

STUDIES IN LOCAL HISTORY



“BOUND BY GOD... FOR MERRYLAND”

The Voyage of the
Constant Friendship
1671–1672

JOHN F. WING



THE MARYLAND STATE ARCHIVES AND THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL TRUST 1999

Maryland State Archives Studies in Local History

Hall of Records Commission

Hon. Robert Mack Bell, *Chairman*
Hon. Richard N. Dixon
Hon. Gene R. Lynch
Hon. Thomas V. Mike Miller, Jr.
Hon. Mary A. Conroy
Stanard T. Klinefelter
Dr. William R. Brody
Christopher B. Nelson
Dr. Donald N. Langenberg
Hon. William Donald Schaefer
Dr. Earl S. Richardson
Dr. Edward C. Papenfuse, *Secretary*

Hon. Parris N. Glendening, *Governor*

Maryland Historical Trust

Harrison B. Wetherill, Jr., *Chairman*
Mrs. Howard F. Yerges
Martin P. Azola
Hettie L. Ballweber
Howard A. Buchanan
Joseph M. Coale III
Charles L. Edson
Hon. Gilbert Gude
Mary S. Johnson
Dr. John L. Seidel
Doris S. Thompson
Thomas C. Williams
Mrs. Samuel Bailey, Jr.
G. Bernard Callan
W. Dickerson Charlton
Dr. Ralph E. Eshelman
Mrs. Robert Foard
Karen Lewand
Douglass C. Reed
J. Rodney Little, *Director*

Produced by the Maryland Historical Trust and the Maryland State Archives
with the cooperation of the Anne Arundel County Trust for Preservation, Inc.,
and the Annapolis History Consortium.

Additional funding by Whitmore Printing Company in honor of
the 350th Anniversary of the First European Settlement in Anne Arundel County.

Series Coordinator
Donna M. Ware

Series Editors
Ann D. Jensen
Jane W. McWilliams



STUDIES IN
LOCAL
HISTORY

“BOUND BY GOD...
FOR MERRYLAND”

The Voyage of the Constant Friendship

“BOUND BY GOD...
FOR MERRYLAND”

The Voyage of the Constant Friendship
1671–1672

JOHN F. WING

THE MARYLAND STATE ARCHIVES
AND
THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL TRUST
1999

This book is the fourth in a series entitled Studies in Local History. Created under the auspices of the Maryland State Archives, the series presents new scholarship and research on different aspects of Maryland's rich history. The first three books, released to coincide with Annapolis's 300th anniversary as the capital of Maryland, were "Doing Good to Posterity," *The Move of the Capital of Maryland from St. Mary's City to Ann Arundell Towne, Now Called Annapolis*, by Edward C. Papenfuse, Archivist of the State of Maryland; *Providence, 1649*, *The History and Archaeology of Anne Arundel County Maryland's First European Settlement*, by Al Luckenbach, Anne Arundel County Archaeologist; and *From Paths to Plats, The Development of Annapolis, 1651 to 1718*, by Anthony Lindauer, researcher and archaeologist, the Lost Towns Project.

© Copyright 1999 by the Maryland State Archives

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, xerography, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

ISBN 0-942370-47-3

Manufactured in the United States of America

Maryland State Archives
350 Rowe Boulevard
Annapolis, Maryland 21401

Maryland Historical Trust
100 Community Place
Crownsville, Maryland 21032

This publication has been financed in part with state funds from the Maryland Historical Trust, an agency of the Department of Housing and Community Development of the State of Maryland.

However, the contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Maryland Historical Trust or the Department of Housing and Community Development.

Designed by Linda Laing

Printed by Whitmore Printing Co., Annapolis, Maryland, on acid-free paper.

Maryland State Archives Publication No. 2036

Front cover illustration: Rendering of the *Constant Friendship* by Marcy Dunn Ramsey.
Drawings and maps by Marcy Dunn Ramsey. Reproduced with the permission of John F. Wing and Anne Arundel County Trust for Preservation, Inc.

“BOUND BY GOD... FOR MERRYLAND”

The Voyage of the *Constant Friendship* 1671–1672

by John F. Wing

*We sailed from Patuxent at two in the afternoon with a southerly wind
and about two at night we got to Severn and ran into the creek with
moonlight and fair weather.*

Edward Rhodes, January 7, 1672

Late on a clear winter night 327 years ago, a square-rigged English merchant ship slipped into a narrow creek near what is now Annapolis.

After a voyage from London of seventy-five days, the *Constant Friendship* had arrived at the settlement of Providence in Maryland. One of the large fleet of ships engaged in the transatlantic tobacco trade, the *Constant Friendship* would

winter at Providence while taking on cargo for the trip home.

Thanks to the ship's mate and navigator, Edward Rhodes, we can read an actual account of the *Constant Friendship's* voyage, unremarkable in its time, but extremely important for us today. Records of ships sailing to Maryland in the third quarter of the seventeenth century are scarce, both in England and in America. This

unique eighteen-page journal of the *Constant Friendship*, recently rediscovered at Oxford University, provides insights into the ship and

her expedition to Maryland in the fall of 1671 and back to England the following spring. Although the *Constant Friendship* made at least one earlier trip to Maryland in 1666 and four later trips, Rhodes's 1671–72 journal is the only account we have of any of

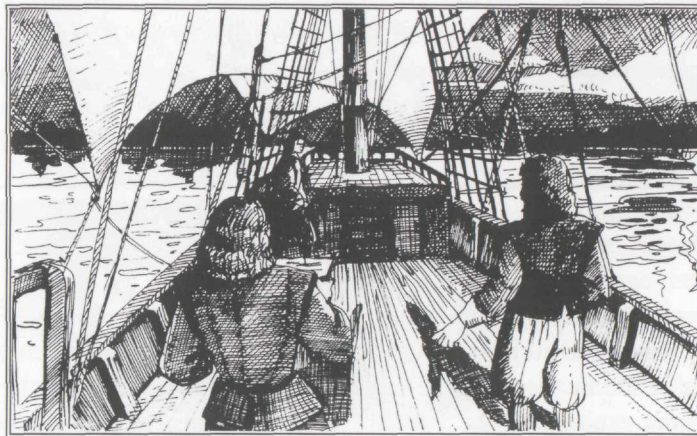


Figure 1. The *Constant Friendship's* moonlight entrance into what was probably Town Creek (now Carr Creek).

her voyages and is the only known account of any English ship sailing to the Severn River in the seventeenth century.¹

By the time the English settlement at Providence on the Severn River was established in 1649, tobacco dominated the Chesapeake Bay–area economy, accounting for three fourths of the region's external trade. The



Figure 2. Detail from James Moss's interpretation of the Providence settlement. Town Creek cuts into the peninsula at the far left. Maryland State Archives SC 1096.

transatlantic trade was primarily with England, the mother country, though Dutch merchant ships were a major presence in the Chesapeake until 1650 and to a lesser extent into the 1660s. To protect and ensure the growth of its merchant fleet, the English government passed a succession of laws from 1651 to 1663 that denied the Dutch direct participation in trade with England's colonies, including Maryland. Despite this, there is archaeological evidence that Dutch goods continued to be imported, probably indirectly, to settlements on the Chesapeake through this period.² Eventually, three Anglo-Dutch wars and the English Navigation Laws squeezed Dutch ships out of Maryland waters; English ships were secure as the main

transportation link to Providence.³ The number of vessels trading in the Bay increased considerably in the years after the first settlers arrived at Providence. V. J. Wyckoff, an economic historian at St. John's College in Annapolis from 1924–39, estimated that in the 1640s up to ten vessels per year loaded tobacco in Maryland for transport to Europe. He based his conclusions on calculations of the tobacco produced and the carrying capacity of ships. Using the same method, he also estimated an increase in the 1660s to between seventy and eighty vessels leaving Maryland annually. The *Constant Friendship* was probably one of about eighty ships loading tobacco in Maryland in 1672.⁴

Providence

In 1649, Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore and proprietor of Maryland, invited Puritans to settle in Maryland to demonstrate his acceptance of Protestants in what many viewed as a Roman Catholic colony. Several hundred people accepted his invitation and settled on the

was not restored in Maryland until 1658.⁵

A majority of the settlers of Providence were religious dissenters from the older colony of Virginia and were well prepared for life in Maryland. Experienced in colonial agriculture, they were already active in the transatlantic trade and had a variety of international contacts.⁶ Their settlement on the Severn River was

a social and economic center, more a widely dispersed hamlet than a town. After 1655, many of the settlers became Quakers; and in 1672, the year of the *Constant Friendship's* arrival, George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends then visiting the Chesapeake from England, gathered them for a

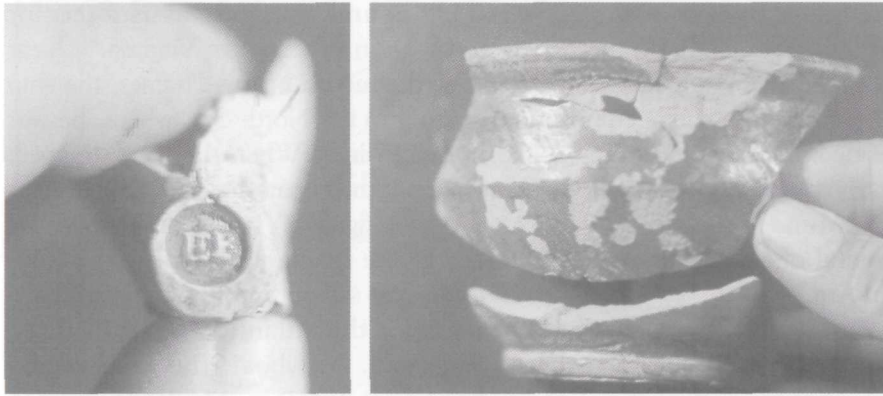


Figure 3. Amsterdam marked pipe and Dutch Redware brasier from Providence excavations.

peninsulas near the Severn River in what is now known as Anne Arundel County. They called their community Providence.

Very soon, Lord Baltimore was challenged by

meeting at Providence. Fox noted in his journal that the meeting house "at a place called Severn" was not large enough to accommodate all who wished to participate.⁷

Recent archaeological investigations at the site of Providence have revealed physical evidence of these settlers and their culture. Excavations uncovered a large number of English and Dutch artifacts. Among those of English origin were lead window comes, pottery, cloth-bale seals, utensils, tools, tobacco pipes, brass scale weights, and coins. They represent the sort of items and materials that might have been aboard



Figure 4. North Devon ceramics and an English Bristol token from Providence excavations.

these stubborn non-conformists, who refused on religious grounds to pledge him their loyalty. Allying themselves with the Parliamentary forces controlling both Britain and Maryland in the 1650s, the Providence settlers overwhelmed the provincial governor's troops in the bloody Battle of the Severn in 1655. Proprietary rule

the *Constant Friendship* when she sailed into Providence in January 1672. Dutch artifacts included roof pantiles, painted delft tiles, yellow bricks, glazed floor tiles, tobacco pipes, delftware, and other pottery.⁸

Once their plantations along nearby rivers and creeks were cleared and planted, the settlers

at Providence had less need for an economic center. They shipped tobacco, consigned to English merchants, from plantation landings aboard vessels like the *Constant Friendship*. The sales in England were then credited to their accounts, and using this credit, the merchants filled the planters' orders for household goods, tools, clothing, cloth, and other merchandise for shipment to Maryland. With no economic basis for its survival, Providence ceased to exist as an identifiable community in the 1680s. Today, it is one of the "lost towns" on the rivers of Maryland.⁹ By the mid-1680s a port of entry had been established on the south side of the Severn near the mouth of Spa Creek. First called Arundelton, it later became Ann Arundell Towne. In 1695, shortly after the capital of Maryland was moved there, it was named Annapolis.¹⁰

Despite the failure of a town to develop from the settlement at Providence, trade with Europe remained brisk. The arrival of a ship such as the *Constant Friendship* was undoubtedly an eagerly anticipated event. For those aboard the ship, her arrival at Providence was a welcome end to the arduous voyage tersely recorded by her navigator, Edward Rhodes.

Merchant vessels had to contend not only with foul weather and rough seas, but with pirates and privateers who prowled the Atlantic from the 1660s to the 1720s. These maritime predators often waited just outside of the Virginia Capes. A royal guard ship cruised near the Capes after 1667 to counter the pirate threat and enforce the trade laws, but guard-ship captains themselves were sometimes corrupt.¹¹ Because of the activity of Dutch privateers off the Virginia coast in the 1660s and 1670s, the London authorities regularly despatched Royal Navy vessels to the American coast in order to convoy the annual tobacco fleet and thereby prevent a serious loss of import duties to the Royal Treasury in England. In 1667 and 1673, Dutch armed vessels actually entered the Chesapeake Bay.¹²

The *Constant Friendship* sailed alone on her 1671 westerly crossing, but on her return to England, at the start of the Third Anglo-Dutch

War, 1672-74, she joined a seventy-ship convoy with armed escorts from Plymouth eastward for protection from the Dutch.

The Voyage

The *Constant Friendship*, William Wheatley, master, sailed from Gravesend on the Thames River near London on October 25, 1671, "bound by Gods assistance for Merryland with in ye Capes of Virginia."¹³ Near Foreland at the mouth of the Thames, the ship turned south into the North Sea, where she was halted by head winds. When the wind dropped, the crew put out their boats and towed the ship to the Downs. (See figure 8.) Finally on October 31, an easterly breeze sprang up, allowing the *Constant Friendship* to sail out into the English Channel heading for the Atlantic, then called the Western Ocean. A flyboat, the *Thomas and Mary*, bound for Virginia, Mr. Body, master, joined them.¹⁴ The wind freshened to a gale as they passed Plymouth and then the Lizard on the Cornwall coast, their last sight of England. The two vessels steered a course southwest by west for the next week as the wind stayed strong with rain squalls from the northeast. On November 9, Wheatley and his men lost sight of the flyboat; the *Constant Friendship* was sailing alone on the open Atlantic headed for the Virginia Capes. The wind continued strong from astern and by the twelfth, they saw Corves, one of the Azores, twenty-one miles to the south southeast.

Life at sea settled into a routine in which the wind and weather determined when sails were set, reefed, furled, and reset. For three weeks, following winds hurried the ship along her intended west southwest course. On November 17, lookouts reported weeds in the water, and on the twenty-sixth, they spotted five or six dolphins. One was caught with a hook and line, and the master struck another.

