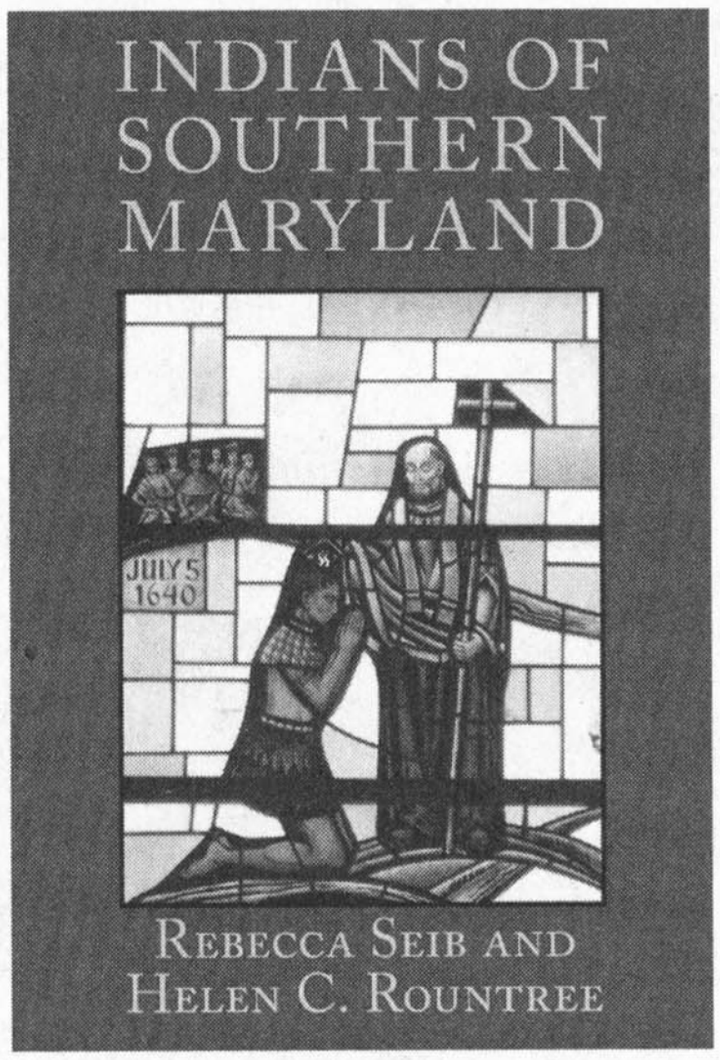
Special Issue

Spring 2015

MARYLAND
Historical Magazine

Living and Dying in 17th Century Maryland

Friends of the Press of the Maryland Historical Society



The Maryland Historical Society continues its commitment to publish the finest new work in Maryland history. This year marks a decade since the Publications Committee, with the advice and support of the development staff, launched the Friends of the Press, an effort dedicated to raising money to be used solely for bringing new titles into print. The society is particularly grateful to H. Thomas Howell (1937–2014), past committee chair, for his unwavering support of our work and for his exemplary generosity. The committee is pleased to announce two new titles funded through the Friends of the Press.

Rebecca Seib and Helen C. Rountree's *Indians of Southern Maryland*, offers a highly readable account of the culture and history of Maryland's native people, from prehistory to the early twenty-first century. The authors, both cultural anthropologists with training in history, have written an objective, reliable source for the general public, modern Maryland Indians, schoolteachers, and scholars.

Appearing next fall, Milt Diggins's compelling story of slave catcher Thomas McCreary examines the physical and legal battles that followed the passing of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Was seizing escaped slaves the legal capture of fugitives—or an act of kidnapping? Residing in Cecil County, midway between Philadelphia and Baltimore, and conducting his "business" in an area already inflamed by clashes like the violent Christiana riots, McCreary drew the ire of abolitionists. Frederick Douglass referred to him as "the notorious Elkton kidnapper."

These are the seventh and eighth Friends of the Press titles, continuing the mission first set forth in 1844. We invite you to become a supporter and help us fill in the unknown pages of Maryland history. If you would like to make a tax-deductible gift to the Friends of the Press, please direct your donation to Development, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201. For additional information on MdHS publications, contact Patricia Dockman Anderson, Director of Publications and Library Services, 410-685-3750 x317 or panderson@mdhs.org.

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Cover:
Composite image of a seventeenth-century gentleman, designed for the Smithsonian's exhibition, "Written in Bone: Forensic Files of the 17th Century Chesapeake" (2009–2014). Much like a hologram, this lenticular photograph changes when viewed from different angles, from a member of the well-dressed colonial elite to a twenty-first century professional. Beneath the clothing is the skeleton, unchanged through three and half centuries, which instantly creates a personal connection to the past and reinforces the often unspoken reality that everyone dies. (Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution for Historic St. Mary's City.)

Introduction

Celebrating Fifty Years of Discoveries at St. Mary's City

A decade ago, the *Maryland Historical Magazine* proudly devoted an entire issue to one of the Old Line State's most durable and productive research programs. Almost half a century has passed since Lois Green Carr began mining the early records in earnest at the Maryland State Archives. Since then, generations of field school archaeologists and post-graduate historians have been remaking our knowledge of the first century of Maryland history. The surviving records are rich and the archaeological sites plentiful and largely unspoiled, but the work has never been easy. Previous generations of scholars have laid some strong foundations. The Maryland Historical Society collected and published the neglected colonial papers with the pioneering *Archives of Maryland* series (1883–1972). Historical architect Henry Chandlee Forman located several important St. Mary's archaeological sites in the 1930s, and Maryland celebrated its 300th birthday in 1934 with a recreation of the brick 1676 State House near its original site.

Building on these achievements, Historic St. Mary's City (HSMC), founded in 1966, has blazed its own path with new generations of professional historians and archaeologists. Dr. Carr's and Cary Carson's historians, and Gary Wheeler Stone's and Henry Miller's archaeologists have literally reconstructed Maryland's first century. Each artifact and inventory has yielded new clues about those often desperate and demanding early days for the English settlers on the shores of the Chesapeake.

The original essays reissued here still perfectly frame the research efforts that have put flesh and blood on generations of settlers whose lonely labors created our Maryland society. The motivations of Maryland's founders are captured by Marquette University historian John D. Krugler in an overview of how the Calvert Family was experimenting with separation of church and state during a time of unparalleled blood-letting in the name of religion throughout Europe. Krugler contends that while the Calvert colony in the New World was designed to create both a Catholic haven and source of revenue, the family has never gotten the attention it deserves for bringing innovative ideas and policies to a new society. His essays are strong bookends that confirm the rest of the research, and HSMC research director Henry Miller is now continuing the work to build out the important story of the Calverts and their confederates.

Arthur Pierce Middleton and Dr. Miller tell the story of a first-generation leader named John Lewgar, Maryland's influential first provincial secretary who is associated with one of the richest and important archaeological sites open to the public at St. Mary's. And Dr. Carr's discovery of Dan and Mary Clocker goes right to the heart of what early Maryland and the disease-ridden Chesapeake settlements were

all about. No one would be inclined to invite the Clockers to high tea, but they are perfect examples of why tens of thousands of poor, desperate English men and women risked everything to come to Maryland. They beat the odds and lived long enough to find success and pass it on to their descendants who were still living on their St. Mary's freehold three centuries later.

Archaeology and history have been partners from the beginning on the St. Mary's Townlands. No example of this unique marriage is better than the quest to identify the remains in the three lead coffins discovered in 1990. Here, an article covers the amazing team that used every scrap of available evidence to give names to the coffin occupants. A court of law might not accept the results, but two articles follow the all-important Maryland career of Philip Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore's youngest son. The historians came to the aid of the archaeologists, and Philip became the logical occupant of the largest coffin with members of his family nearby. The identification of Mr. Calvert was not only a great detective story; it gave some deserved attention to one of Maryland's most important seventeenth-century leaders.

Finally, there is Gary Wheeler Stone's essay on the so-called "Virginia House," the closest the Chesapeake settlers came to creating a cheap, pre-fabricated home. Material culture historians, led by Cary Carson, have had a field day searching out surviving colonial houses and looking for that elusive structure from the first generations of settlement. No representative survivors have been found, and there is a good reason: The vast majority of settlers lived in modest, post in the ground, wooden-framed houses now referred to as "impermanent architecture."

Once more, archaeology has come to the rescue. Telltale stains in the ground, post molds and fence lines, have identified the sites of these modest houses that once dotted the seventeenth-century landscape. With the experience of decades, the researchers can present the subterranean evidence so museum interpreters can conjure up the above-ground structures. Another hands-on research tool, often referred to as "experimental archaeology," has once again turned the St. Mary's farm fields into a small village. While recreating the handful of brick buildings that were the beginnings of Lord Baltimore's planned Maryland "Metropolis," generations of modern workmen learned the ancient skills of adzing, riving, and framing, erecting humble buildings that bring the appearance of a lost town to a modern audience. It is an eye opener for visitors who somehow expect a familiar piece of eighteenth-century Williamsburg's gentility.

We again present this pioneering research with a healthy respect for a fifty-year renaissance in colonial studies at St. Mary's City, the "Ancient and Chief Seat of Government." Our anticipation continues for what a new generation of researchers will discover as Maryland heads for its 400th birthday in 2034.

Burton K. Kummerow, President and CEO
Maryland Historical Society

George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore. (Maryland Historical Society.)

The Calvert Vision: A New Model for Church-State Relations

JOHN D. KRUGLER

The struggle to liberate the human mind from governmentally imposed restraints in religion escalated in seventeenth-century England and English America. The first two Catholic Lords Baltimore, George Calvert (?1580–1632) and his son Cecil Calvert (?1605–1675) challenged existing church-state norms when they established colonies in English North America. They created societies in Avalon and Maryland that guaranteed liberty of conscience to all Christians. Shunning the concept of an established church, they openly embraced pluralism and denied the need for religious uniformity. George and Cecil Calvert believed that their colonists should not be denied political office because of their religion. Only individual abilities and loyalty to the proprietary family, and not religious beliefs, limited the inhabitants' chances to prosper. The Calverts further rejected the magistrate's role as the protector of the "true religion." This left individuals free to create their own religious institutions on a *voluntary* basis. In a bold experiment that lasted for more than a half-century, the Calverts erected a barrier between religious and civil institutions. They based their model on a vision for a society where religious practices remained private and outside the guardianship or interference of civil authorities. What circumstances led these two English Catholics to embrace such radical concepts and to challenge long-accepted ones? How were they able to pursue their material interests in a malevolent Protestant world and maintain their loyalty to the state while pledging their spiritual allegiance to the pope, a foreign prince?[1]

George Calvert seems an unlikely person to have challenged some of his culture's fundamental tenets of church-state relations. He spent the greater part of his life (1603–1625) in government service. His cautious nature, language skills, administrative abilities, lack of financial independence, and willingness to work within the idiosyncratic structure of court politics suited him well for advancement. Knighthood in 1617 and appointment as a secretary of state and a privy councillor in 1619 advanced him beyond his status and exceeded his highest expectations. For more than five years he negotiated the king's major foreign policy objectives and administered the government from London. His diligence in serving the king notwithstanding, Calvert left no significant imprint as a courtier. Ironically, he made his mark after he resigned from government service.[2]

Professor Krugler is associate professor of history at Marquette University and was a member of the Historic St. Mary's City Commission until 2005.

Two related developments permitted this to happen. First, Calvert's unwillingness to reverse his position on the Spanish match (the pending alliance between England and Spain) and his uncordial relationship with the royal favorite, the duke of Buckingham, forced his resignatino as secretary of state. However unwelcome these circumstances were, Calvert negotiated a favorable settlement. He retired without disgrace, a rich man with an Irish title—Baron of Baltimore—and extensive land holdings in England, Ireland, and America. More important, he left on good terms with his many friends in the government. After he resigned as a privy councillor, he had the time, money, and interest to pursue his colonial enterprises. Second, during the crisis that led to his resignation, Calvert resolved a long-standing personal religious controversy by converting to Catholicism. His life illustrates some of the disruptive and contentious characteristics of the English Reformation. Those Catholics who survived, generally members of the nobility and gentry, demonstrated remarkable adroitness in avoiding the full impact of the penal laws.[3]

The penal legislation defined George Calvert's life. These laws, which tried to separate the English from the Catholic, doomed Calvert and his descendants to live in two worlds, one English and one Catholic. His childhood provided him with two examples for responding to these laws. One, that of his stepmother, modeled tenacious loyalty to the ancient faith. The other, that of his father, modeled conformity in the face of governmentally imposed prosecution. As a youthful Catholic, George experienced government harassment, followed his father's example in 1592, and conformed to the state religion. He maintained this outward conformity until he *chose* to convert to his childhood religion in the fall of 1624. During the remaining years of his life, Baltimore lived openly as a Catholic. His family likewise ended its conformity and remained faithful Catholics for the rest of the century.[4]

George Calvert's commitment to Catholicism conspicuously changed his life and that of his family. Why did he end his conformity to the state religion? Simon Stock, a Discalced Priest who reclaimed Calvert for Rome, wrote of the one "whom I here converted to our Holy Faith." His use of the word convert implies something more that mere recidivism. The lack of a window to peer into Calvert's soul means that the process by which he became convinced that his salvation lay in the Roman Church must remain unknown, but in making his decision he did not act precipitously. Nor did he act without consideration of his worldly interests. He did not seek martyrdom by identifying with the legally proscribed Catholic minority. Indeed, he did not see that *his* new religious commitment in any way sullied his loyalty to king and country. Although no longer a secretary of state, he fully expected that his position as a privy councillor would allow him to participate in the government and put him outside the reach of the penal laws. He joined a vibrant, if small, community of influential families whose status and wealth he knew and admired.[5]

His commitment to the condemned faith did raise questions about secular allegiance. In the seventeenth century, religion was not a separate and distinct category.

Religious concerns permeated all aspects of English culture. Most "contemporaries were intellectually unable to separate politics and religion." From at least the 1570s, Protestants believed that it was "impossible for any one to be at once a good Roman Catholic and a good subject." They saw English and Catholic as contradictory. By giving their first allegiance to Rome, as Protestants assumed they did, Catholics forfeited their status as English.[6]

After 1625, the now Catholic Lord Baltimore acted boldly and confidently as an English subject in pursuing his colonial interests. The foundation of his early success was his willingness to accept his situation as a conforming member of the Church of England. The cornerstone of his later success was his willingness to accept his situation as an English Catholic and to make the most of it. Declaring allegiance to Catholicism did not necessarily define him as a conservative or a traditionalist. It neither required that he risk his worldly interests to create a religious haven nor compelled him to implement Catholic thinking or Utopian concepts.[7]

Beginning in the mid-sixteenth century, a few Englishmen saw the unlimited possibilities in, and risked life and capital to take advantage of, their sovereign's expanding domain. George Calvert joined a growing but select company of adventurers who saw an opportunity to gain wealth, enhance their status, and enlarge the king's dominions. He invested in overseas enterprises such as the Virginia and East India Companies for very practical reasons—to assert his national loyalty and to prosper. As his wealth increased, the Protestant Calvert diversified his holdings by purchasing or securing grants for land in Yorkshire, Newfoundland, and Ireland.[8]

In pursuing his colonial interests, Calvert acted from a complex set of motives that did not change after his conversion. As a Catholic entrepreneur, he wanted to exploit the new world's potential for economic, personal, and nationalistic reasons. Like their Protestant contemporaries, Catholics embraced capitalist concepts and acted on them. Both Newfoundland and Maryland were investments. His 1627 excursion to Avalon clearly reflected Calvert's commitment to recouping the considerable investment made between 1623 and 1625. He returned to the island in 1628 to reside permanently and to supervise personally the exploitation of the area's natural resources. By "deare bought experience," the first Lord Baltimore learned some of the hardships inflicted upon his predecessors, who also found the Newfoundland winter beyond endurance. Those lessons notwithstanding, he did not abandon his economic objectives when he left that colony in 1629 and journeyed to the Chesapeake. Indeed, these considerations loomed ever larger in the Maryland enterprise. Not only did Avalon fail to produce any profits, the estimated £20,000 and £25,000 he risked left him with a depleted fortune. As he put it, he had "engaged" in the enterprise at "great expense" and "lost."[9]

Starting over in a warmer climate would not be easy for a man whose first futile enterprise had sapped his energy and his fortune. To begin anew, Baltimore had to find a better location, secure still another grant of land and authority from the gov-

ernment, rewrite the Newfoundland charter, seek funds to supplement his depleted reserves, and attract individuals willing to venture forth under his leadership. After a brief visit to Virginia in September, he returned to England in October determined to accomplish his goals. As the new charter neared final approval in April 1632, Baltimore died. That left management of the enterprise to his young and inexperienced son, who had to administer the enterprise and implement the new model. Cecil, who shared his father's ambitions, sought a place where he could prosper and enjoy the privileges and status that came as proprietor of his own domain.[10]

The Maryland charter and the documents produced to attract prospective adventurers (investors) and planters (colonists) emphasized national or imperial goals and a "pious zeale for the propagation of the Christian faith." This emphasis served two purposes. First, to achieve their objectives, the Catholic Calverts had to have the support of the Protestant government. Without that encouragement, they would not have the opportunity to succeed. King Charles I (1625–49) encouraged these Catholics to colonize his North American dominions. The expansion of the king's dominions, the need to establish a buffer between the English colonies and those established by other European rivals, and a missionary commitment justified the lucrative grant to this Catholic family. To be certain, the monarch profited, at little direct cost, from the Calverts' willingness to bear the expense and pain of enlarging his domain. Their commitment to bring Christianity to the native population further pleased the English government, while expansive nationalism served a deep-seated need of the Calverts.[11]

Although King Charles I, as well as some of his subordinates, knew that George Calvert and his sons were loyal, their religious affiliation notwithstanding, most of his Protestant subjects did not share their monarch's confidence. Because they were Catholics, Calvert and his heirs challenged the dominant cultural characteristic that their religious practices must conform to those of the crown. As Catholics, they forged far ahead of contemporary thinking that defined identity and political allegiance in religious terms. They believed, rightly or wrongly, that they could overcome that Protestant view of Rome, which associated it with "a ritual-based vision of ignorance [and] superstition" involving allegiance to a foreign ruler (the pope) and the acceptance of reprehensible doctrines such as the right to excommunicate and depose sovereigns.[12]

George and Cecil Calvert assumed that they could find ways to bridge the gap between the competing loyalties of politics (English) and religion (Catholic). Their actions would demonstrate that English and Catholic were not mutually exclusive loyalties and that Catholics could act in the best interests of the English nation. Here they acted boldly, *almost* as if their Catholicism was not a factor in what they did to enhance the empire and their own well-being. Pride in England was not the exclusive domain of Protestants. In common with Protestant colonizers, Catholic colonizers wanted to further national goals. Charles's government generously granted

land along the Chesapeake to the Catholic Calverts because they implemented these goals. Either the king and his closest advisers did not know of his entente with the Jesuits, which was relatively public, or they did not consider it a matter of consequence. Either way, the government-granted charter in effect sanctioned a Catholic mission to the Indians.[13]

As *English Catholics*, Calvert and his family brought a unique perspective to colonization and a unique set of problems that complicated those efforts. The Calverts' decision to maintain allegiance to Roman Catholicism remains central to understanding what they attempted. Indeed, nothing makes sense without seeing that they acted to secure their religious freedom and the right of other Catholics to worship without fear of the penal laws. Here was the paradox: How to pursue that (Catholic) goal without seeming too Catholic. The brilliance of their vision, to say nothing of its execution, allowed them to resolve this paradox.

Their colonial enterprises mirrored the Calverts' minority status in Stuart England. The family's commitment to and affiliation with Catholicism after early 1625 both restricted and amplified their opportunities. The Calverts did not flee government persecution. Instead, they moved toward the positive goal of founding a viable English colonial enterprise. Whether in Newfoundland or Maryland, the Calverts never separated their capitalistic pursuits from their commitment to enlarging the king's dominions and to fostering liberty of conscience. Simply put, they intended to foster national interests along with their own material and spiritual enhancement.

Entrepreneurs George and Cecil Calvert were practical visionaries. Religious decisions made in England compelled them to be recklessly innovative as they conceived their colonial enterprises in Newfoundland and in Maryland. They carefully considered how individuals of different faiths could live together peacefully and prosper. To succeed, these English Catholic colonizers knew they could neither use religion as a unifying principle nor let religious differences spoil the effort. In an era characterized by religious strife and warfare, they believed that they could build prosperous colonial societies only if they privatized religion and reduced its prominence in the public sphere. More important, father and son understood that most men acted on the basis of their material interests, and they proposed to satisfy them.

Cecil, the new Lord Baltimore, intended to build a society on three foundation blocks—land, loyalty, and liberty of conscience. Land was his most valuable resource. The modest quit-rents paid by those who received land, along with the development of commercial enterprises, provided the opportunity to recoup the depleted Calvert fortune. The distribution of land played another significant role—it encouraged others to prosper. Given their commitment to Catholicism, the Calverts understood that religion could not be used as a means to ensure political loyalty. In writing the Maryland charter, George Calvert envisioned using the land he controlled to build his second pillar, loyalty. He reached deep into the English past for his method to

accomplish this end. The manorial system offered a number of advantages. The liege men, lords of the manors who received the largest grants of land, would provide the needed stability for the colony's peaceful growth, produce a much needed income for him, and create a group of men who recognized that their interests were best served by remaining loyal to the proprietor. Equally important, their manorial courts would deal with issues such as religion to keep them from disrupting the community.[14]

To see either Calvert as only championing an anachronistic feudal system of land distribution misses the ingenuity of the vision. George Calvert knew that the self-contained manorial system had been instrumental for Catholic survival outside of London. He relied upon it as a means of keeping religious concerns as private as possible. By adopting the manorial system, he was looking forward, not backward. Only hindsight revealed that system's limitations. In 1632 or even 1657, a manorial society appeared to be ideally suited to accomplish two main goals: generating revenue for the Calverts and ensuring the loyalty of the manorial lords. The third foundation block, a laissez-faire approach to the religious conscience, related closely to the others and seemed remarkably well suited to the manorial system.[15]

Cecil Calvert sought a place where he and his coreligionists could worship without the threat of the vexatious penal laws. He understood that he could not effectively guarantee liberty to Catholics without guaranteeing it to all who came to his colonies. His vision was simple. He offered the colonists liberty of conscience, that is, the opportunity to worship as they pleased without interference or assistance from the government and an opportunity to pursue worldly goals unimpeded by the usual religious restraints. This, he reasoned, would ensure the cooperation and loyalty of both Protestants and Catholics who now had a material stake in the enterprise and a reason to work for its success. He was no social leveler or political democrat. By dissolving the traditional ties between church and state, he sought to build a stable body politic by ensuring that religious practices, essentially a private matter, would neither privilege one group nor disadvantage another.

Traditional hostility toward Catholics naturally complicated the effort to separate religious considerations from secular ones. For one thing, recruiting colonists proved vexing. Although ably assisted by Father Andrew White of the Society of Jesus, the second Lord Baltimore attracted only a few Catholics for leadership roles. This meant he had fewer than twenty Catholics with whom to build the manorial system and that the majority of recruits were Protestant. In seeking worldly success in America with a religiously diverse group of colonists, the Calverts surely knew that they sailed in treacherous waters.[16]

George Calvert was no stranger to the problems of governing a religiously diverse population. As the king's secretary and as a privy councillor, he had witnessed the entanglements that occurred when his Protestant monarch moved, however hesitantly, toward toleration of loyal Catholics. All the king's eloquence could not change how the majority of English Protestants viewed even the most limited concessions

to Catholics. For another, to satisfy their own spiritual needs (and those of their Catholic colonists), the Calverts had to introduce priests, agents of the pope, who were guilty of treason by their very presence in England. The priests paid their own costs and came under the same conditions as the other freemen. The uncertainty for the proprietor was the Protestant majority's ability to coexist with these papal agents. Priests, a religiously diverse population, and Catholic leadership made for a volatile situation that required extraordinary management skills on the part of the proprietor and his surrogates.[17]

To overcome some of the problems they faced as Catholic colonizers, the Calverts embraced freedom of conscience as their modus operandi. If they accepted the concept because no better alternative existed, it was a concept that was not inimical to their beliefs. As Catholics and as a small minority of the population, they willingly abandoned the concept of religious uniformity and its concomitant belief that it was the magistrates' duty to protect the true faith. Given their peculiar circumstances, this radical departure seemed an obvious solution.

The second Lord Baltimore may have lacked his father's long experience in government and direct involvement in managing a colonial enterprise, but he demonstrated great skill in fending off the many threats to the colony's existence. Untested as a leader, in some ways he became the most remarkable of the three Catholic Lords Baltimore. He had to attract investors and recruit parties interested in risking their lives and fortunes with him. Challenges, couched in the most virulent anti-Catholic language possible, emanating from supporters of the defunct Virginia Company delayed the expedition's sailing, escalated its costs beyond the limits of the young proprietor's diminished inheritance, and forced him to remain in England. These events created formidable obstacles for the absentee proprietor, who was forced to govern through surrogates.[18]

Most of the difficulties he faced in Maryland stemmed from four sources: The Virginians, who never forgave George Calvert for his role in the dissolution of the Virginia Company or for claiming land they thought theirs; the political authority, which was situated in the person of the (absentee) proprietor and the assembly of freemen; the religious faith of the founding family (Roman Catholic); and the religiously mixed population (Catholic, Church of England, "Puritan," indifferent, and atheist) that ventured to Maryland. These impediments notwithstanding, Baltimore sent forth his expedition in November 1633 with great expectations.[19]

The "Maryland designe," as one of Baltimore's associates styled it, was an audacious attempt to prosper from a colonial enterprise by creating a new model for church-state relations. Lord Baltimore's Instructions, issued on November 13, 1633, placed responsibility for civil peace squarely on the shoulders of his Catholic relatives and friends. By executive fiat he required them to be very careful "to preserve unity & peace amongst all the passengers on Shipp-board, and that they suffer no scandall nor offence to be given to any of the Protestants, whereby any just complaint

may hereafter be made, by them, in Virginia or in England." To prevent discord, he ordered his officers to "cause all Acts of Romane Catholique Religion to be done as privately as may be," and to "instruct all Roman Catholiques to be silent upon all Occasions of discourse concerning matters of Religion." Finally, Baltimore, who wanted no repetition of his father's Avalon experience, ordered that government officials treat the Protestants with as much mildness and favor as justice would permit. He expected his injunctions to be observed "at Land as well as at Sea." This strategy was intended to curb disputes and prevent potentially contentious religious issues from destroying the project before it had a chance to succeed.[20]

What the second Lord Baltimore sought in his 1633 Instructions was too novel, too radical, to have unfolded without wrinkles. Events in the first twenty-seven years, from 1634 to 1661, severely tested the second Lord Baltimore's skills, resources, and patience. Time after time, his colonists challenged the basic vision. Not even his coreligionists fully grasped the "Maryland designe" and the constraints under which the proprietor labored as an English Catholic. Many of his liege lords sided with the Jesuits, who sought privileges for the Church enjoyed in Catholic countries and subverted his land claims. An exasperated proprietor came close to expelling the Jesuits as a threat to his colony's existence.[21]

Changing circumstances in England in the late 1640s forced the ever flexible proprietor to foster a revolution in his own government. His appointment of Protestants as governor and councillors necessitated further changes. He first sought to protect his coreligionists through a series of oaths that he required of his officials. The Protestant governor, for example, had to swear not to trouble, molest, or discountenance any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ and in particular no Roman Catholic for or in respect of his or her Religion nor in his or her free exercise thereof as long as they remained faithful to the proprietor and did not disturb or conspire against his government. Equally important, the governor attested that he would not discriminate in conferring offices, rewards, or favors on the basis of religion but would confer them on inhabitants found "faithful and well deserving of his said Lordship." To complete his revolution, Baltimore initiated the Act Concerning Religion in 1649. This law concluded his effort to alleviate tensions in an increasingly pluralistic society and to mute the potential for calamitous religious wrangling. Through this Act he sought to enlist the support of the remainder of the inhabitants. The assembly, the first under a Protestant governor, only needed to accept his wisdom.

The freemen, a majority of whom were still Catholic, balked at approving the proprietor's body of sixteen laws, which he had sent on "three Sheets of Parchment." They rejected his code that would have replaced all existing laws for the colony and reasserted the proprietor's prerogative to initiate legislation. They argued and debated and finally wrote their own version of the bills. Then, having made their point, they passed a code of twelve laws that incorporated their laws and the proprietor's. The

Act Concerning Religion was an amalgam that juxtaposed the assembly's bill with the proprietor's.[22]

This act, which made formal the policies initiated by his Instructions, responded to a variety of concerns. To contain civil strife, the ordinance restrained freedom of expression by outlawing the use of derogatory religious terms. Marylanders could no longer call any other inhabitant "an Heretick, schismatick, idolater, Puritan, Independent, Presbyterian, Antenomian, Barrowist, Roundhead, Separatist, Popish Priest, Jesuit, Jesuited Papist, Lutheran, Calvenist, Anabaptist, Brownist" or any other name or term in a reproachful manner relating to religion without incurring a penalty. To satisfy the newly arrived Virginia radical Protestants, the law penalized those who profaned "the Sabbath or Lords Day Called Sunday by frequent swearing drunkenness or by any uncivill or disorderly recreation by working on that day when absolute necessity doth not require it." Finally, to satisfy the proprietor this act guaranteed that no one who professed "to believe in Jesus Christ shall from henceforth be any ways troubled molested or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her Religion nor in the free exercise thereof within this Province." Moreover, it assured Christians that they would not be compelled to "the Belief or exercise of any other Religion against his or her consent so as they be not unfaithful to the Lord Proprietary or molest or Conspire against the Civil Government established or to be established in this Province."[23]

Protestant leadership, protective oaths, and the new Act brought no immediate relief. Despite his best efforts, Baltimore's implacable enemies from Virginia, who enjoyed the support of the new parliamentary government in England, triumphantly occupied his colony in 1652. Their conquest forced the plundered proprietor to recover his colony by skillfully manipulating the political and imperial bureaucracy in Cromwellian England. Beyond the legitimacy of his claim to his colony, the Act Concerning Religion served Baltimore well in his negotiations with Cromwell's government. Both the Protestant Lord Protector and the Catholic Lord Proprietor came down squarely in favor of liberty of conscience.[24]

The next twenty-seven years, from 1661 to 1688, proved remarkably tranquil and peaceful in comparison. The defeat of the Virginians in the late 1650s, the restoration of Charles II in 1660, and the appointment of Philip Calvert, the proprietor's half-brother, as governor helped to stabilize the fragile situation. When Charles Calvert, the proprietor's son, arrived to assume the governor's post in 1661, the Calverts were at long last ready to enjoy the fruits of their long labor. The government enforced the Act Concerning Religion to ensure that religious disputes did not interfere with the planters' chances to flourish. The new era proved most beneficial to the colony's Catholic minority. The brick chapel they built at St. Mary's in the late 1660s testified to their increasing prosperity and success. The irony is that the success of the Calverts and the Maryland Catholics sowed the seeds of their failure.[25]

Charles Calvert, as governor and then as the third Lord Baltimore and second

proprietor after 1675, enjoyed a position denied to his father: He lived and ruled in Maryland. He was indeed the "the prynce" of Maryland, a term employed earlier to describe the proprietorship. He proved incapable of sustaining the new model and eventually lost the colony. Why he failed is critically important to understanding what the Calverts attempted. Certainly human frailties played a part. Success in colonization and survival as Catholics depended on the political and managerial skills of the proprietors. The third Lord Baltimore lacked his father's consummate political skills and blundered at critical junctures. To him, the defense of his proprietary land claims against the encroachments of William Penn took precedence over other, more pressing, matters. Perhaps because he never lived as a Protestant, he lacked the sensitivity that his father and grandfather displayed. Indeed, actions taken, and, more importantly, actions not taken, indicated that he did not understand the simple proposition on which the colony had been founded, namely, that he had to adjust to ever-changing circumstances. His conviction that toleration was something forced on his father obscured the brilliance of the Calvert vision. Faced with an influx in the 1680s of Church of England immigrants who coupled traditional views of church and state with malignant anti-Catholic sentiments, the third Lord Baltimore failed to accommodate them into his unique society. Beyond these considerations, Charles was a terrible judge of character; those he left in charge when he departed the colony only exacerbated an already tense situation.[26]

Catholics, always a minority of the population, represented a success story while the Episcopal Protestants faced an uncertain future. When two groups compete for scarce resources such as access to office, the success of one group becomes the other group's failure and creates a breeding ground for conflict. When groups compete within a relatively small community as Maryland was, two important changes sometimes occur: increased hostility between groups, and an intensification of group loyalty. In the face of an alienated group (unchurched Episcopal Protestants who saw only continued exclusion from political appointments and diminished chances to prosper) and their increased hostility, the successful group (proprietary Catholics and their associates) closed their ranks. As proprietor, Charles alone had the opportunity to stem the tide. Instead of reaching out, he retracted. He left those in opposition little choice but to take up arms against a government closed to all but a few proprietary cronies.[27]

The failure of the "Maryland designe," however, went beyond the actions of a few individuals. The Calverts had challenged some fundamental tenets of their age. To maintain civil peace they dictated that religious practices be kept as private as possible. They established neither religious institutions nor their handmaiden, educational ones. The Calverts offered planters freedom to fend for themselves when it came to religion and education, reasoning that if religion remained an essentially private matter, Catholics would enjoy the same rights as other planters and not be penalized for their choice. This marked a significant departure from the status quo

and exposed the experiment to attacks from those who wanted to continue the traditional intimate relationship between church and state that existed in England.

Many of the English men and women that the Calverts invited into their colony demonstrated that they were not yet ready to put aside religious differences to build a prosperous and tranquil society under Catholic leadership. Beyond the third Lord Baltimore's inept responses lurked the forces of tradition, and in 1692 those forces triumphed. The Maryland Assembly, now led by a Protestant royal governor, ratified the rebellion and established the Church of England by a law that deliberately mocked the 1649 Act Concerning Religion. Freedom of conscience for Catholics and Quakers came to a crashing end.[28]

In the wake of Coode's Rebellion, which destroyed Calvert proprietary rule in 1689, royal governor Nathaniel Blakiston stated an accepted English conviction regarding church-state relations. He assumed that the assembled members of the legislature were sensible as to how useful "Religion is in the Good Government of a Nation or a province." Religion not only united the inhabitants, it restrained their evil tendencies. His 1700 statement repudiated the Catholic Calvert's bold attempt to establish religious freedom in their Maryland. Protestant critics, who believed that Maryland's only salvation lay in establishing a church that conformed to the English model, had triumphed.[29]

By attempting to separate Marylanders' religious concerns from the political sphere, the Calverts pointed to the future. Whether intended or not, the Catholic Lords Baltimore moved toward the creation of a more secular society, one in which religious practices were to be kept as private as possible. For better or worse, they contributed to "one of the major social processes which have shaped Western society in the past five hundred years." Secularization was an extremely complex development and the process "was not always obvious to the clergy and laity who participated in it." Their circumstances as English Catholics led the Calverts to challenge two accepted theological tenets of their world—uniformity and the state's responsibility to protect the "true" religion. The corollary, however, was a society that was too secular for many of its inhabitants.[30]

When it came to the creation of a new society based on a fresh relationship between religious and political institutions, the Catholic Calverts' vision ranged too far ahead of their contemporaries. That they eventually lost their enterprise is perhaps not surprising. That they held it for almost sixty years is remarkable. Nor must their failure sully their effort. The first and second Lords Baltimore were neither priests nor theologians. They embraced the concept of freedom of conscience for temporal reasons. They rightly understood that a publicly supported religion in a pluralistic society could corrupt the body politic. The new relationship between church and state, the new thinking on freedom of conscience and political allegiance, and the move to a more secular society that the Catholic Lords Baltimore envisioned and struggled diligently to implement was not for

their times. In attempting to create a stable society by removing religion from the public realm, they stood closer to Thomas Jefferson than to their contemporaries. The unfortunate result was that, with exception of a small, legally restricted Catholic community, Marylanders dumped the 1649 Act Concerning Religion and the Catholic proprietary family responsible for it into the dustbin of history.[31]

James Wilson, a prominent patriot during the American Revolution and a distinguished jurist, recognized the visionary nature of the Calvert enterprise and decried the "ungracious silence" that denied recognition to the second Lord Baltimore for his part in fostering American understanding of religious toleration. The Calvert family may have lost its place in the history of religious liberty, but the first amendment to the Constitution affirmed the radical concepts advanced by George and Cecil Calvert. The establishment clause of that amendment ("Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion") does more than buttress freedom of religion, which the same amendment separately protects. Its authors sought to defuse potentially explosive situations by uncoupling religion and politics. For contemporary Americans, the "establishment clause separates government and religion so that we can maintain civility between believers and unbelievers as well as among the several hundred denominations, sects, and cults that thrive in our nation, all sharing the commitment to liberty and equality that cements us together." George and Cecil Calvert would have agreed with a statement that prohibited the legislature from passing any laws abridging freedom of religion or establishing an exclusive form of worship.[32]

The lack of recognition (Wilson's "ungracious silence") of the Catholic Calverts as radicals and innovators resulted from a number of factors. Among them are the pervasive anti-Catholicism that long dominated American historiography, the continuity of Protestant radicals to the present, the overstatements made by Catholic apologists, the absence of any learned treatises on religious freedom by the Calverts, and the failure of Charles Calvert to sustain their great experiment. But these factors should no longer obscure the brilliance of their vision or the contribution that they made to advance human freedom during the seventeenth century.[33]

NOTES

1. The Calvert Vision, a brilliantly conceived plan that allowed the Calverts to align their national and spiritual commitments, is more fully developed in John D. Krugler, *English and Catholic: The Lords Baltimore in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).
2. *Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1616–1617*, 56. *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman Egbert McClure, 2 vols. (1939, repr. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979), 1:503, 514; 2:25, 216. Calvert to Carleton (April 10, 1619), Public Record Office SP84/19/125. Sir Thomas Wynne to Carleton (February 14, 1619) PRO SP14/105/104.
3. A. B. Forbes, "'Faith and true allegiance,' The Law and the Internal Security of England,

1559–1714: A Study of the Evolution of the Parliamentary Legislation and the Problem of its Local Administration and Enforcement" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1960), 94. John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976). Caroline Hibbard, "Early Stuart Catholicism: Revisions and Re-revisions," *The Journal of Modern History*, 52 (May 1980): 1–34.

4. Hugh Aveling, *Northern Catholics: The Catholic Recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire, 1558–1790*, (London: Chapman, 1966), 176–77; James W. Foster, "George Calvert: His Yorkshire Boyhood," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 55 (December 1960): 272–74; and *George Calvert: The Early Years* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1983), 27.

5. Stock to Propaganda Fide (February 8, 1625, new style) in Luca Codignola, *The Coldest Harbour of the Land: Simon Stock and Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland, 1621–1649*, translated by Anita Weston (Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 77; John D. Krugler, "'The Face of a Protestant, and the Heart of a Papist': A Reexamination of Sir George Calvert's Conversion to Roman Catholicism," *Journal of Church and State*, 20 (1978): 507–31; Peter Burke, "Religion and Secularisation" in *The New Cambridge Modern History*, volume 13, *Companion Volume* (Cambridge, 1979), 295. George Cottington, a Protestant who served in Secretary Calvert's household, discerned Calvert's shift in commitment before he made it public. Cottington to Sir John Finet (April 7, 1628) *Sloane MS 3827*, ff 124–125v, British Library. Reprinted in *Newfoundland Discovered: English Attempts at Colonisation, 1610–1630*, ed. Gillian Cell (London: Hakluyt Society, 1982) 277–79.

6. Catherine Drinker Bowen, *The Lion and the Throne: The Life and Times of Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634)* (London: Hamilton, 1957), 254; *Select Statutes and other Constitutional Documents*, ed., G. W. Prothero, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1906), xlviii. Susan R. Falb, *Advice and Ascent: The Development of the Maryland Assembly, 1635–1689* (New York: Garland , 1986), 289.

7. Michael James Graham plausibly argued that toleration was not "a well considered synthesis of Roman Catholic reflection on human conscience and free will suddenly transplanted to the New World." See "'The Collapse of Equity': Catholic and Quaker Dissenters in Maryland, 1692–1720," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 88 (1993): 4–5.

8. *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, ed. Susan Myra Kingsbury, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1906–35), 3:81. The East India Company admitted him at the meeting of September 5, 6, 1609. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China, and Japan*, ed. W. Noel Sainsbury, 5 vols. (London, 1862–), *1513–1616*, 192, 273; *1617–1621*, 274. Alexander Brown, *The Genesis of the United States: A Narrative of the Movement in England, 1605–1616, Which Resulted in the Plantation of North America*, 2 vols (repr., New York: Russell and Russell, 1964), 2:841–42. Foster, *Calvert*, 72, 103, 104. "A History of Yorkshire North Riding: Danby Wiske," in *The Victorian History of the County of York: North Riding*, ed. William Page (London, 1914), 1:172–72. G. Bernard Wood, "Kiplin," *Yorkshire Illustrated* (July 1950), 14–16. Constance B. Schulz, *Kiplin Hall and Its Families: A History* (Cleveland, UK, 1994), 7. Raymond J. Lahey, "Avalon: Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland," in *Early European Settlement and Exploitation in Atlantic Canada: Selected Papers* (St. John's, 1982), 120. Chamberlain to Carleton (January 8, 1624/25), Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:595. Cottington to Sir Dudley Carleton, PRO SP 84/122/115b. (February 9, 1624/25), *APC, 1623–1625*, 453–54.

9. Baltimore to Wentworth (August 29,1629) Sheffield City Library, Wentworth Papers, 12/75. PRO Colonial Office 1/9/43. Cell, *Newfoundland*, 298. Stock reported that Baltimore left behind "some 30 heretics and two or three Catholic women, with no priest or minister." Stock to [Propaganda] (January 1, 1631), Codignola, *Coldest Harbour*, 122.

10. Governor John Pott *et al.* to Privy Council (November 30, 1629). PRO CO1/5/40 reprinted in William Hand Browne et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland*, 72 vols. (Baltimore: Maryland

Historical Society, 1883–), 3:6–17 (hereinafter cited *Arch. Md.*). Mead to Stuteville (January 23, 1629/30) and Mr. Pory to Mead (February 12, 1629/30), *Court and Times of Charles the First Illustrated by Authentic and Confidential Letters From Various Public and Private Collections Including Memoirs of the Mission in England of the Capuchin Friars in the Service of Queen Henrietta Maria*, ed. Thomas Birch, 2 vols (London, 1848), 2:53–54. William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia*, 13 vols. (Richmond, 1809–1823), 1:522."The Lo: Baltemores Declaration to the Lords," *The Calvert Papers*, 3 vols. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1889–1899). 1:222. Baltimore signed his will on April 14 and died the next day. Ibid, 1:48.

11. The Maryland Charter is printed in *A Relation of Maryland; together with a Map of the Countrey, the Conditions of Plantation, with His Majesties Charter to the Lord Baltemore* (London, 1635), in *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633–1684*, ed., Clayton Colman Hall (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), 101–12. Calvert statements about their national goals must be taken seriously. Furthering English national goals was one of two reasons given in the charter and one of three emphasized by Lord Baltimore in his instructions to his colonists. John D. Krugler, "English and Catholic: Nationalism, Catholicism and the Calverts' Motivation in Founding the Maryland Colony," paper presented at "Maryland, A Product of Two Worlds" Conference St. Mary's City, May 1984. Michael James Graham also recognized that nationalism has been understated as a motive for the Calverts. See "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise: Toleration and Community in Colonial Maryland, 1634–1724" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1983), 11–13.

12. Thomas Cogswell, "England and the Spanish Match," in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603–1642*, ed., Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London, 1989), 109. Peter Lake, "Anti-popery: the Structure of a Prejudice" in ibid., 77, 79.

13. George Calvert did not proclaim, as one zealous exiled Protestant clergyman did in 1558, that "God is English!" but he did evidence a deep commitment to England. See John Aylmer, *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trew Subjects*, quoted in Carl Bridenbaugh, *Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 1590–1632* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 13. Baltimore publicly sided with the Jesuits in the Archpriest Controversy and their priests accompanied him to Newfoundland in 1628. See Lay Catholics of England to Richard Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon (1627) in Thomas Aloysius Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America: Colonial and Federal, Text*, 2 vols. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1907–1917), 1:204–6. Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 49–58.

14. Garry Wheeler Stone, "Manorial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 82 (1987): 3–36; Krugler, "Lord Baltimore, Roman Catholics, and Toleration: Religious Policy in Maryland during the Early Catholic Years, 1634–1649," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 65 (January 1979): 49–75.

15. Both George and Cecil Calvert might well have agreed with William Penn's later statement "Though I desire to extend religious freedom, yet I want some recompense for my trouble." Quoted in Sally Schwartz, in *"A Mixed Multitude": The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York: New York University Press, 1987), 22.

16. Russell R. Menard, *Economy and Society in Early Maryland* (New York: Garland, 1986), 32–36.

17. Baltimore benefited not only from the Jesuit interest in a mission but from the fact that the years of the personal rule of Charles I had been good ones financially for the English Jesuits. In the early 1630s, they could afford the proprietor's hard bargain. Thomas M. McCoog, "'Laid up Treasure': The Finances of the English Jesuits in the Seventeenth Century," The Church and Wealth, eds. W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood (Oxford: Ecclesiastical History

Society, 1987), 260. Panzani to Barberini (September 5, October 24, 1635), Hughes, *Society of Jesus, Documents*, 1:152. *Text*, 1:357.

18. Jesuit priest Andrew White ably assisted Baltimore in the recruitment effort. Even the Jesuits failed to recruit a significant number of Catholics willing to venture as their servants and had to rely on Protestants to fill their quota. See *A Declaration of Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Maryland, nigh upon Virginia: manifesting the Nature, Quality, Condition, and rich Utilities it Contayneth* (London, 1633).

19. The proprietor stated his goal rather than fact when he wrote to Wentworth that 325 émigrés sailed for Maryland. Baltimore to Wentworth (January 10, 1634), *Strafforde's Letters* I.178–79. CSP, Venice, 1632–1636, 158. Menard calculated the number of colonists on the first expedition at about 140. "Population, Economy, and Society in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 (1984): 71.

20. *Instructions 13 Novem: 1633* in Hall, ed. *Narratives*, 16. The case involving William Lewis, the Catholic overseer at the Jesuit plantation, tested Baltimore's religious policy in 1638. The court, composed of prominent Catholics, found Lewis guilty of disturbing the peace when he prohibited some Protestant servants from negative discussion of the Catholic religion. *Arch. Md.*, 4:35–39. Robert Wintour, an associate of the Calverts who settled in Maryland, coined the term 'Maryland designe' in 1635. He employed it to summarize the essence of the recently launched enterprise. I use Wintour's phrase to signify that, even though the Calverts never fully articulated their objectives in print, they had a carefully structured purpose for their overseas adventures. See *To Live Like Princes: "A Short Treatise Sett Downe in a Letter Written by R. W. to His Worthy Freind C. J. R. concerning the New Plantation Now Erecting under the Right Ho[nora]ble the Lord Baltemore in Maryland,* ed., John D. Krugler (Baltimore: Enoch Pratt Library, 1976). Graham adopted the term in his study of the Catholic and Quaker communities. "Toleration and Community," 28–29, 66.

21. Krugler, "Lord Baltimore, Roman Catholics, and Toleration," 74–75.

22. "A Letter sent to his Lordship from the Assembly," *Archives of Maryland*, 1:238–43. Only the results of the last day of the three-week 1649 Assembly remain. Baltimore's original draft did not survive. Any assessment of responsibility for various parts of the Act must be tentative. David W. Jordan, *Foundations of Representative Government in Maryland, 1632–1715* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 52–53. Defying the proprietor was not a religious issue. Catholics undoubtedly still dominated this assembly. The majority of Independents had yet to enter Maryland. However, an "accurate reconstruction of the membership is impossible." See Falb, "Advice and Ascent," 309.

23. *Arch. Md*, 3:244–46. Baltimore may have added this last section to induce further Puritan migration. He may have been already negotiating with Robert Brooke, "a well-to-do English Puritan" who intended "to transport himself his wife eight sons and family and a Great Number of other Persons" to Maryland. Ibid., 3:237–41. On the other hand, the assembly, reflecting the views of the newly arrived Virginians, may have added the clause prohibiting certain phrases. As a New England Puritan put it: "The persecution of the Tongue is more fierce and terrible than that of the hand." John Davenport to My Lady Vere (ca. 1633), *Letters of John Davenport: Puritan Devine*, ed. Isabel MacBeath Calder (New Haven: Published for the First Church of Christ in New Haven by Yale University Press, 1937), 38–39.

24. Cromwell believed that he imposed on men's consciences far less than Parliament and that he had plucked many from "the raging fire of persecution." At one point, he even stated optimistically that he intended to remove the impediments for Catholics "as soon as I can." See J. C. Davis, "Cromwell's Religion," in *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution*, edited by John Morrill with J. S. A. Adamson . . . et al. (New York: Longman, 1990), 187, 198. R[oger]

W[illiams] to the truly Christian Reader in *The Forth Paper, Presented by Major Butler, To the Honourable Committee of Parliament, for the Propagating of the Gospel of Christ Jesus* . . . . (London, 1652). Cromwell to Mazarin (December 26,1658), *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell.* With an introduction, notes and a sketch of his life by Wilbur Cortez Abbott, with the assistance of Catherine D. Crane, 4 vols. (New York: Russell & Russell, 1970), 4:368. Blair Worden, "Toleration and the Cromwellian Protectorate" in *Persecution and Toleration* [Studies in Church History, vol. 21] (London, 1984), 190–231. Alison Gilbert Olson, *Anglo-American Politics 1660–1675: The Relationship Between Parties in England and Colonial America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 34.

25. The frequent disagreements over policy between Chancellor Philip Calvert and his nephew, Governor Charles Calvert, did not help the proprietary cause. Philip had a better grasp of the importance the proprietor placed on the 1649 Act. For example, when Philip Calvert issued licenses for ordinaries, he did so with the stipulation that the inn keeper would not permit evil rule or disorder especially upon the Lord's day by gaming or excessive drinking during the time of Divine services. See the licenses issued on January 30 and March 4,1660/61. *Arch. Md.,* 41:399, 412. These licenses attest to the proprietary desire to placate the congregationalists from Virginia.

26. Charles, in his 1678 reply to a set of queries from the English government, incorrectly implied that the impetus for toleration originated with the people who did not conform to all particulars, that they made toleration a precondition for emigration, and without it Maryland in all probability would have never been planted. The statement indicated that the son failed to grasp the genius of his father's thinking. *Arch. Md.*, 5:267–68. Lois Green Carr and David William Jordan, in *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689–1692* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), argued that Charles failed to provide for the social education of the inhabitants and that this helped to foster rebellion.

27. Stephen L. Franzoi, *Social Psychology*, 2nd ed. (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2000), 236. Realistic group conflict theory assumes that "group conflicts are rational in the sense that groups do have incompatible goals and are in competition for scarce resources." The proposition that a real threat causes ingroup solidarity helps to explain why the third Lord Baltimore in specific and the Catholics and proprietary adherents responded as they did. Robert A Levine and Donald T. Campbell, *Ethnocentrism: Theories of Conflict, Ethnic Attitudes, and Group Behavior* (New York: Wiley, 1972), 29, 31.

28. 1692, "An Act for the Service of Almighty God and the Establishment of the Protestant Religion within this Province," *Arch. Md.*, 13:425–30. The assembly did not pass an act that both the colonists and the British government accepted until 1702. Establishment proceeded under the 1692 law even without formal approval. Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government*, 201.

