A RELATION OF

The ſucceſſefull beginnings of the Lord BALTEMORE's Plantation in *Mary-land.*

Being an extract of certaine Letters written from thence, by ſome of the Aduenturers, to their friends in *England.*

To which is added,

The Conditions of plantation propounded by his Lordſhip for the ſecond voyage intended this preſent yeere, 1634.

Anno. Dom. 1634.

In 1984, to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the European settlement of the state, the Maryland Hall of Records prepared this facsimile of an exceedingly rare promotional pamphlet, *A Relation of ... Mary-land* (1634). As part of the arrangement between the John Carter Brown Library (which owns the original from which this facsimile was made) and the Maryland State Archives, the Library received 250 unbound copies of the facsimile for its own distribution. These were bound by the Library in the present format in the summer of 1988 and added to its stock of publications available for purchase.

For information about the Library's publication program, write to: Publications, John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Providence, Rhode Island 02912.

A RELATION OF

The Successefull beginnings of the Lord BALTEMORE'S Plantation in *Mary-land.*

Maryland State Archives
Hall of Records Commission

June 20, 1984

THE MARYLAND HALL OF RECORDS
350th ANNIVERSARY DOCUMENT SERIES

The Honorable Harry Hughes, *Governor*
The Honorable Robert C. Murphy, *Chairman, Maryland Hall of Records Commission*

in cooperation with:

The Maryland Heritage Committee, Lt. Gen. Orwin C. Talbott, U.S. Army (Ret.), *Chairman*
The Saint Mary's City Commission, The Honorable John Hanson Briscoe, *Chairman*

Previous titles:
The Charter of Maryland (1982)
A Declaration of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Mary-land (1983)
A Briefe Relation of the Voyage Unto Maryland (1984)

Calvert Coat of Arms on cover and title page from John Ogilby, *Nova Terrae-Maria tabula,* 1671, courtesy of Joseph M. Coale III

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PREFACE

Shortly after the first settlers landed in Maryland on March 25, 1634, Father Andrew White wrote a "Briefe Relation of the Voyage Unto Maryland," which Leonard Calvert enclosed in a letter of May 30, 1634, to his business partner, Sir Richard Lechford. The "Briefe Relation" apparently was abstracted from a much longer account originally written in Latin in the latter part of April, 1634 and forwarded by way of London to Rome, where it remains today in the Jesuit archives. A transcription and translation of the Latin text was published in Peabody Fund Publication, No. 7, in 1874. On May 27, 1634, Father White completed an English version of the original Latin narrative, which he sent to Lord Baltimore. It was published, probably in late July or August 1634, as the promotional pamphlet *A Relation of... Maryland,* reprinted here.

Included in the 1634 *Relation* were new "Conditions of Plantation" dated July 15, 1634, that were intended to attract investors and colonists for the second voyage. All leading authorities on the earliest terms under which land was acquired in Maryland, including John Kilty and Charles M. Andrews, have overlooked these conditions, probably because they were in force for only the second voyage and were superseded by new conditions published in 1635. Yet they were more generous than those that followed and were to govern the fate of approximately 150 people who heeded the call of the 1634 *Relation.*

Today there are only two known copies of the 1634 *Relation* in the United States, one at the John Carter Brown Library reprinted here, and another recently ac-

quired by the William L. Clements Library. Perhaps there are so few copies remaining, in contrast to the *Relation* of 1635, which is longer and contains the first printing of the Maryland Charter, because the terms it set forth were more generous than Lord Baltimore found he needed to offer. In fact, when one of the investors in the second voyage commenced an equity suit claiming that Lord Baltimore had not complied with the original terms of their agreement, Cecil Calvert cleverly produced the 1635 *Relation* as evidence of what he promised instead of the 1634 Conditions. The plaintiff did not catch the switch and, if he had lived to win the case, could have received considerably less in land than he had originally bargained for.

Publication of this pamphlet was made possible through the cooperation of Norman Fiering, Director and Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, who granted permission to reprint the 1634 *Relation,* and the Reverend Michael di'Teccia Farina of the Paul VI Institute for the Arts for the Maryland Conference, who granted permission to reprint Lois Green Carr's introduction in an extensively revised and annotated form. We are grateful to Lois Anne Hess who patiently and expertly typed the manuscript. We are also indebted to William E. Culen, printing buyer, Department of General Services, and E. John Schmitz & Sons, Inc., who not only expedited the production of this pamphlet, but also, with our publications director, Rick Blondo, applied their considerable expertise to ensure the timely delivery of another carefully crafted product.

Edward C. Papenfuse
State Archivist
June 20, 1984

THE FIRST EXPEDITION TO MARYLAND

Figure 1. George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore (1578/79–1632).

THE FIRST EXPEDITION TO MARYLAND

by Lois Green Carr, Historian,
St. Mary's City Commission

ON ST. CECILIAS DAY, the 22 of November 1633 with a gentle Northerne gale we set saile from the Cowes about 10 in the morninge." So began the earliest English version of Father Andrew White's narrative of the first expedition to found the Province of Maryland.[1] More than a year of planning had preceded this historic departure. Cecil Calvert, second Baron of Baltimore, had received the grant of Maryland from King Charles I on June 20, 1632. Since that day, and for some time before, he had been seeking investors and settlers, arranging for ships and supplies, and by skillful political maneuvers defeating opponents who hoped to persuade the king to rescind the charter and kill the whole enterprise.[2]

Plans and Promotions

Cecil Calvert and his father, George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, shared two prime interrelated goals.[3] As land developers they looked for profits, and as Catholics they sought an escape from the legal disabilities Catholics suffered in England. George Calvert had been attracted to the possible profits of colonies when a public servant at the court of James I and had begun developing a plantation on Newfoundland in the early 1620s. His reconversion to Roman Catholicism, his childhood religion, about 1625, ended his public career, but not his

commitment to westward enterprise.[4] Rather it added a new component to his interest in New World colonies—the idea of a Catholic refuge. A bitter winter spent in Newfoundland shifted his interest southward to the warmer Chesapeake region as a better place for "human habitation." Unfortunately, just before the charter for Maryland passed the final royal seals George Calvert died. His son Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore, and the first proprietor, was left to make the Maryland colony a reality.

To succeed, Cecil Calvert needed investors. He had title to millions of acres and it was doubtful that even with good luck he could have shouldered the expense of settling more than a few hundred of them himself. The experience of investors in Virginia and his father's trials in Newfoundland had made clear that many thousands of pounds sterling in start-up costs—chartering ships and recruiting, transporting, and equipping colonists—were necessary before even a very small settlement could begin to provide any return. He needed men with capital to underwrite the transportation and equipment of colonists—the more the better.

Cecil Calvert also needed leaders for his settlement. Men with status that commanded respect, and with talent for management as well, were essential for the transformation of a shipload of immigrants landed in a wilderness into a well-ordered and profitable colony. Such leaders, he believed, should be men who had a stake in the colony and its future. If possible, they should be major investors.

To attract such investor-leaders (called gentlemen adventurers), Lord Baltimore offered land on extremely favorable terms. Anyone who would transport at his

own expense in the first expedition five able men with equipment for a year could obtain a grant of 2,000 acres in return for a small annual quit rent. The estimated cost was £100—£20 per man—which brought the price of the land to 1 shilling per acre. In parts of England at this time the value of farm land—improved, to be sure, not wilderness—was nearly fifty times as much.[5]

To these large investors Lord Baltimore offered additional attractions. The 2,000-acre parcels were to be granted as manors "with all such royalties and priviledges, as are usually belonging to Mannors in England."[6] The investor-leader was to be the lord of the manor, with rights to hold courts baron and courts leet for settlement of disputes and conservation of the manorial peace. The Maryland charter, written by the first Lord Baltimore, explicitly allowed the proprietor to grant manors with these rights. The second Lord Baltimore undoubtedly expected the newly created manor lords to exercise these privileges.

The plan was to recruit men of wealth and high social position by grants of both land and power. These leaders were to finance the transportation of settlers who were to improve the lands of the manor lords, attend their courts, and pursue prosperity as their tenants. The lords would serve Lord Baltimore's interests (as well as their own) by populating and developing their lands, organizing the production of commodities for trade, and providing community leadership. Lord Baltimore, as proprietor, to whom the lords paid rents and owed loyalty, was meant to be at the apex of this new society. With this plan he expected not only to attract investors and settlers but to create a stable social order in a wilderness thousands of miles from England. But such a

strategy had a built-in problem. It assumed an identity of interest between Lord Baltimore and his manor lords that perhaps was unwarranted. The newly created lords could easily become competitors.

In addition to status, political power, and profits derived from plantations in Maryland, Lord Baltimore offered large investors the opportunity to participate in a joint-stock trading venture. Early in the seventeenth century men with capital customarily expected immediate, as well as long-term, returns on such high-risk investments. It was usual to buy stock in a voyage in anticipation of a sizeable profit as well as immediate repayment of the capital when the ship returned.[7] Lord Baltimore offered those willing to make a long-term investment in Maryland the opportunity to participate in a short-term fur trading venture. He, in turn, used the receipts from the sale of the joint stock to purchase goods with which to trade with the Indians for furs.[8] Fur prices were high in England and the sale of one cargo might easily provide immediate compensation for the outlays made for transporting and equipping settlers. Yet here, too, was a problem. If the trading venture failed—and in fact it did—both the fortunes and the morale of all involved would suffer severely.

Lord Baltimore not only needed investors and settlers, he also needed Protestants as well as Catholics. He planned a refuge for Catholics, but in a Protestant kingdom an entirely Catholic colony would have been politically impossible. Nor were there sufficient numbers of Catholics in England willing to risk their fortunes in a wilderness. Settlers were essential, and if Lord Baltimore was to find them, many would necessarily be Protestants. But Catholics and Protestants had been in

conflict for a hundred years in England. How were they to live peaceably together in Maryland?

To solve this problem Cecil Calvert built on ideas current among Catholics in early seventeenth-century England. There was no longer hope that England would ever again be a Catholic country. English Catholics, it was argued, should accept a position as a dissenting sect and work to obtain toleration for all dissenters from the Church of England. A person's religion should be his private affair. The role of the state should be to preserve civil order, not to enforce religious uniformity. Lord Baltimore adapted these ideas to the circumstances of his new colony. People of any religion were to be welcome in Maryland, and anyone otherwise qualified was to be allowed to vote and hold office, regardless of religious beliefs. No one was to criticize another for his religious practices or to proselytize for his own. Most important of all—disastrously so, as it turned out—no public taxation was to support any religious institution. Church and state were to be totally separate.

