

USDI/NPS NRHP Multiple Property Documentation Form
Providence, MD: Puritan/Quaker Settlement Near The Severn River. (Page # 1)

* *

The NPS Form 10-900-b OMB No. 1024-0018 (Expires Jan. 2005)
(Rev. Aug. 2002)

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

New Submission Amended Submission

=====

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Providence, MD: Archaeology of a Puritan/Quaker Settlement Near The Severn River.

=====

B. Associated Historic Contexts

Contact and Settlement Period, 1649-1699

=====

C. Form Prepared by

name/title: David A Gadsby and Esther Doyle Read

street & number: 2664 Riva Road telephone: (410) 222-7441

city or town: Annapolis state: MD zip code: 21211

=====

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (___ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature and title of certifying official

Date

State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

*

*

Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and the title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets *in How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

	Page Numbers
E. Statement of Historic Contexts:	P. 3
F. Associated Property Types:	P. 34
G. Geographical Data:	P. 41
H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods:	P.43
I. Major Bibliographical References:	P. 44

Section E: Historic Context

This historic context discusses the history and archaeology of Providence, a Maryland settlement founded during the height of the religious and political upheaval caused by the English Civil War. Providence, founded by non-conformist Puritans expelled from Virginia for their religious beliefs, existed from 1649 until the 1680s or 1690s. The settlement was located on both the northern and southern shores of the Severn River. It was alternately called Severn, Arundel Town or Arundelton. The southern shore ultimately became the site of Annapolis, Maryland's state capital, while the northern shore became the rural communities of St. Margaret's and Broadneck. The following document covers the period from 1649, when the Puritan founders migrated to the mouth of the Severn River, to 1694, when Francis Nicholson and the Maryland Legislature moved Maryland's capital to Annapolis and began the process of imposing a sophisticated urban plan onto the landscape. It pays particular attention to the formative years of the colony, and the political struggles that saw its birth.

Power and Politics

In 1629, George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore, petitioned King James I for a colony in Virginia after the apparent failure of his colony at Avalon in Nova Scotia. Cecelius Calvert, his son, and the second Lord Baltimore, received the Maryland Charter on June 20, 1632, despite the strenuous efforts of Virginian William Claiborne to stop it. The Charter was unique among the English colonies in America, as it granted Lord Baltimore near absolute rights to the lands under his purview. In a manner that recalled the dying feudal system, the charter gave Calvert the right to grant lands and collect quit-rents, both of which were normally rights reserved for the Crown. George Calvert drafted the charter based upon the medieval charter for the Palatinate of Durham. The conservative system of land tenure spelled out in the charter, helped to set the stage for Maryland's religious and political conflicts of the 1640s and 1650s.¹

William Claiborne became Lord Baltimore's chief enemy in the colonies shortly after Maryland's settlement. Claiborne was a Virginia surveyor and trader with extensive connections to Puritan merchants in London. He arrived in the colony in 1621 and rose rapidly through the ranks of the Virginia Government, joining the royal council in 1625 and becoming the secretary of state in 1626. The next five years saw Claiborne, with the blessing of Charles I, exploring the northern reaches of the Chesapeake, and re-establishing contact with the Susquehannock, whom John Smith had first contacted in 1608.

The Susquehannocks' interest lay in trading beaver pelts with their English neighbors to the south in order to gain access to European trade goods. The Dutch and French had excluded them from such trade, favoring northern Iroquoian groups instead. Claiborne was able to exploit this state of affairs by facilitating such trade, effectively plugging the Susquehannocks into his existing network of trade connections. In 1631, a Claiborne-backed party of settlers landed on Kent Island, only a few miles by boat from the mouth of the Severn River, where, 18 years later, Puritans from southeastern Virginia would settle Providence.²