29. Governor Nathaniel Blakiston (April 26, 27, 1700), *Arch. Md.*, 24: 7, 37–38

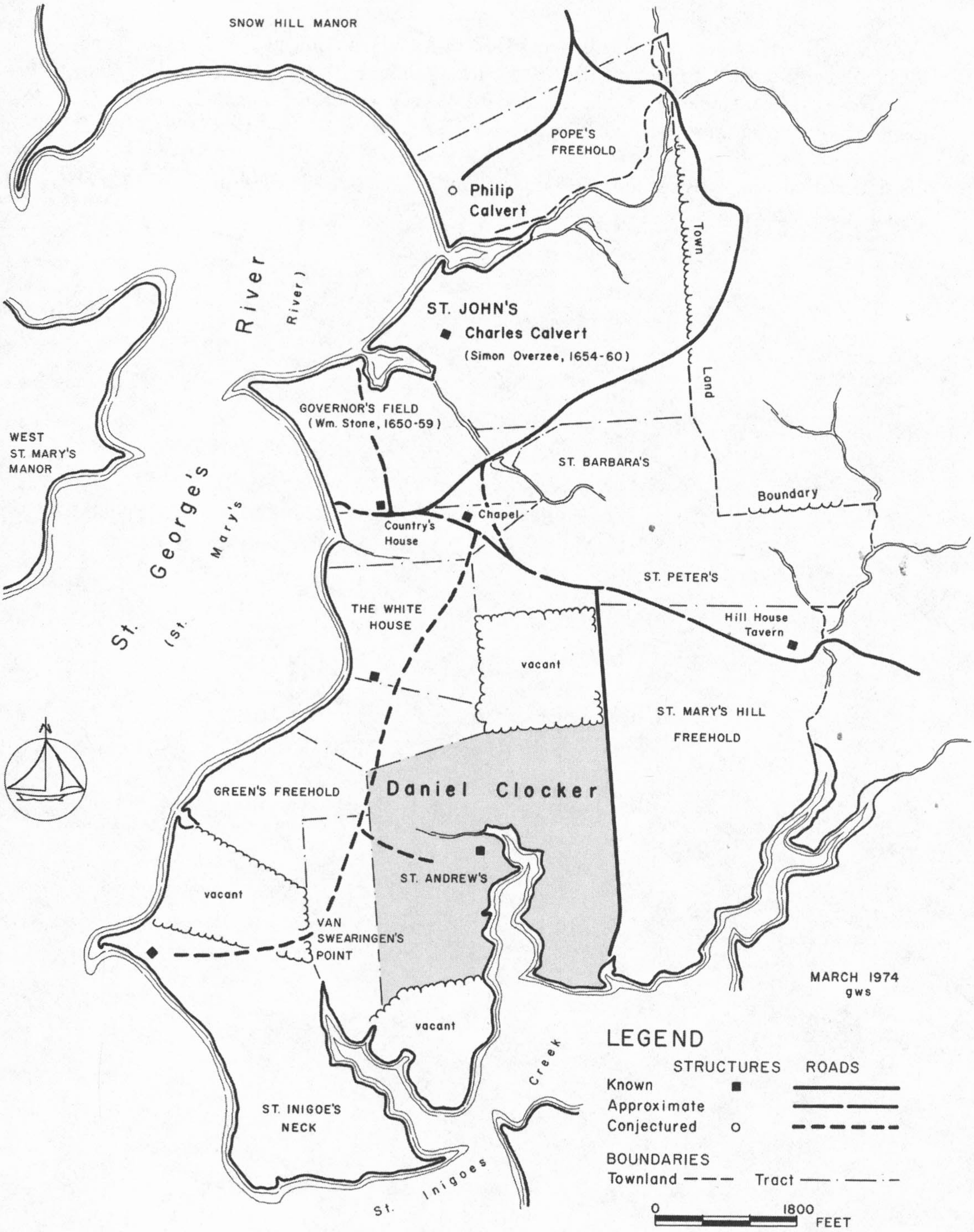
30. Burke, "Religion and Secularisation," 293–94. C. John Sommerville, *The Secularization of Early Modern England: From Religious Culture to Religious Faith* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 116.

31. The declining legal status notwithstanding, Maryland Catholics worshiped privately without interference from colonial authorities. See Beatriz Betancourt Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age: The Catholic Gentry and Community in Colonial Maryland, 1689–1776," (PhD dissertation, University of Maryland, 1993) and Tricia Terese Pyne analyzed Catholic religious practices in pre-revolutionary Maryland, "The Maryland Catholic Community, 1690–1775: A Study in Culture, Religion, and Church" (Ph.D. dissertation, The Catholic University of American, 1995). For Jefferson, see John Ferling, *Setting the World Ablaze:*

Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and the American Revolution (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 158–59.

32. *The Works of James Wilson*, ed., James DeWitt Anderson (Chicago, 1896), I, 4–5. James Hennesey, "Roman Catholicism: The Maryland Tradition," *Thought: A Review of Culture and Ideas*, 51 (September 1976): 282–95. Leonard W. Levy, *The Establishment Clause: Religion and the First Amendment*, 2d ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), xiii–xiv.

33. For a fuller analysis see John D. Krugler, "An 'Ungracious Silence': The Calvert Vision and Historians," pages 374–88.



Daniel Clocker's land tract, St. Andrew's, in St. Mary's City. (Historic St. Mary's City.)

From Servant to Freeholder: Daniel Clocker's Adventure

LOIS GREEN CARR

In 1636 a young Englishman named Daniel Clocker arrived in Maryland, just two years after its first settlement. He began life there as a servant bound to Thomas Cornwaleys, one of the colony's Catholic leaders. Once Clocker's time of service was up, he worked for himself. He married, acquired land, and raised a family. When he died, forty years after his arrival, he was a respected member of the Common Council of St. Mary's City, by then the provincial capital.

Why did he come? Was the decision risky? What were his expectations? What was his new life like? Can he be thought of as a typical early Maryland settler?

Nothing is known for sure about Daniel Clocker before his arrival in Maryland, except that he almost certainly was born in Cumberland county in the north of England. Possibly his grandfather was Gosper (Jasper) Clocker, denoted "duchman," who arrived in the area in the 1560s as part of a small colony of Germans imported to work in newly opened copper mines. The registers for Crosthwaite Parish in Cumberland show that Gosper Clocker wed Mabell Bullfill in 1569, and there are numerous references in the registers and other local records to Clockers from that time on. However, the name seems to be confined almost entirely to Cumberland county until the early eighteenth century.

The first Daniel Clocker to appear was born to Hance and Bridgid Clocker of Parkside, christened in Crosthwaite Parish on May 30, 1619. Was this the Daniel who came to Maryland? Perhaps. The Maryland Daniel had a brother John and so did Daniel, son of Hance and Bridgid. If the Maryland Daniel was the son of Hance, he was age seventeen at the time of arrival. If not, his family origin in Cumberland and his exact age are unknown.[1]

The Cumberland and Westmoreland area (now labeled Cumbria) is a rugged country of mountains, lakes, and fells. In the seventeenth century it was part of a border region considered savage by outsiders. Englishmen from further south found the inhabitants to be "primitive in their passions and morals, and entirely without understanding of the rules of a law-abiding society." Clans and powerful lords offered the more law-abiding inhabitants better protection from marauding Scots and outlaws than could officers of the crown or remote forces of law at Westminster. To make a living, people mined and quarried, grazed sheep and cattle on the mountain

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pastures, and raised grains in the valleys, although on soils poor in comparison to those of southern England.[2]

Daniel Clocker probably grew up in a family that combined mining with some self-sufficient husbandry, a common combination in the north, but he evidently left home to seek his fortune. In early seventeenth-century England, many Englishmen were on the move, often from countryside to towns and ultimately to major urban centers. For a century, population had been growing, and opportunities to work were becoming scarce with increasing unemployment and underemployment. In the north, furthermore, grain harvests could be meager, and in the more inaccessible mountain parts, the 1620s saw several years of famine. The particulars of why and when Daniel Clocker made up his mind to try his luck elsewhere are not yet known, but by 1636, he had reached a port—probably London—from which emigrants were sailing to the New World. In London, he had a likely kinsman, Jasper Clocker—possibly the youngest child of Gosper and Mabell—who lived in St. Botolph-without-Aldgate parish.[3]

Little is known about the ways in which emigrants learned of opportunities to sail for America, especially at this early time. Daniel Clocker probably did not have America, much less Maryland, in mind when he left home, but he may well have been seeking adventure. Lord Baltimore, the Proprietor of Maryland, published a series of pamphlets advertising his colony and its opportunities, but Clocker, who could not write his name, may not have been able to read, and in any case, such literature was aimed at investors, not servants. Most news came to people by word of mouth. Perhaps Daniel looked for work as a laborer at the waterfront and heard talk of a ship traveling to "Virginia," as the whole Chesapeake region was then known. Or he may have worked at an inn where he could overhear the conversation of a merchant looking for servants for colonists in need of labor. It is even possible that Captain Thomas Cornwaleys had commissioned such a merchant to find him the five young servants he imported in 1636. The only fact we know for certain is that in 1636, Clocker arrived in Maryland; he had come to a New World settlement barely established, but where tobacco was quickly becoming a profitable product for export; and he became an indentured servant to Captain Thomas Cornwaleys, one of the major investors and first leaders of the new province.[4]

Indentured servitude was the chief mechanism for transporting poor people in need of work across the ocean to the English North American colonies.[5] In seventeenth-century Maryland, 70 to 80 percent of immigrants came this way. Most were young men; the sex ratio was six men to a woman in the 1630s and three men to a woman by mid-century and after. Passage cost about £6 sterling, which the servant repaid to his master by four or more years of labor. During this time the master provided shelter, food, clothing, and medical care, and when the servant's time was up, gave him or her freedom dues. These were a new set of clothes, three barrels of Indian corn, and (for men) an axe and a hoe. The corn was enough to feed the ex-

servant for a year, with seed for the next year's crop. The axe and hoe were the basic tools needed for raising corn to eat and tobacco to sell. In all, here was food and equipment to make a start. The master, in turn, received several years of labor he needed to make profits from the export of tobacco to a European market. In theory, at least, the indenture system benefited both the master and his laborer.[6]

The form of indenture that Lord Baltimore published in a recruiting pamphlet also specified fifty acres of land as a part of freedom dues, but the Maryland records make clear that what was intended was a warrant for fifty acres. A warrant enabled its owner to locate a piece of land and pay for a survey and patent. The land was not free to the holder of a warrant, but it was worth close to nothing compared to the price of freehold land in England. There the great majority of people owned none. Since the master was due a warrant for one hundred acres for paying the transportation costs of the servant, he was in effect giving his former servant half. However, it appears that either many indentures did not have such a clause or that many masters simply ignored it. Lord Baltimore soon found it expedient to reduce the warrant for transportation of a settler to fifty acres and himself grant a fifty-acre warrant to any ex-servant who applied for it.

Lord Baltimore offered two lures to his settlers. First was the land, which he granted to anyone who paid his own way or that of another and to servants who completed their terms. To attract leaders like Cornwaleys, he made extra-large land grants—for the earliest adventurers as much as two thousand acres for each five men imported, or four hundred acres per man. With these grants went the right to hold the title lord of the manor and the powers of English manor lords to hold manorial courts. The proprietor intended that these lords would hold the major offices in his colony.[7]

Second was freedom of conscience in religion. Maryland was to be a land where Catholics would be free of the English penal laws. In England, these laws forbade Catholics to worship in secret, heavily fined or imprisoned them for not taking communion in the Church of England, and prevented them from holding public office. Catholics could not provide their Catholic children a Catholic education nor give or bequeath them land. These and other severe restrictions were not always strictly enforced, but the danger was always present. In Maryland, Catholics were to be free of these laws. Evidently both George and Cecil Calvert assumed that they would not automatically extend to the colony.

In protecting Maryland Catholics, the proprietor was not trying to create a Catholic colony. He envisioned a country where all Christians could worship as they pleased; no one could be excluded from public office for his religion; and no public taxes could be demanded for the support of any church. With these policies, he believed, religious peace would be kept and prosperity for all would follow.[8]

What were the lures for Daniel Clocker? Would that we knew! Was he simply hungry and basically in search of survival? Or did he hope that with hard work a

better life awaited him? His later career tells us that he was not a Catholic. Probably religion did not enter into his decision, but the possibility of acquiring land may have had a heady impact.

Did he consider the risks: of shipwreck, of the likelihood that he would never again see family and friends? Did he fear a destination of which he knew little or nothing, except, perhaps, that "savages" inhabited it? Perhaps not. He was young, as were most seventeenth-century Chesapeake immigrants.[9] If Daniel was the son of Hans and Bridgid Clocker, he was about seventeen. Probably then, as now, a young man was unlikely to believe that *he* was going to die, no matter what dangers he faced. Lord Baltimore offered servants a chance to acquire land, and in England there was no such promise. Doubtless Daniel Clocker did not expect to attain great wealth, but he surely hoped for a better future than he could see in England.[10]

Nevertheless, the risk of early death for Clocker was large. All newcomers to the Chesapeake fell ill during the first year. They had moved to a new disease environment. Although many of the illnesses were familiar, the strains were different, and Englishmen had no immunities built up in childhood to such infections. In the very early years, 20 to 30 percent of new emigrants may have died in their "seasoning," the term settlers used to describe the experience. Furthermore, those who survived had life expectancies shorter than they would have had if they had stayed in England. Mean age at death for a seasoned man who arrived at age twenty was only forty-three, and 70 percent would die before age fifty.[11] Luckily for Clocker, he won this gamble. He died at some point in his late fifties or early sixties.

Clocker arrived at Maryland's first settlement late in its second or early in its third year. In March 1634, Governor Leonard Calvert, with the help of Virginia fur trader Captain Henry Fleet, had selected a beautiful spot on the St. Mary's River, a small tributary of the Potomac River just above where it joins the Chesapeake Bay. Here had been a village of the Yaocomico Indians, who were ready to abandon it. They lived in fear of the fierce Susquehannock Indians, who lived along the Susquehanna River north of the bay. The spot was ideal. Soils were excellent, fields were already cleared, and timber and fresh water were ample. The Yaocomico sold their village to Governor Leonard Calvert for trade goods, and by the time Clocker arrived, all of them had moved away.[12]

When Clocker disembarked, the fort built in 1634 was still in use. Leonard Calvert described it as "a pallizado of one hundred and twentie yarde square, with fower flankes, we have mounted one peece of ordnance, and placed about six murderers in parts most convenient."[13] About 140 people had occupied the fort in 1634 and about sixty had arrived the next year. Supposing 20 percent had died by 1636, Clocker joined a settlement of about 160 people, mostly young servant men. Doubtless many still lived in the fort, but others had probably built cabins nearby. The settlers were growing tobacco, Indian corn, beans and peas in nearby fields, and cabbages and other garden crops as well.

Lord Baltimore, who remained in England to defend his charter, had ordered that his first settlers lay out a town, and he expected them to build their houses there. To Europeans, towns were necessary to civilization, yet the cluster of settlement around the fort soon disappeared. The major investors were eager to start developing the large land tracts they were entitled to claim, and most other colonists were still indentured servants, who would follow their masters. Lord Baltimore recognized that more incentive would be needed to develop town properties. In 1636 he ordered that for the next two years the first adventurers, in addition to the land grants he had already offered, could have ten acres of Town Land on the fields of St. Mary's for each person they transported. Later adventurers could have five acres per person. The investors responded, but the result was not a village. By 1641 there were perhaps eleven houses spread out over about 1,500 acres, not all of it yet surveyed. It was to be another twenty-five years before even a hamlet such as Daniel had known at home came into being on the Town Lands.

Daniel must have blessed his good luck for his safe arrival, but he undoubtedly was soon sick in his seasoning. Probably he caught malaria early on, an intermittent disease that stayed with him the rest of his life. He may also have suffered dysentery, another common ailment, or typhoid or typhus. Once he was well, he was put to hard work. Cornwaleys had been using his servants to build the fort, erect temporary housing for settlers, and raise tobacco. Daniel doubtless helped in the fields and on the various construction projects, where he may have gained experience in planting and carpentry that was to prove useful in later life.

Clocker's status as a servant was different from what he likely had experienced in England. There, boys and girls customarily left home after age fourteen to work in the households of others until they could marry and establish their own. Some were apprenticed for several years in return for education in a skill, but most worked as ~~servants in~~ husbandry on yearly contracts, giving them chances to escape harsh or incompatible masters.[14] By contrast, Clocker's service to Cornwaleys was payment for ocean passage. He began with a debt to his master. Consequently his contracted term was much longer, and even more important, his master could sell him without his consent. He could not choose a master. Furthermore, penalties for running away could be severe. Servants—most were caught or returned on their own, if they did not perish—had to pay extra days of service for each day they were absent. Some unhappy Chesapeake indentured servants called their circumstances slavery.[15]

Nevertheless, Maryland custom, later established in law, gave Clocker and his fellow servants important protections. They could complain to the county court if food, clothing, shelter, or medical care were insufficient, or if beatings for correction had produced serious injury. The court would order masters to remedy deficiencies and forbid punishment of servants for bringing complaints. Early court records are missing that might show whether Daniel Clocker had occasion for complaint against Cornwaleys, and if so, what the outcome was; but clearly on the whole, the

system worked. From the standpoint of colony leaders, the shortage of labor was too severe to risk developing a reputation for Maryland as a place poor Englishmen should avoid. From the standpoint of the servant, he or she could seek redress for serious neglect or mistreatment and could look forward to being free in a society that, for several decades, at least, offered real opportunities, provided early death did not intervene.

Living conditions in the region were also new for Clocker.[16] For one thing, he had to adjust to a new climate. Winters were colder and summers much hotter than in England. For another, he had to accept new foods. English settlers could not grow wheat, the staple of the English diet. Growing wheat required plowing the ground, and in the Chesapeake for many decades plowing was usually impractical. The root systems of trees in forests never before cleared took too long to dig out. Settlers adopted Indian agriculture, which produced maize or Indian corn. They learned how to kill the trees by girdling so that the sap could not rise. When the leaves fell off, the sun reached the ground, and one could then use a hoe to make hills of earth beneath the branches and plant kernels of corn. The yield was extraordinary to English eyes. The productivity per acre was twice that of wheat. Furthermore, once the land was ready, the crop was simple to produce. In about four days, and armed only with a hoe, a man could make hills and plant enough seed to feed himself for a year. He had to spend a few days here and there weeding until his corn plants were high enough to shade out competing plants, but otherwise the crop required little attention until the planter was ready to harvest it. This was in many ways an ideal food crop.

Daniel may have missed English bread and at first disliked corn bread and corn mush or hominy. In addition, he probably found the preparation of the kernels for making them edible an onerous task. Like the Indians, the settlers had to soak the kernels for several hours to soften the shells a little and then pound them in a mortar with a pestle. After sifting, the cook used the fine grains to make bread and boiled the coarse grains to make hominy. It took ten minutes to pound a cup, and the ration per man was about four and a half cups per day, or nearly an hour of pounding. Some settlers complained that they could not digest the bread or the hominy. If the kernels they ate had not been sufficiently pounded, undoubtedly they could not. Most settlers did adjust quickly to maize, which continued as a staple of the Maryland diet long after wheat or rye or barley became a practical alternative.

Maize has one disadvantage. It is not as complete in nutrients as wheat or rye or barley. It is lacking in niacin, an essential element, and a diet confined to maize brings on a debilitating disease, pellagra, with its painful sores and severe gastritis. The Indians avoided this illness by supplementing their corn with beans and peas, which they grew among the corn stalks, and by hunting for meat and fish. The English did the same.

In consequence, Clocker ate some foods not so easily procured in England. In 1636, little domestic livestock was as yet on hand at St. Mary's, but deer, small mam-

mals, and birds were abundant, oyster beds lined the shores of the St. Mary's River, and fish of many kinds were easily caught. He probably had the first deer meat, the first oysters, the first sturgeon, perhaps the first wild duck or goose he had ever eaten. Archaeologists working on seventeenth-century Chesapeake sites have found ample evidence of such consumption.[17] Cornwaleys doubtless supplied all his servants with protein from such sources or they would have become too weak to work. Clocker may have eaten better than he ever had in England.

More than English bread, Clocker may have missed the beer and cider he was used to drinking. Barley for English beer could not easily be grown on unplowed land, and corn did not make good beer. While the settlers brought seeds for planting fruit trees, orchards were few in 1636 and were not yet producing. Peaches grew for three years and apple trees for seven before they bore fruit. Local cider would soon be generally available and an important source of nutrition, but for the moment colonists drank water. Luckily there was an abundance of good springs on the Town Lands and nearby.

Also different from England, and far less satisfactory than the food and drink, was the housing available, and not just to servants like Clocker. Houses were made of wood and the framing posts were not set on foundations but put in the ground, where moisture and termites soon attacked them. Many houses were very small one-room structures with earthen floors, and at first probably few were more than one story high, with a loft above. In some, smoke from the fire escaped from a hole in the roof, although most householders probably built chimneys of wattle and daub as soon as possible. All were covered by rived clapboard siding and roofing, easily penetrated by wind and rain. Such buildings rotted quickly, requiring major repairs within about fifteen years. English houses, put on foundations of stone or brick, constructed of timber filled in with wattle and daub and covered with thatched roofs, were more permanent and in every way more comfortable: much warmer and drier and usually larger. However, travelers' descriptions, builder's contracts, and archaeological excavations tell that over the whole seventeenth century, most Chesapeake settlers continued to live in impermanent leaky structures, although, as time went on, more often than earlier improved with extra rooms and occasionally a brick chimney. Such houses were quickly built and hence inexpensive to construct in a labor-short society.

Furnishings for the early houses were minimal. Twenty-six estate inventories that survive from 1638 to 1642 show that people slept on the floor on tickings filled with flock and used wool blankets or rugs for a covering. The masters might have sheets, but most buildings were too small and crowded to permit bedsteads, which could not be rolled away during the day. Only two inventories indicated their presence. Nor were tables or seats usually listed; such items appeared in only five inventories. People sat on chests or brought in stumps or perhaps simply squatted; and large chests doubled as beds and tables.[18] In turn, these quarters must have

been dark unless the window shutters were open, in which case the rooms were undoubtedly very cold. If Daniel Clocker lived in Cornwaleys' house, he may have been more comfortable than most settlers, but his master likely crowded most of his many servants into separate housing and provided few furnishings.

Finally, Clocker had to learn a whole new system of husbandry organized around tobacco and corn.[19] Tobacco had two characteristics that dominated all planter decisions. First, it required a great deal of land. It was a crop so demanding of nutrients that the planter had to move to new land after three years. He could grow corn on the old land for another three or four years, since the deeper root systems of corn tapped a new level of nutrients, but thereafter—in the absence of manuring, which gave tobacco an unpleasant aroma and taste—the land had to lie fallow for twenty years. In any one year, the planter did not use much of his land. One hand could handle only two to three acres in tobacco plants, plus two acres in corn that custom, and then law, required to ensure the colony's subsistence. However, over the long term, a planter needed twenty acres per hand growing tobacco if he was not to deplete his land. Since he also needed land for wood and for livestock to range in, contemporaries considered fifty acres to be the minimum acreage for a farm.

Second, tobacco was a very labor intensive crop, and one that required careful tending and observation nearly all year round. Work began in February with clearing and planting a small tobacco seed bed. It ended in December with packing the leaf in casks for shipment to overseas markets. In between were months of hoeing unplowed ground into hills; planting corn and transplanting tobacco seedlings; weeding, deworming, and pruning the tobacco; and curing the crop and hanging it to dry in the tobacco barn. Clocker and his fellow servants learned from their overseers how to judge when the leaf was ripe for curing, how to hang it to ensure proper drying, and how to judge when it was ready to be stripped and packed. They hoped one day to be planters themselves, and mistakes would spoil the crop.

Taking care of animals was a daily routine for English farmers that was missing from Clocker's new life. Cattle and hogs ranged for their food in the forest, and planters did not stable or feed them in winter. To feed their cattle, planters would have had to raise corn beyond what they needed for their own subsistence, and the tight schedules for hilling and planting in the spring meant that hills for more corn would mean fewer for the cash crop. Since the animals had to fend for themselves, planters fenced in their crops, not their livestock, another difference from English practices, and one that discouraged the collection of manure.

Throughout the seventeenth century visiting Englishmen were dismayed at what seemed to them inefficiency and neglect in the Chesapeake: cattle running loose, unstabled and starving in winter; houses leaky and rotting; crops unmanured; old fields full of dead stumps, growing up in weeds, and looking forsaken, although as the land renewed itself, it produced good timber. The English farmer fertilized his land with animal manure, making long-term fallows unneeded. He found or made

grass pasture for his cattle and, as necessary, stabled and fed them in winter. His wife or his dairy maid milked his cows and made butter and cheese, often to sell.[20] What English critics did not understand were the constraints that faced colonists in the Chesapeake. Unlike England, land in the Chesapeake was plentiful and cheap, whereas labor was scarce and expensive. Virgin forest provided ample timber but made plowing and hence production of English grains impractical. At the same time these woodlands supplied sufficient forage for animals nearly all year round. A long fallow agriculture, range-fed cattle, and earthfast clapboarded houses that could be quickly constructed were efficient solutions to new circumstances.

By 1640, Clocker was free of his service.[21] What were his choices then? He was a laborer in a labor-short economy, where wages were high. He could make a contract to serve Cornwaleys or another employer for wages. This arrangement would probably provide him with room, board, and washing but would deprive him of some autonomy. His master would dictate his activity and have power to discipline him as a member of the household. Or Clocker could persuade a planter to lease him land on which he could set up his own household and plant his own crops, perhaps paying part of his rent with labor. However, he then would have to supply his own housekeeping, grow his own food, and perhaps even build himself a house to live in and a tobacco house for his crop. If he had to build housing, he would pay no rent for his land for several years, but even so, the capital necessary to begin this arrangement was most often not at hand for a newly freed servant, unless he could get credit from his landlord. Finally, he could use the headright Cornwaleys owed him to take up a fifty-acre tract and become not just a householder but a landowner. This last option was the least available as a first step. To take up land, he had to pay a surveyor and a clerk for his survey and patent. These additional costs required capital and/or credit that a newly freed servant usually did not have.

What Clocker decided is unknown. Probably he found another ex-servant to be his "mate" in establishing a tenancy on Cornwaleys's land. Besides the rent the captain charged—perhaps a third of the tobacco crop—his return was in the improvements Clocker and his mate made in housing and fencing and in planting and caring for the orchard always required in a lease. Once Clocker moved on, Cornwaleys could rent or sell the property at a higher price than unimproved land would bring. Such development leases, usually made for seven years, benefited both landlord and tenant in a newly settled colony.

As a freeman, Clocker was entitled to vote for a representative in the Maryland Assembly, or, if all freeman were called to attend, to cast his vote for any legislation the Assembly considered. Lord Baltimore's charter for Maryland gave the proprietor vast powers to create his own government and raise armies to defend his province. But the charter also provided a basic protection for his settlers: he could not make laws without "the Advice, Assent, and Approbation of the Free-Men . . . Or of the great Part of them, or of their Delegates or Deputies."[22] Before 1650 all freemen

were called to the Assembly or were permitted to vote for delegates. There were as yet no property requirements in law or custom, a situation without precedent in England. Of course, the leadership was in the hands of the few, mostly the governor and council—appointed by Lord Baltimore—which also sat as the Provincial Court. Nevertheless, the participation of free male settlers of any status was important to establishing the authority of the leaders. In such a small community, so isolated from its home base, cooperation was essential. However, actually attending the Assembly could be time-consuming and expensive, especially for poor men. Rather than appear, many freemen gave their proxies to one of the colony's leaders. In March 1642, so did Daniel Clocker.[23]

The next stage in Clocker's career was marriage to Mary Lawne Courtney. She had arrived in 1638, at age twenty-four, as a servant indentured to Margaret Brent, a prominent Catholic. However, Mary Lawne had not remained a servant long in this small woman-short society. In 1639, James Courtney, a free immigrant, had purchased her time and married her. By early 1643 she was a widow with a son, Thomas, at most a year old. Sometime in 1645 or very early 1646, she married Daniel Clocker.[24]

Marriage gave Daniel new status. He was now truly the head of a family, a position that sharing with a male partner did not give him. As head, he was held responsible for the welfare and behavior of his wife and children and any other household members. The community expected him to keep good order and the law allowed him to correct any of his charges with physical punishment, provided that any stick used in beating was no thicker than a man's finger at its thickest end. Beating even his wife was permissible. Under English common law, he owned whatever property Mary brought to the marriage and he was in a position to control the assets of her child. As a married woman, Mary could not make a contract; her husband had to act for her. On the other hand, he owed her a maintenance and a share of his estate if he died before she did. Mary had had independence as a widow, but in this land three thousand miles away from any kin she might have in England, she had needed, and probably wanted, a husband more.[25]

Still, her position was not as subordinate in reality as this description would suggest. Running a household, especially once there were children and perhaps servants, was necessarily a team effort. Mary pounded the corn, a daily two-hour task just for Daniel, herself, and little Thomas and a task that grew much longer as the family grew in size and age, although eventually the children could help. As well as keeping house and preparing meals, she gathered wild greens and berries, grew and administered medicinal herbs, raised cabbages, onions, and sweet potatoes, picked and dried apples or peaches from the orchard (once Daniel had one), and milked the cows. She watched the children when they were small and trained her daughters to housewifery as they grew older. When necessary, she assisted in the fields, perhaps watering or weeding the tobacco seedlings, or transplanting them into the hills, or hoeing weeds. All these activities contributed vitally to the family economy. A man

without a wife was handicapped, unless he had a daughter old enough to take her mother's place. In this largely male society, wives had an especially high value. If husband and wife disagreed, the husband was likely to prevail, but family peace and efficiency required many shared decisions.[26]

The Clockers began life together in troubled times for the Maryland colony.[27] In 1642 civil war broke out in England between King Charles I and Parliament, and early in 1645 the conflict reached Maryland. A ship captain, Richard Ingle, who had been trading to Maryland and Virginia for tobacco, used letters of marque from Parliament—authorization to seize enemy ships—to attack the St. Mary's settlement. His excuse was that Maryland Catholics supported the king, as most Catholics did in England. He took the colony completely by surprise. Immediately, he secured two Catholic leaders and two Jesuits as prisoners, and, with the help of disaffected Protestant settlers, pillaged the estates of Catholic leaders and burned the Catholic chapel. Governor Leonard Calvert, meanwhile, gathered supporters in a hastily fortified compound called St. Thomas's Fort but had no success in reestablishing his rule. In April 1645, Ingle returned to England, taking his prisoners and plunder with him and leaving the colony in the hands of the rebels. Sometime afterward, Leonard Calvert finally departed to Virginia. He did not reestablish proprietary authority—with the help of soldiers he recruited in Virginia—until late in 1646. Why he took so long remains a mystery.

In early 1645, Maryland had had five hundred or more inhabitants; at Calvert's return, there were perhaps a hundred, fewer than had come in the first expedition in 1634. Ingle's raid and its aftermath were later referred to as the "time of troubles." Mary Courtney lost a cow during, in her words, "the time of the Plunder."[28] In search of stability, most of the Maryland settlers pulled up stakes and moved across the Potomac River to the as yet unsettled Northern Neck of Virginia.

The Clockers did not go, and the decision was undoubtedly wise. The late 1640s were a time of major expansion in the tobacco economy, and once Lord Baltimore's government was reestablished, new settlers rapidly piled into Maryland. Once more it was a place where a planter could work toward success. Clocker must have continued to raise corn and tobacco, and his skills as a carpenter were in some demand.[29] By 1650 he was ready to pay the costs of acquiring freehold land.

In 1650 and 1651, Clocker obtained 150 acres. One hundred acres he patented, using his and Mary's service rights. These were rights to fifty acres that Lord Baltimore had established in 1648 for all servants who finished their terms. This hundred acres, on the Chesapeake Bay about seven miles east of the Town Lands, he called "Daniel Clocker's Hould." About the same time, he also purchased a fifty-acre Town Land tract known as St. Andrews from Margaret and Mary Brent, Mary Clocker's former mistresses, who were moving to Virginia. St. Andrews, on St. Andrews Creek, was adjacent to the sisters' own plantation, and they had probably been leasing it to the Clockers. Daniel must have jumped at the opportunity to buy it. The years of work

he and Mary had put into building a farm there spared them the labor of building anew.[30]

The Clockers lived on the Town Land at St. Andrews for the rest of their lives. They kept "Daniel Clocker's Hould" but later renamed it "Clocker's Marsh," a fact that suggests that the tract was more valuable for feeding livestock than for growing tobacco. They may have put cattle there instead of trying to farm it. By 1659, Daniel had also acquired a fifty-acre tract just across St. Andrews Creek, called Clark's Freehold. In all by that time he owned two hundred acres, enough to provide an inheritance for several children.[31]

By 1661, the Clockers had five surviving children. They are named in a gift of cattle that their father made to them that year. Elizabeth had been born in 1646, Daniel in 1648 and Mary in 1650. Like most mothers in pre-industrial times, Mary Clocker nursed her babies herself, and the contraceptive effect of nursing, it was thought, meant the likelihood that a new pregnancy would not start until the baby was weaned shortly after his or her first birthday. Hence children often arrived about two years apart, as Mary Clocker's did. However, during the 1650s, Mary bore only two children who were still alive in 1661, John and Catheryn. Perhaps she had become less fertile; in 1659 she was forty-five. Or, she may have had miscarriages or carried to term two or three other children who died in infancy. Child mortality was very high everywhere in the seventeenth century. In Maryland, 45 to 55 percent of children born did not survive to adulthood, and most of these died before age four. Daniel Jr. and Mary—and Rebecca, not yet born when the gift was made—were to live to marry and establish their own families, but Elizabeth, John, and Catheryn and perhaps several other Clocker children did not.[32]

The Clockers surely raised and sold tobacco, but they also gained income from other sources. An unusually substantial portion of immigrants from the late 1640s through the mid-1660s came in family groups. Unlike newly arrived servants, who would move into already established households, families needed dwelling houses, tobacco barns, and livestock. Daniel began to appear in the records as "Daniel Clocker, carpenter," especially after his stepson and sons reached the age when they could be of real help in the fields. Mary had skills as a dairy maid, an occupation confined to women, and there was a market among her neighbors for butter and cheese when she had time to make such products. Once the Clockers had well-established herds of cattle and pigs, they could sell pregnant cows and sows to households just starting out. The sale of a cow with her calf was a major supplement to income from tobacco, adding the value of more than half a tobacco crop from the late 1640s until the mid-1670s. And Mary was the local midwife. A court record in 1659 shows that in one difficult case she was owed two hundred pounds of tobacco, at that time about one-fifth of a year's crop.[33]

What the Clockers could not do was purchase necessary manufactures locally. All such goods they imported from England in return for tobacco, a situation that

prevailed over most of the seventeenth century. There was work for carpenters to build houses, coopers to make casks for the tobacco crop, and "taylors" to make clothing, but other crafts did not flourish. In all, it was simply more cost-efficient for settlers to import cloth, metal and leather products, and other manufactures in return for tobacco.[34] Over these years, Daniel Clocker appeared in the remaining records from time to time as a participant in community affairs and government, although the absence of the county court records limits the amount and variety of information. Appointed by the Provincial Court, which acted as a probate court, he appraised the estates of dead neighbors to establish the value of their assets. This practice was a protection for both creditors and heirs or legatees of the deceased. As early as 1648, probably before he owned land, he was summoned to sit on a petit jury at the Provincial Court, and in 1653 he temporarily attained the address of "Mister" when he sat on a Provincial Court grand jury to investigate a murder.[35] Clearly he was establishing himself as a reliable neighbor and citizen, whose word and judgment counted.

Mary Clocker was also making her mark in the community. Ordinarily women played no role in public affairs, but midwives were of importance in policing sexual misconduct. When women bore bastard children, the courts wanted to know who the father was, if only to ensure that he would support the child, who might otherwise need public relief. Part of the midwife's task was to interrogate the mother while in her labor as the surest route to a truthful answer. No one believed that women in the throes of childbirth, and hence in danger of immediate death, would dare to lie. In 1651, Mary delivered a child of Susan Warren, who swore in "her time of her delivery" that Captain William Mitchell, briefly a member of the council, had fathered the child and, early in the pregnancy, had given her "physick" to destroy it. Mary also testified that the child was born dead but had reached full term. Her testimony saved both parents from prosecution for infanticide, although not for fornication on Warren's part and adultery and attempted abortion on Mitchell's. For these offenses, the mother was whipped and Mitchell was dismissed from office and heavily fined.[36]

Although Maryland grew rapidly during the late 1640s and 1650, despite its collapse during Ingle's Rebellion, Lord Baltimore faced political attacks on his charter in Parliament and challenges to his authority in Maryland.[37] He knew he must somehow induce more Protestants of substance to settle in his colony and share in the leadership if he were to retain his charter. Leonard Calvert's sudden death in June of 1647 provided a chance to appoint a Protestant governor. The proprietor selected William Stone, a planter-merchant from the Virginian Eastern Shore. He had connections with Protestant merchants of London whose support the proprietor was seeking and also had close ties with a group of radical English Protestants who were suffering persecution in Virginia. With Stone's help, Lord Baltimore induced them to move to Maryland with guarantees of religious toleration.

In preparation for their arrival late in 1649, Lord Baltimore wrote and the Maryland Assembly passed, An Act Concerning Religion, which granted freedom of conscience in religion to all Trinitarian Christians. The Proprietor hoped this law would serve several purposes: protect Maryland Catholics, who were a minority in his colony and about to be more so; reassure the incoming Virginians; and make clear to the English Parliament, dominated by Protestant dissenters, that English Protestants of all but the most radical persuasions were welcome in Maryland.

These strategies did not prevent disaster in the 1650s. Parliamentary commissioners, sent to "reduce" Virginia, which had supported Charles I during the English Civil War, extended their mission to Maryland. In 1654 they ousted Stone and appointed several leaders of the radical Protestant immigration to carry on the Maryland government. Armed confrontation followed in which Stone and his men suffered total defeat. But in England, Oliver Cromwell, by then Lord Protector, did not confirm the actions of the commissioners or the government they had established in Maryland, but recommended instead a negotiated settlement. Consequently, in 1657, Lord Baltimore regained control of his province.

These events had a major impact on Daniel Clocker. On April 24, 1655, soon after the Battle of the Severn, the council appointed by the Parliamentary commissioners made him one of seven justices of the peace for St. Mary's County.[38] Yet he was a small landholder of very humble origins who could not write his name, had no important connections, and showed no signs that he would ever be wealthy.

To be sure, probably none of the others appointed met the English standard, which generally confined officeholding at this level to landed gentry.[39] Few Maryland settlers of the 1650s could meet English requirements for pedigree, wealth, and education. Of Clocker's colleagues on the bench from 1655 to 1658, all owned land, some in substantial amounts, but at least two had come to Maryland as servants, and three could not write. At least three were merchants as well as planters. Militia captain John Slye was the chief justice.[40]

In England, leaders among the gentry would have questioned whether men not born to rule could successfully exercise authority. In Maryland, there was no alternative. Clocker and his colleagues were a mixture of people not unlike those that served in Maryland counties across the whole seventeenth century. When possible, the governor and council, who made these appointments, selected literate men of birth and/or large estate, but when they were not available, it was necessary to appoint men of lesser education and status. Despite lowly origins, such justices generally were successful in maintaining order and were quickly replaced if they were not. Men sought the honor and the power—there was no remuneration beyond expenses—and sought to measure up to the office's requirements.

The reestablished proprietary government did not reappoint Daniel Clocker as county court justice when it issued its first county commissions on May 10, 1658.[41] However, two years later, he had once more a chance at a position of status when

Lord Baltimore's new governor, Josias Fendall, betrayed his trust. In late February 1660, Fendall called a meeting of the Assembly, not at St. Mary's but at St. Clement's Manor, twenty miles away. This assembly seems to have declared an end to proprietary rule and tried to establish a commonwealth, with Fendall as its head. Under this regime, Daniel Clocker was made a "Military Officer."[42]

Clocker's tenure as an officer was brief. Unbeknownst to members of the assembly, who probably hoped for approval in England from Protector Richard Cromwell (Oliver's son and successor), Charles II was assuming the English throne. In late June 1660, when royal authority was secure, Lord Baltimore procured from the king an order for "all Magistrats and officers and all other his Subjects in these parts" to assist in the reestablishment of proprietary government.[43] Fendall was at first defiant, but when in November the new governor, Philip Calvert, Lord Baltimore's half brother, proclaimed the royal order, all the participants in this "pygmie Rebellion" submitted.[44] They had lost the gamble of support from England and knew that now they could only seek mercy. The governor immediately issued Lord Baltimore's pardon for all but the ring leaders, and Daniel Clocker successfully made his peace with his august neighbor. Calvert even put one of Fendall's principal supporters, John Hatch, into Clocker's custody until Hatch could find security to appear for trial in the Provincial Court.

The surviving records for the most part provide only snippets of information, barely enough to construct the skeleton of Daniel and Mary Clocker's lives, and one longs for something that reveals their personalities. Luckily, a case concerning Mary Clocker provides some insight.[45] In 1659 she was indicted, tried, and sentenced to be hanged as an accessory to the theft of £50 worth of merchandise, including several kerchiefs, quoifs (caps), gorgets (collars), and smocks, all of Flanders lace, from the Dutch merchant Simon Overzee. The depositions reveal that Mary Clocker had been midwife to Mrs. Overzee, who had died in childbirth while her husband was absent from home. They conjure up a grisly picture of Mrs. Overzee lying in her coffin—built by Daniel—while Mary Clocker, who was nursing the child, and a certain Mary Williams obtained the keys to a huge Dutch trunk and rifled it of castile soap, silver and gold laces, gloves, buttons, thread, and other small items besides the clothing already mentioned. The two women had stuffed the goods under their skirts and in pillowcases and conveyed them home. Mary Williams's husband took fright and hid some of the loot in a tree, where two small children found it.

Each woman accused the other, but Mary Clocker appears to have done the planning. In Mary Williams's words, Mary Clocker urged "her to itt Saying hang him, If we doe not doe it wee shall never have anything for our paynes & I Mary Williams made answere how can I doe it? I have not the Keyes, And Mary Clocker replyed you are to make a pudding goe fetch the Keys of Mr Chandler to take Spices, and then you may doe itt." She did, and they did, and yet why? They could not use or sell such finery. When Mary Williams pointed this out to her accomplice she answered

"Hang him rather then ever hee shall have them, I will burne them, & further sayd shee would bury them in a Case in the Grownd."[46] Of course, Daniel had only shortly before enjoyed his brief honor as a justice of the peace. Perhaps Mary Clocker had allowed herself to dream that one day she would be dressed in laces. In any event, she clearly was a woman of strong personality, able to influence and lead others but subject to impulsive behavior that could cloud her judgment.

The 1660s and 1670s were at last years of peaceful growth in Maryland, and the Clockers continued to prosper. Although Daniel never again held a major office, he had clearly survived the years of turmoil with an enhanced standing in the community. He appears in the records of the courts more frequently than earlier, appearing as a surety for performance on bonds, taking his turn on juries, as appraiser of dead men's estates, and in county offices such as overseer of the highways.[47]

Over these years, the Town Land area began to change. As the colony's population grew, public buildings and inns were needed for courts and assemblies and to service people who came to do business at the capital. At last a small village began to emerge about a mile from Clocker's plantation. In 1669, to promote further development, Governor Charles Calvert chartered St. Mary's City as an area one mile square round and about this cluster.[48]

The chartering of the city brought Clocker his last position of honor: membership on its common council. Daniel did not thereby become a magistrate again; only the aldermen were magistrates. But the councilors voted on city bylaws and participated in the yearly selection of the mayor from among the aldermen and in replacements of these city officers. To be a member of the common council was a position of some responsibility.[49]

Unfortunately, town development was slow. Government was the sole basis of its economy. When courts and assemblies were functioning, the village of the 1670s was a very busy place, but at other times it probably held at most eleven households with a total of sixty or seventy people.[50] Nevertheless, the development of a village offered Clocker a new opportunity. He watched as Alderman Garret Vanswearingen, the lawyer Robert Ridgley, and other innkeepers attracted customers to their ordinaries, as inns were called in Maryland. Evidently he had made up his mind to join them when in 1674 he took up a city lot and built a house.[51]

Death intervened before Clocker could bring this project to success.[52] He wrote his will on February 4, 1675, eight days earlier. Mary had died before him and so had at least three children. He left three: Daniel Clocker, Jr.; Rebecca Clocker, about age fifteen and not yet married; and Mary Clocker Watts, wife of Peter Watts. He also left two grandchildren, Peter and Mary Watts. In this he was luckier than most seventeenth-century immigrants. Very few survived long enough to see their grandchildren.

Clocker knew he was heavily in debt and left instructions in his will to sell land, if necessary, to pay his obligations. What was left was to be divided between his son

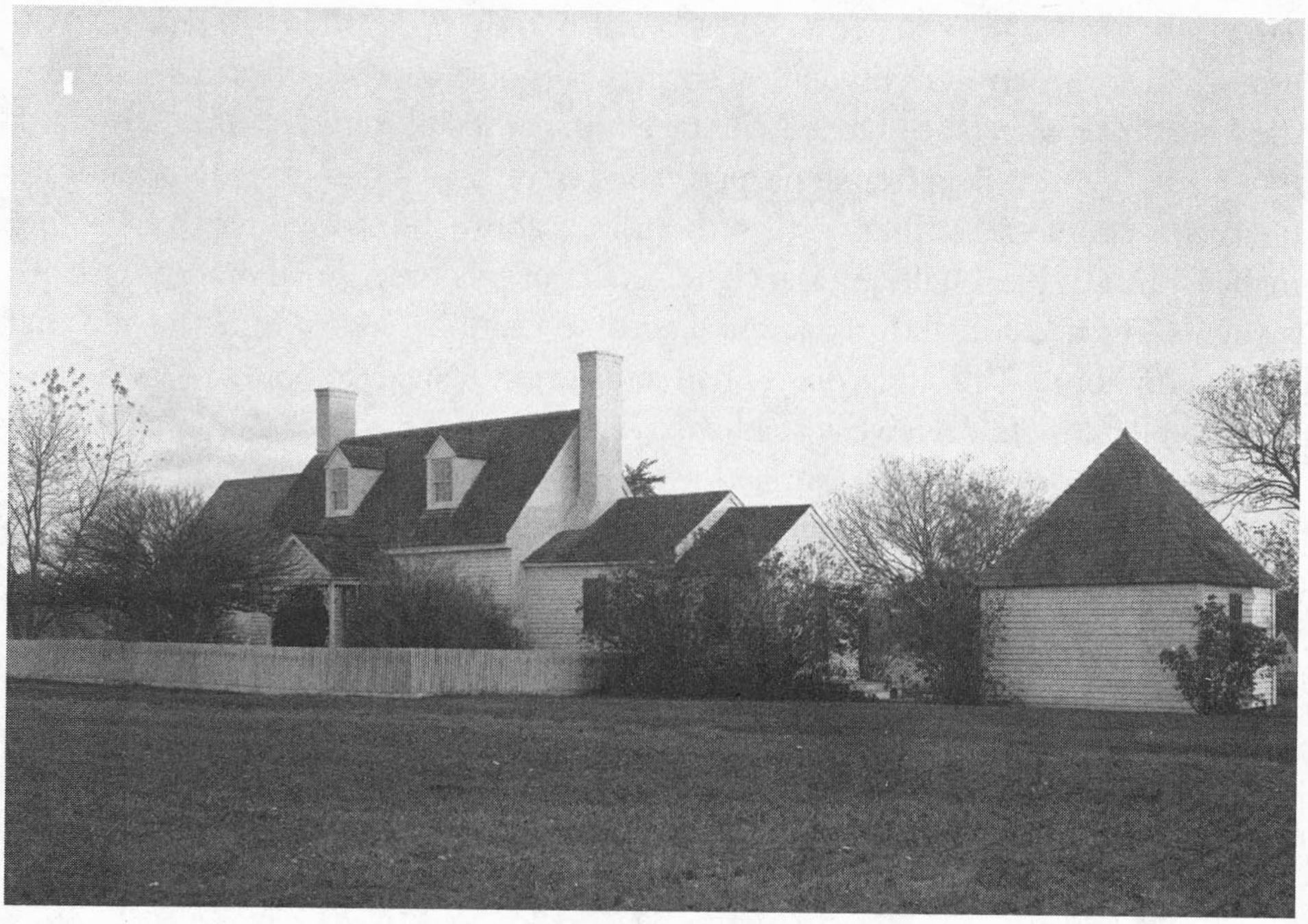
Daniel and his daughter Rebecca, who were also to share equally what remained of his movable property once his debts were paid. Doubtless he had given his daughter Mary her share when she married, but he left her two children each a cow.

Clocker's assets in movable property, or personalty, came to 17,026 pounds of tobacco, or about £71 sterling.[53] This sum was well above the £50 sterling that was the median value of personalty in Maryland estates at this time. In land, he possessed 230 acres—he had added thirty acres adjacent to Clark's Freehold in 1674—plus the city lot and house. The city property had to be sold to pay debts, but the assets that remained left his children well established in the yeomanry of St. Mary's County.

Clocker's inventory demonstrates the progress in material comfort that middling planters had achieved since the first days of settlement. Clocker had three bedsteads with curtains, a large table with a bench, three chairs, and two small tables. He also had bed sheets and table linens. There was even a carpet for the large table—perhaps intended for the projected ordinary—and a "smoothing" iron for pressing linen and clothes. All this equipment had been missing from the great majority of households in the 1630s, regardless of wealth or status, but by the 1670s most inventories valued at more than £50 had most of these items. Of course, the poor still lived more primitively, and in general, the standard of material life across all levels of wealth remained lower than it was in England.

A large part of Clocker's debt resulted from his guardianship of Ann Price, daughter of Colonel John Price.[54] In 1661, Daniel had probably been especially gratified when Price, a member of the council, had named him as one of four executors of his will. Price, an illiterate man of humble origins, had arrived in Maryland as a free man in 1636, and he and Daniel must have known each other over many years. Daniel and his co-executors, all wealthier than he was, had administered the estate and acted as guardians to Price's daughter Anne, aged only three at her father's death. Once the debts were paid the guardians divided Price's movable estate in four parts, each taking one-quarter, mostly in livestock. In 1674, Anne married Richard Hatton, the younger brother of William Hatton, another of her guardians, and the couple at once demanded her inheritance. The time had come for Daniel to pay to Anne the share of her estate that he had held for ten years. However, a severe drought that year had a devastating effect on livestock and may have decimated Anne's inheritance.[55] When Clocker's estate was accounted early in 1677, what he owed to Anne came to nearly half of all his indebtedness.

These events demonstrate one attempt to cope with a major problem in early seventeenth-century Maryland society. Kin networks were undeveloped and life expectancy was so short that children lost their parents at an early age. Price and his wife, who had predeceased him, had no kin in the Chesapeake to take responsibility for his orphaned daughter. He had to rely on friends to look after her welfare and protect her property. Beginning in 1663, Maryland laws began to establish procedures for protecting such children, but the oversight provided did not always



"Clocker's Fancy, St. Mary's City [vicinity], St. Mary's County, Md.," 1936. (Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress.)

supply what was needed if no kin were at hand to complain. Luckily, Price picked responsible guardians. Clocker and his co-guardians had the benefit of the estate for ten years, but they also had to absorb any losses that had occurred and return to her, either in kind or in value, the property her father had left her. This charge they carried out. Whether overall, any of the four enjoyed gains is unknown, but Clocker must have had losses, given the large debt to Anne that appears in his account. Sadly, both Richard and Anne were dead within a few days of Clocker. William Hatton became executor of Richard Hatton's will, guardian of his infant son Richard, and responsible for young Richard's property and education. It was William who collected from Clocker's estate what was due to Anne. The cycle of care and risk had begun again. By contrast, the Clocker children were lucky. Thanks to their father's longevity, they escaped this cycle.[56]

Daniel Clocker had arrived in Maryland with nothing but the willingness and capacity to work with his hands; he died a well-respected landowner who had served in a position of power, albeit briefly. Was his career typical of seventeenth-century indentured servants in Maryland or did he have exceptional good luck?

The answer to such a question requires a carefully designed analysis of servant careers.[57] In 1973 a study of all identifiable male servants who had entered Maryland before the end of 1642 found 275. Of these, 117—more than 40 percent—disappeared from the records before becoming freemen. Probably the great majority of these

servants had died before completing their terms, although proof of their fate remains for only fourteen. Of the 158 others, fourteen died or left Maryland before they had been free for ten years and another twenty-five left only fleeting references in the records. Probably they, too, died or moved on. Only ninety-two lasted ten years or more. Of these, seventy-nine to eighty-one, or more than 90 percent, acquired land. In addition, at least eleven of the twenty-seven known to have moved away became landowners in Virginia. There was also significant political opportunity. Twenty-five of these landowners, or more than a quarter, gained office of power, although some, like Clocker, only briefly.

Clocker, then, was representative of men who arrived early in Maryland and had the physical stamina to survive a climate that was wasteful of life, especially among immigrants. For such men opportunity was great. On the other hand, we must remember the losers. Of the 275 identified servants who left England for Maryland over the first nine years of the colony, less than 30 percent achieved ownership of land and the independence it brought. For most, their adventure ended in early death.

Clocker and men like him created the landscape of early Maryland. Seventy to eighty-five percent of immigrants arrived as indentured servants, and many of the others who paid their own way had little or no capital at the start. There were rich planters, of course, who had hundreds of acres, many servants, and eventually slaves. But for several decades, the typical household was headed by a man who had arrived with little or nothing but who, with hard work, a strong physical constitution, and some good luck, either had, or one day would have, a plantation and a respected place in the community. These survivors had found a trade-off. In seventeenth-century Maryland, life was shorter than in England, work was harder, and the standard of material comfort was lower. What they were gaining was land and the control over their lives that ownership of land provided.

Opportunity at the bottom began to diminish in the settled parts of Maryland after the 1660s and especially after the 1670s. The growth of population and the increasing substitution of slaves for servants produced rising costs of land and labor. As a result, newcomers who had no capital took increasingly longer than Daniel Clocker had to acquire land and more and more frequently died before achieving that goal. By the early eighteenth century few ex-servants could look forward to more than tenancy unless they were willing to follow the frontier of settlement as it moved west.

