CHARLES COUNTY, MARYLAND, 1658-1705: A STUDY OF CHESAPEAKE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.

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LORENA SEEBACH WALSH

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ABSTRACT

CHARLES COUNTY, MARYLAND, 1658-1705: A STUDY OF CHESAPEAKE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

By

Lorena Seebach Walsh

This dissertation describes the development of local society in a seventeenth century Chesapeake county from the first years of settlement through the transition to a predominantly native population. Inquiry focuses on the character of the population, the local environment, and the regional economy and the ways in which these in turn helped to shape the life style of the settlers and the structure of the emerging social order. The main sources used are county court, land, and probate records. These are analyzed in a number of ways including mass prosopography, family reconstitution, and probate record analysis.

Chapter one surveys settlement patterns and provides an overview of the experience of various groups of county residents, while chapter two examines the growth of local population and attempts to define the parameters of the settler's demographic experience. The unusual nature of that experience and its effect on relationships between men and women and on childrearing practices are investigated in chapter three. Extreme demographic disruption prevailed in the county throughout the seventeenth century; continued heavy immigration and outmigration,

extremely high mortality, and an unbalanced sex ratio resulted in a net natural decrease among immigrant settlers, the appearance of families broken up by death occurring as the norm rather than the exception, a measurable relaxation of sexual mores, a marked decline in parental and especially in paternal influence, and the near absence of effective kin networks.

Chapter four examines the county's labor system, tracing the career histories of servants imported into the county, investigating the shift from predominantly servant to predominantly slave labor, and assessing the impact of this change on laborers and laborowners. Chapter five takes up the experience of the free population, a group whose vocational choices, chances for advancement, and patterns of social and economic interchange were all dominated by production of the regional staple, tobacco. This chapter utilizes extensive data from probate inventories, individual farm accounts, and an analysis of social and economic networks to explore the effects of economic prosperity and depression and the maturation of local settlement on individual colonists and on the society as a whole. It also describes the material culture of the period, concluding that the colonists' lifestyles were definitely those of a premodern society.

Chapter six investigates the county power structure, one which was based on extensive but by no means universal adult male participation. It describes the character of major and minor local officeholders, the nature of elite recruitment, and the ways in which power was transferred. It also considers the structure of local government and the ways in which county institutions and community attitudes contributed to local stability.

The final chapter examines the evolution of the county's social structure. Among immigrants many of the traditional ingredients of status were absent, and consequently a social order which rested largely on personal ability and acquired wealth emerged. Opportunity to achieve substantial local status was initially broad, but subsequently economic change and the growth of population limited the chances for unpropertied residents to advance far up the social scale. As the native born came to form the majority of the adult population near the turn of the century, family background, kin connections, and inherited wealth became important ingredients of status. The emerging provincial society was much more ordered and much more predictable than that of earlier years. Ordinary men and women experienced greater security, but to the modern eye paid a high cost in personal freedom and individual opportunity.

CHARLES COUNTY, MARYLAND, 1658-1705: A STUDY OF CHESAPEAKE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

By

LORENA SEEBACH WALSH

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PREFACE

I began this study with the aim of describing the development of local society in a Chesapeake County from the first years of settlement through the transition to a stabilized provincial society. The research design was a relatively uncomplicated one, that of breaking down surviving local records and reorganizing them as a series of biographies of all the men and women who could be identified as county residents during the period selected for the study. The choice of design was predicated by the nature of the local records. These consisted of a series of varied materials (including wills, estate inventories and accounts, lists of landowners in 1659 and 1705, deeds, a birth register, and records of county court proceedings) which could be combined and quantified to produce some rough measurements as well as a general description of various aspects of the colonists' demographic, economic, cultural, and political experiences.

While initial collection of the data posed few difficulties, the tasks of processing and analyzing the resulting material proved more arduous. It soon became apparent that in order to impose order on a bewildering mass of data and to realize the full potential of the collected material, I must acquire at least a rudimentary knowledge of computer programming and data processing, techniques of demographic analysis, elementary statistics, social science methodology, and historical geography. Consequently, completing this study has involved at least as much

learning of new techniques as applying them, and, where established methodology proved inappropriate to Maryland materials, devising necessary modifications.

This dissertation represents a first step in the investigation of social process in one part of the seventeenth-century Chesapeake. Hopefully its emphasis on questions of measurement and technique--necessary preliminaries in coming to an understanding of the basic parameters of men's and women's lives in past times--does not entirely obscure the larger goal of explaining the consequences which these measures had for local society. Tentative hypotheses about the wider applicability of the Charles County findings and about the relationship of county society to that of neighboring lower western shore areas will doubtless be strengthened or disproved as my own research and the research program of the St. Mary's City Commission progresses.

I have accumulated many debts in the process of preparing this dissertation. The first is to the Maryland Hall of Records where the bulk of the research was done. Here all the public records of Maryland created before 1789 have been collected and organized, and guides and indexes to major record groups provided. The archival staff were most helpful in locating documents and in providing working space. They have, in addition, created a cordial and supportive atmosphere which makes Annapolis a stimulating place to do research. Appreciation is extended as well to the officers of the Charles County Court House in La Plata where I conducted early research, to the Family and Community History Institute of the Newberry Library for supporting a month's study there, and to the staffs of the Maryland Historical Society and the University of Maryland Graduate Library.

Special thanks is due to present and former colleagues of the St. Mary's City Commission—Cary Carson, Gary Stone, David Bohmer, and Bill Smith for conversation, criticism, and encouragement, and to the Commission itself for support over the past four years. I have benefited also from frequent conversations with other scholars working in Maryland history—Carville Earle, Allan Kulikoff, Edward Papenfuse, Barbara Carson, Gloria Main, Paul Clemens, James Horn, and Ronald Hoffman. Daniel S. Smith and James Somerville read portions of the manuscript, while P. M. G. Harris shared data and supplied both in-depth questioning and probing general criticisms of several chapters.

In various stages of my struggles with the computer Whitman Ridgeway, Susan Jackson, and James Doyle provided invaluable assistance. John and Roberta Wearmouth extended companionship and encouragement during the process of initial research. Robert Wall has exhibited considerable patience in the direction of this dissertation and has been willing to extend the extra effort needed to keep a long-distance association working. Throughout a long period of research and writing my husband has made the kinds of sacrifices which can be fully appreciated only by the families of others who have written dissertations.

I would like to thank the editors of the Maryland Historical Magazine, the Johns Hopkins Press, the Institute of Early American History and Culture, and the William and Mary Quarterly for permission to use material that has been or will be published by them and for their perceptive editorial comments.

My greatest debt is to Lois Green Carr and Russell R. Menard who have extended encouragement, criticism, and friendship since my first days

in Maryland. In the process of almost daily discussions over the past four years we have shared ideas and discoveries, thrashed out common problems, and learned new approaches and techniques. Both Carr and Menard have consistently employed a high level of scholarship in their own work and have served as fine examples of historians who manage to integrate comprehensive investigation of past societies with meticulous attention to accuracy of detail. By demanding equal effort of me (which I might never have demanded of myself), they are in part responsible for the length of time that it has taken to write this dissertation. At the same time, a large measure of credit is due to them for whatever successes it has achieved.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Charles County Court	Charles County Court and Land Records, MSS, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.
CSP	Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, American and West Indies, W. N. Sainsbury et al., eds. (44 vols. to date; London: Public Record Office, 1860-).
Maryland Archives	Archives of Maryland, William Hand Browne, et al., eds. (72 vols.; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-).
MHM	Maryland Historical Magazine
WMQ	William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser.

CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS

Settlers on the Land

In the spring of 1634 Leonard Calvert and about 140 prospective colonists sailed up the Potomac River searching for a suitable place within Lord Baltimore's grant to seat a colony. They selected an Indian village on the east bank of the St. Mary's River about six miles from the Potomac.[1] From this nucleus colonists began to spread up the banks of the Potomac and Patuxent establishing scattered plantations on the fertile waterside soils of these rivers and their tributaries. By 1642 there were two major settlements at some distance from the original seat. One, centered on St. Clement's Manor at the mouth of the Wicomico, then had about sixty inhabitants.[2] A few years after Ingle's Rebellion settlers moved into what would become Charles County, seating on the west bank of the Wicomico and further north and west along the Potomac. By 1650 at the latest planters were growing tobacco along the Port Tobacco River, probably utilizing fields recently abandoned by the Indians of the area.[3]

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[1]"A Briefe Relation of the Voyage unto Maryland, by Father Andrew White, 1634," in Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684, ed. Clayton Colman Hall (New York: Charles Scribner's & Sons, 1910), pp. 40-42.

[2]Russell R. Menard, "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1974), ch. 2.

[3]Archives of Maryland, eds. William Hand Browne, et al., 72 vols. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883--), 10: 21-22, 81-82, 192-93, 220-21. (Hereafter Maryland Archives.)

About 100 households containing perhaps 400 individuals lived west of the Wicomico by 1658.[4] The hardships which these settlers encountered in journeying to court in St. Mary's City prompted Governor Fendall to establish a new county in that year, "for the ease & benifitt of the People." Bounded on the east by the Wicomico and on the south and west by the Potomac "up as high as any Plantation is now seated,"[5] Charles was a frontier county, its jurisdiction expanding as the line of settlement moved up the Potomac and its tributaries.

Expansion far to the north was slow, however. Alarms over incursions by northern Indians in the 1670s and 1680s apparently discouraged most planters from seating much above the reserve of the friendly Piscattaways which lay on the north of Mattawoman Creek. In addition, the soils along the banks of the upper Potomac were not especially suited to tobacco culture. By the 1680s larger numbers of settlers were however moving from Calvert County along the Patuxent into a highly fertile region north of the Wicomico. In 1696 there were about 150 settlers on the upper Potomac and approximately 1,500 on the upper Patuxent, enough to justify the creation of a new county to supply services which the Charles and Calvert County courts could not easily provide.[6]

Charles County ceased to have a frontier thirty-seven years after its founding. Thereafter its jurisdiction was defined, not by the flow of settlement, but by precise geographic limits. In 1695 the Assembly

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[4]See below, ch. 2.

[5]Maryland Archives, 61: 87.

[6]Lois Green Carr, "County Government in Maryland, 1689-1709" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1968), ch. 6; and Edward B. Matthews, The Counties of Maryland, Their Origin, Boundaries, and Election Districts, Maryland Geological Survey, vol. 6, pt. 5, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1907), pp. 474-77.

redrew county bounds in southern Maryland, and from this date Charles County consisted of approximately 500 square miles. This area included the original settlements along the west side of the Wicomico and north along the Potomac to Mattawoman Creek. To these were added a small area along the Patuxent which had earlier been part of Calvert County and a strip of land east of the Wicomico which had previously been part of St. Mary's County.[7]

Although the county's population had increased approximately six-fold between 1658 and 1695,[8] most farms were still situated along the water's edge. Tracts bordering on the Wicomico, Port Tobacco, and Nanjemoy Rivers and along the Potomac past Maryland Point were seated during the 1660s. Subsequently planters pushed up the creeks and runs which fed these rivers, ventured further up the Potomac, and then turned eastward following the course of the Mattawoman inland.[9]

Planters kept to the waterside with good reason. Rivers and creeks provided abundant sources of food. More importantly, they also "afforded a commodious Road for Shipping at every Man's Door."[10] The trans-Atlantic trade was organized around direct bargaining between the English shipmasters and factors who brought goods and servants to the Chesapeake in return for tobacco and the individual planters who produced

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[7]Maryland Archives, 19: 212-14. Only one minor boundary change occurred afterward. In 1748 a small parcel of land along the Potomac north of Mattawoman Creek was returned to Charles County jurisdiction. Matthews, The Counties of Maryland, pp. 476-77.

[8]See below, ch. 2.

[9]See below, ch. 5.

[10]Robert Beverly, The History and Present State of Virginia, ed. Louis B. Wright (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1947), p. 57.

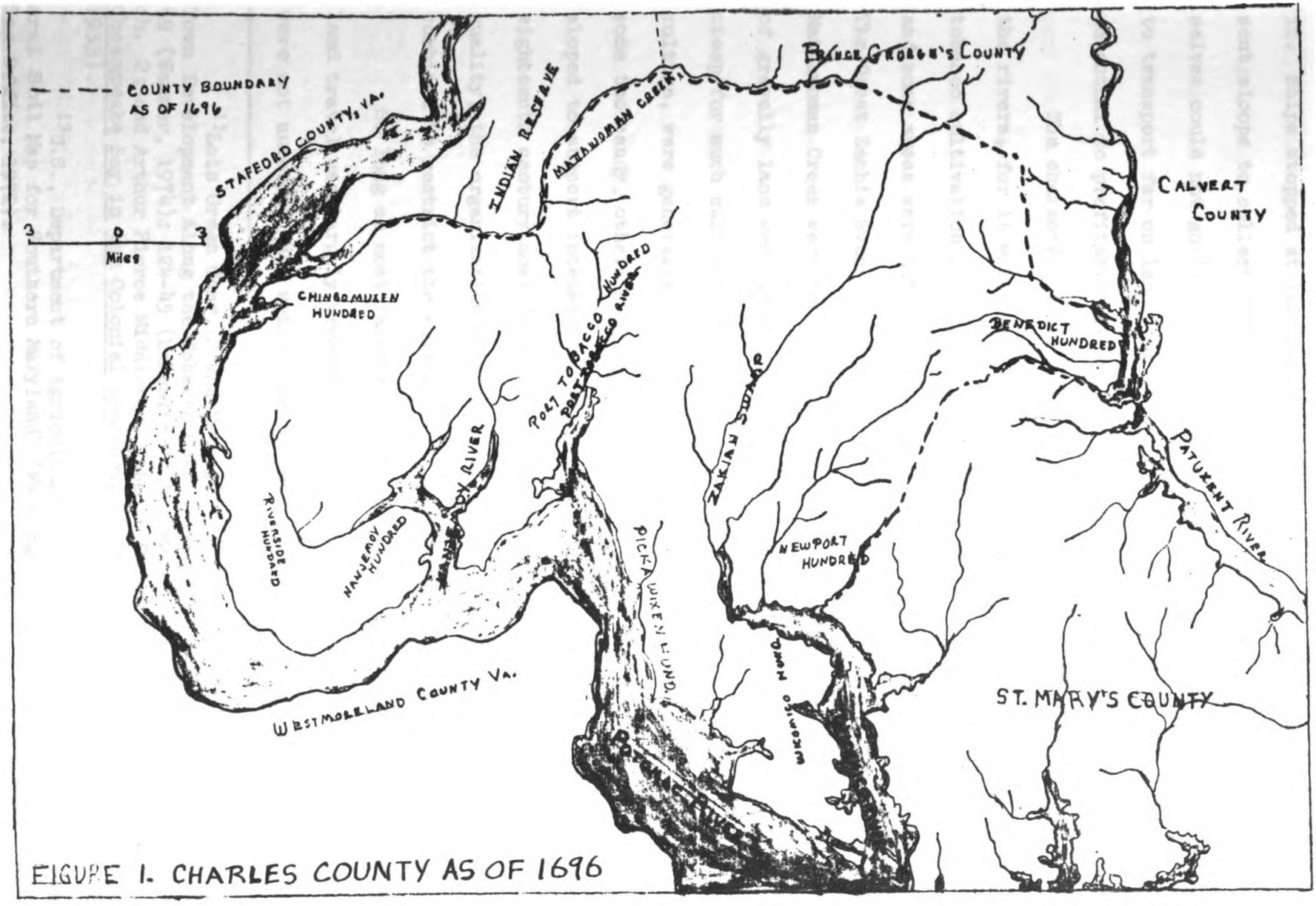

FIGURE 1. CHARLES COUNTY AS OF 1696

it. Ships stopped at landings along the rivers, and the captains then sent sloops to collect tobacco and deliver goods where the ships themselves could not go.[11] Because tobacco was both too bulky and too fragile to transport far on land, water access--even if only for a raft--was essential to profitable production of the staple.

The character of the soil also encouraged planters to cling to the rivers, for it was along their banks that the land best suited for tobacco cultivation lay. Inland soils were less adapted to the staple, and some areas were not particularly conducive to any kind of agriculture. The Great Zachia Swamp at the head of the Wicomico and wetlands along Mattawoman Creek were too low and poorly drained for farming. A strip of gravelly land west of the rich Patuxent Valley was too broken and steep for much cultivation. Other inland soils, while suitable for agriculture, were generally less productive than the land along the rivers, some too sandy, others subject to drought, and still others too steeply sloped to support intensive farming.[12] Yet at the beginning of the eighteenth century most farms still clung to the water. Land forms, soil quality, the organization of trade, and the character of the staple all combined to restrict the expansion of settlement inland.

So long as most farmers had access to some kind of water transport, land travel was largely reserved for the movement of people. While roads were not numerous, and while some of those which did exist were often

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[11]Lois Green Carr, "'The Metropolis of Maryland': A Comment on Town Development Along the Tobacco Coast," Maryland Historical Magazine 49 (Summer, 1974): 124-45 (hereafter MHM); Menard, "Economy and Society," ch. 2; and Arthur Pierce Middleton, Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era (Newport News: The Mariners' Museum, 1953).

[12]U.S., Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, "General Soil Map for Southern Maryland" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972).

little better than tracks, the importance of land communication should not be overlooked. For, however dependent they might be on the water for transport of goods, the majority of planters did not own their own boats; instead they hired a craft when they needed it from a local boat owner. Since a boat might not be readily available, during the 1650s and 1660s many planters probably seldom traveled farther than their feet could carry them, and much of that over rough, newly cleared tracks. Once roads were better developed, county residents apparently moved about on land with comparative ease. While boat ownership did not increase markedly with time,[13] by the late 1680s even the poorest of freedmen owned a horse.[14] We know that in the 1690s public roads led from various parts of the county to the courthouse (which lay at least four miles from the nearest water) and provided land routes to St. Mary's City, to Annapolis, and to settlements above Mattawoman Creek. Public roads made at least three mills and three churches accessible to county residents.[15] Doubtless by the turn of the century the public roads were supplemented by a network of private paths maintained by individual planters.

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[13]On the use of boats for transportation see Carville V. Earle, Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallows Parish, Maryland, 1650-1783, University of Chicago Department of Geography Research Paper no. 170 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1975), pp. 143-45.

[14]Lois Green Carr and Russell R. Menard, "Servants and Freedmen in Early Colonial Maryland," In Thad W. Tate, ed., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Euroamerican Politics and Society (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, forthcoming.)

[15]Charles County Court and Land Records, MSS, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md. (hereafter Charles County Court), V#1, 242, 277; A#2, 45; Maryland Archives, 20: 109; 60: 615-18; and Morris L. Radoff, The County Courthouses and Records of Maryland, Part One: The Courthouses, Hall of Records Commission Publication no. 13 (Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1960), pp. 61-69.

The Immigrant Experience

If the character of the land did much to shape the society which developed there, the backgrounds of the settlers were also important. Throughout almost all of the seventeenth century the majority of the county's free inhabitants had been born in Europe, most of them in Britain. Few were persons of distinguished background, and at least three-quarters of the immigrants arrived under some form of short-term labor contract. Those who arrived under indenture came from artisan or small tradesman or small farmer families. Other servants, perhaps the majority, did not leave England with indentures but paid for their passage according to the custom of the country. Such servants were usually younger than those who came with indentures, and this suggests that they may have come from lower social origins.

Whatever their position at home, these transplanted Englishmen shared the same "cultural baggage." They wanted the society which they were then building in Maryland to be "enrich[ed] with such ornaments of civill life as our owne country abounded with-all."[16] There was never any question that the language, culture, and basic institutions would be those of the mother country. Of course many difficulties lay between the intention and the implementation. Not only was the land new and different and virtually empty, the immigrant group lacked the kind of class structure around which English society was organized. Not surprisingly, the society which developed in southern Maryland differed from that of the mother country in many respects.

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[16]"A Briefe Relation," p. 41.

The process of colonizing a new land required adaptation as well as transplantation. Wresting farms from the wilderness called for effort of a different kind than that needed to eke out a living in crowded England. Energies which might have been devoted to capital accumulation at home--or which might have been consumed in a dreary struggle for mere survival--had in Maryland to be channeled to the tasks of capital creation. Farms had to be carved out of the wilderness; houses and barns built; orchards planted; livestock propagated; mills, inns, stores, and churches erected, and roads and bridges constructed.

Transplanted farmers and tradesmen had also to master the culture of a new crop, for in Maryland tobacco was "the only solid Staple Commodity"[17] of the province, providing "our meat, drinke, clothing, and monies."[18] Most planters learned the techniques of making tobacco and corn--the complementary crop of the Chesapeake--from established farmers while working out the costs of their passage as servants. Free immigrants had to depend on observation and on their now experienced neighbors "advicing the stranger how to improve what they have, and how to better their way of livelyhood."[19] From the day they arrived, until the day they died, the rhythms of tobacco culture would dominate the daily lives of every one of the settlers.

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[17]George Alsop, "A Character of the Province of Maryland," in Hall, ed., Narratives of Early Maryland, p. 363.

[18]"Maryland in 1699; A Letter from the Rev. Hugh Jones," ed. Michael Kammen, Journal of Southern History 29 (1963): 369. Jones' observations were based on adjacent Calvert County.

[19]John Hammond, "Leah and Rachel, or, The Two Fruitful Sisters, Virginia and Maryland (1656)," in Hall, ed., Narratives of Early Maryland, p. 294; George Scot, The Model of the Government of the Province of East-New-Jersey in America (Edinburgh: n.p., 1685) quoted in John W. Garrett, "Seventeenth Century Books Relating to Maryland," MHM 24 (1939): 13-14.

Spatial residential patterns peculiar to the Chesapeake emerged. Isolation from the mother country was reinforced by isolation of one family from another, with farms loosely strung out along the banks of rivers and navigable streams. Individual clearings were for some years dwarfed by otherwise unbroken forest, further reinforcing the sense of solitude. Accustomed to more open vistas in England, many a wilderness planter felt choked and closed in; while he often attributed his physical ailments to "the stifling of the wood,"[20] it was clearly a cause of spiritual affliction as well. While the amount of acreage cleared must have increased each year, forest still predominated at the turn of the century. "Tho we are pretty closely seated, the Reverend Hugh Jones observed in 1699, "yett we cannot see our next neighbours house for the trees."[21] While the county's population also grew, it too remained small and scattered. By 1705 settlers numbered only about seven per square mile in the county overall. If we assume that the acreage which had actually been taken up by 1705 represented the extent of settlement, then population densities remained between eleven and twelve colonists per square mile in settled areas, less than those found in the states of Arizona and Utah today.

The absence of towns--a consequence both of low population density and of a system of trade which left most marketing functions in the hands of English merchants and ship captains--must also have reinforced the colonists' isolation. St. Mary's City was the only urban center within reasonable traveling distance for Charles Countians, and it, in the opinion

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[20]Hammond, "Leah and Rachel," p. 287.

[21]"Maryland in 1699," p. 371.

of most Englishmen, could not "reasonably bear the name of a Town."[22] More distant Annapolis offered little more at the turn of the century. Hugh Jones observed that Governor Nicholson had tried "to make a towne" of it, but aside from the statehouse, the capital was yet only "a parscell of [about forty] wooden houses."[23] Not even a hamlet developed in Charles County in the seventeenth century. By the 1690s there were, to be sure, a court house, churches, mills, inns, stores, landings, and warehouses, but almost never were more than two of these located in the same place at the same time. Well into the eighteenth century centers of economic, social, and political activity remained scattered across the countryside.

To say that the seventeenth-century planter lived without towns is not to say that in the New World he lived without community. Isolated he might be, anti-social or self-sufficient he was not. Such behavior was not part of "our English natures." Rural neighborhoods in the Chesapeake might be less compact than those in many parts of England and the more northern American colonies, but nonetheless they supplied some of the same amenities and filled many of the same needs.

The disease environment had at least as much impact on the experiences of transplanted Englishmen as did the geography, soil, and climate of the area. Many of the usual maladies which plagued men of the time were present, and in addition, malaria, dysentery, and other diseases to which the typical immigrant might not have been previously exposed were

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[22]Beverly, History and Present State of Virginia, pp. 57-58.

[23]"Maryland in 1699"; cf. Ebenezer Cook, The Sot-Weed Factor in Works of Ebenezer Cook, Gent.: Laureat of Maryland . . . ed., Bernard C. Steiner, Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication no. 36 (Baltimore: John Murphy and Sons for the Maryland Historical Society, 1900), pp. 1-32 (hereafter The Sot-Weed Factor).

rampant. As a consequence, life in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake was extremely short. New arrivals experienced a "seasoning" during which many died, and immigrant men who survived the initial bout of illness could not expect to live beyond age forty-three; seventy percent would die before age fifty. Not surprisingly early death had a pervasive influence on the social history of the area, affecting such diverse facets as the stability of family life, the accumulation and distribution of wealth, the formation of a political elite, and the growth of population.

The make-up of the immigrant group and high mortality experienced in the Chesapeake region resulted in a profound disruption in the patterns of family life. Severe sexual imbalance among immigrants meant that many men would never find partners. Because most came as servants, women and men who did marry married late. An ocean away from parents and kin, immigrants usually selected a mate without the advice, influence, or aid of family. They, in turn, were seldom able to guide or control the maturation of their own children. Because death came so early, marriages were short, remarriages frequent, and families small. Since most native-born children were still minors at the time of their parents deaths, traditional British patterns of parental control could not easily be reestablished.

Although the hazards of dying were great, during the 1650s, 1660s and early 1670s the rewards for those men and women who survived the initial years were also great. In England the ordinary man could hardly expect to rise above the station to which he was born. In contrast, the expanding Chesapeake economy offered Englishmen with little or no capital a chance to "live plentiously well."[24] Freedmen could reasonably expect

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[24]Alsop, "Character of Maryland," p. 356.

within a few years to become householders and landowners, and subsequently to assume the kind of minor political responsibilities traditionally associated with a yeoman's station. The most capable and ambitious immigrants could aspire to more. A number of ex-servants became leading planters and officeholders in Charles County during these years.

The successful establishment of the county court, a familiar form of local government which traditionally commanded respect and obedience, did much to maintain social order by offsetting the decidedly untraditional character of most of the county's early rulers. Because few immigrants came to the county possessed of the education, status, and great wealth associated with political office in England, many of the men selected to rule the county lacked these attributes. For about fifteen years, the social and economic distance between county officeholders and most of the inhabitants they ruled was slight indeed. Many of the county's justices of peace lacked not only status or education, but even substantial wealth when first appointed to the bench. Such men were able to govern effectively only so long as they retained the respect of fellow colonists; they could command little deference from subjects who were their social and economic equals.

Rapid expansion of the Chesapeake tobacco economy had permitted such a relatively undifferentiated yeoman society to develop. Subsequently, economic expansion slowed and then for a thirty year period beginning about 1680 ceased altogether. Hard times in the Chesapeake resulted in increased social and economic inequality among already established planters and virtually brought to an end opportunity for unpropertied new immigrants.

The key to the success of the tobacco planters of the 1650s and 1660s had been their ability to acquire a steady and ever-increasing supply of relatively cheap unskilled labor. A small farmer could live in "rude sufficiency" on the proceeds of his own labor, but with the help of one or more servants he could increase his production of the staple and prosper. As the profits to be made from growing tobacco declined in the 1670s and 1680s poorer planters were at an ever greater disadvantage; they were less able to purchase servants and hence to improve their economic position. Men newly freed from servitude found it increasingly difficult to establish themselves as successful small farmers, much less as labor-owners.

A steady decline in the supply of servants in proportion to the number of farming households accompanied low tobacco prices. Improving economic conditions in England and brighter opportunities in other, more recently settled colonies acted to diminish and redirect the flow of immigration. As the labor shortage worsened, the price of servants was bid up, and labor-ownership became more and more concentrated among already wealthy planters.[25]

In the fact of this continuing shortage of young English laborers, planters turned to other sources to supply new hands for the tobacco fields; chief among these was Africa. By the 1690s the county's labor system had been transformed from one dependent largely on servants to one composed largely of slaves. However, slavery initially provided a solution to the labor shortage only for the wealthier planter; he alone could afford the more expensive black hands. With slaves the wealthy were able to increase

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[25]Menard, "Economy and Society," and other sources cited in ch. 4 below.

their estates, while the poorer planters where hard pressed to maintain their already low standard of living. The adaptation of slave labor brought many changes. Slavery accelerated and accentuated a trend toward more inequitable distribution of wealth in the county. It created an almost unbridgeable gap between laborers--both white and black--and labor-owners. And it destroyed the racial and cultural homogenity of the population. No longer could social organization be based on the common experience of all members of the community.

Changes in the labor system, and shifts in wealth distribution which accompanied economic decline and stagnation had marked effects on the distribution of political power in the late 1670s, the 1680s, and the 1690s. More and more freedmen were unable to establish households and acquire land, and hence many later immigrants remained politically impotent throughout their careers in the Chesapeake. Many small landholders continued to serve in minor offices, but their chances of acquiring offices of major power decreased. As wealth became more concentrated, enough rich men were available so that major office was becoming an obligation and an honor which previously acquired wealth conferred. Although the distance between the rulers and the ruled increased during these years, these changes did not result in the development of a conscious political elite. While most of the rulers were now men of considerable wealth, their backgrounds were still too diverse and their styles of life too different (ranging at the turn of the century from little more than "rude sufficiency" to the beginnings of considerable comfort) to encourage the formation of a unified group interest. Early death still precluded the establishment of lasting connections between influential families, and it almost always prevented direct transfer of power from fathers to adult sons.

Towards a Provincial Society

During most of the seventeenth century Charles County was predominantly a land of immigrants, and thus it is appropriate to view the county's early history through their eyes. Should we continue this approach into the eighteenth century, however, the resulting picture would grow even narrower and more distorted. It thus becomes necessary to shift the focus from the experience of the immigrant to that of the creole. Some time between the mid-1680s and the mid-1690s the county's population began to grow by natural increase, and ten to fifteen years later, very near the end of the century, Charles became a predominantly creole county.

The life experience of creole men and women was in many ways different from that of immigrants. For one thing, native-born men could expect to live a few years longer than their fathers, and these few years might prove to be critical ones for their families and for society, since the years gained were ones in which a man might consolidate his property and see at least one of his children reach maturity.

Creole men and women could marry at younger ages than their parents, for even if they were bound out as orphans, they owed no term of service beyond majority. The pressures of an unequal proportion of men and women meant that seventeenth and early eighteenth century creole women would marry very young. As a consequence native women had longer child-bearing careers than their mothers. The two or three additional children which native women bore meant the difference between population decline and population growth.

The creole's relation to family and community also differed from that of his parents. While most immigrants could claim few kin in the colony, their children usually grew up with one or more natural or step-siblings. Most creole men and women thus had kin in Maryland, and perhaps more important, they usually had relatives living in close proximity. As kin groups reassumed many of the functions which they had been carrying out in England and in the northern colonies, connections between families became more significant, while ties to the general community diminished in importance. In the immediate family the combination of early marriage, slightly longer life spans for men, and more widespread kin ties made it easier for creole fathers to maintain more control over the lives of their offspring than their fathers had had over theirs.

Most native-born children had the advantage of beginning their careers with more material assets than their parents had started with. The most fortunate were able from the outset to farm inherited freeholds. Whether or not his father could bequeath him land, the native child did receive some portion of his parent's moveable estate. A bed, a pot, a pig, a cow (a typical minimal portion) supplied the young creole with the basics with which to set up a new household. The age at which native men married--before twenty-one at the turn of the century--shows how crucial such initial assets might be to a head start in southern Maryland.

By the turn of the century the early period of substantial social and economic mobility in the county was clearly over; however, the creole did have the security of an already known and fairly predictable place in the community. If most native-born sons could not expect to rise much above the station their fathers had achieved, on the other hand, they need not fear that they might fall much below it. For the unpropertied immigrant,

turn-of-the-century Charles County was no longer a particularly good "poor man's land," but for most native sons it remained a tolerable place to raise a family and make a living.

Native birth conferred advantages too in gaining a voice in local decision-making and, for some, positions of political power. Because the creole had an economic head-start over most immigrants and because he sometimes had the advantage of influential connections as well, he was likely to be appointed to office earlier and thus might remain in power longer. In addition, he was more likely than his father to have sons more nearly of age and thus he was in a better position than his father had been to maintain some continuity of family interests and influence.

Since immigrant and native life experiences were in many ways different, as the native-born element became more numerous in the county, changes in the make-up of the population, in family and community life, in the distribution and circulation of real and personal assets, and in the local power structure were certain to occur. As creole ways of thinking and creole sentiment began to predominate, the county slowly changed from an Old World settlement into a New World community. While the completion of this process took place beyond the limits of this study, the direction and the nature of this social change is already evident in the county by the turn of the century.

CHAPTER II

THE DEMOGRAPHIC HISTORY

Aggregate Population Growth

The number of individuals who composed the society with which we are dealing was not large. This circumstance enables the investigator to examine the lives of many of those individuals in depth and to describe their society in rich detail. The intensive methodology employed can in fact only be utilized for studying communities of limited size.[1] The very abundance of information which results, however, has a tendency to cause the unwary to exaggerate the size of the population examined and perhaps to give too much significance to the conclusions arising from such a study. Thus it is appropriate to consider at the outset the actual numbers involved, in order to put this study into some perspective.

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[1]E. A. Wrigley posits an ideal population for family reconstitution of between 1,000 and 2,500. Kenneth Lockridge's study of Dedham, Massachusetts, involves a population very similar in size to that of seventeenth-century Charles County, while Philip Greven's work on Andover covers an even smaller community. Darrett and Anita Rutman's study of Middlesex County, Virginia deals with a population of a size similar to that of Charles County in 1660, but which grew much more slowly, in 1724 reaching just one half of Charles County's 1704 population. E. A. Wrigley, "Family Reconstitution," in An Introduction to English Historical Demography From the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century, ed. E. A. Wrigley (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1966), p. 105; Kenneth A. Lockridge, A New England Town, The First Hundred Years (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1970); Philip J. Greven, Jr., Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970); Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, "'Now-Wives and Sons-in-Law': Parental Death in a Seventeenth Century Virginia County," in Tate, ed., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century. For a discussion of the sources and methods used in this study see appendix C.

Charles County, when established in May 1658, was composed of no more than 100 households and about 400 individuals. An analysis of the 1659 rent roll reveals 86 to 97 landowning residents, and an additional 6 landowners or renters can be identified from the county court records. As several of these resident planters first established themselves in the county in 1659, there were then slightly fewer than 100 households in 1658.[2] Inventories for the period 1658-65 show that these early households were quite small. The number of taxables per household was 2.28, indicating that the householder and one or two servants composed the labor force in most families.[3] As might be expected in a newly settled area in the Chesapeake, men exceeded women (and consequently there were a number of bachelor establishments). Also as might be anticipated, the population was composed largely of young adults with few elderly dependents and a limited number of children (because most couples had been

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[2]Rent Roll 0. The rent roll was corrected by adding to the 112 landowners listed an additional 3 men who deeds show had purchased land by the time the roll was drawn up. An attempt was then made to determine the residence of each, with these results:

a.	86	proven residents in Charles County
b.	16	resident in St. Mary's County
c.	2	resident in Virginia
d.	1	probable Charles County resident
e.	4	probably dead or left county
f.	6	residence unknown
	115	

Eighty-six is thus the minimum number of landholders and 97 the maximum (a., d., e., and f.) possible. The best estimate would be 90.

[3]St. Mary's City Commission Inventory Project, "Social Stratification in Maryland, 1658-1705" (National Science Foundation Grant GS-32272). Taxable masters of families and their servants and slaves in Charles, Calvert, and St. Mary's Counties numbered 2.28 per household. If non-householding freemen are included, the figure becomes 2.49 taxables per household.

married only a short time).[4] Slaves probably numbered fewer than twenty, with ownership widely dispersed.[5]

Taxable figures are the primary evidence available for studying the county's growth in population. Ideally they should represent a yearly census of all white males and all slaves capable of adult labor. In practice, the numbers are of course subject to error, both from concealment of taxable laborers by their masters, and lack of diligence on the part of the sheriff, and later of the constables (who were required by an act of 1676 to visit each house within their hundreds between June 20 and July 31 to inquire the number of taxables), or from mistakes resulting from the complete or partial illiteracy of the compilers. Still, prosecutions in the county court for concealment of taxables, and numerous requests for the commissioners to decide disputes between masters and constables about the liability of individuals for the poll tax indicates that the compilers were conscientious, and suggests that these figures are reasonably accurate.[6] (See table 1.)

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[4]See Irene W. D. Hecht, "The Virginia Muster of 1624/5 As a Source for Demographic History," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser., 30 (1973): 65-92 (hereafter WMQ).

[5]This estimate is based on the number of slaves mentioned in the inventories and wills of men known to be residents in 1659 minus those which records indicate were purchased after that date.

[6]Charles County Court, V#1, ff. 244, 407; B#1, ff. 413-14; X#1, f. 149; A#2, f. 248; G#1, f. 1; Maryland Archives 47: 90; 25: 255; John A. Kinnaman, "The Public Levy in Colonial Maryland to 1689," MHM 53 (1958): 253-74; Arthur Eli Karinen, "Numerical and Distributional Aspects of Maryland Population, 1631-1840" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1958), pp. 5-16.

TABLE 1

TAXABLES, CHARLES COUNTY, 1659-1705

Year	Number	Year	Number
1659	[205][a]	1686	792
1662	357 [b]	1689	901
1664	502	1690	869
1665	556	1691	880
1666	548	1692	872
1669	668	1693	901
1671	736	1694	895 [f]
1672	722	1695	871 [f]
1674	782	1696	991 [g]
1675	785 [c]	1697	1025
1676	732 [d]	1698	958 [e]
1677	700 [e]	1699	1067
1678	710	1700	1122
1679	739	1701	1195
1680	764	1702	1239
1681	766	1703	1259
1682	759	1704	1220
1684	745	1705	1267

[a]Estimate of 90 residents derived from the 1659 rent roll and a multiple of 2.28. See footnote 2 of text. Freemen and all men servants were taxable.

[b]Figures are from the Charles County Court records unless another source is indicated. In 1662, taxables were defined as freemen age 16 and over, male servants age 10 and over, and slaves, male and female, 10 and over.

[c]Maryland Archives 15: 51.

[d]In this year the definition of taxables was changed. All male children and imported male servants at 16 years, all slaves male and female at 16, and freemen 16 and above, except priests and ministers and the poor and impotent receiving county alms. Thus the decrease is due to a change of base.

[e]Extremely heavy mortality in this and the preceding year accounts for the decrease.

[f]Maryland Archives 25: 255.

[g]A boundary change is partly responsible for this increase.

A colony-wide census in 1704 is the only other reliable source of detailed information on Charles County population. In that year the county was composed of the following:

TABLE 2

CHARLES COUNTY POPULATION, 1704

Category	Number	Percentage
Masters of families	408	13.7
Free men and servant men	390	13.0
Free women and servant women	485	16.2
Free children	931	31.1
Servant children	179	6.5
Slaves	578	19.3
Total	2989	99.8
White Population, 1704:		
Adult white men	798	33.0
Adult white women	485	20.1
White children	1128	46.7
Total	2411	99.8

Source: Maryland Archives 25: 256.

Estimating the county population from the taxable figures is not a simple matter. The multiple used to convert taxables to total population changes because the definition of taxables varied, and the proportion of taxables in the population changed with shifts in age and sex composition, birth rates, immigration, and an increasing percentage of slaves. Because both male and female slaves were taxed, but only male whites, a large slave population lowers the ratio of taxed to untaxed persons, and an increasing slave population can offset the effects of a

rising birth rate on the ratio.[7] Figure 2 shows estimates of county population from taxable figures. The data on birth and death rates, family size, sex ratios, and immigration on which the multiples are based are discussed later in this chapter.[8]

Immigration

The majority of the people who lived in seventeenth century Charles County were born in the Old World. Thus the pace and timing of immigration to the county is important to the story of its people. Unlike New England, where significant immigration lasted only for a short time, southern Maryland society was composed of a very substantial number of new arrivals throughout the century.

Precise annual counts of immigrants cannot be obtained, but changes in the rate of immigration can be identified. A study based on Maryland head-right entries shows that immigration was heavy throughout the sixties and seventies and that servants formed a large proportion of the immigrants (figure 3).[9] Since the head-right system was abolished

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[7]For example, the ratio of county taxables in 1704 to the census population is 2.44. However, the ratio of white taxables to total white population is 3.02. The presence of slaves who composed 19.3 percent of the population lowered the ratio .58.

[8]See Menard, "Economy and Society"; and idem., "The Growth of Population in Early Colonial Maryland, 1631-1712," unpublished report prepared for the St. Mary's City Commission, April, 1972 (copy available at the Hall of Records). Menard's work corrects and extends Karinen's population study by adding information on immigration, composition, and birth rates. I have used the ratios he suggests for 1659-1695, and have derived my own for 1696-1705.

[9]See ibid., and idem, "Immigrants and Their Increase: The Process of Population Growth in Early Colonial Maryland," in Aubrey C. Land, Lois Green Carr, and Edward C. Papenfuse, eds., Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland: Essays in Honor of Morris Leon Radoff (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, forthcoming); idem, "Immigration to the Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century: A Review Essay," MHM 58 (1973): 323-29.

SOURCE: APPENDIX A, TABLE A1.

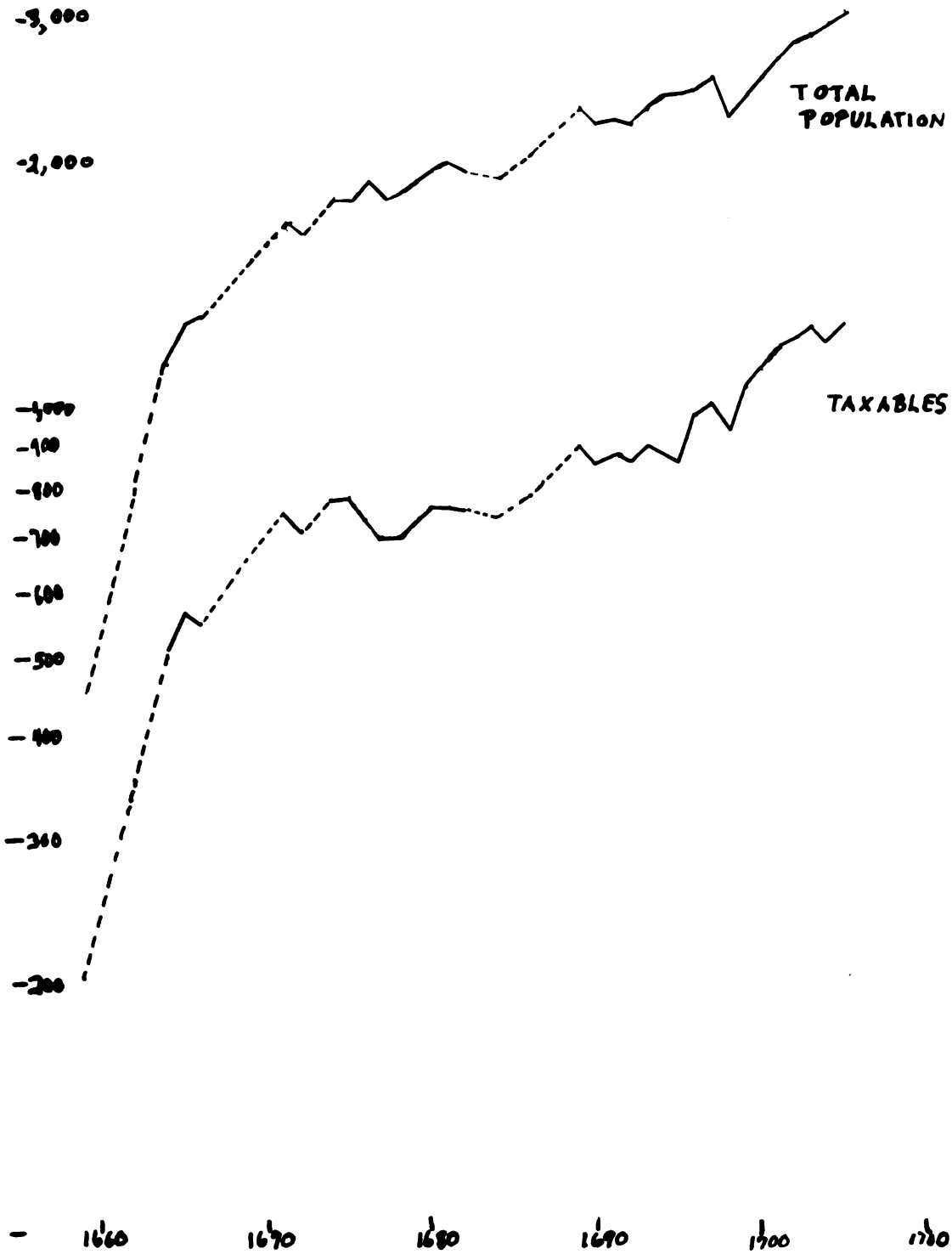

FIGURE 2. TAXABLES AND POPULATION GROWTH, 1659-1705

SOURCE: MENARD, "POPULATION GROWTH"

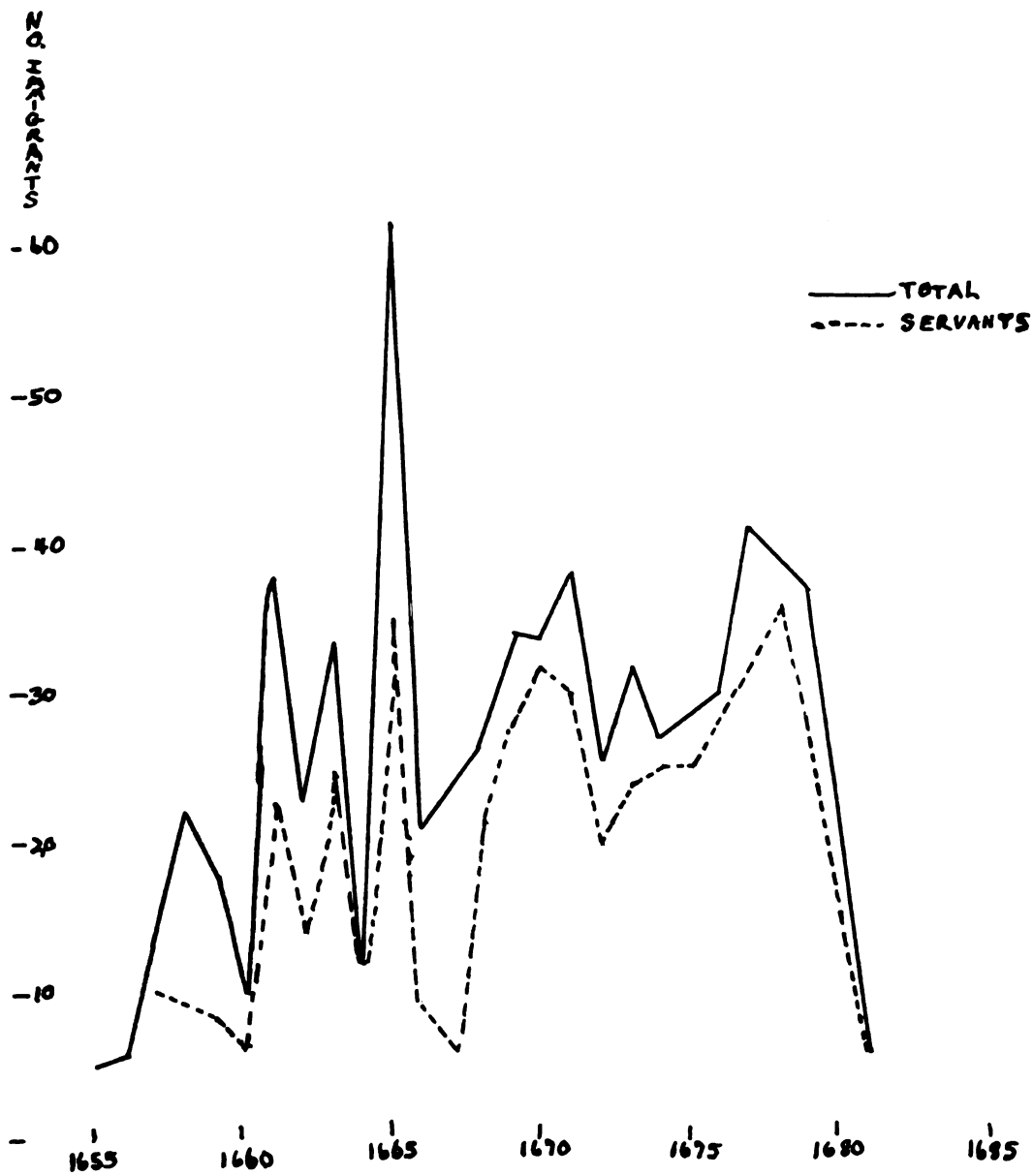

FIGURE 3. PATTERN OF IMMIGRATION FROM MARYLAND HEADRIGHT ENTRIES

in 1681, another source must be used to study immigration during the following years. An act of 1661 for the purpose of regulating the length of service for servants arriving without indentures required that masters bring their servants to the county courts within six months after acquiring them to have their ages judged and recorded. Although a count of these servants excludes both free immigrants and servants with indentures, it is still helpful for determining the pattern and rate of immigration. First, free immigration was probably very small after 1660. Second, the count of unindentured servants has been supplemented, wherever possible, to include indentured servants. Figure 4 shows clearly that immigration dropped sharply in the early 1680s and continued to be low except for the peak years of 1698-1700.

Russell Menard has demonstrated the correlation between high tobacco prices and heavy immigration. The number of servants registered closely follows the fortunes of the tobacco trade, because, he maintains, merchants actively recruited servants when prices were high, and were reluctant to invest in labor when returns were lower. About 1680 the number of immigrants declined most dramatically, falling below the demand of planters for new laborers. A fall in the English birth rate twenty years earlier had reduced the supply of labor in England, raising wages and increasing opportunity there. This situation in combination with new and brighter prospects for immigrants in Pennsylvania and the Carolinas curtailed the number who left the Old World and diverted them to places other than the Chesapeake.[10] Later immigrants to southern Maryland included increasing numbers of Irish and of women--groups to

[10]Russell R. Menard, "The Transformation of the Chesapeake Labor System, 1680-1710," paper read before the Southern Historical Association, Miami, Florida, 1972 (copy available at the Hall of Records).

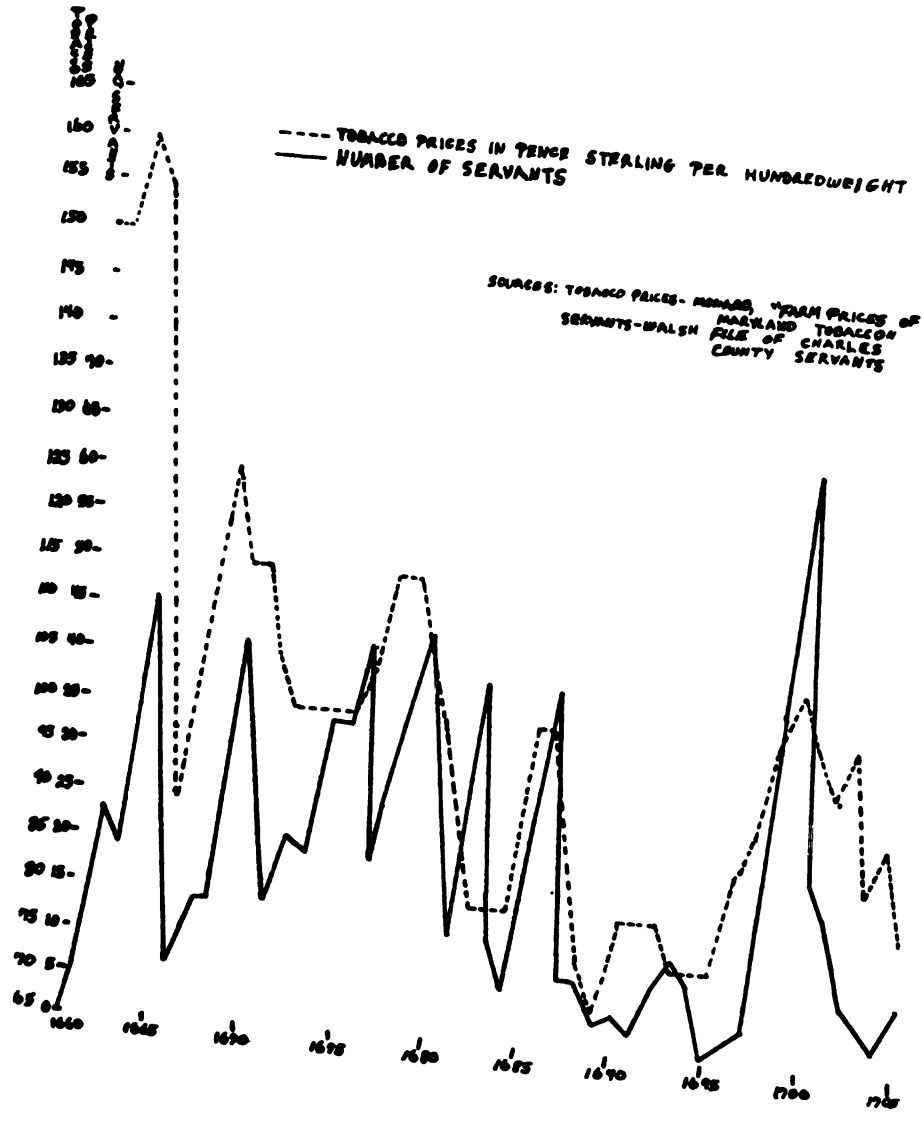

FIGURE 4. ANNUAL TOBACCO PRICES AND SERVANT IMMIGRATION

which merchants turned when the supply of young Englishmen willing to immigrate fell below the numbers sought by New World planters. In addition, by the 1680s and 1690s involuntary black immigrants contributed to population growth in growing numbers.

Death

When an individual made a decision to immigrate to the New World he was venturing, among other things, his life. Those who chose to come to Maryland found themselves in an environment where survival was difficult, and where their chances of living to old age were perhaps even more slender than in the Old World; worse, in fact, than in present-day underdeveloped countries. The steady growth of the county's population tends to obscure the terrible extent of mortality in the Chesapeake.

In order to appreciate the conditions which prevailed, one needs to create reliable estimates of mortality for men who immigrated to and were born in Maryland in the seventeenth century. Construction of life tables is the best method of achieving this goal. One such table (3) follows which estimates mortality for native-born adult males in Charles County.[11]

The table is based on the experience of a selected group of males whose births were recorded in Charles County between 1652 and 1699.[12] Because it is usually impossible to find death dates for

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[11]The table is published in Lorena S. Walsh and Russell R. Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake: Two Life Tables for Men in Early Colonial Maryland," MHM 59 (1974): 211-27.

[12]The births appear in Charles County Court, P#1, Q#1. The entries in the registers are largely confined to births and are not adequate for extensive family reconstitution.

TABLE 3

EXPECTED YEARS TO LIVE FOR MALES BORN IN CHARLES COUNTY, MARYLAND
1652-1699

Age	A Known Ages at Death	B Preferred Estimate	C High Mortality	D Revised High Mortality	E Low Mortality
20	23.3	26.0	23.1	24.5	27.2
25	20.2	22.7	20.5	21.6	24.0
30	18.0	20.4	18.5	19.4	21.7
35	15.7	18.0	15.9	16.9	19.3
40	13.5	15.6	13.4	14.5	17.0
45	12.8	14.5	12.5	13.5	16.0
50	10.5	12.0	10.1	11.0	13.6
55	9.2	10.6	8.9	9.6	11.8
60	8.2	9.3	8.0	8.7	10.3
65	8.3	9.4	8.0	8.7	10.1
70	5.7	7.0	6.0	6.5	7.3
75	3.5	3.5	3.4	3.5	3.5

A--includes only those whose date of death was discovered.

B--assumes that unknowns lived until day of last appearance and then followed rate of knowns.

C--assumes that unknowns died the day after their last appearance in the records.

D--assumes that one-half unknowns died the day after their last appearance and that one-half lived until the day they last appeared and then followed the rate of the knowns. Unknowns participate only through the age at which they last appear.

E--assumes that unknowns lived for ten years after their last appearance and then followed the rate of knowns. Unknowns participate only through the age at which they last appear.

Source: Walsh and Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake," p. 213, and appendix A, table 2.

children, only men known to have lived to age twenty are included. Males known to have died during childhood or who did not appear in any record as adults were dropped. This procedure left 153 men whose births were recorded and who did appear in the records after reaching age 20. Since the vital records are almost exclusively confined to births, probate records provided a majority of death dates.[13] This introduces some inaccuracy into the life table, there being always a delay between death and the initiation of probate. However, the lag was usually short and the error seems tolerable. Users of the table might wish to compensate by reducing all estimates of longevity by one-eighth or one-fourth of a year.

Age at death could be determined for 122 of the 153 native-born men, 80 percent of the total. Their experience is described in table 3, column A. But what of the remaining 31? Were they all very young when they died? Or very old? Can we assume that they died at the same rate as those whose age at death is known? To create a range of mortality estimates that would include the life experience of these 31 men, their careers were followed to determine the date at which they could last be proven to have been alive in Maryland. Their deaths were then distributed according to a procedure developed by E. Gautier and L. Henry adapted to fit the peculiarities of the population under study.[14] The high mortality

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[13]The probate records are in the Hall of Records. They are described in Elizabeth Hartsook and Gust Skordas, Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland, Hall of Records Commission Publication, no. 4 (Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1946).

[14]Etienne Gautier and Louis Henry, La Population de Crulai, paroisse Normande (Paris: n.p., 1958). See also the discussions in E. A. Wrigley, "Mortality in Pre-Industrial England: The Example of Colyton, Devon Over Three Centuries," Daedlus 27 (1968): 546-80; T. H. Hollingsworth, Historical Demography (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), pp. 185-89; and Wrigley, ed., Introduction to English Historical

estimate (table 3, column C) assumes that all the men whose death date is unknown died the day after they last appeared in the records. The low mortality estimate (table 3, column E) assumes that all unknowns lived for ten years after their last appearance and then shared the mortality experience of those whose date of death is known. The high and low mortality assumptions are sufficiently extreme to encompass the possible effects of the men whose death date is unknown upon the measure of longevity. The actual mean expectation of life surely fell within this range. Instead of following the usual practice of taking a mean of the high and low mortality tables as the "best estimate," a preferred estimate was developed by assuming that the unknowns lived until the date of their last appearance in the records and then followed the pattern of the men whose age at death is known (table 3, column B). In all of these calculations the unknowns participated in the table through only the age cohort in which they last appear.

The high mortality assumption is clearly unreasonable and can be revised to reflect the range of possibilities more accurately. There are three reasons for the failure to determine the date a participant died: emigration, a death that is not mentioned in any of the surviving records, and the inability to create a firm link between a man whose birth date was recorded and other records for a man of the same name. The high mortality estimate assumes that a special instance of the second reason accounts for all of the unknowns and certainly understates expectation of life. A more reasonable assumption is that only one-half of the unknowns died the day after their last appearance

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Demography, pp. 143-53. George W. Barclay, Techniques of Population Analysis (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958), pp. 93-122, provides a good introduction to the structure and uses of life tables.

in the records and that the rest shared the mortality experience of those whose date of death has been determined (table 3, column D). If this revised high mortality figure is accepted as a lower bound, a man born in Charles County in the seventeenth century who reached age twenty could expect to live an additional 24.5 to 27.2 years. Men who reach age twenty in the United States today can expect to live nearly twice that long.[15]

While the native born enjoyed comparatively short lives, their immigrant fathers lived for an even briefer time. Using a similar method Russell Menard calculated life expectancies for male immigrants to Maryland in the seventeenth century. He found that a man who arrived at age twenty-two could expect to die between ages forty-two and forty-six. This estimate undoubtedly understates total mortality among immigrants because it does not reflect the risks of "seasoning," the contemporary word for illnesses incurred during the first year in the Chesapeake. Unfortunately, no method of measuring the proportion who died during seasoning has yet been discovered, but the number was substantial.[16] If fifteen to twenty percent of new male immigrants

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[15]For the method of record linkage see appendix C. Life tables for the United States today are available in a variety of sources. See, for example, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1960), series B76-100.

[16]For example, in 1670 Michael Jefferson, a recent immigrant, was staying at the house of Samuel Cressey in Charles County, "and falling into some discourse concerning his life past and the Danger of Seasoning in this Country . . . in case he should dy in hes seasoning in this Country" made his will on the spot, and died shortly thereafter. Gilbert Clark reported in 1687 that Mr. Hugh Marshall died at his house "in his Seasoning" and had left Edward Napper his executor, "he the said Napper being alsoe in his seasoning not able at present either to manage the Concernes of himself or of the testator." Overseers of an estate explained in 1674 that two servants had harvested almost no tobacco because they "were new hands and sickly." When a man protested in 1709

died in their first year, then expectation of life at age twenty-two would have been only an additional eighteen to nineteen years.[17] (See table 4.)

TABLE 4

IMPACT OF SEVERAL SEASONING RATES ON THE PREFERRED ESTIMATE OF EXPECTATION OF LIFE AT AGE 22

% Who Die of Seasoning	0%	5%	10%	15%	20%
Expectation of Life in years	22.7	21.6	20.5	19.4	18.3

Note: Assumes that immigrants were age 22 when they arrived and that victims of seasoning died six months after arriving in Maryland.

Source: Walsh and Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake," p. 215.

Several questions concerning the quality of the data should be considered. Is the Charles County data reasonably representative of conditions in various regions of the Chesapeake? Were there significant changes over time? Is the table weighted in favor of a particular social group? The life table is clearly not severely unrepresentative of the experience of native men in the Chesapeake. Although it may well be that there were regional variations in mortality, in life tables so far constructed for various areas of the Tobacco Coast, the range in expectation of life for men has been relatively narrow. This suggests that a fairly uniform disease environment prevailed.[18]

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that he wanted a seasoned Negro, the owner replied that the slave in question "was ailing as other New Negroes were." Testamentary Proceedings, MSS, 4A: 51-55; 12: 12; 5: 16: 21: 94.

[17]Walsh and Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake."

[18]See Russell R. Menard, "The Demography of Somerset County, Maryland: A Preliminary Report," paper presented to the Stony Brook Conference on Social History, Stony Brook, New York, June, 1975; Darrett B.

A check of the status of the fathers who recorded births of sons in Charles County also revealed no perceptible bias. Nevertheless, some upward social bias may be present in the life table. In the heavy out-migration from the Chesapeake that began in the mid-1690s, poor families were more likely to emigrate than the moderately prosperous or the rich.[19] A disproportionate number of sons from poor families may have been excluded from the life table because they moved from the county with their parents before reaching age twenty. Still, the estimate of expectation of life should at least reflect accurately the experience of men who lived and died in the county.

Were the men in the table all married men, or were single men included? It is important to know the answer, because other studies indicate that the experience of married men alone may overstate longevity for all adults.[20] Since sex ratios in the seventeenth century Chesapeake were heavily imbalanced, it is particularly important that the experience of the single men who made up a substantial segment of the population be included. Of the 153 Charles County men in the table, 102 are known to have married, 29 died while single, and the marital status of 22 could

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and Anita H. Rutman, "Of Agues and Fevers: Malaria in the Early Chesapeake, WMQ 33 (1976): 31-60.

[19]For emigration in the 1690s see Governor Francis Nicholson to the Duke of Shrewsbury, June 14, 1695, Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, American and West Indies, 1693-1696, W. N. Sainsbury, et. al., eds. (44 vols to date: London: Public Record Office, 1860--), no. 1891; Thomas Lawrence to the Board of Trade, June 25, 1695, no. 1911 (hereafter CSP); Francis Nicholson to the Board of Trade, Mar. 27, 1697, Maryland Archives 23: 87-88.

[20]Susan L. Norton, "Population Growth in Colonial America: A Study of Ipswich, Massachusetts," Population Studies 25 (1971): 440-41.

not be determined. The mean age at death for married men was 49.1, while for bachelors it was only 32.[21]

The life table does not seem to conceal significant changes over time. Longevity may have increased for men born at the end of the century, but the number of participants is too small to support a firm conclusion. (See table 5.)

TABLE 5

MEAN AGE AT DEATH BY BIRTH COHORT

Birth Cohort	Mean Age at Death for Knowns	Mean Age at Death for All Participants According to Preferred Estimate
1650-54	37.0*	37.0*
1655-59	42.3*	45.0*
1660-64	71.0*	71.0*
1665-69	45.9	49.8
1670-74	36.0	41.2
1675-79	44.5	41.7
1680-84	39.5	44.6
1685-89	45.1	44.6
1690-94	42.5	44.9
1695-99	49.8	50.1

Total participants 153 Known death dates 122 Unknown death dates 31

*Low number of observations makes these figures less reliable than those that follow.

Source: see text.

Professor John Duffy has suggested that, while death rates were high among immigrants, expectation of life improved with the growth of a

[21]The Reverend John Clayton commented on this phenomena in 1687. The English and the Indians were alike, he observed--if they lived "past 33 they generally live to a good age, but many die between 30 & 33." Edmund and Dorothy Smith Berkeley, eds., The Reverend John Clayton, A Parson with a Scientific Mind, his Scientific Writings and Other Related Papers (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1965), pp. 22-39.

native colonial population.[22] Was this the result of some medical advance--the widespread use of quinine to control malaria, for example--or were the native-born more resistant to local diseases than immigrants?

If the preferred estimates are followed, a comparison of the native and immigrant life tables indicates about three years longer life for natives than for immigrants up to age forty, although the difference declined in the older age cohorts. When deaths due to seasoning are considered, the gap between immigrant and native life expectancies is lengthened. If, for example, ten percent of the new arrivals died within a year of moving to the province, the difference in expectation of life between natives and immigrants in their early twenties would nearly double.

Professor Philip Curtin, in a recent discussion of epidemiology and the slave trade, advanced an argument that is helpful in interpreting this difference in expectation of life between immigrant and native-born men in Maryland. Immigration almost invariably results in higher rates of morbidity and mortality for the migrant. Disease environments exhibit a wide range of local variations throughout the world; immunities acquired in one place often offer little protection in another. "Childhood disease environment," Curtin writes, "is the crucial factor in determining the immunities of a given adult population. Not only will the weakest members of a society be removed, leaving a more resistant population of survivors; childhood and infancy are also a period of life when many infections are relatively benign." As a rule, Professor Curtin concludes, "the individual will be safest if he stays in the disease

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[22]John Duffy, Epidemics in Colonial America (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1953), pp. 237-47.

environment of his childhood; if he migrates, a fully effective set of immunities to match a new disease environment could not be expected to appear in his generation."[23] This suggests that the slight improvement in native-born expectation of life is largely the result of immunities to Chesapeake diseases that the men born in Charles County acquired as children.

Additional explanations may be necessary for continued improvements in life expectancy. In the families studied, second generation natives lived longer than the children of immigrants, although not dramatically longer. The mean age at death for 88 men identified as first generation sons (using all participants according to the "preferred estimate" described above) was 45.4 years, while for the 41 identified as second generation it was 49.0 years. The numbers are too small to permit a generalization to all second generation sons, but we know by the mid-eighteenth century expectation of life was much higher still.[24] Life expectancy apparently improved for the men born shortly after those in this study. What happened and why are questions worth investigating.

The Charles County data proved inadequate for a direct measure of female mortality. Indirect evidence suggests that women may have lived longer than men. Of 411 seventeenth century marriages among whites in the county, 221 wives outlived their husbands, while only 114 husbands survived their wives. In 27 marriages both partners died at about the same time; in 49 it was unclear which partner survived. Although the results exaggerate the relative longevity of women because women were several

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[23]Philip D. Curtin, "Epidemiology and the Slave Trade," Political Science Quarterly 83 (1968): 196-97.

[24]This statement is based on unpublished research of Paul G. E. Clemens of Rutgers University and on Allan Kulikoff, "Tobacco and Slaves: Population, Economy and Society in Eighteenth-Century Prince George's County, Maryland," (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1976), ch. 3.

years younger than men at first marriage and because a second wife with the same name as the first would be counted as a surviving first wife, it still seemed clear that women outlived men. However, Darrett and Anita Rutman have recently presented a life table for women born in seventeenth century Middlesex County, Virginia which reports that men outlived women by almost nine years. A measure of female longevity based on Somerset County, Maryland data also gives native men an advantage--albeit six years less. Russell Menard had advanced an explanation which may resolve this apparent conflict between the direct and indirect evidence. The indirect measure includes both immigrant and creole women, while the life table reflects only the experience of the native born. The experience of these two groups may in fact have been different. Women, it appears, are particularly vulnerable to malaria during pregnancy. However, because immigrant women married late, they avoided exposure to the hazards of childbirth for a good portion of their reproductive lives. Conversely, native women married young and were thus exposed to the hazards of death in childbirth much earlier and for a longer period of time. Hence, although native men lived longer than immigrant men, because of their different life experiences, native women may have died somewhat earlier than their immigrant mothers.[25]

The Charles County data could not produce a direct measure of infant and childhood mortality either. However, rough estimates were calculated by combining information from the birth register with model life tables. The results underline the fragility of life in the Chesapeake for the young as well as for the adults. One-quarter or more of

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[25]Darrett and Anita Rutman, "'Now-Wives and Sons-in-Law'"; Menard, "Immigrants and Their Increase."

babies born in Charles County must have died before their first birthday, and between thirty-nine and fifty-five percent of the children born did not survive to age twenty.[26]

Why was life so short in seventeenth and early eighteenth century Maryland? The answers are not easy to arrive at. People described diseases that left them chronically ill or that they had recently survived, but they seldom left accounts of an immediate cause of death precise enough to permit diagnosis. Even when accounts of illness survive, they are often too vague to be helpful. In order to put what literary evidence remains in a firmer context, the first step in investigating the causes of early death is to examine the pattern in which deaths occurred.

Deaths in seventeenth century Charles County were concentrated in four "crisis" periods, 1662, 1675-77, 1685-86, and 1698. (See figure 5.)[27] Colonial records are most uninformative about the nature of these crises. No descriptions were found of the mortality of 1662. On February 4, 1675/6 two St. Mary's County residents requested that they not have to travel to St. Mary's City to prove a will, "the life of man being ever in danger and more especially now, in these Infectious times . . ."[28] Many absences due to illness were recorded in the proceedings of the probate court in 1677, and all victims reported "great

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[26]The procedure used is explained in Walsh and Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake."

[27]Analysis of death patterns for Charles, Calvert, St. Mary's and Prince George's Counties shows that these were crisis years throughout southern Maryland. "Social Stratification in Maryland."

[28]Testamentary Proceedings 7: 226.

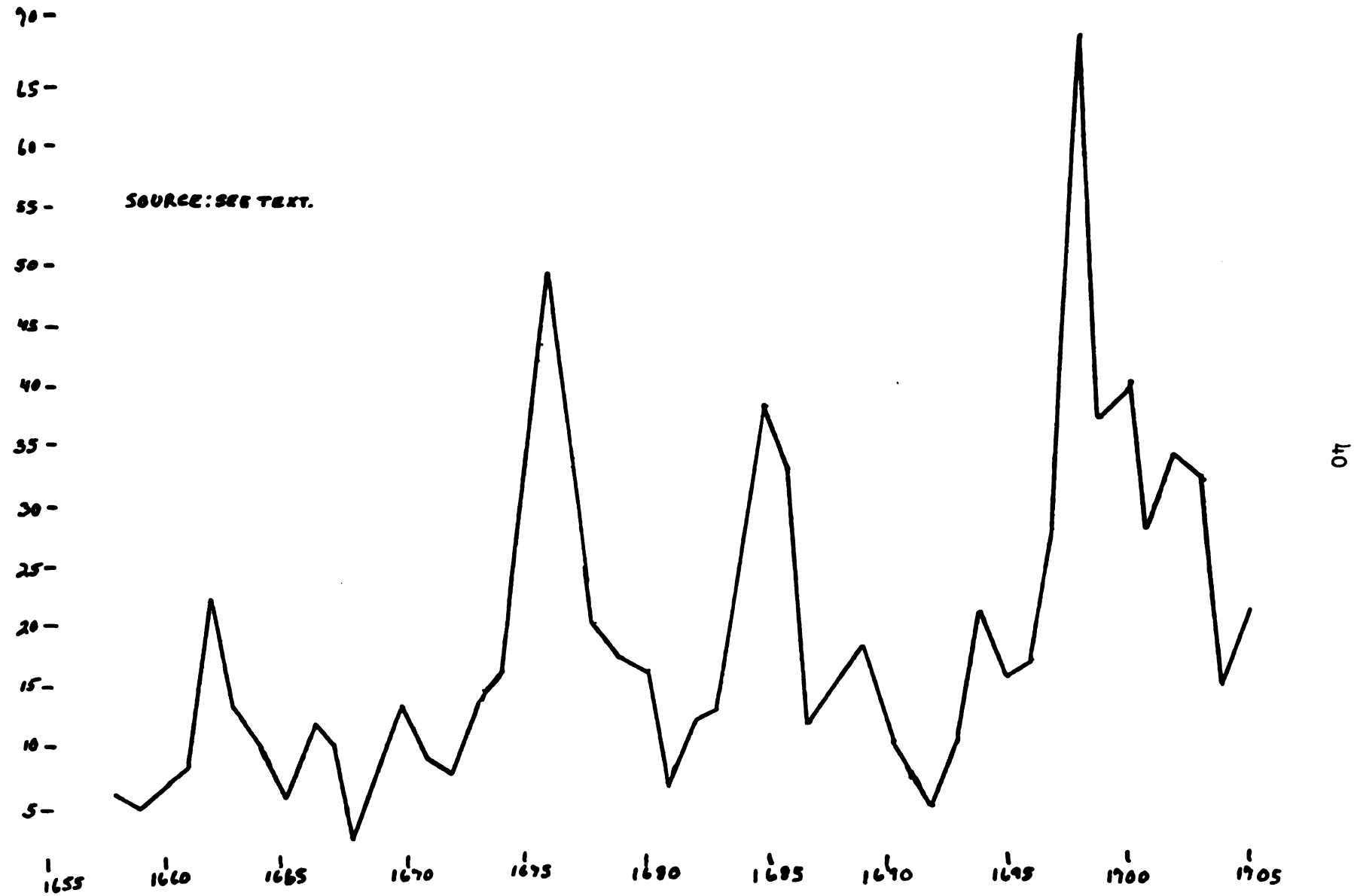

FIGURE 5. DEATHS PER YEAR, 1658-1705

sickness and much weakness," and "long and grievous sickness."[29] The Reverend John Clayton left an account of the sickness of 1686 as it manifested itself in Virginia:

> sore throats were very frequent & seemed infectious, running generally through whole familys, & unless early prevented became a cancerous humor, & had effects like the French Pox. Likewise Pains in the Limbs . . . are very exquisite.[30]

William Byrd noted an outbreak of smallpox during the same time, which he thought some slaves from Gambia had brought to the Chesapeake.[31]

A few more clues remain of the death crisis of 1698. In March of that year the assembly received a letter from an Anglican minister complaining:

> that the Popish Priests in Charles County do of their own Accord in this violent & raging mortality in that County make itt their business to goe up and [sic] the County to p[er]sons houses when dying & frantick and endeavour to seduce and make prosellites of them & in such Condition boldly presume to administer the Sacrament to them.[32]

Many people flocked to the Cold Spring in upper St. Mary's County which was believed to have curative properties. The governor instructed that someone be employed to read prayers at the Spring. In June the reader, John Davies, submitted a report of the cures which had been performed since he took up his duties, as did in July the justice who had employed him. Unfortunately these reports tell us nothing about the contagion. Persons from St. Mary's, Charles, Calvert, Baltimore, Somerset, Kent, and Talbot Counties, Maryland, and Stafford and Accomack Counties, Virginia,

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[29]Ibid., 9: 312-400.

[30]The Reverend John Clayton, pp. 25-26.

[31]Byrd to Sadlier and Thomas, Oct. 8, 1686; Byrd to Perry and Lane, Nov. 10, 1686, Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 25 (1917): 133-34.

[32]Maryland Archives 22: 22.

maintained that they had been cured of a variety of maladies, but these were problems of a chronic and not an acute nature--yaws, ulcerated sores, lameness, deafness, blindness, and the itch, for example.[33] The Cold Spring apparently did not aid those who were suffering from the epidemic.

The Testamentary Proceedings provide some terse descriptions of symptoms of the infection. On August 4, 1697 John Elsey of Calvert County suffered from "much sickness. . . . I am very ill and not able to ride soe farr." Kenelm Cheseldyne of St. Mary's County on January 1, 1697/8, had "a great Swelling in my Leggs," and William Husband reported from the same place on February 26, "haveing lately lost my Negro & three more of my ffamilly being verry ill my wife & two more." Joseph Tilly of Anne Arundel County, a witness to the will of Gabriel Parrott, Jr., and to that "of Elizabeth his now sick wife or widdow and alsoe to the last will . . . of Francis Price . . . am now so ill and full of Payne in my Limbs that I Cannot Ride or Goo on foote Three miles on perill of Death." John Pitt of Choptank wrote on May 10 that he had "been Extraordinary sike soe that I could not goo over [the Bay] if I might have had al the world."[34] A chirurgeon, Robert Jones, submitted a report to the Provincial Court on July 23, 1698:

> concerning the Distemper that Mr. Henry Denton late Clerk of his Ma[jes]tys honoble Councill here Died of is as followeth-- I was sent for to Mr Denton who had been sick nine days before I was sent for to him, and he kept his bed three days of the same before I came to him . . . I found him extream ill of a malignant fever and he had a very Low pulse and his urin[e] as in tim[e] of health which I have allways observed to be a true Sintum of a malignant fever. . . . But all my care Skill and Endeavour did prove Ineffectuall for the violence of his

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[33]Provincial Court Deeds, MS, WRC#1, ff. 833-34, 877-78.

[34]Testamentary Proceedings 17: 10, 11, 59, 65, 137, 138.

> Distemper did gain Upon him more & more Every Day . . . till his Days was Ended by this malignant fever.[35]

Governor Nicholson informed the Board of Trade in August 1698 that "by a rough computacōn" he judged "betwixt 800 & 1000 persons" had died of the epidemic in Maryland.[36]

On the basis of this evidence it is most probable that the 1675-77 and the 1698 crises were the result of influenza epidemics. In no cases are symptoms peculiar to diphtheria or yellow fever mentioned, so these diseases can probably be ruled out from negative evidence. In addition, the timing indicates influenza. John Duffy discovered an influenza epidemic in Western Europe in 1675 and he believes it spread to the colonies. He locates another in New England between November 1697 and February 1698, and again in the winter of 1699, precisely the months of heaviest mortality in southern Maryland.[37] The nature of the epidemic of 1685-86 is more problematic. It may also have been influenza (Duffy suggests another outbreak in the late 1680s), but the evidence is less clear than that for the other two crises. In addition, smallpox may have also been at least partly responsible for the unusual number of deaths.

By examining the seasonal pattern of deaths, we can also learn something of their causes. Figure 6 is based on 170 individuals who died between 1658 and 1705 for whom the season in which death occurred could be determined. (For example, if a man made a will on May 15, and it was proved on July 6, his death can be narrowed to a 52 day period.) Deaths decreased in the spring, reached a low in June, rose through the fall, and peaked in December, January, and February. Probably some of

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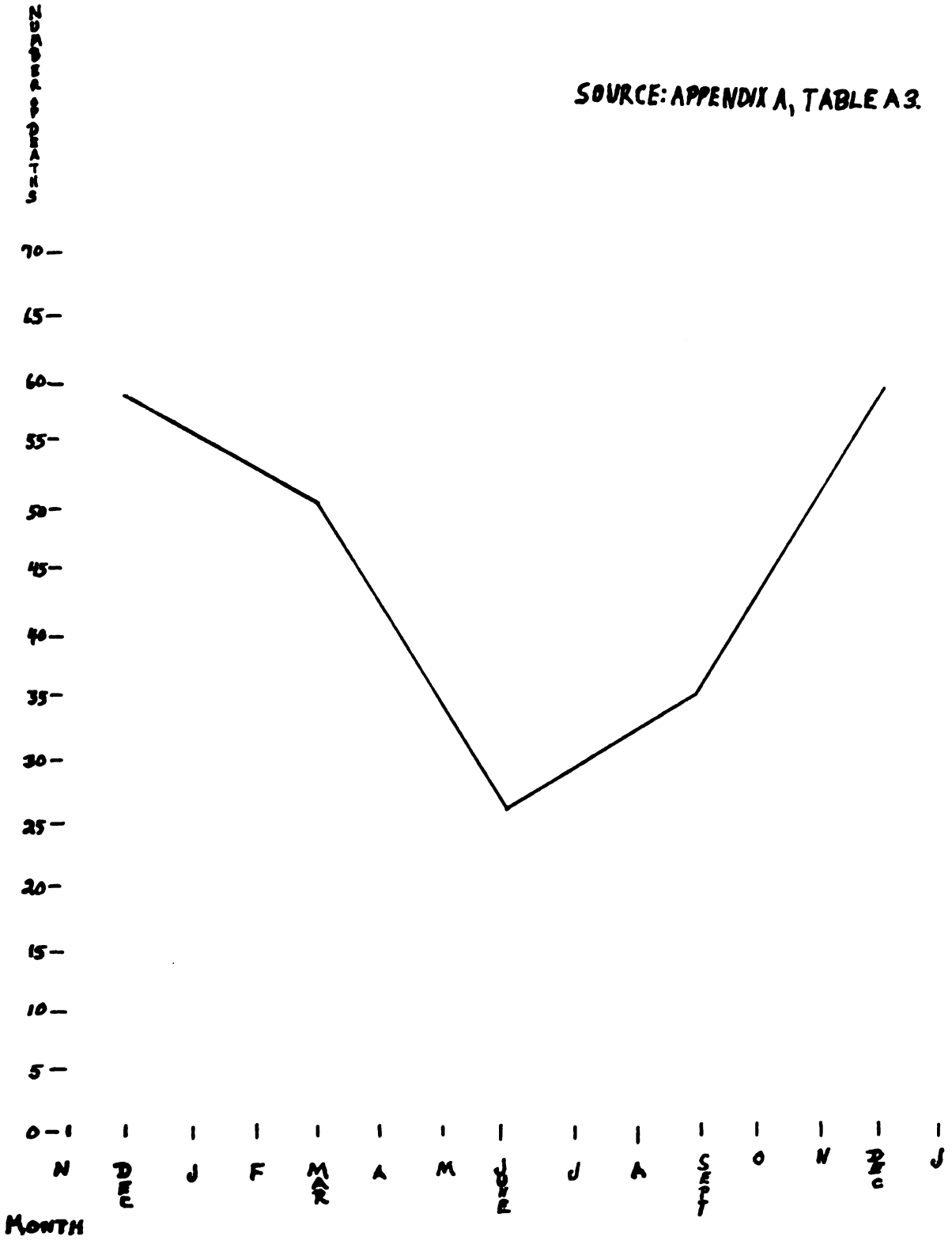
[35]Provincial Court Deeds, WRC#1, f. 816.

[36]Maryland Archives 23: 498.

[37]Duffy, Epidemics in Colonial America, pp. 184-88.



SOURCE: APPENDIX A, TABLE A 3.

FIGURE 6. SEASONAL PATTERNS OF DEATHS

the deaths in August-October were caused by malaria; new servants and babies seem to have been especially vulnerable during this period. "When the Weather breaks [in September]," John Clayton noted, "many fall sick, this being the time of an Endemical Sickness, for Seasonings, Cachexes, Fluxes, Scorbutical Dropsies, Gripes or the like . . ."[38] The best explanation of the heavy winter and early spring deaths seems to be that people were so weakened by chronic ailments such as malaria, dysentery, dietary deficiencies, and venereal diseases that when also exposed to cold and dampness, they succumbed to respiratory diseases.[39]

Aside from the extraordinarily "Infectious times" of 1675-77, 1685-86, and 1698, the most serious health problems mentioned in the records were continual and intermittent fevers and agues, "bloody flux" or "gripes of the guts," smallpox, and measles. Apparently neither smallpox nor measles were major threats to many lives in southern Maryland in the seventeenth century. A low incidence of smallpox was very likely given the large proportion of immigrants in the population. Most residents had already survived or developed immunity to the disease in Europe.[40]

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[38]The Reverend John Clayton, pp. 45, 54.

[39]Duffy, Epidemics in Colonial America, pp. 184-85, 200. On the seasonality of malaria, see Peter H. Wood, Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), ch. 3.

[40]Charles County Court, B#2, f. 130. Provincial Court Deeds, WRC#1, ff. 833-34, 877-78; Testamentary Proceedings 15C: 16-17. One reference each to smallpox and measles were found, while malaria and dysentery appeared much more frequently. Apparently few native children were exposed to smallpox in the colony, since it was greatly feared abroad. Hugh Jones observed about 1720 that more boys from the Chesapeake would be sent to England for schooling, "were they not afraid of the smallpox, which most commonly proves fatal to them." The Present State of Virginia From Whence is Inferred A Short View of Maryland and North Carolina, ed. with Introduction by Richard L. Morton (London, 1724; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 1956), p. 82.

Malaria, however, apparently approached pandemic proportions among immigrants. "Most newcomers," wrote a correspondent of the Royal Society, "have a severe fever and ague, which they call the seasoning and most part have it the first year."[41] John Roads, an indentured servant, bore out this observation; he was still ill six months after his arrival, having "had a fever and ague ever since they had been out of the first weeks."[42] The Sot-Weed Factor offers a graphic account of the new immigrant's suffering:

> With Cockerouse [a substantial planter] as I was sitting,
> I felt a Feaver Intermitting;
> A fiery Pulse beat in my Veins,
> From Cold I felt resembling Pains:
> This cursed seasoning I remember,
> Lasted from March to cold December.[43]

John Duffy has called malaria "a major hurdle in the development of the American colonies" because not only did it kill recent immigrants, but it also left many of the survivors in chronic poor health, easy victims of other infections.[44] Immigrants most susceptible to the disease probably constituted a major proportion of those dying "in their seasoning." Furthermore, survivors of an initial attack suffered recurrent bouts. One merchant upon his return to England from the colony, reported that he had been visited with a recurrence of "Maryland fever." Hugh

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[41]Stanley Pargellis, ed., "An Account of the Indians in Virginia," WMQ 16 (1959): 233.

[42]Maryland Archives 10: 216.

[43]p. 17. See also, The Reverend John Clayton, p. 26; Beverley, Present State of Virginia, p. 306; William Fitzhugh to Henry Fitzhugh, July 18, 1687, in William Fitzhugh and His Chesapeake World, 1676-1701, Richard Beale Davis, ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 1963), p. 229; Jones, The Present State of Virginia, p. 84; Maryland Archives 41: 478-80.

[44]Duffy, Epidemics in Colonial America, p. 214.

Jones graphically described the fate of malaria victims who remained in the Chesapeake:

> the distemper . . . reduced them to an irrecoverable, lingering ill habit of body; especially if they live meanly, . . . and . . . generally ends their lives with a dropsy, consumption, the jaundice, or some such illness.[45]

Philip Curtin and John Duffy consider intestional diseases, especially dysentery, the second greatest cause of immigrant deaths in the southern colonies.[46] Dysentery was clearly a serious problem in Maryland. Charles James of Cecil County wrote in September 1682 that he could not come to St. Mary's City to account for an estate because:

> the almighty hand visited me with a very great & Unexpected fitt of the Grypes of the Gutts, a distemper too well known in this Province, which hath brought me to that Extremity of weakness that God knows when or how soon I may be able to undertake soe great a voyage.[47]

A Charles County planter wrote to his physician:

> Mr Meekes
>
> I woold desir you to Cume to mee with all speed as possibly you Can for I am very dangerously sicke of a violent Vometing and a loosnes and bring meanes along with you I pray fayle mee not of your Comming speedily or els it will bee to laet I Rest your louing frind
>
> from my hows
> March the 29th 1663 Humphrey Haggat
>
> I was taken with this loosnes a friday last and I haue a stool every quarter of an hower.

Dr. Meekes related that he was "sent for by Mr humphery haggot being sick of a bloodie flux & did cum to him April the second day," at which time

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[45]Provincial Court Deeds, WRC#1, ff. 30-31: Jones, The Present State of Virginia, pp. 84-85.

[46]Duffy, Epidemics in Colonial America, p. 215; Curtin, "Epidemiology of the Slave Trade," p. 200.

[47]Testamentary Proceedings 12B: 259-60.

Meekes administered two "restringent Portions" and one "suppositer at night to Cause Rest." On April 3, 4, and 5 Meekes prepared "cordial potions," "restringent and cordiall boloses and glisters," "subpositers to Cause Rest," a "parcell of oyntment for his hips," and a "parcell of Cardamins and sum lef to bee used in his drincke." These medications were to no avail, and Haggat died within the week.[48]

In November 1688 Samuel Ashcom of Calvert County told Henry Jowles that he was troubled with "the griping of the Gutts." Jowles:

> told him he must take physick, . . . [and offered to] take physick with him. . . . Samuel made answer that he had such urgent business at Point Patience he could not then stay to doe it, but when he came up againe he would come to . . . [Jowles] house & take physick.

Richard Gardiner related that as Ashcom was going down to Point Patience, he called at Gardiner's house, "& desired him to lett him have a pint of Rum for he was not well, & was in earnest business to goe downe & lett out a Sloop." Ashcomb was unable to take a cure with Henry Jowles, for he died of dysentery at Point Patience.[49]

While the miseries of dysentery were probably most common, others fell victim to the "dry gripes," or the "wind gout," an often fatal form of lead poisoning brought on by the consumption of rum which had been distilled in lead pipes. Although Hugh Jones mistakenly identified the climate as the cause of the ailment, he did observe that the most frequent victims were "hard drinkers of rum."[50]

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[48]Maryland Archives 53: 426. Cf. ibid., 10: 97, 466; 45: 545.

[49]Testamentary Proceedings 12B: 259-60.

[50]The Present State of Virginia, p. 85; The Reverend John Clayton, p. 4; "An Account of the Indians in Virginia," p. 233.

Deaths and injuries from accidents were also common, particularly among men. A tree falling in the wrong direction could result in a broken back or in death. Others died from falling off or being kicked by horses. Drowning was a common hazard in a region heavily dependent on water transport, and winter voyages on Chesapeake Bay were considered particularly dangerous. In addition, quarrels frequently erupted into physical violence. Both men and women engaged in hitting, kicking, clubbing, stabbing, and shooting, resulting in numerous injuries, many of them minor, others disabling, and some fatal. Skirmishes with the Indians claimed some additional lives. Finally, others ended their days in Maryland by suicide.[51]

Much fuller evidence remains about ailments which caused chronic misery, but not necessarily death. Lameness was the most frequently mentioned complaint. Whether induced by accidental injuries, deliberate beatings, unhealed abscesses, rheumatism, or other causes, lameness had the same result--the victim was unable to get a living by his own labor and might be forced to seek maintenance from the county. Chronic pain in the back, side, shoulders, and arms belong to the same class of difficulties. Unhealed wounds of all kinds were common. The Reverend John Clayton observed that "upon an ill habit of body, the least scratch is dangerous, & . . . it often turns into a very desperate ulcerous sore."[52] Rehobeth Barnfeather had such a problem, "being greviously afflicted [in 1700] with an old and ulcerous tumour in his thigh," which a doctor had been unable to cure since 1696.[53] John Wall, a Charles County laborer,

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[51]Testamentary Proceedings 12B: 39, 76, 106, 115; 7: 159; 13: 375-77; 9: 420.

[52]The Reverend John Clayton, p. 37.

[53]Charles County Court, X#1, f. 341.

provides an even more graphic example. Initially he suffered from a sore leg, but:

> by hard usage and long and habituall bad habitts ye s[ai]d John hath contracted such gross and foule humors in his body than when ye sores are healed up they breake out again in a small time, so that it was a burden to keep him from stinking.[54]

Blindness and deafness were less frequently mentioned--few people lived long enough to contract these ailments. Children and servants suffered particularly from skin diseases--"scaled head" and "the itch"--and both occasionally developed scurvy. Women complained of sore breasts and menstrual difficulties. Both sexes were sometimes also victims of lunacy.[55]

One fairly common and puzzling affliction is "the yaws." Yaws is a contagious skin disease clinically similar to syphilis, spread by contact with an infected person or his clothing or by flies. It causes multiple cauliflower eruptions of the skin, especially around the mouth, nose, and anus and on the neck, buttocks, arms and legs; and later, in the worst cases, can develop into bone lesions and can destroy or deform the nose, lips, hands, and feet. In the West Indies yaws was brought over with the African slaves, "and was a common affliction among the slaves of the English islands."[56] I have found no reference to yaws in

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[54]Ibid., S#1, ff. 118, 184.

[55]Ibid., A#1, ff. 54-55, 84, 85, 93, 145-46, 157; B#1, ff. 54, 188, 192-94, 216; C#1, f. 49; D#1, f. 116; E#1, ff. 93, 180; H#1, ff. 38-39; I#1, ff. 47-48, 50; K#1, f. 357; R#1, ff. 28, 166, 419, 430; S#1, ff. 105, 184; V#1, ff. 154, 205; X#1, ff. 41, 49, 52, 352, 375; Y#1, ff. 36, 130, 313; Z#1, ff. 60-61; A#2, ff. 133, 166, 200, 214, 273; B#2, ff. 128, 173; Inventories and Accounts, MSS 5: 332; Provincial Court Deeds, WRC#1, ff. 833-84, 877-78; Testamentary Proceedings 10: 317-20; 11: 295-97; 14A: 8.

[56]Richard S. Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713, Institute of Early American History and Culture Series (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), pp. 302-05.

blacks in Maryland, but there are references to the disease in whites and in Indians. Most of these occur after the late 1680s, thus coinciding with the first major importation of slaves, and suggesting that the disease may have originated with them. Most of the people afflicted were ex-servants and poor orphans, people who might well have lived in close contact with blacks, and who were also most likely to have neglected sanitation.

Specific references to yaws include the following:

1691 George Darby, a laborer of Charles County, had yaws.

1700 Elizabeth Scroggin, a poor Charles County orphan, was "in a languishing condition, verry farr gone with the distemper called the yaws."

1705 Barbarie Barker, a single pauper, was old and afflicted by yaws.

1708 The Sot-Weed Factor quotes an apothecary as saying:

> Upon my Life we'll win the Cause,
> With all the ease I cure the Yaws.

And in a footnote the author of the poem states for the benefit of British readers, "The Yaws is the Pox."[57]

The following claimed to be cured of yaws after bathing in and drinking the water of the Cold Spring in St. Mary's County:

Jane Miles of Baltimore County who had the yaws.

Graves Garrat and his wife of Somerset County who both had yaws.

A child of Samuel Williamson of St. Mary's County who had the yaws in both his nose and eye.

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[57]Charles County Court, R#1, ff. 319-22; Y#1, ff. 34, 39; B#2, f. 56; Cook, The Sot-Weed Factor, p. 19.

A Mr. Wilkinson of Talbot County who had yaws. (He is probably the only victim who was not poor.)

Abraham Homissland's wife of St. Mary's County, "being a most miserable Spectacle to behould last fall was Cured in Three months of ye yaws."

John Linton of Stafford County, Virginia, who had yaws and the itch.

John Garrett of Somerset County, "having ye Yaws Two yeares was Cured in a fortnight's time Last March when all ye Doctors he tryed Could doo him noo Good."

A visitor to the springs, however, commented that many patients who appeared to be cured, later suffered relapses of the disease, and that sores reopened or erupted in other places.[58]

Yaws might also account for the following case in which the diesase was undiagnosed. In 1681 Elizabeth Brasitt, an ex-servant, was "afflicted with a sadd deplorable disease, that doth breake forth in her face, soo that y[ou]r petitioner is rendered uncapable of getting a lively hood, for that by reason of ye same few or noo people will entertain her in their houses."[59]

Whether these symptoms are evidence of an outbreak of yaws in the Chesapeake is problematic:

> One of the main problems . . . lies in diagnosis. The note in The Sot-Weed Factor ("The yaws is the pox.") underscores the confusion which contemporaries had between diseases which raised similar sores on the body--smallpox, syphilis and yaws. Even when the differences were obvious, the nomenclature remained vague.[60]

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[58]Provincial Court Deeds, WRC#1, ff. 833-34, 877-78.

[59]Charles County Court, I#1, f. 59.

[60]Peter H. Wood to Lorena S. Walsh, New York, 22 March 1973.

Smallpox did occasionally occur in the county.[61] Syphilis, "noli me Tangere," or "the French pox," was certainly also present, and was an ill-understood disease "held by all phisitians accompted incurable."[62]

One thing which was not a cause of death was insufficient food. There is absolutely no evidence of any shortage of food at any time in seventeenth century Maryland. For example, despite extremely heavy mortality among livestock in the severe winter of 1694/95, when 2,498 cattle and 11,260 hogs died in Charles County alone,[63] there is no evidence that even then people lacked food. Nor is there any reason to believe that there was a link between this event and the death crisis of 1698. The Chesapeake environment was clearly unhealthy, but food was much too easily gathered or grown for there to be any crises of subsistance. When malnutrition occurred it resulted from ignorance, not from a scarcity of food.[64]

It is clear from the extremely low life expectancy that medical knowledge and practice was ineffectual in combatting the diseases which decimated the colonists. Although some of the men who pursued medicine had benefitted from what formal training was then available, the professional healer was able to do little more for his patients than was the amateur.

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[61]Charles County Court, B#2, f. 130.

[62]Maryland Archives 70: 413-15; "An Account of the Indians in Virginia," p. 233; Charles County Court, A#1, f. 148.

[63]Maryland Archives 20: 191-92, 270-71. Karinen's suggestion that there may have been a subsistence crisis results partly from incorrect estimates of population for the period 1690-1700. He offers no evidence to support this explanation other than his population estimates. "Maryland Population," ch. 4.

[64]On the contrary, travelers remarked on the abundance and easy availability of food in the region. "Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland, 1705-06," American Historical Review 12 (1907): 327-41; Cook, The Sot-Weed Factor, pp. 4-5.

