expense than your labor, nor is that any greater than to cut out some posts and studs, fit them, and set them up, then to cleave and saw out small quarters, rafters, planks, pales, and boards, to make and set up the sides of the house, instead of more substantial walls, and to cover the roof instead of tile. For the effecting of all which with the lesser trouble, that Country affords abundance of woods which will run out, slit, and cleave into long lengths and breadths . . . as if they had been sawn for the work. And this once erected, with what speed may such a house be clapped up . . . with a few nails, one [board] lapping over another

The savings in the use of riven scantlings were three-fold: first, a scantling can be riven in a fraction of the time required to saw a comparable member. Second, a riven member can be smaller in section and thus lighter than a sawn member of the same strength--a distinct advantage in erecting common rafter roof trusses. Third, being small in section and light in weight, riven members could be securely joined by nailed lap joints, joints that are cheaper to make than the mortised, tenoned, and pinned joints common in "great or English framed" structures. Thus in fabricating, joining, and raising, riven scantlings saved expensive labor. While the documentary record preserves the result--inexpensive buildings despite high wages--, the means are best illustrated by surviving structures.

Maryland's three oldest "Virginia houses" all make use of riven scantlings. These structures are the 1713 addition to Holly Hill; Sarum, Charles County, 1717; and Sotterley, St. Mary's County, where the first and second phases were built between 1710 and 1727. All have common rafter roofs assembled from riven oak members approximately 2 by 4 in. in section. The rafters rest on false plates carried on the ends of the carcass tie beams, and they are bound together by collars at the level of the loft ceilings. At apex, collar, and false plate joints the members are 1/2 lapped and nailed. These common rafter truss roofs could be framed quickly with no more equipment than the ladder needed to gain access to the tie beams of the carcass. The truss members could be precut to a common pattern, assembled flat on the ground or tie beams, tipped in place as units, and squared up from the interior with lath tacked to the inside of the rafters (figure

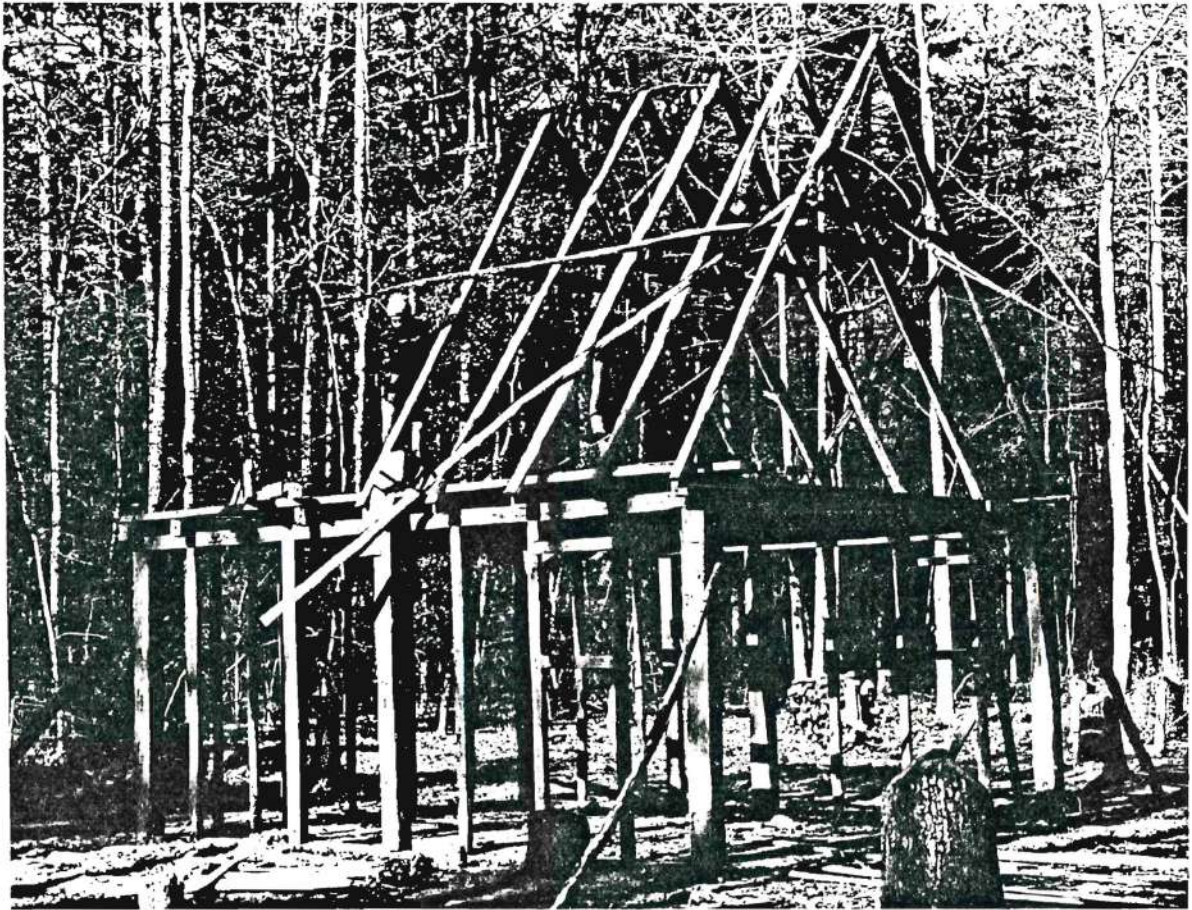


Fig. 6-4.
Rearing the rafter pairs of a Virginia house. Mr. Spray's tenant house,
St. Maries City, Maryland.
Peter Rivers, Carpenter

Photo: Stone

6-4). Once their clapboarding was applied, these individually flimsy members became rigid units that have retained their structural integrity for more than two and a half centuries.

Of the Virginia houses, Sarum and Sotterley have well understood carcasses. Both are cheaply carpentered: Sotterley as a post-in-the-ground structure; Sarum as a box-framed building. Sarum illustrates economies comparable to the three roofs described above (figure 6-5).

Sarum is a box-framed, hall and parlor dwelling, measuring 32 by 18 feet. Its carcass is a highly evolved, Virginia frame elegant in its cost effectiveness. Its carpenter chose easily worked woods, joined them simply, and raised them in a carefully preconceived process. The principal members are all yellow poplar, a timber chosen for its lightness and ease of working. The studs are riven from free splitting chestnut white oak. The carcass, excluding the porch, incorporates a minimum of mortised, tenoned, and pinned joints, perhaps only 20 (4 sill to sill [?], 10 post to sill, and 6 intermediate post to plate). While other joints are notched and pinned, or mortise and tenoned, the predominant joint in the carcass is the nailed lap joint.

The process by which the frame was raised is an illustration of artful simplicity (figure 6-5). First, the sills were joined, the floor joists set in place, and perhaps the floor plank laid. Second, the corner posts were set up in their mortises and braced to the sills. Third, the plate and three intermediate posts of one wall were preassembled on the floor of the dwelling, the frame tipped up enough so that the post foot tenons engaged their sill mortises, and then, by hand and pike pole, the frame was shoved up into waiting notches in

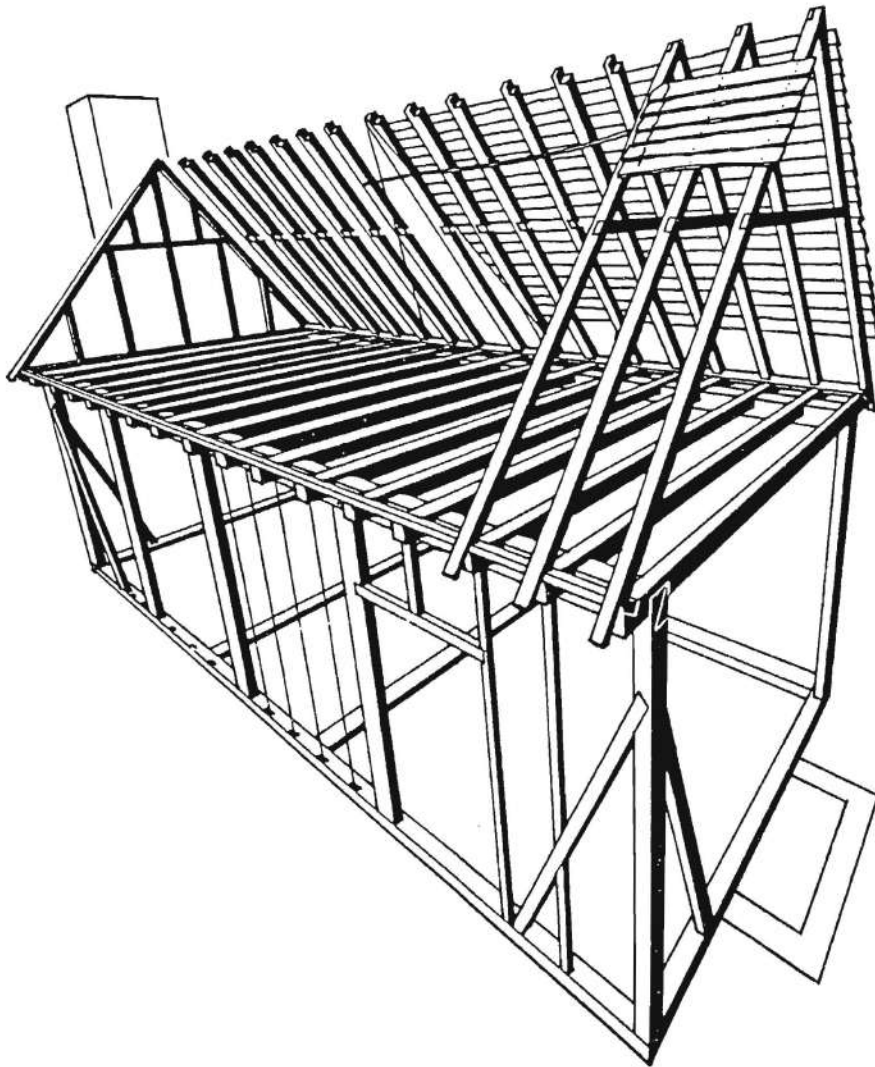


Fig. 6-5.

The frame of Sarum, Charles County, Maryland, as built in 1717.

Dating: American Institute of Dendrochronology

Drawing: Cary Carson

the inside of the corner posts. The process was repeated for the other wall. Fourth, when both walls were up, notched ceiling joists (tie beams) were lifted up and dropped across the plates. Completing the carcass was a simple matter of setting the studs in their sill mortises and nailing them into notches in the plates and gable tie beams.

In comparison to English framed Cedar Park, Sarum is a model of economy. Joining the frame of Cedar Park required fitting over 500 mortised or pinned joints; Sarum had about 80. Raising Cedar Park was a tedious, stick-by-stick process of aligning and pinning (or entrapping) about 250 members. Sarum's carcass went up in five simple steps, and framing its common rafter roof was even simpler. Raising the plates and principal rafter of Cedar Park required sheer poles, scaffolds, and patience. Hinging Sarum's sidewall frames into place required only pikes, ladders, and a modest crew--four men and a couple of boys would have been adequate (at most, the wall panels weighed 650 pounds). Cedar Park, except for its clapboard siding and subroof, was an English structure, while Sarum was the product of four generations of Chesapeake innovation. And Sarum, despite its flimsy members and nailed joints, has stood the test of time at least as well as Cedar Park.

The evolutionary process that produced structures like Sarum is only partially understood. No frame Virginia houses survive from the seventeenth century, and documentation especially for roof structures, is sparse. Until new discoveries are made, the written record tells us only that clapboard roofs were in use in the 1620s, were being built in two grades in the 1660s (ordinary and "double raftered"), and had incorporated the jettied false plate by the 1670s. Recent

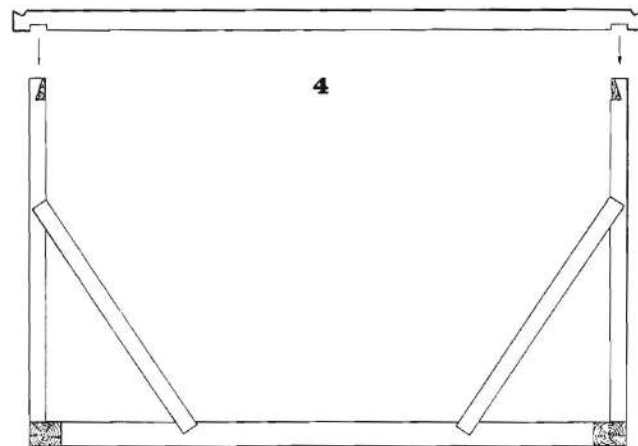
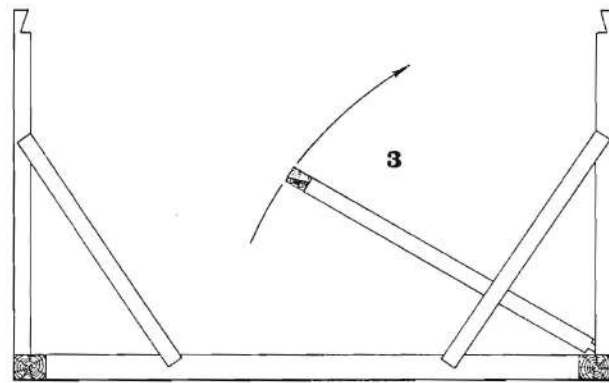
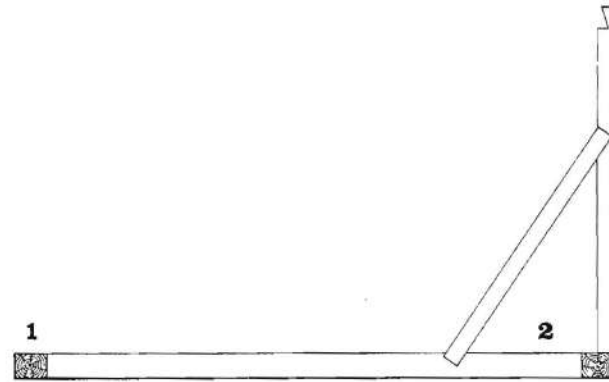


Fig. 6-6. Sarum, sequence of assembly
Drawing: Stone and Chinh Hoang

archaeology is revealing a great deal about the evolution of the carcass of the Virginia house--its origins, types, and assembly methods.

Seventeenth-century Chesapeake archaeology began at Jamestown, where three generations of National Park Service archaeologists have revealed many of the brick or great framed buildings of Virginia's capital.²³ Only in the 1960s and 1970s did extensive work in the tobacco producing hinterland begin. There, few "framed" or brick houses have been excavated. Instead, most plantation sites have yielded the timber molds of structures with wooden foundations--wall posts, puncheons, and, occasionally, sills in the ground.

Most buildings with roof plates supported by timber remains that have been excavated are those of "posted" structures, that is, buildings where roof plates are supported by separate vertical members rather than by the unified panels of vertical and horizontal members that characterize great or English framing.²⁴ Two distinct types of posting are present. In one, the roof supporting plates or tie beams are born by large posts at wide intervals (usually 10 ft.), intervals known as bays. This tradition, distantly derived from medieval Normandy, was the idiom of professional carpenters. By the seventeenth century, posted, bay divided structures had been replaced largely by box framing. Posted buildings, with their posts set in construction holes or on foundation stones, continued in use for minor buildings only--sheds, cottages, and temporary barns and industrial structures. In the other type, no bay divisions appear. In it, the roof plates are supported by smaller members--puncheons or stakes--at shorter intervals (usually 2 to 5 ft.). An ancient building tradition introduced

into England by the Saxons, in the seventeenth century it remained the resort of those poorer peasants who could not afford the hardwood and skilled labor required to build a permanent, carpentered structure. Both traditions contributed to the evolution of the Virginia house. Flimsy, peasant construction seems to have been the inspiration for light, clapboard-stiffened framing (see above), while the heavy posting and short bay lengths of the evolved Virginia house resulted, in part, from the readaptation of bayed construction to earth-fast framing.

Uncarpentered structures have been excavated only at early sites along the James River: at Wolstenholme Town (1619), Flowerdew Hundred (1619), the Maine outside of Jamestown (1620s), and Kingsmill (c.1625). All these structures were built in haste with little or no help from professional carpenters. Thrown up to provide immediate shelter for immigrants, their archaeological evidence reminds us of documentary records of frenzied activity at Kent Island, in 1631, (see above, chapter IV) or at Jamestown after the 1608 fire, where in three months the immigrants "built some twenty houses" and reroofed their church, having "but one carpenter."²⁵ The excavated structures include two cottages and a gaggle of outbuildings at a tenement on the "Maine" near Jamestown, a small hut (16'6" by 12'6") at Littletown Quarter, Kingsmill, and at Wolstenholme Town, a small dwelling, a storehouse, and a barn.²⁶ The latter, the conjectured "Company Barn," is a large structure (45 ft. by 29 ft.) reminiscent of Saxon Halls (figure 6-7A). Five posts down the center of the barn supported the ridge pole, while puncheons at scant yard intervals framed the exterior. The relatively

Fig. 6-7. Construction Types.
Captions.

UNBAYED CONSTRUCTION

- A. Wolstenholme Town company barn, c.1620 (44 JC 115, I. Noël Hume).
- B. Wolstenholme Town company compound storehouse, c.1620 (44 JC 115, I. Noël Hume).
- C. The Maine, c.1618-1625 (44 JC 41, Alain Outlaw).

LONG BAYS

- D. Flowerdew Hundred warehouse, c.1619 (44 PG 65, Norman F. Barka).
- E. Wolstenholme Town company compound longhouse, c.1620 (44 JC 115, I. Noël Hume).

SHORT BAYS--SIDE WALL REARING

- F. Clifts Plantation quarter 2, c.1690 (44 WM 33, Fraser D. Neiman).

BENT REARED

- G. Tompkins Plantation, c.1640-1650 (44 YO 68, Nicholas M. Luccketti).

TIMBER CHIMNEYS, PROPPED WALL

- H. Trotter Plantation, c.1670 (44 YO 67, Nicholas M. Luccketti).

STUDS-IN-THE-GROUND

- I. Kingsmill Tenement 1, c.1625 (44 JC 39, William M. Kelso).

INTERRUPTED SILLS

- J. Van Sweringen kitchen 2, c.1690 (18 ST 1-19, Morrison and Stone).

CONTINUOUS SILLS ON BLOCKS

- K. Van Sweringen bakehouse, c.1690 (18 ST 1-19, Morrison and Stone).

LOCAL TRADITION: WESTMORLAND COUNTY OFFSET DOOR POSTS

- L. Clifts Plantation quarter 1, c.1670 (44 WM 33, Fraser D. Neiman).
- M. John Washington site, c.1656 (44 WM 204, John L. Cotter and Brooke S. Blades).

Bibliography: Carson et al., "Impermanent Architecture," pp. 189-95.

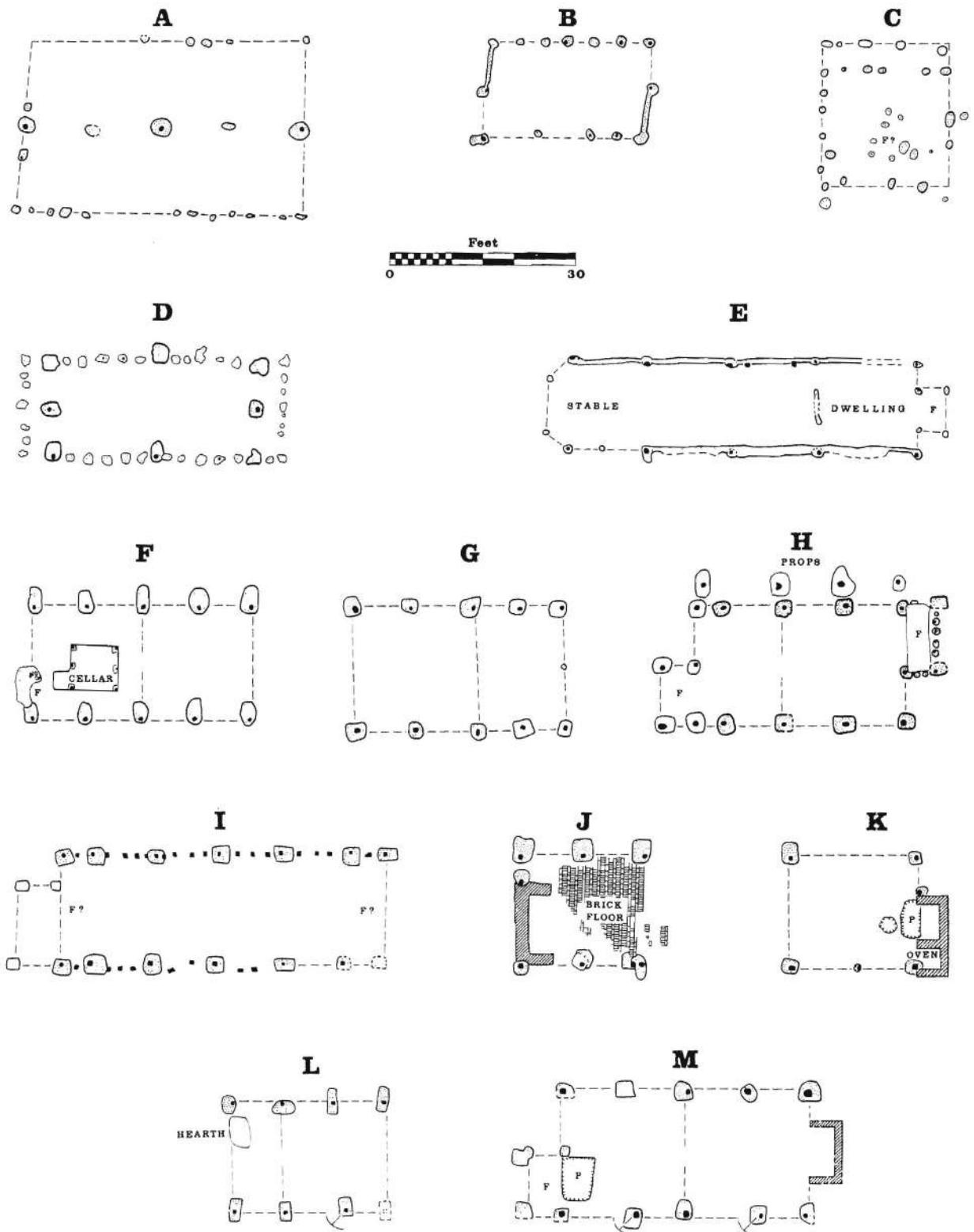


Fig. 6-7. Construction types.

uniform spacing of the exterior members, combined with the absence of clay pits in the vicinity, argues that the walls of the building were clapboarded. Other buildings on the site have irregularly spaced puncheons suggestive of earth walling. The 26 by 16 ft. storehouse within the conjectured "Company Compound" has side walls studded at 5 to 4 ft. intervals (the gable walls are silled) (figure 6-7B). These wall frames could have supported wattle and daub or vertical staves for mud and stud. At the domestic unit, the small (20 by 15 ft.) dwelling has puncheons spaced at 2 1/2 to 3 1/2 ft. intervals, intervals identical to those of medieval English mud and stud structures. At the Maine, both short and long intervals appear. The smaller dwelling (18 by 14 ft.) has puncheons closely, but irregularly, set at intervals averaging 20 inches, while the larger cottage has puncheons spaced at 2 1/2 to 4 ft. intervals (figure 6-7C). Clay pits near the larger cottage reinforce the hypothesis that it was earth walled.²⁷ Large numbers of nails were found around the building's remains. Was this a board roofed building? The 1623 reference to "but punches set into the ground and covered with boards" might have referred to such a building, as "cover" was synonymous with roof. This 24 by 21 ft. cottage had a wattled chimney and a narrow shed or aisle along one side that may have contained bed alcoves.

These structures were modelled after impermanent English buildings, buildings that disappeared centuries ago. Parallels are to be found in English excavations, especially Guy Beresford's investigations of late medieval villages in the eastern midlands. At deserted villages such as Gotho, Lincolnshire; Barton Blount, Derbyshire; and

Wintringham, Huntingshire, parallels are being found to the Wolstenholme "Domestic Unit" dwelling and the "Company Compound" storehouse. Both English and Virginia buildings have trapazoidal plans, timbers closely and irregularly spaced, and gable walls occasionally framed differently from sidewalls. While the more recent English structures have their wall posts set on stones, the older buildings have shallowly hole-set posts as in the Virginia examples. Precedents are present even for bed alcoves such as at the Maine cottage, although in these villages their last traces are twelfth century.²⁸ The Wolstenholme "Company Barn" has a plan parallel in a long house of c.1500 excavated in Yorkshire, an area where the yard remained a unit of measure for barns into the nineteenth century.²⁹

In England, such uncarpentered houses were built of poles protected with a thick layer of mud. Even so, the dwellings that they framed had to be replaced every generation.³⁰ Along Virginia's James River, such structures perished more rapidly. About 1620, planters who had settled at Charles City in 1611 stated that they lived in their houses "with continual repairs, and building new where the old failed."³¹ With good timber available, most settlers soon built in more substantial manners, but unbayed puncheon construction continued to be used for temporary structures. In the 1650s, some James River carpenters still were contracting to build houses with dimensions given in lengths of boards rather than in numbers of bays.³² A century later (1756), the Carolina troops building Fort Loudoun threw up unbayed, clapboard huts with hole-set puncheons.³³

Between these unbayed peasant structures and the short bayed buildings that generally superceded them was an intermediate type--long bayed, skimpily framed buildings. At Flowerdew Hundred (1619), Norman Barka excavated a two-bay example that may have been a warehouse (figure 6-7D). The structure appears to have been nailed together around a minimum of heavy members, perhaps only 11: ^{13,} ^{8,} 6 posts, 3 tie beams, and 2 plates. While the hewn wall posts were substantial (12 by 12 in.), they were set less than 2 ft. into the ground, and they were spaced at 16 ft. intervals. The 32 ft. skeleton they formed had been extended to 42 ft. by two 5 ft. long gable sheds. Exterior walls were framed with hole-set studs at 2 1/2 to 3 ft. intervals. At Wolstenholme Town, I. Noël Hume excavated an equally interesting structure: a 60 by 15 ft. longhouse of four bays (figure 6-7E). The bays are uneven in width and length. They are demarcated by shallowly set, unhewn wall posts only 6 to 9 in. in diameter. The wall posts were connected by trench-laid, interrupted sills except at the west end, which was octagonal, as if for a hipped roof. The opposite end has the timber molds of a wood chimney. Associated fences and clay pits provide convincing evidence for Noël Hume's reconstruction of the structure as a thatch roofed, mud walled, longhouse of a three bay dwelling and a one bay byre (cow house or stable). Both this "Company Compound dwelling" and the Flowerdew "Warehouse" were direct transplants from English villages. Better carpentered mud and stud versions survive in Lincolnshire villages (figure 6-15).³⁴ These transplants were suited poorly to the New World. In England, such long bayed, lightly framed houses had been evolved to conserve expensive timber, and surviving

examples have their wall posts protected by foundation stones. In the early Chesapeake, foundation stones were scarce, timber was cheap, and widely spaced posts needlessly endangered a structure should one wall post quickly fail after its foot was exposed to insects and fungi. Unbayed and lightly framed peasant structures were superseded rapidly by another building type--carpentered, heavily posted, short bayed buildings. At Wolstenholme Town the contrast is complete. No heavily posted structures were put up prior to the massacre of 1622; no unbayed, peasant buildings were built after it. At Site A (Governor Harwood's plantation?), the new structures were wider (18 ft.) than their predecessors, with posts spaced on 10 ft. centers. Substantial, hewn timbers, these wall posts were set deeply in large, rectangular construction holes (figure 6-7A).³⁵ The closely spaced posts gave support to the superstructure, their deeply set feet braced it, and their massive size delayed the inevitable time when decay would destroy the post foot. Excavations at other seventeenth-century sites have revealed scores of comparable buildings. In some Maryland neighborhoods, post-in-the-ground, Virginia framed, tobacco houses were built into the twentieth century.

Had there been a period of frontier experimentation, it is obvious why bayed, heavily posted structures would have emerged as a preferred adaptation to the Chesapeake frontier. Their heavily timbered foundations were stronger and more decay resistant than the slight stakes and puncheons of peasant construction. There was no period of experimentation. English carpenters' instant adoption of bayed, heavily posted construction on frontiers as separate as Virginia and

Massachusetts is clear evidence that its origins are English.³⁶ What these origins were is difficult to define. Despite increasing awareness of the diversity of practice in early seventeenth-century rural English carpentry, it still seems probable that in timber building regions most carpenters spent most of their time building box-framed structures. Yet most would have been familiar with posted construction. East Anglian carpenters would have helped pull down or repair medieval barns and dwellings of simple, post-in-the-ground framing, and from Suffolk north into Yorkshire, the medieval legacy of posted, interrupted sill construction (if pad stone or foundation-set) was everywhere. Some carpenters may have come from timber poor neighborhoods as in Lincolnshire where traditions of stone-set, posted construction were vigorously alive--traditions directly derived from medieval hole-set building practices. Many would have built at least a few post-in-the-ground buildings, temporary covers for brick clamps, hovels for glass furnaces, cart houses, and the like. Indeed, the evidence of immigrants' correspondence and structures suggests that even for dwellings, hole-set construction remained more common than English historians have recognized. Probably, too, it was a more comfortable idiom for professional carpenters than light, peasant framing.

While peasant, unbayed structures may have seemed the antithesis of good construction to most seventeenth-century English carpenters, post-in-the-ground construction retained at least a modicum of "English" framing--bayed, post and lintel construction of substantial boxed heart timbers connected with at least a few prefitted and pinned joints.

Like framed work, post-in-the-ground construction was a flexible, modular system that could be adapted to almost any construction project.

Archaeologists have excavated the timber mold patterns of structures whose great variety illustrates how immigrants adapted post-in-the-ground construction to their diverse means, needs, and background. One unit, two unit, three unit, and composite structures have been found. The larger structures have an endless variety of plan types: center chimney versus end chimneys and cross passage entries versus lobby entries. Even in details there is conspicuous variety. For example, end chimneys are found as interior structures, as exterior structures, and as segments of gable sheds. At the Cliffs Plantation, Fraser Neiman excavated a c.1670 dwelling with a hybrid plan combining a West Country, cross passage with a porch graced, lobby entry ultimately derived from East Anglia (figure 6-8F).

Archaeologists have recognized three significantly different methods of constructing post-in-the-ground structures. One is most easily recognized in surviving buildings. Cedar Park and some nineteenth and early twentieth-century structures were assembled stick-by-stick, that is their posts were set loosely in their construction holes and the connecting timbers were jiggled into position one at a time (figure 6-9). At its complicated extreme (Cedar Park), this was a tedious process. At best, stick-by-stick assembly required careful measurement and leveling so that the plate would seat firmly when dropped on its post head tenons. Layout and construction could be simplified, if (as at Sarum and Sotterley) sections of the buildings could be reared as preassembled units. Two types of frames could be preassembled for

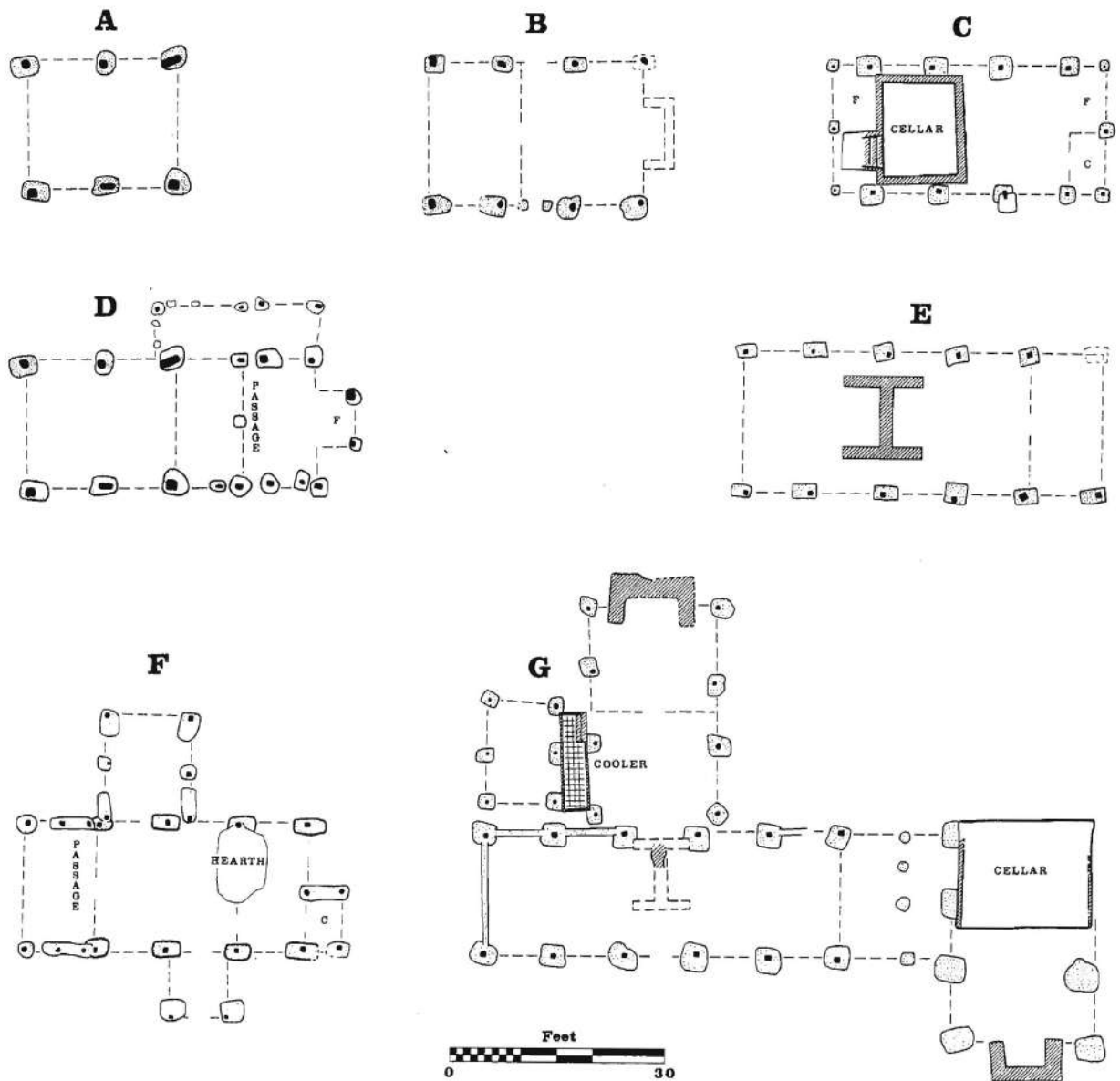


Fig. 6-8. Plan Types.

ONE ROOM

A. Martin's Hundred, Site A, c.1625 (44 JC 116, I. Noël Hume).

TWO ROOMS

B. St. John's Quarter, c.1665 (18 ST 1-23, Morrison and Stone).

C. Utopia Leasehold, c.1660 (44 JC 39, William M. Kelso).

CROSS PASSAGE

D. Martin's Hundred, Site A, as extended (see also Fig. 6-8A above).

THREE ROOMS

E. Hallowes Site, c.1670 (44 WM 6, W. T. Buchanan and E. F. Heite).

COMPLEX

F. Clifts Plantation, c.1670 (44 WM 33, Fraser D. Neiman).

ADDITIONS

G. Pettus Plantation, c.1640-1690 (44 JC 39, William M. Kelso).

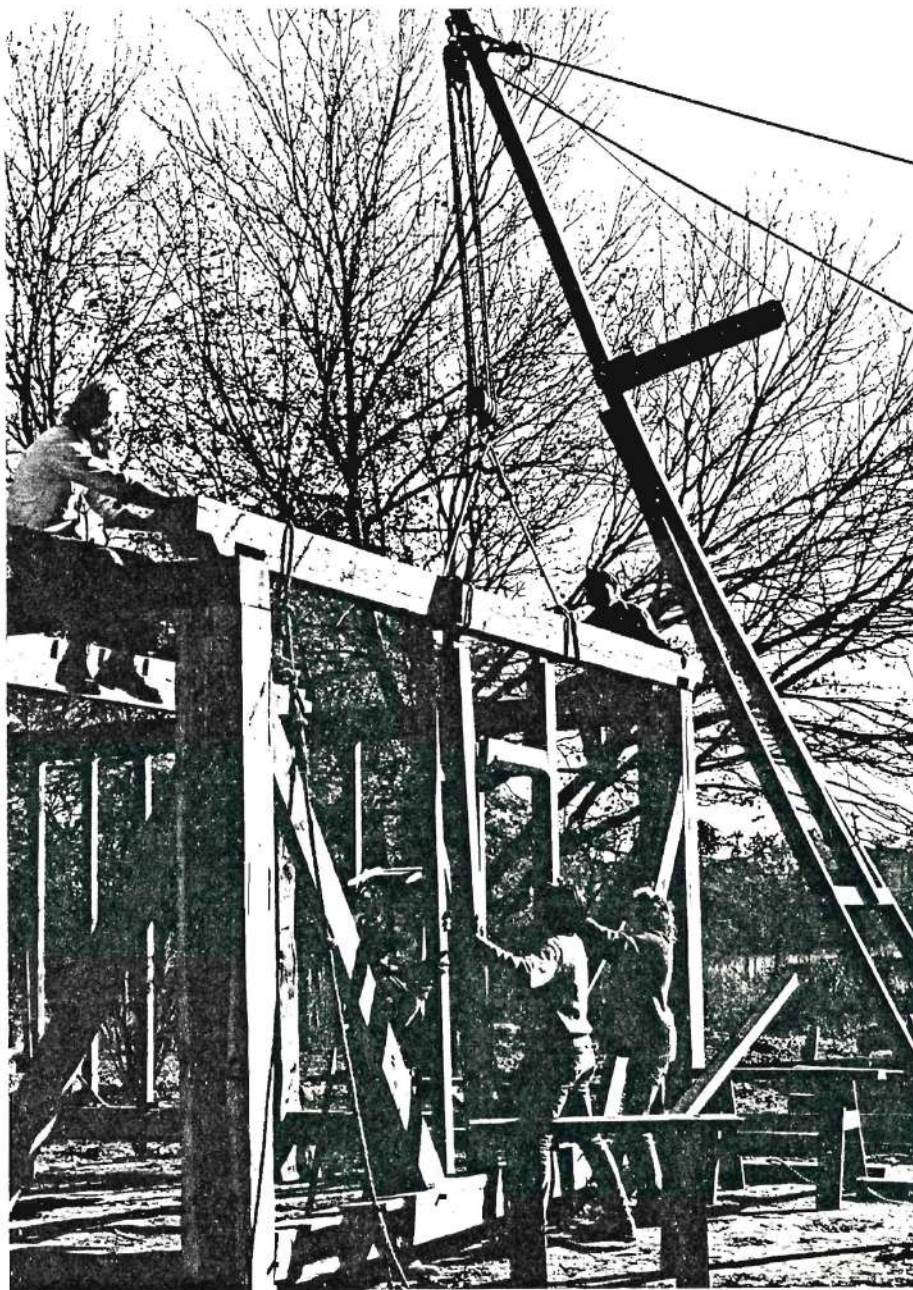


Fig. 6-9.