In the face of these changes, Daniel Clocker's children were able to maintain the status he had achieved, but they did not improve upon it. Still, his descendants remained on his Town Land for another two hundred years. In the late eighteenth century, Clocker's great-great grandson, Benjamin Clocker, built a house on Clark's Freehold that the family owned and occupied until William Clocker Bayne, the great-great-great grandson of the first Daniel, finally sold the property in 1877. A later owner gave the house its present name, "Clocker's Fancy." It still stands today, a reminder of the first Daniel Clocker's achievement.[58]

NOTES

1. J. Fisher Crosthwaite, "The Colony of German Miners at Keswick," *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archeological Society* 6 (1881–1882): 344–354. For the marriage of Gosper and Mabell and the births of six of their children through 1690, see Crosthwaite Parish Register I: 138 (marriage), 26 (Christopher, 1570), 33 (Mabell, 1571), 47 (Annamaria, 1575), 81 (Oswould, 1584), 90 (Bartill/Bartholomew?, 1587), 100 (Gosper, 1590), ms., Cumbria County Archives, The Castle, Carlisle, Cumbria County, United Kingdom. For the birth of the first Daniel Clocker, see Register II: 90, ms. His father, Hance Clocker, also was the first of his name to appear, beginning with the birth registration of his first child, Mabell, in 1608. See the Church of the Latter Day Saints *International Genealogical Index, Version* 5, 1994 (hereinafter cited *Index*, 5). Perhaps Hans Clocker was a newcomer to Cumberland county. Or perhaps he was born of Mabell and Gosper between 1675 and 1684, a period when she had no recorded children. The *Index* makes clear that English Clockers originated in Crosthwaite parish. Until 1599 there are entries only for the first Gosper and his descendants. Thereafter until the end of the seventeenth century only three Clocker families appear outside Cumberland. None contain a Daniel, a name that after 1700 often appeared in Cumberland county records. For the Maryland Daniel's brother John, the only reference is in Daniel's administration account: "to Dr. John Pierce for physic given John Clocker his brother, being extr in his owne Wrong of the goods and Chattells of the said John his brother." Inventories and Accounts 3: 69, ms., Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Md., USA (hereinafter cited MSA).

2. Joan Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume IV,* 1500–1640 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 16–25.

3. E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England,* 1541–1871: *A Reconstruction* (Cambridge: Harvard Universty Press, 1981), chapt. 6, esp. 173–79; L. A. Clarkson, *The Pre-Industrial Economy in England,* 1500-1750 (New York: Schoken Books, 1972), 25-32. Thirsk, ed., *Agrarian History,* IV: 20. This Jasper, with wife Judith, had five children christened in this parish, beginning in 1619 and ending in 1639, see *Index*, 5 .

4. *A Declaration of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Maryland,* 350th Anniversary Document Series, no. 2 (Annapolis: The Maryland Hall of Records, 1983); *A Relation of the Successefull Beginnings of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Maryland,* 350th Anniversary Document Series, no 3 (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, 1984); John Lewger and Jerome Hawley, *A Relation of Maryland* (London, 1635), reprinted in Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland,* 1633–1684 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), 70–112.

5. Patents AB&H: 244, ms, MSA, shows that Cornwaleys brought Clocker in to Maryland as a servant. Unless otherwise indicated, all manuscripts cited are at the Maryland State Archives.

6. This and the following four paragraphs are based on Russell R. Menard and Lois Green Carr, "The Lords Baltimore and the Colonization of Maryland," in David B. Quinn, ed., *Early Maryland in a Wider World* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982), 167–208.

7. Warrants of land came to be called headrights, but not all warrants were for taking up land.

8. For a new and excellent discussion of the Calvert "Maryland Designe," see John D. Krugler, *English and Catholic: The Lords Baltimore in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), Introduction and chapter 6.

9. For recent discussion of motives for emigrating from England to the Chesapeake, see James Horn, "'To Parts Beyond the Seas:' Free Emigration to the Chesapeake in the Seventeenth-

Century," in Ida Altman and James Horn, eds., *"To Make America": European Emigration in the Early Modern World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 85–130; idem, *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 49–77, and Russell R. Menard, "British Migration to the Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century," in Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, eds., *Colonial Chesapeake Society* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 99–132.

10. On indentured servant ages, see David Galenson, *White Servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 22–33 and Table 2.3. There are no data before the 1680s. Galenson found that more than 75 per cent of male indentured servants that appear on two London registration lists over the years 1683–1686 were no more than age twenty-five at departure. Fifteen per cent were under sixteen.

11. Lorena S. Walsh and Russell R. Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake: Two Life Tables for Men in Early Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (1974): 214–17 (hereinafter cited *MdHM*).

12. This and the next five paragraphs are based on Menard and Carr, "The Lords Baltimore and the Colonization of Maryland," 170–72, 185–209.

13. Leonard Calvert to Sir Richard Lechford, May 30, 1634, *The Calvert Papers, Fund Publication*, No. 35 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1899), 21.

14. On English servants, see Anne Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

15. For a complaint that the sale of a servant without his consent was like slavery, see Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery-American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1975), 128.

16. Except as otherwise noted, the next 18 paragraphs are based on Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh, *Robert Cole's World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971), chapters 2 and 3.

17. Henry M. Miller, "An Archaeological Perspective on the Evolution of Diet in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1620–1745" in Carr, Morgan, and Russo, eds., *Colonial Chesapeake Society*, 176–97.

18. The inventories are printed in William Hand Browne, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland*, 72 vols. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–1972), 4:72–99 (hereinafter cited *Arch. Md.*) Court depositions occasionally note in passing that someone was sleeping on a chest.

19. Except as noted, this and the next four paragraphs are based on Carr, Menard, and Walsh, *Robert Cole's World*, chapters 3, 4.

20. On English farming practices, see Thirsk, ed., *Agrarian History*, IV: 163–97.

21. For this and the next paragraph, see Menard and Carr, "The Lords Baltimore and the Colonization of Maryland," 205–209; *Arch. Md.* 1: 121, 123.

22. Translation of the Maryland charter, *Maryland Manual* (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, 1985), 671–72. The translation was printed in Thomas Bacon, *The Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1765).

23. David W. Jordan, *Foundations of Representative Government in Maryland,* 1632–1715 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 17–22; Menard and Carr, "The Lords Baltimore and the Colonization of Maryland," 196.

24. Patents AB&H: 60, ms; Testamentary Proceedings 1B:3–4, ms; *Arch. Md.* 4: 52, 178. The timing of her marriage to Clocker is inferred from two facts: 1) as Mary Courtney, she lost a cow during Ingle's Rebellion; and 2) her daughter Elizabeth was born in 1646. *Arch. Md.* 41: 185, 212.

25. For an excellent discussion of household organization and the position of women in seventeenth-century Maryland and New England, see Mary Beth Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 83–88, 101–37, 140–65. For an earlier account that concentrates more explicitly on Maryland, see Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d series, 34 (1977), 542–71, revised and reprinted in *In Search of Early America: The William and Mary Quarterly*, 1943–1993 (Williamsburg, Va., 1993), 183–208.
26. Carr and Walsh, "The Planter's Wife," 199–200; Gloria L. Main, *Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 175–85.
27. Except as otherwise noted, the next three paragraphs are based on Timothy Riordan, *The Plundering Time: Maryland and the English Civil War*, 1645–1646 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2004); Russell R. Menard, "Maryland's 'Time of Troubles': Sources of Political Disorder in Early St. Mary's," *MdHM* 76 (1981): 128–40; Lois Green Carr, "Sources of Political Stability and Upheaval in Seventeenth-Century Maryland, "*MdHM*, 79 (1984): 54–55.
28. *Arch. Md.* 41: 145.
29. For an example, see *Arch. Md.* 1: 222.
30. Patents AB&H: 36, 177, ms; Rent Roll 0: 3, 10; 7: 2, mss.
31. Rent Roll 0: 3, 4; 7: 3, mss. On the value of marsh land, see Lois Green Carr, "Diversification in the Colonial Chesapeake: Somerset County, Maryland, in Comparative Perspective," in Carr, Morgan, and Russo, eds., *Chesapeake Colonial Society*, 327, n. 43.
32. *Arch Md.* 41: 392; Lorena S. Walsh, "'Till Death Do Us Part': Marriage and Family in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," in Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds., *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society and Politics* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 142, n. 50; Walsh and Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake," 222 and Table VI.
33. Russell R. Menard, "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1975), 222–23; *Arch. Md.* 57: 218, 41: 395; Cattle Price Files, Historic St. Mary's City History Office, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Md.; Carr, Menard, and Walsh, *Robert Cole's World*, 292, n. 62; Table 2.3.
34. Carr, Menard, and Walsh, *Robert Cole's World*, 51–52, 292, n. 63.
35. *Arch. Md.* 10: 63, 295, 336; Testamentary Proceedings 1B: 70, 72–73, ms.
36. *Arch. Md.* 10: 171 (quote), 177, 182–85. On the role of women in the courts, see Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers*, 225–26.
37. This and the next two paragraphs are based on Carr, "Sources of Political Stability and Upheaval," 56–58; Fausz, "Merging and Emerging Worlds," 81–85; [William Claiborne], *Virginia and Maryland, or The Lord Baltamore' Printed Case Uncased and Answered* (London, 1655), reprinted in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 187–230; Leonard Strong, *Babylon's Fall in Maryland: A Fair Warning to Lord Baltamore* (London, 1655), reprinted in ~~ibid., 235–46~~; John Langford, *A Just and Cleere Refutation of a False and Scandalous Pamphlet Entituled Babylons Fall in Maryland* (London, 1655), reprinted in ibid., 254–75; *Arch. Md.* 1: 369–71; 3: 323–27.
38. *Arch. Md.* 10: 413.
39. Except as noted, this and the next paragraph are based on Carr, "Sources of Political Stability and Upheaval," 47–50; Lois Green Carr, "The Foundations of Social Order: Local Government in Colonial Maryland," in Bruce C. Daniels, ed., *Town and County: Essays on the Structure of Local Government in the American Colonies* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1978), 78–84.

40. The justices appointed are listed in *Arch. Md.* 10: 412–13. Captain John Slye is a mystery. There is no other mention of him in any surviving Maryland record.
41. For this and the following paragraph, see *Arch. Md.* 41: 88–89, 427–29; ibid. 3: 391–95, 400.
42. *Arch. Md.* 41: 427 (quote).
43. Ibid, 394.
44. Ibid, 394.
45. The next two paragraphs are based on *Arch. Md.* 41: 207–13, 255, 258–59.
46. For both quotations, see ibid., 211.
47. Carr, "Sources of Political Stability and Upheaval," 49–51; *Arch. Md.* l: 521; 51:121; 57: 218, 597, 613; 65: 8–9, 29, 31–33, 34, 212, 526–27; Testamentary Proceedings 1C: 26,55; 2: 132, 229; 3: 12–13, 268, ms.
48. Lois Green Carr, "'The Metropolis of Maryland': A Comment on Town Development Along the Tobacco Coast," *MdHM* 69 (1974): 128–31.
49. *Arch. Md.* 51: 383–90, 568.
50. Records of proprietary land grants include the lots taken up in the city before 1683, after which a town act required that all towns keep their records in separate books. Consequently, land records for the city after 1683 are lost, perhaps in the fire of 1831 that destroyed the county's land records. In 1678, the Council stated that only eleven lots had been taken up since the city was chartered, and eleven are what we have found. *Arch. Md.* 7: 30–31. One more grant was made in 1679. Patents 20:49 ms. The population estimates are based on the number of houses so far known at six to seven people per household. On the history of St. Mary's City, and the absence of seventeenth-century Maryland towns in general, see Carr, "'The Metropolis of Maryland," 124–45.
51. Patents 19: 311, 462, ms. The act of 1674 for payment of the public charge shows large payments to Vanswearingen, Ridgley, and others for entertaining both houses of the assembly and grand juries of the Provincial Court. *Arch. Md.* 2: 415–16.
52. For this and the next paragraph, see Wills 2: 390–91, ms, MSA.
53. This and the following paragraph are based on Patents 19: 637, ms. (additional land); Inventories and Accounts 8: 144–45, ms; ibid 3: 68–71, ms; Russell R. Menard, "Farm Prices of Maryland Tobacco, 1659–1710," *MdHM* 68 (1973): 80–85; Horn, "Adapting to a New World," Tables 4, 5; Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "Inventories and the Analysis of Wealth and Consumption Patterns in St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1658–1777," *Historical Methods* 13 (1980), Table 2.
54. For this and the next paragraph, see Testamentary Proceedings 1C: 44, 55, ms; *Arch. Md.* 41: 520, 574; 49: 263; 51: 445–46, 450–55; Inventories and Accounts 2: 218, ms.; 3: 68–71, ms; 8: 144–45 ms.; Lois Green Carr, "The Development of the Maryland Orphans' Court, 1654–1715" in Aubrey C. Land, Lois Green Carr, and Edward C. Papenfuse, eds., *Law, Society and Politics in Early Maryland* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 41–62; Walsh, "'Till Death Do Us Part,'" 134–35, 141–47.
55. On the drought, see Russell R. Menard, "The Tobacco Industry in the Chesapeake Colonies, 1617–1730: An Interpretation'" *Research in Economic History* 5 (1980):136.
56. Carr, "Orphans Court," 41–62; Walsh, "'Till Death Do Us Part,'" 134–35, 141–47.
57. For this and the next three paragraphs, see Russell R. Menard, "From Servant to Freeholder: Status Mobility and Property Accumulation in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly* 30 (1973), 37–64; Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, 152–54; Menard and Carr, "The Lords Baltimore and the Colonization of Maryland," 205, 211; Lois Green Carr and Russell R. Menard, "Immigration and Opportunity: The Freedman in Early Colonial

Maryland" in Thad W. Tate and David Ammerman, *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society and Politics* (Chapel Hill: Institute of Early American History and Culture, University Press of North Carolina, 1979), 232–34.

58. Dating the house awaits archaeological excavation, but contrary to local tradition, architectural historians, after examination of the structure, now believe the building is post-Revolutionary. Daniel Clocker Jr. drowned unexpectedly in 1683, leaving only one child, the third Daniel Clocker, who had been born about 1681. (Testamentary Proceedings 13: 66, ms; Chancery Proceedings PL: 662, ms.) Since Daniel Jr. left no will, Daniel III by law inherited the 130 acres of Town Land his father had received from Daniel I: St. Andrews, 50a; Lewis's Neck, 30a; and Clark's Freehold, 50a. In February 1702, Daniel III administered the estate of his mother, Patience Cooper, who had outlived two more husbands but had kept the land out of the clutches of her husbands' creditors. By this date, this third Daniel evidently had come of age, Inventories and Accounts 21: 362 (Feb. 2, 1702); Testamentary Proceedings 14: 112 (1688), 146 (1689); 14a: 9, 10 (1692); 15a: 123; 19a: 78, 125, 161, 193 (1701–1703).

In 1745, Daniel III had St. Andrews resurveyed, obtained a patent, and changed the name to "Clocker's Fancy." To that time, the tract had never been patented. The original certificate of survey had been lost by 1660 (Rent Roll 0: 2, ms.) and Daniel Jr. had had the land resurveyed in 1681 (Patents BC&GS No. 4: 217–218) but had not patented it before he drowned. Daniel III died a widower in 1747. He left two children, Daniel IV and Rebecca. His will named Daniel Clocker IV executor, but left him no legacy. Rebecca received two tracts: Sisters Freehold, fifty acres (a new acquisition), and Clocker's Fancy (the former St. Andrew's), fifty-six acres "adjoining to the Plantation whereon I live." (Wills 25: 94–95, ms.) As Daniel III died intestate with respect to the dwelling plantation, Daniel IV, as heir-at-law, took possession. In 1766 he left it to his oldest son, Benjamin Clocker, age 19. Daniel IV's will explicitly identified the land as being Clark's Freehold, Lewis's Neck, and Small Addition (Wills 34: 97, ms.); John Mackall v. William Aisquith, attorney-in-fact for William Hicks (Chancery Papers No. 5783, ms.) deposition of Benjamin Clocker, 1787, declared Benjamin's age.

There is every reason to believe that Benjamin Clocker built the house that stands on Clark's Freehold today, after the Revolution. Architectural historians from the Maryland Historical Trust, among them Orlando Ridout V, have concluded that the house dates from 1790 to 1810, see Kirk E. Ranzetta, John O'Rourke, and Gus Kiorpes, "Clocker's Fancy: A Report on the Structural Integrity, Historical Architecture, Stabilization, and Preservation, March, 2002," on file at the Maryland Historical Trust. Benjamin Clocker's will, probated in 1832, left all of his land to his grandson William Clocker Bayne, who sold it to Dr. John Mackall Broome in 1877. (St. Mary's County Wills E.I.M.: 214–215 and St. Mary's County Land Records, J.F.F. No. 2:446, microfilm, MSA). The State of Maryland is the present owner.

"Mr. Secretary": John Lewgar, St. John's Freehold, and Early Maryland

ARTHUR PIERCE MIDDLETON and HENRY M. MILLER

A new exhibit opened at St. Mary's City in 2008 that interprets a remarkable archaeological site dating from the first years of settlement in colonial Maryland. Named St. John's, workers built a house there in the summer of 1638, one that ultimately witnessed some of the most significant events in the colony's early history. Its owner, John Lewgar, was a friend of Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, who appointed him the secretary of the province in 1637. Cecil had previously made his own brother, Leonard Calvert, Governor and Chancellor of Maryland, and now Lewgar was given virtually all the remaining governmental responsibilities such as custodian of the land records, recorder, collector of quit-rents, judge of probate, and surveyor general. In Gilbert & Sullivan terms, Leonard Calvert was the Mikado of Maryland, and Lewgar the Pooh Bah, the Lord High of Everything Else. As the colony grew in population and wealth over the next century and a half, no fewer than seven official posts developed out of the Secretariat Lewgar held by a process of subdivision.[1] His story is not only important to Maryland's history, but reflects the religious tensions and struggles with conscience which were central to the young colony.

Lewgar's contribution to Maryland began shortly after its founding. One of the earliest published pamphlets on Maryland, *A Relation of Maryland*, dated September 6, 1635, gave glowing accounts of the natural beauty and riches of Lord Baltimore's recently founded colony in America and provided prospective settlers with a detailed list of supplies they needed to bring with them in order to clear the land, cultivate the soil, build shelter for themselves and families, and survive the first winter. For that reason, its authorship was for a time attributed to the Lord Proprietor himself. But in an extant court record, William Peasley, the treasurer of the enterprise and brother-in-law of Lord Baltimore, declared that the work was "written and conceived by Mr. Jerome Haulie [or Hawley] and Mr. John Lewgar, two of the adventurers [investors] of the said plantacon." Surely Peasley was in a position to know who wrote it. Hawley, a courtier to Queen Henrietta Maria, sailed with the first settlers on *The Ark* in 1634, and he knew Maryland from direct experience. Lewgar probably had no

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John Lewgar, an ordained Church of England priest, served at Laverton in Somerset before converting to Catholicism and emigrating to the Maryland colony. (Author's photograph.)

such experience but was a skilled writer and editor who likely prepared the pamphlet for publication.[2] *A Relation of Maryland* helped spur immigration to the colony and provides invaluable information about Maryland's founding period.

John Lewgar (also spelled "Lewger") "was born of genteel parents in London" from a long-established Sussex family. Most likely his father was Philip Lewgar (sometimes spelled Lugar), a scrivener (professional clerk or secretary) of Chancery Lane. John was baptized at St. Dunstan's-in-the-West on December 27, 1601, and admitted to Trinity College, Oxford on December 13, 1616.[3] He graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in November of 1619 and received a Master of Arts on June 26, 1622. While there, he received a solid grounding in grammar, rhetoric, logic, mathematics and music, read Aristotle, Virgil, Horace and Cicero, and worked in Latin and perhaps Greek. Three years later he was ordained a priest in the Church of England and received the benefice of Laverton, Somerset, as the gift of King Charles I, being installed there on February 10, 1626/27. Lewgar also taught as a fellow at Trinity College, Oxford, and gained a Bachelor of Divinity degree in July 1632. Oxford University licensed him to preach throughout England.[4]

Somerset county had strong Oxford connections in terms of clergy and records from its Diocese of Bath and Wells indicate that Lewgar received the benefice there when he was only twenty-five years old. This fact is notable because the average age a person received their first benefice in the diocese was 29.4 years. This implies that

The rectory at Laverton today. Note that an orchard is still found to the right of the house. (Author's photograph.)

Lewgar had notable ability that was recognized early.[5] On the other hand, he did not receive a lucrative parish. Laverton provided an annual income valued at £30 in 1668, and that was probably the case during Lewgar's tenure. The mean income for diocese parishes was nearly double that and for clergy who were the sons of gentlemen, it averaged £68.5. But in a study of the diocese, Margaret Stieg finds that "A realistic Somerset clergyman would probably, therefore, have accepted £30 as a minimum before the Civil War. Thirty pounds might seem rather inadequate, but 46 of the 359 benefices listed in the 1668 survey were worth less than £30."[6] Annual tithes from the manor of Laverton were the principal source of this income, although leasing and farming glebe land provided more revenue. In addition, clergymen received small fees for conducting baptisms, marriages, and funerals.

"Laverton is situated in a pleasant vale, finely wooded, to the north of the town of Frome . . . the church . . . is a small structure 52 feet long and 20 wide, At the west end is a tower, eight feet high, containing three bells."[7] Named St. Mary the Virgin, construction dates to medieval times. In January 1638/39, the church wardens made a survey of the rectory and glebe of Laverton, providing an excellent sense of the property where Lewgar dwelled. The rectory consisted of seven rooms, with four on the ground floor and three on the second. An orchard and garden grew near the house, and an adjoining farmyard had a barn, hay house, and stable. Measuring nearly seventy-five acres in size, this holding included fields, meadows, pastures and

hedges, and no doubt provided Lewgar with considerable experience in husbandry.[8] The rectory survives, a two-story building of stone construction with a central fireplace, lobby entrance, and an addition to the rear.

Lewgar began his ministry in a diocese that was undergoing forced change, serving under William Laud, Bishop of Bath and Wells between 1626 and 1628, and Laud's equally High Church successor, William Peirs.[9] Laud's vigorous attempts to impose doctrinal and liturgical conformity on Puritan-minded priests and laity of the Church of England, even in a diocese that had relatively few Puritans, proved highly controversial. The bishop first implemented these reforms in the diocese of Bath and Wells, earning it a title from one scholar as "Laud's Laboratory." These reforms met with indifferent success and much objection. One of the most famous challenges occurred in the church at Beckington, a village only two miles from Lewgar's rectory. The dispute centered on the communion table. Laud ordered the table placed against the east wall of churches, as per long established Christian tradition, and for it to be enclosed by a rail. But the church wardens at Beckington refused in 1635, wanting it to be in the center of the chancel without any rail, a Puritan concept thought to better represent early Christianity. The argument rapidly escalated until Laud excommunicated and imprisoned the wardens, actions that attracted national attention. When one of the wardens later died while in prison, he became a martyr and the Puritan-minded forces used the episode to attack Laud.[10] Lewgar certainly knew the rector and perhaps the church wardens at Beckington. Although seemingly a small matter, the communion table controversy became an important symbol of the growing divide between the Church of England and the Puritans. This conflict, and the rising tide of Puritanism, could not be overlooked, particularly for someone with Lewgar's intellect who surely recognized that the Church of England might lose its medieval structure, Catholic liturgy, and Apostolic Succession. His worst fears eventually materialized when the Parliamentarians impeached William Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1640, imprisoned him in the Tower of London, and beheaded him in 1645.[11] John Lewgar, however, did not have to choose sides in this religious dispute for he had made a profound decision.

During his time in Oxford, he had become friends with William Chillingworth, a brilliant scholar and theologian. Chillingworth had a keen, critical mind and believed strongly in the duty of individuals to form their own convictions about salvation and follow their consciences. Deep inquiry led him to reject the Anglican faith, regardless of the fact that his godfather William Laud held appointment as the Archbishop of Canterbury. The young theologian converted to Roman Catholicism, the faith he believed most representative of the true religion. The decision greatly disturbed Lewgar who:

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

> a thorough investigation of the subject, at the end of which he came to a similar conclusion with Chillingworth, and felt himself compelled to acknowledge the Church of Rome as the only true Church. [12]

In 1635, John Lewgar decided to abjure Anglican orders and conform to the Church of Rom. Chillingworth, on the other hand, after studying with the Jesuits at their seminary in Douay, France, found their more rigid approach to theology and church traditions unacceptable, and changed his mind once more. He returned to the Church of England, became an ordained priest in 1638, and authored an influential book titled *The Religion of Protestants: a Safe Way to Salvation.*[13] Afterward, Lewgar and Chillingworth again debated theology, this time with their positions reversed.[14] Lewgar's argument appeared as *A conference between him and Mr. Chillingworth, whether the Roman church be the Catholic church and all out of communion heretics or schismatics*, published posthumously in 1687 in a collection of Chillingworth's writings. Lewgar, unmoved by the discussions, remained firm in his new ecclesiastical affiliation.

Church of England priests such as Lewgar did not take conversion to the Roman Catholic faith lightly. Serious consequences accompanied his decision to resign his Anglican incumbency at Laverton in early to mid-1635. Lewgar found himself prohibited from church, government, or academic positions, with little visible means of support for himself and his family. He had married a woman named Ann in the mid-1620s and by mid-decade had a son named John.[15] They apparently moved to London after his resignation. On July 11, 1635, Gregory Panzani, a Papal envoy in London, wrote:

> I have also recommended to Father Philips [confessor of Queen Henrietta Maria] a very learned minister, John Leuger, one recently converted. . . . On his coming to see me, I received him with all marks of affection possible, promising to do for him whatever I could. . . . He goes about still dressed like a minister, as well because that garb is not held to be distinctive, for it is common even to the students, as because he goes on temporizing thus in order to not lose his income, till he finds something else to live on. The Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury know that he is converted; still they pretend to be ignorant of the fact, and they tolerate him.[16]

If this gossip were true at the time, it did not last. Seven months later, Panzani wrote that "Father Leander had already commended to me John Leuger, a converted minister, who having lost a benefice worth 400 scudi, has nothing now to maintain his wife and children, who are become Catholics with him." This must have been a difficult time for Lewgar. Panzani tells us that "I have tried in various ways to keep up his spirits . . . but I have not been able to get anything of consequence. And a small pittance is not enough for him." As late as August 25, 1636, he was still making

efforts to find assistance. Eventually, Father William Price of the Benedictine Order provided the needed financial support.[17]

During this period, Lewgar grew closer to his old college friend Cecil Calvert, now Lord Baltimore. He and Jerome Hawley had already assisted Calvert with the writing of *A Relation of Maryland.* No evidence of Lewgar's activities between August 1636 and April 1637 has been found, but he must have begun working for Lord Baltimore during this period. On April 15, 1637, Cecil Calvert commissioned Lewgar as Secretary for Maryland, councilor, collector and receiver of rents, and surveyor general.[18] As councilor, he would serve with Leonard Calvert and Thomas Cornwaleys as the chief officers of the government. A few months later, he and his family sailed for America on the ship *Unity*, a vessel from the Isle of Wight, arriving in Maryland on November 28, 1637. Lewgar carried letters for Governor Leonard Calvert, gifts for the "Emperor of Paskattaway," and a new legal code for the colony that he had likely written or helped Lord Baltimore prepare.[19] Thus began ten years (1637–1647) of service to the Lord Proprietary in Maryland. In late January 1637/38, he received even more duties with his appointment as the commissioner in Causes Testamentary and Matrimonial for the government and Justice of the Peace for St. Mary's County. Lewgar now held the administration of Maryland's government in his hands.

Lewgar received a jarring introduction to the contentious politics of the new colony in his first meeting with the assembly. Governor Calvert and Lewgar attempted to have the legislators approve Lord Baltimore's legal code. The freedmen, unwilling to have laws dictated to them, rejected it outright, complaining that Lord Baltimore had prepared the laws without a firm knowledge of actual conditions in the colony. Leonard Calvert recognized the problem, later writing to his brother that "The body of laws you sent over by Mr. Lewger, I endeavored to have had passed . . . but could not effect it, there was so many things unsuitable to the people's good and no way conducing to your profit."[20] The assembly proposed new laws and modified Lord Baltimore's but they accomplished little in establishing a new overall legal code. It would require a number of legislative sessions for partial implementation, and Lord Baltimore's slow recognition that the freedmen of Maryland would insist upon having a major role in creating laws. As an assembly, they saw themselves as a mini-parliament. [21]

While struggling to organize legal and administrative affairs for the colony, Lewgar also had the task of providing a home and a livelihood for his family. Initially, the Lewgars lived in one of the cottages within the 1634 fort. With a patent from Lord Baltimore, he had rights to a large tract of townland and soon chose a property just north of Governor Calvert's house that he named St. John's Freehold in honor of his patron saint. This uninhabited two-hundred-acre tract offered excellent agricultural land, good timber, a fine freshwater spring, and ready access to the river.[22]

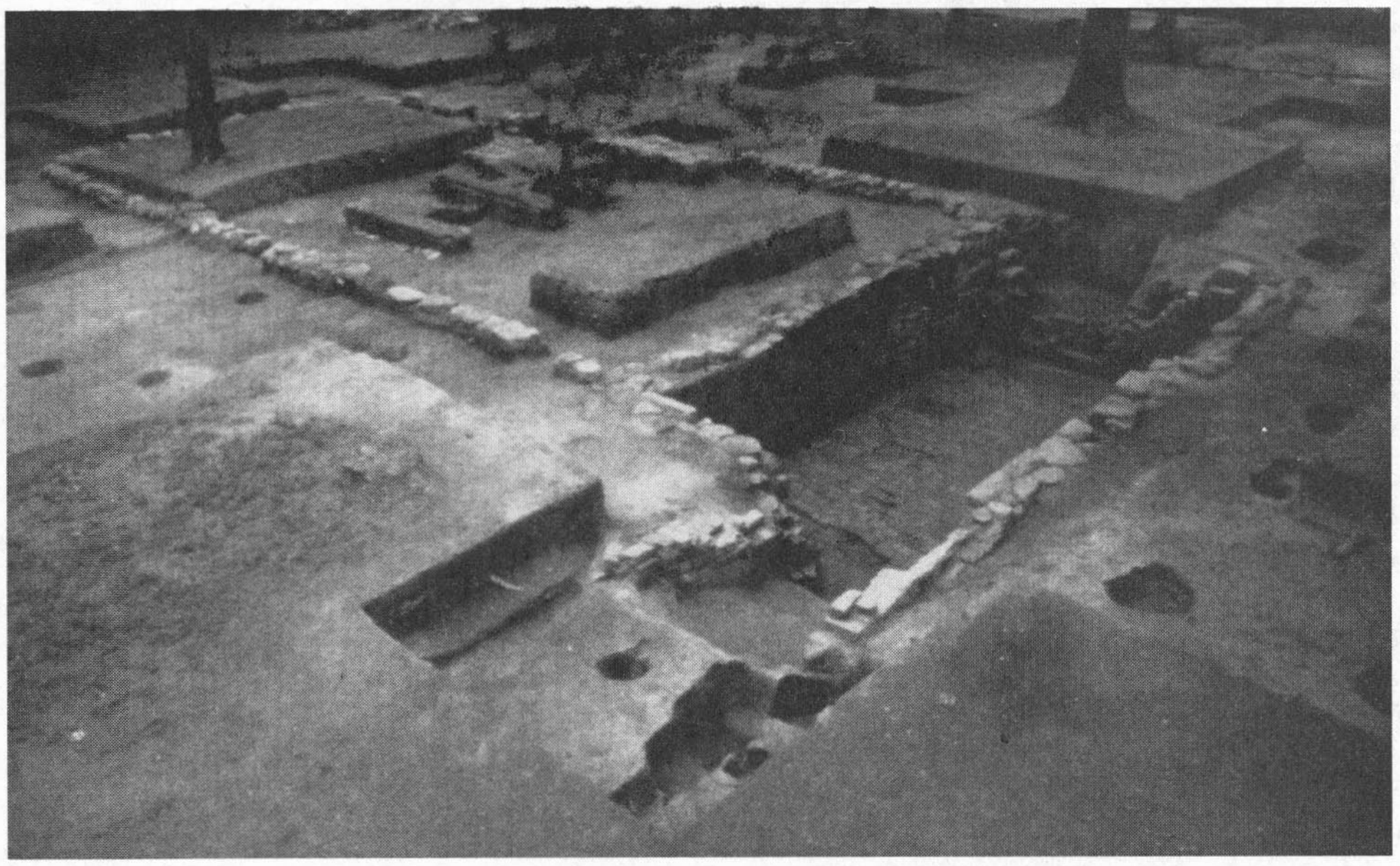
Construction began in the spring of 1638, and by the end of the year workers had completed a house and several outbuildings. Serving as their home, tobacco plantation, and Lewgar's office, St. John's almost immediately became a place of government

business. As early as February 11, 1638/39, Governor Leonard Calvert directed the freemen of Mattapany and St. Mary's Hundreds to meet at "our Secretary's house at St. John's" to elect burgesses for the next assembly. The first elected assembly in Maryland history met at Lewgar's house two weeks later. Legislative sessions, meetings and court hearings frequently took place at St. John's over the next decade.[23] Lewgar's stoutly constructed home survived for over seventy-five years until ca. 1715 when, in the aftermath of the colonial capital's move to Annapolis, the site gave way to agriculture and farmers plowed the land for the next two centuries.

Digging for the Past

What kind of house did Lewgar build at St. John's? No pictures or drawings survive and documents provide few clues with which to answer this question, but we can rediscover St. John's through another approach—archaeology. Credit for discovering the house site goes to the pioneer architectural historian, H. Chandlee Forman, who conducted test excavations there in 1962. A decade later, Historic St. Mary's City began major archaeological research at St. John's under the direction of Garry Wheeler Stone. Many seasons of excavation (1972–1976, 1982, and 2001–2005) have uncovered the entire core of the St. John's plantation, identified numerous buildings, and recovered well over one million artifacts in what is the most intensive, long-term archaeological investigation of a seventeenth-century site in Maryland. These excavations and ongoing analysis are revealing the architecture of its buildings, the evolution of its yards, details about lifestyle, diet, material goods, and many other aspects of daily life from 1638 until ca. 1715 when its residents abandoned the house. This article examines evidence from the Lewgar period.

St. John's house is represented by cobblestone foundations that define a structure measuring 52 ft. long and 20 ft. 6 in. wide. Near the center of this rectangular plan, excavators found remnants of a chimney base of locally made red brick. This chimney divided the house into two rooms, each heated with a separate hearth. Archaeology suggests that this chimney was brick only up to the ceiling and above that the stack consisted of wattle and daub. Given its position, the chimney created rooms of unequal size, with the western room measuring about 20 ft. x 20 ft. and the eastern room larger at 24 ft. x 20 ft. The main entrance was opposite the chimney on the south wall, with entry into a small lobby. Documents and architectural precedents indicate that the larger room was called the parlor and the smaller one the hall. Halls were often the main activity room in seventeenth-century homes and used as the first kitchen at St. John's. The parlor served as Lewgar's office, the master bedroom, and a meeting space. Garry Stone's meticulous architectural analysis further indicates that St. John's stood one-and- a-half stories high with low upper chambers. The ceilings of the hall and parlor were low and divided into quarters by heavy, decorative timbers called summer beams that also supported the joists for the chamber floors above. These upper chambers likely functioned as bedrooms and

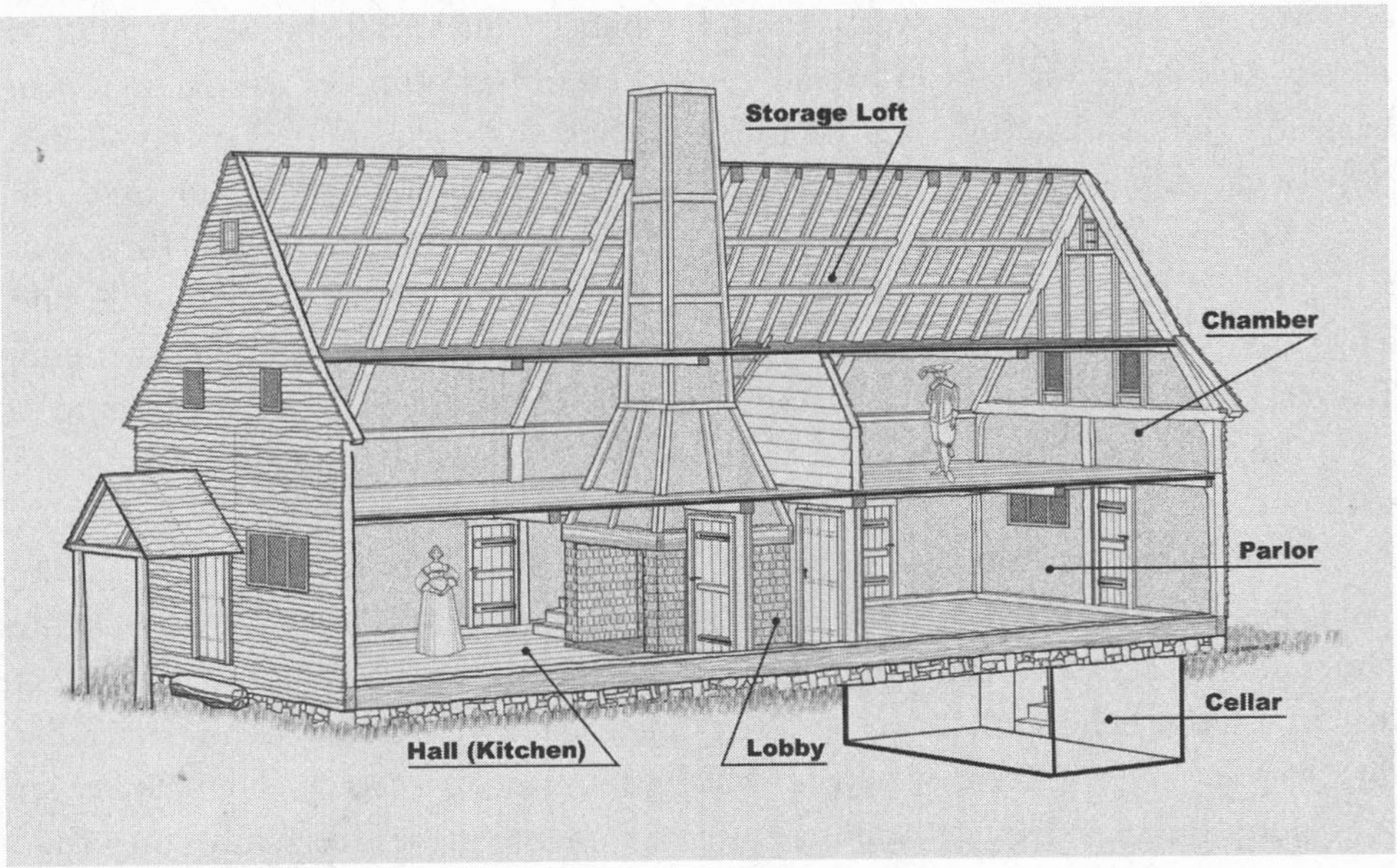


The St. John's archaeological site showing the foundation and surrounding yards, as archaeologists found it in the 1970s. (Historic St. Mary's City.)

storage space. Under the parlor floor was a large 10 ft. x 20 ft. cellar, initially lined with wood plank walls and later replaced with local sandstone. Study of the plan and clues found in various repairs indicate that St. John's was an English-framed structure with five bays, elaborate joinery, and a heavy box frame that rested on the low stone foundation.[24]

John Lewgar built an exceptional house, almost twice as large as those typical of the time and place, and the additional half story made it even more impressive.[25] Due to exceptionally high labor costs on newly settled frontiers and a shortage of skilled craftsmen, most early dwellings were cheaply built and had the bare minimum of refinements. For example, many buildings from the first years at Jamestown were mud walled with light wooden frames that used few cut joints.[26] A comparable structure identified at the Chapel site at St. Mary's City dates to the 1630s, and it is unlikely that the small "cottages" erected inside Fort St. Mary's in 1634 and 1635 were built much better. Documents and limited archaeology indicate that most homes lacked wooden floors, glass windows, or plaster walls. Fires stoked in chimneys of mud and stick provided heat in rooms with walls covered with thin, riven, clapboard roofs supported on wooden posts rather than solid, masonry foundations. To further save on costs, carpenters had begun developing a construction method that employed cheap lap joints and required a minimum of the labor intensive mortice and tenon joinery.[27] Settlers rapidly accepted this wooden, impermanent, earthfast architecture in the new setting of the Chesapeake.

St. John's, however, did not fit this model. As an English house transplanted on



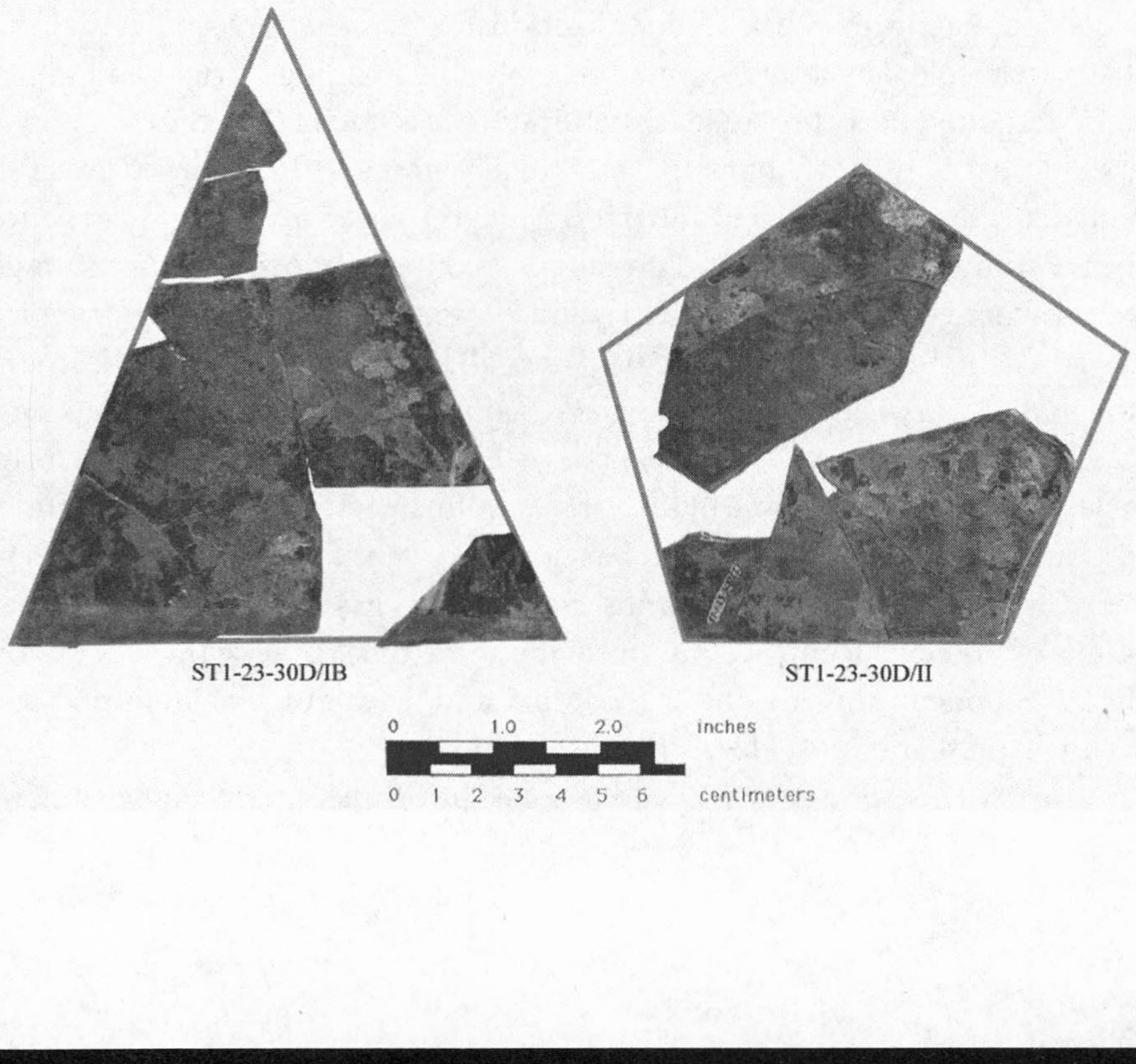
Artist's cutaway view of Lewgar's St. John's, based upon archaeological analysis, showing the rooms and construction details. (Leslie Barker, Historic St. Mary's City.)

the Maryland frontier, little in its construction conceded to frontier conditions. Perhaps the only Chesapeake adaptation Lewgar made was using riven oak or chestnut clapboard to cover the roof and walls of his house. For the foundation, workers must have combed miles of beach in this forested, tidewater setting to collect enough large cobbles, a fact demonstrated by oyster shells still adhering to some of the stones. Builders dug shallow trenches for floor joists inside the structure, and in these filled trenches archaeologists found floorboard nails still standing upright and in place. Its cellar, large and deep, provided far better storage capacity than the common root cellars seen on many sites. Abundant traces of plaster made from burned oyster shell demonstrate that at least the hall and parlor walls displayed finished plaster between the heavy framing posts. Finally, Lewgar covered his window openings with glass instead of wooden shutters. Early glass windows in the Chesapeake region typically displayed diamond or rectangular glass panes, all held in place with thin lead strips. Although St. John's had these, some glass fragments from the earliest pits have a strikingly different shape. The earliest pits yielded glass panes cut into the form of triangles and pentagons . Some of the early St. John's windows must have featured a very complex decorative pattern that has not been identified on other seventeenth-century Chesapeake sites. Only the most elegant windows appearing in Dutch genre paintings of the seventeenth-century provide some sense of how those at St. John's might have looked. In 1630's and 1640's Maryland, Lewgar's dwelling stood out as one of the largest and most elegantly finished of homes.

Constructing such a house must have cost a fortune, but in doing so Lewgar

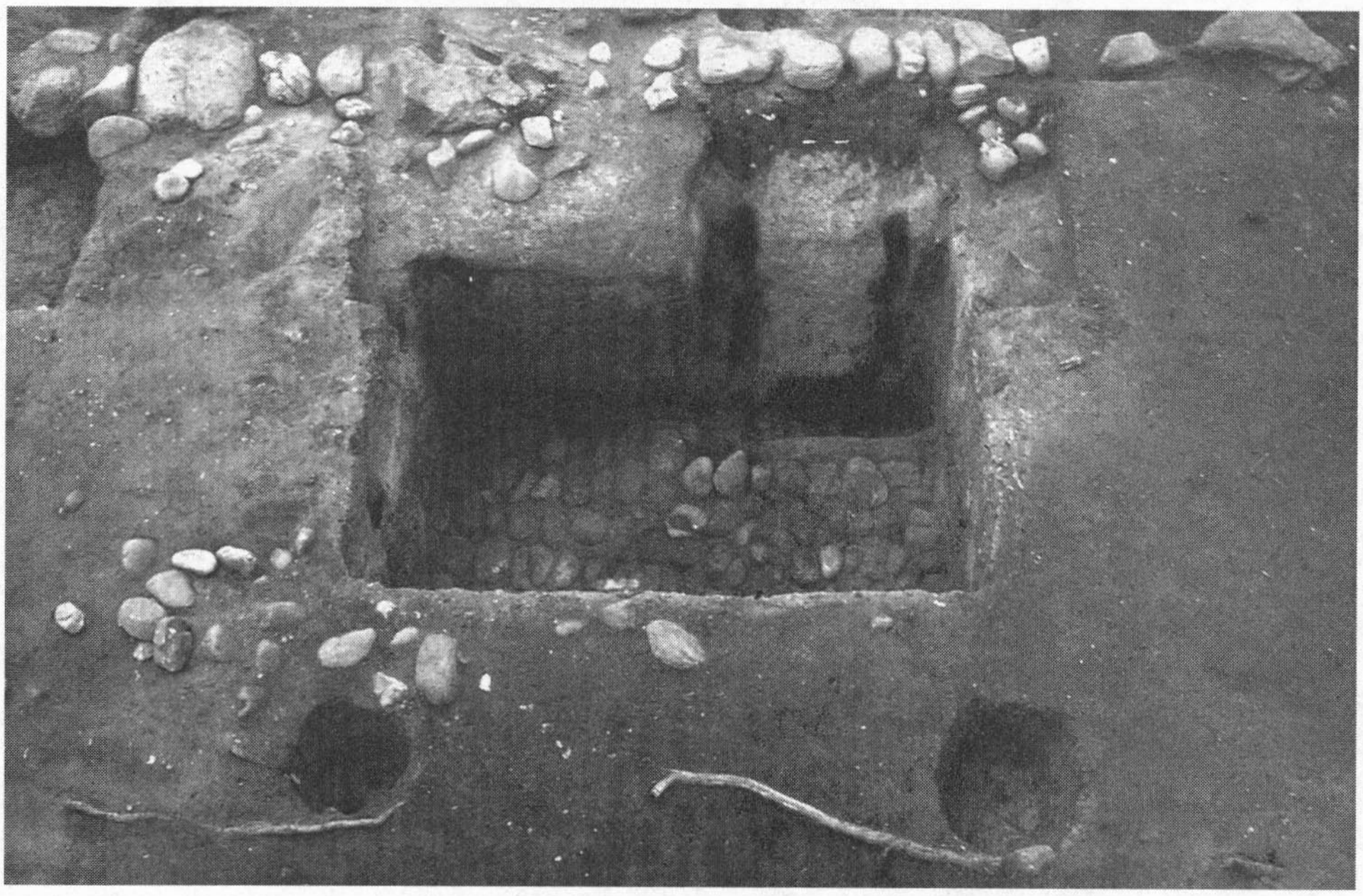
acquired a structure that advertised and enhanced his social status and political power. And it may have been partially intended for government use. At 52 feet in length, St. John's was longer than comparable hall and parlor houses being built in New England. Many lobby entrance, hall and parlor homes in England had three unit plans. Given its length, Stone surmises that St. John's was designed to be a three unit building.[28] With such a plan, a hall would be at one end, a parlor in the middle, and a private space perhaps divided into an office and small bedroom at the other end. To create such a private space at St. John's, a partition would be expected about 10 ft. from the east end of the house, directly over the west wall of the cellar and aligned with one of the large ceiling summer beams. No evidence suggests, however, that Lewgar built this partition at St. John's. Furthermore, two post holes found off the east gable of the house and a scatter of artifacts indicate that a doorway existed in the center of the east gable. This allowed direct access into the parlor, an unusual feature at this time. Stone believes that Lewgar intentionally delayed adding a partition in order that the resulting large room would be available for meetings.[29] As chief bureaucrat for the colony, having adequate facilities for government business certainly concerned Lewgar. By delaying this room division, his parlor became one of the largest, and nicest heated indoor spaces in the entire colony. It would be four more years, when workers expanded Leonard Calvert's St. Mary's house, that a larger space intended for government business became available.

These fragments of glass window panes found at St. John's date to the Lewgar period. (Historic St. Mary's City.)



Why did Lewgar select this specific house type from the wide range of possibilities offered by seventeenth-century England? Nothing he wrote answers this question, but the form of the structure provides a clue. A two unit (hall and parlor) or a three unit plan with a central chimney and lobby entrance is an architectural form widely used in a region of England known as East Anglia, and was especially popular in the seventeenth century.[30] The Lewgar family had its roots either in the county of Sussex or Essex, both in East Anglia, and it is likely that he visited or perhaps lived there for a time. It is equally relevant that his rectory at Laverton, although a two story structure, has a similar plan with a central chimney and a lobby entrance. We suggest that Lewgar drew directly upon his experience and family background when choosing this popular building plan for his new Maryland home.

When they arrived in Maryland, the Lewgar household included John, his wife Ann, their son John Jr., and servants—three women, three men, and a young boy of twelve years. Over the next seven years, Lewgar acquired another fifteen servants, including a carpenter and a gardener.[31] This labor force helped build St. John's, prepared its land for corn and tobacco production, managed livestock, engaged in dairying, and performed many other activities. Although Lewgar's government duties consumed a portion of his time, he also managed Lord Baltimore's livestock, engaged in merchant activities, and worked to build a productive plantation. Most of his prior experience was with scholarly and clerical tasks, but Lewgar had gained some agricultural knowledge on the glebe lands in Laverton. Somerset ranked as one of the most populous and wealthy English counties at the time of the Lewgars's residence. Woolen cloth manufacturing thrived, but agriculture dominated the rest of the economy. Farmers grew grain, but their greatest income derived from cattle and dairy products, Cheddar cheese being perhaps the most famous.[32] As a rector, Lewgar had to collect tithes, typically given in the form of agricultural products, while supervising agriculture and cattle on his glebe land and caring for an orchard.[33] This gave him important practical knowledge of agriculture, knowledge that he carried to Maryland. His Somerset experience probably influenced one action Lewgar took that appears strange to our modern senses. When laying out the St. John's property, he carefully placed the boundary line so as to include "all the marshes and low grounds on both sides of the said creek called St. John's" (now called Fisherman Creek just north of the house location). This represented twenty-five to thirty acres of the entire two-hundred-acre tract. Why did he want to acquire property that even in the seventeenth century could not be farmed? The answer lies in British husbandry practices. Marsh lands along rivers in England, sometimes called water meadows, served as valuable resources for livestock pasture and as sources of fodder.[34] A tributary of the River Frome flows through Laverton, bordering the glebe land, with marshes along its shores. Lewgar apparently viewed this swampy area next to St. John's as important for maintaining his livestock herd. Both English experience, and the rarity of good grass for pasture in the tree-covered landscape of early Maryland explain Lewgar's curious action.