The forty-one chirurgions and apothecaries who practiced in Charles County between 1658 and 1705 came from a wide variety of backgrounds, and boasted various degrees of training. Richard Helms (practicing in the county in 1662) was London trained, as was George Eyres (1700-03), a well-to-do practitioner with an apprentice and a sizeable plantation.[65] Dr. William Hall (1691-97) of Chichester, Sussex, the second son of William Hall, glazier, had had at least enough education to enable him to read books on chirurgery,[66] as had Charles Gregory (1676),[67] Nicholas Solsby (1672-74),[68] John Cornish (1675-97)[69] and Joseph Venour (1704-06), a nephew of Dame Abigail Harrington.[70] John Meeks (1662-64) had practiced in London before going to Barbados. He removed to Maryland in 1662 with his apprentice, John Helm, and began doctoring there, as well as setting up a store near the Charles County court house where he sold cloth and finished clothing, as well as rum and sugar which he had brought with him from Barbados. In 1664 he left the colonies and returned to a more certain and settled practice in England, ending up in Ratcliffe, Middlesex, from whence he finally decided in 1691 to sell his landholdings in Charles County.[71] Dr. John Lomaire

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[65]Charles County Court, A#1, f. 190; Y#1, ff. 194, 364. See also George B. Scriven, "Maryland Medicine in the Seventeenth Century," MHM 57 (1962): 29-46.

[66]Wills, MS, 7: 261; Inventories and Accounts 15: 166.

[67]Inventories and Accounts 8: 364-65.

[68]Ibid., 1: 58-59.

[69]Ibid., 15: 233.

[70]Ibid., 32B: 188; Wills 12: 188.

[71]Maryland Archives 53: 400; Provincial Court Deeds, WRC#1, ff. 564-65.

(1674-88), a native of Anjou, France, had had some formal education,[72] as had Bartholemew Pigott (1685), also possibly of French extraction.[73]

Other men were less trained or less persistent practitioners. John Lumbrozo (1660-66) was a highly literate black Jew from Lisbon who occasionally did some doctoring (including illegal abortions), as well as planting and trading. How he obtained his education or medical skills cannot be determined.[74] Edward Maddock (1672-84) initially set himself up as an apothecary, and began doctoring soon after; medicine seems to have been only a sideline, however, as he engaged primarily in land speculation.[75] George Hodgson (1680-84) began as an apprentice to Dr. John Peerce of Calvert County. Peerce was perhaps one of the best-equipped doctors in the province, having a stock of 243 kinds of powders, oils, spirits, ointments, pills, syrups, and roots, 6 cases of instruments, and 14 "Large and small Bookes of Physick & Chyrurgery" at his death in 1679. Peerce bequeathed all this equipment to Hodgson, and it was probably with this stock that Hodgson set up as an apothecary and chirurgeon in Charles County. He branched more and more into merchandising, however, eventually making his income primarily through the sale of dry goods and by lending money.[76] John Meredith (1671) began doctoring while still

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[72]Maryland Archives 60: xxxiv.

[73]Inventories and Accounts 8: 364-65.

[74]Maryland Archives 53: xxii-xxiii, 1-li, 387-91.

[75]Charles County Court, E#1, ff. 74-75, 157; F#1, ff. 95, 124, 178-79, 180-81, 200; H#1, ff. 59, 132-33; I#1, ff. 125-26, 184-85; L#1, ff. 140-42.

[76]Wills 10: 15; Inventories and Accounts 6: 402-16; Charles County Court, K#1, f. 355.

a servant, and was probably entirely self-trained.[77] John Brasher (1690-1705) entered chirurgery by a different route. Between 1677 and about 1690 Brasher was a farrier, caring for livestock and specializing in blooding, drenching, dousing, and healing wounds of horses. By 1690 he branched into two additional trades, blacksmithing and doctoring. Brasher's years of experience with livestock was perhaps at least as useful as the medical training of the times. He appears to have had particular success in setting broken bones, healing wounds, and in relieving lameness and back pains.[78] What training, if any, the other county practitioners had has not been determined.

The treatments administered by all physicians consisted largely of herbal remedies, bleeding, and purging.[79] No Charles County practitioners were so well supplied as John Peerce. Charles Gregory's medical equipment consisted of:

> 1 parcell of old Phisick bookes
> 2 pr of scales and brass weights
> 1 old pocket cas[e] with instruments
> 1 pewter cyringe
> 1 parcell of Instruments
> 2 lancets
> a parcell of dry herbes and rootes
> severall parcells of medicines.[80]

Bartholemew Pigott had equipment similar to Gregory's with the addition of "a parcell of Dismember Instruments," as did Nicholas Solsby, who also owned The English phistian and manuell of the anatomy of man. William

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[77]Charles County Court, E#1, f. 39.

[78]Ibid., G#1 through B#2.

[79]Ibid., F#1, f. 190; Maryland Archives 53: 426; 60: 246, 367, 394.

[80]Inventories and Accounts 2: 353-59.

Hall had only "a parcell of ould Docttors Instruments Sum brooke and Sum whole."[81]

In addition to those men who deemed themselves chirurgeons and apothecaries, a number of planters and their wives gained local reputations in the practice of folk medicine. They prepared potions and ointments, and often took the sick into their homes in order to cure them for a fee. The herbal remedies, rest, and good diet administered by these unlettered healers were probably more beneficial to the sick than the bleeding, purges, and vomits administered by more educated practitioners.[82] In 1662 Elizabeth Cherman successfully cured George Bradshaw's ailing man servant. She and her husband presented the following bill:

for a qt & 1/2 a pint of cordiall sirrups	lb. tob.	040
for 5 poultry at 8 lb. a poultry		040
for too pound and a half of sugar		010
for four bottles of diat drinke		030
for too Cordialls		020
for too pills		020
for the troobel of the hows for eight days		050
The totall sum is		210 [83]

The protagonist of The Sot-Weed Factor related that he had suffered from malaria from March to December:

> Nor would it then its Quarters shift,
> Until by Cardus [an herbal remedy] turn'd adrift,
> And had my Doctress wanted skill,
> Or Kitchin Physick at her will,
> My Father's Son had lost his Lands,
> And never seen the Goodwin-Sands:
> But thanks to Fortune and a Nurse
> Whose Care depended on my Purse,
> I saw myself in good Condition,
> Without the help of a Physitian.[84]

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[81]Ibid., 8: 364-65; 1: 58-59; 15: 166. John Cornish's equipment was as meager as Hall's. Ibid., 15: 233.

[82]The Reverend John Clayton, pp. 46-47.

[83]Maryland Archives 53: 190. See also Charles County Court, A#1, ff. 37-38, 85, 92-93, 100, 145, 154-56, 158; H#1, ff. 38-39; S#1, ff. 297-98; A#2, f. 66.

[84]Cook, The Sot-Weed Factor, pp. 17-18.

There was community concensus that everyone, rich or poor, free or servant, should have access to such medical care as was available. If a person could afford to pay, he was required to do so; if he died, the first bill to be paid out of his estate was the doctor's. The chief judge of probate elaborated this in 1680, when he ruled that an administratrix ought to have paid the chirurgion who administered in her husband's last sickness:

> before any other debts in her acc[oun]t . . . being by ye Custome of this Countrey debts of ye first Ranke since no Doctr. will give medicines to ye sicke in this Country where there is no mony to pay Ready downe for Doctr. fees unless ye doctr. acct. shall in the first place be payd.[85]

When a person was sick and could not afford medical care it was common, especially in the early years, for him to bind himself to serve a physician for one or two years in return for a cure. If the physician neglected the patient, or could not effect a cure within a reasonable time, the patient could be freed by the county court.[86]

The court played an increasingly active role in ensuring that all county inhabitants received medical care. Masters who refused to pay for needed attention for their servants were ordered to do so, or to free them at once.[87] The medical bills of the indigent were sometimes paid for by the county. For example, the court ordered Elizabeth Agramba who was caring for Benjamin William, an orphan, that she "doe agree as reasonably as shee can with some Doctor for ye Cure of Benjamin

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[85]Testamentary Proceedings 12A: 77-78.

[86]Charles County Court, X#1, f. 341; I#1, f. 59; R#1, ff. 319-22; Y#1, 266; S#1, f. 319; D#1, f. 116; K#1, f. 357; Z#1, ff. 60-61; S#1, f. 184.

[87]Ibid., K#1, f. 210, G#1, f. 119; R#1, ff. 319-22, 419; V#1, f. 310.

William's hand," which the county would then pay for. In 1693 it was "ordered that Major James Smallwood one of ye Justices of this Court make an agreement with Dr. William Hall as cheape & reasonable as hee can possible for ye Cutting [amputation] of ye sd John Walls legg & to looke after ye same" at county expense.[88]

Marriage and Family

Before exploring available data on marriage and the family in Charles County, a digression on sources and methods is in order. The life table represents one attempt to explore the demography of colonial Maryland. The data on the numbers and seasonal patterns of death, and that which follows on marriages, births, and family size was collected by a modified form of family reconstitution. There was no system of church registration of vital statistics before 1696. In 1658 the county clerks were ordered to perform this function; registration was far from complete, however, and penalties for failure to register births, deaths, and marriages were apparently never enforced. Civil registers remain only for Charles, Kent, Talbot, and Somerset Counties. After the Anglican Church was established in 1695 the parish clerks were given responsibility for keeping vital registers, but unfortunately none have survived for the seventeenth century. The births recorded in the Charles County Court and Land Records number only 394, while there are fewer than two dozen marriages and deaths combined. Therefore vital information was collected wherever it could be found. Deaths, for example, were determined from the proof of wills, filing of inventories, taking out of administration bonds, orphan court

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[88]Ibid., I#1, f. 294, and S#1, f. 118. See also R#1, f. 237; V#1, ff. 215, 310; X#1, f. 191; Y#1, ff. 34, 39.

proceedings, appropriations for burials of paupers, suits involving estates, and chance references. Evidence of marriages were found in marriage contracts, suits, depositions, deeds, wills, and administration accounts. Births were determined from deeds of gift, registration of livestock marks, wills, orphan court proceedings, administration accounts, and bastardy cases. These references were then combined with the material from the register and linked to reconstitute families. For annual totals of recorded births and marriages see figure 7.

Obviously, the resulting data are much less precise than those obtained from good parish registers. In the majority of cases dates of vital events could not be determined precisely, but within the range of one year. For each calculation, a level of minimally acceptable accuracy had to be determined, and the data scrutinized in order to eliminate entries below the acceptable level. The rules of family reconstitution provided valuable guidelines for data selection, but could not always be followed literally; rather, entries were accepted or rejected on the basis of standards derived from the most precise data which could be obtained from the sources available.

Under-recording of vital events is a serious problem. The information on marriage is the fullest, with the rate per thousand well above an acceptable minimum until after 1696. (See appendix A, table A4.) Births are the most seriously under-recorded, as many families did not register any of their children, and those who did recorded only those children who survived early infancy. After 1695 almost all birth registrations were made in the now lost parish records. It is very difficult to estimate the extent of under-recording because there are few examples of societies with a naturally declining population with which to compare this data. The

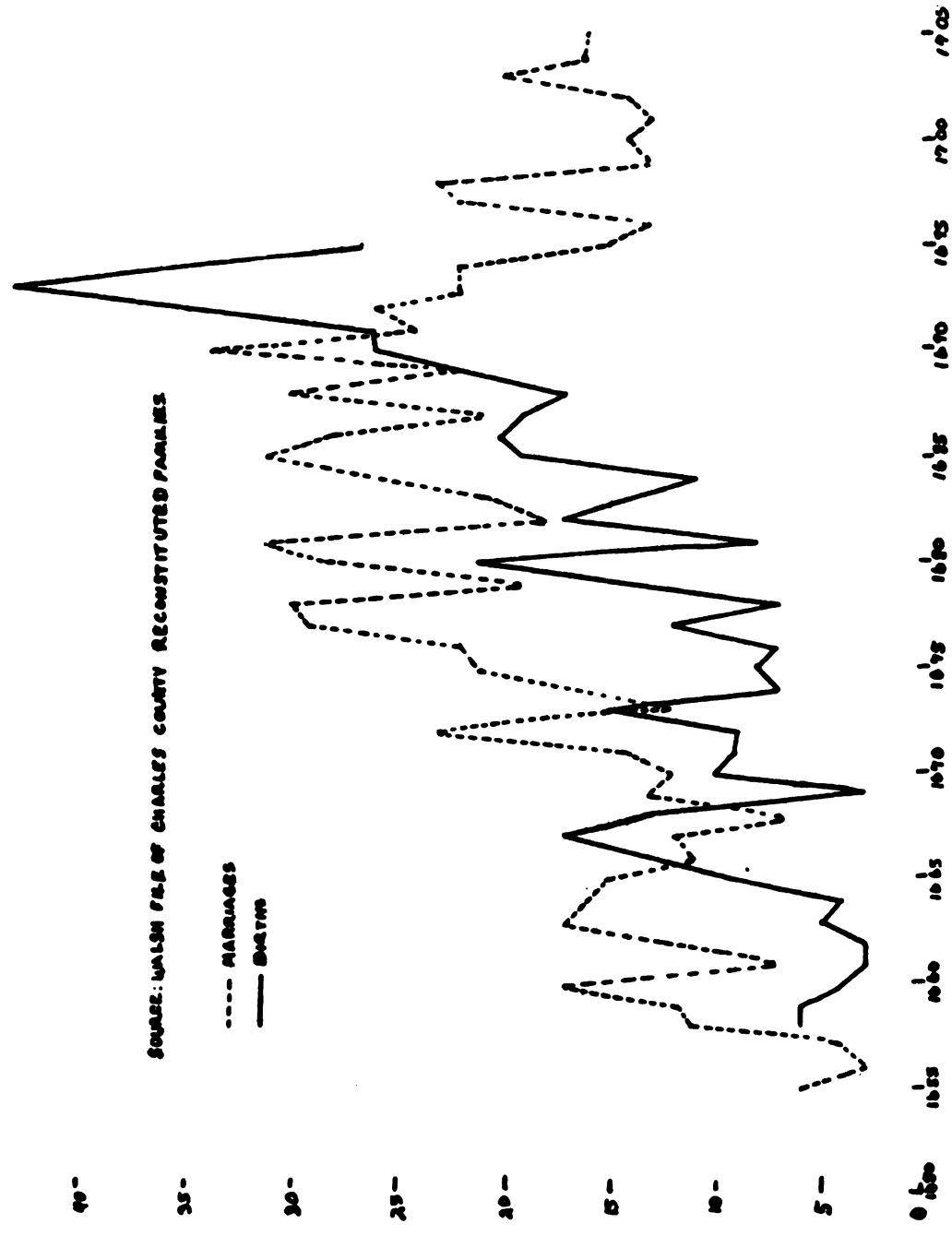

FIGURE 7. BIRTHS AND MARRIAGES PER YEAR IN CHARLES COUNTY RECORDS, 1655-1705

births registered were probably between thirty and forty percent of those which actually took place.[89] Data on deaths was drawn primarily from probate records, a source which usually yields information only about adult males. The deaths of most free adult men probably were recorded.[90] On the other hand, infant and child deaths almost never appear in any records. The deaths of women are only infrequently mentioned, as most women were married, and married women did not own property to put through probate.

Birth and death were of course universal experiences; marrying and having children, however, were experiences which all seventeenth century colonists did not share. A few of the early settlers immigrated from England or Virginia in family groups. About three-quarters of those who ventured their lives in southern Maryland between the 1650s and 1690s, however, came to the Chesapeake as servants, and married in Maryland after the completion of their terms. Because male immigrants outnumbered female by as much as three to one, marriage was not one of the things the New World offered to every man.[91] Over one-quarter of the men who left

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[89]A rough estimate of probable births can be calculated by multiplying the total population estimates in Appendix A, table 1 by a range of birth rates. The minimum estimate uses a rate of 30 per thousand. At this level between 1677 when the register begins in earnest and 1695 when it tapers off, roughly 958 births would have occurred. Were the birth rate as high as 45 per thousand, a reasonable estimate for the county in the early eighteenth century, approximately 1,430 births would have taken place between 1677 and 1695. The 394 births actually registered are 41.1 percent of the minimum estimate and 27.6 percent of the maximum.

[90]Russell R. Menard, P.M.G. Harris, and Lois Green Carr, "Opportunity and Inequality: The Distribution of Wealth on the Lower Western Shore of Maryland, 1638-1705," MHM 59 (1974): 174-77.

[91]Menard, "Population Growth." The high ratio of men to women is further illustrated by Menard's work on immigrant lists. See Appendix A, table A5.

inventories in southern Maryland between 1658 and 1705 died bachelors.[92] Men who did marry had to wait until their late twenties or early thirties. Those who came as servants were of course not free to marry until their terms were up, and several more years might then be required to accumulate enough capital to set up a household.

Conversely, almost every woman coming to the Chesapeake could and did marry. However, if she immigrated as a servant, and most did,[93] she too would have to delay marriage until her term of service was completed, unless a planter purchased her time in order to marry her. Most immigrant women probably married in their mid-twenties. (See table 6.)[94]

Age at marriage for men declined from above thirty in the 1650s, to twenty-six in the late 1670s, and remained there until the turn of the century. Here creoles had some advantage over immigrants. Native sons married almost five years earlier than their fathers had, and more than three years before immigrants their own age. That age at marriage remained above twenty-five for nearly fifty years must be in large part the result of the continuing unbalanced sex ratio.[95]

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[92]"Social Stratification in Maryland."

[93]Only 2 of the 806 immigrants in the Maryland head-right sample studied by Menard were unmarried adult women.

[94]The ages for Charles County in this table are approximate. The number of cases in which both date of birth and exact date of marriage were known was too small to generalize from, as marriages were almost never recorded. Date of marriage was estimated from marriage contracts, from first notation as married in court records, and from one year before the birth of the first child in cases where the recording of children's births appeared to be complete. Reliance on this kind of evidence for date of marriage results in an over-statement of the age of marriage. In most cases this would amount to between 6 and 18 months.

[95]As late as 1704 for purposes of parish taxation a bachelor was defined as a man age 25 and above and having an estate of £100 or more. All Faith's Parish Vestry Proceedings, 1692-1720, MS, f. 70.

TABLE 6

MEAN AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

Birth Cohort	Native Born No.	Native Born Mean Age at Marriage	Immigrants No.	Immigrants Mean Age	Combined Mean Age
		Men--Charles County			
1610-19	--	--	4	32.75	32.75
1620-29	--	--	15	34.10	34.10
1630-39	1	30.00	21	29.11	29.15
1640-49	1	26.00	11	28.63	28.33
1650-59	11	24.63	9	27.88	26.10
1660-69	24	26.12	2	30.00	26.50
1670-79	15	26.55	1	26.00	26.43
1680-89	13	20.73	--	--	20.73
1690-99	16	22.62	--	--	22.62
		Women--Charles County			
1610-19	--	--	1	27.00	27.00
1620-29	--	--	2	30.50	30.50
1630-39	--	--	6	22.50	22.50
1640-49	1	16.00	4	25.62	23.70
1650-59	1	14.00	--	--	14.00
1660-69	8	19.31	--	--	19.31
1670-79	9	18.66	--	--	18.66
1680-89	8	19.93	--	--	19.93

Source: Walsh file of Charles County Reconstituted Families; ages for 1690-99 male cohort supplied by Allan Kulikoff.

Reference to the county population graph (figure 2), the annual importation of servants (figure 4), and to the 1704, 1710, and 1712 censuses helps to explain the drop in age at marriage for those born after 1680. A declining rate of immigration, and the emigration of single men out of the county, both results of stagnation in the tobacco trade, brought about a gradual improvement in the sex ratio, and children of earlier immigrants were coming of age in sufficient numbers to greatly increase the proportion of the native born in the population. It is clear from the census data that the sex ratio did not approach unity until some time in the eighteenth century. The emigration of single men was, however, lowering the percentage of white males in the population, while white women constituted the most rapidly expanding segment. (See table 7.)

Native women married very early, five to ten years younger than their immigrant mothers. Here too the sex ratio seems the most important influence. Creole girls grew up in a society with a large surplus of men of marrying age. Almost certainly, from the time a woman reached sexual maturity there would have been a number of avid competitors for her hand. In an analysis of the fuller Somerset County civil register, Russell Menard found a mean age at marriage of between sixteen and seventeen for native girls born in the second half of the seventeenth century.[96] For Charles County the mean age calculated was about nineteen, but this is probably an overstatement. The numbers are very small, and the dating of the marriage is imprecise because in the absence of a marriage register, unions could be dated only from their first mention in the records, an event which might follow the marriage by a year or more.

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[96]"The Demography of Somerset County."

TABLE 7

POPULATION GROWTH BY CATEGORIES, CENSUSES OF 1704, 1710, 1712

Date	Total Population No.	Total Population % Growth Since Last Census	White Men No.	White Men Total %	White Men Growth %	White Women No.	White Women Total %	White Women Growth %	White Children No.	White Children Total %	White Children Growth %	Slaves No.	Slaves Total %	Slaves Growth %
1704	2989	—	798	26.6	—	485	16.2	—	1128	37.7	—	578	19.3	—
1710	3429	14.7.	951	27.7	19.2	641	18.7	32.2	1199	35.0	6.3	638	18.6	10.4
1712	4007	16.9	993	24.8	4.4	783	19.5	22.2	1507	37.6	25.7	724	18.1	13.5
Total		34.0			24.4			61.4			33.6			25.3

Total White Population

Date	No.	Total Population %	Growth %
1704	2411	80.7	—
1710	2791	81.4	15.8
1712	3283	81.9	17.6

Sex Ratio, White Adults

Date	Ratio
1704	1.65
1710	1.48
1712	1.27

Source: Maryland Archives 25: 256, 258-59.

As a consequence of high mortality and the initial late age at marriage among immigrants, many marriages were of short duration. The mean length of marriages contracted between 1658 and 1705 and ending by 1706 was just nine years, and the median seven. (See table 8.) Both economic necessity and the unbalanced sex ratio contributed to rapid remarriage after the death of a spouse; two-thirds of surviving partners remarried within twelve months. (See table 9.) Widows "with a charge of small children" were hard-pressed to support them without a man's labor, and widowers in a similar situation needed a woman to care for their household and offspring. So long as there were many unmarried men eager to wed any woman who became available through the death of her husband, pressures for widows to remarry were great. Widows in fact remarried four times as often as did widowers.[97] In addition, since wives more often survived a marriage than did husbands there were more women available for remarriage. This circumstance enabled more men to marry.

Because both lives and marriages were short in Charles County, most couples, by seventeenth-century standards, had very few children.[98] (See table 10.) The overall mean was just 2.75 children per couple. Apparently the size of individual families declined after initial settlement and then rose again at the turn of the century. This supports Menard's hypothesis that a high birth rate prevailed in the years

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[97]See below, chapter 3.

[98]Daniel Scott Smith, "The Demographic History of Colonial New England," Journal of Economic History 32 (1972): 176-77; Norton, "Population Growth in Colonial America," p. 444; Robert V. Wells, "Family Size and Fertility Control in Eighteenth-Century America: A Study of Quaker Families," Population Studies 25 (1971): 76.

TABLE 8

LENGTH OF MARRIAGE, 1658-1705

Length in Years	Number	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Less than 1	11	3.8	3.8
1	27	9.3	13.1
2	12	4.1	17.2
3	15	5.1	22.3
4	23	7.9	30.2
5	17	5.8	36.0
6	23	7.9	43.9
7	24	8.3	52.2
8	15	5.1	57.3
9	16	5.5	62.8
10	14	4.8	67.6
11	8	2.7	70.3
12	7	2.4	72.7
13	10	3.4	76.1
14	7	2.4	78.5
15	7	2.4	80.9
16	8	2.7	83.6
17	4	1.3	84.9
18	7	2.4	87.3
19	3	1.0	88.3
20	7	2.4	90.7
21	5	1.7	92.4
22	1	0.3	92.7
23	2	0.6	93.3
24	3	1.0	94.3
25	1	0.3	94.6
26	3	1.0	95.6
27	4	1.3	96.6
28	1	0.3	97.2
29	3	1.0	98.2
34	1	0.3	98.5
Total	289		

Mean Length = 9 years
Median Length = 7 years

Source: Walsh file of Charles County reconstituted families.

TABLE 9

MONTHS BETWEEN DEATH OF FIRST PARTNER AND REMARRIAGE FOR CHARLES COUNTY MEN AND WOMEN, 1658-1705

Months Between Death of Partner and Remarriage	Number	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1-12	96	67.6	67.6
13-24	21	14.7	82.3
25-36	10	7.0	89.3
37-60	11	7.7	97.0
60+	4	2.8	99.8
Total	142		

Source: Walsh file of Charles County reconstituted families.

TABLE 10

FAMILY SIZE IN CHARLES COUNTY, 1658-1705*

Number of Children	Number of Families	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
0	41	9.9	9.9
1	90	21.8	31.6
2	102	24.6	56.2
3	56	13.5	69.7
4	53	12.8	82.5
5	22	5.3	87.8
6	23	5.5	93.3
7	10	2.4	95.7
8	10	2.4	98.1
9	5	1.2	99.3
10	0	---	99.3
11	2	0.4	99.7

Total Families 414
Total Children 1139

*This data was checked for completeness by dividing the births by sex. If males greatly outnumbered females, it would be an indication of underrecording of the births of girls. There were 275 boys and 261 girls, yielding a ratio of 1.05 males--the same ratio prevailing today.

Source: Walsh file of Charles County reconstituted families.

immediately following settlement, fell after ten to fifteen years, and did not rise again sharply for about thirty years. Young married couples made up a large proportion of the population in the 1650s and 1660s, and opportunities for freed servants were greater during the initial period of settlement. A gradual aging of the population, a decrease in the proportion of free immigrants resulting from the heavy purchase of servants by the first settlers, and a reduction in opportunity for those freed later caused the birth rate to fall. It was rising again by the turn of the century, a result both of an improving sex ratio and more importantly of a low age at marriage for native women.[99] (See table 11.)

TABLE 11

FAMILY SIZE BY DECADE, CHARLES COUNTY, 1658-1705

Decade Marriages Contracted	Number of Families	Size
1658-69	118	3.15
1670-79	79	2.58
1680-89	95	2.86

Source: Walsh file of Charles County Reconstituted families.

Because a woman so often had more than one husband, the number of children per couple is not synonymous with the number of children that a woman bore. While the mean number of children which a seventeenth century man fathered was less than three, the number which his wife might bear over the course of her reproductive career was larger. In Charles County immigrant women had a mean of 3.5 children, while creoles bore a mean of 5.1. (See table 12.)

[99]Menard, "Population Growth," pp. 10-11, 17-18.

TABLE 12

NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN BY IMMIGRANT AND NATIVE CHARLES COUNTY WOMEN ENDING CHILDBEARING YEARS OR DYING BY 1705

Number of Children per Woman	Immigrants	Natives
0	6	6
1	8	1
2	14	5
3	5	2
4	6	5
5	6	4
6	7	3
7	2	6
8	3	4
9	-	3
11	2	2
15	-	1
Total	59	42

Mean for Immigrants 3.51
Mean for Natives 5.08

Source: Walsh file of Charles County reconstituted families.

Native-born women probably had more children primarily because they married younger. Adequate measures of age-specific fertility proved impossible to construct for Charles County because of small numbers and biases in the data. What evidence is available does not suggest a marked difference in fertility between the two groups.[100]

An interval of two and a quarter to two and a half years between births contributed to small family size, and is what one would expect to find in a society where children were normally breast fed for about one year.[101] Conceptions and resultant births, like deaths, followed a seasonal pattern. Many more babies were conceived in April, May, and June than during the rest of the year. This was precisely the season in which the fewest deaths occurred and presumably the time when the colonists enjoyed better health. A secondary peak in conceptions occurred in January and February, probably because many weddings took place during the Christmas holidays. Births then most often occurred in the beginning of the year, in January, February, and March. Being born in the season of highest morbidity and mortality may well have contributed to high infant death rates. (See figure 8.)

Consequences

The vital history of the county is of more than esoteric interest, for the experiences of individual seventeenth century Charles County

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[100]Menard found no significant difference in relative fertility of immigrants and native women in seventeenth-century Somerset County. "The Demography of Somerset County."

[101]John Demos, A Little Commonwealth, Family Life in Plymouth Colony (London, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 133-34. 245 observations for the intervals between first and second and subsequent births yielded a mean interval of 30.8 and a median of 27.3 months. Intervals between marriage and first birth could not be calculated. Similar intervals occurred in seventeenth-century Somerset County. Menard, "The Demography of Somerset County."

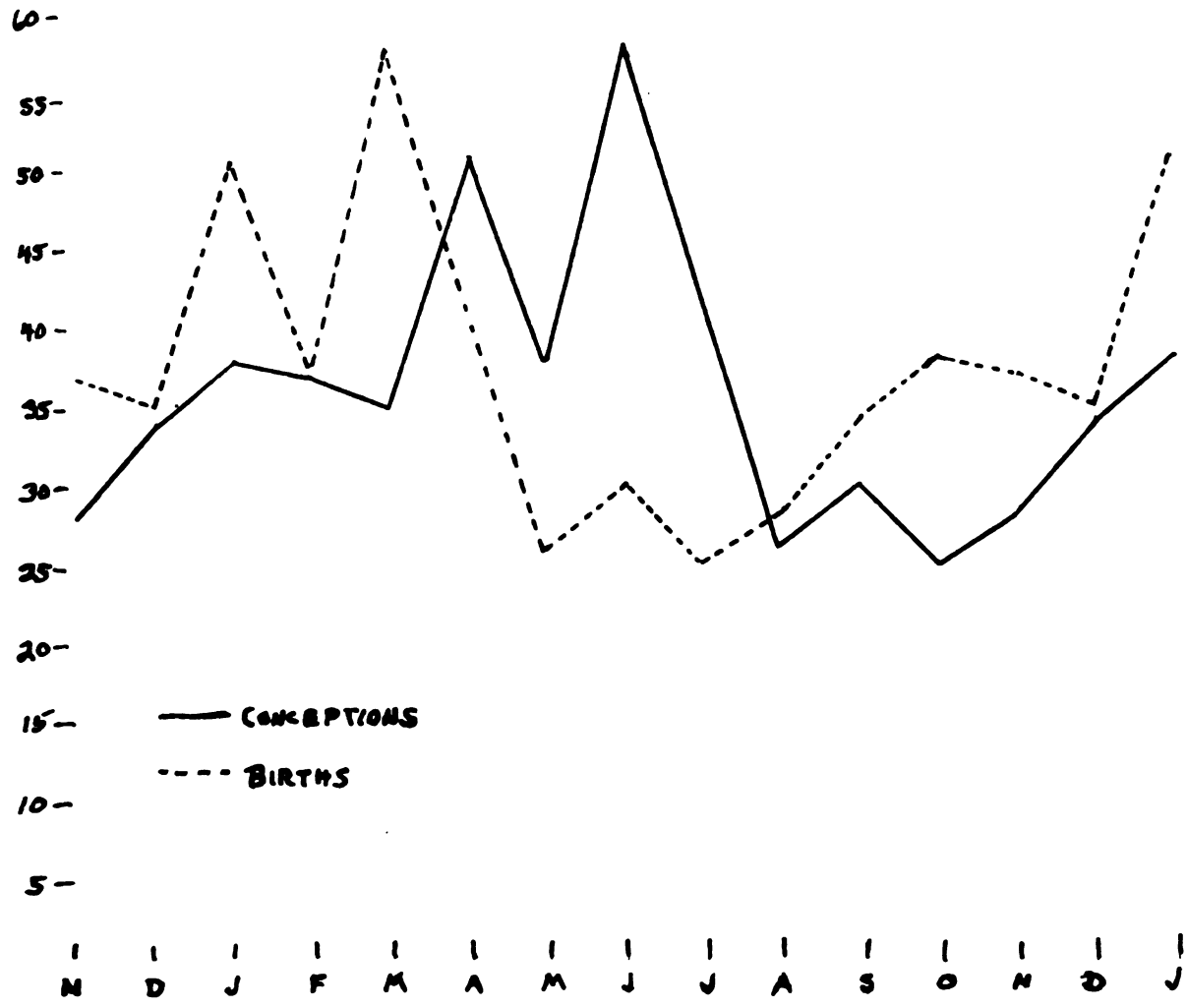

FIGURE 8. SEASONAL PATTERNS OF BIRTHS AND CONCEPTIONS

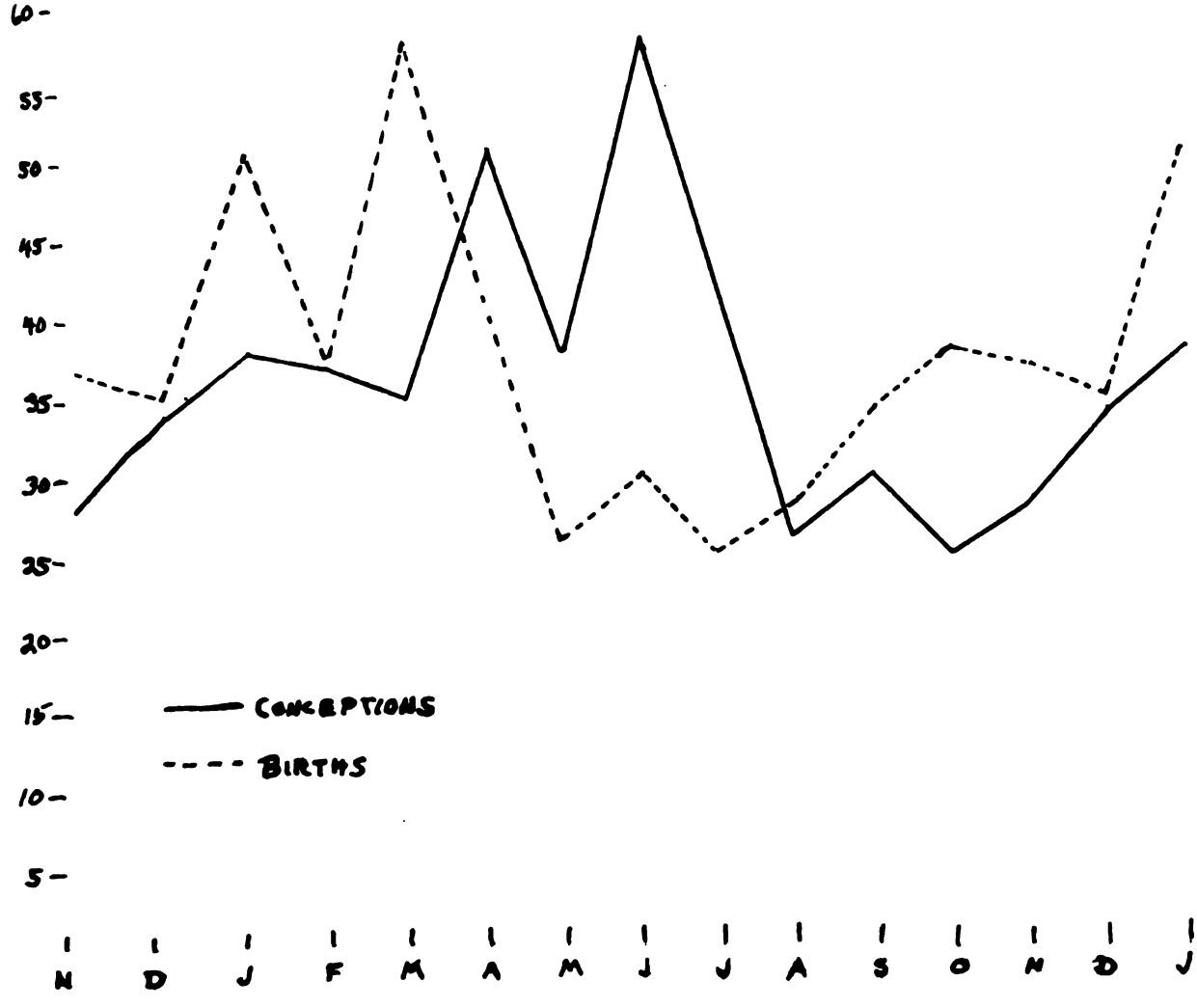

FIGURE 8. SEASONAL PATTERNS OF BIRTHS AND CONCEPTIONS

residents were strictly circumscribed by the demography of the region. High mortality and an unbalanced sex ratio limited opportunities for marriage and constricted family life. Early death cut short the years in which a man could accumulate an estate, and very often precluded the transmission of property from parents to adult children. A short life expectancy also worked to prevent the development of a stable ruling class. Men who gained office usually did not live to hold power long, and they could not be at all sure of producing heirs, much less of passing on positions of power to their sons.

The peculiar demography of the Chesapeake region also constrained and curtailed development of society. Not until the last decade or two of the century did the number of births exceed the number of deaths.[102] Hence, seventeenth century population growth came only as a result of continuing influxes of new settlers. It was only when a slackening of the pace of immigration (from the mid-1680s through the mid-1690s) occurred simultaneously with the coming of age of the first sizeable group of native-born children that natural increase could begin.[103] Prior to that time Charles County society reflected in large measure the problems and aspirations of the Old World immigrants who dominated the population.

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[102]Menard has shown through the calculation of replacement rates that Maryland men did not begin to replace themselves until the 1680s or 1690s. "Economy and Society," ch. 4.

[103]Ibid. and "Immigrants and Their Increase."

CHAPTER III

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY IN MARYLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In Maryland in the seventeenth century the fabric of family life took on a markedly different texture from that found in either Old or New England. It has been argued that in Elizabethan and Stuart Britain parents had great and long-lasting influence over their children's lives. The head of the household exercised patriarchal authority over other members of the family, and especially over his children, who often did not achieve economic independence until well after they reached majority. Paternal control was most evident in the father's dominant role in his children's marriages. In order to marry, a child had to have not only his parents' consent, but also their economic support in the form of a marriage settlement. The choice of a mate was not just a matter of individual preference; the parents were the final arbiters of when and whom their children would marry.[1]

Englishmen who immigrated to New England were able to transfer these same patterns of behavior with relatively little disruption. They soon established and then maintained stable families and orderly communities in which fathers retained traditional authority over their

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[1]Peter Laslett describes this view in The World We Have Lost, 2d ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), pp. 3-4, 18-21, 78-79, 150-51, 173. See also Lawrence Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), ch. 11; and Christopher Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), ch. 13.

children. Late marriages of men, marriages of men and women in strict birth order, delays in the transference of real and personal estates from fathers to sons, and residence of married children on their father's lands were characteristic of many New England families in the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth centuries.[2]

In contrast, immigrants to the Chesapeake experienced an immediate and profound disruption in the patterns of family life, first in the selection of their mates, and later in relationships with their children. As a result, traditional family arrangements were much less successfully transplanted there in the seventeenth century.

The make-up of the immigrant group and high mortality experienced in the Chesapeake region were the main causes of discontinuity. Unlike New England where significant immigration lasted only for a short time, Maryland received substantial numbers of new settlers during a number of periods over the seventeenth century. And, instead of coming in family groups, the majority of those who ventured their lives in Maryland were both young and single. Almost three-quarters of the immigrants arrived as indentured servants. Neither men nor women servants were free to marry until their terms were completed, and a man might require several years more in order to accumulate enough capital to set up a household. Both a late age at marriage and an unbalanced sex ratio affected family life. Immigrant women usually married in their mid-twenties, and men

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[2]Greven, Four Generations, chs. 4, 6, 8, 9; Daniel Scott Smith, "Paternal Power and Marriage Patterns: An Analysis of Historical Trends in Hingham, Massachusetts," Journal of Marriage and the Family 35 (1973): 419-28.

seldom wed before their late twenties. Since male immigrants outnumbered female by as much as three to one, many men never married at all.[3]

Not only did the immigrants marry late; they also died very young. A man who came to Maryland in his early twenties could expect to live only about twenty more years. By age forty-five this man and many of his companions would be dead. Native-born sons fared only slightly better than their fathers. A boy reaching majority in southern Maryland before 1720 had only about twenty-five more years to live. In contrast, men reaching age twenty in the Plymouth Colony in the same period could expect to live an additional forty-eight years.[4]

Growing up, marrying, procreating, and dying were compressed within a short span of years in seventeenth-century Maryland. Most unions were of short duration. One-half of the marriages contracted in one Maryland county in the second half of the century were broken within seven years by the death of at least one of the partners. As a result, families were small; most couples had only two or three children.

This situation did not change significantly until rather late. Although native women married very early--between sixteen and nineteen--and were likely to bear one to two more children than had their immigrant mothers, families remained small. In the first place, immigrants

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[3]See above, ch. 2 and Menard, "Population Growth"; idem., "Immigration to the Chesapeake Colonies"; and idem., "Immigrants and Their Increase." For a good discussion of the effects of unbalanced sex ratios, see Roger Thompson, Women in Stuart England and America: A Comparative Study (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan, 1974), ch. 2.

[4]Walsh and Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake," pp. 211-27; Maris A. Vinovskis, "Mortality Rates and Trends in Massachusetts Before 1860," Journal of Economic History 32 (1972): 184-213.

constituted a majority of the population until the end of the century. Moreover, because there continued to be fewer women than men in the colony, most native-born men married only two and a half years earlier than their immigrant fathers. Since women who raised large families usually had two or more husbands, the number of children per couple remained small. Wives were twice as likely to survive their husbands in Charles County, Maryland, between 1658 and 1705 than were husbands to survive their wives. In addition, three widows married again for every widower who remarried.[5]

Marrying

These various demographic features had far-reaching effects on marriage and family relationships in the Chesapeake. However much the new immigrants may have attempted to recreate traditional procedures and norms, they found it impossible. New World social structure and institutions were still fluid. When combined with extreme demographic disruption, this situation forced alterations in the forms of marriage, in sexual mores, and in the kinds and degree of control exercised by the family.

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[5]See above, ch. 2, and Menard, "Economy and Society," ch. 4. The pattern of marriage survivorship in England may have been different. Among the aristocracy between 1558 and 1641 husbands were more than twice as likely to survive their wives. Stone, Crisis of the Aristocracy, pp. 619-23. High mortality and unbalanced sex ratios in the British West Indies had a similar effect on family composition and size as they did in Maryland. In a census of Bridgetown on Barbados in 1680, 56 percent of the enumerated families had no children, and 31 percent had only one or two. In contrast, on a 1689 census of Bristol, Rhode Island, 59 percent of these New England families had three or more living children. In addition, many of the Bridgetown households did not contain "'normal'" families; one-third of the householders were unmarried or widowed. Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, pp. 106-110; John Demos, "Families in Colonial Bristol, Rhode Island: An Exercise in Historical Demography," WMQ 25 (1968): 40-57.

Unlike the New England Puritans, settlers in Maryland demonstrated no desires to reform either the laws or attitudes about marriage then prevailing in England. Whenever conditions permitted, they followed the five steps indicated by Edmund Morgan as necessary to a proper marriage in England--espousals, publication of banns, execution of the espousal contract at church, celebration, and sexual consummation.[6]

Often, however, the austerity prevailing in a recently settled area caused some of the steps to be eliminated. As in England, all marriages were recognized as valid "that had been consummated in sexual union and preceded by a contract, either public or private, with witnesses or without, in the present tense or the future tense."[7] Espousals were probably always the first step, and were then frequently followed directly by the last, sexual consummation of the marriage.[8] Banns were published only irregularly until after 1695, and, with the scarcity and sometimes complete absence of clergy in a colony which banned public support of religion, very few marriages, especially those of non-Catholics, were solemnized by a minister. Before justices of the peace were authorized

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[6]Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan Family, rev. ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 30-32. A study of family life in seventeenth-century Maryland is severely handicapped by the complete absence of literary sources; one must rely almost entirely on scattered information found in court records. The discussion which follows is based largely on manuscript materials available at the Hall of Records. The series primarily used are the Charles County Land and Court Records for the years 1658 to 1705 and the Testamentary Proceedings for the same years. Material from later volumes of the Testamentary Proceedings, from Wills, from Provincial Court Records, and from Provincial Court Papers are also used.

[7]Morgan, Puritan Family, p. 31

[8]The binding nature of espousals is illustrated by the fact that an intended marriage gave the surviving partner the right to administer the other's estate and to be guardian of the deceased's children. Testamentary Proceedings 12B: 71-73; 14: 140.

to perform marriages, many couples simply married themselves, signifying their union by some customary ceremony such as breaking a piece of silver between them.[9]

Marriage celebrations were apparently uncommon in the seventeenth century; there are almost no records of wedding feasts until after 1700. A marriage which occurred in St. Mary's County in 1676 was thus described:

> one Charles Fitgeferis went Over St. Mary's River to St. Inegoes to be married to one Ann Towsend in Company . . . with John Sikes, John Miller, and William Wheret, and . . . they came back againe the same day to the house of the said John Sikes and there Beded as Man and Wife and from that time passed as man and wife.[10]

Giles Tomkinson, a planter, expressed very well the prevailing conception of a marriage, when, in November 1665, he came to Charles County

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[9]Maryland Archives 49: xxiii, 41-43, 84-85; 41: 456-57; Charles County Court, E#1, f. 145; Somerset County Deeds, IKL, MS (marriage register). Registration of marriages was still uncommon in the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1757 an Anglican minister, Rev. Henry Addison, stated, "If the rule was Established here that no marriage should be deemed valid that had not been registered in the Parish Book it would I am persuaded bastardize nine tenths of the People in the Country." Montgomery County Land Records #3 (C), MS f. 330.

[10]Provincial Court Deeds, PL#6, f. 265. This argument from negative evidence seems more valid in the light of 1) abundant evidence about funeral dinners in the seventeenth century, but almost none about wedding celebrations, and 2) frequent reference to both in eighteenth-century sources. In addition, the kinds of evidence presented in court as proof of the validity of a marriage changed. Most seventeenth and early eighteenth century proofs were similar to the example given in the text; continued cohabitation and community acceptance of the union were the main evidence submitted. See also text, pp. 103-06 and Maryland Archives 10: 549-51. By mid-eighteenth century proofs of marriage usually began by describing the wedding ceremony and subsequent celebration. For example see Montgomery County Land Records #3 (C), ff. 326-31. Widows applications for Revolutionary War pensions contain many such descriptions. See Revolutionary War Pension series, National Archives, Washington, D.C. The two latter sources were brought to my attention by Allan Kulikoff.

Court to refute the charges of constable Thomas Gibson, who "accuseth a woman living at Gils Tomkinsons to bee illegitimately got with child":

> The sayd Gils Tomkinson affirmeth in open Court that she is and was befor the Getting of her with Child his lawfull wiffe and Confeseth himself the father of the Child shee now Goeth with and hear in Open Court alleageth that his marriage was as good as possibly it Coold bee maed by the Protestants hee beeing one because that befor that time and ever since thear hath not bin a protestant minister in the Province and that to matrimony is only necessary the parties Consent and Publication thereof befor a Lawfull Churchman and for their Consents it is Apparent and for the worlds satisfaction they hear publish themselves man and wife till death them doe part.[11]

Maryland colonists of marriageable age were people peculiarly lacking in family ties. Most had come as indentured servants, and even among the free immigrants there were few family groups. When they left Europe, their break with their families was usually complete. Few of them expected ever to return to the Old World, and probably there was little communication with relatives left behind. In addition, when many immigrants came to marry, questions of property were irrelevant. An ex-servant had accumulated through his own hard labor whatever estate he brought to a marriage, and thus was not obliged to ask anyone's consent to its disposition.

Parental control over native-born men and women in Maryland was not significantly greater than that of the immigrant generation. Because most parents died before their children reached marriageable age, native-born men and women in Maryland also frequently married without parental consent. Step-parents or guardians could prevent their charges from marrying before they were of age, but could not control what they did afterwards. Up to the 1690s, most men did not marry until several years after the age of inheritance, at which time their own fathers had often

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[11]Charles County Court, B#1, f. 492.

been dead for some years. Thus the wishes of his parents infrequently entered into a man's decision about when and whom to marry.[12]

Somewhat more control was exercised over women, since they married much earlier than men. Because of community distaste for child brides, most guardians refused to allow, or the court instructed them to prevent, girls marrying much below the age of fourteen.[13] Orphaned women, however, generally became free to order their lives when they reached the age of inheritance--sixteen--making relatively short the period in which others could restrict their freedom to marry.[14]

Seventeenth-century marriages were unusual in other ways. Frequent disparity in the age and status of the partners characterized many marriages. A man marrying for the first time was often ten years older than his bride. When widowed, a woman might choose a second husband no older and perhaps younger than herself. Since many unions were broken by the early death of one of the partners, second marriages were frequent. Single men often married widows with a charge of children, and some single girls chose husbands with families by earlier wives. If both man and wife had previously married, quite likely each had custody of

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[12]Appendix A, Table A6 confirms that one-quarter of men leaving inventories in Charles County between 1658 and 1705 died without ever marrying, and that of those who married, at least two-thirds left families in which all the children were under eighteen.

[13]Charles County Court, P#1, f. 240; Testamentary Proceedings 17: 206.

[14]Charles County Court, B#1, ff. 355-56; Testamentary Proceedings 16: 269; 17: 51.

underaged offspring by their first mates.[15] Age differences and conflicts arising from the presence of both natural and step children in the same household must have heightened tensions within a marriage. (See table 13.)

Lack of family ties, unsettled New World conditions, and the pressures of the sex ratio all contributed to a milieu of relative sexual freedom in seventeenth-century Maryland. One result was a high rate of bridal pregnancy especially among immigrants. In a register of marriages and births for seventeenth-century Somerset County more than a third of immigrant women whose marriages were recorded were pregnant by the time of the ceremony. Such a high rate of bridal pregnancy--two to three times that of many contemporary English parishes--is testimony to the extent of social disruption. There is little evidence that the community objected to this kind of sexual freedom; no presentments for bridal pregnancy appear in any of the Maryland courts.[16]

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[15]Darnett and Anita Rutman found similar family structures in seventeenth-century Middlesex County, Virginia. "'Now-Wives and Sons-in-Law.'" For a similar observation (not elaborated) about the structure of seventeenth-century French families, see Elizabeth Wirth Marvick, "Nature Versus Nurture: Patterns and Trends in Seventeenth-Century French Child-Rearing," in The History of Childhood, Lloyd de Mause, ed. (New York: The Psychohistory Press, 1974), p. 288.

[16]The information on bridal pregnancy is from Menard, "Demography of Somerset County." The observation on presentments for bridal pregnancy was supplied by Lois Green Carr. For rates of English premarital pregnancy see P. E. H. Hair, "Bridal Pregnancy in Rural England in Earlier Centuries," Population Studies 20 (1966-67): 233-43; and N. L. Tranter, "Demographic Change in Bedfordshire, 1670-1800" (Ph.D. diss., University of Nottingham, 1966), p. 244, reported in J. D. Chambers, Population, Economy, and Society in Pre-Industrial England, Oxford Paperbacks University Series (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 75.

TABLE 13

STATUS OF MARRIAGE PARTNERS, CHARLES COUNTY, 1658-1705

1658-1681

		Women: Single	1 Previous Marriage	2 Previous Marriages	
Men:	Single	73	69	5	
	1 Previous Marriage	10	14	1	
	2 Previous Marriages	1	-	-	173 Total Marriages

		Women: Status Unknown	Single	1 Previous Marriage	
Men:	Status Unknown	188	-	-	
	Single	82	-	-	
	1 Previous Marriage	25	-	-	295

1682-1705

		Women: Single	1 Previous Marriage	2 Previous Marriages	
Men:	Single	89	87	18	
	1 Previous Marriage	8	17	4	
	2 Previous Marriages	1	3	3	230

		Women: Status Unknown	Single	1 Previous Marriage	
Men:	Status Unknown	156	2	4	
	Single	110	-	-	
	1 Previous Marriage	17	-	-	289
					987 Total Marriages

NOTE: Table 13 establishes that a substantial number of previously single men married widows, and that women were more likely to have several husbands than were men to have several wives. Probably also more widowers married widows than married single girls. The data can support no more precise statements than these, however, because of the large number of unknowns. Because of the nature of probate records, one is more likely to learn about remarriages of women than of men. Hence the table probably accurately reflects the marriage behavior of women, but may not be an adequate indication of the behavior of men.

Native-born women also shared in this freedom, although to a lesser extent than their mothers. Preliminary research suggests that about one out of five Maryland-born brides was pregnant when she married in the seventeenth century. Lack of parental control was a contributing element. Orphaned girls were apparently particularly vulnerable to pre-marital conceptions; initial study indicates even greater frequency of bridal pregnancy among women whose father had died during their minority.[17]

While not approved by the community, other kinds of sexual freedom persisted after marriage. Both lax laws regarding marriage and the freedom of movement to another colony or back to England provided the unscrupulous with opportunity for bigamy.[18] When the Reverend George Tubman was so accused, he confessed that there was:

> a Woman in England whom he Owned as his Wife, has Wrote to, & rec'd from her Letters under that Demonination & has desired leave to go & fetch her hither Under that Title but says she never was his wife & that he was never married to any woman but to his wife Elianor,

a local heiress whom he had wedded shortly after his arrival in Maryland.[19]

Sarah Younger related that Alexander Younger, "pretending himself to bee a p[er]son free to mary being a widdower did persuade . . . her to marry him" and then took all her goods, including her children's portions, sold the land, and left for England with the proceeds. Two neighbors testified that they happened to meet Younger in London where he introduced

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[17]Menard, "Demography of Somerset County."

[18]Morgan, Puritan Family, p. 31.

[19]Maryland Archives 25: 13, 22-24, 42, 140.

them to his wife in England and maintained that, in Maryland, Sarah was "only his whore."[20]

When a Colonel Hutchins was absent from Maryland, according to the Chief Judge of Probate, his wife:

> eloyned her affections from him & fell into other Embraces and had a bastard child by . . . [one] Hogg . . . neglected the Child she had by . . . Hutchins, and that there are very strong and pregnant circumstances of her being marryed to . . . [one] Leger and had Children by him, and nothing wanting of full proof but the priests joyning hands, and if she were not marryed she lived in adultery with him and had Children and for that its not reasonable to believe she could impose upon the neighbourhood, and the Children beare the name in England where the laws are soe regular & strickt against adultery if she had not been marryed.[21]

The large measure of freedom which native-born children enjoyed when marrying in Maryland was as much a result of historical accident as of deliberate policy on the part of parents. In instances where parents survived until their children were of marriageable age, they tried to direct their children's marriages much as parents in New England did. In instances where substantial amounts or property were involved, it was essential that the prospective couple obtain their parents' consent. Sons and daughters of wealthy families, unlike many of their compatriots, could not simply marry at will. After giving consent, their parents or guardians negotiated the terms of the marriage contract, and dissatisfaction with the share offered by one of the parties could prevent a match. An

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[20]Provincial Court Deeds, WRC#1, ff. 122-23. See also Testamentary Proceedings, 14: 29-30; and Provincial Court Papers, MS, St. Mary's County, Wildman v. Wildman, 1718, where a jury found that Cornelius Wildman "was Marryed to another woman by a Popish priest in London wch same woman was living at ye time of his marryage to the pl[ain]tiff."

[21]Testamentary Proceedings 20: 43a; see also Ibid. 13: 458-62.

acquaintance of William Boareman made clear the economic basis of marriages among the wealthy:

> ye sd: four hundred acres of land was proposed and offered in free and franck marryage to Mr. Joseph Piles with his ye sd: Boaremans daughter Sarah, but for want of other additional portion as this deponent did understand ye sd: Match was broken of[f] by disagreement of Parents on Mr Piles his side, . . . [and later] a match was proposed betweene Thomas Matthewes alias Doctor Thomas Matthewes of Portobaccoe and his Eldest son Thomas Matthewes and ye sd: Sarah daughter of ye sd: Boarman, which being well receiued and well approved by ye Parents on both sides & ye Match agreed, before ye marryage ye sd: Boareman & ye sd: Doctor Matthewes together with ye young people and ye then wife of Doctor Matthewes now Mrs Hussey went to see ye sd: land proposed in marryage again with ye said Thos: Matthewes as had beene to ye sd: Piles, and returning this deponent did believe it was liked by them because ye Match was Concluded.[22]

Usually, a surviving parent gave a child his "portion" of property when he married, and might help the couple, in addition, by extending them credit with which to buy household goods. Not many deeds of gift at marriage were recorded, and it is likely that many parents did not attempt any kind of formal settlement. There are, however, other indications that children customarily received their shares of their father's estate at this time. Married children were frequently granted only token bequests in their father's wills, often with the notation that they had already received their due portions, or gifts previously made to married offspring often were confirmed but not augmented by the will.[23] Also, in cases where a father died intestate, the county courts were ordered to determine, before apportioning the estate, which orphans had been

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[22]Charles County Court, S#1, f. 111; Z#1, ff. 42-49; Maryland Archives 53: 631.

[23]Charles County Court, F#1, ff. 182-83; Q#1, ff. 2-3; Testamentary Proceedings 13: 331-32; Wills 3: 475; 4: 40; 5: 91; 6: 251; 7: 11; 11: 199, 381.

"advanced by the Dec[ease]d in his Lifetime," and which had yet received nothing.[24]

Parents might provide for their own future maintenance as part of the marriage settlements for their children. This was uncommon simply because few parents lived long enough to see their offspring married. One who did was James Neale, a wealthy Charles County Catholic, who in 1681 married one son, James, to a niece of Lord Baltimore, and his other son, Anthony, to the daughter of a prominent St. Mary's County commissioner. Neale settled 4,900 out of the 5,000 acres he owned on his two sons, reserving only 100 acres and the use of the dwelling house during his and his wife's lifetime. In return he obtained for James Junior 20,000 pounds of tobacco, 6 able men servants, and 3,000 acres as the bride's dowry, while Anthony was promised 3 negroes, 40,000 pounds of tobacco, and one-half of his future father-in-law's land. James Junior and Anthony on their part agreed to pay 5,000 pounds of tobacco and 10 barrels of corn yearly to their parents so long as either lived.[25]

Christopher Kirkly, a joiner, made provision for his future on a more modest scale. He made over all his estate, including 40 acres of land, a house, livestock, household goods, and debts receivable, to his daughter, Susannah, when she married John Vincent in 1706. In return, he was to have:

> Meat Drinck washing and apparrell in the same mannor and noe worse than the said John Vincent himself his heires Executors or Administrators (according to his or their ability) shall Eate Drinck or Weare,

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[24]Carr, "County Government," pp. 352-53; Testamentary Proceedings 6: 238.

[25]Provincial Court Deeds, WRC#1, ff. 211-13; Charles County Court, K#1, ff. 131-33.

and Kirkly reserved for himself one chamber, a bed, a gun, the use of a horse, his work shop and joiner's tools, and all the tobacco and money he could make from carrying on his trade.[26]

Since few parents lived to see their children married, the question of whether or not they tried to control the lives of adult offspring by retaining economic sanctions after children wed can be asked in but a few instances. Surviving parents apparently did not try to maintain such controls. Fathers did not often retain title to lands which constituted an adult son's portion, and in the few cases where land on which a son was already seated was bequeathed by will, it appears that the son had only very recently reached twenty-one.[27]

Luke Gardiner, a wealthy planter, was one father who did try to regulate his sons' lives after his death. He stipulated that his sons could not sell the land bequeathed them until they reached age twenty-five, because, "he had no land but what was speciall good Land and he would not have it goe from his Children." Gardiner did not wish to impose further restrictions, however. When his lawyer asked him if he intended by this clause to keep his sons from marrying before that age, Gardiner replied that the provision was meant to prevent the land from passing out of his sons' hands, but was not meant to hinder them from marrying or bequeathing their lands to wife and children.[28]

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[26]Charles County Court, Z#1, ff. 227-28.

[27]Wills 2: 78; 7: 71, 268; Testamentary Proceedings 6: 269. For instance, John Lewgar wrote from London in 1663 to promptly assign to his son John a warrant for 1,000 acres, "which land I hear is since layd out for my sone John and hee hath entered upon it." Charles County Count, B#1, f. 110.

[28]Testamentary Proceedings 6: 269.

Because the woman was usually younger and her parents thus more likely to be alive when she married, the wife's parents more often gave advice or intervened in a marriage than the husband's. Her family might, for example, look after her and her husband's interests in cases of inheritance. Robert Cager, Junior was "near 21 and married" when Henry Hyde, the executor of his father's will, made his final account. The account:

> was first Read unto the said heire and his wifes father and Brothers then present in Court and the same was Immediately deliured unto the said Robert Cager the heire, and notive given by the Judge heere unto him and his wifes relations . . . that they had liberty to except to the said account.

Cager decided to approve the account after deliberation with his father- and brothers-in-law.[29]

Recognizing the likelihood of an early death, parents might attempt to control their children posthumously. Some fathers, prompted by a desire to provide for their widows and to keep their families together, did seek to order their children's futures through their wills. Edward Bowles, for example, gave his son Edward his entire estate, with the proviso that Edward maintain his mother in the family home "with Sufficient meat, drink, and apparrell with one room to herself and a good bed and chest."[30] If one child were of age, the father might require that he allow the younger children to live with him, so long as they remained unmarried and worked. Robert Marston received all his father's land, but with the restriction that his two younger brothers were to live and work with him, and he to maintain them to age eighteen and his sister Elizabeth to sixteen. He

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[29]Ibid., ff. 323-24.

[30]Wills 1: 87.

was also to support another sister, Mary, then of age, so long as she was single and kept house for him.[31] A wealthier planter bequeathed his sons substantial acreage on the frontier, but stipulated that they not leave their mother to settle on it until they reached age twenty-five.[32]

Some men did attempt to provide supervision for their daughters' marriages by making a gift to a daughter dependent on her mother, brother, or some other adult approving of the match. More distant relatives also occasionally tried to use bequests to promote desirable behavior in young people. For example, Richard Chandler told "Mrs. Jane Brent his Neece that if she Married ag[ains]t his Consent hee would not give her A farthing of his Estate." Jane, however, passed up the provisional bequest, and married a man of whom her uncle disapproved.[33]

On the other hand, there were also fathers who put no qualifications on their daughters' inheritances. Ignatius Causine, for example, willed that his daughter Jane should have the use of 150 acres of land for life if she married a man without land. As Causine was a justice and a substantial landowner, such a match would not be expected, but Causine intended that his daughter be provided for, whether or not she made a "good" marriage.[34]

Restrictions on a child's future freedom of action by his parents through their wills were the exception, not the rule. In the majority of cases, a father sought to give his children as much freedom as

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[31]Ibid., 6: 271.

[32]Ibid., f. 241.

[33]Testamentary Proceedings 17: 107.

[34]Wills 7: 93.

possible to order their lives after his decease. This emphasis on freedom rather than on regulation was the result of a fear (often well-grounded), of the treatment the children might receive at the hands of subsequent stepfathers or guardians. Sons were frequently made of age by will at seventeen or eighteen, and sometimes as young as sixteen. Richard Jones, for example, willed that his son was "to enjoy the benefit of his Estate in his own hands and to bee free from all servitude at the age of sixteen--either from his mother or any other person."[35] An arrangement which allowed both a measure of freedom and of regulation was often employed. A father would direct that his sons could act only with the consent of their guardians until age twenty-one, but that they should work "for themselves" (i.e., enjoy the proceeds of their labor) at age eighteen. In this way, the length of time a boy labored for someone else would be minimized. The boy could gain experience at making his own living, and begin adding to his estate, while still enjoying the legal protection and the advice of a guardian.[36]

Precisely because he could not foresee the future, a man sometimes maximized his children's future options by providing one or more alternative arrangements for his family after his death. For instance, he might will that the children were to remain with their mother when she remarried, so long as their new stepfather did not mistreat them, and, in case, he did, they were to be removed to the household of a guardian. A way of protecting both widow and child, if the child was nearly of age, was to bind the child to his mother until he reached majority or until

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[35]Ibid., 6: 201. See also f. 177; 7: 320, 393.

[36]Ibid., 4: 189; 13: 157; Charles County Court, X#1, f. 251.

she died. If the mother lived, she could look after the child's welfare, and in return might be at least partially supported out of the proceeds of his labor. However, if she should die before the child reached majority, he would then be free, and would not have to continue working for a stepfather after his mother's death.[37]

Women made widows by the early death of their husbands did not remain in this status for long. The presence of so many unmarried men seeking wives and the need to provide for the minor children they were so often left responsible for led most widows to quickly become wives again. Because a woman could legally own no property, nor make any contracts while married, it was essential that, before remarrying, a widow safeguard her own and her children's estate while she was still femme sole, and free to act. Many women were apparently aware of, and took steps to avoid, the plight of the credulous widow taken in by the glib new-comer who wanted to marry only for her money. The widow Ann Cosden was one who learned the lesson the hard way. She soon regretted her hasty remarriage to John Liesett:

> who instead of looking after and getting in the Estate to her belonging from the said adm[inistrat]ers [of her first husband, Cosden], by his ill husbandry spent & consumed most of her wearing apparell & other goods she was possessed off (sic), as her paraphrenalia, and is since runaway from her & whether he be dead or alive she cannot certainly tell.[38]

Prudent widows took steps to protect their own and their children's portions of the deceased husband's estate. Many deeded shares of

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[37]For instance, see Charles County Court, D#1, f. 99; A#2, f. 259; Wills 5: 82, 167.

[38]Testamentary Proceedings 14: 116-17.

the estate to their children before remarrying in order to protect the children's inheritance.[39] Sometimes the marriage contract specified in detail what the second husband had to pay to the children of his wife's first marriage as their portions of their father's estate.[40]

Such measures were clearly advisable in view of the speed with which remarriage frequently took place. The offspring of less prudent widows often suffered from their mother's failure to safeguard their interests. Sarah Ballard, for example, remarried in September 1682, within four days after taking the oath of administration on her first husband's estate. By January 1683 she wrote, "It hath been my hard Fortune to marry with one Stephen Luffe which only looks the Ruine of mee and my Childrens Estate."[41]

It is impossible to determine whether marriages in Maryland in this period--however formed--were more or less happy than marriages in other periods and locations. That difficulties did occur is clearly demonstrated in the court records. Adultery, continual and violent quarreling, and desertion were the marital problems which the courts most frequently dealt with, and they were the actions which signaled the factual if not the legal end of a marriage.[42] There is ample

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[39]For example, Ibid. 17: 129-31; Charles County Court, V#1, f. 160; Provincial Court Deeds, WRC#1, f. 439; Testamentary Proceedings 14: 14-20.

[40]Testamentary Proceedings 6: 63-65; 17: 29-31; Charles County Court, A#1, ff. 216-17; B#1, f. 78; C#1, ff. 270-71; P#1, f. 180; Q#1, f. 39.

[41]Testamentary Proceedings, 13: 1-2.

[42]See Morgan, Puritan Family, ch. 2 and Demos, A Little Commonwealth, ch. 5.

evidence as well of other problems which might not end a marriage, but which would make living together difficult: disputes over the estates of the respective partners, disagreement about the upbringing of children, and personality conflicts between husband and wife.

In Maryland, as in England, there was no divorce. Other solutions had to be found for unhappy marriages. Separations could be obtained in the event that the marriage contract was broken. When Robert Robins charged his wife with adultery, the couple decided to separate. Before the county clerk they "did make this their Particular declaratione":

> I Robert Robins doe hearby disclayme my wife Elizabeth Robins for euer to acknowledge her as my wife and I doe hear oblige myself and euerie one from mee neuer to molest or trouble her any further.

Elizabeth made the same declaration, with the additional promise that she would not ask Robert "for maintenance or any other necessaries."[43]

Separation with maintenance by the husband might be ordered by the court in cases of extreme and prolonged incompatibility. Suits of this sort were unusual. Most couples resolved their marital difficulties by other means than legal proceedings. Anne Hardy, the wife of a Charles County justice, did resort to the courts. In 1702 she, "upon a difference betweene her and her Husband petitions that shee with her Children may be Permitted to live upon her Owne Land and to be allowed a Sufficient maintenance to Subsist upon." In this instance, two of the justices were appointed to try to compose the couple's differences. The two continued to quarrel, however, disagreeing particularly about the treatment and discipline of Anne's children by a former husband. In 1703 she complained

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[43]Charles County Court, A#1, ff. 4, 39.

of Hardy's "harsh and ill usage of her Children and desires they may be taken away from him and that they may all be bound out to trades." She finally petitioned in 1706 that:

> through his harsh and Ill Usage shee is not able to live and Cohabitt with him and Therefore Desires with the approbation of the Court Shee may Live from him and that the Court would Order her a competency for a Separate Maintenance.

Hardy:

> propounds to Allow her fifteen hundred pounds of Tobacco [about £5] Yearly and Every Yeare Dureing her naturall Life and Doth promise and Engage to Deliver her her necessary Utencills of Cloathing and as shee is now Possest with According to the Degree of his wife.

This "mutual agreement of boath partyes" was approved by the court.[44]

More frequently, unhappy spouses sought to escape unwelcome marriages by simply running away. Anthony Smith, for example, was reported in 1691 as having "absented himselfe from his sd: wife Martha and hath left her destitite of any way of releiveing herselfe or to gett her livelyhood," forcing the county to cloath and house her.[45]

Susanna Dunn, wife of Thomas Dunn of Rappahanock County, Virginia, was indicted in Charles County in 1672:

> for absenting herselfe from her said Husband and allso Philip Cary of Mattawoman was indicted for entertaining the said Susanna Dunn and for keeping the said Susanna for the space of two yeares and upward and lived together as man and wife and shee . . . for being delivered of a Bastard Child about a yeare since.[46]

Anne Thompson was apprehended in 1685 for marrying a second husband in Charles County; she escaped punishment by promising to return to the

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[44]Ibid., A#2, ff. 5, 250; B#2, ff. 242-43. See Carr, "County Government," p. 189.

[45]Charles County Court, R#1, ff. 279-80. See also Testamentary Proceedings 13: 458-62.

[46]Charles County Court, E#1, f. 99.

first.[47] Elizabeth Johnson must have been truly desperate, when in 1669, for several months she "absented herselfe from Dan: Johnson then her husband and having then noe place of Residence or abode But wandring from place to place," sought shelter from various neighbors.[48]

In many instances couples turned to relatives and neighbors rather than the courts when they encountered marital problems. Neighbors, for example, intervened on St. Clement's Manor in 1659 when Clove Mace came to the house of his neighbor, John Shanks, "beinge bloudy and said that Robin Coop and his wife were both upon Him." Shanks asked another neighbor, John Gee, to go with him to Mace's house. Shanks:

> asked her [Mrs. Mace] to come to her husband and shee replyed that hee had abused Robin and her and so . . . John Shanks gott her consent to come the next morning and Robin with her up to bee freinds with her . . . husband but hee would not bee freinds with her but the next night following they were freinds.[49]

Wives especially, could probably expect little sympathy from an all-male court which had a special interest in preserving the authority of husbands and fathers. Many women, trapped in unhappy marriages, probably just endured the situation.

The court did make a major effort to ensure that persons who were living together took steps to marry. Constables were expected to report the births of any supposed bastards or cases of unmarried persons cohabiting to each meeting of the court. Because several forms of marriage were recognized--both public and private, religious and civil,

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[47]Ibid., C#1, f. 80.

[48]Ibid., E#1, f. 96.

[49]Maryland Archives 53: 628.

official and customary--the justices were usually satisfied if the couple both acknowledged themselves to be man and wife.[50] Anne Oliver, accused of having a bastard, declared that she had been married nine months, and her statement was accepted.[51] Mary Simpson was not prosecuted for having a bastard because she had married the father before her case was tried.[52] When a constable presented the widow Elinor Warren "for beading and entertaining Thomas Howell for the space of six weeks in her house and not lawfully married to him," Elinor resolved the problem by agreeing to marry Howell.[53] Kenelm Cheseldyne forewarned a constable who had come to arrest Mary Phippard, then living with him, for incontinence:

> from taking her away at his perrill for that he would give his oath that there was not any such person as Mary Phippard. Thereupon . . . [the constable] Conjecturing they were Marryed told them that Instead of taking her away or taking her security [for appearance in court] he ought to wish them Joy.[54]

If a couple was espoused, but prevented from marrying by circumstances beyond their control, the court did not punish their incontinency. George Darby, for example, indented himself for three years to George Newman in return for curing him of yaws and permitting him to marry Margaret Anderson, one of Newman's servants. Newman subsequently prevented the marriage and sold Darby to another master. When the court was appraised of this situation, they remitted Margaret's punishment for

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[50]See the case of Gils Tomkinson, pp. 80-91 and Charles County Court, G#1, f. 121.

[51]Charles County Court, N#1, f. 339.

[52]Ibid., V#1, f. 1.

[53]Ibid., E#1, f. 99. Testamentary Proceedings 14: 122.

[54]Testamentary Proceedings 23: 368.

having a bastard, and ordered Newman to pay Darby damages for his disappointment, as well as for his cure by another doctor.[55]

When espousals were broken off after intercourse, but for reasons within the couple's control, more complicated moral situations might arise. First, neighbors or relatives or perhaps some of the justices would attempt to reconcile the differences which had led to the break. If either of the two then refused to marry, guilt had to be apportioned, and some arrangements made for the care of the children born of such abortive unions. Arthur Turner, for example, accused by Lucie Stratton of fathering her bastard child, confessed to a friend:

> that hee coold loue her as wel as euer hee did his owne [former wife], and it was by her faythful promise to bee his wife that made him Act what hee did and further requested [his friend Christopher Russell] . . . to bare him companie the morning following to go to See whether hee coold win her to bee his wife.

Russell "told Lucie Stratton that Mr Turner was . . . come to tender boath Person and Estate unto her if She woold take him to bee her husband."

However, Lucie's experience with Turner had been most disillusioning. She denied that she had promised to marry him, and protested that:

> shee coold not loue him much les make him her husband . . . and that Shee had suffered enough by him, and . . . shee woold not marrie him if shee suffered for it, saying tht hee was a lustful man a very lustful man, and that she could neuer bee at quiet for him.

Apparently there was no question of Lucie's initial consent to the relation, for Turner, in reply, "demanded of her, who was most lustful Shee or hee Seeing thou Camest to the bed when I was in bed and put thy hand under the cloaths and tooke mee by the priuat parts." At the end of a

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[55]Charles County Court, R#1, ff. 272, 319-22.

series of litigations, the Provincial Court decided that Turner had done his part by offering to make satisfaction by marrying Lucie, and that if she refused, it was then her responsibility to support the child.[56]

The courts and vestries reserved little patience for those who lived together without any intention of marrying. Elizabeth Grindall, convicted of cohabiting with John Morris one year, was fined twenty shillings. Susanna Scroggin, presented for incontinent living and stealing melons, was given twelve lashes for the first misdeed, and six for the second. Agnes Taylor received twenty lashes "for having Played the whore hauing bin befor accused of the like Crime." Thomas Plunkett was admonished by the local vestry not to entertain Barbara Jameson, a "supposed lewd woman." Mary Hews was ordered to ask forgiveness in court for the public scandal she caused by lying to neighbors about being married to an itinerant tailor in order that she might be allowed to sleep with him. Katherine Bud, a married woman, was sentenced to twenty lashes for sleeping with the same tailor. James Smallwood, Junior, and his brother Matthew, sons of a prominent planter and justice, were fined for cohabiting with two women of questionable moral and social status whom they clearly had no intention of marrying.[57] As these examples indicate, it was most frequently the woman who was called to account for the arrangements under which she lived. If a man fathered a bastard, he would be punished for so doing, but a woman's putting herself in a position to conceive one was often in itself a cause for presentment.

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[56]Charles County Court, A#1, ff. 35-38; Maryland Archives 41: 291-94.

[57]Charles County Court, Y#1, ff. 14, 37; R#1, f. 236; B#1, f. 429; A#1, f. 218; A#2, ff. 160, 184, 249, 326.

Inter-racial unions were the one aspect of marriage for which English law and custom provided no guidance. Men in power reacted early and strongly to the threat of miscegenation. In 1664 the Assembly stated that:

> forasmuch as divers free born Englishwomen forgitfull of theire free Condition and to the disgrace of o[u]r nation doe Intermarrage with negro slaves, . . . for deterring such free borne weoman from such shamefull matches Bee it . . . Enacted . . . that Whatsoever free born weoman shall Intermarrage wth any slave . . . shall serve the master of Such Slave during the life of her husband and yt all the Issue of such free borne weoman soe married shall bee slaves as theire fathers were.[58]

This, and subsequent legislation which stipulated that a free negro male forfeited his freedom if he married a white woman, limited but did not entirely stop interracial marriages. Clearly a number of white women failed to share the legislators' abhorence of unions with blacks. Despite the fact that such offspring were liable to serve a thirty-year term of servitude, mulatto children were regularly born to white women throughout the period. Probate inventories listing mulatto children belonging to black mothers demonstrate that white men also chose black women as sexual partners. White men were of course not punished for this kind of miscegenation, and neither the black women nor their offspring gained any claim to freedom through the father of such children.

From evidence about matches which failed, it can be deduced that colonists considered normal and exclusive sexual union, peaceful cohabitation, and economic support of the wife by the husband the minimal duties

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[58]Ibid., L#1, f. 24; All Faith's Parish Vestry Proceedings, f. 28; Carr, "County Government," ch. 7, fn. 44.

which man and wife must perform.[59] Testimony about the more positive ingredients of a marriage are more rarely encountered.

A central question concerns the colonists' attitude toward conjugal love. Did they believe that love was essential to a marriage, or was the absence of incompatibility enough? Was love a precondition for marriage, or was it believed to develop after the union, a product of, but not a reason for marrying? Was economic advantage a more important criteria for choosing a mate than affection? Not enough evidence has survived to provide adequate answers.

Conjugal love was clearly considered something other than, or at least more than, sexual desire. Sometimes though a man might find it to his advantage to blur the distinction, as did William Watts when he importuned a maid-servant, "to ly with her and did bege and pray to have to doe with her and hee woold marrier if shee would." Later, when the servant's master tried to force Watts to marry her because he had gotten her pregnant, Watts offered a number of excuses, all of which indicated the ephemeral nature of his desire: he "didn't know how to procure a pare of shoes and stockings to bee married in"; Mr. Fitzherbert [a Roman Catholic priest] would ex-communicate him; his "friends would not abide" him; "hee shoold bee Confined to one place"; and, if he were made to marry her, "hee woold bind her to a tree and euerie day whip her."[60]

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[59]See Morgan, Puritan Family, ch. 2, and Demos, A Little Commonwealth, ch. 5. One Calvert County case suggests that non-performance of housekeeping duties by the wife (as well as non-support by the husband) was considered a possible ground for separation. See Chancery Records, MS, IR#2, ff. 202-04.

[60]Charles County Court, A#1, ff. 142-43.

Surviving evidence does suggest that love--or the probability of its development--was considered highly important. For example, espousals were broken off between Arthur Turner and Lucie Stratton for, although Arthur, "coold loue as wel as euer hee did his owne [former] wife," Lucie decided that she "coold not loue him, much les make him her husband."[61] Conversely, the presence of love might help to prove the existence of marriage, as when in 1659 question arose as to whether Henry Mitchell had abducted Grace Molder, or whether she had gone away with him and married willingly. Two members of the household in which she had been living testified that Mitchell had previously confessed that "there was loue between them," and another related that, from observation, "hee did know there was loue betweene Henry Mitchell & Grace Molden. That he . . . did Speak to the sd Grace of it, But shee denyed it." Grace herself clarified the voluntary nature of the match by explaining that Mitchell "did not steale her away . . . But rather more willingly shee went away wth him; than he did wth her; for that shee was before tht time resolved to marry him, bearing love & affection to him." The fact that Grace was heiress to a substantial estate may have increased her attractiveness. The marriage, however, clearly had an emotional as well as an economic basis.[62]

In 1719 a case of contested administration caused contemporary attitudes about marriage to be recorded in rare explicitness. Kenelm Cheseldyne of St. Mary's County had died in 1718, naming his wife, Mary, as administratrix of his estate. Cheseldyne's sisters sought administration for themselves on the ground that Cheseldyne had, in fact, never

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[61]Ibid., B#1, ff. 35-38.

[62]Maryland Archives 41: 336-38.

married the woman he had been living with. At Mary's request, a number of neighbors testified that they believed that she and Cheseldyne had been man and wife because Cheseldyne had behaved in ways which defined the manner of a husband, not a paramour.[63]

The Cheseldyne's problems arose because, about 1712, they had "Marryed in private," without banns, license, clergyman, justice, or witnesses, after Mary--then the Widow Phippard--was pregnant, and possibly not until after the birth of the child. Although Cheseldyne asserted that "she was his Lawfull wife" as much as his friend's, Thomas Bolt's, who "was Marryed to his . . . wife in a full Congregation at picawaxen Church in Charles County according to the Canons of the Church of England," proof of Cheseldyne's marriage depended solely on their word and on community acceptance.

John Greaves testified that while he was constable he had gone to arrest Mary Phippard because she had recently borne an illegitimate child. Cheseldyne had forewarned him "from taking her away at his perrill for that he would give his oath that there was not any such person as Mary Phippard," claiming Mary as his wife, and declaring the child legitimate. Because Cheseldyne always acknowledged Mary as his wife, and because neighbors believed they were married, Greaves also acknowledged the union.

Sarah Turner, the midwife who had delivered the three children of Kenelm and Mary, testified that they were man and wife because:

> the said Cheseldyne particularly was at the birth of the second and seemed very fond of the child and [Mary]. . . . Cheseldyne called her his wife and took care of her as such and Owned the Children.

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[63]The documentation for the following discussion of Cheseldyne's marriage is found in Testamentary Proceedings 23: 349-77.

Benjamin Reeder, a neighbor, hearing of Mary's being presented for incontinence, had inquired of Cheseldyne's kinsman, John Coode, whether or not they were married. Coode had assured him that they had been married in private. Reeder then believed that they were, and he testified that "afterwards . . . Cheseldyne came with her publickly to Church and helped her off and on her Horse and shewed her the respect due to a wife."

Another neighbor, Thomas Bolt, once went to Cheseldyne's house, and found him:

> walking in his Hall with one of the Children he had by [Mary] . . . in his Armes and in discourse about a certaine Mr Donaldson who had been [at the house] but a small time before and was angry about [Mary's] . . . giving the said Donaldson's Child Indian bread in boiled Milk . . . . Cheseldyne sayd that he thought his wife knew what was best for children for says he our own Children Eat the same.

When questioned again about the validity of his marriage by his cousin, William Coode, Cheseldyne had replied, "there is Some plate on the cupboard look at it there is both our names I should not have put it on unless she was my wife." Another neighbor, William Maria Farthing, explained that Cheseldyne had been at his house shortly after the birth of his second child, and:

> in publick Company said that he had one Child by his wife before and that he had another borne about a night or two before . . . and said that he hoped to have another by her and see who would oppose it.

Farthing also noted that "after the birth of the third Child he hath seen him Very fond of the . . . Children."

The conception of a husband expressed by these neighbors was that he always acknowledged his wife, that he appeared with her in public,

that he showed affection and respect for her, and that he supported her in a condition commensurate with his means. A husband also owned the children born of the union, showed affection towards them, and cared for them. In addition, he acknowledged his wife's joint authority in their upbringing.[64]

Bringing Up Children

Colonists in seventeenth-century Maryland bore children and brought them up through the early years of life much as they themselves had been born and brought up in the Old World. In later childhood and adolescence, however, familiar patterns often broke down. Because at least one of a child's natural parents so often died early, the community was forced to take on responsibilities for the support, supervision, and education of children which had traditionally been carried out by the family. Not entirely prepared for the role so suddenly thrust upon it, the community's success in carrying out these responsibilities was far from complete.

Babies were born in the home, usually with the help of a midwife.[65] The husband was probably customarily at hand; "his wife being neare Delivery" regularly excused men from jury duty and other official

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[64]If this conception of marriage sounds most similar to that of the New England Puritans described by Edmund Morgan, it serves to point out the common cultural heritage and underlying religious tradition of the immigrants to both the Chesapeake and New England. While we have no evidence that anyone in southern Maryland either owned or had read many of the works of Puritan writers, it is clear that they shared many of the concepts of marriage which these authors expressed. See Morgan, Puritan Family, pp. 41-64.

[65]Charles County Court, A#1, ff. 37-39, 225-27, 269; D#1, f. 4; S#1, ff. 297-98; X#1, f. 51; Testamentary Proceedings 23: 363.

business.[66] He might be joined by his nearer neighbors, who apparently, as soon as they heard the delivery was in progress, went to the house in order to be among the first to view the new arrival, and to celebrate the event with a round of drink.[67] When a minister was available, the infant was normally baptized within two months; otherwise baptism would be delayed until a minister arrived in the neighborhood.[68]

Infants were breast fed, and if for some reason the mother could not nurse, a neighbor with milk to spare was hired to help nourish the baby. One such negotiation was recorded. John Ashbrooke related:

> Mr. Arthur Turner came to this Deponent's house on the 25th of October last past hee Sat him downe by the table, and this Deponants wife Sukling her owne Child upon the left breast, the sayd Turner Sitting by Sayd unto his Deponants wife, Roase, I see thow has good Store. I Sir Replyed this Deponants wife. So I have thancke Godd for it whearupon the sayd Turner Sayd hee had a Child that wanted it to which this deponant Sayd, Sir, if in Case you have I coold wish it had as much as my wife coold Spaer it.[69]

Infants were occasionally also nourished by other means. Turner had previously approached Marie Dod about nursing the child, and she "answered Shee coold not for Shee thought She was with child herself but if hee woold haue it drie nurst she woold doe her best endeavor for it."[70]

For the first two or three years of their lives, children were probably attentively cared for. Petitions for aid from the county levy

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[66]Charles County Court, A#2, ff. 81, 164.

[67]Ibid., A#1, f. 37; Testamentary Proceedings 23: 363.

[68]Charles County Court, F#1, f. 244; K#1, ff. 11-12; P#1, ff. 208, 210, 211; Q#1, f. 11; Y#1, f. 143; Testamentary Proceedings 5: 348.

[69]Charles County Court, A#1, ff. 35, 38.

[70]Ibid., f. 38.

to help maintain orphan infants attest to "ye trouble I have with such an one," and "ye Trouble of my hous with 2 small children [twins about a year and a half old] washing Lodgeing Combeing, Pickeing, nurseing and fostering them one whole yeare."[71] Until a child was able to walk well, it was carried in the arms of one of the parents when they went abroad, and very young children were probably frequently picked up and fondled. Women are often recorded as going out "with their infants in their arms," and a father was described as "walking in his Hall with one of the children . . . in his Arms."[72]

The line between infancy and childhood was crossed at age three. A child was likely to be weaned sometime at the beginning of the second year, and a new baby might be expected by the end of it.[73] One or both of these events apparently signified the transition from the status of infant to that of "little adult." A child's chances of surviving to maturity also improved about the third birthday. This fact was reflected in public policy. The county courts authorized payment from public taxes to persons who cared for orphans without estates until they were two years old. Thereafter orphans, in theory, paid for their maintenance through their own labor. Clearly, a child of three or four would not be able to do much work, so the custom of public payments for early care

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[71]Ibid., I#1, f. 230; X#1, f. 303; Y#1, ff. 13, 130.

[72]Ibid., A#1, ff. 4, 32; B#1, ff. 145-50; Testamentary Proceedings 23: 365-66.

[73]Demos, A Little Commonwealth, pp. 35-36. See also Alan Macfarlane, The Family Life of Ralph Josselin (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 87-88, and Appendix A, for a similar example of the effect of breast feeding on birth intervals.

must have taken into account a high infant death rate. The chances of a baby not living to repay the costs of its care were apparently so great that public compensation was necessary to induce a couple to take charge of an orphaned infant. Conversely, masters were willing to accept the risk for those above age three.[74] Susanna Taylor, for example, was promised 1,600 pounds of tobacco in 1667 for nursing, feeding, and clothing a month-old orphan for a year with the condition that:

> if the child die anie time within halfe a yeare then the Allowance to be but for halfe a yeare and if it die anie time within a yeare after the halfe yeare then she is to have the whole yearlie allowance.[75]

The situation was reversed if the child were older. Seabright Maycock in 1674 was to:

> have Elinor Fish tht is three yeares of age, till shee arrives at the full & Compleat yeares of twenty on[e] yeares of age, hee finding her all manner of necessaries & keeping the county cleare of all Charge, hee entering into Recognizance to save the County harmlesse.[76]

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[74]Carr, "County Government," pp. 346-47; Charles County Court, A#1, f. 37; C#1, f. 244; F#1, f. 13; H#1, ff. 105, 242; I#1, ff. 124, 230-31; K#1, f. 84; L#1, f. 71; Y#1, f. 143; B#2, f. 3. A child was able to produce substantial returns by his labor beginning between ages eight and ten. Testamentary Proceedings 12B: 238-54; Provincial Court Judgements, DSC, ff. 55-56; Charles County Court, E#1, f. 81. Apparently Englishmen shared similar expectations for children, at least those of the poorer classes. Locke in his Report for the Reform of the Poor Law (1697) proposed that "working schools" be set up for poor children between the ages of three and fourteen so that "from their infancy [they] be inured to work . . . ." Quoted in Joseph E. Illick, "Childrearing in Seventeenth-Century England and America," in The History of Childhood, p. 341.

[75]Charles County Court, C#1, f. 244. Another reference to improved chances of survival over the age of three is found in a deed of Thomas Jarvis. Upon leaving the province he deeded his cows to the man who was then caring for them with the exception of a calf "to be giuen unto William Empsons child after [italics mine] it coms to the age of three years or upwards." Charles County Court, B#1, ff. 355-56.

[76]Ibid., F#1, f. 13.

Illegitimate children born to servant women were also customarily removed from their mothers and bound to masters between the ages of two and three, and sometimes as young as six months. Neglect of such children by inattentive nurses, and by the mother (whose time was not her own) must have sadly increased the already high proportion of children dying in infancy.[77]

Once he reached age three, a child was probably assigned household tasks. We can suppose that this was true of those who remained at home, as well as for those who were bound out. Children undoubtedly "learned the behavior appropriate to their sex and station by sharing in the activities of their parents."[78] For example, most planters owned several guns and a supply of fishing lines and hooks, and they probably spent a great deal of time fishing and roaming the woods in search of game with their sons. We have a glimpse of this in depositions given about land boundaries. Sons frequently tell of long walks in the woods while hunting, fishing, berry picking, or going on errands. During these times their fathers shared their knowledge of the character and history of the area in which they lived. Boys were told about the first settlers, where they lived, and who they married, and about the location of Indian towns and fields. The bounds of nearby tracts of land were pointed out, and the succession of owners related. Men showed the best places to swim and to fish, and where to ford rivers. They pointed out the location of common paths and told where they went. The boys learned to recognize

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[77]Ibid., I#1, f. 13; V#1, ff. 111, 213; Y#1, ff. 16, 35, 245; A#2, ff. 80, 182, 251; B#2, ff. 59, 127, 128.

[78]Demos, A Little Commonwealth, pp. 139-40.

good land and bad, and the different kinds of trees and plants and their uses.[79]

From an examination of period inventories something can be learned about children's material conditions. It appears that whatever toys children may have had were home-made, and of so little worth that they were never valued. Since most houses were quite small in this period, usually just one to two rooms, children generally slept with their brothers and sisters in the same room as their parents or in a loft above. Only in the inventory of William Dent, one of the wealthiest men in the county, was specific reference made to a nursery, one of the seven rooms in his house. It contained 6 straw chairs; 4 cane chairs; 1 hat case; a close stool; 4 beds; 4 sheets; 3 suits of curtains, valances, and coverlids; 3 chests; some clothing, and, perhaps the only items specifically for children, 3 low chairs with cushions.[80]

Similarly, there was very little in typical merchants' stock that was specifically designed for the young, aside from clothing, which, except in the case of infants, apparently differed from that of adult's only in size. Probably the only treat that a parent might ever purchase for his children at the store would be a little sugar.[81]

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[79]See, for example, depositions about boundaries in Charles County Court, M#2 and land commission proceedings in P#2, Q#2, R#2, and T#2, and in the Provincial Court Papers.

[80]Inventories and Accounts 25: 390; Wills 3: 718. Cf. Inventories and Accounts 7: 295-302.

[81]Ibid. Among the stock in Dent's store were "1 child's first coat" and "9 pairs of children's first stockings." For another store inventory see Ibid., f. 698. Out of 212 books which the merchant William Baily stocked in 1702, only four were primers. Ibid., 22: 99. Among seventeenth-century merchant inventories in southern Maryland, only Thomas Jackson's mentioned children's toys. He stocked two parcels of toys valued at two shillings four pence. Ibid., 9: 343. See Laslett, The World We Have Lost, p. 105, on the similar condition of most British children.

Usually, the only valuable thing children possessed was livestock. Frequently a father would register a separate livestock mark for each child, and when his cow or pig or horse gave birth would present the child with an animal of his own. Grandparents, uncles and aunts, and godparents might also give a favorite child livestock.[82] Gifts of animals were the seventeenth-century equivalent of opening a bank account or purchasing a savings bond for a child today. The purpose was not to give the child a pet (although occasionally he might have treated the animal as such), but to give him something which would increase in value by having offspring and which would provide some income should the parents die, or a nest-egg with which to start out when he reached majority.

In 1662 Robert Cole, a middling planter of St. Mary's County, went on an extended trip to England. He left his family behind--a stepson Francis Knott, 13, and his children Robert, 10, Mary, 9, William, 7, Edward, 5, and Elizabeth (Betty), 3. Since his wife was dead, extensive preparations were necessary to arrange for their care while he was gone. Mary went to live with another family, and Francis, Robert, William, Edward, and Elizabeth were left at home along with four servants. We know in detail of these arrangements because Cole died while in England, and when two of the children brought suit against the guardian, Luke Gardiner, in 1673, Gardiner presented the whole account of what Cole had

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[82]See Charles County Court, A#1, ff. 66, 110, 138; B#1, ff. 111, 243; D#1, ff. 5, 6; E#1, ff. 34, 101; F#1, f. 198; G#1, ff. 156, 164; H#1, ff. 185, 292, 293, 329; I#1, ff. 45, 59, 170, 173, 247, 342; L#1, f. 92; M#1, ff. 10, 100; N#1, f. 205; P#1, ff. 184, 202, 203; R#1, ff. 234, 333, 541, 548; S#1, ff. 168, 174, 239, 313, 334; Y#1, f. 16; Z#1, ff. 57, 67, 160, 161, 209, 260.

left when he sailed, and what Gardiner had subsequently expended and received. This account provides an insight into childhood in southern Maryland.[83]

Cole made an inventory in 1662 of what he had, and described the preparations he had made for his family. "I Doe Suppose," he stated, "I have left my Children Indifferent well ffurnished with cloaths till Christmas onely they will want shooes." He had also laid up a year's provisions--twelve barrels of corn, eighteen middle pieces of bacon, sugar, salt, spices, sweet oil, biscuit, and soap. He expected them to get from the plantation fresh meat, tallow, milk, butter, cheese, cider, vegetables, and fruit. Some of the children slept together, because there were only one feather bed and three flock beds in the house. "Two ivory combs for the children" were the only personal items listed. Cole had locked his books and some other prized possessions in a chest, but noted "6 other bookes left out for the children to Read in."

Luke Gardiner carefully supervised the children's welfare for the next eleven years. In addition to managing the plantation and servants, he saw that the children were fed, clothed, doctored, and educated. On occasion he hired a neighbor woman to help with the housework. Each year he purchased the clothing the children needed, and hired a tailor to make up new clothes and mend old ones. Table 14 summarizes the clothing each child received. Their food came largely from their own farm, although Gardiner did from time to time bring in soap, salt, sugar, beans, molasses, and mackerel. He also bought more combs, and provided the older boys with pocket knives, pipes, and bridles for their horses. Medical care was

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[83]Testamentary Proceedings 6: 118-46. Wills 1: 182-86.

TABLE 14

CLOTHING PROVIDED FOR FIVE CHILDREN, 1662-1672

Year	Francis	Robert	William	Edward	Elizabeth
1662	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 11	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 11	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 11	1, 3, 3, 4, 5, 9, 11	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 9
1663	2, 3, 4 11, 12, 13	2, 3, 4 11, 12, 13	1	-	2, 8, 9 10
1664	1, 2, 17	1, 2, 17	1, 2, 11 17	1, 2, 11 17	1, 2, 14 17
1665	1	1	1, 15	1	1, 10, 16
1666	1, 2	1, 2	1, 2	1, 2	1, 2, 8
1667	1, 3, 18	1, 3, 18	1, 3, 18	1, 3, 18	1, 18
1668	1, 2, 3 18	1, 2, 3 18	1, 2, 3 18	1, 2, 3 18	1, 2, 18
1669	1, 2, 18	1, 2, 18	1, 2, 18	1, 2, 18	1, 2, 18
1670	1, 2, 3, 18	1, 2, 3, 18	1, 2, 3 18	1, 2, 3 18	
1671 & 1672	1, 2, 3, 18	1, 2, 3, 18	1, 2, 3, 18	1, 2, 3, 18	

Key:
1. shoes
2. stockings
3. hat
4. drawers
5. linens
6. apron
7. frock
8. hood
9. neckcloth
10. petticoat
11. suit
12. gloves
13. shirt
14. jumper
15. britches
16. shift
17. waistcoat
18. outer clothing, kind unspecified. Purchased as cloth and made up by a tailor.

Source: Robert Cole Account, Testamentary Proceedings 6: 118-46.

needed from time to time. In 1663 there was a bill for pills for Robert. In 1664 all the children were administered a purge, and Elizabeth was given two purges in 1665.

Each child apparently received about four years of education. Cole had instructed Gardiner that his sons learn to read and write and cast accounts and his daughters to read and to sew with their needles. "All of them [were] to be kept from Idleness but not to be kept as Comon Servants." When the four years of instruction were finished, "such care [was to] be taken of my Children that they may not forgett their Learning, before they do come to . . . age."

The following expenses were listed in the account:

1665	2 boys schooling [Francis and Robert]	350	lbs.	tob.
	schooling for William	150	"	"
	Edward and Betty--schooling for 1 year	600	"	"
1666	4 children schooleing [Robert, Edward, William, Betty]	11,050	"	"
1667	3 boys schooling [Robert, Edward, William]	500	"	"
	boarding and schooling Elizabeth	1,000	"	"
1668	boarding and schooling Betty	1,000	"	"
1670	Edward's schooling	400	"	"
1671 & 72	William's schooling	100	"	"
	Edward's schooling	400	"	"

The two older boys had probably already received some instruction while Cole was still at home. By 1670 Francis Knott was making himself useful on the plantation evidenced by Gardiner's paying him for building a hen house. In 1673 Robert was making a crop of tobacco. The low cost of the boys' schooling seems to indicate that either a tutor was hired to come to the farm to teach the boys, or there was one living within walking distance. Elizabeth left home for two years of schooling, and her education was more than twice as expensive. She very likely attended a

boarding school operated by the Jesuits at Newtowne, just across St. Clement's Bay, and she stayed at the home of the planter on whose land the school was located.[84] There is no reason to suppose that the maintenance and education of the Cole children was atypical of that of many other families. Guardian Gardiner probably cared for them much as Cole himself would have done.[85]

The most frightening aspect of childhood in the seventeenth century must have been the very real uncertainty of the future. Most children could expect that at least one, or perhaps both, of their parents would die before they were old enough to care for themselves.[86] When

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[84]Edwin Warfield Beitzel, The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County, Maryland (n.p.; by the author, 1960), pp. 28, 41-42.