The wind grew more contrary as the voyage continued, with days of northwesterly head winds forcing the ship to sail farther south than planned. On December 1, they met another flyboat. The wind was not strong, so her master, Mr. Baker,

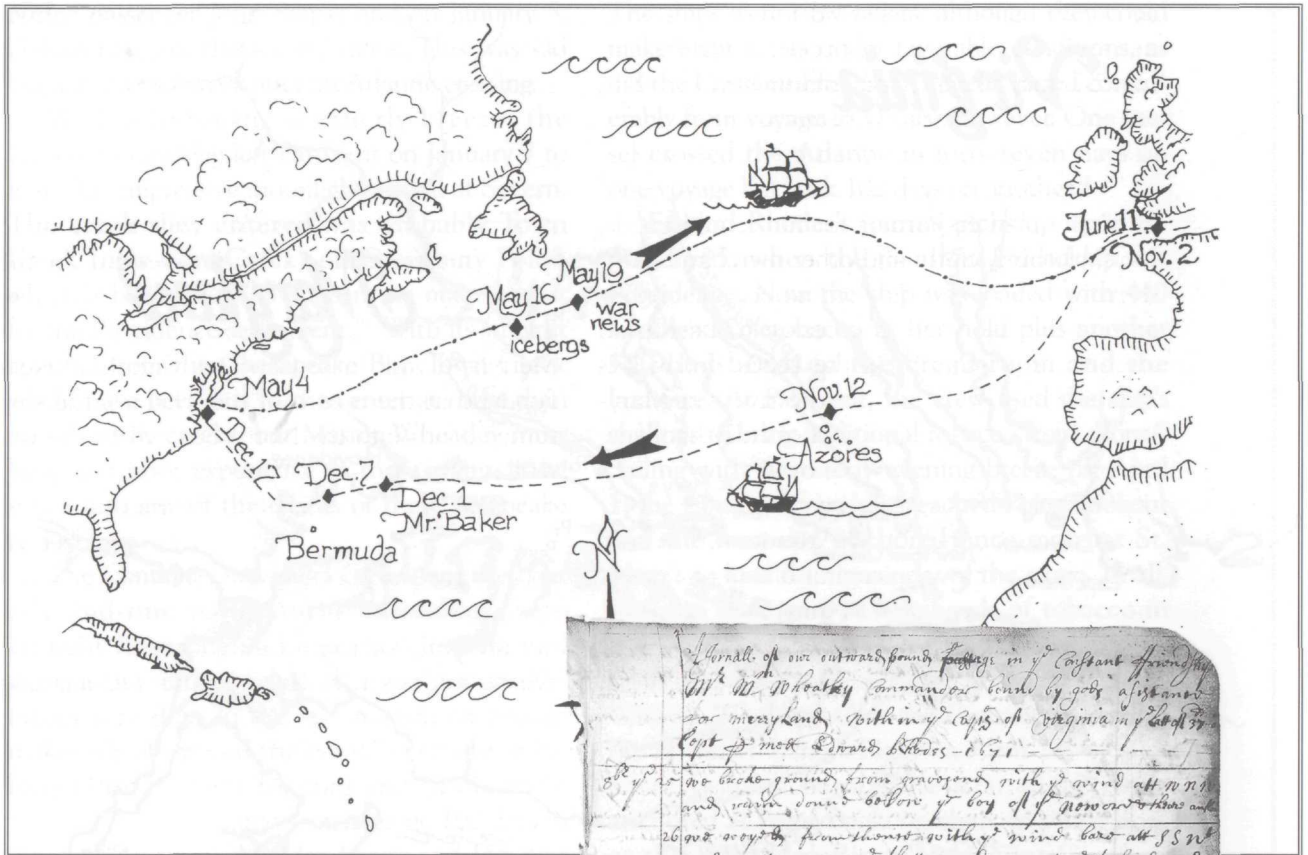


Figure 5. Track of the *Constant Friendship* calculated by the author from positions noted in Edward Rhodes's journal. (Right) The first page of Edward Rhodes's journal showing the first entry in which the author found the title for this monograph. Courtesy Bodleian Library, Oxford, U.K. MS.Rawl.D.702 Fol.7r.

Journal of our outward bound passage in y^e Constant Friendship
 the 10th of May 1791 by George Wheatley
 for merryland within y^e Capt. of Virginia y^e 10th of May
 Capt. in next Edward Rhodes - 1791

20th we were bound from Gravesend with y^e wind at N N W
 and were bound before y^e day of y^e new moon

26th we were bound from Gravesend with y^e wind bare at S S W
 and got under y^e fluty and were to y^e foreward and
 the ~~the~~ anchor'd with y^e wind Southw'ly

27th we were bound from Gravesend with y^e wind Southw'ly

28th we were bound from Gravesend with y^e wind Southw'ly

29th we were bound from Gravesend with y^e wind Southw'ly

30th we were bound from Gravesend with y^e wind Southw'ly

1st at 6 o'clock in y^e morning we were bound
 at 10th of y^e wind at 2 S E a fresh gale and at 12 o'clock
 at night we were bound at y^e market

2nd at 10 o'clock in y^e morning we were bound
 at 12 o'clock in y^e morning we were bound at 12 o'clock
 at night we were bound at y^e market

3rd at 10 o'clock in y^e morning we were bound
 at 12 o'clock in y^e morning we were bound at 12 o'clock
 at night we were bound at y^e market

4th at 10 o'clock in y^e morning we were bound
 at 12 o'clock in y^e morning we were bound at 12 o'clock
 at night we were bound at y^e market

5th at 10 o'clock in y^e morning we were bound
 at 12 o'clock in y^e morning we were bound at 12 o'clock
 at night we were bound at y^e market

6th at 10 o'clock in y^e morning we were bound
 at 12 o'clock in y^e morning we were bound at 12 o'clock
 at night we were bound at y^e market

7th at 10 o'clock in y^e morning we were bound
 at 12 o'clock in y^e morning we were bound at 12 o'clock
 at night we were bound at y^e market

8th at 10 o'clock in y^e morning we were bound
 at 12 o'clock in y^e morning we were bound at 12 o'clock
 at night we were bound at y^e market

9th at 10 o'clock in y^e morning we were bound
 at 12 o'clock in y^e morning we were bound at 12 o'clock
 at night we were bound at y^e market

10th at 10 o'clock in y^e morning we were bound
 at 12 o'clock in y^e morning we were bound at 12 o'clock
 at night we were bound at y^e market

lowered his boat and came aboard the *Constant Friendship*. Wheatley "spared them tobacco to pipe as it was very scarce with them." At about five o'clock, Mr. Baker left, being "sufficiently in drink before he went." On the next day, the wind was cold from the northwest with great gusts of hail. The fly-boat disappeared. The wind became more variable in strength and direction, slowing the westward progress of the ship.

On December 7, a man in the maintop spotted a glare to the westward and cried, "Land!" They expected to see Bermuda the next day, but were disappointed. On the

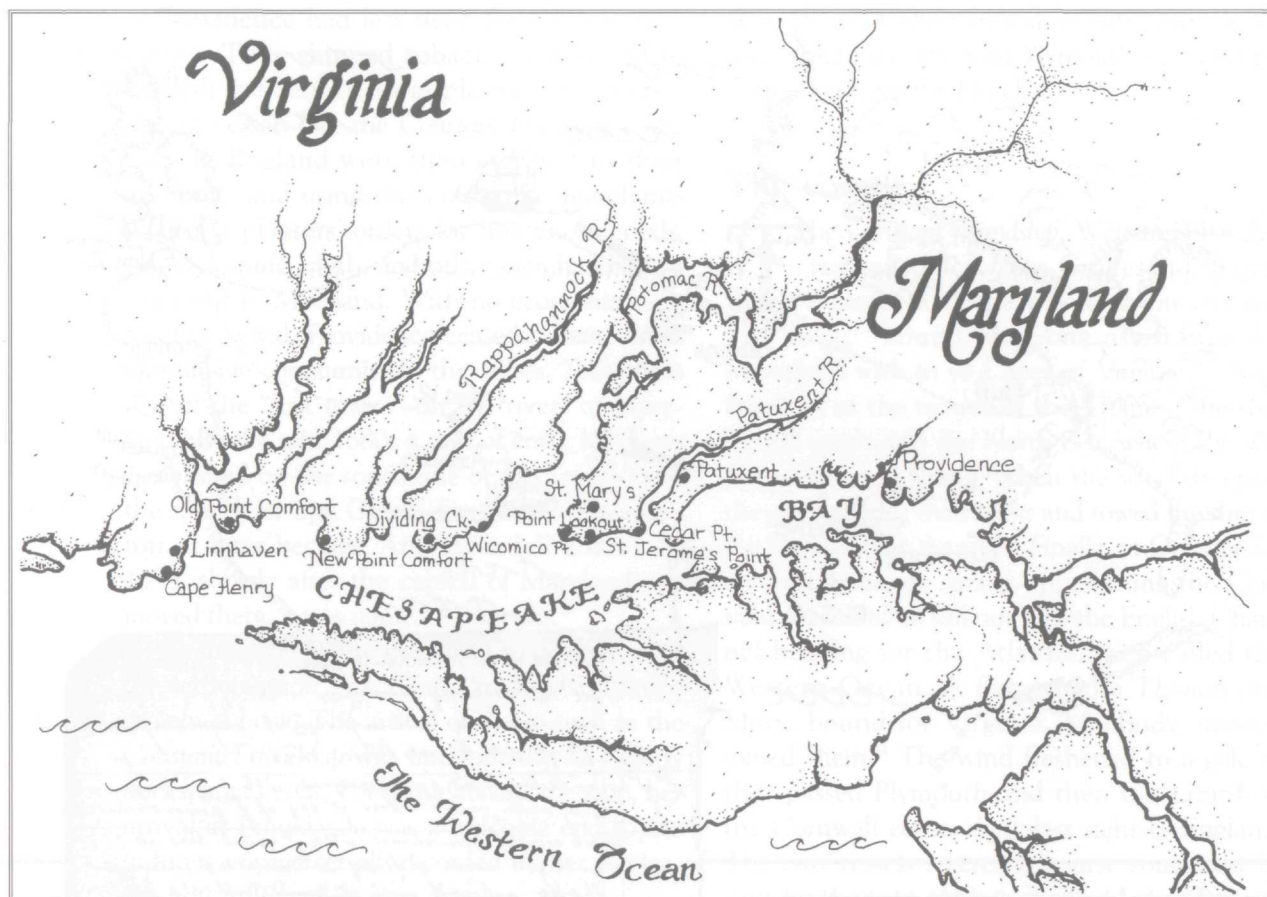


Figure 6. Map of the Chesapeake Bay indicating places mentioned in Edward Rhodes's journal.

tenth, the master of a flyboat eight weeks out from Bristol came on board. Edward Rhodes gave him the letters that he had for the vessel *Duke of York*, then thought to be on the Rappahannock River.¹⁵ The light winds continued to be fickle and undoubtedly discouraging to the crew, who must have been very tired of the voyage.

At last, on December 16, the voyagers saw several gulls. Land was not far off. The next day they found bottom by sounding and saw land twenty-one miles away. Soon, Cape Henry came into view, and the ship passed into Chesapeake Bay. On the following day they saw New Point Comfort on the Western Shore and passed the Bristol flyboat. (See figure 6). A gale sprang up, and the *Constant Friendship* was forced to anchor above Dividing Creek. On December 20, a southerly wind allowed them to sail north to

Wicomico Point and cross the Potomac River behind Point Lookout. Entering the St. Mary's River, they finally came to port, anchoring in five-and-one-half fathoms at St. Mary's City, the capital of Maryland. On the twenty-first, Master Wheatley went ashore to clear his ship with the authorities.

After dispatching with business at St. Mary's, the crew set sail again on December 30. As they approached the Bay, they found the wind fresh out of the north and had to anchor by Point Lookout. The following day, the crew sailed six miles to the north of St. Jerome's Point before anchoring in a calm. On January 1, 1672, they sailed with a south southwest wind toward a Puritan settlement on the Patuxent River "to do some business there." Sickness was aboard the *Constant Friendship*, and close to Cedar Point they buried seaman Henry Miller. Two days later, they

buried passenger John Sippse and on January 5, Gabriell Hamon, the second mate. This was sad but not unusual work after an Atlantic crossing.

With a following southerly breeze, the *Constant Friendship* left Patuxent on January 7 to make her impressive moonlight arrival at Severn. The creek they entered was probably Town Creek (now Carr Creek) on Greenbury Point, which is believed to have been the main harbor for the Providence settlement.¹⁶ With its straight channel from the Chesapeake Bay, Town Creek would have been less risky to enter at night than other nearby creeks, but Master Wheatley must have had prior experience in these waters if he sailed into any of the creeks of the Chesapeake in darkness.

The *Constant Friendship's* crew spent the next two-and-one-half months unloading cargo brought from England and then loading and stowing the settlers' tobacco. It was not unusual for tobacco ships in the seventeenth century to make only one round trip per year because of the long periods spent loading and discharging cargo—on average 100 days in Maryland ports and 155 days in English ports.¹⁷ Even though the wind and weather were least

The ships were slow sailers, although they could make eight knots under favorable conditions, as did the *Constant Friendship*. Speeds varied considerably from voyage to voyage, however. One vessel crossed the Atlantic in forty-seven days on one voyage but took 102 days on another.¹⁸

Edward Rhodes's journal picks up again on March 25, when the *Constant Friendship* left Providence. Now the ship was loaded with 440 hogsheads of tobacco in her hold plus another 110 hogsheads in the bread room and the lazarette. At Patuxent, the crew used the ship's shallops to bring additional tobacco from shore.¹⁹ Sailing with a westerly evening breeze on April 1, the *Constant Friendship* reached Point Lookout and the next day anchored once more at St. Mary's to load the remainder of the cargo. In all, the ship took on 724 hogsheads of tobacco in Maryland.

Beginning their homeward-bound voyage, William Wheatley took the *Constant Friendship* out of the St. Mary's River on April 27, with an easterly head wind. The first night, they anchored at Point Lookout, then, in succession, at the Wicomico River, New Point Comfort, Old Point Comfort, and Linnhaven inside Cape Henry. It wasn't until May 4 that contrary winds came around to the south so the ship could pass through the Virginia Capes. In the Atlantic, they steered east and north of east on the usual northern route home. With good following winds for the next two weeks, the ship reeled off daily runs of 114, 140, 96, 72, 101, 130, 110, 139, 90, and 54 miles by the log. At times, the Gulf Stream played tricks on them. As Edward Rhodes compared his estimated latitude with that calculated by noon observations of the sun, he found a southerly set of the current on some days and northerly on others. The backward flowing meanders of the Gulf Stream still do this today.

On May 16, lookouts spotted two icebergs, one to the north and one to the south of their course. Rhodes estimated their latitude to be 42 degrees 8 minutes north and longitude 18 degrees 11 minutes east of the Virginia Capes. This is the same area of the ocean where the

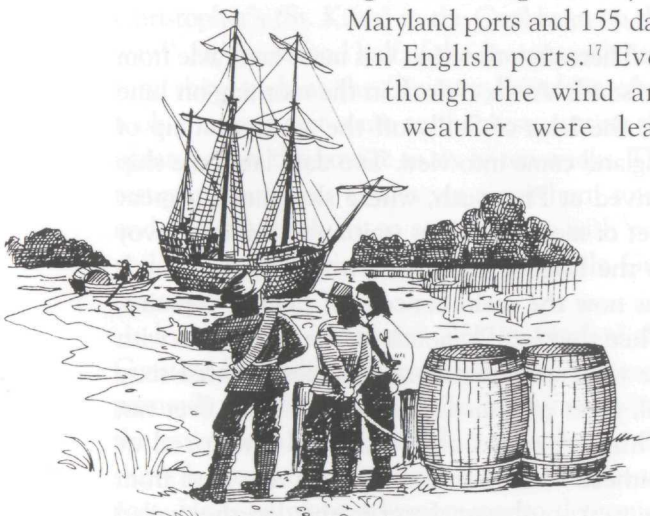


Figure 7. Loading tobacco at Providence.

favorable during the winter months, ship owners wanted their vessels to arrive in the late fall and leave by summer to minimize sicknesses among the crew and to avoid ship-eating worms that flourished in the warm, salty waters of the Chesapeake Bay and the mouths of its large tributaries.

