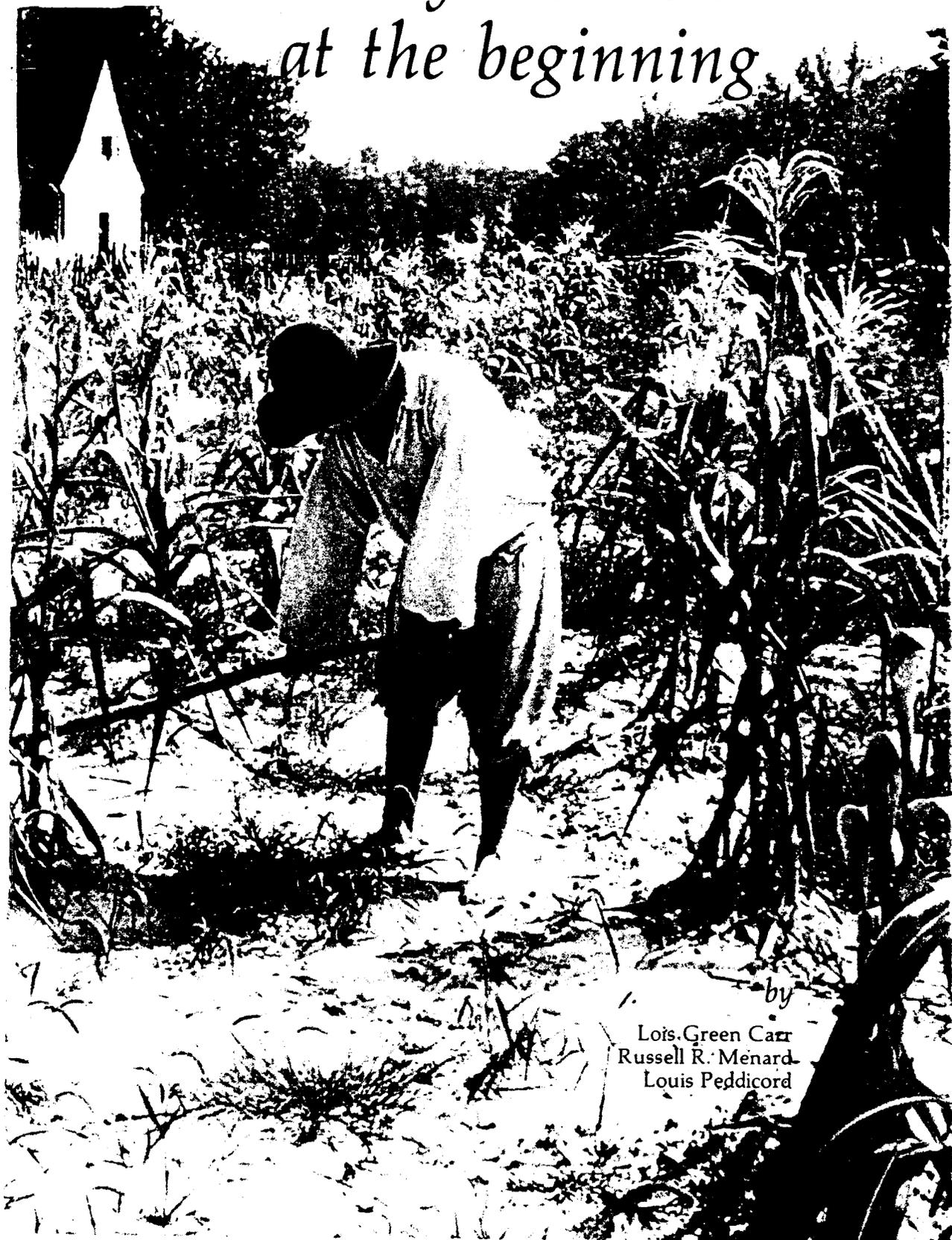


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# Maryland . . . at the beginning



by

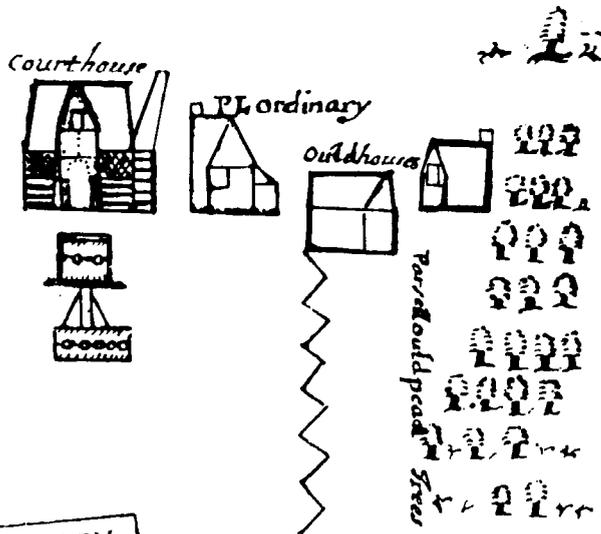
Lois Green Carr  
Russell R. Menard  
Louis Peddicord

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# Maryland... at the beginning

by

Lois Green Carr  
Russell R. Menard  
Louis Peddicord



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## Foreword

*Maryland . . . at the beginning* is perhaps the most valuable and informative single source of information on the early settlement of Maryland. Its authors, among the forefront in historical scholarship in Maryland history when the pamphlet was first issued, have since become even better known and more widely acclaimed for their insightful interpretation and detailed depiction of life in Lord Baltimore's colony on the Chesapeake.

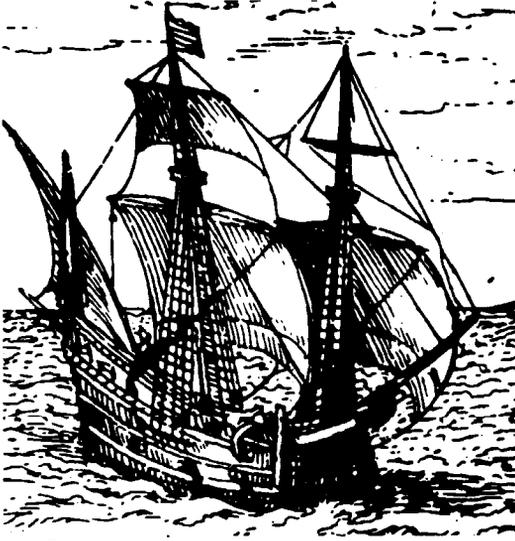
The Hall of Records Commission is therefore pleased to make available this revised edition of *Maryland . . . at the beginning*. The Hall of Records Commission, Chief Judge Robert C. Murphy, chairman, and the Department of General Services, Earl F. Seboda, secretary, have given their usual full measure of support for the project. William E. Culen and Carleton "B" Hayek, of the Department of General Services's Printing and Publication Division, cooperated in every way possible to enhance the appearance of the pamphlet and to facilitate production.

With the 350th anniversary of the founding of Maryland at hand, this story of the trials and triumphs of Calvert's stalwart vanguard is of particular pertinence. The Maryland Hall of Records has a legal mandate to encourage the study of Maryland history through publications. That mandate could not be better served, or addressed at a more appropriate time, than through the publication now of this new edition of *Maryland . . . at the beginning*.

Maryland Day  
25 March 1984

## *About the Authors*

*Maryland. . . at the beginning* was researched and written by scholars and writers who have studied Maryland's early history in depth. Its inspiration developed from Dr. Russell R. Menard's doctoral dissertation, "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland" (University of Iowa, 1975). Now Professor of History at the University of Minnesota, he has had a long association with Maryland, where he worked for several years as a research associate with the St. Mary's City Commission. He has published many articles on Maryland history, including "Immigrants and Their Increase," published in *Law, Society and Politics in Early Maryland* (Aubrey C. Land, Lois Green Carr, Edward C. Papenfuse, editors) and "From Servant to Freeholder," published in the *William and Mary Quarterly*. Mrs. Carr is presently Historian, St. Mary's City Commission. She received her Ph.D. in History from Harvard University and has served as an archivist in Maryland's Hall of Records in Annapolis. She has been assistant editor of the *Maryland Manual* and an editor of *Maryland, A New Guide to the Old Line State*. Mrs. Carr is the author, with David W. Jordan, of *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689-1692*, a study of Maryland in the second half of the Seventeenth Century and of the revolution that took place at St. Mary's City in 1689. Louis Peddicord is a well-known Maryland writer and researcher, having published numerous articles in many magazines and publications, including *Maryland Magazine*. The original publication of this pamphlet was funded by the Maryland Bicentennial Commission.



## I

# The Voyage from England

*"I have sent a hopeful Colony  
to Maryland with a fair and  
probable Expectation of good  
Success"*

—Cecilius Calvert  
January, 1634

It was November 22, 1633.

The Pilgrims were bracing for their fourteenth New England winter. The new colony at Massachusetts Bay had survived its third year in good condition. In the Virginia colony, first settled over twenty-five years before, disease still brought early death to many, but there was peace and a reasonably orderly life after many early troubles; and while the early tobacco boom was over, a good living could be obtained.

That morning the first Maryland colonists were assembled on the ship *Ark* and the pinnace *Dove* anchored at Cowes, England. They were undoubtedly little concerned at that moment with these and other facts about those who had colonized before them. They were doubtless consumed with just one thought: the dangers of the voyage to the New World and of the life that awaited them in a wilderness.

These 140-odd settlers and adventurers were a mixed lot from all walks of 17th-century English life. Seventeen were gentlemen who were investing in the enterprise. They were paying the way of the others, who for a while would work for them as servants. A handful of women were aboard, but there is no record of any small children. Most or all of the gentlemen were Roman Catholics, the servants largely Protestant. Lord Baltimore, the proprietor—that is, the owner of the Maryland grant—was not among the leaders. He had hoped to go, but he had to stay in England to defend the charter that gave him the right to settle a colony in Maryland. He sent a younger brother, Leonard Calvert, as chief leader of this first expedition.

The *Ark* and the *Dove* had originally been scheduled to leave England by mid-August of 1633, but Lord Baltimore's opponents had caused a delay of several months. His enemies, so he claimed, had "defamed the business all they could,

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*Illustration: A Ship from the Age of Discovery. In vessels like this settlers traveled to 17th-century New World colonies. (Theodore De Bry, ed., *Americae Pars IV* [Frankfurt, 1594] Plate IX. The Folger Shakespeare Library.)*

both publicly and privately, to overthrow it." They had nearly succeeded. King Charles I's Privy Council had seriously considered revoking the Maryland charter. Not until July 3, 1633, had Lord Baltimore been reasonably certain that he would not lose it altogether.

The departure for Maryland had been scheduled next for mid-September, then early October; finally the two small ships had sailed from London in mid-October. But, then, they had been detained near the mouth of the Thames because the passengers had not taken an oath of allegiance to the king. Finally, about October 27, 128 people aboard the *Ark* and the *Dove* took the allegiance oath. Possibly some Roman Catholics had hid themselves either on shore or somewhere in the two ships to avoid the oath-taking ceremony. The three Jesuit priests known to be aboard very likely had done so, and many or all of the seventeen gentlemen investors may also have escaped the oaths. The actual count of passengers may have ranged between 131 and 148 people, possibly a handful more.