Archaeological remains of the dairy cellar, from the Lewgar period. (Historic St. Mary's City.)

We know little about his actual farming activities at St. John's although he definitely raised corn and tobacco. Whether Lewgar grew wheat, barley, and oats is less certain, yet swine, poultry, cattle, and sheep lived on the property, evidenced in the fact that archaeologists have recovered their bones. The secretary also proposed starting a swine plantation in 1639, but there is no documentation that he carried out the plan. Raising chickens proved quite successful, to judge from a 1639 letter to Lord Baltimore in which he said "For poultry, I can at this present out of my own stock furnish your Lordship with 50 or 60 breeding hens."[35] Another of Lewgar's responsibilities involved overseeing Lord Baltimore's cattle and sheep, a task that included establishing a plantation for the cattle across the river from St. John's at West St. Mary's Manor and hiring a cowkeeper and dairy maid to run it. A 1644 account in Lewgar's hand notes this plantation and shows that Lord Baltimore owned a total of 149 cattle at various locations in Maryland.[36] A small flock of sheep, probably a gift to Lord Baltimore from Secretary Kemp of Virginia, lived at St. John's but sheep raising proved difficult. Not only was there a shortage of pasture but in 1643 wolves killed four of the sheep. Another old ram was "killed by mr. Secretary for provision in his sicknes" In the excavations at St. John's, archaeologists discovered a buried ewe that was probably one of the sheep Lewgar described as "killed by wolves" in 1643 and died within a few weeks of giving birth to two lambs. Wolves, a serious threat on the early frontier, deterred sheep husbandry until late in the century.[37] Lewgar also owned some of the first horses in Maryland. In November 1644, Leonard

Wolves killed this adult ewe, one of Lord Baltimore's flock, in the early 1640s. Archaeologists uncovered her remains in a shallow grave in the backyard of St. John's. (Historic St. Mary's City.)

Calvert signed a bill that required him to pay John Smith, a London linen draper, 100 pounds sterling on the account of John Lewgar. The bill continued "And is for the price of 3 mares, one stone horse & one colt sold & delivered to me this day by the said John Lewger."[38]

Due to his difficult financial situation in the late 1630s and 1640s, Lord Baltimore paid John Lewgar not with cash "for his care & paines in writing of the accoumpts yearly & in my other affaires there," but by giving him twenty barrels of corn "from the quitt rents there," two steers and the use of six cows. Although calves born from these cattle belonged to the proprietor, Lewgar could use their milk.[39] Evidence for dairying at St. John's comes from ceramic milk pans found at the site as well as architecture. Not long after the house was completed, Lewgar added a small dairy cellar off the hall room. Its four-foot-deep cellar, floored with cobblestones, provided a cool place for milk processing and storing butter and cheese. Dairying activities, most likely conducted by female servants and supervised by Ann Lewgar, provided a valuable source of food for the plantation inhabitants, a marketable commodity, and reproduced a key element of the traditional English diet in Maryland.

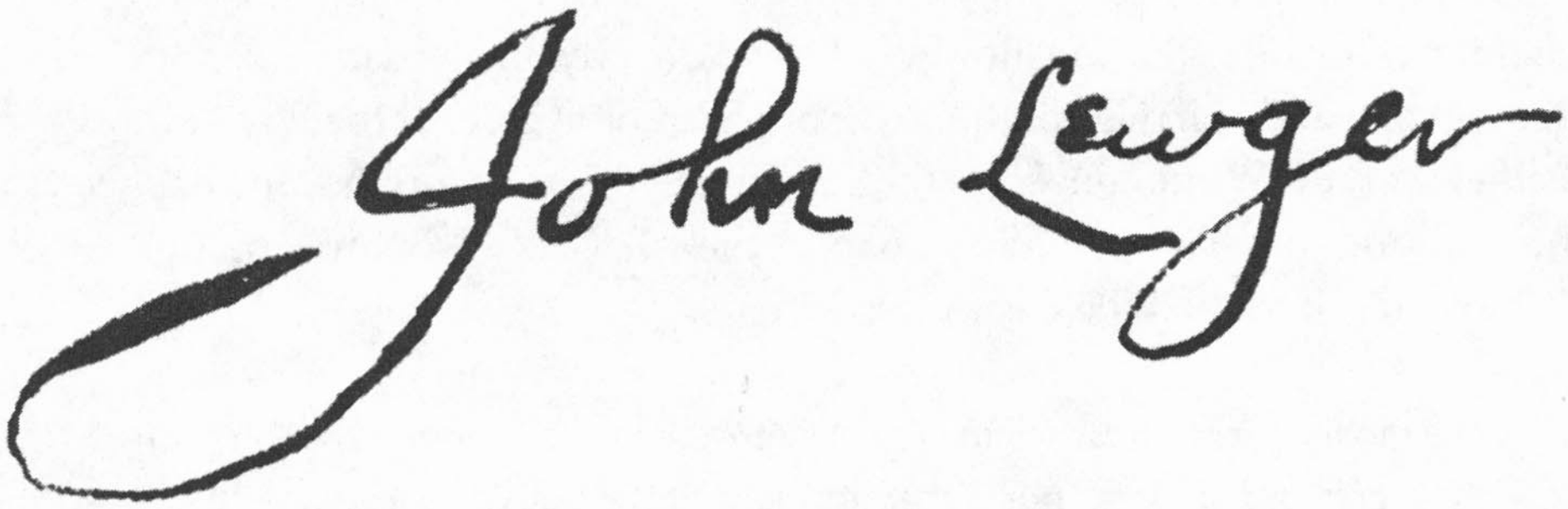
Archaeological analysis of the animal remains from the earliest deposits at St. John's reveals other aspects of the colonists' diet. Cattle served as the primary source of meat for the household, but deer ranked second. We know that Governor Calvert

granted a license in 1643 "to an Indian called Peter to carry a gun for use of John Lewger." Some of the deer meat probably came from the efforts of this Maryland Indian. St. John's residents ate other wild game including raccoon, various species of wild ducks, Passenger Pigeons, and box turtles. They also consumed oysters and fish, especially the sheepshead. This once abundant Chesapeake Bay species was the most popular fish in early Maryland.[40] Given the remarkable natural bounty of the region and the settler's efforts in husbandry, it is clear that the Lewgars and their servants ate well.

Additional Duties

Government business and agriculture comprised just a portion of Lewgar's activities. Additionally, he served as a merchant, providing goods and credit to struggling planters and engaged to a limited extent in the fur trade, but his mercantile activities did not prove successful. A year after his arrival, Lewgar purchased servant Barnaby Jackson, a tailor, and in 1639 acquired blacksmith Thomas Oliver. Finally, in 1642, Lewgar brought Thomas Todd to Maryland. Todd, a skin dresser and glover, established a tanyard at St. John's to process the readily available deer skins. This is the first effort to introduce the craft of tanning and leather working to Maryland. By October 1642, Todd had forty-six skins in a lime pit, sufficient after they were dressed to make a dozen pairs of breeches and twelve pairs of gloves. Lewgar granted Todd his freedom at that time with the former servant's promise to dress "fifty good skins" for Lewgar during each of the following three years. Todd failed to meet his obligations, however, fell into debt, and fled Maryland in 1644.[41]

As second in command, perhaps the most significant of Lewgar's responsibilities lay in helping to implement Lord Baltimore's plans. Lewgar served as Lord Baltimore's attorney in Maryland and became the first attorney general for the colony in September 1644.[42] From the start, Calvert intended that all Christians would have the freedom to worship as their consciences dictated, and the first legal test of this policy arose in 1638. William Lewis, the Catholic overseer for the Jesuit plantation at St. Inigoes, had charge of a number of Protestant indentured servants. Their religious differences caused friction. The servants owned religious books that they would read to each other for spiritual guidance. One day, as Lewis later testified, when "coming into the roome where they were reading of a book, they read it aloud to the end he should heare it, and the matter being much reproachfull to his religion, vizt. that the Pope was Antichrist and the Jesuits, Antixpian ministers, etc., he told them it was a falsehood, & came from the Devill, as all lies did." The book in question was a collection of sermons by Henry Smith, one of the most popular Puritan preachers in Elizabethian England. Two servants testified that Lewis also said "that their ministers (innuendo the Protestants) were the ministers of the devill" and one claimed he banned the use or possession of any Protestant books in the house.[43] The servants, led by Robert Sedgrave, drew up a freedmen's petition of complaint for



John Lewgar's signature. (Historic St. Mary's City.)

presentation to authorities in Virginia (one claimed it was intended for Maryland leaders). Lewis informed Thomas Cornwaleys of the situation and he, with Lewgar, met with the petitioners. Court proceedings soon followed, with John Lewgar, Cornwaleys, and Leonard Calvert sitting as judges. Trial testimony determined that Lewis had indeed said offending words but had only banned the one book, not the possession or reading of others. Lewgar ruled that Lewis was guilty of "offensive & indiscreete speech," was wrong in trying to prevent the reading of a book legal in England, and "his unseasonable disputations in point of religion tended to the disturbance of the publique peace & quiet of the colony." Cornwaleys and Calvert concurred with Lewgar's verdict and fined Lewis 500 lbs. of tobacco. This protection of Protestant rights by Catholic leaders against a Catholic set the legal precedent for Maryland's policy in religious manners . Three years later, a similar incident arose when Thomas Gerard, a Catholic with a Protestant wife and children, confiscated Protestant books stored in his chapel, locked the door, and took the key. Protestants drafted another petition and presented it to the Catholic leaders, including Lewgar, who found Gerard guilty, ordered him to return the books and key and pay a fine of 500 lbs of tobacco to be used "for maintenance of the first [Church of England] minister as should arrive." [44]

Religious problems were a significant challenge in the young colony but so were relations with Chesapeake Indians. Upon their arrival in Maryland, Leonard Calvert took immediate steps to establish good relations with the Piscataway paramount chief and leaders of the Yaocomico settlement at St. Mary's. The governor made strong efforts to maintain this friendly rapport, with the aid of Jesuit missionary activities, particularly those of Andrew White. Although the local peoples were friendly, trouble came from the Susquehannock Indians to the north, a group that repeatedly attacked both Maryland Indians and colonists and some Eastern Shore tribes. This threat and the efforts to mount a military response to them occupied the governor and secretary on numerous occasions. Lewgar himself had relatively little contact with the Maryland Indians, writing "for my part, I scarce see an Indian in

half a year, neither when I do see them have I language enough to ask an arrow of them."[45] Upon one occasion, however, he was directly involved in a memorable event, the baptism and marriage of the Tayac or paramount chief of the Piscataway People. Father Andrew White converted the Tayac named Kittamaquund, and baptized him, his wife and their baby on July 5, 1640, at the village of Piscataway on the Potomac. White later described the day in this way:

> The Governor [Leonard Calvert] was present at the function, in company with the secretary [Lewgar]; nor was anything wanting that our means could supply to enhance the magnificence of this occasion. In the afternoon, the king and queen were united in matrimony according to the Christian rite. Then was erected a holy cross of no trifling proportions. To carry it to the spot chosen, the King, the Governor, the secretary, and the rest lent their hands and their shoulders; two of us meanwhile chanting the Litany of the Blessed Virgin.[46]

In tragic contrast stands John Elkin's murder of the "king" of the Yaocomico on February 21, 1642/43. As his Lordship's attorney, Lewgar prepared charges against Elkin and assembled a jury. Although Elkin was clearly guilty of the murder and had even admitted this to Lewgar, the jury did not see it as a crime as the "the party was a pagan." On Calvert's instructions that the Yaocomico were at peace with Maryland and the laws applied to them as well, the jury again deliberated and found Elkin "guilty of murder in his own defence," a logical inconsistency for which they again received instruction to rethink the situation. Thus challenged, they returned a verdict that "he killed the Indian in his owne defence." Calvert and Lewgar found this unacceptable and ruled that a new jury be assembled. That jury found Elkin guilt of manslaughter and fined the first jury for dereliction of duty.[47] Calvert and Lewgar made exceptional effort to demonstrate that Maryland law applied to friendly Native Peoples as well as the colonists.

A similar case arose a year later when John Dandy shot an Indian boy on Snowhill Manor, just north of St. Mary's City. The stomach wound led to the young man's death three days later in late February 1643/44. Lewgar issued a warrant for the sheriff to assemble a panel for viewing the body and they reported "we find that this Indian ladd (named Edward) came by his death by a bullet shott by John Dandy." Lewgar, with Giles Brent, presided over the trial at St. John's on March 18. The jury found Dandy guilty of murder and sentenced him to death. As the only gunsmith in Maryland, however, Dandy's specialized skills kept firearms operating—a particularly urgent need as war continued with the Susquehannocks. A petition underscored this point and Brent suspended the death sentence in return for Dandy serving the proprietary government for seven years.[48] The evidence is strong that Lewgar and the other leaders tried applying the law equitably to all the inhabitants of colony, including Maryland Indians.

But it was the religious issues that proved the most vexing to Lewgar. How to implement liberty of conscience in a government with no official state religion was new territory for everyone. Indeed, the Maryland experiment was a venture with little to guide it and many new questions arose that demanded answers for the government to function effectively.[49] In 1638, John Lewgar, the first to wrestle with these complex issues, composed "The Twenty Cases" while residing at St. John's. To understand this most important of his writings, one must see it against the background of the religious upheavals of the time.

Context

By the end of the Middle Ages, the structures of the Western Church needed reform. The Church's doctrine had absorbed some unscriptural ideas and its cumbersome administrative machinery fostered corruption through practices such as selling indulgences. Some monasteries, too, had declined from their original spiritual ideals, yet few agreed on what to do and how to do it. The Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope, locked in an international power struggle, dared not summon a General Council in a time of social and intellectual upheaval. Martin Luther and John Calvin sparked a protest against the Roman church that spread over northern Europe. Individual kings and princes chose one side or the other and sought to improve matters by promoting reform in their own lands.[50] At this juncture, King Henry VIII concentrated on maintaining Catholic doctrine and liturgy for his kingdom while uprooting the medieval accretions that he believed disfigured the Western (or Latin) Catholic Church. He was also determined to let the world know that the English clergy and people generally supported his English Reformation. To that end, the monarch persuaded the Convocations of Canterbury and York as well as Parliament to acknowledge the king as the supreme governor of the Church in all things secular, which they did after much debate, but with the proviso "as far as the law of Christ doth allow." And he induced them to assert that "the Roman Pontiff has no greater jurisdiction conferred on him by God in the Holy Scriptures in this Kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop." The Reformation Parliament, which sat from 1529 to 1538, assured "our Holy Father the Pope" that the king and his subjects were "as obedient devout, catholic, and humble children of God and the Holy Church" as could be found anywhere in Christendom. In other words, the English Church initially had no intention of leaving the Catholic Church and becoming a breakaway, schismatic sect, like many of the Continental Reformation churches. But the situation changed. The stripping of the altars and destruction of so much ecclesiastical art in the reign of Edward VI was largely done to satisfy the excessive greed of lay officials such as the Duke of Northumberland, which began to be replaced under Queens Mary and Elizabeth. A key legal step occurred in 1559 when Queen Elizabeth had Parliament pass the "Acts of Supremacy and Conformity," establishing the Church of England as the only legitimate church.[51] Under Elizabeth I, with the Queen's requirement that

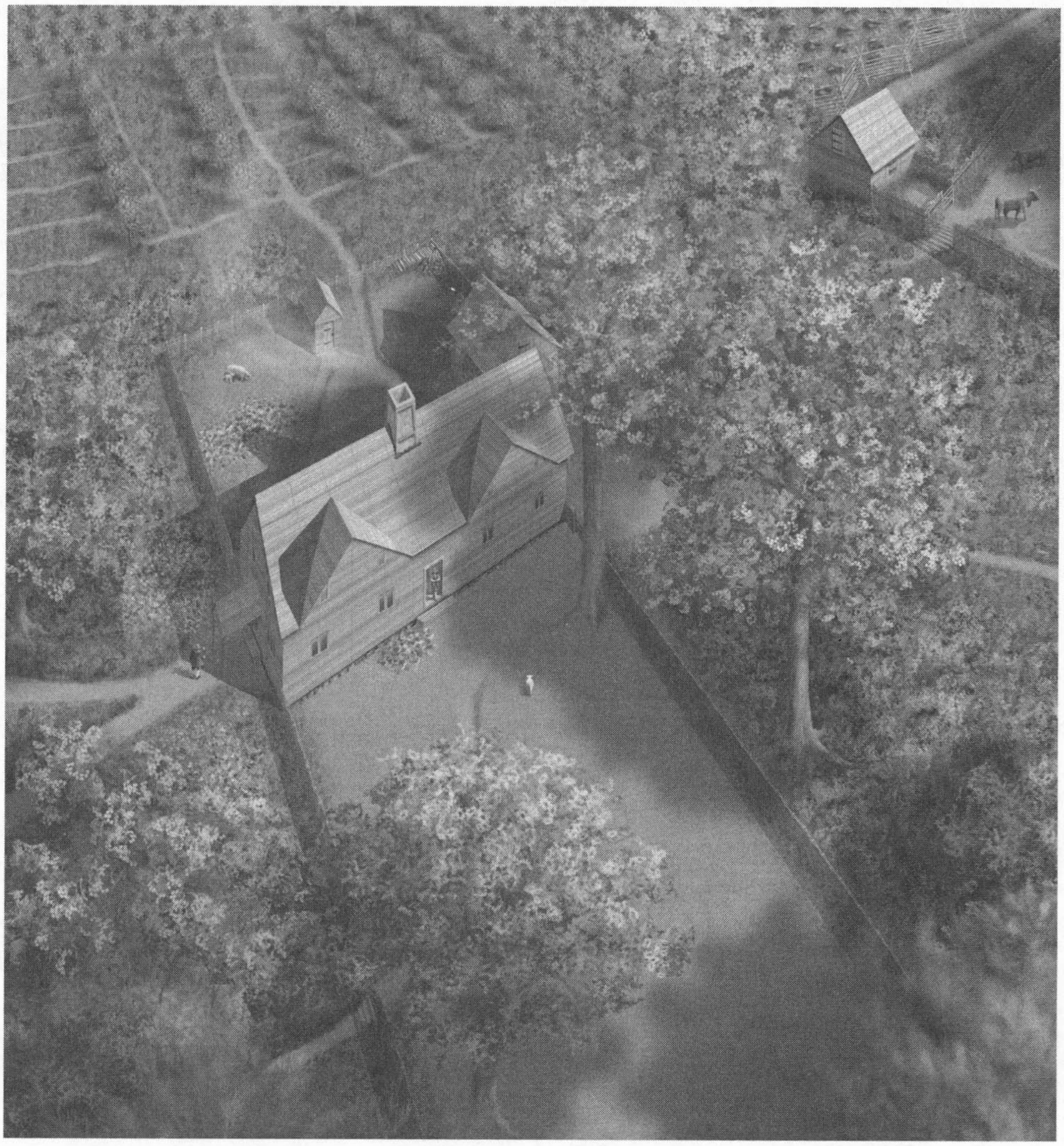
in the interest of the religious peaceof the kingdom all of her subjects regularly attend Anglican worship in ther parish churches or pay a fine, a deep chasm between the churches appeared.

For the Roman Catholic Church, Pope Paul III finally overcame objections and called a formal meeting known as the Council of Trent in 1545 to address the many problems. The council continued through three phases until 1563 when its work was approved by Pope Pius IV. This created a counter reformation, comparable to Queen Elizabeth's "settlement" of the Church of England. The nature of Roman Catholic belief was re-emphasized and the duties of Catholics more clearly defined. New religious orders arose, particularly the Society of Jesus, which took on educational and missionary roles in countering the Protestant Reformation.[52]

Religious tensions were unavoidable during this era and Lord Baltimore was well aware of his sensitive position as a Catholic proprietor in an English empire. He made every effort to avoid even the suspicion that Maryland was a Roman Catholic province. Accordingly, as the first settlers were setting sail for the New World, he issued instructions to his brother, Governor Leonard Calvert, and to the other commissioners he had appointed that they:

> be very carefull to preserve unity and peace amongst all the passengers on Shipp-board, and that they suffer no scandal nor other offence to be given to any of the Protestants, whereby any just complaint may heereafter be made, by them, in Virginia or England, and for that end, they cause all Acts of the Roman Catholique Religion to be done as privately as may be, and they instruct all the Roman Catholiques to be silent upon all occasions of discourse concerning matters of Religion; and that the said Governor and Commissioners treate the Protestants with as much mildness and favor as Justice will permit. And this to be observed on Land as well as at sea.[53]

Religion, church rights, and citizen rights were also topics that the Maryland Assembly struggled to address after the colony's establishment. At the first elected assembly, held at St. John's in February and March 1638/39, John Lewgar and Leonard Calvert continued efforts to have Lord Baltimore's legal code enacted. The legislators instead focused on English law and the Magna Carta as providing the framework for laws. At the end of this assembly, "To the Honour of God and the welfare of this province was Enacted as followeth . . . Holy Churches within the province shall have all her rights and liberties, . . . The Lord Proprietarie shall have all his rights and prerogatives, . . . [and] The inhabitants of this Province shall have all their rights and liberties according to the great Charter of England." They modeled the church rights provision on that appearing in the Magna Carta, but it is of interest that church was made plural in the Maryland version, perhaps a tacit recognition of more than one religious belief. In any case, the passage is vague and subject to varied interpreta-



Artist's painting of St. John's as it may have appeared in 1640. (Leslie Barker, Historic St. Mary's City.)

tions. A similar statement was approved in the next assembly meeting as well. But the question was what liberties and what church? Later legislation called for glebe land to be set aside on each manor to support a church, as per English custom, but that was all. In direct contrast to England, Lord Baltimore's plan called for parishioners to support their own church, not for the government to do so.[54]

Adding to the complexity of this situation were the strikingly different assumptions about Maryland and the role of religion in the colony held by the Lord Baltimore and the Society of Jesus. Baltimore gave Jesuits the same rights as other gentleman adventurers to acquire land as individuals, not as a religious body, and to be self supporting, although they did have some special privileges out of respect for the clergy,

such as no requirement for militia duty. He contemplated the Catholic Church being a private undertaking with no official recognition from the government. The Jesuits, as major financial backers of the colony's founding, understandably believed that they deserved some special favor and viewed Maryland as a Catholic country. Father Thomas Copley began demanding a variety of Church rights. Born in Spain, he was an energetic, well educated person with good talents and deep faith but, as the Jesuit Superior Henry More found, "deficient in judgement and prudence."[55] Copley bluntly argued that a Catholic proprietor should allow the Catholic Church in Maryland to have the traditional rights it possessed in Catholic countries, including ecclesiastical land ownership, sanctuary (implying freedom of clergy from civil jurisdiction), no obligation to pay taxes by the religious or their servants, control of marriage, wills, and other various testamentary procedures, etc. And if these were not allowed or a Catholic person voted to restrict church rights, Copley informed Lord Baltimore, it would constitute a violation of Roman canon law, perhaps leading the guilty party to be excommunicated under the 1627 Papal bull *In Coenae Domini*.[56] What Copley did not appreciate is the political reality that granting such privileges would have almost certainly ended Lord Baltimore's Maryland. The level of anti-Catholic feeling in England rose rapidly as Puritanism grew in strength and the balancing act for Cecil Calvert become increasingly more challenging. As one historian has written about England's Parliament in the late 1630s and early 1640s, "the issue that underlay all discussions of religion was that complex most conveniently designated as Popery, which was a preoccupation amounting to an obsession."[57] Any appearance of the Catholic Church as officially sanctioned would have had dire consequences for Maryland.

As John Krugler has perceptively put it, the growing demands from Thomas Copley and the Jesuits "forced Baltimore to confront his paradox: how to be Catholic without being too Catholic," and Lewgar was caught in the same paradox.[58] It is against this ecclesiastical and political background that Lewgar's "Twenty Cases" must be seen. As a public official in an English colony, and having responsibilities for judicial and testamentary administration, he strove to resolve his conflicted position as a Catholic, occasionally having to deviate from Roman Canon law in deference to the English Royal supremacy, Parliamentary acts, and even Anglican Canon law in order to forestall the cancellation of Lord Baltimore's charter and the conversion of the Province of Maryland into a Royal colony like its neighbor, Virginia. In writing this document, Lewgar posed fundamental questions about the relationship of church and state, some of which are still not fully resolved today. How an individual met his religious duties and followed his conscience, while making legal decisions in a state that had multiple faiths and a separation between temporal and religious affairs was difficult to solve.

Lewgar posed these questions to church authorities and Lord Baltimore. They were about how should a Catholic "in a country (as this is) newly planted, and de-

pending wholly upon England for its subsistence, where there is not (nor cannot be until England be reunited to the Church) any ecclesiastical discipline established . . . nor Spiritual Courts erected, nor the Canon Laws accepted," act to honorably meet both his civil and religious obligations. Lewgar began by observing that "three partes of the people in foure (at least) are hereticks," thus recognizing the hugely significant fact that the majority of Maryland's population was already Protestant and that Catholics were a minority. The first question gives a good sense of how Lewgar framed the issue:

> whether a lay Catholick can with a safe conscience take charge of government or of an office in such a country as this, where he may not nor dare discharge all the dutyes and obligations of a Catholick magistrate nor yield and maintayne to the Church all her rights and libertyes which she hath in other Catholick countries?[59]

Unfortunately, no record of any answers Lewgar may have received is known, and we must infer them by the actions he and others later took. Nevertheless, "The Twenty Cases" is an extremely significant historical document. Considering that Lewgar posed these questions in the year 1638, he is the first known writer to grapple with these fundamental issues of church and state in English America, beginning a debate that continues down to the present day.

The church question soon reached the boiling point in the colony. As a missionary order, the Jesuits worked zealously and energetically to convert the local Native American peoples. In appreciation, the Indian chief of the Mattapany tribe gave them a large section of his people's land. Previously, the Jesuits had acquired property from Lord Baltimore in return for their transportation of people to Maryland and they legally purchased tracts from other colonists. But receiving property directly from the Indians without Lord Baltimore's approval violated the charter rights giving him sole authority to grant land. Maryland's enemies would quickly note that the Jesuits, a religious order, owned the land outright and could then use that information against the proprietor. In this situation, Lord Baltimore reacted angrily and took firm, even frantic, steps to stop the potential threat. First, he forbade the Jesuits from owning land without his permission, then from going among the Indians without explicit authorization, and finally ordered his council to purchase the Jesuit owned house and property known as Chappell Land in St. Mary's City. He sent secular priests unaffiliated with any religious order to the colony and very nearly ordered the Jesuits out. Lord Baltimore even went so far as to invoke the principle behind King Edward I's Statute of Mortmain in 1279, which limited the acquisition of land by the medieval Church without the consent of the Sovereign.[60] The situation was exceptionally complicated. Maryland's Charter was threatened by Virginia interests, rising anti-Catholicism in England, and a rapidly escalating conflict between King and Parliament. Any granting of special privileges to the Jesuits could be construed

as formal recognition of the Catholic Church in Maryland. And yet the Jesuits were devoting enormous energy to winning souls for the church and spreading the gospel, carrying out the very task for which the Society of Jesus had been founded and fulfilling one of the principal goals of the Maryland Charter. Expectations were in conflict, and the colonists themselves split into three factions.

Most Catholic settlers, led by Thomas Cornwaleys, strongly supported the Jesuit position. Protestant settlers opposed any granting of privileges to the priests or Catholic Church. Leonard Calvert and John Lewgar with the support of a few others championed Lord Baltimore's position while trying to reach workable compromises. Lewgar saw his duty to serve Lord Baltimore's interest and understood the shifting political situation in England better than most. But his religious convictions remained strong and fostered a great desire to maintain good relations with his pastors. Debate and anger appeared between the factions and an understanding only slowly emerged. In the end, the Jesuits agreed to keep their activities more private. They would acquire all land through Lord Baltimore, transfer ownership of Jesuit properties to private citizens who would serve as trustees, and recognize that most Church rights would not be extended to the colony. Many of the traditional church duties, such as maintaining marriage records, wills, estate settlements, and poor relief were secularized and managed by the government in Maryland, tasks that Lewgar initially undertook. These steps defused the immediate threat but another soon arrived in an English ship ironically bearing the name *Reformation*.

Captain Richard Ingle, Puritan and staunch supporter of Parliament, had traded for tobacco in Maryland and Virginia for a number of years. John Lewgar even purchased a large portion of Ingle's cargo in 1640 and both Leonard Calvert and Thomas Cornwaleys traveled to England on Ingle's ship. But in 1643, Ingle returned, filled with anti-royal and anti-papist animosity stoked by the ongoing Civil War. He openly spoke against the king, saying of Charles I that "the king is no king, nor will I acknowledge him for my king longer than he joines with the honorable house of Parliament" and considered Maryland a stronghold of royalist and papist. Lewgar and Giles Brent had Ingle arrested on the grounds of treason against the king, and held a trial in January 1643/44. The sheriff who arrested him, Edward Packer, and several of the guards lived with Lewgar at St. John's. Ingle was acquitted on a technicality and before a new trial could be arranged, escaped with the assistance of Thomas Cornwaleys and sailed for England.[61] The following year, Ingle and the *Reformation* returned, launching a sneak attack on St. Mary's City. Lord Baltimore's forces were unprepared and the colony captured. Ingle took a Dutch merchant ship trading at St. Mary's as a prize, looted the Jesuit properties, Cornwaleys's estate, Lewgar's St. John's, and burned the Catholic Chapel and several other buildings during this period that became known as "The Plundering Time."[62] Among the despicable acts was the burning of Father Copley's impressive library. John Lewgar witnessed its destruction, and as a scholar with a love of books, it must have been especially

distressing. Lewgar estimated the library's value as being at least £100, an indication that Coley owned hundreds of volumes and perhaps the largest library in the Chesapeake region at that time.[63]

Ingle ordered his men to take Lewgar, with Giles Brent and Fathers Andrew White and Thomas Copley as prisoners and then held them in the captured Dutch ship. They apparently seized Lewgar while he was in bed, for in later testimony, he stated that "one of the soldiers in compassion of [Lewgar's] nakedness gave him . . . a pair of shoes and stockings" to wear.[64] The raiding party left Ann Lewgar and the children to survive on what they left at St. John's. Later testimony reveals that the prisoners remained on the Dutch ship for a total of fourteen weeks and arrived in London in early June 1645. As Catholic priests the Jesuits remained imprisoned. Lewgar and Brent were released but required to testifly. The Admiralty Court began taking testimony about Ingle's actions on June 13 as he had claimed the Dutch ship as a prize. He argued that Maryland was hostile to the Parliamentary cause and supported the King and that the Catholic leaders oppressed Protestants. He justified his actions on that basis, supported by a letter of marque that Parliament had issued him. The Admiralty court ruled against Ingle who appealed the case to the Court of Delegates. John Lewgar, then staying "at the house of John Webber, a hosier near Fleet Conduit," testified in August 1645. Still in London in mid-September he probably returned to Maryland when the tobacco fleet sailed in October or early November.[65]

Although his family warmly welcomed him home, he found the colony in a bleak state. Rebellious Protestants, under the leadership of Lewgar's former neighbor Nathaniel Pope, still controlled Maryland. At some point during 1646, his wife Ann died, leaving Lewgar with an eighteen-year-old son and two young daughters, Cecilia and Ann. In November 1646, Lord Baltimore reappointed Lewgar and Leonard Calvert as collectors of all rents and duties owed to the proprietor, and the secretary recorded the assembly meeting held at St. Inigoes Fort on December 29, 1646/47. A few days later, on January 2, he took an Oath of Fidelity to Lord Baltimore. John Lewgar's final act in Maryland, for which we have documentary evidence, is a charge he filed as Lord Baltimore's attorney against six men who were trying to create trouble and making false statements against Governor Leonard Calvert in late January 1646/47.[66]

All these vexatious troubles and the loss of his wife apparently induced Lewgar to give it all up in 1647 and go back to England for good. We know that Lewgar was not present when Leonard Calvert died in early June 1647, and it is hard to believe he would not have been there at the death of his friend and long time colleague if still in the colony. Most likely, Lewgar departed for England with the tobacco fleet in February or March, leaving his nineteen-year-old son, John Jr. in charge of St. John's. When the assembly again met at St. John's in January 1647/48, during which Margaret Brent made her famous appeal for the right to vote, John Lewgar Sr. was not present but his son received payment for "the use of his house."[67]

Traveling with Lewgar to England were his two daughters, Ann named for their mother, and Cecilia, named for Cecil Calvert. How old the daughters were is uncertain, but they were born in Maryland, and thus younger than ten years. There is no evidence as to what happened to them. Lewgar may have raised them or perhaps he sought out a female relative to help care for the children.[68] It was at this time that he made another life-changing decision—a return to his original vocation of Christian ministry. He applied for Holy Orders, and with the support of his influential patron, Lord Baltimore, was ordained a secular priest in the Roman Catholic Church in 1647. Subsequently, Lewgar requested admission to the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits, aware of his past and suspicious of his motives, declined admission. Lewgar had sided with Lord Baltimore against their interests in Maryland and thwarted their aspirations to acquire land from the Indians. Additionally, Chillingworth, who had persuaded Lewgar to convert to Rome, later renounced Catholicism and returned to the Church of England. The instructions from the Jesuit general to the English Provincial Henry Silesdon on December 28, 1647, reveals their cautious approach, "Put off Mr. Lewgar for a year or two, try his constancy; and then admit him or not into the Society, as shall seem good.[69] Although the Jesuits clearly doubted his commitment to the ancient faith, Lewgar had experienced a sincere conversion and held a deep dedication to Rome.

Lord Baltimore, with respect and appreciation for Lewgar's service, made him his personal chaplain at his Wild-street residence in London, a post the former secretary held for the rest of his life.[70] There is nothing to tell us exactly what Lewgar did in the decade following his ordination, but it is most plausible that he served in a key advisory role as Lord Baltimore restructured his Maryland enterprise, initiated the Act Concerning Religion, and fought the hostile forces trying to revoke the charter during the 1650s. Lewgar's "boots on the ground" experience and education would have been particularly valuable to Cecil Calvert. It is likely that Lewgar had a role in reviewing and editing, if not actually helping to write *The Lord Baltemores Case concerning the province of Maryland* (1653, London), a defense of the charter.

His role as a scholar and theologian emerged once more in the late 1650s. Lewgar published his first work, *The only way to rest of the soule, in religion here, in heaven hereafter, shewed plainly and succinctly by pure scripture, in three treatises*, in 1657. Its title page reads "By I.L., Bach of Div. Licensed by the university of Oxford, to preach throughout England, and late rector of L. in the county of S. now Catholike."[71] He later wrote two other tracts, *Erasmus Junior* and *Erasmus Senior*, that challenged the authority of the bishops and the legitimacy of the Church of England. Publishing pamphlets was a common method of fighting intellectual arguments at the time and many thousands of such treatises were printed in the seventeenth century. But Lewgar intended this first work, "*The only way to rest the soule*" as a spiritual aid for strengthening the reader's religious convictions and devotion through reason and biblical citations.

The final mention of John Lewgar in Maryland records occurred in 1663. In a letter from Charles Calvert to his father Lord Baltimore, Charles says "The Warrant wch yr Lopp mentions Mr. Lewger has for me as Receiver came to me, & I have given Capt. Tully 10 lbs. to pay him it being for the first paymt & shall not fiale to pay as much yearely till 7 yeares be expired as long as I continue Receiver."[72] Apparently a pension, this payment of £10 annually for eight years to the former secretary recognized his years of colonial service. Unfortunately, Lewgar received little benefit from it. In 1665, the last major outbreak of plague occurred in London and John Lewgar "died of the plague in the parish of St. Giles in the Fields near to London, in sixteen hundred sixty and five, by too much exposing himself in helping and relieving poor Rom. Catholics."[73] Buried at St. Giles-in-the-Fields, probably in a mass grave with other victims, he is interred in the same graveyard into which his friend and patron Cecil Calvert would be laid to rest a decade later.

Final Thoughts

There are differing assessments of John Lewgar, the man. Thomas Cornwaleys told Lord Baltimore in a letter that "I doubt not but your secretary will supply [information] who is as quick as I am slow in writing, and therefore in that part a very fit subject for the place he bears, and if he proves not too stiff a maintainer of his own opinions, and somewhat too forward in suggesting new business for his own employment, he may perhaps do God and your Lordship good service here."[74] Cornwaleys and Lewgar strongly disagreed on the place of the church in Maryland government and other matters, so his mixed assessment is not surprising. Leonard Calvert, on the other hand, viewed Lewgar as a loyal and talented aid. Writing to his brother Lord Baltimore in 1638, he said "Mr. Lewger is a very serviceable and diligent man in his secretaries place in Maryland, and a very faithfull and able assistant to me."[75] Four years later, Lord Baltimore wrote in reappointing Lewgar to the Secretary and Judge posts that he had "long experience of the abilities & industry of our trusty and wellbeloved Councilor John Lewger Esq in performing unto us good and faithfull service in our said Province of Maryland, & reposing especiall trust in his wisdome diligence & experience."[76] Without question, Lord Baltimore had great respect for Lewgar, relied upon him for advice, and to guide and administer his government.

The foremost authority on Lewgar, Dr. Garry Wheeler Stone, is of the opinion that he was a very devoted and capable official, but Lewgar's financial endeavors proved less than satisfactory. As a part-time merchant and owner of a trading ketch involved in fur trade with the Indians that did not prove as lucrative as he had hoped, Lewgar found himself involved in endless lawsuits to recover bad debts, and as a result fell into debt and eventually became weary of politics and quarrels. Stone concluded that Lewgar:

> did much good service, but experience and personality poorly equipped him

to further his own interests or those of Lord Baltimore. Until his arrival in Maryland, he had spent most of his adult years in the halls and cloisters of Oxford. Three academic degrees had prepared him to be a judge, a scribe, and an accountant; and [seven] years as a [rural parish priest] had given him some exposure to farming. Neither had prepared him to be a merchant, a councilor, or a legislative lobbyist. Part of his inadequacy was due to inexperience, but part was due to personality. Seemingly, Lewgar lacked both charisma and perception to see how his words and actions were affecting others.[77]

Even so, Lewgar did establish sound legal principles for the colony and dutifully recorded assembly deliberations, the laws passed, wrote land patents and made surveys, collected rents, and judged court cases ranging from pig stealing to murder. Diligent is a word repeatedly applied to Lewgar, and it is through his careful record keeping that we know much about the struggles, successes, and failures of Maryland during its first decade. In court proceedings, he served as an honest, fair, impartial judge who strove to implement English law in the newly evolving context of early Maryland, sometimes even to his own detriment. This is best illustrated by a 1643 case in which Thomas Cornwaleys filed a suit against Leonard Calvert, John Langford and Lewgar. Lord Baltimore had ordered his council to purchase the chapel and chapel land at St. Mary's City from the Jesuits to avoid ownership problems. Cornwaleys negotiated the agreement on behalf of the Jesuits for £200 and issued a bill of exchange. When Lord Baltimore learned of the arrangement, he refused to pay (probably lacking the means to do so) and ordered the property returned, wanting all proceedings on this issue to cease until he could come to the colony.[78] The proprietor's action greatly offended Cornwaleys who then sued Baltimore's councilors for £400 damages. Giles Brent questioned Lewgar on whether to proceed, and the secretary first replied that conflict of interest prevented him from rendering an opinion. Brent demanded an answer, and Lewgar stated that Brent had the power "and obligation to do justice without delay."[79] A suit of this magnitude would have totally destroyed Lewgar's estate and ruined him. Fortunately, Cornwaleys did not go through with the case, but Lewgar had no way of knowing that at the time. His legal opinion rested on the basis of principle, not self interest. At other times, Lewgar ruled against Leonard Calvert, regardless of their friendship. Although not charismatic or a popular leader, he was honest, loyal, and respected as a man of principle.

John Lewgar played a major role in Maryland's beginnings. A scholar and clergyman by training, he held three university degrees, and was one of the first in the colony to have a graduate-level education. He was Maryland's first bureaucrat, holding a wide variety of important offices, establishing procedures, and carefully recording the development of the proprietary government. Lewgar's intellectual background perhaps made him more sensitive to ideas and principles than to people, as Garry Stone has noted. But it did prepare him for the essential role of imple-

Palm rosary found in the St. John's construction trench. (Historic St. Mary's City.)

menting Lord Baltimore's "Maryland Design." Creating a new society that had no official state church and made clear distinctions between government and religion, while providing liberty of conscience to its citizens, proved a difficult and laborious struggle and often conflicted with both public opinion and the spirit of the times. He understood, through his own conversion and consequent loss of career and income, the cost of loyalty to faith. When given power as the first legal officer of the colony, Lewgar insured liberty of conscience and established a sterling precedent for how law should be administered in Maryland. Although history has largely forgotten John Lewgar, he most decidedly earned recognition as one of the individuals who truly built the key elements of early Maryland society and made its greatest legacy, religious freedom, a reality. A material relic of that legacy survives at St. John's, one that clearly symbolizes the spirit of Calvert's vision and demonstrates Lewgar's faith in the experiment.

The object is a small rosary discovered in the construction ditch of the St. John's house. This context suggests that it was placed there while the house was being built, perhaps intended to help bless the house and its residents. Called a palm rosary, it is only one "decade" long (ten beads representing ten Hail Mary prayers) with a brass loop where a cross would normally be placed. Shorter than the standard five decade rosary, a palm rosary allowed this popular Roman Catholic prayer to be said while the beads were concealed in the hand. The iron loop was moved from finger to finger to keep track of the sequence until all five decades were prayed. Such an object was important in a land where persecution of Roman Catholics was ongoing and public worship forbidden. Yet in Maryland, discarding a rosary once used for secret worship is a powerful symbol of the greater opportunity for religious liberty that Calvert offered his settlers—and Lewgar helped them achieve.

NOTES

We dedicate this article to Garry Wheeler Stone, who led the effort to restore John Lewgar to historical memory and conducted a substantial share of the research on the St. John's site and Lewgar's career. We also thank Kay Kersting Elsasser of the Library of Congress and a fellow descendant with Middleton of John Lewgar, for her assistance; Lois Green Carr for the extensive research she has conducted to understand early Maryland and Lewgar's place in it; Anne Grulich for her research on Lewgar's English publications; artist Les Barker for her images of St. John's; Donald Winter for graphics assistance; and Historic St. Mary's City for permission to use the graphics.

1. Aubrey C. Land, *Colonial Maryland, A History* (New York: Kraus International Publications (1981): 38–39. A brief biography and summary of Lewgar's official posts is provided in Edward C. Papenfuse, Alan Day, David W. Jordan, and Gregory A. Stiverson: *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789*, 2 Vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979, 1985), 2: 533.
2. Clayton C. Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland 1633–1684* (1910, reprint New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), 70–112. It has been suggested that Lewgar visited Maryland late in 1635, Leon Bernard, "Some New Light on the Early Years of the Baltimore Plantation," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 44 (1949): 93–100. However, no independent documentation that he did so has come to light. In fact, the evidence suggests that Lewgar was in Laverton in 1634 and the information provided by Papal Envoy Panzani places him in London from mid-1635 into 1636, looking for employment. See also Marie Henry Kuhlman, *Southern Colonial Ancestors Henry and Clark Descendants: Virginia and Maryland lines of Baldridge, Booker, Booth, Brannon . . .* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1998), 349.
3. The name Lewgar appears in the records of John's day as both "Lewgar" and "Lewger," but there is good reason to believe that it was pronounced "Loo-jer," not "Loo-ger." For his origins, there is confusion. Kuhlman in *Southern Colonial Ancestors*, 350 (citing Alice Norris Parran, *Register of Maryland's Heraldic Families*), states that John Lewgar was "the 3rd son of Gregory Lewger of Halsted, Essex, listed in the Visitation of Norfolk, 1613, under the registration of his brother, Philip"; also see *Harleian Society Publications*, Vol. 40: 188–89. However, Dr Michael Mullett, professor at Lancaster College, England, wrote in the *Oxford Dictionary*

of National Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) that Lewgar was from a long established Suffolk family and perhaps the son of scrivener Philip Lugar of Chancery Lane, baptized at St. Dunstan-in-the-West, London, in late 1601. Future research will be necessary to clarify this question of origins. We have used Mullett's scenario here. In either case, the family was from East Anglia.

4. Anthony Wood *Athenae Oxoniensis*, edited by Philip Blake, Four Volumes. London: 1813. Vol.4: 696–97; Joseph Foster *Athenae Oxoniensis: The Members of the University of Oxford 1500–1714*. Four Volumes. Oxford: 1891-1892. Kraus Reprint 1968, Vol. 3: 905; Consignation Books 1629, Diocese of Bath and Wells. Somerset Record Office, Taunton, England. For information on the Oxford curriculum Lewgar would have taken, see Mark H.Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558–1642* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959). There is confusion in the available documentation regarding the benefices Lewgar held. All records agree that he held one in Laverton, but there is mention of him also receiving a benefice in Essex in 1632. Although ministers sometimes held multiple benefices, the distance would have made it impossible for Lewgar to care for two congregations. The nature of this second appointment, if it in fact occurred, needs more research to resolve.

5. Margaret Stieg, *Laud's Laboratory: The Diocese of Bath and Wells in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 1982), 67, 74.

6. Ibid., 72, 129, 332.

7. John Collinson, *The History & Antiquities of the County of Somerset* 1791: 212.

8. Original Survey in the Somerset Record Office, Taunton, England, provided by I. P. Collis, transcription by Garry Stone and Lois Carr. On file at Historic St. Mary's City.

9. Stieg, *Laud's Laboratory*: 310–14.

10. Ibid., 297–301.

11. At that time, military victories were undermining the royal forces during the brutal Civil War, leading to the capture of King Charles I. In a politically complex situation, the king declined the offer of his life and crown if he would consent to parliamentary authority and reduce the English Church to a more Protestant sect, and was himself beheaded in 1649. Under Cromwell's subsequent Commonwealth, bishops were driven out and heavy penalties imposed on all who used the *Book of Common Prayer*. As a result, the Anglican Church was suppressed for nearly a decade. It was only restored to power after the Restoration of King Charles II in 1660. There is a huge literature on the English Civil War. A few references are Ivan Roots, *The Great Rebellion: 1642–1660* (London: Botsford Press, 1966); J. P. Kenyon, *The Civil Wars of England* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988). The Interregnum is well covered by Ronald Hutton, *The English Republic 1649–1660* (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Press, 2000). On the death of Charles I, see Clive Holmes, *Why Was Charles I Executed,*(London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006).

12. William Chillingworth (1602–1644) in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Robert R. Off, *Reason and Authority: The Thought of William Chillingworth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); F. L.. Cross, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 349; for Lewgar's conversion quote, see Sebastian F. Streeter, "The First Catholic Secretary, John Lewger," *Papers Relating to the Early History of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1876) 219–20.

13. William Chillingworth, *The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation; or an Answer to a book Entitled Mercy and Truth or Charity Maintained by Catholiques; which pretends to prove the contrary* (1637).

14. Chillingworth's argument was published as a letter in a volume of his works, and his case along with Lewgar's reply were also printed. William Chillingworth, "Reasons against

popery in a letter from Mr. Williams Chillingworh to his friend Mr. Lewgar, perswading him to return to his mother, the Church of England, from the corrupt Church of Rome," *The Works of Williams Chillingworth: In Three Volumes*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1838) II: 492–99; and "A Conference betwixt Mr. Chillingworth and Mr. Lewgar," *The Works of William Chillingworth*, 3: 278–307.

15. A successor to Lewgar was instituted at Laverton on July 14, 1635. John Farewell served the parish for nearly forty-seven years, dying in June of 1682 (taken from the Farewell's tombstone at the church). Consignation books, Diocese of Bath and Wells, Somerset Records Office, Taunton, England (Data provided by I. P. Colliis). Also see Garry Wheeler Stone "Society, Housing, and Architecture in Early Maryland: John Lewger's St. John's" (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1982), 85. When the Lewgars arrived in Maryland, the family consisted of John, his wife Ann, and a son John Jr., age nine years, Patents 1: 17, 19, Maryland State Archives.

16. Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*. Four Volumes (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907-1917) I: 354–55, 359. Gregory Panzani was the Papal Nuncio in London, sent by Cardinal Barberini on behalf of Pope Urban VIII: He spoke no English and thus communicated in Latin. With Lewgar's education and Latin remaining a language of scholarship, conversation with him would not have been difficult. Panzani kept up on the latest gossip in London and sent a steady stream of correspondence back to Rome, not all of which was reliable. His statements about Lewgar seem credible, however.

17. Hughes, *Society of Jesus*, I: 360; *The Calvert Papers* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1889), Fund Publication 28, I:195.

18. William Hand Browne, et al., editors, *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–1972) III: 53–55 (hereinafter cited *Arch. Md.*). In regard to his association with Calvert, Anthony Wood wrote that Lewgar had been Lord Baltimore's "intimate acquaintance while he was a gent. com. of Trin. Coll." at Oxford. *Athenae Oxoniensis* (1813): 697. Lewgar was the second Secretary for Maryland. The first was John Bolles who sailed on the *Ark* in 1633 and was charged with reading Lord Baltimore's instructions to the colonists. He disappears from Maryland records after 1636 and probably died, thus accounting for Lewgar's appointment to that post in 1637. Harry Wright Newman, *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1984), 176.

19. Patents I: 17, 19, MSA; Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 156–58). David Jordan believes Lewgar wrote this legal code for Cecil Calvert, see David W. Jordan, *Foundations of Representative Government in Maryland 1632–1715* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 37.

20. *The Calvert Papers* 1:189.

21. Lord Baltimore's code was not fully implemented by the assembly to his satisfaction until 1650. For a thorough discussion of the development of the Maryland assembly and the legal system, see Jordan, *Foundations of Representative Government*.

22. Later in 1644, Lewgar expanded this tract and it became St. John's Manor. Lord Baltimore also made him the lord of the thousand-acre Manor of St. Anne with the right to hold Courts Leet and Baron (a survival of medieval English custom).The most comprehensive study of John Lewgar and his role in early Maryland remains Garry Wheeler Stone's unpublished doctoral dissertation "Society, Housing, and Architecture in Early Maryland: John Lewger's St. John's," (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1982).

23. *Arch. Md.*, I: 28, 32.

24. Stone, "Society, Housing, and Architecture": 350–73. Also see Garry Wheeler Stone, "St. John's: Archaeological Questions and Answers," *MdHM* 69(1974): 146–68.

25. Typical houses in mid-seventeenth-century Maryland were around 15 ft. x 20 ft. to 20ft. x 25 ft., Stone, "Society, Housing, and Architecture," 210.
26. William M. Kelso, *Jamestown: The Buried Truth* (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2006), 80–106.
27. Garry Wheeler Stone, "The Roof Leaked, But the Price was Right: The Virginia House Reconsidered," *MdHM*, 99 (2004): 313–28; also see Cary Carson, Norman F. Barka, William Kelso, Garry W. Stone, and Dell Upton, "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 16 (1981): 135–96.
28. Stone, "Society, Housing, and Architecture," 270–71.
29. Ibid., 272.
30. The East Anglian origins of St. John's was first recognized by Cary Carson while researching colonial architectural precedents in England. Immigrants to New England from East Anglia also constructed a number of similar houses, see Abbott Lowell Cummings, *The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979). Architectural historians in Cambridgeshire classify the St. John's plan as an "I" or "J" type of house, *An Inventory of Historical Monuments in the County of Cambridge, Volume 1: West Cambridgeshire* (England: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 1968), xlvi–xlix.
31. Stone, "Society, Housing, and Architecture," Table 3-1, page 92.
32. Thomas Gerard, *The Particular Description of the County of Somerset*, No. 15(Somerset Records Society, 1900).
33. By social custom, clergy did no physical labor, but could provide supervision. Cases of the clergy plowing land or performing other manual tasks like cutting hay were brought before church courts, Stieg, *Laud's Laboratory*, 208–11.
34. Garry Stone deciphered the circumstances behind Lewgar's desire to own marshland, "Society, Housing, and Architecture," 102–104.
35. *Calvert Papers* I: 206; Stone, "Society, Housing, and Architecture," 36; *Arch. Md.* III: 142.
36. It was from this herd that Margaret Brent later paid the soldiers in 1647, during "the time of troubles," thereby saving the colony from further disruption and perhaps destruction. *Arch. Md.* IV: 275–78; Lewgar to Lord Baltimore, January 5,1638/39, *Calvert Papers* I, 10: 198–99.
37. Ibid., 277–78; Henry M. Miller, *Killed By Wolves: Analysis of Sheep Burials from the St. John's Site and a Comment on Sheep Husbandry in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake,* St. Mary's City Research Series 1. (St. Mary's City, Maryland: 1986).
38. *Arch. Md.*, IV: 305.
39. *Arch. Md.*, III: 142.
40. Ibid: 143. Henry M. Miller, "Colonization and Subsistence Change on the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake Frontier," (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1984).
41. Stone, "Society, Housing and Architecture," 130–34, discusses Lewgar's merchant activities. For reference about Thomas Todd, see *Arch. Md.*, IV: 243, 283.
42. The earliest evidence of him serving as Lord Baltimore's attorney is a January 16, 1637/38, case filed against Henry Fleet, *Arch. Md.* IV: 5. The Attorney General commission is found in *Arch. Md.* III:158.
43. The Lewis Case is found in *Arch. Md.* IV: 35–38.
44. For the Gerard Chapel case, see *Arch. Md.* I: 119.
45. Lewgar to Lord Baltimore, January 5, 1638/39, *The Calvert Papers* I, #10: 198. The comment about arrows relates to the Maryland charter that required Lord Baltimore to present two Indian arrows each year to the King at Windsor Castle as payment for the colony.