Setting the end girt on its post and stud tenons, Mr. Spray's dwelling,
St. Marys City, Maryland.

Jack Krolac and John O'Rourke, Carpenters

Photo: Stone

rearing--transverse bent frames, or longitudinal, side wall frames.³⁷ Bent frames consisted of opposed wall posts and the tie beam (joist) connecting them. Wall units consisted of one wall plate and all its posts. Bent rearing is predominately an early and frontier construction practice. Side wall rearing superseded it.

In bent rearing, the transverse frames of a building are assembled, reared in their post holes or sill mortises, and then longitudinally connected by a plate laid across the ends of the tie beams. It is an ancient technique, developed in post-in-the-ground construction and carried over to early framed construction. By the seventeenth century it had been superseded by side wall assembly or rearing except for simple posted buildings, cruck construction, and the ground floor frames of two story houses.³⁸ Frontier builders adopted it as transverse members were shorter and lighter than side wall units. The Wolstenholme Town "Company Compound" longhouse was reared in bent frames in a clear extension of English peasant practice (figure 6-7E). Its other known Chesapeake applications are at sites where labor would have been limited--at early sites, frontier sites, or sites of low socio-economic status. It has been found at two early James River sites: Kingsmill Tenement No. 2 and Bennett Farm (figure 6-7G); and at two frontier Potomac sites: the Cliffs Plantation dwelling and the Hallows site, both c.1670 (figures 6-8E, 6-8F).³⁹ While short bent frames were easy for frontier builders to rear, they were tedious to assemble into a structure, as during rearing, from three to six bent frames had to be accurately spaced and aligned (figure 6-10). Then the builders had to raise and scarf their plate segments. Rearing side wall frames

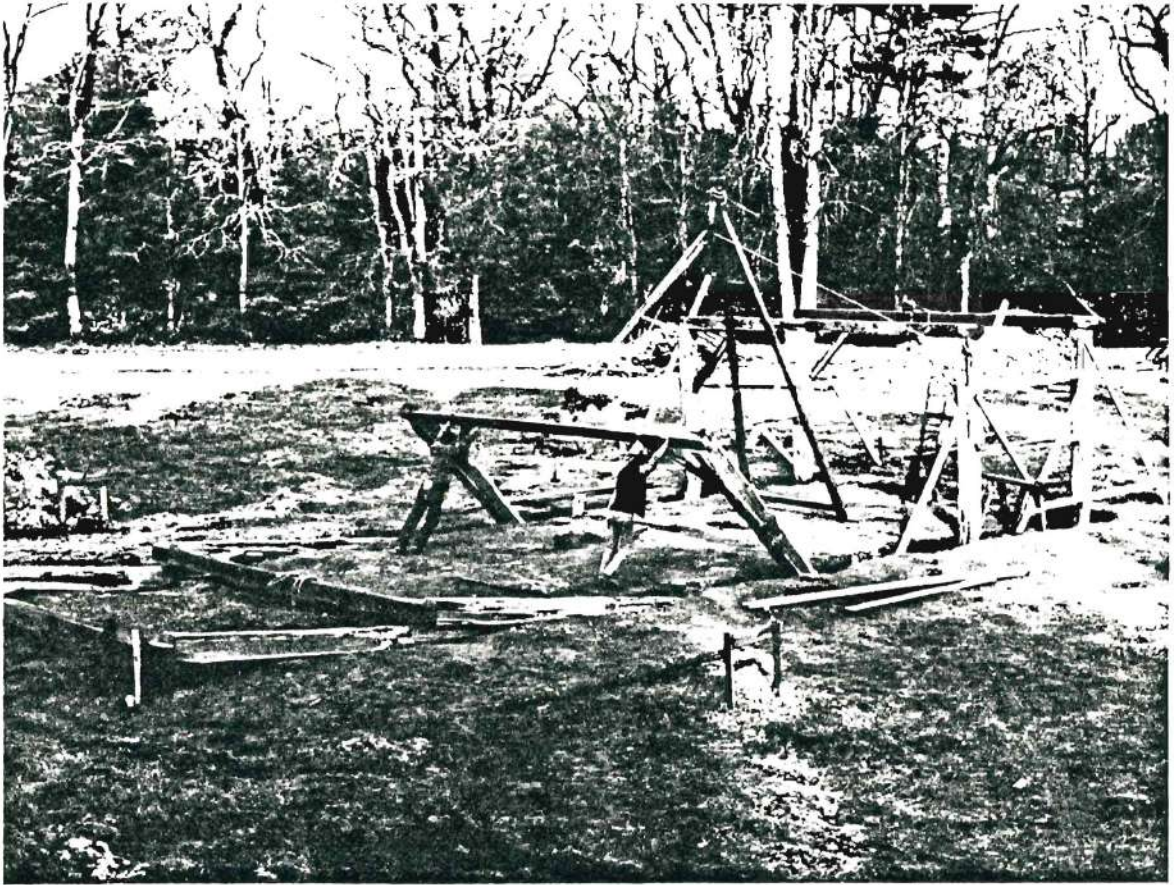


Fig. 6-10.

Rearing the bents of a tobacco house. A measurement error in spacing bents 2 and 3 required shifting frames 3, 4, and 5 in their post holes before raising the plates--a delay of an hour. The "Old Tobacco House" on Mr. Spray's Plantation, St. Maries Citty, Maryland.
Jack Krolac and John O'Rourke, Carpenters

Photo: Stone

was simpler, if heavier, work, as only two frames had to be aligned (figure 6-11). Once the side walls were up, the heavy work was over, and, if lap joined, side wall framed buildings were stronger than bent reared structures, as a lap joined bent frame could twist apart if the structure settled or racked.

The best archaeological illustrations of side wall rearing are the product of local traditions along the Potomac. In Westmoreland County, Virginia, one school of carpenters began altering the position of intermediate posts along the fronts of structures so that they were not aligned with the posts of the rear walls, a circumstance that eliminated the possibility that these structures were bent reared. (See figure 6-7L, 6-7M.) These intermediate wall posts had been shifted to the right of the 10 ft. bay interval in order to serve as hinge posts for right-hand opening doors. Another clue to side wall rearing found on both sides of the Potomac is a refinement in post hole excavation. Instead of merely digging large, flat bottomed holes that provided room for maneuvering and leveling wall posts, some carpenters began aligning the long axes of their post holes to the direction of frame rearing. The side from which the frame was reared was stepped gradually to the bottom of the hole so that the post foot could drop smoothly in place without catching on the sides of the hole. This attention to detail suggests that these frames were pushed up by men with pike poles rather than pulled up with sheer poles and tackling (figure 6-11). Four such structures dating from c.1690 into the eighteenth century have been excavated (figure 6-7F).⁴⁰ Three of these reveal a rearing sequence differing from the normal method. In ordinary



Fig. 6-11.
Rearing the side wall frames of a dwelling. Mr. Spray's tenant house,
St. Maries Citty, Maryland.
Peter Rivers, Carpenter

Photo: Stone

rearing of preassembled wall frames--whether box-framed structures such as Sarum or post-in-the-ground structures such as Sotterley (c.1710) or the lower tobacco house on Dixon's Purchase (c.1870)--the walls were assembled on the floor of the structure (figure 6-6). First one was assembled and reared, then the other was assembled and reared in its turn.⁴¹ Apparently less common was the method used at these Potomac sites, that of assembling both wall frames simultaneously. These structures' post hole and mold details indicate that one wall was assembled on the floor of the structure while the other was assembled outside it. As soon as one was reared and plumbed, the second could be raised. Thus the large crew that would be needed to shove up a 30 or 40 ft. frame would be needed only for a couple of hours, or (if hired for an entire day) most of the carcass would be up by the evening. This was an efficient process foreshadowing the well orchestrated rearings of the nineteenth century, but one requiring more neighbors than were available when bent reared structures were constructed in these neighborhoods in the 1670s.

Only two colonial post-in-the-ground structures survive to illustrate how such buildings were framed and raised. Both are evolved structures dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century. One of these, Cedar Park, was described above. A great framed dwelling assembled stick-by-stick, its relevance to Virginia construction is negligible. In contrast, the other building, Sotterley, is a modestly improved example of impermanent Virginia construction. Lightly framed, lap joined, and earth braced, Sotterley is our best representation

of the economies devised by three generations of Virginia carpenters (figures 6-12 and 6-13).⁴²

Sotterley is on the Patuxent River in St. Mary's County. The house may have been built immediately after James Bowles, the son of a London merchant,⁴³ purchased the land in 1710. Before Esquire Bowles's death in 1727, the building had been enlarged and improved. Its oldest part is a roomy hall and parlor structure measuring 44 by 20 ft. It is not a typical beginner's home. Its size, plank floors, and large windows mark it as a gentleman's residence; its hole-set posts are spaced more closely than is found at most archaeological sites; and its raised, interrupted sills and floor may be distinctly eighteenth-century features. Despite these evidences of status and evolution, the building is framed simply. The floor frame is separate from the wall frames; the carcass is not braced; and all wall and roof timbers are connected with simple lap joints. Only the summers and tie beams are joined with tenons and mortises.⁴⁴

Sotterley is framed in four major bays within which tie beams and secondary posts demarcate subdivisions and openings. Within the parlor's 10 ft. bays, a tie beam and secondary posts (also hole-set) set off a 4 ft. chimney and closet bay and 4'4" window openings.⁴⁵ Less of the hall frame is accessible, but except for the additional length of its bays (compensating for the cross passage between the front and rear doors), its framing seems to have been similar. It also had an interior chimney and closet.

The structure's design provided reasonable service at the lowest possible price. The timbers are small in section, but the material

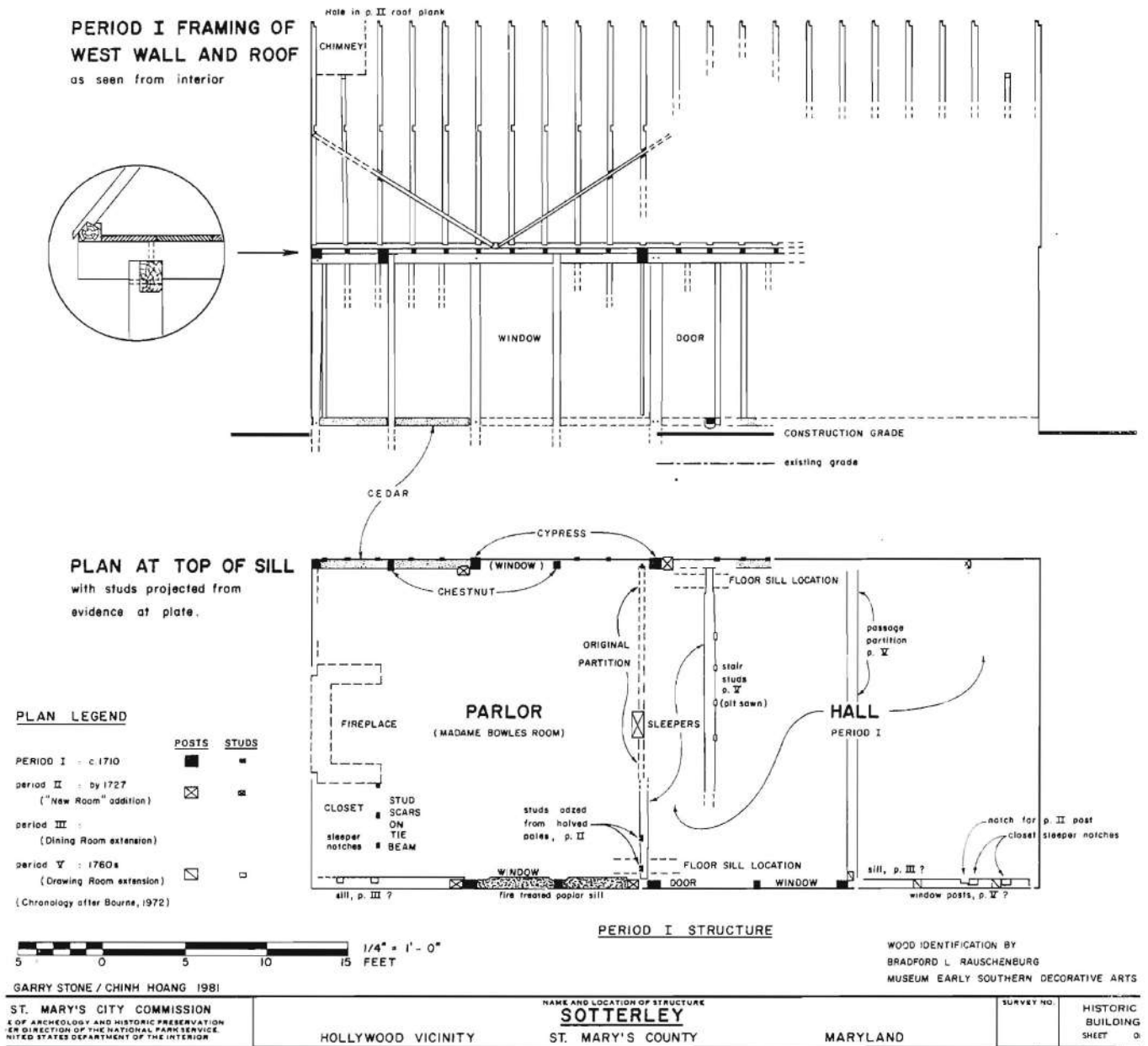


Fig. 6-12.

Sotterley, the surviving framing of the phase 1 structure.
Drawing: Stone and Chinh Hoang

PERIOD I
WEST WALL SECTIONS
SLIGHTLY RESTORED

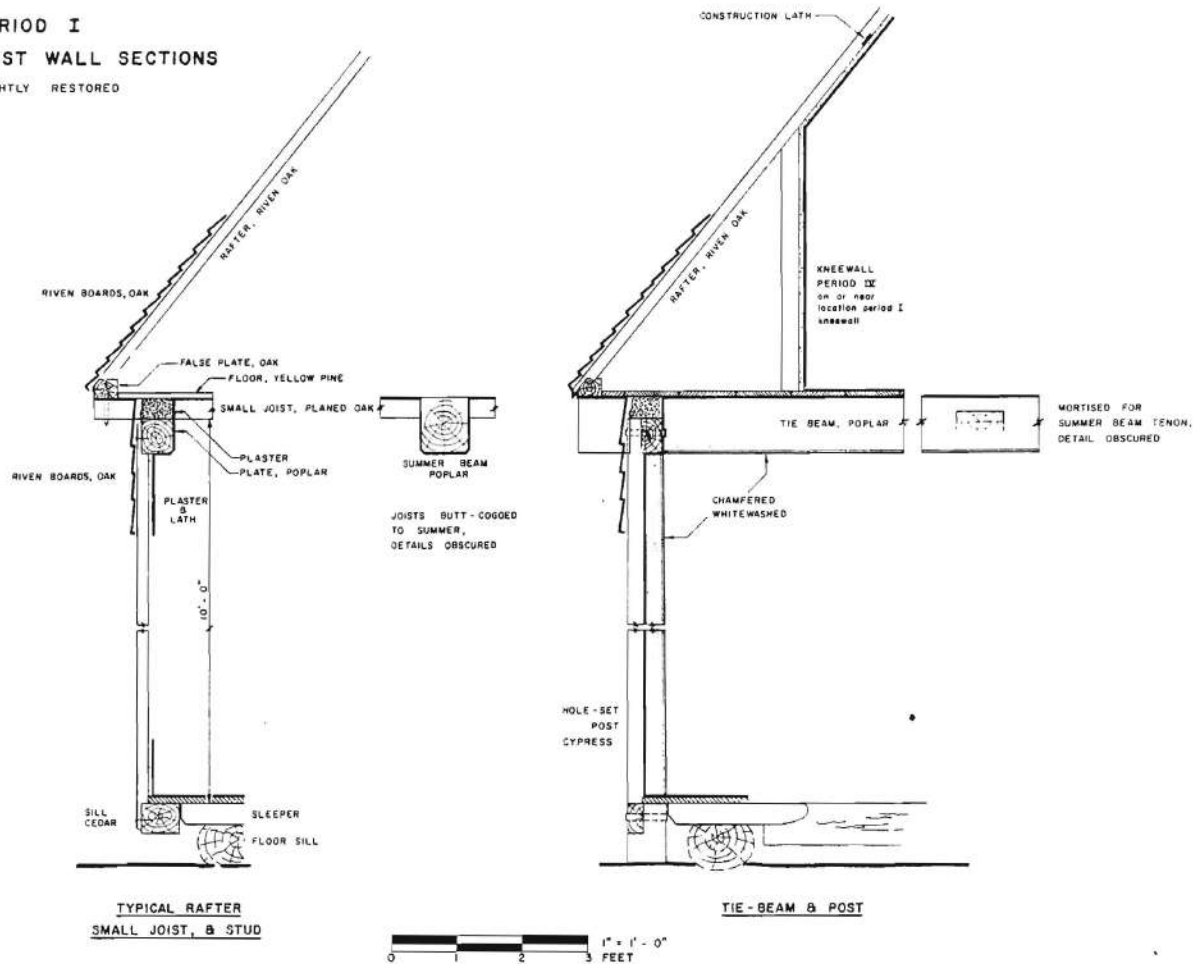


Fig. 6-13.

Sotterley, the wall sections of the phase 1 structure (slightly restored).
Drawing: Stone and Chinh Hoang

was well chosen. The joints are simple, but executed with rough competence.

The scantlings used are the lightest known: 7 by 9 in. principal posts, 5 by 7 interrupted sills, 4 by 6 secondary posts, 6 by 6 1/2 wall plates, 3 by 4 false plates and small joists, and riven 2 by 4 studs, rafters, and collars. Only the tie beams and summers are of any size: 8 by 10 1/2 and 10 by 10 1/2 inches.

Square cut laps join most timbers. Principal joints are lapped and pinned (with square pegs forced into round holes). Secondary joints are lapped and nailed. The roof trusses are assembled with half lapped joints. The rafter ends are reduced by two thirds to sit in notches in the flat false plate (figures 6-13, 6-17). At wall joints, again the ratio is one third to two thirds. The exterior of the wall posts is notched one third for the interrupted sills, and the interior of the wall posts is reduced by two thirds for the plate, which is reduced one third. The 2 in. deep wall studs are reduced to one third (3/4 in.) at their junction with plate and sill. The sills and plates are not notched for the studs, hence the clapboarding did not seal the tops and bottoms of the walls. Thus, the intermediate bay posts were not let flush into the plate, but were allowed to project slightly to match the forward alignment of the studs. The corner posts were not set forward--presumably at the corners the clapboard were bent back to the line of the plates, gable joists, and sills. The three tie beams are notched over the wall plates in typical fashion, while the small joists merely are pinned to the top of the plates. Except for the ceiling frame, this structural system is the simplest to

survive and the cheapest imaginable for a structure with a precut, reared frame. The normal eighteenth-century cheap wall joint--the lapped joint that fits flush in a diagonal notch--was used sparingly at Sotterley. It occurs only in the end wall and closet framing. Sotterley's square cut lap joints--joints that do not lie flush in a notch--may be what Queen Anne's County real estate appraisors later described as "lapped" or "bastard" framing (below).

The use of lapped, post-to-plate joints makes it almost certain that Sotterley's main side wall members were reared as prefabricated units. I believe that the west wall was assembled and reared by the following process: the plate laid out between the dwelling wall lines, the principal wall posts fitted and pinned, and then the interrupted sills pinned to the posts. The wall would then have been pushed up and plumbed in its post holes. After the second wall was reared, the tie beams and summers would have been installed. Then the fitting of the studs, secondary posts, and small joists could have proceeded piecemeal. The common rafter roof trusses seem to have been reared as described previously.

For a planter's first home, phase I of Sotterley was finished well, much more so than had been typical of seventeenth-century first homes. The original construction included brick chimneys, plank floors above and below, plaster walls, and large windows. Still, by all rights this crudely framed first home should not have survived. Fortunately for the house and architectural historians, Bowles so thoroughly remodelled his house that his heirs and successors continued to improve and cherish it to the present.⁴⁶ Sometime after the parlor had been

whitewashed several times, but prior to his death in 1727, Bowles added an elegantly finished, expensively furnished "New Room" to the back of his house.⁴⁷

This new parlor was first class Virginia construction from top to bottom: a double-raftered roof carried on mature, tilted false plates, a stout box frame, and a cellar walled in Flemish bond brickwork with glazed headers. The interior was panelled fully with chair rail and cornice. At the same time, Bowles redid his old hall and parlor to match. The old ceilings--the whitewashed undersides of the loft floors--were lathed and plastered, the summer beams cased, and the walls panelled to match the "New Room." Bowles's new carpenter distrusted the light framing of the old hall and parlor. While now no sign of early structural failure is discernible, the new carpenter reinforced the old intermediate posts with hole-set sister posts.

While Bowles's first carpenter had cut corners dangerously close (according to his successor), he had chosen his materials well. The hole-set posts are cypress, the interrupted sills are cedar.⁴⁸ Both were chosen for their resistance to bacteria and insects. While much of the first period structure later was silled and underpinned, the west wall of the parlor remained post-in-the-ground and relatively sound until shortly after 1910, when it was underpinned with concrete.

All post-in-the-ground structures require some bracing, if only temporary bracing during construction. Even an "unbraced" structure like Sotterley may have had numerous braces during construction: boards nailed across post-to-plate joints during rearing, poles to prop up the frames during plumbing, and lath tacked across corners to hold

the frame square until earth and clapboard provided the structure's permanent bracing (figure 6-14). The amount of bracing required and its permanent or impermanent status varied with the size of the structure, the depth of its timber foundations, the inertia and rigidity of its walls, and the desires of the client and the builder.

Small, unbayed structures may have required no permanent bracing despite shallow foundations; large, unbayed and long bayed did require bracing. Corners, partitions, chimney frames, and mud walls may have provided adequate stability for the modest cottages located at Wolstenholme Town, the Maine, and Littleton Quarter. The larger buildings at Wolstenholme Town would have required bracing. The lofty "Company Barn" would have been extremely susceptible to longitudinal collapse ("racking") unless braced from posts to ridge. (Most of its timbers were set shallowly--earth silled rather than earth braced. Only its three major center posts extended an appreciable distance into the subsoil [2 ft.], and by themselves, they could not have resisted any wind pressure.) While the low "Company Compound" longhouse probably was in no danger of racking, it would have collapsed sideways unless its bent frames were braced. (Its wall posts were set shallowly, and its plates were discontinuous.) These braces may not have been large members. Modern Breton field houses demonstrate that flimsy, nailed braces will keep a posted, stone-set structure upright for a generation or more.⁴⁹

Bracing was less critical to deeply hole-set, short bayed, post-in-the-ground structures, and as a result, diversity characterized early construction. Cedar Park (1702) is braced. Sotterley (c.1710)

is unbraced. Documentary and archaeological evidence indicates that a similar situation existed in the seventeenth century. A c.1684 bill of materials for a hole-set, posted dwelling (above) lists braces and wind beams, while contemporary carpenters' bills list the expense of propping buildings that previously may have been unbraced.

Some post-in-the-ground structures were upbraced from post to plate in the classic pattern of English posted construction. A 1705 profile through a Maine fort depicts a storehouse in the "new fort" with post-to-tie beam braces.⁵⁰ The dying remnants of this upbraced, posted tradition were incorporated in two early eighteenth-century Maryland structures: Bound's Lott (c.1725), which has posts upbraced to the plates, and the Marshy Point House (c.1730), which has posts upbraced to the tie beams and downbraced to the sills.⁵¹ Seventeenth-century Chesapeake box-framed buildings were downbraced,⁵² and Cedar Park bears witness that posted buildings also could be braced from post to sill.

While some buildings were braced, many, if not most, "Virginia" structures may have been unbraced. Firmly hole-set wall posts are adequate to resist lateral and longitudinal wind pressure without triangular bracing. In St. Mary's County, a large, Virginia framed, post-in-the-ground tobacco house of c.1900 stood for a generation with no triangular bracing. Sills and braces were installed in the 1930s only after some of its post feet failed.⁵³ Archaeological and documentary evidence of inadequate or absent bracing, post failure, and reinforcement proves that some seventeenth-century structures initially were unbraced. At Pocason, Virginia, Nicholas Lucchetti excavated two

dwellings of c.1650 that had to be propped as they decayed with sloping, earth-fast, external shores.⁵⁴ The shores may have served two functions related to rotting post feet: preventing the structure from settling unevenly and breaking the plates and the roof or preventing the structure from collapsing sideways. A Maryland carpenter's bill of 1667 includes the cost of windbeaming a 40 ft. [tobacco] house, and in 1679, another Maryland carpenter put in "four props to the prick [intermediate] posts" of another 40 ft. tobacco house.⁵⁵ Initially, however, all these buildings, like Sotterley, had served without bracing and had been the less expensive because of that omission (figure 6-14).

The development of the Virginia roof frame is a dramatic example of Chesapeake adaptation. In forty years, American stimuli reversed three hundred and fifty years of English architectural evolution. Two contributing factors were discussed earlier--clapboarding and riven scantlings. The most important, though, was tobacco. The scaffolding requirements of curing tobacco ensured the redevelopment of the collared common rafter roof truss and provided the stimulus for inventing a roof frame with two sets of plates. All we have of its evolution are stages A and Z--its English starting point and the product of the first stage of its Chesapeake evolution (the roof of the Third Haven Great Meeting House, c.1683, figures 6-3, 6-17). The evolution of the collared common rafter roof truss born on false plates is not illustrated by transitional forms, is undocumented, and is archaeologically invisible, but it is the archaeological evidence of carcass rearing that facilitates comprehending its development.



Fig. 6-14.

A post-in-the-ground Virginia house braced only by its earth-fast posts and construction shores. Mr. Spray's tenant house, St. Maries City, Maryland.

Peter Rivers, Carpenter

Photo: Stone

The oldest English roofs are constructed of slender common rafters coupled with collars. While extensively braced within the plane of the rafter couples, the couples are joined to each other only by the roof cladding.⁵⁶ These roofs were subject to racking and required exceptionally good timber. Gradually they were strengthened through the incorporation of longitudinal members--crown purlins, side purlins, and ridge pieces--and evolved into principal rafter and purlin roofs. Principal rafter roofs were easier to carpenter with inferior timber. Small trees could be heartboxed for the principals. The longitudinal purlins provided bearing points for weak or short common rafters. By the seventeenth century, common rafter roofs were extinct in England, except for two districts along the northeast coast: the East Riding of Yorkshire and, to a lesser extent, parts of Lincolnshire.⁵⁷ Even these common rafter roofs were different from their twelfth-century ancestors. Seventeenth-century common rafter roofs were linked with collars at strategic intervals only--every third rafter pair, at bay intervals, etc. To strengthen the intermediate rafter pairs, purlins were "clasped" in the rafter-collar joints (figure 6-15). Thus even in these common rafter roofs, longitudinal bracing was more important than transverse bracing.

In the Chesapeake, longitudinal bracing quickly declined in importance. The roof of a tobacco house had to be collared at every other rafter pair to provide support for the 5 ft. sticks by which the tobacco was suspended. With frequent collaring essential, longitudinal stiffening declined. Only one early eighteenth-century common rafter roof, Pear Valley, retains purlins.⁵⁸ These are "clasped" in the rafter-collar

joint in the same manner as their English predecessors. All other surviving eighteenth-century common rafter roofs rely on their cladding and windbracing (if present) for longitudinal stiffening.

Another product of tobacco house development is the false plate, a rafter sill supported on the joist ends of sidewall reared structures (figure 6-17). Devised to facilitate framing cheap, common rafter tobacco house roofs, it proved to have many advantages and was widely adopted. It was less an invention than the application of an old member to a new function. Similar to a roof purlin or jetty sill, the Chesapeake false plate is the wall plate of a bent reared structure attached to the joists of a sidewall reared structure.

Frontier builders found that the plates of bent reared structures provided an ideal foundation for constructing a common rafter roof. One pile of preassembled trusses, cut to a standard pattern, could be reared quickly on the plates with no custom fitting. Our experience in rearing riven rafter trusses (figure 6-4), suggests that three men could rear, plumb, and brace the trusses of a forty ft. house in one day. However, the roofing advantage of a bent reared structure was outweighed by the time and care needed to rear its post and tie beam pairs and set its wall plates. For sidewall reared structures the advantages and disadvantages were reversed. Sidewall tobacco houses were reared easily. It was framing their roofs that presented the problem. The immigrants' English experience provided them with no simple way to roof a structure where the tie beams rested on the plates.

In conventional English carpentry, the roof frame of a structure ends at the outer edge of the wall plate. This necessitated careful

attention to the junction of post, plate, and tie beam to prevent these members from pulling apart. Wall posts were jowled at their heads to tenon into both plate and tie beam, and the tie beam was dovetailed into the top of the plate. An English framed, 40 ft. tobacco house would have required 10 of these post-to-plate and tie beam joints and 18 tie beam-to-plate dovetails--joints that would have doubled the cost of a tobacco house frame. The tie beams complicated raftering such buildings since those rafters resting on the beams had to be shorter than those standing on the plates.

Undoubtedly, many shortcuts were tried to simplify the framing of a sidewall framed tobacco house. Unlike other tobacco house joints, joists and plates could not merely be lapped and nailed or pinned. Nailing would have been inadequate, and the joint could not be easily pinned. Not only was the overlap of joist and plate short and weakened by the angle cut at the end of the joist, but every other joint could not be pinned without damaging the underlying post to plate lap or tenon. And the post, stud, joist, and rafter joints had to be kept aligned to retain an efficient, cheaply boarded tobacco house scaffold. Relatively quickly, some frustrated carpenter devised the solution that, in modified form, remains in use today. A second plate--the false plate--was mounted on the ends of the joists.

The false plate proved to be suited ideally for framing inexpensive, yet sturdy tobacco houses. First, it provided a convenient separation between a tobacco house scaffold joisted at 5 ft. intervals and a roof raftered at 2 1/2 ft. intervals. Second, by separating roof and wall frame, the false plate immensely simplified their junction.

Joist ends no longer had to be trimmed back to the angle of the roof, but they could oversail the wall plate and could be joined to it by a simple, but strong, notch, a notch that could be cut generously wide to facilitate installing the joists, as at the Vineyard, a post-in-the-ground tobacco house of c.1840 (SM-225), or fitted snug to clamp a post to plate lap joint, as at the corner posts of Sotterley and Sarum (figures 6-6, 6-13). The roof eave cantilevered out on the protruding joist ends also provides a protective overhang for the walls.

Except for the pause required to install the false plates on the ends of the joists, a false plate tobacco house could be reared rapidly from preassembled and largely interchangeable components--the walls tipped up in two units, the joists heaved in place, and a stack of identical rafter trusses spiked to the false plates. No joint is needed other than a simple, straight sided lap or notch, and only the post to plate joint need be pinned. In the early eighteenth century, Chesapeake carpenters added a new wrinkle by tipping the false plate, an innovation that simplified joining to it irregular riven rafters (figure 6-17). With this final environmental adaptation, Chesapeake carpenters created a structural system so unEnglish as to astonish English historians of vernacular architecture.⁵⁹ And, most of this evolution occurred in less than 40 years. In 1624, tobacco sticks had yet to be invented. (Virginians were curing tobacco by hanging the leaves from strings.) By 1678, false plate tobacco houses were old enough to need extensive repair.⁶⁰

The redevelopment of the collar-coupled, common rafter roof was a technical response to an obvious new need. While there were many

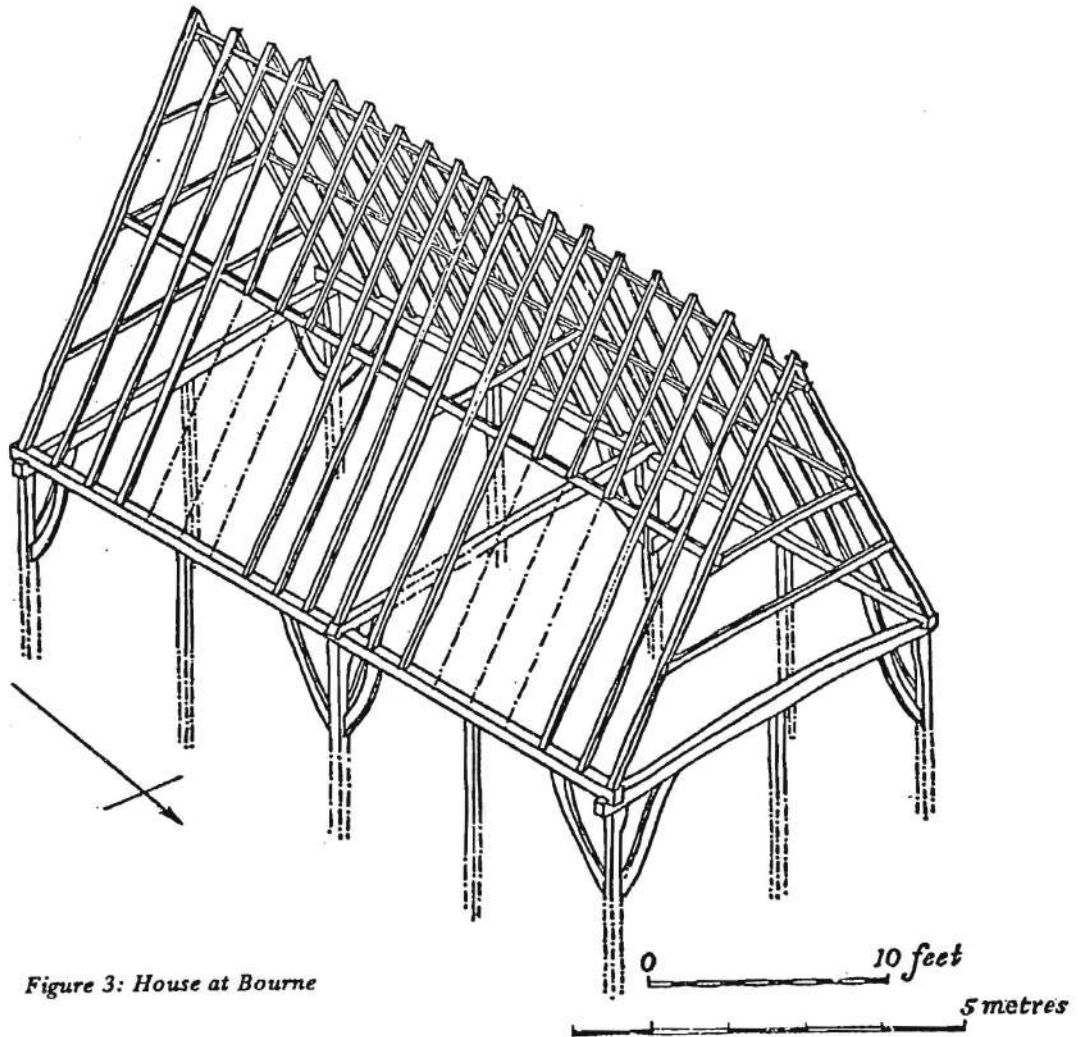


Fig. 6-15.

Clasped purlins reinforcing a common rafter roof on a posted Lincolnshire dwelling. The end walls are bent reared. Note the jowled posts reinforcing the tie beam to plate joints.

Source: Roberts, "The Persistence of Archaic Framing," p. 20.

contributing factors, the housing requirements of tobacco were decisive. Tobacco houses were more numerous than dwellings. Virtually every mid-seventeenth-century Chesapeake carpenter built them, and their functional requirements left little room for the retention of a variety of English roof forms.⁶¹ The stimulus for a cheap, collared roof type was explicit, pervasive, and relatively unthreatening. Roofing a Chesapeake tobacco house with common rafters and collars did not require immigrant carpenters to surrender their ideas on how a tobacco house should be framed--there were no English tobacco houses. Other problems did not admit of such obvious solutions. Wall construction was one of these. The immigrants' English experience had provided them with a number of different ways of framing the panels between wall posts. Only one was totally unsuited to the new environment. Sorting out the environmental and social advantages of the others took three generations. This evolutionary process went through two phases. The first was the selection among European prototypes. The second was improvisation and refinement of new types.

English carpenters brought with them four ways of fastening the stud feet of a posted or framed wall. In either posted or framed construction, the studs could be attached to sills above or at the ground level. Posted construction had two more options. The studs could be attached to sills buried in the ground, or they could be let (buried or driven) into the ground without a sill. Only one of these methods proved immediately to have no merit in the Chesapeake environment. Determining the relative merits of the others required the rest of the century. This process was complicated by evolving, but diverse,

social needs. As the Chesapeake progressed along the frontier gradient, demand increased for more permanent construction at the same time that cheap, frontier techniques were perpetuated for outbuildings and newcomers' homes.

A post-in-the-ground wall type that disappeared quickly was the trench-laid, interrupted sill. Noël Hume excavated several examples at Wolstenholme Town (1619, figure 6-7B, 6-7E), and William Kelso found another at the Pettus Plantation (shortly after 1641). There the dwelling of Colonel Thomas Pettus had traces of sill trenches between the molds of the 10 by 10 wall posts (figure 6-8G).⁶² The probable advantage of this kind of sill was that it was held in place by its trench and required only minimal joining to the wall posts. However, a buried sill did nothing to protect the wall's weakest members--its studs and boards--from the attack of insects, fungi, and bacteria. Apparently, the liabilities of this technique became apparent quickly, as no examples are known from later contexts or documents.