The two ships had then sailed to Cowes on the Isle of Wight before leaving for the crossing of the Atlantic. Like other 17th-century vessels, Lord Baltimore's ship must have been cramped and uncomfortable during the four-month sea voyage to Maryland. If any passengers had cabins, they were the gentlemen investors. The rest of the men and the handful of women were confined for the most part to the lower deck of the *Ark*. Although the *Ark* was a large vessel for her day, at least 300 "tuns burthen," this was a space perhaps no more than 100 feet long and 30 feet wide at its widest point. Here all slept, ate, and lived side by side, with no privacy for the full voyage. Watersoaked bedding, monotonous food, and the close quarters of so many travelers in a confined space probably made the journey across the Atlantic an ordeal for many of the passengers. But most survived.

All had come equipped for a new life in America. The advice given to those who would adventure to a New World colony recommended that supplies be taken to last a year, and the Calvert expedition seems to have been careful to do so. In 1635, Lord Baltimore published a promotional pamphlet that listed what was needed. If he followed these instructions, quantities of meal, oatmeal, salt peas, oil, jugs of vinegar, and some sugar, spice, and dried fruit were laid in for each settler before the ships left. Clothing, tools, guns, bullets, fishing lines and nets, and seeds to sow in the Maryland soil were also included. For the voyage itself, ship biscuit and beer were the usual fare, with a little dried meat and cheese. The gentlemen investors no doubt supplied themselves with extras—wines, conserves, pickled meats, lemons, perhaps even some live chickens.

Storms and pirates threatened every voyage across the North Atlantic, and passengers nearly always found occasion at some point to pray for God's help. The *Ark* and the *Dove* did not escape. Father Andrew White, a Jesuit priest on board the *Ark*, has left a vivid account of the voyage. During the first days after departing from Cowes, the ships encountered dangerous weather. The first night a calm forced the two vessels to anchor in a nearby harbor. But a strong wind arose and drove another ship upon the *Dove*, which at 50 tons or less was much the smaller of the two vessels, forcing the *Dove* to cut her anchor and take to sea. The captain of the *Ark* felt that he had no choice but to follow. If the *Dove* sailed on alone, the risk of disaster was high—Turkish pirates might even seize her. So the captain threw off his lines and sailed into the treacherous open sea.

For several days after this inauspicious beginning, the ships had good winds and fair sailing. But on November 25 a fierce winter storm struck, and

for an entire night both the *Ark* and the *Dove* seemed on the verge of floundering. The *Dove* hung distress lights from her mast as a signal to the *Ark* that she was in danger of sinking. When morning came, the smaller ship was nowhere to be seen. Passengers on the *Ark* assumed that the sister ship had been lost. The *Ark* sailed on with great difficulty and on November 29 encountered a storm so severe that it split the mainsail from top to bottom. The master bound up the helm and the *Ark*, in the words of Father White, "left without saile or government to the windes and waves . . . floated like a dish till God was pleased to take pitie on her." Luckily, this was the last bad weather.

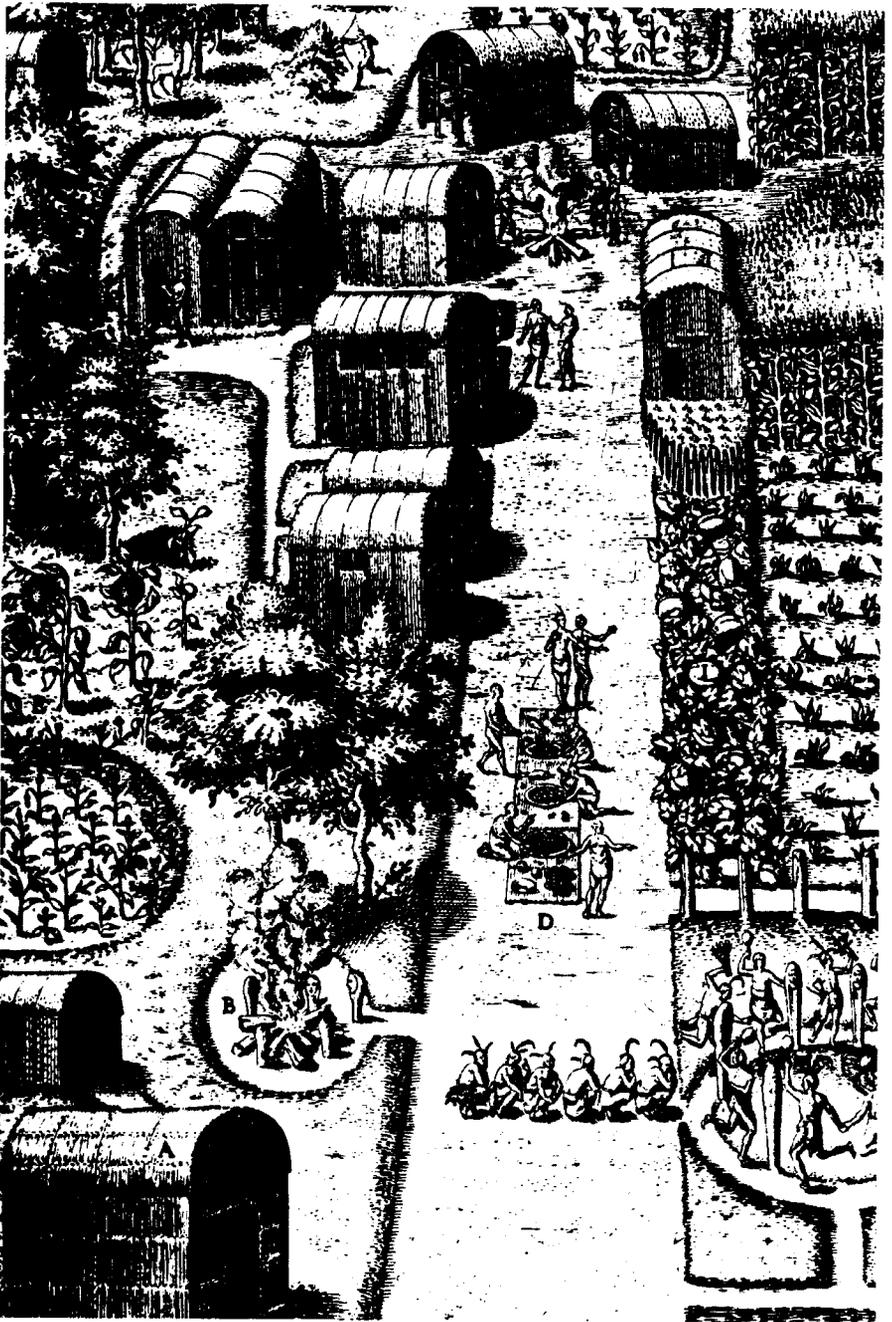
Five weeks later, after a pirate scare, the *Ark* reached Barbadoes, a small island in the West Indies. Here Leonard Calvert laid in a supply of seed for Indian corn, which did not grow in England. And here, to the joy of all, the *Dove* reappeared. She had survived the storm by turning back to an English harbor and waiting for better weather. She had then been able to accompany another ship, eventually overtaking the *Ark* after crossing the full breadth of the ocean. The two ships then moved off to other nearby islands of the West Indies before finally turning northward up the East Coast of North America.

The next stop was Virginia. Here Leonard Calvert delivered letters from Charles I to the Governor and the Maryland leaders spent several days meeting with trappers and traders, seeking advice about where to settle. The *Ark* and the *Dove* then sailed up the Chesapeake Bay and into the Potomac River.

The colonists' first landing within Maryland waters was early in March at St. Clement's Island, a small outcropping of sand and scrub undergrowth in the Potomac. "There by the overturning of a shallop we had almost lost our mades which we brought along," Father White relates. "The linnen they went to wash was much of it lost, which is noe small matter in these parts." The Indians were in terror of the *Ark*, a "Canow as bigg as an Island," and "great fires were made by night all over the Country" to spread the alarm. The first order of business was to pacify the Indians.

Leaving behind the *Ark*, Leonard Calvert set off in the *Dove* to find and meet with the Indian "emperor." On the way he met Captain Henry Fleet, a Virginia fur trader who offered assistance, although several leaders of the expedition suspected him of warning the Maryland Indians that the new colony and new settlers were intent upon war. The party sailed up the Potomac to Piscataway and won an interview with the chief of the native Conoy, an Algonquin tribe. Captain Fleet, who had dealt with the Indians regularly, helped interpret for Governor Calvert and acted as intermediary in the preliminary negotiations for a peaceful settlement on Indian lands. The Indian chief was wary, but he evidently thought the English might provide protection against the hostile Susequehannocks to the north and the even more dangerous Iroquois "Senecas" or "Sinniquos" who from time to time conducted raids. He granted Calvert permission to settle where he would. The Governor and his group then returned down the Potomac to rejoin the expedition anchored off St. Clement's Island. On March 25, 1634, the Jesuit priests offered a mass of thanksgiving on the island—the first said within the new colony of Maryland. The day is still celebrated as Maryland Day.

Governor Calvert, with his men, and Captain Fleet immediately embarked on another short voyage of exploration, this time sailing back down the Potomac river to a site known to Captain Fleet. Located very near the mouth of the Potomac was a broad and deep river curving north. Calvert, naming the river St. George's (it was later renamed the St. Mary's River), sailed about six miles up stream toward a small Yaocomico village.



*Illustration: "The Town of Secota."* In 1585, John White, a member of the expedition to Roanoke (North Carolina) made a watercolor of an Indian village after which De Bry made this engraving. White's watercolors are one of our chief sources of information about native Indian culture along the east coast of North America at the time of first European settlement. (Theodore De Bry after John White, in Thomas Hariot, *A Brief and True Report of the New-Found Land of Virginia* [London, 1588]. The Folger Shakespeare Library.)

The Yaocomicos, a peaceful farming and hunting tribe, had settled a village within view of the river years before. They were already planning to abandon the site because of their fear of the Susequehannocks. Bartering with a supply of hatchets, hoes, and cloth, Calvert was able to strike a bargain whereby the Indians would surrender half of their village site immediately to the settlers and pass on the other half over the coming year. Thus it happened that on March 27, 1634, after four months at sea and more than two weeks of exploration up and down the Potomac river, Maryland's first official settlement expedition had found a home. The *Ark* and the *Dove* arrived three days later.

The settlers began at once to construct a store house and a guardhouse, then unloaded the ships and moved ashore. According to accounts of the participants, they fired cannons, flew flags and banners, and staged a full-dress ceremony in honor of the occasion. The Maryland party took over the land in the name of the king, Charles I, and the Lord Baltimore, Cecilius Calvert. Leonard Calvert immediately named the place Saint Maries, or, as we prefer, St. Mary's, in honor of the Virgin.

For some sixty-one years thereafter, St. Mary's was the capital of Maryland. It was never to become a real town, remaining more a settlement of convenience, which all too soon was relegated to a *position of little importance*. Nevertheless, at the time, this broad, rolling stretch of verdant land fronting on the St. Mary's River seemed to the debarking colonists to be the promised land of the New World.

How did the settlers begin the arduous task of hewing a patch of civilization from the Maryland wilderness? An answer must begin with a look at the Calvert Plan to establish a New World colony.