Claiborne felt that the Maryland colony encroached on his Northern Chesapeake monopoly, and lobbied heavily against the Maryland Charter. His lobbying efforts however, proved futile. A party of settlers, including a contingent of Jesuit priests, made land fall on St. Clement's Island in the Potomac River in 1634, and settled shortly thereafter on the site of a Piscataway village near Horseshoe Bend on the St. Mary's River. They called their settlement St. Mary's City, although the city lacked the trappings of urbanity for the first half-century of its existence³. The advent of a Catholic colonial outpost near Claiborne's Kent Island settlement sparked a conflict that would seethe for the next 25 years. It would reach its height in the 1640s and 1650s and pit Claiborne and his Protestant Virginia interests, along with his Iroquoian allies, against Calvert, his Catholic allies, loyal subjects, and affiliated Algonquin groups.⁴

Later in 1634, a London commission headed by Archbishop Laud upheld Lord Baltimore's claim to Kent Island. Claiborne, around the same time, developed some interest in the new Puritan colony of Providence Island, located off

*

*

the coast of Nicaragua, and fled there, staying in the Caribbean for five years before returning to the Chesapeake. During his exile, Claiborne strengthened his ties to the Puritans and Roundhead business interests in London and the Caribbean, and became interested in radical Puritan politics⁵. When radical Puritan interests came to power during and after the English Civil war, they placed Claiborne in more powerful positions on his return to Virginia in 1643.⁶

Claiborne returned to Kent Island in 1644, in order to try to foment rebellion among the Susquehannocks, who had continued to bother the Proprietary government during Claiborne's absence. His efforts at inciting Indian revolt were unsuccessful, but the following year, Captain Richard Ingle, a sea-captain associated with Claiborne's London connections, invaded St. Mary's City. Ingle had traded peacefully with the Maryland colony in the past, but had been angered when Giles Brent imprisoned him for defaming the King⁷. He began a two-year occupation known as "Ingle's Rebellion", or the "plundering time." Proprietary Governor Leonard Calvert and Catholic ruling elite fled to Virginia, leaving their colony in a state of anarchy. The invaders fortified the Country's House building to defend against a return attack. Little evidence exists that Ingle tried to govern the colony, instead plundering colonial stores and leaving Marylanders to their own devices.⁸

The counter-attack came in 1646, when Leonard Calvert assembled the largest force of mercenaries available in the Chesapeake. Richard Bennet, a Puritan from the Nansemond River area in southeastern Virginia led a force of his fellow Puritans to St. Mary's City, where they recaptured the Maryland Capital and imprisoned the insurrectionists. Bennet knew Claiborne personally, and the two had mutual mercantile connections on both sides of the Atlantic. However, Bennet and his fellow Puritans were encountering pressure from Virginia's Governor Berkeley to conform to orthodox Anglicanism. It is possible that they intervened on Calvert's behalf as part of some deal that would allow the Virginia Puritans to migrate to Maryland. Bennet's force remained in St. Mary's City for at least a year, awaiting payment for their services. In 1648, William Durand, a lay preacher of the Nansemond Puritans, joined them there, after Governor Berkeley banished him for refusing to preach from the *Book of Common Prayer*.

Governor Leonard Calvert died in 1647. His brother, Lord Baltimore, appointed a Virginia Protestant, William Stone as governor. He arrived in St. Mary's City at roughly the same time as Durand. Stone, charged with the task of attracting 500 new settlers to Maryland, negotiated with Durand and Bennet the resettlement of their Puritans to Maryland. The Nansemond Puritans found themselves under considerable duress from Governor Berkeley, who had exiled their three most recent pastors, including Durand, and made it illegal for them to gather. Maryland's leadership was facing similar troubles in Parliament, where the colony was denounced as a haven for Papists and Royalists; Calvert's Parliamentary enemies were trying to remove the colony from Calvert rule.⁹

The southeastern Virginia Puritans' move to Maryland appeared at first to be politically advantageous for all involved. Lord Baltimore would have the support of a loyal band of Puritan allies, and would improve his image in Parliament. The Puritans could practice religion as they wished, safe in the knowledge that the 1649 Act Concerning Religion, which the Maryland legislature passed as a protection particularly for them, guaranteed their safety. The move, however proved disastrous for Lord Baltimore, who had inadvertently allowed enemies into his province.