Another early post-in-the-ground building type had no sills. Unbayed structures with earth-fast punches and staves were described previously (figure 6-7B, 6-7C). A bayed structure of c.1630 with earth-fast studs has been found at Kingsmill. There Kelso excavated a tenement (No. I) where between the molds of the hole-set wall posts were the molds of driven studs (figure 6-7I).⁶³ This is the construction technique described by "E. W., Gentleman," in 1650. He recommended constructing outbuildings by setting up a frame of posts and studs [corner and intermediate posts], "then to cleave and saw out small quarters, . . . pales, and boards, to . . . set up the sides of the

house" (above). A Dutch barn with earth-fast studs is shown in figure 6-16. Note that its original studs have rotted off at the ground level. Earth-fast studs had all the liabilities of trench-laid sills, but they were cheaper, having eliminated sills and sill-to-post and sill-to-stud joints. Earth-fast studding declined as an important construction type; none yet have been excavated from contexts later than c.1630. It may have endured as a cheap method of constructing outbuildings and frontier homes. The unbayed Fort Loudoun cabins have been noted already (above), and in 1703, the Baltimore County Orphans' Court directed the guardians of an estate to repair a tenant house "which wants to be new covered and posted and the studs new footed and part weather-boarded."⁶⁴ This kind of structural failure quickly diminished the proportion of buildings constructed with studs and boarding in contact with the earth.

During the third quarter of the seventeenth century, the predominant wall type was the ground-laid sill. Gentlemen's fully framed buildings with ground sills are described in the documentary evidence summarized in table 5-1. Their undocumented poor cousin was the post-in-the-ground building with interrupted sills attached to the wall posts at ground level. Being framed above the level at which even the best preserved Chesapeake archaeological site has survived, these interrupted sills have left no direct evidence. Indirect evidence for their existence is conclusive. No earth-fast stud feet or trench-laid sills have been excavated from the second half of the century, yet several well preserved sites have been excavated where they would have survived had they existed. Notable are the River Creek site at Pocason, Virginia,



Fig. 6-16.

A bent reared Dutch barn with hole-set posts and studs: Adriaen van Ostade, Interior of a Barn. Etching, 1647 (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, B-13-090).

where the stud feet of the wood and clay chimney were well preserved, but there was no evidence of earth-fast wall studs or sills, and the van Sweringen site at St. Mary's City, where the site of the c.1675 and c.1690 kitchens was preserved to within a few inches of original grade (figures 6-7H, 6-7J). Earth-fast, ground-laid, and elevated wall sills are present in English traditions of posted construction. Exposure to American termites led immigrant carpenters to abandon earth-fast wall bases for interrupted sills framed high enough to protect wall studs and boards.

The ground-laid sill was a useful frontier expedient, whether the continuous sill of the framed house or the interrupted sill of the posted house. Either allowed construction to proceed without the cost and delay of burning brick, either made it possible to eliminate or postpone the cost of a planked floor, as the ground-laid sill formed a draft-tight seal at the base of the building. (The 1684 pamphleteer noted that the ground floor of the Virginia house "is the ground.")⁶⁵ The only advantage of the continuous sill structure was that it was the easier to frame square, as the sill formed a level base. The posted building had all the other advantages. Its timbers were easier to handle, its joints were simpler to cut, and it was the easier to repair.

The elimination of the heavy, continuous sill was a major advantage of posted construction. Neither draft animals nor timber carts may have been available to most frontier builders, without which moving a 25 or 30 ft. oak or locust sill would have been difficult. A 1654 deposition speaks of getting the posts of a house as if they were the major members of the frame, and another Maryland carpenter defended

himself for breach of contract by alleging that the client's servants had not helped get the timber.⁶⁶ Interrupted sills were easier to frame than continuous sills. The traditional post-to-sill joint of a framed structure was mortised, tenoned, and pinned. Ground-laid, interrupted sills can be secured to the wall posts with a simple lap joint. (They are not load bearing.) Both buildings were equally vulnerable to decay, and of the two, the posted structure was the easier to repair. While "new silling" a framed structure was a routine process,⁶⁷ it was also tedious, as the entire side of a building had to be propped, the rotten sill cut out, the surviving wall tenons cut off, a new sill slid underneath, and the wall members toe-nailed to it.⁶⁸ New posting and ground silling was easier, especially if it took place when a building's clapboard was being renewed. After propping the plate or tie beam by the rotten post, the stud feet could be pried loose from the sill, the sill from the post, and the post detached from its notch or mortise. Then a new post was inserted, and the process was reversed. Numerous court and vestry minutes survive directing buildings to be new posted. In 1699, the Charles County Court matter-of-factly instructed its carpenter that "the courthouse is to be new posted and new ground silled."⁶⁹ At the Cliffs Plantation, Westmoreland County, Virginia, Fraser Neiman recorded the large repair pits resulting from reconstructing the walls of the c.1670 dwelling under its old roof.⁷⁰ If the damage to a post was still localized, a less drastic remedy was to pull off the bottom few boards, saw off the post foot, and splice on a new member.⁷¹

Ground silled buildings were useful frontier expedients, but that only. While the sill raised the stud feet and boarding from the ground, the sills and hole-set posts remained in contact with it. The lifespan of an average dwelling of c.1650-1675 may have been as little as 20 years; the lifespan of outbuildings was even less.

A number of documents attest to the impermanence of seventeenth-century buildings. In 1666, a 1665 immigrant projected that his new dwelling would not last another 15 years. On another plantation, buildings put up after 1654 had all been replaced by 1673. A 1688 farmhouse was described 22 years later as "now of no value." On a fourth Maryland plantation, a 1698 orphans' court valuation recorded three generations of dwellings: a new house and kitchen, an old house recently restored, and two former dwellings "not worth repairing." The plantation's tobacco houses were described as "old and being very crazy" "being eleven or twelve years old."⁷²

The longevity of ground-laid continuous sills was no greater. The white oak sills of the Third Haven Great Meeting House, laid c.1683, had to be raised onto blocks in 1698. In 1731, a vestry house built in 1712 had to be raised "from the ground, as will preserve the sills from damage." During the work, one sill had to be replaced. In 1760, a farmhouse reroofed three years earlier had "sills very rotten so that many posts stand in the ground."⁷³

As Marylanders climbed the frontier gradient, impermanent timber buildings became less functional. The aristocracy made the transition from house to home quickly. Captain Thomas Cornwaleys began preparations to build a large brick house in 1652; after 20 years in

Maryland, Chancellor Philip Calvert built the greatest brick house in English North America (complete by 1678).⁷⁴ In 1674, Marylanders advertised their province's coming of age by replacing their ramshackle wooden state house with a large brick structure conspicuously displayed on a promontory of the St. Mary's River. But, these were exceptional men and exceptional buildings. For most, timber foundations remained the norm into the eighteenth century. Prince George's County built a ground-silled court house in 1697; a St. Mary's County vestry new posted and ground-silled a church in 1720; and entire plantations retained timber foundations into mid-century.⁷⁵

While the presence of bricklayers and plasterers became noticeable in the 1670s,⁷⁶ impermanent timber foundations remained in common use for a number of reasons. The manufacture of brick was time consuming and expensive.⁷⁷ Few could wait for a mason to burn brick before building their first house, while a brick chimney or cellar could be added later. And, English immigrants (a majority among the adult population until the end of the century) may have had difficulty adjusting their thinking to Chesapeake conditions. In England, oak timber foundations could have a life expectancy of hundreds of years.⁷⁸ In most areas of England, serious timber shortages meant that posted construction was much less expensive than framed construction; few timber trees suitable for sills were available.⁷⁹ Even in the Chesapeake, timber foundations were adequately functional so that initially Chesapeake planters and builders had no clear direction on how to proceed. It was not until Marylanders had a generation of experience in trying to build better post-in-the-ground and ground-silled buildings that

they fully recognized the error of their ways. By then, too, a native born generation would have less patience with frontier expedients.

The Charles County courthouse of 1674 characterizes the confusion of Chesapeake builders at the beginning of the last quarter of the century. While completed as a public building, the structure was begun as a gentleman's residence, and the expensively finished structure could have served easily as one. It was finished with glazed windows, stairs, wainscot, plank floors, and a stack of brick fireplaces. But, it was framed with hole-set posts, ground-laid sills, and ground-laid floor sleepers. Exactly 25 years after the building was put up, it had to be new posted, new ground silled, and new floored. During the renovations, the county court directed that the original rear shed be replaced with a new wing, "not framed work, but post-in-the-ground of locust strong and sufficiently built." But, neither the concept nor the carpenter was sufficient, and only 16 years later, the court had to have the rear wing "laid" "on blocks."⁸⁰ During the same renovation, the courthouse's riven rafter and clapboard roofs were replaced with sawn rafters, shingle lath, and cypress shingles.

The 1699 justices who restored the post-in-the-ground foundations of the Charles County courthouse were, by and large, immigrant middling planters. While solid citizens, they brought little gentility to the bench. Most owed their title of "Mister" to their appointment. At least one justice was an illiterate ex-servant. Of heterogeneous background, they did not form a self-conscious elite. Their attitudes were those of the rural English working classes. They were producers for whom consumer luxuries were optional.

The 1715 county court that remodelled away some of their courthouse's frontier character was a very different group of men. Beginning in 1698, a majority of appointees were native born merchant-planters of higher status than their predecessors. Some started life with significant inherited wealth. They did form a self-conscious elite, and they consciously modelled their consumer behavior after that of the London mercantile gentry, men for whom conspicuous consumption was important. For this new county elite, their old frontier courthouse was an embarrassment. In 1727-30, after a decade and a half of prosperity, they replaced it with a brick structure.⁸¹

The vicissitudes of the Charles County courthouse summarize the rapid evolution of the Maryland "Virginia house" during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Builders experimented first with improving post-in-the-ground architecture. Even while these attempts were underway, most carpenters began using a competing type of foundation: the cheap and expendable "block." Ultimately, impermanent structures were replaced by permanent ones. While by 1750, very few planters were living in brick dwellings, most occupied "fully framed" houses.

Ample architectural and documentary evidence survives to show that Chesapeake planters thought that they could improve their post-in-the-ground buildings, and, indeed, there seems to have been ample room for improvement. Deliberately temporary construction must have been a major reason that early buildings were so short lived. Huts and first houses were only stopgap measures until real homes could be built, and there was no need for a tobacco house to survive longer than the fields surrounding it. Even as they were rearing their

temporary structures, Chesapeake builders knew they could build better earth-fast houses. From the 1650s, letters and reports document that Virginians and Marylanders knew that black locust, red cedar, and sassafrass furnished lasting timber foundations.⁸² When Marylanders began improving their buildings, better timber was an obvious first step. Contracts for box-framed buildings that specify locust ground sills survive from 1658 and 1661, and in 1699, the Charles County justices requested locust posts-in-the-ground.⁸³

Sotterley (c.1710) and Cedar Park (1702) illustrate three advances: good timber, interrupted sills raised above the earth, and protected floor joists. Sotterley's cedar sills and cypress posts remained in use for perhaps 40 years before sections of the most exposed wall had to be silled and underpinned, and its oak floor joists (supported 3 or 4 inches off the earth by ground-laid floor sills a foot inside the wall line) remained in use until c.1910. At Cedar Park the framing is heavier and the locust floor sleepers are supported further off the ground by the wall sills. Its timber wall frames remained in good condition until, in the late eighteenth century, they were encased in damp brick. While Cedar Park clearly is an unusual building, improved post-in-the-ground buildings may not have been uncommon in the early eighteenth century. In 1753, Queen Anne's County appraisors valued a 24 by 20 ft. dwelling "with post-in-the-ground, one brick gable and chimney, good plank floors . . . the said house in good repair." Three years later, another appraisal included "one store house 16 ft. square with locust posts . . . with a planked floor, counter, and shelves, in good repair."⁸⁴

While the Cedar Park experiment was a success in withstanding the environment, it was an economic disaster. Its substantial cedar sills tenoned into massive cedar wall posts required more timber, more joinery, and more assembly time than would have a "framed" structure with posts standing on continuous sills. The stimulus for constructing Cedar Park post-in-the-ground seems to have been the cost or scarcity of brick. (Brick was used only for the chimneys.) But, by 1702, a post-in-the-ground solution to this problem was obsolete. The superior solution was the box-framed building on "blocks."

Blocks are short timber pilings placed under a timber sill. In England, short vertical or horizontal timbers were placed under sills as temporary construction props or outbuilding foundations.⁸⁵ Both kinds had been used during Maryland's manorial period (chapter IV), but during the subsequent generations, frontier builders seem to have used them little. By the end of the century, three examples show that they were being employed again. On the western shore, two 1690s buildings were box framed on blocks: a bake house in St. Mary's City (figure 6-7K) and a church in Anne Arundel County. Across the Bay, in 1698, the Third Haven Friends raised the white oak ground sills of their great meeting house onto cedar blocks.⁸⁶ Block foundations had several advantages. They made the most efficient use of rot resistant, occasionally expensive cedar, they protected sills at least as well as a brick foundation, and, most important, when they decayed it was easy to replace them with another block, a pier, or a masonry foundation.⁸⁷ Cedar Park is the last "English" framed building known to have been

built post-in-the-ground. Thereafter, blocks were used whenever it was inconvenient to place an expensive building on a masonry foundation.

The adoption of the block foundation posed a challenge to Chesapeake carpenters. The mortised, tenoned, and pinned joints of buildings variously described as "framed," "whole framed," or "fully framed" were expensive. How, for ordinary buildings, could they gain the longevity of block-supported sills while avoiding the expense of cutting tenons? Their solution was a hybrid, the "bastard" framed structure. From framed construction the bastard inherited continuous sills, from post-in-the-ground construction it inherited crudely lapped joints.

No bastard framed structure is known to survive. Except from what can be inferred from the frames of Sotterley and Sarum, our only information about it comes from the real estate appraisals of the Queen Anne's County Orphan's Court. The term "bastard" framed first appeared in these appraisals in the early 1740s when appraisors recognized a need to discriminate between impermanent, post-in-the-ground structures and the increasing numbers of improved buildings. In one appraisal, bastard framing was described as "ordinary," or poor quality work. From the context, it is clear that bastard framed buildings are neither whole framed nor post-in-the-ground. Rather, they seem to be what other appraisers described as "rough work" and what members of the Fisher family described in two appraisals as "lapped work." Extracts of three of the most revealing descriptions follow:

Queen Anne's County, DEEDS, RT#C:152, 7 April 1746.

one tobacco house 30 by 20 feet, bastard frame in good order, one ditto whole frame in indifferent repair, and ditto 20 feet square, old fashioned or post-in-the-ground

RT#C:272, 14 July 1747

one clapboard dwelling house 20 by 15 . . . , one tobacco house good rough work

RT#C:248, 18 July 1747

a dwelling house framed . . . ; one other dwelling lapped work

Lapped work construction was not restricted to Queen Anne's County.

One of the oldest surviving St. Mary's County valuations (1784) describes an entire plantation of "lap work."⁸⁸

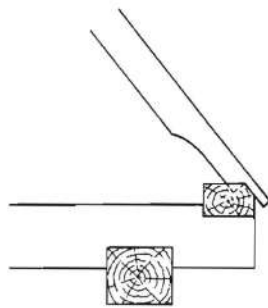
While positive proof is lacking, I conjecture that the defining attribute of bastard or lap framed structures was square cut, crude joints fastening posts and studs to plates and sills (figure 6-13). Diagonally lapped, flush fitting joints as used at Sarum would not have classed a structure as bastard framed. Diagonal lap joints are difficult to distinguish from mortised and tenoned joints.⁸⁹ Square cut, Sotterley type joints do not fit flush. They are easily recognizable, obviously inferior, and significantly cheaper. By bastard framing their buildings, eighteenth century Maryland carpenters gained most of the economies of late seventeenth-century post-in-the-ground construction while avoiding its greatest liability: an impermanent earth-fast frame.

In the early eighteenth century, Maryland vernacular architecture was a vigorous, rapidly evolving tradition. While the common rafter roof was accepted completely, carpenters had not come to full agreement

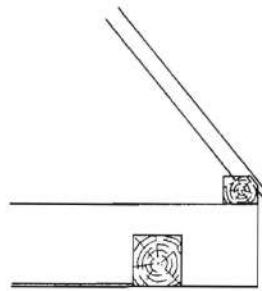
on how to treat ceilings and plates. While tie beam or common joist ceiling frames (developed for tobacco houses) were normal, summer beam and small joist ceilings were used for Sotterley and a contemporary stable in Charles County.⁹⁰ One otherwise completely Virginia framed dwelling of c.1725 has no false plates, and false plates appear in a variety of forms: flat, pentagonal, and diagonal (figure 6-17). A datable, mature diagonal false plate does not appear in Maryland until c.1725 (Sotterley's "New Room" addition).

In the mid-eighteenth century, bastard framing seems to have been replaced gradually by a superior hybrid of full framing and lap work.⁹¹ The Hicks granary of 1758 may represent the new synthesis.⁹² In most ways it is like Sarum: riven boarding, riven secondaries, lap joined common rafter roof, tie beam ceiling, heavily posted, box-framed carcass, and studs that are mortised and tenoned at their feet and diagonally lapped at their heads. But the granary false plates have self-draining joints, and the carcass diagonal bracing is applied with cheap, but sturdy, dovetailed lap joints. By classic European standards the building is not fully framed⁹³--the studs were added after the side walls were reared--, but it was a completely satisfactory structure that remained in service for 220 years. It may represent the ultimate Virginia house--the final synthesis of tobacco house framing, economy, and permanence.

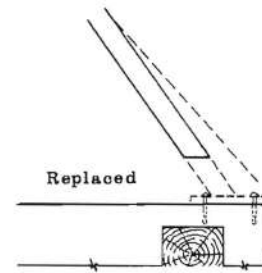
While the general trend was toward increased permanence in construction, some planters still favored timber foundations for temporary structures: quarters, tobacco houses, and huts; and planters of limited means kept patching post-in-the-ground housing inherited from their



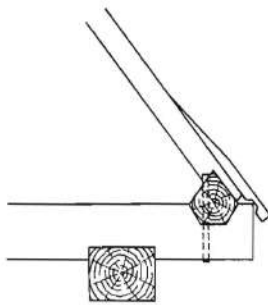
THIRD HAVEN: 1683



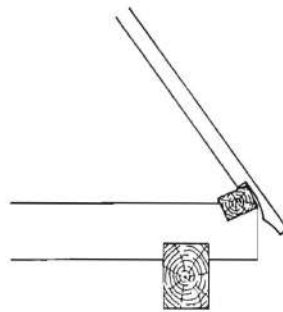
SOTTERLEY 1: c. 1710



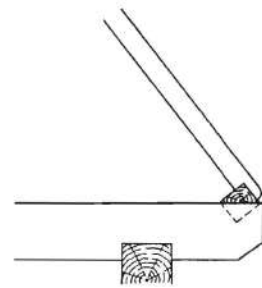
HOLLY HILL 2: 1713



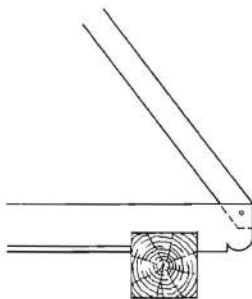
BRANDY: Early 18th C.



SARUM: 1717



SOTTERLEY 2: c. 1725



MORGAN HILL



Fig. 6-17.

The evolution of the false plate.

Dating: A, B, D, F, G--Architectural Files, St. Mary's City Commission;
C, E--American Institute of Dendrochronology.

Drawing: Cary Carson, Stone, and Chinh Hoang

predecessors. In 1783, the sixth district assessors of Charles County, Maryland, recorded a sprinkling of "crutch" [i.e., crotchet or hole-set post] supported buildings, including "old clapboard dwelling" houses.⁹⁴ In Queen Anne's County, appraisors found in 1787 "one coopers shop . . . enclosed with slabs framed on posts-in-the-ground." A 1792 appraisal recorded "one tobacco house posts-in-the-ground, 28 by 24 feet, almost new, covered with boards, but the carpenter's work bad"95

In the early nineteenth century, the adoption of vertical plank barn siding gave post-in-the-ground construction a new advantage as vertical plank nailed to horizontal runners eliminated the need for sills. Consequently, some Southern Marylanders continued to build cedar post tobacco houses until c.1925.⁹⁶

It would be a mistake to imply that all early Chesapeake housing consisted of Virginia houses. Differing economic means and continuing immigration produced structures varying from newcomers' huts to Jamestown's brick row houses. A 1650 pamphlet published for a sometime Jamestown resident mentions "six sorts" of immigrant housing ranging from bark longhouses (costing but 10 shillings) to the ideal three story brick tower with an iron door. The other four were "a clove board house nailed to posts" (the Virginia house); an Irish house of posts "walled and divided with wattle hedges and thin turfed above and thick turfs without;" "a mud-wall house thatched or tiled;" and "a log house of young trees 30 foot square notched in at corners."⁹⁷ While the inclusion of the "log house of young trees" may have been inspired by the author's familiarity with the structures built by

Swedish immigrants along the Delaware, log block houses were being built in the 1650s on the Maryland frontier.⁹⁸

An ancient European building type exported to the Chesapeake was the house without walls, the primitive A-frame or "roof hut." A 1658 Virginia will mentions a 60 ft. tobacco house "with rafters upon the ground," and six years later a Virginia land surveyor illustrated a plat of Jamestown Island with a sketch of a tent-like tobacco house. The sketch shows an open gable with a central post supporting the ridge. The tobacco house's sloping sides are drawn as criss-crossed vertical and horizontal lines--rafters and thatching poles? In what may be another reference to a roof hut, a 1670 Virginia real estate valuation contrasts three "wall plate" tobacco houses with a "50 foot raftered house." While no seventeenth-century Maryland records describe structures without wall plates, their presence may be implied by the designation of a 1655 structure as a "wall plate tobacco house."⁹⁹ That roof huts were constructed in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake is to be expected. They were an enduring element in the European repertoire of impermanent building types. Huts and outbuildings with rafter feet upon the ground were in widespread use in the early twentieth century, and, in Brittany, a few remained into the 1970s.¹⁰⁰

"Raftered" outbuildings occasionally are listed in early eighteenth-century Maryland records in contexts suggesting that they are roof huts. Two were small outhouses of unnamed function, three were poultry houses, and four were small (30 by 15 ft.) tobacco houses. One of these was described as having decayed "underworks"--perhaps a crude sill. (In contrast, the appraisers described the plantation

dwelling as wanting "new posting and ground sillings.") That these "raftered houses" were roof huts is a hypothesis only, and the adjective may have possessed other meanings. The value Virginia appraisers placed on a 1731 "Twelve foot Square Raftered House"--£2--seems high for a roof hut.¹⁰¹ But a 1779 Maryland valuation lists "one tobacco house roof standing on the ground without walls a good cover of feather edge shingles."¹⁰²

Roof huts, log houses, and Irish cabins were outside the experience of most English immigrants. Thatch, however, was the most common of English roofing materials. Wherever marsh grass was available, some Englishmen preferred to thatch their housing rather than hire a carpenter to board them. There are single Maryland references to a thatched house (c.1654) and a thatched cabin (1666) and four to thatched tobacco houses (1657-1680). In most of these documents, these buildings are distinguished by their thatching--set off from board-roofed structures. But the continuing appearance of thatched structures is a useful reminder that old and new forms coexisted on a frontier populated by immigrants.¹⁰³

St. John's

On a frontier thinly strewn with clapboard hovels, the great framed residences of St. Mary's Town were an anomaly, but their occupants shared all the hazards of the region. None of these great houses was occupied by its builder or his early successor for as long as a full generation. Partly as a result, none of the early manor houses stood through Maryland's first century. The history of St. John's

is illustrative. During its first thirty years, the house had four different owners, and during the following fifty years it was occupied by tenants. Lack of consistent attention and maintenance took their toll. Although the building was repaired and enlarged in the 1650s, 60s, and 70s, by the 1720s the great house and its post-in-the-ground additions were down. They were replaced by a classic version of improved early eighteenth-century architecture, a box-framed farmhouse supported by black locust blocks. Before 1749, its status conscious owner replaced it with a better house, a house that--save for a late eighteenth-century accident--might have survived into the twentieth century. Thus in four generations, the dwellings of St. John's Freehold evolved from an English tradition of permanent architecture through stages of devolution and evolution into a Chesapeake tradition of permanent architecture.

St. John's Freehold--well watered and well drained--was spared the dreadful mortality of the James River lowlands, but it shared the same insecurity of life that afflicted even the healthiest regions of the Chesapeake.¹⁰⁴ During seventeen years, the wives of three owners died in the parlor of St. John's: Anne Lewger in 1646, Sarah Overzee in 1658, and Mary Calvert in 1663.¹⁰⁵ Overzee remarried only to die a year after his first wife.¹⁰⁶ His widow moved to the south side of the Potomac where she lost a second husband within three years.¹⁰⁷ In 1666 or 1667, Charles Calvert left St. John's to move to his second wife's plantation. The husbandman left in charge of St. John's died late in 1667.¹⁰⁸

After 1645, the architectural history of St. John's passed through three phases: a decade of inactivity, three decades of intermittent renovation and expansion, followed by four decades of inattention and decay. From 1645 into 1654, the owners of St. John's had limited financial means. The Ingle coup and her husband's kidnapping left Mrs. Lewger in precarious financial circumstances. When her husband returned, he found that little remained other than debts: all his bills and goods had been confiscated.¹⁰⁹ When his wife died, he exchanged Maryland for service to the Church, leaving St. John's to his son, a nineteen year old boy for whom a mortgaged plantation was as much a liability as an asset.¹¹⁰ In 1650, John Lewger, Jr., sold St. John's to Henry Fox, a former servant to a townland resident. Like Lewger, Fox was a Catholic, one of those small planters who had clung to Maryland during the disorders when many of their Protestant peers had retreated to Virginia. Fox immediately took into partnership another Catholic, Mr. Phillip Land. Land was an active attorney and sometime sheriff, burgess, and constable.¹¹¹ The two men combined planting with retailing goods purchased from mariners. They also seem to have lodged suiters to the Provincial Court, and early in 1654, St. John's was appointed the prison of St. Mary's County and Henry Fox its keeper. Fox's and Land's joint enterprises were not successful, and in March, 1654, Fox sued to have the partnership dissolved. The two men quickly found a buyer for St. John's. Fox retreated up the Potomac River, where he joined John Lewger, Jr., in developing a plantation on the east side of Breton Bay.¹¹²

The new owner of St. John's Manor was Mr. Simon Overzee, "Merchant of Virginia." Both he and the subsequent owner of St. John's, Governor Charles Calvert, were men of means who made substantial investments in the buildings. Overzee had been born in England where his father, a Rotterdam merchant, had resided for a while. Overzee came to the Chesapeake late in 1649 (age 21) as factor and part owner of a Dutch ship, shares of which he quickly sold to a partnership of James River planters. At Lynhaven Bay, Overzee met the Thoroughgood-Yardley clan. After another year as a transient factor in the Virginia, New England, Barbados, and Netherlands trade, Overzee married Sara Thoroughgood and became a Chesapeake merchant-planter. An active man, Overzee did not settle into the comfortable role of neighborhood squire. Instead, investing in the scattered enterprises of the Thoroughgood relations, he developed a circuit as active if more restricted than that he had followed as a ship owner. At Lynhaven Bay he had a store and plantation, and in Maryland he had three plantations. Family members looked after his dispersed enterprises: his mother-in-law lived at Lynhaven; a brother-in-law was a co-partner in his Charles County, Maryland, plantation; and his wife resided at St. Mary's Town. In between these points Overzee travelled almost constantly by horse or sloop. Just before his death, Overzee concluded a three year partnership with a New Netherland merchant, Augustine Herman. In 1660, Overzee died, to the probable distress of his peers (to whom he could be charming) and to the certain relief of his creditors and servants (who knew him as a grasping, ruthless, sadist). His death was a considerable convenience to Governor Charles Calvert. When Calvert arrived

from England about September, 1661, he found the St. John's great house vacant. He quickly acquired it from Overzee's widow, who had remarried and moved to Northumberland County, Virginia.¹¹³

With Mrs. Overzee's departure about January, 1661, St. John's regained a public role, a situation which persisted until the removal of the capital to Annapolis in 1695. In April, 1661, the Assembly met there, and with Governor Calvert's arrival in September, 1661, it became again, as in 1643-1644, the administrative center of the province. The Governor soon discovered that it was an intolerable nuisance to be available constantly to the public, and beginning in February, 1662, the provincial officers began keeping regular office hours at Hannah Lee's ordinary (kept in the old St. Mary's House). But, as the Governor's residence, St. John's remained a common meeting place for his council until Calvert moved to Mattapany late in 1666.¹¹⁴

As before, St. John's was foremost a plantation. Overzee's farmer ran a simple, but unusually well equipped operation raising tobacco and corn on old fields broken up with oxen and plough, and Overzee's inventory lists the smith's gear (bellows, tools, scrap iron) needed to maintain his plough gear.¹¹⁵ The operation that replaced his was even more unusual. Governor Charles Calvert farmed St. John's as a demonstration of English agriculture, raising wheat, barley, oats, hemp, and flax. This was to implement his father's desire to diversify and strengthen the tobacco dependent Maryland economy, and in 1664, Governor Calvert loaned a house and ground to a tanner to start a tannery--the second on St. John's.¹¹⁶ Both Overzee's and Calvert's

households were large ones, and Calvert's was unusually so.

During Overzee's occupation, the St. John's household had about ten members: Overzee and his wife, the overseer and his family, and the servants. His inventory lists five: his wife's maid, a man and a boy, and two Indian slaves. Depositions of 1656 and 1658 mention his first wife's maid, a carpenter, and "a Negro woman in the quartering house."¹¹⁷

Although large, Overzee's household was dwarfed by Calvert's. In 1664, the young Governor wrote his father, Lord Baltimore, that he had "thirty to provide victuals for, which does put me to some care and trouble." While some of his servants were working the proprietary farm on West St. Mary's Manor, and others were building a mill at the head of the river, at least fifteen individuals must have resided at St. John's: the Governor and his clerk, the housekeeper (the Governor's cousin, Anne Calvert) and her two maids, several guests (three when the letter was written), and the servants.¹¹⁸ Calvert would have had more need than Overzee to enlarge St. John's, and this is born out by other documents and the archaeological evidence. Both sources indicate that Overzee also refurbished the existing building.

The documentary evidence for Overzee's renovations consists of a letter to him from John Crabtree, Carpenter, apparently written shortly before the latter's death about September 1655. In it, Crabtree reminded Overzee that he had contracted with Crabtree and another carpenter, William Hewes, for "work about your house" amounting to £55 sterling and 5,000 pounds tobacco.¹¹⁹ This was an enormous sum equivalent to the cost of a dozen 50 foot tobacco houses (table 5-2). We only can

speculate what the work entailed, but very likely it included the cost of a new set of outbuildings and refurbishing the great house. Overzee's tobacco crop would have required three or four tobacco houses, and Overzee seems to have constructed a dairy outbuilding.¹²⁰ The great house, 17 years old, probably needed to be reboarded.¹²¹ There also is archaeological evidence that St. John's was refurbished, for about this time the dairy shed was demolished and an exterior entrance cut into the cellar. But, whatever the repairs (and the sum may have included work on Overzee's Charles County plantation), they did not finish the work at St. John's, as at the end of his letter, Crabtree promised, after he was paid, to return to "work about laying your floors of your house." The other carpenter, William Hewes (or Howes) was still a resident of St. John's in 1656.¹²²

No direct documentary evidence, but better archaeological evidence, survives for the enlargements conjectured to have been carried out by Governor Charles Calvert, c.1662. These consist of the timber molds of a shed addition to the great house and a separate dwelling (later described as a quarter) along the east side of the foreyard. The archaeological evidence that Calvert constructed the quarter is reasonably good: it overlays a fence built after the construction of the exterior entrance to the cellar (figures 6-18, 6-19).¹²³ The evidence for the date of the shed is weaker, but Charles Calvert's subsequent reference to it as the "room called the nursery" suggests that it was constructed in anticipation of the delivery of his first wife. Both additions were impermanent, post-in-the-ground, frontier structures.

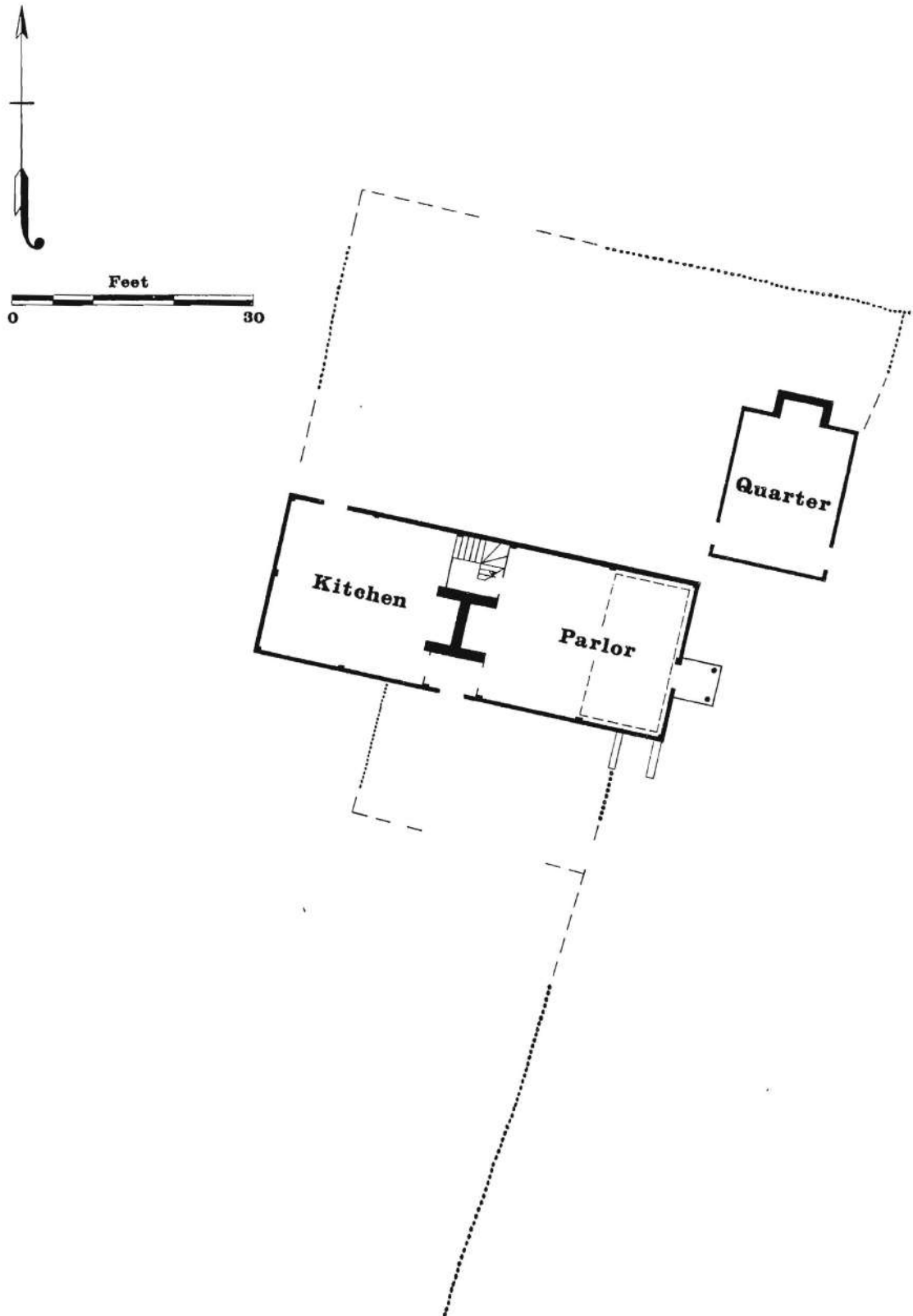


Fig. 6-18. St. John's c.1655.

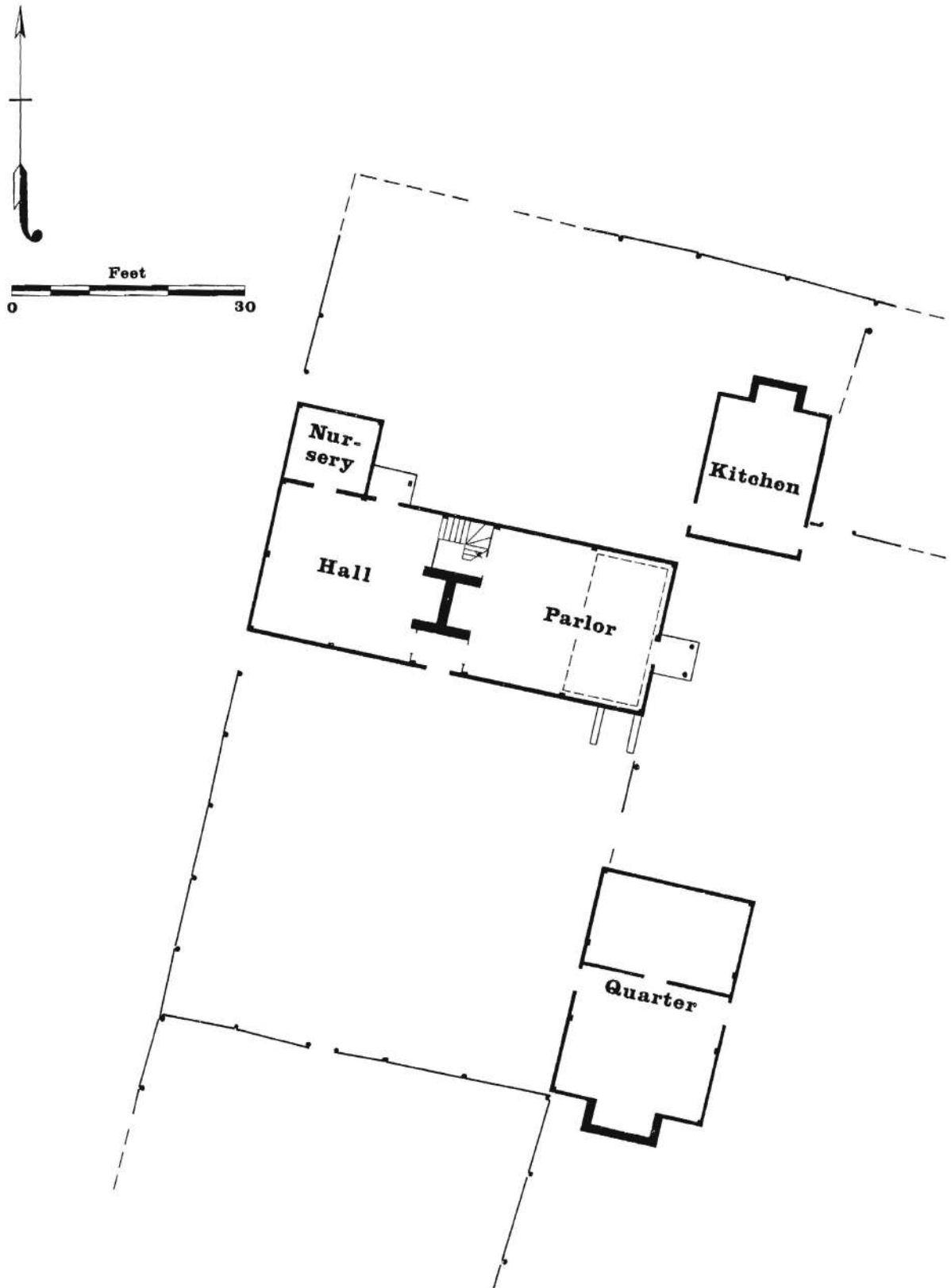


Fig. 6-19. St. John's c.1665.