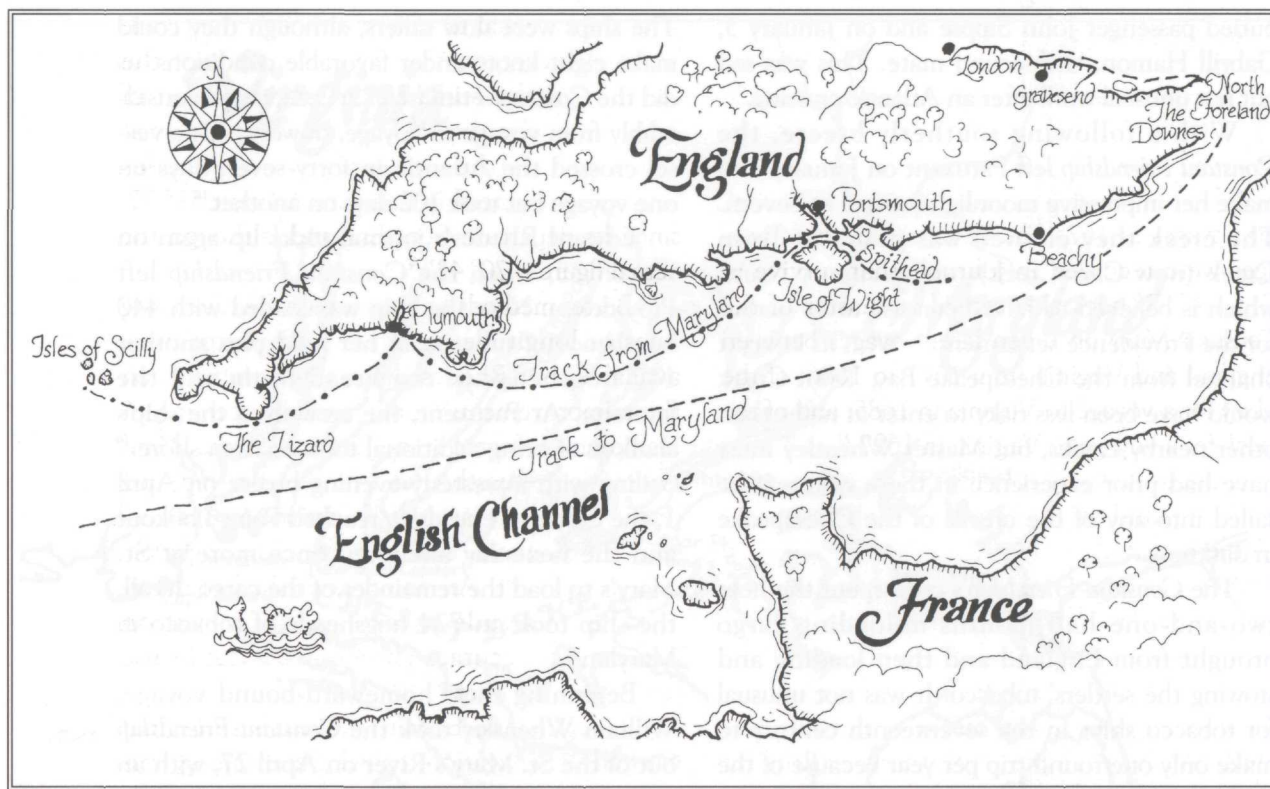


Figure 8. The outbound and inbound tracks of the *Constant Friendship* in the English Channel as noted in Edward Rhodes's journal.

Titanic sank after its fatal encounter with an iceberg in 1912.

The *Constant Friendship* continued on a northeasterly great-circle route with help from the Gulf Stream and favorable winds from the west and south. There were occasional calms and fog, but several times Rhodes recorded a "great southern sea" in conjunction with strong winds. On May 19, they spoke to a vessel from New England that reported a resumption of war with the Netherlands. In the first engagement, English men of war had taken three Dutch ships.

On the twenty-first of May, a fresh southwesterly wind, strong enough to cause them to reef the topsails, gave the *Constant Friendship* a two-hundred-mile run, one of her best on the voyage. The wind came more frequently from the north now, so the mariners were forced to sail to the south of their intended easterly course. On June 3, they saw three ships: the *Welcome* and two small vessels from Jamaica. Wheatley went on board the *Welcome*.

Thereafter, the wind was more favorable from the south. At six o'clock in the morning on June 11, the Isles of Scilly off the southwest tip of England came into view. Two days later, the ship arrived at Plymouth, where she joined a great fleet of merchant ships waiting to sail in convoy up the English Channel. Attack by the Dutch was now the main concern of English captains. When they left Plymouth on the eighteenth with the wind west southwest, Rhodes counted sixty sail, great and small. On June 20, the fleet ran behind the Isle of Wight and anchored at Spithead with the wind blowing very hard from the west southwest. Later in the day, they sailed for Portsmouth harbor on the mainland. After two weeks at Portsmouth, the assembled convoy, now numbering seventy vessels, sailed back to Spithead. When the *Constant Friendship* and the convoy sailed again for the Thames, three royal frigates accompanied them.²⁰ Here, on July 17, 1672, Edward Rhodes ended the journal of the *Constant Friendship*.

The Navigator

Edward Rhodes, a career mariner, made subsequent trips to the Chesapeake on the *Baltimore* in 1672–73 and on the *Johanah* in 1674. He then became master of the *Johanah* for voyages in 1675 and 1676. All of these voyages were recorded in journals that survive at Oxford.²¹ Rhodes also served as master of the *Constant Mary* on seven later voyages between England and Virginia from 1677 to 1686; of the *Mary* for a voyage to Virginia in 1685; and of the *Jacob* for a voyage to Virginia in 1697.²²

During the early colonial period, ships sailed from England to the Chesapeake Bay by the southern route. That is, they sailed south to the latitude of the entrance to the Bay or even farther before turning west for the Atlantic crossing. This kept the ships in better weather and in the favorable northeasterly trade winds at the expense of a longer sailing distance. The *Ark* and the *Dove*, for example, took three months for their initial trip to establish the new colony at St. Mary's City, calling at Barbados and St. Christopher's (St. Kitt's) in the Caribbean on the way.²³ By the second half of the seventeenth century, ships such as the *Constant Friendship* often took a more direct route to the west, cutting the ocean part of the voyage to six to ten weeks. The return passage was always via a northern route and typically took six to seven weeks with prevailing westerly winds and the favorable Gulf Stream current.

In his 1671–72 journal, Rhodes tracked the *Constant Friendship's* position across the Atlantic primarily by dead reckoning, each day recording the estimated distance traveled as shown by the ship's log and the direction sailed by the compass. He used plane trigonometry to determine the difference in latitude and longitude from the previous day's position. The new position in degrees of latitude and longitude was recorded at noon after correcting for current set, heave of the sea, and most importantly, the latitude obtained from observation of the sun. Rhodes's methods, unsophisticated even for that time, assumed that degrees of both latitude and of lon-

gitude were equal to sixty miles. Since longitude lines converge on the curved surface of the earth, he underestimated his longitude west of England. By the time he reached Cape Henry at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, Rhodes recorded that the ship had traveled west $51^{\circ} 37'$ since its departure from England, although the actual figure is $70^{\circ} 42'$.²⁴

Better methods to account for the narrowing lines of longitude north of the equator were available, but Rhodes did not use them. Even these improvements would not fully account for his nineteen-degree discrepancy westbound and fifteen-degree eastbound. Perhaps the ship's log was poorly calibrated, as Edward Rhodes suspected on May 7, or he underestimated favorable current set. An accurate method of determining longitude by celestial observation required an accurate chronometer not in use until a century later.²⁵

Nevertheless, Edward Rhodes's simplified method of navigation, called plane sailing, was good enough. Even though his estimate of longitude was poor, his latitude could be determined to one-half degree, or thirty miles, by observing the altitude of the sun at midday. Consequently, the strategy followed by the master of the *Constant Friendship* after leaving

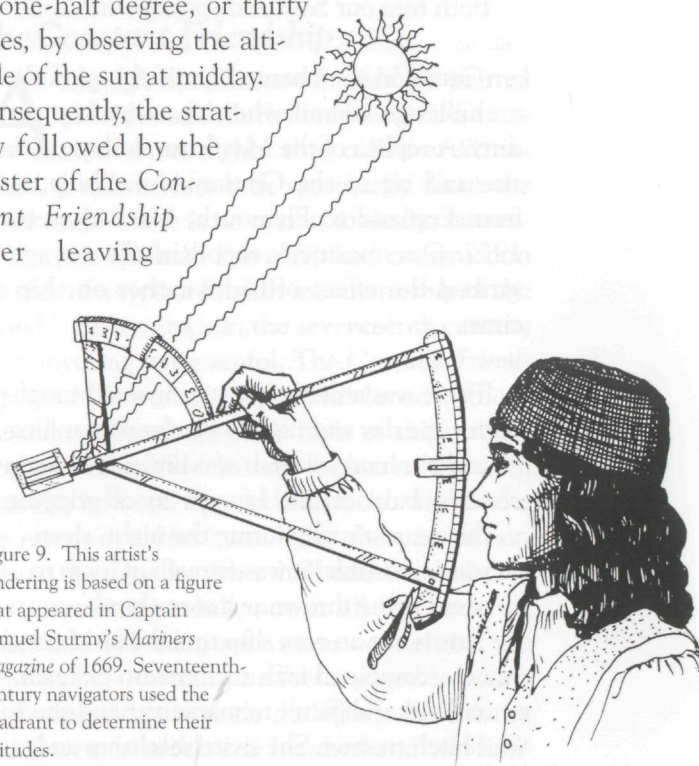


Figure 9. This artist's rendering is based on a figure that appeared in Captain Samuel Sturmy's *Mariners Magazine* of 1669. Seventeenth-century navigators used the quadrant to determine their latitudes.

England at fifty degrees north latitude was to sail south southwest until reaching the latitude of Cape Henry at thirty-seven degrees north. Then he headed west until he reached his destination. Inefficient by today's standards, it worked for the navigator of the *Constant Friendship*.²⁶

Life at Sea

Edward Rhodes's journal does not tell us how the seamen and passengers felt about crossing the Atlantic. A more vivid contemporary description is that of a tobacco merchant who spent three terrible months crossing from Plymouth, England, to St. Mary's City in this period.

Freighted with Fools, from Plymouth sound,
To Mary-Land our Ship was bound,
Where we arriv'd in dreadful Pain,
Shock'd by the Terrours of the Main;
For full three Months, our wavering Boat,
Did thro' the surley Ocean float,
And furious Storms and threat'ning Blasts;
Both tore our Sails and sprung our Masts.²⁷

Common merchant ships of this period were a challenge to sail when the weather turned dirty. A replica of the *Mayflower*, a ship similar in size and rig to the *Constant Friendship*, sailed from England to Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1957. One mariner's report of the voyage described the effect of bad weather on ship and crew:

There was a heavy quartering sea throughout the day and night with the ship rolling and pitching wildly. It was difficult to maintain a balance, and I found myself gripping the nearest rope; during the night, sleep was impossible; it was enough of a job to avoid being thrown out of my bunk. . . . This is not an easy ship to sail. Her shortness, combined with the breadth of beam, makes her difficult to maneuver and she is a bitch to steer. She switchbacks up and down the swell, sways, rolls, and pitches.

This morning, for example, Doc Stevens had to go up the mainmast, and when he came down, the motion had made him so sick that he was forced to retire to his bunk 'tween decks.²⁸

Food on ships in the seventeenth century was selected primarily for its resistance to spoiling. Although monotonous by our standards, it was really no worse than food eaten at home. Life in England at this time was hard for working people in country or city. Meat was scarce; bread and broth were staples. Food on the voyages consisted mostly of bread or ship-biscuit, salt meat, peas, and cheese, all of which would keep on long voyages. On one Virginia-bound ship, the *Nassau*, a large vessel of five-hundred tons, the crew and each passenger had seven pounds of bread a week. Five days a week, each mess of eight persons was allowed four pounds of pork with peas, and on the other two days, four pounds of beef with peas or a pudding. On rough days when the kettle could not be boiled, each passenger was given one pound of cheese. Children under six were allowed flour, oatmeal, fruit, sugar, and butter.²⁹ Fare on the *Constant Friendship* might have been comparable to the *Nassau*'s.

The Seventeenth-Century Sailor

The average size of the crew on English merchant ships in the North Atlantic trade at the end of the seventeenth century was twenty, the likely number of crew of the *Constant Friendship*. This was fewer than on the larger ships on the East Indies voyages and on more heavily armed ships sailing to the Mediterranean and Africa. Careers at sea started early, with most new sailors going to sea at age fifteen. The path to master typically took nine years, and records of the time show new masters were aged nineteen to thirty-five years.³⁰

Little is known about the lives of the crew of the *Constant Friendship*, or of any common seventeenth-century sailor for that matter, because there were few literate seamen who cared to

record their experiences. Edward Coxere was an exception, and his journal has survived.³¹ It gives an intriguing picture of the career of one English seaman of the period 1647 to 1681. His experiences would not seem unusual to the crew of the *Constant Friendship*.

Edward Coxere served on merchant ships in the days when they were also fighting ships outfitted with guns for defense. English merchantmen fought the Dutch, French, Spanish, Turks, and pirates of all nations. Early in his career, Coxere learned gunnery as well as sailing and navigation. Sailing on many different ships, he served at various times as seaman, gunner, and mate. Unlike Edward Rhodes, Coxere sailed exclusively in European waters except for one voyage to Newfoundland. His special talent for languages—Dutch, French, Spanish, and the common languages of the Mediterranean in addition to his native English—was valuable to his ship as well as to himself.