46. Hughes, *Society of Jesus*, I: 345, Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland*,131.
47. *Arch. Md.* IV: 177–80, 182–83.
48. Ibid. IV: 254–55, 260.
49. The most recent and authoritative study of the Lords Baltimore and their Maryland Design is John D. Krugler, *English and Catholic: the Lords Baltimore in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004). For a specific look at their approach to religion in early Maryland, see John Krugler, "The Calvert Vision: A New Model for Church-State Relations," *MdHM*, 99 (2004): 269–86.
50. See Diamaid McCullock, *The Reformation: A History* (New York: Viking Adult, 2004); Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).
51. On the Henrician Reformation, see Gordon Crosse, *A Short History of the English Reformation* (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1950) 24–37. For another view of the English Reformation and insights on Elizabeth I's religious enforcement, see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
52. R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540–1770* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998): 10–41.
53. Hall, *Narrative of Early Maryland*, 16.
54. *Arch. Md.* I: 82-83. See Krugler, "The Calvert Vision," for insights on these debates and Lord Baltimore's position.
55. Hughes, *Society of Jesus*, I: 365–66, 422. Also see Edwin Beitzell, "Thomas Copley, Gentleman," *MdHM*, 47 (1952): 215–19.
56. Letter from Copley to Lord Baltimore, April 3, 1638, *Calvert Papers* I: #7:158–61.
57. Stieg, *Laud's Laboratory,* 23.
58. Krugler, *English and Catholic*, 172.
59. Lewgar's "cases" are found in Hughes, *Society of Jesus*, I: 158–59.
60. For more detailed discussions of Lord Baltimore's moves in this conflict with the Jesuits, see Krugler, *English and Catholic*, 163–91, and Timothy B, Riordan, *The Plundering Time: Maryland and the English Civil War* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2004), 52–85.
61. *Arch. Md.* IV: 241–51.
62. The best discussion of Ingle's Rebellion currently available is Riordan, *The Plundering Time.*
63. Ibid., 251–52.
64. "Thomas Cornwallis Plantiff Vs. Richard Ingle, Defendant. Testimony of John Lewger and Cuthbert Fenwick 1645–1646," *Chronicles of St. Mary's*, 26 (1978): 1–8.
65. Ibid, 2; For a review of the English court proceedings with Ingle, see Riordan, *The Plundering Time*, 239–57.
66. *Arch. Md.* I: 209, III: 172, 174, 175–76.
67. *Arch. Md.* I: 214–15, 230.
68. The headright for the Lewgars mentions only John Jr. as coming with them in 1637 (Patents 1:17, 19). John Jr. later moved to Charles County where he died in 1669, leaving two children. Cecilia is named as "Cicily Lewger" in the July 1644 will of Edward Parker, but there are no further references to her, *Arch. Md.* IV: 73. An Ann Lewgar arrived in Maryland in 1658 as the wife of William Tettershall. Lord Baltimore granted her five hundred acres of land in August 1661 (Patents 4: 568, 618); this gift of land suggests that she is John Lewgar's daughter.
69. Hughes, *Society of Jesus*, I: #6U: 35–36.
70. Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, 697.
71. He followed this with *Erastus Junior. Or, A fatal blow to the clergie's pretensions to divine right.* The second part was titled *Erastus junior: Demonstrating, by their forms of Ordina-*

tion, Acts of Parliament, and other mediums owned by themselves, that none of our ministers ordained by imposition of hands, hath any power of order, published under the alias Josiah Webb. Both were printed in London, with Part 1 in 1659 and Part 2 in 1660. He followed them two years later with *Erastus Senior: scholastically demonstrating this conclusion, That those called Bishops here in England, are no bishops. Wherein is answered to all that hath been said, in vindication of them, by mr. Mason, in his Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae, doctor Hylein, or doctor Mramhall.* (1662), unnamed author, but the initials JL are on the title page. *Erastus Junior* and *Erastus Senior* were controversial scholarly tracts, intended to refute the Church of England's assertion that it was as much a part of the Holy Catholic Church as were the Roman and Orthodox Churches, and reiterating the papal rejection of the claim of the Anglican Church by maintaining that the Roman Church was the whole Catholic Church, and everyone out of its communion were heretics and schismatics. Lewgar probably employed the name Erastus because of an idea circulating at the time called Erastianism. This term refers to the concept that the state is absolutely supreme over the church. Erastianism was prominently debated in the Westminster Assembly, a parliamentary religious committee (1643–1649) from which developed the principal documents of the Presbyterian Church. One faction in the conference argued the Erastian position that the state had total control over ecclesiastical law, thus not allowing any legal separation between religion and government. The Westminster Assembly rejected this view, but it remained a subject of debate in mid-seventeenth-century England. Lewgar had deeply pondered this very issue during his time in Maryland. See Bernard Ward, "Erastus and Erastianism," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume 5 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909).

72. *The Calvert Papers* 1 #14: 238.
73. Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, 4: 698.
74. *The Calvert Papers* 1 #8: 179.
75. Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 158.
76. *Arch. Md.*, III: 116.
77. Stone, "Society, Housing, and Architecture," 63.
78. *Arch. Md.* III: 135–37, 143. Cecil Calvert instructed acting governor Giles Brent (Leonard Calvert was then in England) to stop all proceedings until he could personally come to Maryland and settle things. The time period is relevant. Wardour Castle, the home of Cecil's wife, Anne Arundell, had been besieged and captured by Parliamentary forces in May 1643, after a valiant stand by her mother Blanche Arundell. Calvert's own residence of Hook House, only 1.5 miles distant, was probably looted as well, and the livestock herds taken. When he wrote this communication to Maryland, Lord Baltimore was in Bristol, a port only recently captured by Royalist forces, and he was seriously contemplating escaping the war and coming to his colony. His finances must have been at a very low point. See A. D. Saunders and R. P. Pugh, *Old Wardour Castle* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1968).
79. *Arch. Md.*, IV: 217–18, 243–44, 263.

The Roof Leaked, But the Price Was Right: The Virginia House Reconsidered

GARRY WHEELER STONE

English immigrants to the Chesapeake brought with them English expectations and English skills. Upon their arrival in "Virginia" (a geographic area encompassing both Virginia and Maryland), they found their inherited technology poorly suited to their new home.[1] Inflated frontier wages made the construction of a "fair" English-framed house extremely expensive, and the inhospitable environment quickly destroyed unframed temporary structures of European pattern. Innovation was rapid, sustained, and productive. Three important stimuli were termites, timber, and tobacco. Another was the continuing effect of frontier conditions resulting from rapid immigration, high mortality, and swidden (slash and burn) agriculture. Quickly synthesizing Norman-derived wall framing, peasant roof construction, and virgin timber, immigrant carpenters developed the post-in-the-ground "Virginia house." This first "Virginia house" was an inexpensive, modular structure that could house any domestic or agricultural function. By 1700, Virginia and Maryland carpenters had so refined their techniques that forty man days could convert oak trees into a "25 foot dwelling house with chimneys and partitions."[2] But even as they were perfecting their invention, evolving social conditions made the post-in-the-ground, impermanent construction obsolete. During the second quarter of the eighteenth century, carpenters redesigned the "Virginia House" as a box-framed structure.

In the 1970s, as Chesapeake archaeologists and historians developed these hypotheses, they were radical departures from accepted wisdom. In the then standard text, *Early American Architecture*, Hugh Morrison described how crude shelters quickly evolved into fair frame and brick farmhouses. We now know that Morrison was misled by Virginia Company propaganda and antiquaries' misdating of surviving Chesapeake structures.[3] Beginning in 1965, and increasingly in the mid-1970s, archaeologists on both sides of the Potomac began excavating entire seventeenth- and-eighteenth-century plantations of post-in-the-ground buildings.

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Riving white oak clapboards. James Laws, carpenter. (Historic St. Mary's City.)

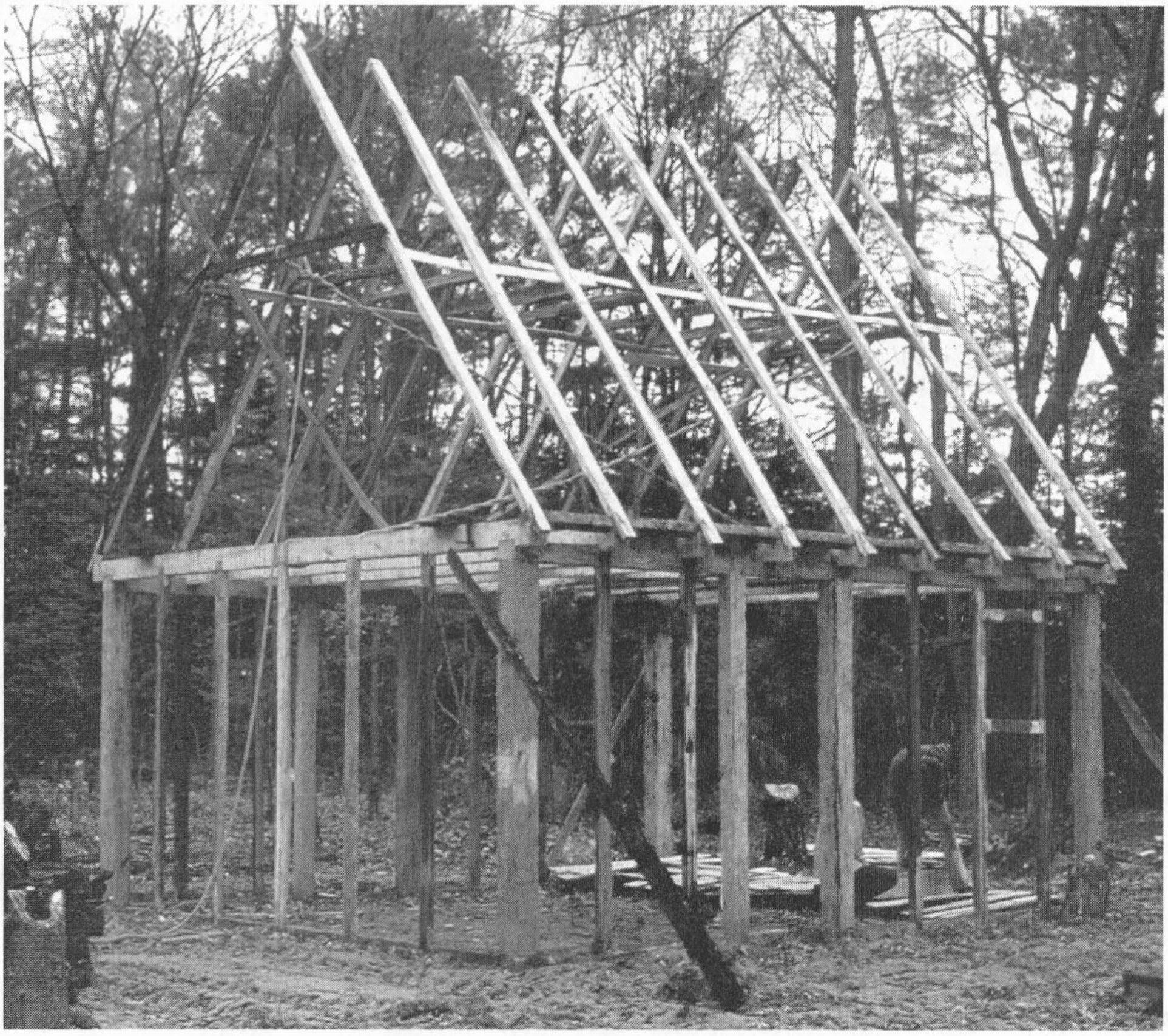


Figure 1. The Spray plantation tenant house under construction at Historic St. Mary's City. The building is braced only by its hole-set posts and construction shores. The shores will be removed as the dwelling is boarded. The wall framing is based on archaeology; the roof on Sarum, Charles County, Maryland, 1713. Peter Rivers, carpenter. (Historic St. Mary's City.)

The final blow to old notions of early Chesapeake architecture was struck in the 1980s, when Herman J. Heikkenen used tree-ring dating to show that most brick farmhouses thought to date from the seventeenth century had been constructed in the eighteenth century.[4]

In the late 1970s, seventeenth-century, post-in-the-ground construction was revived at Historic St. Mary's City, Maryland. Our first project was an outdoor museum exhibit of Godiah Spray's 1660s plantation. The Spray family's plantation is modeled on the 1662–1673 records of Robert Cole's plantation on St. Clement's Manor, St. Mary's County. The architecture of the plantation buildings—two dwellings, two tobacco houses, and a hen house, was based on Chesapeake archaeology, extensive documentary research, and the roofs of surviving early eighteenth-century clapboard dwellings. The plantation was reconstructed by an inspired group of young carpenters led by John O'Rourke and was, in part, conducted as experimental archaeology.[5]

Figure 1 illustrates a museum reconstruction of Mr. Spray's tenant house, an early colonial building type nearing the end of its evolutionary trajectory as a frontier adaptation. The development of such buildings can be traced through three stages. The first, substitution and selection, dates from the arrival of the first settlers in 1607 until about 1650. During this stage, immigrant carpenters discovered which European building practices and Chesapeake materials were best suited to withstand North American termites and thunderstorms. During the second stage, evolution, dating roughly from 1650 to 1675, Chesapeake carpenters, most still immigrants, developed the basic structure illustrated in Figure 1. The massive wall posts gave the structure some termite resistance, while the light 2 in. x 4 in. scantlings and riven (hand-split) boards permitted rapid nailing together of the remainder of the building. During the subsequent half-century, Chesapeake carpenters, now increasingly native-born, continued tinkering with this construction type. During this stage of refinement, 1675–1725, frontier pressures slowly eased and carpenters and their clients began to be concerned with the longevity of their structures. Increasingly, they selected rot-resistant wood for their wall posts and sills, and joints were refined for strength and ease of assembly. The Virginia house continued to evolve after 1725, but no longer as a frontier structure.

Although the evolution of the frontier Virginia house took more than a century, it was a slow, gradual process during only the third stage, that of refinement. During the first two stages, from 1607 until about 1674, evolution was explosively rapid. With the benefit of hindsight we can see that a prototypical Virginia house had been selected by 1625 and was highly evolved, widely disseminated, and generally accepted by 1675. This evolution took place during a period of demographic chaos.

Frightful mortality prevailed among English immigrants to the Chesapeake. Most of the pioneers of 1607 soon were dead, and even those lucky, later immigrants who survived their first bouts with malaria and dysentery could expect to survive only an additional twenty-two years.[6] Few immigrant carpenters lived to become fathers, and even fewer lived long enough to instruct their sons. Instead, recent immigrants taught even more recent immigrants the tricks that they had learned in the previous five or ten years. As immigration to the Chesapeake increased throughout the seventeenth century, a few taught many.

This cultural pyramid succeeded because seventeenth-century Englishmen had relatively little attachment to the technology of their homeland. Immigrant Englishmen were shipbuilders and distillers in Boston, wheat farmers in Pennsylvania, tobacco planters in the Chesapeake, and sugar refiners in the Caribbean. Conditions in the Chesapeake region forced seventeenth-century Englishmen to be adaptable, as their English background was poor preparation for immigrant life. England was composed of a variety of regional structural adaptations, and immigrants brought with them a diversity of experience and a large pool of architectural ideas—most of which simply did not work. English architecture had

evolved rapidly, but it evolved away from practices with frontier relevance.

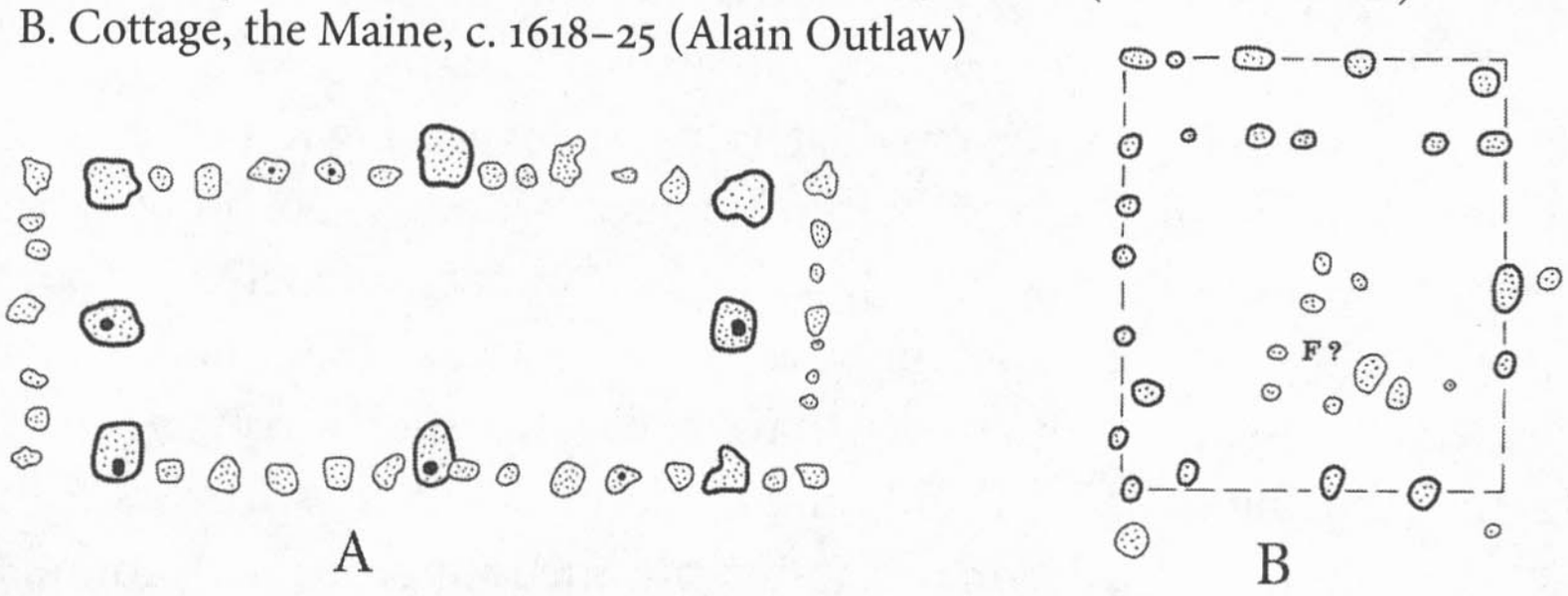
Good building timber was increasingly in short supply. In the east and south, construction employed less wood and more plaster and tile. In the west, the best new building was in well-cut stone, and wherever suitable clay was present, brick construction was appearing. Across England, architecture evolved toward permanence, comfort, and a decreasing reliance on timber.[7] It is perhaps fortunate that Englishmen colonized the Chesapeake in the mid-seventeenth century rather than a hundred years later. In the mid-seventeenth century most Englishmen remained poorly housed and many carpenters still had knowledge of impermanent late medieval construction practices incorporating wood.[8] Documents record many such buildings—and some survive—but our best knowledge of peasant building practices in seventeenth-century England comes from Virginia's James River valley where early sites are a virtual catalog of f impermanent construction.[9]

In these early sites we see the exact reproduction of English practices, in many cases predating even the processes of substitution and selection. Inside James Fort, William Kelso has excavated two dwellings from 1607. Both were fifteen feet wide, several rooms long, and constructed with poorly aligned posts and fragmentary evidence of intermediate studs. Lenses of clay in the cellars of both buildings show that they were mud-walled.[10] A similar if better preserved structure was found at Flowerdew Hundred, inside Sir George Yeardley's fortified compound. There, Norman Barka excavated the post and stake hole pattern of a long-bayed, Lincolnshire-style storehouse dating from about 1619 (Figure 2A). The eight large post holes held widely spaced posts supporting the structure's skeleton of wall plates and ceiling joists. The small holes secured the feet of rails or small poles nailed to the outside of the wall plates at slightly less than three-foot intervals. These stakes or studs stiffened the building's earth walls, which could have been packed with clay, turf, or (most likely) wattle and daub (woven sticks plasterd with clay).[11] At Wolstenholme Town in Martin's Hundred, Ivor Noël Hume excavated a lightly framed long house of ca.1620. Measuring 60 ft. x 15 ft., slight posts divided it into bays 16, 10, 13, and 14 feet long—the last a byre (stable). Between the wall posts of the long house, sills laid in trenches supported the feet of the wall studs.[12] Several 1619–1620 buildings at Wolstenholme Town were more lightly constructed, with posts only at the corners and in the center of the gables (to support a ridge pole).[13] Another dwelling, a cottage without wall posts, is an even less functional style of European structure. Stakes or poles at irregular intervals were the only supports for its roof. Presumably, this building also was earth-walled and roofed with marsh grass.[14] Many of these earliest buildings may have been crotchet structures modeled after temporary English hovels. A crotchet (crutch) is a pole or post topped with a natural fork that can support other poles serving as wall plates, tie-beams, and rafters.[15] Captain John Smith described the 1607 church at Jamestown as "a homely thing like a barne, set upon Cratchets, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth; so was also the walls."[16]

Earth-walled "English" structures:

A. Yeardley's storehouse, Flowerdew Hundred, c. 1620 (Norman Barka)

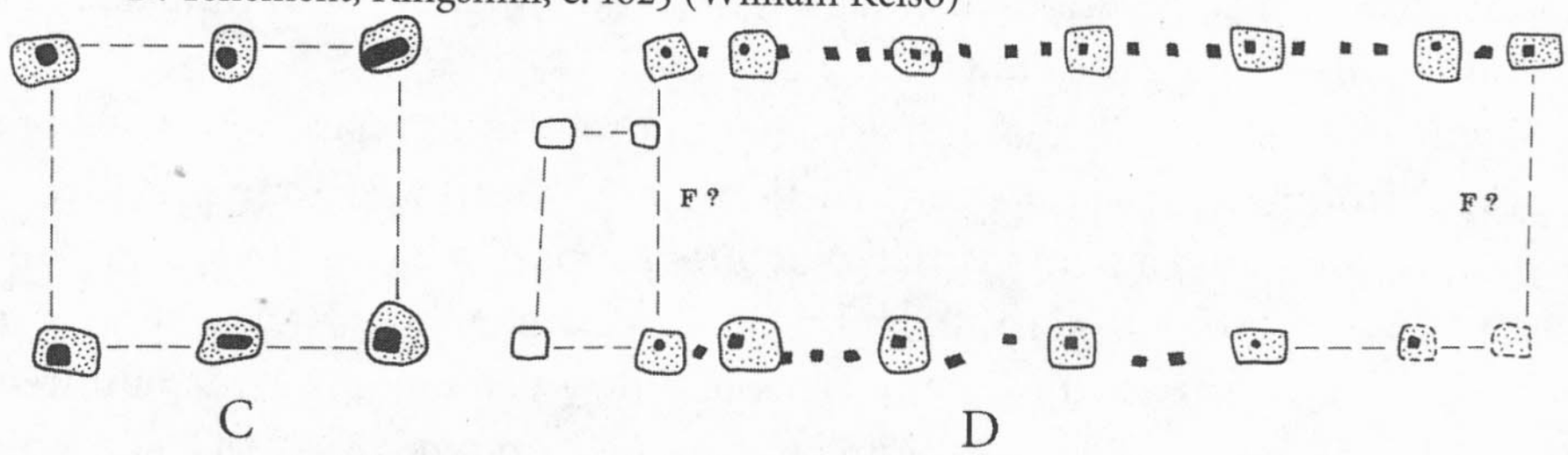
B. Cottage, the Maine, c. 1618–25 (Alain Outlaw)



Clapboarded, early "Virginia" structures:

C. One of Mr. Harwood's dwellings, Martin's Hundred, c. 1623 (Ivor Noël Hume)

D. Tenement, Kingsmill, c. 1625 (William Kelso)



Direction of wall rearing indicated by post hole and mold patterns:

E. Bent-framed dwelling, Clifts Plantation, c. 1670 (Fraser Neiman)

F. Sidewall-reared quarter, Clifts Plantation, c. 1690 (Fraser Neiman)

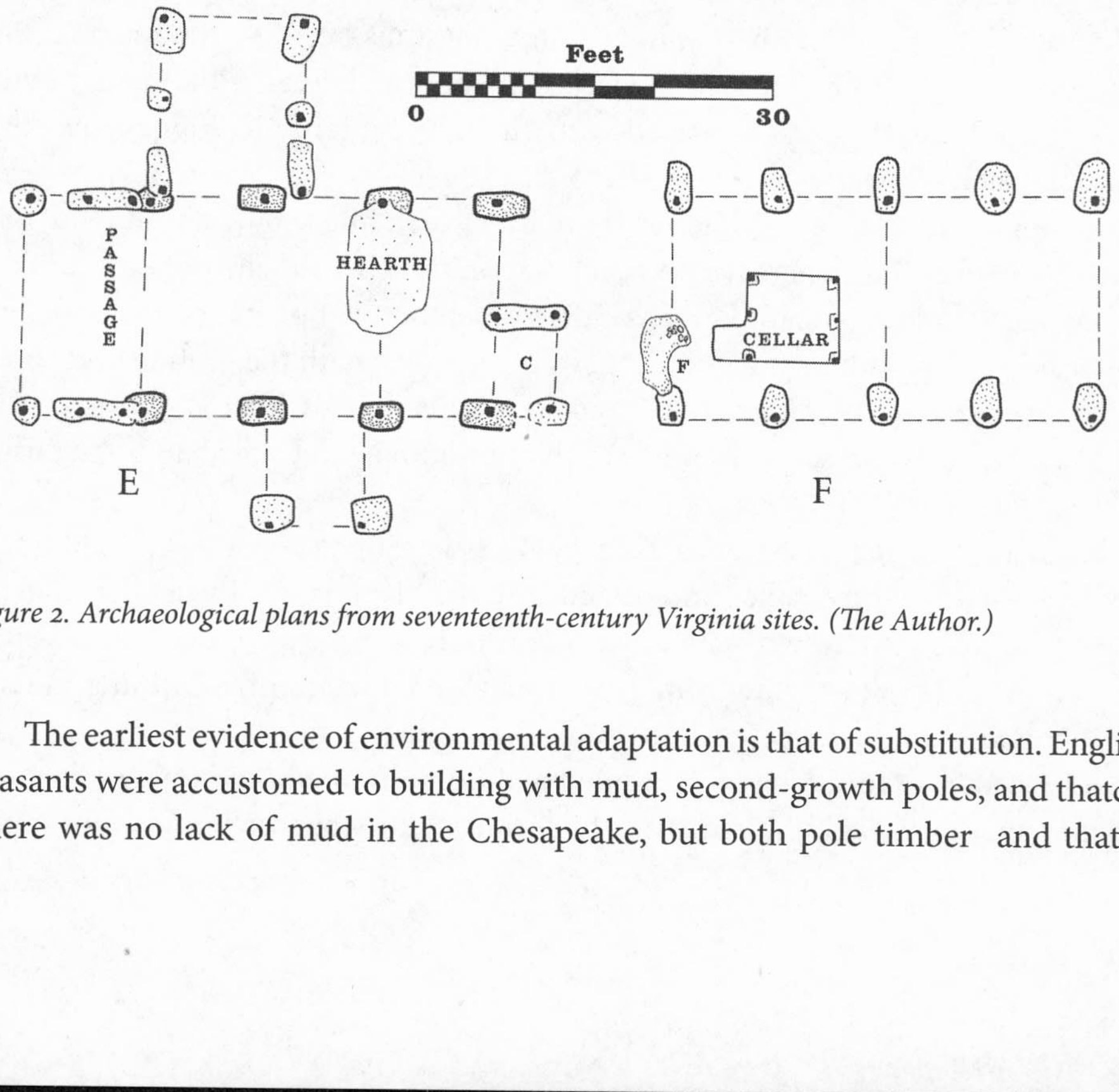


Figure 2. Archaeological plans from seventeenth-century Virginia sites. (The Author.)

The earliest evidence of environmental adaptation is that of substitution. English peasants were accustomed to building with mud, second-growth poles, and thatch. There was no lack of mud in the Chesapeake, but both pole timber and thatch

could be in short supply where old-growth woods held few young trees. Immigrant carpenters immediately realized that large oaks could be split into lightweight, but strong rails. The second discovery took longer, but as early as 1620 Virginians had discovered that the bolts of riven oak that they were exporting to England for furniture and barrel making could be split thinner into a wooden substitute for thatch or tile. In 1623, Virginia buildings were described as being constructed of "but punchs (small posts) set into the ground and roofed with boards."[17] On the mainland outside of Jamestown, Alain Outlaw may have excavated such a cottage (Figure 2B). The irregular spacing of its wall studs and the large clay pits nearby indicate that it was earth-walled in the traditional manner, but the numerous nails found around it suggest a clapboard roof.[18] But however roofed, this cottage and other early structures were poorly suited to the Chesapeake. Termites quickly cut them down. An account of about 1620 describes maintaining such buildings "with continual repairs and building new where the old failed."[19]

Virginia settlers found that impermanent European cottages were poor prototypes for frontier Chesapeake construction. Better prototypes were provided by temporary agricultural and industrial structures supported by widely-spaced large posts.[20] By about 1623 on Martin's Hundred, three almost identical 18 ft. x 20 ft. structures were constructed as the nucleus of a new plantation for the hundred's leader, William Harwood. Each building was framed around six massive wall posts (Figure 2C). The buildings' right angles and sidewall posts carefully spaced at 10-foot intervals indicate that these are carpentered buildings walled and roofed with 5-foot clapboards.[21] But even after making this selection, it took Virginians a couple of decades to agree on the best way to frame the walls between the major posts. At Kingsmill, William Kelso excavated a tenement built c. 1625 with hole-set studs between the wall posts, studs spaced with enough regularity to suggest that this building may have been board-walled as well as board-roofed (Figure 2D). Nearby, at the dwelling plantation of Colonel Thomas Pettus, a house built about 1640, had trench-laid sills.[22] But whether constructed with trench-laid sills or studs-in-the-ground, such buildings shared much of the vulnerability of peasant cottages. Their relatively fragile studding and boarding were in contact with the ground and could be destroyed quickly by insects and fungi. By mid-century, Chesapeake carpenters had learned that to preserve the walls of their buildings, wall sills had to be raised to the surface, or slightly above, ground.

From 1650 to 1675, Chesapeake carpenters developed the Virginia House, a heavily-posted building walled and roofed with oak clapboards. The archaeological evidence of such structures frequently consists only of large post molds at ten-foot intervals. Their spacing came from Englishmen's predilection for building in ten-foot increments.[23] This preference led naturally to the five-foot clapboard nailed on 2 ft. 6 in. centers. Once having developed a building framed on 2 1/2-, 5-, and 10-foot increments, it was but a short step to decide to cure tobacco on five-foot sticks

of riven oak.[24] Once builders adopted the five-foot board and the five-foot tobacco stick, five feet became the standard module for Chesapeake building construction—a standard that facilitated the mass production of cheap tobacco curing houses and frontier cabins.

From archaeological evidence we can recognize two ways of rearing the walls of Virginia-framed houses. One way was to tie together two opposing wall posts with a ceiling joist and to rear these short frames, called bent frames, one-by-one like setting up a row of dominoes. Once erected, these bent frames were connected by laying wall plates on top of the beam ends. Evidence for bent frames generally is found in early frontier contexts as the short, bent frames could be handled by relatively small numbers of men. The most explicit archaeological evidence of bent frames is from the Clifts Plantation, Westmoreland County, Virginia, where a large dwelling dating to about 1670 was reared in bent frames (Figure 2E). The long axes of its post holes are parallel to the direction of frame rearing. If more men had been available, a quicker way of rearing a building would have been to push up an entire side as a unit. Sidewall frames were heavy, but simple, and therefore inexpensive to rear. One of the best archaeological illustrations of sidewall rearing again comes from Fraser Neiman's excavations at the Clifts Plantation. The servants' quarter dates from about 1690. The quarter's rectangular post holes slope in the direction of frame rearing in order that the post feet would drop smoothly into the holes without binding. The timber molds of both frames rest against the vertical, east sides of the post holes (Figure 2F).[25]

Overall, frontier construction in early Maryland benefited from the Virginia carpernters' experience, and in some cases better funding determined the quality of the dwelling. In general, however, architectural development in Calvert's colony paralleled that along the James River and on the south side of the Potomac. Immediately upon landing on Kent Island in 1631, William Claiborne's crew built "one large timber framed house and several thatch-roofed huts set on crotches and raftered with a covering of brush."[26] Archaeologists have located a wide range of post-in-the-ground buildings, built in the seventeenth century, on both sides of the upper Bay, and numerous examples have been excavated along the lower Patuxent River. From Orphan Court records we know that post-in-the-ground clapboard buildings remained common in Queen Anne County into the mid-eighteenth century.[27] In southern Maryland, Virginia-framed, cedar-post tobacco houses were constructed into the second quarter of the twentieth century.[28]

At St. Mary's City, we have yet to locate the 1634 shelters constructed inside Fort St. Mary's. Yet at the St. John's site, the stone foundations of the 1638 English-framed house are surrounded by post-in-the-ground additions and outbuildings including a 1640s, 15 ft. x 19 ft. 3 in. storehouse or quarter and a 20 ft. 6 in. x 30 ft. quarter constructed for Governor Charles Calvert ca.1662. Calvert's quarter was constructed post-and-stud-in-the-ground (fig. 3A) as was the 20 ft. 2 in. x 30 ft. 9 in. public inn

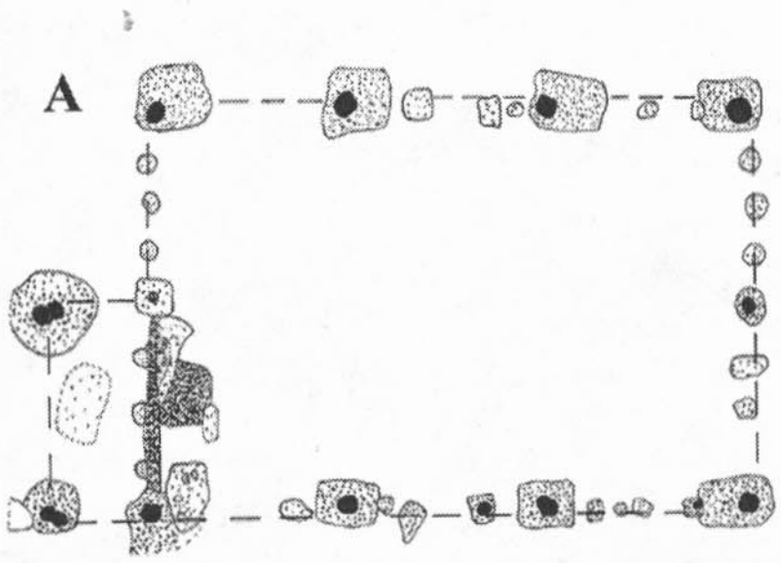
or ordinary constructed by Captain William Smith late in 1667 (fig. 3B).[29] With the exception of their dimensions and studding, the quarter and ordinary were radically different buildings. The quarter was a Chesapeake plan building with opposed front and back doors for good ventilation and a gable-end chimney. Smith's ordinary had a "Virginia" clapboard shell, but a north-of-England plan: gable-end passage behind a firehood so large as to serve as a heated inner room.

Stud-in-the-ground buildings rarely appear in St. Mary's City sites. Most of the structures appear to have been built with interrupted sills, including the nursery addition to St. John's, Mark Cordea's ca.1674 storehouse and office (Figure 3C), and the phase I and II kitchens at Garrett Vansweringen's lodging house (Figure 3D). The post hole and mold pattern of a ca.1680 structure later used as a print house suggests that it may have been 1 1/2 stories high, using bent-frames and built with great precision. At least one 1680s outbuilding was a framed structure with continuous sills supported by hole-set wooden blocks, Garrett Van Sweringen's bake, brew, and "Coffee House (Figure 3E)."[30]

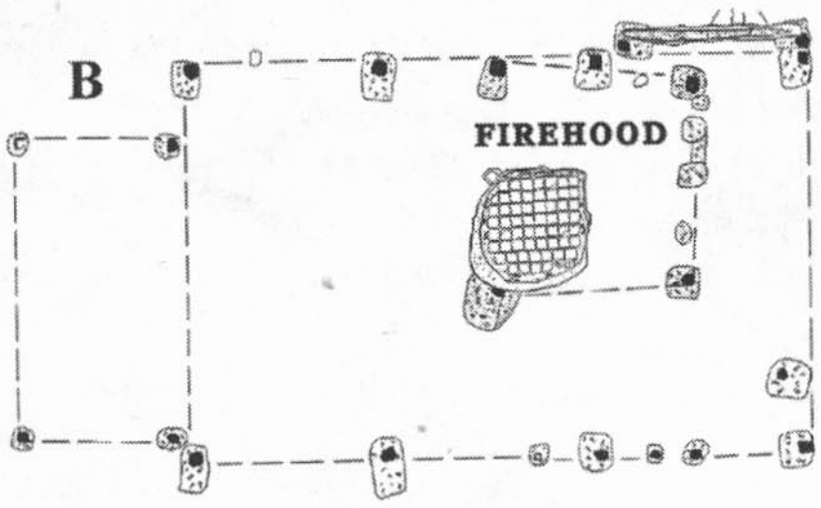
An important characteristic of eighteenth-century Virginia framed buildings was their roofs—roofs assembled from lightweight trusses formed by connecting opposing rafters with collar beams (Figures 1, 4). When, and at what rate, these roofs evolved, is unknown. The process is invisible to archaeological research, is undocumented, and the oldest survivor, the 1683 Third Haven Meeting House, Easton, Maryland, is completely evolved.[31] However, the environmental stimuli for evolving such roof trusses are quite apparent. They were inexpensive to assemble, light to rear, and their collars formed an integral part of the curing scaffolds of tobacco houses. As mentioned earlier, tobacco is air-dried by hanging the stalks from five-foot sticks suspended from tier poles and joists. By collaring every other roof rafter vertically at three-foot intervals, this scaffolding could be continued into the roof of the tobacco house.

The basic evolution of the Virginia house was complete ca. 1675 by which time the roofs of tobacco houses were supported by false plates, light beams cantilevered out over the wall of the house on the ends of the joists. These false plates served two functions. They facilitated supporting a roof raftered at 2 1/2-foot intervals on top of a scaffold joisted at 5-foot intervals, and they facilitated assembling the structure with simple, half-lapped and nailed joints. In English-framed structures, such as the 1638 St. John's house at St. Mary's City, complicated mortise, tenoned, and pinned joints secured the junctions of posts, plates, joists, and principal rafters. In Virginia framing, an extra member, the false plate, and a handful of nails did the same job.

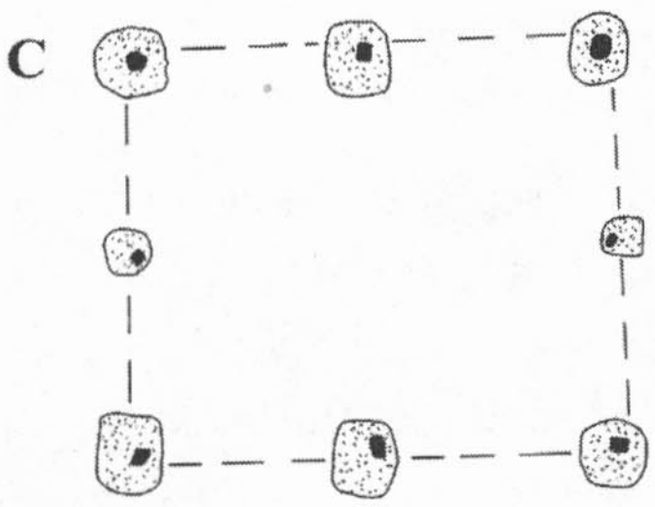
In concluding this discussion of the evolution of the frontier Virginia house, I have deliberately emphasized the role of tobacco. Although Virginia houses began their evolution as cheap dwellings, their acquired function as tobacco curing houses determined their evolutionary trajectory. Most Chesapeake carpenters reared many more tobacco houses than dwelling houses. Not only did most plantations have more



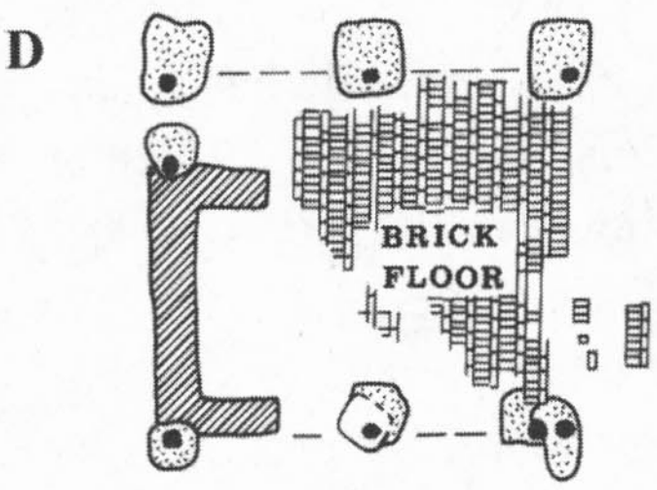
St. John's Quarter, ca. 1662: approx. 20 ft., 7 in. by 30 ft., 3 bays, opposed doors, posts-and-studs in the ground with heavy studs supporting the centers of the gable tie-beams. Probably the bent-framed beginning at the right end with the frames tipped up left to right. The left bay is distinctly trapezoidal. Five-foot clapboard. The wooden chimney is an addition.



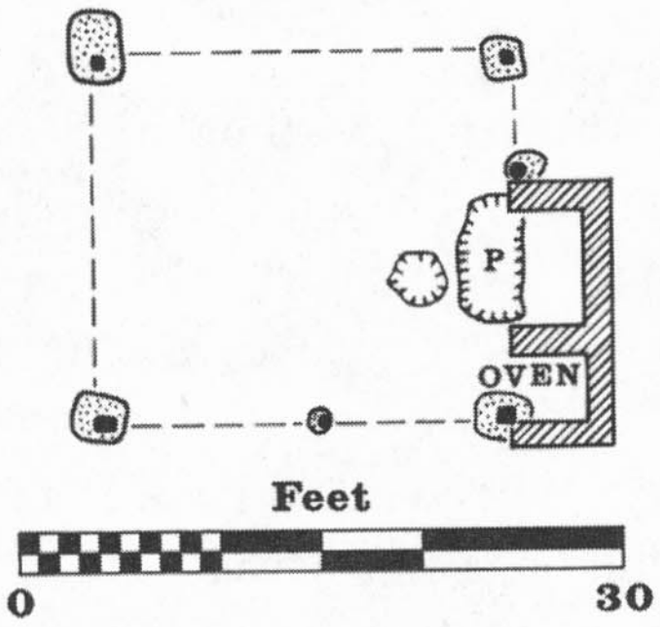
William Smith's Ordinary, late 1667, 20 ft. 2 in. by 30 ft. 9 in., 3 bays, gable-end passage and firehood, sidewall-framed with both frames reared right to left, hole-set studs, 5 ft. clapboard. Shed addition on the gable end.



Mark Cordea's storehouse and office, ca. 1674, 20 ft. 6 in. by 24 ft., 2 bays, interrupted sills, centers of the gable sills supported the hole blocks. Dimensioned for four-foot clapboard, but poorly carpentered. No evidence for a fireplace.



Van Sweringen's Lodging House, phase 2 kitchen, ca. 1690: 18 ft. 2 in. by 20 ft. 8 in., 2 bays, sidewall frames with interrupted sills, both reared north-south. In the west/left gable the sill joined a secondary post alongside the fireplace. Five-foot clapboard. The fireplace foundation is reused from the phase 1 kitchen.



Van Sweringen's bake, brew, and "coffee house," 1680s: 18 ft. 6 in. by 21 ft., building outline marked by four corner timbers, two intermediate timbers, and the brick foundation of a fireplace and oven. The timber molds and their holes vary radically in depth, size, and orientation. They are the remnants of "blocks," short timber pilings supporting the sills of a box-framed structure. Overall dimensions suggest six-foot clapboard.

Figure 3. Archaeological Plans from St. Mary's City. (Historic St. Mary's City.)

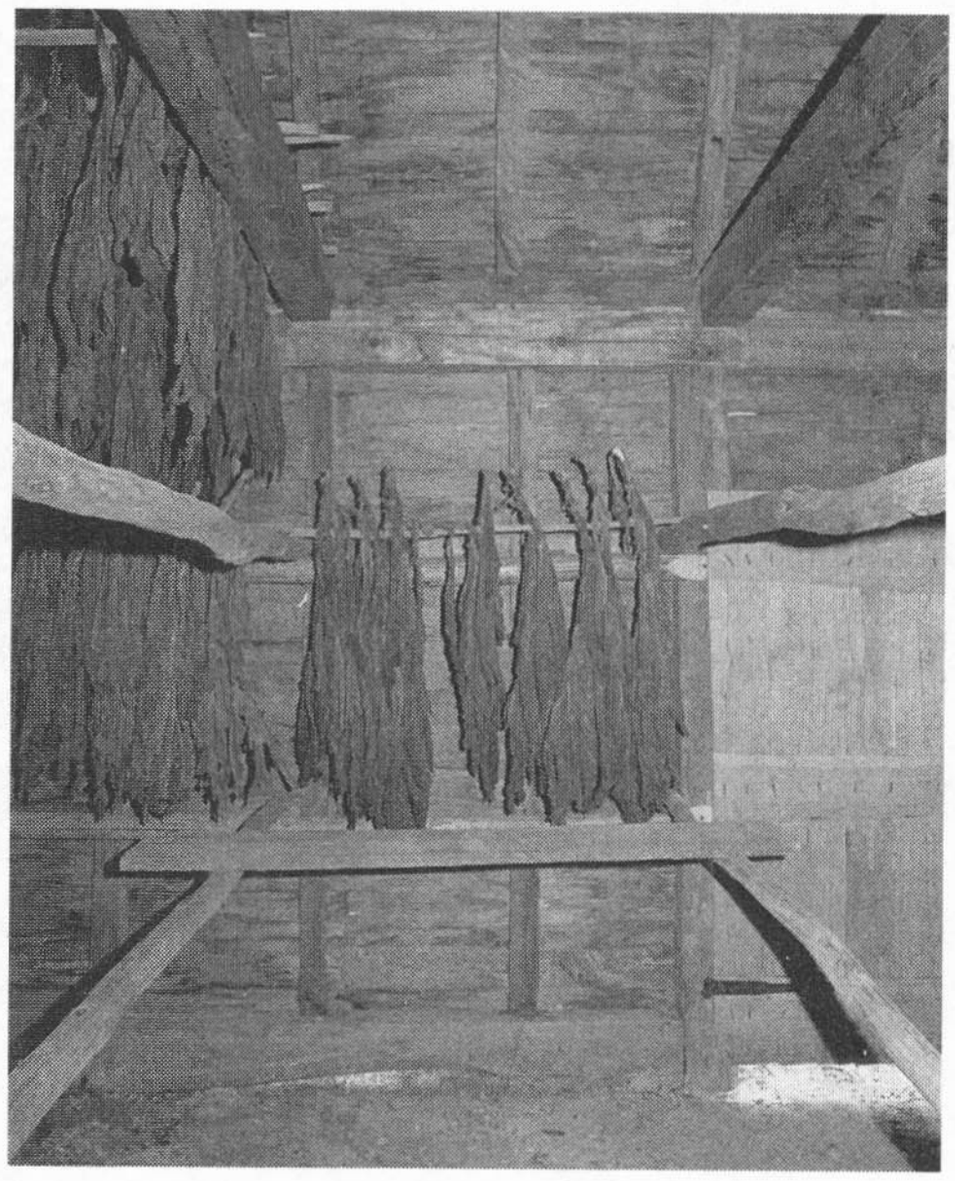


Figure 4. Tobacco hanging in a reproduction of a late seventeenth-century tobacco house, the "New Tobacco House on Mr. Spray's Plantation," Historic St. Mary's City. John O'Rourke, carpenter. (Historic St. Mary's City.)

tobacco houses than dwellings, but tobacco houses had to be replaced every ten or twelve years when the tobacco fields surrounding them wore out. The sotweed was the Virginia carpenter's best yet most demanding client. The short-lived buildings in which it was cured had to be inexpensive—and they were. Throughout the last third of the seventeenth century, the cost of a Maryland tobacco house remained constant at about one pound of tobacco a square foot. Thus, a 40 ft. x 20 ft. tobacco house cost 800 pounds of tobacco. After subtracting the cost of nails, this would have paid for about 30 man days of carpentry. In other words, starting with living oak trees, a crew of three carpenters could build a forty-foot tobacco house in about two weeks. Dwellings, small tobacco houses improved by the addition of shuttered windows, a loft floor, and a chimney, cost only slightly more—about 1,000 pounds of tobacco for an ordinary dwelling twenty-five feet long. Again, allowing for the cost of nails and hardware, this price means that our hypothetical crew of three men could build such a house in a scant three weeks. This seems an incredibly short time, but the economic logic seems inescapable. Frontier wage rates were two to three times higher than in England. Although no direct wage rates are available for rough carpenters, a wage of twenty pounds a day is the lowest conceivable.[32] When a labor budget of 800 pounds of tobacco is divided by a daily wage of twenty pounds it yields but forty man days or 13 1/3 crew days.

Now, using our experience in reconstructing Virginia-framed buildings at Historic St. Mary's City, I will try to sketch out how such buildings may have been put together. Most of the first week would have been spent preparing the frame members. In my calculations, I have allowed half a day for the head carpenter to mark trees while his crew began felling them and another day and a half to fell, hew, and drag to

the building site the large posts needed. During the next day and a half, they would have to fell and get to the building site the twenty odd other principal members—plates, joists, and sills. Of necessity, these would have to be light, minimally prepared members: either poles hewn on one side only, halved poles, or heavy rails split from large oaks. The next day would be spent riving out about seventy 2 ft. x 4 ft. rails for studs, rafters, and collars, and at least this part of the hypothesis is possible. From one perfect oak, carpenter James Laws rove nineteen rafters in a four-hour morning (for the reconstruction of the Van Sweringen kitchen). The next half-day might be spent roughly cutting the major joints and digging the post holes. Thus at the end of five days the frame of the building would be ready for assembly and rearing.

Assembling and rearing the lower frame of the house may have taken no more than two days. The crew used one day to nail together and rear the sidewall frames, a short morning to place the ceiling joists, and a long afternoon studding the side and end walls and mounting the false plates. They then would have to stop framing in order to rive the boards for closing in the house, for the wall frames would remain flimsy until stiffened with their clapboard walling.

Riving the 900 or so boards needed to close in the house and lay the loft floor could have taken only four days. The crew may have used a half-day to fell and cross cut logs to the proper length, three days to rive the boards, and a half-day to carry the boards to the construction site. With the head carpenter riving boards at the phenomenal rate of thirty an hour, his least skilled assistant would have been kept fully busy splitting bolts for him. The third carpenter, with broad hatchet and adze, would have about one and a half minutes a board to remove the sapwood, knock off the worst bumps, and perhaps feather the ends slightly.[33] Needless to say, this is not enough time to draw the boards smooth or even taper the ends decently. They then had to carry the boards to the building site on their shoulders—not only were the woods impassible for carts, but few seventeenth-century frontiersmen owned draft animals.

The next day would be spent boarding the lower walls and laying the loft floor. With one man handing boards up, the second holding, and the third nailing boards at the rate of forty an hour, there would be precious little time available for trimming boards so that they would fit tightly.

The following day, the thirteenth of the project, the carpenters would assemble and rear the roof trusses. During the next two days, they would stud the gables and clapboard the gables and roof. The last day, one carpenter would assemble and hang the doors and window shutters while the other two knocked together a wooden chimney. The chimney would have been far flimsier than even the crude structure illustrated in Figure 5 and may have been no more than a rough teepee of poles and lath.

Well the house is finished, and over budget at that, for notice that I took 16 days to build the house, so my crew earned less than the conjectured minimum wage of

Selected Construction Costs in Maryland Records, 1656–1701

Date	Structures/Features	Dimensions in feet	Value	In pounds of tobacco @ Sq. ft.	Source
1669	Hen Houses	10 x 10	200	2.00	*Arch.Md.*, 60:353-54
1670		–	120		Test.Proc., 6.123
1665	Tobacco Houses	50	900	0.90	*Arch. Md.* 54:382–83
1680		40	800	1.00	Chas. Co., I1:20
1694		30 x 22	850+d	.75	Chas. Co., S1:370
1701		30	600	1.00	Chas. Co., Y1:143
1656	Dwellings	15	300	2.00	*Arch. Md.*, 10:476
1658	–	25x20+ end shed	500	0.70	*Arch. Md.*, 53:26–28
1661	2 outside chimneys	25	1,000+	2.50	
1661	sill, plank-floored loft dormers	40x25+ 10x8 porch	n 4,320	4.00	*Arch. Md.*, 41:526 Forman 1984: 2
1663		–	e	–	
1667	cabin	10x20		5.60	*Arch. Md.*, 53:503
1667	sills, chimney, closets, floors, insulation	addition	150 e 1,170	2.50	*Arch. Md.*, 60:113
1671	kitchen: sills, 2 partitions, Welsh	20x16	e	2.00	*Arch. Md.*, 60:113–14
1674	chimney	15x20	800	10.00+	
	–	25x34			*Arch. Md.*, 60: 354–55
1681	brick chimney, plank floors, wainscot, etc.	20x22+	300 e 10,000	2.00	*Arch. Md.*, 60:615–16
1686	sills, jettied false plates, exterior chimney	10'closet 20x16+	+	3.50	
1694	2 exterior chimneys	2 closets	1,100	2.40	Chas. Co., N1:159
1701		25		2.40	
	chimneys and partitions	25+6' shed	1,800		Chas. Co., N1:171
	2 exeterior chimneys		950		Chas. Co., S1:371
			1,040		Chas. Co., A2:13

Notes: +n = plus nails; +d = plus carpenter's diet; e = estimate
Sources: William Hand Browne, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–1972); Maryland, Testamentary Proceedings; Charles County, Md., Court & Land Records; H. Chandlee Forman, *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1934, 1982).