The nursery shed was a simply framed, but well finished chamber 11'4" wide and 10 ft. long (figure 6-20). It had plastered walls and a framed floor. The floor probably was supported above the ground by interrupted sills. The chamber's timber foundations show how builders improvised when making a minor addition to an extant structure. The north wall of the shed was preassembled and reared in two post holes dug to an even depth. The west sill of the shed seems to have been fastened directly to the corner post of the great house (no timber hole was found), but at the east side (where the great house bay post already had been heavily damaged and new footed), the weight of the wall was carried by a hole-set timber set immediately outside the great house wall post. We believe that this was a block below the sill as this timber was not hewn and had been set 0.4' deeper than the corner timbers.

The quarter along the east side of the foreyard was a 30' by 20'4" post-in-the-ground structure. It has been partially excavated (the features recorded at subsoil surface and two post holes excavated), but the available evidence suggests that it was a well evolved structure reared in preassembled sidewall frames. There is greater alignment within sides rather than between them, and the construction holes of the east side differ from those of the west. The 3 ft. deep construction hole bottoms were leveled before rearing the frames. (The southwest corner hole had been backfilled 0.4' before rearing the west frame.) The east frame was the first reared. The construction holes for this side were the smaller of the two lines (averaging 2.2' by 2.8') and had centered molds. This frame was pushed up from the west

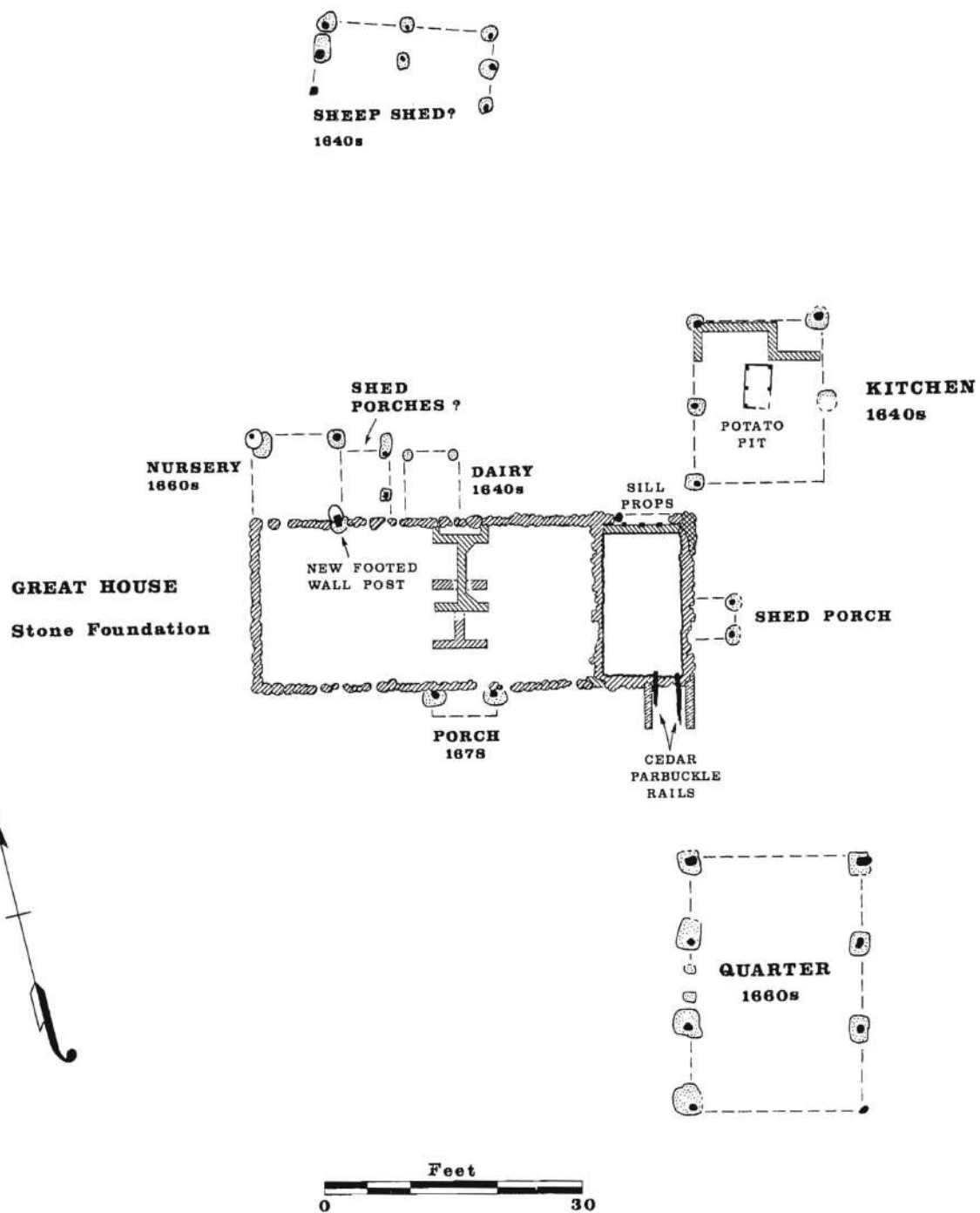


Fig. 6-20. St. John's, Timber Foundations.

(the ground slopes away to the east), leveled and plumbed, and the holes filled and tamped. Then the west side was reared, and propped in place. To facilitate squaring the structure, the carpenters had cut larger post holes for the west frame (averaging 3.0' by 3.2'), but despite this extra margin, they discovered that the construction holes had been laid out poorly and even by shoving the frame against the south sides of the holes, the structure could not be brought completely square. However, it was close enough, and they plumbed the frame and backfilled the construction holes around a structure almost two degrees out of square.

The quarter appears to have been a two unit structure with central, back-to-back doors. The position of the west door is suggested by two shallow holes (remnants either of door posts or blocks to support them set beneath an interrupted sill). Opposite, outside the east wall, a concentration of flint chips suggests the location of the rear door. Presumably, a partition was framed to one side or other of the doors. The distribution of window glass indicates that the building did not have glazed windows.

The bays of the quarter are precisely ten feet in length, an important adjustment to the technology of clapboarding buildings. One generation--23 or 24 years--separates the framing of it from the great house. During that time, carpenters rethought the way in which bays were laid out. In the English tradition of custom construction, facilitated by lath and plaster walling, the great house had bays laid out to allocate space carefully among its rooms. Three different bay lengths had been employed (6'8", 10'8", and 12'8") with the result

that the exterior frame had no standard center to center modules. These odd modules would have been an expensive nuisance to clapboard. In contrast, the quarter was designed to be clapboard covered and weather-boarded. The building is four board lengths wide and six board lengths long. Each bay post falls at the nailing point between panels of boarding. It is ten feet from each corner to the center of the first bay post, and ten feet from thence to the center of the next bay post. Three studs between each pair of posts would have completed the system of 30" modules. One pile of standard length boards (about 5'4" long to allow for end lap) would have served to board all of the building except the triangular gables, and for them, the carpenters probably used boards with defective ends.

In 1666, Governor Charles Calvert married Jane Sewell, widow of the former provincial secretary. Before the following March, Calvert moved to her manor of Mattapany-Sewell at the mouth of the Patuxent River. There, by 1671, he had constructed "a fair house of brick and timber, with all outhouses and other offices thereto belonging."¹²⁴ Soon, if not immediately, some of the buildings were roofed with pantile.¹²⁵ In the 1890s, Thomas noted that the mansion "foundation and cemented cellar may still be seen. The building was about 60 x 30 feet, with a capacious wing,"¹²⁶ Calvert left his St. John's plantation under the charge of a husbandman and let the dwelling to innholders. Monsieur Mark Cordea was in possession in 1669 and Charles de la Roche in 1673. The great house may have been tenantless late in 1674,¹²⁷ as the Council and Provincial Court met there, and in February, 1675, Calvert occupied it as a townhouse and entertained (lodged)

the members of the Council there.¹²⁸ Early in 1676, Governor Calvert learned of the death of his father, the Second Baron of Baltimore, and in June, he returned to England to his affairs there.¹²⁹

By the late 1670s, St. John's great house was again in disrepair. The roofs leaked, the plaster was crumbling, the sills and footings needed attention, and one wall of the cellar had collapsed. The out-buildings also needed repair. When St. John's became vacant in 1677,¹³⁰ Lord Baltimore's receiver generals took the opportunity to negotiate a longer lease requiring a new tenant, Innholder Henry Exson, to make major improvements.¹³¹ The seven year lease, executed New Year's Day (25 March), 1678, has attached to it "a particular of the reparations and other things to be made and done at the manor house and lands at St. John's"(figure 6-21). It enumerates the "chief mansion house and the houses to the same belonging:" the great house, the nursery room, the kitchen, the quarter, "the hen house in the orchard, the house next to the pasture, and the stables." Although the lease included "all that part of the said manor called St. John's Freehold containing two hundred acres, together with all houses, edifices, buildings, barns, yards, orchards, lands, meadows, pastures, feedings, commons, profits and appurtenances" (pro forma language paraphrasing English leases), the particular omits mention of agricultural buildings and the quarter or tenement along Chancellor's Creek shown on the Augustine Herrman map (figure 6-22).

The particular combines needed repairs to plaster, fireplaces, sills, and foundations, with permanent improvements: an entry porch, brick foundation for the nursery, and a pantile roof. If completed

Thomas Matter, County of Berke
 Particular of the Reparations and other things to be made and done at
 the Manor House and Lanes of St. John's agreed upon to be done by Henry
 Esq. in consideration of the said to him there of made by the right
 Noble the Lord Priory, and hereunto annexed
 Imps. These Henry Esq. is to underpin the great House and to make a new porch
 and Chamber over it
 Item... He is to new Cover the said House with Paint to repair the old Chimneys
 and Plaster the House
 Item... He is to Repair the Room called the Nursery, and underpin it with Bricks
 and new Cover it and repair the plastering
 Item... He is to repair pull down and rebuild the Staircases, if there be any necessary
 occasion for it
 (492) Item... He is to Repair the Room called the Kitchen and the Store Chamber over it
 and to brick the Chimneys up to the Wall plates and to bathe it up to the Top
 and Brick the Floor
 Item... To Repair the little House near the Gate for a Quarter
 Item... To Repair the Ben house in the orchard the house next to the pasture & the Stable
 Item... To Build a good new Oven and Bake as has over it
 Item... To furnish with good Plaster a convenient piece of Ground for a Garden
 in the place where the garden was formerly
 Item... To make a sufficient Fence Round the Orchard and Pasture
 Item... To make such good fruit Trees as shall happen to pye or be blown down by such
 by planting others in their places, & neatly pruning all the fruit Trees there growing
 Item... To dig and level the Moor and preclude as shall require to put down good Rocks
 and things thereon and to find Bricks & Paints for new work as aforesaid
 (50)

Fig. 6-21. St. John's: "A Particular of the Reparations and Other Things to be Made and Done at the Manor House."

SOURCE: PATENTS, 19:628.

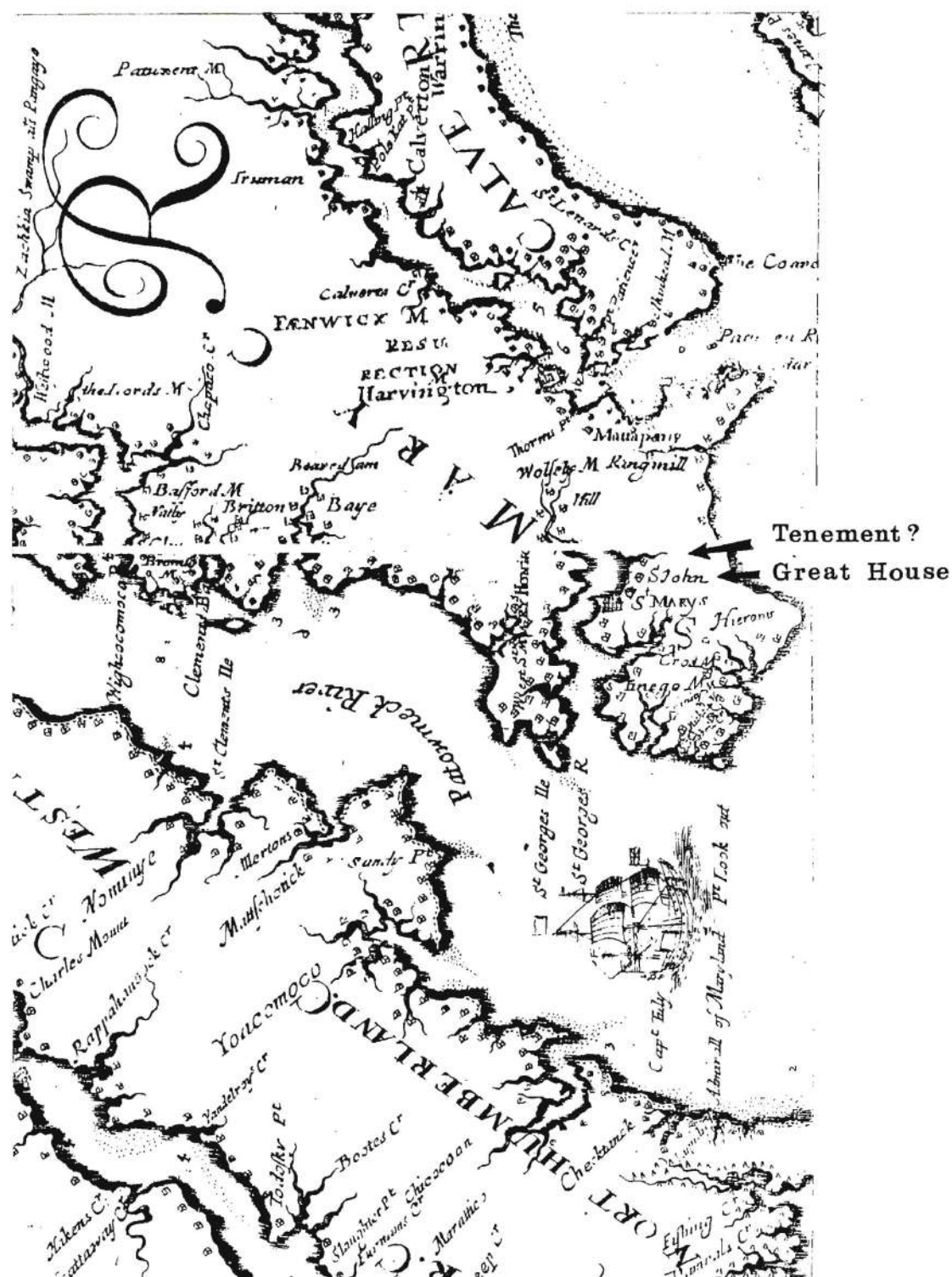


Fig. 6-22. St. John's Manor in 1673.
Detail from "Virginia and Maryland . . . Surveyed and Exactly Drawne
By . . . Augustin Herrman."

in the spirit in which they were conceived, the improvements might have substantially extended the life of the structures. Unfortunately, neither party to the lease complied fully with its provisions. The innholder skimped on labor, and Lord Baltimore's agents failed to provide enough brick. While some of the work (especially the masonry) was carried out more ambitiously than called for in the particular of repairs, inadequate repairs to the great house foundations and sills and the continued use of hole-set timbers compromised the results.

The renovations radically improved the appearance and convenience of the great house. The workmen pulled down the old timber chimney and constructed a new axial stack in Flemish bond brickwork against the rear wall. We presume that they located a new stair in the enlarged entrance lobby. The new chimney was expensive in brick and labor, and probably as a result, Exson skimped on other equally needed repairs. Replacing the kitchen chimney and the collapsed cellar wall consumed most of the remaining brick. The remnants were used to pave the cider and wine cellar. Seemingly only superficial repairs were made to the great house sills and foundations, and the nursery was not underpinned in brick. Instead, the rotten foot of the northwest corner post was removed and underpinned with a timber block (figure 6-23).

The new porch was post-in-the-ground and insubstantial. Instead of the usual porch, ten by ten feet with a chamber above, the carpenter merely cantilevered a small chamber out over the door. Earth-fast timber pilasters set against the chimney bay posts carried the brackets and plates for the addition. Presumably, half of its floor space was captured from the edge of the loft. The chamber may have been more

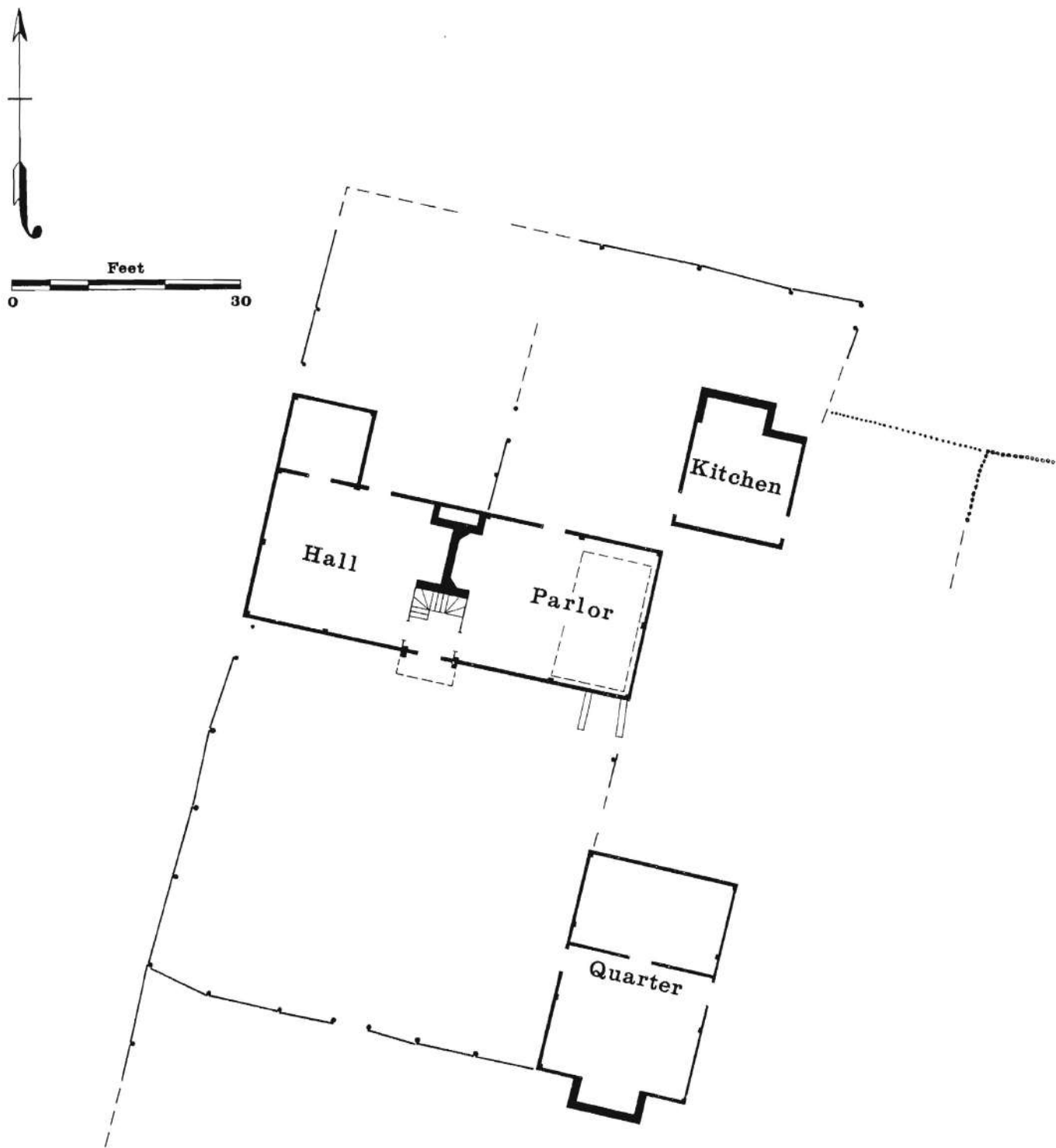


Fig. 6-23. St. John's c.1680.

decorative than functional. Its interior could not have been much more than six feet square. English and Dutch prototypes existed for such porches. An equally small, but finer, jettied porch chamber survives at Salwarpe Court, Worcester. Less permanent, pilaster supported additions to Dutch buildings are depicted in the works of Adriaen van Ostrade (figure 6-24).

The kitchen renovations were equally inconsistent. Instead of improving the existing chimney (the particular calls for bricking it up to the wall plate and repairing the lath and daub flue), the old chimney and rotten gable were removed completely. A new gable was constructed on a brick foundation. The new exterior chimney was brick for most of its height. However, the kitchen floor was not bricked, and the old blocks were left under the sills.¹³²

Exson kept inn at St. John's into 1681 and perhaps until the expiration of his lease at the end of 1684.¹³³ Thereafter, the documentary history of St. John's becomes increasingly sparse. The Council met there in 1687, and from 1688 through 1694, the office of the Prerogative Court was kept there.¹³⁴ However, the Prerogative Court (Probate Office) probably occupied only one room. The use of the remaining rooms is unknown. It seems unlikely that they were let to an innholder. After Exson, no innholder is identified as "of St. John's," and most can be proven to have lived in the "City" south of Mill Creek. We know from archaeological evidence that the building continued to serve some elite function including entertaining. (Wine cups, glasses, and bottles were broken on the premises in increasing numbers in the 1680s and 90s.) Perhaps the plantation was let to a Provincial Officer.

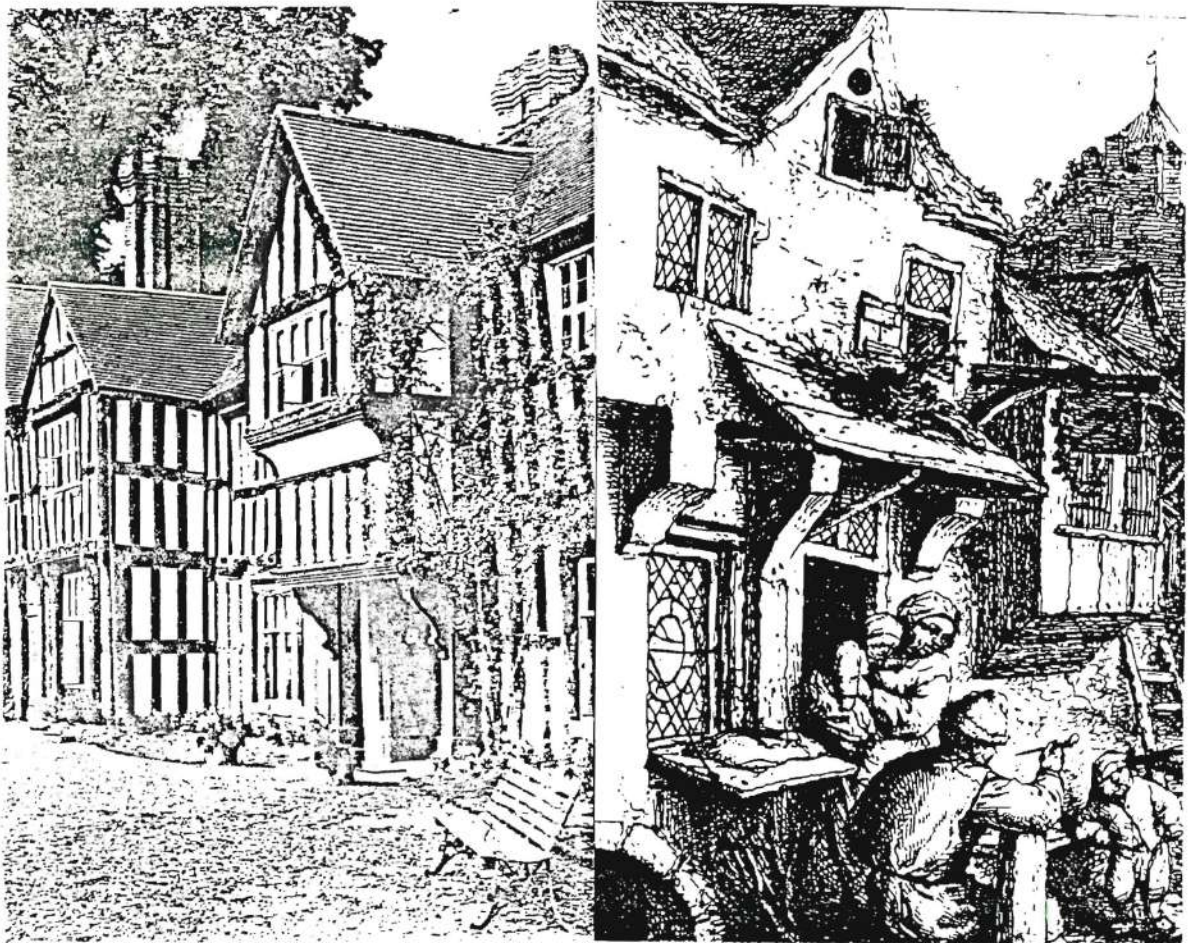


Fig. 6-24. Porch Prototypes.

Left: Salwarpe Court, Worcester. SOURCE: Alec Clifton-Taylor, The Pattern of English Building (London: Faber & Faber, 1972), p. 308.

Right: Detail from Adriaen Van Ostrade, "The Hunchbacked Violin Player," Etching, 1654. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection.

The 1695 removal of the provincial courts and offices to Annapolis robbed St. John's and St. Mary's City of their reason for existence. Before 1708, even the County offices had left.¹³⁵ The van Sweringens plowed up the city's deserted streets and lots, the brick State House became a chapel of William and Mary Parish, and the exodus doomed St. John's. Whoever leased the freehold in the early eighteenth century lacked either the desire or means to maintain the structures.

Decay is writ large in the last pages of the St. John's archaeological record: plaster and window glass in pits, more props under the cellar floor, and amateur repairs to a collapsed cellar wall. The post, rail, and pale fences of Calvert's and Exson's days were replaced with wattled brushwood.¹³⁶ At some point in the second decade of the new century, the house barely was habitable, and the last occupants left after tossing a pail of trash down the cellar entrance. (This rubbish included two broken Delft bowls.) Shortly, the roof tiles began sliding off, and the parlor end of the house began collapsing into the cellar. First came a sprinkling of plaster as rain gnawed holes through the building. Then the north wall of the cellar collapsed again, loosening an avalanche of dirt, pantile, and midden. More silt accumulated, and in dropped the parlor floor and its load of plaster. Brick tumbled in from the chimney cap. Still, the skeleton of the house stood. Then workmen pulled down the remains. The brick were cleaned and carted away to a new house 500 yards to the east. As the men left, they tidied up the site to free some of it for cultivation. Into the cellar was shovelled unusable rubble and the midden heap from

behind the kitchen.¹³⁷ We do not know how much time passed between the abandonment of the dwelling and the filling of its cellar, but it was certainly more than a year, but probably less than a decade.

From at least 1712, the destruction of St. John's had been inevitable. Had the manor become the residence of a gentleman, the great house might have been rescued. Instead, its doom was sealed when the freehold became a tenement of a neighboring plantation. In September, 1712, Lord Baltimore directed that the freehold be leased to a distant relative, Mr. Cecil Butler.¹³⁸

The Butlers were Catholic minor gentry who were rapidly losing economic status. Butler had come to the province in the 1680s, secured the post of Clerk of Calvert County, and married the daughter of the province's foremost Catholic lawyer. Shortly, the Revolution of 1689 deprived Butler of his post and fees. Thereafter, he found some employment as an assistant to the Proprietor's resident agent, but he did not prosper. In 1698, he was described as "of no visible estate."¹³⁹ The death of his father-in-law early in the next century further complicated the Butlers' affairs. They gained an extremely visible estate (a five hundred acre plantation east of St. John's Manor, a dozen or so slaves, and investment properties on the frontier), but equally conspicuous debts. In 1705, they had to mortgage the dwelling plantation and ten slaves to secure a debt of E300 sterling. To meet the payments they had to sell some tracts and borrow against others. By Mr. Butler's death in early 1713, he no longer had enough labor to thresh his grain.¹⁴⁰

There are at least two reasons why Butler wanted to lease St. John's Freehold. He may have desired a line of retreat should they lose their mortgaged dwelling plantation; and, he certainly wanted income from rental property. He may have been in possession of St. John's prior to the receipt of the Proprietor's September, 1712, letter. By the beginning of 1713, he had stock on St. John's. His inventory lists at "John's" two yoke of steers, seven old cows, four heifers, two calves, and thirteen hogs: apparently the stock of a tenement. An equally sorry lot of stock are listed at the Butlers' "Bayside" tenement. (Their horses and fertile cows were on the Innis Choice dwelling plantation.)¹⁴¹

Cecil Butler's widow moved to St. John's about 1720. In her will, written 14 August 1721, Mrs. Margaret Butler refers to it as "the plantation that I now live upon called St. John's containing 350 acres." Perhaps the marriage of her son or foreclosure on the Innis Choice plantation motivated her move to St. John's. She did not live long there. By the beginning of September she was dead.¹⁴²

While we have Mrs. Butler's statement that she dwelt on St. John's Freehold, we do not know in which structure. One of the seventeenth-century outhouses or tenements still may have been inhabitable, or she may have built anew. If the latter is the case, it is barely possible that she began construction of the eighteenth-century manor house. This seems unlikely, however, as J. Glenn Little and Stephen Israel excavated little reused material at the site other than brick. In particular, the lack of reused casements from St. John's argues for

a hiatus between the abandonment of the old buildings and the construction of the new.¹⁴³

During the 1720s, Margaret Butler's heir, Mr. Cecil Butler the Younger, sold St. John's Freehold to an English mariner, Captain John Hicks. How and when is uncertain. The freehold may have been sold as one tract or as two (first St. John's, later St. Barbara's). Butler still owned St. Barbara's Freehold when part of it was condemned for a mill seat in 1723, and he surveyed Butler's Freehold to the north of St. John's in 1727.¹⁴⁴ The sale of St. John's predated the latter event. While Hicks was actively engaged in the England to Virginia tobacco trade in 1719, he had settled in the St. Mary's City vicinity prior to 1726.¹⁴⁵ The rubbish excavated at the site of his house, including wine bottle seals dated 1723, 1724, and 1741, is equally compatible with occupation ranges of c.1720-1745 or 1725-1745.¹⁴⁶

The new owner of St. John's Freehold was a mariner formerly engaged in the tobacco trade between the Chesapeake and Whitehaven, England, where his brother was a substantial merchant. John Hicks invested his savings in planting and soon made a mark on St. Mary's County society. He was a justice of the peace by 1730, and served as Sheriff, 1732-1735. He was appointed a Judge of the Provincial Court in 1738, but only sat for one session (he lacked either the health or ambition for repeated travel to Annapolis). A member of the object-oriented commercial gentry, the site of his dwelling on St. John's Freehold abounded with status symbols: monographed bottles, crystal drinking glasses, a porcelain tea service, and an elegant table service of Delft painted

in imitation of Chinese porcelain. In contrast, his dwelling was modest: a kitchen and parlor Virginia house measuring 40 by 16 feet.¹⁴⁷

The loss of its seventeenth-century housing had returned St. John's Freehold to near frontier conditions, a circumstance responsible for the construction of yet another round of impermanent construction. Whether the new farmhouse was begun for Mrs. Butler and completed for Captain Hicks, or, as is more likely, constructed for Hicks, it was built in two phases or completed over two seasons. (The parlor chimney was constructed of brick salvaged from St. John's. The kitchen chimney was constructed of new brick by a different mason.)¹⁴⁸ As at the St. John's quarter, timber foundations were employed, but these were radically different foundations bespeaking the continued evolution of the Virginia house. The new house was box-framed with sills supported by black locust blocks, short, rot-resistant timbers that protected the frame above as well as a masonry foundation. The evidence for hole-set blocks rather than wall posts is conclusive. The timbers were set deeply to varying depths in irregular holes. The carpenters set the longest blocks where the stress would be the greatest: at the western (downhill) corners. They were careful to dig small, shallow holes at the eastern corners in order to minimize the amount of uncompacted fill under the chimneys (figure 6-25).¹⁴⁹

Hicks's dwelling consisted of a two bay kitchen and a two bay parlor. Its internal end chimneys were set in the corners of the gables to make room beside them for closets or stairs. Despite its box frame and wall plaster, it was a crude dwelling with a sweet potato pit under the kitchen floor and a dirt walled cellar under the parlor. Its frame,

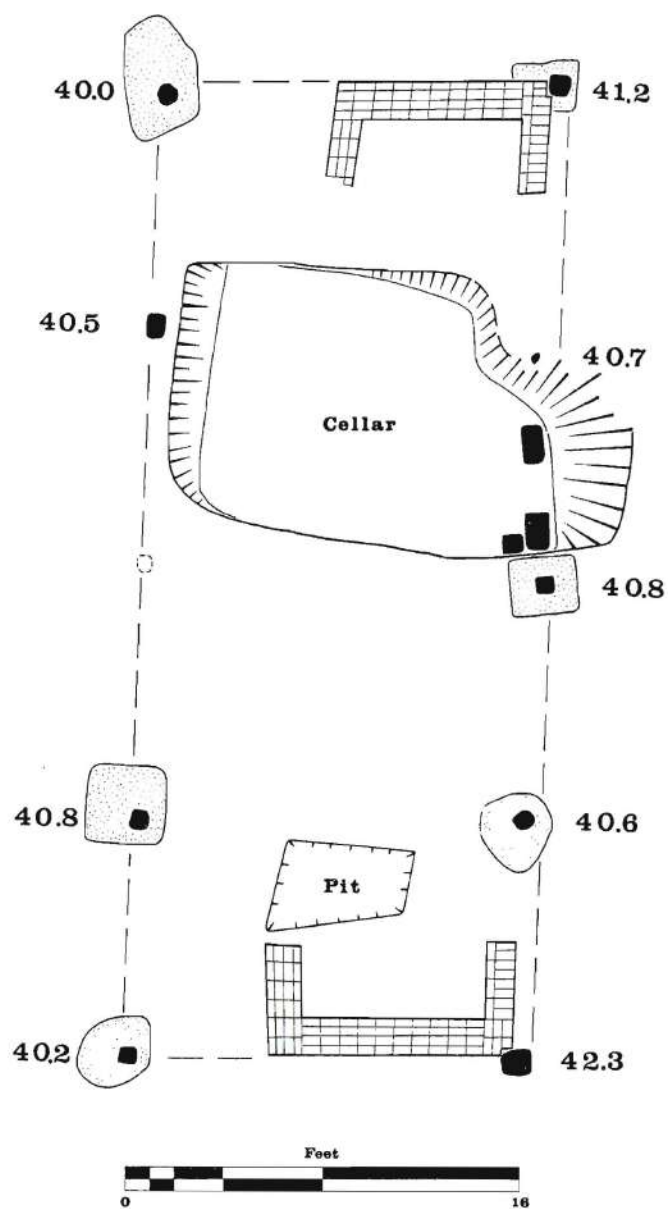


Fig. 6-25. Captain John Hicks's first house.
 Plan with elevations at base of timber molds. Elevation of eighteenth-century ground surface estimated as 45 feet above sea level.
 SOURCE: Carr, Little, and Israel, "John Hicks Leasehold," pp. 96, 244.
 Drawing: Stone

although evolved, was unambitious. Only 16 ft. wide, it required less care in the selection of joist and rafter timber than 20 ft. wide post-in-the-ground buildings such as the St. John's quarter or phase one of Sotterley. It was more stylish than the old manor house that it replaced in only two respects: glass and paint. No quarrel or turned lead fragments were found in its ruins. The excavators found only crystal glass from newfangled sash windows. And while no paint was found on the plaster rubble from the St. John's cellar, in examining the plaster from the Hicks cellar hole, J. Glenn Little found numerous fragments establishing that the internally exposed timbers of the dwelling had been painted pinkish-red to contrast with the whitewashed plaster walls.¹⁵⁰ Quite possibly, the dwelling's exterior trim also was painted.¹⁵¹ Despite its painted timbers and sash windows, Hicks's house was a primitive dwelling for a style-conscious member of the St. Mary's County elite, a man who owned 19 slaves at his death in 1753. Perhaps the most significant comment that can be made about the architecture of his first house is that when Hicks was able, he razed it after constructing a better dwelling.