In character, Edward Rhodes might have been like Coxere, who was energetic and adaptable, the kind of seaman who helped England increase its maritime power and expand its colonial empire. As were many seamen, Coxere was on occasion an entrepreneur trading for his own profit. This commercial opportunity for seamen was apparently a common fringe benefit during the seventeenth century. A sailor could earn considerable sums from wages and personal investments in cargoes. There were also many times, however, when he lost all of his earnings. Coxere probably had a longer, more prosperous life than most sailors of the era due to his good health and skills in language, gunnery, and trading. Later in life he converted to Quakerism, as did many of the Providence settlers of the same period. Coxere's new beliefs made it difficult to

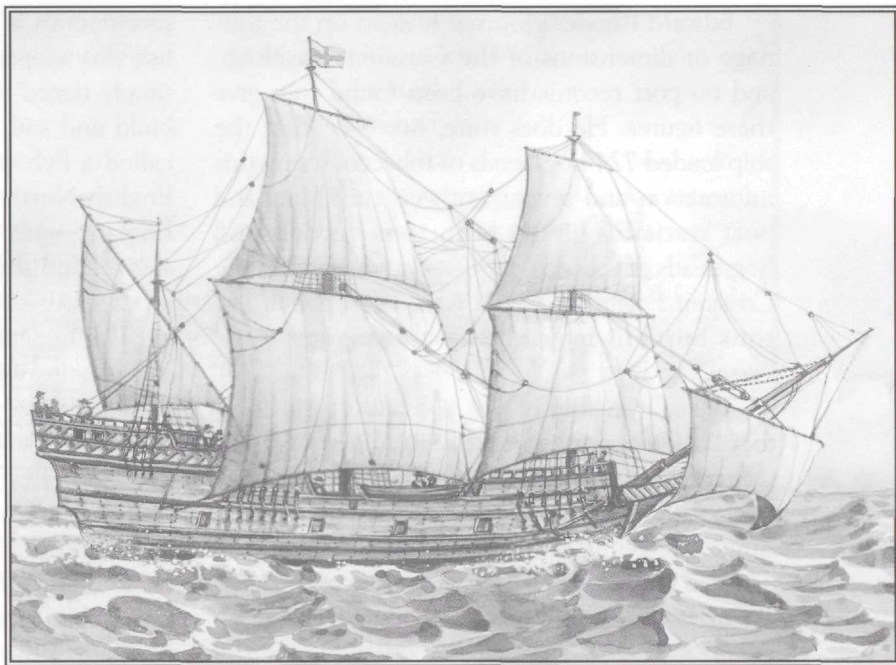


Figure 10. Conjectural drawing of the *Constant Friendship*.

get work at sea where all hands were needed to fight enemy ships.

The *Constant Friendship*

Although the *Constant Friendship's* journal provides us with the only direct information about a ship that called at Providence, it tells us very little specifically about the vessel itself. There is no reason to doubt, however, that the *Constant Friendship* had construction features of a typical English merchant ship of the period.³² Sailing ships in the seventeenth century were anything but graceful. The *Constant Friendship* would have been short and broad without the soaring bows and sleek hulls of ships in the next two centuries. She was higher at the stern than the bow and appeared about to dive under the next wave. Her masts were short in proportion to the length of her hull and her sail area was surprisingly small, not at all the towering masts and billowing sails we associate with tall ships today. Generally, vessels engaged in Maryland's transatlantic trade during the Providence period were between one hundred and two hundred fifty tons.

Edward Rhodes’s journal is silent on the tonnage or dimensions of the *Constant Friendship*, and no port records have been found that give these figures. He does state, however, that the ship loaded 724 hogsheads of tobacco. Using this information and seventeenth-century Maryland port statistics giving both tons burden and hogsheads of tobacco, we can determine that the *Constant Friendship* would have been about 215 tons burden, making her an average-sized vessel.³³

Typically, a ship of this size had a sixty-four-foot keel, a twenty-six-foot beam, and a depth of thirteen feet measured from the top of the keel to the waterline at the point of maximum beam. Since the point of maximum beam, or width, occurred close to the loaded waterline, the deepest draft of the fully loaded *Constant Friendship* would have been sixteen feet, allowing for the thickness of the keel and some trim by the stern. When the ship arrived at Providence on that winter night in 1672, she probably drew only thirteen feet partly loaded. The master of the *Constant Friendship* was obviously experienced in Maryland waters, for he had none of our modern navigational aids to help him avoid the Bay’s shallows, particularly in narrow creeks late at night.

The typical merchant ship in North American trade had two decks in the main hull with an additional forecastle deck forward and one or two aftercastle decks aft. Oceangoing vessels sailing between England and the American colonies were described as ships, but there were smaller pinnaces and ketches as well.³⁴ In the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the English also adapted the Dutch fluit, a lighter, more simply rigged ship that was more economical to build and sail. The British version of the fluit, called a flyboat, was relatively common in the English North American trades. A flyboat left England with the *Constant Friendship*, for instance, and she encountered others on her voyage to the Chesapeake.³⁵

The underwater hull shapes of most English ocean-going vessels in the seventeenth century were described at the time as resembling a fish, with more bulk forward at the head than aft at the tail. They had flat, rather than the earlier rounded, sterns to provide better support for a large rectangular after-superstructure, which could then be built as an integral part of the hull rather than as an appendage. During the century, the part of the transom below the waterline was made rounded again to reduce the drag and improve the flow of water to the rudder. This flat-above-and-round-below type of stern was first used on large English ships early in the century and was gradually adopted for other vessels.³⁶

Based on William Baker’s research and details such as those above and from notations in Rhodes’s journal, we can picture the *Constant Friendship*’s general design. (See figure 11) Protruding from her bow was the beakhead, a structure used as a ram on earlier fighting ships. It was also the place where the crew relieved themselves. Later this term was shortened and became simply the “head.” Next aft near the bow on the main deck was the forecastle, housing the galley, bow guns, and storage and work-

Examples of Vessels Sailing to the English Colonies

Name of Vessel	Voyage Date	Tons Burden	Vessel Type	Length of Keel
<i>Susan Constant</i>	1607	120	ship	55
<i>Mayflower</i>	1620	180	ship	58
<i>Ark</i>	1633	358	ship	125
<i>Dove</i>	1633	26	pinnace	49
<i>Constant Friendship</i>	1672	215	ship	64

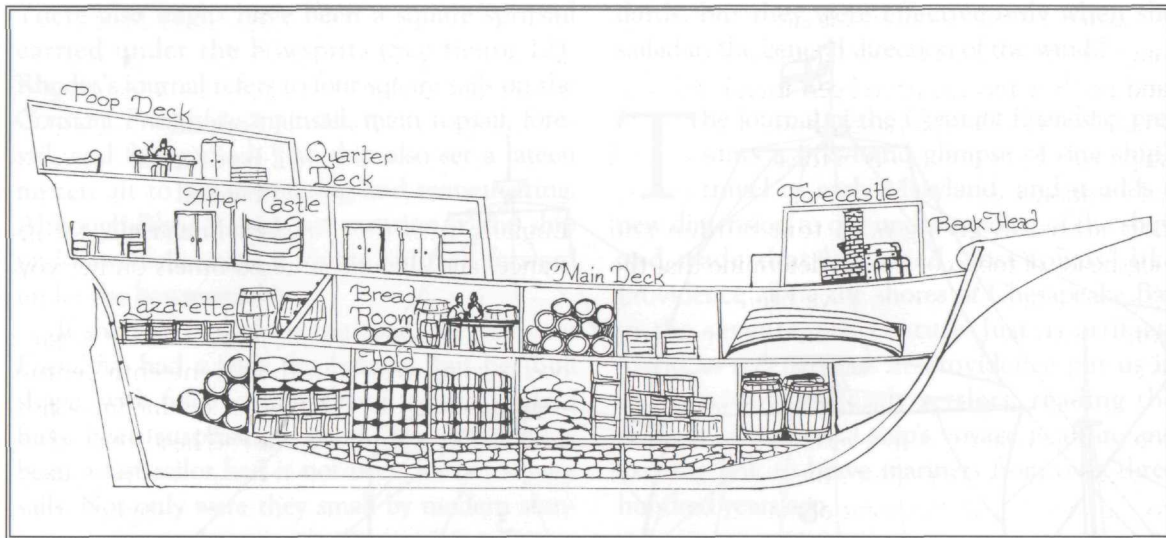


Figure 11. Conjectural drawing of cutaway view of the *Constant Friendship's* interior.

ing spaces. In the center of the ship, the main deck was without superstructure. One of her boats, a shallop, might have been stowed here. A long aftercastle covered the sternmost half of the main deck. In this were living spaces for Commander Wheatley, his officers, and important passengers. This was also the station for steering the ship by a vertical whipstaff connected to the tiller on the deck below. Atop the aftercastle and under the poopdeck at the stern was a short upper cabin for the sailing master or another officer. Perhaps this was where Edward Rhodes lived and wrote his journal.

Below the main deck was the orlop, or lower, deck, also running the length of the ship but possibly with vertical breaks near either end. The height between the two decks was about six feet, but with planking and deck beams, we can assume that the crew and passengers had only about five feet of clearance without hitting their heads. The lazarette, the space at the aftermost end of the lower deck, was variously used for stores and stern guns, as well as for the tiller controlling the rudder. On her return trip to England, the *Constant Friendship's* lazarette was loaded with tobacco. Also on the lower deck were compartments for food. Rhodes's journal notes that the *Constant Friendship* had a bread room, which was loaded with sixteen hogsheads

of tobacco for the return voyage. Here, too, was the area where the crew hung their hammocks to sleep, along with more guns, perhaps an unassembled shallop, a large hatch to the hold below, and additional stores. Passengers also lived in the lower deck's small compartments in the aftercastle. Forward on this deck, a horizontal windlass hauled in the anchor cables, and aft, the ship's capstan, a large vertical, man-powered winch, was used to work the halyards, lifts, and braces of sails and spars through openings in the main deck.

Below the lower deck was the hold. This part of the ship carried ballast stones to improve her stability and sailing qualities. Also in the hold were anchor cable, casks of water and food, and most important, her cargo. The bilge, or lowest section of the hold, was the catch basin for rain, sea water leakage, and other liquids. The foul atmosphere escaping from the bilge of the *Constant Friendship* must have been one of the most unpleasant aspects of voyages.

Initially, vessels in the transatlantic trades to the English colonies were constructed in Europe. The *Constant Friendship* would have been built in England. She most likely had a fish-shaped wooden hull of carvel planking with smooth planking joints, framing made of multiple over-

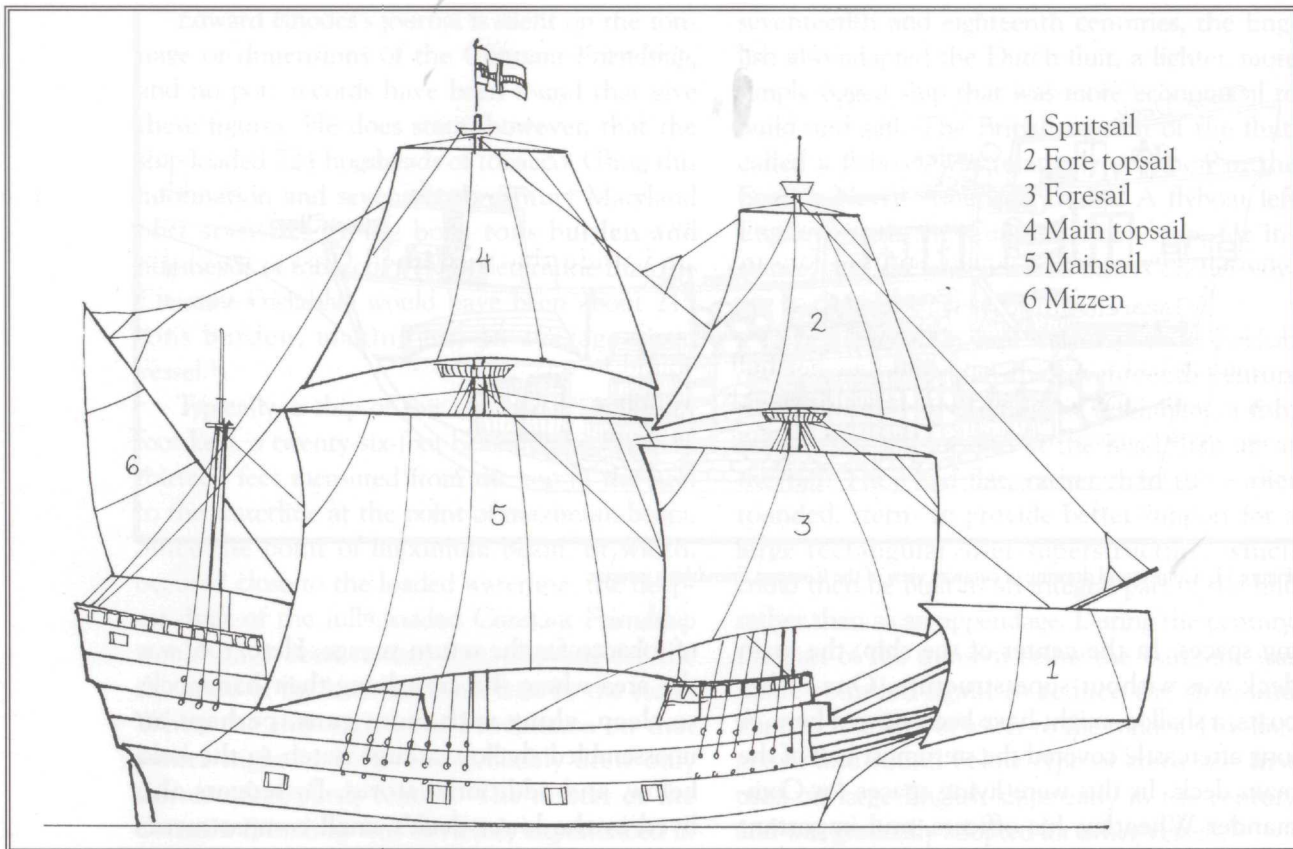


Figure 12. Sail plan of the *Constant Friendship*.

lapping futtocks, and a transom flat above the waterline and round below.³⁷ Boatbuilding and repair were done in the colonies from the beginning, but the shipbuilding industries, particularly in Maryland and Virginia, did not take hold until the end of the century. Interestingly, in 1650, Zephania Smith of Providence sold to Robert Simpkin "a Shalopp newly trymmed and fitted, in burthen 12 Tuns more or lesse with a small Boate belonging to her and Ropes Sailes grappling Cable and all things else which nowe doe belong to her."³⁸

Few structural differences existed between military and merchant ships until about 1600. The English navy in wartime consisted mostly of heavily armed merchant ships.³⁹ During the seventeenth century, however, war vessels became more heavily constructed, whereas merchant ships, more in the style of the Dutch fluit, tended to simpler construction and rigging to keep

costs down.

After laying the keel, early shipwrights erected the bottom and side frames that gave shape to the hull. The floor timbers were laid out along the vessel's bottom, running horizontally from the keel to a point where they were scarphed, or spliced, to long rising side frames. As the volume of shipbuilding increased, suitably shaped timber for frames grew scarce and shipwrights constructed the frames in shorter sections, or futtocks. Eventually, by the early seventeenth century, they did not join them end-to-end but overlapped them side-by-side, creating a more solid, dense mass of timber supporting the outside planking.⁴⁰

A typical seventeenth-century merchantman such as the *Constant Friendship* had three masts. The foremast carried a square foresail and topsail; the mainmast, a square mainsail and topsail; and the mizzenmast a single, small lateen sail.