[85]The subsequent direction that the lives of the Cole children took was also fairly representative. Robert married a widow, and he went to live on her lands, never again dwelling on his father's home plantation. He died in 1693, worth £68, leaving a widow, his second wife, and one small child. Mary married a nearby planter and received as her share of her father's estate 10 cattle; 1 feather bed and bolster, pillow, and rugs; 1 copper kettle; 1 pair of sheets; 1 iron pot; and 1 bell metal mortar and pestle. Edward went to England in 1672, but later returned to take up some of his father's lands. He became a merchant as well as a planter, and had accumulated an estate of £778 at his death in 1717 at the relatively old age of sixty. William was bound as an apprentice in 1673, and he was dead by 1688. Betty died in 1670 at age eleven.

[86]For example, using the life table described in chapter 2, a male immigrant who married at the mean age of marriage, 26, had a life expectancy of only 19.6 additional years. Assuming that the first child was born within a year of the marriage, that subsequent children came at two year intervals, and that all of them survived, his children would be aged 18, 16, 14, 12, 10, 8, 6, 4, and 2 when he died at age 45. Thus, all sons would be minors, as would all but a possible maximum of two daughters, at his death. The father might appoint a friend as the children's guardian. If we assume that the guardian was 40 years of age when appointed, his life expectancy would be an additional 13.2 years. Up to three of the children would still be minors at the time of the guardian's death at age 53, and would then be raised by someone else. Thus, while it might normally be objected that orphan court proceedings are an atypical source, in the seventeenth century they reflect the experience of a very substantial number of children.

this happened, at best the children would have to adjust to a new stepparent and subsequently to learn to live with stepbrothers and sisters. The potential for conflict was great in situations where children of more than one marriage lived together in a family. Each parent very naturally tended to favor his own children and to discriminate against those coming from a partner's previous marriage. Parental favoritism only heightened conflicts between stepchildren already competing for their parents' attention and affection.

Complaints of ill treatment by stepparents are legion. Margaret O'Daniell protested about her stepfather Thomas Denton:

> Your Pet[itione]r after her father's decease, lived with . . . Denton about 9 yeares as his servant working for him at the Hoe, as hard as any servant, & when hee saw, shee would marry, hee put her off, without any clothes or shift to her back, that was good for anything, soe that her husband was forced to buy her necessaries, & now refuseth to give her anything of her fathers estate or her owne.[87]

Stepparents sometimes went so far as to try to entirely rid themselves of their mate's children. Thomas Price was presented in 1696 "by ye Information of Hannah Price his wife for selling a child of ye sd Hannahs which shee had by another Husband in ye Colony of Virginia."[88] Enough suspicion was aroused by the death of Katherine Lee that her stepmother was accused, but later acquitted, of poisoning her.[89]

Although the county court acted to remove children from the custody of patently abusive parents, it firmly maintained the stepfather's right to compensation for raising another man's offspring. Almost every orphan was expected to work to some degree for his maintenance, since by law the

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[87]Testamentary Proceedings 9: 512-15.

[88]Charles County Court, V#1, f. 1.

[89]Ibid., P#1, f. 123.

principal of his inheritance could not be used for the child's upbringing, but only the income from it. In this period, very few estates were large enough to so support an orphan.[90] When Nicholas and Grace Bolaine petitioned that they be allowed to live with a guardian, the court agreed with their stepfather that they be bound instead to him, because they were just now old enough to begin working to repay him for their early maintenance.[91] When John Booker complained that his stepson Richard Price, then about seventeen, "takes to idle company, absents himself from the house and endeavours to get his freedom," just when old enough to be productive, the court ordered Richard to return to the service of his stepfather.[92]

Stepbrothers could also be hard masters. Humphrey Warren, Senior, a merchant, immigrated with his son by his first wife, Humphrey, Junior. The father, encountering financial reverses, transferred most of his substantial estate to his son in order to prevent its being attached to pay for a suit which he had lost in English courts. A few years before his death, the elder Warren, still in financial straights, remarried and had three additional sons. In 1673 his widow married one Thomas Howell, a man of small estate. She died shortly thereafter, and Howell managed to care for the three young Warren orphans until his death in 1677.

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[90]Ibid., B#2, f. 129; F#1, f. 199; Maryland Archives 58: 302; 65: 90; Wills 4: 313; Carr, "County Government," pp. 340-47. In this period an orphan was defined as a child whose father had died. The mother could be the guardian only if she could give the bond required to ensure payment of the child's portion, and she was accountable to the court for the condition of the child and his property. If she remarried and was then femme couvert, the new husband was required to give bond or else the court would appoint other guardians, at least to care for the property.

[91]Ibid., F#1, f. 199; Maryland Archives 57: 302.

[92]Charles County Court, B#2, f. 129.

Their stepbrother Humphrey then took charge of them and their small estate. The three boys subsequently encountered even harder times. One of them, Thomas, petitioned to the Judge of Probate in 1697, explaining that his youngest brother had since died, and that he had served his stepbrother:

> by working in the ground till he was 21 years of age and that Abraham the other [brother] served him 17 years at the howe and after that seaven years more at the trade of a shoomaker.

By this time Humphrey Warren, Junior, had died, and his executor not only refused to give the stepbrothers the inheritance due them from their father, but was threatening to further extend the brothers' long period of servitude by charging them for the costs of their upbringing! The executor was eventually forced to pay Thomas and Abraham their portions and free them; the fact that their stepbrother had not reveals a high degree of callousness.[93]

Mothers who were unable to remarry quickly or otherwise support their orphans had no choice but to put the children out. For example, Mary Empson, age four, was given to another family to raise, in return for four cows, because her mother was too poor to keep her after her father died. Often, a remarried woman sought to buy back the children she had been forced to bind out after the death of her first husband. Fatherless children were put out to others often while very young. Their only advantages over other servants was that they could not be sold to other masters, and the mother was sometimes able to mitigate their treatment and conditions of labor, and to stipulate that they receive some education.[94]

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[93]Testamentary Proceedings 17: 122. Cf. 9: 176-77.

[94]Charles County Court, A#1, f. 145; M#1, f. 221; V#1, f. 310; Y#1, ff. 78, 100; A#2, ff. 131, 260; B#2, f. 141; Testamentary Proceedings 8: 355; Carr, "County Government," p. 345.

Even worse might be the fate of those children who lost both parents. Seldom were there surviving kin to take them in. Unless they had a large estate, they were bound out by the county court to labor for someone else until they reached majority. This situation implies no special hardheartedness on the part of the commissioners; they had few alternatives. In a society where most children whose parents were living were expected to work to contribute to their maintenance as soon as they were physically able to do so, it is natural that those children who had the misfortune to become orphans should be compelled to do the same. The impossibility of institutional care in a recently settled rural area and the relative poverty of the seventeenth century demanded that, beyond public payments for the care and nursing of orphaned infants, there be a system by which the orphans themselves repaid the costs of their early maintenance.[95]

The county court was responsible for overseeing the treatment of all orphans and each year a special jury inquired into their welfare. If children were mistreated or their property embezzled, the court was supposed to place them with other masters or guardians.[96] A case which occurred in Anne Arundel County describes the difficulties which orphans might encounter when courts did not act in their behalf. One Keely, a planter, died in 1672, and his wife about a year after. In 1678 their son described what had happened to the family:

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[95]Carr, "County Government," pp. 340-47.

[96]Charles County Court, I#1, f. 259. For a discussion of the jurisdiction and functioning of the orphans' court in Maryland see Lois Green Carr, "The Development of the Maryland Orphans' Court, 1654-1715," in Land, Carr, and Papenfuse, eds., Law, Society, and Politics.

> Wee three Children the least about ten yeares old the maid servant and noe body would Administer and wee lived in my father's house soe long as wee had Victualls and haveing noe Creditt for more Every one shifted for themselves wee two Brothers Bound ourselves with ye order of our Court to James Rigbie & my sister lived with a neighbour and the maide servant went about the Countrey to Worke for Victualls and Still Expected Some body to take further care of ye Estate for wee left ye house and was Advised not to meddle with any good for feare ye Administrator when he came would take itt away now ye time being fower or five years Since my mother dyed and noe body Appeares wee crave that wee may take ye Little that people have left in ye house & that wee may have Lyberty to let ye Plantation to Some that would live on it and that wee may Enjoy it Safely.[97]

The experience of the Watts children in St. Mary's County tells much about the standards of care expected, as well as about abuses. William Watts died in 1678, two years after his wife, leaving three sons: Charles, 8, William, 6, and Edward, 4. The children's grandfather protested in 1682 about the treatment accorded them by their acting guardian, Gerrard Slye, the executor of Watts' estate:

> I never knew any bastard Children in the Province soe used as to victualls & Cloathes but such Raggs & old Clouts that scarce would cover their nakedness & those given them by the charity of others & as to victualls nothing allowed this present year but salt & hominy & half a bull for meate amongst all the family.

An overseer, Richard Craine, added further testimony. Captain Slye had given him the eldest son at age ten to work for half a share. Craine told Slye the boy was not able to perform such labor, as did John Sheppard, the cooper, but Slye replied that their estate would not maintain them, and that if Craine would not take the boy, he would put him to another quarter. So Craine worked Charles for two years, and for the last year had worked the next youngest at planting corn and suckering

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[97]Testamentary Proceedings 10: 312-13. See also 8: 135-37, 172, 438-39; 10: 11, 22-23; 12B: 55-62, 216.

tobacco. For clothes, Craine testified, the last year the two eldest had a yard of linen apiece and a pair of shoes and stockings and the youngest only an ozenbuck frock, "so that for the most part of this Last yeare they were almost quite naked only a paire of drawers apice that this deponent made them of Sacking Cloath."

One neighbor swore, "that they were putt to unreasonable Labour supposing them to have been bastard Children much more orphants that had an Estate Left them." A stranger to the quarter testified that he had asked who the naked and ragged children were, and a woman there told him that the children were put to hard work, had little or no cloathes, "& were saddly beaten & abused by ye overseer as tyed up by the hands & whipt." The Judge agreed that "they have not ye Comon Care had of them as is usuall for planters to have of their meanest Serv[an]ts or Slaves," and recommended that the county court put them in their grandfather's custody. There were delays, however, and it was not until two years later that the children were finally put in their grandfather's hands.[98]

This sad history shows that the community expected orphans to be at least minimally cloathed and fed. Second, it suggests that there was some concept of "children's work." Witnesses stated that expecting a ten year old to raise a crop half the size of that grown by an adult was "unreasonable." The older boy must have been performing tasks in the fields more laborious than those performed by the younger--planting corn and suckering tobacco. Perhaps these latter jobs were among those regularly assigned to young children. Third, flogging of children was clearly not an accepted method of discipline. Fourth, it was expected

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[98]Ibid., 12B: 238-54; 13: 135-59. For similar cases see 10: 312-13; 17: 122.

that orphans be accorded different treatment depending on the size of the estate left them. Bastard children could expect nothing beyond minimal maintenance. Legitimate children with no estates were accorded a higher status than the illegitimate, but probably received little more in the way of food and clothing and were also expected to work to cover the costs of their care. Orphans with inheritances were supposed to be better maintained, and apparently to work less. Such children were "to be kept from Idleness," but they were not to be "kept as Comon Servants" working continually at routine manual tasks.

Richard and Ann Jones of Charles County obtained more effective relief from the court of Charles County. In March 1690 their stepfather, Thomas Lindsay, bound them to Philip Lynes, probably the hardest master in the county. In November they complained to the court that they were not given enough food and clothing. Again in January 1691 they protested that Lynes "hath taken noo care of your poore Petitioners nor found them any clothing or dyett sufficient for them, soo that yoor poore Petitioners in this condition without your worshipps speedy reliefe are likely to perish." The court ruled that the indenture had been voided through Lynes' neglect, and returned the children to Lindsay. A few months later the court bound them to Richard Harrison, as Lindsay was not caring for their estate. In June 1692 Richard complained that Harrison was not teaching him to be a boatwright and carpenter as he was supposed to do, but was using him as common labor at the axe and hoe. The court agreed with Harrison's judgment that Richard was still "soo young and small that as yett hee was not fitt to worke at his trade." However, as Thomas Lindsay had still not accounted for the children's estate, the sheriff

was ordered to seize goods in Lindsay's possession equal to the children's share of their father's inventory, and turn the goods over to Harrison for safekeeping. Unfortunately, by this process over one-third of the orphan's meager estate was consumed in court and attorney's fees.[99]

In order to avoid ill treatment of the kinds earlier described, a father might appoint a guardian for his children in his will. Then the court might formally bind the orphan to his guardian, especially if the mother was also dead or had remarried. When the orphan of an intestate who was heir to land reached age fourteen, he was permitted by law to go into court to make his own choice of guardian. The law did not specify who was to be guardian in cases where there was a will, but no guardian named. The stepfather or other relatives probably customarily acted.[100] The Chief Judge of Probate, for example, instructed a neighboring commissioner to acquaint an orphan that he was of age to choose a guardian and should address the county court about it:

> it is high time to ye orphants to Looke about them; for their Estate (I doubt) is much Embezzled by soe many stepfathers & an unkarefull mother . . . . I humbly Charge you to putt ye sd orphant in mind as above--& to make him sensible of his, & his sisters condicōn; Give him ye best Counsell you Can is my Request.[101]

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[99]Charles County Court, P#1, f. 195; Q#1, ff. 18, 23. Lynes had a long history of mistreatment of indentured servants and of orphans bound to him. He was singly responsible for almost one third of the complaints brought by servants before the Charles County Court between 1658 and 1705.

[100]Ibid., A#1, f. 95; Y#1, f. 16; Z#1, f. 160; Wills 1: 413; 6: 181; 11: 377; 4: 68, 204. The only set terms for guardianship were that the guardian 1) put up security against waste of the estate, 2) educate the orphan according to his estate, or bind him to a trade, and 3) be of the same religion as the child's parents. Carr, "County Government," pp. 335-44.

[101]Testamentary Proceedings 13: 145-56. See also Charles County Court, C#1, f. 244; F#1, f. 230; G#1, f. 1; H#1, ff. 1, 270; I#1, f. 259; K#1, f. 356; R#1, f. 140; V#1, f. 164; B#2, f. 144.

Because of the real uncertainty of a parent's survival, the choice of godparents for his child was an important decision. This practice was probably most common in southern Maryland among Catholic families, who had greater access to the sacrament of baptism, but Protestant couples named them also. The godparent promised to see that his godchild was brought up in the natural parents' religion, and, should the child be orphaned, this promise could theoretically include raising and educating the child. Many persons took these religious duties very seriously.[102]

Rice Jenkins, for example, was taken in by his godfather, Christopher Williamson, when he was orphaned at six years of age. At Williamson's request the court bound Rice to his godfather to age twenty-one. Williamson agreed to teach his godson to read, and, having no children of his own, promised to give his entire estate to Rice. When John Land's father died, his godfather, Henry Aspinall, stepped in, promising "to care for him and teach him a trade."[103]

Frequently godparents made some gift to their godchildren in their lifetime, such as a cow, horse, or sheep, and others left livestock or some personal belongings in their will.[104] In the event that a man had no children of his own, he might, like Christopher Williamson, will a

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[102]Joan Beale willed "That my Sonne George Read and his Estate be fully and wholly committed to the Custody, tuition and Guardianship of my good ffiends his godfathers George Mackall and John Wauhub, or the Survivor of them, my said Sonn to be by them protected un[d]er God and provided for (out of his estate) and brought up in Civility good Litterature and the feare of God, untill he shall be of age." Testamentary Proceedings 14: 21-23.

[103]Charles County Court, V#1, f. 126; P#1, f. 195.

[104]Ibid., A#1, f. 95; Y#1, ff. 16, 311; Z#1, f. 160; Wills 6: 181; 11: 377.

substantial portion of his estate to a godchild. Thomas Burford, for instance, willed that his godson live with his executor until age twenty-one and that he receive three years of schooling and a negro boy.[105]

Because of the special interest godparents might take in them, the court often preferred to bind orphans to their godparents rather than to more indifferent masters.[106] Also, in cases where the children were put out to others, a godparent might intervene to rectify the master's treatment of a godchild. For instance, when complaint was made about Thomas Sprigg, an executor of Sarah Belcher's estate, that:

> he locks up the said [orphan] Sarah Belcher and puts her to all kinds of Drudgery like a cōmon bought servant in the Country and refuses any person admittance to Speake with her so that she remaines more like a slave and a prisoner than an Orphant to whom an Estate is Due,

the court ordered her immediate delivery to John Sewall, the husband of "Elinor that is both godmother and was Nurse to the said Orphant."[107]

Of course, the lives of all orphans were not so dismal as those in some of the preceding illustrations. Examples appear of extra-ordinary kindness among godparents and other persons who acted as surrogates for kin. For instance, a man might take responsibility for the orphans of an intended wife, as happened when the widow Sarah Clarke was espoused to Miles Gibson, but she died before they could be married. Gibson administered her estate, took care of the plantation, and cared for and educated her two small orphaned daughters.[108] What the preceding examples do show

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[105]Wills 6: 93. See also 1: 379; 2: 102; 3: 638; 6: 342.

[106]Charles County Court, E#1, f. 132; S#1, f. 402.

[107]Testamentary Proceedings 4: 9-10.

[108]Ibid., 12B: 71-73.

is that the wicked stepmother or brutal master of today's "fairy stories" were often very real persons in the lives of seventeenth-century children.

Teen-aged children appear somewhat more frequently in the records than do younger ones. Although still legally minors, they were often doing the same work as adults. A boy might even attempt to support his family before he was of age. In June 1696 Thomas Shuttlesworth "hath absented himselfe and is gone away" from his wife and two minor children. Edward, his son, "Endeauouring to make a Crop for ye mainteineance of himselfe & his mother," was declared to be not lyable for his father's debts, in order that the family might be kept together through the son's labor.[109]

There are suggestions that, among boys at least, something of an adolescent crisis may have occurred. Not all children exhibited the "dutifull behaviour" expected of them. Especially in families where the father had died, teen-aged sons got into arguments with their parents, sought to escape from work and from the authority of others, spent their inheritances imprudently, and got into scrapes with the law.

Older men often commented on the lack of industry and self-discipline they saw in younger charges. A father complained that his stepson, age seventeen,"takes to idle company absents himself from the house and endeavours to get his freedom."[110] A godparent protested that his fourteen-year-old godson was being brought up to "idleness, swearing and all other ill vices."[111] Another boy was described by his intended stepfather as:

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[109]Charles County Court, V#1, f. 1.

[110]Ibid., B#2, f. 129.

[111]Ibid., Y#1, ff. 311-12.

> a young Wilde & dissolute p[er]son much given to Company keeping & of such as are debouch[ed] & rude fellowes, & that hee is uncapable of managing his owne estate left by his father being Considerable but living up & downe, or to & fro ye County one weeke in one place & a fortnight in another letting his estate fall to Ruine & decay for want of management.[112]

William Dent willed that his children have their estates in Maryland delivered to them at age seventeen, but admonished:

> I will not have any [of] the boys to have their Moneys in England till twenty one yeares to the intent that if they Take loose and Idle Courses here which God for bidd they may have one after game more to play by which time they may see their former folly and amend.[113]

Less frequently, boys had difficulties with their mothers also. The widow Conyers Clark, for example, was anxious about "her sonn . . . being almost of Age & threatens to Leave her."[114] When Levinia Dickeson renounced her right of administration of her deceased husband's estate in favor of her son Samuel Bagby, she anticipated potential differences. Included in her renunciation was the provision "that my sonne . . . shall give . . . [me] a lawful maintenance & dyett & lodgeing & Clothing & moreover ye sd Samll Bagby shall not abuse his mother but shall be dutifull & obedient to all her Commands & god will bless you ye more."[115] Long-standing and bitter conflict must have preceded the disputes between

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[112]Testamentary Proceedings 9: 174-78.

[113]Wills 3: 475-80. Thomas Clarke in his will instructed his wife Sarah to dispose of the estate between his two children, "in such manner and by such parts and portions as to her shall seeme most meet and fitt, Respect being Chiefly had, in the said division of Goods and Chattells, to theyr respective dutifull or undutifull deportment towards her theyr mother . . . dureing the time of her abode in this present Life." Testamentary Proceedings 7: 20-22.

[114]Charles County Court, A#2, f. 260.

[115]Testamentary Proceedings 13: 22.

Richard Cole, who had just reached twenty-one, and his mother, Sarah. She accused him of:

> abusing her and her [second] husband Younger . . . . And said she would have her sonne Cole make an end of the difference between her and him about his Childs part of his Fathers goods and in discourse about it, fell into extreame passion, and threw a firebrand and a howe at her said sonns head, and snatched up a spitt of wood and threatened to runne it into the gutts of her said sonne.

Richard took refuge in the house of a neighbor complaining that his mother would not let him alone.[116]

Real delinquency might be considered the fault of the parent as well as of the child. Charles Garrat, Junior was convicted of stealing a cable from a sloop and was sentenced by the court to ten lashes and a fine. In an attempt to put him under better supervision, the court bound Charles with his mother's consent to John Fendall. Charles' father, who had been absent at the time of the arrest and trial, later tried to get him back, "alledging yt Mr Fendall hath not performed ye Conditions on his part . . . but hath putt him to other Servile Labour in his Plantation." The court decided that Charles was not being abused, and upon Fendall's promise to keep him to a trade, recommended that he remain in Fendall's custody and not that of his parents.[117]

Since girls generally assumed adult roles earlier than their brothers, there was less time for conflict with parents to develop. Also, because there were more men than women in the colony, for a girl marriage frequently proved an easy escape from an unhappy home situation. Margaret O'Daniell is a case in point. She clearly was anxious to leave the custody of her stepfather, with whom she had lived, "about 9 yeares as

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[116]Ibid., 8: 285-87.

[117]Charles County Court, Y#1, ff. 78, 100; A#2, f. 260.

his servant working for him at the Hoe, as hard as any servant," and who, when "hee perceaved . . . she was Resolued to marry . . . put her off, with out any clothes or shift to her back." Many girls finding themselves in similar situations must have left home and married at sixteen as Margaret did.[118]

The education which children received was supposed to be suited to their station, and might be practical or academic or both. Children of ordinary farmers and craftsmen were trained to be farmers and craftsmen. Those of wealthier parents might be educated for more prestigious occupations, as merchants or lawyers. Richard Chandler, a wealthy planter, invoked this distinction of station when he specified that his nephew, John Hamilton, should receive "such Schooling and instructions . . . as shall be requisite and necessary for one of his degree, and may capasitate him for some suitable Employment when he shall be a man."[119]

Some boys learned trades by serving an apprenticeship. The contract into which master and apprentice entered enumerated the mutual obligations of both, and followed a long-established form. The wording was almost identical to that of contracts then in use in New England and in other colonies.[120] The widow Dameris Ward, for instance, apprenticed her son James to a carpenter, James Edmondson, in 1694. The contract:

> Witnesseth that ye sd James for diuers good Causes and Considerations and Especially by ye aduice approbation & Consent of ye sd Dameris his mother Hath putt himselfe an apprentice & servant unto him ye sd Robert Edmondson with him his heirs Exerers or admers to serve & dwell with from ye day of ye date hereof for & untill ye full End & tearme of six yeares fully

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[118]Testamentary Proceedings 9: 512-15.

[119]Ibid., 17: 101-10.

[120]Morgan, Puritan Family, pp. 120-21.

to bee complete & Ended, dureing which time hee ye sd James Ward shall well & faithfully serve his sd: Master his heires Exerers: or admers: in such service or Imployment as hee or they shall Imploy him in, his or their Lawfull Commands he shall Euery where gladly doo & performe, his sd: Masters goods hee shall not purloyne nor give aid or Consent to ye same, but shall Informe his Master thereof, neither shall hee suffer or permitt his sd: Masters goods to be Imbeezled, waisted, or otherwise destroyed without useing his uttmost Indeauour to prevent ye same & Informeing his sd: Master thereof, Ordinary or Typling houses or such like places hee shall not frequent or haunt dureing ye sd: tearme at Cards Dice or such like unlawfull games hee shall not play dureing ye said tearme without his sd: Masters leave, Matrimony within ye said tearme hee shall not Contract, and finally in all other matters & things as a good faithfull & honest apprentise ought to bee and doo, shall behaue & demeane himselfe towards his sd: Master & all his dureing ye sd: tearme.

In Consideration whereof ye sd: Robert Edmondson for himselfe his heires Exerers: & admrs: doth hereby Couenant promise & agree to & with ye sd: James Ward to prouide & allow to him sufficient & Compleate Clothing, apparell, meate, drinke, washing & Lodgeing dureing ye sd: tearme Requisite and necessary for apprentices in such sort, and to teach & instruct or Cause to be taught or Instructed him ye sd: James in ye art trade & Mistery of a carpenter which hee now professeth and useth and that by ye best wayes & meanes that hee Can within ye sd: tearme and in all other things to doo what a Carefull & honest Master ought to doe towards his apprentice & servant.[121]

Apprenticeship was a common method of educating children in many places, but as practiced in southern Maryland in the seventeenth century, it was mainly a means for teaching trades, including planting, to orphans. Until the late 1690s very few fathers bound out their children; when families were not broken up by the early death of the father, sons and daughters were kept at home. Unlike New England, where non-agricultural trades developed, in the labor intensive, staple crop economy of the Chesapeake there was no rationale for apprenticing children to trades when their labor was needed in the family's fields. Instead, it was

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[121]Charles County Court, S#1, ff. 430-31. See also Q#1, f. 30; S#1, ff. 183, 211, 403; Y#1, f. 311; A#2, f. 212.

widows who insured that their orphaned sons be cared for and taught how to earn a living through apprenticeship, and their orphaned daughters provided for by binding them out to learn housekeeping. (See tables 15 and 16.)

There were crucial differences in attitudes towards the work which native-born children and which common indentured servants were expected to do. Servants were by definition the suppliers of unskilled labor in the field and household. Children, on the other hand, were to be kept busy, but were ideally to be exempted from daily rounds of sheer hard labor. Orphans, for example, were not to be "turned to Common Labor" and were "to be exempted from the How and the Mortar" or from "the axe and the Hoe"[122] in order that they might learn skills which would prepare them for a better adult life. Seventeenth century parents perhaps perceived to some extent that childhood was a time of learning as well as of physical growth.

The criteria of an academic education was the ability "to read distinctly in the Bible." Few other books were available.[123] Generally,

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[122]Maryland Archives 57: 302; 65: 383; Charles County Court, G#1, f. 1; R#1, f. 372; B#2, f. 142. Nicholas Skidmore's apprenticeship contract to house carpenter Hugh Toares specified that he was not to spend his time planting, but was to be taught his master's craft. After the age of fifteen he could be used in the fields for one corn crop only per year. Charles County Court, S#1, f. 403. See David Bertelson, The Lazy South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967) for a discussion of attitudes towards work in the southern colonies. It is Bertelson's contention that while colonists both in New England and in the South believed equally in the need to practice the virtue of work and to avoid the vice of idleness, those in the South lacked the religious fervor of the Puritan work ethic. Hence, he believes, while children were perpetually admonished to keep busy, the admonitions lacked the social dimensions which they had in New England. For confirmation see Chancery Records, IR#3, ff. 48-49.

[123]Joseph Towne Wheeler, "Books Owned by Marylanders, 1700-1776," MHM 35 (1940): 337-53.

TABLE 15

CHILDREN RECORDED AS BOUND OUT, CHARLES COUNTY, 1658-1705

Year	Total No. Children Bound	No. Males	No. Females	Mean Age Males	Mean Age Females	No. Years Bound-Males Mean	No. Years Bound-Females Mean	Fathers Dead (Orphans)	Fathers Alive
1662	2	1	1	3.0	-	15.0	6.0	2	-
1665	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
1667	3	2	1	-	2.0	-	14.0	3	-
1669	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
1671	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
1672	1	-	1	-	1.0	-	-	1	-
1673	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
1674	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1675	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
1676	8	3	5	10.0	-	11.0	-	8	-
1677	11	9	2	7.6	-	-	13.6	11	-
1678	4	2	2	13.0	7.5	9.0	11.0	4	-
1679	3	-	3	-	6.3	-	9.6	2	1
1680	8	4	4	8.3	6.5	15.0	4.0	8	-
1681	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1682	2	1	1	-	6.0	-	10.0	1	1
1683	2	2	-	6.0	-	17.0	-	2	-
1684	5	4	1	1.0	7.0	21.0	-	5	-
1685	6	4	2	-	-	16.0	-	6	-

TABLE 15—Continued

Year	Total No. Children Bound	No. Males	No. Females	Mean Age Males	Mean Age Females	No. Years Bound-Males Mean	No. Years Bound-Females Mean	Fathers Dead (Orphans)	Fathers Alive
1686	4	3	1	13.0	15.0	13.0	6.0	4	-
1687	6	4	2	7.0	10.0	7.0	6.0	5	1
1688	4	1	3	-	-	-	-	4	-
1689	1	-	1	-	7.0	-	11.0	1	-
1690	5	5	-	7.0	-	15.0	-	5	-
1691	4	4	-	11.0	-	10.0	-	4	-
1692	1	1	-	1.0	-	20.0	-	-	1
1693	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
1694	7	7	-	5.3	-	16.0	-	6	1
1695	1	1	-	7.0	-	14.0	-	1	-
1696	2	1	1	4.0	5.0	17.0	11.0	2	-
1697	7	4	3	5.0	5.8	16.0	10.5	6	1
1698	14	6	8	13.0	8.7	8.0	7.8	14	-
1699	5	3	2	-	7.0	4.0	10.0	4	1
1700	14	9	5	6.0	8.0	15.3	11.0	11	3
1701	19	12	7	9.6	8.2	9.0	13.0	16	3
1702	10	7	3	8.8	5.4	11.7	10.3	8	2
1703	12	8	4	12.2	5.0	8.2	11.0	8	4
1704	6	3	3	6.7	9.0	10.7	-	6	-
1705	9	5	4	11.8	6.0	13.0	6.5	6	3

Source: Charles County Court Records, libers A#1 through B#2.

TABLE 16

DISTRIBUTION OF AGES AT WHICH CHILDREN WERE BOUND

Age	Number Males	Percentage	Number Females	Percentage
1	2	3.2	1	2.1
2	4	6.4	2	4.2
3	4	6.4	4	8.3
4	5	7.9	6	12.5
5	2	3.2	7	14.6
6	4	6.4	3	6.3
7	9	14.3	4	8.3
8	4	6.4	4	8.3
9	5	7.9	5	10.4
10	5	7.9	5	10.4
11	1	1.6	1	2.1
12	4	6.4	3	6.2
13	2	3.2	1	2.1
14	3	4.8	-	-
15	2	3.2	1	2.1
16	1	1.6	1	2.1
17	2	3.2		
18	3	4.8		
19	1	1.6		
	63	100.4	48	100.0

Mean Males: 7.2
Median 8

Mean Females: 7.4
Median 7

Source: Charles County Court Records, libers A#1 through B#2.

it was expected that children could achieve this proficiency within two years of instruction.[124] Literate parents frequently taught their own children to read, or perhaps sent them to another relative for instruction. A schoolmaster might then be employed in the home for six months to a year to teach writing or accounting. Generally the latter instruction was reserved for boys. After beight taught to read, girls were put to sewing "& Such other Education as is suitable for Woomen." Both boys and girls might also be sent for elementary instruction for a season or so to a boarding school. Such an education served two purposes. It conferred an advantage in making a living, and it enabled the child to gain a first-hand knowledge of the Bible.[125]

When John Robbinson brought suit against his guardian, John Ingram, in 1718 for neglecting his education, the guardian described to the court the instruction which Robbinson had received. First, he had been taught for four or five years at home, at the end of which time John could read a chapter in the Bible and a ballad or song, and, "considering he had no Latine Education he could read English as well as other Youth that had no further Education than English." A schoolmaster was then employed in the home for about a year to teach John to write and

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[124]Charles County Court, A#1, ff. 16-17; Y#1, ff. 209, 311; A#2, f. 306; B#2, ff. 129, 174; Wills 4: 201; 6: 93; 11: 199; Inventories and Accounts 13B: 122.

[125]See discussion of schooling of Robert Cole's children, supra, and also Testamentary Proceedings 12B: 71-73; Charles County Court, A#1, ff. 13-14; G#1, f. 1; S#1, f. 430; X#1, ff. 130, 343; Y#1, ff. 16, 176, 311; A#2, f. 386; B#2, f. 5; Wills 4: 189; 12: 14. Mention is made in Charles County Court, Y#1, f. 176, of a boarding school in Nangemy. Schoolmasters taught basic reading, writing, and arithmetic. Instructors in the social graces did not appear in the county until after 1705, with the exception of Richard Land, who, in 1685, was "teaching and instructing divers of his scholars in the noble science of defence."

account. The boy protested that a year was not enough time to master writing, but others testified that the fault was his, he being "a careless Idle Lad and woud gett from his book if he coud," and that "there are many who can write and account with less than a year's schooling."

Subsequently John was sent to his guardian's father-in-law for more instruction in writing and arithmetic. This arrangement did not work out, as John considered the older man incompetent, and he, losing patience with the boy, put him to work in the fields, "swearing he would learn him to weed a corn row." As a last resort, Ingram offered to send John for a year to a boarding school four miles from home, which he refused to go to. The court ruled that deficiencies in John's education were due to his own incapacity or negligence, and that the education provided was suitable to his station.[126]

The age at which children received their education varied widely. Robbinson was in his teens, as was Thomas Dickinson, whose father willed in 1673 that his son, then age sixteen, should have two years schooling and then be put to work. On the other hand, some of the Cole children were much younger when they were instructed, and William Hawton directed that his godchild, Richard Smoot, have two years schooling at age seven or eight.[127] Clearly there was a danger that children who received their education at a tender age might "forgett their Learning" before they came of age unless parents or guardians saw that their lessons were periodically reviewed.

The paucity of education so often noted in the colonial South was probably as much a result of a short life expectancy as it was of the

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[126]Testamentary Proceedings 22: 381-422.

[127]Wills 2: 78; 11:377.

absence of towns and low density of settlement. Parents very often did not live long enough to oversee their children's education or to teach them whatever they themselves knew. Not every guardian, stepparent, or master would be so conscientious as the guardians of the Cole children or of John Robbinson, or would not have the same interest in seeing that a child was educated as his own parents would have had. Towards the end of the century, more and more often it was stipulated in indentures that an orphan receive some education, usually that boys be taught to read and write and girls, to read distinctly from the Bible.[128] However, unless the mother lived long enough to enforce the contract, it is likely that in many cases the children did not receive the specified instruction. If an apprentice complained to the courts that he had not received the education he was entitled to by his indenture, he was frequently awarded monetary compensation instead of remedial instruction.[129] For example, Thomas Jackson had been bound to Henry Hardy for four years to learn receiving tobacco, writing, and casting accounts. When Hardy not only did not teach him accounting but also demanded three years more service, the Charles County Court ordered Jackson to choose a guardian through whom he could bring suit against Hardy for damages sustained by Hardy's breach of the contract.[130]

In another instance, the widow Coniers Clark petitioned about her son John's master, Ralph Shaw:

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[128]Charles County Court, K#1, f. 209; S#1, f. 402; V#1, ff. 126, 164, 310, 454; X#1, f. 130; Y#1, ff. 35, 129, 209, 340; A#2, ff. 2, 44, 162, 259, 306; B#2, ff. 4, 59, 61.

[129]Ibid., S#1, f. 402; B#2, f. 175; Carr, "County Government," p. 344.

[130]Charles County Court, X#1, f. 50.

> That [because of] the faire promise of Ralph Shaw to bee in the stead of a Father to your Petitioners sonne John Clarke and to keep him at schoole your petitioner was consenting to putt her said son to the said Ralph.. . . [who] Doth not use him as a son but a servant or rather a white Negro clothing him in such things as Negroes are usually Clothed and Puting him under an Over seer to make tobacco and Corne instead of gooing to Schoole.

When other witnesses corroborated her complaint, the court declared John's indenture void, and returned him to his mother. There is, however, no indication that he was compensated for the education he had not received.[131] William Williams, an orphan, was bound at age ten by his mother to John Hawkins. He was to serve until age twenty-one, and was to be put "to school till hee can reade in ye Bible." Hawkins died soon after, and the two administrators under whom Williams subsequently served did nothing to instruct him. Williams was awarded damages for the administrators' default, but had to serve out the full term of his indenture.[132]

Even when an orphan could be educated out of the proceeds of his own estate, his guardians might not attend to it. Colonel John Courts complained about the situation of his godson, John Warren, the orphan of a wealthy Charles County planter and justice of the peace. Warren's father and two subsequent guardians had died during his minority, and he was then in the custody of the widow of the second guardian, who, Courts maintained:

> is but a woman and I believe has a great deale of business of her owne to mind . . . [Warren was being] brought up to nothing but idlenesse, swearing and all other ill vices. She hath pretended to put him to schoole to Mr. Potter about 4 months agoe after that shee heard that I did intend to move the Court about him; I will testify that hee has not been att schoole above fifteene dayes in the four months . . . . [Courts promised to] keepe him close to schoole untill I have learned him to read and write a legible hand

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[131]Ibid., V#1, f. 410; X#1, f. 375.

[132]Ibid., S#1, f. 402; B#2, f. 175. Cf. P#1, f. 203; B#2, f. 49.

> and to cast account as farr as the Rule of Three, and after soe done to learn him to know how to gett his living and that hee shall have the same in dyett lodging and apparrell as well as my owne Children or little worse.[133]

Of course, neglect of education was not so serious a matter then as now. Many of those children who received no education at all prospered as adults. Literacy was not necessary for economic success. However, in Maryland, as in England, most of those who held positions of real power had at least a minimal education.[134] From the period of first settlement, parents were concerned that their children be "brought up in Civility good Litterature and the feare of God," but the struggle just to stay alive often made this goal impossible to achieve.

By the turn of the century, demographic conditions were changing. Immigration to the Chesapeake slowed after 1700, a substantial number of native-born children were coming of age, and many single men were leaving the settled regions of southern Maryland for areas which offered more opportunity. Thus, the proportion of men was becoming more equal. More men were able to marry, and they often could do so by the time they reached majority. The age at marriage for women remained low, and as a result the birth rate increased, and native-born finally outnumbered immigrant in the population. Life expectancy also increased somewhat for those born after 1700.[135]

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[133]Ibid., Y#1, ff. 311-12

[134]Russell R. Menard, "From Servant to Freeholder: Status Mobility and Property Accumulation in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," WMQ 30 (1973): 47, 56-57; Laslett, The World We Have Lost, pp. 19, 65-66.

[135]See below, ch. 2, and Menard, "Population Growth." The fall in age at marriage was dramatic. Men born in the 1670-79 cohort married at a mean age of twenty-six, while those born in the 1680-89 cohort married at a mean age of twenty. Those born in 1690-99 married at a mean age of twenty-two. An improvement in life expectancy is demonstrated in the unpublished research of Paul G. E. Clemens of Rutgers University and in Kulikoff, "Tobacco and Slaves," ch. 3.

As a consequence of a longer life span and a more uniformly early age at marriage, many more parents lived to raise their children to maturity and to see them married. In addition, in those cases where one or both parents died before their children were of age, in a society in which the majority were native born, kin were much more often present.[136] Eighteenth-century orphaned minor children usually had uncles, step-uncles, aunts, cousins, older siblings or step-siblings, or other relations under whose oversight they might fall. Previously, many a father, fearing the consequences of his early death for his family, had given his children as much freedom as possible to control their lives after his demise. By the early eighteenth century, parents were more often able to reassert control over the lives of their maturing offspring.

Disposal of Body, Mind, and Estate

Death was an omnipresent fact of life in seventeenth-century Maryland. It came early and often, and not many weeks would pass in a community in which one of its members did not die. This served as a constant reminder to the survivors of their own imminent mortality. Persons "surprised by sudden death" had no opportunity to dispose of their estates or make arrangements for their burial. Many of the living, however, constantly aware of "the uncertainty of this transitory life," made intricate arrangements for their deaths. Samuel Ashcom, for instance, decided:

> that he would not deferre the sealing of his Will any longer, but would invite three or four neighbours . . . . & seale signe & have it witnessed. . . . He intended that Col. Jowles & his

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[136]Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," paper presented to the Columbia University Colonial History Seminar, April 13, 1976.

> lady[,] James Keetch & his wife & . . . [Captain Richard Gardiner] & his wife should come downe & eate part of a mutton for Col. Jowles had made his Will and intended that then they should be witnesses to it.[137]

Many a man, "haveing a Good Estate and Many friends [resolved] to have a Will Alwaies by him to prevent Striff amongst his Relations after his Death."[138] Less presentient persons sent for someone who could write in order to make their wills when they fell ill, or else declared their intentions orally to those present.[139]

The significance of a will was described in this way:

> This Record's such, wherein you'l find,
> men to dispose their Bodyes, Souls & Mind
> Their lands, Goods, Chattels and the Rest
> Of their Estate whereof they were possest.[140]

Making a will was first of all, an affirmation of religious belief. Although a set form was followed, the wording varied to express the particular tenets of the testator.

John Luger's will is typical:

> In the name of God Amen. The twentieth day of November in the year of our Lord one Thousand six hundred sixtie and nine I John Luger of Charles County in the province of Maryland being sick of body but of good and perfect memory praised be to god do make & ordain this my last will and Testament in manner and form following. I commend my Soul into the hands of God my creator hoping assuredly through the meritts of Jesus Christ my redeemer to be made partaker of life everlasting and I commend my body to the earth whereof it is made desiring it may be buried in a Christian manner and for the small Estate which it hath pleased god to lend me my will and request is it be disposed of in the manner following. . . .[141]

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[137]Testamentary Proceedings 14: 112-16.

[138]Ibid., 17: 109.

[139]Ibid., 12A: 116-17.

[140]Wills 6: 1.

[141]Ibid., 1: 356.

Next, the testator acknowledged the obligation that his "just debts" be paid first. If the estate were small, severe hardship might result for the survivors. It was the custom in estates where there was not enough to pay the debts to allow the widow her paraphrenalia--personal property exclusive of her dowry. This was defined in one case as "her bedd 3 Barrills of Corne and a pestle & morter," and, in another case where there was also a small child, as "one bed and furniture, one gun, an ax, a pot, three barrels of corn, two howes, one frying pan, two spoons, a spitt, and necessary provisions for her and her child for one year."[142] It is not much wonder that some widows sought to elude the distribution of a meager estate to pay off debts. It was probably sheer need which motivated Robert Hale's widow when she "possessed herself of the [few] hogs . . . of which Hale's estate chiefly consisted . . . and fled out of this province or concealed . . . [herself] in private."[143]

What surplus of goods, chattels, and lands the testator owned after allowing for payment of debts, he next disposed of. It was imperative that men who owned land and wished to divide it among their children write a will, because by law land could not be devised orally. If the will was nuncupative or there was none, by English law all the land descended to the first-born son only, and primogeniture was clearly distasteful to all but a few of the colonists.[144] In one southern Maryland county more than ninety percent of landowners whose estates were

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[142]Testamentary Proceedings 16: 198; 13: 363-64. See also 7: 37-38; 14A: 8.

[143]Ibid., 9: 329-30.

[144]Ibid., 6: 483-89; 9: 471-72, 523-24.

inventoried made wills. A similar proportion of married men wrote wills. Conversely, only about half of the inventoried decedents who were single and/or non-landowners left wills.[145]

A wife usually received generous treatment in her husband's will. This was a reflection first of the fact that most families were composed only of minor children,[146] and the second of the high regard many seventeenth-century colonists had for their wives' ability to manage their estates.[147] In Charles and St. Mary's Counties over the seventeenth century less than one-third of the men left their widows with no more than the dower the law required--one-third of his land for her life plus outright ownership of one-third of his personal property. More than two-thirds of the dying husbands left their widows more. If there were no children, a man almost always left his wife his whole estate. Otherwise there were a variety of arrangements. During the 1660s nearly twenty percent of the fathers left the entire estate to their wives, trusting them to see that the children received fair portions. As the century progressed, husbands more often gave the wife all or a major part of the estate for her life, the testators themselves designating how the property should be distributed after her death. Only

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[145]Lorena S. Walsh, "Report on Seventeenth Century St. Mary's County Wills," unpublished report prepared for the St. Mary's City Commission, November, 1974 (copy available at the Hall of Records).

[146]Of 199 St. Mary's County testators between 1634 and 1710 who had offspring, 69 percent had only minor children. In 49 (25 percent) of the families there were some major and some minor children, and in only 12 (6 percent) were all the children of age. Similarly, among 404 men dying and leaving inventories between 1658 and 1705 in Charles County, 197 left only minor children, 52 had some children of age, and in only 26 cases were all of age.

[147]Carr and Walsh, "The Planter's Wife."

a handful of men left estates to their wives only for widowhood or until the children came of age. When a man did not leave his wife a life estate, he often gave her land outright or more than her dower third of his moveable property. Such bequests were at the expense of his children and showed his concern that she should have a maintenance that young children could not supply.[148] (See table 17.)

The way in which property was divided among the children varied with the size of the family and the age of the father. Land was distributed slightly more inequitably in smaller families than in large. This is probably a consequence of the longevity of the father. The older the man was the more children he was likely to have, and he was also likely to have accumulated more property. Conversely, those who died earlier frequently had both fewer children and less property. The effect on daughters was particularly pronounced. In families where there were only one or two daughters, the daughters received no land in over half of the cases, regardless of the number of sons. In families with three or four daughters, the pattern is reversed; daughters received some land in over half of the cases. The effect of an increasing number of sons on the distribution pattern is less clear-cut. One thing is certain--large

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[148]Ibid., and Walsh, "Report on St. Mary's County Wills." A similar situation prevailed in the presumably malarious fens of Cambridgeshire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. More childless couples and families with all minor children appeared in wills there than in the uplands of the county. In the fens the wife was commonly left all the estate for the minority of the children, and frequent allusions were made to her probable eventual remarriage. Upland widows often received less generous portions, and they more often had some children of age. Margaret Spufford, Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 159-64.

TABLE 17

BEQUESTS OF HUSBANDS TO WIVES WITH CHILDREN, ST. MARY'S AND CHARLES COUNTIES, MARYLAND
1640-1710

Date	No.	All Estate		All or Dwelling Plant. for Life		All or Dwelling Plant. for Widowhood		All or Dwelling Plant. for Minority of Child		More than Dower in Other Form		Dower or Less or Unknown	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1640s	3	1	33									2	67
1650s	16	1	6	2	13	1	6	1	6	4	25	7	44
1660s	45	8	18	8	18	2	4	3	7	9	20	15	33
1670s	61	4	7	21	34	2	3	3	5	13	21	18	30
1680s	52	5	10	19	37	2	4	2	4	11	21	13	25
1690s	69	1	1	31	45	7	10	2	3	10	14	18	26
1700s	62			20	32	6	10	2	3	14	23	20	32
Total	308	20	6	101	33	20	6	13	4	61	20	93	30

Source: St. Mary's and Charles County Wills.

families did not lead to primogeniture. Primogeniture occurred most frequently in smaller families (two sons and one or two daughters) and did not occur at all in families with more than two daughters or more than four sons.[149] (See table 18.)

The generosity which husbands showed to wives was much less frequently extended to daughters. In families with children of both sexes, in over eighty percent of the wills males were favored over females. Land was more equitably distributed among children in families in which the offspring were all of the same sex. In seventeenth-century St. Mary's County 206 landowning testators with one or more children left wills. Of these forty had only one child. Just 103 had children of both sexes. In this group 71 testators (55 percent) left land only to their sons, excluding daughters from any bequests of real property. In 25 (19 percent) of these families all the land was left to the only son. In another 12 (9 percent) the eldest son was favored over younger brothers. Primogeniture was prescribed by only 11 fathers. This number is but 8.5 percent of families with children of both sexes and 5.3 percent of all families with any children. A second group of 59 testators (45 percent) left land to children of both sexes. Of these, 10 (15 percent) divided the land equally among all children, 8 (6 percent) favored the eldest son over the other children, and 4 (3 percent) gave more to elder sons and elder daughters.[150]

Especially striking is the absence of kin. Among single landowning testators in seventeenth-century St. Mary's County only 11 percent had any members of his immediate family present in Maryland, and only

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[149]Walsh, "Report on St. Mary's County Wills."

[150]Ibid.

TABLE 18

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND AMONG CHILDREN ACCORDING TO FAMILY SIZE
ST. MARY'S COUNTY, 1640-1710

Daughters	Sons 0	1	2	3	4+
0	--	20	E-4 UE-2 AM-1	E-3 UE-2	E-2 UE-3
1	19	E-7 UEm-2 AM-11	E-3 UEm-3 AM-7	E-1 UEm-4 AM-7	UEm-2 AM-6
2	E-2 UE-3	E-2 UEm-3 AM-9	UEm-3 AM-6	E-1 UEo-1 AM-3	E-1 UEm-3 AM-2
3	E-1 UE-1	E-1 UEm-3 AM-1	E-1 UEm-2 EUo-2 AM-1	UEm-1 AM-1	UEm-1 AM-1
4+	UE-2	UEm-3 AM-1	AM-2	AM-1	UEm-1

N = 174 wills

Key: E = equally among children
UE = unequally among children
UEm = unequally, males favored
UEo = unequally, eldest, youngest, etc. favored regardless of sex
AM = all to male children only, including promogeniture

Source: St. Mary's County Wills.

another 16 percent mentioned other kin; almost three quarters had no kin at all.[151] Similarly, before 1670 four-fifths of the St. Mary's and Charles County men who left widows and/or minor children mention no other kin in Maryland. Yet during the 1670s, three-quarters of the testate men left widows and children without local connections. By the first decade of the eighteenth century local family ties were much more common. Only one-third of the families of testate men were without them.[152]

In part because of the absence during much of the seventeenth century of kin to fall back on, admonitions to widows, children, and executors reveal much about parents' anxieties, and the quality of family life. William Dent, attorney general of the province, who had himself been orphaned at age sixteen, exhorted his children to righteous behavior and mutual love:

> I hope I need not be speake them to be loveing Kind and Tender to one and other Especially the Eldest to the youngest but that I may not be wanting in any thing that may knite them stronger[.] I Desire and request them in these my last words to them Nay I Charge and require them as they will answere the Contempt and Disobedience of the last words of a Dyeing father that they fear God and Keep his Commandments[,] be Just in their Dealeing[,] Dutefull to their Mother and be Just and Carefull tender and Kind one towards an other[,] in all wayes takeing my friends and trustees advice[.] In the premises I speake more Especially to the Eldest in respect to the younger who may be under their Care.[153]

In a few cases, love and gratitude to a spouse break through the barrier of formal wording. William Chandler spoke of his "dear and Loving wife and Yoke fellow," and William Smith of "a greatfull acknowledgment of her

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[151]Ibid.

[152]Carr and Walsh, "The Planter's Wife."

[153]Wills 3: 475-80.

kindness and marriage loyalty to me."[154] Occasionally a will was made to prevent someone from benefitting from one's estate. Thomas Smith wanted to leave his estate towards maintaining a free school in order to forestall his next of kin from inheriting it, because "if that drunken sott shall enjoy any thing it would be ye cause of my disturbance after my death."[155]

Funerals were for a long time the most frequent cause of social gatherings, for, while death was experienced by all, a number of immigrants to southern Maryland did not marry or have children. Funerals were marked by longer and more elaborate ceremonies than were either baptisms or marriages.[156] Whenever there were assets enough in the estate to pay for it, a funeral dinner was prepared.[157] In the meantime neighbors kept a watch over the corpse. A woman might be hired to scour the pewter and wash the linen in the house. Hogs, beeves, sheep, and poultry were slaughtered. Often someone would go to the nearest store to purchase mourning ribbons for those invited to the funeral. Inevitably, a good supply of liquor was procured. The line between neighbors meeting

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[154]Ibid., 4: 112; 7: 74.

[155]Testamentary Proceedings 12A: 71-75.

[156]Apparently all age groups attended funerals. In 1661 an executor invited several neighbors and their wives and families to a funeral dinner. "Thear wear at the funerall all the neighbour[s] living about the sayd . . . [deceased and] thear they had intertainment part of too days." Charles County Court, A#1, ff. 204-06. Similar elaborate funeral rituals developed in the sugar islands. Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, p. 329.

[157]When suit was brought to disallow excessive sums expended for the funeral of a widow and her two only children, a jury justified a costly entertainment; "so long as an Estate sufficient was left if it had bin more it would have only redounded to the credit and memory of the Persons deceased." Charles County Court, A#1, ff. 204-06.

together and "showing a mornfulness for the loss of their friend and neighbour," and indulging in an alcoholic binge was a fine one and was frequently overstepped. For example, in one instance a bill was presented for "4 gall. of cyder to ye people that watcht with him when hee lay dead" (before the dinner itself had begun), and, in another, the administrator hired a boat and hands to fetch beer and mourning ribbon for the fineral, and, "by reason of the badness of the weather tarried a day or too thear and drank out one of the three barrells of bear." If the deceased had been a soldier, it was also customary to shoot off guns at the funeral. Two pounds of powder was the usual amount expended. When a clergyman was present in the neighborhood, a funeral sermon might be preached or a requiem mass said.[158]

The body was customarily wrapped in a winding sheet, placed in a coffin (if there was time to have one built), and buried near the site of death. Rapid internment must have been essential, especially in summer. Churches were few before 1696, and persons were more often buried on their own land than in a churchyard. Usually this was not done unless the deceased had left specific instructions that he be buried at a church. Unlike New England, where tombstone-carving reached an art form, and town graveyards were an ever-present admonition to the community of their inevitable end, there were few physical reminders

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[158]Ibid., V#1, f. 138; A#1, ff. 193-94, 245; S#1, f. 184; Testamentary Proceedings, 6: 240-41; 12A: 5-9; 13: 217-19, 437; 17: 29-31; and Maryland Archives 41: 254.

of the dead in seventeenth century Maryland. Graves, when marked at all, were distinguished only by a simple pale fence and perhaps occasionally by a wooden cross, all of which quickly disappeared.[159] The daily struggle to keep alive must have been reminder enough of man's mortality.

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[159]Surveys of both church and private graveyards by the D.A.R. and the Charles County Historical Society discovered only seven tombstones in Charles County dating before 1706. Other stones were undoubtedly lost through later destruction of private graveyards. However, it is unlikely that many tombstones were erected at all in the seventeenth century. Wooden crosses are still widely used to mark graves in the area, and were probably almost universally used in the early colonial period. See Mrs. Nellie Grant Ross, Charles County Maryland Tombstone and Bible Records, Report of the Genealogical Records Commission of the D.A.R., vol. 64 (Washington, D.C.: Daughters of the American Revolution, 1940); and a file of county tombstone records in the possession of the Charles County Historical Society, Port Tobacco, Maryland. Four of the remaining gravestones are located at the Durham Church, Ironsides, Maryland, where wooden crosses are also still currently used. See Charles County Court, B#1, f. 137; Provincial Court Papers, Box #15, John Right lessee of Charles Craycroft vs. Allen Davis, Deposition of Anne Nuttwell.

CHAPTER IV

SERVITUDE, SLAVERY, AND OPPORTUNITY

A steady and ever-increasing supply of unskilled labor was essential for production of the staple of the Tobacco Coast. The ways in which this labor was supplied did much to shape the character of immigration to the region and the nature of the society which developed there.

Until the end of the seventeenth century white servants provided the main source of labor. Almost every resident of seventeenth century Charles County had intimate connections with servitude. The majority had in fact arrived under some form of short-term labor contract, and many of them had in turn become masters of servants. Most immigrants who came with capital enough to avoid servitude, and creoles who escaped service while children participated in the system as owners of bound laborers.

Initially a much smaller proportion of the population had close contacts with slavery, because both slaves and slave owners were few in numbers. However, by the last decades of the century slaves had come to supplant a dwindling supply of servants as the main source of bound labor. The transition from voluntary to involuntary servitude dramatically affected the prospects of all county residents, both those who participated as laborers or labor-owners and those less directly involved.

The voluntary servants who filled the county's labor requirements during most of the seventeenth century have already received some attention. Analysis of lists of indentured servants leaving England for the colonies have produced some general conclusions about the character of part of the immigrant group.[1] Their treatment and legal status in the colonies have also been described.[2] Evaluations of the nature and extent of economic and social opportunities in the region have resulted in somewhat less consensus.[3] Firm generalizations require studies of people who immigrated to particular areas and of the economic and social opportunities they encountered.

The Character of the White Immigrants

Who were the immigrants? Men and women from every part of England came to Charles County as servants. The origins of only a few are recorded, but these suggest a wide variety of sources of immigration. Servants left from all of the three major ports of embarkation--London,

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[1]See especially Mildred Campbell, "Social Origins of Some Early Americans," in James Morton Smith, ed., Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), pp. 63-89. A recent evaluation of the literature on the composition of immigrant servants is found in Wesley Frank Craven, White, Red, and Black: The Seventeenth-Century Virginian (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1971), pp. 3-9.

[2]See Richard B. Morris, Government and Labor in Early America (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946); and Abbot E. Smith, Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947).

[3]See Thomas J. Wertenbaker, The Planters of Colonial Virginia (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1922); Edmund S. Morgan, "Slavery and Freedom: The American Paradox," Journal of American History 59 (1972): 5-29; Menard, "From Servant to Freeholder"; idem., "The Transformation of the Chesapeake Labor System"; Carr and Menard, "Servants and Freedmen."

Bristol, and Liverpool--and listed such diverse counties of origin as Yorkshire, Middlesex, Wiltshire, and Derbyshire. Nevertheless, the majority of English immigrants must have come from the southeast, with the west country a distant second.[4] Ireland supplied the next largest group of servants. Much smaller numbers came from Scotland, Barbados, Holland, and Portugal.

About three times as many men servants came into Charles County as women. Men were more in demand for field labor, and were probably more actively recruited than women. Doubtless men also were more likely than women to leave the country to seek their fortunes. The resulting sexual imbalance meant that many of the men would not be able to marry, while every woman who chose to marry could.

The motives which led these Europeans to try their luck in the Chesapeake are seldom revealed. Those of a few can be inferred. Some of the older immigrants listed such occupations as wool-comber, carder, and spinner, indicating that the decline of the cloth trade was one circumstance which contributed to immigration to the Chesapeake. Among women, many--even most--may have left home in order to improve their chances of marrying. Female servants arriving in Charles County were consistently older than males. On immigrant lists kept in Liverpool, 1699-1707, forty percent of the women were twenty-two or older. Given that the mean age at marriage for women in England then ranged from the mid-twenties to nearly thirty,[5] many women apparently stayed at home

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[4]Craven, White, Red, and Black, pp. 1-2; Carr and Menard, "Servants and Freedmen."

[5]P. E. Razzell, "Population Change in Eighteenth-Century England, A Reinterpretation," Economic History Review, 2d ser., 18 (1965): 315, cites mean age at marriage as 23.76 years for 7,242 women in Yorkshire, 1662-1714 and 24.6 years for 280 women of Wilts, Berks, Hants, and

long enough to test their chances for an early, advantageous marriage. When it became clear that this was not to occur, perhaps they then decided to try their luck in the colonies.

The analysis of the background of Charles County servants is based on the career histories of 1,387 individuals, identified as servants, who were brought into Charles County between 1658 and 1705. The list was compiled from the names of servants without indentures whose ages were recorded in the county court records, from claims for headrights, from lists of servants in inventories, from court cases in which servants participated, from bills of sale, and from vital records.[6] Because the servants' names come primarily from court judgments, the list describes most completely the characteristics of those who had no indentures and thus served according to the custom of the country. Servants without indentures were younger, served longer terms, and possessed fewer skills than those with indentures. Hence, this study deals especially with the lowest levels of white immigrants. Tests suggest

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Dorset, 1615-21. Laslett, The World We Have Lost, p. 86, shows a mean age of 23.58 years for 1,007 women in the Diocese of Canterbury, 1619-90. E. A. Wrigley, "Family Limitation in Pre-Industrial England," Economic History Review 19 (1966): 86-88, shows mean ages at marriage in Colyton, Devon, for 259 women ranging from 26.15 years to 30.0 years, 1600-1699. For the Liverpool list see Elizabeth French, List of Emigrants to America from Liverpool, 1697-1707 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1969).

[6]Age judgments, court cases, bills of sale, and vital records are found in Charles County Court records. Headrights are entered in the Patent series, MSS; the names of persons for whom headrights were claimed and their dates of entry are compiled in Gust Skordas, ed., The Early Settlers of Maryland (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1974). This source should be used with some caution, because the dates listed are not always the year of entry; some dates refer to the time at which the headright was claimed and not to the time that the person for whom the right was claimed entered the colony. Inventories are found in Inventories and Accounts, libers 1 through 26.

that these 1,387 individuals represent from two-thirds to three-quarters of the estimated total servant population across the whole period.[7]

To produce a comprehensive profile of Charles County servants, the data found in the county records must be supplemented, and where appropriate, modified by information about the unrecorded groups. Consideration must be given to how many and what kinds of servants failed to appear in the records. If approximately three-quarters of the names of the total servant population were recorded, then in the forty-eight year span covered by this study, about 450 persons served in the county without their names appearing. Servants not found in the records may have been purchased and their ages recorded outside the county; they may have had indentures; or they may have been twenty-two or older when they arrived. The second two reasons very likely account for most.

It is important to determine what proportions of the servants had indentures, because there were doubtless systematic differences between those who had them and those who served instead according to the custom of the country.[8] In Charles County nearly half of the servants, at least, were in the second category. Eight hundred and four of the 1,387 servants were specifically identified as serving without indentures. Only 97 were recorded as having indentures, and status of the remaining 486 was not given.

Length of service was one difference that distinguished the two types of servants. Servants with indentures usually served for four years, occasionally for five, and in a few instances for a maximum of

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[7]See Appendix B, Table B1.

[8]See Appendix B, Table B2.

six years. The terms of those who depended on the custom of the country varied with their ages and the state of the law. In Maryland, prior to 1666, those aged twenty-two and above were required to serve four years only. From that year, those aged twenty-two and above were to serve five years; servants aged eighteen to twenty-two, six years; those aged fifteen to eighteen, seven years; and servants under fifteen, to age twenty-two. The law required that a master bring his servants before a court to have their ages judged within six months after their arrival in the province if he wished to claim more than five years' service.[9] From 1658 to 1681 the servants whose ages were judged in Charles County served a mean term of 6.8 years and a median of 6.0 years. From 1682 to 1705 the mean term of service was 6.9 years but the median had risen to 7.0. This increase is a reflection of changes in the ages at which these servants immigrated. The mean age of men servants whose ages were judged dropped from 16.47 in the period 1658-1681 to 15.82 in 1682-1705. A similar decline occurred in the mean age of women, 18.19 to 17.44.

Age at immigration provides another difference between the two groups, and this may in itself indicate that there were additional variations in background. Information about age for indentured servants leaving for the Chesapeake can be obtained from lists of indentured immigrants to all the English colonies from the ports of London for 1683-1685, and of Liverpool for 1699-1707. The mean age of indentured males leaving London for Maryland and Virginia between 1683 and 1685 was 22.08 years and that of women 21.48. By 1699-1707 the mean age of men leaving Liverpool was lower, 19.48, while the mean age of women had not

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[9]The Acts settling the length of servants' terms are in Maryland Archives 1: 409-10; 2: 147-48.

changed.[10] Thus, although the ages of servants who arrived with indentures also declined, Charles County servants who had indentures would in most instances have been older than those who had come to Maryland without a written contract.

Evidence from the immigrant lists and fragmentary information about indentured servants in the county records suggest that there may have been other differences between the two groups. It seems likely that a higher proportion of indentured servants possessed a skill.[11] In addition, some of the indentured Charles County servants were couples who had married before immigrating. No examples of unindentured married couples appeared.

The combined data from the Charles County records and the immigrant lists suggest that while the age of entering servants declined in the second half of the seventeenth century, the shift was not so dramatic

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[10]See Menard, "The Transformation of the Chesapeake Labor System." The lists of immigrants are found in C.D.P. Nicholson, Some Early Emigrants to America (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1965); Michael Ghirelli, A List of Emigrants from England to America, 1682-1692 (Baltimore: Magna Carta Books, 1968); and French, List of Emigrants to America from Liverpool. Folger Shakespeare Library, MS, v.b. 16 (Washington, D.C.) consists of sixty-six additional indentures which were originally part of the London records. Some of the servants on the London list in fact served their terms in Charles County. See Folger MS v.b. 16 (15); Ghrielli, List of Emigrants from England to America, p. 25; and Charles County Court, N#1, ff. 104, 308; M#1, f. 91; R#1, f. 462; and S#1, f. 243.

[11]Many of those men whose occupations were noted on indentures recorded in London listed skills--tanners, knitters, joiners, sawyers, weavers, tailors, and house carpenters were frequently mentioned as well as laborers and husbandmen. Most of the Charles County servants known to have been skilled were either recorded as having indentures or were among those whose status was undetermined, and who thus may have been indentured. Many fewer servants who served according to the custom of the country appeared in the records possessed of a skill which they might have acquired prior to emigration.

as it would appear from reliance on the lists of indentured servants alone.[12] (See figure 9.) The county records show that substantial numbers of servants in the 10 to 14 and 15 to 19 age categories immigrated throughout the century, but the data from the London and Liverpool lists suggest that prior to the 1690s servants in these young age groups frequently did not obtain written indentures in England. By 1699, apparently all servants in the lower age categories who left Liverpool were being indentured. Thus, the contrast in the proportions of younger boys found on the London lists of the 1680s and the Liverpool lists of the early eighteenth century may be in part due to a change of practice in the issuing of indentures as well as to a real decline in the age of immigrants.[13] Similarly, the virtually complete disappearance from the Charles County records after 1698 of servants arriving at age

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[12]It is clear in the case of Bristol, at least, that not all the servants who sailed from that port during the period covered by the registry had indentures. Ship captains sailing from Bristol claimed headrights in Maryland for many servants whose names do not appear on the Bristol register as well as claiming rights for passengers whose names were registered. Unpublished research of Russell R. Menard.

[13]For example, if the percentages in the various age categories from the London list for 1683-85 are combined with the percentages derived from the Charles County records for 1680-89, the results are fairly close to those found in the Liverpool list, the shift from the 20-24 to the 10-14 age category excepted.

Age Group	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30+
London List	2.8%	21.5%	53.7%	12.7%	9.3%
London List + Charles County	14.2	32.7	41.4	7.7	4.7
Liverpool List	21.1	31.8	30.0	9.7	7.4

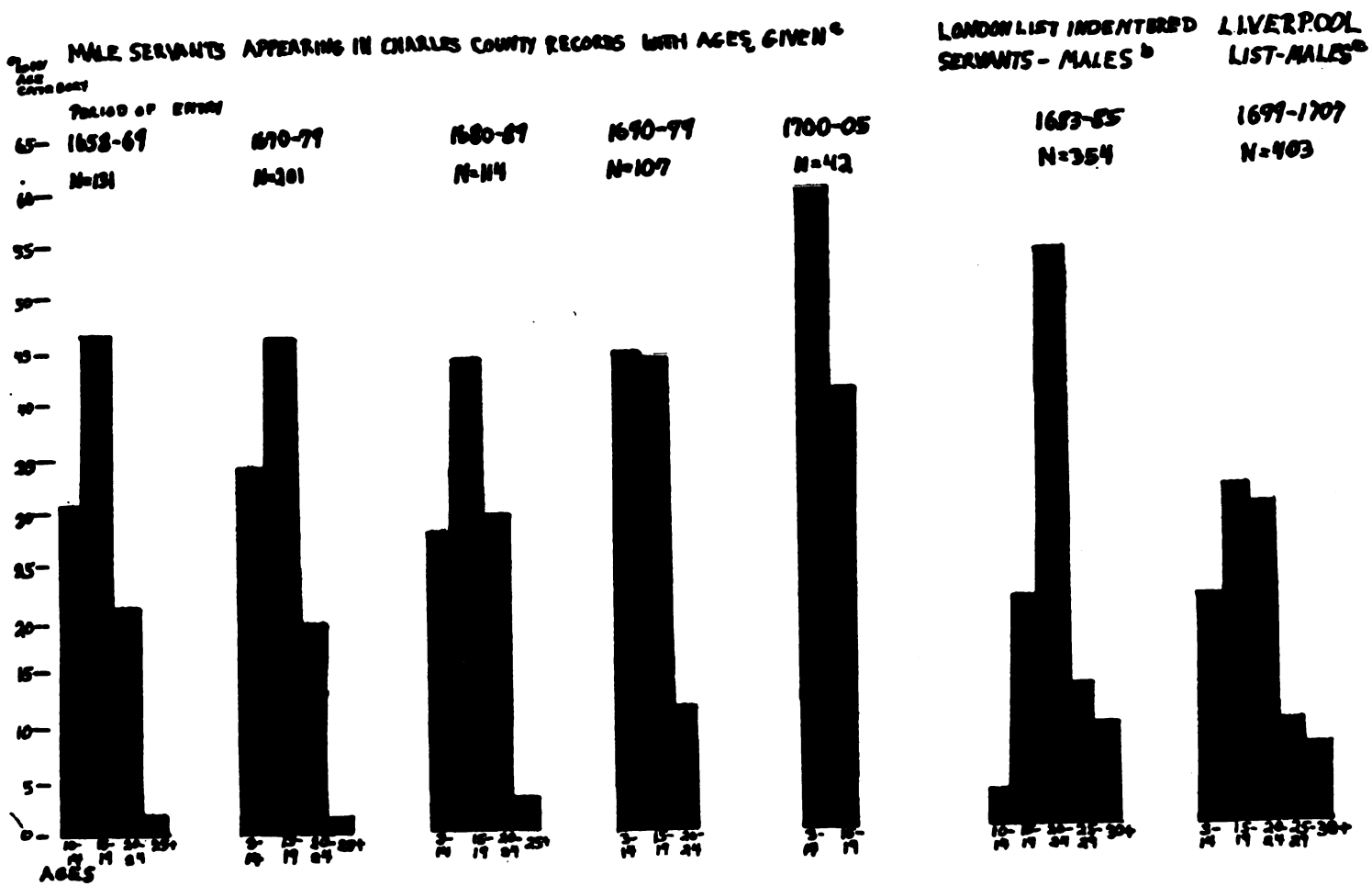

FIGURE 9. AGES OF MALE INDENTURED AND UNINDENTURED SERVANTS, 1658-1707

twenty or above is a reflection of the fact that apparently almost all persons in this age category were then obtaining indentures in England, as well as a reflection of an absolute decline in the numbers of older persons immigrating.[14]

Thus the composition of the Charles County servant population during the second half of the seventeenth century did not dramatically change. The mean age at which servants immigrated declined by about one year because increased numbers immigrated between ages 10 and 14, and fewer persons left between ages 20 to 24. In addition, a growing number of Irish immigrants did increase the proportion of non-English servants. However, elements of continuity appear to outweigh indications of change. One must look primarily to forces outside the servant class itself to explain the changing prospects which these immigrants faced over the course of the last half of the century.

Their Colonial Experience

The story of the fortunes of servants in Charles County must begin with the admission that little can be said about the careers of large numbers. The most striking result of an attempt to trace the lives of the 1,387 recorded servants is that most of them simply disappeared without further mention. In addition, many of those who did reappear briefly in the records could not be found as free men after the expiration of their

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[14]The argument that a marked decline in the age of servants leaving England indicated in itself a lowering of the social origins of immigrants becomes less convincing as the magnitude of the decline is decreased. Although more young Englishmen of lower status may in fact have emigrated, further evidence, such as proof of a decline in literacy in the various age categories is needed to sustain the argument. See Menard, "The Transformation of the Chesapeake Labor System."

terms. Women proved impossible to trace. Most probably changed their names by marriage shortly after being freed, and, in the absence of marriage records, the careers of a significant number could not be followed.

How can we account for the disappearance of two-thirds or more of the servants who entered Charles County? The non-comprehensive character of the records is a possible explanation. Men might have remained in the county, but lived obscure lives, neither owning land, registering livestock marks, witnessing documents, holding minor offices or serving on juries, nor suing or being sued in the county court. In the absence of tax lists, this possibility cannot be entirely dismissed. However, it clearly cannot account for the disappearance of most ex-servants. The names of slightly more than 2,400 free adult male residents appear in the records for the years 1658 through 1705. Since on a census taken in 1704 the number of free adult males in the county was less than 700, it seems most unlikley that unrecorded obscurity can account for the subsequent careers of any large numbers of former servants.

Instead, a combination of death and emigration must explain the fates of most of the Charles County servants who disappeared. There is evidence that the rates of both processes were substantial; the problem is to determine the parameters of each. With the evidence currently available it is possible only to suggest what the broadest limits of the two factors must have been.

Early death was the fate of many immigrants to the Chesapeake, both bound and free. A man arriving in Maryland at age twenty-two could expect to live only an additional twenty-three years. Not included in

this measure are the hazards of "seasoning." During their first year in the Chesapeake most newcomers experienced illnesses of varying severity as they adjusted to the new climate, diet, and disease environment. Contemporary accounts suggest that many newcomers in fact succumbed "in their seasoning." Unfortunately there are no data from which to determine the proportion of immigrants who died shortly after arrival.[15]

Many other former servants left southern Maryland at the expiration of their terms. During the depression in tobacco prices of the early and mid-1690s both Governor Nicholson and the Assembly complained that "young English Natives and Servants when they are free, leave these Colonies, and goe either Southward [to the Carolinas] or Northward [for the Jerseys or Pennsylvania]."[16] A brief interlude of higher tobacco prices may have stemmed out-migration between 1698 and 1702, but emigration (and complaints about it) resumed when prices entered a new period of decline in 1703. Data from censuses sent to England in 1704 and 1710 make clear that most of the emigrants were single men. The number of white male taxables on the lower western shore decreased 11 percent between 1704 and 1710, while the number of white women increased by 6 percent, and the population grew by 7 percent.[17]

Table 19 illustrates the effects of various possible seasoning rates and the resulting rates of emigration. The experience of the

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[15]Walsh and Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake."

[16]Nicholson to Board of Trade, 27 March, 1697, Maryland Archives 33: 87-88. For other evidence of emigration from Maryland in the mid-1690s see Ibid., 19: 225-26, 237, 238, 250, 258, 539-40; 2: 279, 328-29; 23: 84, and other sources cited in Menard, "Economy and Society," ch. 8.

[17]For the relationship between tobacco prices, emigration, and population, see Menard, "Population Growth."

TABLE 19

IMPACT OF SEVERAL SEASONING RATES ON SURVIVAL AND EMIGRATION OF 1,040 MALE CHARLES COUNTY SERVANTS[a]

% Seasoning Rate	% of Initial Number Surviving Servitude	% of Survivors Remaining in County	% of Survivors Emigrating Immediately
43[b]	53[c]	42	58
40	56	40	60
35	61	37	63
30	65	35	65
25	70	33	67
20	75	31	69
15	79	29	71
10	84	28	72

Method: The table assumes that the 1,040 males who are recorded as entering the county as servants immigrated at age 17 and were age 23 when freed after a term of service of seven years. The following example illustrates how the table was calculated. At a seasoning rate of 43%, 447 of the 1,040 men would die during the first three years of service. According to the life table for immigrants cited below, an additional 39 would die during the remaining four years. Thus 554 men or 53% of the initial group would live to the end of their terms. The 216 freedmen known to have remained in the county were increased by 3% to compensate for men who may have also stayed but not appeared in the records. Thus 233 or 42% of the survivors would then have remained and the 321 men (58% of the survivors) left unaccounted for must have emigrated immediately.

Sources:

a. Walsh file of Charles County servants.

b. J. Harry Bennett, Jr., "The Problem of Slave Labor Supply at Codrington," Journal of Negro History 36 (1951): 406-41. Bennett's seasoning rate is for the first three years after immigration. The rest of the table is calculated on the same assumption.

c. Life table for Chesapeake immigrants in Lorena S. Walsh and Russell R. Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake: Two Life Tables for Men in Early Colonial Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine 49 (1974): 211-27.

Charles County servants who disappeared from the records lies somewhere within the limits outlined here. It was assumed that the maximum rate of seasoning would not have been greater than the forty-three percent mortality experienced by slaves imported into Barbados in the 1740s.[18] There is some evidence that forty percent is not an unreasonable upper limit for seasoning deaths in Maryland. Russell Menard studied two groups of servants who arrived in Maryland within the first twenty years after settlement. Because both the settled areas and the population were small, problems of name correlation were few, and he could search the records of all Maryland counties and adjacent Virginia counties for the reappearance of these individuals. His studies can be used to calculate the maximum bound for mortality, since they provide some control over the other variable, emigration. The results suggest that deaths during seasoning could have been as high as thirty-five to forty percent.[19]

It is also assumed here that the minimum rate of seasoning was ten percent. Over a three year period, five percent of acclimated male immigrants in the 22 to 29 age category could be expected to die. Since contemporaries considered seasoning an extraordinarily hazardous time, the death rate of recent arrivals must have been noticeably higher than that of longer-settled immigrants. Nearly all servants were under age

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[18]J. Harry Bennett, Jr., "The Problem of Slave Labor Supply at Codrington," Journal of Negro History 36 (1951): 406-41. Bennett's figures were selected because they were based on precise data. Bennett notes that, "West Indian writers of the slavery period varied in placing the loss of new Negroes at from one-third to one-half of the number imported." The West Indian death rate represents perhaps the most extreme seasoning losses known to have occurred in British North America.

[19]Menard, "From Servant to Freeholder," and "Economy and Society," ch. 5. See Appendix B, table B3.

thirty, and thus a doubling of the proportion of those already "seasoned" who might die in their twenties seems a reasonable lower bound.

Is it probable that up to sixty or seventy percent of the servants who completed their terms of service in Charles County soon left the area? Studies of servant groups in two other counties have produced even higher proportions of quick disappearance from county records. Although failure to reappear in a record is not in itself proof of out-migration, these similar results show that the Charles County phenomenon was not unique. The apparent disappearance of the majority of ex-servants from several older Maryland counties beginning in the 1690s, when coupled with other evidence of significant amounts of out-migration, certainly suggests that large-scale emigration of portions of the population at least by then was taking place.[20]

What was the fate of those former servants who did survive their terms of service, and who did remain, at least for a while, in Charles County? What opportunities did they find as free men in the society in which they had formerly served?

Two hundred and sixteen Charles County servants have been identified as freedmen. The majority never became landowners while in the county but worked other men's farms as sharecroppers or tenants, or made

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[20]Menard found that only ten percent of ninety-five servants brought into Somerset County between 1699 and 1701 could later be found in Maryland. Four or five appeared as heads of households in Somerset County on a tax list for 1724, and one other lived in the household of another. Only nine or ten left evidence of ever establishing households in Maryland, and only three acquired land. Similarly, only 5 to 8 of 116 servants brought into Prince George's County between 1696 and 1706 appeared on a nearly complete list of heads of households for 1719. "Economy and Society," ch. 8.

their livings as itinerant laborers or craftsmen. Forty-three percent (93) married; most of the remainder never established their own households, but instead continued as residents in other men's houses. Economic status could be determined for 167 of the 216. Of these, 97 or 58.1 percent were laborers or at most tenant farmers. About one-third acquired land but most of these (32 or 19.2 percent of the 167) remained small planters who supplied their households with little beyond real necessities. Such men owned about 200 acres of land and usually commanded only their own and their family's labor. A smaller number of former servants (28 or 16.8 percent of the 167) ended up better off than the average planter. These ex-servants owned between 250 and 600 acres of land; they could count a few comforts among their personal possessions; and occasionally they owned some bound labor. Only five ever achieved substantial wealth. These men acquired 1,300 acres or more, consistently owned labor, and at death had personal estates of at least £200.

Sixty-four of these 167 freedmen left the county, most within one to nine years after being freed. Nearly all these were unmarried and 54 left as landless laborers. However, the majority of those who remained had greater success. Of those who died in Charles County during the years covered in this study (1658-1705), over half (28 or 53.8 percent) had acquired some land, and 15, or 29 percent, had accumulated enough wealth to bring them above the level of the small planter. Those who had been free at least ten years had done nearly as well, if their landholdings on the rent roll of 1705 are a measure. Not many ex-servants became rich, then, but those who persisted achieved integration into the local economy and the majority of them improved their position.

However, these opportunities would not have been available had not large numbers of freedmen departed the county either immediately after serving their terms or after a short trial of their local chances.

Master-Servant Relations

Who owned servants and what were the relationships between servants and masters?

The opportunity to own a servant changed over time with the fortunes of the tobacco economy. Until the mid-1660s economic expansion in the Chesapeake enabled a man without large capital opportunity to acquire servant labor that could increase his tobacco production and in good years, at least, his profits. During these early years, the purchase of white servants could advance the fortunes of small and middling planters who had usually once been servants themselves. A slow down followed which ended about 1680 in stagnation that lasted about thirty years. Credit constrictions that accompanied these changes limited the ability of poorer planters to purchase servants. At the same time the supply of servants in proportion to the number of households in need of labor was steadily decreasing. Improving economic conditions in England kept more Englishmen at home, and brighter opportunities in the newer settlements of Pennsylvania and the Carolinas attracted many of those who did immigrate. As the labor shortage in the Chesapeake grew and credit remained tight, ownership of servant labor became more and more concentrated among the already well-to-do. (See table 20.) Thus servants were both increasingly likely to be the property of wealthy men, and less likely, once freed, to acquire servants themselves.[21]

[21]Ibid., ch. 7, and "Social Stratification in Maryland."

TABLE 20

PROPORTIONS OF LABORERS AND LABOR-OWNERS BY TOTAL ESTATE VALUE
1662-1705

TEV Category*	Number of Households	Number of Labor-Owners	Number of Servants	Number of Slaves	Percentage of Labor#
£ 0-49					
1662-1670	13	3	4	-	5
1671-1680	29	8	8	-	7
1681-1690	27	3	3	-	2
1691-1700	77	10	12	-	5
1701-1705	24	3	3	-	2
£50-89					
1662-1670	6	4	5	1	8
1671-1680	15	8	8	1	8
1681-1690	19	11	15	5	10
1691-1700	11	5	7	-	3
1701-1705	5	2	5	-	3
£90-199					
1662-1670	11	9	36	-	48
1671-1680	18	16	44	5	42
1681-1690	14	11	20	9	15
1691-1700	21	17	26	20	18
1701-1705	12	9	15	6	11
£200+					
1662-1670	6	6	14	15	39
1671-1680	9	9	31	21	44
1681-1690	11	11	63	77	73
1691-1700	15	15	47	150	75
1701-1705	11	10	49	108	84

*Total Estate Value is the amount of personal moveable assets at death.

#Percentage of Labor is the proportion of all servants and slaves owned in a given ten-year period which were held by each of the four wealth groups.

Source: "Social Stratification in Maryland."

Because the typical immigrant would spend about one-quarter of his years in the New World as a servant, his life during this period is of more than passing interest. Moving to the New World necessitated rapid and extensive adjustment on the part of all immigrants; this may have been particularly true of those arriving under labor contracts. All immigrants had to adjust to a strange and sometimes frightening new environment and had to learn a new kind of agriculture in order to make a living.[22] The servant, in addition, found himself in a status which had few exact parallels in England, and he was governed by a network of legal arrangements which differed from those of the mother country.[23]

Individual reactions to the experience varied. Some men and women looked upon servitude as an opportunity to get acquainted with life in the new land and to acquire the skills requisite to advancing their fortunes when freed. Reflecting on his own period of servitude, George Alsop concluded that "the four years I served there [in Maryland] were not to me so slavish, as two years Servitude of a Handicraft Apprenticeship was here in London . . . [Servants] live well in the time of their Service, and by their restrainment in that time, they are made capable of living much better when they come to be free."[24]

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[22]See for example the attempts of writers of promotional tracts listed in note 23 below to prepare immigrants to face New World realities. The Sot-Weed Factor graphically describes the cultural shock experienced by a monied immigrant. Cook, The Sot-Weed Factor, pp. 1-32.

[23]Richard B. Morris concluded that indentured servitude "evolved out of the circumstances of colonial emigration and settlement along lines quite original and distinct from the common law." Government and Labor, p. 310. Cf. A. E. Smith, Colonists in Bondage, ch. 11. The efforts of contemporary authors of promotional pieces to persuade the prospective emigrant that servitude in the colonies was not unduly harsh and not unlike conditions of labor in England suggests that potential emigrants had some doubts about the matter. Hammond, "Leah and Rachel"; and Alsop, "Character of Maryland."

[24]Alsop, "Character of Maryland," p. 355.

Others, in sharp contrast, found their servitude almost unbearable. Such a one was John Greene, a lad "who being Carried up upon a frontier plantation . . . was there like to be starved for want of victualls & Clothing, & there left alone in a strange place at a great distance from any neighbours to ye mercy of ye Indians."[25] Isolation and loneliness as well as short rations, scant clothing and shelter, grueling labor, and periodic physical abuse brought a number of new immigrants to despair. A few became so disheartened that, like Elizabeth Johnson who hanged herself with a bridle rein, they took their own lives.[26]

Apparently the majority of bound immigrants, in accordance with the belief of the time that "it is a comon and ordained Fate that there must be Servants as well as Masters,"[27] accepted their station, and, if they survived, served out their terms and became free men and women without major incident. Nonetheless, some servants found themselves in periodic conflict with their masters. A number of these were simply prone to avoid working whenever possible. Others engaged in such exploits as pilfering the master's supply of food or liquor, and some entered into proscribed sexual liasions.[28] (See figure 10.)

One of the most frequent offenses was running away. Because the penalty was severe--an additional ten days of labor for every day's

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[25]Charles County, F#1, f. 228.

[26]Ibid., A#1, f. 149; B#1, f. 342.

[27]Alsop, "Character of Maryland," p. 355. See A. E. Smith, Colonists in Bondage, pp. 291-92.

[28]See for example, Charles County Court, D#1, ff. 138-39; G#1, f. 69; H#1, f. 271; V#1, f. 165; Y#1, f. 313; A#2, ff. 12, 326, 393; B#2, ff. 1, 61, 69.

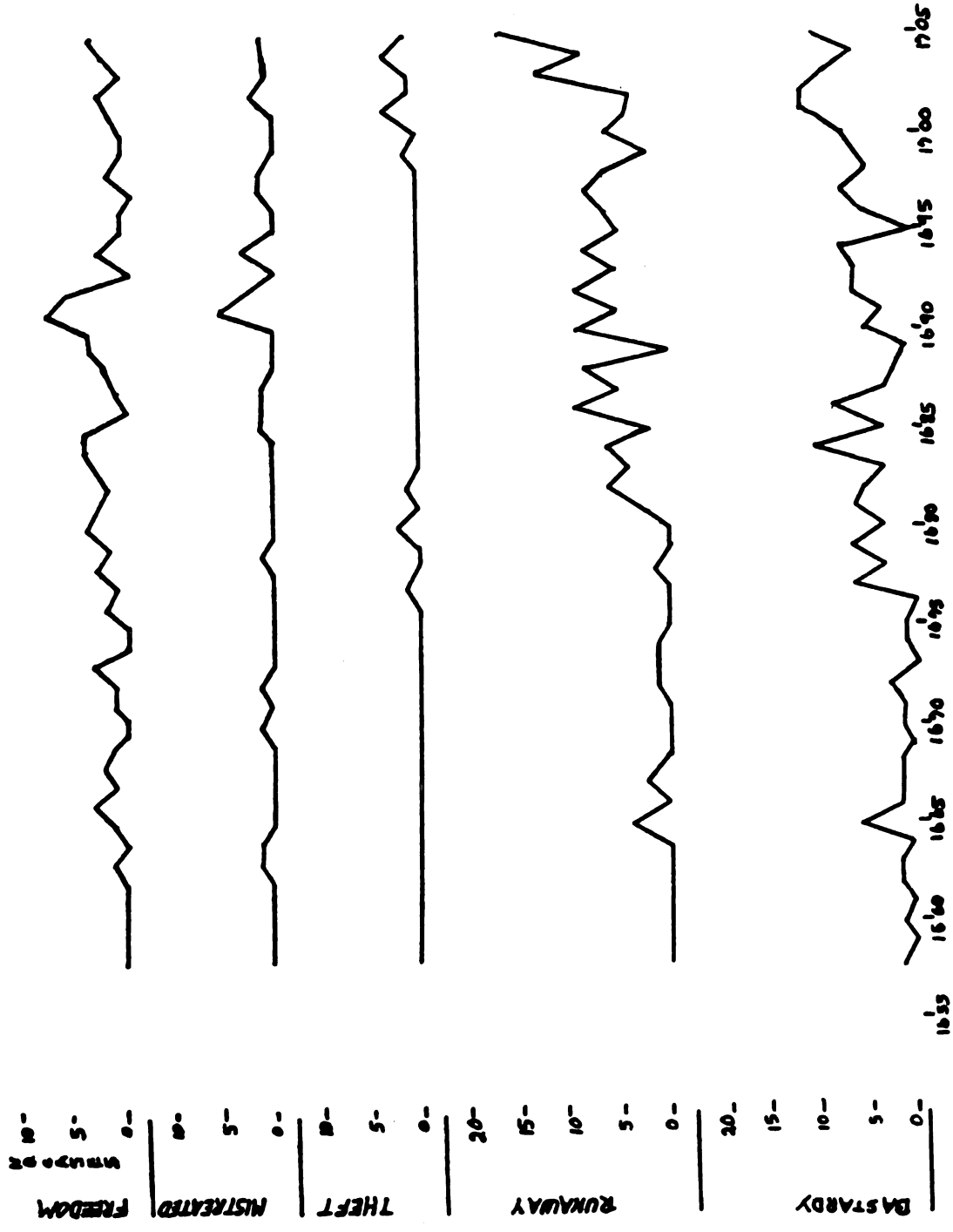

FIGURE 10 FREQUENCY OF LITIGATION INVOLVING SERVANTS, 1658-1705

absence--flight was a drastic step. Some of the fugitives clearly did hope to escape servitude. It seems unlikely, however, that many succeeded in the early years. Until the 1680s there were not many places to run away to. Most fugitives to other parts of Maryland and to the Virginia settlements were eventually apprehended and returned.[29] And, despite the fact that the chances of avoiding detection in the white settlements were small, not many runaways were willing to try the other alternative--eschewing European civilization entirely and taking refuge with the Indians.

Some truants probably did not expect to escape at all. Rather, running away was often a way of coping when service, for whatever reason, became momentarily unbearable. Support for this interpretation is found in the excuse that many runaways offered for their absence--harsh treatment by their masters.[30] Occasionally the authorities agreed that the flight was justified; in cases where "hard usage and unchristianlike dealing" were evident, the courts assessed no penalties against the runaway. However, servants who fled after "moderate" correction or because of emotional of psychological torments received scant sympathy from the justices.[31]

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[29]Ibid., N#1, f. 338; R#1, ff. 40, 190, 275; S#1, f. 243; V#1, ff. 213-14; A#2, f. 198; B#2, f. 6.

[30]Ibid., A#2, ff. 81-82, 162; K#1, f. 195; Maryland Archives 70: 455. Cf. Peter Wood's comment on black runaways in seventeenth-century South Carolina: "Short-term absences became acknowledged as an effective 'coping' process within the system, and both blacks and whites realized that these brief departures could represent a means of relieving tensions and avoiding more dangerous confrontations and desertions." Black Majority, p. 264.

[31]Charles County Court, B#1, f. 429; D#1, ff. 119-20; S#1, ff. 342-43; A#2, ff. 45, 82, 136-37, 162, 288; B#2, f. 3.

The other most common offense among servants was bastardy. Again, the penalty was severe. For this offense the woman's master was awarded one to two years extra service "for the Disgrace of the house and the Cost and Charges," and to further deter such offenses the woman was fined (if she could persuade someone to pay the fine for her) or else whipped. In the latter instance the Charles County justices would order "that ye Sheriffe take ye Sd _____ into Custody and Carry her to ye whipping post and there strip her naked from ye waist upward and give her twelve [to twenty-one] lashes on her bare back well laid on for her offense to almighty God."[32] Some of the offenders had, like Mary Bosk, given in to the importunities of men who had promised to marry them, and then refused to do so after the fact.[33] Others were victims of masters who, taking advantage of the power and opportunity which their positions afforded them, forced their maid servants into sexual relations with them, and then let the woman suffer the consequences. One such victim was Jenett Thorneton whose master "shutt the doore on her when shee was washing and did then begett it, and gave her then a silke neck cloth," then subsequently tried to sell her remaining time to another man when he discovered that she was pregnant.[34]

Still other women servants, despite increasingly severe consequences, voluntarily maintained sexual liaisons while in service. The partner was likely to be a fellow servant, an overseer or other free man

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[32]Ibid., R#1, f. 161.

[33]Ibid., S#1, f. 317; R#1, f. 272.

[34]Ibid., K#1, ff. 26, 40-41, 99. See also B#1, ff. 161-67; A#2, ff. 160, 325, 389.

living on or near the plantation, or sometimes a Negro slave. These women might become trapped in a vicious circle. Bearing an illegitimate child extended their terms of servitude. With the hope of eventual freedom pushed ever further into the future, some opted for more immediate gratification and continued these relationships. Such women were then likely to become repeat offenders, and, with additional penalties assessed for each illegitimate child they bore, their servitude might approach life-long bondage.[35]

Relationships between labor-owner and laborer, and subsequently, between former master and former servant shaped the immigrant's perception of the society which he had entered, and were one factor which defined the position which the ex-servant would occupy in that society when freed. The nature of the relationship between master and servant depended to a great extent on the economic and social status of the labor-owner. Changes in the composition of the labor-owning classes entailed alterations in the patterns of master-servant interaction.

The social distance between small or middling planters and their servants was probably not great. In households where there were but one or two laborers, master and servant often worked together in the fields, servants slept and ate in the master's house, and they were probably treated much like members of the family. Freed servants of small

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[35]See for example, Ibid., R#1, f. 369; S#1, ff. 52, 116-17, 282; V#1, ff. 89, 122, 349, 407, 454-55; X#1, f. 184, 191, 252, 340; Y#1, ff. 15, 96, 99, 112, 122, 176; A#2, f. 1; B#2, ff. 35, 59, 62, 126, 144, 166, 173. Women who had bastard children frequently tried to run away afterwards, thus further extending their periods of servitude if they were apprehended. See Ibid., R#1, f. 103; S#1, f. 341; V#1, ff. 25, 203; A#2, ff. 130, 183; S#1, f. 184; V#1, ff. 84, 213; Y#1, ff. 308-09, 335; B#2, ff. 126, 144; R#1, f. 369; S#1, ff. 52, 116-17; A#1, ff. 271, 308; K#1, f. 320; L#1, f. 19.

planters could anticipate achieving similar economic status, and those who did--about two-fifths of those studied did this well or better--then served on juries and held minor offices, sometimes in company with their former masters.[36]

John Wathen's biography illustrates such successes. Wathen was a servant of Hugh Thomas, himself a former laborer become middling planter. In 1671 Wathen built for Thomas' neighbor, Nicholas Grosse, a 15 foot by 10 foot house, a bedstead, and forms for 500 pounds of tobacco. Once freed, Wathen continued to work at his trades of carpenter and wheelwright. He married and fathered five sons and three daughters. By 1702 he had saved enough to acquire 200 acres, which he named "Wathen's Adventure," and several lots and houses in the town of Newport. He had purchased another 200 acres by 1705. In 1697 and 1698 Wathen served on four juries and acted as an overseer of highways. He died in 1705 having accumulated personal property worth £147.[37] There was little in John Wathen's career which distinguished it from his master's. Thomas also married, accumulated 750 acres, and had served on five juries and as an overseer by the time of his death in the mid-1680s.[38]

Christopher Breams apparently became a friend as well as a tenant of his master's eldest son. Breams began as a servant to Richard Pinner, also a former servant who had risen to the station of a middling planter.

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[36]See Campbell, "Social Origins of Some Early Americans," and Menard, "Economy and Society," ch. 5.

[37]Charles County Court, E#1, ff. 50-51; V#1, ff. 254, 414; A#2, f. 268; Rent Roll 8: 333; Wills 3: 453, 698; Inventories and Accounts 26: 139, 182.

[38]Charles County Court, B#1, ff. 205-06; E#1, f. 99; L#1, ff. 53-54; Rent Roll 8: 327-28.

Freed in 1666, by 1669 Breams had patented 200 acres adjacent to a tract which the elder Pinner had bequeathed to his sons Richard and William. Breams sold the land within four years, however, and was probably thereafter a tenant of Richard Pinner the younger. In 1685 Pinner divided his estate between his wife and daughters and Breams, willing Breams "one heyfer of two year old and my old Gunn and all my wearing cloathes both linnen and wollen . . . and to have a lease of the house that he lives in for his life raising half stock of Hoggs and liveing upon itt himselfe." Breams died in 1689 having never married. He had acquired little in the way of material assets, yet, in contrast to the elder and younger Pinners, who never participated in local government, Breams served on eight juries between 1678 and 1685.[39]

Relations between servants and masters higher up on the social scale were more distant. In addition to the gap created by a greater disparity in rank and material surroundings, there was also much less opportunity for intimate contact. Many of the servants of larger planters lived and worked in groups in out-lying plantations, or, if residing on the home plantation, were usually housed on separate quarters detached from the main house. Larger planters often did not directly supervise their servants' labors, but instead employed overseers to perform this task.[40] These conditions may have resulted in more deferential and perhaps harsher relationships between servant and master than occurred in

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[39]Charles County Court, C#1, f. 131; E#1, f. 73; M#1, ff. 165-66; Rent Roll 8: 347, 350; Patents 12: 542; Wills 4: 147.

[40]For examples of outlying quarters see Inventories and Accounts 7C: 98; 15: 318; 17: 6, 11; 19: 127; 31: 6; 33A: 71; Wills 3: 576, 718. For quarters detached from the main house see Gary Wheeler Stone, "St. John's: Archeological Questions and Answers," MHM 49 (1974): 146-68; and Maryland Archives 70: 86-89.

small planter households. In addition, highly-placed masters often retained former servants in menial positions as laborers, sharecroppers, overseers, or tenants on their often extensive landholdings, extending credit (at terms highly favorable to themselves, one supposes) to buy supplies or to pay taxes. Often freed servants chose wives from among their former master's maidservants. Given such circumstances, servants could not so easily aspire to achieve their master's status. On the other hand, such servants might benefit from the assistance wealthy masters could offer, especially in the form of credit or opportunity to lease land.