At some time between 1743 and 1749, Captain Hicks moved to a dwelling on the St. Barbara's tract. We do not know when he acquired the land from Butler, but when he wrote his will in 1749, he left "the plantation whereon I dwell, St. Barbara's," to his son George.¹⁵² Little is known about the structure. The site has not been excavated, and documents give little explicit information. Circa 1765, it was described as "large old dwelling house much decayed;" in 1785 it was characterized as having been, in 1774, the "best house on the best

farm" in the Church Point vicinity; and in 1812, it was remembered as having had "a tolerable oak and walnut frame suitable for repair."¹⁵³ The 1765 reference is especially important as it indicates that the St. Barbara's dwelling was a supra-vernacular structure. The manorial appraisor who described it as a "large . . . dwelling" had a well rehearsed formula for describing Virginia framed farmhouses. (The same appraisal describes the buildings on another leasehold as "one clapboard dwelling house 24 by 16, one kitchen clapboard 20 by 16, one other kitchen 16 by 12,"¹⁵⁴ The St. Barbara's plantation became involved in prolonged litigation during which the dwelling disappeared.

CHAPTER VI

Notes

1. William Fitzhugh, William Fitzhugh and his Chesapeake World, 1676-1701, Richard Beale Davis, ed. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1963), p. 202.
2. Joseph B. Casagrande, Stephen I. Thompson, and Philip D. Young, "Colonization as a Research Frontier: The Ecuadorian Case," in Process and Pattern in Culture, Robert A. Manners, ed. (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1964), pp. 281-302.
3. For an early (1672) example of an entire plantation framed "on [ground] plates," see Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland, TESTAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS, 5:369.
4. Russell R. Menard, "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Iowa, 1975, p. 478.
5. Joseph Moxon, Mechanick Exercises, or the Doctrine of Handy-Works, 3rd ed. (London, 1703; reprint ed., Charles F. Montgomery and Benno M. Forman, eds., New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), pp. 126-27, 129, 131, plate 10. For medieval buildings with ten foot bays, see M. W. Barley, The English Farmhouse and Cottage (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), pp. 24-27; B. Cunliffe, "Manor Farm, Chalton, Hants," Post-Medieval Archaeology 7 (1973):31-59.
6. Archives of Maryland, 72 vols., William B. Browne, et al., eds. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1965:674.
7. Fitzhugh, Chesapeake World, pp. 20.
8. Ibid., pp. 202-03.
9. Table 5-1; James D. Kornwolf, Guide to the American Revolution (Surry County, Virginia Bicentennial Committee, 1976), p. 37; Anthony N. B. Culture and Town Planning in Colonial Connecticut (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), pp. 86-90; Moxon, Exercises, pp. 131-42, plate 11; Warren M. Billings, ed., in the Seventeenth Century (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), p. 306.
10. Herman John Heikkenen, "The Key-Year Dendrochronological Pattern for the Oaks (Quercus spp.) of Maryland's Western Shore, 1776-1880. A Demonstration Project on the Dating of Historical Structures," preliminary report.

11. Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland, Third Haven Friends Meeting, Minute Book, 1676-1746, abstracted in M. Baer, comp., "Material Relating to the Third Haven Meeting House," Architectural file T-47, St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's City, Maryland, pp. 49-52. The material quoted has been rearranged for clarity.
12. Cary Carson, et al., "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies," Winterthur Portfolio 16 (1981), p. 159.
13. Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. "puncheons" or "punchs."
14. Kingsbury, Records, 4:259; Hening, Statutes, 1:340, 2:76, quoted in Carson, "Impermanent Architecture," p. 160.
15. Cary Carson, "The 'Virginia House' in Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine 69 (1974), pp. 185-96.
16. Cary Carson and Garry Stone, "Brome Granary," Architectural File SM-33G, St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's City, Maryland.
17. Harry Forester, The Timber-Framed Houses of Essex: A Short Review of Their Types and Details, 14th to 18th Centuries (Chelmsford, Essex: By the Author, 1959), p. 68; Cecil A. Hewett, "Some East Anglian Prototypes for Early Timber Houses in America," Post-Medieval Archaeology 3 (1969), p. 111; H. L. Edlin, Woodland Crafts in Britain: An Account of the Traditional Uses of Trees and Timbers in the British Countryside (1949; reprint ed., Newton Abbot, Devon: David & Charles, 1973), p. 93.
18. Edlin, Woodland Crafts, pp. 13-14, 90-99; Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. "clapboard;" J. Frederick Kelly, The Early Domestic Architecture of Connecticut (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1924; reprint ed., New York: Dover Publications, 1963), pp. 81-82.
19. John Smith, Works: 1608-1631, Edward Arber, ed. (Birmingham, England: 1884), pp. liii-lv.
20. Above and H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia, 1622-1632, 1670-1676, with Notes and Excerpts from Original Council and General Court Records, into 1683, now Lost (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1924), p. 175.
21. Smith, Works, p. 957; in America, "puncheon" came to mean a split or roughly hewn timber, s.v. Oxford English Dictionary.
22. E. W., Gentleman, Virginia: More Especially the South Part Thereof, Richly and Truly Valued (London: John Stephenson, 1650; reprinted in Peter Force, comp., Tracts, Washington, D.C., 1844; reprint ed., Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1963, vol. 3, no. 11), pp. 36-37.

23. John L. Cotter, Archeological Excavations at Jamestown (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1958).

24. F. W. B. Charles, "Post-Construction and the Rafter Roof: Possible Sources of Some Early Structural Elements of the Timber-Frame Tradition," Vernacular Architecture 12 (1981):3-19.

25. Smith, Works, p. 471.

26. Alain C. Outlaw, "An Interim Report: Governor's Land Archaeological District Excavations: The 1976 Season," Williamsburg: Virginian Center for Archaeology, 1978, pp. 19-24, 30-41; William Kelso, "Littleton Quarter," in Carson, "Impermanent Architecture," p. 179; Ivor Noël Hume, "First Look at a Lost Virginia Settlement," National Geographic 155 (1979):735-67. The descriptions of the Wolstenholme Town buildings are based on plans and information provided by I. Noël Hume. He cautions that the identification of these buildings as Wolstenholme Town is a hypothesis yet to be absolutely established.

27. Axel Steensberg, Bondehuse of Vandmøller i Danmark gennem 2000 År [Farms and Water Mills in Denmark during 2000 Years] (Copenhagen: Alfred G. Hassings, LTD., 1952), pp. 203, 213; Richard Harris, Discovering Timber-Framed Buildings (Princes Risborough, Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications, 1978), pp. 20-21, 34, 45, 77; Eric Mercer, English Vernacular Houses (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1975), p. 125; J. J. Voskuil, Van Vlechtwerk tot Baksteen (Arnhem, Netherlands: Stichting Historisch Boerderij-onderzoek, 1979).

28. Guy Beresford, The Medieval Clay-land Village: Excavations at Goltho and Barton Blount, The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series, no. 6 (London: 1975); Guy Beresford, "Excavation of a Moated House at Wintringham in Huntingdonshire," Archaeological Journal 134 (1977):194-286.

29. J. G. Hurst, gen. ed., Wharham: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds, Vol. I: Domestic Settlement, 1: Areas 10 and 6, D. D. Andrews and G. Milne, eds., The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series, no. 8 (London, 1979), pp. 49-50, 106-07; Henry Best, Rural Economy in Yorkshire in 1641, Being the Farming and Account Books of Henry Best of Elmswell in the East Riding, C. B. Robinson, ed., Publications of the Surtees Society, vol. 33 (Durham, England: George Andrews for the Society, 1857), pp. 47, 138.

30. Beresford, Clay-land Village, pp. 37-38; Maurice Beresford and John G. Hurst, eds., Deserted Medieval Villages (Guildford and London: Lutterworth Press, 1971), p. 177.

31. Virginia House of Burgesses, The Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1619-1658/9, H. R. McIlwaine and J. R. Kennedy, eds. (Richmond, 1915), p. 33; see also Smith, Works, pp. 535-36.

32. Kornwolf, Guide, p. 59.
33. Correspondence between Carl Kuttruff and Garry Stone, 1979. Fort Loudoun, 40 MR 1, Archaeology Files, St. Mary's City Commission.
34. David L. Roberts, "The Persistence of Archaic Framing Techniques in Kesteven, Lincolnshire," Vernacular Architecture 5 (1974): 18-20; 6 (1975):33-38.
35. Plan of Site A, courtesy I. Noël Hume.
36. Carson, "Impermanent Architecture," p. 138.
37. Garry Wheeler Stone, "Post Holes: An Essay towards Understanding," presented to the Jamestown Archaeology Conference, March, 1977; Harris, Timber-Framed Buildings, p. 16; Abbott Lowell Cummings, The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 60-81. Bents are the transverse frames of railroad trestles (Edward F. Heite to Garry Stone, 18 August 1980, citing M. W. Kirkman, The Science of Railways [1902], 3:375) or buildings. In central Kentucky, bent is a synonym for bay (personal experience). Following Abbott Cummings, I use, "bent" versus "side wall" in preference to the value laden terms "normal" versus "reverse" assembly coined by Cecil Hewett, The Development of Carpentry, 1200-1700: An Essex Study (Newton Abbot, England: David & Charles, 1969), pp. 15, 46, 111, 116.
38. Roberts, "Archaic Framing;" Hewett, Development of Carpentry, pp. 98-99; Cummings, Framed Houses, pp. 61-64.
39. Kelso in Carson, "Impermanent Architecture," p. 179; Lucketti to Stone, 8 December 1978; Fraser D. Neiman, The "Manner House" before Stratford (Discovering the Clifts Plantation) (Stratford, Virginia: The Robert E. Lee Memorial Association, 1980), pp. 12-13; William T. Buchanan and Edward F. Heite, "The Hallows Site: A Seventeenth-century Yeoman's Cottage in Virginia," Historical Archaeology 5 (1971):38-48.
40. Neiman, "Manor House", p.16-8; Norman F. Barka, Archaeology of George Washington Birthplace, Virginia (Williamsburg, Virginia: Southside Historical Sites, 1978), pp. 59-65 (tobacco house).
41. Garry Stone, "Lower Barn at Dixon's Purchase," Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission; Harris, Discovering Timber-Framed Buildings, pp. 14-15. The upper face of a frame is apparent from the direction of pinning.
42. Garry Stone, Field Notes, Architectural File SM-7, St. Mary's City Commission. The general evolution of the house is treated expertly by Michael Bourne in "Architectural Development of Sotterley."
43. Elizabeth Harmon, statement to Stone, 12 May 1981.

44. The statement on bracing is based on an absence of brace joints to sill or plates. Between plate and sill, the wall frames are not visible.

45. The secondary posts and large windows may postdate the initial boarding of the house as the clapboard are not nailed to them. However, they are early, as the secondary posts are whitewashed beneath the c.1725 panelling.

46. Sotterley is maintained by the Sotterley Mansion Foundation, Inc. I thank the Trustees and staff of the Foundation for their assistance and encouragement.

47. Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland, INVENTORIES & ACCOUNTS, 13:79ff.

48. Bradford L. Rauschenburg, Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, identified the wood samples.

49. Gwyn I. Meirion-Jones, "Some Early and Primitive Building Forms in Brittany," Folk Life 14 (1976):46-64.

50. Carson, "Impermanent Architecture," p. 150.

51. Carson, Hamilton, and Hoang, Bound's Lott, Allen Vicinity, Wicomico County, Maryland, Historic American Buildings Survey; Marshy Point House, Kent County, Maryland: Dell Upton, personal communication; Orlando Ridout V to Stone, 23 October 1980.

52. Ransom B. True, Windows on the Wilderness (Richmond: Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, forthcoming).

53. Stone, Field Notes, SM-245A, Architectural Files, St. Mary's City Commission.

54. Nicholas Lucchetti to Stone, 8 December 1978 and subsequent communications.

55. Md. Arch., 60:113-14; Charles County, Maryland, COURT & LAND RECORDS, H#1:139.

56. J. T. Smith, "The Early Development of Timber Buildings," Archaeological Journal 131 (1974), p. 250; Cecil A. Hewett, English Historic Carpentry (Chichester, Sussex: Phillimore, 1980), passim.

57. Barbara Hutton to Stone, 5 February 1979; Roberts, "Archaic Framing," 5:18-20. A related tradition of principal rafter roofs with collar clasped purlins continued in Essex (Hewett, "Some East Anglian Prototypes," pp. 115, 118, and passim) and the eighteenth-century kitchen at Westover, Virginia, has a roof of this type (Dell Upton, telephone conversation with Stone, 9 March 1981).

58. Historic American Building Survey, Virginia Catalog (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976), p. 238.
59. Richard Harris, reaction to Brome Granary (SM-33G).
60. McIlwaine, Minutes, p. 27; Charles County, Maryland, COURT & LAND RECORDS, H#1:139.
61. This was not true for "great or English" framed houses, and the roofs of surviving examples all differ.
62. Kelso, "Littletown Plantation, Kingsmill," in Carson, "Impermanent Architecture," p. 180.
63. Ibid., p. 179.
64. Baltimore County, Maryland, LAND RECORDS HW#2:235.
65. Carson, "Impermanent Architecture," p. 144.
66. Md. Arch., 10:72-73, 410-11.
67. Queen Anne's County, Maryland, DEEDS, RT#F:145, #I:274, #K:252, SC:11, 107, 192.
68. Examples of renewed sills survive at Maidstone (CT-5), Cornwaleys's Cross (SM-3), and Sotterley (SM-7). See Architectural Files, St. Mary's City Commission, and figure 6-11.
69. Morris L. Radoff, The County Courthouses and Records of Maryland, 2 vols. (Annapolis: State of Maryland, 1960), 1:67; All Faiths Parish, St. Mary's County, Maryland, RECORD BOOK & VESTRY MINUTES, B (1720-1754):2.
70. Neiman, "Manner House", p. 13.
71. William P. Doepkins, Gambrills, Maryland, telephone conversations with Stone, 27 July 1977, 18 April 1980.
72. Md. Arch., 54:669-70, Gust Skordas, The Early Settlers of Maryland (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1968), p. 24; Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland, TESTAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS, 5:359, 369; Somerset County, Maryland, JUDICIAL RECORD ACCOUNT 9169 (1707-1711):406; Charles County, Maryland, COURT & LAND RECORDS, V#1:374-75.
73. Third Haven Friends Meeting, MINUTE BOOK, 1676-1746:58; Dallam, St. James', Old Herring Creeke Parish, pp. 72, 122-23; Queen Anne's County, Maryland, DEEDS, RT#F:100.

74. Md. Arch., 10:267; Henry Chandlee Forman, Tidewater Maryland Architecture and Gardens (New York: Bonanza Books, 1956). pp. 101-08.

75. Radoff, County Courthouses, pp. 116-17; All Faiths Parish, St. Mary's County, Maryland, RECORDS BOOK & VESTRY MINUTES, B:2; Stone, "Middle Plantation," in Carson, "Impermanent Architecture;" Talbot County, Maryland, LAND RECORDS, RF#12:372; Queen Anne's County, Maryland, DEEDS, RT#F:145.

76. Md. Arch., 66:95-98, 248; 67:160-61.

77. Barley, English Farmhouse and Cottage, p. 206; Cummings, Framed Houses, p. 119; Charles County, Maryland, COURT & LAND RECORDS, V#1:220.

78. Hewett, English Historic Carpentry, p. 5.

79. Mercer, English Vernacular Houses, plate 27, #289; Barley, English Farmhouse and Cottage, pp. 142, 245-46; Oliver Rackham, "Grundle House: On the Quantities of Timber in Certain East Anglian Buildings in Relation to Local Supplies," Vernacular Architecture 3 (1972):3-8; R. Warmington, "Rebuilding of 'Le Belle' Inn, Andover, 1534," Post-Medieval Archaeology 10 (1976):131-41.

80. Stone, "Charles Co. Courthouse," in Carson, "Impermanent Architecture," pp. 195-96; Radoff, County Courthouses, pp. 63-69. The rapid failure of the addition's timber foundation is surprising. Either a softer wood than locust was used, or despite the specifications, the building was framed on ground sills.

81. Lorena S. Walsh, "Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705: A Study of Chesapeake Social and Political Structure," Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1977, chapters 5 and 6 and Appendix D, table D-2. See also Lorena S. Walsh, "A Culture of 'Rude Sufficiency': Life Styles on Maryland's Lower Western Shore between 1658 and 1720," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Nashville, Tennessee, 3 January 1979, Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission; Barbara and Cary Carson, "Styles and Standards of Living in Southern Maryland, 1670-1752," paper presented to the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association, Atlanta, Georgia, November 1976, Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission; Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia: From Whence Is Inferred A Short View of Maryland and North Carolina, Richard L. Morton, ed. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956, pp. 71, 80.

82. Peter Force, Tracts, vol. 3, no. 10, p. 35; Fitzhugh, William Fitzhugh, p. 175; Radoff, County Courthouses, 1:117; The Rev. Hugh Jones to the Rev. Benjamin Woodroffe, 23 Jan 1698/9 in James L. Reveal, "Hugh Jones," College Park, University of Maryland, 1980, Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission.

83. Henry Chandlee Forman, Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland (Easton, Maryland: By the Author, 1934), p. 2; Md. Arch., 41:366-67.

84. DEEDS, RT#D:221, E:62.

85. David Dymond, "A Fifteenth Century Building Contract from Suffolk," Vernacular Architecture 9 (1978), pp. 10-11; Harris, Discovering Timber-Framed Buildings, pp. 16-17.

86. Stone, "Outbuilding, van Sweringen Site," in Carson, "Impermanent Architecture," p. 187; Edith Dallam, ed., St. James', Old Herring Creeke Parish, 1663-1799 (Anne Arundel Co.: Vestry and Library Comm., 1976); Third Haven Friends Meeting, MINUTE BOOK, p. 58. The evidence for blocked church sills is circumstantial. Twenty-two years after its construction, the church was underpinned with brick without the expense of raising the frame. An older church in the same parish was raised and underpinned with cedar blocks in 1702.

87. Cedar sometimes had to be boated and carted several miles to a construction site. Dallam, St. James, p. 52; Churchill Chamberlayne, ed., The Vestry Book of Petsworth Parish, Gloucester County, Virginia (Richmond: Library Board, 1933) (abstracts furnished by Dell Upton, March 1981), p. 1.

88. St. Mary's County, Maryland, ANNUAL VALUATIONS & INDENTURES, 1780-1808:12.

89. Orlando Ridout V to Stone, 16 March 1981.

90. Maryland, PROVINCIAL COURT JUDGMENTS, VD#3:15-16.

91. Queen Anne's County, DEEDS, RT#B-#K, passim.

92. Stone, in Heikkenen, "The Key-Year Dendrochronological Pattern."

93. F. W. B. Charles, "Post-Construction and the Rafter Roof," Vernacular Architecture 12 (1981), pp. 5, 15-16.

94. Maryland Historical Society. Reference courtesy J. Richard Rivoire.

95. Queen Anne's County, DEEDS, SC:145, 218.

96. Architectural Files, St. Mary's City Maryland, SM-261D (Queen Tree); SM-325 (Evan's Tenant Farm). Mr. Theodore Lancaster, Park Hall, Maryland, remembers manhandling the halves of scarfed pine plates onto the post tenons of a cedar post tobacco barn. An older version of this type of barn with reared walls is illustrated by Stone, "Lower Barn of Dixon's Purchase," Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter, vol. 11, no. 2 (June 1978), p. 25.

97. Charles E. Peterson and Clifford Lewis, III, "Houses for New Albion, 1650," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, vol. 15, no. 3 (1956): 2.

98. Md. Arch., 53:232, 357, 381, 382; Cummings, Framed Houses, p. 89.

99. York County, Virginia, DEEDS, ORDERS AND WILLS, 3:35, quoted in S. E. Ayres and M. C. Beaudry, "Some References to Construction Details, York Co. Records," Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission; Henry Chandlee Forman, Jamestown and St. Mary's: Buried Cities of Romance (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938), front end-paper, p. 219; Surry County, Virginia, DEEDS, WILLS, etc., "1:368-69; Md. Arch. 54:54.

100. C. F. Innocent, The Development of English Building Construction (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916; reprint ed., Newton Abbot, Devon: David & Charles, 1971), pp. 7-25; Meirion-Jones, "Early and Primitive Building Forms," pp. 46-64.

101. Prince George's County, Maryland, JUDGMENTS, B:274a, LAND RECORDS, T:89; Queen Anne's County, Maryland, DEEDS, IK#A:16, IK#B:210, RT#A:16; Charles County, Maryland, LAND RECORDS, H#2:149, 333; Talbot County, Maryland, LAND RECORDS, RF#12:372; Spotsylvania County, Virginia, WILLS, A:124 (reference courtesy Cary Carson).

102. Queen Anne's County, Maryland, DEEDS, SC:105.

103. Md. Arch., 10:561; 41:290; 54:86-87; 57:60-65; Charles County, COURT & LAND RECORDS, H#1:70, 259. Thatching continued into the mid-eighteenth century, in part due to timber shortages, Jack P. Greene, ed., The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1965), vol. 1, pp. 150, 155, 195, 414, 608, 735.

104. Carville V. Earle, "Environment, Disease, and Mortality in Early Virginia," in The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society, Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1979; reprint ed., New York: Norton, 1979); Lorena S. Walsh, "'Till Death Us Do Part: Marriage and Family in the Seventeenth Century," The Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake, Essays delivered at the 32nd Conference in Early American History, College Park, Maryland, November 1-2, 1974, pp. 161-196.

105. Ann Lewger: Anthony à Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis, Philip Bliss, ed., 4 vols. (London, 1813), p. 697; Sarah Overzee: Md. Arch., 41:210; Mary Calvert: Maryland Historical Magazine 16 (1921):56. All may have died of the hazard of pregnancy as compounded by malaria. Ann Lewger is presumed to have been of child bearing age, and Sarah Overzee and Mary Calvert died in childbed. See Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, "Of Agues and Fevers: Malaria in the Early Chesapeake," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, vol. 33 (1976), pp. 49-53.

106. Md. Arch., 41:365-66.
107. Warren M. Billings, ed., The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), p.126.
108. TESTAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS, 2:290-91.
109. Md. Arch., 4:418.
110. Emily Kutler, "John Lewger, Jr.," Biography Files, St. Mary's City Commission.
111. Md. Arch., 10:66-67, 70; see, "Phillip Land," Career Files, St. Mary's City Commission.
112. Md. Arch., 10:191, 322, 365; Kutler, "Henry Fox," Biography Files, St. Mary's City Commission.
113. Barbara Lathroum Wilson, "Simon Overzee," Biography Files, St. Mary's City Commission, abstracting the Archives of Maryland, Virginia County Records, Rotterdam Notarial Archives, Holland, and Charles Thornton Libby, ed., Province and Court Records of Maine, vol. 1 (Portland: Maine Historical Society, 1928).
114. Lois Green Carr, "Charles Calvert," Biography Files, St. Mary's City Commission; Lois Green Carr, "St. John's Freehold," Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission; Md. Arch., 3:447.
115. Northumberland County, Virginia, RECORD BOOK, 1658-1666: 84, 107.
116. The Calvert Papers, Number One, Fund Publication No. 35 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1889), 1:237, 238, 246.
117. Md. Arch., 41:190, 207-13.
118. Calvert Papers, 1:224, 236, 244-48.
119. Md. Arch., 41:41-42.
120. Ibid., p. 211.
121. Md. Arch., 41:454.
122. Md. Arch., 41:190-91.
123. Robert Winston Keeler, "The Homelot on the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake Tidewater Frontier," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, March 1978, pp. 145, 146.
124. Carr, "St. John's Freehold," citing John Ogilby, America: Being the Latest and Most Accurate Description of the New World (London, 1671).

125. Dennis Pogue has recovered numerous tile fragments during 1981-1982 archaeological excavations on the Patuxent Naval Air Station, St. Mary's County, Maryland.

126. James Walter Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore: Cushing & Company, 1900 [c.1899], revised ed., Cumberland, Maryland: The Eddy Press, 1913), p. 292; 1913, p. 352.

127. De La Roche moved a larger establishment, as in 1675 he had 14 beds and lodged most of the Assembly. Maryland, *INVENTORIES & ACCOUNTS*, I:515-33; Lorena S. Walsh, "St. Mary's City Innholders: Time Line," 1979, Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission.

128. Md. Arch., 51:1; 65:636; 15:44, 50; 66:49-101; 2:432, 454, 469.

129. Carr, "Charles Calvert."

130. 14 August 1677, Richard Sweatham, Carpenter, is referred to as "of St. John's, innholder." *TESTAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS*, 9:270-72.

131. Maryland, *PATENTS*, 19:627-28.

132. Garry Wheeler Stone, "St. John's: Archaeological Analysis of 'the Room called the Kitchen'," 1976, Archaeology Files, ST 1-23, St. Mary's City Commission.

133. Md. Arch., 70:40; Walsh, "St. Mary's City Innholders." Exson purchased a Middle Street lot before 1682, but he may not have built upon it. Maryland Hall of Records, Proprietary RENT ROLL, 1682: no. 11.

134. Md. Arch., 5:542-43; *TESTAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS*, 14:124.

135. Lois Green Carr, "'The Metropolis of Maryland': A Comment on Town Development Along the Tobacco Coast," Maryland Historical Magazine, vol. 69, no. 2 (Summer 1974), p. 138.

136. Keeler, "The Homelot," pp. 147-48.

137. Garry Wheeler Stone, "St. John's: Cellar Stratigraphy," 1976, Archaeology Files, ST 1-23.

138. Provincial Court, *DEEDS*, TP#4:519-26.

139. Kutler, "Cecil Butler," Biography Files. For Butler's relationship to Col. Henry Darnell, see Lois Green Carr and David William Jordan, Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689-1692 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), pp. 39-40, 120-23, 171; Md. Arch., 8:22; 13:343; 17:443-44.

140. Kutler, "Cecil Butler," abstracting Provincial Court, DEEDS, TL#2:890; INVENTORIES & ACCOUNTS, 35A:110. Their economic plight is demonstrated by their sale of Wellingborough (1710), the mortgage of Roustons Purchase (1711), the mortgage of "Bayside" (St. Barbary's on St. Jerome's Creek) (1715), and the eventual foreclosure on Innis Choice.

141. INVENTORIES & ACCOUNTS, 34:123-25.

142. Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland, WILLS, 17:2. The plantation consisted of St. John's Freehold, 200 acres, and St. Barbara's Freehold, 150 acres. See Court of Chancery, PROCEEDINGS PL:354.

143. Lois Carr, J. Glenn Little, and Stephen Israel, "Salvage Archaeology of a Dwelling on the John Hicks Leasehold," 2 vols., manuscript (Alexandria, Virginia: Contract Archaeology, Inc., 1971).

144. Court of Chancery, PROCEEDINGS, PL:354; St. Mary's County, UNPATENTED CERTIFICATE OF SURVEY, #89.

145. Carr, Little, and Israel, "A Dwelling," pp. 483-84.

146. Ibid., pp. 412-13.

147. Lois Green Carr, "Ceramics from the John Hicks Site, 1723-1743: The St. Mary's Town Land Community," in Ceramics in America, pp. 75-102, Ian M. G. Quimby, ed. (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1973); Garry Wheeler Stone, J. Glenn Little, III, and Stephen Israel, "Ceramics from the John Hicks Site, 1723-1743: The Material Culture," *ibid.*, pp. 103-39.

148. Carr, Little, and Israel, "A Dwelling," pp. 72-73, 296-97; Garry Wheeler Stone, "Brick and Mortar from the Site of John Hicks's First House," Archaeology File, ST 1-22.

149. Carr, Little, and Israel, "A Dwelling," 1:243-45 and figure 7; Carson, "Impermanent Architecture," pp. 153, 187.

150. Carr, Little, and Israel, "A Dwelling," 1:247-49, 296-303.

151. Cary Carson and J. Richard Rivoire found red paint on the trim of two otherwise unpainted clapboard dwellings: phase 2 of Holly Hill (1713, AA-268) and Brandy (AA-173, early 18th century). See Carson, Hamilton, and Hoang, "Holly Hill, Friendship Vicinity, Anne Arundel County, Maryland" (Historic American Building Survey, 1975), sheet 8 of 9; architectural artifact AA-173/AQ, archaeological collections, St. Mary's City Commission. For the use of color to accent structural members, see Abbott Lowell Cummings, "Decorative Painters and House Painting at Massachusetts Bay, 1630-1725," in American Painting to 1776: A Reappraisal, Ian M. G. Quimby, ed. (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1971), especially pp. 73-79.

152. WILLS, 28:517-18.

153. Carr, "St. John's Freehold," "St. Barbara's Freehold," citing Proprietary Leases, etc., MEMORANDUM BOOK, SNOW HILL MANOR; Court of Chancery PAPERS, No. 5783: Bill of Complaint, 18 October 1785, Mackall v. Aisquith, atty. Hicks; letter, Mackall to Chancellor Kilty, 5 December 1812.

154. Garry Wheeler Stone, "Artifacts Are Not Enough," The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers 11 (1976), pp. 51-52.

CONCLUSION

In slightly over one century (1638-1740s), the dwellings on St. John's Freehold evolved from a framed English structure to a framed American structure. Both of these buildings were the product of a housing revolution. John Lewger's St. John's was a product of the English housing revolution, while John Hicks's St. Barbara's dwelling was a product of Chesapeake social and architectural evolution. Between these two permanent structures lay four generations of impermanent architecture, buildings that in their devolution and evolution mirrored the transformation of Chesapeake economy, society, and culture.

In Chapter VI, I discussed four stages through which Chesapeake architecture evolved. All are reflected, to a lesser or greater degree, in the dwellings on St. John's Freehold. The first stage, selection and substitution (-c.1650), figures only minimally. John Lewger built an English structure, but by substituting board walling for plaster walling, Lewger's carpenters gave his building an American appearance. The negative influence of frontier inflation is reflected in the building's modest accommodations (lack of service rooms and chambers).

Clear in the archaeological record are the construction holes and timber molds of the evolutionary stages of development (c.1650-1675, figure 6-20). The St. John's quarter of c.1665 is an early example of an integrated response to the triple challenge presented by American timber, tobacco, and termites. Framed like a tobacco house, the quarter

was six clapboards (six tobacco sticks) long and four clapboards (one tier) wide. It was reared in preassembled side wall units, and its massive wall posts withstood the assaults of termites for at least thirty years. The timber molds of the St. John's quarter and other buildings of its ilk record how quickly Englishmen adapted to a radically new environment. Other St. John's timber molds preserve evidence of how quickly the frontier could erode English culture.

By the third quarter of the seventeenth century, some Chesapeake trained carpenters had lost contact with traditional English woodworking skills. Prior to c.1665, one of the manor house's rear posts was repaired with a hole-set "new foot" in the post-in-the-ground tradition, and sometime after 1678, when a rough carpenter or farm laborer was called upon to board a potato pit in front of the kitchen hearth, he installed a clumsily framed post-in-the-ground structure (rather than a simple box). Such crude clapboard carpentry may have been tolerated by mid-century immigrants, but it did not please them.

Growing dissatisfaction with temporary frontier homes led to the refinement stage (c.1675-1725) in the evolution of the Virginia house. On St. John's Freehold, this dissatisfaction was expressed in the 1678 "particular for reparations . . . at the manor house" (figure 6-21). In execution, however, the repairs were inconsistent, as they combined pantile and Flemish bond brickwork with yet more post-in-the-ground construction. But, Marylanders' increasing competence in their new environment is shown by the selection of red cedar poles when constructing the parbuckle ramp to the cellar.

The final stage in the evolution of the colonial Virginia house was well represented by the structures of the Hicks family: John Hicks's modest (bastard framed?) dwelling of the 1720s, the supra-vernacular replacement structure of the 1740s (the St. Barbara's dwelling), and the granary that his son constructed on the adjacent Governor's Field plantation in 1758. When Captain John Hicks's 1720s dwelling was modest, it was silled, and the sills were raised off the ground on hewn black locust blocks, blocks so durable that large fragments of their heart-wood survived to be excavated. Our knowledge of the replacement St. Barbara's structure is limited, but its probable cellar stands open still, a cellar walled with brick rubble recycled from the 1678 chimney of St. John's. More in the vernacular tradition was the granary that William Hicks built in 1758, a heavily box-framed structure five clapboards wide and eight long, with riven white oak studs, tie beams lapped over the wall plates, mature tilted false plates, and a roof of light, common rafter trusses. Tobacco house carpenters built the granary, and in the early nineteenth century, the granary was converted into a tobacco house by the simple expedient of cutting out every other joist and collar and inserting additional tier rails. Adaptable, economical, and durable (it remained in use for 220 years), the Hicks granary was, and (if repaired and reassembled) yet may be an excellent example of six generations of adjustment to the Chesapeake.

The cyclical path of Maryland architectural evolution is evidence that adaptations are as much social as environmental. The first St. John's dwelling was a product of English expectations, technology, and capital. Lewger's modest manor house affirmed his social status,

but his money would have been invested better in trade. Lewger and his successors were unable to sustain his initially high level of investment, and this is reflected in the less substantial architecture of the quarter and dairy.

In the 1650s and 60s, the tide of immigration rose again. Skyrocketing demands for housing provided Chesapeake carpenters with repeated opportunities to refine inexpensive frontier housing. St. John's new owner, Governor Charles Calvert, used their new skills to add a cheap new chamber and quarter to St. John's. While the flood of immigrants retarded much of Maryland society at the frontier level, it also provided others with the opportunity to prosper. At St. Mary's Town, the fortunate were those who could profit from the fees of office. After only five years in his new home, Governor Charles Calvert traded up to a new house of brick and timber on a larger plantation.

While Maryland society was maturing, for most, economic advance was frustrated by falling tobacco prices. In the late 1600s, few ordinary planters could afford an "English house." Hence carpenters learned to make Virginia houses that were less temporary. The cypress hole-set posts of Sotterley were one product. On St. John's Freehold, the black locust blocks under the sills of Captain Hicks's first house were another. During Hicks's years, economic prospects were improving. The price of tobacco had risen, and, equally important, in the late seventeenth century, Chesapeake planters had solved their labor problem. No longer did they rely on indentured servants, who, all too quickly, exchanged their status as servants for that of competitor. Prospering planters now owned Black slaves; at his death in 1749, Captain Hicks owned

nineteen. Before his death, he had moved into a good house on a masonry foundation, the second such house to stand on St. John's.

APPENDIX 1

THE POPULATION OF ST. MARY'S HUNDRED, BY TRACT, IN 1642
(? = uncertain placement)

Freemen and their dependents	Occupation	Status ^a	Land ^b	Tax ^c Aug Dec	
<u>St. Jerome's (5,700 acres)</u>					
[owners: Jerome Hawley's heirs]					
Nicholls, Robert	planter	m	t	60	-
1 indentured servant					
Davison, Thomas	planter	m	t	30	8
<u>Gerrard's Freehold (243 acres)</u>					
[owner: Mr. Thomas Gerrard]					
Peaseley, Michael	mariner of Virginia	h	t	-	-
servants [seasonal occupant?]					
<u>Snow Hill Manor (1,000 acres)</u>					
[owner: Lord Baltimore]					
Trafford, Col. F, Councilor	merchant, planter	h	t	-	-
servants					
Carnoll, Christopher	planter, servant	m	t	30	-
Beach, Ellis	planter, servant	m	t	30	20
m. Anne (Nov. 1642)					
<u>Pope's Freehold (100 acres)</u>					
Nathaniel Pope	planter	h	100	180	120
wife					
5 indentured servants					
ST. MARY'S TOWNLAND					
<u>St. John's Freehold (200 acres)</u>					
John Lewger, Secretary	merchant, planter	h	1,200	-	170
wife, 2 children					
9 indentured servants					
Packer, Edward (St. George's Hundred*)	overseer , sheriff	i	50*	30	8
Speake, Thomas, Gent.	planter	i	-	-	-
?Mumms, Thomas	laborer	i	-	*	-
(part-time? Assessed in St. George's Hundred.)					
<u>Governor's Field (100 acres)</u>					
AT CALVERT'S					
Calvert, Leonard, Governor	merchant, planter	h	3,100	-	-
4+ indentured servants, including blacksmith					
Draper, Peter, Mr.	overseer	h	-	30	20
?Harrington, John, Mr.	mariner	h	-	30	8
wife					
AT THE FORT					
?Jackson, Barnaby	tailor	i	-	30	-
1 indentured servant					
Dandy, John	blacksmith	i	-	30	-
Todd, Thomas	glover	i	-	-	-
?Scotch, Andrew		i	-	30	-
?Pulton, Alexius	surgeon	i	-	30	-
?Blount, William, Councilor	merchant		-	-	350
?Robinson, John	barber-surgeon	h*	100*	28+	-
*Part-time? Robinson was a planter in St. George's Hundred and owned a tenement in the fort.					

^aHousehold status: h = householder, m = mate, i = inmate, blank = unknown.^bLand: total acres surveyed or seated; t = tenant, - = no land.^cAugust tax: Md. Arch., 1:142-43; December tax: Md. Arch., 3:123.

Freemen and their dependents	Occupation	Status ^a	Land ^b	Tax ^c	
				Aug	Dec
<u>AT HOWKINS'S ORDINARY</u>					
Howkins, William, Mr. wife	victualler	-	-	30	-
?Avery, Anne, hired indentured servant					
Holderne, John	laborer?	i	-	30	-
Coxe, Richard	brickmaker	i	-	30	-
Cottram, Edward	carpenter	i/h	-	30	20
m. ? Anne Avery (late 1642)					
?Binxs, George, Dr.	physician	i	-	30	60
<u>St. Thomas's (Sisters' Freehold, 70 acres; White House Freehold, 63 acres)</u>					
Brent, Margaret, Mrs.	planter, merchant	m	1,098	-	40
Brent, Mary, Mrs. 7+ indentured servants		m	35	-	-
Brent, Giles, Councilor	planter, merchant	i*	-	-	500*
*Assessed at Kent Island. Part-time inmate with sisters at St. Thomas's.					
Godwin, Devoreux	blacksmith	i*	-	-	20*
*Assessed at Kent Island. Part-time resident at St. Thomas's.					
<u>Greene's Freehold (55 acres)</u>					
Greene, Thomas, Mr. [widower, 2 sons in England] 1 indentured servant	planter	h	55	60	40
<u>St. Barbara's Freehold (50 acres)</u>					
Throughton, Mary, Mrs. indentured servants	planter, merchant?	h	50	-	150
<u>St. Peter's Freehold (150 acres)</u>					
[owner: Thomas Cornwaleys] vacant [house burned?]					
<u>St. Mary's Hill Freehold (255 acres)</u>					
Fisher, Phillip, Father *total owned by the Society of Jesus	priest, planter	h	12,500*	-	-
Hooper, Henry	surgeon	i	-	30	-
?Percy, Robert, Gent.	planter, overseer?	h	t	30	-
?Edlow, Joseph	planter	h	t	30	-
?Halfhead, John	planter, brickmason	h	t	30	-
<u>St. Inigoes Neck (120 acres)</u>					
[owner: Society of Jesus]					
Wiseman, Robert, Mr. wife, son, 1 indentured servant	planter	m	t	60	-
Hardige, William	tailor, planter	m	t	30	-
?Norman, John wife? children	planter		t	30	-
<u>Clarke's Freehold (50 acres)</u>					
Clarke, Robert, Mr. 1 indentured servant	surveyor, planter	h	50	-	-
<u>Lewis's Neck (30 acres)</u>					
[unimproved; surrendered 1643]					
<u>St. Peter's Key (50 acres)</u>					
Oliver, Roger wife, 2 children	mariner, planter	h	50	30	-
Boys, Thomas	mariner, planter	i	-	30	-

^aHousehold status: h = householder, m = mate, i = inmate, blank = unknown.