JOURNAL OF THE

There also might have been a square spritsail carried under the bowsprit. (See figure 12). Rhodes's journal refers to four square sails on the *Constant Friendship*: mainsail, main topsail, foresail, and fore topsail. The ship also set a lateen mizzen aft to aid in steering and maneuvering. Although Rhodes does not mention it, the ship undoubtedly carried a square spritsail forward under the bowsprit.

If she was typical for the time, the *Constant Friendship* had a wide flat bottom, but her hull shape, with fuller cross sections forward, would have been surprisingly good. She could have been a fast sailor had it not been for her square sails. Not only were they small by modern stan-

dards, but they were effective only when she sailed in the general direction of the wind.⁴¹

The journal of the *Constant Friendship* presents a first-hand glimpse of one ship's travel to early Maryland, and it adds a new dimension to our understanding of the ships and trade that sustained "lost towns" like Providence along the shores of Chesapeake Bay in the seventeenth century. Just as artifacts found in recent years at Providence put us in touch with those early settlers, reading the account of an actual ship's voyage is a rare and exciting link to brave mariners from over three hundred years ago.

JOURNAL OF THE CONSTANT FRIENDSHIP

This transcription keeps the journal's inconsistent capitalization and spelling and lack of punctuation. Minor changes were made in format and abbreviations for compass directions to make the journal easier to read. A long dash represents illegible text.

Edward Rhodes used these special terms in his journal:

b	: by	lon, long, longd	: longitude
d	: degrees	m	: mile
ded recc	: dead reckoning	p	: per
diff	: difference	try	: heave to; reduce sail
dist	: distance	wey	: get under way;
fad	: fathoms		raise the anchor
hand	: furl	wind shrinks	: wind heads the ship
hhds	: hogsheads	ye	: the
hull	: with sails furled	yn	: then
lat, latt, lattd	: latitude	yt	: that

Outward Bound

A journal of our outward bound passage in ye Constant Friendship Mr Wm Wheatley Commander bound by Gods assistance for Merryland with in ye Capes of Virginia in ye Latt of 37° Cept p me Edward Rhodes 1671

8[Oct]ber ye 25

we broke ground from gravesend with ye wind abt NNW and ranne downe below ye boy off ye new ore & there ankored

26

we weyed from thence with ye wind bare att SSW and gott over ye flatts and rann to ye forland and there ankored with ye wind Southerly

27

we could non stire ye winds blew fresh southerly

28

we weyed from ye north forland with littell wind and towed doune into ye downes with our boats ahedd

29

we lay still in ye downes ye wind being contrary faire weather

31

we weyed out of ye dounes with ye wind easterly att 10 of clocke in ye night with a fly boat in our company caled ye Tho & Mary Mr Boddy master bound for Virginia

9[Novem]ber ye 1st

att 6 of clocke in ye morning beachey bare NNW of us ye wind at ESE a freshe gaile and att 8 of clocke att night we weare thwart of ye white

2 49-46 Lon 00-00

we had ye wind still easterly a fresh gaile we thwart of plymoth sound att 12 in ye day and att 8 of clocke in ye night we judged ye Lizard to bare north from us 8 Leagus off being 24 miles to the South off it

3 48-46 Lon 1-23

we made our way this 24 hours by ded reconing SW by W dist 100 miles difference of lattd — miles departure — miles we had ye wind between ye NE and ye SE a fresh gaile with raine and thick weather

4 Latd 47-6 Long 03-52

we steared all this 24 hours SW by W and rann a 181 Miles by ye Logg which differes in latt 100 miles and in longitude 149 miles we had ye wind Easterly a fresh gaile with raine Sometimes

5 Lat 46-32 Lo 04-57

we made our way good this 24 hours WSW 5° S and rann 74 miles we differed in Lattd 34 miles & in longitude 65 miles we had ye wind verable sometimes Littell wind

6 Latt 45-53 Long 05-58

we steared SW by W and run 73 miles by ye Logg which we found she had gone 49 miles to ye Southward & 61 miles to ye westward we had ye wind Easterly untill 6 & then it proved NE

7 Lattd 49-60 Long 06-43

we had ye wind this 24 hours betweene NW & ye N it blew very hards in squalls of raine we ran 120 miles by ye log we differed in Lattd 113 miles diff of longitude 45 our course SSW we had a greate NW Sea which threw us away more Southerly then we did expect

8 Lattd 42-38 Long 08-24

we made our way this 24 hours SW^{1/2}W dist 130 miles diff Latd 82 miles diff Longitude 101 miles we had ye wind betweene ye NNW & ye East a freash gaile ye weather broke up att 8 of Clock in ye night and proved moderat weather

9 Lat 41-89 Long 10-01

We mad our way good by observation & dist by ye Logg W 34° S dist 118 miles diff Lattd 59 diff Long 102 we had ye winds easterly faire weather we left Mr body ye flyboate which came out in Company with us about 4 of clocke we fired a gunn and put abroad our Anckant he being a leagua astaren of us

10 Latt 40-40 Long 11-48

we had ye wind easterly untill 8 in ye morning and then it — Southward we made our way this fore & twenty ours dist — miles diff Lattd 59 m diff Longitude 112 miles we had very faire wea

11 Latt 40-11 Long 13-59

we made our way this 24 hours W 13° S dist 128 difference Lattd 29 miles diff Longitd 121 miles we had ye wind Southerly untill 12 att night and then it shifted att once northerly and then it vered Easterly and blew freshe

12 Latt 40-4 Long 17-05

we stered away west this 24 hours but we found by observation that we had gone 7 miles of ye

So'wd our Latd which we had ye day before so that we mad our way W 2°S and rann 186 miles diff Longtd 86 miles we had ye wind betweene ye East & ye SE a fresh gaile att 1 of Clocke in ye after noone we saw Corves it bore SSE from about 7 leagues off so that I Judg that it Lyeth no farther northerly then 39° 45 then we steared WSW

13 Lattd 39-11 Longd 19-26

we made our way good this 24 hours W 2° S dist 157 diff Lattd 53 miles diff Longt 141 m ye wind Soly it blew very fresh we sailed with our top sayles furred all nigt and the morning it proved less wind and faaire weather

Nov 14 Latt 38-24 Longd 22-05

we had we wind Southerly this 24 hours with some raine we mad our way good W 17° S and rann 166 miles by ye Logg we diff in Lattd 47 miles and in Longitud 159

15 Lattd 38-24 Longd 24-09

we had ye wind Southerly we lay up WSW but it blew so hard that it put us by our topsayles and having a great Southern sea we could not make by eastemation more then a — way we handed our foresayl and lay by 2 glasses and then proveing littell wind we sett itt againe we ran by the Logg 124 miles W by S we could not have any observation and wass thick weather with raine and —

16 Lattd 38-40 Longd 24 54

we mad our way this 24 hours according to our observation WSW dist 50 miles Lat 20 m Longtd 48 m we had ye wind between ye S & ye SSE untill 4 of clocke yesterday in ye Afternoon and then it came about Northerly with much raine we find that we have a currant setts southward for wee by our corse could not not have gone so fare Southerly

17 Lattd 37-20 Longd 25-40

we had ye wind Easterly but vered Southerly very Littel wind and faire weather we saw weeds being ye first time of our seeing them we mad our way WSW dist 50 diff Lattd 20 diff Longitude 46 miles

18 Lattd 37-5 Long 26-49

we mad our way good W 12° S dist 71 diff Lattd 15 m diff Longitude 69 miles we had ye wind

JOURNAL OF THE

WSW untill 7 of clock last night and then it came about Northerly with raine and blew fresh for a spurt

19 Lattd 36-58 Long 27-40
we mad our way good W 4° S dist 112 miles diff Lattd 7 m diff longtd 111 we had ye wind southerly a fresh gaile with shours of raine sometimes

20 Lattd 37-13 Long 28-56
We mad ower way good this 24 hours W 12° N and ran 78 m by ye Logg we diff in Lattd 15 miles and in Longd 76m we had ye wind Southerly untill 2 of clock in ye morn then it came about Northerly but proved calme untill 8 of clocke yn sprang up again at NE a fresh gaile and cleared up we gott a very good observation

21 Lattd 36-03 Long 31-19
we made our way good by our dist & diff of Lattd SW $1/2$ W and ran 108 miles diff 70 miles 83 miles we had ye wind Easterly we steared but SW & by West but we having a great NW Sea mad our way $1/2$ a point more S

22 Lattd 35-49 Long 32-05
we made our way good W 18° S dist 47 miles diff Lattd 14 m we had ye winds betweene ye SE & ye SW fair weather and littell wind with a good observation diff Long 46

23 Lattd 36-01 Long 33-36 9° S dist 92 miles diff Lattd 12 miles diff of Longd 91 miles we had ye wind SW till 2 of clocke in ye morning then it ran about NW and after vered to ye NE and blew very fresh with smale raine

24 Lattd 35-28 Long 36-17
we made our way W by S dist 169 miles diff Lattd 33 miles diff Lon 161 miles we had ye wind betweene ye E & ye S a fresh gaile and faire weather and a good observation

25 Lattd 35-35 Long 37-39
we made our way good this 24 hours W 5° N dist 82 m diff Lattd 7 miles diff Longitude 81 miles we had ye wind between ye S and ye West untill 11 of clock in ye night and then it vered ye northwards of ye west att 12 we taced and stood to ye Southwards it came about with a lit-

tell raine but after cleared up

26 Lattd 35-03 Long 38-20
we mad our way W 38° S dist 52 miles diff Lattd 32 miles diff Longd 41 miles we had ye wind NNW untill 8 in ye morning and then it vered Southerly very littell wind and very faire weather I being upon ye poope espied 5 or 6 dolphins and with a hooke & line presently catched one and after thatt ye master struck another with a fizgig

27 Lattd 35-46 Long 39-32
we mad our way this 24 hours W 31° S dist 84 miles diff Lattd 43 miles diff Long 72 miles we had ye wind SW it blew very fresh in squalls of raine & wind

28 Lattd 36-22 Long 39-46
we mad our way this 24 hours NNW dist 39 diff Lattd 36 m diff Longd 14 miles we had ye wind betwine ye SW and ye NW it blew very hard we handed our foresaile att 5 of clocke last night and tryed to ye NW this morning then wee tacked and stood to ye Southward with our maine saile and mizon at 10 of clocke we sett our foresaile againe it proving less wind it being then at NNW blowing in squalls of raine and cold weather

29 Lattd 35-12 Long 40-61
we mad our way good this 24 hours by ded reconing S by W dist 70 miles Lattd 70 m diff Long 15 miles we had ye wind NW & NNW blowing hard in gusts we tryed 6 hours of the time

Novmbr 30 Lattd 36-03 Longd 40-08
we made our way by Judgment this 24 hours N 14° W dist 30 miles diff Lattd 29 miles diff Longitude 7 miles but by my observation I find that she hath 51 miles to ye norward from my yesterdays ded reconing So that I find that there is a northerne corrant Sett in mor then our course will gieve by 21 miles So that I do heare Allow hir westing to be ye same and our diff of Lattd 51 miles and our dist ran 52 miles and Course N 8° W we had ye wind betweene ye SW & ye W it blew very hard we tryed from 10 in ye night untill 7 in ye morning Nowards then we bore up and layd our hed to ye Soutward ye wind being then att WNW itt blew very hard but there wea —

10[Decem]ber 1 Lattd 35-38 Long 40-44
we mad our way good this 24 hours SW by W
dist 41 miles diff Lattd 25 miles diff Long 36
miles we had ye wind NW blow very fresh until
12 in ye night then it proved Littell wind & then
calme and att 11 of clocke today ther sprung up
a gaile Southerly we mett with A flyboat Mr.
Baker Ma^r we spake with him and he hoysted
out his boat and came on board of us we spared
them tobacco to pipe for it was very scarce with
them About 5 of clock they went aboard againe
ye master of hir was suffistienly in drink before
he went

2 Lattd 36-00 Longd 41-17
we mad our way by esteemation NW by W dist
40 miles diff Lattd 22 miles diff Longitude 33
miles we had ye wind between ye SSW & ye
NW and it blew very hard we hand our foresaile
at 12 in ye night ye wind SW we tryed Nowards
untill 8 this morning and then we bord up and
handed our mainsayle and lay on hull to ye
southwards ye wind being att NW blow hard
with many great gusts of haile and very cold we
could not se ye flyboat in ye morning we had lost
sight of hir in ye night it blew souards

3 Lattd 35-49 Long 41-38
we had ye wind this 24 hours betwee ye NW &
ye N it blew very hard 4 watches we hulled by
Judgment S 30 miles at 4 in ye morning we mad
sayle and ran 21 miles west by ye log but having
a good observation found ourselves to be gone
but 11 miles to ye southwards from our Latt by
Judgt ye day before so that I doe alow hir way to
be W 2° S dist 24 miles diff Lattd 11 miles and
diff Long 21 miles

4 Lattd 36-10 Long 42-57
we ran this 24 hours 82 miles by ye Logg and by
esteemation we made our way W 15° N which
diff in Lattd 21 miles and in Longitude 79 miles
we had ye wind verable untill 12 in ye night then
thear sprung up a fresh gaile att SSW and fresh-
ened on that att 12 noone we handed our for-
sayle and tryed

5 Lattd 36-16 Longd 43-06
p ded recc we had ye wind from 12 yesterday att
noone untill 7 att night at SW it blew very hard
we tryed with our maynsaile and mezon 16 miles

N then it proved littell wind and caime about
notherly yn we tacked and stood to ye westward
but we had such a hed sea that we cold not
make sayle untill 12 in ye night then we sett our
foresayle and mainetopsayle and ran 16 miles so
yt we made our way NW by W by esteem and
ran 11 miles diff Lattd 6 miles diff longd 9 we
had cloudy weather and littell wind with raine

6 by observation Lattd 34-34 Longd 43-47
we had ye wind this 24 hours verable round ye
compas but from 12 att night we had ye wind
NW it blew fresh we ran upon all courses by ye
logg Southerly 86 miles and 8 NW but having an
observation today and not having any 3 days
before we found our selves to be gone 102 miles
to ye Southward from our Latt by Judgment ye
day before So that I alow hir cours to be S by W
untill I diff in Lattd 102 miles dist 110 diff
Longitd 41 miles and 5 in ye morning it blew
very fresh with raine we handed our maintop-
saile and in handing of it got over ye yard end
and Split

7 by observation Lattd 32-42 Long 44-32
we had ye wind this 24 hours betweene ye West
& ye NW it blowed fresh we could cary byt our
courses we mad our way p ye log all leeways
alowed SW by S and ran 100 miles by ye Log but
having a good observation we found our selves
to begone 113 miles to ye Southward of our yes-
terdays Lattd So that we sopose ther to be a cur-
rant sett Sowards and I alow our way to be SSW
untill I diff as much as my observation givetth
which run will be 122 miles and ye departure 45
miles from ye Merridian ye day before today att 5
in ye afternoone our man being in ye mainetopp
espied a gleare to ye westwards and cryed out
land upon which Som of our Ships company
beleevved an we tacked and stood up to ye
Eastwards untill 12 in ye night than we tackked
againe and stood to ye Westward