Some examples will illustrate the experience of men who served wealthy or powerful masters. James Lynes was a servant of a former county justice, Philip Lynes, when it was reported in 1696 that he had run away thirty-four days. The court ordered him to serve the additional 340 days which Maryland law prescribed as the punishment for this offense. In 1697 James complained that he had neither clothing nor bed, and the court ordered that Philip Lynes either provide them or free him. Finally freed in 1698, James protested that Philip refused to pay him his freedom dues or wages owed for the extra six months that Philip had held him in servitude. Sympathetic to his plight, the court admitted him to sue Lynes in forma pauperis, and assigned him a lawyer. After winning this suit, James remained in the county as a laborer. In 1702 he was sharecropping at Justice Henry Hardy's when he purchased the remaining time of Elinor Dayler, a servant of Hardy's, and married her. James died within a few months of his marriage, never acquiring land nor participating in government. At death he owned his share of the crop of corn and tobacco, six cows, some beans and corn, a jacket, a pail, and three hoes. He was indebted to Philip Lynes for a gown and

petticoat purchased for his wife and to Hardy for accommodations, for corn and wheat advanced to him, and for his levy, which Hardy had paid. After his death his bride was forced to petition the court to prevent her former master from reclaiming her as a servant.[41]

Lawrence Hoskins arrived in 1669 at age seventeen. He was purchased by Justice John Bowls, and, by Bowls' will in 1675 transferred to Bowls' nephew and heir, James Tyer, for the remainder of his term. After being freed, Hoskins, an illiterate, continued to room in Tyer's house, and plied the trade of a cooper. Tyer, like his uncle, became a justice. Hoskins died in 1687 at age thirty-five, never having played a role in local government. Having also never married, he left his possessions, consisting mostly of livestock and tobacco received for his work, to Tyer's wife and son. Even after serving out his term, Lawrence Hoskins' world continued to revolve around that of his ex-master's.[42]

Lancelot Wilkinson was more successful than Lynes or Hoskins. He arrived in 1672 at eighteen years of age and served Justice Humphrey Warren until 1679. He then became a tenant of Warren's, and in 1681 married Margaret Moulton, widow of another of Warren's tenant's. He was eventually able to buy 200 acres of his own, and he served on two juries in 1688. Wilkinson had embarked on his career as an underling of his former master, but had been able to later progress to the status of independent freeholder.[43]

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[41]Charles County Court, V#1, ff. 89, 165, 455; A#2, f. 43; Inventories and Accounts 21: 286; 22: 20.

[42]Charles County Court, D#1, f. 62; Wills 4: 259; Inventories and Accounts 9: 353; 10: 97, 163; 12: 21, 22, 67.

[43]Charles County Court, E#1, f. 52; I#1, f. 108; Rent Roll 8: 307.

Samuel Luckett's career was exceptional. He rose from the status of servant of one justice to that of son-in-law of another, and although he never held an office of power, he did become wealthier than some of the county rulers. Luckett was born about 1650 in Kent and appeared as a servant in Charles County in 1675 in the inventory of James Wheeler with two and a half years to serve. Wheeler, also an ex-servant, had enjoyed the favor of a deputy-governor, and had become a justice and large landowner. Luckett first sat on a jury in 1682. Sometime between 1683 and 1685 he married Elizabeth, one of the two daughters of Thomas Hussey, a justice and owner of over 2,000 acres. Luckett probably acquired by his marriage a minimum of 1,000 acres, and was soon able to purchase other land. Although illiterate, he was a constable in 1687 and an overseer of highways in 1692. Due partly, one must assume, to the fact that he ran the ordinary which also served as the court house, Luckett sat on a total of fifty-five juries. When he died in 1705, Luckett had amassed landholdings of 2,510 acres which he divided among his four sons. He possessed an eight room "home house" with adjoining kitchen, milkhouse, and salt house, two other quarters, an ordinary, seven slaves, and six servants, together valued at over £1,000. Unlike the great majority of the servants belonging to local rulers, Luckett had been able to bridge the gap between himself and his master's associates.[44]

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[44]Charles County Court, L#1, f. 3; N#1, f. 165; R#1, f. 462; V#1, ff. 107, 193; A#2, ff. 302-03; Q#1, f. 11; Rent Roll 8: 318-20, 323, 331-32, 351, 353-55, 357, 360; Wills 3: 576, 649; Inventories and Accounts 1: 394; 25: 256; 27: 12, 92, 234; Harry Wright Newman, The Lucketts of Port Tobacco (Washington, D.C.: by the author, 1938), pp. 7-8, 73.

At any period of Charles County history the experiences of a Lawrence Hoskins or of a James Lynes were probably more common than those of a John Wathen or a Christopher Bream, but table 20 shows that the chances that a servant would serve a small or middling planter decreased steadily after 1680. Other changes also helped to establish greater social distance between servants and masters. As labor shortages grew, wealthy planters purchased slaves, and working beside slaves instead of other Englishmen doubtless degraded the poor man's labor. In addition, by the turn of the century, many planters were men who had been born in the colony. Soon the majority of masters would no longer share with their servants the common experience of immigration, and even fewer servant-owners would themselves have known some kind of servitude. The differing life experiences of the creole and immigrant may have served to further differentiate and separate master and servant.

The Structure of Opportunity for Whites

The state of the economy, combined with demographic forces, had great effect on the degree to which the local community was able to find a place for freed servants.

When Charles County was established in 1658, the tobacco economy was generally prosperous and the population was small. Almost one out of four of its adult male settlers--who totaled about 100--had formerly served in adjacent St. Mary's and Calvert counties, and many of them prospered in the new region. Three-fifths of the former servants who had settled in the county by 1664 became landowners; moreover, those who did acquire land usually built up substantial holdings. The mean acreage

accumulated by this earliest group of ex-servants at the peak of their careers was slightly more than 1,000 acres. In addition, at least half of the group became labor owners.

With the acquisition of wealth came offices of power. Thirteen former servants who emigrated from other counties to Charles became county rulers. Eleven served as justices; four were named in the first commission for the bench. Five of these ex-servants served as sheriff, and four were elected burgesses. One, John Hatch, was appointed to the Council. These men had distinguished themselves from their fellows through enterprise, perhaps by displaying qualities of leadership, and also through the sheer good luck of outliving many of their companions. They were not a group which possessed many special advantages. They included James Lindsay, an Irishman, who found "great difficultie to deliuer himself in ow English tounge," and John Cage and Randall Hanson who were both illiterate. Thirty-one other emigrant ex-servants held minor county offices, and fifty-six men who did not occupy any offices served on juries. These men were in a position to grasp the opportunities which came with the opening of a new area, and to fill needed positions of leadership at a time when there were few men who possessed the qualities of wealth, status, and education later expected of local rulers.[45]

Charles County did not long remain an area of special opportunity for servants. Table 21 summarizes across the seventeenth century the

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[45]See below, ch. 6. For confirmation of the opportunities available in this period, see Menard, "From Servant to Freeholder." Menard studied the careers of 275 men who entered Maryland before the end of 1642, some of whom appear in this study.

TABLE 21

ECONOMIC STATUS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
OF FORMER CHARLES COUNTY SERVANTS

Period First Appears as Freedman	Number	Economic Status at Death or Last Appearance before 1706				Political Participation	
		% Laborer/Tenant	% Small Planter	% Middling or Large Planter	% Labor Owner	% With Either Jury Service or County Office	% In Any Capacity Above Juror
1658-64	13	54	8	38	38	31	8
1665-69	19	37	37	26	27	58	21
1670-74	22	27	27	45	41	59	18
1675-79	27	63	15	22	30	48	15
1680-84	36	69	19	11	17	44	11
1685-89	17	77	24	-	12	29	6
1690-94	18	72	11	17	11	28	-
1695-99	8	88	13	-	13	13	-
1700-05	7	100	-	-	-	14	-

N = 167

experiences of the 167 Charles County servants whose later careers could be followed. Clearly those who had arrived earliest had the greatest success. Among those freed after 1674, the percentages owning land or bound labor declined sharply and only a handful from this group rose above small planter status. Table 22 shows that the experience of ex-servants who had served elsewhere followed a similar pattern, although the decline for those who appeared as freedman after 1674 was somewhat less severe. Men without capital trying to establish themselves in southern Maryland were suffering from a slowing and then stagnating economy.[46]

Political participation, and hence having some say in how one was governed or even exercising some measure of power over others, was also dependent upon early arrival in the county. Only those who came earliest achieved major office. As shown in tables 21 and 22 the participation of most former servants was limited to jury service, and even this opportunity declined sharply for those freed after the mid-1680s. Here demographic as well as economic conditions were at work. Not only were poor men less likely to acquire property sufficient to entitle them to serve, but as more English merchants and gentry came into the county, and as the sons of the earlier settlers came of age, the pool of wealthy and socially prominent men increased. Consequently

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[46]For Maryland tobacco prices see Russell R. Menard, "Farm Prices of Maryland Tobacco, 1659-1710," MHM 48 (1973): 80-85, and idem, "Note on Chesapeake Tobacco Prices, 1618-1660," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, forthcoming. For a similar description of declining opportunity for servants who arrived after 1660 in Virginia, see Wertenbaker, Planters of Colonial Virginia. Freedmen in southeastern Pennsylvania apparently found a similar situation there by the end of the next century. See James T. Lemon, The Best Poor Man's Country (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1972), pp. 84-96.

TABLE 22

ECONOMIC STATUS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF FORMER SERVANTS EMIGRATING TO CHARLES COUNTY

Period First Appears as Freedman	Number	Economic Status at Death or Last Appearance before 1706				Political Participation	
		% Laborer/Tenant	% Small Planter	% Middling or Large Planter	% Labor Owner	% With Jury Service or County Office	% In Any Capacity Above Juror
1648-54	9	-	11	88	78	78	56
1655-59	25	20	8	72	44	72	44
1660-64	19	53	-	47	42	63	42
1665-69	22	45	18	36	9	64	18
1670-74	26	50	8	42	31	42	15
1675-79	24	63	8	29	25	58	13
1680-84	25	80	-	20	16	44	12
1685-89	16	56	13	31	19	56	31
1690-94	10	70	20	10	10	20	10
1695-99	5	80	-	20	-	20	-
1700-05	9	67	-	33	11	22	11

N = 190

Note: Date of first appearance as freedman is less precise in this table than in table 21. The figure in this table is based on first appearance in the county records, as precise information about the terms of servants freed in other counties is unavailable.

standards for eligibility rose. In the 1660s a servant could obtain his freedom in the morning and sit on a jury in the afternoon; by 1700 he was unlikely to serve (if he did so at all) for some time after he had established a household and acquired land.[47]

When the economic achievements of ex-servants are compared with the landholdings and personal wealth of all county residents, it becomes even clearer that opportunities for men beginning without capital were indeed limited in southern Maryland probably as early as the mid-1660s.[48] Examination of the 1659 and 1705 rent rolls reveals the extent of initial opportunity and its subsequent decline.[49] In 1659, 115 persons, about 90 of them residents, held land in Charles County. Of these, 24, or 26.7 percent were former servants, most of whom had recently moved

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[47]See below, ch. 6, and Menard, "From Servant to Freeholder." For similar developments in Virginia, see Bernard Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia," in Smith (ed.), Seventeenth Century America, pp. 90-115. The results of this study do not support T. H. Breen's argument that a rise in tobacco prices during the 1680s eliminated a "'giddy multitude'" of poor whites and servants (who had before this time constituted a threat to peace in the Chesapeake) by increasing their access to land and eliminating "grinding poverty." Rather, tobacco prices and resulting economic opportunity moved in the opposite direction. Nor is there any evidence for his assertion that post-1680 immigrants were of higher social rank than their predecessors. "A Changing Labor Force and Race Relations in Virginia, 1660-1710." Journal of Social History 7 (1973): 3-25.

[48]That a change in equality of wealth distribution occurred, at least by 1670, is supported by results of the St. Mary's City Commission inventory project, "Social Stratification in Maryland." Between 1640 and 1660 the mean value of personal estates fell and the median rose, indicating that wealth became more equitably distributed in that period. From 1660 to the early 1680s the mean increased substantially, while the median levelled out by 1670 and perhaps earlier. Thus, inequality increased. From the 1680s through 1705 the mean and median remained stable, and further shifts in wealth distribution did not occur. See Menard, Harris, and Carr, "Opportunity and Inequality."

[49]Rent Rolls 0 and 8.

from adjacent St. Mary's County. The mean acreage of all landowners was 546 acres, while the mean holding of former servants was 366 acres. Many of the ex-servants had just recently acquired the first of what would later become many tracts, yet they already held 13.4 percent of the land in the second year of the county's history. Forty-six years later, in 1705, 340 persons, about 293 of them residents, held land in the county. Only one of the ex-servants who had appeared on the 1659 rent roll was still alive. Ex-servant landholders numbered only 27, or 7.9 percent of the whole and owned only 8.1 percent of the land, although one of them, Philip Lynes, was the biggest landholder in the county. The mean acreage of all landowners was 468. That of ex-servants (here excluding Lynes) was 245 acres. The disparities were growing.

The former servants from other counties who owned land in Charles County in 1659 had had only to move from a neighboring county in order to become landowners. This was not true for the freed servants who at a later period moved away from Charles County. Only four or five identified former Charles County servants held land in adjacent Prince George's County in 1706, and they had acquired their tracts by 1691 or earlier.[50] Nor did the freed servants move into St. Mary's

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[50]For lists of all land owners and biographies of officeholders in Prince George's County between 1696 and 1709, see Carr, "County Government," appendix 6. It might be supposed that there were former Charles County servants among the non-officeholding, non-landowning residents of Prince George's County, a group not so extensively covered in the above study. However, it appears that most former servants moved further away than an adjacent county. A complete name index appears in the published Prince George's County records (Joseph H. Smith and Philip Crowl, eds., Court Records of Prince George's County, Maryland, 1696-1699, American Legal Records vol. 9 (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Society, 1964).) These early Prince George's County records share the advantage of the early records of Charles County in that the names of most of the male residents appear in them. A search of the index revealed no additional men whom I could identify as former Charles County servants other than those land and/or officeholders or craftsmen who also appeared in Carr's study.

County. Fewer than five former Charles County servants could be identified as St. Mary's County residents, and none of them held land on the 1705 rent roll. Similarly, none held land on the Calvert County rent roll of the same period.[51]

A look at the personal assets of ex-servants as shown in probate inventories also demonstrates the relationship between early arrival in the county and economic success. Inventories have survived for 77 men identified as former servants, including 31 of the 52 freedmen known to have served and died in Charles County between 1658 and 1705. Not surprisingly they usually died with less personal property than appears overall in the estates of county residents: mean and median personal wealth for all county residents over the period was £116 and £46 respectively,[52] whereas for former county servants it was £88 and £29. However, servants who were freedmen by 1664 did much better than those who came later. Most of these earliest freedmen had emigrated to Charles after serving in other counties. The mean and median values of their personal estates were £141 and £112. Estates of later arrivals had a mean value of £70 and a median value of £32.[53]

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[51]Rent Rolls 3, 4, and 8. The St. Mary's City Commission is currently assembling biographical files of all seventeenth century St. Mary's County residents who appear in period records.

[52]"Social Stratification in Maryland."

[53]This disparity in total estate value appears to be influenced more by time of entry than it does by length of economic career. There were twenty-four inventories for the pre-1665 emigrant freedmen and twenty-two for the post-1665 group. Men in the earlier group whose economic careers lasted thirteen years or less (seven) were less wealthy than their longer-lived companions (seventeen). The mean value of their estates was £96, below the mean value of those who lived longer--£159. In the later group, the mean value of the estates of the men whose economic careers lasted nineteen years or longer (six) was only £59, less than the mean value of the estates of the shorter-lived members of the earlier group, and only £5 more than the mean value of £54 of the estates of those who died younger (sixteen).

Among servants freed after 1664, the personal estates of those who had served in the county show an interesting difference from the estates of those who had served elsewhere. The mean value of the personal estates of the first group was higher than that of the second, £80 as opposed to £54, although the medians were £32 as opposed to £34. A possible explanation lies in the fact that the two groups invested differently. Tables 21 and 22 show that the men who had come from elsewhere had higher rates of landownership, apparently choosing to put more in this resource and less in labor, livestock, and consumption goods. The men who had served in Charles County had lower rates of landownership. They frequently continued to rent, often from former masters, rather than purchase their own land, and instead invested more in their personal estates.

To summarize, as the tobacco economy slowed down and as population increased in the settled regions, opportunities for men beginning without capital decreased. The best land was taken up, and labor, a necessity if a man was to rise above the level of "rude sufficiency," became increasingly scarcer and more expensive. Men who had immigrated as servants found that the initial advantages possessed by native-born sons and free immigrants with capital was one which was more and more difficult for them to overcome. A decrease in chances for political participation paralleled the decline in economic opportunity.

The chances for integration of ex-servants into the community diminished in other ways. Social integration of former master and former servant was easiest in the period when population was small and the need for labor great. In the early years of the county, furthermore, servants often worked for masters who had themselves once been

servants and sometimes for ex-servants not very long freed. By the end of the century, native-born masters--men who had not known servitude--were becoming numerous, and masters were more likely than earlier to have wealth and status to which their servants could not aspire. Such men more easily established and maintained deferential relationships with those who served them or who had formerly served them.

Most of the immigrants who served in Charles County did not remain there long. A number died "in their seasoning," and many others who survived left the county as soon as their terms expired. The low level of persistence indicates that many of those who chose to immigrate to Maryland as servants were not integrated into the region in which they served their time. As the area's population increased, outmigration was not simply a matter of moving to the next county. By the 1680s many freed servants found it necessary to leave the tobacco coast entirely. This is not to argue that colonists without capital did not find opportunities to improve their lots in other regions. It is clear, however, that many more men immigrated to southern Maryland to satisfy that region's labor needs than could be absorbed into the local economy and body politic.

Slavery: The Structure of Non-opportunity for Blacks

Slave labor was at first a small and infrequent substitute for that of indentured servants among Charles County planters. So long as voluntary bondsmen arrived in adequate numbers to satisfy the planters' requirements, white servants constituted almost the whole of the county's labor force. However, as the century progressed the servant trade failed

for a variety of reasons to provide sufficient numbers of laborers. Local planters then looked to other sources, especially to Africa, to supply their continued demand for hands in the tobacco fields. Substantial importation of blacks began to change the composition and distribution of the labor force, and to dramatically alter the nature of the local society.[54]

During the 1650s and 1660s only a few black immigrants came to Charles County. In the early 1660s they comprised just two to three percent of the population. Because these early black immigrants were few in numbers, and because they dwelt scattered over a number of farms with none living in large groups, their presence did not markedly alter the character of the emerging society.[55] (See table 23.)

Some had come voluntarily. An example was John Baptista, a "Moore of Barbary" who arrived with an indenture, served out his term,

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[54]The brief and incomplete discussion of black immigration and slavery which follows is a result, not of the writer's assessment of the importance of the subject, but rather of the paucity of surviving evidence. Because references to blacks in seventeenth century Maryland are scarce, a study based on sources relating to one county does not yield enough information from which to make meaningful generalizations. Hence, in the section which follows, I have relied heavily on the works of other scholars for the interpretive framework in which the Charles County evidence is placed.

[55]See ch. 2. Commenting on the inability of Maryland planters to afford slaves, Charles Calvert wrote to Cecilius Lord Baltimore in 1664: "I have endeavoured to see if I Could find so many responsible men that would engage to take a 100 or 200 neigros every yeare from the Royall Company at that rate you mentioned . . . . But I find wee are nott men of estates good enough to undertake such a businesse, but could wish wee were for wee are naturally inclined to love neigroes if our purses would endure it." Calvert Papers, Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication 28 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1889), p. 248.

TABLE 23

TABLE 23

SLAVE POPULATION OF CHARLES COUNTY BY FIRST APPEARANCE IN COUNTY RECORDS

Dates	Males			Females			Children Sex Unspecified	Slaves Age or Sex Unspecified	Total
	0-15	16-50	Old or Disabled	0-15	16-50	Old or Disabled			
1660-64	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
1665-69	2	1	-	-	3	1	-	-	7
1670-74	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	4
1675-79	-	6	-	-	5	-	2	-	13
1680-84	-	3	-	-	3	1	1	31	39
1685-89	7	10	-	9	15	2	-	-	43
1690-94	2	9	-	2	4	2	-	-	19
1695-99	10	54	3	23	28	4	13	-	135
1700-05	13	46	5	8	48	1	5	-	126
Totals	37	131	9	42	107	11	21	31	389

Note: These figures may or may not represent the actual age and sex composition of the slave population. According to the 1704 census there were 578 slaves present in the county in that year. Obviously many blacks never appeared in any county records.

Source: Charles County Court Records, Wills, and Inventories and Accounts, 1658-1705.

and remained in the county sharecropping for some years.[56] Others, like Henry Quando, had arrived in slavery, but were later freed, and were then able to establish themselves as small planters and heads of households.[57]

In the county's formative years when able-bodied men were few, the scattered English settlers more readily accepted colonists of differing origins in their midst. In addition, many of the early black immigrants came from Portugal, from England, and from the West Indies, and not directly from Africa.[58] Hence they arrived with some experience of and adaptation into European languages, culture, and religion. This prior experience speeded their assimilation into the larger community.

Opportunity for free blacks was much more limited than that open to whites, however. Although not as a matter of course relegated to a permanently servile status on account of their color, black immigrants were from the first perceived as "different." Free blacks were probably at best only peripherally assimilated into the English community. As the number of European immigrants increased, and as economic opportunities available to poorer individuals of all races declined, the willingness of whites to allow blacks to become integrated into the dominant society decreased.[59]

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[56]Charles County Court, A#1, ff. 90, 93, 130; B#1, f. 109; Maryland Archives 41: 460, 485, 491, 499-500.

[57]Charles County Wills, 2A, f. 101; Charles County Court, Q#1, ff. 83-84; A#2, f. 80.

[58]For examples of the character of early black immigration, see Patents, ABH, ff. 65, 66, 150-51; Charles County Court, A#1, f. 174; B#1, f. 528.

[59]For whites' early perception of blacks as "different," see Winthrop D. Jordan, White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812, Institute of Early American History and Culture series

The subsequent arrival of numbers of completely unacculturated blacks from Africa further widened the distance between the races. These immigrants had almost no prospects for attaining either freedom or assimilation. Frequently isolated from others of their race, they made the adaptations to the white culture that were necessary for survival. Paradoxically, only as slavery became better developed and more widespread did the development and maintenance of black culture become possible.

While some early black immigrants arrived or later became free men, others were in permanent bondage. Some slaves had been purchased from Virginians by local planters, and others had come into Maryland when their masters chose to move there from Virginia.[60] At first, black bondsmen comprised only a small percentage of a planter's labor force, even among very large planters. They were clearly supplements to and not alternatives to predominantly white labor forces. In addition, ownership of slaves was diffused among a number of planters.

(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968); Carl N. Degler, "Slavery and the Genesis of American Race Prejudice," Comparative Studies in Society and History 2 (1959): 49-66; Oscar and Mary Handlin, "The Origin of the Southern Labor System," WMQ 29 (1972): 469-78; Warren M. Billings, "The Cases of Fernando and Elizabeth Key: A Note on the Status of Blacks in Seventeenth Century Virginia," WMQ 30 (1973): 467-74. For local examples see Charles County Court, B#1, f. 166. For an example of the difficulties free blacks had in maintaining their freedom in the eighteenth century see C. Ashley Ellefson, "Free Jupiter and the Rest of the World: The Problems of a Free Negro in Colonial Maryland," MHM 46 (1971): 1-13. Cf. references to the Quando family in Charles County Court, libers E#2 through T#2. For a similar situation in early South Carolina, see Wood, Black Majority, ch. 5. He found that free non-whites could find ways to subsist marginally within the confines of frontier society, but as slavery based on race became increasingly central to labor supply and social organization, their incongruous status grew more untenable.

[60]Charles County Court, A#1, ff. 216-17; S#1, f. 112. Testamentary Proceedings 2: 445; Maryland Archives 41: 186-88, 234-36, 261-62.

As a consequence of both small numbers and dispersed ownership, most slaves lived on plantations where only a few other blacks were present. For them, much more than for whites, isolation and loneliness were pervasive facts of life. Opportunities for any kind of social contact with other blacks was limited, and chances to establish relationships with members of the opposite sex were even rarer.[61]

During the early 1670s the ranks of slaves and of slaveowners were swelled. The main reason for this increase was the migration of a number of white families and their slaves from the West Indies, particularly Barbados, to southern Maryland. By local standards the immigrating West Indians were wealthy indeed,[62] and many of them quickly rose to high positions in the economy and in government. They brought with them a high style of life unmatched by that of but a very few other white residents. One prominent element of this life style was the possession of a number of slaves.[63]

There is no apparent direct link between a subsequent rapid development of the slave labor system, and the arrival of the West Indians. These men retained the bondsmen they had brought with them,

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[61]For this argument I am indebted to Russell R. Menard who admirably described the dispersed ownership of blacks in southern Maryland, and the social consequences which resulted, in "A Profile of the Maryland Slave Population, 1658-1730: A Demographic Study of Blacks in Four Counties," WMQ 32 (1975): 29-54. See also Menard, "Economy and Society," ch. 7.

[62]The mean wealth of six West Indian immigrants who died in Charles County between 1681 and 1705 was £942 while that of county residents on the whole was £139.

[63]West Indian immigrants apparently played a similar role in South Carolina. See Richard S. Dunn, "The English Sugar Islands and the Founding of South Carolina," The South Carolina Historical Magazine 72 (1971): 81-93 for a description of the life style of West Indians who immigrated to the mainland.

but once in Maryland they turned to the already established indentured servant trade to obtain additional laborers. The main effect of the West Indians' presence was probably a psychological one. Through them Charles County planters became accustomed to the presence of sizeable black labor forces in their midst, and they perhaps began to associate large estates and a more opulent style of life with profits derived from slave labor.[64]

By the 1690s the Chesapeake labor system had been transformed from one dependent largely on servants to one composed largely of slaves.[65] The growth of the slave population began in the mid-1670s with rapid acceleration in the 1690s. Between 1695 and 1708 an average of nearly 300 slaves per year arrived in Maryland, most of them coming directly from Africa.[66] From the mid-1680s past the turn of the century

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[64]For some discussion of the impact of West Indian immigration on the political and economic development of South Carolina, see M. Eugene Sirmans, Colonial South Carolina, A Political History, 1663-1763, Institute of Early American History and Culture series (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), ch. 2. Sirmans notes that prior to the 1690s most blacks in the colony had been brought there from Barbados by their owners. Once in the colony, the West Indian planters, however, did not continue to import new slaves. Rather, they turned to the kind of labor then most prevalent in the colony--in their case Indian slaves--until the 1690s. Cf. Wood, Black Majority, chs. 2 and 5. Wood holds that in a partial servant economy, ownership of Negroes "assumed additional social connotations"; slave ownership was a means of establishing social distinctions and of reinforcing authority patterns. Ibid., p. 46.

[65]Exact dating of the point at which slaves came to outnumber servants is difficult. The supply of slaves may have surpassed that of servants several years prior to 1690. Measures based on estate inventories date the shift somewhat later than does more direct evidence on immigration. The disparity probably results from a lag between the purchase of a laborer and the death of the buyer. See Menard, "Economy and Society," ch. 7.

[66]Ibid., and idem, "The Transformation of the Chesapeake Labor System." For figures on slave importations see Maryland Archives 25: 257, and CO5/749 pt 2, PRO Transcripts, MS, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Charles County planters made many purchases; by the years 1701-1705, as shown in table 24 there were two and one-third slaves for each inventoried household in the county. Blacks accounted for almost two-thirds of bound labor, and they constituted a fifth of the county's population. Changes in the patterns of capital investment were equally dramatic. In 1670 only ten percent of the capital which planters invested in bound labor was devoted to slaves. By 1704 as figure 11 shows the proportion of assets invested in slaves was seventy percent of all labor investments.[67]

An important facet of the transformation of the labor system was the increasing concentration of ownership of bound labor in the hands of the wealthy.[68] Small planters were much less able to acquire servants after 1690, while the ownership of slaves was almost exclusively the privilege of the very wealthy. Increasing use of slave labor brought about a marked decline in the ability of small and middling planters to purchase additional hands and thus curtailed their chances of improving their economic position. Not only were slaves more expensive than servants, but as the supply of servants declined, the prices for them was bid up as well. Initially, slavery provided a solution to the labor problem only for the already well-off.[69]

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[67]This statement was based on an analysis of regional labor and wealth-holding patterns in southern Maryland carried out under the "Social Stratification in Maryland" project in September 1973. Available at the Hall of Records.

[68]Only ten percent of planters in southern Maryland worth £70-100 owned slaves. Only in inventories of over £200 do more than half of the estates regularly contain slaves. "Social Stratification in Maryland." A similar process of concentration occurred in South Carolina at a similar stage in that colony's development. Wood, Black Majority, ch. 5.

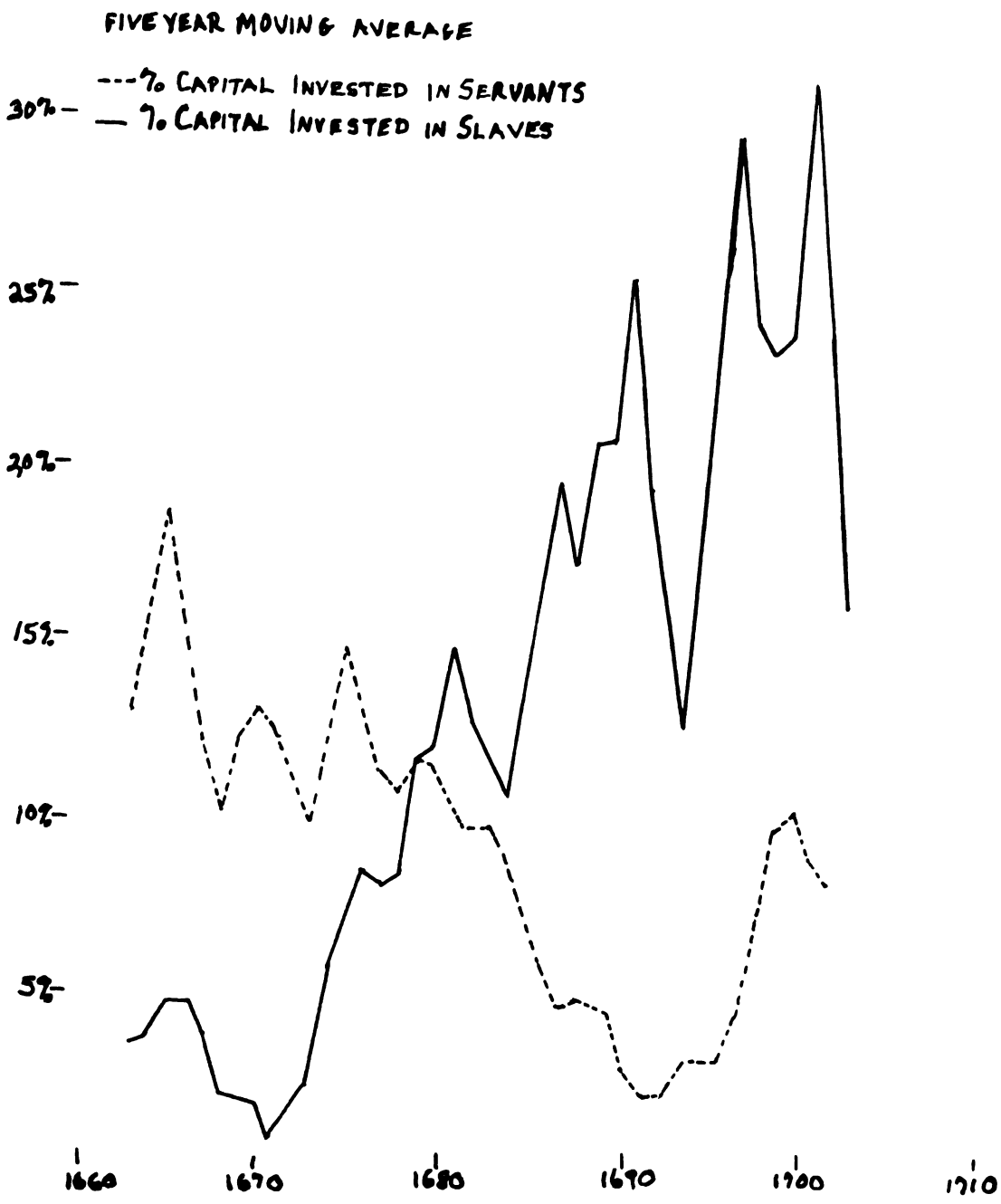
[69]For a fuller development of this argument see Menard, "Economy and Society," ch. 7, and "The Transformation of the Chesapeake Labor System." A conflicting view, that slavery replaced servitude because of

TABLE 24

LABORERS PER HOUSEHOLD IN CHARLES COUNTY, 1658-1705

Dates	No. Households	No. Slaves	Ratio	No. Servants	Ratio	No. Laborers	Ratio
1658-65	17	9	.53	20	1.18	29	1.71
1666-70	21	7	.33	39	1.86	46	2.19
1671-75	20	2	.10	29	1.45	31	1.55
1676-80	47	25	.53	62	1.32	87	1.85
1681-85	44	65	1.48	77	1.75	142	3.23
1686-90	27	26	.96	24	.89	50	1.85
1691-95	33	38	1.15	18	.55	56	1.70
1696-1700	90	131	1.46	75	.83	106	2.29
1701-05	49	114	2.33	72	1.47	186	3.80

Source: "Social Stratification in Maryland."



SOURCE: "SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN MARYLAND"

FIGURE 11. PERCENTAGES OF CAPITAL INVESTED IN SERVANTS AND SLAVES IN CHARLES COUNTY, 1661-1705

The impact of the growth of slavery on the lives of both blacks and whites must have been great. Unfortunately surviving records shed little light on the reactions of the persons who experienced the transformation on the Chesapeake labor system. Literary evidence about the lives of blacks in the seventeenth century is particularly limited.

However, a recent study based on probate inventories has yielded much valuable information about the character of the southern Maryland slave population between 1658 and 1730.[70] Like the early immigrant white population of the region, the black population was predominantly male. Men outnumbered women by one and one-half to one, with the greatest imbalance occurring at the end of the century during a period of heavy importation directly from Africa. The unbalanced sex ratio is characteristic of an immigrant population, and probably also reflects planters' preferences for male laborers.

A slave's restricted freedom of movement aggravated the problem of sexual imbalance. In addition, dispersed ownership and scattered residence within plantations severely limited possibilities for black family life. Almost half of all southern Maryland slaveowners held only one or two slaves, and only fifteen owned more than twenty in the fifty-two years between 1658 and 1710. In addition, on many of the larger

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inherent cost advantages is presented in among others Lewis C. Gray, The History of Agriculture in the Southern United States, 2 vols (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1932), 1: 344-50, 361-71; Wertenbaker, Planters of Colonial Virginia, pp. 126-27; and Gloria Lund Main, "Measuring Wealth and Welfare: Explorations in the Use of Probate Records from Colonial Maryland and Massachusetts, 1650-1720" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1972).

[70]Menard, "A Profile of the Maryland Slave Population." Since Charles is one of the four counties included, Menard's generalizations are particularly applicable here.

estates, the labor force was scattered among several outlying farms. Approximately one-fifth of the black population--both men and women--lived on plantations with no members of the opposite sex in their age category.[71]

Although some black families were formed despite these obstacles, the number of children born in them was small. For every two adults between sixteen and fifty, there was less than one child throughout the period. The skewed sex ratio, recent arrival in the colony, alienation among black women, practices of child-rearing and frequency of intercourse which lengthened birth intervals, chronic ill health, and early death all contributed to a low birth rate. Most importantly, immigrant black women, like immigrant whites were well advanced in their childbearing years when they arrived. Like the white population, the initial immigrant black population failed to reproduce itself.[72]

In addition to defining the characteristics of the slave population, inventories can provide some idea of blacks' domestic arrangements and material conditions.[73] In twenty-four Charles County estate inventories

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[71]Ibid.

[72]Ibid.

[73]The selection of inventories of estates with one or more quarters of course limits the sample to a description of the conditions of servants and slaves on the estates of the very wealthy only. Still, it seems unlikely that the material condition of laborers belonging to poorer owners could have differed greatly from those described in these inventories. The selected inventories come as close as can be gotten to a description of the material conditions of slaves and servants. One proviso must be added, however. It is always possible that the bedding and cooking equipment listed in some of the quarters was used, not by the servants or slaves, but by a free overseer who might be living in the quarter but whose presence would not be noted in the inventory. For an example of a contract between a planter and the overseer of such a quarter see Maryland Archives 70: 86-89. For the inventories see Charles County Inventories, liber 1677-1717.

filed between 1658 and 1711, the equipment and personnel of laborers' quarters was listed separately from those goods associated with the owner's house. Only in inventories with separately listed quarters can the domestic equipment allotted to servants and slaves be separated from that used by a family. The number of such quarters occupied by members of both races was equal to the number of quarters occupied by blacks alone, and greater than the number occupied only by whites. Presumably some of the all-black quarters were supervised by free white overseers whose presence would not have been noted in an inventory; at least one was probably under the supervision of one of the slaves. More adults of working age lived in quarters occupied by laborers of both races than in either all-black or all-white quarters. A possible explanation is that some of the larger mixed-race quarters were older and better established with a greater variety of activities being carried out in them. The number of adults in all-black quarters was only slightly smaller than that in all-white quarters. This suggests that planters usually did not count older black children as partial hands when staffing their quarters, perhaps because their labor was offset by time black mothers spent in caring for younger children. The presence of whites in a quarter seems to have had an adverse effect on black family formation. Although the sex ratio in such quarters was slightly more favorable than in all-black quarters (133.3 as compared to 150.0), the ratio of children to adults in a mixed-race quarters was smaller--.457 as opposed to .600. (See table 25.)

All of the quarters were supplied with meager domestic furnishings. (See table 26.) Bound laborers both black and white had to make

TABLE 25

DISTRIBUTION OF ADULTS AND CHILDREN BY QUARTER, CHARLES COUNTY, 1658-1711

	No. Quarters	No. Men	No. Women	No. Children	Total Adults	Total Adults per Quarter
All-white Quarters	5	24	4	--	28	5.60
All-black Quarters	9	27	18	27	45	5.00
Mixed Quarters	9	39	20	16	59	6.56
Blacks		20	15	16	35	3.89
Whites		19	5	--	24	2.67

Sex Ratio among blacks in All-black Quarters 150.0
Child/Adult Ratio .600

Sex Ratio among blacks in Mixed Quarters 133.3
Child/Adult Ratio .457

TABLE 26

CONTENTS OF CHARLES COUNTY QUARTERS, 1658-1711

Category	Item	No. in All-black Quarters	No. per Quarter	All-white Quarters	No. per Quarter	No. in Black and White Quarters	No. per Quarter	Total Units in all Quarters
Livestock	Cattle	167	16.7	64	12.8	285	31.7	387
	Hogs	135	13.5	133	26.6	200	22.2	460
	Horses	14	1.4	1	.2	10	1.1	25
	Sheep	-	-	-	-	59	6.6	59
Bedding	Beds	5	.5	5	1.0	8	.9	18
	Blankets	4	.4	5	1.0	4	.4	13
	Rug, coverlid	4	.4	6	1.2	5	.6	15
	Pillow	-	-	1	.2	1	.1	2
	Matchcoat	-	-	1	.2	-	-	1
Kitchen and Eating	Iron pots	17	1.7	11	2.2	16	1.8	44
	Pothooks	3	.3	1	.2	4	.4	8
	Pestle	6	.6	6	1.2	10	1.1	22
	Stilliards	1	.1	-	-	2	.2	3
	Frying pan	1	.1	3	.6	7	.8	11
	Hand mill	1	.1	-	-	-	-	1
	Tongs and shovel	-	-	-	-	1	.1	1
	Meal sifters	-	-	-	-	1	.1	1
	Pewter plates	-	-	-	-	5	.6	5
	Indian bowls	-	-	-	-	2	.2	2
	Tin pans	-	-	-	-	3	.3	3
	Wooden tray	-	-	2	.4	5	.6	7
Furniture	Table	-	-	1	.2	-	-	1
	Chest	1	.1	1	.2	-	-	2
	Chair	1	.1	-	-	1	.1	2
Agricultural and Craft Tools	Bridle	-	-	-	-	2	.2	2
	Fowling piece	3	.3	2	.4	3	.3	8
	Grindstone	-	-	-	-	1	.1	1
	Froe	1	.1	-	-	-	-	1
	Wedges	1	.1	6	1.2	5	.6	12
	Saw	1	.1	2	.4	4	.4	7
	Drawing knife	-	-	1	.2	1	.1	2
	Axe*	-	-	-	-	11	1.2	11
	Hoe*	-	-	-	-	15	1.7	15
	Piggin, pail	1	.1	2	.4	5	.6	8
	Cider cask	1	.1	-	-	-	-	1
	Corn, in bbl.+	1	.1	-	-	-	-	1
No. Quarters		10		5		9		24
No. Inmates	Servants,# slaves	87	8.7	29	5.8	7	8	19

* Underenumerated.

+ Seasonal item.

Totals include 4 Indians and 13 blacks age and sex unspecified not included in table 25.

do with the barest of household essentials, but black laborers received the least. Beds, blankets, pots, and equipment for food preparation appeared in smaller numbers in all-black quarters than in all-white or mixed-race establishments. There were also variations in the amounts of livestock present at the different quarters. Hogs particularly were more likely to be found at those quarters occupied by whites only or by some whites than they were to be found in all-black quarters. A possible explanation is that while planters had legal recourse against white servants who pilfered their hogs, they had fewer effective means of preventing their slaves from occasionally supplementing their rations with one of the master's pigs, and hence, large numbers of hogs were not ordinarily placed in quarters where they could not be watched over by whites. On the other hand, more cattle appeared in all-black or mixed-race than in all-white quarters. Blacks may have been regularly assigned responsibility for a number of cattle as a consequence of their prior experience with herd management in Africa.[74]

Some examples may help to clarify the impact of the figures presented in tables 25 and 26 on individuals and families. In 1681 one of Councillor Benjamin Rozer's six outlying quarters was apparently run by one of his slaves named Tomboy. Living at the quarter were, in addition, six other negro men, one of them old; two negro women; and four children, two of them nine; one, seven; and one, one and a half. Tomboy and one of the other men probably had a wife; the remaining five men had none. Presumably the women were expected to prepare food for all of the men and perhaps to provide other domestic services. Either the women had had few

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[74]For black experience with cattle, see Wood, Black Majority, ch. 1.

children or only a small proportion of those they bore survived, for the ages of the children show longer birth intervals than those which might be expected among white women.[75] The residents were provided with only the most basic household equipment--two iron pots for cooking, one pestle for food preparation, and two hand tools. For sleeping, there was one flock bed and bolster and two blankets. Most of the inhabitants must have slept on straw or in hammocks.[76]

Similarly, in 1703 John Bayne's Aberdeen Quarter was occupied by a black man, Cooper; a black woman, Fortune; her child called Rachell, aged two; and an old black woman, Yarro. Their domestic furnishings consisted of two iron pots, one small iron pestle, one very old flock bed and three rugs, and one small piggin. In addition the occupants had the responsibility for two cows and calves.[77] As it is unlikely that an overseer was employed to run such a small quarter, Cooper doubtless supervised most of the day to day activities.

William Digges' Panagaia Quarter was the home in 1697 of one old black man between forty and fifty, two black women of the same age, two boys aged eight, one aged four, one aged two, and one girl of thirteen. Who the fathers of the children were is uncertain. Either the old man had two wives, or one or more of the women's husbands were living apart from them on other quarters or plantations. The group looked after numerous livestock--fifty head of cattle and forty-eight head of hogs. Their household utensils were as meagre as in other quarters, consisting

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[75]For birth intervals among seventeenth-century Chesapeake white women see above, ch. 2, and Menard, "Demography of Somerset County," table 20.

[76]Inventories and Accounts 7C: 98.

[77]Ibid., 22: 32.

of three small iron pots, one old chest, two small pestles, one set of iron wedges and two old unfixed guns.[78] Isolation, stunted family life and material deprivation were clearly aspects of the lives of most blacks in southern Maryland.

In addition, a recent study has demonstrated that seventeenth-century plantation life offered blacks few opportunities for occupational mobility. Most were put to making corn and tobacco, and they continued to work in the fields so long as they retained the strength to perform these dull and repetitive, but physically demanding tasks. Black craftsmen, domestic servants, or overseers were practically non-existent in the seventeenth century. Planters turned to white servants or free laborers to satisfy what needs there were for skilled, supervisory, or service workers.[79]

The continuing rapid growth of the slave population changed the nature of slavery in southern Maryland within not many years after the turn of the century. Growing population and hence greater geographic density was accompanied by an increased concentration of ownership. Hence the opportunities for social contact and family life among blacks were expanded. A decline in the numbers of indentured servants, accompanied by economic growth and diversification in agriculture and the trades created a greater variety of supervisory, craft and service jobs open to blacks. An increasing proportion of native-born in the black population as well as the increased acculturation of long-time residents lessened the isolating impact of differing tribal origins, languages, and

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[78]Ibid., 15: 318.

[79]Menard, "A Profile of the Maryland Slave Population."

religions, and aided in the creation of an increasingly complex black culture based on shared characteristics of their African backgrounds and the common experience which they encountered in the Chesapeake.[80]

Changes in white culture occurred concomitantly with the growth of the black population and inception of a unique black culture. White racism developed and intensified, the identification of blacks with bondage became more inevitable, and laws regarding slavery and miscegenation multiplied and tended toward increased severity.[81]

The transformation of the labor system marked the close in southern Maryland of a frontier society composed largely of immigrants, most of them similar origins, and most either temporary bondsmen or small or middling planters. A slow down and then stagnation of the tobacco economy coupled with demographic changes in England and in the Chesapeake were responsible. After 1680 economic and political opportunities for freed servants and others beginning without capital declined. Credit constrictions limited the ability of small and middling planters to advance their fortunes through the purchase of servants. A dwindling supply of servants in proportion to an ever-increasing number of planters resulted in a pronounced concentration of labor ownership among the well-to-do. When planters turned to slavery as a solution to the labor shortage, these trends were accelerated and accentuated. The poor man who worked beside slaves instead of other Englishmen found his labor degraded. Only planters with substantial capital could afford the

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[80]Ibid. For a description of black demography and society in eighteenth-century southern Maryland see Allan Kulikoff, "From African to American: Slave Community Life in Eighteenth Century Maryland," in Land, Carr, and Papenfuse, eds., Law, Society, and Politics.

[81]Menard, "A Profile of the Maryland Slave Population."

higher price of slaves as opposed to servants. The provincial society which was emerging at the turn of the century was composed of persons of two very different origins, although the majority of both would soon be native-born. One group lived in permanent bondage while the other experienced an increasingly unequal distribution of wealth and opportunity.

CHAPTER V

PLANTERS GREAT AND SMALL

Tobacco Country

Tobacco, George Alsop observed in 1666, was "the only solid staple commodity" of the tidewater Chesapeake.[1] Thirty-three years later another southern Maryland resident wrote that "tobacco is our meat, drinke, cloathing and monies . . . the standard for trade, not only with the merchants, but also among ourselves."[2] Still in 1729 Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert could state that "Tobacco, as our Staple, is our all, and Indeed leaves no room for anything Else."[3]

These writers did not exaggerate; cultivation of "that Stincking Weede" did indeed dominate almost every aspect of the lives of southern Maryland residents throughout the seventeenth century. Their daily efforts were almost all directed toward growing or getting tobacco. The kinds of work they did, the types of houses they built, and the character of the communities they lived in were all influenced by the requirements of tobacco culture.

Those annual requirements are well known. As George Alsop explained it:

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[1]"Character of Maryland," p. 363.

[2]"Maryland in 1699," pp. 369-70.

[3]Maryland Archives 25: 602.

> Between the months of March and April they sow the seed . . . in small beds and patches . . ., and about May the Plants commonly appear green in those beds; In June they are transplanted . . ., and set in little hillocks in distant rowes, dug up for the same purpose; some twice or thrice they are weeded, and succoured . . . . They top the several plants as they find occasion . . . : About the middle of September they cut the Tobacco down, and carry it into houses, (made for that purpose) to bring it to its purity: And . . . it is then tyed up in bundles, and packt into Hogs-heads, and then laid by for the trade.[4]

Trading took place during the slack period between the hanging, drying and packing of the crop which occurred between September and November, and the beginning of spring planting. "Between November and January," Alsop continued:

> there arrives in this Province Shipping to the number of twenty sail and upwards, all merchant-men loaden with Commodities to trafique and dispose of, trucking with the Planter for Silks, Hollands, Serges, and Broad-clothes . . ., for tobacco at so much the pound . . . .[5]

Because tobacco was the major source of income in southern Maryland during the seventeenth century, knowing just how "much the pound" it brought over the years is crucial for understanding the area's history. Russell Menard had recently studied secular trends in tobacco price and production in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake. In the long run, tobacco prices fell about four percent annually from the mid-1620s to the early 1660s, and about two percent annually from 1660 to 1685.

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[4]"Character of Maryland," p. 363. For other accounts of the methods of cultivating and curing tobacco in the seventeenth century, see "Maryland in 1699," and Gray, History of Agriculture 1: 215-18. Also of interest is G. Melvin Herndon, ed., William Tatham and the Culture of Tobacco (Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press, 1969), and Harold B. Gill, Jr., "Tobacco Culture in Colonial Virginia, A Preliminary Report," report prepared for Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Inc., April 1972.

[5]"Character of Maryland," p. 363.

The price trend then remained stable until after 1710. Production, on the other hand, increased dramatically from the 1630s through the 1650s, slowed in the 1670s and early 1680s, and did not increase much at all from 1685 to 1715.[6]

This decline and eventual stabilization of farm tobacco prices in the seventeenth century was not a smooth process. Menard has found that "a cyclical pattern of alternating periods of prosperity and depression, with peaks and troughs at remarkably regular intervals, afflicted the Chesapeake economy throughout the colonial period." Tobacco prices were relatively high in the early 1650s, then slumped in mid-decade. They recovered slightly, and then plunged into a severe depression that reached a low in 1666. Prices improved in the late 1660s, declined again in the early 1670s and then rose to a peak in 1678. Subsequently prices fell and remained depressed until 1713, except for brief booms in the mid-1680s and at the turn of the century.[7]

A recurring sequence of events attended these cyclical fluctuations. When the price of tobacco rose, shipping increased and freight charges fell. Manufactured goods became plentiful and inexpensive, and planters could easily obtain the credit with which to buy them. Merchants brought increased numbers of servants to the colonies and consequently population grew rapidly. New land was put into cultivation, and the price of provisions increased.

These investments in land and labor quickly led to greatly expanded output. Soon production exceeded demand and the price of

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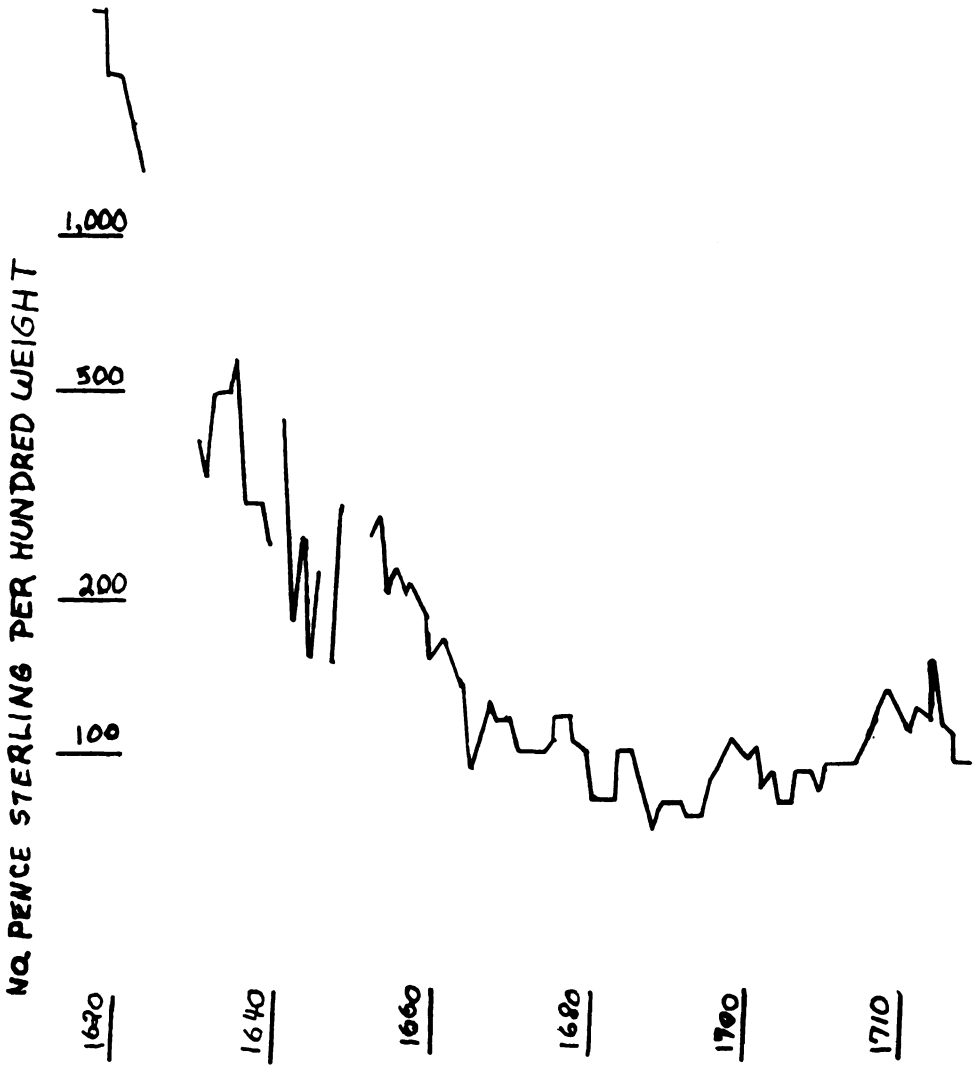
[6]"Economy and Society," ch. 6.

[7]Ibid.



SOURCE: MENARD, "ECONOMY AND SOCIETY," FIGURE VI-1.

FIGURE 12. FARM PRICES OF CHESAPEAKE TOBACCO, 1618-1730

tobacco fell. Merchants then brought fewer servants and consequently population growth slowed. Labor became scarce. Grain and livestock prices fell, and little new land was cultivated. A smaller number of ships came, and consequently freight charges rose and manufactured goods were fewer and more expensive. Credit was also in short supply.

Each depression evoked similar responses among Chesapeake planters. They attempted by various schemes to raise the price of tobacco, to reduce costs, to adopt alternative staples, and to reduce dependence on European manufactures by developing domestic industry. These efforts were never very successful and were always put aside when prosperity returned. And good times did perforce follow bad, because low prices in Europe expanded the market for Chesapeake leaf and the resulting rise in demand eventually pulled the price up. A new expansionary cycle was thus set off.[8]

The Occupational Structure: Men's Work

Like most other Chesapeake planters, Charles Countians remained wedded to tobacco whatever price it brought. During the second half of the seventeenth century from three-quarters to nine-tenths of the free adult male residents made their living wholly or partly from growing tobacco. In the end, the fortunes of the European tobacco market determined their success or failure.

Most of the early settlers achieved relative success. While returns from the staple were already declining by the 1660s and 1670s

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[8]Ibid.

when settlers were first arriving in Charles County in force, these returns were still sufficient to provide considerable opportunity for advancement. Table 27 shows the economic status achieved at death, emigration or the end of this study by men starting out in agriculture in the county in successive half decades.[9] Many of the earlier arrivals who eventually did very well began with very little. In 1660 at least one-quarter of the county's landowners were former servants. Many of the rest also began either as servants or as free immigrants with few resources. Only twelve percent of the landowners in 1660 are known to have immigrated with substantial capital.[10] The chances for a poor planter to rise remained good for between fifteen and twenty years. Three-quarters of the immigrants who took up planting in Charles County through the early 1670s were able to acquire at least modest landholdings, and many were able to do better.

Later arrivals were less likely to advance beyond tenant or very small planter status. Table 27 demonstrates that among men who first appeared in the county after 1675, the proportion who eventually acquired land declined, while the number remaining tenants increased. Failure to acquire land was only one symptom--and not the most important one at that--of these planters' problems. Information has not survived to permit us to measure the size of all county residents' labor forces, but it can be measured for those who died and left probate inventories. It is clear from these that inability to procure labor was a much more widespread problem than inability to acquire land. A decline in tobacco

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[9]For the method by which these careers were studied, see Appendix C.

[10]These statements are based on an analysis of the careers of the Charles County landowners listed in Rent Roll O, which was corrected as described in ch. 2, fn. 2.

TABLE 27

HIGHEST ECONOMIC STATUS ACHIEVED BY 1705 BY MEN ENGAGED ONLY IN AGRICULTURE

		Period First Appeared									
		1658-1664	1665-1669	1670-1674	1675-1679	1680-1684	1685-1689	1690-1694	1695-1699	1700-1705	All Periods
Number of cases		215	99	101	84	102	110	122	100	214	1147
General Status	% Laborer, tenant	16	27	24	36	45	41	50	54	35	35
	% Small planter	17	21	23	27	25	25	21	19	22	22
	% Middling planter	53	46	48	29	25	34	25	22	37	37
	% Large planter	13	5	6	8	5	1	3	5	4	6
	Total	99%	99%	101%	100%	100%	101%	99%	100%	98%	100%
Landholdings	% Owning no land	16	31	23	41	48	45	51	57	39	39
	Mean acreage of all agriculturalists	628	240	329	246	370	172	130	169	251	282
	Median acreage of all agriculturalists	300	150	150	6	0	13	0	0	100	13

prices meant that the crop which the tenant or small planter produced by his own labor was worth less. A drastic decline in the supply of servants and severe credit constrictions which accompanied the price decline meant that he was unable to acquire the additional labor necessary to increase his output and thus improve his position.[11]

The period 1700-1705 is of special interest, as it appears to represent a reverse of a twenty-five year decline in opportunity. An explanation lies in the origins of many of the men who started out then. For the first time large numbers of native-born sons were coming of age. While creoles faced the same problems that immigrants did in acquiring labor, they had easier access to land. In the seventeenth century the great majority of immigrants who lived long enough to marry and have children acquired some land before they died. With partible inheritance the custom in the county, almost all sons of landowners themselves became landowners.[12] In addition, because the father's estate was likely to be split between at least two heirs, creole landholdings were in general more equitably distributed than were the original immigrant estates.[13] Creole sons just starting out usually had the good fortune to begin as landowners rather than as tenants--and this is what is reflected in the table. However, so long as tobacco prices remained low and labor expensive and scarce, the creole's chances of rising above the position he had inherited from his father were not great.

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[11]See ch. 4, especially table 20.

[12]See above, pp. 143-47.

[13]This statement is based on an analysis of the distribution of land among resident creoles and immigrants in 1705. The tracts and owners are listed in Rent Roll 8.

Even in an economy totally dedicated to the production of tobacco there was still a need for some kinds of non-agricultural skills and services--coopers, carpenters, tailors, innkeepers, clerks, physicians, ministers, and merchants all supplied basic needs of tobacco planters. The presence and numbers of such craftsmen and professionals--even though they always constituted a decided minority of the population--are of special interest. First, the appearance of such specialized activities may indicate that stages of initial primitive isolation were coming to an end in the more settled regions of the county. Second, the presence of occupational groups who were potentially urban as well as rural residents raises a series of interesting questions. For example, how were occupational specialists distributed? What population densities were necessary to support various kinds of activities? Did settlement tend to cluster around craftsmen and merchants? Or did their presence redirect local activity patterns in other ways?

Here a caveat is in order. In seventeenth-century Charles County most of these questions have either ambiguous or negative answers. Little sense of process emerges from the study of these groups. The proportions of the population which engaged in various trades altered little from the period of initial settlement until past the turn of the century. Those changes which did occur in the county economy affected non-agricultural occupations in more subtle ways than they affected farmers. There were apparently no minimal population thresholds required for the appearance of specialized occupations; on the other hand, population densities sufficient to fully support many specialized trades may not yet have developed. Settlement did not cluster around

craftsmen and merchants, and milling was the only non-agricultural activity which clearly redirected patterns of circulation in the county. The explanations of the county's occupational structure which are offered here are rooted in the circumstances of the county's initial settlement and in subtle shifts in kinds and numbers of local economic exchanges which occurred in its later development.[14]

Supply as well as demand likely played a major role in determining the kinds and numbers of tradesmen who appeared at any given time. Many immigrants doubtless brought skills with them. Information from lists of indentured servants indicates that in the 1680s over half of indentured male immigrants were aged twenty or more. Thus they might well have served an apprenticeship in Britain prior to their coming to Maryland.[15]

Some of the skills which the immigrants brought with them found a ready market in the colony. There was little or no demand, however, for many of the highly specialized crafts pursued in British urban areas. The supply of smiths, wheelwrights, saddlers, shoemakers, and the like in the 1660s and 1670s surely exceeded the needs of a still-small population. Men who pursued such trades usually found that they could not support themselves, and to one degree or another after a few years they tended to turn to tobacco growing as a more reliable source of income.

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[14]Changes in patterns of local economic exchange will be discussed later in this chapter. Occupational specialists may have had somewhat more influence on changes in local activity patterns in other Maryland counties. Carville Earle found this to be the case in All Hallow's Parish, Anne Arundel County, in the early eighteenth century. Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System, chs. 4 and 6.

[15]See above, ch. 4.

Table 28 shows that there were few changes in the proportions of new-comers claiming to follow various non-agricultural trades over the course of the second half of the century. Of course with time there was some build-up in the numbers of various occupational specialists resident in the county. Given the very high rates of mortality and of geographic mobility then prevailing, however, it seems unlikely that the numbers of craftsmen grew in proportion to the population.

Some of the sources of supply of new men with specialized skills in fact decreased. First, by the 1690s there was clearly a decline in the numbers of men aged twenty and above who immigrated to the Chesapeake under indenture. The great majority of servants who arrived in the 1690s and 1700s were too young to have finished an apprenticeship prior to immigration.[16] Second, probably proportionally fewer native-born boys had received training in specialized occupations than had immigrants. Fathers who lived to the end of their sons' minorities did not usually apprentice them to trades, but kept them at home on the farm. Boys who were orphaned and bound out by the courts would more likely learn a trade; however, as a great majority of county residents were planters, the majority of orphans were probably bound to them and not to tradesmen.[17]

Even though the supply of new occupational specialists may well have decreased, no shortage of skilled workers and tradesmen resulted. In the first place, men with non-agricultural skills already living in the county may have expanded the scope of their activities. (See table

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[16]Ibid.

[17]See above, ch. 3.

TABLE 28

OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE OF FREE ADULT MALES IN CHARLES COUNTY, 1658-1705

Years First Appeared	Number	Percent in Occupational Category[a]									
		Unskilled Labor[b]	Wood Working[c]	Leather Working[d]	Metal Working[e]	Building Trades[f]	Clothing Trades[g]	Food Processing[h]	Service[i]	Planting	Unknown
1658-1664	385	7%	2%	1%	0%	3%	1%	0%	14%	58%	12%
1665-1669	156	9	2	1	1	4	0	0	8	61	12
1670-1674	205	4	6	0	0	4	2	1	17	48	15
1675-1679	244	9	3	0	2	5	5	0	15	37	23
1680-1684	234	9	3	1	1	6	1	1	9	43	24
1685-1689	267	8	4	0	0	5	1	0	13	40	27
1690-1694	255	13	5	2	1	5	3	1	9	49	14
1695-1699	266	10	5	1	1	2	2	1	16	38	24
1700-1705	405	10	1	1	0	3	2	0	9	52	21
Total	2417										

[a]In this table men who engaged in both agriculture and another trade were classified according to their non-agricultural occupation.

[b]Includes day laborers (N = 137), overseers (38), seamen (27), and plowmen (3).

TABLE 28--Continued

[c]Includes coopers (52), sawyers (10), boatwrights (9), joiners and
wrights (2).

[d]Includes

TABLE 28--Continued

[c]Includes coopers (52), sawyers (10), boatwrights (9), joiners and turners (8), wheelwrights (2), and millwrights (2).

[d]Includes shoemakers (11), tanners (3), saddlers (2), cordwainers (1), and skinners (1).

[e]Includes blacksmiths (10), gunsmiths (4), and tinkers(1).

[f]Includes carpenters (88), bricklayers (7), plasterers (2), and glaziers (1).

[g]Includes tailors (42), hatters (1), wigmakers (1), ginners (1), and weavers (1).

[h]Includes millers (7), and butchers (3).

[i]Includes merchants (134), attorneys (44), physicians and chirurgeons (41), innkeepers (26), clerks (14), ministers (12), surveyors (9), ship captains (8), ferrymen (4), barbers (2), apothecaries (1), and farriers (1).

29.) Poorer men who combined specialized occupations with farming may have devoted a greater percentage of their time to non-agricultural activities. At the same time, wealthier specialists may have enlarged the scale of their operations. Increased capital could be substituted for increased numbers, especially in such activities as merchandising and operating tanyards.

At the same time that some specialists were putting more time or money or both into their trades, many planters were also increasing levels of self-sufficiency on the farm. As tobacco prices declined and then stagnated, planters sought to cut costs by doing themselves the coopering, carpentry, shoemaking, tailoring, and the like which they had previously hired outsiders to do. This explanation is supported by evidence from probate inventories which show an increase after 1680 in the number of estates possessing various kinds of craft tools. (See table 30.) Even though county population was growing rapidly at the turn of the century, an increasing level of basic craft expertise on the farm when combined with fuller employment of resident specialists acted to limit the number of new openings available in the non-agricultural sector of the county economy.[18]

Having examined the county's general occupational structure, it may now be instructive to consider the choices available to the individual specialists. What courses were open to a man who immigrated with a skill? There were essentially three: he could try to make a living exclusively from his trade, he could drop the old occupation for a new one, or he could combine his trade with planting.

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[18]See below, pp. 276-80.

A
16
16
16
167
168
1685
1690
1695
1700

Note:

TABLE 29

PROPORTIONS OF FREE ADULT MALES ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURAL AND OTHER OCCUPATIONS, CHARLES COUNTY, 1658-1705

Period First Appeared	Percent Engaged in Agriculture Only	Percent Engaged in Agriculture Plus Another Activity	Percent Engaged in Non-Agricultural Activities Only
1658-64	68	14	18
1665-69	71	10	19
1670-74	60	18	22
1675-79	55	28	17
1680-84	62	22	16
1685-89	62	26	12
1690-94	60	26	14
1695-99	57	32	11
1700-05	69	23	8

Note: The table was calculated by distributing men with unknown occupations (who comprised between 12 and 27 percent of the total for various year groups) among those with known occupations. Eighty percent of the unknowns were assumed to have been engaged solely in agriculture, 10 percent in agriculture plus another activity and 10 percent in non-agriculture. This distribution was derived from a study based on southern Maryland inventories in which 90 percent of householders were found to be engaged in agriculture. Since this table includes non-householders--who were more likely than householders to follow non-agricultural occupations--the percentage engaged solely in agriculture was decreased by ten percent to compensate. See Carr and Menard, "Servants and Freedmen."

TABLE 30

INCIDENCE OF CRAFT TOOLS IN CHARLES COUNTY INVENTORIES, 1658-1705

Years	Number of Inventories	Percent with Carpenter's Tools	Percent with Cooper's Tools	Percent with Blacksmith's Tools	Percent with Tailor's Tools	Percent with Shoemaker's Tools	Percent with Other Craft Tools	Percent of Capital Investment
1658-1680	132	8	6	1	1	0	8	.4
1681-1693	94	13	15	2	2	2	11	.8
1694-1705	179	15	10	2	2	2	9	1.5

Source: "Social Stratification in Maryland."

Some immigrants took the first course. Those whose training involved considerable education--such as clerks, surveyors, apothecaries, and physicians--were able to make a tolerable living at their trades. Men with lesser skills had a difficult time supporting themselves by their trade alone. What work they found paid well, but seldom was there sufficient, steady employment.

Most men trained in skills for which there was little demand--or none at all--had to take up new occupations. The dropping of specialized occupational designations is indicative of this process. Some servants, for example, upon arrival claimed such trades as wool-comber, carder, spinner, or stocking-maker. By the time the craftsman-servant finished his term, however, he evidently realized that a change in vocation was in order. Only one freedman bothered to record an occupational designation related to the cloth trade, and no freedmen listed trades related to other kinds of manufactures.[19]

More commonly, men with skills combined agricultural with non-agricultural pursuits. By the 1670s a quarter of the free male residents had chosen this alternative. Poor men continued to supplement their income from planting with various kinds of day labor. Men trained in coopering, carpentry, and tailoring frequently plied these trades during

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[19]For occupations on arrival see the sources listed in chapter 4, note 11. Occupational designations of freedmen and other county residents are found in the county land, court, and probate records. A similar process occurred during the early years of settlement in New England; there many immigrants were also constrained to abandon occupations for which there was no need in a totally rural environment. See T. H. Breen and Stephen Foster, "Moving to the New World: The Character of Early Massachusetts Immigration," WMQ 30: 189-222.

slack times on the farm. Higher up in the wealth spectrum, large planters tended to diversify into merchants or innkeepers, and other men who started out as merchants, physicians, or the like took up farming in addition.[20]

What was the best way for a specialist to get ahead in seventeenth-century Charles County? For men who were unskilled laborers or artisans such as wood or leather workers, builders, food processors, or tailors, it was clearly advantageous to combine these occupations with farming. Table 31 compares the general economic status at death, departure, or the end of this study of men who engaged solely in manual labor or artisanal activities with those who combined their trades with planting. Clearly planter-craftsmen did better.

Why? The explanation probably lies in an intermediate step in a man's career--the decision to become a householder--rather than in his later decision to become a part-time tobacco planter. Craftsmen who were inmates in other men's houses had to pay out a large percentage of their earnings for house room, board, washing, and mending, thus making it very difficult for them to accumulate a surplus with which to improve their status. A man who set up his own household would have to pay rent

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[20]Dual occupations were also common in parts of Britain. While occupations were specialized in urban centers, in many rural areas craft activities were carried on in conjunction with farming. W. G. Hoskins, The Midland Peasant: The Economic and Social History of a Leistershire Village (London: Macmillan & Co., 1957), pp. 166-71; Alan Everitt, "Farm Labourers," in The Agrarian History of England and Wales: Volume IV, 1600-1640, Joan Thrisk, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 425-29. On the diversified activities of large planters, see Aubrey C. Land, "Economic Behavior in a Planting Society: The Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake," Journal of Southern History 33 (1967): 469-85.

TABLE 31

HIGHEST ECONOMIC POSITION ACHIEVED BY MEN ENGAGED WHOLLY OR PARTLY IN NON-SKILLED OR SKILLED MANUAL NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS*

	Period First Appeared								
	1658-1664	1665-1669	1670-1674	1675-1679	1680-1684	1685-1689	1690-1694	1695-1699	1700-1705
Non-Agricultural Occupation Only									
Number	25	7	14	37	28	33	38	37	61
Percent A	64	100	93	79	72	91	82	86	82
Percent B	20	0	14	16	29	9	11	0	5
Both Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Occupations									
Number	26	20	27	24	27	20	32	23	14
Percent C	38	55	52	67	70	65	59	69	50
Percent D	62	40	41	33	30	35	37	26	50

*This table includes laborers, wood-workers (except boatwrights and millwrights), leather-workers, builders, the clothing trades, and butchers.

A = Non-householders or householders with evidence of few capital assets (total personal estate value of up to £29).

B = Householders or non-householders with evidence of moderate to large capital assets (total personal estate value of £30 and up).

C = Tenants or small land-owners (up to about 200 acres).

D = Middling or large land-owners (250 acres and above).

for house and land, but less than the inmate paid for diet and lodging. In addition, he could obtain food and drink cheaply from his own orchard, garden, and herds, and would occasionally produce saleable surpluses of these items as well. While a householding planter-craftsman would probably not raise more tobacco in his fields than an inmate non-planting craftsman could accumulate in wages over the course of a year, the savings derived from being a householder increased a man's chances of improving his status.[21]

While better off than the non-planters, the planting craftsmen too suffered from the vicissitudes of the tobacco trade. This is demonstrated by the generally lower rates of upward status mobility and land-ownership achieved by all resident craftsmen as the century progressed shown in table 31. Several factors contributed. Although population density (and hence the potential number of customers) did increase somewhat in older settled areas, all settlement continued to be dispersed, and thus the size of the craftsman's market remained limited. And, while the early planter-craftsman could rapidly accumulate profits from the planting side of his enterprise, later residents were not so fortunate. With good tobacco prices the planter-craftsman of the 1650s and 1660s could concentrate on farming and practice his trade only during the slack times of the year. Later, when tobacco prices were low, the planter-craftsman might be hard-pressed to support his family while meeting rent and other obligations. Such a man might have to take as much outside work as he could get, leaving his family to manage the crop as best they could.

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[21]Carr and Menard, "Servants and Freedmen."

Some examples may help to illustrate the various experiences of farmer-craftsmen at different periods in the county's history. Robert Robins and William Robinson, both carpenters, had settled in the Charles County area by the mid-1650s. Both pursued their trades into the next decade, but customers were few; there were only about one hundred families in the county in 1658.[22] In good years, Robert Robins apparently could earn annually through his trade at least half the amount of tobacco which one man could grow in a year. William Robinson may have been able to increase the size of his market by using his skills in a variety of ways. He built both buildings and furniture, producing, on the one hand, more substantial houses for planters who had outgrown their first rude dwellings, and, on the other, relatively sophisticated furnishings such as great chairs and court cupboards.

Robins and Robinson were also planters themselves. Both quickly acquired about 250 acres of land apiece, and both were able to purchase servants to help in the fields. While they continued to generate some outside wages from their craft, both men undoubtedly made the bulk of their income from farming. William Robinson's assets illustrate this. When he died in 1666, his personal estate was worth £82. Livestock comprised about one-third of the value of his estate, and servants another quarter. His craft tools were worth just over £1, less than two percent of his estate.[23]

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[22]See above, ch. 2.

[23]Charles County Court, A#1, ff. 2, 30, 69, 88-89, 111, 237-39; B#1, ff. 23, 77, 123-24, 194-97; D#1, ff. 10-12, 41-52; G#1, f. 124; Testamentary Proceedings 1F: 97, 99; 6: 1-3.

Thirty years later John Aires appeared in the county as a joiner and turner, planting on the side. He too used his training in a number of ways, mending broken household equipment, and producing, among other things, furniture, spinning wheels, and cheese flats. Unlike earlier craftsmen, however, he was unable to purchase land, much less to procure additional labor. He rented a plot on which he apparently grew food for his family and produced a very small crop of tobacco. He clearly spent most of his time in the workshop, rather than in the fields, for in 1699 his crop of tobacco and corn was valued at only 400 pounds of tobacco, or about £1.75, while his 38 turners tools were worth 250 pounds of tobacco, or about £1.00. Otherwise he owned only some spartan household furnishings. Aires did not succeed at either planting or furniture-making. He was unable to pay his debts, and when most of his moveable goods were attached for the payment of back rent, he left the county to try his fortunes in Virginia.[24]

Occupational specialists with more education than the men we have just considered--clerks and teachers and those practicing more highly skilled and capitalized trades such as blacksmithing and gunsmithing--seem to have had more options available than did craftsmen with lesser skills. Seventy-three (56 percent) of the 132 county residents in these occupational groups apparently did not engage in agriculture; 59 (44 percent did). Table 32 shows no significant differences in the general status achieved by the two groups.

Men with professions or merchants with capital were usually among the wealthiest of county residents whether or not they were also

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[24]Charles County Court, V#1, f. 166; X#1, f. 240.

TABLE 32

HIGHEST ECONOMIC POSITION ACHIEVED BY MEN ENGAGED WHOLLY OR PARTLY IN CAPITALIZED MANUAL TRADES OR IN LESSER SERVICE OCCUPATIONS*

	Period First Appeared								
	1658-1664	1665-1669	1670-1674	1675-1679	1680-1684	1685-1689	1690-1694	1695-1699	1700-1705
Non-Agricultural Occupation Only									
Number	5	2	9	9	7	7	14	13	7
Percent A	40	50	33	33	43	29	71	54	71
Percent B	60	50	67	67	57	71	21	46	29
Both Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Occupations									
Number	13	4	7	9	10	7	5	3	1
Percent C	15	50	0	22	50	29	80	67	0
Percent D	85	50	100	78	50	71	20	33	100

*This table includes boatwrights, millwrights, metalworkers, millers, innkeepers, farriers, clerks, and teachers.

Note: For definitions of A, B, C, and D see table 31.

planters. Because such men could command substantial capital, they could achieve substantial returns from a variety of investments. (See table 33.) The decision of whether or not to engage in planting as well as in mercantile or professional activities probably produced a bigger political than economic payoff. In Charles County, at least, becoming a planter was a pre-requisite for men of this class for obtaining positions of influence in the county power structure.[25]

The Occupational Structure: Women's Work

So far we have considered how the occupations which men brought with them were utilized or discarded in a tobacco economy. But what of the occupational experience of women?

The majority of immigrant women as well as of men paid their transportation costs by working without pay for a four or five year term of service. The kind of work she did depended on the status of the family the woman served. A female servant in the house of a small planter--who through about the 1670s might likely have a servant[26]--probably worked at the hoe. In wealthy households she probably most often did not. On the other hand occasionally women are listed in inventories of wealthy people as living on the quarters--that is on plantations other than the dwelling plantation. Such women saved men time necessary for food preparation and washing linen but must also have

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[25]See below, ch. 6.

[26]Menard, "Economy and Society," table 7-5. Most of the discussion of women's work which follows is based on Carr and Walsh, "The Planter's Wife."

TABLE 33

HIGHEST ECONOMIC POSITION ACHIEVED BY MEN ENGAGED WHOLLY OR PARTLY IN PROFESSIONS AND OTHER MAJOR SERVICE OCCUPATIONS*

	Period First Appeared								
	1658-1664	1665-1669	1670-1674	1675-1679	1680-1684	1685-1689	1690-1694	1695-1699	1700-1705
Non-Agricultural Occupation Only									
Number	14	5	8	12	10	13	13	26	18
Percent A	14	0	13	8	20	15	15	12	6
Percent B	86	100	88	91	80	85	85	88	94
Both Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Occupations									
Number	22	4	13	11	8	11	4	5	9
Percent C	9	0	0	9	13	9	25	0	11
Percent D	91	100	100	91	88	91	75	100	94

*This table includes surveyors, apothecaries, physicians and chirurgeons, ship captains, attorneys, ministers, and merchants.

Note: For definitions of A, B, C, and D see table 31.

worked in the fields.[27] In inbetween households experience must have varied. Where the number of people needing feeding and washing was large, women servants would have little time for the hoe.

A woman who stayed in England would also spend time as a servant, but if she were not from a cotter's hut, she probably did not do heavy field work.[28] What proportion of women servants in Maryland found themselves demeaned by such unaccustomed work it is impossible to say, but it must have happened to some.[29] A study of how women servants were distributed among wealth groups may shed some light. Nevertheless we still will not know whether those purchased by the poor or sent to work on a quarter were those whose previous experience suited them for field labor.

An imbalanced sex ratio in Maryland guaranteed that once freed, immigrant women would marry quickly. As a wife, a woman continued to carry out the roles that she had had as a servant--those of both providing services for men engaged in producing tobacco and of being a part-time producer of tobacco herself. A woman newly freed from servitude

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[27]See above, ch. 4.

[28]Mildred Campbell, The English Yeoman Under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), pp. 255-61; Everitt, "Farm Labourers," p. 432.

[29]For instance, a servant in the Sot-Weed Factor lamented:

> In better Times, e'er to this Land
> I was unhappily Trapann'd;
> Perchance as well I did appear,
> As any Lord or Lady here,
> Not then a Slave for twice two year,
> My cloaths were fashionably new,
> Nor were my Shifts of Linnen Blue;
> But things are changed now at the Hoe,
> I daily work, and Bare-foot go,
> In weeding Corn or feeding swine,
> I spend my melancholy Time.

p. 15.

would not bring property to her marriage, but the benefits of her labor would be great. A man not yet prosperous enough to own a servant might need his wife's help in the fields as well as in the house, especially if he were paying rent or still paying for land. Moreover, food preparation was so time consuming that even if she only worked at household duties she saved him time he would otherwise spend away from making tobacco and corn. All the corn, for example, often had to be pounded in the mortar or ground in a handmill before it could be used to make porridge, grits, or bread, for there were very few water mills in seventeenth-century Maryland. The wife probably raised vegetables in a kitchen garden, and it would be she who milked the cows and processed the milk into butter and cheese, which might produce a saleable surplus. She would wash the clothes, and make them if she had the skill. When there were servants to do field work, the wife undoubtedly spent her time entirely in such household tasks. A contract of 1681 expressed such a division of labor. Nicholas Maniere agreed to live on a plantation with wife and child and a servant. Nicholas and the servant were to work the land and his wife was to "Dresse the Victualls milk the Cowes wash for the servants and Doe allthings necessary for a woman to doe upon the sd plantacon."[30]

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[30]Maryland Archives 70: 87. Also see Ibid., 41: 210, 474, 589; and Charles County Court, A#1, f. 178 for examples of allusions to washing clothes and dairying activities. Water mills were so scarce that in 1669 the Maryland Assembly passed an act permitting land to be condemned for the use of anyone willing to build and operate a water mill. Ibid., 2: 211-14. In the whole colony only four condemnations were carried out over the next ten years. Ibid., 51: 25, 57, 86, 381. Probate inventories show that most households had a mortar and pestle or a hand mill.

Promotional tracts asserted that women servants did not engage in field labor, except "nasty" wenches not fit for other work.[31] This implies that most immigrant women expected, or at least hoped to avoid such labor. Nevertheless, several kinds of evidence suggest that some women must have worked beside their husbands. There are occasional direct references in the court records. Mary Castleton, for example, told the judge of probate that "her husband late Deceased in his Life time had Little to sustaine himselfe and Children but what was produced out of ye ground by ye hard Labour of her the said Mary."[32] Household inventories provide indirect evidence. Before about 1680 those of poor men and even middling planters on Maryland's lower western shore--the bottom two-thirds of the married decedents[33]--show few signs of household industry, such as appear in equivalent English and New England estates.[34] Sheep and woolcards, flax and hackles, and spinning wheels all were a rarity, and such things as candlestick molds were nonexistent. Women in these households must have been busy doing other things.

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[31]Hammond, "Leah and Rachel," pp. 290-91.

[32]Testamentary Proceedings 10: 184-85. Cf. Charles County Court, B#1, f. 169; C#1, ff. 238-40; D#1, f. 150; I#1, ff. 9-10, 259.

[33]Among married decedents in southern Maryland before 1680 (N = 308), the bottom two-thirds (N = 212) were those worth less than £150. Among all decedents worth less than £150 (N = 451), only 12 had sheep or yarn making equipment, about three percent. "Social Stratification in Maryland."

[34]Everitt, "Farm Labourers," pp. 422-26; W. G. Hoskins, Essays in Leicestershire History (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1950), p. 134; idem., The Midland Peasant, pp. 295-97, 307-08; Darrett B. Rutman, Husbandmen of Plymouth: Farms and Villages in the Old Colony, 1620-1692 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), pp. 19, 31; Main, "Measuring Wealth and Welfare," pp. 163-204, 260-93, 299-300.

In households with bound labor, the wife doubtless was fully occupied preparing food and washing clothes for family and hands.[35] But the wife in a household too poor to afford bound labor--the bottom fifth of the married decedent group--might well help in the fields when she could.[36] Eventually the profits of her labor might enable the family to buy a servant. With a servant greater profits were possible. From such beginnings many families climbed the economic ladder in seventeenth-century Maryland.

The proportion of servantless households among the living must have been larger than is suggested by the inventories of the dead. Fewer young men died than old in proportion to their numbers, and young men had had less time to accumulate property. In the living population well over a fifth of the households of married men may have had no

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[35]While standards of cleanliness were undoubtedly low when compared to present-day standards, people at all economic levels placed some importance on clean clothing. Almost all contracts between freedmen and householders with whom they were rooming included provisions not only for room and board but also for washing of linen. Apparently then even very poor men did not consider clean clothing a luxury which they could forego. In addition, the task must have been sufficiently time-consuming that men were willing to pay the housewife to do it, rather than economizing by caring for their own clothing. More affluent non-householders--clerks, lawyers, merchants, and the like--hired the wives of various planters with whom they stayed to wash and sometimes to mend their clothes. The sources shed little light on the question of how often various kinds of clothing were in fact washed. We know only that task was of sufficient importance that contracts for room and board regularly made provision for it. Fifteen contracts which include such provisions appear in Charles County Court, A#1, f. 188, 248-49; H#1, f. 207; K#1, f. 61; R#1, ff. 70, 125, 181, 217-18, 501; S#1, ff. 123, 225; Y#1, ff. 18, 219; Y#1, f. 277; A#2, f. 13.

[36]Among married decedents in southern Maryland, the bottom fifth were approximately those worth less than £30. Before 1680, these were seventeen percent of the married decedents. By the end of the period, from 1700-05, they were twenty-two percent. Before 1680, ninety-two percent had no bound labor. From 1700 on, ninety-five percent had none. Less than one percent of all estates in this wealth group had sheep or yarnmaking equipment before 1681. "Social Stratification in Maryland."

bound labor. Not every wife in such households would necessarily work at the hoe. Upbringing, illness, many small children might prevent. Nevertheless it seems likely that many wives in such households did. A lease of 1691, for example, specified that a man could farm the amount of land that "he his wife and children can tend."[37]

Stagnation of the tobacco economy, beginning about 1680, produced changes that had some effect on women's economic role. In inventories of the lower western shore, signs of home industry increased, especially over the upper ranges of the economic spectrum. In these households many more women than earlier were spinning yarn and presumably knitting it into clothing.[38] There was far less increase in such activity in the households of the bottom fifth, where changes of a differnt kind may have in fact increased the pressures to grow tobacco.[39] Fewer men at

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[37]Charles County Court, R#1, f. 193.

[38]During the seventeenth and very early eighteenth centuries fiber processing and subsequent clothing manufacture in southern Maryland was done only in the home. This was limited almost exclusively to knitted items, as very little woven cloth was being produced. Only one loom appeared in all southern Maryland inventories (N = 1,745) between 1658 and 1705. While some large planters were clearly weaving cloth by the 1690s, the amounts produced were quite small. (See note 106 below.) This picture changed during the eighteenth century. In adjacent St. Mary's County after about 1720 professional weavers began to appear in the decedent population. Concomitantly, many more homes possessed spinning wheels. Thus it is likely that from that time women often spun thread which was made into cloth by professional weavers. Annual data have not yet been processed, but gross counts are available. In 1,994 St. Mary's County inventories for the period 1705-1777 forty-three percent of the estates contained spinning wheels, while eight percent had looms.

[39]Among southern Maryland estates worth £150 or more, signs of diversification in this form appeared in twenty-two percent before 1680 and in sixty-seven percent after 1680. Over the years 1700-05, the figure was sixty-two percent. Only six percent of estates worth less than £40 had such signs of diversification after 1680 or over the period 1700-05. These figures are for all estates. "Social Stratification in Maryland."

this level could now purchase land and a portion of their crop went for rent.[40] In these groups possibly more wives than before were helping produce tobacco when they could. But by this time they were often helping as a matter of survival, not as a means of improving the family position.

Some wives also generated additional income by taking in work or by earning wages outside the home. Wives of poorer planters often helped out by taking in washing, mending, or sewing. For example, Thomas Witter's wife accepted seventeen ells of holland linen from John Hamilton and agreed to make it into shirts "for the usual pay."[41] Damaris Sarjeant did washing for her husband's landlord, Dennis Doyne, on an annual basis as did Edward William's wife for their landlord.[42]

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[40]After the mid-1670s information about landholdings of southern Maryland decedents becomes increasingly less available, making firm estimates of the increase in tenancy difficult. However, for householders who were married or widowed and who died without children of age the following table is suggestive. Householding decedents in this category worth less than £40 (N = 255) were 21 percent of all married or widowed decedents with all minor children.

	Estate Value							
	£0-19				£20-39			
	Decedents N	Land Unk. N	With Land N	With Land %	Decedents N	Land Unk. N	With Land N	With Land %
to 1675	10	0	7	70	34	2	29	91
1675 on	98	22	40	53	113	16	64	66

In computing percentages, unknowns were distributed according to knowns.

A man who died with a child of age was almost always a landowner, but these were a small proportion of all decedents. "Social Stratification in Maryland."

[41]Charles County Court, A#2, ff. 156-57.

[42]Ibid., V#1, f. 246.

The planter's wife might also find part-time employment on other farms. Helping to wash, clean the house, milk cows, and to prepare meals on special occasions were the most usual services supplied.[43] Neighborhood women were often paid to prepare funeral dinners for deceased members of the community, and by the 1690s enough farmers had taken up wheat-growing that extra help was needed to "dress victualls in ye time of yer reaping."[44] Women also frequently earned money nursing the sick and acting as midwives, and on rare occasions they were paid for wet-nursing.[45] This practice, however, appears to have been almost entirely confined to payment for the nourishment of orphaned infants or for the care of babies whose mothers were ill or for other reasons unable to nurse themselves; children of healthy mothers were rarely put out to nurse.

Less frequently wives also worked long hours outside the home on an annual contract basis. A neighborhood woman might be employed as a full-time housekeeper in families where the wife had died, as happened when Robert Cole's motherless children were left alone at home while he returned to England.[46] When servants were in short supply, area women might also be hired as supplementary domestic help.[47] Such seems to have been the case when Anne Wright agreed, in return for one stuff gown

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[43]Ibid., A#1, f. 47; B#1, f. 143; K#1, ff. 414-15.

[44]Ibid., R#1, f. 248; S#1, f. 297.

[45]Ibid., H#1, ff. 38-39, 52-53; R#1, f. 327; V#1, f. 15; Y#1, ff. 143, 163; A#2, ff. 66, 319.

[46]See below, pp. 263-76.

[47]Ibid., and Charles County Court, V#1, ff. 65, 197.

lined with callicoe and six hundred pounds of tobacco, to live with and serve Robert Smallpage--with the consent of her husband, George--for one year.[48]

What appears to be missing entirely from the seventeenth-century Maryland household is the woman who was educated to be primarily an ornament. In the upper classes of English society this was a growing tendency, but in Maryland even the Proprietor's niece, in the words of her cousin, the Governor, had "charge of my household affairs." Dying fathers in Maryland urged that daughters not be brought up to idleness, and put their widows in charge of their estates.[49]

The planter's wife then contributed to his prosperity in a variety of ways, whether by property she had brought to the marriage, by the labor she performed in the house, garden, dairy, and fields, or by wages earned outside the home. She was well enough acquainted with his affairs and in his estimation sufficiently capable of managing his estate, that, when he died, he usually left his wife a life interest in his property and made her his executor. Women clearly had a role of importance, political and economic, in the management of the planter's household.[50]

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[48]Charles County Court, R#1, f. 19.

[49]Thompson, Women in Stuart England and America, pp. 200-207; The Calvert Papers No. 1, p. 236.

[50]Carr and Walsh, "The Planter's Wife."

Farm, Neighborhood, and Community

Economic and social interaction between individuals occurs in specific spatial settings and in the context of a particular material culture. Some knowledge of the physical dimensions of life in seventeenth-century Charles County is required for a better understanding of the residents' style and quality of life. This section begins by attempting to place the material culture of the period in context. It then proceeds to a discussion of the basic unit of economic and social organization, the family farm, and ends with a preliminary description of the structure and functions of two primary units of collective economic and social interaction, the rural neighborhood and the rural community.

Today, men and women from highly developed nations frequently experience "culture shock" when they first encounter local conditions in so-called under-developed countries. They are unprepared for the quantum differences in all aspects of life which vast disparities in levels of per capita income bring. The dazed traveler feels that he has not arrived in another part of his world, but has somehow fallen into a different world altogether.

The historian experiences a similar kind of cultural reaction when he first examines the material assets of seventeenth-century Chesapeake colonists. In a contrived way at least he feels quite at home with the artifacts of the mid-eighteenth century, "the golden age of colonial culture." He feels a basic empathy with the men and women who dwelt in the houses whose style he still imitates and who made and used the kinds of furniture, domestic utensils, and tools which are today prized collector's items.

When the historian extends his studies earlier into the colonial period, however, he finds that somewhere in the early eighteenth century he has entered into a period which--in the context of material culture at least--is truly part of "the world we have lost." It is increasingly clear, both from the evidence provided by surviving physical artifacts and from the documentary evidence provided by probate records, that a revolution in thought about the nature and use of domestic architecture and about investment in non-capital items beyond those requisite for subsistence occurred in southern Maryland sometime between 1720 and 1750. The seventeenth-century colonists' standards of sufficiency, of comfort, and of luxury were not simply more modest versions of eighteenth century dictates; they were different standards altogether.[51]

Such attitudes and standards persisted for a long time and they were shared by most of the colonists. What we find is not simply a brief reversion to primitive and spartan conditions in a frontier situation. Very few changes occurred in the material culture of southern Maryland for something like a century, both in newly settled regions and in older areas which had long passed the frontier stage.[52] Neither was the phenomena limited to a small segment of the population. Doubtless resident contemporaries saw subtle distinctions in the acquisition

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[51]Cary Carson, Barbara Carson, Lois Carr and I are preparing papers on patterns of consumption and domestic architecture in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century southern Maryland. For surviving artifacts see Gary Stone, "St. John's."

[52]For the persistence of a culture of "rude sufficiency" in some regions and strata of the Chesapeake in the eighteenth century see Aubrey C. Land, "The Planters of Colonial Maryland," MHM 67 (1972): 109-28.

and use of possessions which elude us. What mainly strikes our eye, and what struck the eyes of contemporary aristocratic European observers was the general lack of distinctions between wealth groups, and the peculiar homogenity of tidewater Chesapeake culture. Like Charles Calvert, we would undoubtedly have found seventeenth-century Charles County "very mean and little," a place where the homes of leading merchants and planters might be mistaken for modest farm cottages in England, a place where social groups did not develop distinct identities based on differing patterns of consumption.[53]

Just how did the county's residents live?

The great majority lived and worked on single family farms, called by contemporaries, plantations.[54] The focus of each such farm was a cluster of buildings similar to those illustrated in figure 13 which usually included a dwelling house; perhaps a quarter or two for servants or slaves; sometimes miscellaneous outbuildings such as kitchens, milk-houses, storehouses, and workshops; and almost always one or more tobacco houses. There might also be a pen for cattle and horses, a hog house, and a hen house. A paled kitchen garden and a fenced orchard were commonly located close to this assemblage of buildings. Further away would be found cleared fields with stands of tobacco and corn, and occasionally a patch of wheat or oats. The rest

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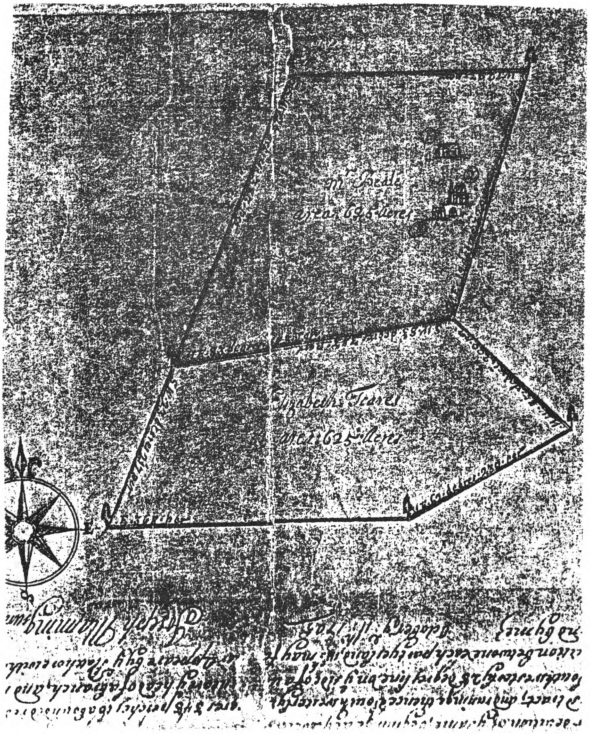
[53]"Answer of Charles Lord Baltimore to the Lords of Trade," March 26, 1678, CSP 10: no. 633.

[54]For contemporary usage of the term "plantation," see Earle, Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System, pp. 102-103.



1. TOBACCO BARN
2. DWELLING HOUSE
3. KITCHEN OR OTHER OUTBUILDING

SOURCE: CHARLES COUNTY COURT, B#2, 193.

FIGURE 13. A CHARLES COUNTY PLANTATION 1706

of the land was wooded with here or there a temporarily abandoned "old field" reverting to the original vegetation.[55]

Dwelling houses were invariably small, unpretentious structures. House dimensions are occasionally stated in building contracts, in suits for debt, and in estate valuations. House sizes mentioned in seventeenth-century southern Maryland records ranged from ten to forty feet in length and from ten to twenty-five in width. Twenty by sixteen feet was the most common dimension.[56] In a one-story house this represents a meager 320 square feet of living space.

Typical Chesapeake farm houses were dissimilar to vernacular buildings in England and even to very early structures built in Maryland and Virginia. Settlers apparently began experimenting with new forms of housing almost immediately, and they quickly developed standardized types of dwellings which were appropriate to local needs:

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[55]This description of a typical seventeenth-century southern Maryland farm is based on two sources. The first source is a topical file compiled by the St. Mary's City Commission staff which contains all references to dwellings, outbuildings, fences, and farm layout in most of the major series of provincial records for the seventeenth century and in selected county records. The second source is a collection of extant orphan's court valuations. These documents list the size and condition of buildings, fences, orchards, and sometimes of fields. Early valuations were not systematically recorded and are found scattered in a variety of county records. I have here used the fourteen valuations for the period 1678-1722 which related to Prince George's, Charles, and St. Mary's Counties. Both collections are available at the research office of the St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's City, Maryland.

[56]The sources listed in note 53 contained thirty-four observations of dwelling house lengths and fifteen observations of widths.