^bLand: total acres surveyed or seated; t = tenant, - = no land.

^cAugust tax: Md. Arch., 1:142-43; December tax: Md. Arch., 3:123.

Freemen and their dependents	Occupation	Status ^a	Land ^b	Tax ^c	
				Aug	Dec

TOWNLAND VICINITY, place of residence unknown

Ellison, Robert	barber-surgeon		-	30	-
Dixon, John	planter?	h	t?	30	8

Minimum population of St. Mary's Hundred (excludes part-time residents):

freemen	36
free women	11
children	10
indentured servants	<u>33</u>
total	90

ADJACENT HOUSEHOLDS SHOWN IN FIGURE 2-1

ST. MICHAEL'S HUNDRED

St. Joseph's Hill (50 acres)

Cockshott, John, Mr.	joiner, planter	h	50	69	-
wife, 2 daughters, 3 indentured servants					

Cornwaleys's Cross (2,000 acres)

Cornwaleys, Thomas, Councilor	merchant, planter	h	4,000	-	300
15 indentured servants					
Fenwick, Cuthbert, Gent., and wife	overseer?, planter	h?	t?	-	120
Monroe, Andrew	mariner	i	-	-	-
Clocker, Daniel	carpenter	i	-	-	20

ST. GEORGE'S HUNDRED

West St. Mary's Manor (2,000 acres)

[owner: Lord Baltimore]

Branthwaite, William, Gent.	overseer	i	-	-	-
cow keep		i			
dairy woman		i			
"the gang" of indentured servants		i	-	-	-

^aHousehold status: h = householder, m = mate, i = inmate, blank = unknown.^bLand: total acres surveyed or seated; t = tenant, - = no land.^cAugust tax: Md. Arch., 1:142-43; December tax: Md. Arch., 3:123.

APPENDIX 2

THE FREEMEN^a OF ST. MARY'S HUNDRED, AUGUST 1642:
Geographic, Occupational, and Status Groupings
in the Assessment for Burgesses' Expenses

Freemen: in order of assessment	Occupations: known or probable	Known place of residence
Ellis Beach	planter	Snow Hill Manor
Christopher Carnol	planter	Snow Hill Manor
Edward Packer	sheriff	St. John's, 1644
Mr. William Howkins	victualler	
John Holderne		[at Howkins's ordinary?]
Richard Cox	brickmaker	[at Howkins's ordinary?]
Edward Cottram	carpenter	[at Howkins's ordinary?]
Dr. George Binxs	physician	
Robert Dixon		
Henry Hooper	Jesuits' barber-surgeon	
Thomas Boys	mariner	
Roger Oliver	mariner	St. Peter's Key
Joseph Edloe	planter [Jesuit tenant?]	
John Norman	planter [Jesuit tenant?]	
John Halfhead	brickmason & planter [Jesuit tenant?]	
William Hardige	tailor & planter, Jesuit tenant	St. Inigoe's Neck, 1643
Barnaby Jackson	tailor	
John Dandy	blacksmith, gunsmith	the Fort
Andrew Scotch		
Alexius Pulton	surgeon	
Peter Draper	overseer for Leonard Calvert	[Governor's Field]
John Harrington	mariner	
Robert Percy	planter [Jesuit tenant?]	
Robert Ellison	barber-surgeon	
Robert Nicolls	planter	St. Jerome's
Nathaniel Pope ^b	planter	Pope's Freehold
Mr. Thomas Greene ^b	planter	Greene's Freehold
Mr. Robert Wiseman	Jesuit tenant	St. Inigoe's Neck, 1643
Thomas Davison	planter	St. Jerome's

SOURCE: Committee for Burgesses' Accounts, 2 August 1642, Md. Arch., 1:142-43 (names have been corrected and expanded).

^aExcludes members of the Council. They were not assessed to pay Burgesses' expenses as they were not reimbursed for their expenses in attending the Assembly.

^bMembers of the Committee.

APPENDIX 3

Maryland's first manor houses

St. John's

St. Mary's

St. Peter's

Snow Hill

Cornwaleys's Cross

This appendix brings together all the documentary evidence for these buildings. Each group of documents is preceeded by my interpretation of the evidence that they afford. The meager information for the sixth structure discussed in Chapter IV, Governor Leonard Calvert's Piny Neck house, was quoted and discussed in the text (pp. 173-74).

Appendix 3A: St. John's

Secretary John Lewger built St. John's in 1638. The site of his house has been excavated extensively.¹ Archaeology revealed that his dwelling was a large, box-framed, center chimney farmhouse. Its dimensions--52' long by 20'6" wide--were unusually generous. Although occupied as a kitchen and parlor structure, it may have been designed to have been a three room building. Its width, length, and heavy framing suggest that it was more than one story high. I hypothesize that it was a bent reared structure of one and a half stories. St. John's was a transitional structure--better built than Snow Hill or the first section of St. Mary's, and less substantial than the Cross House also under construction in 1638. St. John's was the product of time and money. Presumably, the Benedictines had provided Lewger's financing, while the time was provided by the interim housing available in St. Mary's Fort.

Stone foundations outlined Lewger's house. Under the east end, dressed blocks of ferruginous sandstone walled a cellar. The rest of the house rested on low cobble foundations. The cobble and brick foundations of the central, back-to-back fireboxes divided the building into two main sections. Within this foundation, we excavated the

¹By Henry Chandlee Forman, 1962-63, and the St. Mary's City Commission, 1972-77. Earlier accounts of the excavation have been published in Forman, Old Buildings, Gardens, and Furniture in Tidewater Maryland (Cambridge: Tidewater Publishers, 1967), pp. 5, 17, 42-3; Forman, Maryland Architecture, A Short History (Cambridge: Tidewater Publishers, 1968), p. 6; Stone, "St. John's: Archaeological Questions and Answers," Maryland Historical Magazine 69 (1974):146-68; Stone in Carson, "Impermanent Architecture," pp. 142, 185-87.

molds of floor sleepers laid below the sills. The sills, themselves, had vanished without a trace, but subsequent repairs and additions revealed the posting pattern of the ground floor.

Ground Floor Framing

Six pairs of 8 by 8 inch posts demarcated five bays: a two bay kitchen, a two bay parlor, and a central lobby and chimney bay. There also is a strong suggestion that the end walls had central prick posts. The stone foundations approximately locate the corner posts. Subsequent post-in-the-ground repairs and additions provide evidence for the other posts (figure A-1). The side walls were posted at intervals of even feet. The kitchen baying is established by the mold of an 8 by 8 inch timber used to new foot a damaged wall post in the mid-seventeenth century. In comparable fashion, the location of the chimney bay posts is established by the humus remains of hole-set porch pilasters pinned to them c.1678. Only the location of the parlor intermediate posts is in doubt, and their location is suggested by the west wall of the cellar. When this information is projected to one wall, it recreates an internally consistent side wall baying system. The location of end wall prick posts is suggested by the hole-set posts for a shade over the door in the east gable. One shade post aligns perfectly with the center of the gable. Thus, a central member was used as a door post. Presumably this was a prick post, as, if it were only a stud, it would have been cut out to center the door in the wall.

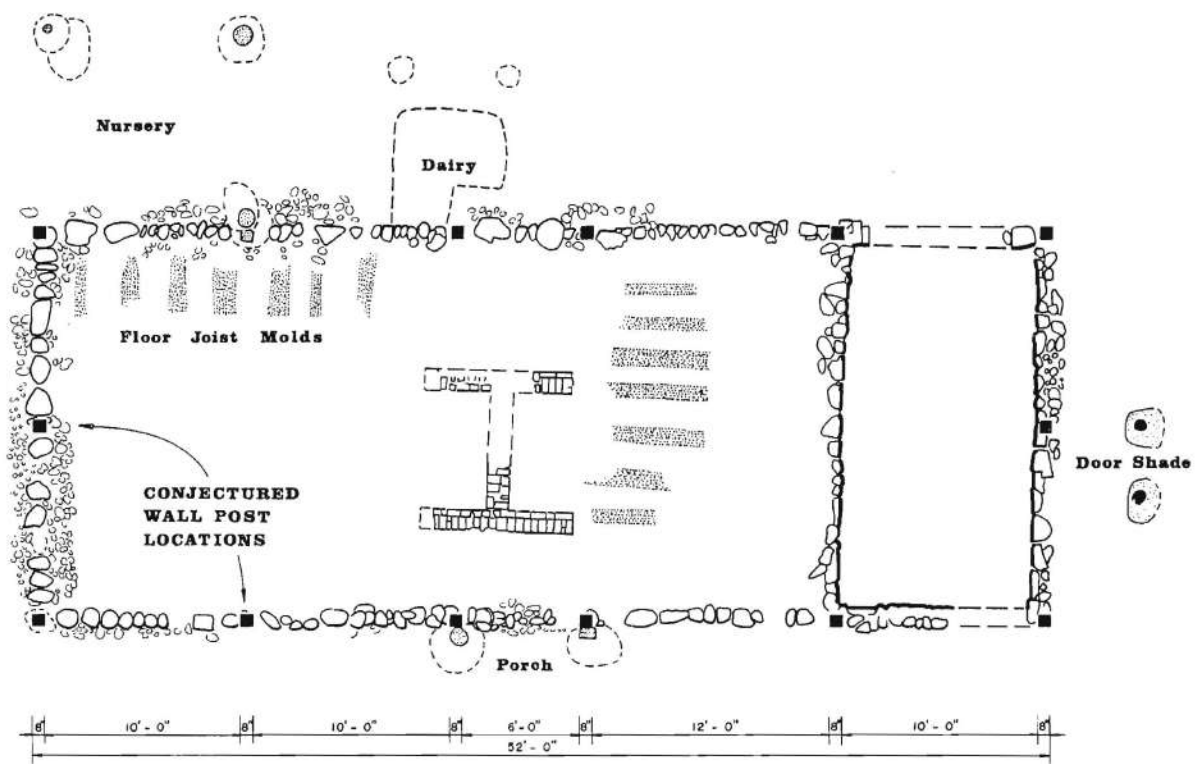


Fig. A-1. St. John's: the bay system of the 1638 box-framed structure as revealed by subsequent, post-in-the-ground repairs and additions.

Drawing: Stone and Chinh Hoang

Seventeenth-century builders went to considerable inconvenience to create symmetrical gable ends.¹

If these conclusions about the posting of St. John's are correct, they establish not only the wall posting, but also the framing of the ground floor ceilings. In both parlor and kitchen, crossed summers would have supported the floors above. Transverse summers would have bound together the front and rear intermediate posts, while longitudinal summers would have bridged the spaces between prick posts, transverse summers, and chimney girts.

By the mid-seventeenth century, the ceiling timbering of English framed houses usually can be read directly from their wall posting. This was not always the case. In the sixteenth century, most timber framed houses had wall posts demarcating every bay. These were major posts that projected several inches into the rooms. But, as carpenters gained more practice framing lofted houses, they found that these expensive posts were necessary only where they supported a major beam. In buildings where the floor joists were supported by longitudinal summer beams, large posts were retained only at the corners of the rooms where they supported the end and chimney girts. The intermediate posts were reduced to the thickness of the studs or eliminated. Heavy intermediate posts were retained only where they supported transverse

¹For longitudinal summer beams supported above centered windows, see Cummings, Framed Houses, pp. 24, 27, 32, 49, 55-56, 159. For off-center windows necessitated by prick posts, see *ibid.*, p. 195, and Kelly, Early Domestic Architecture, p. 6. For the influence of prick posts on end wall door locations, compare figures 45D and 45E in Hewett, "Timber Houses in East Anglia and America," p. 111.

summers.¹ By the mid-seventeenth century, the correlation was almost complete. Of the structures illustrated by Cummings and Kelly, every structure with intermediate posts has transverse summers. Longitudinal summers inevitably accompany prick posts.² If my interpretation of the archaeological evidence is correct, it follows that the St. John's ground floor ceilings were framed with crossed summers.

Story and a half and two story buildings with transverse or crossed summers were bent reared, that is, they were assembled of transverse frames consisting of two wall posts connected by a transverse summer or binding beam (figure A-2). For a five bay, center chimney structure like St. John's, the following is a likely raising sequence. After completely prefitting the frame and assembling the sills, two of the chimney posts and their connecting beam would have been assembled on the sills, pushed up until the post tenons dropped into their mortises, and propped vertical. Then the other pair of chimney posts and their binding beam could have been reared. As this frame came almost vertical, the side bearers for the second floor would have been slipped into their mortises and entrapped by the rising posts. After propping and pinning, these two frames would have provided the carpenters a solid starting point for the next difficult stage, the segmental assembly of the longitudinal summers and the remaining bent frames.

¹Hewett, "Development of the Post Medieval House," "Timber Houses in East Anglia and America;" Mercer, English Vernacular Houses, nos. 124, 134, 291, 313.

²Cummings, Framed Houses, passim; Kelly, Domestic Architecture, pp. 6-25.

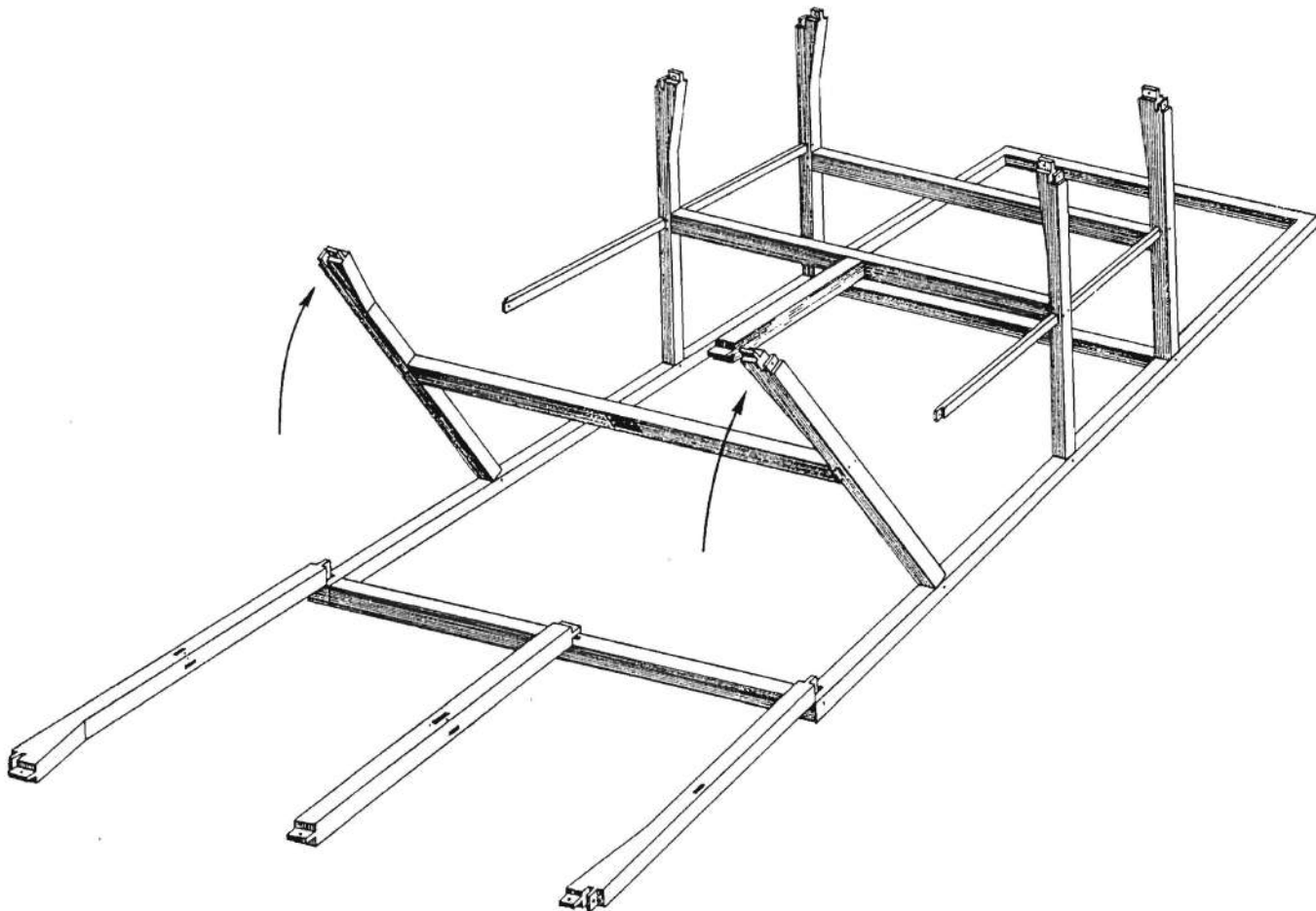


Fig. A-2. Rearing the bent frames of a two story house with crossed summers. The Gedney house, Salem, Massachusetts, c.1665. From the near to far end, the house consisted of a two bay kitchen, a chimney and lobby bay, and a leanto parlor. Cummings, Framed Houses, p. 82. Illustration copyright: Harvard University, 1979. Reprinted by permission.

First, a section of longitudinal summer would have been raised with sheer poles and tackling, swung into the mortise in one of the chimney summers, and propped horizontal. Then an intermediate bent frame would have been reared to entrap its other end and the next pair of side bearers. The process would be repeated for the end bay with the minor difference that here the summer would be supported at its outer end by a prick post. The opposite end of the house would be assembled in like manner. After setting up the wall studs, the wall plates would have been raised and set on the tenons of the posts and studs. Cummings beautifully illustrated this process for a two story dwelling (figure A-2)¹ A story and a half house would have been set up by an identical process.

Height

The height of St. John's only can be conjectured from a less than satisfactory combination of documentary and archaeological evidence about the site, and comparative evidence from England, New England, and Ireland. The evidence from the site is compatible with St. John's having been one and a half or two stories high. On the basis of comparative data, I will argue that the building was one and a half stories high. Below I will examine the evidence for and against the reconstruction of the building as one story, two stories, and one and a half stories.

The reconstruction of St. John's as a one story and loft structure has two merits only. None of the other buildings of manorial

¹See also Framed Houses, p. 63.

Maryland are known to have had furnished attic chambers, let alone full second stories, and in 1658, an upper room of St. John's was referred to as a "loft." But this latter evidence may be ambiguous. The deponent, Mary Williams, was a peasant with a limited vocabulary. She may not have distinguished between attics and half stories, or she may have used "loft" to refer to any level above the ground floor (figure A-3). Elsewhere in her deposition, she refers to the "loft" as an "upper room," and her testimony, that of her fellow servants, and the inventories of Simon Overzee's estate, make it clear that the upper level of St. John's was unusually well furnished. In 1658, of the two ground floor rooms, only the parlor contained beds. One or both of the upper chambers was furnished with posted beds hung with curtains and valances.

The architectural arguments against St. John's having been a one story house are more compelling. Not only is it larger than any early one story building known, but it is larger than any surviving first generation two story structure in Massachusetts Bay. Nor does its framing, as reconstructed, seem compatible with one story construction. Crossed summers are designed to support fully loaded second floors, not attics, and it is unlikely that prick posts would be employed in one story, bent reared construction.

The argument for two story construction is based on size and comparison with surviving structures. By the early seventeenth century, two story construction was the ideal of the English gentry and yeomanry. Of surviving seventeenth-century buildings in the Massachusetts Bay area, only a couple are of one story and six or seven of a story and

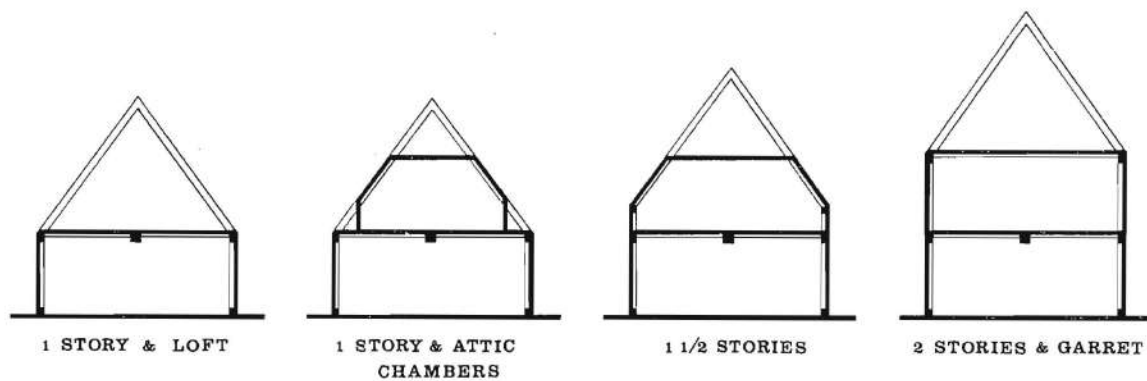


Fig. A-3. St. John's: Alternate Cross Sections illustrating the building as a one story, one and a half story, and two story structure.
Drawing: Stone and Chinh Hoang

a half.¹ The rest are a full two stories high. St. John's is wider than most of them. Cummings records the dimensions of only two early dwellings that equal the width of St. John's.² It was not until the 1670s that 20 ft. wide houses became common. Although the St. John's posting is incompatible with girt framed, two story construction, it is precisely what is required for a bent reared structure where side and end bearers support the second floor or half floor. A good parallel is furnished by the Gedney house of c.1665.³ The only archaeological difficulty in conjecturing a two story frame for St. John's is the size of the wall posts. At 8 by 8 inches, they are at the small end of the range found in two story construction, where the posts are "usually 8 by 10 or 10 by 12 inches."⁴

While the evidence found at the St. John's site is compatible with two story construction, the argument for two story construction is seriously flawed. In large part it is based on surviving structures, and the evidence is growing that surviving structures are a biased sample of seventeenth-century construction. One story structures predominated in seventeenth-century rural East Anglia, and there is every reason to believe that this was true also of New England. Surviving construction contracts reveal that one and one and a half story

¹Cummings, Framed Houses, pp. 87-88.

²The Blake House, c.1650, 39' by 20'9", and a 1667 Dorchester dwelling that was to be 18 to 20 ft. long and 18 to 20 ft. wide. Ibid., pp. 26, 212.

³Ibid., pp. 71, 81-82.

⁴Kelly, Early Domestic Architecture, pp. 10, 27, 31, 38, 49, 55.

construction was once important. Cummings discovered documents giving the heights of eleven buildings contracted between 1637 and 1669. Two were to be one story, three were to be one and a half stories, and six were to be two stories.¹ First generation probate inventories indicate that even these records seriously exaggerate the quality of seventeenth-century Massachusetts housing. Only a small fraction of the inventoried houses were large enough so that their contents were appraised room-by-room. For the period 1630-1660, Cummings has published abstracts of all the room-by-room inventories of Essex, Middlesex, and Suffolk Counties.² There are only 102 such inventories, and only 29 of them list garrets above second floor chambers. Fifteen of these are from the city of Boston. Many of the largest houses were one story or one and a half story structures that attained their size through adding rooms to initially modest structures. Thus it seems improper to use the evidence of surviving structures to argue that St. John's was a two story building.

There are no comparable problems in reconstructing St. John's as a story and a half structure. Size, construction, and the comparative data of surviving and vanished structures are compatible. Cummings

¹Cummings, Architecture in Colonial Massachusetts, pp. 193-221; Framed Houses, p. 212.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 216-33. The incidence of room-by-room inventories varies widely between communities. Their occurrence may be the product of community traditions in record keeping as well as community housing standards. See Anne Yentsch, "Regional Variation in the Communities of 17th Century Maine and Massachusetts," paper presented at the Washington Area Seminar on Early American History, 10 March 1982.

hypothesizes that story and half dwellings "must have been much more common in the seventeenth century than the small number of survivors suggest, especially in the early years when short-order housing was very much in demand."¹ The inventory abstracts that he published support this. Brook Blades has found striking confirmation in the records of the English plantations in Ireland. There manorial surveys of 1617 and 1622 describe 57 "English framed houses." Of them, two were one story in height, and 13 were two stories in height. The remainder, 42, were one and a half stories in height. While some of these one and a half story structures may have been one story buildings with finished loft chambers, surviving construction documents reveal that others were true story and half buildings. The one and a half story buildings included the longest structure listed in the surveys, a dwelling 46 1/2 ft. long and 21 ft. wide--dimensions close to those of St. John's.²

Surviving American story and a half structures vary considerably in size. The Older Bushnell House in Saybrook, Connecticut, is a modest three bay, center chimney structure measuring 31 ft. by 18'7". Both kitchen and parlor are only one bay long.³ The Balch House, at Beverley, Massachusetts, also is only three bays long, but here the kitchen occupies two bays. Much later a parlor was added on the other side of the chimney, and this may have been intended from the first.⁴ An even

¹Framed Houses, p. 87.

²Blades, "'In the Manner of England'," pp. 47-53.

³Kelly, Early Domestic Architecture, pp. 7, 25-26.

⁴Cummings, Framed Houses, pp. 55, 87-79, 160-61, 207.

larger structure is the 1686 Coffin House on Nantucket Island. It is 39 ft. long and 20 ft. wide.¹ It may have been reared in side wall frames (longitudinal summer beams support the upper floor), but the normal method of framing a story and half structure was to employ bent frames consisting of opposing posts connected by transverse summers.² Both the Bushnell and Balch houses were reared this way. An even closer framing parallel is provided by the Churchill House in Plymouth, Massachusetts. It is framed with crossed summers.³

These story and a half dwellings are well framed, well finished structures. The transverse summers and exposed wall posts of the Balch House are as elegantly molded as in two story structures, and its chamber is well lighted by windows in the end wall and a facade gable.⁴ At the Coffin House, two facade gables illuminated both the chambers and their garrets. Equally well built story and a half houses have vanished. A 1679 Salem house was to be 24 ft. and three lengths of joist long. (Thus it was to be bent reared.) The street end of the house was to be jettied out 2 ft. and to be decorated with handsome pinnacles. It also was to have a facade gable to light the chamber.⁵ While most

¹Lancaster, Architecture, Nantucket, pp. 18-22; Forman, Early Nantucket and Its Whale Houses, p. 235.

²Cummings, Framed Houses, p. 87.

³Cary Carson, personal communication.

⁴Cummings, Framed Houses, pp. 88-89, 161.

⁵Cummings, Architecture Colonial Massachusetts, pp. 218-19.

seventeenth-century American story and half structures were undoubtedly inferior to those about which information has survived, it is interesting that they are better framed buildings than comparable story and half structures surviving from seventeenth-century Essex, England.

Cecil Hewett has published descriptions of three, seventeenth-century Essex buildings of one and a half stories. Two are modest farmhouses and one is a duplex cottage. Hewett describes the frame of one of these as well executed, but the small size of "the timbers used together with their relatively sparse distribution in the frame, implies that the building was adequately financed and no more."¹ These buildings are small and relatively undecorated. None have the dynamic asymmetry of the Balch house, or of the Austin Lord house (before 1653) of Ipswich, Massachusetts, buildings where asymmetry suggests that, from the very first, their owners planned to expand them.² Clearly, the New England story and a half buildings are the superior set of dwellings. Why? Was it that the New Englanders for whom these buildings were constructed were men of higher social status than the English husbandmen and laborers for whom the Essex structures were built? Were the New Englanders, because of inflated wages, building smaller dwellings than those they might have occupied in England?

Chimney

Near the center of the house remains the fragmentary foundation of the original chimney: three to four courses of brick on a cobblestone

¹"Seventeenth-century Carpentry in Essex," pp. 79-80, 84; "Timber Houses in East Anglia and America," pp. 102-11, 117.

²Cummings, Framed Houses, pp. 22, 55, 63, 89, 110.

footing. The brick average $8 \frac{3}{4}$ by $4 \frac{1}{4}$ by $2 \frac{3}{8}$ inches. The brick are laid in English bond with two inch closers. The mortar used was clay loam subsoil. The two fireboxes of the axial stack are six feet wide and three feet deep.

Lewger or his carpenter carefully located the chimney. The stack was situated as far as possible towards the west and south. By bringing the fireboxes under the west chimney girt and inside the east chimney girt, a foot of space was subtracted from the west end of the house and added to the east end. I will argue later that Lewger's unrealized intention was to partition the east end of the house into a parlor and inner room or rooms. The forward location of the chimney left room behind it for a large closet, but it meant that the stair had to be located in one of the rooms (either in a corner or behind the chimney). This impeded access to the upper chambers and decreased privacy. While the original St. John's chimney location was common in early seventeenth-century farmhouses, by 1638 in the northern home counties this arrangement was being abandoned for another in which the stack was moved to the back of the house to create room in the lobby for a newel stair.¹ In 1678, the St. John's plan was brought up to date by demolishing the original chimney, constructing another against the north wall of the house, and, presumably, framing a stair in the enlarged lobby.

¹Barley, English Farmhouse, pp. 68-71; Barley, "Rural Housing," p. 740.

The construction of a new chimney in 1678 indicates that the original chimney was insubstantial. It is not plausible that a good brick stack of chimneys would have been removed merely to update the floor plan of what was then only a tenement, if a valuable one. With bricklayers earning 40 pounds tobacco a day, the new chimney cost over two thousand pounds tobacco.¹ It seems likely that the original chimney had timber and daub flues above the brick fireboxes. The decision to replace the old timber stack with brick may have been less motivated by consideration of fashion than safety. Van Sweringen's Ordinary (William Smith's town house) had just been destroyed by "a sudden fire . . . in the night."² Shortly, the Bakers would replace the timber chimnies of the old St. Mary's House with brick stacks. Thus it seems that at least three of the first manor houses of Maryland (Snow Hill, St. John's, and St. Mary's) had timber flues above brick fireboxes. The exposed tops of the stacks (where they projected above the roofs) may have been protected with a cladding of flat tile. (Small groups of fragments from identical roof tile have been found at both St. John's and St. Mary's.)³

Plan and Function

A combination of archaeological and documentary evidence provides conclusive proof that St. John's was occupied as a two unit, kitchen and parlor dwelling. The architectural remains, however, suggest that

¹Md. Arch., 66:95-96; Charles County, COURT & LAND RECORDS, V#1: 220.

²Maryland, PATENTS, 20:182.

³Silas D. Hurry, "St. John's Flat Tile," 1978, Archaeology Files, St. Mary's City Commission; Henry M. Miller, personal communication.

the building was built to be subdivided into three units, a development that had not occurred by 1658 and may never have taken place.

From the period of the Lewgers' occupation, no documents survive that describe the domestic arrangements of the great house. Our first written evidence dates from 1656 and 1658. At that time, St. John's Manor was owned by Mr. Simon Overzee, a Dutch merchant. From the 1656 depositions, we learn only that an occupant of the "quartering house" did not witness events in the foreyard. (Presumably, the quartering house was the small building behind the east end of the great house.) The 1658 depositions, the same ones quoted above in conjecturing the height of the house, are more helpful. They establish the occupants and some of the furnishings of one of the upper rooms and one of the lower rooms. This information, combined with the furnishings listed in Simon Overzee's probate inventory, permit us to make plausible conjectures about the functions of the other rooms.

The events of 1658 were triggered by the death of Mrs. Overzee in childbirth. Mr. Overzee was away. Although his brother-in-law, Mr. Job Chandler, was staying in an upper room, two of the servants-- Mary Williams, the overseer's wife, and Mary Clocker, the wetnurse-- seized the opportunity to pilfer linens and notions from Overzee's chests and trunks. Their motives were less the hope of gain than hatred for Overzee. At Mary Clocker's urging, Mary Williams secured the keys from Chandler. While the two women listened for Chandler, they rumaged through Overzee's chests and trunks. The depositions make it clear that access from the upper floor was into the other ground floor room. Although it is not named, for reasons to be recited below, I believe

that this other room was the kitchen. The chests and trunks were in "Mrs. Overzee's chamber." Although Mrs. Overzee's closet ("which everybody ordinarily went into, for meat and other necessities of household") figures prominently in the depositions, this was probably the space behind the chimney. The depositions give no hint of an inner room (bedroom, little parlor, study, or wardrobe chamber). The dairy was not a subdivision of the parlor, as Mary Williams left the room and perhaps the house to do the churning. The parlor was clearly the command post from which the household was run. It had been Mrs. Overzee's chamber; immediately after her death it was occupied by the overseer's wife and the wetnurse. After the wetnurse took the Overzee infant home with her, the overseer took up residence in the parlor. No one is mentioned as sleeping in the other ground floor room, a circumstance that leads me to believe that it contained no bedsteads. (And the inventory lists only two window curtains.) If it had contained a bedstead, it, rather than the best room of the house, would have been a logical place for the overseer to have taken up residence.

Another deposition mentions arriving at St. John's and entering "Mr. Overzee's kitchen where were divers of the servants and John Williams." From the context, this space could have been either the other ground floor room or the quartering house. I believe it was the former, for if the second ground floor room was not a kitchen, it would have been either a dining hall or a second parlor. The depositions indicate it was not the latter, and Overzee's inventory does not appear to include the furnishings of a hall used only for dining. In the entire house there were only nine chairs (including a close stool) and three small

tables. The inventory does list three "iron backs for fireplaces." Two of these would have been for the ground floor fireplaces of the central chimney. The other may have been used in the quartering house or in one of the second floor chambers of the great house.

The excavated materials compliment and extend these deductions from the documents. The distribution of trash around the house indicates that the west room was the kitchen when St. John's was a two room farmhouse. The yard behind the west room contained the largest quantity of early (9/16 to 11/16 inch bore) pipe stem fragments (figure A-4). It certainly was the kitchen in the 1640s or 50s when a small dairy shed was added to the cool north side of the room. While this shed was demolished subsequently by Simon Overzee, the distribution of coarse Dutch earthenwares suggests that the west room remained the kitchen during his occupation. During the occupation of Governor Charles Calvert, cooking was moved to the former quarter, and, presumably, the west room became a "hall" or living room. It remained the hall or public room in the late seventeenth century when St. John's was an inn.¹

If the west end of the house was first the kitchen and later the hall, then of necessity it is the east end of the house that Governor Charles Calvert described in 1664 as "my parlor"²--his withdrawing room and bedchamber. This was certainly the private end of the house

¹An intense concentration of phosphates within the area of the late seventeenth-century west room rear yard establishes that it was the public room. Keeler, "The Homelot," pp. 148, 170.

²Calvert Papers, 1:239.

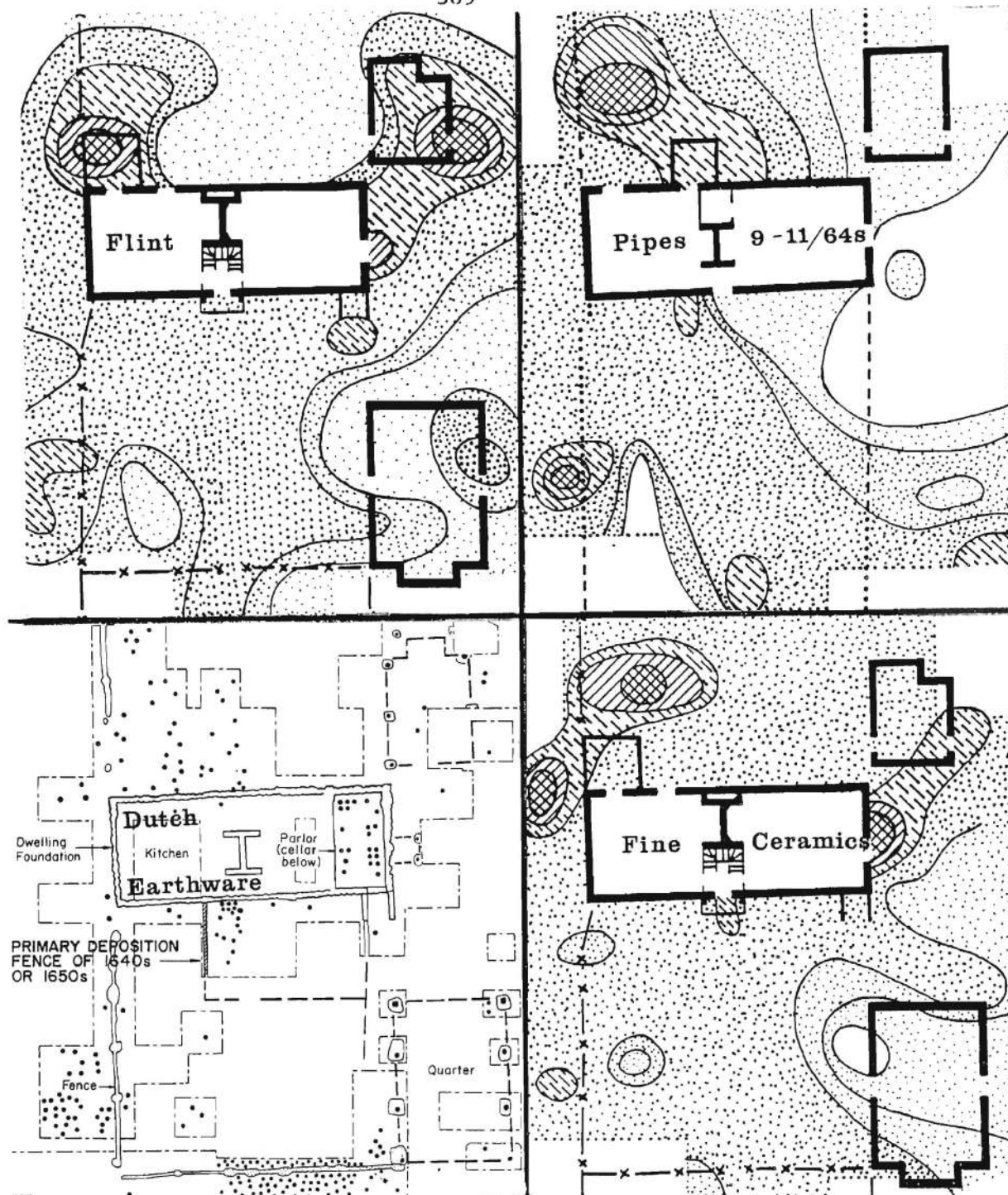


Fig. A-4. St. John's: Trash Distributions.

