

special difficulties. They could not hold office or serve in the army, the legal profession, or the Anglican Church, which otherwise would have provided a means of economic and social opportunity. For such men, adventuring their future and their fortunes in a Catholic-led colony held promise of security and prosperity.

In all Lord Baltimore's first promotional efforts appealed to a very narrow segment of English society: the younger sons of the Catholic gentry, few of whom, in the end, proved willing to join his colony. English Catholics were what historian John Bossy has termed "reluctant colonists." Earlier efforts to establish Catholic Englishmen in the New World had generated little enthusiasm among those expected to participate. To survive in England, Catholics had to carry on the practice of their religion entirely within the household, and family rituals and holy places dominated their religious lives. Such conditions did not provide much inducement for emigration to parts unknown. Many English Catholics felt that removal to America meant exile to a barbarous country, not an opportunity to build a new life free of religious persecution.¹²

Lord Baltimore's slight success in recruiting investors had unfortunate consequences. Politically, the participation of Protestant leaders would have been helpful in dealing with threats to Lord Baltimore's charter and with the charges that he was discriminating against Protestants. Financially, the lack of investors put considerable strain on Lord Baltimore's personal fortune already drained by large sums spent in obtaining and defending the charter. He purchased half the joint stock in the fur trade venture and one-eighth of the *Dove*, which, with seven other investors, he had purchased for