## II *The Calvert Vision*

### The Plan

George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, brought twenty years of experience with colonies and colonizers to the Maryland enterprise. He knew the difficulties. The son of a Catholic Yorkshire gentleman of small means, he had made a major success as an official of the English Crown. He had been a principal Secretary of State for James I and had been made Baron of Baltimore before he announced his conversion—or reconversion—to the Catholic faith in 1625. Such an open embrace of Catholicism soon ended his public career forever but left him free to pursue a long-awakened interest in colonization of the New World. Calvert had participated in several early ventures and in 1620 had planned and financed a small settlement in Newfoundland.

In 1627 he moved there, but finding the cold unbearable, sought a grant from the Crown in the vicinity of Virginia instead. After much opposition, especially from men who had invested in Virginia, the king gave Calvert a grant in the Northern Chesapeake—present day Maryland. George Calvert did not live to see that day, but his son Cecilius inherited the grant and with it his father's vision of the colony-to-be.



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*Illustration: George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore.* George Calvert died before his charter for the colony of Maryland passed the Great Seal, hence he was never the Maryland proprietor. (Engraving by J. Caldwell, published May 1811 by White & Cochrane, Maryland Historical Society.)

George Calvert and his son made careful plans. They knew the risks and the costs of settling a plantation in the New World. They believed that both could be minimized by attracting Englishmen of means and status to the Maryland colony. To attract such investors, the Calverts planned to offer those who would transport sufficient numbers of settlers large land grants, powerful offices, and noble titles. Such men, who were to form the core of a New World gentry, were to share the financial burden and provide the leadership required to make a well-ordered community out of a struggling frontier outpost.

This element of the plan, based on the traditional structure of English rural society, was to be found in other colonizing efforts; but a second part was less familiar. Maryland was to be a refuge for Roman Catholics, who in England could not practice their religion without violating the law and whose belief in the supremacy of the pope was considered by many Englishmen to be treasonous to the king. This was not the first time such an idea had been proposed. The possibility of establishing a colony as a refuge for English Catholics had been considered as early as 1569, when Sir Thomas Gerard—two of whose descendants played a significant role in the founding of Maryland—and Sir George Peckham had proposed a Catholic plantation in Ireland. In George Calvert and his son Cecilius the idea found new champions, with sufficient ability, energy, resources, and experience to make the vision of an English Catholic refuge a reality on the shores of the Chesapeake.

Colonization required heavy investment. Adventurers of purse as well as person were required to make the Maryland venture a success. Cecilius Calvert hoped to attract English gentlemen of wealth to his colony with liberal grants of land in return for a small yearly "quitrent." His first "Conditions of Plantation," drawn up a year or more before the first expedition, offered favorable terms, especially to large investors. Men willing to participate were to be granted 2,000 acres of land for every five men between the ages of 16 and 50 brought into the Province—that is, 400 acres per man. If an investor brought in fewer than five men he could claim 100 acres per man. The estimated cost of transporting and supplying a servant was £20.0.0. Hence the cost to the large investor was a shilling per acre.

Beyond the prospect of a large land grant, the first adventurers were also told that they would be assured ten acres of town land for each person they transported to Maryland. Cecilius planned a city, and this offer of land within it to the first adventurers was seen as a particularly advantageous inducement. The projected city was to serve Maryland as the center of commerce and seat of government. The second Lord Baltimore undoubtedly expected that, as the colony grew, the value of the town land would increase rapidly. Landowners could then turn a profit by leasing or selling lots to a growing population. Judging from the numbers who took up town land and paid rent on it, many early investors shared his expectation.

The distinctive feature of Lord Baltimore's land policy was his offer of special privileges to substantial investors in the colony's future. Anyone transporting enough men to receive a grant of at least 1,000 acres—later, 3,000 acres—could have the tract erected into a manor with the right to hold courts and with all other privileges usually attached to a manor in England. Potential lords of manors were also offered the possibility of provincial office, titles of honor, and "no small share in the profits of trade." From the start of the Maryland venture, the plan of "raising some nobility" was a primary recruiting device.

Calvert expected that political leaders in the new Maryland colony would

be drawn from the ranks of these "Adventurer" investors. He foresaw that their control of large blocks of land, together with their partnership roles in the colony's trade, would enable them to dominate the provincial economy. The lords of the manors, he hoped, would form a core of trusted lieutenants through whom he could direct the colony's economy and government. In theory, at least, their dependence on Calvert for land and status would guarantee their loyalty; their wealth and the prestige of their new titles would ensure the deference and dependence of more ordinary settlers. The manor was intended to become a central institution in the life of the province, both as an instrument for social control and as a focal point for community loyalties.

In this manner, Cecilius Calvert hoped to distribute the heavy burden of funding a new settlement. Colonization, he knew from his father's experience with the colony in Newfoundland, required substantial capital outlays over a long period before a profitable return could be expected. The offer of manors would allow Calvert to finance the passage and supply of a larger number of settlers than would otherwise be possible if he depended on his own limited resources. In addition, the lords of the manors presumably would work hard at protecting and developing their investments, to the benefit of the province as well as themselves.

Englishmen at that time were reluctant to invest in long-term, high-risk ventures, and the promise of potential profits from colonial crops would not alone have been sufficient to attract many "first adventurers." Something more was needed—a cooperative enterprise promising immediate returns. In Newfoundland, George Calvert had tried to use the fishery he developed to this purpose; in Maryland, Cecilius hoped the fur trade would serve. He therefore organized a joint-stock company to control this fur trade, and he offered a "portion and Share thereof unto such as Should adventure their persons and Estates for the beginning of a Plantation."

Calvert could develop these grand plans and schemes because of the vast powers granted him in the enabling charter of the Maryland colony. This document empowered him to declare war; institute martial law in the face of rebellion, tumult, or sedition; proclaim ordinances; pass laws with the assent of an assembly of freemen; establish courts; punish crimes; and appoint officials necessary for the maintenance of peace and the administration of justice. Along with all these powers, Calvert was also authorized to regulate trade, impose taxes and customs duties, create honors and titles, and incorporate cities. In short, the charter provided the proprietor with the powers necessary to defend, develop, administer, and fully govern his province. It remained to be seen how well his plans would work.



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*Illustration: Cecilius Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore, First Proprietor of Maryland. (Mezzotint by Abraham Blooteling, 1657, Maryland Hall of Records.)*

## Finding Investors and Leaders

Despite his vast powers, and despite his promise to create a new landed gentry in the New World—replete with feudal trappings and rents from a New World peasantry—Calvert's recruitment campaign was not an unqualified success. Probably because of the Roman Catholic associations of the enterprise, few men of means and position responded to Lord Baltimore's proposals. Furthermore, the men who did invest represented a very narrow segment of English society—the Roman Catholic landed gentry. The promotional campaign turned up enough support to get the colony started, but it failed to turn up adequate financial backing or to recruit Protestant settlers of substance.

These failures had serious consequences for Maryland's early history. Most important, the colony was not sufficiently funded, a fact that placed a severe strain on Lord Baltimore's personal fortune. In addition, the inability to extend Maryland's English leadership beyond the Catholic community left Cecilius in a weakened political position, open to attacks based on anti-Catholic prejudice and hard-pressed to counter charges of discrimination against Protestants.

Because he failed to attract as many independent financial backers as he had hoped, Lord Baltimore was forced to devote a large part of his personal fortune to the Maryland enterprise. He owned a share of the *Dove* and about half of the shares in the joint-stock company formed to exploit the anticipated fur trade. In addition, Lord Baltimore financed the passage of 25 of the servants who went to Maryland in the first expedition, nearly one quarter of the total. Throughout all of this, it was his money that oiled the wheels of England's bureaucracy, both to ease his charter through official (and non-official) channels and to defend it from its numerous and formidable enemies.

Among the chief early investors in Maryland were the Jesuits. The Society of Jesus aided Cecilius with his promotional campaign and invested considerable capital in the province. The order financed the transportation and supply of about 20 persons in 1634 and another 30 or so before the end of the decade. The properties the Jesuits developed supported missions that ministered to the religious needs of the Catholic population over the whole colonial period.

Apart from the Jesuits, six men provided the bulk of the capital not supplied by the Calverts that made possible the first expedition: Thomas Cornwallis, Edward and Frederick Winter, Jerome Hawley, Richard Gerard, and John Saunders. All transported sufficient settlers to be eligible for manorial grants; all owned shares in Calvert's joint stock company and invested in the purchase of the *Dove*. All, furthermore, shared similar backgrounds. With the possible exception of Saunders, they were Catholic. They belonged to families of wealth and status, but with one exception (Jerome Hawley) they were younger sons, who would not inherit their father's wealth and position; they had to make their fortunes.

Thomas Cornwallis—an ancestor of the Lord Cornwallis who surrendered to George Washington at Yorktown in 1781—is the best known and most interesting of these men. While not a rich man by contemporary standards, he was the second heaviest investor in the Maryland venture. He owned an eighth share of the *Dove* and a substantial interest in the joint stock company. He invested heavily in the retail provisions trade, built Maryland's first mill, and quickly established himself as one of the Chesapeake's leading tobacco merchants. Cornwallis also transported twelve servants on the first expedition and over the next ten years brought in some 45 more. Because he committed himself to the limits of his ability and perhaps beyond, he later complained of seeing his fortune run "almost out of breathe" in supporting the colony.

Cornwallis's reasons for making such a great commitment shed light on those of the other investors. He was a devout Roman Catholic above all else. It is clear that he was attracted by the unique promise of refuge inherent in the plan to colonize Maryland. He also saw an opportunity to create a flourishing Church in the New World. "Security of Conscience," Thomas Cornwallis wrote Lord Baltimore, "was the first Condition that I expected from this Government." So strong, in fact, was Cornwallis's religious motivation that at one time in the course of various conflicts that arose he threatened to leave Maryland rather than "Consent to anything that may not stand with the Good Conscience of a Roman Catholic."

Ambition played an equally important role in Cornwallis's efforts to make the colony a success. As a Roman Catholic and a younger son, his horizons in England were necessarily limited. He could not expect to inherit a major part of the family estate, which by English law would go to his oldest brother; nor as a Catholic could he expect to make his mark in politics or in the professions. Lord Baltimore, furthermore, gave him special encouragement. In addition to the conditions extended all adventurers, Cornwallis was offered a seat on the council which was to rule Maryland, special trading privileges, and a license to build a mill. The opportunity to serve his faith, share in the glory of building a new colony for England's empire, and at the same time improve his personal fortune made Cornwallis one of the Calverts' most loyal men.

However, the very nature of the group was a danger in that it was limited to Roman Catholics. In a colony largely peopled by Protestants and belonging to a Protestant kingdom, Protestant investors and leaders were necessary. Lord Baltimore's efforts to recruit them eventually would meet with success; yet here lay danger too. Protestant leaders could be a source of instability and

CRUCENACVM A SUECIS OCCVLATUR



*Illustration: Religious Warfare in Europe.* At the very moment Maryland was first being settled, the Thirty Year's War was being fought in Europe over the establishment of state religions. (Johann Philippi Abelin, *Theatri Europaei* [Frankfurt am Main, 1646], II, following 602, Library of Congress.)

conflict in a colony where Catholics had power. A policy was needed that would account for such difficulties if Maryland was to become and remain a Catholic refuge.