20 lbs. of tobacco a day. But despite our conscientiousness, what would the client have? Not much. Any time it rained, the roof would leak. But considering its price, it was as good a roof for which a frontiersman could hope. A shingle roof was prohibitively expensive in both labor and nails, and the only alternates were bark or marsh grass thatch.

Figure 5. Mr. Spray's tenant house at Historic St. Mary's City, an 18 ft. x 20 ft. post-in-the-ground dwelling with dirt floor, shuttered windows, and mud chimney. Peter Rivers, carpenter. (Historic St. Mary's City.)

Into what kind of mansion did our frontier family move? A dwelling with one or two dirt-floored rooms with shuttered holes for windows, a wooden chimney waiting to be daubed, and clapboard walls that would turn rain away but little else. Unless the walls were caulked with clay, the wind blew through freely, and they could not hold heat, turn an Indian's musket ball, or resist fire. In the evolution of American frontier housing, it was in its wall system that the Virginia house failed, for in the late seventeenth century central European immigrants brought with them the log house. Log walls were simpler to build, warmer, and as fire resistant as possible in timber construction. On the new frontiers—the Piedmont, the Shenandoah Valley, Tennessee, and Kentucky—the adoption of the log wall was instantaneous.[34]

What was the relative cost of a Virginia house? In the late seventeenth century, in a good year, an able-bodied hand could raise 1,500 to 2,000 lbs. of tobacco. A forty-foot tobacco house was the equivalent of one-half of his cash crop, while a twenty-five-foot dwelling was the equivalent of two-thirds. Thus, a professionally carpentered frontier cabin was a real expense, although minor compared to the cost of a well-finished English-framed house. A cheap, unfinished, English- framed house

cost two to three times as much, while decent interior finishes—plank floors, plaster walls, shelved closets, and the like drove up the cost enormously.

Chesapeake settlers were aware that they lived in substandard housing, but as pioneers they were future-minded opportunists for whom present discomfort was a reasonable sacrifice in return for large estates to leave their children. In 1687, a Potomac merchant wrote a friend planning to settle here, "but should not advise to build either a great or English framed house, for labor is so intolerably dear and workmen so idle and negligent that the building of a good house to you . . . will seem insupportable."[35]

NOTES

1. An earlier version of this paper was read at the Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, January 6, 1984. It was based in large part on the author's dissertation, "Society, Housing, and Architecture in Early Maryland: John Lewger's St. John's. University of Pennsylvania, 1982 (hereinafter cited Stone, "Architecture").
2. Charles County, Maryland, Court and Land Records, S#1:371, A#2:13.
3. Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), 134–65.
4. Cary Carson, Norman F. Barka, William M. Kelso, Garry Wheeler Stone, and Dell Upton, "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies," *Winterthur Portfolio,* 16 (1981):135–96; Herman J. Heikkenen and Mark R. Edwards, "The Key-Year Dendrochronology Technique and its Application in Dating Historic Structures in Maryland," *Association for Preservation Technology Bulletin*, Vol. XV, No. 3 (1983):2–25.
5. Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh, *Robert Cole's World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1991), passim; Stone, "Architecture."
6. William M. Kelso and Beverly A. Straube, *Jamestown Rediscovery, 1994–2004* (Jamestown: Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 2004), 105–30; Carr, Menard, and Walsh, *Robert Cole's World*, 17–18, 142–43.
7. See M. W. Barley, *The English Farmhouse and Cottage* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961) and Eric Mercer, *English Vernacular Houses*, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1975).
8. J. T. Smith, "Short-lived and Mobile Houses in Late Seventeenth-century England," *Vernacular Architecture* (hereinafter cited *VA*) 16 (1985):33–34; N. W. Alcock and R. Harris, "Earth-fast Posts in the Cartshed at Hall Farm, Loxley, Warwickshire," *VA* 18 (1987):52; R. A. Messon and C. M. Welch, "Earth-fast Posts: The Persistence of Alternate Building Techniques," *VA* 24 (1993):1–17; Nina Jennings, "Earthfast Crucks in Cumberland," *VA* 28 (1997):97–98; and Stone, "Architecture," 167–68.
9. Rodney Cousins, *Lincolnshire Buildings in the Mud and Study Tradition* (Sleaford, U.K.: Heritage Lincolnshire, 2000); Carson *et al.*, "Impermanent Architecture," 135–96.
10. Kelso and Straube, *Jamestown Rediscovery*, 49–54.
11. Carson *et al.*, "Impermanent Architecture," 181–82; Charles T. Hodges, "Private Fortifications in 17th-century Virginia," in Theodore R. Reinhart and Dennis J. Pogue, editors, *The Archaeology of 17th-century Virginia*, Special Publication No. 30 (Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1993), 188–94.

12. Ivor Noël Hume and Audrey Noël Hume, *The Archaeology of Martin's Hundred* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2001), 1:91, 108–110.
13. Ibid., 92.
14. Ibid., 91, 112–14.
15. Ibid., 93–94; Kelso and Straube, *Jamestown Rediscovery*, 49–58; Stone, "Architecture," 191–93.
16. John Smith, *Works, 1608–1631*, Edward Arber, editor (Birmingham, England, 1884), 957.
17. Susan Myra Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company of London* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1906–1935) 4:259.
18. Alain C. Outlaw, "Governor's Land Archaeological District Excavations: The 1976 Season" (Williamsburg,: Virginia Center of Archaeology,1978), 13–46.
19. *The Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1619–1658/9*, edited by H. R. McIlwaine and J. R. Kennedy (Richmond, 1915), 33.
20. Stone, "Architecture," 191, 249; Alcock and Harris, "Cartshed," 52.
21. Hume & Hume, *Martin's Hundred*, I:90–92, 126–28.
22. Carson et al., "Impermanent Architecture," 151, 157, 179–80.
23. Stone, "Architecture," 233.
24. A 1673 Maryland inventory lists twenty-five feet of tobacco hanging in a forty-foot tobacco house (Testamentary Proceedings, 6:163–164). However, the five-foot stick probably evolved much earlier. Tobacco sticks can be riven from rejected portions of clapboard logs. By 1650, Maryland tobacco house lengths are multiples of ten feet, *Archives of Maryland*, 10:278. A 1659 Maryland court ordered a carpenter to "sett up & finish the fifty foote Tob howse, & ryue sticks to hang Tob on", *Archives of Maryland*, 41:282.
25. Alexander H. Morrison, "A New Way of Looking at Old Holes: Methods for Excavating and Interpreting Timber Structures," *Structure and Process in Southeastern Archaeology*, edited by Roy S. Dickens and H. Trawick Ward (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1985), 199–234; Frazer D. Neiman, *The "Manner House" before Stratford: Discovering the Cliffs Plantation* (Stratford, Va.: Robert E. Lee Memorial Association, 1980).
26. Nathaniel C. Hale, *Virginia Venturer: A Historical Biography of William Claiborne, 1600–1677* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1951), 152.
27. Henry M. Miller, site plan, the Coursey Site (18 QU 30), October 1980, MS, Historic St. Mary's Research Files; Al Luckenback, *Providence 1649: The History and Archaeology of Anne Arundel County, Maryland's First European Settlement* (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives and the Maryland Historical Trust, 1995), passim; William P. Doepkens, *Excavations at Mareen Duvall's Middle Plantation* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1991); Dennis J. Pogue, *King's Reach and 17th-century Plantation Life,* Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum Studies in Archaeology No. 1 (Annapolis: Maryland Historical & Cultural Publication, 1990); James G. Gibb, *The Archaeology of Wealth* (New York: Plenum, 1996), passim; Julia A. King and Douglas H. Ubelaker, editors, *Living and Dying on the 17th-century Patuxent Frontier* (Crownsville: Maryland Historical Trust, 1996), passim; Queen Anne's County, Deeds RT No. D, f. 221, RT No. E, f. 62, etc., Maryland State Archives, Annapolis.
28. Stone, "Lower Barn on Dixon's Purchase, *Society for Historical Arcaeology*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (June 1978), 22–23, 25.
29. Carson *et al.*, "Impermanent Architecture," 142, 185–86; Stone, "Architecture," 299–322; field work at St. John's by Henry Miller and Ruth Mitchell, 2003; Henry M. Miller, *A Search for the "Citty of Saint Maries,"* St. Mary's City Archaeological Series No. 1, 1983; Henry M. Miller, *Discovering Maryland's First City*. St. Mary's City Archaeological Series No. 2 (St. Mary's City, Md: St. Mary's City Commission, 1986).

30. Henry M. Miller and Silas D. Hurry, "An Archaeological Analysis of the Remains of the Cordea's Hope Site," Ms., Historic St. Mary's City, 1995; Timothy B. Riordan, "Archaeological Evidence Regarding the Architecture of the Print House Building (18 ST1–14)," Ms., Historic St. Mary's City, 2004; Stone, "Garrett van Sweringen's 'Council Chamber' Lodging House (1677–1699)," Ms., Historic St. Mary's City, 1983. Morrison, "A New Way of Looking at Old Holes," 123–33.

31. Orlando Ridout V, "An Architectural History of Third Haven Meeting House," in Kenneth L. Carroll, *Three Hundred Years and More of Third Haven Quakerism* (Easton: Queen Anne Press, 1984), 67–86, and Stone, "Society, Housing, and Architecture," 237–40.

32. In 1663–1665, the Cole plantation paid its tailor a daily wage of 24–25 lbs. of tobacco. Carr, Menard, and Walsh, *Robert Cole's World*, 193, 198, 199.

33. During 1982–1983, working eight-hour days riving for the Sprays' second dwelling and Van Sweringen kitchen, James Laws averaged about eighty boards a day. Occasionally production fell to fifty a day, and on one exceptional day he rove 220 boards (James Laws to Garry Stone, late 1983). Laws once rove twelve-foot clapboard as a demonstration.

34. A mid-eighteenth-century log dwelling with a riven rafter clapboard roof survives at 5620 South Third Street, Arlington, Virginia. This house, the Ball House, is owned by the Arlington Historical Society. Henry Glassie provides an introduction to, and bibliography of, log construction in *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1968), 78–99.

35. William Fitzhugh, *William Fitzhugh and His Chesapeake World, 1676–1701*, Richard Beale Davis, editor (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1963), 202.

Philip Calvert: Patron of St. Mary's City

TIMOTHY B. RIORDAN

Philip Calvert, the youngest son of George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, successfully adapted to the New World and made it his home. In the quarter century he lived in Maryland, he made major contributions to the government, the courts, architecture, and society. He successfully negotiated with the Dutch, the Virginians, William Penn, rebel Protestants and several groups of Native Americans to preserve Lord Baltimore's dominion in Maryland. As governor, he was instrumental in extending the umbrella of religious toleration to Quakers in Maryland and encouraged Virginia Quakers to settle on the Eastern Shore. He turned a modest younger brother's fortune into a wealthy living and built the largest brick house in Colonial America before 1700. As important as these accomplishments are, Philip Calvert is also significant as one of the earliest representatives of the European Enlightenment in English North America.

Information on the public role and economic efforts of Philip Calvert in Maryland is abundant and informative. Lois Green Carr's excellent analysis of the official and economic aspects of Philip Calvert's life makes another examination of those issues unnecessary.[1] Rather, I will look at three facets of Philip's life to suggest what the man was like, his concept of the Maryland experiment, and his acceptance of Enlightenment ideals. The first of these topics deals with Philip's early life and education to show how his world view was formed. The second aspect is the detailed inventory of the library Philip left at his death. Finally, I will review the evidence for his impact on the development of St. Mary's City. Together, these data reveal a remarkable mind and an impressive vision.

The Early Life

As the youngest son of George Calvert, Philip was one of the heirs to the Maryland design. Born in 1626, Philip was only six-years-old when his father died. The major influence in his life must have been his brother Cecil, who was appointed his guardian. He came to live with Cecil just as Maryland was being founded and grew up through the difficult first decade of the province's history. By 1642, as Philip

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grew into his teenage years, Cecil Calvert was engaged in a difficult struggle with the Jesuits over the separation of church and state in Maryland. The Jesuits were claiming special privileges, as they would have in Catholic countries. Cecil Calvert could not and would not grant such privileges.[2] Because of the problems with the Jesuits, Lord Baltimore began a campaign to replace them in Maryland with English secular priests, who were not members of a religious order. Cecil Calvert sent two of these priests, Fathers Gilmett and Territt, to Maryland in 1642. The problem with the Jesuits was widely discussed among Lord Baltimore's family and caused a rift in the Calvert circle. Cecil reported that the rift estranged him from his sister and brother-in-law.[3] Philip, who was sixteen at the time, must have been aware of these problems. At an early age, he was given a practical lesson in the difficult concept of the separation of church and state.

Although we cannot know the effect these arguments had on Philip, they had a direct impact on his education. Cecil Calvert was specifically charged in his father's will with the education of his younger brother. At about the same time he was sending secular priests to Maryland, Cecil sent Philip to the Continent to be educated. Lord Baltimore had a choice of approximately eight European schools and colleges that had specifically been set up to educate English Catholics. The Penal Laws made it difficult for Catholics to be educated in their own country. The natural choice would have been St. Omers, located in Northern France. At least three of his brothers had already attended this school. Instead, Lord Baltimore sent Philip to the most recently founded of the colleges, the English College at Lisbon.

One of the factors that influenced Baltimore's choice must have been the unique character of the Lisbon college. It was founded in 1626 by members of the secular clergy with a donation from Dom Pedro Coutinho, a Portuguese nobleman. In his bequest, he stipulated that the Jesuits were to have nothing to do with the institution. This was in contrast to all of the other continental colleges where the Jesuits not only taught but served as administrators and chaplains. The Lisbon college was the only institution of higher learning open to English Catholics that would be free of Jesuit influence. It is interesting to note that one of the secular priests sent to Maryland in 1642, Mr. Gilmett, whose real name was Henry Shirley, had been the Procurator at Lisbon from 1634 to 1636.

Because of its association with the secular clergy, the English College at Lisbon has been described as having a "political atmosphere." The second president of the college and the man who gave it form and shape was Father Thomas White, known through his controversial literature as Blacklow. He and his followers argued strongly for accommodation with the English government and against the temporal power of the Pope in the hope of gaining toleration of Catholics. It is likely that the topic was widely discussed at the college.[4]

The choice of Lisbon itself would have been instructive to a young man in the process of forming his opinions. Portugal had been one of the earliest of the colonial

powers and an early recipient of the ideals of the Renaissance. However, by the 1570s, it had become weak. Spain annexed this neighbor in 1580 and for the next eighty years Portugal existed as a province of Spain. A revolt broke out in 1640 and a new King, John IV, was crowned at Lisbon. As Philip Calvert arrived in the country, Portugal was engaged in fighting a war to win its freedom. Recognizing their weakness the Portuguese sought allies in Europe and in 1641 signed a treaty with the Dutch that, among other things, granted freedom of religion to Protestants. Portugal became one of the few Catholic countries to openly proclaim religious toleration.[5]

Religious issues aside, Philip received a classical, humanistic education at Lisbon. The English College primarily offered higher studies in theology and philosophy, yet most of the arriving students needed some preparatory classes. Philip had studied Latin in England but was enrolled in the first class for perfecting Latin. He did well and won second prize at the end of the syntax course. Following these remedial courses, students destined for the priesthood entered theology and all others entered philosophy.

As at all continental colleges of the time, philosophy was based heavily on the study of Aristotle. The Renaissance rediscovered Aristotle through contact with the Arab world. The foundation for all of Aristotle's work was a strong desire to comprehend the world in its entirety. He defined scientific knowledge and why it was important to seek it. Aristotle based his philosophy on observation and logic. He described the ideal society as one run by educated, cultured gentlemen. According to the published curriculum of the Lisbon College, philosophy students spent three years studying various parts of Aristotle's books on physics, metaphysics, generation and corruption, ethics and politics. This was a program of study that had developed with the Renaissance and gave form to scientific education well into the eighteenth century.

Philip Calvert was exposed to these ideas at the English College in Lisbon. As part of his studies, he defended theses on physics in June 1646 under philosophy professor Father Francis Victor. These he dedicated to his brother Lord Baltimore. Upon completion of the course in philosophy, Philip returned to England by way of Holland in April 1647. When he returned home, he was twenty-one- years old and ready to begin his adult life. Back in England, Philip served as a secretary for his brother and, among his tasks, wrote out the "Act Concerning Religion." Thus, he had a hand, literally, in codifying religious freedom in Maryland.[6]

During the time that Philip Calvert was forming his world view, we can identify two significant influences that would serve him well in Maryland. Throughout his early life, he came face to face with questions of religious toleration and the separation of church and state. He would need to have an oblivious and dull mind not to have absorbed these lessons. It is clear that Philip's mind had neither of those negative qualities. His education at Lisbon had exposed him to Renaissance ideas and the beginnings of the Enlightenment. Based on his success at the college, he seems to have accepted these lessons as well. However, there is a very great leap

from being exposed to an idea and using it to change one's life. Can we be sure that Philip Calvert recognized these influences and how can we judge the depth of his commitment to them?

The Library at St. Peters

Philip's story suffers from the same lack of personal documents that bedevils all biographers of the Calvert family. There is very little information that offers insight on Philip the person and what he thought or how he felt about life. William Penn described him as a man of "ingenious conversation" while his nephew, Charles Calvert, had an entirely different and negative view of him. None of the documentary sources gives us a good picture of the man. Philip did leave us one source of information that we have for no other Calvert—a detailed list of books in his extensive library at the St. Peters house. If it is true that a man's library provides a mirror into his mind, then we can glean some insight on Philip by looking at his books. Archaeology attempts to reconstruct past behavior by studying the material remains of that behavior and in this case, we attempt an archaeology of the mind by observing the choices Philip made in assembling his library.

In a partial inventory of Philip Calvert's estate, taken in 1682, over 100 books are listed for a total value of £9 16s 6d. This is one of the largest libraries recorded in Colonial Maryland. Lois Green Carr states that there are over 1,700 inventories for the lower Western shore of Maryland between 1658 and 1705 that list books as part of the estate. Out of this total, only fourteen, or less than 1 percent, have books valued equal to, or greater than, Philip Calvert's library. Most of these inventories do not give detailed listings of titles and none display the breadth of interests seen in Calvert's books. A review of the extensive literature on seventeenth-century Virginia libraries reveals the same information. For its time and place, Philip Calvert's library was exceptional.[7]

Of the total number, seventy books are described either by title or in enough detail to indicate the subject. Most of the books, although not specifically described as such, are presumed to be in English and 20 percent, a significant proportion, are in languages such as French (six) and Latin (seven). As an educated man in the seventeenth century, knowledge of both of these languages was essential. Table 1 summarizes the books by category. Not surprisingly, given Philip's various court duties, the largest category deals with the law. Books related to religion account for another 20 percent of his titles. Together these categories make up half of the identified volumes. The vast majority of the identified books in contemporary Chesapeake libraries fall into these two categories. It is the next two groups which are out of place.

Science and humanities form over a third of the titles listed. It is this emphasis that makes Philip Calvert's library unique among his contemporaries. Books of these types became somewhat less rare in Chesapeake libraries a generation or more after Philip's death as interest in these subjects became a pursuit of a cultured gentleman.

Table 1: Named Volumes in Philip Calvert's Library

Subject	Number	Percent
Law	21	30
Science	15	21
Religion	14	20
Humanities	11	16
Medicine	8	11
Unknown	1	2
Total	70	100

Source: Philip Calvert, partial inventory, Testamentary Papers, Box 90, No. 12, MS, Maryland State Archives.

This endeavor began with the study of humanities during the Italian Renaissance and came to include a greater emphasis on science and the natural world during the Enlightenment. In his choice of books, Philip Calvert clearly identifies himself with this school of thought. To fully appreciate this, we need to examine the books included in the library in greater detail.

Looking first at the law books, we see Philip's role as judge and chancellor. Some of these books may have been purchased specifically for Philip's move to Maryland or sent to him soon thereafter. One is dated 1655 and at least four more seem to have their first imprints in the early to mid-1650s. Included in this group are such volumes as Dalton's *The Country Justice* described as "the practice of the justices of the peace out of their sessions." A second is entitled *The Young Clerk's Guide,* described as precedents for "indentures of settlements, letters of license and composition, assignments, letters of attorney, conditions obligations, etc." Lastly, there is *Sheppard's Epitome*, containing "All of the common & statute laws of this nation now in force wherein more than 1,500 of the hardest words or terms of the law are explained." There is no way to know if Calvert purchased these books in preparation for his appointment in Maryland or came by them later in life. However, they are the type of books he would have needed and their dates of publication are clustered just before his voyage to Maryland. The law books included in Calvert's library are no different than those of any of his contemporaries.

It is in the religion category that we begin to probe the mind of Philip Calvert. First, he had a Bible and two Rhemish Testaments. The latter books are English translations of the Bible produced by the Catholic clergy beginning in 1582, a necessary volume used to combat Protestant translations. The Rhemish testaments contained side notes explaining Catholic understandings of controversial theology. Until 1749, this was the standard Catholic translation of the Bible and shows that Philip was active in his own faith.

Most interesting, however, are six volumes that might be called controversial literature. One of the books in the inventory is listed simply as *Fiat Lux*. It is described as "a general conduct to a right understanding and charity in the great combustions and broils about religion here in England between Papist and Protestant, Presbyterian and Independent: to the end that moderation and quietness may at length happily ensue after so various tumults in the Kingdom." A second book, labeled in the inventory as *Doctor and Student* is more accurately described as "A dialogue between a doctor of divinity and a student of the laws of England." It was first published in 1530 and went through many editions well into the eighteenth century. One of the main points of the book is that when a common law comes into conflict with a canon law, the common law must take precedence. All six of the books that are here termed controversial literature deal with religious toleration or the separation of church and state. Of the named books in his library, 9 percent of the total and almost a third of the books on religion deal with these issues. In Maryland, where these topics were daily being tested, Philip Calvert's library reflected the importance of the concepts to him and to the Calverts in general.[8]

Under the general category of science are fifteen books that reflect the diversity and breadth of Philip Calvert's interests. Books related to astronomy and the stars are the most common in this group. *Lillyes Christian Astrology* explains the use of an ephemeris, the nature of the twelve signs of the zodiac, the planets, and "a most easie introduction to the whole art of astrology." Although this may not seem like science today, it was considered as such in the seventeenth century. *Gadbury's Ephemeris*, another of Philip's books, was one of the most popular and was published yearly from 1660 to 1761. It listed the movements of heavenly bodies for astronomers and astrologers. The *Tutor to Astronomy* provided "an easie and speedy way to understand the use of both globes, celestial and terrestrial." The last of these titles, *Geometrical Dyling* describes how to make sundials and to use them in tracking the sun's orbit. An important part of Aristotle's physics was the observation and description of the heavens. Philip's interest in the whole topic of astronomy may date to his time in Lisbon.[9]

Following astronomy, books on the physical sciences are the most common, including two encyclopedias, and are directed to experimental science.[10] Francis Bacon's *Natural History* is an early and important contribution to the development of the idea of science. In this text, Bacon argued for an "active science" that sought truth in observation and experiment rather than in justification from ancient authors. Along similar lines is a book listed as *Natural Magick* written by Giambattista della Porta in 1558. Della Porta is now famous for his argument that nature could be understood exclusively through experiment. Because of this belief, the Inquisition banned his works in the 1590s. *French's Distillation* is one of the earliest books on chemistry published in the English language. It dismisses the claims of alchemists and seeks medical applications for chemical compounds. This small group of books,

representing 7 percent of the library, shows Philip Calvert's interest in the experimental sciences which were beginning to radically change our view of the world.

Under the category of science, I have included two books that deal with improvements in agriculture.[11] One of these titles, Samuel Hartlib's *Hartlib's Husbandrie*, initiated a genre of literature that remained important well into the nineteenth century. The other book under this topic is described in the inventory as *Discourse Concerning Trees by the Royal Society*. This was a compilation of three of John Evelyn's texts. In addition to being a diarist, Evelyn was one of the leading scientists in England and one of the founders of the Royal Society. The first section of this book deals with the propagation of timber. The second section details the cultivation of fruit trees and cider production.

The third section, however, commands our attention. Titled *Kalendarium Hortense*, subtitled the *Gardener's Almanac,* Evelyn wrote "Let it be remembered that I did not altogether compile this work for the sake of our ordinary Rusticks . . . but for the more ingenious; the benefit and diversion of gentlemen, the persons of quality who often refresh themselves in these agreeable toils of planting and the garden." In the late seventeenth and eighteenth century, the development of a formal garden was another indicator that identified one as a gentleman. There is no definitive evidence yet that Philip had a formal garden, yet the brick wall around his home at St. Peters suggests a formally maintained space.

The category of medicine has been separated from science although that distinction is somewhat arbitrary. There were eight volumes related to medicine and seven of these discussed experimental methods to cure disease. The first, listed in the inventory as simply Culpeper's *Practice Physic*, describes "the experimental practice of the whole art of medicine." Another example of this is a text listed in the inventory as *Rationall Secrets*. Part of its title reports that it is "a book of excellent experiments and secrets collected out of the practices of several expert men . . . whereto is annexed Paracelsus his one hundred and fourteen experiments." Paracelsus was a sixteenth century physician who believed that diseases were a result of something entering the body and not an imbalance of humors. He sought to combat them by chemical preparations designed to counteract this external influence. His influence gave rise to the ontological theory of disease that is the foundation of modern medical science.[12]

The collection of science and medical books listed in the estate confirm that Philip Calvert had a broad interest in the natural world that probably dated from his years at the English College of Lisbon. The connecting thread in all of these texts is man's need to observe nature and learn through experimentation. This world view, the basis of modern science, identified enlightened gentleman in the next century.

Books in the humanities category made up sixteen percent of the library. There were two separate editions of the poet Horace and a copy of Quintilian's *Oratory*. Horace, like Aristotle, had been slighted during the Middle Ages but was rediscovered

during the Renaissance. He became the ideal that poets strove toward and his *Art of Poetry* was influential well into the nineteenth century. Quintilian's *Oratory* discusses the importance of public speaking and the qualities of a good speaker. He believed that to speak well a man must have a broad knowledge of the world. In speaking of the importance of reading, he said, "Our minds are like our stomachs; they are whetted by the change of their food, and variety supplies both with fresh appetites." This thirst for knowledge is the core of developing Enlightenment thought and is one of the reasons that Quintilian was considered important.[13]

Not all of the literature represented dusty volumes of the Classical age.[14] A book simply described as *Philip's Poems* is the work of Katherine Philips, a noted Restoration poet better known as Orinda. She was known in her own time by her strong Royalist sentiments as well as poems on marriage and friendship. The *Trial of the Regicides* was another piece of contemporary literature which, as its name implies, details the evidence against those involved in the execution of Charles I and the punishment meted out to them. This is not a law book but sort of a cross between history and entertainment. In the same vein is the book entitled *Portugale History*. Based on the title you might suppose this was a book Calvert had because of his residence in that country, perhaps even one of the books required by the College. But it is actually a book written by Samuel Pepys, published in 1677, and subtitled "A relation of the troubles that happened in the Court of Portugal in the years 1667 and 1668." It describes the divorce and abdication of King Alphonso VI and the subsequent marriage of the Queen, Maria Francis Isabella of Savoy, to Dom Pedro, regent of the realm. You might say this was a seventeenth-century tabloid.

Barclay's Argenis is particularly interesting as it is one of the first modern novels. It is a romance set in Rome but built around characters representing contemporary political leaders. It was designed to "admonish princes and politicians, and above all to denounce political faction and conspiracy, and show how they might be repressed." Originally published in Latin, as was Calvert's copy, the novel was translated into every European language and remained popular into the next century. The books listed in Philip Calvert's library are an amazing collection of classical, scientific, and humanistic literature. There were few libraries in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake to match this in either size or breadth—and none that exhibited both qualities.

Possession of these books, of course, is not enough to demonstrate that their owner read them or absorbed the ideals expressed in them. If the library does indeed represent Philip Calvert's thought, St. Mary's City is the arena in which that thought found life. There is no way to tell when most of these books came into Philip's possession and the volumes could have been purchased/received at any time, but many of the initial publication dates precede Calvert's move to Maryland. However, thirteen of the books (almost 20 percent) have initial publication dates after 1657 and indicate a continuing intellectual interest on Philip's part. Of these, four were first published in the 1660s and three in the 1670s. The latest known volume is the

Portugale History published in 1677. Philip, in all probability, remained intellectually active until his death.

Architecture in St. Mary's City

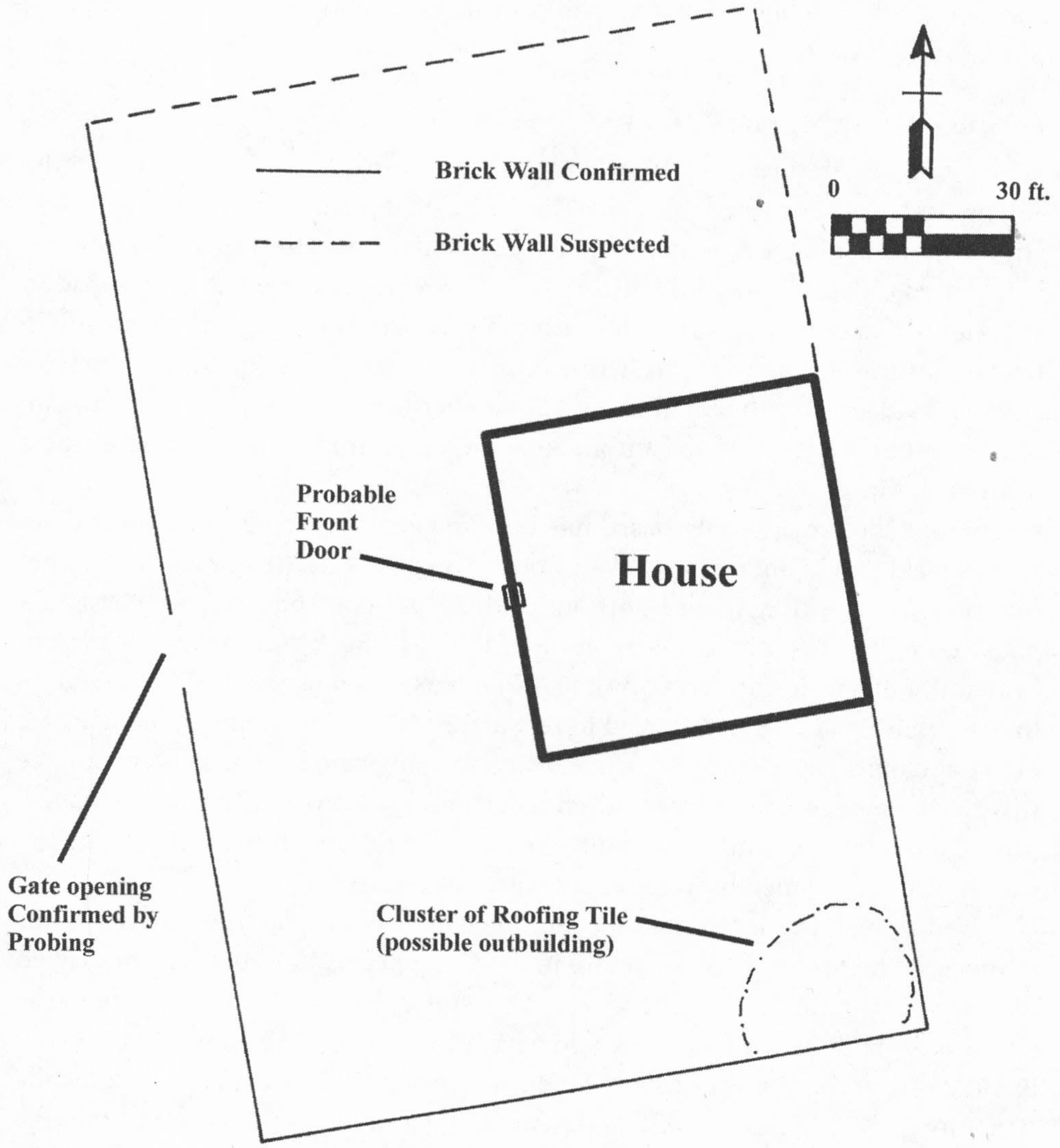
When Philip Calvert came to Maryland in the late 1650s, there was no town in the colony. St. Mary's consisted of a collection of isolated plantations no different than any other locality in the province. If there was a center, it was the Calvert house, built by Leonard Calvert in the early history of the province and used as a combination state house and ordinary. During the visit of the Dutch Ambassadors in 1659, Philip told Augustine Herman that he "wished Maryland may be so fortunate as to have cities and villages like the Manhattans." Soon after this, the Maryland government, of which Philip was an important member, began an impressive effort to create a town at St. Mary's.[15]

In 1662 the province purchased one hundred acres of land known as the Governor's Field that included the Calvert house. By early 1664 there were rumors that the council was willing to give portions of this land to anyone who would build a house on it. The first official recognition of this was the Act of Encouragement to William Smith in his undertaking the "Country's Work at St. Mary's," passed by the assembly of 1664. Smith agreed to repair the Calvert house and to build a state house and office on the property. In addition to being paid for the construction, he was given a lease on the entire hundred acres for fifty-one years. The task ultimately proved too much for him and, in 1666, the assembly released him from building the state house and granted him the lease of just three acres.[16]

Even though the state house of 1664 was not built, its plan represents a major advance in the history of architecture in the Chesapeake. The specifications called for a wood structure, forty feet square, 2 1/2 stories high with a tile roof. Both the shape of the building and the tile would have been an advance over what existed but it is the rest of the specification that commands attention. The plan called for the structure to have "a hip roof with a tammet in the middle, eight feet clear from the flat of the roof." This is the earliest plan known for a hipped roof in the Chesapeake region. In addition, it calls for an eight foot tall cupola rising from a platform at the top of the structure. This type of roof would become common on important buildings in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake and is associated with the Georgian style of architecture. It is unique for a mid-seventeenth-century structure in the region.

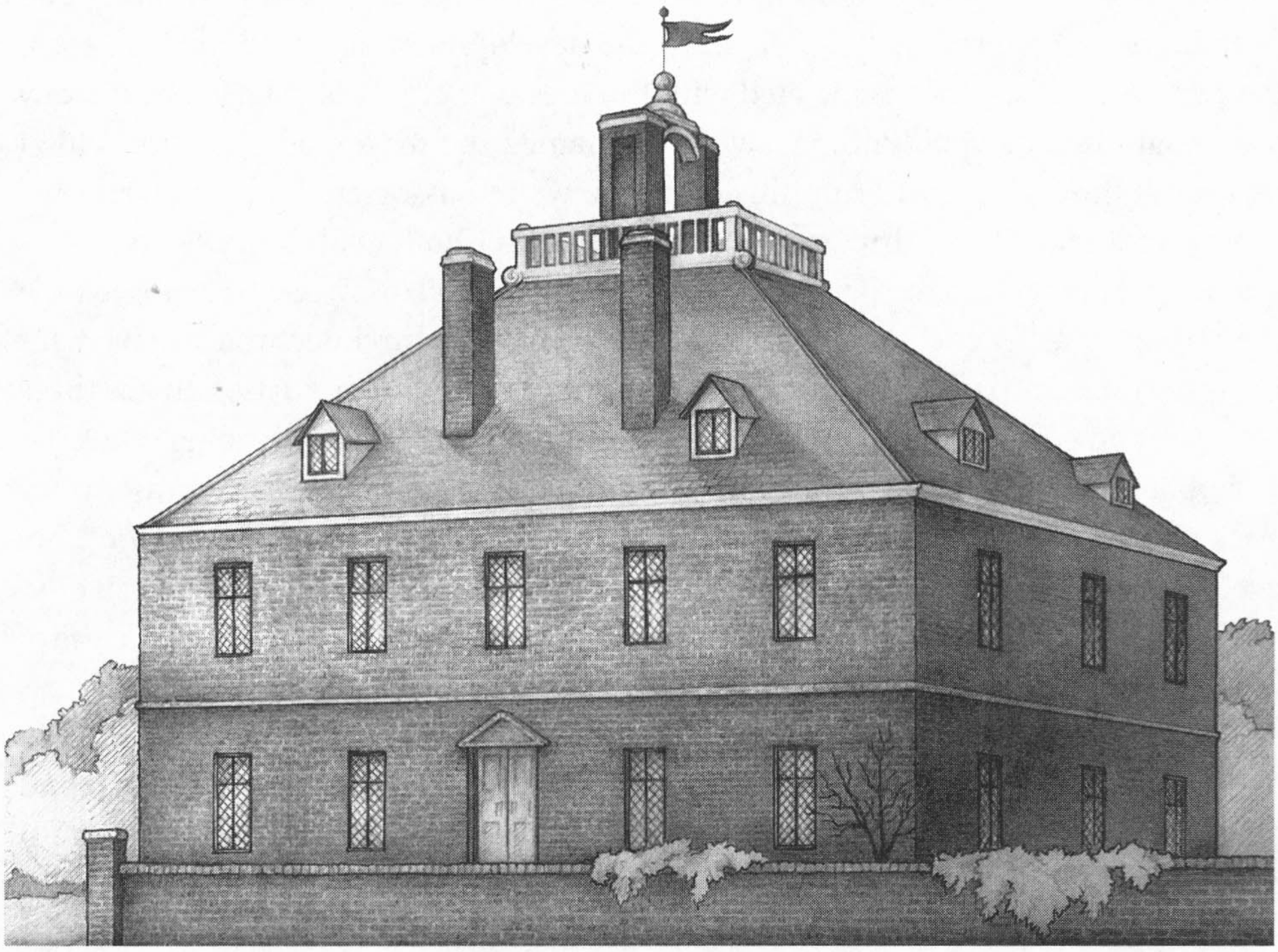
The design for this structure had to originate with the Governor's Council. At the time, the three most prominent members of that body were Charles Calvert, the governor, Philip Calvert, the chancellor, and Jerome White, the surveyor-general. All three of these men had classical educations and Philip and Jerome White clearly had been trained on the Continent. Any one of these men, and perhaps all of them, could have had a hand in the design.

But the state house of 1664 was not built and the hundred-acre lease to William



Archaeological plan of St. Peters and its rare brick-walled courtyard. (Based on excavations by H. Chandlee Forman in 1940 and Historic St. Mary's City in 1996.)

Smith was revoked. This allowed an even more ambitious plan to be developed for St. Mary's. Smith was granted a three acre lease in 1666 on the condition that he would build and maintain an ordinary on the property. By the early 1670s, several other structures were standing in the town center. These buildings were located during archaeological excavations in the 1980s. In looking at the placement of buildings in the town center, it was noted that they were not randomly scattered but arranged to form the corners of a square. In the center of this square, all the major roads came together. By taking into account these facts and the locations of the major public



Conjectural drawing of Philip Calvert's ca.1678 mansion, St. Peters, St. Mary's City. (Courtesy Jamestown Settlement.)

buildings in the town, notably the ca. 1667 chapel, the 1676 state house, and the brick prison, archaeologists discovered that the town was designed according to baroque town planning principles.

One aspect of baroque town planning was placing major public buildings at the ends of roads to create impressive vistas. It had been used in Italy since the sixteenth century and was proposed but never used for rebuilding London after the Great Fire of 1666. Annapolis was long thought to be the first colonial town to display this type of plan. There is no documentation to indicate when the plan was developed for St. Mary's. It could not date until after William Smith relinquished his lease on the Governor's Field in 1666. It is likely that the plan was in existence by the time the chapel construction began c. 1667. Very likely, it was part of an ongoing development effort associated with the granting of the first city charter for St. Mary's City by Lord Baltimore in 1668. Use of this sophisticated concept of town planning at such an early date in America is remarkable and reflects a knowledge of and interest in the most advanced ideas of the time period.[17]

As with the proposed construction of the 1664 state house, there is no documentation to suggest who might have developed this plan or executed it. Certainly Jerome White, as surveyor general, had the responsibility of laying it out, but either

Charles or Philip Calvert could have been involved in the planning. Although all of these men were probably involved in the development effort, Philip Calvert is the person most directly associated with the idea of a city at St. Mary's. In the city charter granted in 1668, Philip Calvert was named the mayor, an office he held at least until the mid-1670s. From this point on, we can associate Philip Calvert, one way or another, with all three of the major structures built at St. Mary's City.

The first of these is the Brick Chapel that was begun ca.1667, about the same time the baroque plan was being formulated. It was a significant architectural achievement in both its size and decoration.[18] Archaeology has revealed a foundation that is three feet wide and goes a full five feet into the ground. The only reason for going so deep is to support a tall building. Comparison with other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century brick churches both in the Chesapeake and England shows a strong correlation between the width of a wall and its height. Based on this comparison, the chapel would have stood twenty-three feet high at the eave line. Excavation also indicates the use of flooring stones, which are mentioned in the documents. Tests show that this stone is not native to the western hemisphere. More than twenty tons of this stone had to be imported to cover most of the chapel floor. Archaeologists have also found a second type of stone, a white limestone that suggests further elaboration in the decoration of the chapel. The windows were typical religious windows with curved tops. The evidence of the use of mullions is exceptional in the Chesapeake. This particular type of mullion, with in-curving edges, was used to "render" or apply a light-colored mortar to make it look like the window was set in stone, a feature seen in contemporary structures in England. Other clues show the chapel had a flat tile roof.

This is not the place to give a detailed inventory of the architecture of this building. It was well in advance of its time in the Chesapeake but was the kind of church the Jesuits built around the world. There can be no doubt that this was a Jesuit building. It was on Jesuit land and was legally owned by the Jesuits during its entire history. So how does Philip Calvert fit into this part of the story?

One of the first indications was in his library, where there are seven books listed as belonging to the church. That these are separate from his private library is indicated by the fact that none of the titles are listed in the inventory of his estate. St. Peters, the home of Philip Calvert, was close to the chapel and apparently was used to store these books. Henry Carew, a Franciscan who came to Maryland in 1672, lived with Philip Calvert and said mass at the chapel. One of the earliest archaeological clues of a link with Calvert came in the type of brick used to build the chapel. The bricks of the chapel all have a circular mark on one side that was caused by pulling the wet brick off the table. All of the bricks in the chapel show this mark and it is very different from bricks used in other buildings at St. Mary's City. It was so distinctive that we began to call these chapel bricks. Recent excavations at St. Peters, the home of Philip Calvert, demonstrate that it too was constructed of these bricks. This is a strong link to Philip Calvert.

Foundations of the ca.1667 Brick Chapel at St. Mary's City. Philip Calvert worshiped here, is buried here, and may have served as the chapel's patron. (Historic St. Mary's City.)

An even stronger link was discovered in 1990 when three lead coffins were found in the north transept of the chapel. The use of lead coffins began in England in the fifteenth century for royal funerals which could last as long as a month. Early seventeenth-century nobles used them as much for show as for sanitation. To find them in a seventeenth-century context in the Chesapeake is exceptional. These coffins obviously represented the final resting place of persons important to the community. Often, in England, the founder or patron of a church is given a special burial place, apart from everyone else. This is usually in a separate part of the church and often converted into a chapel for the family. It is tempting to suggest that this is the situation in the St. Mary's chapel, but—whatever the reason—the people buried in the lead coffins held high status in the Maryland colony.

After two years of planning, the coffins were lifted from their pit and opened in 1992. Project Lead Coffins caught the attention of the country and the world. After a process of elimination using a wide variety of documentary and scientific evidence, historians and archaeologists concluded that the bodies were most likely those of Philip Calvert and his wife Anne Wolsley Calvert, who died within a short time of

each other in the 1680s.[19] Like the previous developments, the evidence of Philip Calvert's influence is circumstantial but compelling. If Philip did not help design and build the chapel, his prominent burial location within the structure strongly implies that the community considered him its patron.

The next major building constructed at St. Mary's was the state house of 1676. The upper house of the assembly, led by Philip and Charles Calvert, decided that the province needed a formal place to hold assemblies and courts that was not an "Ordinary or Taphowse." The Governor's Council developed a detailed plan that they later incorporated into the "Act for the building of a state house and prison at St. Maries." This was to be a brick, cross-shaped building standing 2 1/2 stories high. According to the dimensions, the building would have been twenty-three-feet high to the wall plate. Such a structure would be an appropriate match to the brick chapel on the other end of town.[20]

Several aspects of the building suggest that its architecture was inspired by Continental styles. Visitors entered the building through a large, arched porch with benches, much like an Italian loggia. Window placement was carefully described to provide symmetry on the facade. At the corners of each of the roofs were "piramedes," decorative elements derived from classical architecture.

One of the intriguing questions about this building is the shape and construction of its roof. In describing the rafters of the structure, the plan called for them to be eighteen and a half feet long and to overhang the roof by one and a half feet. When one considers that the area to be spanned was twenty-nine-feet wide, the geometry of this roof becomes very interesting. To span the roof with this length of rafter would require a roof angle of only thirty degrees. This would be in sharp contrast to the average seventeenth-century roof angle of more than fifty degrees. A roof with such a low angle approaches what is called a flat roof (e.g., a roof with an angle of twenty degrees) a popular style in Italian architecture books of the seventeenth century that became relatively common in mid- to late-eighteenth century colonial America.

Some architectural historians have objected to this interpretation and stated that such a roof would not be possible with the technology available in the seventeenth century. Certainly the architects who rebuilt the state house in 1934 believed there was an error in the document and changed the length of the rafters to twenty-four feet. This modification gave the building a much more respectable colonial roof line. Yet the key to understanding this anomaly is in the material used to cover this roof. The opening clauses of the contract called for the roof to be covered in slate or tile. Later references and archaeology made it clear that the state house roof was covered with imported Dutch pantile. Both slate and pantile roofing materials can be laid successfully at as low an angle as 30 degrees.[21]

The combination of a loggia, a concern for symmetry on the facade, classically inspired decorative elements, and a relatively low roof suggests a building well ahead of its time in style if not in execution. The roof may well have outpaced the

available expertise. One of the main problems with the building was that the roof leaked—badly. In 1688, the assembly required that all of the rafters in the whole house be amended and repaired, suggesting a change in the roof at this time. Even if the attempt was not entirely successful, the state house of 1676 remains a significant advance in the history of colonial architecture.

Again we must ask what Philip Calvert's involvement in the design and construction of the state house might have been. The design of the building came out of the Governor's Council of which he was a member. More significantly, he was the one who went to the lower house of the assembly and described the building plan and dimensions to them. When the building later had to be repaired, it was Philip Calvert who was appointed to oversee the repairs and changes to the structure. These facts suggest that Calvert was looked on as the architect or person responsible for the plan.[22]

Although Calvert's association with both the chapel and the state house are circumstantial, his direct association with the house at St. Peters can not be questioned. St. Peters represents one of the most impressive achievements of seventeenth-century architecture in the English colonies. Built between 1677 and 1679, the chancellor's house at St. Peters was large by modern standards, let alone those of the seventeenth century. It was a square, brick structure, reportedly two stories high with a full basement. Excavations by Henry Chandlee Forman in 1940 found that the foundation is fifty-four feet on a side.[23] Including the basement, the reported two stories, and a presumed attic, this structure would have had over eleven thousand square feet of floor space. Research has failed to reveal another private house in the seventeenth-century English colonies that was this big and made of brick. It would probably still be standing today but for the fact that in 1694, a thousand pounds of gunpowder stored in the basement accidentally exploded.

Little is known with certainty about the architecture of this structure, yet clues exist. In 1836, John Pendleton Kennedy provided a description of the building in his novel *Rob of the Bowl*. Based on local memories and perhaps some elaboration, he stated:

> A massive building of dark brick, two stories in height . . . constituted the chief member or main body of the mansion. This was capped by a wooden, balustraded parapet, terminating at each extremity, in a scroll like the head of a violin, and, in the middle, sustaining an entablature that rose to a summit on which was mounted a weathercock. [24]

Some additional information on the structure comes from Dr. Henry Chandlee Forman's excavations at the site in 1940. Although we can not determine the extent of Forman's excavation efforts nor what proportion of his article on the site was based on fact rather than opinion, one thing about the structure stands out—the size of

the building. Forman showed a floor plan divided into two large center rooms measuring 25 ft. x 20 ft. and four 20 ft. x 11 ft. corner rooms. He suggested that the floor plan was medieval in origin but it bears more resemblance to Renaissance plans. In any case, he was correct in stating that there was nothing like it in the English colonies at the time. The full cellar below the house was floored with red clay tiles and the building had a flat tile roof. In 1996, in connection with the filming of a British television documentary, part of the *Time Team* series, archaeologists from Historic St. Mary's City had the opportunity to do limited testing at St. Peters. This work confirmed most of Forman's observations and the precision of his architectural measurements. Nevertheless, there is much more to be learned about the architecture of this highly significant building.

One of the things that sets St. Peters apart from all of the other structures in the province was an attempt to create a formal landscape. Both oral history and archaeology indicate the presence of a brick wall around the building, perhaps the first in Maryland. The foundation trench for the wall was 2.5 feet across. Forman reports finding a ten-foot wide gap in the west wall that represents a gate complete with pillar bases. Although he was not able to follow out the entire wall, he stated that the west wall was about 170 feet long. The building was centered in this space with approximately 55 feet on either side. His report showed that the north and south walls extended more than 130 feet before they disappeared. Archaeological work in 1996 confirmed the presence of this brick wall and suggested that there is also a brick wall parallel with the back of the house. This is a similar arrangement to that of the governor's palace in Williamsburg. The effect created a formal forecourt for the reception of guests. The forecourt at St. Peters is approximately 170 feet long and 55 feet wide. As yet unproven, this formal space probably contained intricately laid out garden areas. Although dimly perceived at present, such a formal landscape in Maryland during the last quarter of the seventeenth century was most unusual.

Summary

In assessing Philip Calvert's understanding and acceptance of Enlightenment ideals, we are fortunate to have a diverse group of sources reflecting both his thoughts and actions. The review of his early life revealed his exposure to the problems of creating a secular society as well as his classical education. Investigation of his library shows that he was a man of refined taste with an inquiring mind. St. Mary's City, of which he was the mayor and one of the leading citizens, is the monument to his forward-looking beliefs. He had a hand in designing the town plan and in the architecture of its main public buildings. It was in these varied activities that Philip demonstrated his acceptance of the Enlightenment.

From the 1660s until his death in 1682, Philip Calvert performed the role of patron of St. Mary's City and his home, St. Peters, stood as the culmination of that role. Philip Calvert clearly meant this impressive structure to be a statement of his

position in provincial society and he felt it incumbent to build a house that would be a showplace and set an example. This is in the tradition of the Renaissance patron:

> Palladio remarks . . . that the very worthy knight, Guilio Capra, gentleman of Vincenza was preparing to build a palace not out of any need but to provide an "ornament for his city": and the result was to be as honorable and magnificent as the gentleman's "spirit" deserved . . . the idea that a man's house reflected his animo was commonly expressed. [25]

Philip Calvert was one of the first proponents of Enlightenment ideas in the English colonies where he strove to give them life in the Maryland colony. It took another two generations after his death before these ideas became widely accepted in the Chesapeake. His efforts to establish religious freedom and tolerance did not produce immediate long-lasting results. Such efforts would not begin to bear fruit until the next century but eventually formed the basis of modern secular society. And although St. Mary's City eventually faded into obscurity, its existence influenced the baroque town plan of Annapolis and the architecture of the new capital's earliest public buildings. Philip Calvert not only had a key role in early Maryland's success, but his life and activities were an early beacon guiding the arrival of a new way of thinking and acting in the British North American colonies.