These were new approaches to ending religious strife, but they arose from practical political realities, not from clearly articulated points of view. The Calverts could not forsee the difficulties inherent in adopting a policy of toleration. If conflicts were to be avoided, both Catholics and Protestants had to accept the idea that toleration was a principal of merit rather than an expedient of the moment. Nor did the Calverts foresee that in the absence of taxation for the support of churches and ministers there would be very few of either for the Protestants in Maryland. In the seventeenth-century world, the absence of religious leadership and houses of worship was not acceptable. But, with a few lapses tolera-

tion did persist as policy in the colony for fifty-five years, a remarkable achievement in the seventeenth-century Western world.[9]

As Lord Baltimore set out to find men and women who would join him in his colonizing venture, the consequences of his plan were as yet unseen. His immediate problem was to find any investors, whatever their religion. He circulated a pamphlet, *A Declaration of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Mary-Land.* It described the advantages of Maryland—mild climate, bountiful resources—and presented his incentives. Like any promoter of the time Lord Baltimore paid lip service to God and king. People who ventured to Maryland would extend the kingdom of Christ and the English empire to new parts of the world, a glorious enterprise in itself. But the *Declaration's* major stress was on personal gain to the investor—the 2,000-acre manor and shares in the joint-stock fur trade venture. At this stage Lord Baltimore ignored those who were willing to go but could not afford to bring others too poor to pay for themselves. His promotion was aimed at those wealthy enough to fill a ship with able workmen who had the skills to build the first settlement.[10]

In the end, seventeen "Gentlemen Adventurers" sailed on the *Ark* and the *Dove,* and six others either joined the joint-stock fur trade venture or sent settlers without going themselves. There also were a few "silent partners," or secret investors, who were attracted by the promise of wealth, but not the notoriety, of a Catholic colony. The Jesuit order contributed two priests and a lay brother and nearly one fifth of the servants and their supplies. Finally Lord Baltimore himself invested heavily in his venture.

The Gentlemen Adventurers

The seventeen gentlemen of "good birth and qualitie" who actually went to settle are listed in *A Relation of Maryland,* a pamphlet published in London in 1635. They were Leonard Calvert, Esq. (the Governor) and Mr. George Calvert, Lord Baltimore's younger brothers; Jerome Hawley, Esq., and Thomas Cornwallis, Esq., named commissioners with Leonard Calvert for the voyage; Mr. Richard Gerard, son of Sir Thomas Gerard, baronet; Messrs. Edward and Frederick Wintour, sons of Lady Anne Wintour; Mr. John Saunders; Mr. Thomas Green; Mr. Henry Wiseman, son of Sir Thomas Wiseman; Mr. John Medcalf; Mr. Nicholas Ferfax; Mr. John Baxter; Mr. Edward Cranfield; Mr. Thomas Dorrell; Captain John Hill; and Mr. William Saire. Lord Baltimore himself had expected to lead the expedition, but challenges to his charter forced him to remain in England.

Nothing is known about the background of the last five men listed in the 1635 *Relation,* except that Dorrell was Catholic.[11] Most is known about the first nine, six of whom were the heaviest investors. Of these nine, all were born gentlemen. All, except Jerome Hawley, were younger sons, and all, except possibly John Saunders, were Roman Catholic. Indeed none of the gentlemen investors who actually went to Maryland appear to have been Protestant. Except for Hawley, they were men who could not inherit any major share of the family fortune, which in England went to the oldest son. Younger sons received education but their portions of the family estate were small and they were expected to make their own way. Furthermore, Catholic younger sons faced

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

the purpose of carrying on the fur trade. He also chartered the *Ark,* the ship that carried the expedition, and paid the way of twenty-five servants. In all he probably funded nearly one-fourth of the passengers who did not pay their own transportation. Lord Baltimore later claimed that he put most of his fortune into founding Maryland, an assertion probably not far from the truth.

With all the problems and heavy charges on his personal fortune, Lord Baltimore still had grounds for optimism. His six largest investor-leaders all fitted his model of the manor lord. All were from English ruling families. If they had been willing to conform, at least outwardly, to the Church of England, as others in their families had sometimes done, they would have been eligible to hold offices of power in England, such as justice of the peace or a seat in Parliament. Leonard Calvert was the Baron's next younger brother. Jerome Hawley was son of a member of Parliament and brother to a governor of Barbados. Like Baltimore himself, he had good connections at the court of Charles I, whose wife was a French Catholic princess. Thomas Cornwallis's great-grandfather had served in the household of Queen Mary; his grandfather, Sir Charles, had been ambassador to Spain; and his father, Sir William, had sat in Parliament. The Wintour brothers' father, Captain Edward Winters, had sailed with Sir Francis Drake, been captain of a ship against the Armada, and a member of several Parliaments. Lady Anne, their mother, was the daughter of the Earl of Worcester and their oldest brother, Sir John, was the Catholic Queen's secretary. Richard Gerard, who returned to England, served King Charles I during the English Civil War and figured in the court of Charles II.

All these men made major commitments of purse and person to the Maryland enterprise. All were eligible through their financial investment for manorial grants. All had long-standing connections with the Calvert family, a fact that doubtless influenced their decision to join the adventure and possibly encouraged their loyalty to Lord Baltimore. With men like these to lead his settlement, even though he could not be there himself to direct them, Lord Baltimore felt confident of success.

What induced men to commit their fortunes and possibly their lives to make Lord Baltimore's colony a reality? Undoubtedly hopes of profit and honor were the strongest incentives. Lord Baltimore's *Declaration* acknowledged that the "saving of Soules" among the Indians would make this "a most glorious Enterprise," but "all men are not so nobleminded...." In general "Pleasure, wealth and honour, are Adamants that draw them."[13] Pleasure, wealth, and honor, coupled with the planting of God's word in new soil, especially the word of a Catholic God, proved attractive to the first gentlemen adventurers. They were young—only Hawley is known to have been over 30—and ready for profitable, noble, and godly adventure. Whether they were as ready for the tedious work of carving out manors from virgin forest is another matter.

Of these young adventurers, only Leonard Calvert and Thomas Cornwallis have left much impression of their personalities. Leonard was a youth of twenty-three when he assumed leadership of the expedition. The public records of early Maryland and a letter he sent his brother provide clues to his qualities as a leader. He had to cope with a series of difficulties that required both firm assertion of authority and careful diplomacy. Wil-

liam Claibourne's refusal to acknowledge Maryland jurisdiction over his Kent Island settlement—started in 1631—was an early challenge to which Governor Calvert was forewarned by Cecil Calvert's instructions. In the end the Governor had to take an armed force to Kent Island to persuade its inhabitants to accept his authority. His account of the affair in a letter to Lord Baltimore conveys an impression of a good planner who knew how to implement a firm policy of carrot and stick.

Governor Calvert also had to convince his brother that policies conceived in England could not always be usefully enforced in Maryland. When the Assembly of 1638 refused to pass laws Cecil Calvert had dispatched from England, Leonard convinced the Lord Proprietor that "there was...many things unsuteable to the peoples good and no way conduceing to your proffitt," and that the laws that were passed instead "provide both for your honor and proffitt as much as those you sent us did." By listening to his governor and agreeing to the Assembly's right to initiate laws, Lord Baltimore created a constitutional landmark.[14]

If successful in some matters, Governor Calvert could not always obtain the cooperation or loyalty of the manor lords. Of the seventeen gentlemen that had sailed on the *Ark,* only he, Cornwallis, and two minor investors, Thomas Green and John Medcalf, were left by the end of 1638. The others had died or returned to England.[15] Luckily for Lord Baltimore, new investors replaced them, but any special bond produced by sharing in the first adventure had disappeared. Quarrels over trade, over the distribution of provincial office and power, and over the privileges the Jesuit priests re-

quested, proved sources of persistent disruption.[16] A more charismatic leader than Leonard Calvert might have been able to manage these conflicts.

Calvert's tenure as governor ended in near disaster. A Protestant rebellion in 1645, initiated by an English sea captain, Richard Ingle, almost destroyed the colony. Whether any leader could have prevented this catastrophe, which was closely tied to the triumph of Parliament over Charles I in England, remains an open question.[17] Calvert did not manage to regain control until late in 1646 and he died early the next year. By then Maryland had lost most of its settlers, who no longer saw there an orderly community in which hard work might bring prosperity. Lord Baltimore had to begin anew with new leaders, new colonists, and a quite different strategy.[18]

Little is known about Leonard Calvert's personal life. At his death he left a son and daughter in England, both underage as late as 1661. They must have been conceived when Leonard was in England in 1643 and early 1644, but to date no one has found a record of his marriage or when the children were born. Leonard Calvert made no mention of wife or children in the will he made on his deathbed in 1647. Possibly the children were illegitimate, but in Maryland no such scandal appears on record. There Leonard Calvert put his energies into governing and, with limited success, into developing his manor lands.

Thomas Cornwallis was also a man of ability and perhaps of greater enterprise than Leonard Calvert. He was a member of the Council from his arrival in Maryland in 1634 until late in 1642. Before coming to Maryland, he must have acquired some military experience. Governor Calvert relied on him to train the male inhabitants in the

use of arms and put him in command whenever soldiers were needed, as in the expedition to seize Kent Island. Cornwallis did not always support the proprietor's policies. He led the Assembly in its battle of 1638 to reject Lord Baltimore's code of laws and he supported the Jesuits in their conflicts with the proprietor over the privileges of the Catholic Church in Maryland. Very strongly committed to the Catholic religion, he wrote his lord that "I will rather Sacrifice myself and all that I have in the defence of Gods Honor and his Churches right, then willingly Consent to anything that may not stand with the Good contiens of A Real Catholic." But despite these disagreements, Leonard Calvert trusted and relied upon Cornwallis. As the Governor wrote Lord Baltimore, "though it hath been his fortune and myne to have had some differences...yet in many things I have had his faithfull assistance for your service." Cornwallis did not try as others did to undermine the Governor's position.[19]

Cornwallis, in his own words, ran "A Poore younger brother's fortune" "almost out of breathe" in the investment he made in Maryland. Over the first ten years he brought in or acquired sixty-four servants. None of the first adventurers, including Lord Baltimore, brought in or sent over more. He put his servants to work on construction projects that represented long-term improvements, such as the colony's first mill (which unfortunately did not work well for lack of water in the stream). In 1638 he built the first framed house, "with Chimnies of brick to Encourage others to follow my Example, for hithertoe we live in cottages." He raised tobacco—that "Stincking weed of America," he called it—and was the leading Maryland tobacco

merchant in the early 1640s. Certainly he was an energetic entrepreneur of the kind needed in Lord Baltimore's colony. But how successful he was is less easy to determine. A colleague in the tobacco trade was Captain Richard Ingle, who sacked Cornwallis's house in the raid on St. Mary's in 1645 and induced all his servants to desert him. This proved a major setback from which Cornwallis never fully recovered.

Cornwallis thought it important to live like a manor lord and he may have been the only early leader to do so. His house on the Manor of Cornwaleys Cross was richly furnished, especially by comparison to other planter's houses, including Leonard Calvert's, as shown in estate inventories of the time. (An estate inventory is a list of moveable property taken at the owner's death.) The walls of the "Cross house" were hung with tapestries and fine china graced the table. No wife joined Cornwallis in Maryland to demand these amenities. She was ill and remained behind in England. Clearly he cared about the appearance of wealth and power as well as its acquisition.[20]

An able commander, an energetic developer, a trustworthy lieutenant, even if on some issues he disagreed with his Lord, Thomas Cornwallis was an ideal lord of a Maryland manor. Lord Baltimore could have used more like him.