> By the third quarter of the seventeenth century carpenters were building a type of house so different from English farm houses and so universally acceptable to tobacco planters on both sides of the Potomac that it was known by a shorthand phrase as the "Virginia style" or the "Virginia house."[57]

One distinguishing feature of the "Virginia house" was its construction, employing as it did a new technology based on indigenous material. Not only was the whole exterior of the building covered with riven oak clapboards, a locally abundant and easily produced building material, but following a system unlike any then known in England, the clapboards were essential structural elements of parts of the framing. Such houses were more easily constructed than dwellings in the English style, and while they might not last so long as English structures, they were quite suited to the planters' needs. Many "Virginia houses" also had a characteristic style: a one-story frame dwelling with two rooms on the ground floor and one or two exterior gable and chimneys.[58]

The exterior appearance of Chesapeake farm houses was as unprepossessing as their size, and--from our perspective--uniformly dreary. Left unpainted, the clapboard-covered roof and walls soon weathered to a dull grey, usually unrelieved by any kind of exterior ornamentation. In the eyes of some less aristocratic seventeenth-century beholders, such functionalism had an aesthetic side as well. Hugh Jones called these dwellings "pretty timber houses," and John Hammond found them "pleasant in their building, which although for most part they are but one story besides the loft, and built of wood, yet contrived so delightful, that

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[57]Cary Carson, "The 'Virginia House' in Maryland," MHM 69 (1974): 186.

[58]Ibid., pp. 189-90, 192-93.

your ordinary houses in England are not so handsome . . ."[59] Some historians have considered such favorable descriptions puzzling, but we must remember that the observers were judging Chesapeake architecture by their own standards, and not by ours.

The interior of the "Virginia house" was generally as unpretentious as the exterior. Unornamented ceiling beams were usually left exposed. Interior woodwork was often left unpainted, although sometimes too whitewash covered ceilings and lath and plaster walls, or exposed timberwork was painted. Windows were either glazed or simply provided with shutters "which are all made very pretty and convenient." Floors were perhaps usually planked, but certainly sometimes were simply hard-packed earth.[60]

While the classic "Virginia house" had two ground floor rooms with a loft above, some Charles County planters had even simpler floor plans. Many, perhaps the majority of their houses consisted at least in the beginning of only one room.[61] This may have changed as family size grew or as the planter became more affluent. The central focus of a one-room house was clearly the fireplace, the sole source of heat and of cooking facilities. Remodeling, when it occurred, seems often to have

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[59]Carson, "The 'Virginia House'"; Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia, p. 74; Hammond, "Leah and Rachel," p. 497. Cf. Cook, The Sot-Weed Factor, p. 25.

[60]Carson, "The 'Virginia House,'" p. 193; Hammond, "Leah and Rachel," p. 297.

[61]The household furnishings listed in many estate inventories were clearly contained in one or two room houses. Between 1658 and 1705 inventories for the four southern Maryland counties mentioning houses with more than two rooms number fewer than fifty, and are limited to the higher wealth brackets.

been associated with changes in this central structure. By the 1690s several bricklayers were active in the county, and a spate of brick chimney construction seems to have taken place, either replacing structures built of wood and plaster, or renovating earlier brick ones. Changes in floor plan seem commonly to have accompanied chimney renewal or replacement. The walls of the house might be extended lengthwise, the new room partitioned off, and an additional chimney stack erected at the gable end of the expanded structure. Alternatively, the rebuilding of an existing chimney stack might prompt the owner to rearrange his living space and to erect a partition within existing walls, thus creating an "outward" and an "inward" room. Houses might also be expanded without elaborate changes to chimney or floor plan by adding a shed along one wall or by digging a cellar.[62]

Despite such improvements, the most significant features of seventeenth-century southern Maryland housing remain the small size and the relatively undifferentiated use of space within. Food preparation, cooking, eating, sleeping, sewing, reading, recreation, and craft activities were all carried on in one or two small rooms. Such rooms at least in more well-off homes had of necessity to contain a jumbled assortment of tables, beds, chairs, chests, linens, clothing, pots and pans, guns, agricultural and craft tools, and stored foodstuffs and merchandise. Household organization had to be flexible, adapting during the day to cooking, eating, crafts, and recreation, and at night to sleeping. In

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[62]See Charles County Court, R#1, ff. 217-18; V#1, f. 220; A#2, f. 13; S#1, f. 224. For descriptions of additions to two early southern Maryland houses see Carson, "The 'Virginia House.'"

Charles county only the very wealthiest planters and merchants possessed houses with more than two rooms; they alone built structures in which domestic functions could be more strictly separated. But even in these homes, traditional ways of thinking about the use of space prevailed. Hoes, guns, pots, beds, and bales of merchandise were frequently found in every room of a multi-room house, just as they would of necessity have been found in the one room of an unpartitioned dwelling.[63]

The implications of this kind of domestic architecture for family life are far-reaching. Personal privacy was virtually unobtainable. Not only were all members of the immediate family domiciled in one or two rooms; frequently several lodgers or servants were also present. Depositions recorded in numerous cases (particularly those concerning fornication and adultery) indicate how very difficult it was for two people to share a private moment. Even where partitions shut out prying eyes, observant ears detected almost everything that went on in the house. Births, procreations, deaths, quarrels, bargains, and conversations were all at best semi-private and often quite public. As John Demos has observed, in such situations anger and aggression had to be firmly controlled and disruptions strictly avoided. Members of a household had to find someone else to vent hostile impulses against because it was imperative that they maintain smooth relations with other members in their own household.[64]

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[63]These statements are based on an analysis of all seventeenth-century Charles County estate inventories found in Charles County Court records, in the Testamentary Proceedings series, and in Inventories and Accounts. Conversations with Cary and Barbara Carson provided many valuable suggestions about ways of analyzing inventories and about possible meanings of their contents.

[64]A Little Commonwealth, ch. 2. The case of John Dandy illustrates the potentially tragic consequences of uncontrolled conflicts

If small size, undifferentiated use of space, and a particular technology characterized seventeenth-century Chesapeake houses, an equally marked feature was their impermanence. The tidewater environment of course favored rapid decay in wooden structures.[65] Tobacco barns and dwelling houses were intended by the builders to last only a few years, and their construction was apparently such that it was almost invariably easier to put up a new building than to repair the old one. Valuations indicate that there were standing on most plantations several structures so decayed as to be "not worth repairing." The expected life of a tobacco house was surely under ten years.[66] Presumably dwelling houses were constructed to last a few years longer, but not many. A deed of 1675 for instance described the property of Robert Slye, one of the colony's leading merchants. His story and a half or two story frame house contained four main rooms and was undoubtedly one of the larger and more elaborate dwellings then standing in southern Maryland. It could have been built--at the earliest--in 1654, but by 1675, only twenty-one years later, it was already an "ancient"

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within the household. Dandy was executed for murdering his servant, Henry Gouge, at the end of a long series of altercations. Dandy had had premonitions of the outcome, for he had told his wife "often at Severall times . . . that his mind Gave him that he would be hanged for the said Gouge one time or other." Unfortunately he did not heed his wife's advice to sell or give away the servant to get him out of the house. Maryland Archives 10: 538-39.

[65]For this reason, among others, few such structures have survived. "Whereas New England is reckoned to have over 200 dwellings built before 1700, fewer than twenty standing structures of the same period have been identified and documented in all of Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas," Carson, "The 'Virginia House,'" p. 186.

[66]Charles County Court, V#1, ff. 374-75. On the similar condition of plantation structures in eighteenth-century Anne Arundel County, see Earle, Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System, pp. 136-38.

dwelling. Slye had in fact already constructed a new house (very similar in size and plan to the old one) about 1671.[67]

The demands of tobacco culture and the short life spans of the colonists even more than the environment contributed to the adaptation of an architecture of transience. Fields soon became temporarily exhausted, and often the owner simply moved to another tract or built new housing adjacent to fresh-cleared fields elsewhere on his land. The old dwelling and outbuildings, then let to short-term tenants, fell rapidly into decay. Similarly, when a man died, his widow and orphans might well move elsewhere, leaving the home plantation in uncareful hands. Alternatively if the widow remained on the farm, but remarried, her new husband, conscious of the fact that he had the use of the property only so long as she lived, might exploit and land to the full, while letting the buildings fall into decay. The elaborate precautions which the orphans court took to forestall this event suggests that it must have been commonly attempted. Planters undoubtedly realized the likelihood that presently cleared land would be worn out and that plantation buildings, through the ravages of climate and human neglect, would fall into decay some years before their children would come of age to manage the family farm. Surely the realization that they were building, not for posterity, but for--at most--the present generation influenced the kind of structures they built and lived in.[68]

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[67] Maryland Archives 65: 506; 57: 220-21; Testamentary Proceedings 5: 152-90.

[68] For documentation of the disruptive effects of high mortality on family life, see above, ch. 3. For court oversight of orphans' plantations see Carr, "County Government," pp. 344-48. On the ecological imperatives of transient architecture, see Earle, Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System, pp. 17-18, 24-30, 138.

Most seventeenth-century houses were sparingly furnished, with emphasis on utility rather than on ostentation. Beds (frequently just mattresses filled with cattails, rags, or other odd materials, or in better households, with feathers) were the most common items. Often these were simply laid out on the floor. Such beds might be improved by the addition of a bedstead (usually a wooden frame with cord laced back and forth). Middling planters (men with personal estates worth about £35 or more) and up almost always owned at least one feather mattress with a bedstead and curtains. Such "good beds" frequently constituted the planter's most valuable pieces of furniture.[69]

Some tables, chairs, stools, benches, and couches were imported from Europe, while others were "this country made." Whatever their origin, these pieces were practically and simply designed and were almost invariably of small value. Tables were usually planks or leaves set on trestles. Very few planters possessed more elaborate pieces such as "an open cupboard with a drawer."[70] When such items did appear, their small value (usually under £1) indicates that they also were simply, even crudely constructed. A variety of chests, trunks, and boxes, both imported and indigenous completes the inventory of typical household furnishings. These could serve as auxiliary seats, but their primary function was storage. Chests held clothing, cloth, and other sewing material and miscellaneous small items which needed to be kept out of the way. Containers with locks were used for safekeeping books

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[69]See note 61.

[70]Charles County Inventories, liber 1677-1717, f. 186.

and papers and valuable, easily pilfered possessions such as spices and liquor.[71]

Such simple and economical furnishings were to be found in the homes of all classes of planters. Wealthy families of course possessed more furnishings than did poorer ones, but seldom are there indications that they made or purchased different kinds of things. Beds, tables, chairs, chests, and the like show a very narrow range of values in inventories across the whole population.

The degree of austerity prevailing in seventeenth-century Charles County can be inferred from table 34 which shows the incidence of some items of domestic comfort and of luxury in county inventories. Fewer than half of county households possessed ceramic tableware or storage vessels; the majority made do with either woodenware or pewter. Similarly, the majority of planters ate from bare tables and slept on beds without sheets. Table knives were rare and forks almost unknown; almost all residents clearly ate either with spoons or with their fingers. Almost paradoxically, silver plate appeared in over a quarter of county estates. Most plate, however, consisted of a few silver buttons or a spoon or two, and seldom amounted to more than one or two pounds sterling in value. Very small amounts of plate appeared almost randomly in estates at all but the very lowest levels of wealth. By the 1690s a few big planters were beginning to own larger quantities of plate; the majority of wealthy families, however, continued to own only a few pounds worth.

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[71]See note 61.

TABLE 34

INCIDENCE OF SELECTED CONSUMER ITEMS IN CHARLES COUNTY INVENTORIES, 1658-1705

Period	Number of Inventories	Consumer Items									
		Ceramics, All Types	Table Forks	Table Knives	Bed & Table Linen	Books	Pictures, Maps	Clocks, Watches	Musical Instruments	Wigs	Plate
1658-1680	132	31%	0%	4%	34%	31%	4%	2%	1%	1%	29%
1681-1693	94	37	1	9	36	26	3	3	2	5	27
1694-1705	179	44	4	11	44	43	4	3	2	5	28

Source: "Social Stratification in Maryland."

Items of conspicuous consumption of course did appear. And, not surprisingly, clocks and watches, pictures and maps, fine fabrics and ceramics, plate, and expensive furniture were usually found in the estates of the rich. More interesting than the information that some wealthy families did own such goods, is the fact that many others did not. The county elite clearly failed to collectively reinforce group identity through the cultivation of expensive tastes or the display of particular kinds of material possessions.[72]

Some members of the elite did have extravagant tastes, and they could of course afford to indulge them. Benjamin Rozer, for example, was one of the largest merchant-planter-attorneys in the colony. Owner at one time of over 7,000 acres, he died in 1681 possessed of personal assets amounting to £2,592. For many years the county sheriff, he was for the five years prior to his death a member of the colony's council. Rozer's house and its furnishings underscored his high economic, social, and political position. He lived in a multi-room "Great House" where he slept in a fine bed worth five times the ordinary value, one with "sardge Curtans and Vallances with Silk fringes Dyped with Knots." Rozer had camblet curtains hanging at his windows (window curtains were almost unknown at this time in southern Maryland), he sat in fine upholstered chairs, and had a "chimney-piece" over one of his fireplaces, and hung in his hall "ten Small Landskipps" and maps of Virginia and Maryland and of Jerusalem, probably more pictures than could then be found in all other county dwellings put together. He ate from silver bowls with silver spoons and drank from silver cups and tankards. When

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[72]"Social Stratification in Maryland."

he died, Rozer was in the process of building a fine second home, a summer house to be located high atop a bluff where it would catch the best breezes. From Rozer's tastes in furnishings and in housing alone, one could readily infer his high status.[73]

On the other hand, we might well mistake councillor Philip Lynes who died in 1709 for a small planter if we tried to guess his status simply from his house and its contents. The total furnishings of what must have been a very small house consisted of seven old chests without locks; six chairs of leather and two of cane, all broken; six feather beds, only four of which had bedsteads; two flock beds; one old table leaf and old form; two small tables; one old desk; one small looking glass; five sheets; three table cloths; a few pewter spoons and plates; and assorted cooking equipment. Here are few clues indeed that the householder was the county's biggest landholder, master of over 17,000 acres, with a long career in office as a justice, burgess, provincial court judge, and finally councillor.[74]

Equally marked differences are to be found in the personal possessions of county justices, sheriffs, and merchants. For every man whose domestic equippage advertised his high status, another can be found who lived as simply and frugally as the rest of his neighbors. Further down the social scale, county residents had much less discretionary income to spend on personal luxuries. Did they not own such things because they could not afford them, or because they did not aspire to do so in the first place? Community opinion does not seem to have

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[73]Charles County Inventories, liber 1677-1717, f. 16.

[74]Ibid., ff. 267, 278.

prevented it. No expressions of anxiety about humble men dressing or living in the style of their betters have survived; no sumptuary laws were enacted. Neither was poverty always so great as to preclude investments in personal luxuries if a man so chose. Henry Henley, an ex-servant become sharecropper,went about in a broad cloth coat faced with silk.[75] Tenant John Bowld, worth only £17 when he died in 1694, apparently expired in a bed surrounded by blue paragon curtains and valences with a "steeple tester and 4 gilt balls to ye same."[76] Such men, however, were exceptions. The weight of numbers suggests that most planters gave non-essential items of domestic comfort a very low priority in the seventeenth century. Horses or cows or servants or fences or apple trees clearly came first to most.

Part of the explanation for seventeenth-century consumption patterns may lie in the colonists' origins. We know that until the end of the century most county residents were immigrants, and of these, a majority were probably former servants.[77] What is known about the backgrounds of indentured servants suggests that these immigrants came from artisan or small tradesman or small farmer families; servants without indentures may have had lower social origins.[78] Perhaps similar attitudes towards material possessions prevailed among these classes in England. Because at the same time few members of the gentry or

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[75]Charles County Court, I#1, f. 14.

[76]Charles County Inventories, liber 1677-1717, f. 48.

[77]See above, ch. 2.

[78]See above, ch. 4.

bourgeoisie immigrated, the lower classes may have set life styles which prevailed in southern Maryland into the eighteenth century.[79]

Probably also, the absence of a self-conscious elite contributed to general patterns of austerity. The men who shared economic and political power in seventeenth-century Maryland came from a wide variety of backgrounds. They were a mixture of former servants, of free yeoman immigrants, and of lesser members of the English merchant community; they were both Catholic and Protestant, both well-educated and illiterate, and they owned widely varying amounts of property. Such men often had very little in common aside from the fact that they had achieved some economic success and had obtained political office. Perhaps it was only when the elite came to have other characteristics in common as well that their material possessions would serve to confirm their self-image and to reinforce a sense of group belonging.[80]

If most Charles County residents shared similar shelters and material possessions, almost every one of them cultivated the same staple. In addition, most grew the same food crops and kept the same kinds of livestock. Work routines were nearly identical on plantations of all sizes and ages. Almost every activity revolved either around the seasonal demands of tobacco and its yearly exchange for imported goods or around the production of complementary sources of food.

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[79]Virginia elites had taken up conspicuous consumption of luxury goods by the beginning of the eighteenth century. While there are many explanations which may account for this--for example, differing age of settlement, greater disparities in the distribution of wealth, and earlier development of a self-conscious economic and political elite--differing social origins of the consumers may also be a factor. For the timing of luxury consumption, see James W. Deen, Jr., "Patterns of Testation: Four Tidewater Counties in Colonial Virginia," American Journal of Legal History 16 (1972): 154-76. On the origins of the Virginia elite see Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia."

[80]See below, ch. 6.

While in some very basic aspects plantation life remained unchanged and unchanging from the early years of settlement to the end of the century (and indeed for at least a century more), there were a number of subtle, but nonetheless significant developments which occurred during the course of the second half of the seventeenth century. These were primarily alterations in the kinds and numbers of exchanges between one plantation and another. Such changes were important because they helped to alter the quantity and quality of cooperation and interaction in the community.

The discussion of southern Maryland plantation organization and interaction which follows seeks to shed light on the ways in which rural communities functioned by focusing on two farms, one of the 1660s and early 1670s and one of the late 1680s and 1690s. The first farm was owned by Robert Cole of St. Clement's Manor in St. Mary's County, and was typical of small, staple-growing plantations during years of relative prosperity in the tobacco trade. The second was the farm of Emmanuel Ratcliffe of St. Thomas's Manor in Charles County, and its organization illustrates some of the adaptations which falling prices and then stagnation in the staple market forced on small farmers.

Robert Cole was an English immigrant who arrived in Maryland in 1652 or 53 with his wife, four children, and two servants. While by no means a wealthy man, Cole did possess some capital, and he probably purchased a three hundred acre freehold on Tomakokin Creek on St. Clement's Manor shortly after his arrival. There he established a plantation which in 1662 was home to Cole, his six children, and four white servants--one woman and three men. (Cole's wife died in March or April of 1662.)[81]

[81]Patents AB&H: 338; 20: 18; Maryland Archives 41: 241, 480-81, 531, 565; 49: 3; 53: 627, 629, 630; Wills 1: 182-86.

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That spring Cole returned to England, leaving his children and property in the care of two of his neighbors. By the new year Cole was dead. His executor (only one of them lived for long) ran the farm and cared for the children for nearly twelve years until the eldest son came of age in 1673. The account of income and expenditures submitted to the court at the final settlement of the estate provides greater insight into the domestic economy of a yeoman planter of the period than any other single set of documents yet discovered.[82]

The typical small farm of the 1660s and early 1670s was one on which nearly all activity was directed toward maximizing tobacco production. Other activities were at most complementary, and often, incidental. The primary source of labor was that of the householder himself and of however many white indentured servants he could buy. The land had cost relatively little to acquire;[83] the planters' "chief estate," as Charles Calvert observed, "is the number of their servants."[84] The tobacco which these laborers produced was the chief source of farm income. Daily life revolved around its production and annual exchange for manufactured goods. This exchange was usually made directly between the planter and an English merchant. Dealings with other planters were minimal.

The Cole plantation provides a particular illustration of these generalizations. Although at most a nine-year-old farm, the "pioneering"

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[82]The account is in Testamentary Proceedings 6: 118-47. Earlier work done with this account by Russell Menard, while directed toward somewhat different questions, provided fruitful points of comparison.

[83]Vertrees J. Wycoff, "Land Prices in Seventeenth-century Maryland," American Economic Review 28 (1938): 81-88.

[84]CSP 10: 227.

stage was clearly already past when the account begins in 1662. Sufficient land had been cleared; basic farm equipment acquired; a house, tobacco barns, and fences erected; and a gesture made to the future in setting out an orchard of young fruit trees. Cattle and hogs had been purchased, and the stocks of both were now multiplying. Only routine maintenance or a decision to make some new capital improvement need divert labor from the production of tobacco.

The Cole plantation labor force consisted on the average of three to four field hands. That number of servants was able to produce enough tobacco to maintain themselves and Cole's six dependent children in addition. While small plantations like Cole's were single family farms, they were organized around servant and not family labor. Doubtless Cole himself worked in the fields when at home. As in most other families in seventeenth-century Maryland, the Cole children were still too young at the time of their father's death to do much work in the fields.

In the 1660s intense concentration on one crop paid off. While tobacco prices had declined from those of the previous decade, substantial returns were still possible.[85] Average production per laborer amounted to 1,667 pounds annually. This meant that over an eleven year period from 1662 to 1672 the Cole plantation produced 63,482 pounds of tobacco. These crops accounted for two-thirds of the farm income. Most of the remaining proceeds (twenty-three percent) came from the sale of other surplus farm products, largely livestock and livestock by-products.

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[85]See figure 12.

Aside from tobacco, corn was the only other major field crop. Because it did not require attention during the busy times in the tobacco fields, and because it returned a relatively high yield per laborer, it was an ideal complementary crop.[86] While some planters in the 1660s were growing surplus corn for the local market,[87] what was produced on the Cole plantation was intended only for domestic consumption. Four times in the elevan and a half years covered by the account, the corn crop was short, and it was necessary to buy more. (Two of these purchases may have been required, not for home consumption, but to pay rents due in kind.) Only once was there a surplus of corn to be marketed. These circumstances suggest that on the Cole farm a specific decision had been made to produce only enough to feed the family and servants. Given corn's seasonal demands and relative yields, more might have been grown. Since returns from corn, however, were lower than those from tobacco,[88] most of the servant's energy was channeled into producing the staple.

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[86]On the suitability of corn as a complementary crop with cotton, another staple whose peak demand for labor was during the harvesting season, see Raymond C. Battalio and John Kagel, "The Structure of Antebellum Southern Agriculture: South Carolina, A Case Study," in William N. Parker, ed., The Structure of the Cotton Economy of the Antebellum South (Washington, D.C.: The Agricultural History Society, 1970), pp. 33-34; and Robert E. Gallman, "Self-Sufficiency in the Cotton Economy of the Antebellum South," in Ibid., p. 23. These authors point out that if a planter had a labor force sufficient to meet harvest requirements, in all other seasons he would have a labor surplus available for other pursuits "at little or no opportunity costs" with respect to production of the staple. On methods of corn cultivation in the colonial Chesapeake see Harold B. Gill, Jr., "Cereal Grains in Colonial Virginia," Report prepared for Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Inc., October, 1974.

[87]See for example, Charles County Court, G#1, f. 47; H#1, f. 232.

[88]For price series for tobacco and corn see Menard, "Economy and Society," appendices 3 and 5. For examples of comparative returns from corn and tobacco crops on St. Clement's Manor in the 1660s see Maryland Archives 49: 517-18; Inventories and Accounts 1: 149.

It is probable that very little time or effort was expended on other crops. We know that a small amount of barley was grown on the Cole farm in 1671 or 72; this is apparently the only year that English grains were cultivated. Because yields per acre for wheat, barley, and oats were much lower than for corn, and because more ground preparation was required to grow grain,[89] few planters of the 1660s bothered.[90]

The Cole family and servants, as did most other farm families, doubtless supplemented their diet with vegetables from a kitchen garden and with fruit and cider from the orchard. Some longer-established planters were selling large quantities of cider on the local market by this time,[91] but the Cole orchard was probably still too young to produce much. Only in 1668 was a small surplus marketed.

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[89]On the relative yields of corn and English grain in Maryland see John Beale Bordley, A Summary View of the Courses of Crops in the Husbandry of England and Maryland; with a Comparison of Their Products; and a System of Improved Courses Proposed for Farms in America (Philadelphia: n.p., 1784). Bordley estimated that in the 1780s in Maryland corn yields averaged 12 bushels an acre, while those for wheat were only 6 bushels. Darrett Rutman found that in the Plymouth Colony in the 1640s corn yielded about 18 bushels per acre; rye, 8 bushels; and wheat, barley, peas, and oats, 6 to 8 bushels. Yields in this range are low, even by seventeenth-century English standards; Rutman estimated that contemporary English farmers produced on the average, 20 to 30 bushels of wheat per acre. Husbandmen of Plymouth, pp. 9-12, 16-17, 43-45, 52-53.

[90]English grains seldom appeared in Charles County inventories before 1680. They occurred more frequently thereafter, but in less than ten percent of estates. Standing crops were almost never valued in seventeenth-century Maryland inventories, and since harvested grain was a seasonal item, inventories cannot tell us directly what proportions of the decedent population were growing various crops. While the percentages of corn and grain appearing in inventories is a poor indicator of incidence of cultivation, their relative frequency--two to one in favor of corn--may provide a rough guide to the relative importance of the two crops. Also suggestive is the increase in implements associated with grain growing, from five percent before 1681 to thirty percent at the turn of the century. See table 39.

[91]In 1664 Thomas Gerrard made at least 984 gallons of cider on his St. Clement's Manor plantation which was valued at £24.47. A lease for nearby Westwood Manor in 1664 anticipated that cider production there might exceed 1,100 gallons per year. Maryland Archives 49: 517, 520; 57: 32-36.

Livestock raising in addition to tobacco and corn was the other integral part of the Chesapeak farm economy. (See table 35.) Some game, fish, and shellfish were eaten in season, but the main sources of protein in the seventeenth-century diet were milk, beef, and pork.[92] Raising these animals required almost no labor. Cattle and hogs could find sufficient forage in the woods and marshes, and winters were short and mild enough that extra fodder was not required. The animals were simply left to range in the woods, their owners having only to catch them periodically to brand and ear mark the increase and to hunt out appropriate animals for slaughter when meat was needed.[93]

On the Cole plantation only minimal effort went into processing animal products. The family was supplied with milk and butter, but only twice was a surplus of butter produced. Cole had some cheese-making equipment, but we do not know whether or not cheese processing was attempted during his absence. No surplus cheese was marketed. When cattle or hogs were slaughtered, enough meat was salted or smoked for domestic consumption. Here there were often surpluses.[94] In six out of eleven years, extra pork, bacon, tallow, or beef brought in supplemental income. No attempt was made to process slaughter hides; they

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[92]Contracts specifying yearly food allowances for servants, slaves, and free workers always specified rations of three barrels of corn per hand and sixty to two hundred pounds of beef or pork. For example, Charles County Court, I#1, ff. 35-36; Y#1, f. 154; Provincial Court Deeds, WRC#1, ff. 567-58.

[93]Wesley N. Laing, "Cattle in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 67 (1959): 143-64. The frequency with which animals were listed in inventories as "running in the woods" is ample evidence of this practice.

[94]For other examples of sales of surplus beef and pork, see Charles County Court, A#1, ff. 248-49; B#1, ff. 176-77; F#1, f. 156.

TABLE 35

INCIDENCE OF CATTLE AND SWINE IN CHARLES COUNTY INVENTORIES
1658-1705

Years	Number of Inventories	Percent of Estates Owning Cattle	Percent of Estates Owning Swine
1658-1680	132	73	60
1681-1693	94	82	67
1694-1705	179	87	72

Source: "Social Stratification in Maryland."

were sold in the raw state, and when finished leather was needed for mending shoes and the like, it was purchased.

If tobacco and livestock provided the main income on a farm of the 1660s, what were the major costs? Clothing for the children and servants was the biggest expense on the Cole farm. Between 1662 and 1673 expenditures for cloth, thread, pins, needles, buttons, shoes, stockings, and ready-made clothes were 34.2 percent of total costs. Labor was the second greatest expense; 17.4 percent of expenditures were for the purchase of white servants and for wages for a housekeeper. Nearly as costly were the services of local craftsmen--tailoring, carpentry, and coopering accounted for 11.3 percent of expenditures. Rents and taxes amounted to 6.9 percent of costs, and educating the children, 5.9 percent. Foodstuffs which could not be grown at home cost little; outlays for sugar, molasses, spices, salt, corn, beans, lard, oil, and salted fish were only 5.9 percent of expenses. On the established plantation the cost of new domestic utensils and agricultural tools was also minimal--3.5 percent of all expenditures.

What can the Cole account tell us about the relationship of a plantation of the 1660s to the local community? First, by maximizing tobacco production, planters minimized local economic exchanges. Sale of the staple occurred once a year during a relatively brief period after the harvest. The buyers were usually English factors or ship captains and not merchants resident in the community. On the Cole plantation this single exchange brought in sixty-six percent of the farm's income and accounted for nearly sixty percent of expenditures. The greater part of total exchange thus took place entirely outside the local economy. Any ties forged as a result were to England and not to the locality.

TABLE 36

SOURCES OF INCOME AND KINDS OF EXPENDITURES ON ROBERT COLE'S PLANTATION, 1662-1673

Income

Source	Amount in Pounds of Tobacco	Percent of Total Income
Tobacco crop	63,482	66.3
Other agricultural produce	21,848	22.8
Debts receivable	7,555	7.9
Sale of miscellaneous non-agricultural produce	2,806	3.0
	95,691	100.0

Expenditures

Source	Amount in Pounds of Tobacco	Percent of Total Expenditures
Clothing	31,843.5	34.2
Bound and wage labor	16,210	17.4
Craftsmen's services	10,459	11.3
Rents and taxes	6,453	6.9
Education	5,500	5.9
Food	5,448	5.9
Household furnishings and agricultural tools	3,370	3.5
Church contributions and funeral expenses	2,991	3.2
Purchase of livestock	2,446	2.6
Miscellaneous	8,275	8.8
	92,995.5	99.7

Source: Robert Cole Account

Self-sufficiency in food production further reinforced the plantation's economic isolation, again by minimizing local exchange. Considerations of economy dictated that the planter avoid outside purchases by raising enough food to feed his family and servants. At the same time, in order to maximize profits, he wanted to avoid diverting too much labor into growing more than necessary of commodities of a lesser value. For these reasons both buying and selling were minimized.

Still, even the most self-sufficient and tobacco-intensive of planters did periodically have surplus commodities to market. Corn production need not be so closely regulated as it seems to have been on the Cole plantation; if planting times were properly planned, laborers could raise extra corn without diminishing maximum tobacco output. Plantation age was also beginning to be a factor. As orchards matured and herds of cattle and hogs multiplied, the increase might well exceed the family's needs.

How were surplus commodities marketed? From the view point of community organization, the extreme informality which characterized local exchanges is of greatest interest. So long as new households were continually being formed, there was a steady market for the established planters' surpluses. Buyers usually found sellers simply through word of mouth. A man who needed to purchase a few barrels of corn to tide over his household until the next harvest might call on area planters likely to have a surplus; if this failed, inquiries among his neighbors were certain eventually to produce information about a seller. Buyers and sellers were seldom the same from one year to the next. Many established planters did not plan to grow commodities for the local

market; they simply sold them in the years that they had them. The new householders who bought the produce soon achieved self-sufficiency in food, ceased buying, and might in a few years become sellers. By that time other new householders had taken their place. In such a fluid situation where the identities of buyers and suppliers continually changed, established patterns of local exchange could not readily develop.[95]

If many plantations of the 1660s were nearly self-sufficient in food, they were much less so with regard to basic craft skills. Perhaps neither the planter nor his servants had sufficient skills for cooping or carpentry or tailoring. This might be the result of his immigrating from an area where occupational specialization was highly developed; the planter would not possess special skills and would be accustomed to hiring local craftsmen to perform the tasks which required them. Perhaps also it was more profitable to keep the servants in the fields and to hire proven local workmen when skilled services were needed. On the Cole plantation all the cask for packing tobacco was purchased from local coopers, this despite the fact that coopering tools were available on the farm. A local carpenter was employed for building repair as well as for construction. A tailor made all the clothes for both children and servants. Even the mending of old clothes was hired out. On the Cole farm such payments accounted for more than a quarter of all the expenditures made locally.

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[95]This description is based on an analysis of all itemized accounts of debts in the Charles County Court records and on a compilation and mapping of credit networks in the St. Clement's Manor area. See note 124 below.

TABLE 37

DESTINATION OF EXPENDITURES AND KINDS OF LOCAL EXPENSES, COLE PLANTATION, 1662-1673

Destination of Expenditures		
Destination	Amount (lbs. Tobacco)	Percent of Total Expenditures
Returned to Europe	51,519.5	55.5
Retained locally	41,476	44.5
Total expenditures	92,995.5	100.0

Kinds of Local Expenses		
Kind	Amount (lbs. Tobacco)	Percent of Local Expenses
Craftsmen's services	10,459	25.2
Education	5,500	13.2
Taxes and legal fees	4,104	9.9
Wage labor	3,610	8.7
Misc. debts	3,285	7.9
Administrator's salary	3,067	5.9
Livestock purchased	2,446	5.7
Rent	2,349	5.7
Corn and beans	2,205	5.3
Miscellaneous[a]	4,451	10.7
Total	41,526	99.9

[a]Leather, medical expenses, church contributions, funeral expenses, a canoe, and second-hand bedding.

Since planters required the services of at least a cooper and a tailor year in and year out, lasting patterns of exchange between planters and craftsmen were perhaps the most enduring of local economic relationships. These exchanges were centered on the plantation. The tailor came to the farm and stayed there while making the clothing, measuring and fitting each family member, and checking over their wardrobes to see what needed mending. The cooper too probably often lived on or at least worked on the farm while setting up cask, especially if the planter was supplying the timber for the cask. Craftsmen such as these were an integral part of the local economy, but so long as the nexus of exchange was the plantation and not the craftsman's work shop or dwelling, the craftsman's presence would have little effect on patterns of circulation.

Nearly fifty percent of the exchanges between the Cole plantation and the local community were of a social rather than a purely economic nature. These included expenditures for the children's schooling, county taxes and court fees, the salary to the administrator who was acting in the stead of the father, and the wages of the housekeeper who served as surrogate mother, contributions to the local church, and refreshments at a funeral dinner. Such payments were instrumental in cementing social relationships, but had little enduring effect on the local economy.

To summarize, the small family farm of the 1660s was characterized by an unusual degree of economic isolation from neighboring farms. Most income was derived from and most purchases were made upon the international tobacco market. On the Cole farm only thirty-three percent of

its income came from local sales, and only a little over forty percent of payments were returned to the locality. Sale or purchase of produce took place in an unstructured, unorganized fashion. Payments to craftsmen were the most regular of local exchanges. Almost half of local expenditures were for social rather than economic services.

A small planter of the late 1680s and 1690s developed different kinds of relationships with his neighbors. Here the farm of Emmanuel Ratcliffe will stand for illustration. While our knowledge of Ratcliffe's activities is much less complete than our knowledge of Cole's, enough evidence has survived in the form of leases and court cases to indicate some of the changes which had taken place.

Emmanuel Ratcliffe immigrated to St. Mary's County from Virginia in 1669 when he was about forty years old. When he had arrived in that colony, and what his fortunes were there we do not know. The occasion of his coming to Maryland must have been to marry Anne, the widow of William Black. Once a servant, Anne was now the mother of a minor son and daughter. Since she had inherited a right in her first husband's fifty acre plantation during her children's minority, Ratcliffe made his home there, planting and also pursuing his previous occupation of tailoring.[96]

William Black's heir came of age in 1687, forcing Emmanuel and Anne to find another place to live. They decided to move to Charles County, and there leased for the term of three lives a well-established five-hundred acre farm on the Port Tobacco River. In the same year

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[96]Patents 12: 262; 16: 18; Testamentary Proceedings 9: 517-18; Maryland Archives 5: 101; Provincial Court Deeds, TP#4, ff. 66-67.

Ratcliffe purchased an unimproved tract in what became Prince George's County; however he must have decided that at age sixty pioneering was not for him, since he shortly sold the land at little more than cost. Instead, Ratcliffe continued to farm his leasehold until advanced age prevented. A son eventually took over the operation, and Ratcliffe last appeared in 1710 at the ripe age of eighty-one, living in retirement at the home of his step-daughter.[97]

In the late 1680s Emmanuel Ratcliffe had to cope with problems that Robert Cole had not had to face.[98] The rent on his leasehold, 1,200 pounds of tobacco per year, was almost three times what Cole had had to pay on his freehold. At the same time, Ratcliffe's tobacco would bring in only about two-thirds of what Cole's crop had been worth. To compound his problems, Ratcliffe did not have the option of trying to stay even by growing more tobacco; in the severe labor shortage of the 1680s and 1690s, Ratcliffe was outbid in the labor market by wealthier planters. During the 1690s he managed to purchase the services of two maidservants, but he was apparently unable to obtain any field hands. (Even so, Ratcliffe was luckier than many small planters, for he had at least one son nearly of age to help him.) In addition to rent, Ratcliffe still had to pay levies for himself and his son; he had to keep farm buildings and fences in repair; he had to feed and clothe his family, and

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[97]Charles County Court, P#1, ff. 143, 181; S#1, ff. 405-09; A#2, f. 212; Testamentary Proceedings 4: 66-67.

[98]For the economic difficulties of the 1680s and 1690s including the labor shortage, see chapter 4. On the recurring difficulties of the Chesapeake planter and his limited response to them see Aubrey C. Land, "The Tobacco Staple and the Planter's Problems: Technology, Labor, and Crops," Agricultural History 43 (1969): 69-81.

he had to buy other imported goods such as soap, nails, tools, and powder and shot. His needs, in short, were very similar to Cole's, but the means of meeting them had to be different.[99]

How in the face of these difficulties did Emmanuel Ratcliffe manage? First, since he did not have the laborers to cultivate much of his own acreage, he rented some of it out to men less fortunate than he. He apparently sub-let part of the tract to a married tenant, and he took a succession of unmarried freedmen into his house, renting them ground for their crop and charging them for food, lodging, and washing. In this way, Ratcliffe was able to bring in income to cover his own rents, and at the same time he also obtained a source of part-time farm labor.[100] By allowing his tenants to pay off part of their obligations in labor, Ratcliffe got help at various times with milking the cows; washing clothes; slaughtering; cutting and carting wood; carrying corn to the mill, or produce to the store; repairing fences; felling timber; and weeding, gathering, husking, and lofting the corn crop.[101]

Second, since Ratcliffe could not maximize tobacco production as Robert Cole had done, after growing enough food to feed his family, Ratcliffe turned regularly to growing surpluses of other farm commodities for the local market. His lease had stipulated that he must plant an orchard of 160 apple trees, two-thirds of them to be for winter fruit, all trees to be spaced twenty-seven feet distant from one another, and

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[99]The Ratcliffe farm accounts on which the analysis which follows is based are found in Charles County Court, S#1, f. 279; X#1, ff. 348, 378; and Y#1, f. 70.

[100]Cf. ibid., V#1, f. 113.

[101]Ibid., V#1, f. 329; X#1, f. 372; Y#1, f. 70.

the whole to be securely fenced.[102] While fulfilling this obligation, Ratcliffe established the source of considerable income for himself. In addition to the apple orchard, he planted or found already on the farm peach, pear, and quince trees. So equipped, he was able to keep the neighborhood supplied with cider, perry, quince drink, mobby, methlegin (mead), and vinegar. Ratcliffe's reputation as a regular vendor of these beverages was soon established, and planters and laborers in the market for these products regularly resorted to his house to purchase a half-gallon or gallon of their favorite drink. The county court in fact eventually called Ratcliffe to task for his willingness to make such sales on Sunday. When not enough buyers came to his farm, Ratcliffe was able to dispose of the surplus to a local storekeeper. Other commodities also brought in occasional income. Sometimes there was extra corn to sell to the tenants, and now and then a turkey or chicken to market.[103]

Third, like Cole, Ratcliffe also kept cattle and hogs, but he expended more effort in caring for them, and may thus have gotten greater returns per animal. In addition, he carried at least some processing activities a step or two further. Ratcliffe apparently regularly saved corn stalks for winter fodder and also penned animals on his harvested corn fields. Since we lack a full account of Ratcliffe's operations, it is impossible to determine just what effect such supplementary feeding may have had. We do know that the Ratcliffe family obtained milk and butter from their cows, and that Anne carried the milk processing a step

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[102]Ibid., P#1, f. 181.

[103]Ibid., N#1, f. 51; R#1, ff. 302-03; S#1, f. 279; V#1, f. 175.

further than had the Coles by turning some of the milk into cheese which she occasionally sold.[104]

Fourth, instead of hiring skilled craftsmen, Ratcliffe economized by performing most such tasks himself. Having been trained as a tailor, Ratcliffe was able to make all his family's clothes. He was able to do any necessary carpentry on the farm, and could make minor repairs to boats. His son Mullinax could make and repair such farm equipment as harrows. The Ratcliffes may have set up their own cask as well. The only skilled service that we know Ratcliffe paid for was help in building a chimney; and this labor was in fact rendered as partial payment for a debt owed to Ratcliffe for cider.[105]

Finally, in addition to cutting expenses on his own farm, Ratcliffe was able to earn outside income by selling his own skills to others who lacked requisite training or equipment to perform them themselves. Ratcliffe's boarders and tenants frequently availed themselves of his skill with a needle. Debts his boarders owed him for altering coats; and for making shirts, breeches, and waistcoats are recorded. From other transactions it is clear that Ratcliffe and son Mullinax hired themselves out as carpenters, and on at least one occasion Ratcliffe earned income by trimming a boat. Robert Cole did not do his own tailoring and carpentry much less sell such services to others. Emmanuel Ratcliffe--who unlike Cole lacked the option of maximizing tobacco production--regularly sold these skills as a source of income.

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[104]Ibid., Y#1, f. 70. Cf. R#1, f. 519; V#1, f. 30; and Charles County Wills, A#2, f. 203.

[105]Ibid., S#1, f. 224; V#1, f. 197.

While the Cole plantation can stand as an adequate and typical example of a small farm of the 1660s and 1670s, it is not so easy to summarize farm organization of the late 1680s and 1690s with a single example. Under the pall of economic stagnation, Charles County farmers found that either (like Emmanuel Ratcliffe) they were unable to maximize tobacco production, or else (like many large planters) that following such a course was less profitable than choosing other alternatives. While almost every farmer, small or large, continued to grow tobacco for market, in order to cut costs and sometimes in order to earn extra income, these planters experimented with a variety of other crops and activities.

One of the most widespread was sheep-raising. In the 1660s and 1670s less than ten percent of Charles County farmers kept sheep. By the 1690s, sheep could be found on nearly a third of the county's farms. The planter's reasons for taking up sheep-raising at the end of the century are as yet not completely understood. Possibly it was not until this time that increasing population density in the older areas of the county sufficiently reduced predator populations (particularly wolves) to enable planters to keep sheep at all. While these animals may have provided planters with an alternative source of meat, there is very little evidence that mutton as yet comprised any significant portion of the local diet. Of course sheep also supplied wool, and it may have been primarily for this reason that more planters began raising them. Wool was the first widely produced commodity which could be used to cut one of the primary plantation expenses--that of imported clothing.

If home-produced cloth was what the planters had in mind, it was a goal which was not immediately achieved. By the 1690s only ten to sixteen percent of planters attempted at least some stages of wool processing. Most widespread were the initial steps of carding and spinning. The yarn so produced could then be used for knitting gloves, stockings, and the like either for use by the family or for local sale. By and large only very wealthy planters engaged in the next and more complex stage of weaving woolen cloth. At the outset, however, even large planters did not make very much cloth. While able to replace some imports, it is unlikely that they produced nearly enough cloth to satisfy the needs on their own plantations. Other fiber crops such as flax were almost never attempted in the seventeenth century.[106]

Next to sheep-raising, grain growing was the most prevalent of the new activities. Wheat was the most commonly grown, but minor quantities of oats, rye and barley were also produced. Since English grains required more intensive soil preparation than corn and they yielded fewer bushels per acre,[107] individual farmers usually planted only small amounts. One field hand normally produced between thirty-five and fifty bushels of corn on the ear (or about seventeen to twenty-five bushels of shelled corn) annually, but wheat yields usually amounted to

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[106]Ibid., R#1, ff. 129, 331, 354, 532; X#1, f. 308; "Social Stratification in Maryland." Payments of annual bounties for locally produced woolen cloth were recorded in Charles County in 1690 and 1691. Bounties were paid to sixteen persons, eleven of whom were large planters. The greatest length of cloth produced by an individual in one year was 141 yards; mean yardage was 40.5. Using the amounts of woolen cloth purchased annually for the Cole plantation as a guide (mean annual consumption of 38.68 yards for a mean household of 7.33 persons) 40 yards of woolen cloth would clothe seven to eight persons; households of large planters were clearly bigger than this. Charles County Court, R#1, ff. 129, 331; Maryland Archives 13: 222-23.

[107]See note 87.

TABLE 38

INCIDENCE OF SHEEP AND WOOL-PROCESSING IMPLEMENTS IN CHARLES COUNTY INVENTORIES, 1658-1705

Years	Number of Inventories	Percent with Sheet	Percent with Processing Equipment[a]
1658-1680	132	8	0
1681-1693	94	19	6
1694-1705	179	32	19

Source: "Social Stratification in Maryland."

[a]Knitting needles, wool cards, spinning wheels, looms.

less than five bushels per hand.[108] The role of wheat in the Charles County economy is not entirely clear. Not enough was grown for it to be (as happened a few years later in Talbot County)[109] a staple crop vying in importance with and then surpassing tobacco. In fact no evidence of grain sales to other areas appear. What was produced must have all been consumed locally--but by whom? Wheat flour undoubtedly represented a welcome addition to the colonists' diet, since a wide variety of pastries and fine breads could be made from it. The larger planters probably used up what wheat they grew, but what of smaller planters? It seems less likely that a family living close to the margin would consume more expensive English grain when corn provided a cheaper and more easily grown substitute, nor is it likely that they always had the leisure or the equipment to bake breads or pies.[110] Small farmers may have helped then to supply the tables of large planters, but there is as yet little substantiating evidence.

Planters diversified in varying degrees depending on inclination and ability. Only among large farmers would the full range of diversified activities regularly be found. While some wealthy planters continued to pursue the traditional goal of maximizing tobacco production, many others organized their farms to achieve cost savings through import

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[108]Charles County Court, M#1, f. 48; K#1, ff. 201-02; Y#1, f. 143; A#2, ff. 92, 144.

[109]Paul G. E. Clemens, "From Tobacco to Grain: Economic Development on Maryland's Eastern Shore, 1660-1750" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1974). For commercial wheat culture in Virginia, see Gill, "Cereal Grains in Colonial Virginia."

[110]Cf. Rutman, Husbandmen of Plymouth, pp. 11, 45. For wheat as an export crop in New England see idem., "Governor Winthrop's Garden Crop: The Significance of Agriculture in the Early Commerce of Massachusetts Bay," WMQ 20 (1963): 396-415.

TABLE 39

INCIDENCE OF CORN, GRAIN, AND GRAIN-GROWING IMPLEMENTS IN CHARLES COUNTY INVENTORIES, 1658-1705

Years	Number of Inventories	Percent with Corn	Percent with Winter Grains[a]	Percent with Spring Grains[b]	Percent with Grain Implements[c]
1658-1680	132	17	1	1	5
1681-1693	94	11	4	2	14
1694-1705	179	16	6	2	30

Source: "Social Stratification in Maryland."

[a]Wheat, rye.

[b]Oats, barley.

[c]Plows, harrows, scythes, sickles, carts.

replacement. Both capital and labor were apparently essential to quick adaptation to new, less favorable economic conditions. Only in large estates--men worth £150 or more in personalty--were most of the assets associated with new crops and activities--grain, plows, harrows, carts, sheep, wool cards, and spinning wheels--to be found in combination.[111]

Rich or poor, all farmers faced the same need to replace or forego imports and to develop new sources of income. While many lacked the labor and resources to become full-fledged "improving farmers" of the late seventeenth century, most planters departed to some extent from the old goals and thus contributed in a small way to the increasing diversity in farm activity at the end of the century. Some tenants, for example, kept a few sheep and sold the wool to their landlords for processing. The reverse also occurred when tenants who owned no sheep bought wool for spinning from a sheep-raising landlord. Other small farmers specialized in producing cider, or tanning hides, or growing oats, or making some of the new agricultural tools. Some changes in farm organization thus touched many of the county's planters by the turn of the century.[112]

It should be noted that the hiring of free labor which was a consequence of the labor shortage of the 1680s and 1690s encouraged, not tobacco production, but other activities. So long as almost all

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[111]"Social Stratification in Maryland."

[112]For examples of diversification see Charles County Court, R#1, ff. 249, 302, 324, 343-44, 354, 482-83, 492; S#1, ff. 40, 216, 234, 291; V#1, ff. 30, 141, 166, 170, 197, 289, 321, 363, 382; X#1, ff. 67, 102, 185; Y#1, ff. 154, 272; A#2, ff. 31, 94, 436, 453; Testamentary Proceedings 13: 190-91.

planters raised tobacco of their own, they could count on little help from each other during the short, critical period of harvest. On the other hand, extra hands could much more easily be found during slack periods in the tobacco season. Emmanuel Ratcliffe for instance hired help for a great variety of tasks, but not to harvest tobacco. Other planters hired neighbors to help with cidering and harvesting and threshing wheat and oats. If the seasonal unavailability of part-time free labor limited small planters to growing only what tobacco they and their families could harvest, it may have encouraged them to expand other kinds of activities which did not conflict with the tobacco harvest and for which help could be obtained.[113]

How had new problems and new activities altered the relationship of the farm to the community by the end of the century? Surviving accounts of the Ratcliffe farm are suggestive. Surely the most important result was a great increase in the numbers and kinds of exchanges within the community itself, and a consequent lessening of the isolation of one plantation from another.[114] Whether this increase in number and variety represented in addition an increase in the absolute amount of local exchange is less certain. Unfortunately not enough evidence has yet been collected to enable us to measure the impact of economic change and

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[113]See note 99 and Charles County Court, S#1, ff. 40, 297; X#1, f. 67.

[114]Increasing diversification and growing plantation interdependence intensified in southern Maryland in the eighteenth century. See Lois Green Carr, "Ceramics from the John Hicks Site, 1723-1743: The St. Mary's Town Land Community," in Ian M. G. Quimby, ed., Ceramics in America, Winterthur Conference Report, 1972 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973), pp. 75-102. According to the author, "Diversification was not making each household more self-sufficient but more dependent on its neighbors, although perhaps less dependent on imports from England." p. 80.

diversification on the income and expenditure patterns of individual farms. We must be content for the moment to look at the nature rather than the magnitude of the changes.

For one thing, the shortage of bound labor and a long period of hard times led to increased exchanges of free part-time labor within the community. Small and middling planters who could no longer procure servants of their own now had to hire other free men--often one of their tenants or neighbors--to perform unskilled labor on their farms. Earlier, such planters had often hired other free men to perform skilled services, but they less frequently turned to the free labor market for unskilled labor. When servants were plentiful, it was probably easier and cheaper to hire a neighbor's servant--rather than the neighbor himself--to perform unskilled tasks. Servant-owners probably welcomed such requests, especially in off seasons.

At the same time, as the price of tobacco declined, poorer planters were not always able to pay for necessities, much less comforts, out of the proceeds of their tobacco crops. With hard times, they were probably more willing to spend part of their time working on other men's farms in return for some assured return. A few day's work around his landlord's farm meant for a tenant farmer a much-needed new bed, or a saddle, or a pair of shoes, or a new dress for his wife, or else he could apply his wages against rent due.[115] Similarly, occasional day labor at the local store or ordinary reduced the amount of a poor planter's indebtedness and helped to keep further credit forthcoming.[116]

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[115]For example, see Charles County Court, V#1, ff. 220, 246; X#1, f. 284; Y#1, ff. 143, 156, 184; A#2, ff. 31, 94, 156.

[116]Ibid., X#1, f. 289.

Even sheriff's and attorney's fees might be discharged by this means.[117] These labor exchanges brought planters, merchants, innkeepers, and local officials into more frequent contact with one another.

If labor was more often exchanged, so were surplus goods. Two developments in this area are of particular interest. First, exchanges of some commodities became much more organized. A few specialized planters were now regularly producing surpluses for market, and other planters who desired to buy particular commodities knew where to find a steady and reliable source of supply. Emmanuel Ratcliffe with his large cidering operation is a typical example.[118] Increasing numbers of ordinaries further structured the local market. In order to assure themselves of steady supplies of food, drink, and fodder, some innkeepers made regular arrangements with neighboring planters for deliveries of corn, oats, cider, meat, wild fowl, and fish.[119] Also contributing to a more organized exchange network were the activities of resident planter-merchants. While primarily selling European manufactures, some resident merchants were also becoming vendors of local commodities. The merchant might well have surpluses of corn, wheat, beans, and cider from his own farms; he might also wish to resell like commodities which he had received from others as partial payments for store debts. A few merchants may have begun to experiment too with stocking partially processed commodities--vinegar, corn meal, wheat flour, bay salt, and in one case, even bread appear among the goods

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[117]Ibid., V#1, f. 62; X#1, ff. 109, 367, 535.

[118]Ibid., X#1, ff. 157, 313; A#2, f. 436.

[119]Ibid., V#1, ff. 380, 382; Y#1, f. 275; B#2, ff. 378-80.

local merchants were offering for sale. Local buyers might now turn to a resident merchant for foodstuffs as well as for manufactures.[120]

Other kinds of commodity exchanges remained as unorganized in the 1690s as in the 1660s, but the frequency with which they occurred definitely increased. Earlier, when tobacco prices were higher, planters usually paid most of their debts once annually out of the proceeds of their tobacco crops. Later, when prices were lower and times harder, many planters discharged part of their debts in kind. A tenant still paid most of his rent in tobacco, but he might pay part of it with chickens, cheeses, chairs, cider, cask, corn, beef, beans, or butter.[121] Store and tavern debts and legal fees could be similarly discharged. Payments in kind were made variously throughout the year whenever the surplus product was available. While these transactions usually involved only small monetary values, they were significant because they greatly increased the frequency of exchanges.

Some alterations in the focus of skill and service exchanges also occurred in the later period. Individual plantations remained as they had been earlier the place where certain craft activities such as tailoring, carpentry and coopering were performed. However, other activities appeared which were tied to specific sites. Blacksmithing, gunsmithing, saddlery, and cabinet-making required a certain amount of elaborate equipment. In order to use these men's services, the planter had to go to the craftsman's shop; the craftsman did not come to the plantation.

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[120]Ibid., V#1, ff. 289, 382; X#1, f. 234; A#2, ff. 233, 323.

[121]For example, ibid., R#1, ff. 552-56.

In addition, by the 1680s there were at least four grist mills in the county, and these were of necessity site specific operations. Hand grain processing was a laborious business, and planters within convenient traveling distance of a mill were doubtless glad to turn this task over to a local specialist, thus freeing time for other pursuits. The coming of mills signaled the beginning of a shift of one kind of economic activity from each individual farm to a special site which could be utilized by the whole neighborhood. The result again was to bring farmers together more and more often. If Emmanuel Ratcliffe's activities are at all typical, trips to the mill were frequent. He seems to have gone himself or sent his hired man to the mill about twice a month.[122]

At the turn of the century stores too were becoming a focus of community economic and social interchange. While the majority of sales were undoubtedly still made when the annual tobacco fleet arrived, merchants were now keeping their shelves stocked with some goods for the greater part of the year. Rum, molasses, sugar, salt, nails, and coarser kinds of cloth seem to have been available nearly year round. For many planters and their families, going to the store was no longer confined to a single annual visit. The planter himself doubtless conducted major purchases, but his wife, children, and hired men now too made periodic trips for smaller purchases. Here again, the economic isolation of farm from community was being broken down.[123]

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[122]Ibid., H#1, ff. 208-09; Y#1, f. 70.

[123]For example, ibid., V#1, ff. 146, 289; Y#1, ff. 70, 227. A tabulation of lists of store purchases recorded in cases of debt in the county court records shows that in the 1690s Charles County planters made purchases from various resident merchants during every month of

The preceding discussion of two individual farms has shown the kinds of economic ties which existed between the plantation and community at varying points in time during the second half of the seventeenth century.. While economic adversity and increasing plantation diversity did increase the scope of local economic exchange, the greater part of all economic activity continued to be directed, not toward the locality, but toward the international market. While some economic functions such as grain processing and merchandising came--to some extent--to be performed locally, there continued to be strikingly few intermediaries between individual planters and European merchants and manufacturers. Once the essential international market transaction had been made, too little capital remained in the colony to support local economic development. An inevitable consequence of staple crop cultivation was a limited local economy.

For a full account of the relationship between plantation and community we must turn from considerations of the economy to some of the other imperatives which brought the colonists together. For, if a planter's economic activities served primarily to separate him from his neighbors, his social situation acted to draw him into close contact and cooperation with others. In the face of severe demographic disruption and the failure of many formal institutions to take root in the new land, the colonist had of necessity to turn to his neighbors and to the larger community to enforce social discipline, to provide companionship and recreation, and to act as a surrogate family.

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the year. While very few merchants appear to have operated year-round establishments, most seem to have kept their stores open at least six to eight months out of the year. On the development of year-round stores see Carr, "The 'Metropolis of Maryland,'" pp. 142-43.

Just what did community and neighborhood mean to the seventeenth-century planter? In all places and times rural communities have a certain elusive quality, since they often lack both central focus and clear exterior bounds.[124] Those of the seventeenth-century Chesapeake are particularly hard to define, since population densities remained relatively low, settlement patterns extremely diffuse, and in most instances not so much as a hamlet or village crossroads appeared to provide a starting point in the search for a self-recognizing social unit. A second problem is that of identifying neighborhoods--sub-units of the community where face to face contact occurred on a day to day basis and where occasions for cooperation and the need for accommodation were most frequent and continuous. Again, neither focus nor boundaries are readily apparent.

In Maryland, the legal governmental entity, the county, was simply too large to be conterminous with community, if by community we mean to include a group who engage in frequent collective action. A close reading of county court proceedings makes clear that the only collective action many county residents had in common was their periodic attendance at meetings of the county court and subsequent implementation of decisions made there. The records make equally clear, however, that among the persons present, there were groups of individuals who did share not only a common way of life but also collective economic and

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[124]See for example George A. Hillery, Jr., "Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement," Rural Sociology 20 (1955): 111-23; Walter L. Slocum and Herbert M. Case, "Are Neighborhoods Meaningful Social Groups Throughout Rural America?" Rural Sociology 18 (1953): 52-59; and Selz C. Mayo, "Testing Criteria of Rural Locality Groups," Rural Sociology 14 (1949): 317-25.

social action. The problem then is to find a way to locate these units of association within the county bounds.[125]

An extensive study of settlement and residence patterns and networks of interaction in seventeenth-century St. Mary's County provides some tentative conclusions about the location and size of southern Maryland communities.[126] A corresponding intensive study of all recorded social and economic contacts between a number of individuals who lived on a single manor in that county enables us to identify the size and pattern of the neighborhoods of which each community was composed.[127]

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[125]Darrett Rutman's "The Social Web: A Prospectus for the Study of Early American Community," in Insights and Parallels: Problems and Issues of American Social Study, ed., William L. O'Neill (Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Co., 1973), pp. 57-123 is an excellent discussion of the problems of locating and defining the nature of community in seventeenth-century America. The article also serves as an introduction to some of the recent sociological and anthropological literature on small communities. Rutman finds that in seventeenth-century Virginia county and community were roughly conterminous. This does not seem to be the case in Maryland.

[126]Examples from adjacent St. Mary's County are used here because of the extensive work already done by the St. Mary's City Commission for that county. Preparation of a seventeenth-century tract map, a pre-requisite for community and neighborhood studies, required the equivalent of six months of full time work by one person. Locating the residence of known seventeenth-century inhabitants on the map and tracing some of their networks of interaction took another six month's time. A much briefer examination of Charles County records suggests that conclusions about community reached from the St. Mary's study are applicable to Charles; thus a full-scale residential study of another county did not seem warranted, especially given the consideration of the time involved.

[127]St. Clement's Manor is an ideal choice for a mid seventeenth-century neighborhood study because lists of manor freeholders, tenants, and non-landholding residents exist for 1659, 1660, 1661, 1671, and 1672. Since we know who was living on the manor and on what tracts most of them resided, it is possible to evaluate which families were included and which left out of various individuals' social and economic networks. For lists of manor residents see Maryland Archives 53: 625-37.

Figure 14 illustrates the approximate boundaries of the eight identifiable communities in seventeenth-century St. Mary's County. Community bounds were established by first locating the tract of residence of as many individuals as possible and then by examining the patterns of interaction between these individuals. The external boundaries of the several communities first became apparent. In some instances these were large expanses of unsettled land. In other cases, lines of division could be detected in areas of contiguous settlement. Families living on one side of a line had few contacts with nearby families living on the other side, while within the bounds of the lines, economic and social exchange was frequent. Once external bounds were established, the nature of the center became clearer. In each community, sites of very early settlement seemed to have functioned as focal points. Collective activities tended to flow from the periphery (a radius of approximately five miles) inward towards the sites of oldest settlement.

The ordinary planter's contacts--aside from attendance at the county court--were usually confined to persons living within the community where he resided.[128] Seventeenth-century colonists apparently seldom ventured more than an hour or two's journey from their farms; most exchanges between individuals took place within an approximate five-mile radius of the planter's home, a distance equal to that between the focus and the periphery of most communities. Very frequent

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[128]As Darrett Rutman observed, a community study should consider both the horizontal and the vertical dimension; that is, it should assess not only the ties which bound residents to each other, but also the number and intensity of the ties of some members of the commmunity to the larger world. I will take up this aspect of community life in my contribution to a book on the Cole account to be co-authored with Lois Carr and Russell Menard.

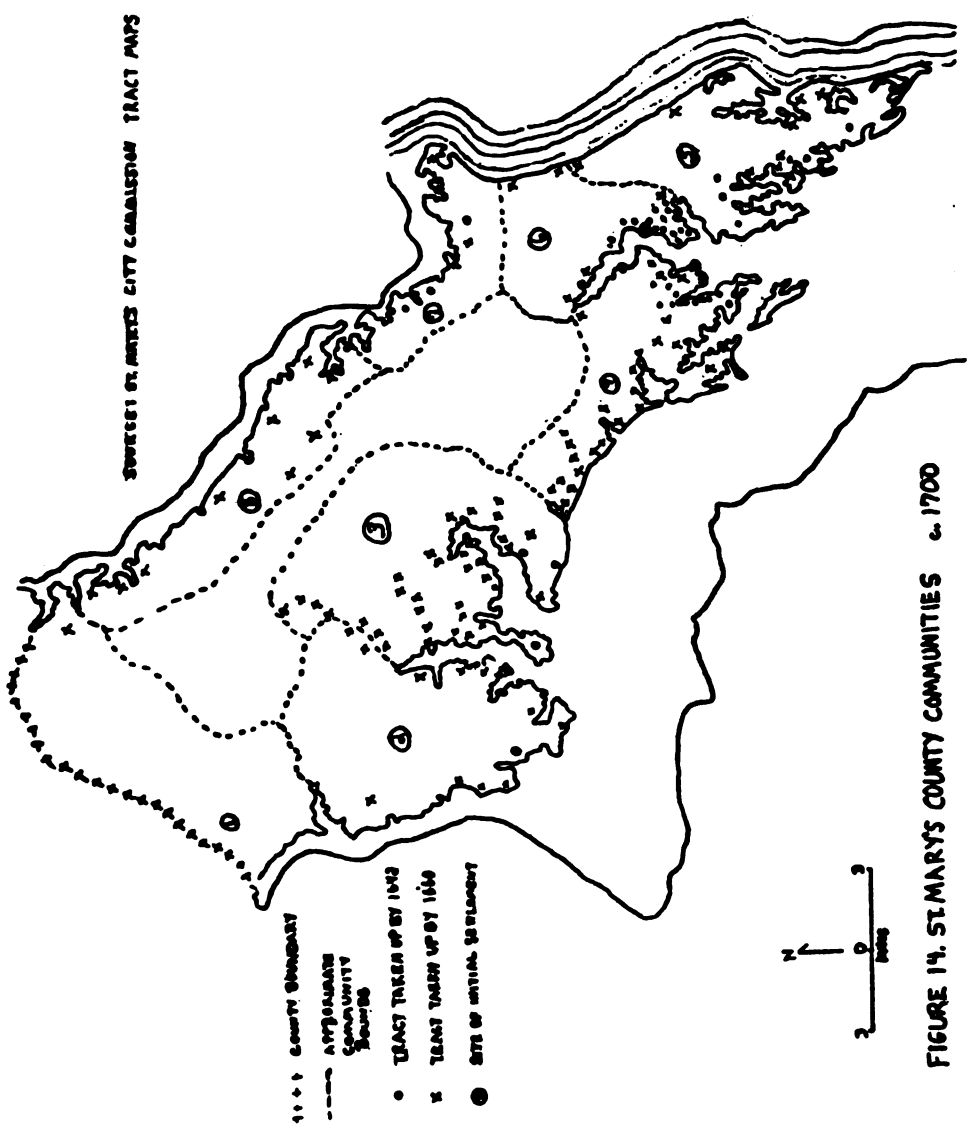

FIGURE 14. ST. MARY'S COUNTY COMMUNITIES c. 1700

visits were further limited to about a two mile radius. It is to this circumscribed area that the planter referred when he spoke of "the neighborhood." In terms of the residential patterns of the late 1660s and the 1670s this meant that a planter could usually count between twelve and twenty families as his "neighbors."[129]

Figure 15 represents the neighborhoods of three hypothetical planters of the early 1670s. Social interaction retraced original settlement patterns, flowing along the edge of rivers and creeks. Interestingly, there was more interaction between planters living directly across a body of water than there was between planters living on two sides of a peninsula. We know that this was not necessarily a matter of water transport being quicker or easier. Clearly there were few impediments to traveling on land over gentle Chesapeake divides.[130] Rather it appears that in order to function, rural networks depended on households occurring at fairly frequent intervals. So long as lands without water access were not being seated, neighborhoods did not cross divides--although individuals might easily do so. After settlement proceeded inland, and ridge areas were filled in, other patterns of rural networks doubtless emerged; more study is needed to identify their characteristics.[131]

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[129]For the St. Clement's Manor study all recorded social and economic contacts of some thirty residents were mapped. The distance between an individual's dwelling plantation and the dwelling plantations of clustered contacts was then measured. In almost all instances this did not exceed two miles. The total number of families in a neighborhood was then estimated by counting the number of households located within a two-mile radius of each manor family. Map of St. Clement's Manor and maps of individual networks, MSS, are available at the Hall of Records.

[130]See above, ch. 1.

[131]A planned community study of Beaverdam, a proprietary manor, in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may answer some of these questions.

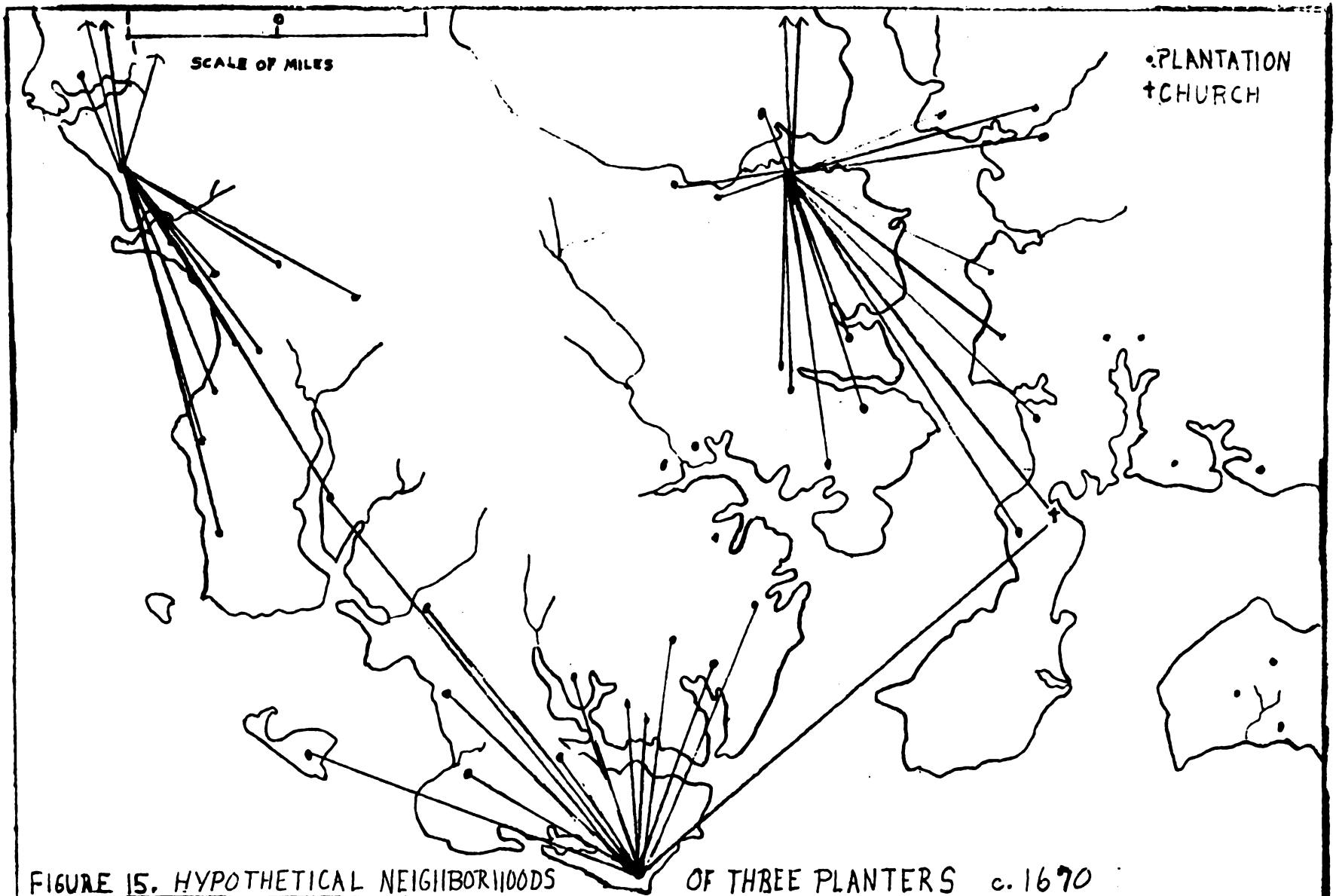

FIGURE 15. HYPOTHETICAL NEIGHBORHOODS OF THREE PLANTERS c. 1670

The rural neighborhood of the last quarter of the seventeenth century was then a small unit--a group of twelve to twenty families living near the water within close proximity to one another--within which most social intercourse took place. The touchstones of neighborhood were familiarity and frequent contact. Each family knew well and were well known by all the others. The economic and social position, reputation, and everyday affairs of each was familiar to all the rest, and fresh information was continually supplied through the exchange of news and gossip.[132]

In order for the neighborhood to function as a social unit, some degree of sociability and conformity to group norms was necessary. It was in the neighborhood that proper courses of individual action and behavior were defined and various sanctions imposed to enforce them. A colonist needing counsel on personal or economic matters would seek out the opinions of his neighbors. Together they would decide what was the right thing to do. Neighbors were likely to proffer admonition and advice without being asked if they felt that one of their number was violating established community norms. An individual's refusal to bring his behavior back into conformity with these norms was an action "tending much to the breach of his comfortable liveinge amongst his neighbors."[133] It was as a neighbor that a man or woman established the reputation--good or bad--by which he or she would be known in the wider community. An individual who did not "live in good fame" amongst his neighbors was regarded with suspicion elsewhere.[134]

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[132]See for example Charles County Court, A#1, ff. 125-26, 142-43, 225-30; B#1, ff. 142-53.

[133]Ibid., E#1, f. 138. Cf. A#1, ff. 35-38.

[134]Ibid., A#1, ff. 225-26; R#1, ff. 45, 231-33.

The role of the neighborhood as an enforcer of social discipline was especially critical because there were few other sources of social authority on the local level. Until the end of the century there were few organized protestant congregations and even fewer ministers, so that (with the exception of Roman Catholics), churches seldom supplemented or reinforced the counsel of neighbors.[135]

In addition, in the absence of any police, local government relied almost entirely on the agency of neighborhood to establish and maintain order in the community. Neighbors were the persons most likely to know when laws were broken and crimes committed. If violators were apprehended and punished it was usually because a neighbor had reported the infraction to one of the county justices of the peace or to a grand jury. In cases of unexplained deaths it was usually the neighbors--the persons with the greatest knowledge of the individuals concerned--who sat on the coroner's jury. Disputes about land boundaries were also settled in the locality; a special "jury of the neighborhood" was summoned to consider the evidence of both claimants in the light of their own knowledge of local geography and of traditionally accepted boundaries. In addition, the county court sometimes ordered that some of the more time-consuming repairs to roads and bridges be made by those living close by. Men of the "vicenage" (rather than of the larger hundred or parish which were the usual work units) might be instructed to take full responsibility for making improvements to the roads and bridges in the immediate area.[136]

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[135]Lois Green Carr and David William Jordan, Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689-1692, St. Mary's City Commission Publication No. 1 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), pp. 33-34.

[136]Charles County Court, Y#1, f. 669; Carr, "County Government," pp. 197-209, 326-27, 488-89.

In addition to helping to establish and maintain order, neighborhoods improved the quality of life in seventeenth-century Maryland in other ways as well. It was to the neighborhood that the planter, his wife, and their children turned for companionship and recreation, especially in the early years. Indeed, for a long time there was nowhere else to go. Until well into the 1680s the planter's home was almost the sole center for casual conversation, for games, and for larger convival gatherings. Chances for social intercourse were sufficiently limited that a neighbor's passing by was reason enough for a pause in the daily rounds, an excuse to exchange news, to "take a pipe of tobacco," and perhaps to have a drink.[137]

During the evenings, Saturday afternoons, and often Sundays as well, neighbors got together for more organized recreations. This usually meant more drinking, perhaps singing and dancing, sometimes political discussions, and very often games. Both men and women enjoyed cards, especially the popular game of lanterloo.[138] Dice, hussle cap (a pitch and toss game), stool ball (similar to cricket), ten pins, nine pins, and shooting matches were also popular.[139] A few wealthy planters added the refinement of billard tables.[140] Gambling usually accompanied most of these games, often for stakes which the participants could ill afford to lose. Indeed, the colonists were quick to lay down

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[137]Charles County Court, A#1, ff. 30, 203; B#1, ff. 165, 201-04; Maryland Archives 15:391.

[138]Charles County Court, Y#1, f. 313; B#1, ff. 6-7; I#1, f. 238; R#1, f. 306; X#1, f. 65; The Sot-Weed Factor, p. 16.

[139]Charles County Court, K#1, f. 320; Y#1, f. 243; A#2, f. 251; B#2, f. 35; Testamentary Proceedings 8: 363-73.

[140]Charles County Court, M#1, f. 51.

their money even when games were not involved. Private bets were laid on the outcome of events--who the widow Warren would marry, for example; whether or not Lord Baltimore would regain control of Maryland; or whether a sword was made of silver or baser metal.[141]

By the mid 1680s, social life, for men at least, became more organized; frequently it centered on a nearby inn. Until then inns seem to have functioned primarily to provide overnight lodgings for travelers; and to accommodate persons attending sessions of the county court.[142] Their refreshments were often "mean and slender" and perhaps more to the point, they were usually expensive.[143] During the mid-eighties, however, planters and their sons were coming to leave home of an evening and resort to a nearby inn for drinking and conversation. This development was in part due to an increasing population which had by then become large enough to support a growing number of inns. Almost as important perhaps were the contributions of men like Emmanuel Ratcliffe, who were now producing enough cider to keep the inns well supplied with an economical beverage which a small planter could afford to drink regularly.[144]

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[141]Ibid., Y#1, ff. 184, 247.

[142]In the account of Benjamin Salley, a merchant and innkeeper on St. Clement's Manor in St. Mary's County who died in 1674, debts owed to the inn were listed separately. Inn patrons almost invariably lived a day's journey away, either in Charles County or distant parts of St. Mary's County. Except for two local justices, almost no nearby residents patronized Salley's establishment. Maps of Benjamin Salley's accounts, MSS, are available at the Hall of Records.

[143]Charles County Court, M#1, f. 65; Maryland Archives 2: 148-49, 214, 295, 407, 560-61. Cf. John Clayton to Dr. E. Barlase, April 24, 1684, Sloane MSS, no. 1008, ff. 334-35, British Museum, London. Microfilm copy available at the Research Library, Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Va.

[144]Charles County Court, V#1, ff. 64, 67, 68, 101, 103, 104, 105, 128, 135, 137, 220; X#1, ff. 93, 313, 314, 316.

Increasing patronage of the inns doubtless drew many men out of a strictly local circle, and into contact with residents of other neighborhoods besides their own.

By the 1690s inns had also become the meeting places for private clubs organized by the county elite. Here wealthy planters and merchants gathered to share a bowl of punch, to eat oysters, to "frolick" among themselves or with members of other clubs, and perhaps to talk politics.[145]

Most Charles Countians shared a passion for horse racing. It was this recreation more than any other that brought people living at some distance together. As early as 1674 a "race house" stood somewhere near Port Tobacco where races were run on Saturdays, attracting a crowd of planters and servants on their afternoon off.[146]

The matches were usually between local horses, but occasionally there were also races with horses from outside the county, as on August 25, 1677, when there was a race "between a horse belonging to William Courtney of St. Maries County called Brandy, and a horse belonging to John Saunders [of Charles County] . . ."[147] In matches such as these, wagers usually ran high.[148] While ownership of race horses was largely confined to wealthier sorts of planters, as a spectator sport

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[145]Ibid., R#1, f. 254; S#1, f. 298; V#1, ff. 33, 55, 64, 385; X#1, ff. 301, 319.

[146]Ibid., F#1, f. 6; G#1, f. 34; H#1, f. 143. In 1701 a law was passed prohibiting races on Saturdays, "For as much as frequent horse raceing on Saturdays is found by Experience to tend very much to the Prophanation of the Lords Day following." Maryland Archives 24: 275.

[147]Charles County Court, G#1, f. 114; H#1, ff. 282-84.

[148]Ibid., H#1, ff. 19, 282, 284; V#1, f. 462; X#1, f. 65; A#2, f. 156.

racing brought together large numbers of county residents of all stations.

While some kinds of recreation were clearly community activities, the rituals of family life were usually conducted within the more intimate circle of the neighborhood. It was the women of the neighborhood who usually attended the planter's wife in childbirth, and they and their husbands who then lingered to share a drink and perhaps a meal with the new parents. If a marriage was solemnized with some sort of ceremony it was again close neighbors who were in attendance. When illness struck it was the neighbors who lent a helping hand, nursing the sick, helping to perform farm chores, and summoning the doctor. Should death strike, it was the planter's "friends and neighbours" who gathered to mourn his passing. If he left a widow or orphans behind, it was these same friends and neighbors whom he would most often call upon to provide his family assistance and guidance.[149]

The role of the neighborhood in providing witness and companionship during family rituals and in general supporting family life was critical because, again, there was literally no other agency to carry out these functions. In an immigrant-dominated society, few men and women had any kin living in Maryland, much less nearby.[150] And, so long as age at marriage was high and life spans short, few parents left adult children ready to take over family responsibilities.[151]

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[149]See above, ch. 3.

[150]Carr and Walsh, "The Planter's Wife."

[151]See appendix A, table A6.

The contrast with many parts of England is striking. Although we do not yet know much about the roles which kinsmen outside the nuclear family usually played in England, it is clear that members of the immediate family at least maintained steady and enduring ties. Both parent-child and sibling relationships were often close. Distant members of the nuclear family made an effort to be present at family rituals, visiting was frequent, and in times of illnesses or economic distress, the immediate family often provided its members with substantial aid.[152]

Most seventeenth-century Maryland colonists had no such familial resources to fall back on; parents and siblings were usually an ocean away. This situation must have greatly increased pressures on colonists to be "neighborly," to extend to fellow residents the kinds of companionship and aid which they might desperately need at a later time. This was undoubtedly the cause of the "extraordinary good neighbourhood and loving conversation they have one with the other," which travelers to the Chesapeake remarked upon.[153]

When natural increase finally began, the relationship between family and neighborhood must have undergone some alterations. While few parents yet lived to see their children marry and have families of their own, at the very least, most creoles had one or more siblings living in the county. Even a cursory reading of county records makes clear the

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[152]Macfarlane, Family Life of Ralph Josselin; William L. Sachse, ed., The Diary of Roger Lowe of Ashton-in-Makerfield, Lancashire, 1663-74, with a Foreward by Wallace Notestein (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938); and Doreen Slatter, ed., The Diary of Thomas Naish [1685-1728] (n.p.; Wiltshire Archaelogical and Natural History Society, Records Branch, 1965).

[153]Hammond, "Leah and Rachael," p. 297.

importance of sibling relationships among creoles. Brothers and sisters and their families exchanged frequent visits, observed family rituals together, aided each other in various economic enterprises, and extended help in time of crisis. When the native-born came to dominate the society, kin must have become at least as important as neighbors in fostering and supporting family life.[154]

Tobacco culture was a pervasive fact of life throughout the colonial period in southern Maryland. Its requirements structured day to day activities. The peculiarities of its cultivation and marketing combined with Chesapeake geography to establish and maintain unique and persistent patterns of residential dispersion. The fortunes of the tobacco market were the primary determinants of the degree of opportunity available in the region. Much of the continuity of life on individual farms, in neighborhoods, and in communities within the counties derives from this fact.

Southern Maryland population history, on the other hand, changed dramatically. The character of the immigrant group in combination with the high mortality prevalent in the region produced a long period of severe demographic disruption. This disruption had marked effects both on family life and on the relationships between families, their neighbors, and the larger community. With the eventual appearance of large numbers of native-born residents, the population began to exhibit more normal sex ratios, age structures, and kinship networks. This circumstance accounts for much of the discontinuity and change in local history.

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[154]For the importance of kin groups in mid eighteenth-century southern Maryland see Kulikoff, "Tobacco and Slaves," ch. 10.

CHAPTER VI

THE RULERS AND THE RULED: PARTICIPATION AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF POWER IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Even in the face of political unrest, religious discord, economic difficulties, and demographic disruption, Charles County settlers succeeded in establishing and maintaining stable and orderly local government. This achievement was due in large part to the settlers' near universal acceptance of traditional English obligations of community service. All residents were obliged to help maintain order. Settlers with some permanent stake in the community had a right and a duty to share the burdens of minor office, while those with the greatest stake in the locality were expected to rule it. The generally humble origins of the county's settlers, their immigrant status, and prevailing high mortality precluded early development of a self-conscious social and political elite. Early county rulers were recruited from a heterogenous group of men on whom fortune had smiled more warmly in the New World than in the Old; many of them had few of the characteristics traditionally associated with social or political authority, and in addition, few succeeded in passing on positions of prominence to their children. Consequently, political order in seventeenth-century Charles county resulted more from institutional stability than from social stability.

Background and Institutions

In November 1660 the governor and council of Maryland issued "a ffree and Generall Pardon to all persons now inhabiting and residing within Charles County who were engaged in the late Mutiny and Sedition" of that year in which then governor Josias Fendall, a prominent county planter, attempted to overthrow the proprietary government with the support of many county residents.[1] Twenty-one years later Josias Fendall was again apprehended and was tried and convicted by the provincial court for "maliciously devising, contriving and attempting with force to raise a mutiny and sedition against the person of the said Prop[rieta]ry . . . at Pickajawaxen in Charles County and at severall other times and places within the said county . . ."[2] Subsequently George Godfrey, a Charles County justice and a militia lieutenant was convicted of raising with the aid of "other Rebels," thirty armed men at Port Tobacco in order "to rescue [Fendall] and sett [him] at large to make Rebellious Insurrections in the said Province."[3] And in July 1689, numerous county residents joined the force which successfully carried out Maryland's "Revolution of Government."[4] A reservoir of anti-proprietary feeling, the county was a fertile recruiting ground for restless spirits who sought to challenge the authority of the central government.[5]

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[1] Maryland Archives 3: 395.

[2] Ibid., 5: 313.

[3] Ibid., 332-34; 15: 400-02.

[4] For the participation of Charles County residents see Carr and Jordan, Maryland's Revolution of Government.

[5] For Fendall's Rebellion see Maryland Archives, vols. 3 and 5, and Charles M. Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History (New

Other factors besides anti-proprietary sentiment contributed to a volatile political climate in early Charles County. One has only to consider the way in which it was settled. Shortly after the county was established, the handful of men who ruled it--most of them with little experience and few overt qualifications for the job--were faced with a rapid increase in population through immigration. They had the task of enforcing order in a society which was composed of a large number of bound servants; roving landless freedmen; numerous peripatetic merchants and traders; and new settlers of varied backgrounds struggling to establish farms in the wilderness. European immigration had slowed by the late 1680s giving the white society a chance to coalesce, but increasing black immigration introduced a potentially more discordant element into the population. At the same time economic depression and the resulting widening of the gap between rich and poor put additional strains on the bonds which held the community together.[6]

Haven: Yale University Press, 1936) 2: 274-379. The most recent and complete account of the Revolution of 1689 is Carr and Jordan, Maryland's Revolution of Government. See also Francis Sparks, Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689, The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series 14, nos. 11-12 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1896); Bernard C. Steiner, "The Protestant Revolution in Maryland," Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1897 (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1898), pp. 279-353; Beverly McAnear, "Mariland's Grevances Wiy The[y] Have Taken Op Arms," Journal of Southern History 8 (1942): 392-409; Michael G. Kammen, "The Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689," MHM 40 (1960): 293-333; Michael G. Kammen, Michael G. Hall, and Lawrence H. Leder, eds., The Glorious Revolution in America, Documents on the Colonial Crisis of 1689 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964); Michael David de Michele, "The Glorious Revolution in Maryland: A Study of the Provincial Revolution of 1689 (Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1967), Richard A. Gleissner, "Religious Causes of the Glorious Revolution in Maryland, MHM 64 (1969): 327-41; and David S. Lovejoy, The Glorious Revolution in America (New York: Harper & Row, 1972). My own research has uncovered little that is new about these attempts at revolution.

[6]See chs. 2, 4, and 7.

High mortality was another disruptive influence. Early death continually robbed the county of its few experienced leaders. In the society at large, the lives of many settlers were cut short at mid-career, interrupting the orderly accumulation and transference of wealth and disrupting and stunting family life.[7]

Religious differences were another source of serious instability. The very fragile nature of Maryland's experiment in toleration is sometimes glimpsed in the county records. What must have been a strong determination by both Protestant and Catholic settlers to live together peacefully was sometimes overruled by deepset passions. Some Charles County Catholics (at least according to the allegations of some of their Protestant neighbors) "hoped to see ye papists wash their hands in ye hearts blood of ye Protestants of this Province,"[8] and attempted to convert neighboring Protestants by assuring them that "within two yeares . . . [they] and all the rest of the protestants would be forced to turne Roman Catholicks or else the Roman Catholicks would broyle them all on Grid Irons . . ."[9] Whether or not the Catholics actually harbored such sentiments, many Protestant settlers were willing to believe the worst. Josias Fendall and later the Associators easily recruited supporters in the county on the basis of rumors that the papists were conspiring with the Indians to kill all the Protestants.[10]

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[7]See chs. 2 and 3.

[8]Charles County Court, I#1, f. 149.

[9]Ibid., Y#1, ff. 309-10, 340.

[10]Andrews, The Colonial Period 2: 351; Carr and Jordan, Maryland's Revolution of Government, ch. 2.

Given such sources of instability--a rapidly changing, heterogenous population, short life spans, economic difficulties, religious discord, and dissatisfaction with the central authority--the settlers' success in achieving stable government on the local level is the more remarkable.

Local government began in the household--the most basic independent economic and social unit. The proprietors of the scattered farmsteads of which the county was largely composed were expected to discipline and regulate the lives of those living under their roofs--servants, lodgers, slaves, wives, and children.

Beyond the household, the next level of local government was the rural neighborhood. The informal means by which neighborhoods controlled individual behavior should not mask their importance. It was at this level that proper conduct was defined, admonition offered to those who transgressed the social code, violations of the law detected and reported, and many disputes settled by private mediation. Neighborly pressures were sufficient to regulate the behavior of the great majority. Usually only the more hot-tempered, head-strong, or anti-social of county residents were willing to risk the unpleasant consequences of living in the "evil fame" of their neighbors.[11]

The third level of local government consisted of formal institutions. During Charles County's first fifty years, the story of its institutionalized local government is essentially that of the county court and of the magistrates who composed it. In a very new and as yet

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[11]See above, ch. 5, and Charles County Court, A#1, ff. 31-32; B#1, ff. 146-54; St. Clement's Manor Court Proceedings, Maryland Archives 53: 628.

sparsely peopled land competing agencies of local government--the manor, the parish, and the borough--were virtually non-existent. Hence the county court, already a familiar component of the machinery for enforcing social order in England, retained the jurisdiction of its parent body, the English quarter sessions, and also absorbed the powers of the absent local agencies.[12]

The nature of Maryland local government in the seventeenth century has been admirably characterized by Lois Carr:

> The visible structure of county government was simple. The justices of the peace, commissioned together by the governor, sat as a county court, but in effect also were a committee which made executive decisions and issued orders.[13]

In addition to the unpaid justices, the county court was served by several paid administrators--the sheriff, the coroner, and two clerks--and by various conscripted minor officers and jurors. Only in the 1690s did parish vestries become an additional though only secondarily important part of the local administrative machinery.

While organized to operate as a court of justice, the county court was in reality both a judicial and an administrative body. As a criminal court it conducted the accusation, trial, and sentencing of most offenders against the peace and in a civil capacity it decided many kinds

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[12]I am greatly indebted to Lois Green Carr for my understanding of the structure and functions of Maryland county government. See Carr, "County Government," chs. 3, 4, 5, and 6; idem., "The Foundations of Social Order: Local Government in Colonial Maryland," in Essays on the Structure of Local Government in the American Colonies, Bruce C. Daniels, ed., forthcoming; and idem., "Magistracy and Social Order in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association, Atlanta, November, 1973. Useful also is Newton D. Mereness, Maryland as a Proprietary Province (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1901).

[13]Carr, "Foundations of Social Order," p. 4.

of disputes between individuals. As an administrative agency the court enforced economic regulations and provided public services such as poor relief and the construction and maintenance of roads. The provision of such services entailed expenditures, and these were paid for by county poll taxes. Since the court itself levied the county taxes, it also exercised some legislative powers as well. The concerns of all but a few of the wealthiest and most powerful planters (whose interests were region-wide) thus fell under the perview of this single, all-purpose agency of local government.[14]

The Polity

The ability and dedication of the county's rulers was essential to the maintenance of "'order'" and "'quiet rule'" in early Charles County. Equally important was the inhabitants' acceptance of traditional English obligations of community service. While only those with the greatest stake in the community were expected to share the burden of rule, everyone had a basic duty to maintain order. All inhabitants were obliged to try to stop fights by peaceable means and to assist officers in making arrests. Men who owned some property were entitled, and expected, and often conscripted to fill such community offices as highway

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[14]See sources cited in note 12. The militia doubtless played an important role in the lives of many Charles Countians. It will not be considered in this chapter, because not enough information survives for systematic study of its organization and personnel. On this problem see Carr, "County Government," pp. 6-7. For a review of what is known about the seventeenth-century militia in Maryland, see Louis Dow Scisco, "Evolution of the Colonial Militia in Maryland," MHM 35 (1940): 166-77.

overseers, constables, pressmasters, grand and petit jurors and jurors of inquiry.[15]

It is only through a study of such local office-holding that the question of political participation in seventeenth-century Maryland can be studied in any detail. While the county's electorate was undoubtedly more numerous than its local officeholders, materials such as poll books which would permit us to learn more about seventeenth-century voters have not survived. In addition, the question of who the voters were is less essential to a study of local government in seventeenth-century Maryland than in seventeenth-century New England because almost all local offices in Maryland were either appointive or conscriptive. In Maryland delegates to the assembly were the only regularly elected officers in the colonial government.

Only very rough estimates of the size of the Charles County electorate are possible. Initially all freemen could vote. From 1660--when the assembly had clearly become a bicameral body--until 1670, representatives to the lower house were elected by all free adult male residents. Thereafter the size of the county's electorate is less certain, for in that year Lord Baltimore altered the franchise, requiring fairly stringent "stake in society" qualifications for voting. Only freeholders of fifty acres or more or men worth £40 in visible estate could vote. Subsequently these restrictions were retained by the men who came to power after the Revolution of 1689, and in fact, only minor changes were made through the remainder of the colonial period.[16]

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[15]See sources cited in note 12. For a comparative view of local government in New England see Lockridge, A New England Town, pp. 49-56.

[16]For the franchise provisions, see Andrews, The Colonial Period 2: 339-40; Mereness, Maryland as a Proprietary Province, pp. 197, 199;

The effect was clearly to diminish the size of the electorate. Very few Charles County freeholders were excluded, since more than ninety-five percent of county landowners held at least the required fifty acres. It is probable that in practice all freeholders could vote, at least so long as no one challenged the few men who held less than the minimum acreage. Men who held long-term leases or leases for lives probably also voted, although the law was silent on this point. In England, leases for three lives constituted a freehold estate, and while twenty-one to ninety-nine year leases did not constitute freehold property, they did represent equity which in most cases would raise the holder's estate above the £40 minimum.[17]

On the other hand, a steadily growing number of non-householding laborers, tenants at will, and short-term leaseholders were disfranchised after 1670. By 1705 over twenty percent of Charles County householders owned neither freeholds nor long-term leaseholds, and the majority of these, as well as the great majority of landless, non-householding freemen did not possess £40 of personal property. Property restrictions must by 1705 have prevented from between eighteen and thirty-nine percent of the county's adult male residents from voting. (See appendix D, table D-1.)

Given the narrow scope of elective office, and the central role which the county court played in the lives of most Charles County residents, entry into local office, jury service in particular, would seem the best available index of political citizenship.

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and Carr, "County Government," pp. 380-91, 602-09. For the proportion of men eligible to vote in Charles County see appendix D, table D-1.

[17]Carr, "County Government," fn. 93, ch. 7.

Who were the men who served in local office? What proportion of the adult male residents so participated, and what sorts of men had no voice in the decision-making process? When questions such as these are asked about seventeenth and eighteenth century English colonies, the answers have been all too often evaluated in twentieth-century terms. Universal manhood suffrage is frequently the standard against which the performance of past societies is measured. The colonists, however, were not popular democrats, and they would certainly have measured themselves by rather different standards.[18] This must have been especially true in a colony where almost all local officers were conscripted rather than elected.

The settlers had a clear conception that some men had a right and duty to participate in community government and that others did not. This was a result in part of their English heritage; the right and obligation to contribute to community order according to one's station in life was a deep-rooted tradition. Such tenets had been reinforced and intensified by protestant and particularly by Puritan ideology. Puritan belief in the centrality of good family government to good religious and civil government emphasized the disciplinary responsibilities of every householder and elevated his participatory role in community government.[19]

Charles Countians' conceptions had been shaped too by the experience of the colonists in the first two decades of settlement. The

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[18]Cf. Lockridge, A New England Town, pp. 37-38.

[19]See Hill, Society and Puritanism, ch. 13; and Morgan, Puritan Family, ch. 6.

founder's original plans for a government of men of good wealth and estate who would rule submissive and non-participating servants and tenants proved an anachronism as the pressures of immigration and economic expansion precluded the development of a stratified and deferential society. A period of rapid economic growth in the late 1640s had been marked by a sharp rise in the number of free immigrants and by a major expansion of opportunity. The small independent land-owning planters who made up a majority of the free population by the 1650s became frequent participants in local government and were regularly acquiring positions of real power by the time of Charles County's founding.[20]

The men who were entitled and obligated to serve the community, the records demonstrate, were those who had established roots in the county and who had made some investment in the community's future. Most frequently, the act of establishing a household made a man a member of the political community. Although upon occasion unmarried adult sons living at home or artisans renting quarters in someone else's house might serve in local office, the inclusion of men who were not masters of families was infrequent.[21]

For political participation a visible and relatively immobile stake in the community was as essential as being master of one's own house. The amount of the investment was not so important, as its

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[20]Menard, "Economy and Society," ch. 3.

[21]For low rates of participation among non-householders see table 42. For an example of contemporary emphasis on division of society into householders and non-householders see Maryland Archives 25: 256, for the census of 1704 which separates white adult males into two categories, "Masters of Families," and "Free Men & Serv[an]t Men."

permanence. This emphasis on stability was perhaps in part a reaction to the very unstable conditions of frontier life. It was dictated also by an economy which operated on relatively long-term credit arrangements. A man who acquired a house and invested in household furnishings, who planted crops or set himself up in a trade, and who perhaps also married and began a family was a man who was likely to remain in the community long enough to pay off whatever debts he might incur in establishing himself. About three-quarters of the men who invested in land, for example, were participants.[22]

Conversely, a man who had no family, no land, and no house or household goods of his own might easily pick up and move at a moment's notice leaving behind a trail of unfulfilled obligations.[23] Men "who can easily abandon us," it was felt, should not have a part in making

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[22]In a tabulation of 179 resident landowners whose last names began with "A," "B," and "C," seventy-one percent participated in local government. Only nine percent of these landowners are known to have died without holding local office. The status of the remaining twenty percent was less certain--eight percent lived beyond 1705 and may have participated later, and twelve percent emigrated and could thus have held office elsewhere. Cf. Carr's analysis of the polity of Prince George's County in "County Government," pp. 601-09. Kevin P. Kelly comes to similar conclusions about the polity of seventeenth-century Surry County, Virginia. "Surry's population was just too fluid for society to risk the confusion of instability that the pursuit of full participation [in local office] would have involved. Social commitment was the watchword." "Political Order in Surry County, Virginia, 1682-1703," paper presented at the Thirty-second Conference in Early American History, College Park, Maryland, November, 1974.