NOTES

1. Lois Green Carr, "Philip Calvert, biography file," MS on file, Department of Research, Historic St. Mary's City.
2. Discussion of the controversy between Lord Baltimore and the Jesuits is presented in Edwin W. Beitzel, *The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County* (St. Mary's: St. Mary's City Bicentennial Commission, 1976), 7–14; John D. Krugler, *English and Catholic: The Lords Baltimore in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 166–70.
3. Cecil Calvert to Leonard Calvert, November 21, 1642, *Calvert Papers* (Baltimore: J. Murphy, printers to the Maryland Historical Society, 1889), 1:221.
4. Information about the English College at Lisbon is derived from two sources, Michael Sharrat, *Lisbon College Register, 1628–1813*, Records Series, vol. 72 (Wolsingham, Eng.: Catholic Record Society Publications, 1991) and A. C. F. Beales, *Education Under Penalty: English Catholic Education from the Reformation to the Fall of James II* (London: University of London, 1963). Father Thomas White is also the uncle of Jerome White who became surveyor general of Maryland and worked with Philip Calvert in laying out the plan of St. Mary's City, see J. C. H. Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe: The Catholic Recusants in England from Reformation to Emancipation* (London: Blone and Briggs, 1976), 183.
5. H. V. Livermore, *A New History of Portugal* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1976).
6. Beales, *Education Under Penalty*, 152; Luce Girard, "Remapping Knowledge, Reshaping Institutions," Stephen Pumfrey, Paolo L. Rossi, and Maurice Slawinski, eds., *Science, Culture and Popular Belief in Renaissance Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991),

23–24; Sharratt, *Lisbon College Register*, 26.; Calvert Papers, microfilm roll 18, item #122, August 6, 1650.

7. Carr, "Philip Calvert, biography file." For Virginia libraries, the *William & Mary Quarterly* has extensively published information under the title "Libraries in Colonial Virginia," 2 (1945): 169–78, 3 (1946): 43–45, 180–82, 246–53, 4 (1947): 15–17. The largest library was that of Thomas Teackle with 333 listed books. Of the total, 2/3 were works on religion. "Thomas Teackle's 333 Books," *William & Mary Quarterly* 49 (1992): 449–91.

8. The books listed as controversial literature include *Fiat Lux*, the quote is a subtitle listed in the University of Maryland catalog. The volume is identified as Wing C432 and is reproduced as part of the *Early English Books, 1641–1700* microform #623:8. *Doctor and Student* is identified as Wing S312 and is reproduced as part of the *Early English Books, 1641–1700* microform #1468:11. *Rushworth's Dialogues*, subtitled "The Judgement of Common Sense in the Choice of Religion" is identified as Wing R2338A and is reproduced as part of the *Early English Books, 1641–1700* microform #1513:9. Interestingly, an edition of this work was edited and published by Fr. Thomas White in 1654. *Holden's Analysis*, subtitled "Two Treatises of the resolution of Christian Belief with an Appendix of Schism" is identified as Wing H2375 and is reproduced as part of the *Early English Books, 1641–1700* microform #1636:9. Fr. Henry Holden was a secular priest and close associate of Fr. Thomas White. *Judge of Controversies*, written by Edward Knott, S.J. under the name of Martin Becanus, reproduced as part of the series *English Recusant Literature, 1558–1640*, vol. 159. Knott was the Superior of the English Jesuits with whom Baltimore negotiated in the late 1630s and 1640s. *Rejoynder to Jewel's Reply* is a volume written by Thomas Harding, a Catholic, in 1567, who was involved in a longstanding published dispute with John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, over issues of doctrine. This is reproduced as part of the series *English Recusant Literature, 1558–1640*, vol. 38.

9. Books related to Astronomy: *Lillyes Christian Astrology*, description is from its subtitle, the volume is identified as Wing L2215 and is reproduced as part of the *Early English Books, 1641–1700* microform #282:13. *Gadbury's Ephemeris*, an almanac published yearly that not only has data on the stars and planets but makes predictions for the coming year, is a typical volume identified as Wing A1751 and is reproduced as part of the *Early English Books, 1641–1700* microform #1582:6. *Tutor to Astromomy*, written by Joseph Moxon, teaches not only astronomy but geography and the use of globes. The subtitle lists a host of astronomic, geographic, mathematic, and navigational problems covered. The book is identified as Wing M3021 and is reproduced as part of the *Early English Books, 1641–1700* microform #769:16. *Dutch Seaman's Callander* is another ephemeris written by John Tapp and edited by Henry Philipides. It also contains the latitude and longitude of prominent places around the world. The volume is identified as Wing T163 and is reproduced as part of the *Early English Books, 1641–1700* microform #1316:26. *Geometrical Dyalling*, the subtitle describes the making and use of sun dials, the mathematical problems involved, and projecting spheres. The book is identified as Wing C5373 and is reproduced as part of the *Early English Books, 1641–1700*, microform #958:23.

10. Books related to the Physical Sciences: *Bacon's Natural History*, is identified as STC 1168 and is reproduced as part of the *Goldsmiths'- Kress Library of Economic Literature* microform #576.0–1; *Natural Magick*, is identified as Wing P2982 and is reproduced as part of the *Early English Books, 1641–1700* microform #1554:14; *La Science Universelle*, a four volume set published in Paris in 1668 by Charles Sorel. Frenche's *Distillation*, written by John Frenche and subtitled, "A treatise of the choicest spagyrical preparations, experiments and curiosities perfomed by way of distillation," is identified as Wing F2171 and is reproduced as part of the *Early English Books, 1641–1700* microform #915:9.

11. Books related to Gardening: *Hartlib's Husbandrie*, Samuel Hartlib published several books on husbandry in the 1650s. Most likely, Philip Calvert had either *The Reformed Husband-Man* or *The Compleat Husband-Man*. The first volume was published in 1651 and is identified as Wing H998 and is reproduced as part of the *Goldsmiths' - Kress Library of Economic Literature* microform #1197; the second book was published in 1659 and is identified as Wing H980, reproduced as part of the *Goldsmiths' - Kress Library of Economic Literature* microform #1440. *Discourse Concerning Trees by Ye Royal Society*, published in 1670. The quote is from the introduction as it is posted on the British Library's website describing their exhibition of John Evelyn's works. The volume is identified as Wing E3517 and is reproduced as part of the *Early English Books, 1641–1700* microform #665:8.
12. Books related to Medicine: *Rational Secretts*, this volume is a text written by Leonardo Fioravanti in the sixteenth century with several appendices are added to the English version published in 1652. The quote is from the subtitle. The volume is identified as Wing F952 and is reproduced as part of the *Early English Books, 1641–1700* microform #1402:16. *Senertus 3rd Book Practice Phisick* is part of a five volume set. The third book deals with fevers and agues and it is identified as Wing S2542 and is reproduced as part of the *Early English Books, 1641–1700* microform #898:12. *London's Dispensatory*, the original of this volume was published in 1649 by Nicholas Culpeper and went through many editions, subtitled "that book by which all apothecaries are bound to make up all the medicines in their shops," it is identified as Wing C7531 and is reproduced as part of the *Early English Books, 1641–1700* microform #1666:20. *Culpeper's & Practice Physick* contains a biography of Nicholas Culpeper and was published by his widow in 1659, is identified as Wing C7544 and is reproduced as part of the *Early English Books, 1641–1700* microform #62:14.
13. For the influence of Horace see Charles Martindale and David Hopkins, *Horace Made New: Horatian Influences on British Writing from the Renaissance to the Twentieth Century,* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.) A discussion of the importance of Quintilian to the Renaissance can be found in Maurice Slawinski, "Rhetoric and Science" in Pumphrey, Rossi, and Slawinski, *Science, Culture and Popular Belief in Renaissance Europe*, 79–81.
14. Books related to Humanities: *Philips Poems*, a biography of Katherine Philips is published in the *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, 131:202–214. The earliest edition of her poems was published in 1664. The volume is identified as Wing P2033 and is reproduced as part of the *Early English Books, 1641–1700* microform #748:28. *Trial of the Regicides*, written by Heneage Finch, Earl of Nottingham, first published in 1660, is identified as Wing N1404 and reproduced as part of the *Early English Books, 1641–1700* microform #613:4. *Portugale History*, description from the subtitle of the book, is identified as Wing P1452 and reproduced as part of the *Early English Books, 1641–1700* microform #191:8. *Barkley's Argenis*, although Philip Calvert's edition was in Latin, an early English translation published in 1629, does include an appendix, "to the reader, and helping him to understand what persons the author intended under the fained names." The translated version is available in microform in the *Library of English Literature*, LEL 11227.
15. Augustine Herrman, "Journal of the Dutch Embassy," Clayton C. Hall, *Narrative of Early Maryland, 1633–1684* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), 322; for the development of the town of St. Mary's City see Lois Green Carr, "'The Metropolis of Maryland': A Comment on Town Development along the Tobacco Coast," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69(1974):124–145; Henry M. Miller, "Baroque Cities in the Wilderness: Archaeology and Urban Development in the Colonial Chesapeake," *Historical Archaeology* 22 (1988) 2:57–73.
16. The description of the 1664 state house is in William Hand Brown, et al., eds., *Archives*

of Maryland (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–1972), 1: 538–39 (hereinafter cited *Arch. Md*).

17. Charles Calvert was the son of the second Lord Baltimore and the nephew of Philip Calvert. Jerome White was the surveyor general for Maryland from 1661 to 1670 and the nephew of Father Thomas White, who had a major role in founding the English College at Lisbon where Philip Calvert studied. For a discussion of baroque town planning, see Miller, "Baroque Cities in the Wilderness," 57–73. The 1668 charter for St. Mary's City is found in *Arch. Md.* 51: 567–70.

18. Archaeological information on the Brick Chapel can be found in Timothy Riordan, Henry Miller, and Silas Hurry, "Birth of an American Freedom: Religion in Early Maryland, Completion report for NEH grant RO–22102–90," submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C., 1993.

19. A description of Project Lead Coffins and the results of the investigation can be found in the article by Henry Miller, Silas Hurry, and Timothy Riordan in this volume.

20. The description of the 1676 statehouse is in the *Arch. Md,* 21: 404–7.

21. R.W. Brunskill, *Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture* (London: Faber & Faber, 1992), 86–93.

22. Phillip Calvert's involvement with the State House is fully described in *Arch. Md*, particularly vol. 7, see page 299 for his appointment to oversee repairs.

23. A discussion of Forman's work at St. Peters is published in Henry Chandlee Forman, *Tidewater Maryland Architecture and Gardens* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1956), 101–8.

24. John P. Kennedy, *Rob of the Bowl* (New Haven: College & University Press, 1965), 40.

25. Paul Holberton, *Palladio's Villas: Life in the Renaissance Countryside*, (London: John Murray, 1990), 164.

The Lead Coffins of St. Mary's City: An Exploration of Life and Death in Early Maryland

HENRY M. MILLER, SILAS D. HURRY, and TIMOTHY B. RIORDAN

On a cold November day in 1990, archaeologists excavating at the site of the seventeenth-century Brick Chapel in St. Mary's City thought they had hit a large rock. But as the crew slowly uncovered more of this "rock" it became apparent that something far more significant and exceptionally rare had been found—a lead coffin—the first discovered by archaeologists in North America. Continued digging led to an even more extraordinary revelation, there was not one but three lead coffins resting side by side in the pit. Who were these people? Why were they, unlike thousands of others, interred in lead coffins? What could they tell us about life in early Maryland? This article relates the discoveries from a unique scientific investigation into Maryland history, addresses the questions posed above, and considers the meaning of this rare burial practice in early America.

The Brick Chapel of ca. 1667

Excavators found these three coffins within the foundations of a Jesuit chapel built in the late 1660s. Jesuit priests and Catholic laity erected this structure at a time when Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, was firmly in control and the idea of liberty of conscience flourished in Maryland. This policy made it possible for Roman Catholics to construct a free-standing church at St. Mary's City, something illegal in every other English speaking land at the time. But the 1689 Revolution that overthrew Charles Calvert, the third Lord Baltimore, ended religious freedom in Maryland, and the government was moved from St. Mary's City to Annapolis. In 1704, royal governor John Seymour ordered that the chapel at St. Mary's be locked and never again used for religious purposes. Some years afterward, the Jesuits dismantled the chapel and recycled its materials. The Brick Chapel thus served as a church for only thirty-seven years between about 1667 and 1704.[1]

Despite its brief life, the chapel's builders clearly intended that it be permanent,

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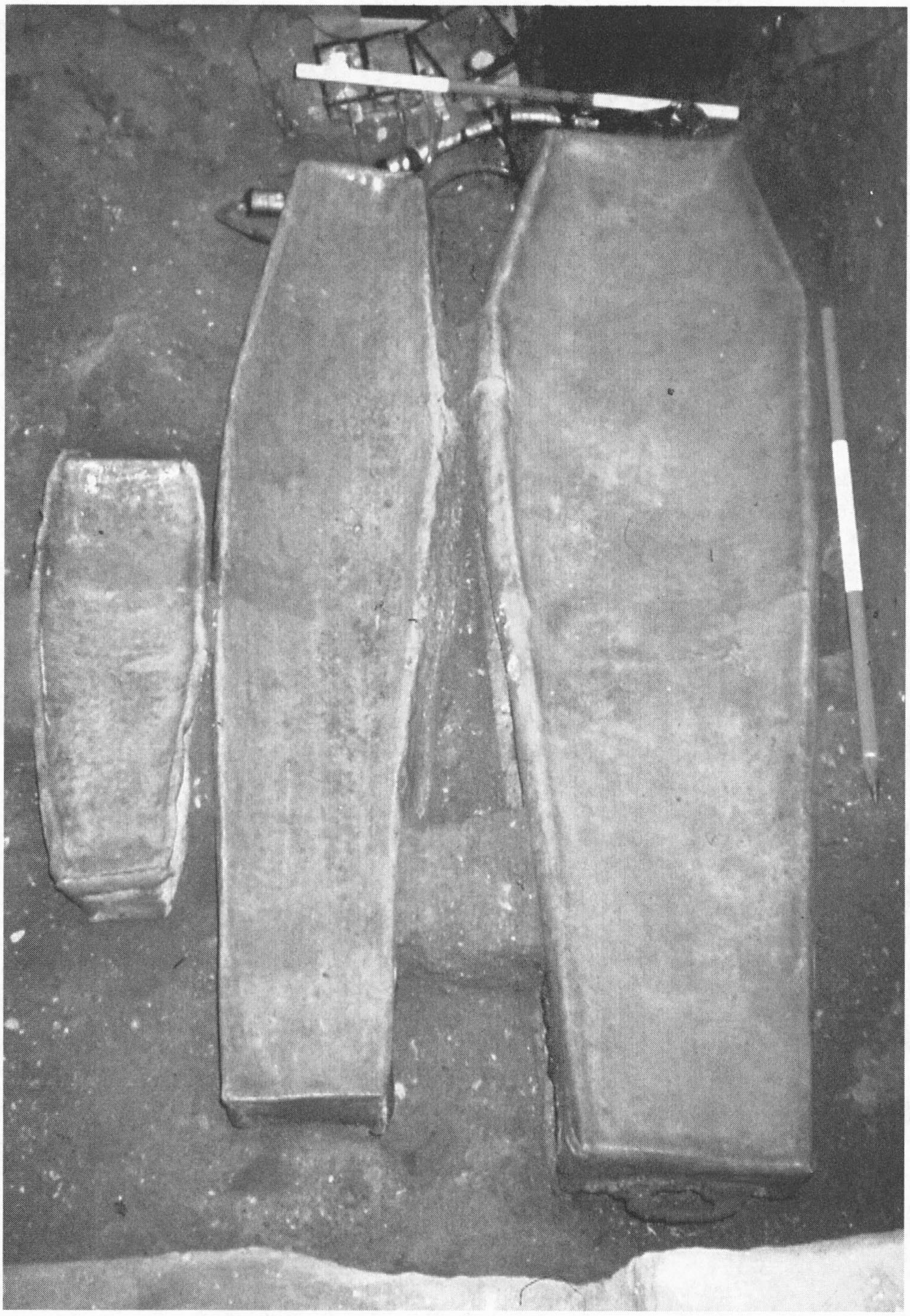


Overview of the three lead coffins as they were found at the ca.1667 Brick Chapel site. (Photo by Henry Miller, Historic St. Mary's City.)

having constructed an exceptionally solid structure. Archaeologists discovered that the chapel had a Latin cross plan measuring fifty-four feet long and fifty-seven feet across at the arms or transepts. Its surviving brick foundations are three feet thick and extend five feet into the ground, one of the deepest foundations of a seventeenth-century building known in English North America. This brickwork is so strong and well laid that 336 years later, in 2003, masons could begin reconstructing the chapel's brick walls directly on the original foundations, without any need for repair or reinforcement. Recovered bricks indicate that the structure displayed elegant, multi-part windows. Other clues about the chapel include pieces of locally manufactured flat tile from its roof, fragments of diamond-shaped window panes of pale green glass, chunks of imported sandstone from the floor, and thousands of plaster fragments that covered its interior walls. The Brick Chapel was a very impressive building for the young colony and the first example of formal, classically inspired brick architecture in Maryland.[2]

The chapel served as a center of worship and a place actively used for human burial. Archaeologists found that dozens of people were interred under the floor of the building. Outside, hundreds of others lie buried in the surrounding graveyard, making this the largest cemetery in seventeenth-century Maryland. Evidence from test excavations and the results of an intensive ground penetrating radar survey indicate that of these nearly five hundred people, only three were laid to rest in lead coffins.[3]

The first clue that something unusual existed at the chapel site came from remote sensing. In 1989, geophysicist Bruce Bevan found that ground-penetrating radar produced an exceptionally strong echo when he pulled it across the northern arm of the structure. Excavators later identified a large filled pit in this location and tested it in late 1990, discovering the three lead coffins. If we immediately knew this was a major find, we also recognized that we were not prepared to conduct the careful scientific investigation it deserved. For their protection and to provide time to plan a high quality investigation, we carefully reburied the coffins and concealed the pit location.

Although rarely used, lead coffins have a long history. Romans buried some of their dead in this way, but the practice was largely abandoned during the first millennium of the Christian era. It came back into use again during the medieval period for royalty and high church officials. Coffins of lead held prominent individuals including Henry VIII, Elizabeth I, James I, and Charles I, members of the nobility, and major gentry in England and Scotland as well as on the continent.[4] A key factor prompting their use was the often lengthy period between the death of the king, queen, or noble and the funeral. Given the slower pace of communication and travel, as well as the time required to make funeral preparations, weeks or even months could pass. Some means of keeping the corpse became essential. With the available technology, lead was one of the few materials that could be custom-fitted and sealed airtight. Early

lead coffins were often anthropomorphic in form, shaped to precisely fit the body. By the seventeenth century, lead coffins were more often made in what we consider the traditional hexagonal shape. These are wood coffins covered with lead sheeting, described as being "lapped in lead." They remained a prestigious form of interment throughout the seventeenth century and began being copied by wealthy but non-aristocratic persons in the eighteenth century, as evidence from Spitalfields church in London and other English cemeteries demonstrates.[5] In the colonial Chesapeake, however, lead coffins were practically unknown. Aside from St. Mary's City, the only individual specifically noted as being interred in a lead coffin is Virginia royal governor Lord Botetourt, who died at Williamsburg in 1770.[6]

Project Lead Coffins

Following this discovery, Historic St. Mary's City archaeologists assembled a group of scientists, historians, religious specialists, and other professionals to design a thorough investigation. Guiding the work were the sobering facts that this might be the only opportunity scholars ever would have to investigate sealed seventeenth-century coffins in the United States, and we would only have one chance to do it right. Furthermore, the project had to be conducted ethically and with utmost respect for the deceased.[7]

Two years of effort created a research design named Project Lead Coffins that involved studies of the coffins while they were still partially buried, sampling the air inside them, and laying out detailed protocols for the opening and analysis of the human remains and other coffin contents. Dozens of scientists and engineers from many different fields volunteered their skills. Careful staging and sequencing of the various studies was crucial so that collecting evidence by one group of scientists would not compromise other evidence needed by different scholars at a later stage of the investigation. In addition to developing the research plan, specialized equipment had to be custom-designed and built for tasks such as sampling the air, gently lifting the coffins from the burial pit, and opening them without damage. The overall engineering, construction, and testing of these vital pieces of equipment was led by nuclear physicist and project technical director Mark Moore.

The project began in the autumn of 1992 when the coffins were again uncovered. Nuclear specialists conducted a special gamma ray imaging study that made x-ray-like photographs through the coffins and produced crucial information about their construction and condition. This revealed that only the large coffin still appeared to be sealed. Next, an air extraction team successfully took air samples from inside the coffin. Analysis of this air by atmospheric scientist Joel Levine and other team members from NASA's Langley Research Center in Hampton, Virginia, indicated that the coffin contained an unusual group of gases. High levels of carbon dioxide

Left: Scientists inspecting the interior of the large coffin containing the remains of a man whose bones had partially crystalized. (Photo by Chip Clark, Smithsonian Institution.)

were expected but present, too, were other gases, harder to identify. Only later, with the opening of the coffin and subsequent analysis of the remains, would an explanation for this odd gas concentration appear. After the air sampling, geologist Gerald Johnson from the College of William and Mary studied the soils deposited over the coffins, and archaeologists then fully exposed the coffins for the first time. At this point, another group of scientists from NASA Langley led by Joseph Heyman arrived to answer a critical question—were the coffins strong enough to be lifted without collapsing? These NASA scientists conducted sophisticated non-destructive testing of the coffins to determine their structural integrity. They found no unseen cracks or major weak points that would cause an unexpected collapse. With this information in hand, the engineering team carefully inserted a metal plate under the smallest coffin so it would be fully supported. U.S. Army reservists from Norfolk, Virginia, provided a field hospital tent in which we could open and study the coffins. It offered a large, well-lit, and climate-controlled analysis space directly adjacent to the burial pit. Our final act before raising the first coffin was to hold a religious rite of disinterment, conducted by an ecumenical group of ministers, led by James Cardinal Hickey of the Archdiocese of Washington. Over the next days, each coffin was lifted separately from the grave pit and taken into the hospital tent. Workers needed sufficient time between each lift to prepare the next coffin and allow scientists to open, record, study, and sample the previous one. Conservation and analysis began immediately afterward. Preliminary results were obtained by 1994, with further studies continuing at a slower place over the next decade.

The Large Coffin

This coffin was the best built of the group, consisting of an outer lead shell and inner wooden coffin. Made out of two large sheets of lead that were carefully cut to form a hexagonal coffin, it featured wrought iron handles at the head and foot ends. The top lead sheet fitted over the bottom one, in a manner analogous to a shoebox. Study of the internal wooden coffin by Smithsonian specialist Harry Alden revealed that its lid and base are of Atlantic white cedar but the sides are made of yellow pine. Unlike English lead coffins, the builder did not seal it by soldering the lead seams. Instead, he drove nails through the lead into the wood coffin at regular intervals where the top and bottom lead sheets overlapped. Forensic specialists Douglas Owsley, Clyde Snow, and Paul Sledzik determined that the occupant was an adult male who had stood five feet six inches tall and was right handed. His age was estimated at between forty-five and fifty-five years with the probability that he was over fifty. He was somewhat corpulent and muscle markings on the bones indicated that he led a relatively sedentary life. The man was buried in an extended position on his back with his hands resting on his hips. Traces of silk ribbon survived around his neck and at each wrist, indicating he was interred in a fashionable burial garment instead of a simple shroud. Most surprising to the team was the condition of his bones. Below the waist, they

were in excellent condition and even some soft tissue remained, but above the waist much of the bone had been transformed into a white crystalline material. Instead of a skull, the investigators found a mass of white crystal containing little bone. In stunning contrast to the skull, his full head of neatly combed, shoulder length hair was fully preserved. Enamel tooth crowns survived, and one of these displays a pipe facet, demonstrating that he was a pipe smoker. Pollen expert Gerald Kelso's analysis of multiple samples from this coffin found little pollen other than a light scatter of many different species. This absence of any pollen concentration strongly implied that death and burial occurred during the winter.

The condition of the man was baffling. Analysis showed that the white crystals include brushite, sometimes found on human remains, but this was an extreme case. Vital clues came from a sophisticated analysis of the chemical elements of the crystals conducted under the guidance of nuclear physicist Mark Moore. Called Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA), it required the samples to be bombarded by radiation in a nuclear reactor to energize the neutrons. Specialists at the Pennsylvania State University reactor facility generously provided this service. Afterward, they measured the radiation given off by the samples, thereby identifying the elemental composition. Analysis of the crystals from the man revealed that they were made up of large quantities of calcium, sodium, and chlorine, and had high aluminum levels along with copper and magnesium. Calcium is a constituent of bone but the level in the crystals was very high; it may have been due to the presence of gypsum, which was also identified in the sample. Sodium and chlorine was also abundant and probably derive from salt. Especially surprising was the high level of aluminum. This was significant because aluminum was not available or used in the seventeenth century and therefore must have come from some other source.

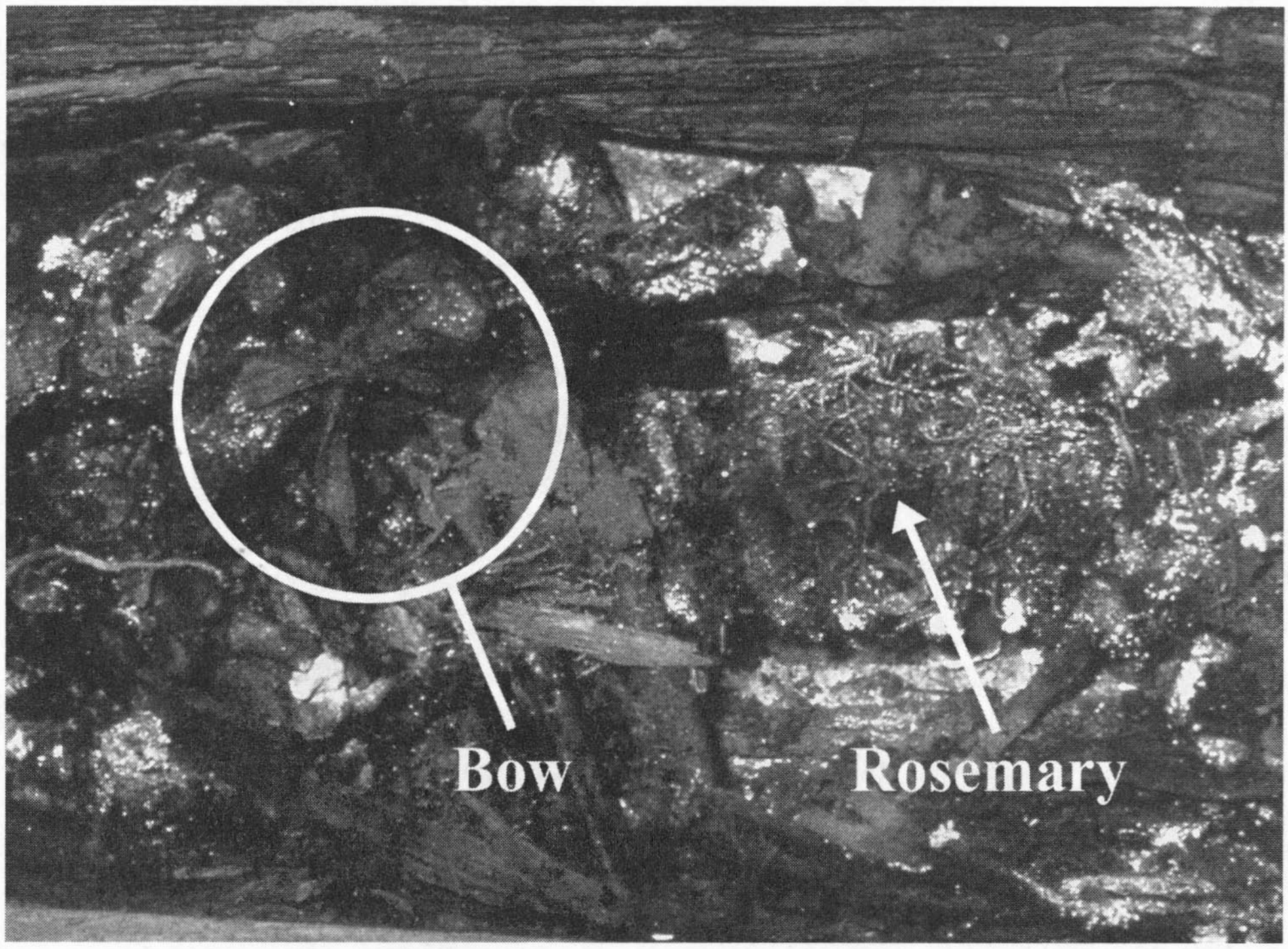
What can account for the unusual condition of the body and the chemical makeup of the crystals? The most likely explanation is embalming. Only persons of high status in England and the Continent normally received this treatment, and the craft had developed out of the need to preserve the royalty, nobility, and chief members of the church for state funerals. Examination of treatises on the subject from the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reveals that male surgeons typically conducted embalming, while women normally prepared the dead for burial.[8] In the 1639 work *The Charitable Physician shewing the manner to Embalme a dead Corps,* French surgeon Philbert Guibert wrote that the embalmer should "make a long incesion from the necke unto the lower belly" and take out the lungs, other organs, the stomach and bowels. "The head or Cranium shall bee sawed in two, as you doe in an Anatomie, and the braines and parts" taken out. These cavities were then cleaned, treated, and filled with preserving powders. The balme or powder to be put into the body had a number of ingredients. Guibert advised the embalmer to "Take dry common salt, Allum of glasse, of each a pound, beat them to powder in a mortar; then take Balme hearb, or hoarie Mints, Wormwood, water mints, Sage,

Rosemary, Organum, Calamint, Time" and other materials, using approximately a handful each of these dry herbs, beat them into a powder, and mix them with the alum and salt. Guibert also stated that if one did not have access to these ingredients, ashes of willow and lime or ground chalk would serve.[9] Principal among the many different ingredients noted were salt and alum. In comparing this embalming method to the results of the NAA study, one can immediately see a strong correspondence. Sodium and chlorine are the components of salt, and aluminum is a key ingredient of alum. Another important clue was provided by the distribution of the crystal material within the body. These were concentrated in the head, chest, and abdomen; the bones within or immediately adjacent to these areas were crystallized. In contrast, the leg and foot bones showed little crystal formation. Crystals were concentrated precisely in the locations where the period documents recommend embalming powder be placed. This condition and the NAA compositional data together indicate that the man was embalmed. Afterward, some type of complex interaction occurred in his coffin between the embalming chemicals, body fat, bone, and moisture to produce the remarkable crystal formation. Indeed, the man's body underwent a far more massive chemical transformation than would be expected in a normal burial. It is reasonable to suggest that this process is also responsible for the unusual gas concentration found in the air samples by the NASA specialists. Evidence for embalming is most significant. This is the earliest known attempt at embalming in English America. Furthermore, it strongly implies that the person in the large coffin was of exceptionally high social status to warrant a treatment typically reserved for the royalty and aristocracy of the time.

The Middle Coffin

This coffin was narrower than the large one and less well made. Its maker sized it for the occupant and, like the large coffin, constructed it in a hexagonal shape. The lead sheets display evidence of cutting mistakes, and there are multiple score lines on the interior surfaces, suggesting its builder was unfamiliar with the complex three-dimensional modeling required to precisely fit the lead around the wood coffin.[10] After a cutting mistake, he had to add a small lead strip on one side. Instead of iron handles at each end, this coffin featured rope handles. The internal wood coffin was competently built of yellow pine. As with the large coffin, the builder used no solder on the seams but sealed it up by driving nails through the overlapping lead sheets into the wood coffin.

Inside, investigators found the remains of a woman who lay in an extended position on her back. Women, who traditionally performed the task of preparing the body for burial, had crossed her hands at the waist and bound her wrists with silk ribbon, the bow of which was still preserved. Traces of fabric indicated that she was buried in a linen shroud. Her bones displayed none of the cut marks that would suggest she was embalmed. One portion of her hair was well preserved and



Close-up view of the woman's coffin showing the bow of silk ribbon and the remains of rosemary sprigs. (Photo by Kent Potter, Armed Forces Institute of Pathology.)

was brown in color with a fine texture. Study of her bones by Douglas Owsley of the Smithsonian Institution and Paul Sledzick and Richard Froede of the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology indicated that she had a slender build, stood five feet three inches high, and was between fifty-five and sixty-five years old at death. Pollen analysis detected a major concentration of ragweed grains inside this wood coffin and around the body, indicating a burial in the autumn. In addition to the pollen, researchers observed quantities of preserved plant material distributed over the body. It was identified as the herb rosemary. Rosemary was widely used in English ceremonies, at both weddings and funerals, and as a sweet smelling material placed on corpses. One reason for this herb's popularity is offered by William Shakespeare, who wrote in *Hamlet* that "Rosemary is for Remembrance."[11] The discovery illustrates the continuity of English rituals in seventeenth-century Maryland.

Despite her high status as shown by the lead coffin, forensic analysis reveals a story of great suffering in early Maryland. Between two and five years before her death, the woman suffered a traumatic fall that broke her right femur. The sharp broken point of her lower femur slid up along the side of the upper femur. Instead of setting the break, someone simply put her leg into a splint and allowed it to heal as it had broken (full recovery would have required traction, a treatment not available at

that time). The bone successfully mended, but her right foot was permanently twisted outward and the right leg shortened by several inches. She could walk on the leg, although with difficulty. A chronic infection developed where the broken bone grew together, creating a large abscess that must have been a constant problem for her.

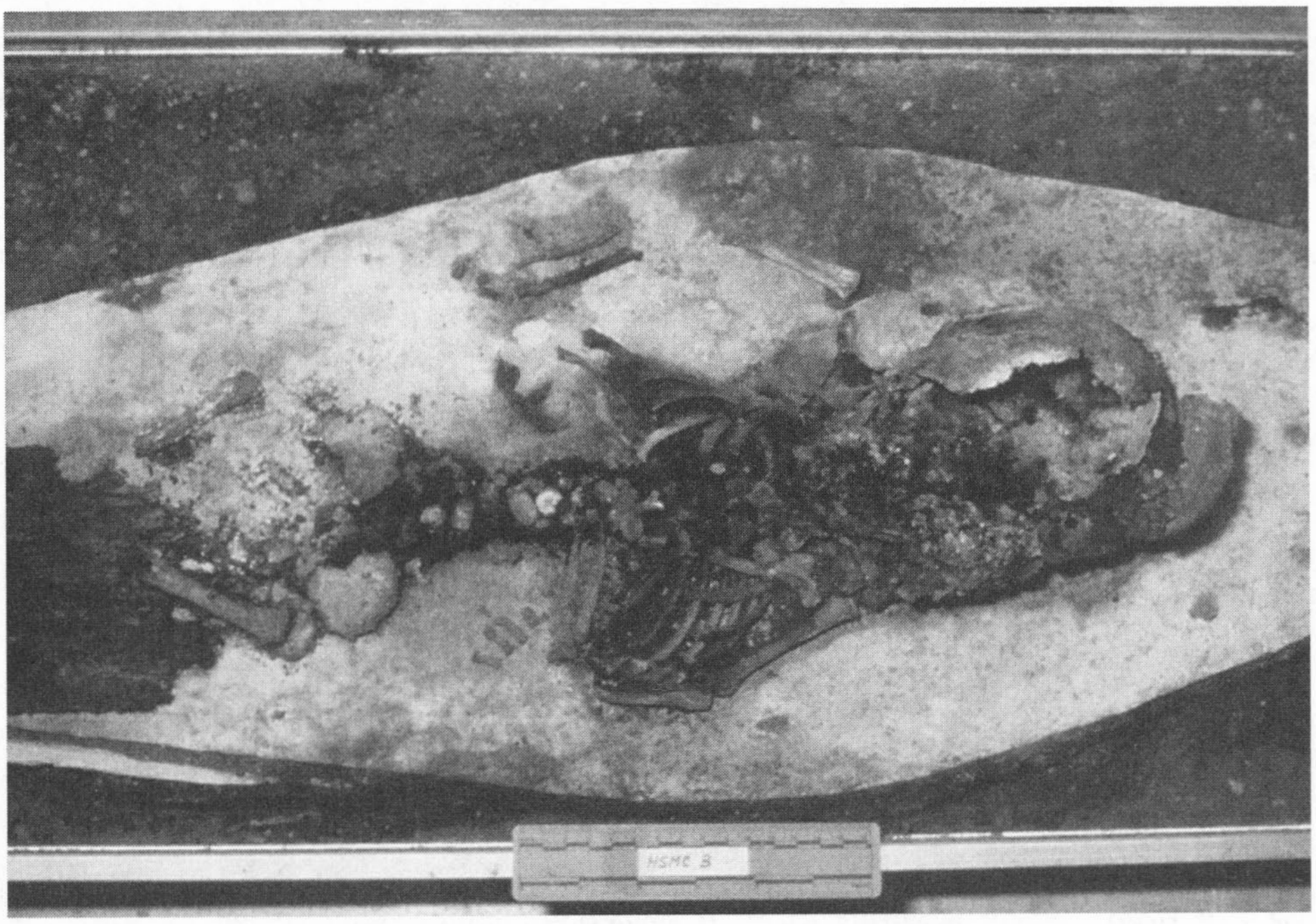
But a broken leg was only one of many health problems this woman endured. Perhaps as a complication of the break, her lower right leg developed a chronic inflammation that caused swelling, tenderness, and aching pain. Her weak bones displayed significant osteoporosis. She also had advanced arthritis and degeneration of her joints; several vertebrae of her backbone had fused together. Without doubt, she suffered from much arthritic pain, especially in her back and neck. In addition to these afflictions, she was troubled by serious dental disease. She had lost most of her teeth and of the eight that remained only four had substantial portions of enamel left. These displayed cavities and active abscesses. Several of the others were severely worn, being little more than roots and open pulp cavities. She could not effectively chew, and eating must have been difficult. As a consequence, she became malnourished. Despite all these maladies, she lived to an advanced age in seventeenth-century terms, about sixty years.

The Small Coffin

This coffin was poorly built. Someone used four sheets of irregularly shaped lead to cover the wood coffin, bending and hammering the sheets to fit and nailing them in place. These lead pieces display many irregular marks and scratches and the bottom sheet of lead is so scratched that it was probably first used as a work surface on a table. Given the shapes of some pieces and the nature of the cut marks observed on their edges, conservator Curtis Moyer suggests that they were scraps left over from building one of the other lead coffins.[12] Of direct significance for this hypothesis were the results of the archaeological study of the soil layers that indicated the small coffin was interred after the adult coffins had been buried. Furthermore, trace element analysis showed that the large and small coffins contained similar lead.

Forensic study of the bones by Owsley and Sledzik indicates this coffin held a baby, probably a girl, five or six months old. She had been buried on her back, wrapped in a fine linen cloth. Very unusual was the presence of a sloping layer of soil excavators found on the bottom of the wooden coffin, under the baby. This soil acted to slightly elevate the child's head and shoulders. Even more unusual is the fact that another type of soil partially covered the baby. This soil was completely different from that found under the body or in the surrounding burial pit. What accounts for these soils? The desire to display the child in a natural, slightly raised position in the coffin might explain the soil under the body, but the use of a cloth or a pillow to achieve this would have been much more appropriate. A potential explanation is that this child was buried, disinterred and reburied.

Important clues come from the pollen analysis. Samples taken on and under



Remains of the young child in the small coffin. (Photo by Chip Clark, Smithsonian Institution.)

the child's body contain a high percentage of pine pollen, a species that pollinates in the early spring. On the soil layer that partially covered the body, in contrast, palynologist Gerald Kelso found a concentration of oak pollen. Oak trees tend to release their pollen several weeks after pines in Maryland. It is obvious that the child died and was buried in the spring, but the differential pollen concentrations suggest that the body was dug up after a few weeks, and then reburied. Since the surviving bones were in their correct anatomical positions, and the bones of such young children are only weakly held together by cartilage, this articulation means that any movement of the body must have occurred within a month or two after death. Along with the "make do" quality of the lead coffin, this evidence implies that someone, perhaps the mother, reconsidered and felt it was necessary for the baby to be buried in a different place and manner. Perhaps the baby was originally interred wrapped in a shroud. When it was dug up and put into a wooden coffin, some of the original soil remained on the shovel as the body was moved. Later, the workers deposited another type of soil over the partially decayed body to help control the odor while they hurriedly wrapped the wood coffin in lead. This hypothesis is not yet proven but it does provide one explanation for the soils, pollen, and patchwork nature of the lead covering.

Regardless of the reason for these unusual features, the burial of such a young child in lead is significant because children have no achieved status. Their status

Table 1: Key Evidence about the Persons in the Brick Chapel Lead Coffins

- All were buried between ca. 1667 and 1704
- They were interred in a Jesuit Church and probably were Roman Catholics.
- The man was in his 50s at death and had a sedentary lifestyle.
- The woman was between 55 and 65 and suffered many medical problems.
- Child was approx. 6 months old and female, in poor health.
- The woman is not the mother of the child.
- Very High Social Rank is indicated by
  - Use of Lead Coffins
  - Man Embalmed
  - Location of burials in the Chapel
- Man died in Winter, Woman in Fall, Child in Spring.
- Woman and Man were buried at the same time, the child interred later.
- Pollen indicates both the adult coffins were assembled in a similar location.
- Coffins of the woman and man are placed in the traditional relationship of a married couple.
- The three coffins were intentionally placed adjacent to each other.
- They were the only period burials in the north transept, suggesting it was a special reserved space.
- The two adult coffins were placed in a freshly dug pit and covered with soil.
- An absence of pollen under the coffins suggests burial during a low pollen season.
- The man was right-handed.
- The woman and probably the man are of Caucasian ancestry. The child is uncertain.
- The man and woman had been in America for years, based on carbon isotope analysis.

is ascribed to them and derives solely from their parents. It is especially rare for a young female to be buried in such a manner. Without doubt, she was the offspring of persons of very high rank. We conducted DNA testing to identify any genetic relationship between the child and the two adults, but the state of the baby's remains did not allow for mid-1990s technology to make a determination.

The baby also experienced ill health. Her bones display features indicative of chronic iron deficiency or anemia. Other bone deformities are related to a deficiency of vitamins C and D; she had rickets and perhaps scurvy. This was caused by nutritional problems but probably exacerbated by child care practices. At this time, babies were swaddled—wrapped in cloth and covered most of the time, except for the face. This practice prevented or greatly limited their exposure to sunlight, which

would have allowed their bodies to naturally manufacture the needed Vitamin D.[13] Relevant here is the pollen information about the month the baby died, April. Her short life occurred in the winter and early spring, a time when she was almost certainly kept indoors and covered for warmth. Hence, due to the season, she seldom saw sunshine and had little opportunity for her little body to overcome the lack of Vitamin D. Why she suffered from poor nutrition in the first place is unknown. It could have been a digestive problem, the inability of the mother to nurse or produce strong milk, the absence of a wet nurse, or something else. Burial in a lead coffin rules out poverty as an explanation.

The Identity of the People

Data collected from the investigation of the lead coffins and their contents provided valuable clues for identifying the bodies. Some evidence derived from the physical placement of the coffins. They were buried in the center of the north arm or transept of the church, a prestigious location at the right hand side of the altar where no other burial occurred. In contrast, there was intensive interment in the nave or main section of the church, just a few feet from the transept. This implies that the transept was a special space, probably reserved for private use. Pallbearers placed all three individuals with their heads to the west and feet to the east, with their coffins laid within inches of each other. Such placement together in a location where there are no other burials is compelling evidence for a family relationship. Equally notable is the English tradition of burying the husband on the north side and the wife on the south, precisely as these individuals were placed.[14]

Archaeology shows that the two adult coffins were put into a freshly dug pit and buried at the same time, while the child was buried later. This soil evidence is supported by the fact that Gerald Kelso found no accumulation of pollen under the coffins. If one coffin had rested in an open crypt for months or years, pollen would have landed on the floor beside it and been preserved under the second coffin when it was laid in place. Various scientific tests yielded other information. One is the testing for radioactive isotopes in the bone, especially Carbon 13.[15] When compared to other skeletons, the amount of Carbon 13 in the bones of the two adults suggests that they were not born in America but had lived here for a considerable time. Efforts by many different specialists generated clues and insights essential for trying to identify the people in the lead coffins. This key physical evidence is summarized in Table 1.

While the scientists collected evidence, HSMC historian Lois Green Carr and Maryland State Archivist Edward Papenfuse compiled a list of the possible identities of the deceased. Two assumptions guided their work: a) they were buried between ca. 1667 and 1704, the period the chapel was in use, and b) they were prominent Catholics since they were buried in a prestigious location inside the Brick Chapel. Since church records do not survive, we were forced to rely upon Maryland's seventeenth-century

legal records for this task. Colonial legal documents provide more references to men than women, so it was necessary to first focus this research on men. In addition to their name and age, much evidence was sought, including the person's social status, occupation, name and age of the wife, the year, season and place where each died, their geographic origins, date of arrival in America, and years in the colony.[16] Comparison of this list with the archaeological and forensic data allowed candidates to be eliminated, one by one. The only individual who matches the historical profile and forensic evidence in every respect is Philip Calvert, son of George Calvert, and one of the key leaders in seventeenth-century Maryland. He had a central roll in establishing effective government and fostering the success of the colony. If the man is Philip, the woman is most likely Anne Wolsley Calvert, his wife who came to Maryland along with Philip in 1657. They are buried in the traditional husband and wife placement, their coffins were assembled in a similar location and manner, and bone isotopes indicate they had lived in Maryland for a comparable period.

Unfortunately little historical evidence remains concerning the death of Anne or Philip Calvert. We know that Anne died after 1678 and before 1681. Philip Calvert was active up until December 22, 1682, but died suddenly between Christmas and mid-January of 1683.[17] This is confirmed by a letter Charles Calvert wrote to William Penn on January 24, 1683, telling of the death. Penn replied on March 12, 1683, sending his condolences.

> the news it brought gave Credit to a Rumer I was unwilling to receive, I mean the death of thy Uncle, a man of Prudence & Ingeneous Conversation. It is a Sermon of Mortality, & so much vigor to be so soon vanisht, shows wt fraile things we are . . . .[18]

If the adults were Philip and Anne Calvert, who was the child? They had no surviving children mentioned in documents, but the position of the baby coffin directly adjacent to them strongly infers a personal relationship. Most obvious would be that of a mother and child, but the woman cannot have been the mother. She was too old and in too poor health to have had a child. Without any known children, a grandchild is ruled out. The fact that the baby was buried after the man and women suggests another possibility. After Anne's death, Philip married Jane Sewell, the daughter of Charles Calvert's second wife, also named Jane Sewell. At the time of their marriage, Jane was between fifteen and seventeen years old and Philip in his early fifties. Jane survived Philip and moved to England in 1684 with her mother and stepfather. Documents indicate that she died in London in 1692 or 1693.[19] Could this be the only child of Philip and Jane? There is no reference to their having a child, but that is not unusual for the period, given the high rate of infant mortality. Additionally, there are no surviving personal documents from Philip that might have mentioned a baby. Pollen and forensic evidence indicate that the infant died in April and was five or six months old. If it was their child, the little girl was

born in the late autumn of 1682, only a few weeks before Philip's death. Her burial location and the extreme rarity of lead coffins in early Maryland clearly set this child apart from all others. The most likely hypothesis at this time is that she was the only child of Philip and Jane Sewell Calvert.

The Copley Burial Vault

Discovery of the lead coffins at the chapel site was a significant event, but remarkably, they are not the first found at St. Mary's City. Two other lead coffins were found in 1799, prompted by folklore recorded in that year:

> The oldest people now living, have for many years past spoke of a vault that was at Saint Mary's Church [today Trinity Church], in which was one of the first American governors and his lady, who were in leaden coffins and embalmed for the purpose of being sent and interred in England. . . . it was determined a vault should be erected and they enclosed therein, and door locked and the key thrown into the river. This was the account which was handed us from the oldest people now living, who had been informed by their fathers, and they got it from their fathers, etc., but none of them remembered their names.[20]

Four medical students apprenticed to a Dr. Barton Tabbs decided to test this legend on July 27, 1799. One of the participants, Alexander McWilliams, wrote a letter describing the effort to open the vault and explore its contents. After much labor, they broke through the top of the brick vault and observed two coffins. Both appeared to be of wood, but as they pulled on the planks, two lead coffins appeared underneath. Pried open, the larger coffin revealed the bones of a man. His head had been cut apart, the brain removed, and the cavity filled with embalmment. The smaller coffin could not be as easily opened, so the students removed it from the vault and took it to a nearby shed. After cutting the lead to open it, they discovered a wooden coffin inside. When its lid was removed, the students had an amazing experience:

> we saw the winding sheet perfect and sound as was every other piece of garment. When the face of the corpse was uncovered it was ghastly indeed, it was the woman. Her face was perfect, as was the rest of the body but was black as the blackest Negro. Her eyes were sunk deep in her head, every other part retained its perfect shape. . . . Her hair was short, platted and trimmed on the top of her head. Her dress was a white muslin gown, with a apron which was loose in the body, and drawn at the bosom nearly as is now the fashion only not so low, with short sleeves and high gloves but much destroyed by time. Her stockings were cotton and coarse, much darned at the feet, the clocks of which were large and figured with half diamonds worked. Her gown was short before and gave us a view of all her ankle. Her cap was with long ears and pinned under the chin. A piece of muslin two inches broad which extended across the top of her head

> as low as her breasts, the end was squared and trimmed with half Inch lace as was the cap. The body was opened and the entrails removed and filled with gums and spice, and the coffin filled with the same. She was a small woman, and appeared delicate.[21]

After revealing the well-preserved body of the woman, "In a very short time, on exposure to the air, natural as seemed the corpse, it fell together, and became a mass of dust and bones."[22] At that time, no one was certain of who these people were. Alexander McWilliams noted in his letter

> I have heard a man say who is sixty years of age, that it was one Copely. He got his information from his father who was eighty years of age when he died, and his was handed him by his great grand father who built the vault and came in as a servant to this Copely. This seems to be the best account, and most probable.[23]

Thus, the memory of the vault, how the people were buried, and the identity of the deceased remained in the folklore of St. Mary's City for over a century, along with other legends about who might be in these lead coffins.[24]

Like the Calverts, Sir Lionel Copley and Ann Boteler Copley were of the highest social and political rank in Maryland. He served as the colony's first royal governor, appointed by King William and Queen Mary following the successful rebellion against Lord Baltimore in 1689. They arrived in Maryland in March 1692 and soon thereafter moved into the vacant brick mansion built by Philip Calvert at St. Peter's. Copley began an ambitious effort to increase his wealth and initiated important legislation including the establishment of the Church of England as the official church in Maryland. Despite their high status, the Copleys had a troubled life in Maryland with the records suggesting they were sick much of the time. Ann Copley died in March 1693 and Sir Lionel six months later.[25]

Maryland officials were unsure of what to do with a deceased royal governor or his wife, who had not yet been buried. This is indicated by an order the Governor's Council issued in July of 1694 stating that

> It being Represented to his Excellancy [Governor Sir Francis Nicholson] that the Bodies of the late Governour Copley and his Lady deceased lye still Uninterred at the Great house and considering it was expected some Order should have been received er'e this time for Conveying the same by some Mann of Warr or other Vessell for England, but there appearing as yet no such Order, and fearing longer delay of interring the same may prove obnoxious to the parts hereabouts; therefore Ordered that immediate care be taken for preparing a Vault to lay the said Bodies in. . . .[26]

The lead coffins in which Maryland's first royal governor, Sir Lionel Copely, and his wife Anne are buried. (Photo by Chip Clark, Smithsonian Institution.)

A Richard Benton was paid 4,850 lbs. of tobacco for building this vault and John Lange given another 1110 lbs. for bricks and labor. Benton built the vault twenty-five feet from the northwest corner of the brick Statehouse of 1676.[27] The "solemnity" of interment occurred on October 5, 1694, but no record of the ceremony survives. Since Copley was the formal representative of the king and queen as well as a knight, and individuals of such high rank required a burial commensurate with their status, we can surmise that the interment was as impressive as the colonial officials could manage. Some indication of this comes from the original order that stated "the Ceremony of interring the same be performed . . . with all the decency and Grandure the constitution and circumstances of Affairs will admit of." This included assembling the local militia companies and the firing of three brass cannon.[28] Within weeks of Copley's burial, the Assembly made the momentous decision to relocate the government from St. Mary's City to Annapolis, and Maryland's first city was rapidly depopulated, soon to vanish beneath an agrarian landscape. Any intention of placing a memorial marker on the Copleys' vault was forgotten in the turmoil of moving the government and building a new capital. Only in 1922, after historical research about Copley was published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, did the Colonial Dames of America finally erect a monument over the brick vault dedicated to Royal Governor Sir Lionel Copley and his wife Anne.[29]

In 1992, almost two hundred years after the first opening, the Vestry of Trinity

Church gave HSMC archaeologists permission to enter the Copley vault to collect data about lead coffin construction needed in the planning of Project Lead Coffins. We found a well built, arched brick vault measuring ten feet square with a maximum height of seven feet inside. The lead coffins lay side by side with fragments of the outer wooden coffins still preserved on the floor. Portions of the internal wooden coffins also survive inside the lead coffins. Both are oriented east-west with the heads at the west ends. The man is on the north side and the woman on the south, signifying husband and wife. Examination soon revealed why the students found the man reduced to a skeleton but the woman perfectly preserved. His coffin was poorly constructed from thirteen ill-fitted lead sheets with poorly executed soldering of the joints; it was never airtight. In striking contrast, the woman's coffin was exceptionally well made from six sheets of precisely cut and carefully fitted lead. Most significantly, the joints were meticulously soldered together, creating an airtight seal. This almost certainly explains the remarkable degree of preservation she displayed in 1799.