The Jesuits

The Jesuit order was a major promoter of the Maryland enterprise. As early as 1629 the first Lord Baltimore sought Jesuit support for his plans for a colony. He and Richard Blount, the English Jesuit Provincial,

needed each other. The Jesuits opposed the impending establishment in England of a competing Catholic clergy to be headed by a bishop. Jesuit priests had been missionaries in England, despite many dangers, for sixty years. In fighting this threat to their position, they sought the support of the English Catholic nobility, whose households had been the Jesuits' refuge and the centers of their work. Lord Baltimore needed missionaries to serve his colony and the active support of a Catholic hierarchy if Catholics were to be persuaded to join a risky adventure. The two struck a bargain. George Calvert helped to kill the plan for a Catholic English bishop and Blount began the long process necessary to secure permission to send out priests and establish a Maryland mission.[21]

There were many reasons besides this marriage of convenience for the Jesuit interest in Maryland. The idea of a mission to the Indians attracted men of the Jesuit temperament. They had, in the words of historian John Bossy, "a thirst for grand spiritual adventures... and for the opportunities of traveling to far away places." The French Jesuits were already active in Canada, and their English counterparts welcomed the possibility of following the French example.[22] The Jesuits may also have hoped that in Maryland they could exercise some of the privileges that the Catholic church enjoyed in Catholic countries. At the very least, the Jesuits would be serving an English Catholic community in which concealment was no longer necessary.

The question of how to maintain the Jesuit mission in Maryland presented an early obstacle. The Jesuits failed to persuade Lord Baltimore to support it either from his own pocket or by taxation of his colonists. The first

solution was too expensive to him, and the second much too dangerous. Instead the first Lord Baltimore agreed to include in his charter a clause that would exempt Maryland from the Statute of Mortmain, which had made it illegal in England for religious bodies to buy or receive gifts of land without special license from the King. Exemption from the statute would enable the Jesuits to acquire land and support their mission from its profits.[23]

With the issue of support for the Jesuits settled, they helped the second Lord Baltimore find investors. Father Andrew White wrote the earliest promotional pamphlet (the 1633 *Declaration*) and probably gave personal attention to the venture in other ways. Many Catholics who had no wish to go or take responsibility for sending others contributed funds so that the Jesuits could finance the transportation of servants. Twenty Jesuit servants went in the *Ark* and over the next eight years the order brought in about thirty more. Possibly ten per cent of the settlers who arrived over the first eight years came as the result of Jesuit efforts.[24]

Their very success, however, was to be one of the sources of conflict that disrupted the infant colony. The Jesuits were entitled to claim lands on a scale the second Lord Baltimore was reluctant to allow. In the end he reinstated the Statute of Mortmain and obtained an agreement from the English Jesuit Provincial that the missionaries, even as individuals, would claim no more land.[25]

Two Jesuit priests, Father Andrew White and Father John Altham, and a lay brother, Thomas Gervase, sailed in the *Ark* for Maryland. Father White was the mission leader. At age 54 he must have been the oldest

man aboard ship. Already he had had an active and often danger-filled life as a missionary and teacher. Born in London in 1579, he trained for the priesthood in Spain. In 1605 he was ordained and returned to England as a missionary, although it was illegal for Catholic priests to be in England at all. Before a year had passed he was in prison and then banished forever from his native land. He next entered the Society of Jesus and joined the new novitiate being formed especially for the English community in Louvain. In 1609 he took his first vows, completing the final four in 1619. Over the years he taught in various places, but especially at Louvain and at Liege, where he was Professor of Sacred Scripture. Intermittently he also continued dangerous missionary work in England.

Andrew White was eager to undertake a New World mission. As early as 1629 he was in correspondence with the first Lord Baltimore and by 1633 he was actively cooperating with the second Baron. He wrote the *Declaration of Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Mary-land,* which Lord Baltimore had printed in English for circulation to prospective investors. Father White's English superior, the Jesuit Provincial, sent a Latin version to Rome to help explain the Maryland project and gain permission for the English Province to participate.[26]

Father Andrew White was a man of enthusiasms, as his writings show. To plant Christianity among the Indians was to make men "Angels who undertake it."[27] The narrative he sent Lord Baltimore of the voyage and the first settlement abounds with joyful description. The Chesapeake Bay was "the most delightful water I ever saw"; the Potomac River "the sweetest and greatest river I have ever seen, so that the Thames is but a little

finger to it"; the site of St. Mary's City, the first settlement, "as good ground as I suppose is in all Europe."[28] Sometimes he indulged in flights of fancy such as the grandiose scheme he sent to Lord Baltimore in 1639 for multiplying population and profits in Maryland. Yet, Father White was also schooled to strict obedience that did not allow deviation from established policy, regardless of need. Indeed, he made a point of telling Lord Baltimore that Governor Calvert had not obeyed all his brother's instructions upon the arrival of the expedition in Virginia, without comment on the fact that the outcome was successful.[29]

Not all Father White's Jesuit contemporaries regarded him as qualified to lead, although his love of God and missionary zeal were never in question. Henry More, the English Provincial in the late 1630s, found him a man of excellent talent but not excellent judgment, a man with prudence "of medium grade."[30] In 1637 Thomas Copley replaced Father White as head of the mission. White then concentrated his efforts on converting the local Indians, the "glorious Enterprise" of the *Declaration,* at which he evidently excelled.

His sojourn in Maryland ended after eleven years with a disaster not of his making. In 1645 Richard Ingle took him to England in chains after provoking a Protestant rebellion in the colony. There, at the age of 67, Father White was once more imprisoned, tried, and banished from English territory to which he was not to return until shortly before his death some years later.

How did Father White behave as the spiritual Catholic leader of the expedition that sailed in the *Ark*? Was he careful to converse primarily with the Catholic gentlemen and obey his Baron's instructions to keep Cath-

olic worship "as private as may be"?[31] Or did he seize all opportunities to bring heretics into the fold? All that can be said with certainty is that he had piety, a well-trained intelligence, and an excitement for the adventure that must have made him an asset in the critical first decade of the Maryland enterprise.

The Servants

Apart from the gentlemen adventurers and the Jesuits, all but a handful of the passengers on the *Ark* went as indentured servants. The terms of service for the first expedition are unknown, but probably similar to those contained in the *Relation* of 1634.

> Whatsoever husband-man, or other laboring-man, shall bee willing to goe to this Plantation, and to binde himselfe a servant there for five yeares, he shall be entertained (if he come within the limited time to the place appointed) upon these termes; that is to say; he shall be found sufficient meate and drink, and clothing, during the said terme: and at the end of the said terme, he shall have 50. Acres of good land conveied to him, and his heires for ever, within the said Province, a whole yeeres provision of all necessaries according to the usuall custome of other Plantations.
>
> And if hee bee either a sufficient Carpenter, Joyner, Brick-layer, Brick-maker, Mason, Wheele-wright, Cooper, or Ship-wright, in stead of these 50. Acres proposed, hee shall have 100. Acres of good land, at the end of his terme, and the rest of the aforesaid conditions, for three years service onely.

The term of service was three or five years depending upon the servant's qualifications.[32] Whether the "land" given at the end of service meant land on the master's

manor or the right to take up land from the proprietor is unclear. Probably the former was intended at first, but whatever the understanding at the time, in the end the proprietor, not the investor, gave those who came as servants the land they had earned by their labors.[33]

Who found these conditions acceptable in return for the risk of sailing to an unknown land across 3,000 miles of ocean? We know nothing of the backgrounds of the servants who traveled on the *Ark* except what can be inferred from their histories after their arrival in Maryland. Sixty-four out of a likely one hundred and three have been identified.[34] Only one was known to be a woman, although there were certainly a few more. We know absolutely nothing about twenty-two of the men beyond their names. They probably died, as many immigrants did in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake, within a year of their arrival. The forty-two people who lived longer have left traces behind them in the colony's records. But many did not live much longer and soon disappear from view.

The forty-two people who are known show a broad range of social origins similar to those of later immigrant servants. At least six men probably came from families of yoeman farmers or tradesmen. Four more had special skills. One was a bricklayer, two were carpenters, and one was a surveyor. Such men in England were defined as "the middling sort." They were below the gentry but not among the very poor, who often needed charity. To this number should probably be added nine others who apparently were literate. All, like the gentlemen adventurers, were probably younger sons whose fathers could not provide them with much of an inheritance. The remaining twenty-three servants doubt-

less included many very poor men who left no future prospects at all behind them.

In other ways as well, the servants on the *Ark* resembled those who came later. They evidently were young and unmarried. No one who left evidence of when he was born was over twenty-five at departure and two were only ten. Only one brought a wife over later. They were mostly illiterate. Only fifteen men left indications that they could read or write. The majority, furthermore, had already spent time in England as servants or apprentices. After age fourteen, young men and women usually left home to learn a craft or a trade or to hire themselves out as servants until they could marry and establish their own homes.[36]

Why did these young people go on the *Ark*? Did they know that they more than likely faced an early death? Did they know that their conditions of service would be much harsher than those they had known at home? In England a servant on a farm promised to work for only a year at a time and could then leave a master he disliked. The servant going to Maryland sold at least three years of his labor to pay for his passage. Consequently he not only served a longer term but his labor could be bought and sold without his consent.[37] Work, food, and shelter were all to be different from what he was used to, and all family and kin were going to be thousands of miles away.

It is well known that today the young never believe that they will die, whatever they supposedly know about the risks of life. Perhaps the same was true 350 years ago. Besides, many died young in seventeenth-century England. Nor do the young fear hardship in the face of adventure, or the enterprising anticipate that bad luck

or cruel treatment will prevent them from reaching their goals. The young servants who came to Maryland were promised land at the end of their service and in England there was no such promise. Those with the enterprise to go went to make their fortunes. They probably did not expect to obtain great riches; but surely they hoped for a better future than they knew England was prepared to supply.