### The Experiment in Toleration

To solve this problem of political stability, the Calverts planned in Maryland a religious toleration based on separation of church and state. Men were to share power and make decisions together without regard to their religious differences, even though elsewhere men were fighting wars to force everyone to accept the same religion. This was an experiment in social relations, yet there is no evidence that such an experiment was the conscious intention. The Calverts found it necessary to build a colony in which Catholics and Protestants would share political power. They backed into such social pioneering from political necessity.

Neither George nor Cecilius Calvert left any precise statement that tells how they developed the policy they finally adopted. However, there was appearing in England at this time a body of Catholic opinion upon which their plan was based. By the 1630s many English Catholics had accepted the fact that in England they would be only one religious group among many; they would be a sect like other groups that refused to worship in the Church of England. There was no hope that the Roman Catholic Church would ever again be the church of the English state or that other religions would be suppressed. If Catholicism were to survive in England, it must support the king, not the pope, as the ruler of the civil polity, and Catholics must endorse toleration of other sects besides their own.

Religion, these Catholics argued, was a private matter that should not affect one's role and status as a citizen of the state. The proper concern of the state was the preservation of harmonious civil relations, not the coercion of beliefs. "Moreover," according to a Maryland colonization tract, "Conversion in matters of Religion, if it bee forced, should give little satisfaction to a State of the fidelity of such convertites, for those who for worldly respects will breake their faith with God will doubtless doe it, upon fit occasion, much sooner with men." The tract argued that the surest way for the state to win the loyalty of dissenters was to end discrimination and persecution. In that way, religious men would defend a government that allowed them freedom of worship. "Let every religion take what spiritual head they please," argued one anonymous English Catholic of the day, "for so they will, whether wee will or no, but the matter imports not, so they obey the king as temporal head, and humbly submit to the state and civil lawes, and live quietly together."

Both George and Cecilius Calvert accepted this tradition of sectarian Catholicism. Because Cecilius was proprietor of a new colony, he was cast in the position of extending the principle and transforming it into a public policy that would work in the New World.

As practiced in Maryland, toleration was primarily intended to prevent differences between Protestants and Catholics from disrupting the civil order. Christians could follow their faith in private, without persecution, discrimination, or exclusion from the ruling groups. But they were not free to proselytize or debate doctrine publicly if such activities promised to threaten the peace. They certainly could not use unflattering epithets or in other ways publicly criticize someone of a different religious persuasion.

This concept of toleration is clearly expressed in the second Lord Baltimore's instructions to his brother Leonard on how the first expedition in the



*Ark and the Dove* was to be conducted. Governor Calvert and his councillors, Lord Baltimore advised, should be "very careful to preserve unity and peace amongst us all . . . and suffer no scandall nor offense to be given to any of the Protestants . . . and . . . for that end, they (must) cause all Acts of Roman Catholique Religion to be done as privately as may be, and . . . they (must) instruct all the Roman Catholiques to be silent upon all occasions of discourse concerning matters of religion."

This was essentially a negative view of religious toleration, framed as much with an eye towards the reactions of English officials as with an appreciation of the needs of the colonists. It lasted for fifty-five years. But toleration so practiced had a failing. There was no attempt to teach men that tolerance was in itself desirable. Thus the potential for serious conflict was always present and ultimately ended the experiment.

Nevertheless, the early colonists made toleration work. Catholics and Protestants together founded Maryland.

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*Illustration: "Judgment."* For fifty-five years (1634–1689) Catholic and Protestant leaders in Maryland shared political power and made decisions together. (Johann Amos Comenius, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* [London, 1685], 252. The Folger Shakespeare Library.)



### III

## The First Settlement

*"We have seated ourselves within one half mile of the river, within a pallizado of one hundred and twentie yeards square."*

Leonard Calvert, April, 1634

The former Yaocomico village, about six miles up from the Potomac on what was to become known as the St. Mary's river, was an ideal spot for the expedition borne in the *Ark* and the *Dove*. Jerome Hawley, one of the "first adventurers" and a financial backer, described it as

*a very comodious situation for a Towne, in regard the land is good, the ayre wholesome and pleasant, the River affords a safe harbour for ships of any burthen, and a very bould shoare; fresh water and wood there is in great plenty, and the place so naturally fortified, as with little difficulties it will be defended from any enemy.*

Governor Calvert was seeking fields already cleared by the Indians so that his party of Englishmen might quickly sow their crops and in that way avoid the first disastrous winter experienced by earlier colonization parties in North America. The expedition was late, but the spring arrival was still in time to take advantage of a full growing season. Hearing that the Yaocomicos were more than willing to turn their home over to the Englishmen, Leonard Calvert wasted no time in bringing his full party to the site. About half of the resident Yaocomicos moved away upon the arrival of the English and the bark huts they left behind probably served as temporary homes for the men and handful of women from the *Ark* and the *Dove*.

Work was immediately begun on the "pallizado," or fort, a structure thought necessary as protection against the Indians, not only those nearby but also the Susequehannocks and marauding bands of Iroquois from the Five Na-

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*Illustration: St. Mary's Fort.* This conjectural picture of the first fort is based on various early narratives and letters that describe the first expedition. (Drawing by Cary Carson, St. Mary's City Commission.)

tions in what is now eastern New York. The Governor was aware from his meetings with his Indian neighbors that only a few years previously a band of such invading "Senecas" had massacred the inhabitants of nearby Moyoane, a Conoy village that had existed for at least 300 years. For the first months the Maryland colony probably existed within or near this crudely built fort palisade. Meanwhile, work surely went on as fast as possible to build more permanent dwellings, to clear more fields, and to sow the anxiously awaited crops.

As recounted by members of this first expedition, the colonists found a bountiful nature at St. Mary's. Bears, elk, deer, wildcats, wolves, and beavers were within the woods on all sides of the early village. Likewise small game, such as foxes, squirrels, and rabbits abounded. Cranes, ducks, geese, and even wild pigeons flew in flocks so dense that by one account they threatened to block the sunlight from the earth. Wild turkey was a favorite of the Yaocomicos, and terrapin, crabs, and oysters were abundant.

The huge virgin woods of cedars, poplars, oaks, elms, ashes, chestnuts, and walnuts provided seemingly inexhaustible supplies of building materials and fuel. By Father White's account these woods were almost completely free of undergrowth or scrub. The Indians had yearly burned over the land, thereby keeping secondary growth controlled and providing the forest environment that encouraged wildlife on which much of their living depended. To the colonists these woods, with their high arching canopies of branches, were as dark and mysterious as a cathedral of the Europe they had left behind.

The countryside in that first spring abounded with color and beauty for the Maryland colonists. Sorrel and violets, strawberries and raspberries, all kinds of herbs for "sallets" were there in profusion. So too was a plant grown by Yaocomicos for their own enjoyment. The first colonists were not encouraged to grow tobacco. But Maryland would soon be relying upon it as the primary cash crop.

It was assumed in the 17th century that cities were necessary to both commerce and civilization. Lord Baltimore had therefore decreed that a close, clustered settlement must be built at once in his projected colony. His instructions called for houses "neere adjoining one to another and for that purpose to cause streets to be marked out where they intend to place the towne and to oblige every man to buyld one by another according to that rule."

But the "towne" was not built. By 1637, and probably much sooner, the settlers had scattered. The colony's leaders had taken up land at a distance from the palisaded fort and had carried their servants with them. The fort was left to destruction born of neglect. For despite occasional alarms, the Indians were largely peaceful; the fort was unnecessary.

Relations with the Yaocomico tribe and neighboring Indians were apparently very good at the birth of the Maryland colony. The natives supplied the English with corn and fish and were ready to teach them how to make corn bread and hominy, show them what herbs and roots could be used for medicines and dyes, and cooperate in other ways. The English, for their part, paid the Indians for their land and supplies and the leaders wrote of the natives with respect. Within a few years the Jesuits undertook to make the Indians Christians, with some success.

Thus the first settlement had a good start. The Indians knew how to select good land and today's soil maps show that the Yaocomico village occupied the very best site on the east side of the St. Mary's River. The rich soil, spotted with tree trunks the Indians had never felt compelled to remove, provided a good growing medium. The first garden and corn crops, thanks to the temper-

ate spring and summer of 1634, “prospered exceedingly well.” There was to be no extreme hardship or deprivation in St. Mary’s—nothing to compare with the first experiences of a Jamestown. All seemed to be right, with “God’s favour,” in the Calvert expedition party. But as time went on, the strains and conflicts that were to prove inherent in Lord Baltimore’s colonization scheme would come to the surface.

# IV

## *Growth and Development of the New Colony*

### **Problems in Lord Baltimore's Plan**

From the beginning the Maryland settlement was politically fragile. Although essential to the Calvert plan, the prominent immigrants who joined the first expedition were a threat to the well-being of the colony, and particularly to the proprietor's influence there. Precisely because the half dozen major investors had status independent of the proprietary favor, Lord Baltimore's ability to control them was to prove limited. Cooperation between the proprietor and Maryland's new landed gentry depended upon a convergence of interests that never quite came about. Given the ambitions of the leading immigrants, contrasted with Lord Baltimore's pressing need to improve his wounded finances, quarrels over privileges and trade were inevitable.

Contributing to these difficulties was the fact that the anticipated fur trade enterprise was a failure. The supply of furs proved limited. Furthermore, the master of the *Dove*, in a quarrel with owners, abandoned his vessel; it became wormeaten and repairs delayed its departure. By the time it could set out for England most of the first year's furs had rotted. The ship itself then disappeared at sea. The initial investment was entirely lost and the enterprise never recovered.

This was a disheartening failure. Lord Baltimore had expected quick returns from the fur trade to shore up his sagging fortunes. The other investors had shared his expectations. Had the adventure into the Indian fur trade been a success, relations between the leading colonists and Calvert might have been easier. The result instead was continued financial strain, discouragement, and a bitter struggle for control of what little fur trade there was coming out of the Maryland colony.

Fortunately for Calvert and his settlers, tobacco production was available as a substitute economic resource. It did not immediately create the riches the core of investors had hoped for, but over time the "sotte weed" would provide a good income for poor men as well as the rich.

In other ways Lord Baltimore's plans failed. The manorial system did not function as intended. In part it fell victim to Lord Baltimore's need for both men and money. Abundant labor was necessary to turn vast wilderness tracts into productive, money-making units. Yet Lord Baltimore, in order to attract investors, had set a man/land ratio too low to bring that wilderness under control and into profitable production. Five men per 2,000—later 1,000—acres could not accomplish much in the way of transforming the wilderness outpost into a bustling, thriving civilization.

Nor could the manor lords obtain easy riches. The manpower shortage was too great. Servants were usually bound to their masters for only four or five years and when free were given rights to land of their own. They might need to continue as laborers or tenants for a while before they could pay the expenses of establishing an independent plantation; but since wages were high and rents were low where land was plentiful and people scarce, labor in this form was expensive to the lord. In the long run the large landowners would do very well, but get-rich-quick profits were impossible.

In addition, the manors did not provide the institutional stability that Lord Baltimore had envisioned. There was no realistic way to confine settlement to these large grants. Few former servants were content for long with the status of tenant subject to a manorial lord. Though the manorial lords were not making fortunes, the small profits of their tenants allowed these poor men to better their condition. From the time of its founding, Maryland was potentially a colony in which independent owner-operators, not tenants of lords, would constitute a majority among planters.