[23]An extreme example of the footloose freedman was Hugh Portingal, a sharecropper, who in 1703, "hath noe settled place of Residence but keepeth a boate in which he coasteth from place to place by which he may easily Elloyne himselfe out of the Jurisdiction of the court." Charles County Court, A#2, f. 293. Portingal and many men like him who had "noe settled abode" were required to put up special bail when actions of debt were brought against them because of the high probability that they might flee to escape their obligations.

decisions which would affect the "persons purses & stocks" of more settled residents.[24]

Relatively well-off individuals whose fortunes were not perceived as tied to the locality were also excluded from local government. Merchants are a case in point. Those who chose to settle permanently in the county and who affirmed this intention by buying land, by establishing farms, and by transporting their families or marrying locally were quickly co-opted to serve the community, often in important positions. Other merchants did not intend to move permanently to the colony and signaled this among other ways by neither marrying nor bringing their families. Their loyalties were apparently considered to lie elsewhere, and so long as their assets were largely liquid--merchandise, debts receivable and perhaps undeveloped land--they could very speedily remove themselves from the community. Even though such men might reside in the county for a number of years and might become substantial landowners, they seldom were chosen to participate in local government at even the lowest levels.[25]

Non-Participants

Half to three-quarters of Charles County adult male inhabitants found in the records never participated in county government. Who were these non-participants? What characteristics did they share, and did

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[24] Maryland Archives 2: 44.

[25] Of 135 merchants who resided in the county between 1658 and 1705, only one-third (46) held any kind of local office, whereas more than two-thirds of resident planters--many of them worth considerably less than the merchants--held offices.

these change over time? Did the proportion of men in this category increase, decrease, or remain stable as population grew?

At any one moment men who were not free constituted a substantial portion of the ruled. In 1704 for example, slaves and servants made up approximately one-quarter of the adult male population.[26] During the 1660s and 1670s when servant importation was heavy and the numbers of native-born negligible, men in servitude probably constituted a similar proportion of the population. Bondsmen were by definition not in a situation to take part in government. For slaves the condition of powerlessness was permanent. For servants the situation was by law only temporary, although in fact many freed servants remained life-long non-participants.[27]

The extent of adult male participation in local government by those who met the initial criteria of being free from bondage can be looked at from two perspectives. When considered as a percentage of all free adult male residents, levels of non-participation (shown in table 40) proved remarkably stable during the county's first fifty years. Only about one-third of the adult male residents served as jurors, perhaps the most wide-spread form of participation throughout the period. The percentage of men serving in high county office--at most five percent--was greatest during the formative years. This level later declined slightly while participation in minor offices may have increased from about five to about ten percent.[28]

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[26]Maryland Archives 25: 256.

[27]See above, ch. 4.

[28]Jury service is the broadest recorded form of political participation. While a higher proportion of county residents were eligible to

TABLE 40

PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE FREE ADULT MALE POPULATION

Period	Estimated Free Adult Male Population†	% Participate in Minor County Office*	% Participate in Major County Office#	% Participate as Jurors
1658-1674	706	4.0	5.0	29.2
1675-1689	1258	5.1	2.9	30.5
1690-1705	1498	10.1	3.3	29.2

†Free adult male population was estimated for the first 15 year period by counting all free adult male residents recorded as such in all county court records for those years. For the two subsequent periods the following formula was used: Estimated Population = Known New Residents + Known Carryovers from the Earlier Period + Number of Men in the Category of Unknown Future Status x the Percentage Rate of Men who carryover whose future status was known.

*Overseer of highways or constable.

#Justice of the peace, sheriff, burgess, vestryman.

When opportunity to participate in local government is examined from the point of view of the experience of particular groups of settlers, however, a somewhat different picture emerges. Of men arriving in the county or coming of age before 1685, about half served in local government before 1706 or before they died or emigrated. The rate of participation of men appearing after that date declined. (See table 41). These later figures of course exaggerate the extent of non-participation. Had the careers of all the men who appeared toward the end of the century been traced forward fifteen years, the high rates of non-participation found among men who died young would have probably been decreased by potentially greater participation among those who lived longer.

There were a number of circumstances which brought about the exclusion of certain groups of free men at particular times. Initially, newness of settlement contributed. A number of early non-participating residents were landowners but not householders. These were men who--in that woman-short society--had not yet married. Rather than going out to seat their lands at once, these men continued to live with and perhaps work for a more established settler until they could accumulate enough capital either to marry or to purchase a servant to help develop their plantations. Men in this situation often did not have a sufficiently visible and permanent estate to be selected to county office.

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vote for burgesses, evidence about what proportions actually did vote has not survived. Early levels of participation in minor county offices are underestimated here, because appointments to those offices were at first only sporadically recorded. A rather similar pattern of participation in the free adult male population prevailed in Surry County, Virginia, in the 1680s. In 1687 thirty-four percent of heads of households had held a minor county office in the preceding five years; forty-nine percent of the freeholders had done so. Rates of participation also dropped in Surry towards the end of the century. In 1703 twenty-six percent of the heads of households had held office in the preceding five years. Kelly, "Political Order in Surry County."

TABLE 41

CHARACTERISTICS OF 676 NON-PARTICIPATING FREE CHARLES COUNTY MALES

Period First Appeared	Total Number Adult Men	% of Total Adult Men Who Were Non-Participants	% Non-Participants without Land	% Non-Participants without Labor
1658-64	167	52	40	84
1665-69	92	52	54	90
1670-74	105	48	46	96
1675-79	115	47	65	91
1680-84	107	53	65	98
1685-89	120	66	49	91
1690-94	115	72	75	93
1695-99	108	74	73	95
1700-05	187	74	57	97

Source: Walsh file of Charles County Residents, last names beginning with "a" through "h."

Scattered settlement was also a factor especially in the early years. It was considered too much of a burden to require men living far from the court house to participate as frequently as those who could get there more easily. Distance from the seat of government continued to be a reason for non-participation when settlement was pushed up the Potomac River into Piscattaway and New Scotland Hundreds. Residents of these remote plantations were not required to serve as jurors as late as the 1690s.[29] When these two hundreds became part of a new county, Prince George's, in 1696, and the site of county government brought much closer, many previously inactive settlers became more regular participants.[30]

External political events were another cause for non-participation. As a result of the Revolution of 1689 Roman Catholics were excluded from public office including jury service. The effect was pronounced in Charles County where Catholics constituted about a quarter of the population; adjacent Saint Mary's County where one-third of the population was Catholic was even more affected.[31] Although known Catholics occasionally served on juries after 1689, the oaths of allegiance and abhorency were apparently usually required

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[29]Charles County Court, R#1, f. 95.

[30]See Carr, "County Government," ch. 7 and appendix 2 for local officeholding in Prince George's County. Almost all Prince George's County landowners who were not Roman Catholics served in local offices.

[31]A census of Roman Catholics taken in 1708 reported 709 Papists in Charles County and 1,238 in St. Mary's. The total population of Charles County in 1710 was 3,429, and of St. Mary's, 4,121. Maryland Archives 25: 258.

of jurors and were always required of high county officers.[32] Thus Catholics of all classes were normally excluded from the most basic form of local governmental participation. Wealthy Catholic planters who might earlier have begun their political careers in high-level county office simply did not participate in government at any level.

The demographic profile of the county's population is in part responsible for increased non-participation by land-owners at the turn of the century. Substantial numbers of births in the late seventies and early eighties resulted in a number of native-born sons coming of age at this time.[33] A swelling of the ranks of men of visible estate may have been responsible for a rise in the mean age at which men were first selected for local office. (See figure 16.) Had the careers of these young landowners been followed beyond 1705, many would undoubtedly be found subsequently as participants.[34]

Changes in the composition of the population towards the end of the century had other effects on the participation of particular groups. As the numbers of native-born sons increased, immigrants

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[32]On exclusion of Roman Catholics from office see Charles County Court, V#1, f. 453; and Carr, "County Government," pp. 486-88. For contemporary comment see a deposition of Richard Edelin about the situation in adjacent St. Mary's County. He believed that he could not have a fair trial there because "there are a great many freeholders in the said County who are Roman Catholicks and by being so disqualified . . . to be jury men" it would be difficult to find enough qualified jurors who were not related to the defendant. Provincial Court Papers, St. Mary's County, Richard Edelin's lessee v. John Edwards, 1743.

[33]See above, ch. 2.

[34]However, in a group of 179 resident landowners from my file of county residents whose last names began with "A," "B," or "C," only eight percent were young creoles who had not yet held local office.

became more and more likely to be non-participants. The mean age at which men entered local office was increasing, and this left immigrants at a particular disadvantage. By 1690-1705 the mean age for immigrants' first service in minor county office was approaching the mean age at death, while the mean age of entry into higher county offices had risen well above it. Many immigrants would simply not live long enough to attain office. The native-born, on the other hand, usually began serving in office at ages which were low enough to permit most to participate before they died. Age was probably not in itself a condition of entry, but the rising mean age of office holders surely does reflect changes in the length of time it took men--especially immigrant men--to acquire other requisites of officeholding--e.g. substantial estates or community respectability.

A main cause of non-participation for men of all backgrounds throughout the period was of course poverty. The most marked characteristic of all non-participants as shown in table 41 was their inability to command another's labor. This indicates that the economic status of many of those non-participants who did acquire land was probably marginal, since such men lacked the labor to wrest maximum profit from their holdings. Filling out the ranks of the powerless were the men too poor to make any visible investments in the community.

Those Who Served

If many men in Charles County were powerless, so also did many men hold power. From one-quarter to one-half of the adult male residents did share in the government of their community.

The most prevalent recorded form of participation was jury service. It was a civic duty for which men were conscripted and one which was to them very likely more of a burden than an honor. Still, petit jurors had the power to decide the guilt or innocence of fellow citizens accused of crimes, and to judge the liability of those sued for breach of a contractual obligation. Grand jurors, in addition to deciding whether accused persons were indictable, presented their knowledge of such community needs as roads and bridges out of repair and orphans in need of protection.[35]

There were few legal requirements for jury service. With the exception of the officers occupied in running the court, all freeholders were eligible, and, under the proprietor, many non-landowning freedmen. Although after 1699 acts of Assembly restricted service to freeholders, some leaseholders in fact continued to be chosen.[36] Jurors were selected rather fortuitously during the first thirty years. Men summoned by the sheriff for jury duty were often not informed of the fact until the last minute and as a result, when a litigant requested a jury trial, there were often numerous absentees whose places had to be filled from among the men present in court. In 1690 the justices ordered the sheriff to regularize jury selection. Before each meeting of the court he was to select four "sufficient Able men" from each hundred (except distant New Scotland and Piscattaway) out of whom both grand and trial juries were to be made up. Men so chosen were to have at least ten days prior notice.[37]

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[35]Carr, "County Government," pp. 483-90.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Charles County Court, R#1, f. 95.

Jury duty, particularly in the early years, was rotated so that the burden of service did not fall too heavily on a few. About one-third of the jurors served only once, and another third served two to four times. Half of the remainder had five to nine services. The rest were summoned far more often than the principle of rotation would permit. The cause is almost certainly related to the Revolution of 1689, for forty-nine of the fifty-five men who sat twenty or more times compiled these services during and after that year. It is probable that the sheriffs, responding to complaints of the Associators about unqualified men sitting on juries, made it a policy to regularly summon as jurors some men whom they considered especially able and reliable. This was perhaps considered necessary because the exclusion of Roman Catholics from juries so decreased the numbers of eligible men that after the revolution the average juror was less qualified--on the basis of his wealth--than before. The men who sat on juries were indeed the possessors of visible and relatively illiquid estates. In most instances three-quarters or more of the jurors were both householders (see table 42) and landowners (see tables 43 and 44). Laborers and professional men alike who roomed in other men's houses were seldom selected. Similarly, sons of age still living at home were usually also excluded. During the first decades at least a quarter of the jurors were unmarried--a reflection of the unbalanced sex ratio--but these bachelors were already independent householders. Subsequently this changed. Less than ten percent of the jurors were unmarried by the 1690s. The sex ratio had improved so that more men were able to marry and did so at a younger age. By 1700 the great majority of those who decided the guilt or

TABLE 42

CHARLES COUNTY JURORS BY HOUSEHOLDING STATUS

Year First Service	% Non-householders	Status			% Householders	Marital Status at First Jury Service				% Householders Marital Status Unknown	Totals
		% Laborer	% Professional	% Sons at Home		% Married	% Single Later Married	% Probably Married	% Single		
1658-69	4				82					15	101%
N = 55		2	2	-		40	18	-	24		
1670-79	8				78					15	101%
N = 67		6	2	-		43	16	3	15		
1680-89	11				82					7	100%
N = 55		11	-	-		49	13	6	15		
1690-1705	10				77					13	100%
N = 107		3	3	5		50	8	12	8		
Total N = 284											

Source: Walsh file of county jurors with last names beginning with "A" through "G."

innocence of their fellow citizens were landowners, husbands, and fathers--the "responsible householders" who, contemporary ideology held, should be the community decision makers.

Characteristics of Charles County jurors are shown in tables 43 and 44. Not too much can be concluded about their origins, because the backgrounds of the majority are unknown. It is clear, however, that modest beginnings were not necessarily a bar to later service in local government. Fifteen to twenty-three percent of grand and petit jurors had arrived as servants, and another ten to nineteen percent had started out with little or no capital. Some men had few resources even while they served as jurors. A minimum of twelve to seventeen percent of petit jurors never rose above the status of laborers or short-term tenants, as did seven to fifteen percent of grand jurors. However, most jurors were both householders and landowners. Men who first served on juries during the first fifteen years after the county's founding were especially well-off; many of them were already or shortly would become wealthier than the majority of jurors who served later. The relatively more favorable economic conditions which small and middling planters experienced during the 1660s must account for this.[38]

Both petit and grand jurors tended to be drawn from the same groups and hence their characteristics were similar. Forty-two percent (331) of county jurors served on both types of juries. Differences between the two kinds of jurors were greatly reduced after 1690 when

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[38]See below, ch. 7. In Charles County in the last half of the 1660s both median personal estate values and values of estates in the bottom quartile were higher than at any other time in the seventeenth century. "Social Stratification in Maryland." For an explanation of the career analysis used in this chapter see appendix C.

TABLE 43

ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF CHARLES COUNTY PETIT JURORS, 1658-1705

Years First Served	No. Jurors	General Status at First Appearance in Records					General Status at Death, emigration or 1705					Land-holding			Labor-holding		
		%1	%2	%3	%4	% Unknown	%1	%2	%3	%4	% Unknown	Mean Acreage	Median Acreage	% No Land	Mean Number Laborers	Median Number	% with None
1658-1674	180	17	18	7	2	56	12	16	48	12	13	614	350	14	2.2	0	51
1675-1689	249	20	10	7	0	62	17	24	39	6	15	355	130	28	2.3	0	60
1690-1705	241	15	17	11	2	56	17	27	27	3	26	246	98	39	.7	0	69

Source: Walsh file of Charles County Officeholders.

Key to Tables 4, 5, 6, and 7.

General Status at First Appearance
1. immigrated as a servant
2. free immigrant with little or no capital assets, native with little or no inheritance.
3. immigrated or came of age with moderate capital assets
4. immigrated or came of age with substantial capital assets

General Status at Death, etc.
1. laborer or tenant
2. small planter
3. middling planter
4. large planter or merchant

TABLE 44

ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF CHARLES COUNTY GRAND JURORS, 1658-1705

Years First Served	No. Jurors	General Status at First Appearance in Records					General Status at Death, Emigration or 1705					Land-holding			Labor-holding		
		%1	%2	%3	%4	% Unknown	%1	%2	%3	%4	% Unknown	Mean Acreage	Medial Acreage	% No Land	Mean Number Laborers	Median Number	% with None
1658-1674	116	23	17	8	3	50	7	16	55	14	8	679	350	8	3.0	1.0	43
1675-1689	195	21	10	9	3	58	15	27	42	9	7	431	150	29	2.5	0	54
1690-1705	141	15	19	15	2	49	11	26	33	4	26	342	147	28	1.0	0	62

Source: Walsh file of Charles County Officeholders.

grand and petit juries were both chosen from among the eighteen to twenty men summoned for each meeting of the court.

Petit juries were, however, more likely than grand juries to contain some men of "scant sufficiency," especially in the two later fifteen-year periods. Petit jurors were more often tenants, and those who did hold land had fewer acres and fewer bound laborers than the average grand juror. Service on petit juries was also more universal. Eighty-four percent (654 out of 779) of county jurors served on petit juries, while only 456 (59 percent) served on grand juries.

This situation stands in marked contrast to at least two other Chesapeake counties in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries where studies have shown that grand jury service was more universal. In Prince George's County, Maryland, eighty percent (223 out of 277) of jurors who served between 1696 and 1709 served on grand juries. And in Surry County, Virginia, between 1682 and 1703, petit jurors were chosen from a relatively small number of more substantial planters, while grand juries tended to be drawn from a larger number of smaller planters. Differences between these counties may reflect different attitudes about participation held both by residents of the three counties and by their rulers. Kevin Kelly has hypothesized that grand jury service in Surry County was a vehicle for involving, but strictly limiting, the impact of small planters. Conversely, he sees the more exclusive choice of petit jurors as a way of ensuring that men in a position to make decisions about an individual's property would themselves be property-holders who "would understand the gravity of their decisions and duties." The tendency in Charles County to include larger

numbers of small planters on petit juries may reflect the discontent with the status quo felt by a number of its residents and rulers, especially the supporters and followers of Josias Fendall.[39]

Unlike common jury duty, the post of jury foreman was probably a position of some prestige in the community. The men chosen to head both grand and petit juries were presumably men of ability, and certainly were men of sufficiency. Foremen possessed more than twice the landed wealth and bound labor of the mean petit or grand juror. (See table 45.) In addition, they were often men who had immigrated or come of age with considerable wealth. The first group of petit jury foremen was the exception--men who had immigrated as servants or with small amounts of capital dominated. Thereafter, however, men who began more auspiciously were usually chosen. Grand jury foremen in particular were among the more important planters in the county; all of them owned more land than did the majority of county planters, and most had started out with the advantages of status and capital. Such men were undoubtedly expected to exert considerable influence over their fellow jury members.[40]

The other conscripted officers of local government--the constables and the overseers of the highways--were men of status similar to that of the jurors. They were frequently in fact the same men--sixty

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[39]Carr, "County Government," pp. 658-66; Kelly, "Political Order in Surry County."

[40]Jury foremen in Prince George's County between 1696 and 1709 had similar economic and social characteristics. Carr, "County Government, p. 659. According to Carr, how jury foremen were selected is unclear. Were they chosen by the jury members themselves, this would be strong evidence of deference. A more likely supposition seems to be that foremen were chosen by the sheriff when he empaneled the jury; we do not know for certain that this was the case, however.

TABLE 45

ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PETIT AND GRAND JURY FOREMEN, 1658-1705

Years First Served	No. Jurors	General Status at First Appearance in Records					General Status at Death, Emigration or 1705					Land-holding			Labor-holding		
		$1	$2	$3	$4	% Unknown	$1	$2	$3	$4	% Unknown	Mean Acreage	Median Acreage	% with None	Mean Number Laborers	Median Number	% with None
Petit Jury Foremen																	
1658-1674	31	29	26	10	19	29	-	7	58	32	3	1430	980	3	8.1	5.0	29
1675-1689	44	14	16	11	2	55	2	9	61	16	11	678	250	18	4.4	2.0	41
1690-1705	14	21	29	43	-	29	7	7	36	14	36	808	615	7	.8	0	64
Grand Jury Foremen																	
1658-1674	12	17	42	25	-	17	-	-	75	25	-	1053	893	-	6.3	5.0	17
1675-1689	13	15	15	15	15	39	-	-	39	62	-	1861	1300	-	9.7	7.0	15
1690-1705	9	-	-	56	11	33	-	-	44	11	44	882	870	-	1.6	1.0	33

Source: Walsh file of Charles County Officeholders.

to seventy percent of these minor officers also sat as jurors. Men who served as constables and overseers were wealthier than jurors as a whole, but not as well off as jury foremen. To the extent that the recruitment of men of social standing is an indication of the prestige of the office, overseers had the least prestige, and jury foremen the most, with the constables occupying a middle position.

When selecting constables, the justices must have looked for men mature and able enough to carry out the duties of the office--jobs which were essential to maintaining order and administering justice on the frontier. Fulfilling these duties--breaking up fights, reporting various offenders to the court, and preparing annual lists of taxables were the principal tasks--required the expenditure of some time and effort on the constables' part, for which there was no remuneration. For this reason, the duties were rotated fairly frequently, usually about every two years. Constables for the first thirty years tended to be well-established planters thirty-five to forty years old. The exclusion of Catholics from the office in 1689 must have severely depleted the ranks of men eligible for the office, for a number of much less wealthy individual served as constables thereafter, while the total number of men holding the office declined. (See table 46.) Of forty-four men who sat on twenty or more juries after 1689, seven also served as constables; six, as overseers, and thirteen in both conscriptive offices.

Overseers of the highways were expected to impress county residents to build and repair roads and then to direct the work. The job apparently carried little prestige, for the men chosen were usually less

TABLE 46

ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF CONSTABLES AND OVERSEERS OF THE HIGHWAYS, 1658-1705

Years First Served	No. Officers	General Status at First Appearance in Records					General Status at Death, Emigration or 1705					Land-holding			Labor-holding		
		$1	$2	$3	$4	% Unknown	$1	$2	$3	$4	% Unknown	Mean Acreage	Median Acreage	% with None	Mean Number Laborers	Median Number	% with None
Constables																	
1658-1674	27	37	7	15	4	37	7	15	63	15	-	777	600	7	5.6	2.0	37
1675-1689	67	16	19	12	4	48	4	22	47	15	12	724	229	13	4.2	1.0	36
1690-1705	35	34	15	3	-	49	14	17	54	3	11	267	150	37	1.8	1.0	49
Overseers of the Highways																	
1658-1674	4	-	-	-	-	100	-	25	50	-	25	492	260	-	3.3	3.0	25
1675-1689	25	16	12	20	4	52	-	4	84	8	4	596	350	-	4.7	3.0	32
1690-1705	102	17	17	12	3	52	12	25	39	6	18	343	150	27	1.3	0	61

Source: Walsh file of Charles County Officeholders.

wealthy than those selected as constables. Since the justices controlled the location of any new roads, overseers had no discretionary powers. The office must often have been a vexing responsibility, some neighbors resenting demands for their labor and others quick to criticize the amount and quality of the work performed. By the end of the period, a majority of the adult males aged twenty-one to thirty were creoles, and not surprisingly, the burdensome duty of overseeing the highways was often delegated to young, native-born men.[41]

Other minor local offices were filled in a variety of ways, and they carried somewhat more prestige than those of the conscripted constables and overseers of the highways. Such offices, however, were seldom stepping stones to more important positions. Court cryers, county clerks, clerks of indictments and undersheriffs received remuneration for their efforts. Town commissioners did not, but they also had fewer duties to perform.

Court cryers were appointed by the county justices, and they needed few qualifications for the office aside from conscientious attendance. For the performance of their duties they received modest fees. Most of the men appointed were rather obscure planters who otherwise held no important offices.

Clerks of the court secured their positions from the provincial secretary, buying the position or paying him a share of the profits. They were men of some education, and they provided the justices with professional guidance (essential given the background of many of the

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[41]For a similar age/experience differential in Prince George's County constables and overseers see ibid., p. 656.

justices) and organized the business of the court.[42] Little is known about the origins of Charles County's clerks. Most do not seem to have had much capital when they took up the office. On the other hand, if they lived long enough, the clerks built up a comfortable estate from the profits derived from the office.[43] The clerkship was not, however, a stepping stone to higher offices. One clerk, Randolph Brandt, did serve as a burgess and a militia officer. None of the others obtained high county office.[44] Altogether men of some standing in the community, they were not full-fledged members of the county power structure.

The clerk of indictments (an office which appeared in the 1680s) prepared indictments and argued the government's position in any case in which it was involved. Clerks obtained their appointments from the attorney general and apparently paid nothing for the position.[45] In contrast to the county clerkship, this post was sought by able--and rising--attorneys. William Dent, for example, who was clerk of indictments for nine years beginning in 1685 later became a justice, a burgess, and the attorney general of the province.

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[42]Ibid., pp. 490-502. For a listing of Charles County clerks see Donnell M. Owings, His Lordship's Patronage, Studies in Maryland History, no. 1 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1953), pp. 149-50.

[43]For the profits of the office, see Carr, "County Government," pp. 491-96. In 1692 Charles County clerk Thomas Lomax estimated his annual income at 20,000 pounds of tobacco or about £67. Maryland Archives 8: 401-03.

[44]Richard Boughton, a Charles County clerk sat briefly on the council by virtue of one year's service as secretary of Maryland, a post which brought automatic status as a councillor. Had Broughton's skills as a clerk not been desperately needed, he clearly would not have achieved such high position.

[45]Carr, "County Government," pp. 490-502.

The sheriff selected and paid the undersheriffs who aided him in carrying out his duties.[46] A few of the twenty-one men known to have been undersheriffs in Charles County later achieved wealth and prominence. Most were and remained small and middling planters. Almost all the undersheriffs were, however, men of more than average education. Samuel Cressey and Edward Chapman for instance later qualified as attorneys. Such men very likely helped to keep the sheriff's accounts as well as performing such tasks as delivering summonses.

Town Commissioners were to supervise the laying out and development of the towns established by the assembly in 1683 and 1684 "for the Advancement of Trade." The groups of men named for the various towns included county justices and some substantial landowners who lived in the area where the towns were to be established.[47] Although lots were laid out, few were developed, and no functioning villages appeared. Hence, town commissioners had few duties and the office was one of little practical importance.

The Rulers: Division of Power

The justices of the peace were the effective rulers of the county. As administrators they regulated local economic activity, they determined what public services would be provided, and they apportioned the costs of these services both in time and taxes among county residents. The justices were also the main conservators of order in the

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[46]Ibid., pp. 520-21.

[47]Maryland Archives 7: 609-19; 13: 118-19; 70: 19; 8: 458.

community. In addition to jointly trying all cases brought before the county court, each individual justice had a number of powers designed to keep the peace. They each had the power to demand a peace bond or recognizance from anyone who broke or threatened to break the peace, and the power to require bond for good behavior. In the absence of any police, it was the justice who interrogated those accused of offenses by their neighbors and either bound the accused to appear in court for trial or ordered him to prison. From the 1690s the single justice heard and determined small civil causes, and two justices together performed functions ancillary to litigation in the higher courts.[48]

According to Carr, "Their concentration of judicial and executive powers gave the justices far more control over individuals than any single agency of government has today."[49] The powers duly granted to these men were augmented by the fact that in the seventeenth century governmental authority was so highly decentralized that for many Charles County planters the local rulers were in many instances the only rulers. The powers of the local justices could theoretically be checked by the higher courts, by the governor and council, and by the assembly, but these remedies were slow, time-consuming, and often expensive for the individual citizen. For many there was probably no effective appeal from the decisions of the local magistrate.[50]

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[48]Carr, "County Government," pp. 440-83; "Foundations of Social Order," pp. 8-22; and "Magistracy and Social Order."

[49]Magistracy and Social Order," p. 7.

[50]Ibid.; "County Government," pp. 440-83; and "Foundations of Social Order," pp. 8-22. For the broad, even "'extravagant'" jurisdiction of the county court see "County Government," pp. 167-92. The county and not the provincial court heard the great majority of both criminal and civil actions.

However broad the powers of the justices of the peace, they were not sufficient in themselves to ensure the effective rule of a frontier community. It was critical that the occupants brought to the office the added weight of community respect. The settlers held in contempt men whom they thought unfit for the office. A justice of the early 1660s who "hath bin A Common defamor of most of all his neighbors," and who "had the Common Repuit of A Hogstealer" was quickly dropped from the bench.[51] In 1677 Thomas Hussey was suspended from office at his own request because he kept "a house of publick entertainment for all persons wch seems somewhat to disparrage the quality of such Comission, & Cause it to be sleighted by sundry persons . . ."[52] Complaints about the quality of some of the justices were still being voiced in 1681. "God dam them," raged planter John Wright, "what pittifull Justices have they picked up for us, George Godfrey is a Rebell, & William Smith . . . is a hog stealer."[53] Not surprisingly the governors appointed when possible men of considerable social, economic and educational standing. The number of colonists possessing such rank or training was, however, considerably less than the number of offices to be filled, so wealth was the most common and frequently the only criterion for selection.

Legal qualifications for appointment to the office were few. Although this was also the case in England, there the justices represented the long-established landed wealth of their counties. In addition,

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[51]Charles County Court, A#1, ff. 225-26, 229.

[52]Ibid., G#1, f. 56.

[53]Ibid., K#1, f. 87.

English justices also usually boasted coats of arms and often had had considerable formal education. Since there were few men of this sort in the colonies, New World standards necessarily differed from those of the Old World.[54] Such differences were most apparent in Charles County in the early 1660s.

The men initially appointed to the county bench were, with the exception of William Batten, a merchant, men whose origins were very similar to those of many of the settlers they were to govern. Six of the twelve justices appointed by 1660 had arrived as indentured servants, and four of the remaining six had immigrated with little capital. Probably only Batten was called "Mister" upon arrival. Neither were the justices exceptionally wealthy. Aside from Walter Bayne who had already accumulated 2,500 acres, the mean landholding was 464 acres. At least one quarter of the early appointees were illiterate, and those who were literate had probably had little formal education. (See table 47 and appendix D, table D2.)[55]

Some of these first appointees had, one can speculate, demonstrated some ability and qualities of leadership which came to the ears

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[54]Carr, "County Government," pp. 471-73. Cf. Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia."

[55]Full references are not here included for all the biographies of major officeholders. The career studies are based largely on my research in the Charles County records; full citations are available from my files. The information so obtained was then supplemented by reference to complementary studies and career files. These include Russell R. Menard, "Major Office Holders in Maryland to 1689," MS, Hall of Records; Carr, "County Government," appendix 2 for Prince George's County officeholders; St. Mary's City Commission, "Career File of Seventeenth-Century St. Mary's County Residents," MS, Hall of Records; and files of Charles and St. Mary's County delegates and councillors from the "Maryland Legislative History Project, 1635-1789," Edward C. Papenfuse and David W. Jordan, principal investigators, MS, Hall of Records.

TABLE 47

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHARLES COUNTY JUSTICES OF THE PEACE, 1658-1705

Year First Appointed	N	Status at Immigration or Majority: % Immigrant	% Ex-servant	% Capital on Arrival or Majority	Landholding: Mean Acreage at Appointment	Mean Maximum Acreage Acquired	Labor Owned: Mean Number of Servants and Slaves	Personal Estate at Death: Mean Estate in Pounds Sterling	Mean Years in office
1658	7	100	57	0	482	1029	7	£339	8.4
1660	5	100	40	20	845	2042	7	318	8.2
1661	6	83	17	33	588	1290	7	162	3.7
1663-1670	6	83	0	67	815	1447	8	198	9.2
1672	5	80	0	60	624	1694	9	299	12.4
1676	5	100	20	60	855	2181	16	395	8.2
1680	6	100	17	33	996	1673	21	255	7.1
1684-1687	6	83	17	33	1484	2625	13	781	2.8
1689-1690	6	100	17	50	1470	2205	5	-	8.5+
1692-1696	7	86	14	29	495	626	6	-	8.9+
1697-1700	5	60	0	60	1161	3104	22	1539	4.8+
1704-1705	4	25	0	75	1710	2069	3	-	1.3+

Source: See appendix D, table D2.

of the governor. Others were perhaps simply the most prosperous settler living in a particular area of the county.[56] Five of the original twelve choices must have been adequate--Henry Adams, Robert Henley, James Lindsay, Joseph Harrison, and Zachary Wade all went on to serve on the bench for more than ten years. Some other appointees must have had little aptitude for the job. John Cage and James Walker, for example, were shortly dropped from the commission although both continued to live in the county for a number of years.

Most of the men Governor Charles Calvert named justices after his arrival in 1661 had immigrated with more economic resources than the earlier appointees. For example, two sons of former governor William Stone were chosen. Thomas Stone refused to serve, but his brother John sat for twenty-eight years. Another appointee, Humphrey Warren, Senior, had English mercantile connections, while Thomas Matthews and Gerrard Fowke were already substantial landowners who probably came from respectable English families. The amount of land held by justices newly appointed during the 1670s edged upward; there was not yet, however, a great gap between the wealth of most of these "gentlemen justices" and that of many middling planters in the county. Also, few as yet had likely had much formal education.

By the mid 1680s the distance between the wealth of the county rulers and the men they ruled increased.[57] Justices named in the mid-1680s were on the whole older, wealthier, and better educated than many

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[56]Carr, "County Government," pp. 623-36. Appointments in Prince George's County were clearly made with an eye to providing a justice for each concentration of population.

[57]See Menard, Harris, and Carr, "Opportunity and Inequality."

of their predecessors. John Addison, for example, came from a prominent family of merchants and clergymen in England. In partnership with several English merchants he was able to establish a considerable mercantile business, trading with the Indians as well as with white settlers, and importing many servants. Within three years of immigration he married the widow of a leading planter and attorney, and at his appointment to the bench in 1687, he was already the owner of over 3,000 acres.[58]

After the Revolution of 1689 the characteristics of newly appointed justices were more diverse. With the exclusion of Catholics, more positions became available to qualified Protestants, and in addition, the deaths at this time of a large number of men who had been justices for ten to fifteen years opened an unusual number of posts. Apparently there were not enough men of background and fortune to fill them. Although some of the justices chosen during the 1690s were many times wealthier than all but a few of their neighbors, men with much more modest fortunes were also named. Henry Hardy, for instance, had arrived as an indentured servant in 1664. He was free by about 1668, and became a small planter, first acquiring land--150 acres--in 1676. He began his career in local government as an undersheriff to Robert Doyne in the eighties and was long a mainstay of the jury system, serving on a total of thirty-nine panels, twelve times as grand jury foreman. When appointed to the bench in 1696 (twenty-eight years after he became a freedman), Hardy was still a middling planter owning only 460 acres, part of which had been acquired by marriage to a middling planter's widow. A man to whom polite manners probably always remained foreign, during his term

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[58]See Carr, "County Government," appendix 2, pp. 272-78.

on the bench Hardy was called to account for abusing his step children, mistreating his wife, and making advances to his maid servants.

The beginning of the eighteenth century marked a return to the appointment of the wealthy and better educated. It also marked the beginning of the transition from an immigrant to a native-born bench. Four of the six men named after 1699 were born in Maryland, and by 1705 nearly forty percent of the justices were natives. Typical of new justices was Gerrard Fowke, son of a justice of the 1660s. The elder Fowke had died in 1670, leaving lands in Stafford and Westmoreland Counties, Virginia, to his eight-year-old son and a daughter. Of age in 1683, the younger Fowke two years later acquired a 500 acre plantation in Charles County through the sale of some of his Virginia lands. By marrying an heiress the next year Fowke gained control of an additional 800 acres in the county. His sister's marriage to William Dent in the previous year forged connections with another wealthy, powerful, creole family. The younger Fowke's political career began in 1694 when he was named to the Nanjemoy Parish vestry and he became an undersheriff. Fowke had served only one time in a conscriptive office, and that as grand jury foreman. By 1699 Fowke had acquired the shrievalty, serving until 1701, and three years later was appointed to the county bench. In the same year Fowke was elected a burgess. Inherited wealth and status clearly smoothed and quickened the course of his career.

The preceding discussion of the men chosen as justices has emphasized temporal differences in background and wealth of Charles County's rulers. It is equally important to note that as shown in table 47 differences in wealth were minimized as the justices' careers progressed.

By the time of death or departure from the county, most of the political rulers were also among the leading land and labor owners.

The economic success of the county rulers most certainly was a result of business acumen, inheritance, or a good marriage rather than of the office itself. Justices of the peace were rulers expected to serve without reward. They received no fees or salary, and there was little opportunity for a justice to acquire or increase a fortune in the course of carrying out his official duties. Neither was the position one likely to lead to appointment to major offices of profit on the provincial level; these lucrative posts were reserved largely for relatives and friends of the Calverts.[59]

Rather, the process by which justices were selected must have been, on the whole, a remarkably successful one. Successful, that is, if the aim of the governors who named the justices was to bolster the authority of the bench with men who wielded the influence of wealth, at least, if not of education and high social status. It was of course simple enough to select men who were already wealthy. On the other hand, in the early years, a keen insight into men's abilities and potentials was required in order to determine who among a group of relatively poor, newly-established planters would become the county's major wealthholders.[60]

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[59]Ibid., text, pp. 468-71.

[60]The initial choice of justices was made by Governor Josias Fendall. After Fendall's revolt of 1660 was ended, Governor Phillip Calvert named some new men and also retained some of the Fendall appointees. Thereafter, from 1661 until 1684 (with a break between 1676 and 1679) selections were made by Governor (and from 1676) Proprietor Charles Calvert. From the 1670s on appointments to the county bench may well have been influenced by the advice of the members of the council residing in the county. Before 1672, however, there were no councillors from Charles, other than Richard Boughton (see note 43).

The governors' increasing tendencies from the mid-1680s to select men who had already made their fortunes seems largely a result of the choices available. Earlier, governors sometimes had little alternative but to select some middling planters whose futures looked promising. When enough county residents had built up large estates it became possible to make the office an obligation or honor which previously acquired wealth and status conferred.[61]

The sheriff was, equally with the justices a county ruler. He was both the servant of the justices and an independent power, commissioned by and representing the central government.[62] Although the justices did not gain control of the office, as happened in Virginia, the Charles County sheriffs were local residents, and two-thirds of them served also as justices.

Initially, Governor Fendall appointed Nicholas Gwyther, a St. Mary's Countian, to be sheriff of both that county and of newly formed Charles. From 1661 until 1667 five men who were justices and one who was not each served one year terms. These men were from 1662 to 1669 chosen by law by the governor from a list of nominees submitted to the justices. Such short terms did not allow the occupant to gain much experience in the office and probably severely limited the profits which could be made from it. Although a disadvantage from the point of view

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[61]In Charles County before 1681 only four estates were valued at £400 or more. Between 1681 and 1705 twenty estates of this value were probated. "Social Stratification in Maryland."

[62]Carr, "County Government," pp. 508-26; and Cyrus H. Karraker, The Seventeenth-Century Sheriff: A Comparative Study of the Sheriff in England and the Chesapeake Colonies, 1607-89 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930).

of efficiency, the average planter may have considered frequent rotation a positive good, one which checked the sheriff's effective powers.

Subsequently Governor Calvert selected several highly influential men who were not county officeholders to fill the position, and he retained them in the office for much longer terms. Benjamin Rozer, who was sheriff for eleven years between 1667 and 1679, brought to the office a prestige and authority which earlier sheriffs could not command. Well-educated and well-connected, and from 1677 a member of the council, Rozer was one of the richest men in the colony, at death commanding a personal estate six times that of the mean estate of justices appointed in the county during his term of office. John Allen, an ambitious if not always successful former London merchant, was sheriff from 1672 to 1675, and William Chandler, a wealthy militia officer, served for seven years beginning in 1679. Robert Doyne, who previously had served as a justice, obtained the shrievalty in 1685. Like Rozer he brought to the office the power of very great wealth and influential connections. County residents, including perhaps some of the justices, resented the power and influence of these officials. While no specific charges of misconduct had been made against Robert Doyne in 1686, for example, a justice reported that "the common vogue and clamour of the people" opposed his reappointment.[63]

After 1689 county sheriffs served first two and then three-year terms, and regular rotation in office again became the practice. The size of the performance bond which candidates were required to post insured that only men of considerable substance could serve; subsequent

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[63] Maryland Archives 5: 471-72.

occupants were all substantial landowners, but none possessed such spectacular wealth as had some of their immediate predecessors. Sheriff Gilbert Clark, a sometime resident of St. Mary's County, received the position in 1689 as a reward for services rendered during the revolution. A man of mixed character, Clark was charged with extortion in 1691 and lost the office.[64] The seven later sheriffs were all well-established in the county; four were justices when named and two others later became justices. Significantly, six of the seven were native-born. The office--and its profits--was coming to be the province of county-based creoles.

The men who occupied the bench were by and large the men who represented the county in the provincial assembly. We know very little of how the burgesses were chosen. The sheriff first summoned four or more of the justices who sat as a court to appoint a day and place for the election. They then ordered "that ye sherife make proclamation thereof & giue notice to ye severall Inhabitants of this County of ye day & place aforesd . . ."[65] There are no answers to many of the questions which interest us the most: who the defeated candidates were; whether or not there were contents; if so, what issues were involved; the size of the electorate; how many voted; and what determined their votes are topics which did not enter the records and thus have been lost to time.[66]

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[64]See Carr and Jordan, Maryland's Revolution of Government, pp. 243-45.

[65]Charles County Court, I#1, f. 316, for example.

[66]For a discussion of one of the few descriptions of a seventeenth-century Maryland election see Carr, "County Government," pp. 380-91.

What can be learned about delegates from Charles County is that of the thirty-two men who represented the county in the assembly before 1706, twenty-five (78 percent) were also justices. As most of these were elected after taking seats on the bench, the majority of the delegates were men who were already a part of the county power structure.

Until the turn of the century, there were no distinguishing characteristics which might separate burgesses from the other justices. Although the majority of the electorate must always have been Protestant, both Protestants and Catholics were chosen. Social origins of the delegates were varied. Ex-servants, middling immigrants, and men who arrived with titles all served. Prior to the late 1680s the men elected were, on the average, no more or no less wealthy than the members of the county bench. Afterwards a change is evident. One result of Maryland's revolution of government and subsequent period of royal rule was a growth in power and procedural sophistication in the lower house.[67] The men who represented the county during the 1690s and early 1700s were among the wealthiest and the best educated county residents. The mean landholding of the delegates rose to almost twice the mean acreage held by other justices. Men of top caliber were clearly coming to seek--and to be elected--to an office growing in promise and importance.[68]

Parish vestrymen played only a minor role in local government in Maryland. The office, however, was one which attracted the interest

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[67]David W. Jordan, "The Royal Period of Colonial Maryland, 1689-1715" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1966), chs. 3 and 5.

[68]Cf. idem., "Political Stability and the Emergence of a Native Elite in Maryland, 1660-1715," in Tate, ed., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century.

and participation of many of the county's rulers. Whether they were motivated primarily by a desire to see Anglicanism organized and established or whether they were simply reluctant to allow taxing and administrative powers to fall into other hands is uncertain.

Whatever their motives, vestrymen were for some years preoccupied with parochial duties--building churches, procuring ministers, and creating congregations. They also performed some governmental functions--keeping vital records, admonishing couples for cohabitation, investigating sabbath violations, and helping supervise the upbringing of orphans. And when parishs acquired the power to tax all residents for the support of the established church in 1698, the vestrymen made decisions which affected the estates of everyone.[69]

Most of the men who carried out these tasks were powerful county figures. Vestrymen were initially elected by the county's freeholders when the parishes were established in 1692 and were then to be self-perpetuating. In 1702 a change of law made the office again elective with periodic rotation of the office a requirement. However chosen, at any given time a majority of the vestrymen were also holders of other important offices. A few lesser individuals were selected. Nine vestrymen chosen between 1692 and 1705 held no other high county offices. These men were middling planters who owned between 100 and 800 acres of land and who all participated in other minor local offices.[70] There is

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[69]For the functions of the parish vestry see Carr, "County Government," pp. 528-39, 668-76. For surviving seventeenth-century parish records see the parish register, 1689-1801, and vestry minutes, 1693-1779, of Piscattaway Parish, MS, and the vestry minutes, 1692-1720, of All Faiths Parish.

[70]The vestries in Prince George's County were similarly dominated by men who were already justices or delegates. Carr, "County Government," pp. 668-69.

little evidence of any great interest in vestry elections on the part of most parishioners. Perhaps most men simply accepted that the state church should be organized and administered by the county's economic and political rulers. Or, perhaps the ordinary planter was not concerned enough about the activities of the vestry to participate either as an elector or a candidate. The initial result of the establishment of vestries, then, was a minor extension of the powers of the men already ruling the county.

The extent to which the same men dominated all facets of local government can be seen in table 48. Men appointed sheriff could not hold other civil posts while serving in that position; the offices of burgess, justice and vestryman could be held concomitantly. Half of the county's rulers held more than one office over the course of their political careers. In the first twenty-two years, one man in ten held three important offices, and in the second period, one in five. The creation of the vestries accounts for this increase in pluralism. Securing appointment to the bench was clearly the critical step in establishing a political position in the county--election to the assembly and the vestry, and perhaps a term as sheriff, might then follow. Few men were selected as burgesses or sheriffs who had not first served as justices, and while some men who were not first justices were named to vestries, not many of the men so appointed later obtained other positions of power.

Because the justices were more often than not during the course of their careers also sheriffs, burgesses, or vestrymen, the administrative, judicial, legislative, and even religious life of the county all fell under the direction and control of a small group of men. This

TABLE 48

PLURALISM IN MAJOR POSITIONS, CHARLES COUNTY, 1658-1705

Offices Held During Career	Years 1658-1680 N=47	Years 1681-1705 N=43
Served only as justice	38%	14%
Served as justice and in another major office as well (sheriff, burgess, or vestryman)	32	37
Served as justice and in two or more other major offices	10	16
Served in other major office, but not as justice	20	32
Totals	100%	99%

great concentration of power in the hands of a few was, however, at least during the seventeenth century counterbalanced by two other factors. First, these arrangements were generally supported by community consensus. Second, heavy mortality meant that great power was seldom held for long, and family interests were not readily transmissible.

The Rulers: Transfer of Power

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the distribution and transmission of political power in early Charles County is the lack of an elite class from which rulers could be recruited. Institutions of local government proved much easier to transplant than the classes who traditionally occupied positions of power in England. Only by the turn of the century were ruling families beginning to emerge.

During much of the seventeenth century who would rule was determined to a large extent by who was most successful in seizing the opportunities which an expanding economy offered. We have seen that the majority of early justices, sheriffs, and burgesses were immigrants, many of them of very humble origins, who achieved a social and economic status in Maryland well above that they could have expected to achieve in Britain. In addition to economic success, the careers of some early officeholders were advanced by education, successful marriages, and longevity. Birth and connections did not often play a role in local political appointments. Of the forty justices named to the county bench before 1681, only five may have owed their appointments to their background.

The rise to power was swift and often immediate. This was due to the small numbers of men available to fill key offices and to the short life span of most Chesapeake settlers. A belief that men should serve only in those offices which were appropriate to their abilities must also have contributed. That is, a man perceived as "justice material" usually began service in that position, and not in a lesser post. In contrast with at least some New England towns, there was very little working up through the ranks.[71] (See table 49.) Only five of the forty justices appointed before 1681 served in a lower county office other than that of juror before becoming a county ruler. The younger and less educated justices must truly have had to grow into their positions.

The early rulers were relatively young men. The mean age at first appointment to the bench was forty during the period 1658-1669. Death quickly depleted the ranks of the initial nominees, and in the following decade, men several years younger were chosen to replace them. (See figure 16.) Mean age at first service remained at or below forty through the turn of the century. The unusually early age at which Charles Countians assumed positions of major responsibility was very likely a result of the peculiar demographic situation of the region. In contrast, men assuming power in the Plymouth Colony (where lives were longer) during this same period were almost all over age forty at the time of first service, as were local leaders in at least some Massachusetts towns.[72]

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[71]Selectmen in Dedham and Watertown, Massachusetts, for example, had many years' prior experience in lesser local offices. Kenneth A. Lockridge and Alan Kreider, "The Evolution of Massachusetts Town Government, 1640 to 1740," WMQ 23 (1966): 549-74.

[72]Cf. Demos, A Little Commonwealth, pp. 172-74; Lockridge and Kreider, "The Evolution of Massachusetts Town Government."

TABLE 49

PLURALISM IN ALL LEVELS OF COUNTY OFFICE

Highest Level County Office Held	N	Other Offices Held During Political Career: None	Low County Office	Mid-level County Office	Mid-level Provincial Office	High Provincial Office
Major county office	91	55%	11%	18%	5%	10%
Mid-level county office	57	81	18	-	2	-
Minor county office	201	100	-	-	-	-

Source: Walsh File of Charles County Office holders.

Key: Major county office = justice, sheriff, burgess, vestry.

Mid-level county office = cryor, county clerk, clerk of indictments, undersheriff, town commissioner.

Minor county office = constable, overseer of highways.

Mid-level provincial office = surveyor, naval district officer, clerk of assembly.

High provincial office = council, provincial court judge.

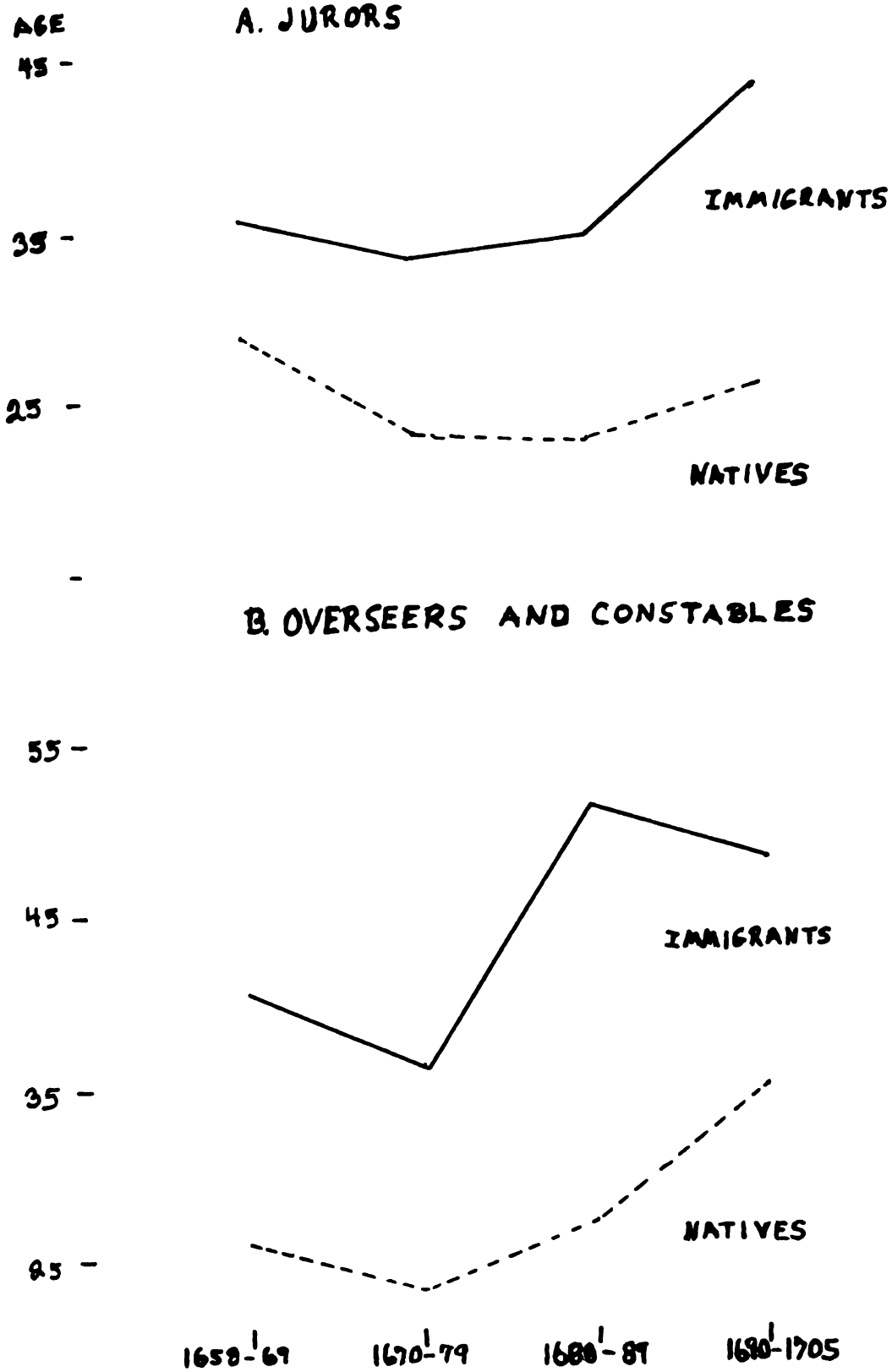
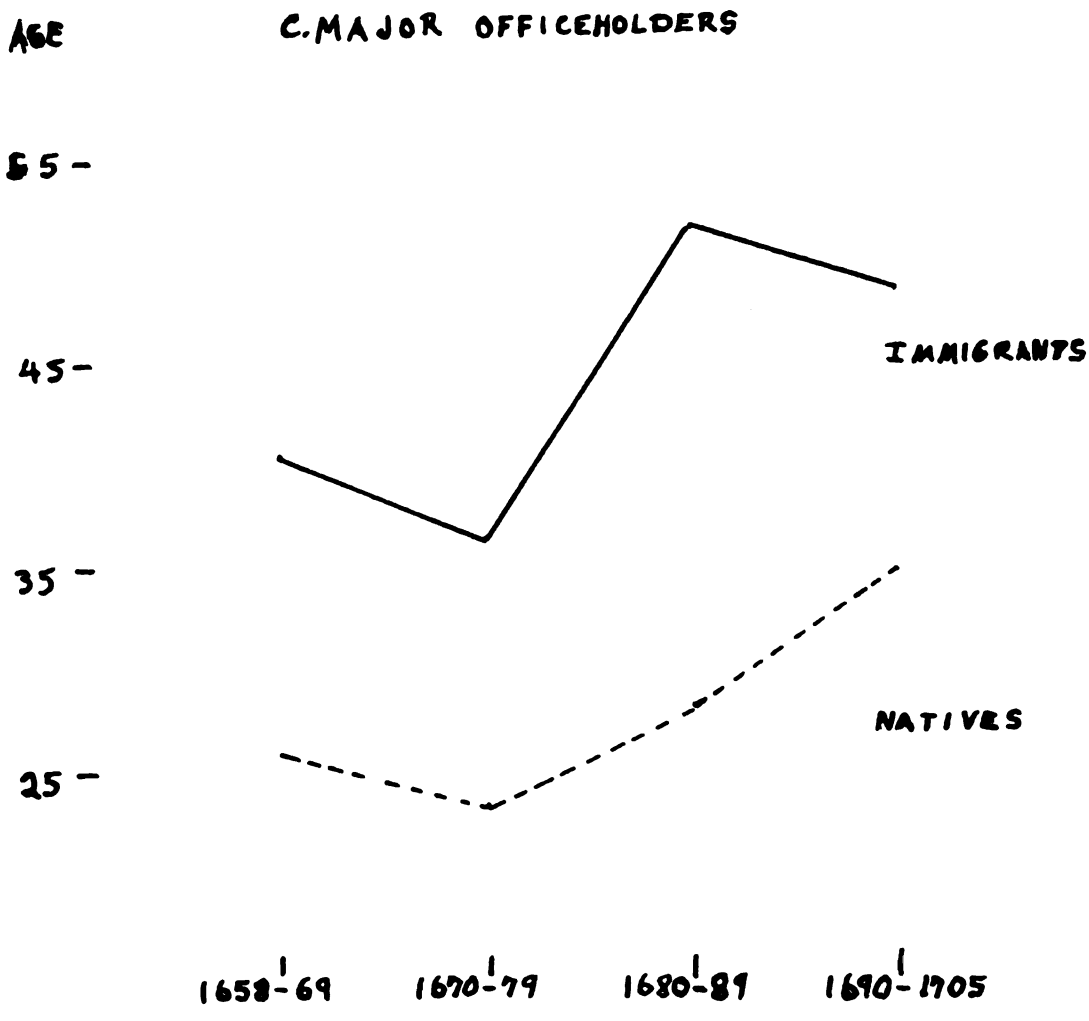


FIGURE 16. AGE AT FIRST SERVICE IN VARIOUS OFFICES



SOURCE: WALSH FILE OF CHARLES COUNTY RESIDENTS

FIGURE 16 (CONT'D.)

Tenure in office was long in the sense that three-quarters of the justices remained in office until they retired, or died, or were appointed to higher positions. However, because of high mortality, virtual "life-long" tenure amounted to an average of only seven and a half years in office. (See table 47.) This situation continued into the 1690s.[73] As a consequence, the number of experienced justices sitting at any given time remained small. (See figure 17.) Most of the initial appointees died in the late 1660s, with the result that during the next decade the number of justices with five years or more experience continued to be low, fluctuating between three and six. Only after 1685 did the number consistently reach five or more. The bench was particularly experienced between 1685 and 1697 when three or four men with ten and fifteen years of service sat. The court's success in maintaining order and continuing governmental functions in the county between 1689 and 1692 during the overthrow of the provincial government[74] must have been partly due to the degree of experience of the men running local government. The number of members with five or more years' service dropped in the late 1690s as another large group of justices died, and then rose again beginning in 1701. Here the contrast with New England was particularly striking. Between 1686 and 1697 when the Charles County bench was notably experienced and stable, the mean number of years of cumulative experience as justices of the various

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[73]Similar circumstances occurred throughout the colony. The mean number of years of service of all Maryland justices sitting in 1689 was 7.18. Carr and Jordan, Maryland's Revolution of Government, p. 187.

[74]Ibid., pp. 110-11, 139, 145, 223, 228-30.

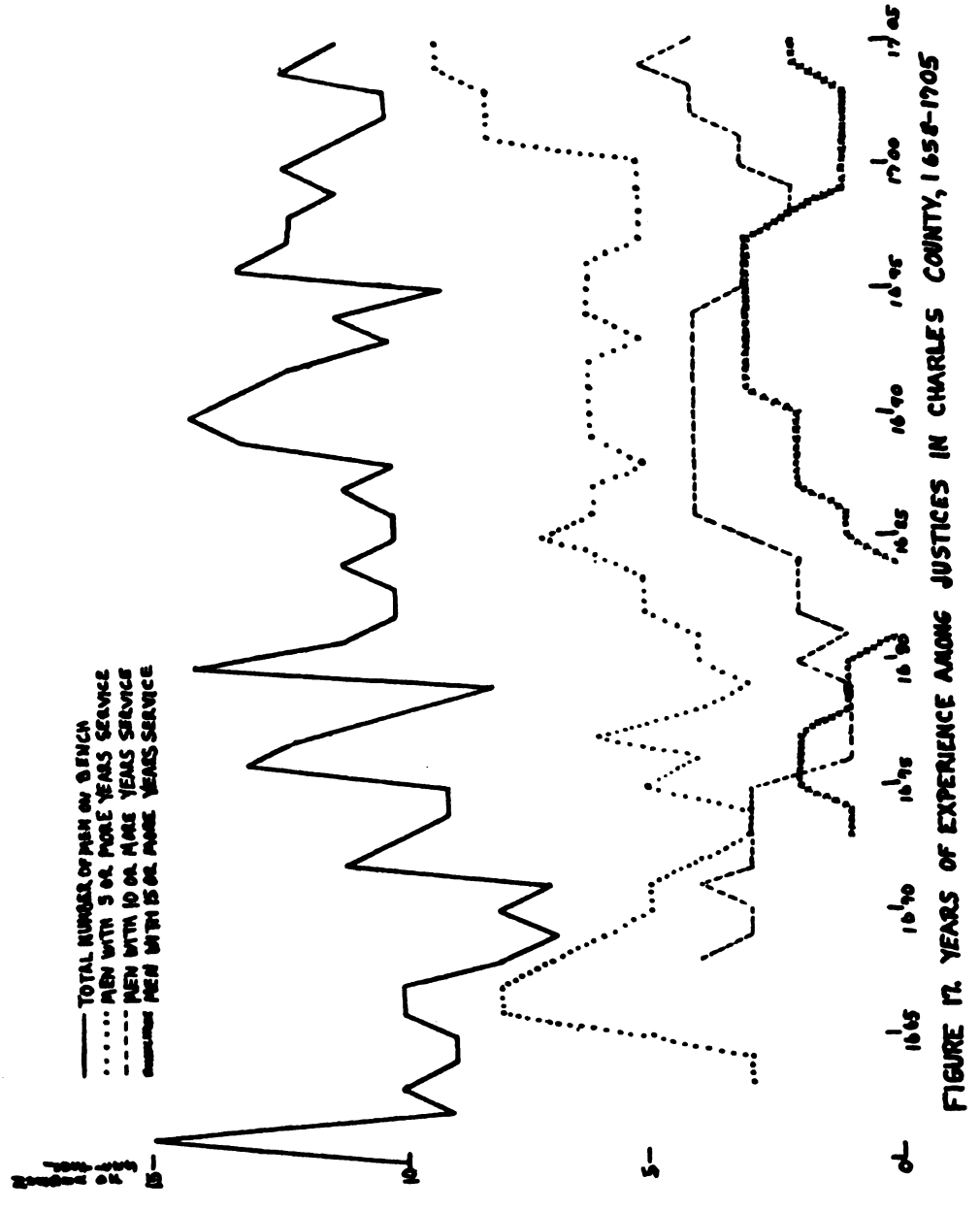

FIGURE 17. YEARS OF EXPERIENCE AMONG JUSTICES IN CHARLES COUNTY, 1658-1705

members ranged from a low of 7.3 years in 1690 to a maximum of 10.3 years in 1693. In contrast, in Dedham, Massachusetts, the mean cumulative years of experience of selectmen ranged from a high of 53.0 years in the decade 1660-69 to a low of 23.2 years in the decade 1700-09.[75]

Because of early death the county's rulers were unable to hold power for long. And, because they died so young, few were able to bequeath successfully positions of power to their heirs. Over half of the justices serving before 1681 (22) in fact left no male heirs at all. Seven others did have sons who reached adulthood, but the fathers had not accumulated sufficiently large fortunes to sustain the position of the family into the next generation. Less than one-quarter (9) of the early rulers left heirs who later held important political offices.[76]

Men who came to power during the 1680s and 1690s did better. Most left male heirs, and half of these at least were able to assume a political and economic position equal to that of their fathers. Such inheritance was far from automatic, however, because many of the fathers died during the minority of their sons. At least another generation would be required for there to be many adult sons at hand to step directly into their father's shoes.

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[75]Lockridge and Kreider, "The Evolution of Massachusetts Town Government."

[76]The situation in the provincial government was similar. Between 1660 and 1689 only 15 out of a total of 175 provincial officeholders were of the second generation of their family to hold power, and only 1 was of the third generation. David Jordan, "Political Stability and the Emergence of a Native Elite."

The county court of the 1680s and early 1690s was composed almost entirely of immigrants. The transition to rule by a native-born majority began in the late 1690s (a change which had occurred abruptly in the shrievality in 1689).[77] The new native-born rulers owed their fortunes to inheritance and had perhaps been brought up by their mothers in the expectation that they would become county rulers as their fathers had been. The transfer of power from father to son was, however, indirect. With the exception of William Smallwood, who was appointed to the bench while his father was still sitting, the new appointees whose fathers had held positions of power took office twenty-four to thirty-seven years after their fathers had died.

Inherited wealth--when combined with high mortality--was becoming enough, however, to preclude the appointment of all but the richest of immigrants after about 1710. Men who did not have to spend years in amassing an estate that would entitle them to positions of power possessed a great advantage over those who did. Natives were consistently named to office fifteen years younger than were immigrants. (See figure 16.) So long as there were only one or two creoles eligible for high office, the effect on qualified immigrants was not great. As the number of native-born grew, however, opportunities for immigrants without large amounts of capital to acquire power quickly declined. While most immigrants were still building up their fortunes, younger natives who could inherit wealth were already county rulers. Appointment, even for men arriving with a requisite fortune, would then have to await a vacancy on a

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[77]The transition to a native-born majority in the Assembly was occurring at the same time. Ibid.

youthful bench. Because the younger native office-holders would live a relatively long time, many aspiring immigrants would die in the interim.

During most of the seventeenth century who ruled Charles County was largely determined by who had the greatest success in the economic sphere. The distribution of power in the county closely followed the distribution of wealth. High social standing--for those immigrants who had it--might be transferred from the Old World to the New. More commonly, however, social prominence was gained after arrival in the colony. Family connections--aside from alliances with the Calvert family--were poorly developed and as yet not usually instrumental in obtaining power. Such were the characteristics of an immigrant society.

The advent of a native-born majority meant that the character of the ruling class was changing. Wealth would remain an important criterion for recruitment to positions of power, but inherited status and the right connections would become increasingly essential too. The amorphous, open society which immigrants of the 1650s and 1660s had encountered was being rapidly transformed into a well-defined and much more closed provincial community.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

Sources of Disorder

Charles County society as it developed over the course of the area's first fifty years was a product of a number of elements--who the settlers were, what they brought with them, what they found when they arrived, specific decisions they made, and economic and demographic changes over which they had little control. It is time to look sometimes in review and sometimes afresh, at this combination of character, environment, cultural baggage, and conscious choice which together determined the shape and structure of local society.

As a consequence of the character of the immigrant group, of the high rates of morbidity and mortality encountered in the area, and of the diffuse patterns of Chesapeake settlement, many traditional elements of social cohesion were initially absent, and, more significantly, several important kinds of "social glue" failed to develop at all, and others continued to be lacking even into the final decade of the seventeenth century.

Substantial waves of immigration to the county throughout the second half of the seventeenth century insured that a majority of the inhabitants would come from a variety of backgrounds and that often they would not share common ways of doing things. And, because immigrants seldom arrived as part of a family group but were usually single,

unrelated youths, the role of the family was at the outset diminished. In addition, since most men and women had to complete terms of service before marrying, new settlers were slow to form families of their own. Finally, since among immigrants men outnumbered women by about three to one, many men never married at all. Consequently much of the stability which family life and non-nuclear kin relationships frequently provided in Britain was absent in seventeenth-century Charles County.

Disruptions in family life continued into the next generation. Because life was short and, for immigrants, marriage came late, the majority of first generation creole children spent part of their childhood in single-parent households, or with a step-parent, or else as orphans in homes of guardians, or of masters for whom they were obliged to work in return for their maintenance. Consequently, not only the immigrant group, but at least the first native-born generation as well usually matured and began forming their own families without the advice, influence, or aid of older family members.

Social disruption occurred also at levels above that of the household. While many immigrants surely intended that the new society that they were building in Maryland be "enrich[ed] with such ornaments of civill life as our owne country abounded withall,"[1] New World conditions hindered or prevented an orderly transference of many Old World hierarchies and institutions.

First of all, because the immigrant group did not represent a cross-section of English society, but rather was composed largely of the offspring of poor to middling families, traditional kinds of social

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[1]White, "A Briefe Relation," p. 41.

and political authority were not readily re-established. The missing slice of English society was at the top; few members of the traditional elite immigrated. Those gentlemen who did come to Charles County were usually able to transfer at least some of their Old World status, and often to obtain some position of power, but there were never enough men of rank to fill all important offices in the local government. A shortage of distinguished immigrants meant that positions of power--traditionally the preserve of the well born or the rich--fell not only to this group, but also to a number of men of undistinguished origins, even to men who had arrived in the colony as servants.[2]

Because many early county rulers were men of humble origins, without education or experience in the world of polite society, and men whose life style was almost identical to that of their less influential neighbors, the early county power structure was quite untraditional. The authority by which these local rulers governed did not depend on deference automatically accorded to rank, but rested instead upon respect for native ability earned over a period of time in daily intercourse with men who were their equals--or at least near equals. The fact that county residents found acceptable only those officeholders who were locally respected points up the conservative, tradition-oriented mind set of most county inhabitants. The main departure from Old World practice was the routes by which community respect could be gained. These were--by the standards of the day--highly unconventional,

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[2]Cf. William Reavis, "The Maryland Gentry and Social Mobility, 1637-1676," WMQ 14 (1957): 418-28; Carr, "County Government"; Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia"; and Menard, "Economy and Society."

with much depending on recent behavior and often very little on previous background. The end result produced somewhat less certainty than the traditional system; earned respect--and concomitantly the ability to rule effectively--might be more easily lost than might respect based on a rank ordering which had been determined at a man's birth.

Further down in the populace, traditional English social order was disrupted just as it was at the top. The area's occupational structure bore small resemblance to that of many parts of Britain, and thus status associated with most Old World occupations unrelated to agriculture was not transferable. Similarly, gradations in rank rooted in local family status and reputation had greatly diminished meaning in a settlement where other residents in all probability had little or no knowledge of the communities from which fellow immigrants had come. Finally, the techniques of tobacco culture and Chesapeake farm management were very different from agricultural systems in Britain. Transplanted farmers whose approaches to crop cultivation and marketing had accorded them some prosperity and enhanced status at home might well fail to achieve comparable success and status as tobacco growers, while some men who had made a poor showing at farming in England might turn out to be able planters.

As a result of the difficulties immigrants encountered in re-establishing many kinds of Old World status, economic success became for some time the most important determinant of rank. Such success in turn almost invariably depended on tobacco culture, and here too instability was the rule rather than the exception. Violent fluctuations in the price of the staple made planting a risky business. A series of good

years could bring enhanced prosperity and status, while a run of bad years might permanently foreclose the opportunity to rise.[3]

Initial uncertainty about one's place in the new society was compounded by continued instability created by a labor system based on indentured servitude. The great majority of new immigrants entered the regional society at the bottom as servants, but what their rank might be once they were free men was less certain. A limited amount of status mobility--from servant to freedman--was built into the system. This in itself presented local society with a massive assimilation problem which could not but have some effect on the existing social order. In the county's early years many former servants achieved substantial gains in economic and social status, moving successively from laborers and tenants to householders and finally to freeholders, and finding elbow room in the established order to do so. Later, as the county became "filled up" (in the sense that establishing more farmers on the land at that particular time would yield diminishing returns), the opportunity to achieve an independent economic status was closed off for the great majority of freedmen in the county. For them, full social and economic integration became increasingly less frequent. At this point the result of a labor system which annually discharged more such freedmen, whether there was a place for them in the local community or not, was to induce geographic rather than status mobility, as ex-servants moved out of the county in search of opportunities no longer available to them there. Pressures for continued assimilation and frequent movement of large numbers of

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[3]While studies of the differential risks involved in various kinds of farming in England are unavailable for this period, it seems probable that mono-culture was by nature riskier than more diversified kinds of farming.

immigrants into and then out of the county thus contributed to a certain amount of social uncertainty even after the period of wide-spread economic and social integration of newcomers had ended.

The lack of traditional social and political authority and the absence of a clear rank ordering among lower levels of the populace were not the only missing pieces of social cement. In addition, many familiar local Old World institutions failed to take root in county soil. Manorial organization for example, proved an anachronism in an area which quickly came to be peopled largely by freeholders. While there were thirteen privately-owned manors granted within county bounds at one time or another in the seventeenth century,[4] few of the owners could command the services of many tenants, and apparently none of them ever held manor courts as they were entitled to do. Second, due to a combination of local geography and special tobacco marketing practices, towns failed to develop in the county at all. Economic activities and social interaction all took place without benefit of urban centers, and no municipal corporations appeared to exercise any measure of local power. Finally, as an unforeseen result of Maryland's policy of religious toleration, until the last decade of the century Protestant ministers and churches were also almost entirely non-existent. Organized religion thus failed to play a significant role during the time that county society was taking shape. Only in the 1690s did many churches begin to appear and parish vestries be established. Because vestries came so late to Maryland, they had much less power and influence in the province than in England and in many other North American colonies.[5]

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[4]Donnell MacClure Owings, "Private Manors: An Edited List," MHM 33 (1938): 307-33.

[5]See above, chapters five and six, and Carr, "County Government."

No other local institutions developed to take the place of the manor, the town, and the parish church. What local security existed was supplied through the informal functioning of the neighborhood. This form of spontaneous help, companionship, and law enforcement could be--and frequently was--very effective, but such a system left much to chance--and to the character of one's neighbors.

Nonetheless, however harsh the environment or unstable the society, life in the county had its brighter side as well. While the absence of familiar class structures, local institutions, and family ties, and the extraordinary hazards of early death were causes of great insecurity both to individuals and to the community, this very disorder was also a source of unusual opportunity for many men. Individuals could marry whom they wished without parental interference, and could begin independent economic careers without waiting for their fathers to release family resources to them. During the 1650s, 1660s, and early 1670s the expanding county economy offered men with little or no capital a chance to rise into the ranks of householders, landowners, and minor office-holders, and the most capable and ambitious could aspire to substantial estates and to offices of considerable power. Since so many of the inhabitants had begun their careers in the colony as servants, there appears to have been no local prejudice to hinder the rise of men with such origins, and of course there were few born to more privileged positions residing in the area to block their way. Early death acted to prolong this fluid situation, with a rapid turnover among officeholders and leading planters (who frequently had either no heirs or no heirs of age to succeed them) continually opening up new positions at the top.

Women too benefitted from these more fluid conditions. Community attitudes toward sexuality were clearly much freer in the Chesapeake than in the Old World and in many other parts of the New as well. Greater freedom of course brought greater risk of unwanted pregnancy, but it also allowed women an unusual degree of independence and self expression. Also unequal sex ratios ensured that almost every woman who wished to marry could do so, and in the early years at least her chances of marrying above her station were good. In addition, a combination of factors including her scarcity value and the very substantial contributions she made to the household economy won for her a position of substantial power in the family polity which seems to have persisted for some time after family life returned to a more normal course.

Even though it was probably the advantages that a new, open, relatively undifferentiated society offered that had induced many immigrants to come to Charles County in the first place, almost paradoxically, once there, what many came to long for instead was the greater security and certainty of a more structured and ordered community. Openness and fluidity were not obtained without social cost, and while such conditions did offer unusual opportunity, they remained a source of continuing doubt, uncertainty, and fear. The county might be a good place in which to seek one's fortune, but it was perhaps not, to the settlers' way of thinking, exactly the kind of place in which to establish a family and bring up children. A deep-felt desire for greater order and security doubtless contributed to increasing political stability on the local level, to the development of a local class structure, and to the reassertion of the role of family and kin in individual and community life.

Before moving to a discussion of the ways in which order did evolve, it is necessary first to review the general course of the economic and social development in Maryland's lower western shore across the seventeenth century. Charles County was part--and a special parcel--of this region, and consequently it is desirable in the process of examining county society to try to determine what developments were purely local phenomena and what were part of a larger colonial experience.

The lower western shore, first settled in 1634, started out as Cecil Calvert had planned with a rigidly stratified, hierarchic society composed of two groups--a dominant, largely Roman Catholic gentry and a number of subservient, largely Protestant laborers. This social arrangement soon disintegrated in the face of both political turmoil and rapid economic growth in the mid-1640s.[6]

From the late 1640s to the late 1660s immigrants--both bound and free--poured into the rapidly growing region. As settlement spread from its original seat in St. Mary's County further up the major rivers, two new counties were created, Calvert in 1654 and Charles in 1658. Good times and rapid growth afforded poor men a period of expanded opportunity to acquire property. Since opportunity for men who were beginning with little was greatest along the leading edge of settlement, Charles and possibly also Calvert attracted large numbers of former servants from St. Mary's County who were ready to strike out on their own. More populous St. Mary's offered more of the amenities of "civilization"--a landscape which had already lost some of its wilderness quality to the axe and the hoe, closer neighbors, greater proximity to the seat of government, a few resident merchants and doctors, and, for Roman

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[6]Menard, "Economy and Society."

Catholics, at least, two or three functioning congregations with resident priests. These inducements may have attracted a larger proportion of free immigrants with capital and especially those who already had families to settle in more "crowded" St. Mary's, rather than in sparsely populated newer regions. Consequently in the 1660s, differences in wealth may have been a little greater in St. Mary's than in Charles and Calvert Counties because more St. Mary's settlers had arrived with some capital.[7]

Wherever they settled, however, most of the immigrants who survived their first years in the colony entered the ranks of small, independent, landowning planters. Differences arising from the initial advantages with which some settlers had begun were frequently minimized by hard work and the profits of a few good crops of tobacco. The most striking characteristic of the late 1650s was the wide expansion of middling wealthholders. Yeoman farmers became the dominant economic and political force, as their growing numbers eclipsed the importance of the few gentlemen resident in the area, and as the proportion of more subservient men--free laborers and tenants--declined.[8]

A fall in tobacco prices in the early 1660s, while not immediately braking the rising careers of many already-established planters especially those in the newer areas, was enough to discourage many potential free immigrants. Substantial numbers of newcomers continued to arrive in the region for another twenty years, but a much greater proportion of them were servants.

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[7]See figures 25, 30, and 32 for differences in wealth distributions in Charles, Calvert, and St. Mary's Counties.

[8]For an account of the economic development of the lower western shore and assessments of opportunity there at various times see Menard, Harris, and Carr, "Opportunity and Inequality"; and Menard, "Economy and Society."

This change in the character of the immigrant population coincided with some effects of demographic maturation to produce changes in the way colonists throughout the region handled their living arrangements during the 1670s. Maturing settlement, it turned out, may have resulted in almost as great a sense of disorder as had been felt during the days of initial establishment. As early death broke up the families of the first settlers, the survivors had either to bring new members into their own households or to find places in the households of others. The number of families which contained at least one previously married spouse--often with minor children--increased, as did the numbers of families who sheltered unrelated orphaned children placed there by the county court.[9] Besides experiencing increasing complexity within the family, many households probably also began to shelter more unrelated residents. Large numbers of servants who had entered Maryland during the 1660s were now becoming free. Another slump in tobacco prices in the mid-1670s meant that many freedmen would have to spend a longer time working as wage laborers or sharecroppers before they could accumulate enough capital to set up their own households. In the interim many lodged with established planters. In addition, a higher proportion of those free immigrants who still came were both single and relatively poor. They too sought to board for a time with established families.[10] In the 1670s we must add to this already unruly assemblage of persons in

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[9]See tables 13 and 15.

[10]The percentage of men in Charles County who were not heading their own households was highest among the decedent population between 1671 and 1689. "Social Stratification in Maryland." While this might not necessarily be true for the living population as well, a close reading of the county court records suggests that this was probably the case.

more than half of all households, and in seventy-nine percent of households worth at least £50, one or more indentured servants, some of whom at least, lived, ate, and slept with the rest of the family.[11]

The tensions which these living arrangements produced must have been enormous, especially when we consider that most families were then living in extremely small one or two room dwellings. Man and wife had first to agree on how to manage their children, and there is ample evidence that especially when stepchildren were present, agreement frequently was not reached. Second, even when parents did achieve a consensus on how to treat their offspring, long-standing conflicts between the children themselves or between parent and child might still develop. Third, servants had also to be supervised and disciplined. The presence of one or more laborers who might well avoid work if not carefully watched, who might run off at critical times in the farming year, and who had an alarming tendency to produce illegitimate children must have added to levels of anxiety. Finally, the addition of one or more free, unmarried male lodgers over whom the head of the household had very limited coercive power surely created possibilities for other kinds of conflict. The presence of such lodgers must often have disrupted normal domestic routines, but on the other hand, the additional income which these arrangements made for the family provided a powerful incentive to the householder to keep the lodger on, even at the cost of severe strains to the family's emotional life.

If living in these conditions in itself proved taxing, there soon ceased to be a spirit of buoyant optimism abroad to help dissipate

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[11]See table 20.

stresses arising within these crowded and often disassorted households. Tobacco prices took another ominous downturn during the early and mid-1670s; credit was tight; labor was increasingly scarce; religious tensions were running high; Indian troubles occasioned heavy military expenditures and hence increased taxes; poorer planters and most non-landowners, disfranchised by Lord Baltimore in 1670, chafed under the burden of heavy taxes which they no longer had any voice in determining. Bitter disputes between the legislature and the proprietor added to uncertainty, while the repercussions of serious rebellion across the Potomac were felt throughout the lower western shore. There is little wonder that most of the 1670s were years of vague unease and discontent. What is surprising is that greater disorder and outright violence did not ensue.[12]

After the mid-1680s conditions on the level of the household probably stabilized somewhat. White immigration dropped off drastically, with the consequence that the numbers of poor, unestablished freedmen would shortly decrease and that the supply of new immigrants to be assimilated would thereafter be minimal. Laborers, when they could be had, were now usually slaves. These new hands, of totally different race, culture, and language, and having a new and lower status, were probably less often fed and bedded in the dwelling house along with the rest of

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[12]For problems of the period see Andrews, The Colonial Period 2: 274-379; and Carr and Jordan, Maryland's Revolution of Government, ch. 1. Of course there is the other side of the coin. That order did prevail in these circumstances is strong testimony to the tenacity and power of English customs and traditions. Apparently sufficient continuity prevailed in enough facets of the colonists' lives to prevent widespread social disintegration. I do not dispute this, but rather choose here to emphasize the very real trials to which Old World customs and traditions were put during this period of colonial history.

the family.[13] Problems of supervision and discipline of the new work force were probably at least as great as those encountered with servants, but pressures to accommodate blacks within the family circle were less.

For the native-born whites maturing in the 1690s and early 1700s the presence of kin dwelling in close proximity may have further relieved tensions within individual households. There was more likely to be someone available with whom to share family joys and family problems, someone to whom fractious children might be sent when difficulties arose, and greater likelihood that family continuity could be maintained even in the event of the early death of one or both of the primary members of the nuclear household.

While domestic difficulties may have diminished after the 1670s, economic troubles certainly increased. The Chesapeake tobacco economy had grown more slowly during the late 1660s and 70s than during the 1640s and 50s, and from the 1680s stagnated completely for a thirty year period. During this time tobacco output ceased increasing at all. Labor supplies failed to keep pace with the growing numbers of new households, credit dried up, and planters' income from tobacco fell.

In the lower western shore as a whole from the 1660s when tobacco prices began to decline until the early 1680s when they bottomed out, the distribution of wealth gradually became less equitable. As shown in figure 18, mean personal wealth was still rising in the 1670s, but now

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[13]Most slaves were owned by larger planters, and these men would be much more likely than small farmers to have outbuildings or quarters separate from the dwelling house in which to house slaves. In addition, slaveowners' dwellings were much more likely to consist of more than one room and might well contain spaces such as lofts, rooms under stairs, etc., which were not needed to accommodate the owner's family where slaves might sleep apart.

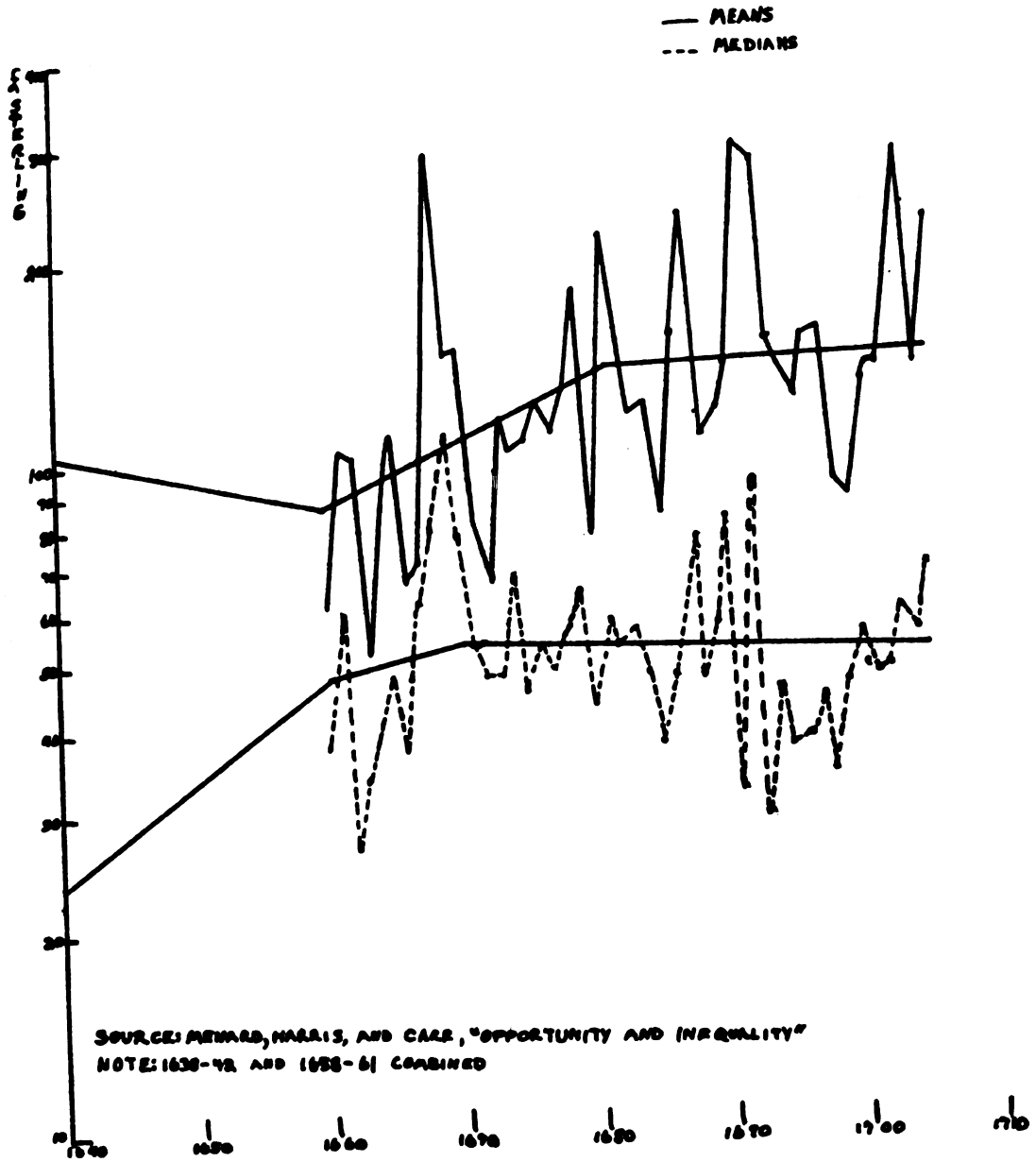

FIGURE 18. ANNUAL MEANS AND MEDIANS, LOWER WESTERN SHORE, 1638-42, 1658-1705

the advantages went only to the already well-established. Lower and lower middling wealthholders experienced no increase in the value of their personal estates. This meant that per capita wealth was clearly falling as the numbers of mouths dependent on no longer expanding estates slowly increased. All but the wealthier planters fell upon hard times indeed, frequently experimenting with a variety of alternative sources of income with not much success, and almost universally tightening their belts by several notches. From the 1680s through 1705 wealth distributions for the region as a whole revealed no long term tendency to change. The period of redistribution was over, leaving in its wake greater numbers of rich planters and an increase in the proportion of poor men--both shifts occurring at the expense of middling groups.[14]

In the face of the continuing critical labor shortage which accompanied low tobacco prices, the region shifted from dependence on servant labor to dependence on slave labor. The resulting influx of new black laborers in the late 1680s and early 1690s, however, benefitted only the wealthier planters who could afford these more expensive new hands. Poorer farmers, now almost entirely excluded from the bound labor market, were unable to purchase hands, and without such supplementary labor, had little chance of improving their economic position. The adoption of slave labor accentuated the kinds of changes which the shifting wealth structure entailed. Among other things it created an almost unbridgeable gap between laborers--both white and black--and labor owners.[15]

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[14]For regional wealth redistribution see Menard, Harris, and Carr, "Opportunity and Inequality." For increasing diversification in the county see chapter 5.

[15]For changes in labor ownership see table 20.

In the midst of these developments, settlement continued to spread north and west along the Patuxent and Potomac above Charles and Calvert Counties. Settlers from Calvert County began to occupy land in this area in the late 1660s, and by the mid-1670s the Patuxent side was being rapidly taken up. A combination of poor soils, a large Indian reserve on the upper fringes of Charles County settlements where white occupation was proscribed, and fears of raids by northern Indians all acted to curtail the movement of substantial numbers of Charles Countians up the Potomac until the 1690s. The majority of the settlers in the area which would become Prince George's County came from Calvert County. By 1696 population in the area had reached nearly two thousand individuals, sufficient to warrant the creation of a new county.[16]

The kinds of people who developed the Prince George's area deserve particular attention, for their backgrounds differed considerably from those of the men who settled new areas in the lower western shore in the 1660s. The majority of the settlers were still immigrants, but probably only a few came directly to Prince George's from abroad. Many had already established themselves, at least in a minor way, in one of the older counties, and then moved to the new area in hope of substantially increasing their estates. Another important group of settlers were the English merchants who, once arrived, took up planting themselves. Finally there were the native born--sons and grandsons of earlier settlers who had astutely acquired frontier lands years before--who now came to take up their inheritance in the new county.

While the native-born had previously been virtually absent from areas of new settlement, the first two groups had been helping to develop

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[16]Carr, "County Government," ch. 7.

the lower western shore for some time. There is, however, one group of men who had played a major role in earlier settlement and who were now conspicuously absent--the freedmen. Whereas in the 1660s and 1670s many former servants had achieved the status of independent, landowning farmers by moving to the newest, most rapidly growing parts of the lower western shore, such areas no longer offered them this opportunity. Only 4 or 5 out of over 1,000 men who served terms in Charles County prior to 1706 acquired land in new Prince George's, and only a handful more appear to have settled there without acquiring land. Nor did many men known to have served terms in Calvert County later become landowners in Prince George's. Significantly, most of those ex-Calvert County servants who did so had already become landowners before they moved into the new area. Finally, very few men indeed who had been servants in Prince George's County later acquired land there.[17]

These facts suggest that in early Prince George's, just as in the older areas, opportunity to get ahead was largely limited to those who had inherited or had already acquired capital. After about 1680 new areas of the lower western shore were not much better "poor man's country" than were the older ones. By the 1690s conditions on much of the lower western shore were such that small planters who had already established farms there saw little enough hope for the future. Many poor men who were just embarking on their economic careers saw no hope at all. News from Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, and the Carolinas revealed that these new, rapidly expanding regions were the "poor men's countries" of the 1690s. Outmigration from the lower western shore, especially of

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[17]For biographies of many Prince George's County settlers see ibid., appendix 2.

young, single adult men was substantial. And this outflow in turn relieved some of the pressure on resources for those who remained behind.

The Beginning of Order

Having reviewed the economic and social development of the lower western shore in general, it is time to turn to a more detailed examination of the structure of Charles County society, considering especially the ways in which political and social order evolved.

One of the first signs of developing political order was the emergence of the county court as an effective form of local government. The need for some kind of local order was great, and the possible sources of such order few. Given the absence of manor courts, town governments, and parish vestries, most colonists' initial response was to respect and obey the county court, the one familiar institution of local government which was then functioning--even if many of the men in office possessed few of the traditional attributes of social and political leaders. The county court's early successes in establishing order won continuing support from area residents, which in turn enhanced its subsequent ability to maintain order. In addition, the court's quick acquisition of powers which were divided among a number of organs of government in Britain prevented competing sources of local authority from developing, and ensured that no series of power struggles over local jurisdictions would subsequently disrupt the county society. After the late 1680s only minor institutional changes took place on the local level until the end of the colonial period. Surely this lack of change became in itself a growing source of stability.[18]

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[18]This argument is one of the major themes in Carr, "County Government."

Also by the mid-1680s, the county power structure itself began to take on a more traditional appearance. As the numbers of men distinguished by substantial wealth, if not by gentle status increased, a greater proportion of the county's rulers were selected from this group, while the number of appointees with moderate wealth, no education, or prior status as servants declined. Greater disparities in wealth and influence began to separate the rulers from the ruled, and presumably it was becoming more difficult for ordinary citizens to dispute the actions of those who--in the eyes of provincial governors at least--were their betters.

The facet of the emerging social order which remains to be explored in depth is the development of a local class structure based on attributes peculiar to the region and particularly suited to the local populace. Since the qualities of high birth, education, and influential connections were sparsely scattered indeed through the county's early residents, local status was mainly derived from other characteristics. Religion and marital status undoubtedly helped to establish a man's rank, but clearly the most critical determinant of social status was the one thing which all residents shared in varying degrees--landed and personal wealth.

Doubtless a man's religion played a part in forming the many subtle distinctions which in combination determined his standing in the community. The role of religion in developing these distinctions would have been apparent to the man's neighbors but--given the near absence of literary materials for this period--they are no longer so clear to us.

What surviving sources do reveal is that religion was a powerful stratifying influence because of its relation to political power.

Prior to 1689 seats on the provincial council were in general limited to Roman Catholics and to close relatives of the proprietor, and councilors tended also to dominate the provincial judiciary, the militia, and to hold other patronage positions. Thus a few wealthy Roman Catholic gentlemen (or Protestants who married into the Calvert family) had a great deal more influence than their wealth and experience alone might have entitled them to. The proprietary policy of religious favoritism primarily angered aspiring Protestant gentlemen who were frequently shut out of the highest offices. However, it was also a cause of anxiety to ordinary planters who were concerned about the state of the Protestant church in Maryland and who resented the overbearing attitudes of some of the Catholic gentry.[19]

After the revolution of 1689 the tables were turned. Catholics were excluded from all but a few minor local offices, and only Protestants

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[19]While qualified Protestants clearly had a greater chance of gaining positions of power in Charles than was the case in neighboring St. Mary's, some Protestant county leaders still seem to have felt threatened by the proprietary policy of religious favoritism. Maryland Archives 5: 312-34. Such fears may well have been reinforced by the manner of appointment and the deportment of some of the county's Catholic officeholders. For example, Jesse Wharton and Edward Pye had not been active in local civil government prior to their appointment to the Council. As councillors and judges of the provincial court they possessed at least some of the powers of single county justics and could sit as justices of the county quorum (Carr, "County Government," pp. 121-24). Perhaps these men were reluctant to perform such services, or perhaps county residents chose to go instead to other county justices. At any rate Wharton's and Pye's non-activity on the local level was a marked contrast to the careers of Protestant councillors William Digges and Benjamin Rozer who had served in local office prior to their appointment to the council and who continued to provide services to county residents thereafter. While evidence to the point is scant and inconclusive, it is possible that the Catholic elite tended to be more "deference" than "service" oriented, while initially at least many members of the Protestant elite stressed service.

could aspire to positions of power. While in some respects still equal participants in county society, Catholics were proscribed from maintaining public churches and schools. The necessity of holding religious services in private, of being circumspect in the way they educated their children, and their total exclusion from positions of authority and decision-making must have tended in many ways to the development of a minority Catholic culture over the course of the eighteenth century.[20]

Because of the highly unbalanced sex ratios among immigrants, so long as the county was primarily an immigrant society, marital status probably had greater importance in helping to determine community standing than it did in England. There, a man who had enough assets to set up a household could probably find a woman willing to marry him without too much trouble. In Maryland, on the other hand, women were in short supply and not all men who were ready and able to marry could find wives. The economic benefits of householding and of a wife's services gave the man who succeeded in marrying an economic boost. In addition, marrying and setting up his own household usually also insured a man's initiation into the group who helped make community decisions as jurors and minor officeholders. Consequently, the ability to win a wife may have accorded a man a certain status at least so long as marriage was not necessarily part of the normal course of most men's lives.

The most important determinant of status--landed and personal wealth--remains to be examined, and in order to understand how these stratified county society, we need to know how such wealth was distributed.

The use of wealth distributions to describe social structure presents the historian with conceptual as well as with methodological

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[20]Carr and Jordan, Maryland's Revolution of Government, chs. 1 and 6.

problems. Even when the more serious technical difficulties inherent in some of the materials have been overcome,[21] the problem of the meaning of the distributions remains. For example, exactly what has the historian learned once he has found out how various arithmetic groupings of his population divided various kinds of property? Can this information then be used to learn something about how individuals thought and felt about each other and about how the society actually worked?[22]

In an attempt to enhance the explanatory as well as the descriptive uses of wealth distributions, in the discussion which follows where data are available, Charles County will be contrasted with the lower western shore of Maryland as a whole and with the other three counties of the region individually.[23] This approach helps to determine what characteristics of Charles County society were region-wide and what were a result of purely local experience. The comparative approach also provides some tentative understanding of the process of social development in the region and the roles various kinds of areas played in the growth of the whole across the second half of the seventeenth century.

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[21]For a discussion of the technical problems encountered in dealing with seventeenth century Maryland inventories--primarily inflation, changes in reporting rates, and age biases--and ways of solving them see Menard, Harris, and Carr, "Opportunity and Inequality"; and Main, "Measuring Wealth and Welfare," ch. 1; and idem, "Probate Records As a Source for Early American History," WMQ 32 (1975): 89-99. Discussion of Charles County probate materials which follows is based on data from the St. Mary's City Commission inventory project, "Social Stratification in Maryland," and hence are adjusted as described in "Opportunity and Inequality."

[22]For an excellent evaluation of conceptual problems encountered in the use of quantitative materials see James A. Henretta, "The Quantification of Consciousness," paper presented at the Stony Brook Conference on Quantification in Early American Social History, June 13, 1975.

[23]Inventory data for St. Mary's, Calvert, and Prince George's Counties also comes from "Social Stratification in Maryland."

Distribution of Land

The first issue to be considered is the distribution of landed property. Here the focus will be on three main questions. What proportion of the residents of the four lower western shore counties owned land at various times and what proportion did not? How equally was land distributed among those who owned it, and what were the career prospects of men who did not own land? And finally, how can changes in the rates of landownership and tenancy be explained?

Land distribution in Charles County can be most thoroughly described for the beginning and the end of this study, as quit-rent rolls survive for the years 1659 and 1705.[24] These documents list the owners of freehold tracts in the county, the hundred in which the various tracts lay, the acreage owned, and the amount of quit-rent due. They often include additional information about when and by whom the tract was originally surveyed, and occasionally refer to the exact location of the tract and the circumstances under which the current owner obtained possession.[25] These two rent rolls, when corrected for missing surveys and conveyances, and when combined with biographical studies of the landowners, provide good descriptions of the way in which county land was distributed and of the character of the landholding population. In addition, when compared with population data, information from the rent rolls makes possible estimates of tenancy in the county.

Beginning in 1649 an average of about 3,000 acres were surveyed in Charles County annually. By 1659, 62,755 acres in portions of Charles

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[24]Rent Rolls 0 and 8.

[25]For a general discussion of Maryland rent rolls see Hartsook and Skordas, Land Office and Prerogative Court Records.

and of what would later become Prince George's County had been taken up, although of course only a small fraction of this acreage was as yet occupied. The land was held by 115 owners, and of these 86 were definitely resident in the county. Eighteen of the remaining owners were living in other Maryland counties, and the residence of the rest (11) is uncertain.

When compared with the first years of settlement in Maryland, land in Charles County in 1659 was relatively equally distributed. A rent roll recently constructed for the year 1642 for St. Mary's County shows that in that year holdings had been very unequal. Then, landowners held either very small parcels of 100 acres or less, or else large tracts of 1,000 acres or more. Few holdings fell in the middle ranges. Perhaps even more important was the fact that most men did not own land at all. More than three-quarters of the free men who lived in St. Mary's in 1642 were non-landowners.[26]

In contrast, in the newly formed Charles County of 1659 few aspects of the highly stratified society of the first settlements appear. Most free adult male residents of Charles County were landowners. Only 6 additional free males other than the 86 resident landowners listed in the 1659 rent roll can be identified in the local records as then living in the county. Even when allowances for non-appearance in the records are included, it remains clear that at least ninety percent of the county's freemen were already landowners.