8 Latt 32-37 Long 34-46
we had ye wind northerly we Stood to ye west-
ward untill 5 oclock yesterday in ye afternoone
yn we tacked and Stood to ye Eastward untill 12
in ye night and rann 18 miles E by S yn we
tacked and stood to ye weswards againe and at
10 in ye morning I guded our Selves to be much
above ye same meriddian weare we tacked when

we sposed to have seene bermoodas but we could see nothing we mad our course good this 24 hours all Leeways aloud W 19° S dist 15 miles dif Lattd 5 miles diff Longitd 14 miles we had ye wind betweene ye NW and ye East faire weather

9 by ded rec Lattd 34-10 Long 46-19
we made our way this 24 hours NW dist 132 miles diff Lattd 93 miles diff Longid 93 miles we had ye wind Southerly blow very hard with raine it put us by our topsayles at 4 in ye morning ye weather Sheet of our maine topsayle brock but we saved ye sayle whole

10 Lattd 34-35 Long 46-05
we had ye wind Westerly untill 12 in ye night we Stood to ye North yn it vered NW and we tackked and handed our forsaile att 10 of cloke we set our forsaile yn we spied a sayle on Starne yn we taked and Stood to ye Eastward and two glasses taked againe and lay musled untill he ran up with us and wass a bristow flyboat which had beene 8 weekes att sea we mad our way good all Leeways alowed N 29° E dist 29 miles diff Lattd 25 miles diff Longd 14 miles ye wind vered northerly we set our topsayles it proved very faire weather and Littell wind

11 per observawe Lattd 34-43 Long 46-26
we made our way this 24 hours W 4° N dist 23 miles diff Latt 8 miles diff Longitude 21 miles we had ye wind verable between ye N & ye SW fare weather only with Littell Squalies of raine att 10 of cloke ye master of ye bristo man came onboard us to whom I delivered ye Letters which I had for ye duke of Yorke in Rappahanoke Rever

12 by observation Lattd 34-58 Long 47-28
we made our way this 24 hours W 13° N dist 64 miles all Lee ways aloud which diff in Latt 15 miles and in Longitude 62 miles we had ye wind verable betweene ye SSW & ye NW with Littell squalls of Raine but after they were over we had fayre weather againe and Litt winds most part

10[Decemb]er 13 Lattd 35-19 Long 47-59
From 2 yesterday in ye after noone we stood to ye No wards untill 1 in ye night we lay but N by E ye wind NW by W yn we tackked and stood to ye weswards with ye wind at NNW a fresh gaile we made our way good with our Leeway aloud NW dist 38 miles diff Lattd 21 diff Long 31 miles

this morning we saw ye bristo man againe to Leward and att 12 he got up very near our wake att 7 in ye morning our fore topsayle splite but we saved it all and brought too another

14 by observation Lattd 35-15 Longd 49-22
we mad our way good this 24 hours by observation and distance W 3° S dist 94 miles diff Lattd 4 miles difference of Longitude 93 miles we had ye wind between ye NW & ye North faire weather and not much Sea

15 by ded reckoning Longd 35-54 Longd 49-59
we stood to ye norwards with ye wind ENE untill 4 in ye morning then ye wind Shrank to NNE that we lay but WNW in at 6 this morning we tackked and stood to ye Eastwards and ran 20 miles of SE ½ E & 74 miles NW both courses being worked I find that we dit make a NW 4° N way dist 54 miles diff Lattd 39 miles diff Longd 37 miles ye wind between ye N & ye East blew hard with raine

16 by ded reccoan Lattd 36-05 Long 50-24
we saw gulls and divers from 12 yesterday untill 4 in ye afternoone we stood to ye E yn we tackked and stood to ye weswards ye wind at NNE itt proved littell wind in ye night and towards day calme & att of — clocke this morning there sprang up a fresh gaile westerly we stood to ye norwards att noone we tooke in our topsayles it blowed very fresh with drops of raine we made our way by Judgment all leeways alowed W 26° N dist 28 miles diff Lattd 12 miles difference Longd 24 miles we saw several gulls vered downe ye Led being calme at 6 in ye morning being calme but had no ground we could not have anny observation

17 by observation Lattd 36-56 Long 51-13 we saw many gannets and other foules we saw a saile but know not what flagg From 12 yesterday untill 8 atte night we stood to ye norwards with our courses and ran 35 miles N by W yn we tryed ENE untill 12 in ye night yn we tackked and stood to ye Wesward and ran till noone and ran 50 miles So that we mad our way good all Leeways alowed NW 1° N dist 71 miles diff Lattd 51 miles diff Long 49 miles att 9 of cloke this morning we strucke ground 23 fa and att 1 in ye after we saw the Land att ye topmast head about 7 Leagus off

17
from ye Lizard to Cape Henry I mad $51\frac{1}{2}^{\circ} 37\frac{1}{2}m$
of merriddan distance ye Cape being S 1 League
we steared in West it proved calme & then ye
wind went about southerly a smale gaile at — of
cloke we judge Cape henry to beare South off us
7 leagues of we found 10 & 9 & 8 fadam water
in steering in west which it did bare att 5 in ye
evening and when we came neare ye Cape we
found 12:13 a fathom we ran in in that depth W
by N unti ye cape bare SE by S and then we
steared NNW yn we had 9:8:7:6:5 $\frac{1}{2}$ fad 7 & yn
6 $\frac{1}{2}$:6 upon ye west shore yn we bore of to ye
eastward and fell into 7:9:11:17:14:15:16 fad
water yn we haled up to ye wesward and
sholened ye water to 8 fad & cept in that depth
eging off and on as we saw fit

18
this morning as soone as it was light we saw new
poynt Comferte we being shatt up 2 leagus
above it yn we saw ye bristo Shype that was in
our Company att Sea & Spake with him he
being going in to raphanoke river we halled in
5 $\frac{1}{2}$ fad to speak with him yn we edged offe into 7
fad and kept in that depth having very good
soundings all along we got up above ye dividing
creeke and came to an ankor being calme and
thicke wea but affter sprang up a gaile Southerly
and gott up our ankor againe but before we had
sett our Sailes ye wind came northerly so we
came to an ankor againe and rid all night in 9
fad water

19
ye wind blowing hard att NW and NNW we
could not weyhh but ridd all day off ye dividing
creeks

20
att 8 in ye morning we weyed ye wind northerly
and turning up ye bay it proved calme and yn ye
wind came about Southerly we ran up along in 7
or 8 fad water untill we came to wiccocomico
point then it sholends 6:5:4 $\frac{1}{2}$:3 $\frac{1}{4}$ we run right
off and had 10 fad presently pritty steep too yn
we steered over for poynt Lookout and found
noe mor then 9 fad yn crossing ye potomake
river yn we got ye sounding of ye North side of
ye river and ran up alongst in 6 fad & — into 8

untill we came abrest off a poynt which Lyeth 2
leagues below ye mouth of St Marys yn it shol to
4 fad att once but we edged off into 7

20
So after we found good shouldings all along ye
mouth of St Marys wheare we Ankored in 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
fad water & mudall along

21
our master went on shore to St Marys to cleare
ye shipe

30
having dispatched our business att St Marys we
sayled from thence with ye wind att N it blew
fresh we ankored offe of point Lookeout in 7 fad
water

31
we weyed proveing littell wind and got 2 leagues
to ye norwards of St Jarams pound and theare
ankored being calme

Janry 1
we weyed with ye wind att SSW and ran into
petuxon to doe some business theare we ran
close on board off Seader pount be steep too
with in halfe a mile & less att ye poynt this day
we buryed one of our Semen Henry Miller

3
we buryed one of our passengers named John
Sippse

5
we buryed our second mate named Gabrill
Hamon

7
we weyed from petuxon att 2 in ye after noone
ye wind Southerly and about 2 in ye night we
gott to Seavorne and ran into ye Creeke being
moone light and fair weather

we stowed in our hold 440 hhd of tobacco with
our breddroome voyd & in ye space of our
Lazerette 46 square with ye lowe beames on
hedd all

Sunday March ye 25
we sayled out of Seaverne for petuxon having
then about 550 hhd on board and ye 26 we
Arived at Petuxon wheare we sent our Shalups
for tobacco which had to take in there

April 1
we sayled from petuxon in ye evening with ye
wind westerly and in ye night it vered Easterly so
that we carryed it about pount Lookeout

2
we gott to Saint Maryes where we sent our
shalups abrode for ye remainder of our Laiding
which we had to take in and when all wass on
board we had by my accoumpt 708 hole hhd
stowed bysides what ye bred roome would have
held which ye master Judged it to hold 16 hhd
which makes 724 in all

Homeward Bound

A Journall of our homeward bound
Voyage from Virginia in the Constant
Friendshipe William Wheatly Commander kept
by me Edward Rhodes in ye yeare 1672

Aprill ye 27
we sayled from St Marys in Maryland with ye
wind Easterly and Turned doune to poynt
Lookeout and theare ankored

28 in company with Capt Payne
in ye morning we weyed from thence with ye
wind Easterly and got about Wiccocomico pount
and Ankored off great wiccoconmico River with
ye wind then Soly in 7 fadam

29
in ye morning we weyed from thence and got
doune abrest of pount Comford and cam to
ankor att 12 in ye night

30
we weyed from thence being Littell wind we gott
doune twarte off old poynt Comford and there
ankored as we droved doune with ye ebb we
espyed a bwoy which proved to be fast to an
ankor and Mr Paynes men tooke it up and I was
there att ye taking of it up with our smale boate
and 2 of our hands with mee ye ankor weyed
1006 pounds

May ye 1
we weyed from thence with ye wind att SW we
stretched to ye cape but yn ye wind came about
to NE & ENE and a fresh gaile we ran up againe
and ankored a littell below Lindhaven in seaven
fadom water

ye 2 & 3
haveing ye wind easterly we Lay still ye wind
blowing very fresh and a great sea running in
upon us

ye 4 Lattd 37-03 Longd 00:30
att 3 of clocke in ye morning we weyed with ye
wind att SSE being high water we stretched it out
into ye sea att 4 of clocke ye Cape bore South of
us 3 miles offe we ran by 12 att noone by
Judgment 30 miles East so that we are now 3
miles to ye norwood of Cape henery and 30
miles to ye Eastward

5 Lattd 37-10 Longd 01-37
we steered East and E by S this 24 hours but by
observation we found hir to be gone 7 miles to ye
norwards so that I alow our way to be E 5° N dist
88 miles difference Latd 7 miles diff Longitude
87 miles we had ye wind betweene the South &
ye West faire sea

6 Lattd 37-08 Longd 03-51
we made our way this 24 hours E 1° S and ran
114 miles which differs in Lattd 2 miles and in
Longitude 114 miles we had ye wind att SW &
SSW faire weather

7 Lattd 37-23 Longd 06-10
We made our way this 24 hours E^{1/2}N and ran
140 miles by ye Logg our half minute glaze being
somthing too longe which I judge to be ^{1/10} part
longer then it should be I alow no more then
what ye Loge giveth which is 140 miles we dif-
fere in Lattitude 15 miles and in Longitud 139
miles we had ye wind between ye SW and ye
West a fresh gaile and very faire weather we spa-
reed Mr. Payne a great deale of sayle at topsaile
or more

8 Lattd 37-42 Longd 07-48
we steered East this 24 hours and ran 96 miles by
ye Logg but by reason of a currant that is com-
monly found to sett NE I do alow our way to be
E by N and I alow our run to be 100 miles which

differs in Lattd 19 miles and in Longitude 98 miles we had ye wind Westerly faire weather and a Steddy gayle but cloudy we had no observation

9 Lattd 37-43 Longd 09-00

we made our way East this 24 hours and ran 72 miles by ye Logg we had ye wind Westerly sometimes a fresh gaile and sometimes Littell wind we had a good observation and found but very Littell currant setting norwards having no observation in ye days before

10 Longd 37-15 Longd 09-27

we had ye wind this 24 hrs between ye South an ye West Littell wind we ran 44 miles by ye Logg we stered away East untill 8 of clocke in ye eveninge ye 9th day and ran 8 miles yn we steered ENE untill this day at noone and ran 36 miles upon that breeze but having a good observation we found our selves to be gone 27 miles to the Southwards not withstanding our course wass Northerly So by the streames upon the water I judged ye currant to sett SE so I alow hir a SE way untill we differe 27 Miles in Lattitude & ye Like in Longitud and our dist 39 mile att noone we altered our Course and Steered NE

11 Lattd 38-11 Longd 10-50

we steared NE by E this this 24 hours and Ran 101 miles by the Logg which differs in Lattitude 56 miles & in Longitude 83 miles we had ye wind Southerly a fresh gaile it wass close weather we could have no observation

12 Lattd 29-49 Longd 12-28

we Steered Away NE by E and Run 130 miles by ye Logg but having a good observation we found that we had gon more northerly then ye Course we steered would give so I allowed hir way to be NE and our dist to be 139 miles which differs in Lattitude 98 miles and in Longitude ye same we had ye wind Southerly a fresh gaile with mizelling raine

13 Lattd 41-15 Long 14-35

we steered ENE all this 24 hours and ran but 110 miles by ye Log but having a good observation we found that we had gone 86 miles to ye norward which must be a great currant setting NE I alow hir way to be NE by E dist 154 miles difference of Lattd 86 miles difference of Longitude

127 miles we had ye wind between ye South and ye West with showers of raine

14 Lattd 41-51 Longd 16-49

wee made our way this 24 hours E 15° N and Runn 139 miles we differed in Lattitude 36 miles & in Longitude 134 miles we had a good observation & very cleare weather it was foggy in ye Eving and Lickwise this morning but it cleared up att 8 of Clock yesterday in ye Eving ye wind came forward to SSE but in ye night it vered aft againe to SSW and SW and so it stood

15 by estimation

we steered away E by N & Ran 90 miles by ye Logg which differs in Lattd — miles and in Longitude — miles we had the wind between ye West and the North thick Cloudy weather with Some showers of Raine we could have noe observation

May ye 16 Lattd 42-08 Longd 18-11

we had ye wind this 24 hours between ye N & ye NW sometimes a fresh gaile & other times Littell wind we stered E by N and Run 54 miles by ye Logg we differed in Lattitude — miles and in Longitude — miles this morning at 6 of clock we saw 2 Ilands of Esce one to ye norward of us and ye other to ye Southward with many Land fowles it proved thick fog wea at noon

17 Lattd 42-30 Long 19-34

we had ye wind this 24 hours verable somtimes a Littell breaze but when we had a gaile it wass so that we lay our Course we had it Northerly untill night yesterday & this morning we had a gaile sprang up Southerly but very foggy we ran 32 miles by ye Logg and Alow our way to be ENE by reason of a great Southerne Sea which I judge might heave us a pount more Northerly