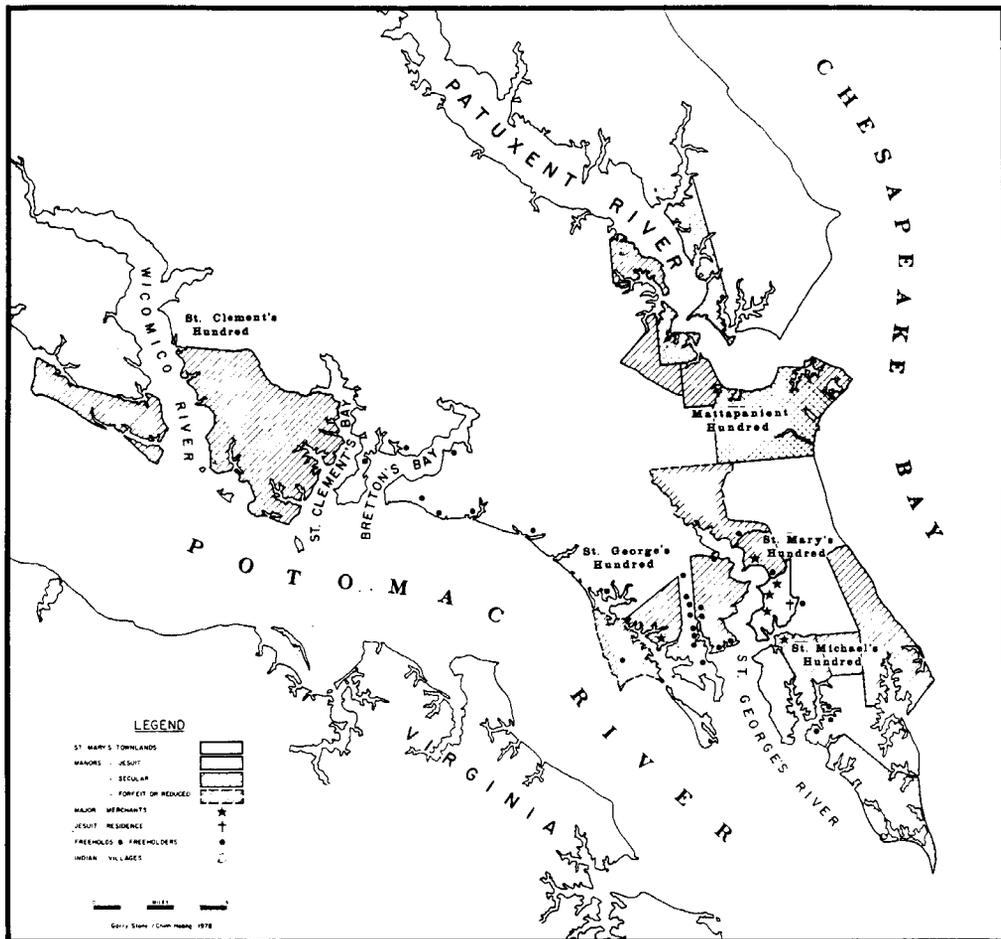
The early St. Mary's society was therefore to be short-lived. Over the first decade it was, as planned, a hierarchial community based on firm distinctions of status, a society dominated by a handful of English gentlemen, who owned nearly all the land and financial resources. But a very different society would soon emerge.

### The Pattern of Settlement

Throughout the 1630s the fledgling community on the St. Mary's River grew at a steady but unspectacular pace. As Father Andrew White reported in 1639, five years after the landing of the *Ark* and the *Dove* the colony was "every day bettering itself by increase of Planters and plantations." By 1635 another 60 or so settlers had joined the core of approximately 140 who had arrived in the first expedition. By 1642, a year for which tax lists survive that make possible a crude estimate of population, there were perhaps 340 to 390 residents in or near St. Mary's.

Nevertheless, there should have been more. High mortality had cut back population growth considerably. Nearly every newcomer sickened soon after arrival and many died—what proportion we can only surmise. Malaria and dysentery appear to have been the chief cause of illness, and those who recovered were weakened for other diseases. The 340 to 390 people in 1642 were probably the survivors of at least 500 who had immigrated since 1634. More than a fifth of those who sought opportunity in the new settlement had met their deaths instead.

However many had immigrated, the St. Mary's region revealed few traces of the impact of English culture eight years after the arrival of the *Ark* and the *Dove*. Over 37,000 acres of land had been surveyed by the end of 1642, but most of it was still unimproved. Even if one assumes that each taxable resident—males 12 years and older—had about 10 acres under cultivation, this still



*Illustration: Tract Map of St. Mary's County, 1642, Showing the Hundreds. (St. Mary's City Commission.)*

meant that well over 90 per cent of the patented land was untouched virgin soil. At most, the Maryland colonists had improved only three square miles. Maryland had just barely begun.

The St. Mary's settlement was not the only one in Maryland. Kent Island, across Chesapeake Bay, had been colonized in 1631. Lord Baltimore claimed it as part of his grant but William Claiborne and his settlers considered themselves part of Virginia. Leonard Calvert and the St. Mary's colonists had to spend valuable energy establishing Lord Baltimore's authority on the island. By 1638 they had succeeded and men from Kent attended the Maryland Assembly. But isolated Kent remained an area of doubtful loyalty to Lord Baltimore for many years to come.

There were three major settlement clusters in the St. Mary's area by 1642. Most of the inhabitants still lived around the St. Mary's river within a few miles of the original landing site and fort. This group of settlers was divided into three administrative units or "hundreds": St. Michael's Hundred, St. Mary's Hundred, and St. George's Hundred. St. Michael's, the largest, stretched from Point Lookout at the mouth of the Potomac river to St. Inigoes creek, and had perhaps 120 inhabitants. St. Mary's Hundred, situated on the east bank of the St. Mary's river just north of St. Michael's, included the landing site; its smaller area was probably the most densely settled with about 80 to 90 residents. Finally, about 70 people lived within St. George's Hundred, on the west bank of the river. In all about 270 people lived in the major settlement cluster on or near the St. Mary's river.

Two additional settlements had been established by 1642 at a considerable distance from the original landing site. St. Clement's Hundred, bounded by the Wicomico river on the West, had about 60 inhabitants. Mattapanian Hundred, the other major outlying settlement cluster, had about 30 to 40 inhabitants. It was located on the Patuxent river about five miles north of the St. Mary's fort. All five hundreds were organized as St. Mary's County.

Although the concept of clustering is useful in describing the settlement pattern of early St. Mary's County, the term is somewhat misleading. In no way were these population clusters dense village-like pockets of swarming humanity. Rather, each of the clusters was a loose dispersal of houses and settlers. Plantations were not huddled together around a village square or common, but strung out along the river banks, on the necks of peninsulas between rivers and on other navigable streams. The settlement pattern that was to dominate all the American tobacco areas throughout the colonial period emerged almost immediately in St. Mary's County.

There were various reasons for the spread of first settlement along the water. The Chesapeake Bay's many water highways, off-feeder rivers, and creeks provided convenient transportation of goods and services at a time when roads were nonexistent. Profitable tobacco culture required easy access to these navigable waterways, as the "sotte weed" was found to be too bulky and too delicate to travel well over land. Immediate dependence on England for goods and services and a system of marketing and supply which often entailed direct exchange between planters and ship captains also encouraged settlement along the rivers and larger creeks. Doubtless important, too, was the desire of these voluntarily exiled colonists to maintain some ability to communicate with Englishmen from the Mother Country; visiting Englishmen were to be seen and spoken to when the occasional ship from England anchored to load and off-load goods. In 1656, to keep waterfront land available for newcomers, Lord Baltimore placed limits on the amount of land that could be

taken up along rivers and streams. Interior settlement did not begin until waterfront land was gone later in the 17th century.

Evidence also suggests that traditional English agricultural wisdom helped shape the emerging settlement pattern. All of the cultivation sites chosen by 1642 were adequate for tobacco production. But they were also well suited for other crops, performing well with Indian corn and English grains and garden produce. Many contained some wet, marshy lands which formed a natural meadow base useable for grazing livestock, although cattle could be mired and lost in these marshes. In addition, many sites contained some low land that was "subject to drown" and some land with a slightly higher elevation that was well drained. Thus, by planting some of his crops on low lands and some on high, the early Maryland farmer could hedge against both drought and excessive rainfall; he could spread his risks. In so doing he was following the practices of his forefathers.

These considerations based on the need for water access and spreading risks affected the decision of planters wherever men settled in the tidewater Chesapeake. But in St. Mary's County over the first ten years, manorial grants also profoundly influenced the pattern. By 1642 sixteen private manors had been surveyed. Together they contained 31,000 acres or a full 83.1 per cent of the total patented land in the area. There was, furthermore, a pronounced tendency for small landowners to take up land close to the manorial grants. As the map makes clear, manors dominated four of the five major clusters of settlement.

In St. Michael's Hundred there were six manors. Three belonged to Leonard Calvert, two to Thomas Cornwallis, and one to the Jesuits. St. George's Hundred contained West St. Mary's Manor, which had been surveyed for Cornwallis in 1640, but which belonged to the proprietor by 1642. Another, St. George's manor, owned by Thomas Weston, was not formally patented until 1643, but Weston had probably been living on the site for nearly a year beforehand. Four manors accounted for all the patented land in Mattapanian Hundred. All inhabitants there must have been living and working on a manor. Thomas Gerard's 6,000-acre tract included most of the settled area in St. Clement's Hundred. Only St. Mary's Hundred, where settlement still centered loosely on lands intended for town development, escaped manorial domination. Even there most of the land was owned by the very men who had large manorial holdings elsewhere. (*See tract map showing hundreds, p. 18*)

Thus the manor lords in effect made the basic choices as to where inhabitants settled. They directed the locations in which their servants and hired men would work and determined what lands would be leased to beginning planters. And since the lords were the main source of credit, supplies, and marketing services for men with little capital, smaller landowners chose land near by.

However, this concentration on the manor was not to last. For the moment the Calvert vision of well-knit manorial communities might have seemed to be coming into being. But the forces of the economy were pushing in the opposite direction. Manor laborers and tenants were aiming to leave the manor to establish their own holdings and those who had done so soon outnumbered those who remained.

### **The Colony's Government**

The proprietor may have intended that the lords of the manors would establish manorial courts that would constitute local governments. Perhaps at first the lords of manors at least informally adjudicated disputes over boun-

daries of tenements or destruction of crops by livestock, but if exercised, the jurisdiction was trifling. It must have soon lost any significance as the number of small landowners who did not live on manors increased. The colony's leaders soon established instead the hundreds and the county. As in nearby Virginia, the county court, with its justices of the peace and sheriff appointed by the governor, became the chief unit of local government.

Over the first ten years, there was probably little distinction made between the St. Mary's county court and the provincial government. The governor and his councillors—who were mostly manor lords—ran the day-to-day affairs of the colony and sat as the Provincial Court. These men, who were appointed by the proprietor, took up every kind of business. In a colony so small and new they probably paid little attention to jurisdictional lines. There was overlapping membership on county and Provincial Court that in any case blurred distinctions.