Did any go primarily because they were Catholics? It is usually said that the servants were mostly Protestants. The fact that Lord Baltimore's first instructions especially warned against offending the Protestants on the *Ark* suggests that this assertion has basis in fact. Unfortunately only twelve of the servants left any signs of their religion. Of these, six were Catholic and six were Protestant, and some of the Catholics may have converted after coming to Maryland. The Jesuits wrote with joy of the converts they made during the first few years. Probably most of the servants sought opportunity, rather than freedom to be Catholic.[38]

The known careers of two servants serve to illuminate the lives of others who sailed on the *Ark* and the *Dove*. William Edwin was 21 when the *Ark* departed. He went as a servant of Richard Gerard, who returned to England and transferred to the Jesuits the land owed him for Edwin's transportation. Edwin was a Protestant, but one loyal to Lord Baltimore, and did not leave with most of the other early Protestant settlers after Ingle's Rebellion. He was free of his service and a planter by 1638, when he gave his proxy to the Jesuit overseer, William Lewis, to represent him in the Assembly. At that time Edwin was probably a tenant on a Jesuit manor. Eventually he took up land of his own and opened an

inn. He married twice and had at least four children, three of whom survived him at his death in 1663. All of his children lived to be married and both sons became landowners.[39]

William Browne was only ten years old when Thomas Cornwallis brought him as a servant on the *Ark*. If he was not then a Catholic, Father White probably soon converted him. He was free by 1642, when he gave his proxy to Cornwallis instead of attending the General Assembly. At that time he probably was a tenant on Cornwallis's Cross Manor. In 1651 he took up land in partnership with one John Thimbelly. Such "mateships" were common in early Maryland among unmarried men, women being scarce.[40] Brown then married and he and his wife Margaret sold his share of the land to Thimbelly. When Thimbelly died in 1661, he willed the land to the Brownes' daughter Mary. At William Browne's death in 1665 he was a widower with a second child, a son John. Because his daughter Mary owned the land, Browne left all his livestock to his son. Both children survived to marry and John also became a landowner.[41]

Both Edwin and Browne at first leased land on a manor, but in 1648, when the proprietor began to offer former servants rights to 50 acres, they obtained their service rights.[42] The land was not free. In order to collect on the proprietor's promise of land, former servants had to pay fees to surveyors and the provincial secretary before the transaction was complete, and pay the proprietor a quit rent of two shillings per year. Nevertheless, they owned freehold land, which they could sell or will to their children without manorial restrictions or duties.

Clearly Lord Baltimore's original plan for organizing settlers on manors simply did not work where so much land was available and people were so few. He needed to encourage poor men as well as rich to take up land, and hence pay the quit rents that provided him with a return. For those adventurous men and women who departed on the *Ark* that day of gentle winds in November 1633, there was indeed a real prospect of good fortune, if they managed not to die too soon.[43]

Preparations for the Voyage

How many people actually went to Maryland? Lord Baltimore once spoke of 300 settlers, but this is certainly an exaggeration. On another occasion he stated that his ships had carried about 200 people, which, if the crews are included, seems plausible. One hundred and twenty-eight unnamed people took the oath of allegiance to the king as the ships left Gravesend, just below London. Since most English Catholics were willing to take this oath, all but the three Jesuits may have done so. The *Ark* had a crew of forty and the *Dove* a crew of seven. In all by this count, 178 people sailed. But the number rises to 195 if the Catholic gentlemen adventurers avoided taking the oath. Of these 195 passengers and crew the intended colonists would have numbered 148.[44] The number of would-be settlers, then, falls between about 130 and 150.

Transporting approximately one hundred and fifty colonists with equipment and supplies for one year took considerable planning. Lord Baltimore chartered the *Ark,* a very large ship for the time, one built both to be a merchant ship and for use by the royal navy if needed in

time of war. "Kingbuilt," Father White described it, "makeing faire weather in great stormes." It had a cargo capacity of at least 300 tons, defined in those days by tons of wine, or about 10,000 cubic feet. Today such a ship—perhaps 110 feet long, hardly 30 feet wide, and about 13 feet deep—seems a cockleshell in which to risk the lives of so many. But for its day it was "as strong as could be made of oake and iron."[45]

Lord Baltimore and several co-investors purchased a second and much smaller vessel, the *Dove,* to accompany the *Ark* and to be used thereafter in the joint-stock fur trade venture. The *Dove* was referred to as his Lordship's pinnace, but pinnace was a term used loosely at the time to cover a range of sizes and riggings of small vessels that accompanied larger ships. From inconsistent references to the size of the *Dove* it is estimated that its cargo capacity was between forty and fifty tons, or six to eight times less than that of the *Ark.* The *Dove* may have carried a passenger or two, but nearly all the prospective colonists probably traveled on the larger ship.[46]

Provisions for the voyage consisted of wood (for cooking), water, beer, and solid food, probably mostly bread plus a little cheese and dried meat. The royal navy of the time allowed one ton (in wine measure) per month of these provisions for every four men. Of this provision, beer was one half, wood and water one quarter, and solid food one quarter. Water turned bad faster than beer, hence the great quantity of beer. Lord Baltimore put aboard 107 tons of beer, about enough at this rate for 200 people for two months. He also provided six tons of Canary wine and "provisions"—presumably solid food—worth £28 but not otherwise described.

These provisions possibly included lemons to stave off scurvy that could afflict the travelers especially if bad weather greatly delayed the voyage. Seventeenth-century men knew nothing of vitamins, but sailors by then knew the value of lemons for preventing scurvy. The gentlemen adventurers may also have added to such basics more varied supplies for themselves. The *Relation of Maryland* (1635) recommended live chickens, wheat flour for puddings, butter and cheeses, cured hams, potted meats, wines, and other luxuries.[47]

To the provisions for the voyage were added a year's supplies for each settler. John Smith, one of the founders of Virginia, long before (in 1612) had published a list of what was necessary, and the *Relation of Maryland* of 1635 made few changes. Per man, 8 bushels of meal, 2 bushels of peas, 2 bushels of oatmeal, 1 bushel of salt, and a little sugar, spice, and fruit were recommended, plus a gallon of oil, 2 gallons of vinegar, and 1 gallon of aquavitae (that is, alcohol). Bedding, clothing, and equipment for eating and cooking also had to go, along with saws, hammers and other carpenters' tools, hoes, axes, shovels, spades, grindstones, and nails. In all the minimum provisions and equipment needed were estimated at half a ton per person, and Lord Baltimore undoubtedly saw to it that he and his investors supplied at least the minimum. The gentlemen adventurers were advised to carry more: hogsheads of beef or pork, butter, cheeses, iron hinges and locks, soap, candles, seeds for fruit trees, and other items.[48]

In addition, Lord Baltimore supplied his colony-to-be with armaments. Four sakers, weighing in all 9,925 pounds, and four demiculverins, weighing together 11,800 pounds, were delivered to the *Ark*. Sakars of this

weight were cannon about 9 feet long. Demiculverins were somewhat larger cannon, 10 to 13 feet long. In addition the *Ark* carried materials to build a barge for the use of the colony on arrival and quantities of trade goods for buying livestock in Virginia and furs from the Indians.[49]

So equipped, the ships set sail from Gravesend in mid-October. But on October 18, Lord Baltimore's opponents made a last-ditch effort to halt the expedition. They persuaded the Attorney General to complain to the Court of Star Chamber that, in Lord Baltimore's words, "my ships were departed without cokets from the custom-house, and in contempt of all authority, my people [were] abusing the king's officers and refusing to take the oath of allegiance." The Lords ordered several of the king's ships to search for the *Ark* and the *Dove* and bring them back to Gravesend. There one Edward Watkins administered the oath, possibly for a second time, and Lord Baltimore meantime persuaded their Lordships that "there was not any just cause of complaint."[50]

The ships then sailed for the Cowes on the Isle of Wight. Probably it was there that the Jesuit priests and possibly a few other Catholics joined the colonists. The ships then waited. Perhaps they were expecting Lord Baltimore, but he had decided he could not go. His presence in England was required to protect his charter and the infant colony from his enemies there. He sent instead last minute instructions to his brother and the two Commissioners, dated November 13, 1633. Once these had arrived, the ships awaited fair winds that would take them safely into ocean waters.[51]

Finally on November 22 all was ready. The vessels departed, becoming a cramped, wooden world for all on

board, more distant from the England its passengers knew than a space ship to the moon would seem today. It was to be a world full of terrors but also of hope as it carried the colonists to their new home.

Lord Baltimore's Dream

Lord Baltimore must have felt relief and hope but also disappointment as his ships took off without him. His instructions for the voyage and first settlement show a mixture of anxiety and optimism. The Commissioners were to "be very carefull to preserve unity and peace amongst all the passengers." All "Acts of Roman Catholique Religion" were to be done "as privately as may be" and Catholics were "to be silent upon all occasions of discourse concerning matters of Religion. . . . And this is to be observed at Land as well as Sea." At the same time the leaders were to try to discover what sailors or passengers might know "concerning the private plotts of his Lo^pps^ adversaries in England, who endeavored to overthrow his voyage" and report back to him as soon as possible. The instructions also anticipated sabotage from Virginia once the ships arrived, and he gave a detailed plan for avoiding trouble, especially with William Claibourne. His optimism was more evident when he required construction for himself of a house and chapel and establishment of a town nearby. He ordered the charter to be read aloud to all the settlers that they might know their rights as well as his powers. And he announced his intention to be there shortly to assist them "that they may reape the fruites of their charges and labors."[52]

Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, had prepared as well as he could for his New World venture. The shipboard society resembled his plan, with men of birth as leaders, and men and women used to hard work committed to several years of service. The Jesuit missionaries provided his Catholics with a ministry, exercised he hoped, with suitable discretion. As he wrote Sir Thomas Wentworth, an old friend of his father's, shortly after the departure of the *Ark* and the *Dove,* "I have sent a hopeful Colony to Maryland, with a fair and probable Expectation of good Success."[53]

Father Andrew White rushed his first report on the voyage back to Lord Baltimore, who in turn quickly (by July or August 1634) published a version of it as *A Relation of. . . Maryland,* along with new conditions of Plantation and the advertisement for a second voyage:

> Whosoever intends to partake in this second Voyage, must come, or send before the 20. of October next ensuing, to M. William Peaseley Esq. his Lordsh. brother-in-law, at his house on the back-side of Drury-lane, over against the Cock-pit on the field-side: And there to him deliuer their transportation-money, according to the number of men they meane to send over, at the rate of sixe pounds a man, to the end convenient passage may bee reserved for them, in his Lordsh. shipping; beyond which time it will not be profitable for any to partake in this second Voyage.
>
> 15. July 1634

Success was still by no means certain, but as one contemporary wrote at the close of a translation of the Maryland charter, possibly completed as early as 1635, "a good end crowns the work."

NOTES

(1) The narrative, A Briefe Relation of The Voyage Unto Maryland, is printed in *The Calvert Papers, Number Three* Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publication, No. 35* (Baltimore, Md., 1899), and in Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633–1684* (New York, 1910, reprinted 1967), 29–45. The document as printed in *The Calvert Papers, Number Three* has been reproduced in pamphlet form for the 350th anniversary of Maryland's founding by the Hall of Records Commission for the Tri-County Council for Southern Maryland and the Maryland Heritage Committee.

(2) Lois Green Carr and Edward C. Papenfuse, "The Maryland Charter" in *A Declaration of The Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Mary-land,* The Maryland Hall of Records, *350th Anniversary Document Series,* no. 2 (Annapolis, Md., 1983); 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, Mich., 1982), 167–185, hereafter cited as Menard and Carr, "The Lords Baltimore."

(3) This section is based primarily on ibid.

(4) For details on the conversion and its consequences, see 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): 507–531.