For a number of reasons the future prospects of the few Charles County residents who did not yet own land in 1659 were favorable. The amount of assets required to purchase and set up a farm were not great,

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[26]Russell R. Menard, "Population Growth and Land Distribution in St. Mary's County," unpublished report prepared for the St. Mary's City Commission, May, 1971. Copy available at Hall of Records.

and the chances for a man to acquire such assets were good. Land was relatively cheap and tobacco prices high in the late 1650s and early 1660s. Within a few years a tenant could save enough out of the proceeds of crops grown on rented land to buy a farm of his own. Career studies have demonstrated that, in this period, tenancy was usually only an early stage in a poor man's economic career, and not a permanent condition.[27]

In addition, in the early years of county settlement, the function of tenancy was often more to develop land than to produce income for the landlord. Previously uncleared or only partially cleared farms were let at relatively low rents, but with stipulations designed to increase the value of the farm, for example that the tenant must clear and fence a specified number of acres, or plant an orchard, or perhaps erect some buildings such as hen houses or kitchens or tobacco barns. Arrangements such as these permitted the landowner to develop his holdings cheaply and allowed the tenant to pay part of his rent in labor that could be performed during the off-season. In this fashion the tenant was able to retain a substantial part of his crop for himself and eventually to use the proceeds to become a landowner himself.[28]

Also in contrast with St. Mary's County in 1642, land in Charles County was more equitably distributed among those who already owned it in 1659. The pattern of a few large and many small holdings does not appear. While there were some large parcels (12 exceeded 1,000 acres), there were

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[27]See ibid., and Menard, "From Servant to Freeholder."

[28]For examples of short-term leases see Maryland Archives 54: 12-13, 244-45; 70: 86-89; and Charles County Court, K#1, 33-34. I am indebted to Lois Carr for sharing her research on tenancy in colonial Maryland.

very few small ones (only 2 were less than 100 acres). Most fell in the middle ranges. Fifty-eight percent of the landowners owned tracts of between 100 and 300 acres, and an additional 28 percent had parcels of 450 to 1,000 acres. Among the 86 resident county landowners, mean acreage held was 641 acres, and the median, 250 acres. Distributions had become more equal in St. Mary's County as well by 1659, but the degree of concentration remained greater there than in Charles.[29]

While the Charles County settlements clearly offered a great deal of opportunity to most of the early residents, career studies of the 86 resident landowners show that some men were in a better position to take advantage of the available land than were others. Ex-servants predictably needed more time in the colony than did free immigrants to accumulate more than minimal acreages.[30] As shown in table 50, landholdings among former servants who had lived in Maryland eight years or less were little more than half the size of tracts acquired by free immigrants who had been in the colony for a similar length of time. Once in the colony nine years or longer, however, former servants seem to have been more successful in acquiring sizeable amounts of land than were known free immigrants with modest capital. The advantages of arrival free of the burden of service were apparently not always cumulative. Free immigrants who had spent between nine and twelve years in the colony held about the same acreages as did more recent free arrivals. Was the drive to accumulate more land perhaps stronger in men who had begun with nothing?

[29]Menard, "Population Growth and Land Distribution in St. Mary's County," and "Economy and Society."

[30]Menard found that among 158 men who entered Maryland as servants before the end of 1642 and who later appeared as freedmen, the median length of time required to become a landowner was seven and a half years. "From Servant to Freeholder."

TABLE 50

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND AMONG COUNTY RESIDENTS WHOSE STATUS AT IMMIGRATION AND LENGTH OF TIME IN THE COLONY IS KNOWN, CHARLES COUNTY, 1659

Status at Immigration	Number	Number in Colony	Mean Acres	Number in Colony	Mean Acres	Number in Colony	Mean Acres
		0-8 years		9-12 years		13+ years	
Servant	18	4	142.5	5	350.0	9	361.1
Free, modest capital	38	15	269.0	10	271.5	13	301.5
Free, large capital	6	3	1,490.0	1	5,000.0	2	3,800.0

Sources: Rent Roll O and Walsh file of Charles County residents.

In contrast both to ex-servants and to immigrants with modest capital, those handful of men who were fortunate enough to bring substantial capital with them were able to acquire large amounts of land quickly, and to add to their holdings over the years. Consequently, while most long-term free residents acquired a relatively modest 270 to 360 acres of land, a significant amount of the county's surveyed acreage had been taken up by a few wealthy men. As is evident in table 51 the top ten percent of landowners controlled nearly half of the surveyed land in 1659. Clearly, while the county offered great opportunity to most residents in the 1660s, those few who were already advantaged had obtained a head start which might be maintained throughout their careers in the area.

Events between the two rent rolls can be briefly summarized. Between 1660 and 1674 new lands were taken up at the rate of about 7,700 acres each year. Subsequently new surveys decreased, averaging about 4,000 acres annually between 1675 and 1689. The combination of temporary uncertainty after the revolution of 1689, the county's subsequent loss of territory to new Prince George's County in 1696, and the fact that much of the most desirable land in the county was now claimed acted together to reduce greatly the amount of new land taken up after 1689. Surveys averaged only 1,550 acres annually between 1690 and 1705. By the latter year 166,579 acres had been taken up, about two and a half times more land than had been claimed in 1659.

In 1705 the shares of the land held by the various deciles of landowners remained very nearly what it had been in 1659 as table 52 demonstrates. According to this measure, concentration of holdings had neither increased nor decreased. As the county had developed and population had grown, the size of holdings had declined, but this change

TABLE 51

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND BY DECILES, CHARLES COUNTY
1659

Decile	Acreage Owned	Percentage of Total Acres	Cumulative Percentage
1	1,050	1.6%	1.6%
2	1,210	1.9	3.5
3	1,695	2.6	6.1
4	2,225	3.5	9.6
5	2,855	4.5	14.1
6	3,435	5.4	19.5
7	5,130	8.0	27.5
8	6,325	9.9	37.4
9	8,840	13.8	51.2
10	31,500	49.2	100.4

Source: Rent Roll O.

TABLE 52

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND BY DECILES, CHARLES COUNTY
1705

Decile	Acreage Owned	Percentage of Total Acres	Cumulative Percentage
1	1,629	1.0	1.0
2	3,298	2.1	3.1
3	3,794	2.4	5.5
4	5,389	3.4	8.9
5	6,846	4.3	13.2
6	8,715	5.5	18.7
7	11,568	7.2	25.9
8	15,574	9.7	35.6
9	26,116	16.3	51.9
10	76,884	48.1	100.0

Source: Rent Roll 8

occurred in all ranges, and hence had little effect on the percentage share of each decile. In 1705 a larger group (13 percent as opposed to 2 percent) of the 340 persons who owned land in the county held less than 100 acres, 51 percent (as opposed to 58 percent in 1659) held 100 to 325 acres, and 25 percent (compared to 29 percent earlier) held 326 to 999 acres. As in 1659, 10 percent owned more than 1,000 acres. The net effect of smaller holdings in all ranges in 1705 was to reduce the mean holding of the 291 proven resident landowners to 484 acres and the median to 220 acres.

While some measures of distribution--proportions of total acreage held by various deciles and the Gini coefficient,[31] for example--show little change, another measure, the distance between the mean and the median did decline.[32] Among resident landowners the difference dropped from 391 in 1659 to 264 in 1705. This suggests that some change did occur in the concentration of holdings, change in the direction of increasingly equitable distribution of the county's land.

Analysis of the varied backgrounds of the men who owned land in the county in 1705 sheds some light on the probable causes. Among the 291 resident landowners in 1705, holdings were more unequal among identified immigrants than among those known to be native-born. Unequal holdings

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[31]The Gini coefficient is an index number ranging between 0.000 and 1.000. A perfectly equal distribution in which every individual holds the same share is represented by 0.000, and a totally unequal distribution in which one person holds all the property and the rest hold none is represented by 1.000. The Gini coefficient for Charles in 1659 was .534 and for 1705, .530. Menard, "Economy and Society," table 8-7.

[32]In wealth distributions, which typically contain a few very large estates and many more small ones, the relationship between the mean and median provides a rough guide to changes in equality. The closer the mean to the median, the more equitable the distribution. The greater the distance between the mean and the median, the greater the inequality.

among immigrants were very probably a result of the differential opportunities open to men who arrived with widely varying amounts of capital. Nine immigrants, seven of whom had arrived with substantial capital, controlled holdings of 1,000 to over 6,000 acres. Most of the other immigrants were among the more modest of county landowners. The mean and median holdings of identified immigrants, 777 and 233 acres respectively, is fairly close to the mean and median holdings of the almost entirely immigrant population of 1659--641 and 250 acres. (See table 53.)

On the other hand, native-born residents--who now constituted at least half of the county's landowners--had divided the land more equitably among themselves. Immigrant fathers customarily willed relatively equal shares of land to their sons, and consequently there were proportionately fewer very large and fewer very small creole planters. Unfortunately, the nativity of nearly a third of the resident landowners could not be determined. Since most of this group held very small tracts, the inability to identify their origins obviates firm conclusions about immigrant and native distributions. If the unknown group was in fact largely creole, including them in the native mean and median would reduce both figures, but not significantly affect the difference between them. If, on the other hand, the landholders of unknown origin were largely immigrants, including them with the known immigrants would bring the immigrant mean and median closer together, and consequently would greatly diminish any distinctions between immigrant and native distributions. Despite these uncertainties, however, we can safely conclude that land was more equally distributed among the early native-born generations than it had been among the original settlers, and that the

TABLE 53

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND AMONG RESIDENT LANDOWNERS ACCORDING TO NATIVITY
1705

	Immigrant	Native	Unknown
Number	50	148	93
Percent of Landowners	17.2%	50.9%	32.0%
Mean acreage held	777	509	293
Median acreage held	233	300	150

Source: Rent Roll 8 and Walsh file of Charles County residents.

county's land overall was likely--for a time at least--to become even more equally divided, once natives formed the great majority of the population.

Furthermore, using data from the 1704 census[33] and the 1705 rent roll we can calculate rates of tenancy at the turn of the century. While the majority of resident householders remained landowners, unlike the county's early years when less than ten percent of all male residents, and an even smaller percentage of heads of households were tenants, in 1705 a substantial minority of householders no longer owned land. Of 408 householders listed in the county census in 1704, more than a quarter (117) did not appear on the 1705 rent roll and hence must have been living on leased land. While some of these families would doubtless later acquire land, as had been the case with tenants in the county forty-six years earlier, it is also probable that others would not. The amount of tenancy in the county had nearly tripled since 1659, and presumably the career prospects of many tenants had changed also. The chances of a tenant's acquiring land of his own were smaller as tobacco profits fell, land prices rose, and credit dried up.[34] At the same time being a non-landowner was becoming an increasing social and political liability.[35]

The extent of tenancy in Charles County at the turn of the century presents an interesting problem. While substantial acreage had

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[33]See table 2.

[34]Biographical studies of decedents demonstrate that between 1700 and 1705 almost all men who lived long enough to have at least one child of age acquired land before they died. However, the majority of married decedents still died with no children of age, and among this group over one third were non-landowners.

[35]See Carr, "County Government," ch. 7.

already been surveyed, no more than sixty percent of the county's available land had been taken up in 1705.[36] In addition, relative to other Chesapeake counties, land prices remained low in Charles during the 1680s, 1690s, and early 1700s.[37] Why, then, did nearly a third of the county's householders fail to own their own land?

Heightened concentration of holdings between the two rent rolls was evidently not a factor. An alternative measure of concentration which can be calculated for the years between the two rent rolls is that of peak acreage acquired by county residents. The procedure used was to tabulate all recorded land surveys, sales, and transfers by marriage or inheritance for all county residents, and to determine the year in which an individual acquired his maximum acreage. Since these figures measure maximum land acquired by resident landowners within and without the county over the course of a lifetime, and not just land held in the county at a given point in time as the rent rolls do, peak acreages should be higher than rent roll holdings, as indeed they are. Table 54 shows however, that while mean maximum land acquired by resident owners showed some tendency to rise between the late 1670s and the turn of the century, no changes dramatic enough to explain a tripling in the amount of tenancy appear.

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[36]The amount of land taken up was computed by adding 1) the number of acres listed on the rent roll of 1705, and 2) the acreage of proprietary manors surveyed but not included in the rent roll. This figure was then subtracted from the county's current acreage less five percent deducted to compensate for a parcel of land added to Charles County later, but part of Prince George's in 1705.

[37]For contemporary Talbot County land prices see Clemens, "From Tobacco to Grain," appendix 1-E. Anne Arundel County prices can be found in Earle, Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System, ch. 3. See also Wycoff, "Land Prices in Seventeenth Century Maryland."

TABLE 54

PEAK ACREAGE ACQUIRED BY RESIDENT LANDOWNERS,
CHARLES COUNTY, 1658-1705

Years Peak Acreage Acquired	Number of Landowners	Mean Acreage Acquired	Median Acreage Acquired
1658-61	69	881	350
1662-64	34	490	375
1665-67	42	551	476
1668-70	50	525	250
1671-74	99	423	250
1675-77	62	631	350
1678-80	42	818	340
1681-84	53	515	200
1685-87	36	520	294
1688-90	61	788	277
1691-93	35	491	300
1694-96	52	600	200
1697-99	23	915	500
1700-02	20	996	300

Source: Walsh file of Charles County residents.

Neither was increased absentee ownership an important contributing factor to growing tenancy at the turn of the century. In 1659, twenty-five percent of the men who owned land in the county were non-residents. They were in general among the larger landowners in the county, controlling thirty percent of surveyed acreage and having mean and median holdings of 653 and 500 acres respectively. By 1705 the proportion of non-resident owners had dropped to fourteen percent. These men now controlled only eleven percent of all surveyed land, and while a few of them owned over 1,000 acres, most had small holdings. The mean non-resident tract in 1705 amounted to 367 acres and the median, 200. Absentee ownership was thus becoming less and not more important.

Data for the county overall reveal that while county population was increasing rapidly during the late 1660s and 1670s, and while tobacco prices remained relatively high, as seen in figures 19 and 20 both the prices for surveyed land and the amount of new land taken up continued to increase. Then a decline in the rate of population growth accompanied a slump in tobacco prices during the 1680s. The amount of new land taken up also declined, as did the mean price per acre of tracts which were exchanged.[38] County land prices did not begin to rise substantially again until the turn of the century.

At first glance, population pressure on available land might seem to be an explanation for the decline in new surveys, the rise in land prices, and a concomitant increase in tenancy at the turn of the

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[38]Land prices were calculated by dividing the total acreage sold by the total price (in pounds of tobacco) paid. Recalculating the price using a transaction by transaction average or using only prices for tracts of 100 to 400 acres (in order to eliminate abberrant observations for extremely small or extremely large tracts) produced no significant differences.

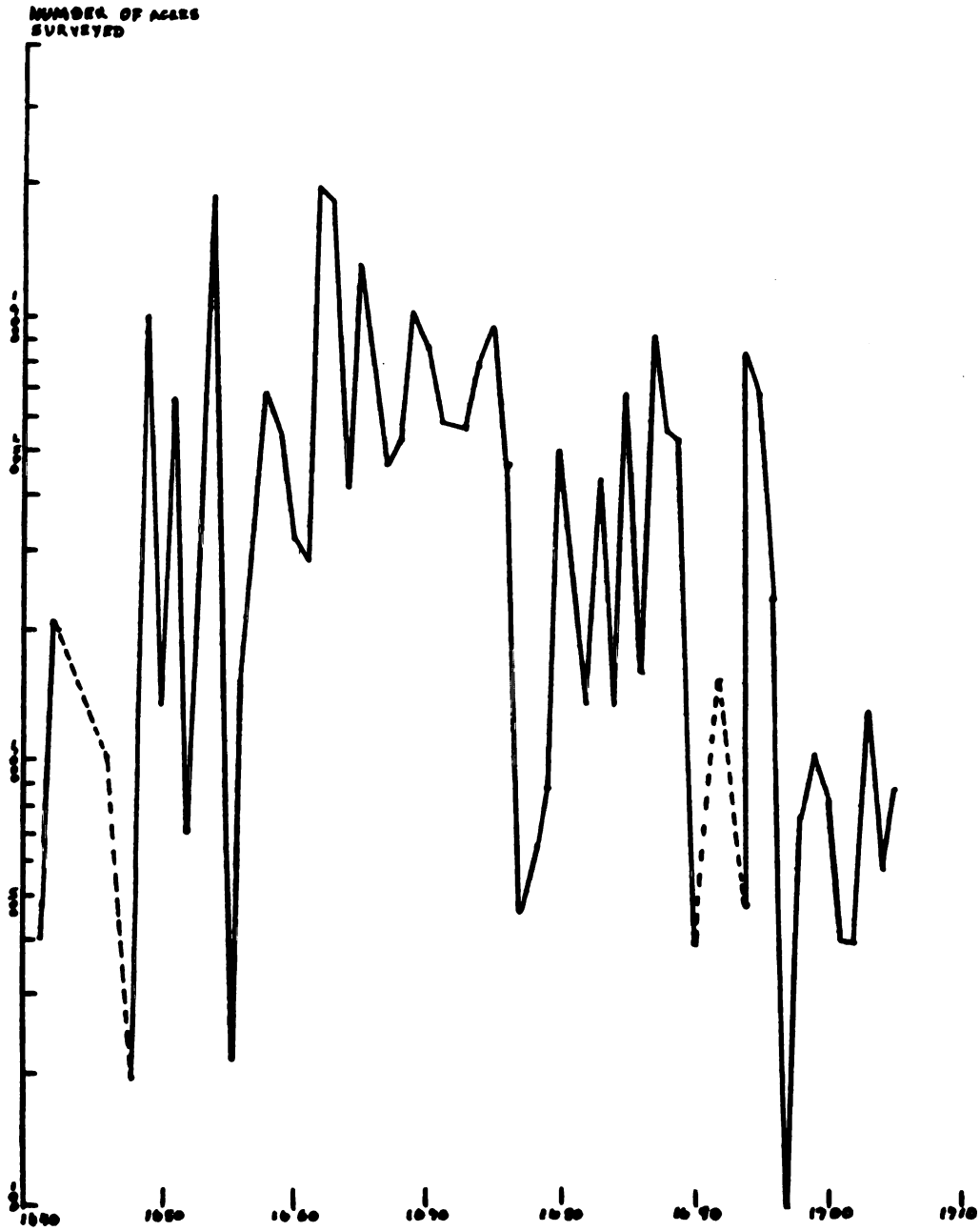

FIGURE 19 NUMBER OF ACRES SURVEYED ANNUALLY, CHARLES COUNTY, 1641-1705

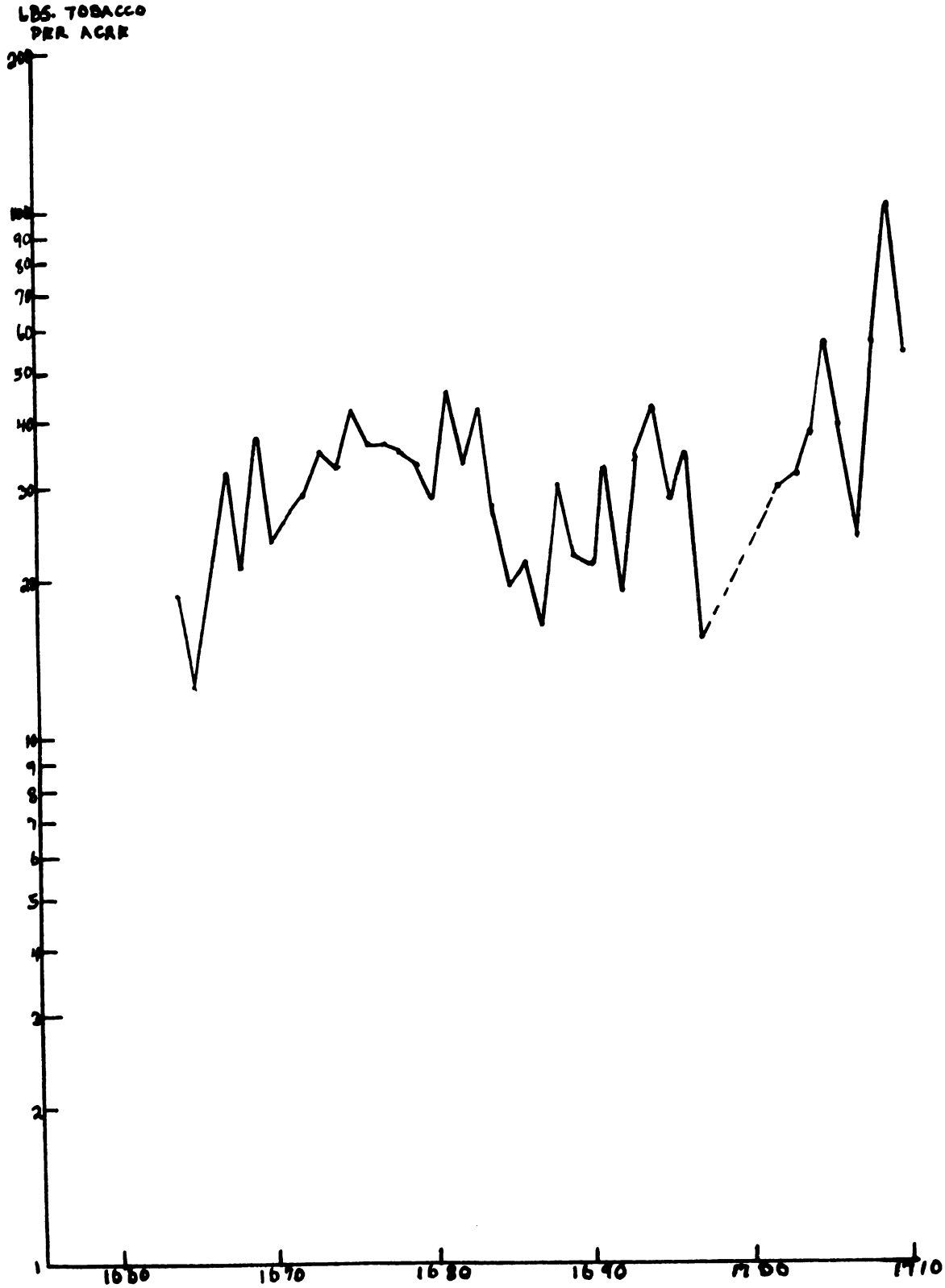

FIGURE 20 PRICE PER ACRE CHARLES COUNTY LAND, 1664-1710

century. Upon further examination, however, substantial refinements are necessary to make such an explanation work. In 1705 only about sixty percent of the land in the county had been surveyed, much less settled. And, while land prices in some of the earlier settled parts of the county were escalating, in less developed areas of the county, prices were actually declining. On the face of it, the presence of large amounts of unclaimed land and low prices for surveyed but undeveloped tracts should have made it possible for more county residents to procure land of their own.

The explanation for a substantial rate of tenancy existing in an area where there was still land available virtually for the taking appears to lie in a complex inter-relationship between, among other things, soil quality, concentration of productive land, credit availability, and changing functions of tenancy itself.

While the county's population was as yet insufficient to put much pressure on the county's land per se, by 1705 population had probably reached a point where it began to exert pressure on prime tobacco-growing acreage. The soil most favorable to tobacco cultivation lay along the Wicomico River, the Port Tobacco River and further west and north in a thin strip along the Potomac. Interest in the Wicomico and Port Tobacco areas--as indicated both by the number of acres surveyed and by the price per acre on lands sold--remained high from the 1660s through the turn of the century. (See figures 21 and 22.) The good tobacco soils in Nanjemoy and Riverside hundreds were taken up by the 1670s, and thereafter planters showed little interest in acquiring holdings in the interior of these hundreds. There the land was not suited to tobacco culture, and many tracts lacked direct water access.

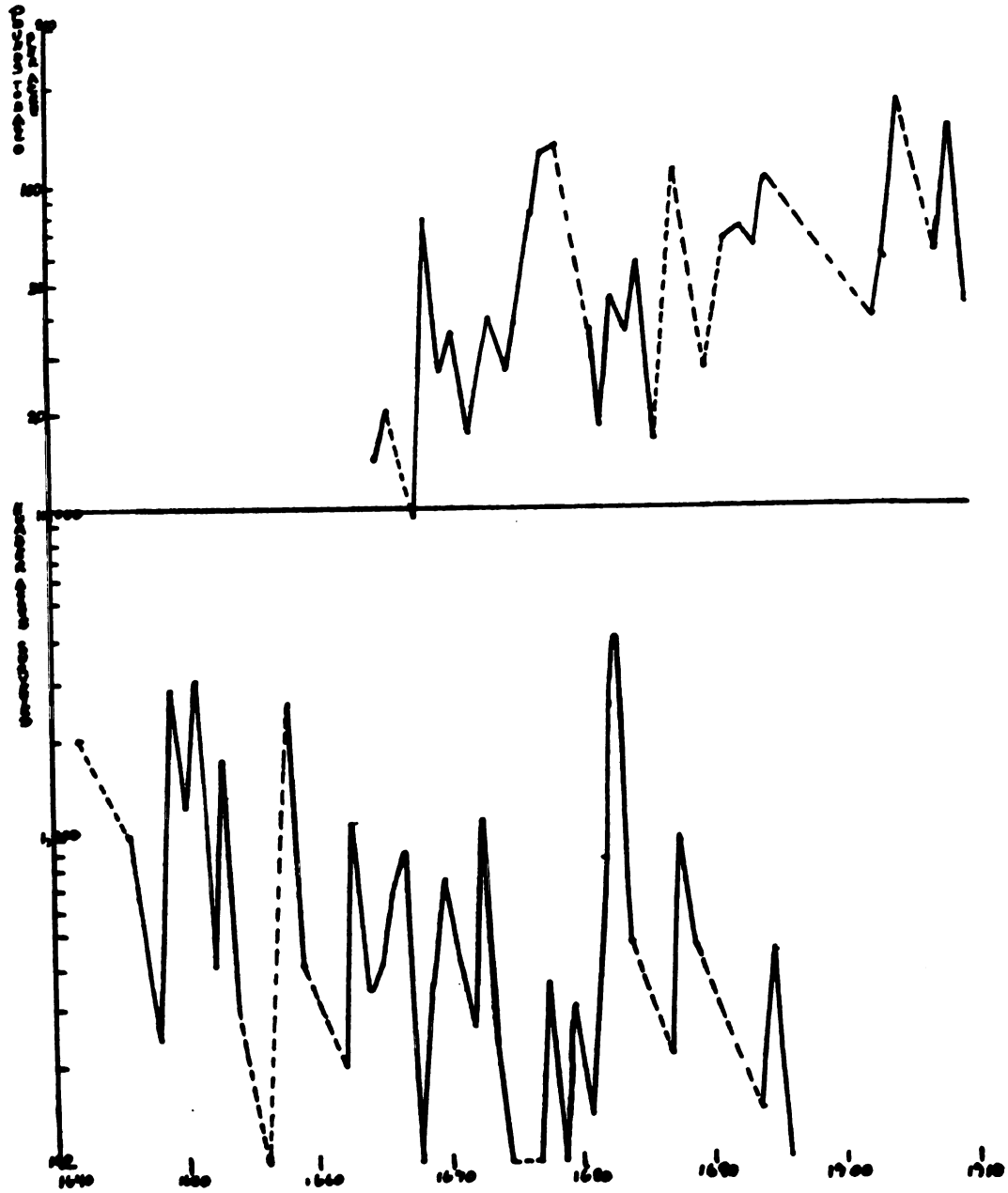

FIGURE 21 LAND PRICES AND NUMBER OF ACRES SURVEYED, WICOMICO AND PICKAWAXEN HUNDREDS

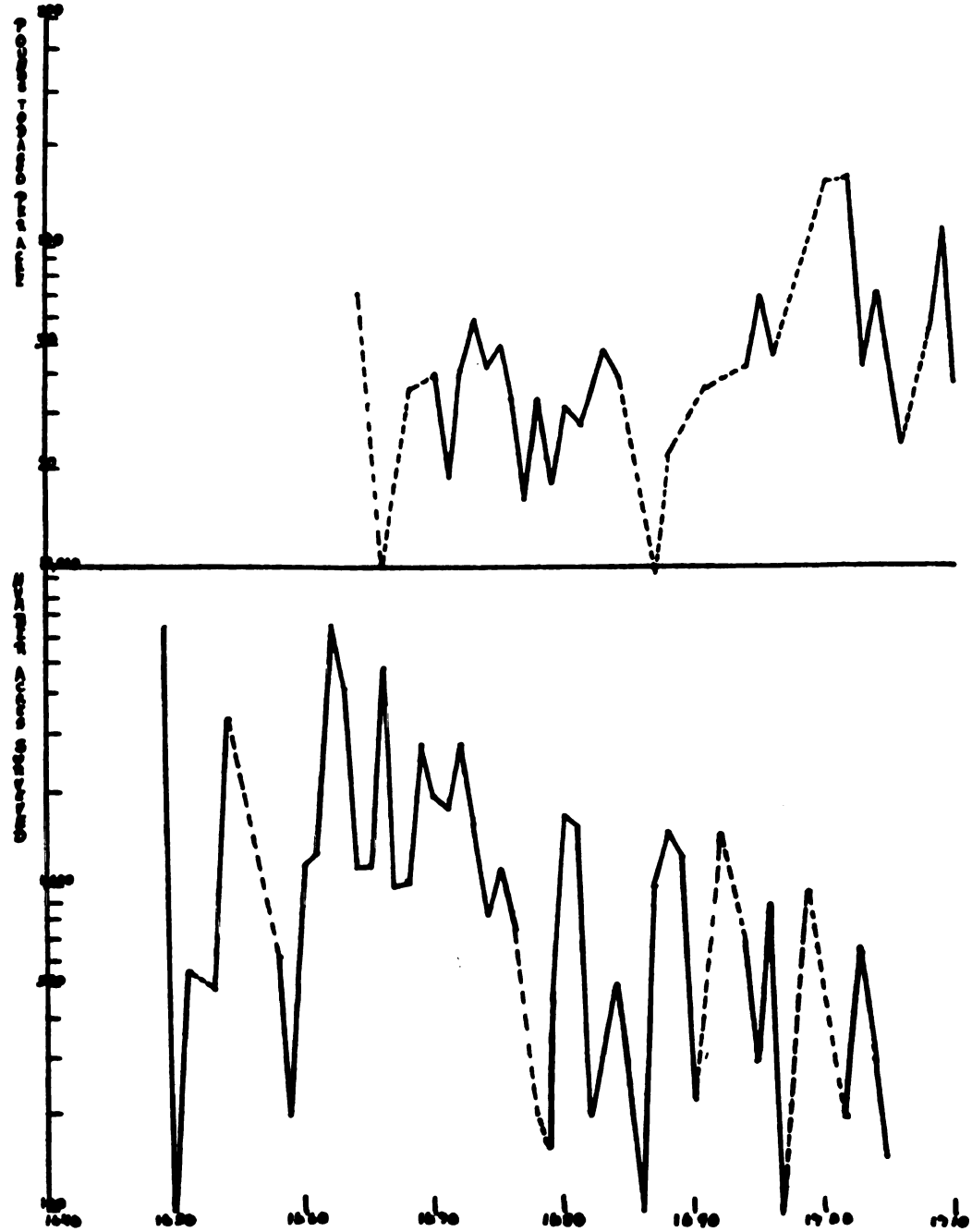

FIGURE 22 LAND PRICES AND NUMBER OF ACRES SURVEYED
PORT TOBACCO HUNDRED

Consequently the amount of new land taken up in these areas dropped by the mid 1670s, and local land prices entered a twenty-year slump in the early 1680s. (See figure 23.) Further up the Potomac lay Chingomuxen hundred, an area which contained uniformly poor land for raising tobacco and which possessed even fewer streams or inlets. While there was an initial flurry of surveying in the area in the 1660s, few tracts were actually settled yet in 1705 and once tobacco prices declined in the 1680s, interest in this less productive area dissipated, with both the number of new surveys and prices for patented lands declining. (See figure 24.)[39]

A study of tract sizes in the various hundreds reinforces the idea that variations in land quality--which the price series and survey data suggest--had a significant effect on the way land was distributed and on the number of rented farms. From table 55 and figure 25 it is clear that in those hundreds which contained the greatest proportion of lands good for tobacco growing and which also had abundant water access, tract size was greatest. Conversely, those hundreds which had little or no soil suitable to tobacco and more limited water access also contained the smallest tracts. Tract sizes in hundreds with a mixture of soil types and varying access to the water fell between the two extremes. Similar developments occurred in adjacent St. Mary's County. There too tract size was largest in those hundreds with the highest proportions of good tobacco soils and smallest in those which had the least.[40]

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[39]For varying soil types in the county see U.S., Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, "General Soil Map for Southern Maryland."

[40]Menard, Population Growth and Land Distribution in St. Mary's County."

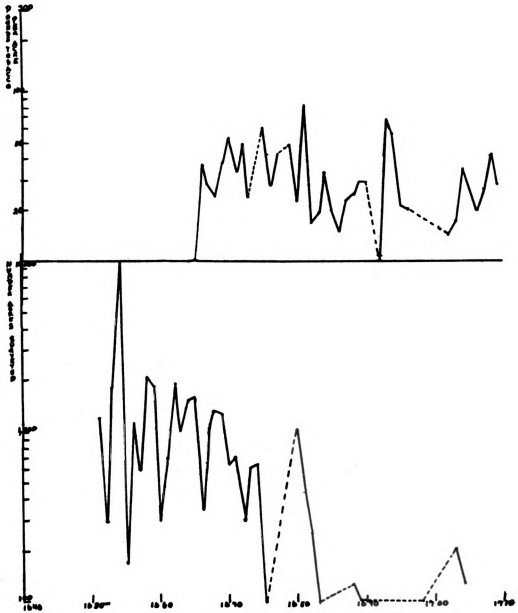

FIGURE 22 LAND PRICES AND NUMBER OF ACRES SURVEYED, NANJEMOY AND RIVERSIDE HUNDREDS

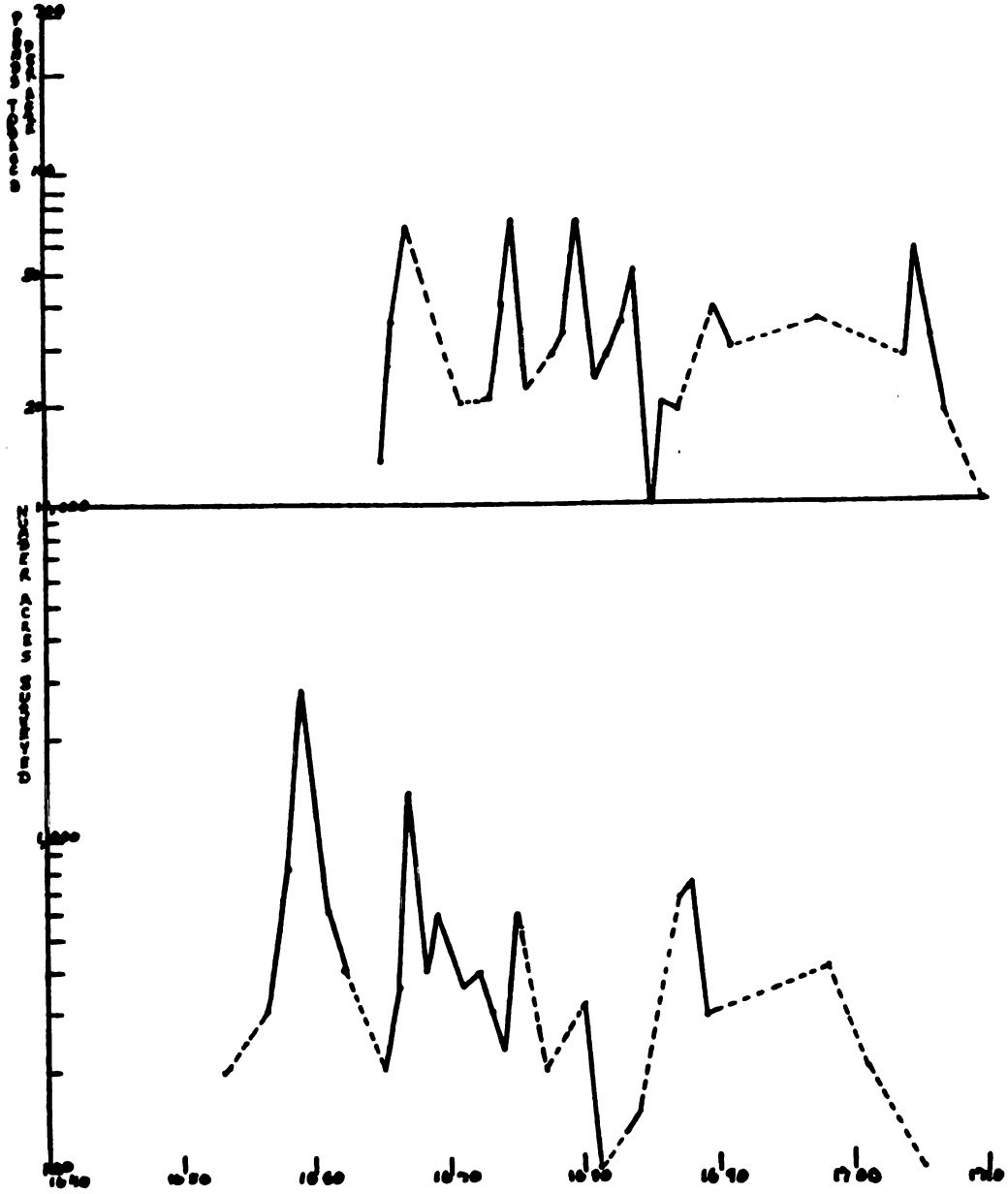

FIGURE 24. LAND PRICES AND NUMBER OF ACRES SURVEYED, CHINGOMUXEN HUNDRED

TABLE 55

SIZES OF TRACTS BY HUNDRED, CHARLES COUNTY
1705

Hundred	Percent of Surveyed Land in Tracts of between 0 and 150 Acres	Percent of Surveyed Land in Tracts of between 0 and 200 Acres	Percent of Surveyed Land in Tracts of between 0 and 400 Acres	Soil Quality	Water Access
Wicomico	30%	51%	76%	good	good
Nanjemoy	52	64	79	good/poor	good
Benedict	50	64	81	good/poor	good/poor
Riverside	53	67	88	good/poor	good/poor
Port Tobacco	61	69	84	good/poor	good
Newport	60	78	89	mostly poor	good/poor
Picawixen	67	79	91	good/poor	good
Chingomuxen	54	80	93	poor	poor

Sources: Rent Roll 8 and U.S., Department of Agriculture, "General Soil Map of Southern Maryland."

FIGURE 25. DISTRIBUTION OF PRIME TOBACCO SOILS

County-wide measures of concentration mask the fact that by 1705 the most productive land in Charles and probably also in St. Mary's County was tied up in large tracts and was controlled by a few large planters. Especially after the 1680 slump in tobacco prices, these men possessed a strong advantage over smaller planters, for they were in the best position to grow enough tobacco to provide income to expand their labor forces, to further develop their lands, and thus to produce even greater income. In addition, very good land appeared on the market infrequently. Large planters sought to retain their "speciall good Land" in the family, and should sale of some lands become necessary, disposed instead of tracts of more morginal value.[41] Since the best land tended to be sold in large parcels, and since the price of such land continued to rise, in general only men who already had substantial capital could afford to buy such choice tracts as came on the market. Continued concentration of ownership of the best lands helps to explain why some large county planters were able to prosper even in the face of severe economic depression.

On the other hand, the situation of the many smaller planters who owned less productive lands was much less favorable around the turn of the century. If tract size is any indication--and there is a high correlation between large land holdings and large amounts of other kinds of capital--men with the least assets ended up with the poorest lands.[42]

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[41]This becomes clear when patterns of land sales and of land willed to heirs are compared. See also Testamentary Proceedings 6: 269.

[42]Obviously there was nothing to prevent a large planter from acquiring a number of small parcels of land and farming them as a single large tract. Here the argument is that the best tobacco-growing lands tended to be surveyed relatively early in the settlement process and to be patented in large blocs, while land less suited to tobacco, whenever surveyed, was more often patented in much smaller parcels. Once established,

Very small planters then labored under a severe disadvantage, for, so long as tobacco prices remained depressed, they were unlikely to produce enough income from the staple to procure labor and thus to expand production.

This situation must have had an effect upon non-landowners as well as upon men who already owned land. Perhaps when a poor man considered the various ways by which he might make a living in the county, survey or purchase of a marginal freehold may not have appeared to him to be the best alternative. Leasing more productive land--even though this entailed the payment of substantial rents--may have produced higher or at least equal net incomes. Credit considerations probably also favored tenancy. When credit was scarce, poor men probably found it especially difficult to borrow money for the purchase and development of marginal lands.

Very probably, when men chose or were forced for lack of capital to rent rather than to buy farms, more of them let land from large rather than from small planters. Such men had more land (and more productive land) available to rent than did small planters who might already be using most of their prime tobacco acreage or else be saving what surplus they had for their children. As a result, tenancy in Charles County probably had a pronounced geographic bias. Most non-landowners probably lived in prime tobacco growing areas where land ownership was also most concentrated.

It is probable too that the function of tenancy itself was changing in many areas by the turn of the eighteenth century. Even though we cannot prove this since information about rents and the condition of leases is

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cadastral boundaries were slow to change, and subdivision of large tracts other than through inheritance infrequent. Cf. Earle, Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System, ch. 8.

scarce because no law required that short-term leases be recorded, it is likely that as older-settled areas filled up, landowners began to rent already developed farms solely for the purpose of producing income. Once a landlord no longer had a need for tenant-produced improvements on his holdings, doubtless he demanded a greater share of the tenant's crop in return for use of the land, especially since concomitant obligations on the part of the tenant (primarily the maintenance of existing buildings and fences) were less burdensome than initial clearing and construction. Consequently, even had tobacco prices not fallen, the career prospects of many non-landowners would probably have changed for the worse. Men renting already developed land probably paid out a greater share of their crops for rent, and thus had proportionately less to save to buy land of their own. Again, the greatest advantage would accrue to large planters who had the most land to rent, for they could now add increasingly profitable rents to their sources of income.

Evidence from the other lower western shore counties demonstrates a similar inter-relationship between land quality,[43] tract size, and rates of tenancy. In the first place, over-all figures are suggestive. In 1705 Charles, with the least good tobacco soil, had the lowest proportion of landless householders of the four counties, 29 percent. In St.

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[43]For soil types see U.S., Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, "General Soil Map of Southern Maryland," and U.S., Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service in Cooperation with Maryland Agricultural Experiment Station, Soil Survey, Prince George's County, Maryland (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967). Very real differences in soil productivity are still evident in the region despite the availability of modern fertilizers. Patuxent valley soils today yield from 1,500 to 1,900 pounds of tobacco per acre and 70 to 115 bushels of corn. Soils in the interior of Charles and St. Mary's Counties yield only 850 to 1,000 pounds of tobacco and 65 to 85 bushels of corn per acre. U.S., Department of Agriculture, "General Soil Map for Southern Maryland."

Mary's,where soils most closely resembled those of Charles, 33 percent of the householders were tenants.[44] In more fertile Prince George's County by 1706 35 percent of householders owned no land,[45] and in highly productive Calvert County, tenants made up about 38 percent of heads of household in 1707.[46]

The mechanisms which determined what proportion of a county's residents would own land were of course highly complex, and clearly elements other than soil quality are part of the equation. Were this the only factor involved, much higher rates of tenancy might be expected in Calvert County than actually appeared. The closeness of the proportions of tenants in the four counties suggests that rents asked for less desirable tracts may have been lower than those charged for better land, thus tending to produce similar rates of tenancy throughout the region. It is probable too that Calvert County planters were utilizing slaves rather than white tenants to a greater extent than were planters in the other three counties for both developmental and income-producing purposes.[47] Finally, Calvert County was more intensively developed than the other three counties. Consequently by 1707 little land may have been let there primarily for purposes of development, while this form of tenancy was still important elsewhere.

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[44]Menard, "Population Growth and Land Distribution in St. Mary's County."

[45]Carr, "County Government," ch. 7.

[46]The proportion of tenants in Calvert County was calculated by determining the number of resident landowners among property holders listed on the 1707 rent roll (Calvert Papers #887, Maryland Historical Society) and comparing this figure with an estimate of the number of free adult male residents obtained by interpolating between the 1704 and 1710 censuses.

[47]See below, pp. 447-454.

Data on soil quality, tract size, and rates of tenancy are available by hundred for St. Mary's and Prince George's Counties, and these lend strong support to the pattern of good tobacco land, large tract size, and high rates of tenancy suggested for Charles. In St. Mary's County in 1705 the highly productive land along the Patuxent River was laid out in much larger tracts than land in most other areas of the county. Taxable figures for the two Patuxent hundreds indicate that 26 percent of the total population lived there, and that 48 to 59 percent of Patuxent householders were leasing land. In contrast, in the remaining eight hundreds on the Potomac side of the county where three-quarters of the population lived, very good land was generally in shorter supply. There tracts tended to be smaller and tenancy less. Only 24 to 28 percent of householders in this area were tenants.[48]

Similar relationships between soil quality, tract size, and rates of tenancy appear in Prince George's County. In the southern part of the county on the rich tobacco lands along the Patuxent median holdings of resident landowners were relatively large--about 415 acres, and rates of tenancy were the highest in the county, 42 to 43 percent of all householders. Further up the Patuxent in the northern part of the county where good tobacco land was less plentiful, the median holdings of resident landowners was smaller, 295 acres, and the percentage of tenants decreased to 29 to 30 percent. On the Potomac side of the county most of the soils were not well suited to tobacco. Here, however, the generalizations about soil quality and tract size do not hold. Most of these Potomac lands had initially been granted to and were still owned by a few large planters instead of by a number of small farmers. Here

[48]Menard, "Population Growth and Land Distribution in St. Mary's County."

the median holding for residents reached 740 acres. Rates of tenancy were also relatively high--33 to 35 percent of householders. However, low settlement densities on the Potomac side of Prince George's suggest that these tenants were probably renting from landlords who were still development rather than income oriented. Consequently, in this county, lower rents may have attracted more tenants to poorer tobacco areas than was the case in Charles and St. Mary's, where such lands were divided among many small owners and thus less likely to be available to tenants.[49]

A comparison of soil quality and the amount of unclaimed land remaining in the four lower western shore counties at the turn of the century is also helpful for understanding why the proportion of men who owned land may have varied from one area to another. Out of the four counties Charles contained the greatest proportion of poor tobacco lands, and it was also the least developed of the counties. In 1705 only about sixty percent of available county land had been claimed. In earlier settled St. Mary's County--which like Charles included a significant proportion of soils not well suited to tobacco--forty-four percent of the land remained unpatented in 1705. As in Charles, the unclaimed lands lay in the interior; most lacked either ready water access or good tobacco-growing soils.[50]

In contrast to rather slow development in St. Mary's and Charles Counties, the Patuxent side of recently created Prince George's County was relatively densely settled at the turn of the century. By 1706,

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[49]Unpublished research of Lois Green Carr.

[50]Menard, "Population Growth and Land Distribution in St. Mary's County."

only ten years after its creation, sixty-three percent of all available land in Prince George's County was occupied, but almost all of the productive Patuxent lands had been claimed.[51] Calvert County, established at about the same time as Charles, boasted by far the most productive tobacco soil of the four counties, and unlike the other three, it included almost no lands unsuited to the staple. Not surprisingly, very little land remained unsurveyed there; by 1707 (the date of that county's early eighteenth century rent roll) eighty-three percent of available land had been taken up. This suggests that in the early eighteenth century, just as in the middle of the seventeenth century, opportunity to acquire land remained greatest in the least developed areas. By the turn of the century, however, the gains which could be realized by purchasing previously unsurveyed land were greatly diminished, because most tracts then available were not well suited to tobacco or they lacked access to water, or both.

Data on land prices are scarce, but available figures not surprisingly indicate that land prices were highest in those areas where unclaimed land was scarcest, and, at the same time, where the most productive tobacco lands lay. It is almost certain that—given both the degree of development and the quality of Calvert County land—prices there would have been higher than in most parts of the adjacent counties. Land on the Patuxent side of Prince George's sold for more than double the price of land on the Potomac side of the county in 1700-1705, and tracts on the Potomac in St. Mary's must have been equally dear. The generally less desirable but still reasonably good tobacco lands along the Potomac in Charles (and presumably in St. Mary's) remained somewhat

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[51]Carr, "County Government," ch. 7.

less expensive, while the much less desirable interior tracts in all three counties must have brought rock bottom prices. Differences in price must then too have encouraged men with limited resources to settle on cheaper but less productive farms.[52]

It may prove useful here to summarize the findings for Charles County. There the distribution of land among freeholders was remarkably stable during the county's first fifty years. What changes might occur in the near future were likely to be in the direction of increasingly equitable distributions, as the custom of partible inheritance led to more equal holdings among the native-born, by far the most rapidly growing segment of the white population. In fact, however, landholdings were not quite so equitably divided, for when county-wide distributions are broken down by hundred, it is clear that the most productive tobacco lands were held in large tracts, while small farms dominated in less productive areas. This situation gave additional advantage to the well-situated large planter. The most dramatic change which occurred between 1659 and 1705 was a trebling of the proportion of men who did not own land. An increase of from about ten to just under thirty percent tenancy dramatically underscores the inability of a growing number of county residents to start new farms of their own on unclaimed or salable land, and this in the portion of the lower western shore where proportions of landowners were highest.

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[52]The records from which land prices for Calvert and St. Mary's Counties could be obtained have not survived. For Prince George's County in 1700-1705 Lois Carr found a mean price of 8.29 shillings per acre for Patuxent watershed lands, and 3.91 shillings per acre for Potomac watershed lands. The Prince George's Potomac side prices are quite similar to Charles County prices for the same period. Allan Kulikoff reports that the marked price differential between Potomac and Patuxent land continued in the mid-eighteenth century.

Distribution of Personalty

Changes in the distribution of personal wealth over the second half of the century were much greater than changes in the distribution of land in Charles County, and they reflect much more closely the short-term as well as long-term vicissitudes of the Chesapeake economy. While analysis of land distributions was based on quit-rent rolls, the description of the division of personal wealth comes from a study of all county estate inventories filed between 1658 and 1705.[53] In the absence of tax records or other listings of the property of the living population, inventories of the movable assets of property owners at death are an invaluable source for studying accumulation, social structure, and the direction of economic and social change.

The inventories demonstrate that from the mid 1660s through 1674 all elements of the population benefited from favorable tobacco prices, and from the county's rapid rate of growth. As shown in figure 26, the difference between mean and median personal wealth, and hence the degree of inequality, was smallest during this period. Median wealth in Charles County reached a peak of £130 at the end of the decade, by far the highest of any time in the seventeenth century, and, as seen in figure 27, the wealth of the lower quartile was steadily increasing as well.[54]

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[53]"Social Stratification in Maryland." For a comparison of wealth levels and of composition and distribution of estates in seventeenth and early eighteenth century Charles County with those of Calvert, Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Kent, and Somerset Counties, see Main, "Measuring Wealth and Welfare," and ibid., "Maryland and the Chesapeake Economy, 1670 to 1720," in Land, Carr, and Papenfuse, Law, Society, and Politics.

[54]In the graphs of mean, median, upper quartile, and lower quartile wealth which follow, data were grouped in short, three or four year segments in order to dampen violent fluctuations caused by very small numbers while preserving information about the direction and extent of movements caused by cyclical fluctuations. The year groups used are 1658-61, 1662-64, 1665-67, 1668-70, 1671-74, 1675-77, 1678-80, 1681-84, 1685-87, 1688-90, 1691-93, 1694-96, 1697-99, 1700-02, 1703-05.

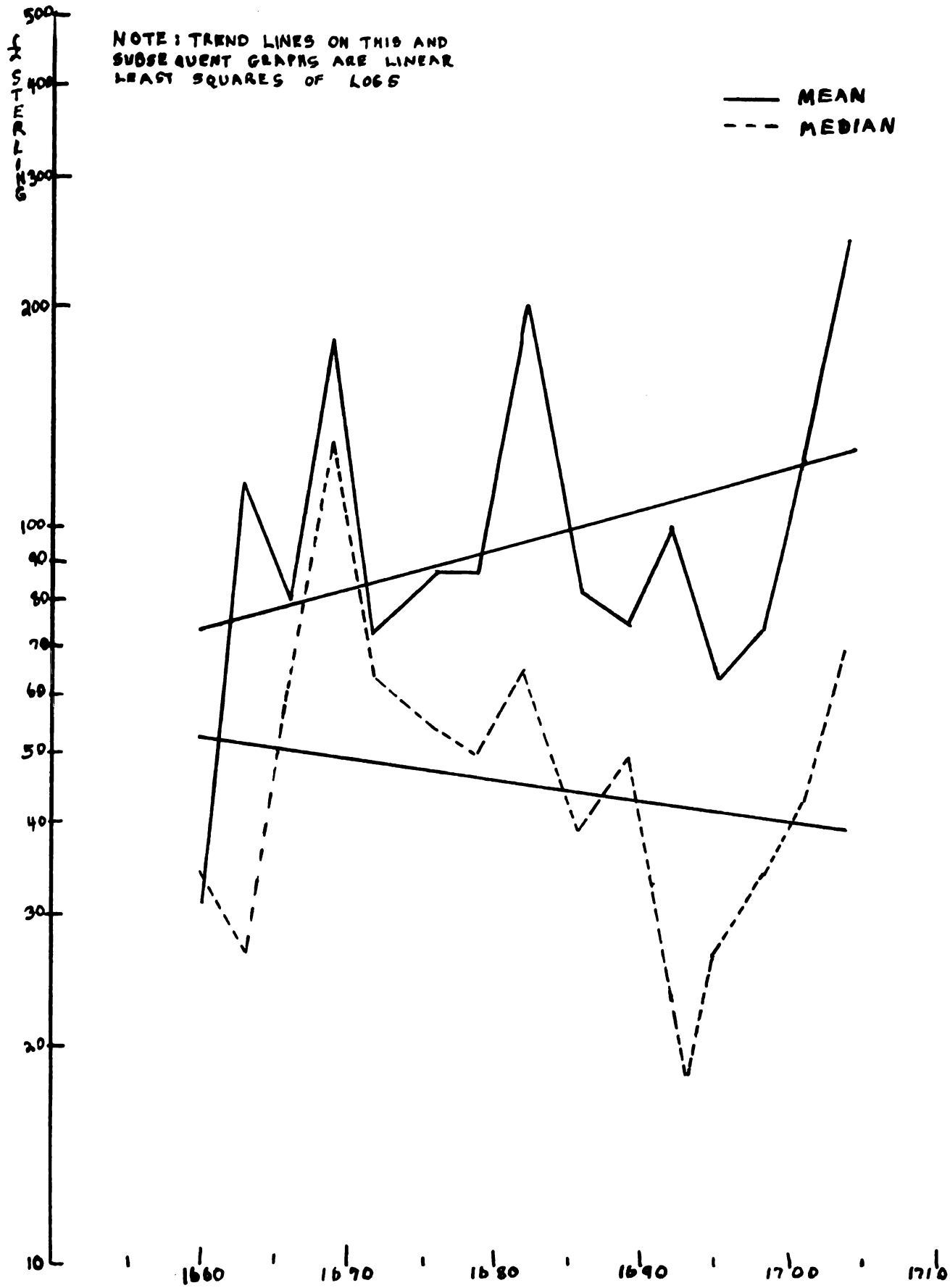

FIGURE 26. MEANS AND MEDIANS, CHARLES COUNTY INVENTORIES, 1658 - 1705

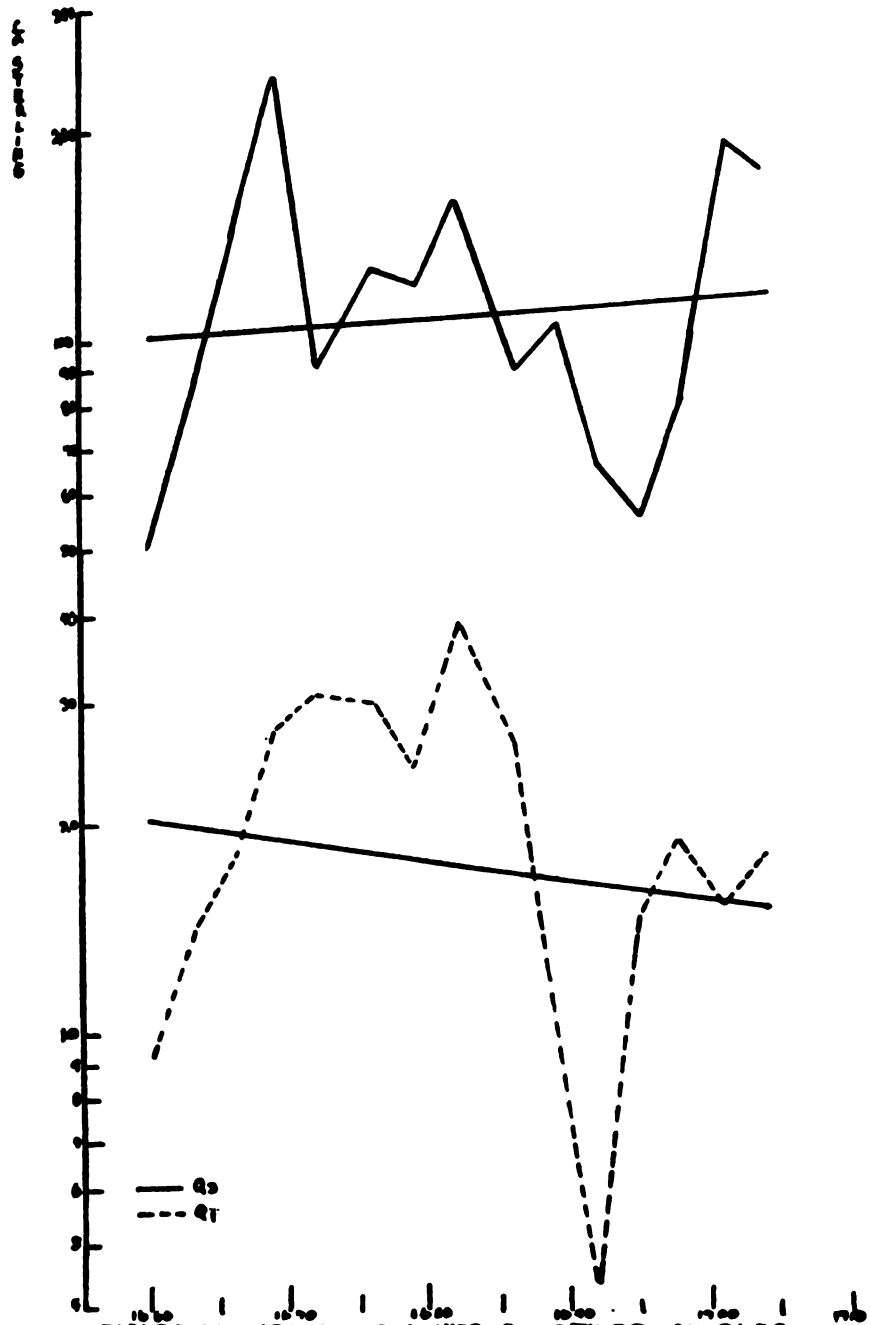

FIGURE 22 UPPER AND LOWER QUARTILES, CHARLES COUNTY INVENTORIES, 1658-1705

Until 1675 the level of median wealth in Charles County was well above that for the lower western shore region as a whole (as a comparison of figures 18 and 26 demonstrates), clearly indicating that middling planters were the major beneficiaries of this early period of prosperity.

During the 1670s the wealth levels of all groups in the county declined, reflecting the increasingly less favorable returns produced by the staple and a slowing of the county growth rate. Smaller planters were harder hit than larger ones, however. Median wealth continued to fall from the beginning of the 1670s through the early 1690s, while mean wealth, after a sharp drop in 1671-74, either did not decline further or else rose. Consequently, inequality increased.

After the mid-1680s no further distributional shifts occurred in the lower western shore as a whole.[55] In Charles however, the gap between the rich and the poor continued to widen until the very end of the century. Median wealth fell steadily, while the worth of the lower quartile plunged precipitously to well under £10. Wealth levels of the upper quartile remained stable from the mid-1670s through the 80s. Then they too dropped. After the mid-1690s estate values of all groups showed some improvement. The gains for the lower wealth groups were not great, however. By 1705 median wealth had returned to £70, just a little above the level of the early 1680s, and scarcely more than half the peak reached in the 1660s. The worth of the lower quartile was still well below what it had been in the 1670s and less than half of the peak of £39 of the early 1680s. Most of the increase in mean total estate value at the turn of the century can be attributed to an increase in the value of estates of the upper quartile of wealthholders and especially of estates worth

[55]Menard, Harris, and Carr, "Opportunity and Inequality."

£400 or more. Substantial growth in the number of estates at the top was a characteristic of the post 1680 period. Before 1681 only four estates in the county were worth £400 or more; between 1681 and 1705 twenty estates of this value were probated. After 1681 rich planters at worst maintained their wealth levels, and at best grew richer, but small and middling planters consistently lost ground. (See figure 28 and table 56.)

Wealthholders in the other three counties of the lower western shore had somewhat different experiences across the second half of the seventeenth century. In earlier settled St. Mary's, the poorest wealthholders owned much less personal property in the 1660s than did members of this group in Charles and Calvert. (see figures 30 and 33.) Evidently the opportunities which the initial rapid expansion of a newly settled region seemed to afford small men had already passed in that county. On the other hand, apparently some sort of base level already had been established, for the wealth of the lower quartile did not decline with hard times after the mid-1680s. By the end of the century it had even risen a few pounds above the 1660 level. Similarly, the poorest quarter experienced little long-term change in levels of wealth in Calvert County during the same period. In contrast, in that portion of the lower western shore which would become Prince George's County, initial phases of rapid growth continued into the 1680s. As in Charles twenty years earlier (as shown in figure 35), the poorest quarter of the Prince George's population died with estates worth as much as two-thirds more than the estates of this group in more developed counties. Subsequently, as happened earlier in Charles, the wealth of the lower quartile declined.

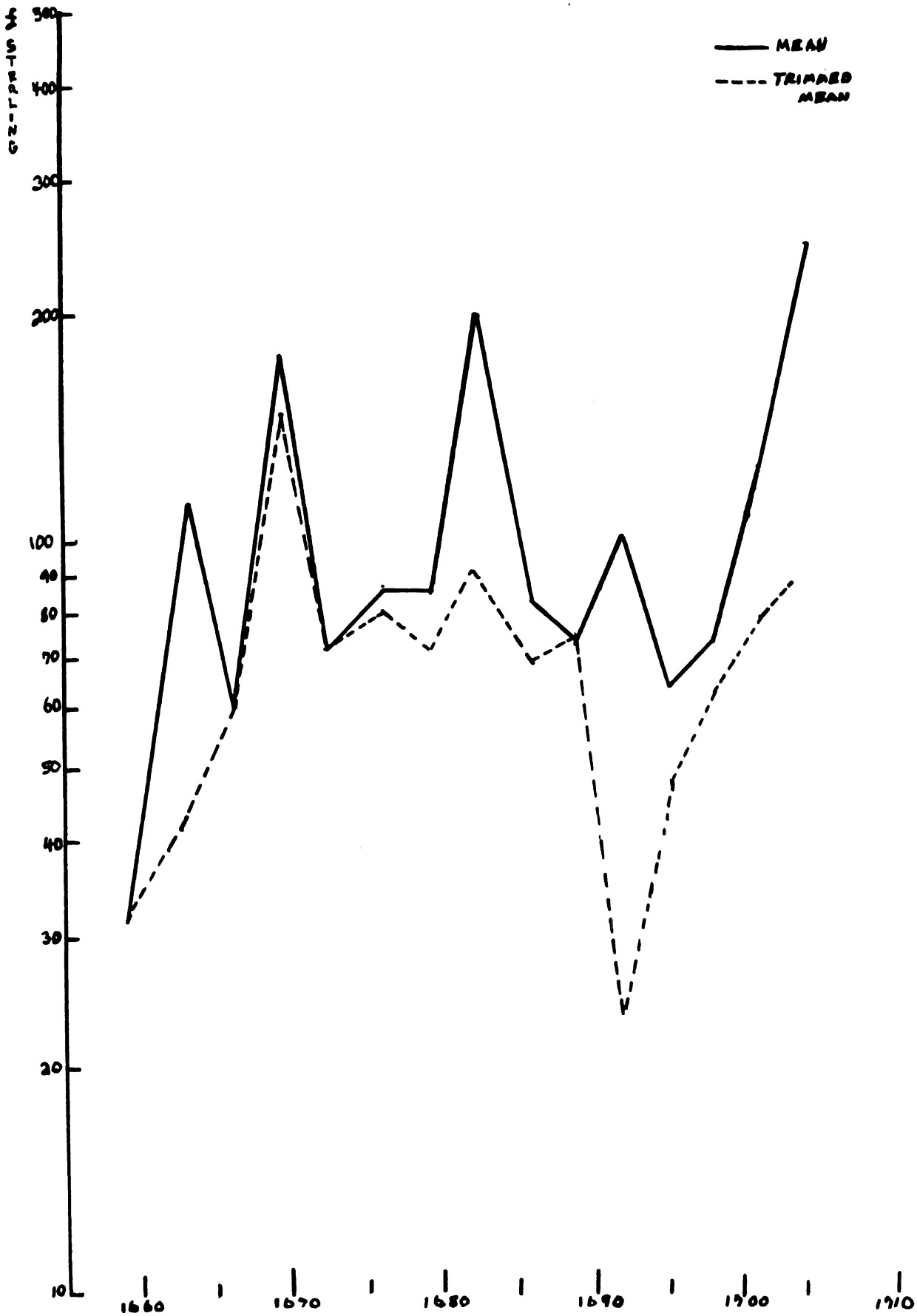

FIGURE 28. MEANS AND MEANS TRIMMED OF £400 ESTATES, CHARLES COUNTY

TABLE 56

PERCENTAGES OF ESTATES BY WEALTH CATEGORIES FOR SELECTED TIME PERIODS, CHARLES COUNTY

Total Estate Value in £ Sterling	Percent of Estates		
	1671-77	1685-90	1697-99
£ 0-29.99	21%	36%	43%
30-149.99	62	48	39
150-399.99	15	14	11
400+	1	2	7
	99%	100%	100%
Number of Inventories	68	58	70

Source: "Social Stratification in Maryland."

A comparison of the upper quartiles in Charles, St. Mary's, Calvert, and Prince George's Counties (figures 27, 30, 33, and 35) reveals that after the mid-1670s the rich were more often growing richer in the other three counties than they were in Charles. After the mid-1670s the wealth of the upper quartile in Charles County did not exceed the regional average (compare figures 27 and 31), and between 1685 and 1695 it fell well below it. In St. Mary's County this group equaled or exceeded the regional wealth level across the period, while in Calvert the wealth of the upper quartile increased steadily from the mid-1680s. New, rapidly-expanding Prince George's frequently offered even greater opportunity for accumulation among the richest quarter of the population, with the worth of the top quartile reaching a high of £400 in the early 1690s.

In a comparison of mean and median wealth levels for the four counties, Calvert emerges as the richest of the four, followed by Prince George's and St. Mary's, with Charles coming in last. Certainly more than soil productivity was involved, but it is interesting to note that mean wealth does not seem to be strongly related to the amount of good tobacco soils available in a county. We should also note that across the course of the second half of the century in Charles an increase in mean wealth was accompanied by a pronounced decline in the level of median wealth (figures 26, 29, 32, and 34). While mean wealth increased in the other three counties, median wealth either remained stable or declined less drastically than in Charles. This difference, as we will see later, probably reflected among other things, differing abilities of local societies to absorb marginal wealthholders.[56]

[56]For a comparison of mean gross personal wealth and mean values of personal wealth in each decile of the population in Charles, Calvert,

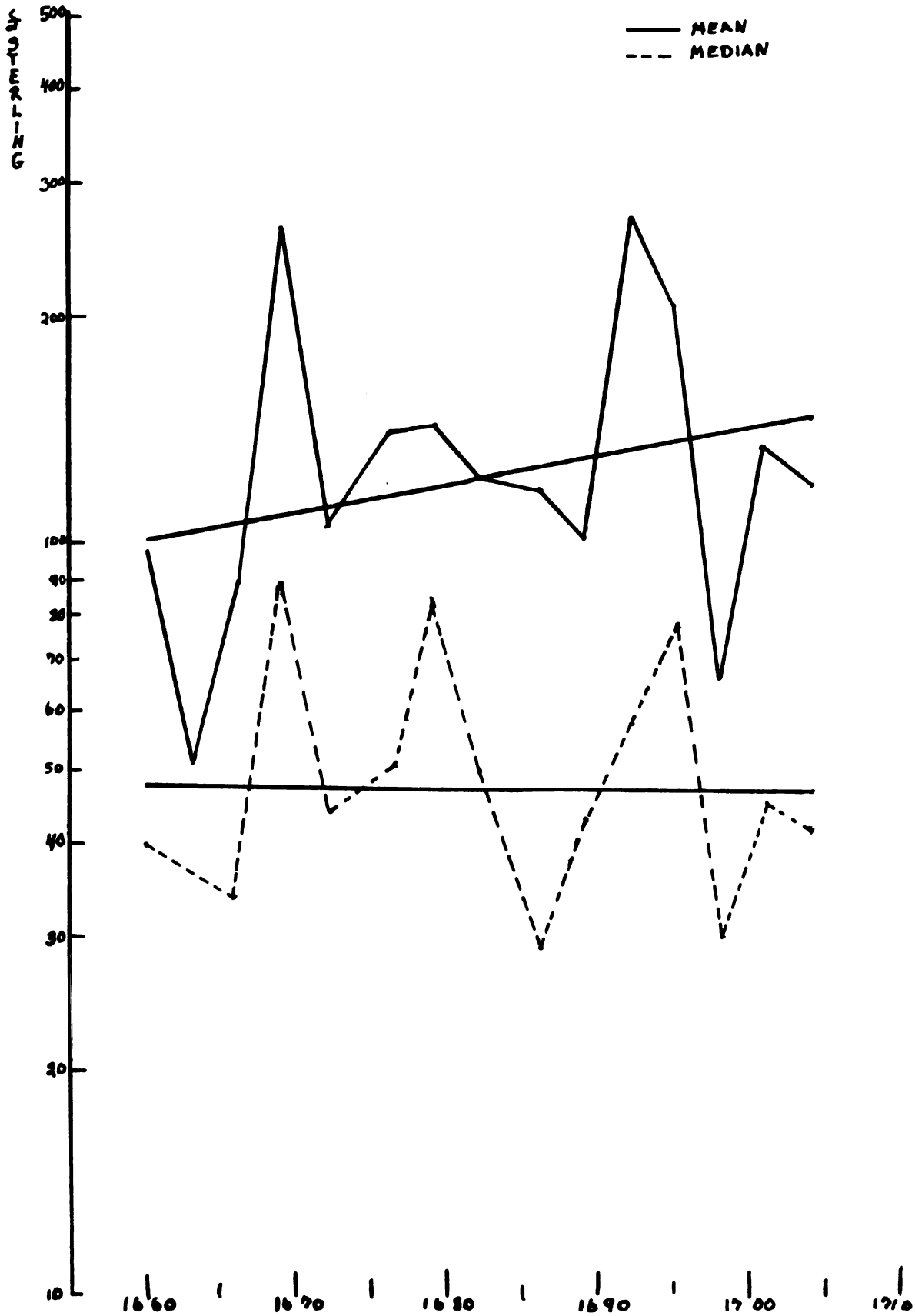

FIGURE 29. MEANS AND MEDIANS, ST. MARY'S COUNTY INVENTORIES, 1658-1705

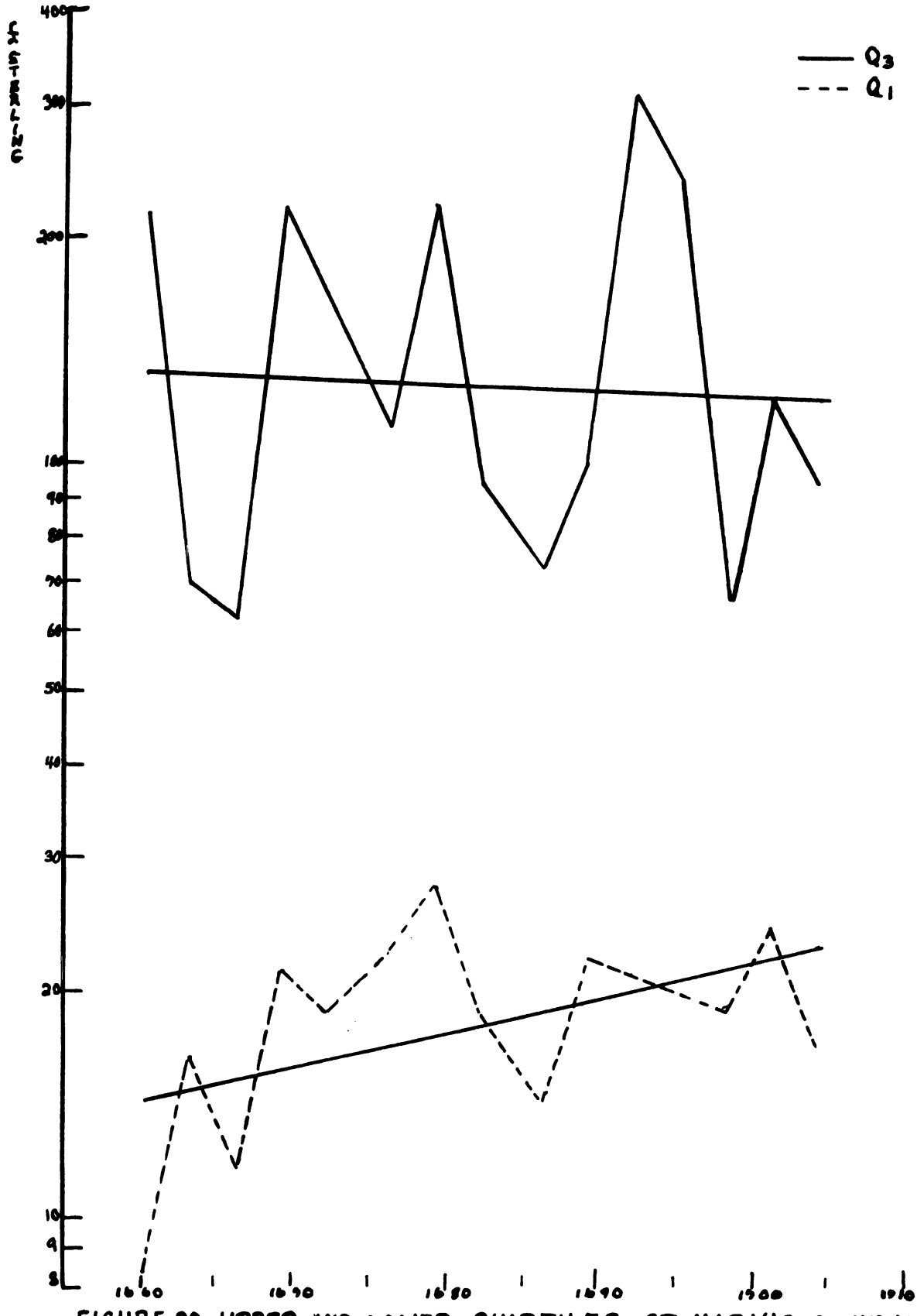

FIGURE 30. UPPER AND LOWER QUARTILES, ST. MARY'S COUNTY INVENTORIES, 1658-1705

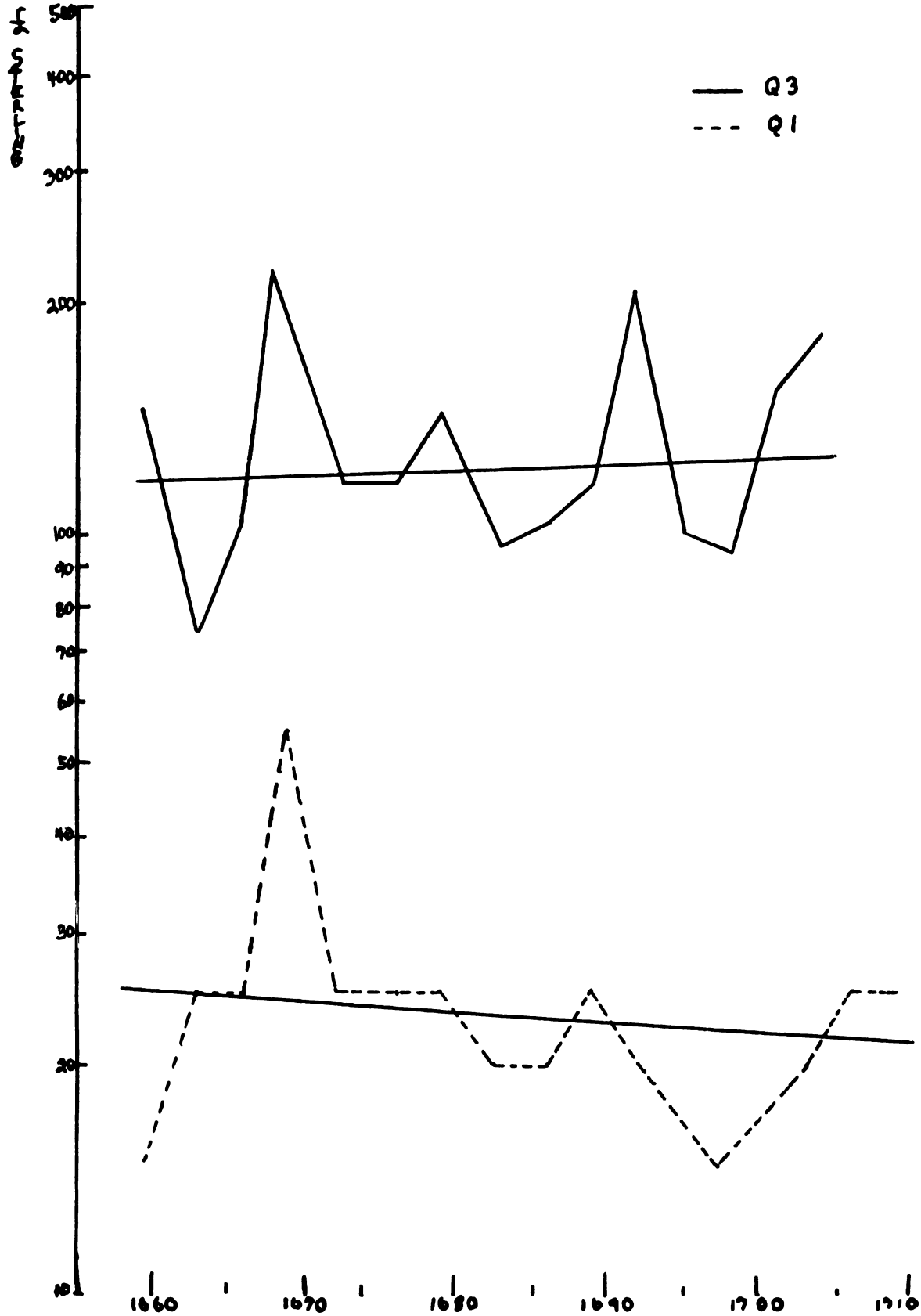

FIGURE 31. UPPER AND LOWER QUARTILES, LOWER WESTERN SHORE, 1658 - 1705

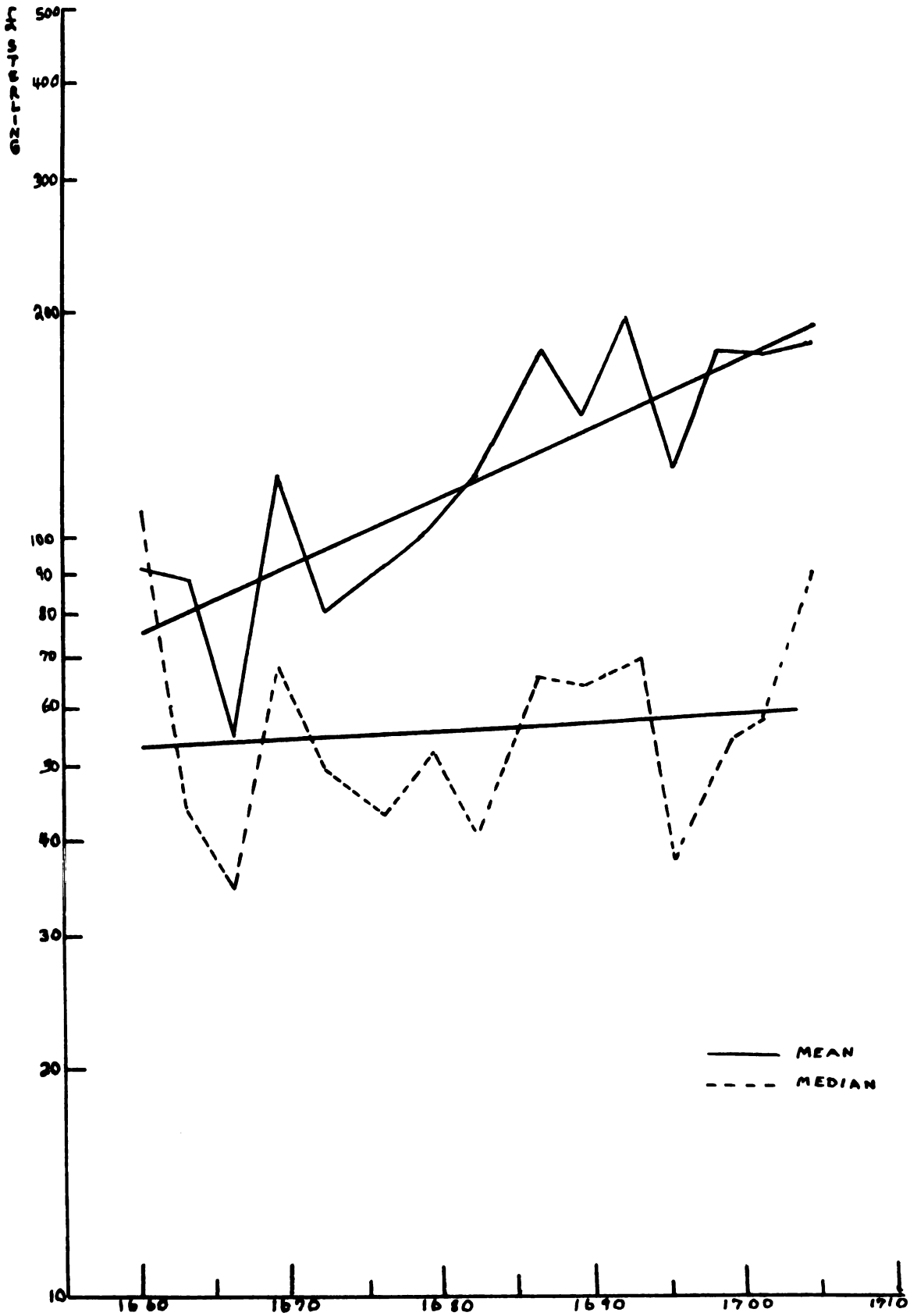

FIGURE 32. MEANS AND MEDIANS, CALVERT COUNTY INVENTORIES, 1658-1705

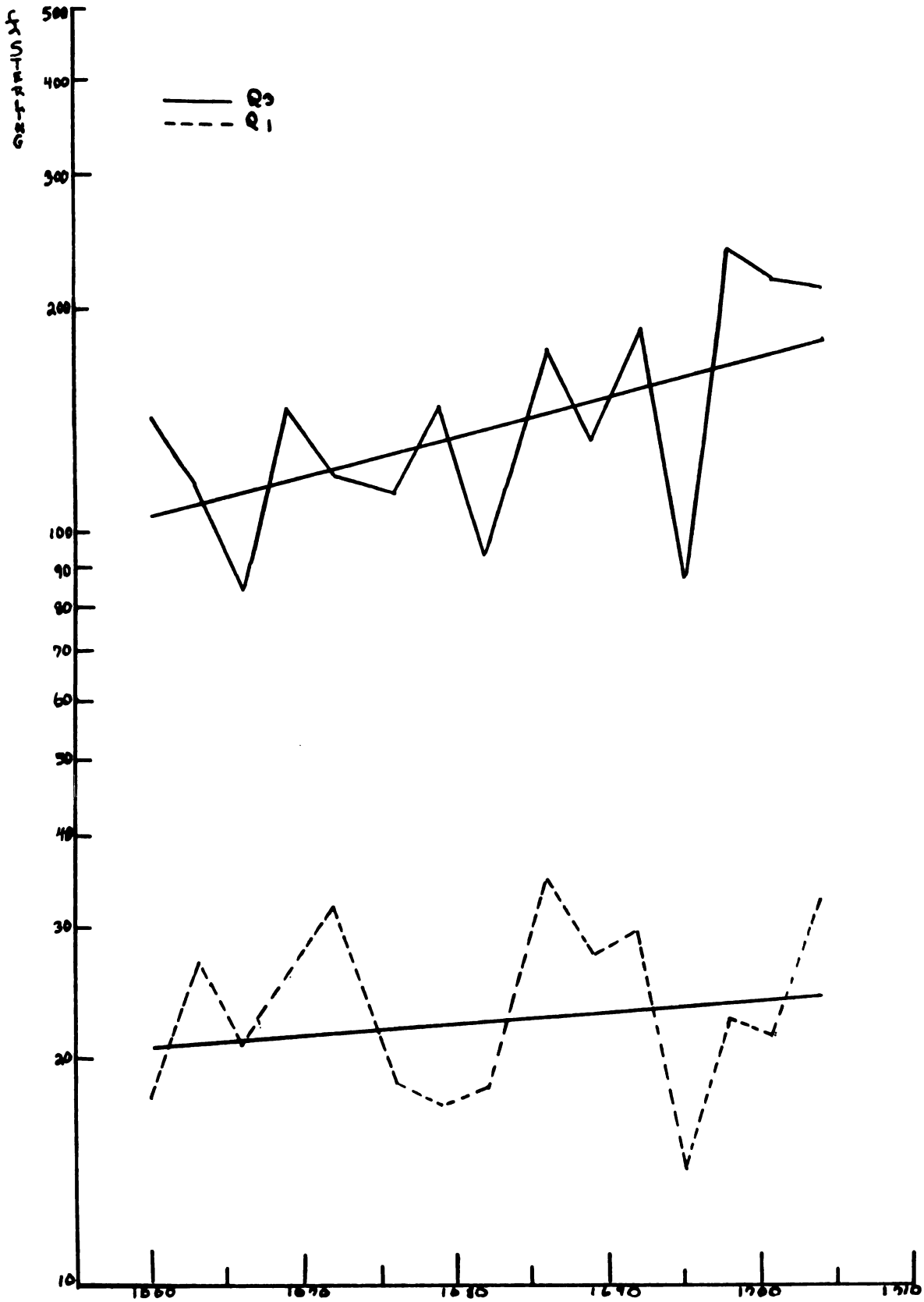

FIGURE 33. UPPER AND LOWER QUARTILES, CALVERT COUNTY INVENTORIES, 1658-1705

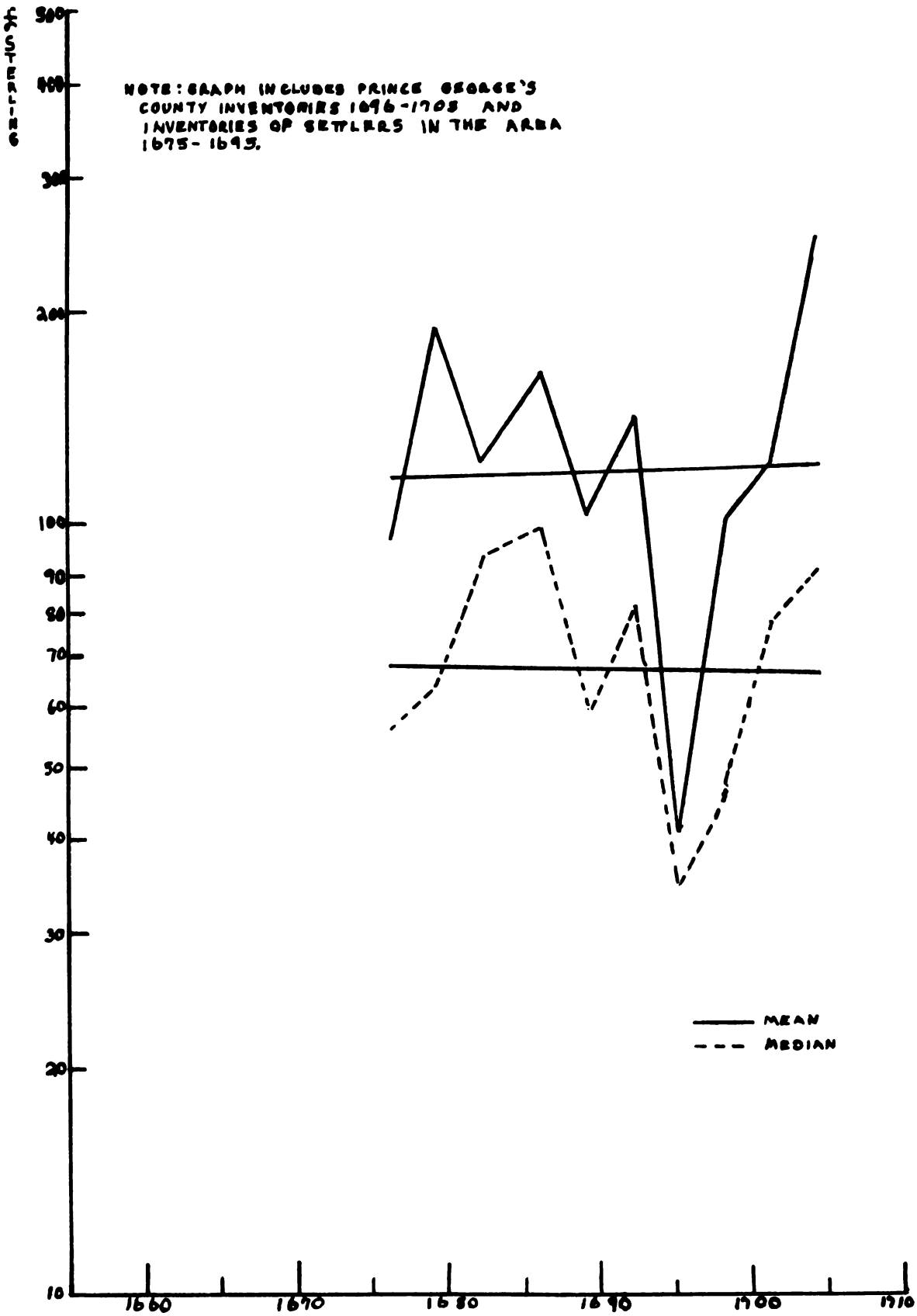

FIGURE 34. MEANS AND MEDIANS, PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY INVENTORIES, 1675-1705

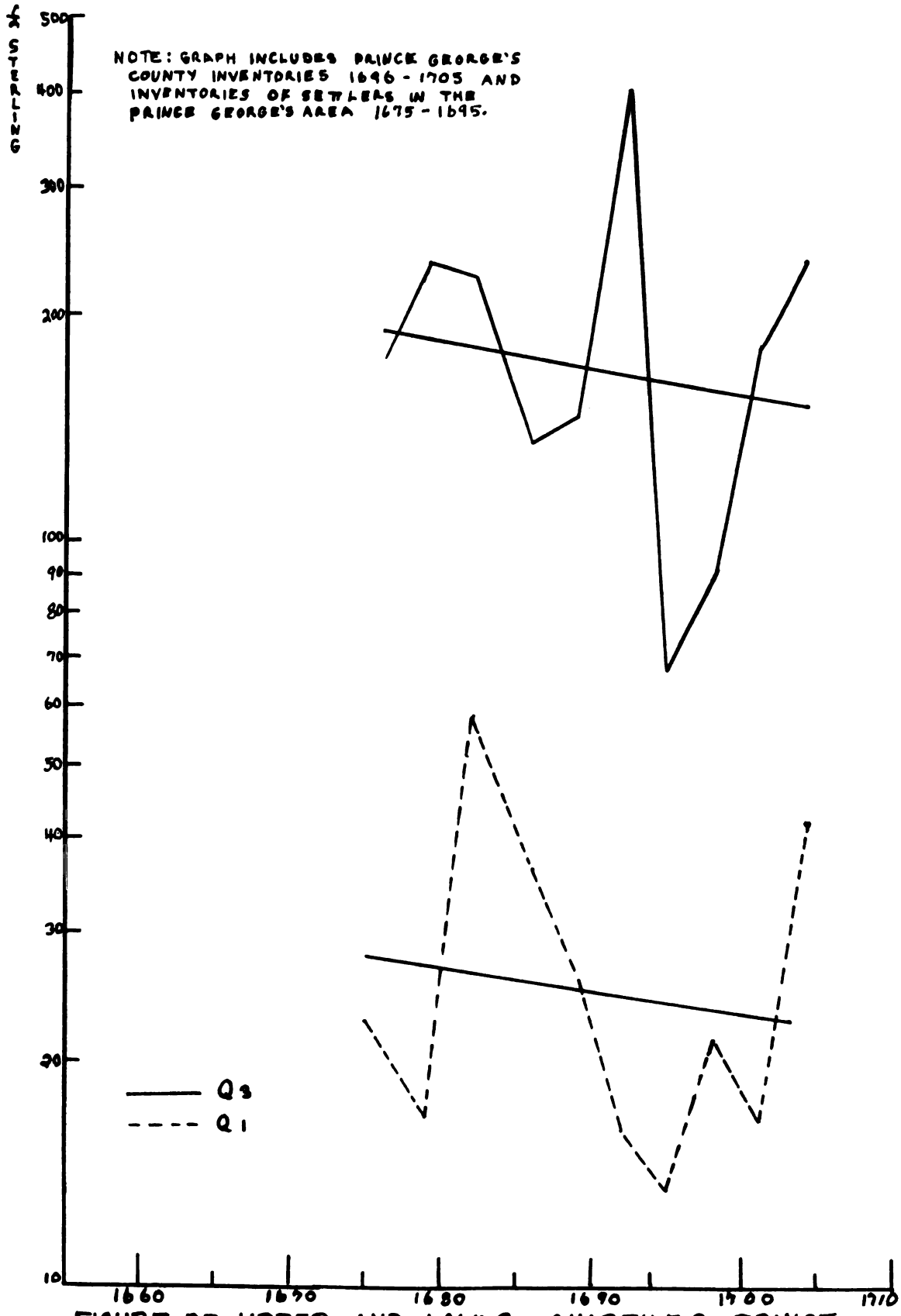

FIGURE 35 UPPER AND LOWER QUARTILES, PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY INVENTORIES, 1675-1705

Knowing the uses to which wealth was put is perhaps as important to understanding class structure as knowing the way wealth was distributed. For example, how did colonists use their assets to signify and reinforce already established rank? Did different ranks have different and distinct styles of life, or did a relatively homogenous mode of living prevail? How much did the use of assets differ from one group to another? What role did display and ceremony play in developing and reinforcing group identifies? Systematic analysis of inventories can provide answers to some of these questions.

Most Charles County planters channeled at least three-quarters of their assets into capital investments--livestock, labor, credits, crops, merchandise, and craft and agricultural tools. Only about twenty percent of the typical planter's worth went into consumption goods--clothing, household furnishings, kitchen utensils, bedding, books, and the like. The estates of the very poor--who often owned nothing more than their clothing and a few personal items--of course showed a greater percentage of assets in consumption goods. Beyond this very poorest group, however, there were apparently no significant deviations from the general pattern. Small, middling, large, and extraordinarily large planters all made similar decisions about how to invest their assets.

As table 57 shows the kinds of capital goods which a planter owned were as predictable as his overall investment decisions with regard to capital and consumption expenditures. Throughout the last half of the seventeenth century, approximately one-third of a planter's assets consisted of livestock--cattle, swine, horses, and sheep--from which

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Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Kent, and Somerset Counties, see Main, "Measuring Wealth and Welfare," tables III-8 and III-25 through III-30.

TABLE 57

MAJOR COMPONENTS OF PERSONAL WEALTH, CHARLES COUNTY
1658-1705

Years	Percent of Total Estate Value Invested in Various Categories					
			Various Components of Capital Goods			
	Consumption Goods	Capital Goods	Livestock	Labor	Debts Receivable*	Merchandise
1662-1665	19.6%	80.4%	30.8%	12.7	29.9	1.0
1666-1670	13.4	86.6	26.7	12.5	37.9	3.4
1671-1675	20.9	79.1	42.2	12.6	19.7	.8
1676-1680	17.1	82.9	36.9	15.3	19.0	2.4
1681-1685	21.6	78.4	36.4	18.5	16.8	3.9
1686-1690	20.5	79.9	36.3	17.8	15.0	7.6
1691-1695	28.1	71.9	40.9	17.4	17.4	.5
1696-1700	24.0	76.0	34.9	23.0	5.3	4.6
1701-1705	21.9	78.1	27.3	27.4	7.9	7.3

Source: "Social Stratification in Maryland."

*Debts receivable consist of all credits owed to a decedent including money lent out, wages due, or credit advanced.

he obtained meat, milk, hides, tallow, wool, transportation, and increasingly, help with plowing and carting. Initially credits were equally as important as livestock. In an economy where cash was almost non-existent, long-term credit was essential in order to transact even day to day business. Towards the end of the century, the amount of capital tied up in credit was reduced. Instead, labor became increasingly important. During the 1660s and early 70s planters invested on the average 12 to 13 percent of their personal assets in bound--usually servant--labor. The proportion increased to 17 to 18 percent in the 1680s and early 90s. With the transformation of the county labor force from inexpensive white servants to more costly slaves in the late 80s and early 90s, planters had to increase the amount of their investment in labor in order to procure the same number of hands. Consequently, at the turn of the century, the proportion of planters' assets in labor rose to over one-quarter. Few other investments were commonly of much importance. Occasionally sizable amounts of trading goods appeared in inventories. However, since few men maintained year-round stores, the appearance of merchandise in an inventory was as dependent upon the season as was the presence of crops. The tools required for tobacco culture--primarily hoes and axes-- were few and inexpensive. Agricultural implements almost never exceeded £1 in value and usually made up no more than one or two percent of a planter's estate. Investments in craft tools, usually simple woodworking implements, were equally modest. The primary avenues of investment remained livestock, labor, and credits.