There was a check on the power of these leaders. The charter required that laws be passed in an assembly of freemen or their delegates. Such assemblies were established in all the New World English colonies. Until 1670 a freeman in Maryland was literally any man who was not a servant, and for several sessions in the early years every freeman was called to attend in person or by proxy. The reason that so many could participate—nothing like it was to be found in England and soon would not be found in Maryland—doubtless lies in the fragile nature of authority in a new and isolated settlement. It was necessary that the colonists work together if the process of creating a well-ordered society in the wilderness was to succeed. The governor and council could not easily enforce laws or policies not based on widespread agreement. The economic and political power of the gentry was great and they occupied all offices of authority. But in these early assemblies every free male settler had some chance to influence the policies such officers enforced.

Nevertheless, leadership of the colony remained in the hands of the few. Lords of manors may not have had their own courts but they sat as judges and councillors. What did not function as Lord Baltimore had hoped was a community of interest between him and these distant rulers. Upon this community of interest depended the development of political order. This failure proved to be a serious weakness.

### St. Mary's City

As elsewhere in the Chesapeake, the marked tendency towards scattered settlement frustrated any hope that a flourishing urban center would soon emerge. Lord Baltimore's belief that a town was essential to the prosperity of his colony could not command a town into being. Important market functions were in the hands of English merchants overseas and ship captains who traversed those seas. There was no need for a provincial town as a center of commerce. The manorial system in itself, moreover, undermined any such development. The manors offered several additional centers of credit and services and hence competed for settlers.

Finally, the pattern of land distribution that appeared on the land set aside for the town did not encourage its development. Lord Baltimore had intended that the Town Land—about 1,500 acres around the original landing site—be distributed in five- or ten-acre lots. But the headright system he simultaneously developed permitted the colony's leading investors to take up parcels of Town Land much larger than he had anticipated. Thirteen tracts were actually surveyed on the site before 1642. Holdings ranged, not from five to ten acres, but

from 30 to 400 acres, the average being 115 acres. Leasing may have led to some further subdivision, but the St. Mary's Town Lands little resembled a village. Perhaps a dozen households were spread out over five square miles.

Eventually a village did arise because the Town Land remained the seat of government. The governor and council, the courts, and the assembly met in the fort while it lasted or at the nearby home of the provincial secretary, John Lewger, which had been built in 1638. Eventually more was needed. By the 1660s the colony's population had grown large enough to require and finance construction of public buildings and enough people were coming from a distance to encourage the opening of inns and stables. Finally, the development of St. Mary's City came about. However, when the capital moved to Annapolis in 1695, the reason for a town evaporated. By 1720, St. Mary's City had disappeared.

### The Staple Crop: Tobacco

The needs of the tobacco economy were the main influence on settlement patterns, yet when the Lords Baltimore began their promotion of the new Maryland enterprise tobacco was mentioned almost as an afterthought. Neither George nor Cecilius Calvert saw the increasingly popular weed as an integral part of Maryland's future. They treated the cultivation and marketing of tobacco as just one of several crops in a diversified agriculture. Their lack of foresight is surprising, given that the adjacent Virginia economy was already dependent on tobacco. The Calverts and their friends kept well informed about their neighbors to the south; they must have known how important tobacco was there.

Possibly the late King James' aversion to tobacco (an aversion shared, incidentally, by Thomas Cornwallis, Maryland's key backer aside from the Calvert family) had led to a tactical decision to de-emphasize the crop in the recruitment campaign. Just as important, the price of tobacco had declined sharply in the years just prior to settlement of the Maryland colony. The luxury prices paid Virginia planters for the weed in the early 1620s had not lasted. By 1629, tobacco prices had fallen so low that the Virginia Assembly had restricted production. It is likely, therefore, that the promoters of the Maryland enterprise hoped to avoid dependence on a crop with such an uncertain future.



Yet, despite what the promoters may have thought about the "sotte weed," the colonists were soon engrossed in producing it. The adventurers did not grow tobacco at St. Mary's during the first year of settlement, but thereafter the crop quickly emerged as the staple of the Maryland economy. By 1637, a mere three years after the *Ark* and the *Dove* sailed up the St. Mary's river, tobacco had become the money of account. Colonists traded with it and priced goods according to its value. By one estimate, Maryland exported 100,000 pounds of tobacco in 1639, an average of more than 600 pounds for each male old enough to engage in production.

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*Illustration: Tobacco.* When this variety of tobacco was introduced into Virginia from the West Indies, it produced a saleable crop which provided the economic base for most of the Chesapeake over the colonial period.



**Illustration:** St. Mary's City in the Early 1690s. This is a conjectural drawing of the village just before the capital removed to Annapolis. It is based on archaeological excavations, contemporary plats and deeds, and the records of the council, the assembly, and the provincial court. Fuller information than was available when the drawing was made indicates that the town was more compact and most of the buildings were probably smaller than those shown. (Drawing by Cary Carson, St. Mary's City Commission.)

There really should be little mystery about why Marylanders turned with one mind to tobacco production. While promoters may have expected successful production of grains, meats, hemp, flax, and wood products, tobacco was the only crop with a fully developed marketing network extending from England to the Chesapeake. And while tobacco prices admittedly fluctuated, creating recurrent booms and busts in the trade, profits over the long run paid returns sufficient to make the investment worthwhile.

The first Marylanders found a readily available market for tobacco with English and Dutch merchants who were already trading with Virginia tobacco growers, and these early planters found rising prices. By 1635 planters were receiving between four and six pence for a pound of tobacco, up from a penny per pound a few years earlier. Such a dramatic increase in profitability was a large inducement to Maryland settlers to abandon all other forms of agriculture in favor of growing tobacco.

The price boom of the mid-1630s proved to be short-lived. By 1638 the price per pound Marylanders were receiving for their crop had fallen to three pence and it continued to fall into the early 1640s. But having tasted the prosperity that tobacco could bring, Marylanders were not about to abandon the crop. Instead, price depression served to spur settlers to action. In 1640 they joined with their Virginia neighbors in an attempt to raise the selling price of tobacco. Leading tobacco merchants induced Virginia planters to rush an act through their assembly in January of that year requiring that "all rotten and unmerchantable and half the good" tobacco of each planter be burned for the next three years. The idea was to raise the price by limiting the amount of tobacco that could be sold. The Maryland Assembly was not willing to go this far, but passed an act providing for the appointment of tobacco "viewers." These inspectors were to forbid the export of any damaged leaves. There is no evidence that the Maryland legislation was ever seriously enforced and the law lapsed two years later. But it was the first effort (which continues to this day) to keep tobacco prices from falling.

While tobacco was the staple crop, other crops, of course, had to be grown. As a means of ensuring adequate food supplies, the Maryland Assembly adopted Virginia's well-established two-acre rule. Each farmhand working to plant and harvest tobacco had also to tend at least two acres of corn. Live-stock was also necessary and at first cattle and hogs were imported from Virginia. But as early as 1635 prospective immigrants were advised that whatever corn, poultry, or swine they would need on arrival could be purchased in Maryland. Four years later an influential colonist reported that "for swine we need not much care though the virginea be shutt up to us hereafter." Nor was there need for the proprietor to import additional cattle, since his herd would soon include "as many as can be well looked after and provided for in the winter as yet."

Thus Maryland early developed two essentials: self-sufficiency in food production, and a staple crop, tobacco, that would attract investment and bring in settlers to people the land.

### **Some Achievements of the First Decade**

How closely did the colony established at St. Mary's in 1634 conform ten years later to Lord Baltimore's expectations?

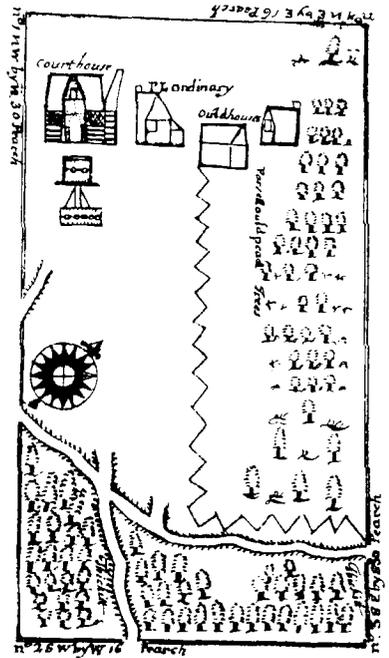
It was not quite what he had planned, either in terms of the pattern of settlement that had emerged or in the type of economy that had developed. The colonists had not clustered together in a compact village, but had spread out

across the county. The fur trade, from which so much had been expected, was a failure. Tobacco, not a diversified agriculture, dominated the Maryland economy. Too, plans for a flourishing naval stores and mining industry had come to nothing.

Most important for Lord Baltimore's vision, fortunes were not being made. The adventurers had hoped for riches; at best they received only small returns. Indeed, many of the first investors, Lord Baltimore included, lost money on the Maryland colonization enterprise, at least in its beginning stages. This led to conflict among the leaders and a potential for serious disruption.

On the other hand, by the end of the first decade it was possible to point to some positive accomplishments that perhaps assuaged the many disappointments. A settlement had been firmly established and Maryland had at least a fair chance of survival. Population had grown steadily, and the colonists were beginning to have an impact, though yet small, on the Chesapeake wilderness. And while the economy did not make men rich quickly, neither did it impose starvation or grinding poverty on the settlers. Poor men could improve their condition, and over the long run there was a good chance that the big investors would earn adequate returns through estate development and rising land values.

## V The Frontier Society



### Social Groups

The structure of society in the St. Mary's settlements changed little over the first decade. There was some turnover in the Maryland leadership, but nothing that produced basic change. Several of the "Gentlemen adventurers" apparently decided that Maryland was not to their liking after all and others died. In fact, only four of the original seventeen principal backers were still living in Maryland in 1642. But as men had left the colony, the proprietor had been successful in recruiting a number of new backers, including a handful of Protestants.

Unlike the first adventurers, those coming after the *Ark* and the *Dove* were not entirely divided into gentlemen on the one hand and servants on the other. In the late 1630s and early 1640s a few men of middling means and social standing settled in Maryland. For instance, Thomas Passmore, an illiterate carpenter, moved to Maryland from Virginia with his wife, children, and four servants in the summer of 1634. In 1636, Randall Revell, a cooper who also could not write his name, arrived in the province with his wife, son, and one servant. Another typical of this free immigrant group was John Cockshott, a wood craftsman who brought his wife, two daughters, and four servants, to the new colony in 1641. Other men came with no capital but at least had managed to pay their own way to Maryland. They took advantage of the opportunities to purchase land cheaply and to improve their place in society.

*Illustration: Seventeenth-Century Lot and Buildings.* This plat of the Charles County Court House and the ordinary (that is, combination inn, victualing house, and ale house) associated with it supplies a contemporary picture of how 17th-century Marylanders built their houses and arranged the immediate environs. The clapboard courthouse with casement windows, a two-story porch, and a brick chimney was larger than most farmhouses, but its design and materials were like those of the houses of well-to-do planters. Poor men occupied buildings more similar to the "Ould house." Note the fenced orchard and the nearby woods. (Charles County Court and Land Record V No. 1, 277, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.)

But such immigrants did not much alter the structure of the early St. Mary's County settlements. The great majority of settlers who arrived in the years immediately after the first expedition came as Protestant indentured servants. In most cases, Catholic masters of means and status paid the passage of these servants. Many of them had become free men by 1644, but most were still dependent on the major investors for employment or land to raise a crop.