The flint knapping waste locates the rear doors of the structures. The distribution of 11 to 9/64s bore white clay tobacco pipe stems locates the kitchen of the 1630s and 40s, and the distribution of Dutch coarse earthenwares shows that in the 1650s, food was prepared in the main house and not the outbuilding. The distribution of fine ceramics locates the east end door of the parlor. SOURCES: Keeler, "The Homelot," pp. 150, 158, and 162; Henry M. Miller, "Phase One Ceramics," Archaeology Files, St. Mary's City Commission. Drawings: Keeler, Hoang, and Miller.

(the stair and new nursery shed opened into the west room). The trash scattered outside of the door in the east end of the house contained relatively high frequencies of fine ceramics and bottle glass, as would be expected if this room were the parlor. (The owners of the house and their guests would have dined in the parlor.) Some of the delft-wares probably date from Calvert's occupation. The door in the east end, approximately located by trash distributions and the post molds of a shade (shed porch) above it, adds more weight to the hypothesis that this half of the house was one large room. Exterior doors from inner rooms and service rooms are rare, and a partition would have inhibited the sweeping of trash out this door from the parlor table.

While St. John's was occupied as a two unit dwelling, there is good reason to suspect that it was planned as a three unit dwelling. While much larger mid-seventeenth-century structures are known--for example Leonard Calvert's St. Mary's House, or the extraordinary Boston residence of the Reverend John Cotton (with three parlors, a gallery, and a porch),¹ both of these houses attained their size through extension, and the Cotton house was supra-vernacular. Among the more ordinary houses built in large enough numbers so that dimensional knowledge of them has survived, the length of St. John's--52 feet--was exceptional. The typical two or three unit New England house of one build was 34 to 44 feet long. Not until 1681 do Cummings's abstracts of construction documents list a dwelling rivalling the length of St. John's (48 by 20 feet).² Cummings illustrates the plans of only two buildings

¹Cummings, Framed Houses, p. 39.

²Ibid., pp. 22-24, 212-14.

comparable to St. John's: the Whipple House (c.1655) and the Story House (c.1684). Both were constructed as one unit, two story houses, that were subsequently extended, the Whipple House before 1683 and the Story House not until c.1725. As extended, both structures were three units long. The parlor addition to the Whipple House included an inner room, and the kitchen addition to the Story House included two service rooms.¹ There are numerous examples of comparable three unit English plans. Among English farmhouses, undivided parlors the length of St. John's are extreme rare.² Therefore, it seems that St. John's was designed to be a three unit structure.

I believe that St. John's was designed to be a three unit dwelling; probably Lewger planned to divide the east end of the house along the line of the transverse summer, a process that would have created a parlor 13 ft. long and an inner room or rooms 10 1/2 ft. long. Alternately, the east end of the house, the end nearest the spring, was to be subdivided into a kitchen and service rooms. This seems less likely; both in England and New England, cellars almost inevitably were placed under parlors,³ and in 1658, access to the upper floor was from the west room. As mentioned above, the west room midden includes a majority of the earliest white clay pipe stems. If this line of reasoning is correct, the next questions is, why did Lewger not complete his house as designed?

¹Ibid., pp. 22, 27.

²Mercer, English Vernacular Houses, illustrates none this large.

³Barley, Farmhouse and Cottage, p. 187; Cummings, Framed Houses, p. 29; Smith, "The Evolution of the English Peasant House," p. 138.

Lewger may have delayed deliberately the partitioning of his parlor so that it could be used, for a short while, as a court and assembly room. At its completion in 1638, St. John's 23'8" by 19'10" parlor must have been the largest room in the colony, and it was pressed into public service immediately. Lewger had good reason to anticipate that the public use of his dwelling would be of short duration. The 1639 Assembly authorized the construction of a town house.¹ This town house was never constructed. The parlor of St. John's remained the largest room at St. Mary's until Governor Leonard Calvert enlarged his house c.1641, and only two years later, when Calvert left the colony, the parlor of St. John's again became the court room of the province. Governor Charles Calvert may have found this commodious space equally useful in the 1660s when he met with his council at St. John's.

Finishes

St. John's gives every indication of having been a well finished building. The carpenters were well equipped, they seem to have been competent, and they were well furnished with materials. From early contexts, we excavated evidence of plank floors, plastered walls, and glazed windows. Only the original roof cover escapes conjecture. It could have been thatched, shingled, or clapboarded.

The interior of the dwelling was dominated by its exposed heavy timbering: crossed summers, wall posts, and exposed sills. The crossed summers were an expensive feature, and almost certainly they were accented with chamfers terminated with decorative stops. Additional

¹Md. Arch., 1:75-76.

carving may have been lavished on the jowls of the supporting posts.¹ Between the posts, the wall interiors were plastered. The debris in the cellar of the house included thick strata of wall plaster. Many fragments retained the impression of riven lath. Some showed that the lath had been nailed to studs between the exposed posts. The plaster had been whitewashed frequently, but none had been colored. The keys on the back of the plaster fragments show that the walls were hollow.² They were neither clay walled nor filled. Presumably they were clapboarded on the exterior, as sawn plank was in short supply in the 1630s.³ Nevertheless, the St. John's floors were planked. No dirt floor or occupation debris underlay the molds of the ground floor sleepers. Vertical nails in the sleeper molds had fastened planks 9 to 13 inches wide. Comparable plank would have floored the chambers above. The underside of these plank were the ceilings of the ground floor rooms.⁴ Their windows were glazed in patterns incorporating triangles and pentagons.⁵

¹Cummings illustrates six intermediate or prick posts that support summers. Five have carved jowls. Framed Houses, pp. 105, 107, 110, 161, 205.

²Alexander H. Morrison, II, "Notes on the Mortar and Plaster from St. John's," 3 vols., 1978. Archaeology Files, St. Mary's City Commission.

³Md. Arch., 4:39-40; Calvert Papers, 1:191-92.

⁴The brick state house constructed 1674-76 may have been the first Maryland building to have plastered ceilings (Md. Arch., 2:406; 7:299). The oldest ceiling plaster to survive is in the loft, Third Haven Great Meeting House (T-46). It was plastered in 1699. (Third Haven Friends Meeting, MINUTE BOOK, 1676-1746 (Annapolis: Maryland Hall of Records), p. 168.)

⁵Henry M. Miller, "An Analysis of the Window Glass and Lead from St. John's," 1978. Archaeology Files, St. Mary's City Commission.

DOCUMENTS

September 1656 Md. Arch., 41:190

Death of Antonio

Attorney General vs. Overzee, 1658

Deposition of Hannah Littleworth

"Mr Ouerzee commanded him to be tyed to a Ladder standing on the foreside of the dwelling howse, . . . Till the negro was dead, there was nobody about the howse but only the said Mathew Stone, William Hewes, & this Examinant, & a negro woman in the quartering howse, who neuer stirred out."

October 1658 Md. Arch., 41:210-13

Attorney General vs. Williams, Williams, Clocker, and Courtney

Abstract, depositions of Mary Williams, Mary Clocker, and Anne Holt

Mary Williams deposed that "Mr Chandler being in Bed in the loft," (she later described this as "an upper Roome"), at Mary Clocker's instigation, she obtained the keys from him "uppon pretence to take spice." Once back in Mrs. Overzee's "Roome" or "Chamber," "shee shutt the spring lock on them both." Then she and Mary Clocker opened and pilferred Mrs. Overzee's "Greate Dutch Trunk." Other things were taken "out of Mrs. Ouerzees Closett, which euery Body ordinarily went into, for meate & other necessaries of household." The next Friday, she "opened a Trunk in an upper Roome where Mr Chandler lay, & . . . taking a Case Key tooke out her Mr Ouerzees keyes, & opened Mr Ouerzees Cabinett." "That the Salt was deliuered to Courtney by her hauing the Key of the Dairy." Mary Clocker took some linens when Williams was absent, having "went out earely in the morning to Chorne."

Deposition of Thomas Courtney

Being sent to St. John's, "Mary Williams . . . asked him whither hee came for any thing thither or not. To which this Examined replied hee came for salt, nobody being att that time by but John Williams. That after this hee this Examined went into Mr Ouerzees Kitchen, where were diuers of the seruants & John Williams. That Mary Williams comming into the Kitchin, John Williams gaue this Examined a priuate Rubbe with his Elbowe, . . . & thereuppon followed the said Williams into the Roome where hee & his Wife lay [the parlor], & there receaued . . . Salt to the quantity of Three Pecks."

27 April 1664 Calvert Papers, 1:239
Governor Charles Calvert to Cecilius, Lord Baltemore

Repeatedly, the Chancellor has requested that I give Patrick Powest a warrant for "Pork Hall neck. Patrick as he says presst him soe much that he came the Third time with him . . . nothing would serue it seemes vnless I gave the fellow an answer & vpon that I went out of my parlor to the fellow."

8 March 1678/9 Md. Arch., 15:230
Council Proceedings

Testimony given that "in the Hall of Henry Exons house at St Johns" Mr. Rousby had called the Lord Proprietor a traitor.

1662-1663 Northumberland County, Virginia, WILLS & DEEDS, 1658-1666:
84, 107
Inventories of the goods of Elizabeth Colclough as administrix of Mr. Simon Overzee, deceased

Simon Overzee died late in 1659 or early in 1660. In January, 1661, his widow married Major George Colclough of Northumberland County, Virginia. Immediately, the furnishings and stock on St. John's were moved to Colclough's Northumberland County plantation to protect them from attachment by the creditors to the Overzee estate. After Major Colclough's death in 1662, the appraisors of his estate discovered the Overzee assets mixed with the Colclough movables. The same day that they filed their appraisal of the Major's estate, the Widow Overzee-Colclough filed her own listing of the remaining goods of Simon Overzee. The listing was brief and the goods were not valued. In 1663, a new inventory was made by court appointed appraisors aided by Elizabeth's third husband, an immigrant merchant from New England, Mr. Isaac Allerton.¹

The second inventory of the Overzee goods was much more detailed than the first. Unfortunately, the folio on which the second was recorded has been damaged so badly that the second inventory can be used only as a supplement to the first. To facilitate their use, the material from the two inventories has been arranged below in parallel columns.

¹Md. Arch., 41:366, 403-06; Maryland, TESTAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS, 1C:7; Warren M. Billings, ed., The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), p. 126.

lb. tob. & cask

4 feather beds
 3 bolsters
 3 rugs
 3 blankets
 5 feather pillows
 3 suits of curtains and
 valances
 3 bedsteads
 1 trundle bedstead

3 pair of old sheets

2 window cloths
 2 small carpets
 3 old table cloths
 2 dozen old napkins
 2 towels
 3 small tables
 7 leather chairs

4 cushions

2 cupboards
 2 cupboard cloths

2 great trunks
 1 case
 2 chests
 2 looking glasses

8 lb. of plate

1 feather bed, bolster, pillows,
 curtains, valances,
 bedstead, and coverlet
 2 feather beds, 2 bolsters, 2
 rugs . . . blankets, 2 pair
 of curtains and valances, 2
 pillows, and 2 bedsteads 2,200
 2 small feather beds, 2
 bolsters, . . . 1 blanket
 old 1,100
 1 suit of curtains + . . .
 2 pillow cases
 3 pillow bears of . . .
 1 holland pillow bear
 2 pairs of sheets
 4 pairs of old sheets
 1 old warming pan
 3 old carpet . . .
 1 diaper table cloth
 3 dozen old diaper napkins
 2 diaper towels + . . .
 1 leather chair
 3 old chairs
 4 old cushions . . .
 5 old cushion cases
 1 old close stool
 3 cupboards
 2 old cupboard cloths
 3 cupboard cloths
 1 trunk
 . . . cabinet
 . . . cabinet
 1 looking glass
 . . . glass
 1 parcel of old books
 . . . ins cap, 1 small silver
 and gilt
 . . . [sma]ll silver beaker,
 1 silver porringer
 . . . [hal]fe a dozen small
 spoons one whereof . . .
 a parcel of plate some worn
 and broken 5,250

50 lbs. of pewter		
3 pair of andirons	3 iron backs for chimneys, andirons, tongs, and fire shovel	
	2 pairs of old andirons	
2 spits	2 spits	
1 frying pan		
1 iron kettle	1 iron kettle & frying pan, 2 small iron pots	210
2 small coppers	2 copper kettles, 1 brass stew pan	600
1 chafing dish	1 parcel of old brass . . .	
	1 old chopping knife	
	a parcel of smith's tools, a pair of old bellows, & old iron	250
	5 plough chains, 3 yoke irons, coulter old share, and plough	500
3 mares	3 mares and 1 mare foal of a year old	7,500
1 mare foal	2 horses about 2 years old	2,200
3 young horses of 2 years	2 horses: one old & ham- strunged and the other 3 years old	2,050
1 old horse	46 sheep	4,800
	5 cows	2,250
37 ewes & 2 rams	1 Indian boy & girl as slaves the boy being lame	4,400
4 cows, 3 calves	1 servant to serve almost a year	400
2 Indians, a boy and a girl, servants		
John Paine an English servant for one year		
a boy going by the name of Mary . . . Fuck, one year	total	39,690
a servant maid sold for 1,800 lb. tob.		

Appendix 3B: St. Mary's

The largest house of Manorial Maryland belonged to Governor Leonard Calvert. A one story structure of 2,700 square feet, H. Chandlee Forman measured its late 17th-century underpinnings in 1937. In 1981, further excavation and analysis identified them as the remains of the "St. Mary's" governor's residence, a building purchased by the Province (the "Country") in 1662.¹ The foundation plan indicates clearly that St. Mary's was a double pile structure; that is, it was covered with two parallel A-frame roofs. The internal divisions of the foundation seem to reflect late 17th-century changes, and until further excavation, the earlier plans of the structure can be conjectured only from the documentary record. St. Mary's seems to have begun as a modest two or three unit farmhouse, and then more than doubled in width through the addition of "the great room called St. Mary's."

The best starting point for unravelling the plan of the St. Mary's house is the 1667 inventory of Captain William Smith, carpenter, innholder, and the Province's tenant of the Country's House. Smith's inventory establishes relationships among several rooms. The parlor end of the house consisted of three spaces--Smith's lodging chamber and two small

¹Thomas identified the St. Mary's foundation as that of the "Country's House" or "Smith's Town House" and located Calvert's "large framed house" to the southeast (Chronicles of Colonial Maryland [Cumberland, Maryland: The Eddy Press, 1913], pp. 26-27 and map). Forman initially followed this designation, but when with further research, he discovered that Smith's Ordinary and the Country's House were separate structures, he identified the brick foundation as Smith's Town House and searched further, unsuccessfully, for the foundations of Calvert's St. Mary's dwelling (Jamestown and St. Mary's: Buried Cities of Romance [Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938], pp. 269-273; "An Archaeological Find Near the Leonard Calvert House," Maryland Historical Magazine 38 (1943):56-59).

rooms "within" it, a bedchamber and a parlor. The "great room called St. Mary's" was accessible from the lodging chamber, and the kitchen was supplemented by a store room, a wine cellar, and a meat cellar. The hall was all but unfurnished, apparently because it was the court room. In 1669, Smith's successor was directed to take "down the partition between the court room and St. Mary's room leaving the posts standing."

Twenty years later, a second room-by-room inventory was made of the contents of the Country's House. The decedent was another innkeeper, Mr. John Baker. His inventory begins "in the St. Mary's Rooms," proceeds to the "room against the cellar," the cellar, the innkeeper's room, the kitchen, and the pantry. This inventory is less detailed than Smith's (Baker had sublet the Country's House to another innkeeper who was providing some of the furnishings), but its room order also is architecturally suggestive, especially the coupling of the "room against the cellar" with the "St. Mary's Rooms," and the pantry with the kitchen. The hall is missing from Baker's inventory, having been combined with the St. Mary's Room in 1669. Otherwise, there is substantial agreement between the two inventories. All the rooms named in 1687 can be identified tentatively among the rooms listed in 1667. The major difference between the inventories is that four minor spaces listed in 1667 (the inner rooms of the innkeeper's chamber and two lofts) are not listed in 1687.

However, while there was continuity between 1667 and 1687, the house is known to have changed. After Baker's death, his widow sold the lease, and the new proprietor, when petitioning the Province for an extension to the lease, justified his request by pointing out that expensive repairs had been made and more were needed. The Bakers had

spent "above thirty thousand pounds of tobacco in making brick walls and chimneys and other reparations," despite which "one side of the house and the whole covering is now quite decayed."

The site plan excavated by Forman and partially re-excavated by the St. Mary's City Commission reflects these changes. Forman located four fireplaces and tentatively located a fifth. Only four can be inferred from Smith's inventory.

The most curious part of the archaeological plan is the central passage, a feature unknown or rare in English double pile structures. Typically, a single spine wall runs down the center of a double roofed dwelling where it can support both roofs.¹ One explanation of the central passage is that the north partition was added by the Bakers to provide private access to the spaces subdivided from the St. Mary's Room. A second is that the central passage was a convenient way of replacing a rotten spine wall. (The valleys between double roofs inevitably leak.)

Figure A-5 illustrates the archaeological plan and two preliminary interpretations. Both interpretations make the southern half of the building a typical three unit farmhouse comprised of parlor suite, hall, kitchen, and pantry. This agrees with the foundations found by Forman and the artifact patterns excavated in 1981.² This requires locating the St. Mary's Room and the two cellar rooms in the north half of the building. Two possible arrangements are shown. Both assume the construction of an additional fireplace by the Bakers.

¹Smith, Houses Welsh Countryside, pp. 256-61; Mercer, English Vernacular Houses, pp. 179, 181; Barley, English Farmhouse and Cottage, p. 219.

²Henry M. Miller, "A Search for the 'Citty of Saint Maries,' 1981 Excavations," St. Mary's City Commission (in preparation).

By either interpretation, the St. Mary's Room is a "great" room, a room twice the size of an ordinary planter's dwelling. But, I suspect there may have been another reason for considering it "great." Baker's inventory lists no lofts or garrets. Smith's inventory lists loft chambers above only his chamber and hall, rooms that I believe were in the south half of the dwelling. Was the St. Mary's Room an unceiled hall open to the roof?

The construction of the St. Mary's House is undocumented. Besides the two inventories and the 1694 petition, the only other descriptive references are two 1647 documents (describing the building as a large frame dwelling, recently refurbished, with a room at the end) and a 1678 reference to a porch. The social history of the house suggests that the St. Mary's Room was added in c.1641.

Most likely, the St. Mary's House was constructed c.1634-35 as temporary housing for Lord Baltimore. In his absence, the building was occupied by his representative, Governor Leonard Calvert. Until Leonard Calvert took possession of the land on which the house stood, he had no reason to expensively improve the building. Clearly, the St. Mary's Room did not exist, 1639-41, when the Assembly met at St. John's and authorized the construction of a "Town House."¹ Therefore, it seems most likely that the St. Mary's Room was constructed after Leonard Calvert patented the Governor's Field in 1641 and prior to the meeting of the Assembly at St. Mary's in March of 1642.

¹Md. Arch., 1:1, 27-32, 39, 75-76, 90, 103, 116, 120, 127, 167, 201, 205.

DOCUMENTS¹

15 November 1633 Hall, Narratives, p. 21
 Lord Baltimore's Instructions

"9. That where they intend to settle the Plantacon they first make a fort within which or neerer unto it a convenient house, and a church or a chappel adjacent may be built, for the seat of his Lordshipp or his Governor or other Commissioners for the time being in his absence, both which his Lordshipp would have them take care should in the first place be erected, in some proportion at least, as much as is necessary for present use though not so compleate in every part as in fine afterwards they may be and to send his Lordshipp a Platt of it. . . ."

4 January 1646/7 Md. Arch., 41:454
 Deed, Pope to Calvert

"the said Nath: Pope hath Sould vnto the Governor his dwelling howse at St Marys and the Land belonging to itt, and all the Sawed Boards and all loose tymber that are now in or aboute the howse excepting foure boards and the worke of John Cooke due Mr Pope for Couering of the howse he the said Gouvernor findeing all necessaryes to itt besides the said John Cookes owne worke, And for price thereof the said Gouvernor is to discharge the said Mr Pope of foure thousand pounds of tobacco due for his present Leauy and to allowe hime a Roome at the End of the howse to putt his thinges in till Spring"

30 June 1647 Md. Arch., 4:321
 Inventory of Governor Leonard Calvert

(lbs. tob. & cask)

"A large framed howse, with 100 Acres of Town-Land 4000"

¹Contractions expanded. Inserted letters underscored.

11 August 1668 TESTAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS, 3:127-159

A True Inventory of the Estate of Captn. William Smith late of St. Maries County deceased as it Remayned at the tyme of his death and Apprized by us the Subscribers on the Eleaventh day of August in the XXXVIIth Yeare of the DOMINION of CATILIUS ER on this Province of Maryland Annoq Domini MDCLxviii

Imprimis his purse being Sixty pounds in money with his apparell all valued in Tobacco	15000
---	-------

In his lodging Chamber	
One watch	00700
One Clocke	00400
One fixt Jack	00100
	16200

One ditto unfixt	00100
five fixt Gunns	01000
Three ditto unfixt	00360
Two featherbedds two bolsters two feather pillowes two blanketts a suite of Callico Curtanies and Vallance and Counterpann	02500
five Diaper table Clothes and five Dozem of Diaper Napkins	02300
Two long holland Table Clothes	00180
Two ditto shorter	00120
Three Dozen of Holland Napkins	00648
Seaven Dowlas Table clothes and one Dozen and halfe more of napkins for Coasters	00300
One Dozen and halfe of Towells	00270
Three Cubbord Clathes of Scotch cloth	00150
Seaven paire of holland sheets	01200
Seaven paire of Coarser sheets	00700
Eight paire of ordinary sheets	00760
Tenn paire of pillow beers	00600
One Chest of drawers	0080?
One Cubbord	00400
Two spice boxes	00???
five Trunckes one Chest and Box	00500
One Table and three Joynt stooles	00180
One striped Carpett	00050
One high leather Chaire	00080
Two high wooden Chaires	00120
fowre Leather Chaires Lower	00200
	13418

One paire of brass Andirons with Tongs and shovell	00250
One Iron backe in <u>the</u> Chimney	00200
One paire of long tobacco tongs one paire of bellowes and smoothing Iron and Two heaters	00200
Several peeces of blew Earthen ware	00270
One Skreen	00200

Severall peeces of plate	02000
Two hundred and forty Armes lenght Roanoke	01200

In the Bedd Chamber within the a fore sd Lodging Chamber

One Bedd Boulster two pillowes one Rugg Two blanketts with flowered Curteynes and Vallance	00800
One large Truncke	00150
Two striped table clothes	00150
One Sadle with girts	00150
Tenn paire of plaine shoos	00200
Nine paire of french falls	00270
Nine paire of somens shoes	00180
One paire of french falls more	00030
One Knott of Drumm line and a parcell of Glue	00036
Six feather Pillowes	00120
Twenty Ells of Dowlas	00500
A bundle of Girdling	00030
	<u>06936</u>

In the Parlour within the afore said Roome first men[t]ioned

One large Truncke	00100
One hundred weight of Candles	00500
One small Iron mortar and pestle	00030
Three paire of small Stillyards	00150
One table foure Joyntstooles one matted Chaire the drawing leafe of a small Table	00250
One grater two paire of shearing sheares one rowling pinn	
Three Wooden basketts and one Turgen basket and flaskett	00160

In the Greate Roome called St. Marys

One Bedd and Boulster with Greene Curteynes and Vallances one greene Rugg and one white blankett	00800
One bedd and Boulster Rugg and Blanketts and Striped Darnick Curteynes and Vallance	00700
	<u>02690</u>

One old feather bedd and two pillowes blankett and Coverlett	00400
Twelve yards of Redd trading Cloth	00480
One blew Matchcoate	00050
One greene Worsted rugg	00200
Two pillowes	00020
One gray suite of Curteines and Vallances	00400
One Turkey Carpett	00400
One table and two formes	00150
One leather Chaire	00020
One Wicker Chaire and a Joyntstoole	00020
One large Deale Chest	00100
One paire of Andirons	00100
One Iron backe in the Chimney	00050
One Striped Darincke Carpett	00050

In the Hall	
One Chest and Chayre	00070

In the Kitchin	
Six new pewter dishes	00630
Nine Drinking potts	00120
Two Dozen and two plates	00150
	<u>03410</u>

Six Sawcers	00012
Seaventeene porringers	00050
Two brasse Candlesticks	00100
foure pewter Saltsellars	00024
two brasse Rings	00010
Two pewter drinking Cupps	00010
five old Chamber potts	00050
Two Tynn panns and one Aple Roaster	00015
five large pewter dishes	00300
Six ditto of a smaller size	00250
Six more Lesser then them	00200
Three ditto least of all	00040
Two old pewter basons	00030
One pye plate	00012
foure old pewter dishes more	00100
One old peece bason and two old pottle potts	00060
One gallon pott	00040
Two Tinn dripping panns	00010
Seaven brasse Kettles	00450
Three old brasse Skilletts	00060
Two brasse Chafeing dishes	00040
foure Ironpotts	00300
foure Spitts	00100
foure paire of tongs fyre shovell and forke	00060
Two pewter candlestickes	00012
	<u>02335</u>

One paire of Iron Andirons	00150
Three Iron and One brasse Candlesticke	00015
Three pott hangers	00100
One brasse Pestell and mortar broken	00020
One warming and frying pann	00050
One Flesh forke	00004
Two pestles	00060
Two old trayes and eight woodden bowles	00050
Two Earthen panns & one Chafen Knife	00008

[A supplimentary inventory adds: One Copper in the Kitchen	00800]
--	--------

In the Store	
One hoggshead of Mault	00480
One hundred forty seaven foot of Glasse	00862
One plow Chayne	00300
Eight Milke panns	00080
Seaventy pound of Gunn powder	00700
Nine pound of shott	00018
five Spice boxes made in the Country	00300
Two Hammers one Augarr	00060
Three Matchcoates	00150
	<u>03407</u>
A parcell of Beere Glasses and Six earthen panns and potts	
more	00074
Two hundred & fifty pound of Soape att five pound tob. p pound	01250
Twelve pound of Wyer att Tenn pound p pound	00120
In the Wine Cellar	
Five Caske of Sowre Sider	00750
Three Quarter Caske of Wyne	01800
five Gallons of brandy	00200
In the Meate Cellar	
Six hundred weight of bacon	01800
fifteene hundred weight of Beefe	01875
five and twenty hundred weight of Porke	03750
	<u>11619</u>
In the Roome over Captn Smyths Lodging Roome	
One feather bedd boulster greene Rugg and white blankett	00500
One feather bedd boulster and Redd shagg rugge	00500
One old feather bedd boulster and Rugge	00400
One feather bedd boulster two blanketts and a Rugge	00600
One table Chaire & forme	00100
In the Chamber over the Hall	
Two old bedds with Ruggs to them and one table and forme	00500
Att Mr. Jenifers	
One large feather bedd and boulster	01200
Att the Landing	
One old sloop with two old suites of sailes two grapnells one	
Anchor and all other Rigging to her with two old small	
Boates	03000
	<u>06800</u>
One hull of an old sloop runn on shoare about the Clifts	
one new flatt bottom boate	01000
Seaven English Servants	00800
One Negro Woman	14000
	03400

The lease of East St. Mary's Townland being for thirty yeares with two new dwelling howses, hogg howse stable Orchard pasture and other appurtenances there unto belonging	50000
Severall head of hoggs that were veiwd before the doore valued	09400
Severall head of hoggs more not yett brought in but lying out and not yett valued	
Two Cowes and two Calves att home	01200
five Cowes and five calves att the Easterne shore	03000
Twenty five head of Cattle att the Quarter valued att	06900
Two Draught Oxen att Easterne shore	01400
Severall other heads of Cattle out in the woods neere home not yett valued	
Sixty two yoes att home	12400
fifteene weathers	01500
Eight Ramms	00800
	<u>105800</u>

[The inventory continues with a list of his goods "Att the Plantation on the Easterne Shore" and "the Plantation over the River Called the Quarter." With "Hopefull Debts," the appraised assets totalled 717,236 lbs. tobacco, the equivalent in sterling of £3,457.]

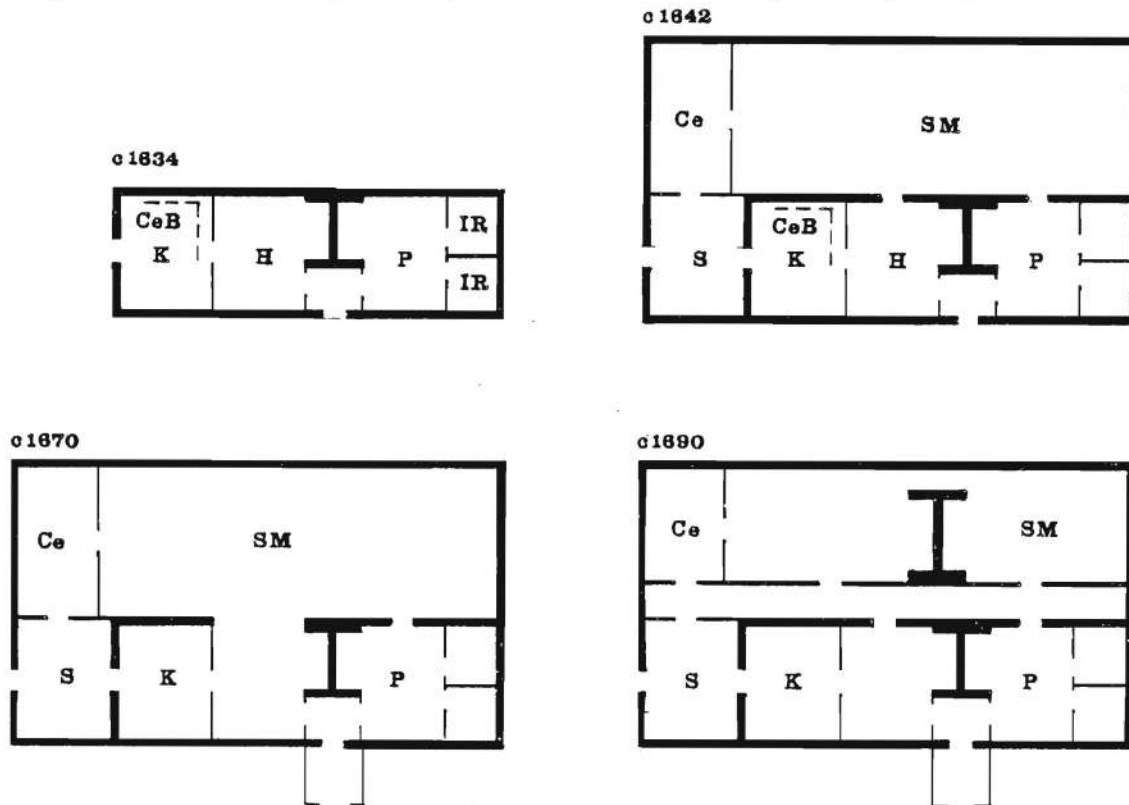


Fig. A-5. St. Mary's House: Plan Evolution.

This working hypothesis incorporates the July, 1982, discovery of an original cellar at CeB (cellar below). Ce=cellar, H=hall, IR=inner room, K=kitchen, P=parlor, S=store or pantry, SM=St. Mary's Room.

15 December 1669 Md. Arch., 5:59
Order of Council

"Ordered that Mr. Jenifer be satisfied out of the publick for taking down the Partition between the Court Room & St. Marys Room leaving the posts standing."

19 June 1678 Md., PATENTS, 20:381
Survey for John Baker

"a parcell of Land belonging to the old Countrey house of the said City Beginning at a Stake in the ground over a Street called middle Street it being on the western side of the Land laid out for Mark Cordea called Cordeas Hope, Rune 2°S of W and without the porch of the Countrey house 8 perches 6 feet to stake, then 2°W of 24 perches to Stake near the Land of Garrett Vanswearingen"

20 June 1687 INVENTORIES & ACCOUNTS, 10:111-124

A true and pfect Inventory of all and Singualr The goods and Chattells and Creditts of John Baker Late of St Marys Citty Deceased Taken and appraised by us whose names are hereunto Subscribed this twentieth day of June in the Twelfth year of ye Dominion of the Right Honorable Charles ve Annoq; Dom 1687

Att the Country house

In St Marys Roome

		E	s	d
Imprimis	one old feather bed bolster and pillow	1	15	0
It	one new flock bed and Bolster	1	5	0
	Two old flock bed, 2 bolsters two ruggs & 1 blankett	2	5	0

In the Roome Against ye Sellar

It	one old feather bed, one flock bed, A Bolster, Rugg and two blanketts and one paire of old Curtins and vallence	2	12	0
It	one good feather bed, bolster, pillow one Blankett & rugg & one pr Curtains & vallence at	2	0	0

In ye Sellar Room

It	one new feather bed & 2 bolsters	2	10	0
----	----------------------------------	---	----	---

In Mr beales Roome

It	one good feather bed one bolster 2 pillow one Rugg one blankett one paire of Green say Curtains & Vallence	5 5 0
It	2 Small feather pillowes in ye tray	0 2 0

In ye Kitchen

It	one Large Spitt	0 2 6
	one Iron pott hangar	0 2 0
	one old brass kettle	0 2 0
It	50 lb weight of pewter	1 13 4

In the pantry

It	one brass Scones at	0 2 0
	2 old Iron Candlesticks	0 0 6
	one lawne Cisstern	0 1 0
It	one old Sloope old tackle apparrell and furniture and 3 boates	21 10 0
	Eight bed Steads	1 4 0
	9 tables & 1 forme & other old Lumber	1 16 0
It	16 wooden Chaires good and bad	1 12 0

[Baker had leased The Country's House and the above furnishings to Thomas Beale. The inventory continues with the goods "At Mr Bakers Dwelling house," and "Blewstone Neck plantation." With debts, "good, sperate, and Desperate," the inventory amounted to £1,804.]

1694 Md. Arch., 19:120
Petition of Charles Carroll

"That your petitioner has purchased from Eliza baker . . . the Countrey house

That the sd John Baker in his life time and the sd Elizabeth since his death has expended above thirty thousand pounds of tobacco in making Brick walls and Chimneys and other reparations about the sd house in Expectation of a renewall of the said lease

That one side of the said house and the whole covering is now quite decayed and unless speedily repaired will fall to the Ground to prevent which your Petitioner intends to make all the walls of the said house of Brick and new cover the same which will cost above 20,000 lbs. tob. but when done the said house will be capable of entertaining most of the Suitors to the County Court.

. . .

[Carroll was petitioning for a 25 year extension of the lease. He was granted a 21 year extension. See also Md. Arch., 20:251-53.]

Appendix 3C: St. Peter's

St. Peter's was constructed by Jerome Hawley, Esq., the eldest son of a Middlesex merchant. His family had a strong interest in America. (Several of his younger brothers already had been involved in the colonization of Barbados and Virginia.) One of the 1633 adventurers to Maryland, Jerome Hawley found the Chesapeake to his liking, conceiving it (apparently) as a plum ripe for his picking. A man of more ambition than good judgment, he determined to become the pre-eminent Chesapeake merchant.

He already was one of the major investors in the Maryland project, and in 1636-1638, he increased his investment by borrowing more than £1,300. Bad judgment and bad luck spoiled his plans. Some of his borrowed monies were invested in acquiring the friendship of Sir John Harvey, Governor of Virginia, and through him Hawley acquired the position of Treasurer of Virginia. This political coup delayed his return to the Chesapeake until early in 1638. The following July he died. His death further enriched Governor Harvey, while his Maryland creditors had to scramble to collect their due.¹

Thomas Cornwaleys, Hawley's greatest Maryland creditor, administered the liquidation of Hawley's estate. James Hawley, Jerome's brother, promptly sued Cornwaleys. Jerome had borrowed £600 from James, and James had recouped little or nothing of it. James accused Cornwaleys of embezzling from the estate, and, as proof, furnished the

¹Newman, Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate, pp. 226-29; Brown, Genesis, p. 911; Calvert Papers, 1:153-54, 179-81, 187-89; Md. Arch., 4:39, 100-01; S. E. Hillier and G. W. Stone, "Hawley contra Cornwaleys," (in preparation).

Court of Chancery with a summary of the inventory of his brother's Maryland estate. The summary--the main headings of a now lost document--provides a fascinating glimpse of a three or four year old frontier plantation (see below). The interpretation of the architecture of St. Peter's has been complicated by a 1640 reference to a "brick house" on the property. By then, it was owned by Captain Thomas Cornwaleys.

After disposing of Hawley's movables, Cornwaleys retained custody of St. Peter's Freehold, in memory, apparently, of Eleanor Hawley, Jerome's wife. In April, 1638, Captain Cornwaleys had written Lord Baltimore that Mistress Hawley "by her comportment . . . and industrious housewifery hath so adorned this desert" that her departure "would not a little eclipse the glory of Maryland." In January, 1640, John Lewger wrote Lord Baltimore, that, for St. Peter's Freehold, Cornwaleys would exchange West St. Mary's Manor and "all the manors in the country rather than let St. Peter's go (So they call Mr. Hawley's house) to which he is so much affected for the Saint's sake that once inhabited it."¹ In May, 1640, when Lewger surveyed the freehold north of St. Peter's, one line ran "into the Swamp below the brick house now used by Capt. Thomas Cornwaleys, Esq." When Lewger wrote out the patent in June, he described the same line as running "into the swamp below the brick house lately set up by Capt Thomas Cornwaleys."²

It is impossible to relate this brick house to the structures listed in the appended inventory. It may have been a brick structure

¹Calvert Papers, 1:180-81, 200.