18 per ded Rec Latd 42-54 Long 21-36

We steered away E by N and Ran 124 miles by the Logg which differs in Lattd 24 miles & in Logitude 122 miles we had ye wind between ye S & ye West thick foggy weather and a fresh gaile towards day

19 Lattd 43-55 Longd 22-56

we made our way good having corrected our 5 days worke by our this days observation E 37° N

dist 100 miles difference of Lattd 61 miles difference of Longitude 80 miles we had ye wind Round about ye compass and Came About to ye SSE very faire weather we spake a New England vessall which informed us that we had warrs with ye holander and had beene one Ingagement Alreddy and that som of our men of War met som of theirs comming out of ye straights and tooke 3 sayle of them

20 Latd 44-39 Long 25-15

we made our way this 24 hours E 8° N dist 145 diff Lattd 44 miles difference of Longitude 139 we had ye wind betweene ye South & ye West wit Raine and hazey weather but we had a very good observation

21 Latd 45-48 Long 28-24

we had ye wind all this 24 hours at SW and blew very fresh we caryed our topsayles reefed and run 190 miles but I allow our Runn to be 200 miles by Reason of ye Sea which might heave us faster then we Ran we had an observation and differed 69 miles in Lat from our yesterdays obsn our Course I allow to be E 19° N and difference of Longitud 188 miles

22 Latd 47-12 Long 31-25

we steered this 24 hours E by N but having a great Southerne Sea we could not make our way better then E 25° N by Estimation our Ran allowed to be 200 miles which differs in Lattd 84 miles & in Longitude 181 miles we had ye wind at S & SSW & SW itt blowed very hard and put us by our topsailes and a very great Sea Runn att noone this day ye wind dullered with raine

23 Latd 47-23 Long 32-52

we made our way this 24 hours E 9° N dist 88 miles difference in Lattd 11 miles diff Longitu 87 miles ye wind betwn ye SE and ye West we had a observation this morning we spake with a Ship come from ye bay of Campeachy belonging to Flushen and bound for some port in holand or hanburg we spared them an English insene and other necessaryes which they wanted

May ye 24 Lattd 47-38 Long 34-15

we made our way E 9° N dist 85 miles difference of Latt 15 difference of Longitude 83 miles we had ye wind SW antill 12 night then it proved

calme and at six this morning there sprang up a gaile at SE and vered more Southerly toward noon and wass overcast with clouds we could have noe observation

25 Lattd 48-07 Long 36-42

we mad our way this 24 hours by Judgment East & E by N and Runn 150 miles we differe in Lattd 29 miles in Longitude 147 miles we had ye wind between ye SSE & SSW with Raine and drissiling weather we could have no observation

Whitsunday 26 Lattd 48-12 Long 39-21

we made our way this 24 hours E 5° S dist 160 miles diff of Lattd 15 miles diff of Longitude 159 miles we had ye wind verable between ye SSW & ye NW Cold cloudy weather we had an observation but not trew

27 Lattd 47-14 Long 41-13

we made our way by Judgment E 15° S and Ran 120 miles by ye Logg diff Lattd 31 miles differs of Longitude 112 miles we had ye wind att N & Somtimes att N by E & NNE Cowld Cloudy weather we could have no observation

28 Lattd 48-00 Long 42-27

we made our way this 24 hours E 7° N dist by Logg 80 miles but Allowed 75 miles diff Lattd 9 miles diff Longitud 74 miles we had ye wind northerly very faire weather and a good observation

29 per dead Lattd 47-42 Long 44-00

we made our way this 24 hours per esteemation E by S dist by ye Logg 101 miles but by Judgment 95 miles which diff in Lattd 18 miles and in Longitude 93 miles we had ye wind att N & NNE an indiff fresh gaile with showers of Raine

30 Lattd 46-40 Long 45-06

we made our way good by Esteemation al lee ways allowed SE 2° E and distance streight 91 miles diff Lattd 62 miles difference of Longitude 66 miles we had ye wind betwee ye NNE & ENE faire weather but towards noone it blew fresh we handed both our topsailes

31 Lattd 45-55 Long 46-07

we mad our way good E 36° S dist per ye Logg 76 miles diff Lattd 45 miles diff Longitud 61 miles

we had ye wind at NE Somtimes Littell wind & Somtimes a fresh gaile Last night att 9 of clock we saw a saile to windward of us we know not what he was he stood upon a wind to ye Northwards

June ye 1 Lattd 45-19 Long 47-10
we mad our way good SE by E and Run 81 miles by ye Logg but I alow but 75 miles we diff in Lattd by observation 41 miles and in Longitude 63 miles we hat ye wind att NNE & NE it blew fresh faire Cleare weather att noone this day we tacked ye wind att NE lay NNW

June ye Sunday 2 Lattd 46-11 Long 46-13
we saw small birds We had ye wind this 24 hours at NE & NNE Somtimes little wind & Somtimes it blowed fresh we lay up Somtimes N by W and NNW & NW I alow our way to be NNW we Runn 80 miles by ye Logg which difers in Lattitude 57 miles and in Longitude 57 miles it was thick Cloudy weather we could have no observation

3 Latd 45-37 Longd 46-41
we made our way this 24 houres SE¹/₂S dist 45 miles diff Latd 35 miles diff Longd 28 miles we had ye wind att NNE & NE & ENE we stood to the NW untill 8 of clock last night and espieing 3 Saile to leeward of us we tacked and stood to ye Eastward as they did and this morning we bore away upon them and spake with them it proved to be ye Welcome and 2 Small vessels more com from Jameca our master went on board of ye Welcome

4 P obs Lattd 45-04 Long 47-44
we made our way good this 24 hours E 27° S dist 70 miles diff Lattd 32 miles diff Longitude 62 we had ye wind till 6 att NE vering to & againe about that poynt very faire weather

5 P observation Lattd 45-16 Longd 48-42
we mad our way this 24 hours E by N dist 60 miles difference of Lattitude 12 miles diff of Longitude 58 Miles we had ye wind between ye NNE & ye NW faire weather with some gentle Showers of raine we had a very good observation we saw a Sayle to ye Eastward but spake not with her

6 P observ Lattd 46-03 Longd 49-46
we mad our way this 24 howers E 36° N dist 80 diff Latd 47 miles diff Longitude 64 miles we had ye wind at WNW & NW & NNW blow very fresh in Squalls of raine

7 P Obsn Lattd 46-40 Longd 50-03
we made our way this 24 hours NE¹/₂E dist 60 miles diff L 37 m diff Longitude 46 miles we had ye wind between ye NNW & ye W Squaly weather & Somtimes almost calm we had a good observation

8 P obsern Lattd 48-06 Long 57-09
we mad our way good NNE and our dist allowed to be 94 Diff of Lattd 86 miles difference of Longitude 37 miles we had ye wind between the SW & NW with Rainy Squaly weather but we had a good obsern

9 P odserva Lattd 49-22 Longd 51-11
we mad our way NNE distance 82 miles difference of Latt 76 miles difference of Longitude 32 miles we had ye wind between the NW and the South very faire weather and a good obsevation we struck ground 75 fad Sunday ye 9 of june at 8 of clock in the Evening small redd Sand with Spotts of Shells we were then in ye Lattd of 49-25 and from Cape Henery to that time I mad out 52° 16' of Longitude we were ye first Shipe in ye Company that struck our Master being on board ye friggot

10 P obn Lattd 49-49 Longd 43-28
we mad our way this 24 hours E 13° N dist 110 miles diff of Lattd 25 miles diff Longd 107 we had ye wind Southerly faire weather & a good observation Monday ye 10 at 6 in ye morning we hove ye led againe and had about 70 fad very fine white Sand & ousey then we had Runn 16 Leages E by N from ye place where we firste struck ground

11 Lattd L 54-15 Silly north at 12 of clock
we made our way from yesterday at noone untill this day att 6 of Clocke in ye morning E 3° N wee lay up E by S & ESE smooth water notwithstanding we saw Silly at 6 this morning about 2 leagus of West we run 55 miles and differ from our yesterdays Latt 28 miles and in Longitude 47 miles So that we made from Cape Henry to Silly

54 degrees of meridian distance

June ye 12

we had ye wind this 24 hours between ye East & ye North faire weather & very Littell wind at nooone ye Lizard bare NE from us about 4 leagus

June ye 13

we sailed in Plymouth where we found a great fleet of Merchant men which lay for convoy

June ye 18

we weyed from Plymouth with ye wind att WSW we left seven of our men on shore 4 of them came after us in Capt Perce we came out in all about 60 Sayle small & greate

June ye 20

we Runne in to ye East end off ye Isle of Whit and Ankored at ye Spitt hedd with ye wind att WSW it blowed very hard

July 2

we sayled by order from ye Spit head into Porchmouth haabor with all ye rest of our fleet to ye number of 70 Sayle we found very good going in and good anking within ye harbor ye

marks for sayling into ye harbor are these you mest bring South Sea Caste and ye windmill shut in togeather and run with ye Casell until ye flagstafe which standeth att ye bullworcke an gosper poynt be shutte in with ye brewhouse which is a long white house standing att ye south end off gosper then you may run boldly in with ye harbors mouth alongst ye shore about 2 cables length from ye shore then you will have not less then 5 fadom water and att ye harbors mouth 7 fad and so you may runn up above ye docke a mile and ankor in 7:6:5 fad water all along from ye harbors mouth upward you may sayle all with ye wind anny way betweene WSW and ENE it bloweth in and South there hole Tides

July ye 13

we sayled out of Portsmouth harbor with most of ye fleet ye rest came out ye next morning we ankored at ye spitt head ye wind NNW

July ye 17

we sayled from ye Spitted with ye new cassell ant nightingale and welcome 3 friggetts in our company with about 30 sayle more in all of great ships ye smale ships sayled about 10 days before with other convoys

NOTES TO TEXT

The spelling, punctuation, and capitalization of quoted material have been modernized when necessary for clarity. Wherever possible, dates are given according to the Gregorian calendar.

¹The journal of the *Constant Friendship's* voyage to Maryland is in the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (MS. Rawl. D 702). At my request, the journal was recently transcribed into readable English by Dr. Carson Gibb and Jane McWilliams. An earlier transcription was made by Henry F. Thompson, who wrote about the voyage in "An Atlantic Voyage in the Seventeenth Century" (*Maryland Historical Magazine* 2:319–326). Thompson's nineteenth-century transcription is at the Maryland Historical Society Library, Manuscripts Department, MS. 1699. The transcription by the author in the appendix uses all of these sources. Edward Rhodes's logs of this voyage and five others made to Virginia are available on microfilm at the Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 4747.

²Dennis J. Maika, *Jacob Leisler's Chesapeake Trade* (New York: The Holland Society of New York, 1994) and *Commerce and Community: Manhattan Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: New York University, 1995); Al Luckenbach, *Providence 1649, The History and Archaeology of Anne Arundel County, Maryland's First European Settlement* (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives and Maryland Historical Trust, 1995). Merchants and ships from the Netherlands had been popular with Maryland settlers because the Dutch extended more favorable credit and their freight rates were lower than those of the English. This stemmed from their more efficient ships, extensive banking system, and mercantile culture. After the Dutch were excluded from direct communication with the English colonies, trade continued through Dutch New Amsterdam, which later became New York. Less concerned with European struggles for maritime leadership than the governments of England and the Netherlands, Marylanders engaged in the indirect trade during and after the 1650s when it was to their benefit. One Dutch merchant in the Maryland trade, Jacob Leisler, later governor of English New York, traded with Maryland from the 1660s to the 1680s. Leisler and other Dutch merchants arranged with Maryland planters to send tobacco north in small vessels, frequently owned by New Englanders. In New Netherland the tobacco was loaded on transatlantic ships for the voyage to the Netherlands. In return, planters received rum, molasses, and sugar from the Dutch Caribbean colonies and colored cloth, silk gowns, petticoats, beer, rope, and other supplies from the Netherlands.

³Lawrence A. Harper, *The English Navigation Laws* (New York: Octagon Books, 1973), p. 394. For a maritime history of the Chesapeake Bay region in the colonial era, see Arthur Pierce Middleton, *Tobacco Coast* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).

⁴V. J. Wyckoff, "Ships and Shipping of Seventeenth Century Maryland" *Maryland Historical Magazine* 34:49, 52.

⁵The principal sources on Providence are: Clayton Colman Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland 1633–1684* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910); James E. Moss, *Providence, Ye Lost Towne at Severn in Maryland*, (Washington, D.C.: privately published, 1976); Luckenbach, *Providence*; and Charles Bichy, "Providence: First Colonial Settlement," *Broadneck, Maryland's Historical Peninsula* (Annapolis: Fishergate Publishing Company, 1976).

⁶James Horn, *Adapting to a New World* (Chapel Hill:

University of North Carolina Press for The Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, 1994), passim, especially pp. 55–56.

⁷Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland*, p. 399.

⁸For details on the recent archaeological work at Providence, see Luckenbach, *Providence*.

⁹Other lost towns in Anne Arundel County are London and Herrington, and all three are currently the subject of archaeological and archival research under the guidance of Anne Arundel County Archaeologist Dr. Al Luckenbach. Tobacco production and trade, which dominated the economy in Maryland, was made possible by the favorable climate, available land, and easy access to water for transportation. The shoreline of the Chesapeake was so irregular that ships could enter countless rivers and creeks to load tobacco directly from plantations. Hogsheads of tobacco were casks about four feet long and two-and-one-half feet in diameter, making them suitable for rolling from plantations to the waterside for direct transfer to ships or ferrying out by shallops and other small boats. Middleton, *Tobacco Coast*, pp. 112–113; Arthur Pierce Middleton to the author, April 28, 1997.

¹⁰Edward C. Papenfuss, "Doing Good to Posterity," *The Move of the Capital of Maryland From St. Mary's City to Ann Arundell Town, Now Called Annapolis* (Annapolis, Maryland State Archives and Maryland Historical Trust, 1995).

¹¹For a description see Samuel G. Margolin, *Lawlessness on the Maritime Frontier of the Greater Chesapeake, 1650–1750* (Williamsburg: The College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1992), pp. 221–385.

¹²Middleton, *Tobacco Coast*, pp. 336–338.

¹³The author's transcription of the journal appears in the Appendix.

¹⁴The English flyboat, a fast, narrow type of ship, was derived from the Dutch fluit. See Robert Gardiner, ed. *The Heyday of Sail* (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1995). The *Thomas and Mary*, a regular in the colonial trade, made eight reported voyages from England to Virginia, Nevis, and Maryland between 1671 and 1687. John Body (also spelled Boddy) of Stepney, Middlesex, was master on at least three other voyages from London to Virginia. He died in 1683 in Maryland. See Peter Wilson Coldham, *The Complete Book of Emigrants, 1661–1699* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1990), passim.

¹⁵Edward Rhodes was familiar with the *Duke of York* because he had sailed on her to Virginia the previous year and had kept a journal of that voyage. See MS. Rawl. D 702, Bodleian Library, Oxford University. The *Duke of York*, a regular in the North Atlantic trade, made eleven voyages from London to Virginia between 1672 and 1685. Coldham, *The Complete Book of Emigrants, 1661–1699*, passim.