Tax lists, headright entries, and court records suggest that by 1642, the eighth year of colonization, 172 free men lived in the St. Mary's County settlements. In addition, there were at least 53 servants, while another 35 men transported since 1638 perhaps were still under indenture. Surviving records show that these men shared several characteristics usually associated with frontier populations—and particularly with new settlements organized around the production of a single crop like tobacco, which requires a great deal of labor.

Most of the people in the St. Mary's settlements were young men. There were few women and children, and complete family units were rare. Moreover, population increased little from births because of the absence of families. For several decades young unmarried males who came to work in the fields gave Maryland its largest share of population growth. Where the variety of crops and activities was greater, as in Pennsylvania and New England, there were more married men, women, and dependent children arriving to share in the frontier experience. In Maryland and similar one-crop regions, such as Virginia and South Carolina, the structure of a settled population took longer to develop.

These young men, whether indentured or not, were without family ties. They were in Maryland to work the crop and hoped to achieve an improved social and economic standing and a respectable family life. For the time being, however, there was little opportunity to marry. A rough count of the settlers living in early St. Mary's suggests that there were about four men for each woman living in the county. Consequently, even after they had served their terms, numbers of these young men did not at once head households but were sojourners for a while in the households of others.

Wills written in the early years demonstrate these characteristics of early Maryland society. Of the 32 men whose wills were probated between 1635 and 1650, 20 (62.5 per cent) were single. Eight were married, and four were widowers. Of these twelve men, furthermore, six were childless and among them all they had only nine children. Clearly, even after marriage large families in the new colony were exceptional and married couples often failed to reproduce before one or both of the partners died. As a result the population could not grow much from births. Immigration provided the increase.

The general standard of living in the province in the early years was also what might be expected in a frontier settlement. Thomas Cornwallis, one of the colony's principal backers, reported about four years after the first landing that all the inhabitants still lived in "Cottages." These were at best crude, one-story, wood-framed enclosures with siding of riven boards perhaps filled with wattle and daub—a mixture of clay and twigs. Roofs were covered either with boards similar to the siding or with thatch. These structures had one or at most two rooms, with a space above reached by a ladder. The chimney was made of wood or again of wattle and daub. Brick construction came later when the Maryland subsoil and rich clay deposits could be mined. Poor planters were still building houses like these a century later. But even the rich did not do better the first few years.

Cornwallis, to be sure, was at that point building a frame and brick house and a surviving list of its contents shows rich furnishings for the day. Tapestries hung on his walls and fine china graced his table. But it is clear that Cornwallis's house was extraordinary. The few surviving estate inventories—lists of moveable property taken when a man died—point to a rude, rough life style even for the prominent and wealthy. There were great disparities of wealth and status in the St. Mary's settlements, but the hardships and almost complete lack of amenities were something of a leveling influence.

Another characteristic shared often by similar frontier societies was a sameness of skills and job capabilities. None of the highly specialized or unusual crafts of 17th-century English life were represented in the New World civilization. There were no artisans to serve the tastes of the wealthy. Most of the inhabitants worked at raising tobacco and the occupations represented were those essential to the task of carving plantations out of the wilderness. Among the 172 freemen living in the county in 1642, there were 28 identifiable artisans: 12 carpenters, 3 coopers, 3 tailors, 2 boat builders, 2 mariners, 2 barber-chirurgeons, 1 joiner, 1 sawyer, 1 blacksmith, and 1 brick mason. These skills served the most pressing needs; housing, clothing, and medicine for people and transport and cask for the crop. Even these men were probably planters or agricultural laborers who pursued their crafts part time.

Six "Esquires" and 13 "Gentlemen" can also be identified in the population of 1642. Such titles did not distinguish a class of the idle rich, as they may have in the Mother County. In the New World, these esquires and gentlemen pursued callings as merchants, planters, Indian traders, land speculators, money lenders, and estate developers. Thomas Cornwallis, for example, while one of Maryland's preeminent gentlemen, built the colony's first mill, engaged in the Indian trade and the retail provision trade, exported enough tobacco to England to be included in the top ten per cent of British tobacco merchants, and was the leading creditor of early St. Mary's. Even the richest in this society could not be men of leisure.



While perhaps not as illustrious as some of the men of Massachusetts Bay or even of Virginia, a few of the settlers possessed impressive cultural credentials. John Lewger, for instance, was an Oxford M.A. and later the author of tracts on church-state relations. The Jesuit Father Andrew White was a former professor of divinity, while other Jesuits in the colony were certainly well-versed theologians. Leonard Calvert, the colony's first governor, doubtless shared with a number of other Maryland backers a standard classical education.

A wide gulf separated these few men who possessed a gentleman's education from the majority of the Maryland colonists. Rudimentary reading, writing, and a smattering of arithmetic were usually the upper limit for most settlers, and the majority probably fell well short of even so modest an educational achievement. The culture was oral at early St. Mary's. Nearly all the

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*Illustration: A Seventeenth-Century English Country Gentleman.* The young English gentlemen who were the colony's first leaders may have resembled this "Country-man." (Anonymous, *The Court and Country or A Briefe Discourse Dialogue-wise set downe between a Courtier and a Country-man: Contayning the manner and condition of their lives, with many delectable and Pithy Sayings worth observation* [London, 1618], cover. The Folger Shakespeare Library.)

affairs of daily life were conducted by word of mouth. In fact, surviving election returns of 1639 show only 25 of the 52 voters able to sign their names; the others made marks on their ballots. Thus it is reasonable to assume that at least half of the settlers who were not gentlemen or priests lacked a basic literacy.

This society of gentlemen with education and capital, who held economic and political sway over laborers and small planters, resembled what the Calverts had intended. But it would not continue to do so. These social arrangements did not envision the rapid rise of poor men to landowning status, much less to wealth and power. Such changes were already underway, although not yet very visible. Their nature can be seen by looking more closely at the ways in which servants became freemen, freemen became planters, and planters became freeholders—that is, landowners—in the growing tobacco economy.

### From Indentured Servant to Freeman

Indentured servants were at the very bottom of the social structure in the first decade. Most were little more than boys. Among those whose ages are known, the mean age on arrival was about 17. They came from families that represented a broad range of English society below the gentry—farmers, artisans, tradesmen, laborers. All were looking for a new life and new opportunities in the American wilderness.

Even by 17th-century standards, their lives in Maryland were difficult. They worked anywhere from ten to fourteen hours a day, six days a week. Unlike servants in England, they could be bought and sold. Furthermore, the penalties for running away were severe. At all times they were subject to the discipline of their masters, including corporal punishment within reason.

On the other hand, servants had rights. They were entitled to adequate food, clothing, shelter, and a Sunday free from hard labor. They could not bring an action at common law, but they could protest ill-treatment in the courts. Most important of all, if the indentured servant escaped premature death, he could look forward to being a free man in a society that offered great opportunities for advancement.

A model indenture contract, as printed in a publication of 1635, specifies that a servant was to work at whatever his master “shall there employ him, according to the custome of the Country.” In return, the master was to pay for his passage and provide food, lodging, clothing, and other “necessaries” during his term of service. “At the end of the said term,” according to this book, a master had to give his indentured servant “one whole years provision of Corne, and fifty acres of Land, according to the order of the Country.” An act of 1640 passed by the Maryland Assembly specified “order of the Country” to mean that the servant would receive “one good Cloth Suite of Keirsey or Broadcloth, Shift of white linen, one pair of Stockins and Shoes, two hoes, one axe, 3 barrels of corne, and fifty acres of land whereof five at least to be plantable.”



*Illustration: The Indentured Servant.* This 17th-century version of a shepherd probably resembles the English farm boys and apprentices who sought their fortunes in the Chesapeake. (Beauve de Hansone, *Syr Bevis of Hampton New Corrected and amended* [London, (1626?)], 4. The Folger Shakespeare Library.)

The land records of St. Mary's make it clear that the 50-acre requirement need not be taken literally. In practice, custom demanded only that masters provide their freed servants with the headright to 50 acres. This in itself was no great benefit, since a 50-acre warrant could be purchased for 100 pounds of tobacco and sometimes even less. Thus, if the servant wished to take advantage of this "gift" of land and actually acquire a tract, he had to locate the land and pay both surveyor's and clerk's fees himself.

The usual term of indenture in Maryland was four years, but occasionally servants were able to work out arrangements with their masters to shorten that time. John Courts and Francis Pope, for example, purchased their remaining time from Fulke Brent, probably by arranging to pay him out of whatever money they could earn as free men. Another typical arrangement is seen in the pact Thomas Todd, a glover, worked out with his master, John Lewger. Todd was to dress a number of deer skins and make breeches and gloves for Lewger in return for an early release. George Evelin released three of his servants, Philip West, William Williamson, and John Hopson, a year early on the condition that the three former servants provide themselves with food, clothing, and lodging and paid him one thousand pounds of tobacco each—in effect, the crop they could have raised.

Whether released early or on time, the former indentured servants soon were close to a majority in the colony. In 1634 nearly all of the working hands had been bound to service, but by 1642, 50 to 70 per cent were free men. Most had once been indentured—as many as 75 to 80 per cent. Although the others had paid their own way to Maryland, many of these had no more wealth than the newly freed servants and their standing was no higher. These were the men who now supplied the greater part of the colony's labor.

For former servants and impoverished free immigrants there were basically three choices. They could hire out for wages, agree to work someone's land for a share of the crop, or lease land from a large planter and raise tobacco on their own. Although ex-servants and poor free immigrants were entitled to a headright, immediate ownership of land was usually impracticable. To acquire that land, not only did a man have to pay surveyor's and clerk's fees for a patent or pay a purchase price to a landowner, he had then to clear land and build a house. Tools, seed, and livestock were also a necessity. Meanwhile, he had to obtain provisions until he could harvest the first crop. All of this took capital, and capital was precisely what former servants and poor immigrants lacked. Wage labor, share-cropping, and leaseholding therefore offered men a chance to accumulate enough wealth to acquire plantations of their own and to sustain themselves in the process.

Wages were high in Maryland. By the day, wages were between 15 to 20 pounds of tobacco. Considering that a man at the time usually produced 800 to 1,000 pounds of tobacco in a year, such wages were extraordinary. But labor was scarce and men with strong backs and willing hands must have found all the work they wanted. Few devoted themselves to fulltime wage labor or sharecropping for long periods. As soon as a man could, he usually worked his own crop and hired out only occasionally to supplement his planting income.

Some men did sign contracts or enter into verbal agreements for long-term labor, usually by the year. In some ways their status resembled that of indentured servants, since they were subject to the same discipline and suffered the same penalties if they ran away; nevertheless there were important differences. They probably could not be sold, and they could bring actions at

common law for breach of contract. Wages, furthermore, ranged from 1,100 to 1,500 pounds of tobacco a year, plus shelter, food, and clothing. Thus a long-term labor agreement, although it restricted a man's freedom, could enable him to accumulate sufficient capital to become a planter and even a landowner himself.

### From Freeman to Freeholder

The next step on the route from servant to freeholder was formation of a household. The sheer excess of available land made this an easy task. In 1642 most men who had been free for a year or more had attained the status of "housekeeper."