The forensic evidence and the historical records all support the identification of these individuals as Sir Lionel Copley and his wife. Douglas Owsley and Paul Sledzick determined from the remains that the man was between forty and forty-five years and the women between thirty and thirty-five. Documents indicate that Copley was forty-five when he died; his wife, Anne, was thirty-three. Their skeletons show that both were embalmed. Someone cut open their skulls, removed the brains, and filled the cavities with some type of black material. Other cut marks indicate that the embalmer removed their internal organs, thus confirming the students' 1799 observations. Other than the Calvert burial, this is the earliest embalming effort found thus far in Colonial America.

Insights from the Lead Coffins

St. Mary's City has yielded a remarkable collection of seventeenth-century lead coffins, the only group known in the United States. Scientific analysis of the human remains and related evidence leads to the conclusion that the chapel coffins held the bodies of Philip and Anne Calvert, and the brick vault contained Sir Lionel and Anne Copley. Only by assembling and coordinating a diverse, interdisciplinary team of scientists and other scholars could HSMC have collected sufficient evidence to identify these individuals. Museum research is a collaborative effort, as this project demonstrates. By relying upon an array of specialists we have successfully retrieved the wealth of information about life and death in early Maryland contained within these coffins.

Some of the findings relate to medical care. Although these individuals were at the pinnacle of early Maryland society, they suffered from poor dental care. In comparison with the other people buried at the chapel site, Douglas Owsley found that rich women, represented by Anne Calvert and Anne Copley, suffered far more severe dental problems than common people. This may be a result of greater ac-

cess to sugars and sweet drinks. They also experienced more tooth loss than their husbands, although abscesses and cavities afflicted the men as well. Mrs. Calvert's broken leg showed no evidence of an attempt to reset the bone. Although traction would have been required to fully restore the leg, apparently no effort was made to turn her foot into its normal alignment before splinting. Other ailments such as arthritis, joint degeneration, and osteoporosis afflicted them as much as ourselves, although they had far less effective means of pain relief. The baby was very sick as a result of severe nutritional deficiencies and perhaps other problems. Such evidence provides an important perspective on daily life and medical care in early Maryland. If this was the situation for the most wealthy people in the colony, the care available to common planters, indentured servants and enslaved people must have been even more limited and of poorer quality.

One important distinction found among these coffins is the way in which they were sealed. The Copley coffins were soldered shut while the Calvert coffins were nailed. When a coffin is to be transported or the funeral is long delayed, soldering the seams of the lead provides the needed airtight seal, and documents do tell that officials anticipated shipping the Copleys to England for burial. In contrast, there is no evidence that any soldering was ever attempted on the Calvert coffins. Their closure with nails was intentional and did not accrue from a lack of knowledge about how to solder; windows in the colony were assembled and repaired using thin lead strips that had to be soldered together. Employing nails instead of solder is a significant clue suggesting that the purpose of the Calvert lead coffins was for prestige and status display, not shipment to England.

Human burials are a complex phenomenon reflecting religious beliefs, cultural traditions, and social values as well as the specific intentions of individuals. The vast majority of graves excavated from the colonial period in the Chesapeake display typical English practices with the corpse laid on its back, wrapped in a shroud, oriented east-west, and with the head to the west. By the second half of the seventeenth century, most people in England and English America were being buried in wooden coffins. Being embalmed and placed in lead coffins was, on the other hand, still relatively rare in England and virtually unknown in the Chesapeake.[30] Embalming indicates a desire for the continuation of the individual after death, through the preservation of their bodily form. In this context, the lead coffin may be seen as a second level of insurance that the body will endure and be protected. Unlike the Calverts', other burials in wooden coffins inside the chapel were disturbed numerous times by subsequent grave digging and the bones mixed together.[31] But a number of wealthy, prestigious people died in early Maryland and Virginia and thus far there is no evidence they were embalmed or interred in lead. Why were these five individuals treated differently? For the Copleys, such treatment facilitated their planned shipment back to England for burial, itself a relatively rare event. At the same time, their lead coffins were probably intended as a mark of prestige, given their position

as representatives of the king and queen. For the Calverts, other explanations are needed, especially given their coffins' construction. Certainly, Philip Calvert's roles as a former governor, the chancellor and chief judge made him a central figure in the colony and worthy of special burial treatment, as was his wife.[32] Having a baby girl interred in the same manner implies that inherited status was a factor as well. Indeed, as the son of the first Lord Baltimore, Philip was of noble birth. Being buried so differently from other colonists is a strong physical statement that the Calvert's understood themselves to be different from others in early Maryland.

Death and burial is a time of trauma and social disruption. The English developed elaborate heraldic state funerals for leaders to serve as a means of overcoming this turmoil, providing a dignified means of transferring power, and maintaining the social structure. In large part, these burial ceremonies were meant to insure stability and continuity.[33] Philip Calvert worked tirelessly to achieve both of these goals for Maryland during his twenty-four years in the colony. Though we have no information about the actual funeral service for Philip and Anne, the fact that he was embalmed, they were in lead coffins, and interred in a prestigious location within the chapel makes it certain that there was an elaborate funeral ritual as well.[34]

This manner of elite burial was an intentional action conceived by Philip Calvert, not a hurried deed prompted by his death. Evidence for this comes from an unlikely source—insects. Entomologist Ted Suman identified a wide variety of insects that had nested or crawled into Philip's coffin. Given that most of these are surface dwelling types of insects, they could only have entered before the coffin was closed up and buried. Since Philip died during the winter, his lead coffin must have been built ahead of time and stored in a barn or some other location before his death. Thus, his burial protocol was the result of planning, not some last minute decision. Evidence of such forethought is important. Philip has been described as the "consummate public servant" and it seems likely that he intended to set a precedent for elite burial in Maryland, a precedent that would in turn reify the status of the Calvert family.

Early Maryland was unquestionably a land that offered much economic and social opportunity to settlers, both rich and poor, as well as rare religious freedom. At the same time, it is necessary to remember that Maryland was deeply rooted in English culture and social traditions. One principal characteristic of English society was a strong, well defined social hierarchy. It is in this context that the chapel lead coffins must ultimately be interpreted. Lord Baltimore and his family understood social hierarchy to be as necessary for Maryland's success as the revolutionary ideas of liberty of conscience and the non-establishment of religion. The lead coffins of the Brick Chapel are not only a unique archaeological discovery but powerful physical symbols that the Calvert family truly saw itself as the lords and royalty of their new province of Maryland.

NOTES

1. One of the few descriptions of the chapel comes from governor Sir Francis Nicholson who wrote in 1697 that the Jesuits "have a good brick Chappell" at St. Mary's City, *Archives of Maryland,* 23:81. Seymour's order to lock the door of the chapel and prevent its use for worship is found in the *Archives of Maryland,* 26:44–45.
2. The brick chapel was originally discovered in 1938 by H. Chandlee Forman. See Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's: Buried Cities of Romance* (Baltimore: John's Hopkins University Press, 1938). For subsequent archaeological evidence about the chapel, see Timothy B. Riordan, Henry M. Miller, and Silas D. Hurry, "Birth of an American Freedom: Religion in Early Maryland, Completion Report for NEH grant RO-22102-90," Report prepared by Historic St. Mary's City for the National Endowment for the Humanities, 1994.
3. For chapel cemetery information, see Timothy B. Riordan, *Dig A Grave Both Wide And Deep: An Archaeological Investigation of Mortuary Practices in the 17th-Century Cemetery at St. Mary's City, Maryland,* St. Mary's City Archaeology Series No. 3, 2000 (St. Mary's City, Md.: Historic St. Mary's City, 2000); Don W. Johnson, "A Report on a Geophysical Investigation of the Chapel Field, Historic St. Mary's City, Maryland," report on file, Department of Research, Historic St. Mary's City, 2002.
4. For Roman lead coffins, see Hugh Toller, *Roman Lead Coffins and Ossuaria in Britain,* British Archaeological Reports 38, 1977. Discoveries of medieval and post-medieval lead coffins are discussed by Richard Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain* (London: T. Payne and Sons, 1786), 1:xxxix–lvi. Burial of English royalty in lead coffins is reported in Arthur P. Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey,* fifth ed. (London: John Murray, 1882), Appendix—The Royal Vaults: 499–526.
5. Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Croom Helm, 1984); Julian Litton *The English Way of Death: The Common English Funeral Since 1450* (London: Robert Hale, 1992), 96–97; Jez Reeve and Max Adams, *The Spitalfields Project, Volume 1: The Archaeology— Across the Styx* (London: Council for British Archaeology Research Report 85, 1993).
6. An extensive examination of burial records from the Colonial Chesapeake by archaeologist Elizabeth Crowell found a single reference to the use of a lead coffin, the burial of Virginia royal governor Lord Botetourt in 1770. While others may exist, neither documents nor archaeology have revealed them thus far. For references to the Botetourt coffin, see E. G. Swen, "Supplementary Documents Giving Additional Information Concerning the Four Forms of the Oldest Building of William and Mary College," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine,* 2nd Series, Vol. 10 (1930): 79, and Poul E. Olsen, "Unlocking the Mysteries of the Wren Crypt." *William and Mary News* (Fall 1995).
7. In addition to legal authorization for disinterment, permission was given by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Washington, which assigned Bishop William Curlin to assist with the project. Although the identities of the deceased were unknown, advice was obtained from organizations made up of descendants of early Maryland settlers, especially the Society of the Ark and Dove, and members of the Calvert family.
8. See Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual,* 167–75; Patricia Phillippy, *Women, Death and Literature in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 19–25; Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, eds., *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000).

9. Philbert Guibert, *The Charitable Physitian,* translated by J. W. (London: Thomas Harper, 1639). For similar embalming descriptions, see William Clowes, *Profitable and Necessarie Booke of Observations* (London: Edm. Bollifant for Thomas Dawson, 1596), 217–20, and Alexander Read, *Chirurgorum Comes: Or the Whole Practice of Chirurgery* (London: Edward Jones for Christopher Wilkinson, 1687), 708–14.
10. A detailed analysis of the lead coffins is found in Curtis Moyer, "A Conservation Report Containing a Description of the St. Mary's City 'Lead Coffins' and an Account of Their Conservation Treatment." Report prepared for Historic St. Mary's City, 1998.
11. Rosemary was used to both "dress" the corpse when wrapping it in a shroud and during the funeral service. See Gittings, *Death Burial and the Individual*, 110–11, and Litton, *The English Way of Death*, 144, 159.
12. Moyer, *A Conservation Report*, 19
13. At the time, babies were tightly wrapped in cloth or swaddled until the approximate age of four months, leaving only their faces exposed. See Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex And Marriage in England 1500–1800* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), 161–62.
14. For information on English Christian burial practices, see Riordan, *Dig A Grave*, 2-18 to 2-23; Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, 138–40; and Warwick Rodwell, *The Archaeology of Religious Places: Churches and Cemeteries in Britain* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 143–81.
15. During photosynthesis, plants operate in several ways. Tropical plants, such as maize, tend to concentrate less of the stable isotope Carbon 13 during this process, while plants from non-tropical areas, such as wheat, barley and oats, tend to concentrate this isotope more. This difference is reflected in the bones of people and animals, depending upon how much of which plant type they eat. By measuring the ratio of Carbon 13 to the far more abundant Carbon 12 isotope in bone, insights about the diet of the animal or person may be obtained. For more information, see Douglas H. Ubelaker and Douglas W. Owsley, "Isotopic Evidence for Diet in the Seventeenth-Century Colonial Chesapeake," *American Antiquity,* 68 (2003): 129–40.
16. This effort began by selecting individuals known to have died between ca. 1667 and 1704 with over 575 lbs. sterling of personal property. A total of sixty-one persons fell into this initial group. Other criteria were that they were Catholic and of high social rank. This produced a final list of ten candidates for the large coffin: Henry Brent (d.1694), Thomas Brooke (d.1677), Philip Calvert (d.1682), William Calvert (d.1682), John Darnall (d.1684), Richard Gardner (d.1689), Thomas Notley (d.1679), John Pile I (d.1676), John Pile II (d.1692), Edward Pye (d.1697).
17. When Philip Calvert's clerk, Richard Rockford, made his will on August 14, 1678, he bequeathed Anne Calvert a silver watch *(Wills,* 9:46*)*. A deed signed on March 6, 1681, by Philip Calvert and his second wife Jane is the earliest evidence of their marriage (Provincial Court Deeds, WRC no.1:243–45), therefore Anne must have died sometime between these two dates. For more information, see Lois Green Carr, "A Biography of Philip Calvert," manuscript on file, Department of Research, Historic St. Mary's City, 1994, and Timothy Riordan, "Philip Calvert: Patron of St. Mary's City" in this issue.
18. William Penn to Charles Calvert, March 12, 1683, *The Calvert Papers, Number One.* Fund Publication No. 28 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1889), No. 326.
19. Jane Sewell was born in 1664 or 1665 and died in England. Her will was probated in May 1693 and is published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 22 (1927): 324–26.
20. A letter written August 1, 1799, by Alexander McWilliams described this burial vault and its contents. It was published in James Walter Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland*

(Cumberland, Md., 1900, repr., Baltimore: Clearfield Company Inc. by Genealogical Publishing, Co., 1995), 321–23.

21. Ibid: 322.

22. Harvey Stanley, *Pilate and Herod: A Tale Illustrative of the Early History of the Church of England in the Province of Maryland* (Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 1853), 16.

23. Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland*, 323.

24. Other legends about the Copley vault also existed. Harvey Stanley wrote in 1853 that "The Calvert-vault is still distinguishable" and when it was opened, they "discovered the corpse of a lady, who was supposed to be Lady Anne Calvert." Stanley, *Pilate and Herod*, 16. A half-century later, James Thomas confirmed this Calvert myth when he stated that near the State House stands what is "called the 'Calvert Vault', and which is said to contain the remains of Governor Leonard Calvert, Lady Jane Calvert, wife of Charles, Lord Baltimore, and Cecelius Calvert, their oldest son, but it is highly probable that it is the Copley and not the Calvert vault." See Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland*, 36–37. Given what we found at the chapel site in 1992, it is most intriguing that the legend of a Calvert vault with three individuals—a man, a woman named Anne or Jane, and a child—persisted in St. Mary's City folklore.

25. Anne Copley and Lionel Copley's deaths are noted in the *Archives of Maryland,* 8:160 and 22:302.

26. The order for burial of the Copleys is found in the *Archives of Maryland,* 20:120–21.

27. For Lionel Copley's account, see I & A 19 1/2B, f 54-61. There is no evidence that the area around the Statehouse had been used previously for burials. Its selection was probably due to the public nature of the location and the powerful connection of a royal governor with the seat of government. Other interments began there soon afterward and continue up to the present time.

28. The formal nature of the intended burial ceremony is indicated in the original order, *Archives of Maryland,* 20:121. In September 1694 the militia was ordered to assemble on October 5 for the "Solemnity of Interment," *Archives of Maryland,* 20:146.

29. See Annie Leakin Sioussat, "Lionel Copley, First Royal Governor of Maryland" *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 17 (1922): 163–77; also "Dames Present Copley Mausoleum," *Baltimore Sun,* October 26, 1922.

30. See Riordan, *Dig A Grave,* 2-1 to 2-17; Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual,* 88–89; Litton, *The English Way of Death*, 42–43.

31. Many burials in the nave of the Brick Chapel show evidence of one grave shaft cutting into another. In one case, archaeologists observed bones from two earlier burials mixed into the grave fill of a third interment in that same location.

32. A lingering question is where Anne Calvert had been over the years between her death and burial at the chapel. All the evidence shows that her and Philip's coffins were placed and covered with soil at the same time. No foreign soil was found adhering to her coffin and a meticulous inspection of the coffin's surfaces by conservator Curtis Moyer failed to reveal any damage or nicks from shovels that disinterment inevitably would have caused. Perhaps she was not buried at all but kept in the cellar of their home at St. Peter's until Philip died. This may seem unusual behavior but Governor Copley did the same thing with his wife.

33. Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, 166–81; Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 146–61.

34. A formal funeral is an important social ritual demonstrating the power and stability of the political structure, and a crucial step in the passing of authority to new office holders. Unfortunately, there are no historical descriptions of a funeral for Philip Calvert. Given

traditional Catholic practices of the period, it would have included a wake, a requiem mass at the chapel, and a "drinking" of wine and beer for the participants at the chapel after the burial, followed by a funeral feast at Philip's mansion of St. Peters. Sharing of food and drink afterward was an essential element of the English burial ritual. See Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, 151–65.

An "Ungracious Silence": Historians and the Calvert Vision[1]

JOHN D. KRUGLER

If the arguments put forth in "The Calvert Vision: A New Model for Church-State Relations," in this issue and in *English and Catholic: The Lords Baltimore in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004) are valid, then the role of the Calverts as visionaries who advanced religious freedom in the seventeenth-century English world has been overlooked. Why is this the case? This essay examines the works of some historians of Maryland, colonial America, and general studies of church-state relations to seek some answers. The analysis centers on the motives of the Calverts, the considerations that might (or might not) have influenced them, how they designed their colonial schemes, and how they implemented their plans. A number of reasons for the lack of recognition can be suggested. These include: perspectives that favored Protestant and New England reformers; a lack of attention to the Calverts' Newfoundland experience and its relationship to Maryland; the tendency to separate economic and religious motives of the Calverts or to lump them together; a disposition to overstate the impact of religious motives (the haven thesis); the use of the word "toleration" to describe what the Calverts sought; a willingness to undervalue nationalistic motives; the inability of the Calvert family to sustain its bold experiment; a tendency for historians to start their analyses of church-state relations with eighteenth-century thinkers; an incomplete understanding of the nature of Catholic survival in England; the importance of capitalistic motives; the tendency to confuse the causes and consequences of George Calvert's conversion and his resignation of his offices; and the lack of position papers written by the Calverts to explicate their thinking.

Recognition bestowed on Puritans and persistent anti-Catholicism in American historiography until well into the twentieth century obscured the efforts of the Catholic Lords Baltimore to break the shackles that restrained human freedom. Reform efforts initiated by forward-reaching radical Protestants took center stage. Radical Protestants, who unabashedly proclaimed their support of religious liberty (especially their own), rather than these Catholic Lords, seemed more aptly suited for the role of trailblazers. Exceptions to this generalization do exist but they never became accepted wisdom. Henry Kamen, for example, in *The Rise of Toleration* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), asserted that Maryland was "the first colony in the New World, and indeed in the history of the Christian world, to be established on the

foundation of complete religious freedom" and that church and state were separated, "probably for the first time in Catholic history" (185–86).

A few examples demonstrate the claims made for radical Protestants. Edward S. Gaustad, *Liberty of Conscience: Roger Williams in America* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1991), among others, made the case for New England radical cleric Roger Williams. In the mid-1630s, Williams challenged the emerging orthodoxy in Massachusetts. When that government forced him to seek refuge in the New England wilderness, he established a new colony based on the concept of religious freedom. To demonstrate its widespread acceptance of Williams' contributions, Gaustad quoted the remarks made by Rhode Island Senator Claiborne Pell at a ceremony commemorating the Roger Williams National Memorial in 1984. The Senator stated that Williams set out "to erect a wall between the garden of the church and the wilderness of the world." He credited the dissenter and his band of exiles in 1636 with creating "the first church-divorced and conscience-free community" in modern history (46, xiv). Williams, a prolific writer and a vigorous advocate of religious liberty, left a more than sufficient paper trail to ensure that his contributions would not go unrecognized.

A. S. P. Woodhouse, in *Puritanism and Liberty: Being the Army Debates (1647–1649) from the Clarke Manuscripts with Supplementary Documents*, ed., 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), represents those who touted the credentials of English radical Protestants in the 1640s. Not only did they topple the monarchy; they dissolved the established Episcopal hierarchy long dominated by archbishops and bishops. Freed from the restraints imposed by the church-state alliance, these radicals splintered in every direction and a multitude of new sects emerged. When these zealots discovered that they could not "effectively guarantee the liberty of the Saint without guaranteeing the liberty of all men," they took giant steps toward freeing the human conscience from the dictates of civil authorities (81). In addition, Blair Worden, "Toleration and the Cromwellian Protectorate," in *Persecution and Toleration,* Studies in Church History, Vol. 21 (London, 1984) credited them with the concept of "religious *laissez-faire*" during the Puritan Revolution (205).

Later still in 1681, William Penn founded Pennsylvania, a colony that advocated freedom of conscience. Sally Schwartz, in *"A Mixed Multitude": The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York: New York University Press, 1987), noted that Penn, a Quaker, believed that religious uniformity was not essential to maintain the civil government. He maintained that persecution to enforce uniformity was illegal, immoral, contrary to both reason and nature, and an invasion of the Divine Prerogative. His willingness to colonize with people of different religions and nationalities led Schwartz to proclaim that he created "America's first pluralistic society" (12, 15).

To the point: Before Williams, before the English radicals, before Penn, George and Cecil Calvert devised and implemented a new model for church and state that

anticipated the achievements of radical Protestants: namely, erecting a wall between church and state, a guarantee of religious liberty to all, implementation of a form of religious *laissez-faire*, and the creation of a pluralistic society. The father first experimented with his ideas in Avalon (Newfoundland) in 1628. The second Lord Baltimore, in the "Instructions" he wrote in 1633 for those he was sending to Maryland, declared his intention to implement them on a fuller scale. This took place three years before Williams, a decade before the Civil Wars in England, and nearly a half century before Penn.

The other side of this Protestant/New England perspective is the pronounced anti-Catholicism that long dominated American historiography. That it existed is beyond question. Arthur M. Schlesinger labeled it "the deepest bias in the history of the American people," and Andrew Greeley called it the "last acceptable prejudice." Mark S. Massa, in *Anti-Catholicism in America: The Last Acceptable Prejudice* (New York: Crossroad, 2003), asserted that the "animus against Roman Catholics in America" was pervasive among intellectuals and scholars (2). To what extent did this culturally accepted bias influence historians' interpretations of the Calvert vision? English Protestants in the seventeenth-century certainly identified Catholicism with tyranny and absolutism, values they perceived as inimical to their own. As Philip Hamburger noted in *Separation of Church and State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002) that tradition died hard. "Without carefully examining the history of the notion of separation, numerous Protestants concluded that the Catholic Church had long been at war against this principle. In particular, they looked back at the history of Christianity and of America and observed Catholic opposition to ideas of religious liberty that, in retrospect, they easily and conveniently confused with separation" (250). The pervasiveness of that tradition in American historiography made it easier to overlook this radical Calvert Catholic family and its contribution to advancing religious freedom. But, it be must noted, the inability to understand the Calvert vision was not limited to those who imbibed anti-Catholic sentiments.

That the Calvert experiment failed to sustain itself meant that it had been largely forgotten by the Revolutionary period when so many of the nation's formative documents came onto the stage. Hamburger's recent study (*Separation of Church and State*) exemplified the tendency of historians surveying church-state relations in the United States to not look in depth for precedents from the seventeenth century. Few saw Maryland as a harbinger of new thinking. Hamburger began with Jefferson and limited his incursions into the colonial past to Roger Williams even though the Rhode Islander probably had less influence on Jefferson than his eighteenth-century contemporary James Burgh (4). Hamburger's analysis reflected not anti-Catholicism, a topic he considered at length for the nineteenth century, but the lack of recognition of the Calvert vision by historians. Hamburger contrasts with Thomas J. Curry whose *The First Freedoms: Church and State in America to the Passage of the First Amendment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) looked backward from the

first amendment. He thought the Calverts approached religious toleration (see below for the inappropriateness of this word) "with the attitude of the less said about it the better" (33). Although the statement is valid, it understates the careful planning that went in to designing the Calvert vision.

The Calverts did not make the task of giving definition to their vision easy. Lois Green Carr and David William Jordan, in *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689–1692* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), among others, decried the dearth of information regarding the forces that led the Calverts to religious liberty (226–27). Some of the conflict regarding motivation can be attributed to the nature of the evidence, or perhaps better, the lack of evidence. This allowed for multiple interpretations. George Calvert and Cecil Calvert left *little direct testimony concerning the intellectual and theological sources* that informed their vision. Both were educated men but neither revealed much of his inner life in the extant correspondence, most of which relates to government business and is coldly official. If either man left any direct testimony about intellectual and theological sources or an elaborate statement of intentions, it has not survived the ravages of time. As a result, Calvert thinking must be deduced from their experiences, the actions they took as colonizers, and the limited number of observations made by their contemporaries.

Historians writing broader studies about church-state relations in Maryland had to confront the muddled state of the historiography surrounding the motives of the Calverts and the implementation of their thinking. Unlike Williams, who put his ideas on paper, the Calverts left no readily available digest of the ideas. They could ill afford a public debate along the lines of the Roger Williams–John Cotton debate on church-state relations. (Paperback editions such as Irwin H. Polishook, *Roger Williams, John Cotton and Religious Freedom: A Controversy in New and Old England* [Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967] made the significant texts available to a generation of college students.) The dearth of written commentary that illuminated the thinking behind the Calverts' actions left room for speculation based on authors' perspectives. In various ways, historians incorporated into their analyses the four motives suggested by the Calverts: economic, evangelistic (bringing Christianity to the natives), nationalistic (extension of the king's dominions), and religious or spiritual (founding a haven for persecuted English Catholics). Of these, economic and spiritual received the greatest attention.

Then, too, historians tended to compartmentalize possible motives rather than approaching them as parts of a whole. Some historians hinted that some motives conflicted with others. George and Cecil Calvert saw no inherent conflict between the national allegiance (English) and their spiritual loyalty (Catholic); so, too, they saw no division between their material and spiritual interests. The problem for historians was to determine how they related to each other and how they came together to form a coherent plan (that is, the "Maryland designe").[2]

If early histories of Maryland tended to separate economic influences from

religious motives, they also most vividly reflected the religious tensions that existed in the seventeenth century between Episcopal Protestants and Roman Catholics. Although the controversy of the importance of the Calverts' Catholic connection raged throughout the nineteenth century, it reached its peak near the end of the century. C. Ernest Smith, a rector of an Episcopal Church in Baltimore, exemplified the Protestant extreme. In *Religion under the Barons of Baltimore: Being a Sketch of Ecclesiastical Affairs from the Founding of the Maryland Colony in 1634 to the Formal Establishment of the Church of England in 1692* (Baltimore, 1899), he wrote that the expedition that Leonard Calvert led to Maryland in 1633 showed "neither the odium and the disabilities of political ostracism, nor even the rigors of religious persecution." Even if England had been a stronghold of the Roman Catholic Church, "the Calvert expedition would have sailed to Maryland." George Calvert as an advocate of religious toleration can "be regarded as a pleasant fiction." He presented the Calverts as hard-nosed entrepreneurs who acted solely for economic gain. This argument may be characterized as the politically expedient model. The Calverts lacked a philosophical basis, acting primarily or solely to satisfy their economic goals (30).

Historians favorably disposed to Catholicism attempted to refute economic interpretations. All too often, they overstated the piety and intentions of the Catholic Calverts. Indeed, Catholic Bishop William T. Russell embodied the folklore of earlier Marylanders who saw Maryland as a religious haven. The interpretation put forth in *Maryland: The Land of Sanctuary* (Baltimore, 1907) generally followed the remembrances of eighteenth-century Maryland Catholics [See "Popery in Maryland," *The American Catholic Historical Researches*, n.s., 4 (April 1908): 258–76]. Russell argued religious freedom for Catholics was Maryland's *raison d'etre*. The primary goal of the second Lord Baltimore was to establish a religious haven for his persecuted Catholic brethren (19, 47). T. K. Rabb in *Enterprise and Empire: Merchant and Gentry Investment in the Expansion of England, 1575–1630* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967) accepted that the involvement of the Calverts in colonization was an exception because of their religious purposes (38n).

Historians who followed Russell's haven thesis wanted an intellectual source for the Calverts' motives. Matthew Page Andrews, "Separation of Church and State in Maryland," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 21 (1935–36): 170–71 and Kenneth Lasson, "Free Exercise in the Free State: Maryland's Role in Religious Liberty and the First Amendment," *Journal of Church and State*, 31 (1989): 424 traced the theory on which Maryland was founded to Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*. Others, for example, Francis Edwards, *The Jesuits in England from 1580 to the Present Day* (London, 1985) credited the Jesuits. He characterized Father Robert Persons' *A treatise tending to mitigation towardes catholicke subjects in England* (1607) as the "first public plea for toleration in religious matters" by a Catholic in English. As a learned man, George Calvert may have read More and Parsons, but no evidentiary path leads to them. The surviving records suggest that the Calverts undertook their colonial enterprises neither to

create a utopian society based on the writings of a Catholic intellectual nor to foster particular teachings of the Catholic Church or one of its influential priests.

Does evidence exist to indicate that English Catholics looked to America as a haven? The presumably Catholic writer of *A Moderate and Safe Expedient To remove Jealousies and Feares, of any danger, or prejudice to this State, by the Roman Catholicks of this Kingdome, And to mitigate the censure of too much severity towards them. With a great advantage of Honour and Profit to this State and Nation* (1646) floated such an idea during the English Civil Wars. English Catholics who identified with the Royalist cause in the war against parliamentary forces had every reason to despair. Faced with the triumph of the king's foes, the author laid down a challenge. If Parliament would not permit Catholics to "enjoy here the rights, and liberties of other freeborn subjects," then it should give those Catholics who "willingly banished themselves" leave to sell their estates and "go into another countrey, where they may enjoy them." He suggested that Maryland offered an ideal solution for affluent but persecuted Catholics who could enjoy liberty of conscience without sacrificing their allegiance to England. This modest and safe expedient, which would have benefitted Cecil Calvert at a time he desperately needed new colonists, however, demonstrates the limitations of seeing his colony as a haven. First, its implementation depended on the willingness of a Parliament to suspend its own penal laws. Second, it misread the needs of English Catholics. John Bossy noted in "Reluctant Colonists: The English Catholics Confront the Atlantic," in *Early Maryland in a Wider World*, ed., David B. Quinn (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982) that Catholics were reluctant to leave their homeland for a wilderness (149–64). Considering the lack of response, it seems that neither Parliament nor English Catholics considered a mass exodus as a solution to the conformity problem. The lack of interest in this *Expedient* testifies to the acumen of George and Cecil Calvert, who recognized this limitation as they planned their colonial enterprises. They sought an open society where men and women of different religious commitments could come together and work to form a prosperous colony.

Projecting religion as the primary or solitary goal, and using words such as utopian or haven distorts Calvert intentions as much as casting them solely as pragmatic entrepreneurs. Michael James Graham, in "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise: Toleration and Community in Colonial Maryland, 1634–1724," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1983), concluded that it "was never Baltimore's intention to establish a Catholic refuge" (47).

Closely related to this question is a reliable assessment of Catholic survival in the 1620s and 1630s. Admittedly, an exact count is not possible. English historians generally agree that the penal laws reduced Catholic survival to less than 10 percent of the population by the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign (1603). To the contrary, Edward F. Terrar assumed a significantly higher number. In *Social, Economic, and Religious Beliefs Among Maryland Catholic People during the Period of the English*

War, 1639–1660 (San Francisco: Catholic Scholars Press, 1994), he estimated a survival rate of perhaps as high as 80 percent, which would have meant that Catholics below the level of nobility and gentry survived in great numbers (16, 28). While the English Catholic community on the eve of Maryland's founding showed some small growth, it remained a distinct minority limited primarily to country gentry and court Catholics. [John Bossy, "The English Catholic Community 1603–1625," in *The Reign of James VI and I*, ed. Allen G..R. Smith (London, 1973), 91–105]. The failure of Lord Baltimore and his chief publicist, Father Andrew White, S. J., to attract greater numbers of Catholic colonists belies a high survival rate.

In addition to reducing the number of survivors, the penal laws forced English Catholics to behave in ways that would have been unacceptable in Catholic countries. Until recently, Maryland historians did not always appreciate the subtleties of Catholic survival. Thomas Aloysius Hughes, in *History of the Society of Jesus in North America: Colonial and Federal, Text*, 2 vols. (Cleveland, 1907–1917)—a study that retains a great deal of value—was not at all charitable when it came to judging the second Lord Baltimore's religious commitment. He left the distinct impression that Calvert was a "bad" Catholic at best (1:435, 456, 509, but especially Appendix E, 2:671–75). Such anachronistic judgments fail to comprehend what Catholics had to do to survive. Catholic behavior, to be intelligible, must be assessed in the context of the seventeenth century.

Recent studies, to name but a few, indicate that Catholic survival forced many twists and turns. Studies that demonstrate that many willingly subordinated their religion to political demands include David L. Smith, "Catholic, Anglican or Puritan? Edward Sackville, the Fourth Earl of Dorset and the Ambiguities of Religion in Early Stuart England" *Religion, Literature, and Politics in Post-Reformation England, 1540–1688*, ed. Donna B. Hamilton and Richard Strier (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 105–24, David Mathew, *Sir Tobie Mathew* (London, 1950), Robert Torsten Petersson, *Sir Kenelm Digby, the Ornament of England, 1603–1665* (Cambridge, 1956), Michael Van Cleave Alexander, *Charles I's Lord Treasurer: Sir Richard Weston, Earl of Portland (1577–1635)* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), and Howard S. Reinmuth, "Lord William Howard (1563–1640) and his Catholic Associations," *Recusant History*, 12 (1974): 226–34. Other studies: Albert J. Loomie, "A Jacobean Crypto-Catholic: Lord Wotton," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 53 (1967): 328–45, "King James I's Catholic Consort," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 34 (1971): 303–16, and "Appendix: Anna of Denmark and Catholicism," in J. Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 162–72, demonstrate the difficulties analyzing individual religious commitments. Michael C. Questier noted that illness frequently occupied a central place in explanations of evangelical conversion, that the "sufferer was compelled to think seriously about grace and about which Church offered salvation, and that Carier's "change of religion demonstrates that it was not a

simple matter of transference of loyalty, like a politician's change of parties," "Crypto-Catholicism, Anti-Calvinism, and Conversion at the Jacobean Court: The Enigma of Benjamin Carier," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 47 (1996): 45–64. Simply put, the responses by English Catholics to the penal laws indicate that no single explanation encompasses all families.

Most modern historians rejected the simple dichotomy between economic and religious factors and recognized that both motives played their part. The challenge lay in finding the elusive link and then weighing their relative importance. Thomas T. McAvoy, in *A History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969), epitomized this approach. He combined the two without trying to weigh their relative importance or assessing their relationship (9). Some historians reversed the order and made economic goals the handmaiden of religious ones. Edwin W. Beitzell, in "Thomas Copley, Gentleman," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 47 (1952): 209–23, asserted that "Lord Baltimore was venturing to advance religious freedom during a period of religious upheaval. The attempt was complicated by the fact that the undertaking had to be financially successful or his family would be reduced to pauperism" (215–16). Others drew a contrast between Avalon and Maryland as if the Calverts shifted their objectives between 1629 and 1632. Robert M. Bliss, in *Revolution and Empire: English Politics and the American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (Manchester, 1990), contended (without any analysis) that George Calvert "moved from a failed commercial venture in Newfoundland to think of a refuge for English Catholics in the Chesapeake region" (16).

A recent study of gender relations and family formations in seventeenth-century Maryland resurrected a version of the haven/missionary interpretation. In her introduction and first chapter, "Maryland's Raison d'etre," to *Common Whores, Vertuous Women, and Loveing Wives: Free Will Christian Women in Colonial Maryland* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003) Debra Meyers confronted the motivation issue. In common with modern interpretations, she projected religious and economic motives. The Calverts had two important goals: the strengthening of English Roman Catholicism and financial gain. Noting Baltimore's "ecumenical nature and political savvy," she broadened the haven thesis to include not only English Catholics but Arminian Anglicans, Labadists, Presbyterians, Puritans, Quakers, and others. Meyers asserted that "George's larger mission, then, was to provide fertile soil in the New World in which to plant the seeds for the rebirth of English souls away from anti-Catholic government intrusion" (11).

To sustain her contention, Meyers made a number of assertions that went beyond her recognition that the Calverts were recent converts to Catholic. Among them was the contention that Calvert assisted Sir Tobie Matthew, a childhood friend, in his conversion to the "holie Catholic faith." Second, from King James' obsessive desire to marry his heir to the Spanish Catholic Infanta, which took on renewed interest about the time George Calvert became one of his secretaries of state, she inferred

that the king shared [George, Lord] Baltimore's "goal of establishing a Catholic colony." From this she posited that George Calvert's second Avalon trip in spring of 1628 was "his own attempt at an English Roman Catholic missionary settlement (13). That failure notwithstanding, he "continued his pursuit of a Catholic missionary settlement by petitioning James I [sic] for a grant of land east of Virginia (14). With the Maryland grant, "Charles I also followed his father's lead in his endorsement of a Roman Catholic province." This led her to write that for a variety of reasons this "triumvirate—the Calverts, the Crown, and the Catholic Church—committed itself to the establishment of an English Catholic colony in the New World as a means of fostering the growth of both Catholicism and the purses of pious families." The third point involved semantics. She noted Father Andrew White's reference to naming the colony for Henrietta Maria, "our gratious Queene." She wondered if the reference "gratious" could not as likely refer to *Ave Maria gratia plena*, that is, the Virgin Mary? (16) Meyers also attached considerable significance to the names of Cecil's two ships. "The *Ark* symbolized a covenant between God and his chosen people in a new world in the same way that Noah's ark had in the Old Testament. The *Dove* represented the Holy Ghost, often referred to as the 'Holy comforter' in seventeenth-century Roman Catholic writing" (17).

Taken together, these points would seem to indicate that George Calvert had much closer ties to Catholicism between 1606 and 1625 than is generally accepted, and that he had undertaken an explicit mission for the Catholic Church. More important, perhaps, if her assumptions are valid, they would establish a Catholic mission in America endorsed and fostered by the first two Stuarts as well.

That Calvert had a role in Matthew's conversion is problematic. Matthew detailed his conversion experience in *A True Historical Relation of the Conversion of Sir Tobie Matthew to the Holy Catholic Faith; with the Antecedents and Consequences Thereof*, ed. A. H. Mathew (London, 1904). He was not always precise with the chronology. His editor (and a kinsman) stated that young Matthew went to France in early 1605 and then to Florence where "he submitted to the Catholic Church." According to Matthew's account, the decision was difficult and he took his time making it. During this critical juncture, George Calvert remained in London working as a secretary to the earl of Salisbury—the power-broker Sir Robert Cecil—and building a financial base. Matthew made no reference to Calvert, but did credit other English men who were in Florence.[3] The second point, namely, that Calvert formed a triumvirate with the Crown, and the Catholic Church to establish an English Catholic missionary is speculative. Yes, James sought the Spanish alliance. He did so not to enhance the position of his Catholic subjects (although clearly they would have benefitted as a by-product of a successful negotiation) but to seek an honorable settlement for his misguided son-in-law Frederic and his daughter Elizabeth and end what came to be known as the Thirty Years War. The entente fell apart before James died in March 1625. Calvert's unwillingness or inability to shift his loyalty from the king to

the royal favorite led to his eventual resignation as secretary of state. Later, George, Lord Baltimore petitioned King Charles for a new grant but it was only through the influence of his former associates in government, many of whom had no interest in establishing a Catholic colony, that Cecil Calvert received the Maryland grant shortly after his father's death. Finally, the issue of language. Lord Baltimore, through Father White, may have indulged in a double entendre when he used the phrase "our gratious Queene," but it seems unlikely. The *Ark* and the *Dove* may have had a religious significance. Nothing in the existing record suggests this, but the Calverts were a religious family and the names chosen for Maryland rivers and islands exemplifies this. The names of the ships hired by Lord Baltimore, however, do not make the case for Maryland as an English Catholic missionary settlement. [William Lowe, "The Master of the Ark: A Seventeenth-Century Chronicle," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 95 (2000): 261–90.]

The Calvert connection with Catholicism must not be ignored. As I emphasized in both *English and Catholic* and "The Calvert Vision":

> Nothing makes sense without seeing that the Calverts acted to secure their religious freedom and the right of their coreligionists to worship without fear of the penal laws. However, this created a paradox: they needed to pursue that (Catholic) goal without seeming too Catholic. The brilliance of their vision, to say nothing of its execution, allowed them to resolve this paradox.

Overstating the Catholic connection, or for that matter undervaluing the connection, obscures the significance of their vision.

Those who emphasized a combination of economic motives and religious (Catholic) goals often did so at the expense of other high priorities for the Calverts. Other motives, national goals by extending the kings' dominions and evangelical purposes by promoting Christian goals and bringing the word of God to the natives, figured prominently in their thinking. Both goals had self-serving elements in them, but it is misleading to argue, as Lois Green Carr did in "The First Expedition to Maryland," in *A Relation of the Successfull beginnings of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Maryland* (Annapolis, 1984), that like other promoters, "Lord Baltimore paid lip service to God and king." These two motives loomed larger than that: Both were publicly stated and both were vital to the colony's success. In order to succeed, the Calverts needed the support of Protestant kings. Extension of their kings' dominions was vital to their chances for success. George Calvert emphasized national goals in his charters and Cecil Calvert repeated them in his instructions to his colonists. Equally so, the mission to the Indians brought needed support. The second Lord Baltimore certainly believed he had incurred great expenses and endured many troubles in order to secure the mission. Cecil's need to develop trade with Indians was a strong inducement to bring the Word to the natives, a role the Jesuits were excited to undertake. Tapping this interest solved the problem of providing spiritual support for the few

Catholics willing to venture forth. Better yet, the Jesuits came at no expense to his strapped financial situation. Whatever his motives, like his father, he proved adept at tailoring messages to fit the audience. National goals assured the support of the Protestant government; the mission to the Indians secured the support of the Jesuits but also resonated with the English people. If nothing else, the pragmatic Calverts showed great skill at intertwining seemingly contradictory principles.

Maryland historians generally downplayed George Calvert's experiences in Newfoundland where he first experimented with religious freedom. This despite excellent analyses by Thomas Coakley, "George Calvert and Newfoundland: 'The Sad Face of Winter'." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 71 (1976): 1–18, Raymond J. Lahey, "Avalon: Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland," in G. M. Story, ed., *Early European Settlement and Exploitation in Atlantic Canada: Selected Papers* (St. John's, Nfld. : Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1982), 115–37, and Luca Codignola, *The Coldest Harbour of the Land: Simon Stock and Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland, 1621–1649*. Trans. Anita Weston (Kingston, Ontario, 1988), and Krugler, "George Calvert: Courtier, Colonizer, Capitalist, Catholic," *Avalon Chronicles*, 6 (2001): 1–18. What the Calverts tried in Maryland cannot be viewed without a full understanding of the Avalon colony. That colony, its problems notwithstanding, telegraphed the Calvert vision to implement religious freedom as a means to colonize with a religiously diverse population. The lessons learned led to the alterations that became the "Maryland designe."

At some point, Maryland historians also renamed the 1649 "Act Concerning Religion" as the Act of Toleration. This was unfortunate and helped to obscure and limit appreciation for the Calvert vision. This usage is too widespread to document but allow me a mea culpa. Titles for some of my earlier works such as "Lord Baltimore, Roman Catholics, and Toleration: Religious Policy in Maryland during the Early Catholic Years, 1634–1649," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 65 (1979): 49–75 and "'With promise of Liberty in Religion': The Catholic Lords Baltimore and Toleration in Seventeenth-Century Maryland, 1634–1692," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 (1984): 21–43, reflected that I succumbed to the dominant interpretation. All too frequently, historians have used the words "toleration" and "religious freedom" or "freedom of conscience" as synonyms.

In part, the word "toleration" deceives because historians have used it anachronistically. An examination of the seventeenth-century usage demonstrated that toleration did not carry the positive connotations that it did in nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Herbert Butterfield noted, in "Toleration in Early Modern Times," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 38 (October–December 1977), that seventeenth-century usage contrasted markedly with its present "almost virtuous" connotation of toleration. Today the concept of toleration implies something positive but then it had a pejorative meaning connoting a lax complacency toward evil. Toleration "was not so much an ideal, a positive end, that people wanted to establish for its own sake; but,

rather, a *pis aller*, a retreat to the next best thing, a last resort for those who often still hated one another, but found it impossible to go on fighting." Toleration was less an idea than a "happening—the sort of thing that happens when no choice is left" (573–84). To characterize what the Calverts did as a "happening," or "a last resort"; or merely a pragmatic response, does not do justice to their great accomplishment. They offered more—religious freedom or liberty of conscience—and this needs to be recognized.

The reluctance of historians to acknowledge the fiercely capitalistic spirit that drove the Calverts (as if capitalism was a negative force in this country) also obscured their accomplishments. Capitalism stands contrary to feudalism and sometimes to Catholicism. Although historians have recognized the economic objectives of the Calverts, rarely have they identified them as capitalists. Perhaps part of the blame lies with Max Weber and R. H. Tawney, who in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904) and *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (1926) indelibly linked Protestantism, specifically Calvinism, with capitalism. But what of Catholics? Again, thinking interpolated from actions: Could someone who seemingly wrapped himself in the toga of feudalism be considered a capitalist? Cornelius J. Janzen, in "The Catholic Clergy and the Fur Trade, 1585–1685," *Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers* (1970), called attention to colonial Catholic capitalists (61). Cast in modern terms, Cecil Calvert fits the description of a land developer. Garry Wheeler Stone, in "Manorial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 82 (1987): 3–36, noted that in Maryland Baltimore started "a high risk land development corporation with limited funds." The Calverts looked not to a feudal past but to a profitable future. Like their Protestant contemporaries, these Catholics embraced capitalist concepts and acted on them. Indeed, capitalism was only one of the ways the Calverts tried to rationalize their world. Privatizing religion, that is, removing the government from the religious realm and religion from the political realm, was another.

Making sense of their motives without a full understanding of what it meant to be English and Catholic in the seventeenth century further hindered presenting a comprehensive portrait of this family and its intentions. This is especially true regarding his resignation as secretary of state. Many historians, unlike Calvert's contemporaries, attributed his resignation to his conversion to Catholicism. It was a far more complex process. It is also true that the royal favorite, the duke of Buckingham, drove Calvert from office. Buckingham, who had strong familial connections to Catholicism, sought to oust Calvert for personal and political reasons that related to his initiative to marry Charles to a French princess, another Catholic princess. To make Calvert's religious beliefs central to that event reverses the resignation/conversion process and fails to recognize the extent to which Calvert controlled events. [Krugler, "Sir George Calvert's Resignation as Secretary of State and the Founding of Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 68 (1973): 239–54].

One place where Calvert's conversion to Catholicism influenced his decision-

making process concerned the distribution of land in Maryland as manors. George Calvert made no reference to manors in the Newfoundland charter but he and his son made the manorial system a focal point of the Maryland charter. Neither Calvert left any direct statement for its inclusion. Maryland historians readily recognized the importance of the manorial system, but when it came to assessing its significance, they let its feudal trappings point them in the wrong direction. As a result, some historians thought his apparent effort to perpetuate feudal conditions put Calvert out of step with his own times. One, Robert Bruce Harley in "The Land System of Colonial Maryland" (Ph. D. diss., University of Iowa, 1948) even suggested that Calvert "scarcely realized" what he was doing (1). Such interpretations fail to see how the various components of his vision fitted together. Others, namely Carr and Edward C. Papenfuse in "The Charter of Maryland," in *A Declaration of The Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Mary-land. February 10, 1633* (Annapolis, 1983), reversed the perspective by suggesting the Calverts' manorial "plan for transplanting English social and political structure looked backward rather than forward." Likewise, to see the manorial system as "merely a marketing device" to attract wealthy immigrants, as Terrar did in *Social, Economic, and Religious Beliefs* also misses the point.

Here a fuller understanding of George Calvert's religious commitments and of the community with which he identified after 1624 pays dividends. Could Calvert have embraced a vestige of the past as an agent of change? His Catholic connection drew him to this ancient system that united land and loyalty. The manorial system may well have served some other purpose beside the obvious ones. Catholic survival in rural England largely resulted from protection afforded to agricultural Catholics by the Catholic lord of the manor. More important, inclusion of the manorial system in the Maryland charter dovetailed with the Calvert's innovative concept for a new model for church-state relations. If the economic advantages of the manor primarily interested them, the Calverts did not overlook the advantages for social control offered by the manorial system, especially as a means for keeping religion private. This ancient system united land and loyalty, two key elements of the "Maryland designe."

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, the state assumed that secular and religious loyalties could not be separated. To be English meant regular worship in the Church of England. To be *English* and *Catholic* raised a troubling question regarding civic loyalty. Did those who failed to conform to religion forfeit their claims as English nationals?

George Calvert and his heirs felt and responded to the tensions that existed for those who lived as both English nationals and Roman Catholics. They confronted this issue: Could English Catholics successfully pursue their material interests in a malevolent Protestant world and maintain their loyalty to the state while offering their spiritual allegiance to the pope, a foreign prince? The state through its elaborate set of penal laws said no; the Calverts, with some interesting twists and turns, said yes.

In the face of strong cultural antipathy (expressed as rabid anti-Catholicism), they confronted a parallel issue: Could English Catholics and Protestants live together and prosper? Experience, not only English but that of other European cultures as well, suggested no; the Calverts said yes. English penal laws made reconciling temporal obligations and religious allegiance difficult, but, as the English Catholic Calverts demonstrated, not impossible.

To return to the opening question: Why the lack of recognition for the Catholic Lords Baltimore? The words or phrases traditionally used to describe the Calvert enterprises failed to explain in any full sense the forces that motivated them. These words—conservative Catholics, martyrs, feudal lords, pilgrims (haven seekers)—reflect a perspective: The Catholic as victim. They emphasized Catholic suffering and their need to flee England. As one priest characterized it, Catholics were "persecuted, proscribed, and hunted to death for their religion." No question: Catholic persecution was real, but does it encompass the experiences of all English Catholics?

Presenting the Calverts as victims who fled England in the face of such persecution drains much of the vitality from the story and leaves many questions imperfectly answered. If persecution drove their enterprises, how does "the Catholic as victim" explain that George and Cecil Calvert received, from an oppressive government, a lucrative grant of thousands of acres in the Chesapeake region? How does it explain George Calvert's rampant nationalism? How does this interpretation decipher the Calverts' enthusiastic pursuit of profit? Most intriguing: If the Calverts conceived their colonies as a refuge from government persecution, why did so few Catholics flee to America? This view fails to recognize that, despite the peaks and valleys, the story of the Catholic Lords Baltimore is not only one of Catholic survival in seventeenth-century England and America, but of triumph.

The words and phrases I prefer—privatization, secularization, volunteerism, pluralism, nationalists, capitalists, practical visionaries, pragmatic, reckless innovators—present a different image. These words and phrases flow from a contrary perspective: The Catholic as victor. It was not easy, but some English Catholics beat the system and flourished. Families such as the Calverts, who willingly risked practicing their faith openly while pursuing public goals, helped to keep the Catholic religion alive in England and in America. Rather than seeing the Catholic Calverts as running from something negative (government persecution), I see them as moving toward something positive (founding viable English colonial enterprises). These terms better explicate why they did what they did, why they succeeded, and why they failed. They explain this most intriguing element of their saga: Why this Catholic family's colonial enterprises became part of one of the great movements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the struggle to free the human conscience, especially in matters of religion, from the dictates of civil governments that demanded religious uniformity.

With a confidence that belied their circumstances, the first and second Lords

Baltimore skillfully directed complex and perilous colonial enterprises. What the Calverts and their supporters attempted, and maintained for over a half century, is remarkable. By examining the full story of their efforts—their manipulation of the English bureaucracy, the complexity of their planning, the interdependence of the various parts of their vision, and the limitations imposed on them as English Catholics—the brilliance and revolutionary nature of their "Maryland designe" emerges. Central to their planning was a new vision that embraced freedom of conscience for all Christians. Recognition of their contribution to advancing religious freedom in the English Atlantic world may indeed end the "ungracious silence" that James Wilson decried two centuries earlier.

NOTES

1. James Wilson, a revolutionary and a lawyer, used the phrase "ungracious silence" to decry the unwillingness of Americans to credit Cecil, Lord Baltimore, for his accomplishments. See James DeWitt Anderson, ed., *The Works of James Wilson* (Chicago, 1896), 1:4–5. I gratefully acknowledge the valuable critique provided by Dr. Henry M. Miller. His questions and suggested revisions greatly improved the analysis.
2. Robert Wintour used "Maryland designe" to summarize the essence of the recently launched enterprise and to note that the Calverts had a carefully structured purpose for their overseas adventures. It is the fullest explication of the Calvert vision. *To live like princes : a short treatise sett downe in a letter written by R. W. to his worthy freind C. J. R. concerning the new plantation now erecting under the Right Honorable the Lord Baltemore in Maryland, reproduced in facsimile from the original document in the Hugh Hampton Young Collection of the Enoch Pratt Free Library*, ed. John D. Krugler (Baltimore: Enoch Pratt Free Library, 1976).
3. Meyers cited an edition I have not seen: Tobie Matthew, *A true historicall relation of the Conversion of Sir Tobie Matthew to the holie Catholic fayth*, c 1640, which is housed at the Folger Shakespeare Library. Calvert's assistance, she noted, was mentioned on page 196. The text I consulted had but 178 pages. She further cited Captain Thomas Yong letter to Matthews from Maryland in 1634 to affirm "that Matthew took an active interest in the establishment of Maryland as a Catholic haven." That letter, reprinted in *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633–1684* (New York, 1910), 53–61, does not conform to her assertion but shows that Yong wanted Matthew to know of the difficult relations with the Virginians and economic concerns.

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