(5) This estimate is based on evidence for rents on renewed leases on the Herbert estate in Wiltshire, 1510–1659, discussed in Eric Kerridge, "The Movement of Rent, 1540–1640," *Economic History Review,* 2nd Ser., 6 (1953–1954): 24–25 (Tables I, II). In the 1630s, rents on renewed leases were about 58 pence per acre. If rent is capitalized at 10 per cent, which was then current practice in determining entry fees for renewing leases (ibid., 21), the value of the land was 48 shillings per acre.

(6) This is quoted from "Conditions propounded by the Lord Baltemore, to such as shall goe, or adventure into Maryland," printed in *A Relation of Maryland* (London, 1635) and reprinted in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland,* 91.

(7) Michael Chatfield, *A History of Accounting Thought,* rev. ed. (New York, 1977), 79–80.

(8) On fur trade profits in the area, see J. Frederick Fausz, Profits, Pelts, and Power: The "Americanzation" of English Culture in the Chesapeake, 1620–1652 (paper presented to the American Historical Association, December, 1982).

(9) On the early history of toleration in the colony, see John D.

Krugler, "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; idem, " '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.

For the circumstances that brought toleration to an end in 1689, see Lois Green Carr and David W. Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689–1692* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1974), chapters 1 and 6.

(10) The only known copy of this pamphlet has disappeared. A facsimile privately printed in 1929 with an introduction by Lawrence C. Wroth has been reprinted in 1983 as No. 2 in the Maryland Hall of Records, *350th Anniversary Document Series.*

(11) Harry Wright Newman, *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate* (Washington, D. C., 1961), 165–275, provides biographies in alphabetical order of all the known members of the first expedition. This is an excellent compilation, although there are occasional errors. Mr. Newman includes a number of people who might have been, but cannot be proved to have been, passengers on the *Ark.*

The analysis in this section of the composition and role of the investors is based on Menard and Carr, "The Lords Baltimore" in Quinn, ed., *Early Maryland in a Wider World,* 179–183, and Russell R. Menard, "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1975), 30–39.

(12) "Reluctant Colonists: The English Catholics Confront the Atlantic" in Quinn, ed., *Early Maryland in a Wider World,* 149–164.

(13) *A Declaration of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Maryland,* 3.

(14) On the known basic biographical facts, see Newman, *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate,* 180–183. Leonard Calvert's letter to his brother, dated April 25, 1638, is printed in *The Calvert Papers, Number One,* Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publication, No. 28* (Baltimore, Md., 1889), 182–193 (quote, 190). For a discussion of the conflict over Kent Island, see Russell R. Menard, "Maryland's 'Time of Troubles': Sources of Political Disorder in Early St. Mary's," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 76 (1981): 124–140. On the conflicts with Claiborne, seen from his point of view, see Nathaniel C. Hale, *Virginia Venturer: William Claiborne, 1600–1677* (Richmond, Va., 1951), 148–237. On the assembly of 1638, see Aubrey C. Land, *Colonial Maryland: A History* (New York, 1981), 34–36.

(15) Newman, *Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate,* 172, 179–184, 188–89, 190–191, 200, 211, 213–18, 226–29, 236–38, 250, 251–52, 271. I am obliged to disagree with Newman's identification of Henry Wiseman as Robert Wiseman, 273–75.

(16) Menard, "Maryland's 'Time of Troubles,' " *Maryland Historical Magazine* 76 (1981): 124–140.

(17) Ibid.

(18) The successes of the first ten years are discussed in Menard and Carr, "Lords Baltimore" in Quinn, ed., *Early Maryland in a Wider World,* 188–209.

(19) Thomas Cornwallis to Lord Baltimore, April 16, 1638, printed in *The Calvert Papers, Number One,* 169–81 (quote, 172); Leonard Calvert to Lord Baltimore, April 25, 1638, in ibid., 190; William Hand Brown et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland,* 72 v. (Baltimore, Md., 1883–1972), 1: 8–12, 16–18; 3: 53, 64, 74, 85, 98, 106, 114, 119, 127–128, 131–134, 136, 137; 4: 125 (hereafter cited as *Archives*).

(20) Thomas Cornwallis to Lord Baltimore, April 16, 1638, printed in *The Calvert Papers, Number One,* 169–181 (quotes, 174, 175, 176); Patent Liber AB&H: 243–245, ms., Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.; *Archives* 3: 165–171; 4: 370, 372, 375–376; 10: 12, 212–213; Cornwallis *v.* Ingle, C24 690/14, ms., Public Record Office, London, transcript supplied by Noel Currer-Briggs and Southside Historical Sites, Williamsburg, Va., in files of St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's City and Annapolis, Md.; Garry Wheeler Stone, "Society, Housing, and Architecture in Early Maryland: John Lewger's St. John's" (Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1982), 43. After Ingle's Rebellion, Cornwallis never had a labor force the size that he had had in earlier years, if the headrights are any clue. See Patent Liber 4: 560, 623, ms., Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md. He sold his total estate in Maryland for £1,200.0.0 in 1661. *Archives* 49: 3–6.

(21) Bossy, "Reluctant Colonists" in Quinn, ed., *Early Maryland in a Wider World,* 149–164.

(22) Ibid., 156.

(23) Ibid., 163.

(24) [Lawrence C. Wroth], *A Declaration of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Mary-land; Wherein is set forth how Englishmen may become Angels, The King's Dominions be extended and the adventurers attain Land and Gear; together with other advantages of that Sweet Land* (Baltimore, 1929; reprinted in the Maryland Hall of Records, *350th Anniversary Document Series,* no. 2, [Annapolis, Md. 1983]), 4–5; Annual Letter of the Society of Jesus, 1634, in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland,* 118; Patent Liber 1: 17, 18, 20, 25, 37, ms., Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md. Perhaps 500 people had emigrated to Maryland by 1642, hence the figure 10%. See Menard and Carr, "The Lords Baltimore" in Quinn, ed., *Early Maryland in a Wider World,* 189–190.

(25) For accounts of Lord Baltimore's conflicts with the Jesuits, see Menard, "Maryland's 'Time of Troubles,' " *Maryland Historical*

Magazine 76 (1981): 124–140; Krugler, "Lord Baltimore, Roman Catholics, and Toleration," *The Catholic Historical Review* 65 (1979): 67–72; Thomas Hughes, S.J., *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal* (New York, 1907–1917), Text 1: 380–562, especially 499–501, 556–559; Thomas O. Hanley, *Their Rights and Liberties: The Beginnings of Religious and Political Freedom in Maryland* (Westminster, Md., 1959); Edwin Beitzell, *The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County* (n.p., 1959), 2–31.

(26) The biographical facts of Father White's life are from Hughes, *The History of the Society of Jesus,* Text 1: 156–160, 168–174, 198, 247–249, 274–275, 322–323, 336, 423, 562–563.

(27) *A Declaration of The Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Maryland,* 3.

(28) "A Briefe Relation of the Voyage Unto Maryland" in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland,* 40, 41.

(29) Ibid., 39; Father Andrew White to Lord Baltimore, February 20, 1638 [/9], *The Calvert Papers, Number One,* 205–208.

(30) Hughes, *The History of the Society of Jesus,* Text, 1: 423.

(31) "Instructions" printed in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland,* 16.

(32) *A Relation of Maryland* (London, 1635), printed in ibid., 99.

(33) See fn. 42, below.

(34) The following analysis is based on data provided in Newman, *Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate,* 165–275 and the St. Mary's County Seventeenth-Century Career File, St. Mary's City Commission, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.

(35) On the character of later immigrants, see David Galenson, *White Servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis* (Cambridge, Eng., 1981), 23–78; idem, " 'Middling People' or 'Common Sort'?: The Social Origins of Some Early Americans Re-examined," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd Ser., 35 (1978): 499–524; idem, "The Social Origins of Some Early Americans: Rejoinder," ibid., 36 (1979): 264–277; Mildred Campbell, "The Social Origins of Some Early Americans" in James Morton Smith, ed., *Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1959), 63–89; "Response" (to Galenson), *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd Ser., 35 (1978), 525–540; "Reply," ibid., 36 (1979): 277–286.

(36) On English servants, see Anne Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, Eng., 1981).

(37) For the negative aspects of servitude in the early Chesapeake, see Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975), 126–129.

(38) On the instructions, see below. In 1641 the Jesuits estimated that of less than 400 people in the colony about 100 were Catholics

and 40 more had been converted. Hughes, *The History of the Society of Jesus,* Text, 1: 347.

(39) Newman, *Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate,* 197–199, 303–304.

(40) On mateships, see Menard and Carr, "The Lords Baltimore" in Quinn, ed., *Early Maryland in a Wider World,* 207.

(41) Newman, *Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate,* 178–79, 321–322; Wills 1: 257–259, ms. Hall of Records, Annapolis.

(42) In 1648 Lord Baltimore issued conditions of plantation in which for the first time he offered servants "out of their time" rights to 50 acres. In 1649 he revoked these conditions but he had reinstated service rights at least by late 1656. All conditions of plantations that survive in the records are collected in John Kilty, *The Land-Holder's Assistant and Land-Office Guide* (Baltimore, Md., 1808). For the above, see 40, 45–46, 55. The patent records show grants for service rights from 1648 on, despite the apparent revocation, 1649–1656. It seems likely that in practice they were never revoked. See, for example, Patent Liber AB&H: 165, 167, 177, ms., Hall of Records, Annapolis.

(43) On opportunity for servants in the early days of settlement see Menard and Carr, "The Lords Baltimore" in Quinn, ed., *Early Maryland in a Wider World,* 200–209; Russell R. Menard, "From Servant to Freeholder: Status Mobility and Property Accumulation in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd Ser., 30 (1973): 37–64.

(44) Lord Baltimore to Sir Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, quoted in J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day,* 3 v. (Baltimore, Md., 1879) 1: 68; ibid., 66; Cecil the Lord Baltimore's Declaration to the Lords, *Calvert Papers, Number One,* 228; *Maryland Historical Magazine* 1 (1906): 352–353. On the willingness of Catholics to take the oath of allegiance (as opposed to the oath of supremacy), see Menard and Carr, "The Lords Baltimore" in Quinn, ed., *Early Maryland in a Wider World,* 212, fn. 1. If the crew also swore the oath, the minimum range of colonists drops to a low of 84 and a high of 101. This number is too small. The records indicate at least 119, although only 89 have been positively identified.

(45) Quotes are from Father White's "A Briefe Relation of the Voyage unto Maryland" in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland,* 30. On various estimates for the tonnage of the *Ark,* see ibid. (400 tons); *A Relation of Maryland* in Hall ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland,* 70–71 (300 tons); Scharf, *History of Maryland,* 1: 66 (350 tons). On the meaning of ship tonnage, see Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Newton Abbot, Eng., 1962), 7, 35, 74; William Salisbury, "Early Tonnage Measurement in England," *Mariner's Mirror* 52 (1966): 41–51, 173–180, 329–340; 53: 251–264. A wine ton was 58, 212 cubic inches. Ronald Edward Zapko, *British Weights & Measures: A History from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* (Madison, Wis., 1977), 149. 1,728 cubic inches make 1 cubic foot. For possible dimensions of the *Ark,* see Lois Green Carr, the *Ark* and the *Dove,* ms. research report, St. Mary's City Commission, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.