In achieving householder status, even very poor men attained a degree of independence and a measure of responsibility denied to those who lived in the households of others. Heads of households were masters in their own families, responsible for the discipline, education, and day-to-day maintenance of their subordinates. They also formed the backbone of the political community, serving on juries, sitting in the Assembly, and filling minor offices.

Some households assumed the familiar shape: a man, his wife, their children, and possibly one or two servants. But this was not the norm in the Maryland of 1642. Given the overwhelming predominance of unmarried males, many households were, of necessity, composed of only one person. Whereas in pre-industrial England men first married, then established households, in early Maryland, men first established their households, then began the search for a wife. Since potential wives were few, households could remain incomplete for years. The master of the house had no family to rule.

Many men who could not afford to buy servants or pay wages often joined with a "mate." Partnership of this sort may have served as something of a substitute for marriage in early St. Mary's. By working together, such mates could better create a plantation out of the Maryland wilderness. The arrangement was occasionally further complicated if one of the two men acquired a wife and family. The original mate would sometimes remain, giving the household two heads, and certainly altering the master's traditional all-powerful role. In these instances, there was the expected jockeying for power and advantage, agreement reached through discussion and compromise, and a certain diminished authority on all sides. Of course, this two-headed household was only a temporary phenomenon. As the male/female ratio became more equal, the partnership route in forming new households fell quickly out of favor. The traditional family-unit household then became the norm.

There were three forms of land tenure available to the householder: ownership in fee, leasehold for a long term, and short-term leasehold. Tenure in fee—loosely called freehold—was the most secure, and the most desirable. Title to the land came directly from the proprietor or occasionally from a lord of the manor. The owner could sell to another. A small rent was owed the proprietor or the manor lord but neither had a right to take back the land unless an owner died without heirs. Nor could freehold property be seized to pay a debt. Possibly 20 to 25 per cent of the colony's former servants and free immigrants had become freeholders by 1642.

In many ways there was little difference between land held in fee and land held under a long-term lease, usually for the lives of three people named in the lease. Such leases were inheritable and could be sold by the tenant. They were purchased for a lump sum, and yearly rents were often low. A lease for lives, furthermore, carried freehold privileges. But when the lease came to an end,

the original owner could reenter the property and demand a new lump-sum payment or a higher rent. The landlord thereby secured for himself some of the benefits of the improvements the tenant had made—housing, fencing, and cleared land. Hence men were understandably reluctant to purchase a leasehold when they could own their land outright for only a small additional cost. Such long-term leases were common in England, where land was less available, but they were rare in early Maryland.

In contrast to freehold tenures, short-term leases offered the tenant little security. They could not be sold or inherited, and thus offered him no opportunity to benefit from any increase in the value of the property. Nonetheless, these six- or seven-year leases were undoubtedly the most common form of tenure in the early colony.

Their great advantage to the tenant was the absence of an entry fee—that is, the lump-sum payment. This made them particularly attractive to former servants and other immigrants who had come to the New World with little or no capital. As land was plentiful and labor scarce in the sparsely populated Chesapeake region, the rents assessed for such leases were probably very low, certainly no higher than 500 pounds of tobacco a year for a plantation and maybe even as low as 200 pounds. Rent for the first year, furthermore, was probably not due until after the initial crop was in. If the land were uncleared and no house had been built, there might be no rent due for several years.

Regardless of the terms of a land lease, the arrangements benefited both landlord and tenant. The landlords had their land cleared, housing erected, orchards planted and fenced, and a small income as well. Tenants, meanwhile, were able to accumulate the capital necessary to acquire tracts of their own while working the land and harvesting cash crops.

By the end of the first decade, although many former servants and poor immigrants were beginning to improve their lot in this manner, most were still subject to the gentry. The dominant figures in the Maryland economy provided the employment opportunities and offered land to lease. They supplied poor men with credit to establish households, stock plantations, and ultimately purchase land. They were the manipulators of the full economic and social structure.

However, the time soon came when particularly motivated or fortunate individuals could accumulate enough land and capital to rival the gentry. Once that happened, the rolls of the gentry simply expanded. The former laborer became a master; the former borrower became a lender; the former petitioner in court became a judge. And the cycle continued as new immigrants took their places at the bottom of the economic and social ladder, there to work to better their condition. The social order had far more upward movement than the Lords Baltimore had anticipated, and this mobility, for a while, transformed that order into something very different.

## VI

# *Slaves: The Future Laborers*

Were black slaves also at work in the tobacco fields during the first decade? Probably not. Two free black men have been identified. One, listed as "Fernando, mulato," is known only through his headright, claimed by the Jesuits. The other was Matthias de Sousa, who arrived in the *Ark*. The Jesuits appeared to have picked him up in the West Indies. He served them as a servant, not a slave, and he was free by 1641. That year they put him in command of a small boat and sent him to trade with the Indians. In March 1642 he sat as a freeman in the assembly. By the end of the year he was indentured again, and we know nothing more about him.

Nevertheless, although slavery had not yet arrived, the force that eventually brought it to Maryland was already visible during the first ten years. This was the shortage of labor. Men came as servants but in a few years' time were free. Although freemen might work for others, they did not do so for longer than necessary. They sought to become planters and purchase labor for themselves. An increasing number of bound servants was needed to meet growing requirements. In the early 1640s a temporary depression in the tobacco trade discouraged merchants from sending servants to the colony, and by 1642 the shortage was severe. Since land was worth little without labor to produce a saleable crop, Leonard Calvert offered to sell all his Maryland land in return for seventeen slaves. His effort failed; but it was a symptom of a problem that was to grow steadily worse as the numbers of planters requiring laborers grew.

Slaves—who did not become free and leave their masters stranded without labor—had already appeared in the West Indies and Virginia. In the 1650s slaves began to appear in Maryland. By the 1690s they outnumbered the servants. Until then, indentured servants and hired free men were the most important source of purchased labor; but 18th century Maryland was to be a society based on slavery.



*Illustration: Aerial Photograph of the St. Mary's Town Land, 1933. From 1720 until 1933, when this photograph was taken presumably in connection with the Tercentenary of the founding of Maryland, the Town Land landscape changed very little. The road pattern was the same as that shown on an Army Engineers map of 1823, and depositions taken in the 1780s indicate that these roads dated back to a period before the 1750s and perhaps much earlier. The chief change had probably been some silting in of the mouth of Mill Creek just north of Church Point, the second of the three points on the right. (St. Mary's City Commission.)*

## VII

# Maryland Settlements after the First Decade

The hierarchical social order of the first decade did not function as the Lords Baltimore had hoped. It did not make early St. Mary's a stable community. Instead, a nearly continuous series of disruptive and debilitating struggles shook the colony's government. The men who were supposed to provide leadership looked more instead to their own fortunes. More humble settlers, furthermore, had not been so ready to be ruled as in more traditional societies where there was less opportunity for them to improve their position. Religious tensions had also contributed to instability. On Governor Leonard Calvert's return to Maryland in September 1644, after a year and a half absence in England, the government was in great difficulty. Some inhabitants, for example, were refusing to pay for or serve in expeditions against the Susequehannock Indians, who had attacked the outlying settlement at Mattapanient. Consequently, when the ship captain Richard Ingle raided St. Mary's in the name of Parliament early in 1645, Calvert and the gentry were unable to mount an effective resistance.

Leonard Calvert fled to Virginia, and Ingle, after looting the St. Mary's settlements, took the Jesuit priests and several Catholic leaders as prisoners to England. Maryland was left without a government. In later times, men referred to the period as "the time of troubles" or as "the plundering time." Most of the inhabitants left, many becoming the first settlers in the northern neck of Virginia just across the Potomac River. By the end of 1646, when Governor Calvert reestablished his authority, there were probably fewer people in St. Mary's County than had arrived on the *Ark* and the *Dove*.

The colony revived, perhaps in part because the next few years were a period of great expansion in the Chesapeake economy. Had there been depression instead, the damage might have been irreparable. Toleration also survived the uprising, despite its anti-Catholic character, and was enacted into law in the famous Toleration Act of 1649. What did not reappear was the hierarchical society of the first decade.

Such a structure of society was in any case bound to disappear. Opportunities for poor men were too great to encourage them to settle permanently on manors and accept the economic and political domination of their lords. If a servant or poor free immigrant did not die early—and admittedly early death remained a big risk—his chances of acquiring land and recognition in his community were excellent. Of 160 men who are known to have arrived as servants before the end of 1642, less than 10 per cent of those still alive in Maryland ten years after freedom failed to become landowners. Furthermore, nearly the same proportion held some kind of community office during their lives. Twenty-two of the men held positions of real authority: justice of the peace, sheriff, delegate to the assembly, even a seat on the council. Some of these men could not even write their names. They bore no resemblance to the gentlemen investors who had owned most of the land and held all of the major offices during the first ten years.

Over the third quarter of the 17th century, the small owner-operated plantation, not the manor worked by laborers and tenants, became the dominant feature on the Maryland landscape. There were, of course, still indentured servants, free laborers, tenants, and sharecroppers, as well as landed gentry who continued to hold much greater wealth than their neighbors and occupy offices of authority as a matter of course. Nevertheless, the owner of a modest plantation, a yeoman farmer with a fondness for hard work and advancement, became for a while the colony's typical citizen. And for those who were especially fortunate, political office and power was a possibility, despite the fact that they had not been born or educated to hold it. The early arrival who survived the first decade shared these opportunities.

The last quarter of the 17th century saw the disappearance of this highly mobile, predominantly small-planter society in which church and state were separate. About 1680 a long depression set in that was destructive to poor men's chances. By about 1700, the emergence of a native-born population enabled some men to begin their adult careers with inherited land and office, thereby further diminishing opportunity for the poor. Furthermore, toleration came to an end, after a Protestant-led rebellion against the proprietor's authority in 1689. Catholics were barred from holding political office and all men were obliged to pay taxes to support the Church of England.

The 18th-century society of St. Mary's County and Maryland was not that of Lord Baltimore's vision; Protestants and Catholics did not share in the polity and society was not structured around lords of manors. Nevertheless, the social hierarchy took on somewhat the shape that the early Lords Baltimore had thought necessary for social stability. Extremes of wealth increased and mobility slowed down. Men who began with nothing no longer could expect to become freeholders, much less attain a position of leadership. Political authority became concentrated in the hands of men born to wealth and the expectation of power. Small freeholders were still a majority, and the gentry courted their votes, but the deference of men low down in the hierarchy to men in positions above them was a cornerstone of social order. This Maryland resembled the Calvert ideal far more than had the Maryland that followed the first decade.

# VIII

## *Conclusion*

George and Cecilius Calvert, the first and second Lords Baltimore, tried two experiments in their New World colony. First, they attempted to transfer the English manor and its lord to provide Maryland with social order and steady control of economic development. Second, they attempted to provide English Catholics with a haven from persecution by establishing a civil polity that would permit men of all Christian beliefs to participate. By the end of the first ten years, the planned social order was proving inadequate to provide stability, and unprecedented economic opportunity for poor men was beginning to alter the structure. But in their second aim the Calverts had greater success. For nearly half a century longer, the political cooperation of Catholics and Protestants that began in the first St. Mary's settlements prevailed. Most important of all, Maryland survived, even if not in the form anticipated. Cecilius Calvert's "hopeful Colony" had to struggle at first, but his "Expectation of good Success" finally became a reality. The experiments ended, but the enterprise itself has lasted.