During most of the seventeenth century the major way in which wealth stratified county society was through differential access to

income-producing assets. Livestock could be procured relatively cheaply and herds built up through natural increase. Labor and credit were different matters. As the supply of servants declined, fewer and fewer planters could procure extra hands. While many middling and some small planters could afford indentured servants, this was not the case with slaves. Credit constrictions accompanying depressed tobacco prices further widened gaps between large and small planters, for it was only the largest producers who could be assured of obtaining credit from English merchants for necessary purchases and who were able in turn to extend credit to others for goods or services. In a depressed economy, only the already well-off could obtain the labor and credit which were essential to building a sizable estate in the Chesapeake. Men who were not wealthy found it increasingly difficult--through their own and their family's labor--to reach the wealth level prerequisite for expanded tobacco production and hence increased income.

Planter investments in non-capital items were nearly as predictable as capital purchases. Beds, chests, a table, some benches, a chair or two, and perhaps a couch-bed and a cupboard--all of simple and crude construction--were the typical furnishings. Some pots and pans, fireplace equipment, wooden trenchers and pewter plates or cups took care of cooking and eating. Only in estates of about £200 or more would one be more likely than not to find conveniences such as warming pans and chamber pots. Even such ordinary comforts as bed and table linen, coarse earthenware, Bibles or other religious books, and some form of interior lighting appeared in only about one-third of all estates. The only widespread exception to the prevailing austerity was a weakness for silver

plate which was shared by members of all wealth groups. Fascination for the precious metal led men who owned few comforts or conveniences to ornament their coats with plate buttons and to place a silver spoon or dram cup on the table beside the wooden trenchers. A scattering of such items appeared in even the very poorest estates, and as wealth increased, so did the frequency of ownership. Some wealthy planters were content as well with a few buttons, spoons and a small silver cup or two, but by the 1690s others were advertising the extent of their fortunes by importing increasing quantities of fashionable plate cups, tankards, and porringers complete with engraved monograms.

Even so, the most striking thing about consumption patterns in the second half of the seventeenth century is their simplicity and relative homogeneity. In comparison with contemporary England, with Maryland in the eighteenth century, and possibly with contemporary Virginia, the range of differences in non-capital possessions among various wealth groups was slight. There were of course exceptions; a few families who did surround themselves with large homes and fine furnishings. Before the 1690s they were so exceptional, however, that one suspects that their life style may have tended as much toward their own isolation as it did towards emulation by their neighbors. Nearby planters would like as not have passed off any signs of English high fashion as "of little use in this country."

On the other hand, there were undoubtedly ways in which differing amounts of non-capital wealth effectively set off the rich from the poor and the powerful from the powerless. The trouble is that little in our own experience can provide a yardstick to measure those things. What implications can one draw from the fact that only in wealthy

households were chairs provided for anyone other than the master of the household, and that in many poor households there were no chairs at all? Or that only the well-off made extensive use of interior lighting, while the majority of planters could not afford or chose not to afford extending human activities into the hours of natural darkness? How were marital relations affected by the opportunity for a couple to sleep alone in a bed closed in by curtains, versus sleeping on an exposed pallet in a room shared with several other persons, indeed, with the mattress itself often enough shared with other family members? We are only beginning to ask questions such as these; it will undoubtedly be some time before we start finding satisfactory answers.[57]

Given the problems inherent in assessing the importance of non-capital investments upon stratification in the seventeenth century, it is perhaps fortunate that these may not have been the primary ways in which various amounts of wealth divided society. Perhaps only in passing did Charles Countians consider a neighbor's personal possessions as indicative of his or her social status. In judging their neighbors' places in the community, most men and women may have looked first at the individual's capital assets--the amount and fertility of his land, the size of his herds, the number of his laborers, the size and yield of his orchard, and finally at his reputation for repaying his debts. Probably neighbors cast a suspicious eye on any family who indulged in

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[57]Some of these assertions are documented and developed in Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "How Colonial Tobacco Planters Lived: Consumption Patterns in St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1658-1777," and in Barbara Carson and Cary Carson, "Styles and Standards of Living in Southern Maryland, 1670-1760," papers presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southern Historical Association, Atlanta, Georgia, November 12, 1976.

an "unwarranted" number of material comforts, not to mention luxuries, and undoubtedly they questioned the commitment to the community of a neighbor who failed to plow back most of his assets into his farm.

Certainly in the beginning, frontier conditions demanded an austere and simple life style. That values and norms which looked with disfavor upon expenditures for non-essential personal possessions persisted long after the pioneering stage had passed is strong evidence that this society had not yet entered the age of widespread material consumption.

The collective character of the men who held offices of power in Charles County was strongly affected by the way wealth came to be distributed in the last quarter of the century. In the county's early years most settlers fell into, and consequently most officeholders were selected from, a relatively condensed spectrum of low and middling wealth groups. Decline and then stagnation in the staple market and an increasing differentiation in wealth which seems to accompany the maturation of local settlement subsequently created in Charles an asymmetrical wealth structure with a few rich men at the top, many poor men at the bottom, and a decreasing number of men of moderate wealth in between (see figure 36).[58] As a consequence, the political elite of the 1680s, 1690s, and early 1700s was far from homogenous, for, whenever the number of major positions to be filled exceeded the supply of very rich men, it was necessary to dip much lower into the wealth structure,

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[58]In figure 36 only data for married householding decedents with minor children and no children of age is used in order to eliminate changes in wealth distribution which might be due to shifts in the age structure of the decedent population alone rather than to actual alterations in the distribution of wealth.

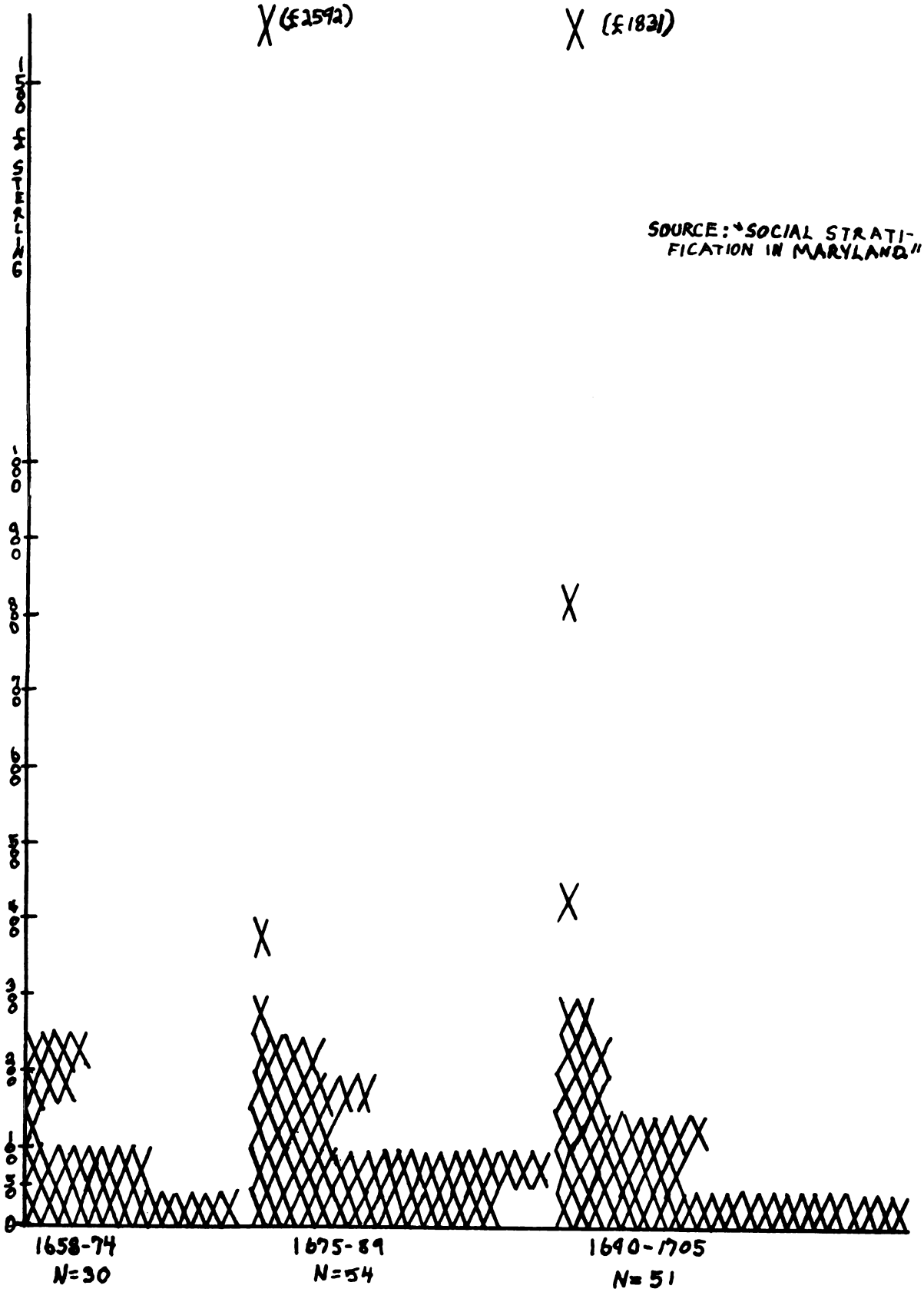

FIGURE 36. DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AMONG MARRIED DECEDENTS WITH MINOR CHILDREN, 1658-1705

selecting some men of quite ordinary means to fill the remaining slots. Great disparities in wealth, certainly some variations in life style, and probably marked differences in social influence thus existed within the political elite itself. Undoubtedly this circumstance along with continued high mortality helped to impede any developing sense of group identity among county rulers.

Over the same period St. Mary's County officeholders tended to have a similar disparate character. This was particularly true during the stagnation of the 1680s when the proportion of men with substantial but not great property dropped off, necessitating, as in Charles, recruitment of some men of ordinary wealth to positions of power.[59] With its large Catholic population, St. Mary's was most gravely affected by the exclusion of Catholics from office after 1689. An insufficient pool of wealthy Protestants in the county guaranteed that there too men from a variety of backgrounds would share power for some time to come.[60]

In contrast to Charles and St. Mary's, in Calvert County the proportion of substantial estates was increasing after 1680 despite the general region-wide depression. There, there was a sufficient number of large and upper middle wealthholders available to fill all the important posts. In addition, since Calvert had only a very small number of Catholics among its inhabitants, the revolution of 1689 had little effect on its

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[59]Lois Green Carr, P.M.G. Harris, and Russell R. Menard, "The Development of Society in the Colonial Chesapeake: A Program for Analysis," supplemental proposal submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities, December, 1975, copy available at Hall of Records.

[60]A census of Roman Catholics taken in 1708 reported 709 Papists in Charles County and 1,238 in St. Mary's. The total white population of Charles County in 1710 was 2,791 and of St. Mary's, 3,453. Maryland Archives 25: 258.

power structure.[61] Consequently, Calvert's rulers were a wealthier, more homogenous group than those of either Charles or St. Mary's. Thus there was greater potential for Calvert's political elite to identify and consoliate group interests and to develop a style of life appropriate to its position in the society. Similarly, most early Prince George's County officeholders came from large and upper middle wealth groups. There rapid initial growth produced a body of large and substantial wealthholders second in size only to that of Calvert County.[62]

Differences in the composition of political elites in the four western shore counties are illustrated in table 58.[63] Over half of the men who entered office in Charles County before 1693 came from undistinguished origins, and nearly a quarter had arrived as servants. In none of the other three counties did the proportion of men of ordinary background approach this figure. In contrast, a full fifty percent of Prince George's early justices possessed a title of distinction upon arrival or majority, and only three percent were known to have been former servants. Almost paradoxically, then, relative poverty and unequally distributed wealth in Charles produced a power structure somewhat more representative of the population as a whole with members drawn from several economic strata, while greater prosperity and broader distribution of wealth among middling groups in Calvert and Prince George's led to a leadership largely recruited from only one social group.

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[61]Only 48 Catholics were counted in Calvert County in 1708, while its total white population in 1710 was 2,282. Ibid.

[62]Carr, "County Government," ch. 7 and appendix 2; Menard, "Economy and Society," ch. 8.

[63]The large number of unknowns among Calvert County officeholders presents problems. Because the county records are destroyed, biographical studies of all county leaders are difficult to come by.

TABLE 58

BACKGROUNDS OF MAJOR COUNTY OFFICEHOLDERS IN FOUR LOWER WESTERN SHORE COUNTIES

	Charles * a,c	St. Mary's * a,d	Calvert * a	Prince George's + b
Number	63	70	77	36
Percent in Status Categories				
Former servant	23%	14%	9%	3%
No title at arrival or majority	28	25	21	31
Title at arrival or majority	33	40	21	50
Background unknown	16	20	49	14

*Tabulations cover the years 1655-1692.
+Tabulations cover the years 1696-1709.

Sources:
a. Menard, "Major Officeholders."
b. Carr, "County Government," appendix 2.
c. Walsh file of Charles County officeholders.
d. St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's County Seventeenth Century Career File.

Assimilation and Explusion

After we begin to understand how landed and personal wealth was divided among those inhabitants of the four lower western shore counties who remained there long enough to become property owners, the problem of assimilation remains. Our assessment of the character of a society will differ depending upon whether the society was able to absorb most of those who entered it--voluntarily or involuntarily--or whether it excluded or only marginally integrated large numbers of potential wealthholders.

Here the censuses of 1704, 1710, and 1712 provide a focus for discussion.[64] From them we learn that by the beginning of the eighteenth century exclusion rather than inclusion of new wealthholders was the rule in the lower western shore as a whole. While each of the four counties in the region was either consistently gaining white adult females and white children or else occasionally losing only a very small percentage of them as shown in table 59, all but Charles were consistently losing a significant proportion of white adult males. This indicates a substantial exodus of single adult men, especially from Calvert and St. Mary's Counties and to a lesser extent from more recently settled Prince George's. Given the prevailing economic stagnation, these three counties were apparently no longer able to assimilate the men already living there, much less make room for any expansion of the ranks of wealthholders.

While Charles was still accommodating some growth in the number of its wealthholders, from other information we know that this is an

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[64]The censuses can be found in Maryland Archives 25: 256, 258-59.

TABLE 59

GROWTH OF SELECTED COMPONENTS OF THE POPULATION IN FOUR LOWER WESTERN SHORE COUNTIES
1704-1712

County	Percent Growth Since Previous Census		
	Adult White Males	Adult White Females	White Children
Lower western shore as a whole			
1710	-10.3%	+17.7%	+ 3.6%
1712	- 2.1 *	+ 6.6 *	+11.6 *
Charles County			
1710	+16.1	+24.3	+ 5.9
1712	+ 4.2	+18.1	+20.4
Calvert County			
1710	-31.1	± 0.0	-16.9
1712	- 9.9	+ 6.2	+ 6.1
Prince George's County			
1710	- 4.1	+16.8	- 3.5
1712	+4.4 *	+ 3.7 *	+ 3.9 *
St. Mary's County			
1710	-25.6	+25.4	+20.9
1712	- 9.0	- 1.8	+13.0

Source: Maryland Archives 25: 256, 258-59.

*Adjustments were made in census figures as described in Menard, "Economy and Society," pp. 402-07.

indication less of how well that county was managing than of how very badly the others were doing. The career study of Charles County servants presented in chapter four clearly demonstrates that even this county had for a number of years been able to absorb only a tiny fraction of its own freedmen, and these rather marginally as common laborers or tenants. The other three counties were apparently failing to assimilate not only almost all of their own ex-servants, but also some free immigrants and poorer native-born sons as well.

Some of the factors which enabled Charles County to make room for a growing number of wealthholders very probably concerned land. Greater availability of unclaimed land in the county, lower land prices, and possibly lower rents may have made it possible for more men to form households in Charles, and hence to fulfill the first requirement for setting themselves up on the tobacco coast than in the other three counties.

The presence of such marginal wealthholders and their families had a marked effect on Charles County society. The difference is best illustrated by contrasting Charles with neighboring Calvert. There the general level of prosperity had been rising since the 1680s--but at the cost of squeezing out marginal householders as well as poor single men. (Note the small or negative increases in white women and children in Calvert as compared to the other three counties. This suggests some outmigration of families as well as of single men.) Consequently Calvert County society was more homogenous at the turn of the century, but it was a homogeneity resulting from increasing exclusion of the poor. In Charles the mean wealth of decedents had been falling during the same

period. One of the reasons for this was that the number of marginal households was increasing, not decreasing. In 1704 as illustrated in table 60 only in Charles did the number of heads of households exceed the number of non-householders and adult male servants, and this in a county where investment in servants remained relatively high. Turn-of-the-century Charles County was thus more diverse than Calvert, encompassing a greater spread between the rich and the poor, and including both large scale commercial farms which provided their owners with a comfortable if not luxurious existence and many small establishments which afforded their operators only a bare subsistence living. Charles' relative poverty was thus in part a result of its greater inclusiveness.[65]

At the same time that most of the lower western shore counties were excluding potential white wealthholders, they were adding increasing numbers of persons who by definition would always remain non-wealthholders. As the area's labor problem was "solved" by growing slave importations, the presence of increasing numbers of blacks in turn affected the structure of opportunity for those whites who remained.

Predictably, slaves made up an ever greater percentage of the labor force in more prosperous Calvert and Prince George's, as shown in tables 61 and 62. Planters staffed their recently settled plantations in Prince George's by heavy investments in slaves shortly after the turn of the century. There the black population more than doubled between 1704 and 1710, with black workers outnumbering white by the latter year. In Calvert blacks dominated the work force by 1712, both as a result of

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[65]I am indebted to P. M. G. Harris for sharing his analysis of wealthholding patterns in the four lower western shore counties.

TABLE 60

RATIO OF HOUSEHOLDERS TO NON-HOUSEHOLDERS AND SERVANT MEN, FOUR LOWER WESTERN SHORE COUNTIES, 1704

Charles	1.05
Prince George's	.90
Calvert	.50
St. Mary's	.45

Source: Maryland Archives 25: 256. Census figures for 1710 and 1712 are not broken down into householders and non-householders.

TABLE 61

GROWTH OF THE BLACK POPULATION IN FOUR LOWER WESTERN SHORE COUNTIES, 1704-1712

County	Number of Blacks	Percent Growth Since Last Census
Charles		
1704	578	
1710	638	+ 9.4
1712	724	+11.9
Calvert		
1704	938	
1710	934	± 0.0
1712	1179	+20.8
Prince George's		
1704	602 *	
1710	1297	+53.6
1712	1349 *	+ 3.9
St. Mary's		
1704	450 *	
1710	668	+32.6
1712	707 +	+ 5.5

Source: Maryland Archives 25: 256, 258-59.

*Adjustments were made in census figures as described in Menard, "Economy and Society," pp. 402-07.

+Here it was assumed that only taxable blacks were counted in St. Mary's County in 1712, as a thirty percent decline in the black population which use of the unadjusted figure for 1712 produces seems unlikely. During this period slaveowners were very unlikely to emigrate, and we know of no other factor which would produce such a drop. A multiple of 1.38 was used to convert the census figure.

TABLE 62

RATIO OF BLACK TAXABLES (MALE AND FEMALE) TO WHITE TAXABLE MALES, FOUR LOWER WESTERN SHORE COUNTIES, 1704-1712

County	Ratio
Charles	
1704	.53
1710	.49
1712	.53
Calvert	
1704	.73
1710	.96
1712	1.33
Prince George's	
1704	.50
1710	1.11
1712	1.11
St. Mary's	
1704	.24
1710	.44
1712	.51

Source: Maryland Archives 25: 256, 258-59.

Note: White taxables are given in the census. All blacks are numbered together. Following Menard, "Economy and Society," pp. 402-07, I assumed that the Prince George's and St. Mary's returns for 1704 listed only black taxables, and that the population for Prince George's for 1712 was underestimated. I also assumed that the St. Mary's returns for 1712 reported only taxable blacks (see note, table 61). The remaining figures for total blacks were divided by 1.38 to obtain the number of adult blacks.

heavy planter investment in slaves and of the exodus of non-slaveowning whites which automatically increased the proportion of blacks among those who remained. (Compare tables 59 and 61.)

St. Mary's had taken the lead among the lower western shore counties in shifting to slave labor, with significant numbers of slaves appearing in the county labor force by the mid-1670s. Although St. Mary's was by 1704 more deeply committed to slave labor than were the other three counties, blacks were proportionately less numerous there because St. Mary's also had a large young native-born white population whose presence lowered the percentage of slaves among all taxables. As in Calvert, blacks came to form a greater proportion of the population by 1712 as much through outmigration of whites as through actual gains in their own numbers.

While large planters in Charles County had already switched from servant to slave labor by the 1690s, their smaller neighbors could not afford or did not choose to follow suit in subsequent years.[66] Unlike the other three lower western shore counties, the ratio of black taxables to white adult males remained stable between 1704 and 1712, as modest increases in the black population were off-set by greater increases among whites. Slave ownership must have accentuated differences between small and large planters, since by the turn of the century it was almost exclusively the big planters with their large-scale operations on the most productive sites who were able to procure such laborers. The situation of small planters must have become more precarious psychologically as well as economically as they and their families found themselves competing with unfree black labor for a share of the profits of the tobacco

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[66]See chapter 4.

market. Nonetheless small planters were apparently better able to survive in a relatively poor area where bound labor remained scarce than in more prosperous areas where the proportion of slaves was increasing.

Stability Achieved

While population growth in and of itself was certain to bring about some changes in Charles County society, the particular nature of that growth in the 1690s and early 1700s ensured at least two far-reaching alterations. We have just looked at one of them—the shift in the labor system from primarily white servants to primarily black slaves. This transformation marked the end of racial and cultural homogeneity in the county. Thereafter there would be no question of assimilation of new immigrants. Instead the county would develop two distinct societies. Each would be based on a life dominated by the rhythms of tobacco culture and each would evolve from the limited but intense relationships which develop in an isolated rural area. But the two would spring from very different cultural roots and would be organized to fulfill the needs of individuals who had radically different present status and future prospects.

Demographic change which accompanied the shift from a predominantly immigrant to a predominantly native population meant social change as well. The fact that the growth of white population seen in the turn of the century censuses was due in part to natural increase as well as to immigration points to other alterations which were taking place in the ways in which men and women interacted and in the means by which members of the society ranked themselves.

The beginning of natural increase in the late 1680s or early 1690s signalled an eventual end to severe demographic disruption. Sex ratios, levels of morbidity and mortality, and completed family size all began to tend toward more normal levels. Among first generation native-born the experience of the sexes varied, but the end result would be to produce a more demographically stable society in which the courses of men's and women's lives would become much more predictable for subsequent generations.

Changes in patterns of marriage were marked. Native-born men--who did not owe any time of service beyond the age of majority and who usually had the advantage of some inherited property with which to launch their careers--were able to marry at younger ages than their fathers. A continued fall in age at marriage for native men during a time when sex ratios were still unbalanced suggests that young creoles had the advantage over immigrants when it came to finding a wife. Because men did continue to outnumber women, there was considerable competition for the hands of prospective brides. Creole girls--who owed no service beyond age sixteen and who usually had at least a small dowry--married at significantly younger ages than their immigrant mothers.

There changes, in turn, had important results. Because creole women married young, even though they may have died a little earlier than their immigrant mothers, they still had longer child-bearing careers. The two or three additional children which the average creole woman bore meant the difference between natural population decline and natural increase. Once natives became a more significant proportion of the child-producing population, the dynamics of growth would clearly be different.

While these demographic adjustments were working themselves out, the role of the family was also changing. Native men not only married a little younger; they also lived a little longer. Hence they had a greater chance of seeing one or two of their children reach maturity. A lengthening duration of marriage; a longer period of parental control; and the presence of siblings, cousins, and other kin in the locality all strengthened the influence of the family in the direction of the lives of its individual members. While the disruptive effects of high mortality would hinder the progress of these developments for some time to come, creole family life was still more structured than it had been for immigrants.

The transition from a predominantly immigrant to a predominantly native population and culture was swift. Between 1700 and 1710 in the lower western shore counties, natives became a majority of the landholders, and, on the provincial level, they became the dominant influence in the colony's most important posts of power.[67] Surviving literary evidence reveals little about the progress or the results of this transformation. We must instead draw inferences about its course from the collective biographies of the men and women who experienced it.

One effect of the growing dominance of the creole element was the emergence of a "Maryland way" of doing things. Clearly colonial culture was not a product of the creole generation, but had evolved over the years as some out of many competing Old World traditions came to predominate among immigrant settlers and to be in turn shaped by New

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[67]Jordan, "Political Stability and the Emergence of a Native Elite." Cf. Carole Shammas, "English Born and Creole Elites in Turn of the Century Virginia," in Tate, ed., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century.

World conditions into uniquely local practices. At first, when colonists from a variety of European backgrounds were thrown together, each had dealt with his new surroundings in the manner he had been accustomed to at home. Eventually some of these ways proved better suited or more adaptable than others, and purely local customs began to emerge.

As long as population growth came primarily from immigration, however, local customs could never completely coalesce. Each wave of fresh immigration brought new settlers who challenged the status quo and who might well begin anew the process of testing and selecting among various imported traditions. In contrast, the creole generation knew no other tradition. They had very little direct knowledge of the Old World, and what ties their parents had been able to maintain with the home country were doubtless considered less important by the children. These youth had neither to give up part of a cherished past nor to assimilate unfamiliar ways of others. Thus the generation born in the New World was not troubled by competing loyalties, nor might it feel only partial commitment to evolving colonial ways. Consequently the native-born majority would soon reach agreement on what constituted local custom and begin to transmit it to their children as established tradition.

Another result of creole dominance was the addition of a new element to the factors which determined local status. Unlike their immigrant forebears, the native-born possessed a local history and most had local connections as well. Religion, land, and personal wealth would continue to be prime elements of local position, but family status would become important too. With this change the society would inevitably

become more rigid, for a substantial part of an individual's status would be predetermined at birth.

Family background had not been important for most immigrants. A few had been able to parlay Old World status into local importance, but most had either not been successful or, much more commonly, had had little status to transfer. It was not what they had been in Europe, but what they were able to achieve in the colony that mattered. Things were not so simple for the creole. His parents' rank and reputation, and the behavior and achievements of his siblings and other close kin were part and parcel of his own rank and reputation.[68] This had both advantages and disadvantages. Possession of a local history gave each native-born child the security of a clear definition of his place in the community. But it also meant that creole children now had a family reputation to live up to--or to live down. Undoubtedly community expectations for a young creole came to be based as much on the status and accomplishments of older family members as on his own potential, and his later achievements would, in turn, be affected by what these local expectations were.

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[68]This can be seen in the personal histories immigrant and native plaintiffs presented in suits for slander. Usually an immigrant testified to his living in "good name, fame, creditt and godly and honest conversation condition and gesture" amongst his neighbors "ever since his arrivall in this Province." (italics mine) The few who could do so also noted that they were "so known & reputed . . . in England"--but generally it was local reputation based on achievement in the colony that was important. The native plaintiff stressed in contrast that "from the time of his nativity" he had been a faithful subject of the king and "hitherto hath behaved & Governed himself and hath been reputed of good behavior amongst his neighbours." The shift in wording is slight, but the emphasis is clearly different. For immigrants, achievement as an adult was what counted, while for natives, up-bringing and family status were part and parcel of their local reputation. See for example, Maryland Archives 57: 65-67; 65: 606-08; 66: 207-10; 67: 90-93; 69: 118-21; Provincial Court Judgments, MSS, EI#7, 185-86, 329.

In addition to having a locally known family history, the creole's situation was also different from that of the immigrant in that he usually had some kin living close by. This probably meant that in time kin groups began to take over some of the functions previously performed by the community in general. This probably helped to change patterns of interaction at the community level, as creoles began socializing with kin living in other neighborhoods as well as with their immediate neighbors. Kin groups may also have provided another means of collective action, an alternative to organizing the community at large. Brothers, sisters, siblings' spouses and cousins of varying degree sometimes pooled efforts to promote political action, to preserve the interests of the family, and to direct joint economic ventures. Consequently, while neighborhood and community were still an important part of the creole's way of life, they may have been somewhat less important to him than they had been to his immigrant parents who had very often literally had no one else to turn to.[69]

In a demographically more stable population, family connections became increasingly important, important because for the first time such alliances were effective. The growing power of kinship alliances is most evident on the level of provincial politics. Prior to 1689 in the whole of the colony only three families other than the Calverts succeeded in establishing multi-generational office-holding lines, and just three more such families appeared between 1689 and 1700. In contrast, in the fifteen years after 1700 a number of politically powerful,

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[69]Allan Kulikoff finds some of these tendencies fully developed in neighboring Prince George's County by mid-eighteenth century, "Tobacco and Slaves," ch. 10.

often extensively interconnected families emerged, who managed not only to dominate most important posts but also to transfer power to the next generation of their families.[70]

Obviously family connections could not secure important political posts for the great majority of creole colonists. However, kinship networks were undoubtedly becoming increasingly effective on more mundane levels as well. The right connections might for example help a colonist to make a good marriage, to secure local credit, to rent a more productive tract, to get a new road built in a favorable location, or to secure a desired minor local office. Membership in effective kin networks thus became a way of maintaining and perhaps of enhancing local status.[71]

Some means of establishing social status other than through continued economic achievement was becoming increasingly desirable, as both economic change and local inheritance patterns acted to curtail upward social movement among the native-born. When many of their fathers had arrived in the county in the 1650s, 1660s, and early 1670s, economic conditions had been more favorable. A rise from indentured servant to middling or even wealthy planter had not been uncommon during those years. Subsequently, economic decline and then stagnation had heavily weighted the scales in favor of the already well-off, and had severely limited opportunities for poorer men to rise. A native son starting out near the bottom as a wage laborer or a sharecropper in the 1690s would be lucky if he made his way into the ranks of a small planter before he

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[70]Jordan, "Political Stability and the Emergence of a Native Elite."

[71]See Kulikoff, "Tobacco and Slaves," ch. 10.

died. Many such sons who chose to remain on the lower western shore would never rise above a tenant's status. Most of the substantial gains in social and economic status were thus confined to the immigrant generation and to the county's early years.[72]

The custom of partible inheritance also tended to limit economic mobility among subsequent generations. There was no community support for the Old World custom of promoting the economic continuity of the line by concentrating the family's assets in the hands of the eldest son. Perhaps too many southern Maryland fathers had themselves been victims of this practice in England. At any rate, the norm was clearly to divide landed property equally among sons, and sometimes among daughters as well.[73] This was possible in part because most fathers who held land held a sufficient amount that they could safely divide it between several children and still bequeath each with a viable economic unit. In addition, it was not customary for a father to encumber the shares of the elder heirs with the burden of paying off the inheritances of younger brothers and sisters.[74] The result and perhaps also the aim of a very strict adherence to the custom of partible and unencumbered inheritance seems to have been to provide each child with sufficient assets so that if he chose his spouse wisely, lived prudently, worked diligently--and survived long enough--he would rise to something like his parent's level of wealth by the time he died.

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[72]For a similar conclusion in eighteenth-century Prince George's County see ibid., ch. 5.

[73]The effect of intestacy on land distributions was minor since the great majority of landholders made wills. See above, chapter 3.

[74]For a contemporary example of such encumbrances see Spufford, Contrasting Communities, pp. 85-87, 104-111. A more modern illustration of the deleterious effects of encumbered inheritances is found in

Because both economic stagnation and inheritance patterns tended to stabilize wealth levels from one generation to another, a community would usually not be far off the mark if it in fact did evaluate a young creole's future prospects from his father's current status. A look at the economic careers of the first native-born generation shows that sons, on the average, ended up at about the same economic level that fathers had reached, as appears in table 63. A variety of experiences of course made up this "average" result. There were, to be sure, some instances of spectacular advances in fortune. One immigrant father, Thomas Dent, for example, died in 1676 leaving a £623 estate to a widow and three minor sons. The eldest boy, William, was able to parlay his inheritance into a £2,729 estate by the time he died in 1705, like his father still with some sons underage. Such successes, however, were matched by similar declines. William Smoot, for instance, had been "left a sufficiencye for ye support of his outward Enjoyment [by his parents] and himselfe since their decease for some time lived in good ranke and fashion." However, by 1690 he was "by ye frownes of fortune reduced to a meane condition" and applied for a license to open an ordinary with credit supplied by friends "to procure a subsistence for his wife and Children," and pay off his debts.[75] In general, if a son died young, he would probably own less property at death than had his father, while if he lived to about the same age or survived a little longer, he would

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David P. Gagan, "The Indivisibility of Land: A Microanalysis of the System of Inheritance in Rural Ontario," Journal of Economic History 36 (1976): 126-46.

[75]Charles County Court, R#1, 130.

TABLE 63

WEALTH DISTRIBUTIONS OF FATHERS AND SONS, CHARLES COUNTY
1658-1705

Estate Value of Sons	Percent of Sons with Father's Estates of £0-49	50-99	100-399	400+
£ 0-49	13%	13%	4%	4%
50-99	4	0	4	0
100-399	0	8	25	8
400+	4	4	4	4

N = 21 fathers
N = 24 sons

Sources: Social Stratification in Maryland," Walsh file of Charles County Residents.

Note: Numbers were too small to permit a meaningful comparison of only those fathers and sons who were in the same stage of the life cycle. The results are not however strongly biased by over-representation of any one age group. Among the 21 fathers, 13 died with all minor children and 8 with some adult and some minor children; the father's estates were thus not heavily biased upward by the presence of many older men. Among the 24 sons, 8 were unmarried, 10 had minor children, 4 had adult and minor children and 2 could not be classified. Naturally, by including unmarried sons in the table, some of them can be expected to fall into a lower estate value category than their married fathers.

probably do equally well or perhaps a little better.[76] Thus through the complex interaction of community expectations, family influence, local inheritance patterns, and the state of the economy, economic status was quickly becoming "inheritable."

By the early eighteenth century, then, social order in Charles County was assuming the form which it would hold for the remainder of the colonial period. A man's rank was now usually determined relatively early in his career, and upward movement, should it occur, would probably come only through the acquisition of what were coming to be accepted as the marks of social superiority--landed and personal wealth and perhaps education for immigrants, and in the case of creoles, family background and connections as well. Rank was thus coming to be much more predictable, and it was becoming more rigid as well. With the end of economic growth, it was much more difficult for men at lower wealth levels to improve their positions, and, among the growing native-born population, more of the elements of status tended to be fixed at birth.

Order--and rigidity--was also evolving because the society was beginning to exclude persons whom it could not readily assimilate. While a few new wealthholders were able to establish themselves in the county each year, by the 1690s, some poor men were already being forced out of the tobacco-growing areas. In order to become independent householders and farmers they had to depart the region altogether. Just getting

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[76]St. Mary's County inventories reveal a similar pattern after the turn of the century. There, wealth levels of the native-born did not exceed those of immigrants for nearly twenty years after 1700. Carr, Harris, and Menard, "The Development of Society in the Colonial Chesapeake."

started at the bottom was difficult enough so that what opportunity the county could yet offer was in most cases going to creoles--who were able to begin their careers with some inherited property--and to immigrants who came with more property yet.

The end of white servants as the primary source of labor was both a consequence of declining opportunity and a major contributor to increasing rigidity. When a period of service in the tobacco fields no longer represented a means of improving one's economic position, potential immigrants chose to go instead to English cities or to other colonies which could offer the migrant more. This then lessened some of the difficulties of assimilating many potential new wealthholders into the tobacco areas, but it did not solve the problem of recruiting new hands to grow tobacco.

Planters turned instead to black men and women who had no choice about whether they would come to the tobacco coast or not. This provided a partial remedy to the labor shortage, but it also contributed to social transformation. The transition to a slave system ended the need for assimilation, for by then racial prejudice and a system of perpetual bondage ensured that blacks would not be integrated into white society or ever freed to become new wealthholders. If slavery decreased the number of new men needing to be taken in at the bottom of white society, it also contributed to widening gaps near the top. The social distance between men who owned bound laborers and men who could not afford them increased, while the profits of slave labor led to a growing concentration of wealth in the hands of rich planters.

These economic and demographic changes interacted to produce at the turn of the century a society in which social and economic classes

were fairly well defined. Men and women at the bottom, as slaves, technically held no wealth and were accorded the most inferior status. Among the lower levels of white society poverty was widespread, and changes of escaping it small. The social status of laborers and tenants, especially as indicated by participation in local government, was declining. Since most young creoles had not begun at the very bottom, they, along with immigrants who had gotten a start in better times, tended to enjoy a somewhat more comfortable existence as small and middling planters. While middling families were experiencing difficulties in procuring credit and labor too, they still commanded enough resources that they were not in danger of being pushed out, and they could maintain a position of community respectability. At the top of the economic ladder a few very wealthy men occupied places of unquestioned social, economic, and political preeminence.

There was still, however, one condition which would continue to contribute to some local instability. The numbers of men at the top were small, and in addition there were relatively few upper middle wealth-holders occupying a place between rich planters and ordinary farmers. As a consequence some major officeholders would continue to be recruited from among middling planters, and some minor officeholders from among small farmers. This ensured that there would be some social mix among county rulers, and consequently—until the ranks of an upper middle class were filled out or turnover in top offices declined—somewhat less likelihood of those in authority setting themselves apart as a relatively closed and close-knit elite. Developments in neighboring counties make it clear, however, that the central tendency in the period was toward a local power structure composed of men who were wealthier and better educated than their neighbors, often related to each other through birth

or marriage, and united by a conscious understanding of their position and interests.

The structure of early Charles County society was the result of interaction between the settlers' cultural heritage, the local environment, economic and demographic changes, and conscious choice. One of the main threads in its history is the gradual constriction of initially wide opportunity and the concomitant growth of greater predictability, inequality, security, and order. While many settlers surely regretted some of the results of the evolutionary process, their story is not--at least in the context of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century mind--entirely one of declension. Order was one of the most precious benefits to be gained from communal living, a state difficult to achieve and worth considerable sacrifice to maintain. Every community pays a price in return for social order. Whether or not the result was worth the cost in early eighteenth century Charles County is perhaps better left to the judgment of those who paid it.

APPENDICES

TABLE A1

TOTAL POPULATION ESTIMATED FROM TAXABLE FIGURES

Year	Taxables	Ratio	Total Population
1659	[205]	2.20	451
1662	357	2.30	821
1664	502	2.30	1155
1665	556	2.30	1279
1666	548	2.40	1315
1669	668	2.30	1536
1671	736	2.30	1693
1672	722	2.30	1661
1674	782	2.30	1795
1675	785	2.30	1806
1676	732	2.60	1903
1677	700	2.60	1820
1678	710	2.60	1846
1679	739	2.60	1921
1680	764	2.60	1986
1681	766	2.60	1992
1682	759	2.60	1973
1684	745	2.60	1937
1686	792	2.60	2059
1689	901	2.60	2343
1690	869	2.60	2269
1691	880	2.60	2288
1692	872	2.60	2267
1693	901	2.60	2343
1694	895	2.70	2416
1695	871	2.80	2439
1696	991	2.50	2476
1697	1025	2.50	2562
1698	958	2.40	2299
1699	1067	2.30	2454
1700	1122	2.30	2581
1701	1193	2.30	2748
1702	1239	2.30	2851
1703	1259	2.30	2895
1704	1220	2.44	2976
1705	1267	2.44	3091

Source: Taxables--text, table 1.
Ratios--ch. 2, fn 8.

TABLE A2

LIFE EXPECTANCIES OF MALES BORN IN CHARLES COUNTY BETWEEN 1652 AND 1699

Age	A Known Ages at Death	B Preferred Estimate	C High Mortality	D Revised High Mortality	E Low Mortality
20	23.31	27.24	23.06	24.50	25.96
21	22.50	26.42	22.37	23.67	25.13
22	21.69	25.59	21.67	22.83	24.29
23	21.05	24.93	20.96	22.13	23.62
24	20.98	24.80	20.84	21.90	23.44
25	20.17	23.97	20.46	21.05	22.60
26	19.92	23.66	20.23	20.66	22.25
27	19.49	23.18	19.87	20.11	21.74
28	19.06	22.71	19.34	19.57	21.23
29	18.25	21.88	18.66	18.72	20.39
30	18.00	21.56	18.45	18.30	20.03
31	17.57	21.06	17.93	17.74	19.51
32	17.56	20.96	17.75	17.63	19.32
33	16.76	20.13	16.91	16.93	18.48
34	16.15	19.48	16.39	16.37	17.80
35	15.73	18.99	15.86	16.26	17.27
36	15.12	18.33	15.34	15.88	16.58
37	14.51	17.66	14.65	15.19	15.88
38	14.70	17.67	14.61	15.30	15.80
39	14.11	17.03	13.93	14.80	15.10
40	13.52	16.37	13.41	14.13	14.41
41	13.58	16.23	13.59	13.96	14.17
42	13.48	15.94	13.49	13.83	13.79
43	13.71	15.87	13.46	13.94	13.59
44	13.50	15.44	13.27	13.53	13.42
45	12.76	14.63	12.48	12.72	13.26
46	12.29	14.00	11.87	12.10	12.98
47	12.38	13.74	11.68	12.46	12.75
48	11.95	13.11	11.30	12.09	12.54
49	11.54	12.85	10.94	11.52	11.94
50	10.54	12.02	9.94	10.71	11.13
51	10.37	12.36	9.76	10.33	10.89
52	10.59	12.44	10.38	10.19	10.72
53	9.91	11.88	9.90	9.41	9.92
54	9.55	11.57	9.42	9.26	9.95
55	9.21	11.03	8.94	8.71	9.62
56	8.89	10.49	8.76	8.39	9.08
57	8.60	10.17	8.32	8.65	8.76
58	8.77	10.15	8.56	8.83	8.49
59	9.16	9.95	8.63	8.85	8.26
60	8.16	8.95	8.00	8.18	7.75
61	7.61	8.95	7.36	7.52	7.26
62	7.56	8.81	6.10	7.58	7.73
63	7.07	8.38	6.89	6.95	7.41

A--includes only those whose date of death was known.
B--assumes that unknowns lived for 10 years after last appearance and then followed rate of knowns.
C--assumes that unknowns died the day after their last appearance in the records.
D--assumes that 1/2 unknowns died the day after their last appearance in the records and that 1/2 lived until the day they last appeared in the records and then died according to the rate of those whose date of death was discovered.
E--assumes that unknowns lived until day of last appearance and then followed rate of knowns.

TABLE A2--Continued

Age	A Known Ages at Death	B Preferred Estimate	C High Mortality	D Revised High Mortality	E Low Mortality
64	7.15	8.00	6.75	7.15	7.15
65	8.30	8.00	8.00	7.68	7.92
66	7.30	7.33	7.73	7.21	7.41
67	6.30	6.66	6.73	6.21	6.41
68	6.88	6.29	7.22	7.02	6.40
69	5.88	6.73	6.22	6.02	5.92
70	5.71	6.65	6.00	6.50	6.05
71	4.71	5.65	5.00	5.50	5.05
72	5.60	5.60	5.67	6.33	6.19
73	4.60	4.60	4.67	5.33	5.19
74	3.60	4.46	3.67	4.33	5.00
75	3.50	4.46	3.40	4.20	5.00

Source: see text.

TABLE A3

SEASONAL DEATH PATTERNS

Months	Number of Deaths	Percentage
November-January	59	34.7
February-April	50	29.4
May-July	26	15.2
August-October	35	20.5
Total	170	99.8

Source: Charles County Probate Records.

TABLE A4

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS PER THOUSAND, CHARLES COUNTY RECONSTITUTED FAMILIES, 1658-1705

Year	Birth Rate	Marriage Rate	Death Rate
1659	10	20	10
1662	3	15	25
1664	3	13	8
1665	7	11	4
1666	9	18	9
1669	1	8	4
1671	5	8	5
1672	5	13	4
1674	3	8	8
1675	4	11	20
1676	3	11	25
1677	6	15	21
1678	4	16	10
1679	7	9	8
1680	10	14	8
1681	4	15	3
1682	8	9	6
1684	5	12	11
1686	9	13	15
1689	8	8	7
1690	11	14	5
1691	11	10	3
1692	15	11	2
1693	18	9	4
1694	14	9	8
1695	11	6	6
1696	--	5	6
1697	--	8	10
1698	--	10	30
1699	--	5	15
1700	--	5	15
1701	--	4	10
1702	--	4	11
1703	--	6	11
1704	--	6	10
1705	--	5	6

Sources: The rates are based on population estimates from taxable figures in table A1, and on numbers of vital events collected for the reconstituted families by the method described in the text, ch. 2.

TABLE A5

SEX AND STATUS OF MARYLAND IMMIGRANTS, 1634-1681

Date of Arrival	Total	Servant #	Servant %	Free #	Free %	Taxable #	Taxable %	Dependents #	Dependents %	Family Units # of	Family Units # in	Family Units % in	Adult Men	Adult Women	Sex Ratio Among Adults
1634-45	20	17	85	3	15	20	100	0	0	0	0	0	20	0	-----
1646-52	77	26	34	51	66	46	60	31	40	14	38	49	46	21	219.0
1653-57	32	28	88	4	12	29	91	3	9	0	0	0	29	3	966.7
1658-67	263	147	56	116	44	159	60	104	40	24	90	34	159	64	248.4
1668-81	414	350	85	64	15	291	70	123	30	13	37	8	291	111	262.2
Total	806	568	70	238	30	545	68	261	32	51	165	20	545	199	273.9

Source: Russell Menard, "Population Growth."

TABLE A6

AGE STRUCTURE OF CHARLES COUNTY DECEDENTS LEAVING INVENTORIES, 1661-1705

Year	No. Male Decedents	No. Single	No. Married	No. Widowers	Cycle 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1661	2	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1662	5	2	3	-	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
1663	5	2	3	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1664	5	1	2	1	2	2	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
1665	2	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1666	3	1	2	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1667	5	1	2	1	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1668	5	-	5	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1669	4	2	2	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1670	7	4	3	-	4	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
1671	4	-	4	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1672	6	3	2	1	3	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
1673	4	3	1	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1674	5	2	2	1	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1675	5	2	2	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1676	15	4	7	3	5	8	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
1677	28	11	12	3	12	13	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
1678	11	1	8	1	2	6	-	2	-	-	1	-	-
1679	5	-	3	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE A6--Continued

Year	No. Male Decedents	No. Single	No. Married	No. Widowers	Cycle 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1680	5	1	3	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1681	3	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1682	7	2	1	1	3	2	-	-	-	-	7	-	-
1683	6	3	3	-	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
1684	10	3	6	1	3	4	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
1685	24	2	16	3	3	18	1	-	-	2	-	-	-
1686	9	1	5	2	1	4	1	-	-	1	-	-	1
1687	6	1	4	-	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
1688	7	2	3	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1689	7	-	5	1	1	3	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
1690	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
1691	5	2	2	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1692	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1693	4	-	4	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1694	12	2	8	-	3	7	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
1695	17	1	9	-	2	8	1	3	-	1	-	-	2
1696	7	-	4	-	-	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
1697	12	1	9	2	1	7	1	1	-	-	1	-	-
1698	33	4	22	-	6	21	1	2	-	-	1	-	-
1699	18	-	16	-	1	9	2	2	-	1	-	1	-

TABLE A6--Continued

Year	No. Male Decedents	No. Single	No. Married	No. Widowers	Cycle 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1700	16	1	7	5	2	6	1	2	1	4	-	-	-
1701	7	-	4	1	-	3	-	1	-	1	-	1	-
1702	11	2	5	2	1	4	-	-	1	-	1	1	-
1703	16	-	10	-	3	4	-	2	1	2	-	-	-
1704	5	-	4	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
1705	13	2	8	1	2	5	4	-	-	1	-	-	-

Key to cycle:

1. not yet married.
2. has been married, all children under 18.
3. has been married, some children under 18, some children over 18. All in household.
4. has been married, some children under 18, some children over 18. Some in household, some not.
5. has been married, all children over 18. Some in household, some not.
6. has been married, all children over 18. None in household.
7. numbers 3 or 4.
8. numbers 5 or 6.
9. numbers 7 or 8.

Lacking census data, a study of the status of decedents is one way to learn about the age structure of the population. The results give an upper bound, telling us about the ages of the oldest members of the community. This was a very young population indeed.

The columns on marital status show the effect of a combination of high mortality and an unbalanced sex ratio resulting from heavy and unbalanced immigration. In the period 1661-1684 (this period could possibly extend to 1694; low numbers make dating uncertain), one-third or more men died without ever marrying. The great majority of the remainder were married with young families. Until 1674 there were almost no widowers, and after that the percentage of widowers remained small.

TABLE A6--Continued

One way of looking at age structure is to classify by life cycle. This method gives an idea of the decedent's age from his marital status and from the ages of children. The table clearly supports the argument that few parents saw their children married. Before 1698 very few had any children over eighteen, and after that date the number with children over eighteen remained small. In the whole forty-four year period, only twenty-six persons lived until all their children were adults. The most important conclusion to be drawn is that at death most men were either not yet married, or left young families.

Women were not included because only spinsters and widows left inventories. Therefore the number is small and tells us little about women as a group. Women accounted for only nineteen inventories in the whole period, and thirteen of these were filed in 1698-1702. This group was also largely composed of widows with minor children.

Source: "Social Stratification in Maryland."

TABLE B1

TOTAL SERVANT POPULATION

Determining the actual number of servants in the county is extremely difficult because there are no extant tax lists for the period. The only helpful census figures for Charles County are for the year 1704, and these do not separate servants from non-householding freemen.

1704 Census

Population	Masters of Households	Free Men & Servant Men	Free Women & Servant Women	Free Children	Slave Children	Slaves
2,989	408	390	485	931	197	578

Source: Maryland Archives 25: 256

However the number of slaves is given. Consequently the number of servants can be estimated by using the ratios of servants to slaves found in period inventories. This produces a servant population in 1704 of 364 (578 x .63).

Servants and Slaves in Charles County Inventories, 1701-05

Year	Servants	Slaves
1701	6	16
1702	19	23
1703	20	29
1704	4	-
1705	23	46
Total	72	114

Ratio: 72/114 = .63

Source: Charles County Inventories, 1701-1705, "Social Stratification in Maryland"

The next step is to find what proportion of the 364 appeared in the records and thus in this study. To the number who first appeared in 1704 was added those who first appeared over the preceding six years. (Seven years was the mean term of service.) The result was 290, or 80 percent of the total servant population estimated from the census.

Attempts to derive estimates of the servant population for other years was abandoned. One cannot derive the numbers of servants directly from taxable figures because of inadequate information about the composition of the white population. This is particularly true because of the

TABLE B1--Continued

disproportionate influence of a small number of slaves on the number of taxables, and the absence of information about the numbers and ages of the slaves in the population. Attempts to reconstruct the servant population for other years by multiplying the number of servants per household derived from inventories by an estimate of the number of householders yielded too wide a range of results to be useful.

TABLE B2

PROPORTIONS OF SERVANTS WITH AND WITHOUT INDENTURES

	Number	Percent
Hypothetical total number of servants entering Charles County, 1658-1705	1,850	100.0
Number whose names were recorded	1,387	75.0[a]
Number identified as serving without indentures	804	43.5
Number identified as having written indentures	97	5.2
Number whose status was undetermined, assumed to have indentures	486	26.3
Number whose names were not recorded, assumed to have written indentures	463	25.0
Number without written indentures	804	43.5
Number assumed to have written indentures	1,046	56.5[b]

[a] If a range of recorded names of 66.6 percent to 80.0 percent is assumed, then the range of unrecorded individuals is 696 to 347.

[b] 56.5 percent probably overstates somewhat the proportion of servants who had indentures. The "undetermined" category very likely includes indivuals who were purchased and their ages recorded outside the county, unindentured servants who entered at age 22 or above, and unindentured servants under that age whose masters had neglected to bring before the court for judgment of age.

TABLE B3

POSSIBLE SEASONING RATES OF TWO GROUPS OF MARYLAND SERVANTS

I. 275 Servants Arriving before 1643

Seasoning Rate	No. Seasoning Deaths	No. Normal Deaths	No. Surviving, Recorded	No. Surviving, Unrecorded
40%	109	5	161	0
35	96	6	161	12
30	83	6	161	25

Method: This table was calculated according to the method described in table 19 of the text, with two exceptions: the term of service was assumed to be five years and men were assumed to have immigrated at age 19 and to have been age 23 when freed. These assumptions reflect the differing terms of service and ages of the earlier immigrants.

Source: Figures are from Russell R. Menard, "From Servant to Freeholder," William and Mary Quarterly 30 (1973): 37-64.

II. 137 Servants Arriving 1648-1652

Seasoning Rate	No. Seasoning Deaths	No. Normal Deaths	No. Surviving, Recorded	No. Surviving, Unrecorded
40%	55	3	72	7
35	48	3	72	14
30	41	3	72	21

Method: As above.

Source: Figures come from Russell R. Menard, "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa), ch. 5.

Thirty-five percent seems a reasonable seasoning rate for the first group and thirty-five or even forty percent for the second. Thirty percent clearly seems to represent the minimum rate of seasoning. It is unlikely that in this period more men survived but did not appear in the records.

APPENDIX C: NOTE ON SOURCES AND METHODS

Intensive studies of colonial American communities are relatively new to American historiography, while local studies of Chesapeake communities have only recently gotten underway.[1] The methodologies employed in such studies are various in part because of lack of consensus as to what approaches are most fruitful, and in part because each scholar must select topics for concentration and must modify established techniques to one degree or another in order to accommodate the pecularities of the local records with which he must deal. This appendix describes the kinds of analysis used in this study, identifies some of the problems inherent in the sources, and explains the methods used to overcome these problems.

One of the first requirements for a community study is the availability of sufficient information about the size, and where possible, about the age structure of the population being examined. This is essential in order to determine how complete various record series (e.g., parish registers or probate records) are, and to assess how applicable the results obtained from analyses of such series may be to the population as a whole.

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[1]For examples of such studies see Carr, "County Government," ch. 7; Darrett and Anita Rutman, "'Now-Wives and Sons-in-Law'"; "Social Stratification in Maryland"; Kulikoff, "Tobacco and Slaves"; Michael Lee Nichols, "Origins of the Virginia Southside, 1703-1753: A Social and Economic Study" (Ph.D. dissertation, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1972); Kevin P. Kelly, "Economic and Social Development of Seventeenth-Century Surry County, Virginia" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1972); and Sarah Shaver Hughes, "Elizabeth City County, Virginia, 1782-1810" (Ph.D. dissertation, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1976).

Obviously the aggregate figures must be obtained from sources independent of the record series studied.[2] In the case of Charles County, a relatively complete set of taxable figures and a census of 1704 provide the essential information about the size of the population.[3] Detailed information about the county age structure was unobtainable. Hence, where precise age breakdowns were required, an age structure had to be borrowed from another area whose stage of development was comparable and for which figures were available.[4]

Four major and inter-related types of analysis were employed in the Charles County study. The first was the modified form of family reconstitution described in chapter two which involves filling out the data obtained from the civil birth register with information found in probate series and in miscellaneous county records. Only in this way could a sufficient data base be obtained from which to calculate most standard demographic measures. Similar approaches are being used by the Rutmans in their Middlesex County, Virginia, study and by Russell Menard in his analysis of the Somerset County, Maryland, civil register.[5] In both of these studies the problem is the same as that of Charles--registers provide critical but in themselves insufficient demographic evidence.

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[2]Wrigley, ed., Introduction to English Historical Demography.

[3]Taxable figures are found in the county court records. The census is found in Maryland Archives 25: 256.

[4]Merle Curti, The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 56, and George Blackburn and Sherman L. Richards, Jr., "A Demographic History of the West Manistee County, Michigan," Journal of American History 57 (1970): 607.

[5]Darrett and Anita Rutman, "'Now-Wives and Sons-in-Law'" appendix 1; and Menard, "Demography of Somerset County."

While such modified reconstitution enables us to generate vital and otherwise unobtainable information about the parameters of life in the colonial Chesapeake, it is a method which must be used with extreme caution. Techniques for population analysis based solely on parish registers have reached levels of considerable sophistication, and the results so obtained are generally considered to have a high degree of precision. This is due in large measure to a well-elaborated series of rules imposed at all levels of analysis in order to control for and to correct the many biases inherent in the records. Once the scholar incorporates into his reconstitution project data collected from a variety of other sources whose biases are frequently much less well understood and sometimes impossible to measure, he runs grave risks of seriously prejudicing his results. An example may help to illustrate the problem. In parish register analysis, one excludes from measures of fertility any families whose presence in the parish is detected only because they registered the births of children. The reasoning is that, otherwise, couples living in the parish who had no children would be under-represented in the measure. What happens when the scholar incorporates information from wills, deeds, estate accounts, county order books, etc.? Are these sources also biased in favor of fertile couples? No ready answer is available, but the possibility must be accounted for.[6]

There are numerous ways to minimize errors caused by undetected or unmeasurable data bias, three of which are discussed here. First, computations can sometimes be compared to the results which can be expected to appear, and if necessary corrected to correspond to those which obtain

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[6]For rules of reconstitution see Gautier and Henry, Le population de Crulai, and Wrigley, "Family Reconstitution."

in fully observed populations. For example, might a measure of family size be too small because females were under-recorded in the kinds of sources used? A quick tabulation of the sex ratios of the children provides an answer, and if females were indeed recorded less often than males, aggregate figures for family size can then be adjusted upwards by raising the sex ratio of the children to unity. Second, where the possibility of record bias which cannot be accurately measured exists, the scholar may be well advised to present his results in the form of a range rather than in absolute figures, thus alerting the reader to the tentative nature of his results and suggesting in the form of upper and lower limits what the possible effects of the suspected bias might be. Third, the scholar should compare his results with those obtained for communities contemporary in time and/or stage of development for which control of record bias is possible, or with appropriate stable population models. Widely deviant calculations for which no good explanation exists should then either be discarded or further work undertaken to detect and correct for probable biases.[7]

The second type of analysis on which this study is based is a series of computerized biographies of the 2,410 free adult male residents who appear in any of the county records. The biographies were compiled by breaking down extant records on a name basis and reassembling them by individual. All linkage was done by hand, a choice predicated by the very diverse kinds of information collected, and by the widely varying

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[7]See the comments of T. H. Hollingsworth, "The Importance of the Quality of the Data in Historical Demography," Daedalus 27 (1968): 415-32. Stable population tables can be found in Ansley J. Coale and Paul Demeny, Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966).

amounts of material (ranging from 2 or 3 to over 300 pieces of data) for various individuals. While studies based on a few fairly standardized kinds of sources such as tax lists, censuses, poll books, etc., lend themselves to first coding all the available information, and then making linkages, studies based on record stripping from a variety of disparate sources require extensive initial preparation by hand. Only after the record stripping is completed, the data assembled roughly by individual, and some initial frequency counts made, can the researcher be sure what kinds of information appear frequently enough to be worth actually coding and machine processing.

The method of linkage that I used involved a number of steps. First, some linkages were made during the process of data collection; pieces of information clearly belonging to one individual were collected on one data extraction form. Entries which could not be immediately linked to any given individual were recorded separately for later linkage. Second, all the information collected was arranged alphabetically, and duplicate entries recorded under variant spellings of the same name consolidated under one spelling. Third, in instances where there were clearly several individuals with the same name, entries were first arranged and separated as far as possible by date. For example, a notation of a court suit begun by John Jones in 1695 must pertain to a different man than the John Jones whose will was probated in 1687. Fourth, materials belonging to two or more individuals of the same name who were residing in the county contemporaneously were examined for their context and further linkages made. Many entries relating to Richard Smith, gent., an officeholder and prominent planter, for example, could be separated from entries relating to Richard Smith, laborer, from the context of the

information; Smith the laborer would clearly not be acting as sheriff, while Smith the officer would not be suing for back wages for manual labor. Fifth, the remaining entries for men of the same name which could not be separated by any of the above methods were linked on the basis of residence and patterns of association. In the previous stages most landowners were associated with a particular tract or group of tracts, and in turn, the general location of many of the tracts discovered. Then, by examining the biographies of neighboring landowners, networks of association as described in chapter five became apparent. In many cases it is possible to separate same-name entries on the basis of the other persons named in the documents. For example, if there were three Thomas Stones residing in various parts of the county at the same time, most entries could be separated by noting the residence of the men who witnessed the wills, appraised the estates, served together on juries of the neighborhood, witnessed deeds, notes, and other business papers, etc. So long as the various Thomas Stones lived more than about two miles distant from each other, the men with whom they commonly associated would in most cases constitute distinct and separate groups.

Once the entries were separated by individual and assembled in good order, I then coded the most prevalent kinds of information for machine analysis. This included information about the area of residence, origins, date of first appearance, date of death or emigration, literacy, religion, occupation, age, family status, maximum landholdings, number of servants or slaves owned, military and political offices, and an assessment of the man's general economic status at the peak of his career. These were then processed using the SPSS program package. Many of the

aggregate results appear in chapters five, six, and seven, while the individual biographies were used throughout the study to identify the social and economic position of individuals mentioned in illustrations and to help interpret the meaning of documentary materials.

This part of the "mass prosopography" was by far the most time-consuming part of the data processing, and the results were alternatingly rewarding and frustrating. The collective biographies proved adequate for studying the character of county officeholders and were full enough to permit relatively firm generalizations about the county's occupational structure and patterns of labor and handholding. Information about origin, literacy, religion, and age could not be obtained for sufficient numbers of the men to be of much use.

The reasons for the use of a code for general economic status along with the other kinds of information collected requires some explanation. Obviously it is preferable to rely on "hard" evidence such as estate valuations, tax assessments, number of acres owned, amount of labor held, or designated occupations, rather than to use such "soft" evidence as a general status code which is much less specific and much more subject to error through inappropriate decisions on the part of the coder. In this study, the nature of the material necessitated resorting to a general status code for some kinds of analysis. Record-stripping does not produce the few kinds of easily comparable information which tax lists, censuses, and the like provide. There were many individuals for whom some important pieces of information were lacking and others for whom "hard" evidence was scarce indeed, but about whom something could be inferred. Such individuals could of course simply have been dropped from the study. The consequence of such a decision, however, would have

been to bias the results toward the better-off for whom the best information is more commonly available. Thus, in order to keep the study broad-based, I attempted to classify as many individuals as possible under a general status code of 1) laborers, landless artisans, or tenant farmers, 2) small, land-holding planters or craftsmen 3) middling planters, well-to-do craftsmen, or middling professionals 4) large planters or merchants and high income-earning professionals and 5) the very rich. In many cases, for example, occupation, land holding status, possession of some capital or possession of no capital, etc., could be inferred, and a general status assigned. In order to minimize distortions brought about by errors in assigning the general code, in most kinds of analysis I used the "soft" status code in conjunction with what "hard" evidence on land and labor holding was available, a procedure facilitated by the availability of the "missing values" option in the SPSS package. Where precision was more important than inclusiveness, I limited the selection to a cross-section of individuals for whom one piece of "hard" evidence was available in all cases, that of men who died and left inventories, a group for whom biases and omissions could be tested.

One of the major difficulties encountered in using a series of collective biographies such as those assembled for this study is the question of what proportion of the county's population at a given time is included in this "mass prosopography." As a result of this difficulty, where various nominal lists are available, other scholars have probably wisely concentrated their efforts on analyzing individuals named on such lists.[8] This was not possible in Charles County, for no tax lists or other nominal records survive for the period.

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[8]Kulikoff, "Tobacco and Slaves"; Nichols, "Origins of the Virginia Southside."

A very rough estimate of the extent of coverage obtained by the record stripping could be made for 1659, and an even rougher estimate might be calculated for 1704-05. I based the estimate for 1659 on the rent roll of that year.[9] Here all but 11 out of 115 men named as landholders on the rent roll appeared in the Charles County records or could be located in adjacent counties and hence determined to be non-residents. When the numbers of the non-landowners appearing in the records in or shortly before 1659 are added to the number of men named as landowners, the total is fairly close to the free adult male population estimated in that year from taxable figures, and hence it can be assumed that the "mass prosopography" is fairly complete for the earliest period.

From the census of 1704 and the rent roll of 1705 one can determine the names of county landowners and the number of non-landowning householders and can make an estimate of the number of non-householding adult sons and laborers in the county. Checking the biographical file for the appearance of the named landowners is simple enough, but beyond that the problems mount. Even determining how many of the non-landowners appearing in the file were in the county in 1704-05 would require several steps. First, all men known to have died or emigrated before 1704 could be eliminated. Second, after reading forward in the records for five to ten years, some of the non-landowners who appeared off and on before 1705 could clearly be classified as residents of the county in 1704-05. Third, one would have to make a series of assumptions about the remaining men who disappeared from the records, but cannot be proven to have died, stayed, or emigrated. A range of estimates based on a series of assumptions about

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[9]The rent roll was corrected as described in chapter 2, footnote 2.

these men's various possible ends--remaining in the county and not reappearing in the records, dying undetected, or emigrating--would have to be calculated. For these one could not simply use the proportions of the knowns, for the men who disappear from the records may have disappeared because they had different characteristics from men whose complete career histories can be traced. Fourth, the range of possible non-landholding residents could then be added to the number of landholders who were picked up in the record stripping, and the total compared to the free adult male population estimated from the 1704 census to obtain the probable range of coverage of the collective biographies for the period. Given the amount of time required to make such an estimate and the imprecision of the results, I did not attempt this calculation. My impression is that the coverage of the "mass prosopography" declines as the county's population increased, ranging from near-completeness in the early 1660s to probably about three-quarters coverage of the free adult male population at the turn of the century. Fortunately for the viability of this study, none of the major economic groups in the white population were omitted from the collective biographies. Although not necessarily represented in the same proportions as prevailing in the population at large, non-householding and householding laborers; tenant farmers; small, middling, and large planters; and various professionals all appeared in the records with reasonable frequency. Thus, while given groups may well be under- or over-recorded, none are omitted completely.

Being acutely aware of the uncertainty about the proportion of the adult male population represented by the collective biographies at

various times I have tried in most instances to avoid generalizing from the mass of collective biographies to the whole population. Rather, wherever possible I have used better-defined sub-sets of the biographies. The firmest sub-sets were those for groups of men independently defined (i.e., the criteria of selection was something other than appearance in the records) and completely listed in other sources, for example, major county officeholders and landholders of 1659 and 1705. Other sub-sets were independently defined but not listed in other sources. Such sub-sets were used when the numbers appeared adequate to support some generalizations about the selected groups. Examples of these sub-groups are sons of immigrants who had died in the county, men who had been servants in other counties, and freedmen who had served in the county.

The importance of an independent definition of the sub-set becomes clear when we consider the problems encountered in dealing with groups not separately defined. For example, a study of a sample of litigants in the county court was abandoned after it became clear that the major problem was not choosing the sample (where explicit rules for selection and methods of testing for accuracy exist), but determining what the original group (all free adult males appearing in the county records) of which the sampled litigants were a part represented. While, for example, it was possible to conclude from the analysis of the sample that the county court did not serve simply as a collection agency for wealthy planters and merchants and that a sizeable proportion of adult male residents initiated suits at one time or another in their careers, it was not possible to determine such questions as what proportions of the various economic groups tried to collect debts through the courts, what proportion

of male residents brought suit or were sued, or whether poorer litigants were more willing to settle suits out of court than were wealthier ones. Because the relationship between the collective biographies and the population at large remains, for most of the period studied, uncertain, it proved impossible to draw many valid generalizations from a sample of the biographies. In retrospect, the futility of the attempt is apparent. It was not so evident at the beginning, however, and thus the example seems worth bringing up as an illustration of the kinds of mistakes that researchers should take care to avoid.

One of the sub-groups of which I made extensive use was that of all decedents who left probate inventories. Here estimates could be made of the completeness of the coverage, and the results suggest that there were no significant changes in reporting rates or shifts in age structure among the decedents which might impair the usefulness of the inventories as tools for social and economic analysis.[10] However, while the relationship between men who left inventories and the total decedent population can be measured, generalizing from the decedent population to the living population is another matter entirely.[11] Such generalizations were not attempted in this study; rather, where appropriate, expected differences between the decedent and the living population were simply called to the reader's attention.

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[10]Menard, Harris, and Carr, "Opportunity and Inequality."

[11]For discussions of generalizing from decedent to living populations see Main, "Measuring Wealth and Welfare," ch. 1, and Daniel Scott Smith, "Under-registration and Bias in Probate Records: An Analysis of Data from Eighteenth-Century, Hingham, Massachusetts," WMQ 32 (1975): 100-10.

One way of validly generalizing from the biographies to the whole population is to try to identify characteristics or kinds of behavior peculiar to special groups. For example, if most identified immigrants in a set of biographies representing a variety of age categories and economic groups behave one way, while most identified natives behave in another, one can be reasonably certain that he is dealing with traits shared by most immigrants and natives in the population. Similarly, if most early settlers exhibit different career patterns from later settlers, if most ex-servants die with fewer assets or emigrate more often than most free immigrants, or if most tenants do not participate in local government, while most landowners do, one can begin to generalize about characteristics of the population even when the members of some of the groups are under-represented or over-represented in extant records. The stronger the identification of the phenomenon--say participation or non-participation in local government--with membership in a particular group, the more compelling is the generalization.[12]

A problem similar to that posed by the issue of coverage was the question of how to deal with the collective biographies over time. Again, the earliest period offered few problems, for the individuals appearing in the records could be proven to be a fairly inclusive listing of the county's initial settlers. Beyond about 1665, however, the collective biographies do not lend themselves to the "slice in time" approach which tax lists or censuses provide. For example, to obtain a profile of the men listed in the collective biographies for say, 1685 (leaving aside for the moment the problem of how many individuals and what groups may have been omitted from the records entirely), one would have to 1)

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[12]For an example of such a study see Carr, "County Government," ch. 7.

include the individuals for whom a date of immigration or arrival at majority prior to 1685 and date of death after 1685 were known, 2) make a range of estimates for the men appearing in the records prior to 1685 who might or might not still be resident in the county in 1685, and 3) make a range of estimates for the men appearing in the records after 1685 who might in fact have already been in the county by 1685. This is clearly an example of an exercise which would not yield results worth the effort of calculating, and suggests that the "slice in time" approach is inappropriate to this kind of mass prosopography.

I selected a cohort approach as the best means of presenting the collective biographies over time. Normally of course, cohort analysis is based on groups of individuals born within a given period or belonging to a particular generation. Since age was unknown for the majority of the men, and generational analysis inappropriate to an area receiving continual influxes of new immigrants, I used a cohort analysis based on the date at which men began their careers in the county. Immigrant men and men with unknown origins were grouped by date of first appearance in the county records and native-born men by first appearance as an adult.

Such an approach would not work for many kinds of communities, but seemed justified in an area where the majority of settlers were either 1) natives reaching majority and first appearing in the records at or near twenty-one years of age, or 2) immigrant servants the great majority of whom would become free sometime between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-six. Successive cohorts were thus roughly contemporaneous in age, and by using this approach, the varying career prospects of successive waves of settlers could be presented.

In general the viability of using cohorts of entry depends on the nature of the population studied, the quality of the records, and the availability of studies based on actual date of entry into the region which can be used for checking the results. The main weakness of the method, at least for this study, is that migrants from other counties may be grouped inappropriately by their date of first appearance in the county, having in fact begun their careers as free men at an earlier date, as may be men who resided in the county for some time before appearing in the records. However, since most migrants tended to be relatively young men, the distortion resulting from their inclusion in later groups is probably not great. In addition, the presence of such distortion does not affect the direction of the interpretation of the career prospects of successive groups of settlers offered here. What it may well affect is the timing of changes. For example, if the settler cohort first appearing in the county records in the period 1670-74, when economic conditions were worsening, included a significant proportion of men who had in fact begun their careers in other counties in 1665-69 when conditions were more favorable, the effect of their inclusion in the later group would be to partially mask declining career prospects of bona fide 1670-74 settlers. Since precise timing was not critical to the arguments made in this paper, such distortion seemed tolerable. Also, a cross-check of the results of my cohort of entry analysis with a career study of immigrant servants based on actual date of immigration[13] suggests that the amount of distortion is not great, at most about a five year lag.

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[13]Menard, "From Servant to Freeholder."

A third kind of analysis used in this study was a set of collective biographies of all identified servants and slaves appearing in the county records. The method of linkage was the same as that used for the biographies of the free adult males, with the exception that the entries were cross-referenced by name of master as well as by individual in order to help in eliminating duplications. Since the numbers involved were smaller (1,387 servants and 389 slaves), the kinds of information more limited, and hand tabulation of the data relatively simple, and because of a shortage of computer funds I chose to process this portion of the study entirely by hand. Unlike the case of the free adult males, for the servants an external source, lists of indentured servants leaving Britain for the colonies, provided a means of identifying the kinds of individuals who were omitted from the county records. In addition, a fairly easily calculated estimate of coverage was possible for 1704-05 (see chapter four and appendix B).

The fourth and final kind of analysis involved assembling a topical file built on a collection of references to various subjects appearing in depositions, court cases and proceedings, wills, accounts, etc. Some of the main topics pursued included attitudes toward children, treatment of orphans, the role of women, marriage customs, evidence of agricultural diversification, architecture and farm lay-out, kinds of local economic exchange, the appearance and function of inns and stores, diet, wages and conditions of labor, kinds of recreation, and evidence about diseases and other health problems. By assembling the many bits and pieces of scattered information which appeared on these subjects, it was possible to some extent to compensate for the scarcity of literary evidence. Assuredly such topical assemblages have many disadvantages,

for example, often providing little context for interpretation. On the other hand, they have the advantage of frequently recording the expressions and attitudes of persons of a class and station unlikely to leave literary records, and they permit investigation of topics for which little or no formal literary evidence survives.

Being as explicit about the problems encountered in a study as about its strengths of course has its risks. However, community studies are too expensive of time, money, and effort, and mistakes too often unnecessarily repeated, for historians to afford the luxury of failing to alert fellow travelers to some of the detours and dead ends likely to be encountered in the journey from local record to computer file to completed analysis.

APPENDIX D

Table D-1 shows the probable range of proportions of men eligible to vote in Charles County in 1705, the only year for which sufficient data survive to attempt such an estimate. Readers should note the large number of assumptions required to construct the estimate, and would be well advised to use the results with caution.

Numbers in the left hand column of the table correspond with the numbered notes below. These explain the sources of the data and the processes by which the various figures were arrived at. Symbolic notes explain the assumptions underlying the high, low, and preferred estimates.

TABLE D-1

RANGE OF PROPORTIONS OF MEN ELIGIBLE TO VOTE IN CHARLES COUNTY, 1705

	High Estimate*	Preferred Estimate+	Low Estimate#
Men qualified to vote:			
1. Householders with freeholds of 50 acres or more	263	263	263
2. Householders with freeholds of less than 50 acres	8	8	0
3. Tenants and non-householders with £40 or more in personal property	32	13	6
4. Proprietary Manor tenants	12	9	8
5. Long-term leaseholders	82	22	17
Total qualified voters	397	315	294
6. Total number free adult males: 483			
Percentage qualified to vote	82%	65%	61%

Notes to Table D-1:

1. Rent Roll 8 lists all freeholders in Charles County in 1705. Status and residence were determined for each of the 340 freeholders. Nineteen of the 340 were widows, 1 was a minor, and 49 were non-residents. For purposes of this calculation, it was assumed that the same persons were freeholders in the previous year, a year for which census data are available.

2. Rent Roll 8.

3. Possible numbers of tenants and non-householders worth £40 or more were estimated on the basis of information about these groups in the decedent population. Among 26 non-landowners who left inventories in Charles County between 1695 and 1705 only 4 (or 15 percent) had estates of £40 or more. "Social Stratification in Maryland." Since the decedent population is biased toward older and wealthier men, the proportion of men in the living population worth this amount may well have been smaller. Corrections for this bias are made in the preferred and low estimate. In the highest estimate, for example, 483 male residents (see note 6) minus 271 landowners equals 212 times 15 percent equals 32.

4. There were 47 leaseholders on proprietary manors in Charles County in 1733. Calvert Papers MS 174, folder 914, Maryland Historical Society. This record, and an incomplete listing for 1731 (Calvert Papers MS 174, folder 912) constitute the first listings of proprietary tenants in the county. Tenure on these manors was most commonly by lease for three lives, although some long-term leases of twenty-one years or more were also let. Initial seating of the proprietary manors began in southern Maryland in the mid-1690s, with the number of tenants increasing gradually through the 1730s. Here I have assumed that an equal number of the 47 tenants took up land during each decade of the period 1694-1733. Hence the number of proprietary tenants in 1705 would have been between 12 and 13.

5. The number of long-term leaseholders on non-proprietary freeholds was estimated according to three different methods. The high estimate is based on a calculation of the amount of land available to long-term leaseholders. The low estimate is based on the number of recorded long-term leaseholds, and the preferred estimate begins with the low estimate and adds a correction factor. The high estimate was calculated from a number of assumptions. First, it was assumed that only non-landowners purchased long-term leases. The second assumption is that men who held less than 1,000 acres did not let their land in long-term leases or leases for lives. Presumably men with less land would want to keep all of it available for their children to seat and would be willing to rent it out only on short-term leases or tenancies at will. The third assumption is that land was not let on long-term leases in parcels of less than 500 acres. (The mean size of recorded long-term leaseholds was 516 acres.) The available land for long-term leasing was then calculated by isolating on the Rent Roll

Notes to Table D-1, Continued

of 1705 all resident landowners who held 1,500 acres or more (1,000 acres + a 500 acre minimum parcel size). Seventeen men fell into this category. Next, the number of parcels of 500 acres or more possessed by each landowner was counted; these came to 68 five hundred acre parcels. Then all non-resident landowners holding 1,000 acres or more were counted. It was assumed that these men held sufficient land in their home counties for purposes of inheritance, and would rent all their Charles County holdings on long-term leases. In 1705, 6 non-resident landowners had available 14 parcels of 500 acres. Thus, there could have been a total of 82 long-term leaseholders on available non-proprietary land.

Other information suggests that the high estimate greatly exaggerates the number of long-term leases. First, after 1663 long-term leases, like conveyances of land held in fee, were required to be recorded. Only 43 such leases appear in the county records between 1663 and 1705. While some leases may well have escaped recording, it is unlikely that this was the case with nearly half such leases. Second, long-term leases were usually purchased for a relatively high lump sum payment. Available information about wealth levels in the county suggests that not many non-landowners possessed assets sufficient to meet the initial purchase price of a long-term lease (see note 3, above). Third, men who already owned land sometimes purchased long-term leases as additional investments; 21 (49 percent) of the recorded leases were in fact purchased by men who also owned freehold land. Fourth, we know from the Rent Roll of 1705 that there were 271 landowning householders in the county. If we suppose that few non-householders were long term leaseholders, then the maximum number of long-term tenants must have been small.

Given these circumstances, the low estimate assumes 1) that all long-term leases were recorded, 2) that half of the leases were purchased by men who were already freeholders and 3) that of the remaining recorded leases presumed to be held by men who owned no freehold land, twenty percent were void by 1705 through non-renewal or escheat. Thus, 43/2 - (22 x .20) = 17. The preferred estimate accepts assumptions 2 and 3, but allows for twenty-five percent under-recording of leases. Thus 43 + (43 x .25) = 54. (54/2) = 27. 27 - (27 x .20) = 22.

6. The total number of free adult males was calculated from the census of 1704 (table 2, page 22). Several adjustments are necessary since 1) the census lumps free male non-householders with servant men and 2) the category "heads of household" includes some non-males. In order to determine the number of free non-householding men, the number of servant men was first calculated from other data. According to the assumptions made in appendix B, table B-1 in 1705 the total county servant population, male and female, was 364. The next step is to divide the servant population by sex. If we assume that the number of free adult women was equal to the number of heads of household listed in the 1704 census, then 77 of the 485 women listed

Notes to Table D-1, Continued

in the census category "free women and servants" were servants. Thus, 287 of the estimated servant population of 364 were males. This number can now be subtracted from the 390 men listed in the census as free non-householders and servants leaving 103 free males. The census takers clearly included widows and some quarters in the category "heads of household" (Menard, Economy and Society, ch. 6). An allowance of 2 percent was subtracted for quarters. (Work done on the Prince George's County census suggests an allowance in this range. Menard, Economy and Society, ch. 6). Among landowners the proportion of widows heading households was 6.6 percent. If we assume that all of the 103 non-householders were unmarried, and that the same proportion of widows headed tenant as landed households, then the total number of widows to be subtracted is 20. The number of free adult men in the county can now be calculated in the following way. 408 heads of household minus 8 quarters minus 20 widows leaves 380 male householders plus 103 free non-householders equals 483 adult free males.

*The high estimate assumes 1) that freeholders with less than 50 acres voted. 2) that tenants and non-householders in the living population had the same wealth levels as the decedent population. 3) that proprietary tenants did not own freehold land. 4) that all land available for long-term leasing was taken up.

+The low estimate makes the following assumptions. 1) Freeholders with less than 50 acres did not vote. 2) Tenants and non-householders in the living population did not have the same wealth levels as the decedent population (here a 15 percent reduction was entered to compensate for age bias) and that since non-freeholders with £40 or more in personal property were likely to be long-term leaseholders (and thus counted twice in the high estimate) an additional 75 percent should be deducted to eliminate double counting. 3) Since proprietary leaseholders often held freeholds as well, the number of proprietary tenants qualifying by leasehold alone was reduced by one-third. 4) For the number of long-term non-proprietary leaseholders see note 5.

#The preferred estimate assumes: 1) All freeholders voted regardless of acreage held. 2) The wealth of tenants and non-householders should be corrected for age bias as in the low estimate, but reduced by only 50 percent to eliminate double counting. 3) Proprietary leaseholders should be reduced by 25 percent to eliminate double counting. 4) A compensatory factor for under-recording should be added to the number of long-term leaseholders as described in note 5.

Table D2 Characteristics of Individual Charles County Justices

Name	Year First Appointed	Immigrant or Native	Economic Status at First Appearance	Economic Status at Death, Emigration or 1705	Land at First Appointment	Maximum Acreage Acquired	Labor: No. Servants	Labor: No. Slaves	Total Estate Value	Occupation
Henry Adams	1658	I	1	5	(800)	800	10	3	£570	—merchant
John Hatch	"	I	1	4	450	1050	6	2	-	
Robert Hanley	"	I	4	5	875	875	2	9	958	
James Lindsay	"	I	1	5	c.850	1850	2	-	61	
Edward Parker	"	I	(4)	3	800+	800+	-	-	30	—teacher
John Jenkins	"	I	4	3	<300	?	-	-	-	
James Walker	"	I	1	4	300	800	5	-	165	
William Batten	1660	I	5	5	700	1700	3	4	571	—merchant
Walter Boyne	"	I	4	5	2300	2800	4	3	383	
John Cage	"	I	1	4	150-300	450	5	-	114	
Joseph Harrison	"	I	4	4	300	700	5	-	98	
Zachary Wade	"	I	1	5	300+	4560	8	3	485	—merchant
Thomas Stone	1661	M	6	4	0	1400	5	2	190	
Thomas Baker	"	I	4	4	300	800	11	3	91	
James Langworth	"	I	1	5	1100	1100	1	-	-	
William Marshall	"	I	3	5	c.950	1870	10	8	268	
Francis Pope	"	I	1	4	400-800	1550	2	2	137	
Christopher Russell	"	I	4	4	375	1390	4	-	168	
Thomas Matthews	1663	I	6	5	c.1885	8950	4	3	854	—doctor
Humphrey Haggate	"	I	4	4	300	300	5	-	-	

Religion	Literacy	Title	Petit Juror	Grand Juror	Low County	Sheriff	Burgess	Vestry	Mid-Level Provincial	High Provincial	Length of Service as Justice in Years
C	L	Mr. D	-	-	D	X	X		X		23
P	L	Mr. D	-	-	-		X				4
?	I	Mr. D	X	X	A		X				11
C	(L)	Mr. D.	-	-	-	X					12
C	L	Mr. D.	-	-	-						4
?	(L)	Mr. D.	-	-	-		X				2
P	L	Mr. D	-	-	-						3
?	(I)	Mr. B	X	-	-						2
P	I	Gent. B	-	-	-						7
?	I	Mr. D	X	X	-						1
(P)	L	Mr. D	-	-	-		X				13
(P)	L	Mr. D	-	X	-	X	X				18
(Q)	(L)	-	-	-	-						0
?	(I)	Mr. D	X	X	-				X		2
C	L	Gent. B	-	-	-						1
P	I	Mr. D	X	X	-						7
?	?	Mr. D	-	-	-	X					11
P-A	?	Mr. D	-	-	-						1
C	L	Mr. B	-	-	-	X			X		13
?	L	Mr. D	-	-	-						1

Name	Year First Appointed	Immigrant or Native	Economic Status at First Appearance	Economic Status at Death, Emigration or 1705	Land at First Appointment	Maximum Acreage Acquired	Labor: No. Servants	Labor: No. Slaves	Total Estate Value	Occupation
Gerrard Parke	1666	I	6	5	?	1150	3	5	£280	
Humphrey Warren, Sr.	1687	I	6	3	550	550	8	-	3h	—merchant
John Lewis	1670	I	3	5	(700)	2000	6	-	-	
John Stone	"	I	6	h	500+	1383	11	1	872	
Ignatius Cousins	1672	I	h	5	1000	1h00	10	-	189	
John Douglas	"	I	h	5	(800)	1050	h	-	-	
Thomas Bussey	"	I	3	5	800	5hoh	2	1	707	—innkeeper
Stephen Montague	"	(I)	-	h	600	1800	-	-	61	
William Burton	"	I	5	5	c.1150	1h98	25	-	-	—merchant
Robert Boyse	1676	I	6	5	1000+	5000	8	20	6h3	—merchant
John Fleming	"	I	(5)	h	c.800	2000	6	2	89	—attorney
William Lee	"	I	5	h	600+	600	2	-	-	
Humphrey Warren, Jr.	"	I	6	5	850+	1700	25	11	950	—merchant
Francis Wyse	"	I	1	5	c.1600	1600	5	3	3h3	—cooper
Thomas Clapham	1680	I	h	h	370	370	5	-	80	
George Godfrey	"	I	3	h	c.350	500	5	-	-	—carpenter
Henry Hastins	"	I	h	5	c.1h00	1h89	h2	33	3h8	—farmer
William Smith	"	I	(5)	h	?	8050	11	h	812	—doctor
James Tyer	"	I	5	5	1700	1700	8	5	380	
Henry Aspinall	"	I	5	5	1150	1150	5	-	200	

Table D2 Continued

Religion	Literacy	Title	Petit Juror	Grand Juror	Low County	Sheriff	Burgess	Vestry	Mid-Level Provincial	High Provincial	Length of Service as Justice in Years
P	?	Gent. B	-	-	-		X				8
P	L	Mr. B	-	-	-		X				h
P	I	Mr. B	X	X	X		X				7
P	?	Mr. B	-	-	-	X	X	X	X	X	28
C	L	Mr. B	X	-	B	X	X				18
?	L	Mr. B	X	X	-		X				7
?	L	Mr. B	X	X	B						6
?	L	Mr. B	X	-	-		X				1
P	?	Gent. B	-	-	B/D	X	X	X			30+
C	L	Mr. B	-	-	-	X					9
?	L	Mr. B	-	-	-						5
(P)	?	Mr. B	-	-	-						3
P	L	Mr. B	X	-	B	X					19
(P)	(L)	Mr. B	X	X	-						5
?	?	Gent. B	X	X	-						5
?	?	Mr. B	X	X	-						2
P-A	L	Mr. B/Gent. B	X	X	B/D		X	X			19
?	(I)	Mr. B	X	X	B/D						8
(P)	?	Gent. B	-	-	D						5
?	I	Mr. B	X	X	-						h

Table D2 Continued

Name	Year First Appointed	Immigrant or Native	Economic Status at First Appearance	Economic Status at Death, Emigration or 1708	Land at First Appointment	Maximum Acreage Acquired	Labor: No. Servants	Labor: No. Slaves	Total Estate Value	Occupation	Religion	Literacy	Title	Parish Juror	Grand Juror	Low County	Sheriff	Surgeon	Vestry	Mid-Level Provincial	High Provincial	Length of Service as Justice in Years
Thomas Durford	1685	I	6	5	400	700	-	2	-	—attorney	P	L	Gent. B	-	-	B		X				3
John Courts, Jr.	*	B	4	5	1000+	2000	15	30	£1815	—merchant	P	L	Mr. B.	X	X	-		X	X		X	7
Randolph Hanson	1685	I	1	5	2770	3700	2	2	190	—merchant	?	I	Mr. B.	-	-	-						18
John Wheeler	*	I	3	4	c.1375	1671	7	-	-		(C)	I	Hll. B	X	X	B						5
John Addison	1687	I	6	5	1000	2470	I	I	-	—merchant	P-A	L	Gent. B/Esq. A	-	X	-			X	X	X	6
William Hatton	1687	(I)	-	4	(0)	850	8	-	337		P	?	Mr. B	-	-	-			X			5
William Hatton	1689	I	5	6	1868	1868	2	-	-		P-P	L	Mr. B	-	-	-		X	X		X	5
James Smallwood	*	I	1	5	1000	2131	15	-	-	—innkeeper	P	I	Mr. B	X	X	B		X		X		17+
William Hutchinson	*	I	5	5	3821	4484	?	?	-	surveyor/merchant	P-P	L	Mr. B	X	X	B		X	X			3
Phillip Hoskins	1690	I	5	5	1250+	4484	2	-	-	—attorney	P-A	L	Mr. B	X	X	-		X	X		X	7
Robert Yeton	*	(I)	-	4	(0)	785	2	-	-		P	?	Mr. B	-	X	-			X			16+
James Thompson	*	I	4	4	484	484	2	-	-		P	?	Mr. B	-	X	-						3
Joseph Manning	1690	(I)	-	4	c.150	150	9	-	-	—surveyor	P	L	Mr. B	X	X	B/B			X			14+
Richard Harrison	1694	B	-	5	500-1100	1300	6	-	-	carpenter/landowner	P-A	?	Mr. B	X	X	B			X			12+
John Hanson, Sr.	*	(I)	-	3	330	330	6	-	-		P	?	Mr. B	X	X	B			X			3
Phillip Briscoe	1696	(I)	-	4	?	700	2	-	-		P	L	Mr. B	-	-	-		X				10+
Benjamin Ball	*	(I)	-	5	773+	1236	?	?	-		P/later C	L	Mr. B	-	-	-		X				3
Henry Hardy	*	I	1	4	c.460	460	13	-	-	—attorney	P-A	L	Mr. B	X	X	B			X			10+
Thomas Tracy	*	(I)	-	4	c.454	454	?	1	-		P	L	Mr. B	-	-	-			X			10+
John Wilder	1697	(I)	-	4	c.360	360	6	-	-	—merchant	P-A	?	Mr. B	X	X	B			X			3

Table D2 Continued

Name	Year First Appointed	Immigrant or Native	Economic Status at First Appearance	Economic Status at Death, Emigration of 1705	Land at First Appointment	Maximum Acreage Acquired	Labor: No. Servants	Labor: No. Slaves	Total Estate Value	Occupation
John Bayse	1698	I	6	5	1210+	4739	29	18	£11	—merchant/innkeeper
William Wilkinson	1699	I	5	4	?	900	2	-	-	—merchant
William Dent	1700	I	6	5	£171+	8000	14	34	£167	—attorney/merchant
William Herbert	*	(I)	-	5	901+	1583	8	-	-	
John Contee	1704	I	5	5	4497	4497	3	2	-	—merchant
Gerrard Fenhe	*	I	6	5	1799	1799	4	?	-	
William Smallwood	1705	I	5	-	100+	?	1	?	-	
Walter Storey	*	I	4	4	243	305	1	?	-	—merchant

Name	Religion	Literacy	Title	Petit Juror	Grand Juror	Law County	Sheriff	Burgess	Vestry	Mid-Level Provincial	High Provincial	Length of Service as Justice in Years
John Bayse	P	L	Gent. D	X	X	D	X					3
William Wilkinson	P	L	Gent. D	-	-	-						7+
William Dent	P-A	L	Gent. D	-	-	D		X	X	X	X	5
William Herbert	P	L	Mr. D	X	X	-			X			4+
John Contee	P-A	L	Esq. D	X	X	-			X		X	8+
Gerrard Fenhe	P-A	?	Mr. D	-	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	2+
William Smallwood	P	L	Mr. D	X	X	-						1+
Walter Storey	P	L	Gent. D	X	X	D	X	X				1+

Key to Table D-2:

Economic Status at first appearance

1. Immigrated as servant.
2. Immigrated as freeman, no capital.
3. Immigrated or came of age with small capital.
4. Immigrated or came of age with moderate capital.
5. Immigrated or came of age with substantial capital.
6. Immigrated or came of age with substantial capital and title.

Economic Status at death, emigration or 1705

1. Pauper.
2. Laborer or tenant.
3. Small planter.
4. Middling planter.
5. Large planter and/or merchant.
6. Among wealthiest in colony.

Total Estate Value

Value in pounds sterling of personal estate at death.

Occupation

Planter unless otherwise specified. Occupation preceded by two dashes indicates occupation in addition to planting.

Religion

C = Roman Catholic.
P = Protestant; P-A = Anglican; P-P = Presbyterian.
Q = Quaker.

Literacy

Usually measured by ability to sign name.

Title

B = before.
D = during.
A = after

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY

Nature of the Primary Sources

The major source used for this study is the Charles County Court and Land Records housed in the Maryland state archives, the Hall of Records, in Annapolis. Charles County records through 1674 are published in the Maryland Archives, volumes 53 and 60. Otherwise the scholar must consult the manuscripts. These consist mainly of court proceedings (minutes, judgments, levy accounts, etc.) and recordations (land conveyances, bills of sale, letters of attorney, vital records, livestock marks, etc.). In the earliest volumes, proceedings and documents are enrolled together. By the 1690s the clerks began keeping the two series in separate volumes. Descriptions of the two series can be found in Morris L. Radoff, Gust Skordas, and Phebe R. Jacobsen, The County Courthouses and Records of Maryland, Part Two: The Records, Hall of Records Commission Publication no. 13 (Annapolis: State of Maryland, 1963) and Louis Dow Scisco, "Colonial Records of Charles County," MHM 21 (1926): 261-69.

Surviving parish vestry minutes and registers for county churches, also available at the Hall of Records, proved far less useful. These do not begin until the 1690s and contain only a few pages of records relevant to this study.

Various record series generated by the Provincial Government extend and supplement the materials contained in the county court records. Some of the most important are printed in the Maryland Archives, and unpublished materials are available at the Hall of Records.

The Prerogative Court series is used extensively in this study. This series consists of wills, estate inventories, administration accounts, and prerogative court proceedings. Throughout the colonial period all probate materials from the various counties were kept and officially recorded in the central Prerogative Court. Thus, in order to locate all extant probate records for individual counties, the scholar must examine the colony-wide series. Re-recorded volumes of wills, inventories, and accounts compiled in the counties following an Act of Assembly in 1777 afford more convenient reference to these materials, but are very incomplete, especially for the years prior to 1680.

The Land Office records for the period studied consist of quit-rent rolls; warrants; and a combination of proofs of right, warrants, surveys, and patents recorded together in a series called the Patent Libers. In this study the rent rolls of 1659 and 1704-07 for Charles and neighboring counties were particularly useful for determining who did and who did not own land and what the distribution of land was. The other series were used to fill out landholding information not contained in the rent rolls or county land records.

Useful in completing biographical information on county residents and in extending topical files were the proceedings of the governor and council, the journals and acts of the Assembly, and the proceedings of the provincial court. The first two series are printed in full in the Maryland Archives, while the third is in print through 1683. Thereafter, deeds, judgments, and loose papers may be consulted in manuscript.

Some of the most important non-public primary sources are the correspondence, promotional tracts, and travelers' descriptions collected in the Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684, edited by Clayton Colman Hall (New York: Charles Scribner's & Sons, 1910). Other published sources which pertain to the seventeenth-century Chesapeake include Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia From Whence is Inferred A Short View of Maryland and North Carolina, ed. with Introduction by Richard L. Morton (London: 1724; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 1956); William Fitzhugh's correspondence in William Fitzhugh and His Chesapeake World, 1676-1701, Richard Beale Davis, ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Virginia Historical Society, 1963); Ebenezer Cook, The Sot-Weed Factor, in Works of Ebenezer Cook, Gent.: Laureat of Maryland . . ., ed. Bernard C. Steiner, Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication no. 36 (Baltimore: John Murphy and Sons for the Maryland Historical Society, 1900); John Clayton's correspondence in Edmund and Dorothy Smith Berkeley, ed., The Reverend John Clayton, A Parson with a Scientific Mind, his Scientific Writings and Other Related Papers (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1965); Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, ed. Louis B. Wright (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1947); the "Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland, 1705-06," American Historical Review 12 (1907): 327-41; and "Maryland in 1699: A Letter from the Rev. Hugh Jones," Michael Kammen, ed., Journal of Southern History 29 (1963): 362-72.

Invaluable for filling out biographies are a series of data files compiled from primary sources by various scholars and research groups

pursuing prosopographical studies in seventeenth-century Maryland. These include Lois Carr's biographies of early Prince George's County settlers in appendix 2 of her dissertation "County Government in Maryland, 1689-1709" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1968); Russell R. Menard's "Major Officeholders in Maryland to 1689," MS, Hall of Records; the biographies of Maryland burgesses and councillors compiled by the "Maryland Legislative History Project, 1635-1789," Edward C. Papenfuse and David W. Jordan, principal investigators, MS, Hall of Records; and a biographical file of seventeenth-century St. Mary's County residents compiled by the St. Mary's City Commission, MS, Hall of Records.

Computer tapes and printouts analyzing all extant probate inventories and accounts for the four lower western shore counties of St. Mary's, Calvert, Charles, and Prince George's from 1658 to 1705 (St. Mary's City Commission, "Social Stratification in Maryland, 1658-1705," National Science Foundation Grant GS-32272) provided much of the quantitative data on which chapters 4 and 5 were based and also permitted a comparison of Charles with neighboring counties in chapter 7. As with the biographical files cited above, the availability of such a data bank gives the individual scholar access to much more quantitative material than he himself could practically collect and process.

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While some older works on Chesapeake history proved useful as background material for this study (especially Charles M. Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History, 4 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936); Lewis C. Gray, The History of Agriculture in

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