(46) On the size of the *Dove,* see *A Relation of Maryland* in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland,* 71, (50 tons); *The Calvert Papers, Number Three,* Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publication, No. 35* (Baltimore, Md., 1899), 15 (40 tons); *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland,* Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publication, No. 7* (Baltimore, Md., 1874), 13 (40 tons); James Kendall Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal "History of New England," 1630–1649,* 2 v., (New York, 1908; reprinted, 1966) 1: 131 (40 tons). On the joint stock venture, see Menard, "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland" 29–30, 32, 33, 46.

(47) Michael Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of Merchant Shipping in Relation to the Navy from MDIX to MDCLX with an Introduction Treating of the Preceding Period* (London, 1896; reprinted, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1961), 82–83, 144; *Maryland Historical Magazine* 1 (1906): 352–354; *A Relation of Maryland* in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland,* 97.

(48) Ibid., 93–99.

(49) *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland,* 35; *Maryland Historical Magazine* 1 (1906): 352–354.

(50) Ibid.; *Archives* 3: 23; Lord Baltimore to Sir Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, Jan. 10, 1633 [/34], quoted in Scharf, *History of Maryland* 1: 68.

(51) "Instructions," printed in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland,* 16–23.

(52) Ibid.

(53) Jan. 10, 1633 [/34], quoted in Menard, Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland, 37.

A RELATION
OF
MARY-LAND

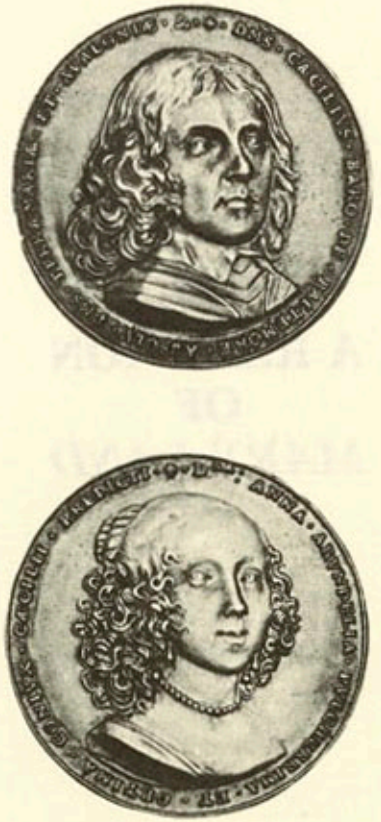

Figure 2. *"The Maryland Medal" of Lord and Lady Baltimore;* BRITISH School, XVII century; National Gallery of Art, Washington; Anonymous gift (Recto: *Cecil Calvert [1606–1675], second Baron of Baltimore 1632;* Verso: *Countess Anne Arundell of Wardour [c. 1610–1649], wife of Lord Cecil Calvert 1628,* Date: 1633, Silver medal, diameter: 0.047 [1 7/8 in.]). 1983.80.1.

A RELATION OF

The ſucceſſefull beginnings of the Lord BALTEMORE's Plantation in *Mary-land.*

Being an extract of certaine Letters written from thence, by ſome of the Aduenturers, to their friends in *England.*

To which is added,

The Conditions of plantation propounded by his Lordſhip for the ſecond voyage intended this preſent yeere, 1634.

Anno. Dom. 1634.

A

Relation of the ſucceſsefull beginnings of the Lord *Baltemore's* plantation in *Mary-land*.

ON *Friday* the 22. of *Nouember* 1633. a ſmall gale of winde comming gently from the Northweſt, we weighed from the *Cowes* in the Ile of *Wight*, about ten in the morning; and (hauing ſtayed by the way twenty dayes at the *Barbada's*, and fourteene dayes at St. *Chriſtophers*, vpon ſome neceſſary occaſions) wee arriued at *Point-Comfort* in *Virginia* on the 24. of *February* following, *the Lord be praiſed for it.* At this time one Captaine *Claybourne* was come from the parts where wee intended to plant, to *Virginia*; and from him wee vnderſtood, that all the natiues of thoſe parts were in preparation of defence, by reaſon of a rumour ſome had raiſed amongſt them, of ſixe ſhips that were to come with a power of *Spanyards*, whoſe meaning was to driue all the inhabitants out of the countrey.

Wee had good letters from his Maieſty to the Gouernour and Councell of *Virginia*, which made them fauour vs, and ſhew vs as noble vſage as the place afforded, with promiſe, that for their cattell and Hoggs, Corne or Poultry, our plantation ſhould not want the open way to furniſh our ſelues from thence; they told vs likewiſe, That when his Lordſhip ſhould bee reſolued on a conuenient place to make himſelfe a ſeat; they ſhould bee able to prouide him with as much Bricke and Tile, as he ſhould haue occaſion to imploy, vntill his Lordſhip had made of his owne: Alſo, that they had to furniſh his Lordſhip with two or three hundred Stocks ready grafted with Peares, Apples, Plummes, Apricotes, Figgs, and Peaches, and

ſome Cherries: That they had alſo ſome Orange and Limon trees in the ground, which yet thriued: Alſo, Filberds, Hazel-nuts, and Almonds; and in one place of the Colony, Quince-trees, wherewith they could furniſh his Lordſhip; And in fine, that his Lordſhip ſhould not want any thing that Colony had.

On the 3. of *March* wee came into *Cheſapeake* Bay, and made ſayle to the North for *Patoemeck* riuer, the Bay running betweene two ſweet lands in the channell of 7. 8. and 9. fathome deepe, 10. Leagues broad, and full of fiſh at the time of the yeere: It is one of the delightfulleſt waters I euer ſaw, except *Potoemeck*, which wee named Saint *Gregories*. And now being in our owne Countrey, wee began to giue names to places, and called the Southerne Point, *Cape* Saint *Gregory*; and the Northerly Point, Saint *Michaels*. This riuer, of all I know, is the greateſt and ſweeteſt, much broader then the *Thames*; ſo pleaſant, as I for my part, was neuer ſatisfied in beholding it. Few Marſhes, or Swampes, but the greateſt part ſollid good earth, with great curioſity of woods, which are not choaked vp with vnder-ſhrubbs, but ſet commonly one from the other, in ſuch diſtance, as a Coach and foure horſes may eaſily trauell through them.

At the firſt looming of the ſhip vpon the riuer, wee found (as was foretold vs) all the Countrey in Armes. The King of the *Paſchattowayes* had drawen together 1500. bowe-men, which wee our ſelues ſaw; the woods were fired in manner of beacons the night after; and for that our veſſell was the greateſt that euer thoſe *Indians* ſaw, the ſcowtes reported wee came in a Canow, as bigge as an Iland, and had as many men as there bee trees in the woods.

Wee ſayled vp the riuer till we came to *Herons* Ilands, ſo called from the infinite number of that fowle there. The firſt of thoſe Ilands, wee called Saint *Clements*; The ſecond, Saint *Katharines*; And the third, Saint *Cecilies*. Wee tooke land firſt in Saint *Clements*, which is compaſſed about with a ſhallow water, and admitts no acceſſe without wading; here, by the ouerturning of the Shallop, the maids which had beene waſhing at the land, were almoſt drowned, beſide the loſſe of much linnen, and amongſt the reſt I loſt the beſt of mine, which is a very maine loſſe in theſe parts.

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The ground is couered thicke with pokickeries (which is a wild Wall-nut, very hard and thick of ſhell; but the meate (though little) is paſsing ſweete) with black Wall-nuts, and acrons bigger then ours. It abounds with Vines, and ſalletts, hearbs, and flowers, full of Cedar, and ſaſſafras. It is but 400 aeres bigg, and therefore too little for vs to ſettle vpon.

Heere wee went to a place, where a large tree was made into a Croſſe; and taking it on our ſhoulders, wee carried it to the place appointed for it. The Gouernour and Commiſsioners putting their hands firſt vnto it, then the reſt of the chiefeſt aduenturers. At the place prepared wee all kneeled downe, and ſaid certaine Prayers; taking poſſeſsion of this Countrey for our Sauiour; and for our ſoueraigne Lord the King of *England*.

Here our gouernour had good aduice giuen him, not to land for good and all, before hee had beene with the Emperour of *Paſchattoway*, and had declared vnto him the cauſe of our comming: which was, firſt to learne them a diuine Doctrine, which would lead their ſoules to a place of happineſſe after this life were ended: And alſo to enrich them with ſuch ornaments of a ciuill life, wherewith our Countrey doth abound: and this Emperour being ſatisfied, none of the inferiour Kings would ſtirre. In conformity to this aduice, hee tooke two Pinnaces, his owne, and another hired at *Virginia*; and leauing the ſhip before Saint *Clements* at Anchor, went vp the riuer, and landing on the ſouth-ſide, and finding the *Indians* fled for feare, came to *Patoemeck* Towne, where the King being a child, *Archihaw* his Vncle gouerned both him, and his Countrey for him. Hee gaue all the company good welcome; and one of the company hauing entred into a little diſcourſe with him touching the errours of their religion, hee ſeemed well pleaſed therewith; and at his going away deſired him to returne vnto him againe, telling him hee ſhould liue at his Table, his men ſhould hunt for him, and hee would diuide all with him.

From hence they went to *Paſchattoway*. All were heere armed: 500 Bow-men came to the Water-ſide. The Emperour himſelfe more fea-eleſſe then the reſt, came priuately a boord, where hee was courteouſly entertained; and vnderſtanding wee came in a peaceable manner, bade vs welcome, and gaue vs leaue to ſit downe in

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what place of his kingdome wee pleased. While this King was aboard, all the *Indians* came to the Water-side, fearing treason, whereupon two of the Kings men, that attended him in our shippe were appointed to row on shoire to quit them of this feare : but they refusing to goe for feare of the popular fury; the interpretours standing on the deck, shewed the King to them that he was in safety, where-with they were satisfied. In this iourney the Gouernour entertained Captaine *Henry Fleete* and his three barkes; who accepted a proportion in beauer trade to serue vs, being skillfull in the tongue, and well beloued of the natiues.

Whilest the Gouernour was abroad, the *Indians* began to lay aside feare, and to come to our Court of guard, which wee kept night and day vpon St. *Clements* Ile : partly to defend our Barge, which was brought in pieces out of *England* and there made vp, and partly to defend the Captaines men, which were imployed in felling of trees, and cleaving pales for the pallizado : and at last they ventured to come aboard our ship. It was worth the hearing, for those who vnderstood them, to heare what admiration they made at our ship; calling it a Canow; and wondering where so great a tree grew that made it, conceiuing it to bee made of one piece, as their Canow's are. Our great Ordnance was a great and fearefull thunder, they had neuer heard any before; all the Countrey trembles at them.