¹⁶Town Creek was certainly much deeper in the seventeenth century than it is now. It apparently encompassed the entrance to the creek from the Severn River past Carr's Point and in to the inner, narrower portion now called Carr Creek. A comparison of charts shows a shoaling of two feet over the length of the channel between 1889 and 1983 and

two feet in the previous forty-three years. In the inner portion of today's Carr Creek, the depth is seven feet. Thus there could have been enough water for the *Constant Friendship* in the outer part of the creek, and possibly in the inner portion as well, 174 years before 1846.

¹⁷Douglass C. North, "Sources of Productivity Change in Ocean Shipping, 1600-1850" *Journal of Political Economy* 76: 966.

¹⁸Thompson, "An Atlantic Voyage," p. 320.

¹⁹An excellent source of material on shallops, the type of workboat carried by the *Constant Friendship*, is William A. Baker, *Sloops and Shallops* (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishing Company, 1966).

²⁰Although referred to by Rhodes as frigates, a term applied generally to naval vessels, they were most likely sixth-rate ships of about twenty guns, a type used for convoying merchant ships, attacking pirates, and for other purposes requiring speed rather than size. See William Falconer, *An Universal Dictionary of the Marine . . .* (London: T. Cadell, 1771) and *A Naval Encyclopaedia* (Philadelphia: L. R. Hamersly & Co., 1884). I am indebted to Robert F. Sumrall, Curator of Ship Models at the U.S. Naval Academy Museum, for these references.

²¹See MS. Rawl. D 702, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. Rhodes's name is also spelled Roheds, Roads, and Roades in original sources.

²²Coldham, *The Complete Book of Emigrants, 1661-1699*, passim.

²³Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland*, pp. 29-39.

²⁴Greenwich was not yet used as the zero meridian. The Lizard, the last point in England seen from the *Constant Friendship*, was taken as zero degrees longitude for the westbound voyage and Cape Henry for the eastbound voyage. I am indebted to Michael Weaver for his insights into navigation in the seventeenth century.

²⁵Dava Sobol, *Longitude* (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), describes the development of the chronometer and details its effect on navigation.

²⁶For seventeenth-century navigation practices, see Richard Norwood, *The Sea-mans Practice, London, 1637* (Norwood, New Jersey: Walter J Johnson, Inc., 1975); D. W. Waters, *The Art of Navigation in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Times* (New London: Yale University Press, 1958); and Capt. Samuel Sturmy, *The Mariners Magazine* (London, n.p., 1669, a copy is available at the University of Michigan).

²⁷Excerpt from Ebenezer Cook, "The Sot Weed Factor" quoted in Raphael Semmes, *Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937) p. 32.

²⁸Warwick Charlton, *The Second Mayflower Adventure* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1957) pp. 140, 141.

²⁹Thompson, *An Atlantic Voyage*, p. 322.

³⁰Peter Earle, "English Sailors, 1570-1775" in Paul C. van Royen, Jaap R. Bruijn, and Jan Lucassen, eds., "Those Emblems of Hell?" *European Sailor and the Maritime Labour Market, 1570-1870* (St. John's, Newfoundland: Research in Maritime History No. 13, The International Maritime Economic History Association, 1997), pp. 80, 85-86.

³¹E. H. W. Meyerstein, ed., *Adventures by Sea of Edward Coxere* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946).

³²We are fortunate to have the research of Baker, Chapelle, and Wyckoff on seventeenth-century vessels. See William A. Baker, *The New Mayflower* (Barre, Mass.: Barre Gazette, 1958) and *Colonial Vessels* (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishing Company, 1962); Howard I. Chapelle, *The History of American Sailing Ships* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1935); and Wyckoff, "Ships and Shipping," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 33:334-342, 34:46-63, 270-283, 349-361.

³³Wyckoff, "Ships and Shipping," 34:355. The standard formula for determining a ship's tonnage at the time was developed in 1582 by Mathew Baker, an English Master Shipwright. The formula, which was developed by measuring actual ships, gave the relationship between a ship's principal dimensions and the number of casks (called tuns) of wine she could carry. By its use, a ship could be measured to estimate her cargo capacity in tuns (or tons.) A ship's tonnage was used to assess port charges and duties on cargo and to define the overall size of the vessel. Baker's formula stated that the tuns of wine that a vessel could carry could be calculated by first multiplying the length of the ship's keel by the maximum breadth inside the planking by the depth (measured from the point of maximum breadth to the top of the keel). Dividing the product by one hundred would give her tons burden, the casks of wine she could carry. Thus tons was a measure of cargo volume, but since a cask of wine weighed 2,240 pounds, it was equivalent to cargo weight as well. That is, one ton referred to the volumetric capacity of a cask of wine and was also 2,240 pounds (one long ton) in weight. Baker's formula was used to measure the capacity of ships whatever cargo they were carrying. Using the Baker formula and her cargo loading, the *Constant Friendship* would be 195 tons, compared to the 215 tons derived from Wyckoff's port statistics. Close enough.

³⁴Baker, *Colonial Vessels*, p. 83.

³⁵For a current analysis of the fluit, see Albert Hoving, "The Fluit" *Nautical Research Journal* (March 1997) 42:24-35.

³⁶Baker, *Colonial Vessels*, p. 17.

³⁷Baker, *Mayflower*, p. 63. With carvel construction, planks are laid smoothly together against the frames. With the earlier method of clinker construction, adjacent planks overlap each other, creating a jagged appearance.

³⁸William Hand Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1891) 10:51.

³⁹Baker, *Mayflower*, p. 7.

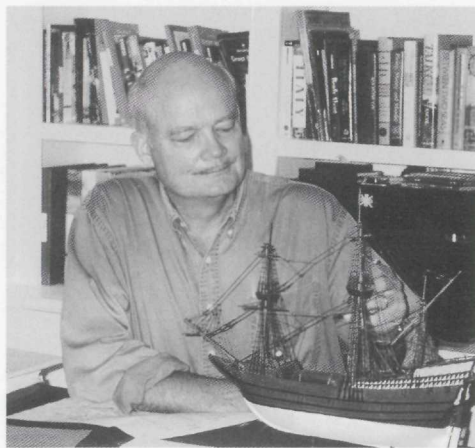
⁴⁰An early example of this type of construction is seen in the wreck of the *Sparrow-Hawk*, a remarkable small vessel that sailed from England for Virginia in 1626. Her wreckage, discovered on Cape Cod, is also important because it is the only found remains of a seventeenth-century ship that sailed from England to the colonies. Governor Bradford of Plymouth tells the sad story of the *Sparrow-Hawk* in his *Of Plymouth Plantation 1620-1647* (New York: The Modern Library, 1981), p. 210. For an analysis of the *Sparrow Hawk's* remains, see H. H. Holly, *Sparrow-Hawk: A Seventeenth-Century Vessel in Twentieth-Century America* (Boston: The Pilgrim Society, 1969).

⁴¹Baker, *Mayflower*, p. 83.

INDEX

- aftercastle, 12, 13
anchor cables, 13
Anglo-Dutch Wars, 2, 4, 8, 24
Annapolis, 1, 4, 27n
Anne Arundel County, 3, 27n
Anne Arundell Towne, 4, 27n
archaeology, 2, 3, 27n
Ark, 9, 12 fig.
artifacts, 3, 3 fig., 15
Arundelton, 4
Atlantic, 4, 7, 9, 10
Azores, 4, 5 fig.
- Baker, Master, 5, 19
Baker, Mathew, 28n
Baker, William, 12, 28n
ballast, 13
Baltimore, 9
Barbados, 9
Battle of the Severn, 3
Beachy, 16, 8 fig.
beakhead, 12, 11 fig.
beam, 12
Bermuda, 6, 5 fig., 20
bilge, 13
Body, John, 4, 27n, 17
bow, 11, 12
bread room, 11 fig., 13, 21, 22
Bristol, 6
Britain, see England
Broadneck, 27n
- Calvert, Cecil, 3
Cape Cod, 28n
Cape Henry, 6, 7, 9, 10, 21, 22, 25, 28n
Capes of Virginia, see Virginia Capes
capstan, 13
Carr Creek, 1 fig., 7, 27n
Carr's Point, 27n
Caribbean, 9, 27n
carvel construction, 13, 28n
Cedar Point, 6, 6 fig., 21
Chapelle, Howard I., 28n
Chesapeake Bay, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 6 fig., 7, 9, 12, 15, 27n
- chronometer, 9, 28n
clinker construction, 28n
Constant Mary, 9
construction, ship, 11, 12, 13, 14, 28n
Cook, Ebenezer, 28n
Cornwall, 4
Corves, 4, 17
Coxere, Edward, 11, 28n
- dead reckoning, 9
decks, 11 fig., 12, 13
design, ship, 12
Dividing Creek, 6, 6 fig., 21
Dove, 9, 12 fig.
Downs, 4, 8 fig., 16
Duke of York, 6, 20, 27n
Dutch, 2, 4, 8, 11, 12, 27n
- England, 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 27n, 28n
English Channel, 4, 8, 8 fig.
Europe, 2, 13
- fluit, Dutch, 12, 14, 27n, 28n
flyboat, 4, 5, 6, 12, 16, 17, 19, 20, 27n
food, 10
forecastle, 12
Foreland, 4
Fox, George, 3
frames, 13, 14
French, 11
frigates, 8, 25, 26, 28n
- galley, 12
Gravesend, 4, 8 fig., 16
Greenbury Point, 7
Greenwich, 28n
Gulf Stream, 7, 8, 9
guns, 12, 13, 28n
- Hamon, Gabrill, 7, 21
head, see beakhead
Herrington, 27n
hold, 13
hull, 11, 12, 14, 15
- Icebergs, 5 fig., 7, 8, 23
Isle of Wight, 8 fig., 16, 26
- Jacob*, 9
Jamaica, 8, 25
Johanah, 9
- keel, 12, 14
ketch, 12
- latitude, 7, 9, 10
lazarette, 13, 21
Leisler, Jacob, 27n
Linnhaven, 6 fig., 7, 22
Lizard, 4, 8 fig., 16, 21, 28n
London, England, 1, 4, 8 fig., 27n
London Town, 27n
longitude, 7, 9
Lord Baltimore, 3
lost towns, 4, 15, 27n
Luckenbach, Al, 27n
- main deck, 11 fig., 13
Mary, 9
Maryland, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 14, 15, 16, 27n
masts, 11, 14, 20
Mayflower, 10, 12 fig., 28n
Mediterranean, 10
Middlesex, 27n
Miller, Henry, 7, 21
Moss, James E., 2 fig., 27n
- Nassau*, 10
navigation, 7, 9, 28n
Navigation Laws, (trade laws) English, 2, 4, 27n, 28n
navy, English, 14
Netherlands, 8, 27n
New England, 8, 24, 27n
Newfoundland, 11
New Point Comfort, 6, 6 fig., 7, 21, 22
North Foreland, 8 fig., 16
North Sea, 4

- Old Point Comfort, 6 fig., 7, 22
 Oxford University, 1, 5 fig., 9, 27n, 28n
- Patuxent, 1, 6, 6 fig., 7, 21, 22
 Paynes, Mr., 22
 Perce, Capt., 26
 pinnace, 12
 pirates, 4, 11
 plane sailing, 9
 planking, 14
 Plymouth, England, 4, 8, 8 fig., 10, 16, 26
 Plymouth, Massachusetts, 10, 28n
 Point Lookout, 6, 6 fig., 7, 21, 22
 poopdeck, 11 fig., 13
 port of entry, 4
 Portsmouth, 8 8 fig., 26
 Potomac River, 6, 6 fig., 21
 privateers, 4
 Providence, 1, 2, 2 fig., 3, 3 fig., 4, 6 fig., 7, 7 fig., 11, 12, 14, 15, 27n
 Protestants, 3
 Puritans, 3, 6
- quadrant, 9 fig.
 Quakers, (Society of Friends) 3, 11
- Rappahannock River, 6, 6 fig., 20, 21
 Rhodes, Edward, 1, 4, 5 fig., 6, 6 fig., 7, 8, 8 fig., 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 22, 27n, 28n
- Roman Catholic, 3
 rudder, 12, 13
- St. Christopher Island (St. Kitt's), 9
 St. Jerome's Point, 6, 6 fig., 21
 St. John's College, 2
 St. Mary's City, 6, 6 fig., 7, 9, 10, 21, 22, 27n; River, 6, 7, 21
 sailor, see seamen
 sails, 11, 13, 14, 14 fig., 15, 17-20, 22, 24
 Scilly, Isles of, 8, 8 fig.
 seamen, English, 11, 28n
 Severn, 1, 3, 7, 21
 Severn River, 1, 3, 4, 27n
 shallop, 13, 14, 22, 27n, 28n
 shipbuilding, 11, 13, 14
 ships, merchant, 1, 2, 8, 10-12, 14; Royal Navy, 4, 8
 Simpkin, Robert, 14
 Sippse, John, 7, 21
 Smith, Zephania, 14
 Spa Creek, 4
 Spanish, 11
Sparrow Hawk, 28n
 Spithead, 8, 8 fig., 26
 steering, 10, 13
 stern, 11, 12
Susan Constant, 12 fig.
- Thames River, 4, 8
Thomas & Mary, 4, 16
 tiller, 13
Titanic, 8
 tobacco, see trade
 tonnage, 11, 12, 28n
 Town Creek, 1 fig., 2 fig., 7, 21, 27n
 trade, tobacco, 1, 2, 4, 7, 7 fig., 10, 12, 13, 19, 21, 27n; transatlantic, 1, 2, 3, 11, 13, 27n
 transom, 12, 14
 Turks, 11
- Virginia, 3, 4, 6 fig., 9, 10, 14, 27n, 28n
 Virginia Capes, 4, 7
- Welcome*, 8, 25
 Western Ocean, 4, 6 fig.
 Wheatley, William 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 16, 22
 whipstaff, 13
 Wicomico Point, 6, 6 fig. 21, 22; River, 7, 22
 Wight, Isle of, 8, 26
 windlass, 13
 worms, ship-eating, 7
 Wyckoff, V. J., 2, 27n, 28n



JOHN F. WING

John Wing was formerly a managing partner at the management consulting firm of Booz • Allen & Hamilton. His clients included commercial and public organizations in the maritime and transportation industries. He received his B.S. degree in naval architecture and marine engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and his M.B.A. degree from Harvard University. Mr. Wing has authored a book on transportation and written professional papers on maritime subjects. His particular interest in early shipping grew

out of a lifelong fascination with maritime history and building historic ship models.

Since his retirement in 1994, Mr. Wing has devoted more time to his study of maritime history. While working as a volunteer at an archaeological excavation near his home not far from Annapolis, he became interested in Providence trade and early Maryland shipping. During his research, he found the journal of the *Constant Friendship's* voyage from England to the Chesapeake Bay and the settlement of Providence.