²PATENTS, 1:65-68.

"lately" built by Cornwaleys, an older (mud walled?) structure "lately" refurbished in brick by Cornwaleys, or a brick structure of Hawley's--perhaps his new room--"lately set up," i.e., furnished, by Cornwaleys. Equally puzzling is the fate of the St. Peter's structures. They are mentioned in no subsequent documents including the extensive record resulting from Ingle's looting of Cornwaleys's Maryland property. Apparently they already had disappeared, perhaps by fire.

DOCUMENT

Hawley contra Cornwaleys in Chancery

14 October 1639

Bill of Complaint by James Hawley

London, England

Public Record Office

C2 Charles I H 11/19

Abstract of Jerome Hawley's goods:

Bedding in the servants' house	E 4-19- 9
Meal in the Backhouse	12-19- 0
Corn and Meal in the Cornehouse	34-15- 0
Goods in the Loft over the Backhouse	13- 3- 8
Corn in the Loft over the Kitchen	11- 3- 0
Pewter and brass in the Kitchen	1-17-10
Iron wares in the Little Storehouse	98-19- 0
Truck Cloth in the Thatched Storehouse	16-18- 0
More iron wares	52-12- 3
Iron and Tar in the Cowhouse	31- 6- 0
More Truck Cloth	119-18- 3
More Truck Cloth	35- 3- 0
More Truck Cloth in the Loft over the Storehouse	34- 5- 6
Wine and beer in the cellar	21- 7- 3
Household stuff in the Hall	2-12- 0
Household stuff in the Chamber next the Hall	40- 4-10
Beer[?] in the Loft over the New Chamber	16-12- 0
Great Chest	30- 9- 0
Truck Cloth in the closet in the New Chamber	11-11- 6
Apparel in the Wardrobe Chamber	54-16- 6
Apparel in the New Chamber	18- 2-10
More apparel in the New Chamber	18- 9- 6
Tobacco and iron at St Jerome's	32-17- 8
Men and maids	42-16- 0
Hoggs and Bulls	77-20- 0
In Bills	42- 3- 6
In all	E877-17- 4

Appendix 3D: Snow Hill Manor

Justinian Snow, Gentleman, began Snow Hill Manor. A merchant, Snow migrated to Maryland in the late 1630s with six servants, "great stocks of money and goods," and a grant from Lord Baltimore for 6,000 acres.¹ Snow settled north of St. Mary's Town. There he hastily erected the shells of several buildings, took shelter in them, and died before they could be completed. The Snow Hill structures were finished by his administrator, and his account rendered to Secretary Lewger is the most detailed record of building costs to survive from the early Chesapeake. (See below.)

At Snow's death early in 1639, the housing on Snow Hill Manor consisted of a dwelling house, a servants' quarter, a store, 10 hog sties, and an unspecified amount of tobacco housing. Except for the tobacco houses, none of the buildings were finished. The dwelling partitions and loft were in place, but it lacked fireplaces, windows, and perhaps doors.

Snow's dwelling may have been a three unit structure (see figure 4-7). The inventory mentions furnishings in the parlor and little parlor, and another cluster of goods appear to be those of a hall-kitchen. The loft was yet undivided. Subsequent expenses in finishing the building indicate that it was poorly constructed.

The dwelling was a cheaply carpentered structure with a timber chimney stack and, possibly, a thatched roof. The building suffered storm damage before it was finished. Part of the roof blew off and

¹PATENTS, 1:55-56.

the building tilted. As clapboard do not blow off, the roof damage suggests that it was covered with thatch. The building's list proves that its bracing or foundation was inadequate. It is tempting to interpret the tilt as evidence for unbraced, post-in-the-ground construction, but unbraced box framing also could list.

After righting the storm damage, the administrator expended above 1,600 pounds tobacco completing the dwelling. About half the cost was for masonry. The account lists payments to the brickmason "for stuff and workmanship about the chimneys [fireplaces]," "4 laborers' wages and diet to help the brickmason," and "the brickmason's diet." The amount for diet indicates that the mason worked on site about one and a half or two weeks. This was not enough time to have burned brick for a large brick chimney stack, but more than enough time to have built a couple of fireplaces with brick burned elsewhere. His large crew also suggests that the mason did more than lay brick. He may have burned lime or brick on the site for the fireplaces.¹ The carpenters spent four man days constructing the timber flues above the brick fireplaces. In the account, the carpenters' work "in fitting up the closet" is grouped with the "work about the chimneys," a circumstance suggesting that they were related. In figure 4-7, I have illustrated this conjectured relationship by placing the closet behind an axial stack.

The other major expense in finishing the dwelling was "for 13 days' work in making framed windows." They were glazed with 28 square

¹For the labor and cost of building brick chimney stacks, see Charles County, Maryland, COURT AND LAND RECORDS V#1:90, 220.

feet of glass and lead. The dwelling may have been earth-floored, as the account lists no expense for planking it.

DOCUMENTS

24 May 1639

Md. Arch., 4:79-85

Inventory of Justinian Snow, Gent.

Abstract, household goods, p.83

It a box of twine Allome and other goods	0040
It a box of Beades and other goods	0050
It two dozen of crosse garnetts	0030
It one Bedd standing in the Parlor	0500 p. 126
It one oulde table cloth and } six oulde napkins }	0005
It a dagger and a Cappe	008
It a demicaster	0020
It the Bedd and the Appurtenances in the littell Parlor	0250
It a parcell of Bookes	0010
It 2 payer of littell steelyards } and one payre of scales }	0014
It a Parcell of Iron Ware	0060
It an owlde Swoorde	008
It 3 oulde gunns and 3 oulde Muskets	0040
It A parcell of odd houshoulde stuffe	0100
It A Chest of Glasse	0200
It 3 kettells a chest and Chayer w ^t other } houshoulde stuffe }	0100
It 8 Barrells of Corne	0240
It 6 sawes	0120
It the Beddinge Chest and tubbs in the Chamber	0160
It 8 owlde hows a Spade and A Pickaxe	0040
It 3 Axes w ^t other od goods	0050

21 March 1639/40

Md. Arch., 4:108-111

Administrator's Account

p. 108

In a cause of Accompt brought by Thomas Gerard Admrator of Justinian Snow, & desiring a discharge of his Adm̄raon; marmaduke Snow attorney of Abel Snow being called to know what he had to say against the said Accompt w^{ch} was then shewed to him, said that he said nothing at all to it, nor would have anything to doe with it: but desired his Lo^{ps} lres might be pformed. wherevpon the Secretary pronounced for the validity of the Accompt & that the Adm̄rator should have his discharge; onely he thought fitt that the tobacco housing should be putt out of the Accompt; and that all the moveable things charged to the Accompt that might be severed from the

p. 109	freehold, (as tables formes ladders, hogtroughes & the like should be taken by the Admrator to his owne accompt; and that it should be at the choice of Abel Snow when he saw the Accompt whether he had rather pay the Accompt, & keepe the housing; or els turne the house & plantaōn to the Admrator, and he to pay abel Snow 5000 ^w t tob, and so much more as it was worth afore the charge bestowed vpon it, by the estimaōn of any 2 sworne men that shalbe able to iudge of it.	
p. 110	The pticular of the reparations done at Snow-hill; p Accompt of 5000 ^w t supra.	
	Imp ^r for 3. daies work of the carpenters about repairing the store	0060 ^t
	It for 5. daies work in laying the floore making doore & staires of the corne loft &c.	0100
	It for 6. daies work in finishing an outhouse necessary for servants lodging &c.	0120
	It for 4. daies in fitting vp the closett	0080
	It for 4. daies work about the chimneys	0080
	It for 6. daies work in covering the roofe of the dwelling house w ^{ch} was blowne downe	0120
	It for 13. daies work in making framed windows for the dwelling house	0260
	It: for 1. daies work in listing the dwelling house	0020
	It for 1. daies work in setting vp of 5. benches	0020
	It for 50 daies work in building 10. hogsties w ^{ch} were left impfect and planking them within &c.	1000
	It for 10. daies work in railing in the hog-court	0200
	It for the carpenters diett during all the time	0600
	It for the work of 1. labourer to helpe the carpenters and for his diett all the time	0576
	It p ^d for sawen boards vsed in the work	0050
	It for 15. m of nailes spent in the work	0600
	It for 28. foote of glasse for the windowes	0064
	It for lead soder & haspes	0020
p. 111	It for 14 p crosse garnish for the doores	0120
	It for 4 stock locks	0070
	It p ^d the brickmason for stuff & workmanship about the chimneys	0450
	It for 4. labourers wages and diett to helpe the brick-mason during his work	0350
	It for the brickmasons diett	0040
		5000

Appendix 3E: Cornwaleys's Cross

Captain Thomas Cornwaleys built the Cross House. Cornwaleys was from a good East Anglian family: the second son of a knight and the grandson of the comptroller of the household of Queen Mary. He was the strongest personality in early Maryland: politician, military leader, and merchant extraordinary. His house was the best in the province. While of only one story, its probable room arrangement marks it as more than a farmhouse. It was built in no haste; Cornwaleys's first major construction project was a mill. As late as July, 1638, Cornwaleys was still resident in the fort.¹

Construction of Cornwaleys's dwelling had begun by 1638, for on 16 April of that year, Captain Cornwaleys proudly wrote Lord Baltimore that "I am building of a house to put my head in, of sawn timber framed a story and half high, with a cellar and chimneys of brick, to encourage others to follow my example, for hitherto we live in cottages."² We can reconstruct conjecturally the plan of the house from a 1644 or 1645 inventory that lists room names, furniture, window curtains, and door hardware. Among other information, the inventory reveals that the house's second story--described as a half story by Cornwaleys--was only a series of ^{ftns}lots. The lofts do not seem to have been connected by doors, and they contained no furniture, only stored goods and two servants' mattresses spread on the floors.

¹Md. Arch., 4:35-37; Edwin W. Beitzell, "Captain Thomas Cornwaleys," Chronicles of St. Mary's 20 (1972):169-80.

²Calvert Papers, 1:174.

Cornwaleys's house appears to have been an H- or U-shaped dwelling consisting of a central hall-vestibule flanked by cross wings (figure 4-7). The key to reconstructing the plan of the house is the inventoried contents of the hall, especially the "2 great locks upon the doors." If I am correct in assuming that these locks guarded the dwelling's front and rear exterior doors, then (allowing for the other relationships indicated in the inventory), no other plan seems likely. The rooms cannot be fitted into a T or double pile plan.

The relationships implied reveal that the dining parlor and a bed parlor were in one wing; in the other wing were two small bedrooms and another parlor ("the great chamber next the hall"). One of its closets contained a library. During Cornwaleys's absence in England, his porcelain and drinking glasses were stored for safety in the loft above this chamber.

Hall and cross-wing plans had been popular in Elizabethan and Tudor England. In imitation of avant-garde aristocratic housing, Cornwaleys radically modernized the plan and functioning of the house. The hall of the "Crosse House" was not a great room or kitchen where persons of all ranks mixed together. Rather, it was a large vestibule, more imposing than useful. The room was not lived in. While large pieces of storage furniture lined the walls, the room contained no beds, chairs, or fireplace implements. Its windows were not curtained. Probably the hall was the court room where Cornwaleys sat as a justice of the peace and judge of the manorial court. From a unifying space, the hall had been transformed into a social barrier: a formal reception area separating the manorial lord's family from his tenants.

As such, it reflected both the weakening of the organic medieval social order and the influence of Renaissance design.

The hall-vestibule is a Renaissance feature. Palladio used hall-vestibules, loggias, and courtyards to impress and isolate visitors.¹ In England, hall-vestibules began appearing early in the seventeenth century in the great houses of royal officials, but only infrequently. In the houses of the gentry they were almost unknown until the eighteenth century.² Thomas Cornwaleys's construction in 1638 of a hall-vestibule on the Maryland frontier is a reflection of his background, sophistication, and self-esteem.

Other buildings on the home plantation in 1645 included a bakehouse, a servants' house, a store house, an iron store, a barn, a cornhouse, and tobacco houses. The buildings were strongly paled about, and in the yard stood a cast iron carriage gun. At his landing were a new pinnacle of 20 tons burthen (armed with three small guns), a great shallop, and three small boats. During the Ingle raid, the manor house was plundered of all movables, and all the buildings were burned save for the tobacco houses and the manor house. (Cornwaleys's Protestant neighbors persuaded Ingle to spare the dwelling so that they could strip it of its hardward, windows, and floor plank.)³

¹Andrea Palladio, The Four Books of Architecture (London, 1738; reprint ed., New York: Dover, 1965), book 2, especially pp. 37, 40, plate 4.

²Smith, Houses of the Welsh Countryside, pp. 229, 234-35, 254-55, 260-63. Hall-vestibules began appearing in English America c.1700. Notable Chesapeake examples are Stratford and Tuckahoe. See Kimball, Domestic Architecture, pp. 54, 64, 67-71, 266, 282.

³Md. Arch., 10:253-54; Stone, "Richard Ingle in Maryland."

DOCUMENTS

Thomas Cornwaleys, then in England, soon learned that Richard Ingle had pillaged Cross Manor. When Ingle returned to London early in the summer of 1645, Cornwaleys filed three suits against Ingle--one in the Sheriff's Court of the City of London, one in Admiralty Court, and one in the Court of Chancery. Many of the documents from the last two cases survive. Included among the Chancery records are the judges' list of 27 questions to be addressed to witnesses and the answers of two witnesses: John Lewger and Cuthbert Fenwick. Below are those answers that describe the furnishings of Cross Manor, for which Fenwick was the overseer. Apparently, Fenwick read into the record an inventory of movables that he and Cornwaleys had reconstructed from their accounts and memories.

Cornwaleys vs. Ingle in Chancery

26 September 1645
Examination of John Lewger, Esq.
Answers 18 [part], 19-21

London, England
Public Record Office
C24 690/14

. . . the Garrison that was there putt by the defendent, did live there uppon the Complainants goods, and Stocke in all Ryott whereof this deponent was an Eyewittnes and did part his goods amonge them and one of the Souldiers in Compassion of this deponents nakedness, gave him this deponent a paire of Shooes and Stockings, that were part of the Plunder there, And this deponent heard one of the Cheife Officers of the Garrison discourse of the embezzellinge of all the goods there of the Complainants and that the Plate was divided into 8 shares, whereof himselfe had one share, and shewed this deponent the Place where the Plate was hidden in the woods by the said Factor, but all this was duringe that defendents absence, and after his Returne the defendent did send for all the Remynder of goods that was in the said house and gave Order to sett the howse on fire, as this deponent heard from the parties themselves that were ymployed in it by the defendent And this hee saith is the effect of what hee canne materially depose for satisfaction of any the questions in this Interrogatory conteyned.

That hee this deponent hath bin an Eye wittnes of the Complainants splendide manner of Liveinge in the said Countrey, And saith that hee beeleveth that the plate Linnen, hangings Beddinge, Carpetts, brasse,

Pewter, Merchandizes and Cattle other goods which were remayninge, or beeinge in or about the said Complainants howse Lands or grounds att such time as the said defendant soe possessed himselfe of the said house as aforesaid were then worth to have bin sould, 1000^l, this deponent makeinge an estimation therein as neere as hee is able to make by a confused and Generall Memory, And this deponent saith, that thus and what hee hath beefore deposed in his Answer to the 18th precedent Interrogatory is the effect of what hee canne materially depose for sattisfaction to any the severall questions of these two Interrogatorys. That the defendent seized uppon and used the Complainants Pinnace in this Interrogatory mentioned in this deponents sight, And this deponent saith that in his estimation and best judgement the said Pinnace with other Furniture and tackline was truely and really worth 50^l at the least, this deponent haveinge not longe beefore sold a Pinnace beelowe that in worth, att that price, And further saith hee cannott materially depose to any the questions of this Interrogatory.

20 October 1646
Examination of Cuthbert Fenwick
Answer 19

Public Record Office
C24 690/14

That there were remayning & being in & about the plaintifs house lands & grounds att such tyme as the said defendent possessed himselfe thereof as aforesaid the severall parcells of plate Lynnen hangings Carpetts Brasse Pewter & other goods Cattell & merchandizes of the severall & particuler values hereafter mentioned that is to say Two hundred Iron Gunnes & one Cast Iron Gunn with Carryages of the value of Twenty pounds severall hand Gunns in the house worth Twenty pounds. In the Hall a Table & Carpett worth forty shillings, A great Cupboard with Press and Drawers lockes and keys worth Three pounds. In the said Cupboard, Spice, wax Candles, Druggs, Shooes and two new Ruggs worth Five pounds. An Ironbound painted Chest contayninge a new Sattin Damaske petticoate with Gould and Silver lace, Turkey Carpets, Curtaynes, a longe Cushyon and other thinges worth Thirty poundes. A great Chest upon a Frame contayninge a white Quilt and Mantle; A bearinge Mantle of Crimson Taf-fatay with Gould lace, Taffety curtaynes, Six new Cushyons, a Chyna voyder and other things worth Tenn poundes. A Trunck with ordinary hous-hould Linnen, sheetes, pillowbeares table cloathes and Napkines worth Five pounds, and two great lockes upon the doares worth Ten shillings. In the Parlour A round Table with a Carpet Three pounds. A great Cabinet Cupboard with fine Lynnen for Table & Beds Threed, Tape and other things worth Fifty pounds. A little Cedar Table, Lynnen stooles & chayres, & one inlayed forme with a Back, worth Three pounds; A Cyprus Chest with fine Damask & Diaper Lynnen full worth One hundred and Fifty pounds; A Round iron bound trunck with fine & Course table Lynnen sheets pillow-beares & other things, Fifty pounds. New Darnix hanginges & Window Curtayns with iron rods & 4 new Cushions & 3 greene cloath Carpets, fifteene pounds. A great payre of Brasse Andirons, fire pan and Tongs, Bellowes iron dogs, Snuffers a Springlock upon the doare Five pounds. In the Parlour Chamber Six peices of Forrest worke Tapistry hangings. Twenty Five pounds, Two window Curtayns and Rods, Twenty shillings,

A Couch with bedd pillowes and Couerlet Five pounds. A large Bedsted Courtayne Tester Vallans and Counter pane of Greene cloath laced worth Tenn pounds. A large Downe bed and boulster a Feather boulster. 2. Downe pillowes. A holland Quilt and 3 fine Blankets Mattres and Iron Curtayne rods worth Fifteene pounds. A Cedar Table & Carpet Two stooles a leather chayr & Cushion worth Three pounds. A payre of great & a paire of lesser Anyrons fire pan tongs bellows snuffers and a double Springe locke on the doare worth Forty Shillings. In the great Chamber next the hall a suite of striped stuffe hangings a windowe Curtayne and Rodd worth Five poundes. A table and Carpet Twenty shillings, A great Cabinet with Cupboard and Drawers, with Lynnen threed needles, silke, pynns laces Chaynes Bracelets and diuerse other thinges, Thirty five pounds. A cedar Cabinet with writings Forty shillings. A stoole a Chayre & Cushion Twenty shillings. A bedsted tester vallans and Curtayns of Blew Serge with Silke Fringe worth Six pounds. A Downe bed two boulsters 2 pillowes a holland quilt 3 blankets a Rugg & a Canvasse mattres Twelve pounds. Three double springlocks Ten shillings. In a Closet adioyninge Foure shelues of Bookes worth Twenty pounds. A Cabinet with Spice sugar fruite and soape worth five pounds. A Chest with Cupboard Cloathes and other parcellis of fine Lynnen Tenn poundes. In another little Closet, A peice of Tapisstry Hanginge, Three Curtayns & vallans of striped stuffe a Taffatay windowe Curtain & rod Forty shillings. A little inlayed Cabinet Forty shillings. A Cask of Sugar & others of Fruite and spice, a writinge deske worth seven poundes. In the Lofte ouer the Hall Chamber. Two large peices of new Darnix, a peice of tapisstry. 2. payre of new Cotton Blankets, 2 feather Boulsters & two payre of new Downe pillowes Tenn poundes. A Chest full of new pewter worth Twelue pounds. A Dry Fatt of Brasse & Copper, Two Copper watringe potts, a new Jack with Line & pulleys Tenn pounds. A Boxe of Purslayn & China dishes two Boxes of drinkeinge glasses, Fiue poundes. A Bagge of Cotton, diuerse quilted Coates and many other things worth Fifteene pounds. In two little chambers by the Hall. Two Bedsteds furnished two feather Beds and Boulsters three downe pillowes two paire of Blankets & two Ruggs worth five and Twenty pounds. Darnix hangings in the Chambers Andirons tables, firepan & tonges worth fiue pounds. In the Lofte ouer these Chambers, Two Flockbeds Boulsters & Ruggs worth Three pounds. In the Lofte ouer the Lofte ouer [sic] the hall. Two great round Truncks contayninge two new Bed tickes two new hamakaes, three Turkey worke Carpets, a longe Arras Carpet 5 red and greene Saye Curtayns, a paire of fustian Blankets, a Suite of Stayned Callicoe hangings & other things worth Forty pounds. A parcell of plate Videlicet one Bason two bowles one Cann one French Cupp & Cover one Salt Cellar Twelue Spoones one Sugar box & spoone worth Threescore pounds. Brasse pewter spitts, Racks, potts kettles & other furniture for a kitchin worth Fifteene pounds. Potts kettles pestles & other thinges in the Bake howse three pounds. In the servants howse. A feather bed, boulster, Blankets & rugge six flock beds, bowlsters, blankets & ruggs worth Twelve pounds. Beere wine & stronge waters worth Twenty pounds. A Smiths Forge with Toolles for a Smith. Sixe pounds. Iron steele & diuers parcellis of Iron ware in the Iron stoare Tenn pounds. Carpenters & Joyners toolles, whipsawes, tradinge Axes & howes, Locks hinges Brasses & Irons

for a Mill worth Twenty pounds. A new Cablet in the stoare weighinge Five hundred & forty fowre pounds coste seven pounds ten shillinges worth there Tenn pounds. A wayne, a plough, yoakes & Chaynes, worth Tenn pounds. Wheat barley & oates in the Barne, Indian wheate corne in the granary worth Threescore pounds. Fitches of Bacon in the lofte worth Twenty pounds. One hundred & twenty head of Cattell worth five hundred pounds. Goates worth Threescore & ten pounds. Sheepe worth Fifty pounds. Swine worth One hundred & fifty poundes. Horses & Mares worth one hundred & fifty pounds. Hogsheads of Tobacco worth Two hundred pounds. A new pynnace with all her rigginge Cables anchors, small Gunns, Potts kettles beddinge Carpenters tooles & a small boate with oares worth Two hundred pounds. A Shalope with Mast Sayle & oares & two small boates worth Thirty pounds Three Negroes & diuerse English servants worth two hundred pounds. Diuerse other goods sent over by the Complainant into the Prouince of Mary land to the value of One Hundred & Threescore pounds All which partiuler goods before mentioned doe amount in the whole to 2623.¹¹ or thereabouts & further or more particularly he sayeth he cannot depose for satisfaction of anie the questions of this Interrogatory./

INDEX

Abrahall, Richard 210
 Allen, John 210
 Allen, William 217
 Antonio 374
Ark of Maryland 22, 28, 32, 122, 171
 Arundell, Anne 161
 Arundell, Thomas 161, 178
 Askue, John 92, 107
 Audley End 159
 Austin Lord House 363
 Avery, Anne 346
 Bacon, Jane Cornwallis 156-157
 Bake house 292
 Baker, Andrew 92, 107, 188-189
 Baker, John 379-381
 Baker, Thomas 92, 107
 Balch House 361-363
 Barnebe, Jas 210
 Barton Blount 253
 Bateman, John 213-214
 Bayside 321
 Beach, Ellis 345, 348
 Benedictines 3, 66, 350
 Bennett Farm 261
 Binx, George 346, 348
 Bishop, Henry 32, 180
 Blount, William 46, 345
 Bound's Lot 273
 Bowles, James 266, 270-271
 Boys, Thomas 32, 134, 346, 348
 Branthwaite, William 347
 Brent, Giles 25, 36, 43-44, 46, 52, 76, 80, 97-99, 101, 133, 135-140, 187, 346
 Brent, Margaret and Mary 25, 43-44, 101, 346
 Brome Hall 155-157, 161
 Brooke, John (Father) 73
 Brooke, Robert 161, 214-215
 Brooke Manor 161
 Bushnell House 361-362
 Bushwood 213-215
 Butler, Cecil 320-321
 Butler, Cecil (the Younger) 322, 325
 Butler, Margaret 321-323
 Butler's Freehold 322
 Calvert, Ann 304
 Calvert, Cecilus 1-3, 9, 14, 21-22, 24, 26-28, 30-31, 33, 36-38, 43-44, 48-52, 63-77, 81-82, 90, 92, 99-100, 104-106, 112, 117, 123-124, 126, 130-131, 135, 137-139, 153, 161, 168, 171, 178, 304, 312

- Calvert, Charles 161, 204, 207, 209, 216, 300, 302-305, 311-312, 319-320, 343, 368, 370
- Calvert, George 1-2, 7-10, 17, 22, 159
- Calvert, Leonard 8, 12, 16-18, 21, 23-26, 28, 30-31, 33, 38-39, 43, 45, 47, 49-53, 67-68, 73, 76-79, 81-82, 91-92, 96-99, 101, 104, 123-124, 131-132, 135-142, 153-154, 159, 168, 170-171, 173-175, 178, 181, 183, 185, 187, 190-191, 206, 345, 349, 370, 372, 378, 381
- Calvert, Mary 300
- Calvert, Philip 288
- Carnoll, Christopher 345, 348
- Catchman, Henry 210
- Cecil, Robert 159
- Cedar Park 237-238, 240, 247, 258, 265, 272-273, 291-292
- Chandler, Job 366
- Chapelfield House 158
- Chaplin, Humphrey 92
- Charles I 138, 155
- Charles II 155
- Charles City 254
- Charles County Courthouse 286, 289-291
- Chillingworth, William 64-65
- Church (chapel) 21, 25
- Churchill House 362
- Claiborne, William 22, 29, 31, 37-38, 53, 92, 109, 138-139, 141, 186-187, 191, 193
- Clarke, Robert 25, 81, 346
- Clarke's Freehold 346
- Cliffs Plantation 258, 261, 286
- Clobery and Company 92, 131, 186, 188
- Clocker, Daniel 182, 346
- Clocker, Mary 366
- Cobbie, Benjamin 92, 107
- Cockshott, John 35, 181, 346
- Coffin House 362
- Conoy 17, 76, 98
- Copley, Thomas 68, 72, 75-77, 346
- Cordea, Mark 311
- Cornwaleys, Thomas 8, 15-16, 18, 23, 25-26, 29-33, 39, 41, 43-47, 49-50, 53, 63, 71, 77, 101, 118, 122, 125, 131-136, 138-140, 153-155, 170-171, 177-179, 183-185, 189, 196, 209, 216, 287, 346-347, 390-392, 399-402
- Cornwallis, Thomas (Sir) 155, 158
- Cotton, John 370
- Cottram, Edward 346, 348
- Country's House (see St. Mary's House)
- Coxe, Richard 346, 348
- Crabtree, John 304-305
- Cross Manor 15, 41, 53, 89, 112, 172, 177-180, 184-187, 189, 347, 350, 399-405
- Culford House 156-157, 159, 161
- Danckaerts, Jasper 221-222

Dandy, John 183, 345, 348
 Davison, Thomas 345, 348
 de la Roche, Charles 311
 Demibiel, Simon 32
 de Sousa, Mathias 107, 120-121
 Dixon, John 346, 348
 Dixon's Purchase 265
 Dove 22, 28-30, 32
 Draper, Peter 345, 348
 Duffill, Daniel 124-125
 Edlow, Joseph 180, 346, 348
 Eglesfield, Ann 92, 107
 Ellison, Robert 346, 348
 Empson, William 210
 Evelin, George 90, 92
 Evelin, Robert 31
 Exson, Henry 312, 315, 317, 319
 Fairbanks House 189
 Farrel, George 195
 Fenwick, Cuthbert 47, 346, 402
 Fisher, John (Father) 64
 Fisher, Philip (Father; see Copley, Thomas)
 Fisher, T. 210
 Fitzhugh, William 230, 236
 Fleete, Henry 14, 18, 27, 30, 33, 92, 98-99, 106, 123
 Flowerdew Hundred 250-252, 255
 Fort 14-16, 18, 21, 29, 82, 89-91, 119-120, 125, 171, 175-176, 180,
 345, 350, 399
 Fort Loudoun 254, 283
 Fox, Henry 301
 Francis 131
 Freeman, William 92, 107
 Fursdon, Thomas 92, 107
 Games, Thomas 33
 Garnett, Richard 20-21
 Gedney House 355, 359
 Gerrard, Richard 18
 Gerrard, Thomas 20, 100, 115, 121, 196, 205, 345
 Gerrard's Freehold 345
 Goat, Henry 210
 Godwin, Devoreux 346
 Goldsborough, Anne (see Reynolds, Anne)
 Gordon, Mary 210
 Gotho, Lincolnshire 253
 Governor's Field 15-16, 25, 90, 345, 381
 Grasse, Nicholas 210
 Gray, Francis 188, 193
 Greene, Thomas 25, 205, 346, 348
 Greene's Freehold 16, 25, 346
 Halfhead, John 346, 348
 Hall, Edward 124-125, 210-212

Hallowes, John 32, 38, 81, 121, 123, 134, 182
 Hallowes Site 261
 Hambleton, John 210
 Hammond, John 221-222
 Hampton, John 124-125
 Hardige, William 346, 348
 Harrington, John 345, 348
 Harris, Edward 132
 Harvey, John 23, 29, 38, 390
 Hatch, John 92, 107, 122, 124, 205
 Hatfield 159
 Hawley, Eleanor 391
 Hawley, James 390
 Hawley, Jerome 16, 18, 23, 25, 34, 45, 65, 101, 128, 131, 154-155, 168, 170-171, 174-175, 183-184, 390-393
 Hayward, Nicholas 230
 Henrietta Maria 155, 184
 Henry (Prince of Wales) 155
 Herman, Augustine 302, 312
 Hewes, William 304-305
 Hicks, John 322-323, 340, 342-344
 Hicks, William 342
 Hicks granary 295, 342
 Holderne, John 346, 348
 Holly Hill 237, 243
 Hook House 161-164, 178
 Hooper, Henry 346, 348
 Howkins, William 346, 348
 Howkins Ordinary 346
 Indian Peter 107
 Ingle, Richard 132-133, 136, 142 (see also Ingle's Rebellion)
 Ingle's Rebellion 39, 47, 83, 112, 115, 120, 122, 139, 177, 185, 190, 196-197, 205, 301, 392, 401-402
 Innis Choice 321
 Ireland 10, 74, 168-170, 176, 181, 186, 361
 Jackson, Barnaby 92, 107, 119, 345, 348
 James I 159, 186
 James River, Virginia, settlement 17, 250, 254, 261
 Jamestown 22-23, 168, 188, 242, 249-250, 297-298
 Jenkins, John 210
 Jesuits (see Society of Jesus)
 Jones, Daniel 210
 Jones, John 92
 Kemp, Richard 105-106
 Kent, John 107, 124
 Kent Fort Manor 43, 89, 139, 180, 187, 190-191
 Kingsmill 250, 261, 282
 Kiplin Hall 159-161, 178
 Kirke, J. 210
 Land, Phillip 301
 Langford, John 135-136, 138, 193

Laverton, Somerset, England 64-65, 99, 104, 117, 194-196
 Lee, Hannah 303
 Lee, Richard 92, 101
 Lewger, Anne 66, 100, 107, 117-118, 121, 300-301, 345
 Lewger, Anne (daughter) 107, 117, 345
 Lewger, Cicely 107, 117, 123
 Lewger, John 1-3, 5, 12, 14, 20-21, 24-25, 30-31, 36, 43, 45-47, 49, 51, 63-68, 71-73, 76-83, 89-92, 95-101, 104-109, 112-113, 115, 119-126, 128, 130-138, 140-141, 153, 176, 188-189, 194-196, 205-206, 301, 340, 342-343, 345, 350, 364, 371-372, 391, 402
 Lewger, John (junior) 66, 107, 117, 126, 301, 345
 Lewis, William 25, 190
 Lewis's Neck 25, 346
 Linnie, Phillip 92, 107
 Linsey, James 210, 218
 Littleton Quarter 250, 272
 Lynhaven Bay 302
 Maine 250-254, 272-273
 Mansell, John 92
 Maquacomen 20
 Marshy Point House 273
 Mary (Queen) 155
 Mathew, Samuel 38
 Mattapanient 16, 20, 91
 Mattapany 76, 303
 Mattapany-Sewell Manor 311
 Metcalfe, John 124-125
 Mill 15, 118, 304, 399
 Monroe, Andrew 346
 More, Henry (Father) 73
 Moreland, Christopher 92
 Mumms, Thomas 107, 121, 345
 Nash, Hugh 92, 107
 Nausin, William 122
 Neale, James 97, 135, 210, 217
 Nevitt, Richard 92
 Newfoundland 168
 Newtown 183
 Nicholls, Robert 345, 348
 Norman, John 346, 348
 Norris, Ann 92
 Nugent, William 210
 Oliver, Roger 25, 134, 346, 348
 Oliver, Thomas 92, 107
 Overzee, Sarah 300, 303-304, 366-367
 Overzee, Simon 300, 302-305, 357, 366-368, 374
 Oxford University 63-64
 Packer, Edward 47, 97, 107, 121-123, 140, 345, 348
 Panzani, Gregory 65-66
 Pasmore, Thomas 92, 188

Peace 136
 Pear Valley 276
 Peaseley, Michael 345
 Percy, Robert 346, 348
 Peter (Indian; see Indian Peter)
 Pettus, Thomas 282
 Pettus Plantation 282
 Philips (Father) 65
 Pike, Ann 92, 107
 Piny Neck 171-174, 180, 186, 190-191, 349
 Piper, John 210
 Pocason 273-274, 283
 Pope, Nathaniel 97, 99, 101, 185, 196, 345, 348
 Pope's Freehold 345
 Price, William (Father) 66
 Pulton, Alexius 92, 119, 345, 348
 Read, William 195
Reformation 122-124
 Reynolds, Anne 92, 107
Richard and Anne 132
 Robinson, John 345
 St. Anne's Manor 20-21, 100
 St. Barbara's 25, 115, 322, 325-326, 340, 342, 346
 St. Clement's Manor 20, 100, 190-191
 St. Gabriel's (see Piny Neck)
 St. Inigoe's 14, 25, 35, 77, 89, 190, 346
 St. Jerome's 16, 345
 St. John's 1-3, 12, 15, 25, 82, 89-91, 94-97, 100-106, 108, 112-115, 117, 119-130, 133, 153, 161, 172, 176-177, 185-190, 196, 299-317, 319-322, 325, 340-341, 343-345, 350-377, 381
 St. Joseph's Hill 15, 347
 St. Leonard's 32
 St. Mary's Hill 25, 346
 St. Mary's House 95-97, 171-177, 179-181, 185-187, 189, 191, 196, 303, 350, 365, 370, 372, 378-389
 St. Michael's 173
 St. Peter's 25, 171-172, 174-175, 179, 184-185, 346, 390-392
 St. Peter's Key 25, 134, 346
 St. Richard's Manor 20
 St. Thomas's 346
 Salwarpe Court 317-318
 Sarum 243, 245-248, 258, 265, 279, 293-295
 Saunders, John 18, 29-30
 Scotch, Andrew 345, 348
 Serle, Robert 92, 107
 Sewell, Jane 311
 Shenstone, George 210
 Shircliffe, John 92
 Simpson, Paul 210
 Sisters' Freehold 16, 25, 346

Slater, Batholomew 92, 107
 Slye, Robert 213-215
 Smith (Bishop) 70
 Smith, John (Captain) 13, 104, 130
 Smith, John (London linen merchant) 131-132
 Smith, William 378, 383
 Snow, Justinian 16, 20, 38, 43, 45, 92, 131, 175, 183-184, 394, 397-398
 Snow Hill Manor 15-16, 20-21, 45, 115, 169, 171-172, 174-175, 179-181, 185-186, 194, 345, 350, 365, 394-398
 Society of Jesus 7, 14, 16, 18, 20-21, 23-27, 30-31, 33, 35, 38, 43-44, 49, 64, 67-77, 82, 112, 120-121, 135, 137-138, 140, 346
 Sotterley 243, 245, 258, 265-272, 274, 279, 291, 293-295, 325, 343
 Speake, Thomas 107, 121, 345
 State House 288, 319
 Siles, William 92, 107
 Story House 371
 Sturman, Thomas 141
 Susquehannocks 18, 21, 28, 31-32, 50, 53, 80, 98, 100, 113, 138, 141
 Swanson, Francis 210
 Tailor, George 92, 107, 122-123, 125, 134
 Tarsell, F. 210
 Third Haven Great Meeting House 237, 239, 240, 274, 287, 292
 Thompson, George 210, 215-216, 223
 Thomson, Richard 46
 Thoroughgood, Sara 302
 Throughton, Mary 25, 346
 Todd, Thomas 92, 107, 119-120, 345
 Towers, Deborah 92, 107
 Trafford, F. 345
 Trinity Manor 16, 173
Unity 66, 90, 92
 van Sweringen Site 285, 365
 Vaughan, Robert 51
 Vineyard 279
Virginia 123
 West, Phillip 102, 188
 West St. Mary's Manor 14, 20, 82, 105, 115, 124, 304, 346, 391
 Weston, Thomas 46
 Whipple House 371
 White House 16, 25, 187-188, 346
 Whitehead, Mary 92, 107
 Wickcliffe's Creek settlement 15
 Williams, John 367
 Williams, Mary 357, 366-367
 Williamson, Martha 92, 107
 Wintour, Robert 38, 91-92, 122-123
 Wiseman, Robert 183, 346, 348
 Wolleston Manor 217
 Wolstenholme Town 250-256, 261, 272, 282

Wooley, Charles 210
Wright, Richard 210, 216
Yoacomico 171

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