The Gouernour being returned, wee came some nine leagues lower to a riuer on the North-side of that land, as bigg as the *Thames*: which wee called Saint *Georges* riuer : It runnes vp to the North about 20. miles before it comes to the fresh. This riuer makes two excellent Bayes, for 300 sayle of Shipps of 1000. tunne, to harbour in with great safety. The one Bay wee named Saint *Georges*; the other (and more inward) Saint *Maries*. The King of *Taocomoco*, dwells on the left-hand or side thereof; and wee tooke vp our seate on the right, one mile within the land. It is as braue a piece of ground to set downe on as most is in the Countrey, and I suppose as good (if not much better) then the primest parcell of *English* ground.

Our Towne wee call Saint *Maries*: and to auoid all iust occasion of offence, and collour of wrong, wee bought of the King for Hatchetts, Axes, Howes, and Clothes, a quantitie of some 30 miles of Land, which wee call *Augusta Carolina*. And that which made them the

the more willing to sell it, was the warres they had with the *Sasquesa-hanoughs*, a nigh bordering nation, who came often into their Countrey, to waste and destroy; and forced many of them to leaue their Countrey, and passe ouer *Patoemeck* to free themselues from perill, before wee came. God no doubt disposing all this for them, who were to bring his law and light among these Infidells. Yet seeing wee came so well prepared with armes, their feare was much lesse, and they could be content to dwell by vs : yet doe they daily relinquish their houses, lands, and corne-fields, and leaue them to vs. Is not this a piece of wonder, that a nation, which a few dayes before was in armes with the rest against vs, should yeeld themselues now vnto vs like lambes, and giue vs their houses, lands, and liuings for a trifle? *Digitus Dei est hic* : and surely some great good is entended by God to this Nation. Some few families of *Indians* are permitted yet to stay by vs till next yeere, and then the land is free.

Wee had not beene long time seated there, ere Sir *John Haruey* Gouernour of *Virginia*, did our gouernour the honour (in most friendly manner) to visit him : and during the time of his being there, the King of *Patuxunt* also came to visit vs; and being come aboard the Arke, and brought into the great cabbin, and seated betweene the two Gouernours (Captaine *Fleete* and Master *Golding* the interpretors being present) hee began his speech as followeth.

When I heard that a great Werowance *of the* English *was come to* Yoacomoco, *I had a great desire to see him. But when I heard the* Werowance *of* Pasbie-haye *was come thither also to visit him; I presently start vp, and without further counsell, came to see them both.*

In the time of his stay at Saint *Maries*, wee kept the solemnitie of carrying our colours on shoare : and the King of *Patuxunt* accompanying vs, was much taken with the ceremony. But the same night (hee and Captaine *Fleete* being at the Indian-House) the Arke's great gunnes, to honour the day, spake aloude; which the King of *Patuxunt* with great admiration hearing, counselled his friends the *Yaocomoco Indians* to bee carefull that they breake not their peace with vs; and said :

When wee shoote, our Bow-strings giue a twang that's heard but a little

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tle way off: But doe you not heare what cracks their Bow-strings giue?

Many such pretty sayings hee vsed in the time of his being with vs, and at his departure, hee thus expreſt his extraodinary affection vnto vs.

I do loue the Engliſh *ſo well, that if they ſhould kill me, ſo that they left me but ſo much breath, as to ſpeake vnto my people, I would command them not to reuenge my death:*

As for the Natiues, they are proper tall men of perſon; ſwarthy by nature, but much more by Art: painting themſelues with colours in oyle, like a darke Red, which they doe to keepe the *Gnatts* off: wherin I confeſſe, there is more eaſe then comlineſſe.

As for their faces, they haue other colours at times; as Blew from the noſe vpward, and Red downeward, and ſometime contrariwiſe in great variety, and in very gaſtly manner ſometimes; they haue no beards till they come to bee very old, and therefore draw from each ſide of their mouthes, lines to their very eares, to repreſent a beard; and this ſometimes of one colour, and ſometimes of another.

They weare their haire generally very long, and it is as blacke as *Iett*: which they bring vp in a knott to the left-eare, and tye it about with a large ſtring of *Wampampegg*, or *Roanoake*, or ſome other of the beſt *Iewels* a mong them. Vpon their fore-head, ſome vſe to weare a Fiſh of *Copper*, and ſome weare other figures.

About their neckes, they vſe to weare many bugle chaynes, blew and white, and other colours; though theſe begin now not to bee eſteemed among them for truck. Their apparell generally is deere-skin, and other Furre, which they weare like looſe mantles: yet vnder this, about their middle, all women and men, at mans eſtate, weare *Perizomata* (or round aprons) of skinnes, which keepes them decently couered, that without any offence of chaſt eyes, wee may conuerſe with them.

All the reſt of their bodies are naked, and at times, ſome of the younger ſort both men and women haue iuſt nothing to couer them. Their feete are as hard as any horne, when they runne ouer prickles and thornes they feele it not. Their Armes is a Bow, with a bunch of Arrowes, of a yard long, fiſhiſht with three feathers at the top; and pointed either with the point of a deeres horne, or a ſharpe three-corner'd white flint; the reſt is a ſmall cane, or ſtraight ſticke. They

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are ſo expert at theſe, that I haue ſeene one a good diſtance off ſtrike a very ſmall bird through the middle: and they vſe to caſt a thing vp from hand, and before it comes to ground to meete it with a ſhaft. Their bowes are but weake, and carry not leuell very farre; yet theſe are their liuelyhood, and euery day they are abroad after ſquirrells, paretidges, turkies, deere, and the like game; whereof there is a wonderfull plenty; though wee dare not yet bee ſo bold our ſelues, as to fetch freſh meate by this meanes farre off.

The *Indian* houſes are all built heere in a long halfe Ouall; nine or tenne foote high to the middle top, where (as in ancient Temples) the light is admitted by a window, halfe a yard ſquare; which window is alſo the chimney, which giueth paſſage to the ſmoake, the fire being made in the middeſt of the floore (as in our old halls of *England*) and about it they vſe to lie. Saue only that their kings and great men haue their cabbins, and a bed of skinnes well dreſſed (wherein they are excellent) ſet on boards, and foure ſtakes driuen into the ground. And now at this preſent, many of vs liue in theſe Witchotts (as they terme them) conueniently enough till better bee ſet vp: But they are dreſſed vp ſomthing better then when the *Indians* had them.

The naturall witt of this nation is good and quick, and will conceiue a thing very readily: they excell in ſmell and taſt, and haue far ſharper ſight then wee. Their ordinary diet is Poane and Omine, both made of corne, to which they adde at times, Fiſh, Foule, or Veniſon.

They are of great temperance, eſpecially from Hott-waters or Wine, which they are hardly brought to taſte, ſaue onely whom the *Engliſh* haue corrupted with their owne vices.

For modeſtie, I muſt confeſſe, I neuer ſaw from Man or Woman, any action tending to leuitie: and yet daily the poore ſoules are here in our houſes, and take content to bee with vs, bringing ſometimes Turkies, ſometimes Squirrills, as big as *Engliſh* Rabbetts, but much more dainty; at other times fine white cakes, Partridges, Oiſters ready boil'd and ſtewed: and doe runne vnto vs with ſmiling countenance when they ſee vs, and will hunt and fiſh for vs, if wee will; and all this with entercourſe of very few words, but wee haue hitherto gathered their meaning by ſignes.

It is lawfull among them to haue more Wiues then one; but all keepe the rigour of coniugall faith vnto their Husbands: The Womens very aſpect, is modeſt and graue.

Generally the Nation is ſo noble, that you cannot doe them any fauour or good turnes, but they returne it. There is ſmall paſsion among them, but they weigh all with a calme and quiet reaſon. And to doe this the better, in great affaires they are ſtuddying in a long ſilence what is to bee ſaid or done: And then they anſwere yea, or no, in two words: And ſtand conſtantly to their reſolution.

If theſe people were once Chriſtians, (as by ſome ſignes we haue reaſon to thinke nothing hinders it but want of language) it would bee a right vertuous, and renowned Nation.

As for their religion, wee haue not language our ſelues to findi t out; Maſter *Throughgood*, who driues his Lordſhips trade vpon the riuer of *Patuxunt*, hath related ſomwhat:

Firſt, they acknowledge one God of Heauen, which they call [our] God; and cry, a thouſand ſhames vpon thoſe Chriſtians that ſo lightly offend ſo good a God. But they giue no externall honour vnto him, but vſe all their might to pleaſe an Okee (or frantick ſpirit) for feare of harme from him. They adore alſo Wheate and Fire as two gods, very beneficiall vnto mans nature.

In the *Machicomoco*, or Temple of *Patuxunt*, there was ſeene by our Traders this Ceremony. Vpon a day appointed all the Townes mett, and a great fire being made; about it ſtood the younger ſort, and behind them againe the elder. Then taking a little deere ſuett, they caſt it into the fire, crying *Taho*, *Taho*, and lifting vp their hands to heauen. After this, was brought forth before them a great Bagg, filled with a large *Tobacco-pipe* and *Poake*, which is the word which they vſe for our *Tobacco*. This was carried about the fire, the youth following, and ſinging *Taho*, *Taho*, in very good tune of voice, and comely geſture of body.

The round ended, one comes reuerently to the bagg, and opening it, takes out the *Pipe*, and deuides the *Poake* from one, to one. As euery one tooke his draught, hee breath'd his ſmoake vpon all the limbs of his owne body; as it were to ſanctifie them by this ceremony, to the honour and ſeruice of their God, whomſoeuer they meant.

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This is all I can ſay touching their religion: Saue onely that they ſeeme to haue ſome knowledge by tradition, of a flood wherein the World was drowned for ſinne.

And now to returne to the place it ſelfe, choſen for our plantation. Wee haue beene vpon it but one moneth, and therefore can make no large relation of it: Yet thus much I can ſay of it already, For our ſafety, wee haue built a good ſtrong Fort or Palizado, and haue mounted vpon it one good piece of Ordnance, and 4. Murderers, and haue ſeuen peeces of Ordnance more, ready to mount forthwith. For our proviſion, heere is ſome ſtore of Peaſen, and Beanes, and Wheate left on the ground by the *Indians*, who had ſatisfaction for it. Wee haue planted ſince wee came, as much Maize (or *Indian* Wheate) as will ſuffice (if God proſper it) much more company then wee haue. It is vp about knee high aboue ground already, and wee expect the returne of 1000. for one, as wee haue reaſon for our hope, from the experience of the yeeld in other parts of this Countrey, as is very credibly related to vs.

Wee haue alſo *Engliſh* Peaſen, and French-beanes, Cotten, Oringes, Lemmons, Melocotounes, Apples, Peares, Potato's, and Sugar-canes of our owne planting; beſide Hortage comming vp very finely.

But ſuch is the quantitie of Vines, and Grapes now already vpon them (though young) as I dare ſay if wee had Veſſells and skill, wee might make many a tonne of Wine, euen from about our plantation; and ſuch Wine, as thoſe of *Virginia* ſay (for yet wee can ſay nothing) as is as good as the Wine of *Spaine*. I feare they exceede; but ſurely very good. For the clime of the Countrey is neere the ſame with *Siuill* and *Corduba*: lying betweene 38. and 40. degrees of Northerlie latitude.

Of Hoggs wee haue already got from *Achomack* (a plantation in *Virginia*) to the number of 100, and more: and ſome 30. Cowes; and more wee expect daily, with Goats and Hennes; our Horſes and Sheepe wee muſt haue out of *England*, or ſome other place by the way; for wee can haue none in *Virginia*.

For the Commodities, I will ſpeake more when I ſee further; onely wee haue ſent ouer a good quantitie of Iron-ſtone, for a tryall, which if it prooue well, the place is likely to yeeld infinite ſtore of it.

And for that flaxe and hempe which wee haue ſowed, it comes vp, and wee hope will thriue exceedingly well; I end with the ſoile, which is excellent, couered with ſtore of large Strauberies, Raſpices, Vines, Saſſafras, Wall-nuts, Acornes and the like; and this in the wildeſt Woods too.

The mould is blacke a foote deepe, and then comes after a red Earth. All is high Wood, but in the *Indian* fields, which are ſome parcells of ground cleered for Corne. It abounds with good ſprings, which is our drinke: Of beaſts; I haue ſeene Deere, Racounes, and Squirills, beſide which there are many others, which I haue not yet ſeene. Of Birds diuerſly-feathered there are infinite; Eagles, Bitternes, Herons, Swannes, Geeſe, Parteridge, Ducks, red, blew, partie coloured Birds, and the like. By all which it appeareth, the Countrie aboundeth, not onely with profit but with pleaſure. And to ſay trueth, there wanteth nothing for the perfecting of this hopefull plantation; but greater numbers of our countrey-men to enioy it.

From S^t. *Maries* in *Mary-land*, 27. May, 1634.

Wee

Wee whoſe Names are heere vnder written, hauing beene Aduenturers in this firſt voyage, and lately come for England, *with intent to returne thither with more prouiſion of Men and other neceſſaries; were Eye-witneſſes of the trueth of this whole Relation; and are ready to giue further ſatisfaction to any one in ſuch particulars as ſhall bee deſired.*

Captaine Edward Wintour.

Captaine William Humber.

Robert Smithſon.

Robert Sympſon.

 The

The Conditions of the plantation.

1 WHat perſon ſoeuer, ſubiect to our Soueraigne Lord the King of *England*, ſhall in this ſecond voyage, be at the charge to tranſport into the ſaid *Prouince* of *Mary-land*, himſelfe or his Deputy, with ten able men fit for labour, betweene the ages of 20. and 60. every man being provided in all things neceſſary for a plantation: the particulars whereof they ſhall vnderſtand at the place mentioned at the end of theſe Conditions: (which together with their tranſportation, will amount to about 20 l. a man) His Lordſhip will aſſigne to euery ſuch vndertaker, and for every ſuch tenne men, a proportion of good land within the ſaid Province, containing in quantity 3000. Acres of Engliſh meaſure, which ſhall bee erected into a Mannor, and bee conveied to him, and his heires for ever: with all ſuch Royalties and Priviledges, as are vſually belonging to Mannors in *England*. Rendring and paying yearely vnto his Lordſh. and his heires for every ſuch Mannor; 600. pound weight, of good *Wheate*: and ſuch other ſervices as ſhall be generally agreed vpon, for publike vſe, and the common good; and as are vſuall in all other Plantations.

2 And foraſmuch, as the ſtragling manner of dwelling vſed heretofore by our *Engliſh* in forraine Plantations, hath bin found by experience to be very inconvenient, without comfort or ſecurity; beſides the diſorder and diſtraction, which it cauſeth in the government. And that at laſt (feeling the effects of that error) they haue bin compelled to vnite themſelues together in one place.

place. His Lordſh. therefore intends, that all his Planters, ſhall dwell together at the firſt, at or as neere as may be vnto St. *Maries* Towne, the ſeate now choſen for the Colony: where his Lordſh. will aſſigne, and conveigh vnto every ſuch vndertaker as aforeſaid, and his heires for ever, a plot of ground fit for a houſe and garden, to build vpon, and ſo much land as neere vnto the Towne as conveniently may bee (to plant Victuall vpon, and ſuch other things as he the ſaid vnder-taker ſhall thinke fitte) according to the proportion of fiue Acres of Engliſh meaſure for euery man.

3 Thoſe that are not willing to bee at the charge to transport the foreſaid number of men required for a Mannor, and yet perhaps willbe contented to bee at the charge of a leſſer number, they ſhall haue aſſigned to them and their heires for euer, the like proportion of land, in, and about the Towne, according to the number of their men as aforeſaid; and a 100. Acres more for each man, allotted to them in ſome convenient place of the Province, as others haue, and be made Free-holders to hold of his Lordſh. paying a yearely quit rent of 20. pound weight of *Wheate*, for every ſuch 100. Acres.

4 If any man ſhall bee vnwilling, to trouble himſelfe with providing ſuch men and their neceſſaries, as aforeſaid, and yet are deſirous to imploy ſome money vpon this Plantation; if they ſignifie ſuch their deſire, according to the time and place, here-vnder prefixed: they ſhall haue directions to diſpoſe their money, in ſuch a way, as ſhall giue them content, whereby they may haue the advantage of the former conditions, according to the proportion of the money they adventure.

5 Whatſoeuer Adventurers ſhall carry, or ſend over any

any women, more or fewer, in the ſecond voyage, hee ſhall bee allowed 30. Acres of good land in ſurpluſage aboue the former proportions: for every woman he ſhall ſo carry over, or ſend over.

6 Whatſoever husband-man, or other laboring-man, ſhall bee willing to goe to this Plantation, and to binde himſelfe a ſeruant there for fiue yeares, he ſhall be entertained (if he come within the limited time to the place appointed) vpon theſe termes; that is to ſay; he ſhall be found ſufficient meate and drinke, and clothing, during the ſaid terme: and at the end of the ſaid terme, he ſhall haue 50. Acres of good land conveied to him, and his heires for ever, within the ſaid Province, a whole yeeres proviſion of all neceſſaries according to the vſuall cuſtome of other Plantations.

And if hee bee either a ſufficient Carpenter, Ioyner, Brick-layer, Brick-maker, Maſon, Wheele-wright, Cooper, or Ship-wright, in ſtead of theſe 50. Acres propoſed, hee ſhall haue 100. Acres of good land, at the end of his terme, and the reſt of the aforeſaid conditions, for three yeares ſervice onely.

WHoſoever intends to partake in this ſecond Voyage, muſt come, or ſend before the 20. of *ORober* next enſuing, to M. *William Peaſeley* Eſq. his Lordſh. brother in-law, at his houſe on the back-ſide of *Drury-lane*, over againſt the Cock-pit on the field-ſide: And there to him deliuer their tranſportation-money, according to the number of men they meane to ſend over, at the rate of ſixe pound a man, to the end convenient paſſage may bee reſerved for them, in his Lordſh. ſhipping; beyond which time it will not be poſſible for any to partake in this ſecond Voyage.

15. *July* 1634.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The John Carter Brown Library 1634 *Relation*

John Carter Brown (1797–1874) was possessed by the bibliomaniacal demon: Americana was his passion. The acquisitions of Brown's thirty years' collecting reveal his pursuit of the book as idea. Yet the book as form was also of concern to this collector of the "Great Subject." Presented below is a bibliographical description of the original pamphlet here reprinted.

A | RELATION | OF | The successefull beginnings of the Lord | BALTEMORE'S Plantation in | Mary-land. | Being an extract of certaine Letters written from | thence, by some of the Aduenturers, to their | friends in England. | [rule] | To which is added, | The Conditions of plantation propounded by his Lord- | ship for the second voyage intended this present | yeere, 1634. | [rule] | [leaf ornament, 11×21 mm.] | [rule] | Anno. Dom. 1634.

COLLATION: leaves 181×138 mm. Small 4°: A–B⁴ [B_2 mis-signed A_2]; 8 leaves; pp. [*14*] [1 leaf] [1]–11 [12] 13–14.

CONTENTS: A_1^r title; A_1^v blank; A_2^r: [headpiece, leaf-and-urn, 20×96 mm.] | A | Relation of the successefull beginnings of the | Lord Baltemore's plantation in Mary-land.; A_2^r–B_2^v (pp. 1–10) text of Relation, dated on p. 10: From St. Maries in | Mary-land, 27. May, | 1634; B_3^r (p. 11): [headpiece, leaf-and-urn, 20×96 mm.] | [attestation to the truth of the Relation, signed by

Captaine Edward Wintour, Captaine William Humber, Robert Smithson and Robert Sympson]; B_3^v: [leaf ornament, 6 × 100 mm.] | [rule] | The Conditions of the plantation.; B_3^v–B_4^v (pp. 12–14) text of Conditions, dated on p. 14: 15. July 1634.

PRINTER: William Peasley (?), London. Combination headpieces similar to those found on A_2^r (p. 1) and B_3^r (p. 11), leaf ornament similar to that found on A_1^r (title page) and B_3^v (p. 12) and initial letters similar to those found on A_2^r (p. 1) and B_3^r (p. 11) are present in this pamphlet's successor publication *A Relation of Maryland; Together, With A Map of the Countrey,. . . .* (London, 1635), printed and published by William Peasley, as the title page states, "on the back-side of Drury-Lane, neere the Cockpit Playhouse."

PAPER: White laid; unidentified watermark in middle of spine fold on A_1, A_4, B_1, B_4.

BINDING: "Hayday" craft binding of full brown calf tooled and stamped in gilt: GAUDEO | [crest] | JCB. This copy has undergone repair of leaf B_4.

PROVENANCE: Bookplate: John Carter Brown. Purchased by John Carter Brown prior to 1846—not, apparently, from Henry Stevens. Catalogue card in John Carter Brown Library notes "0375, before 1846."

CENSUS OF COPIES: John Carter Brown Library, Brown University; William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan; British Library.

PRINCIPAL CITATIONS: Elizabeth Baer, comp., *Seventeenth Century Maryland: A Bibliography* (Baltimore, 1949), p. 22; British Museum, Department of Printed Books, *General Catalogue of Printed Books* (London, 1959–), vol. 32, col. 294; Brown University, John Carter Brown Library, *Bibliotheca Americana: Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library in Brown University,* 3 vols. in 5 pts. (Providence, 1919–1931), vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 250; Alfred W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640* (London, 1926), no. 4371; Joseph Sabin, *Bibliotheca Americana: A Dictionary of Books Relating to America, From its Discovery to the Present Time,* 29 vols. (New York, 1868–1892), vol. 16, p. 549, no. 69291; Henri Ternaux-Compans, *Bibliothèque Américaine ou Catalogue Des Ouvrages Relatifs A L'Amerique* (Paris, 1837), no. 556 (entered in John Carter Brown Library copy).

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Maryland Historical Society

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