The initial peopling of Providence began in 1649/50, coinciding with the end of the English Civil War, and Parliament's rise to power. As Bennet, Durand and their flock of Puritan immigrants made their way from Nansemond to the Broad Neck, Cromwell was winning the war, arresting and trying Charles I. Cromwell executed the regent, Lord Baltimore's strongest ally, on January 30, solidifying his position as England's leader and placing Calvert and Stone into a precarious position. Their enemies in England and America now had the upper hand, and they had just invited 500 of them to come and live in their colony.¹⁰

Claiborne, emboldened by these events, lost little time in renewing his old dispute with Lord Baltimore. By 1652, Parliament assigned to him and Richard Bennet the task of subjugating Virginia for Parliament. They took over the government of Virginia, with Bennet acting as Governor and Claiborne as Secretary of the colony. While Lord

Baltimore had successfully fought to have Maryland excluded from Parliament's orders of reduction, Bennet and Claiborne took liberties with the interpretation of the document. In a bloodless coup, they placed Maryland under the authority of a ten man Puritan Council. These councilors included newly settled Providence inhabitants: Edward Lloyd, the Commander of Providence and William Fuller, a prominent Citizen and future commander.¹¹

Hostilities between Stone and forces loyal to the Calverts, on one side, and the Providence Puritans, under Claiborne and Bennet, on the other, escalated for the next three years. It reached its culmination in March 1654/55, when Stone lead a force of Catholic Partisans against the Puritans. They met and fought somewhere in Providence, probably near Greenbury Point. The Puritans, with the help of a commandeered ship, soundly defeated Stone's forces, killing and capturing several of them. The Puritan commanders sentenced all of their prisoners to die, and shot four of them before the Puritan soldiers and their wives convinced them to stop.

Following the Battle of the Severn, a pamphleteering war erupted in London between allies of Lord Baltimore and those of the Providence Puritans. Transcripts of three surviving pamphlets are printed in Hall's *Narratives of Early Maryland*. The first, dramatically titled *Babylon's Fall*, was published by Puritan partisan Leonard Strong and signed by William Durand. It provides an account of the Battle and describes a series of complaints against Lord Baltimore, principally an Oath of Engagement that Calvert required the Puritans to swear before claiming land in Providence. All of this is justified by Puritan rhetoric that describes Lord Baltimore and his agents as Antichrist while attributing the victory at the Severn to divine providence.¹² The second, *Babylon Refuted*, provides an alternate account of the Battle and its aftermath. It consists of a series of reprinted letters and laws from Maryland, including a letter to Lord Baltimore from Verlinda Stone, Governor Stone's wife. Her letter describes the treatment of prisoners after the Battle and names three of the four men executed.¹³ The third, also written by a partisan of Lord Baltimore's, is titled *Leah and Rachel, or, the Two Fruitful Sisters Virginia and Mary-Land*. The author, who claims to have been a captive at the Battle, provides an extended history of the colonies, as well as a battle narrative.¹⁴

For reasons that remain unclear, Claiborne and Bennett signed a peace treaty with Lord Baltimore in 1657. Walsh and Fox suggest that Baltimore's pamphlet campaign granted him some success with Oliver Cromwell, who obtained supreme power in England in that year.¹⁵ In exchange for amnesty, the Puritans agreed to recognize Lord Baltimore's Proprietorship. He began the process of retaking the government from the Puritans, and completed it by 1659. Cromwell died in 1658, and Charles II ascended to the throne of England in 1660, effectively ending Puritan rule in the England and the Colonies.¹⁶

Charles II oversaw a period of relative peace in Maryland, lasting from 1660-1685. The population, drastically reduced during the years of Civil War and Interregnum, began to grow slowly. Tobacco remained the primary cash crop, but as production increased, the price of the commodity continued to drop dramatically. Over-production and a series of international events, including the Anglo-Dutch Wars and the implementation of the Navigation Acts, are primarily to blame for this early tobacco bust. By the 1680s, severe depression had taken hold in the tobacco markets¹⁷.

Discontent over the depressed economy was strong among many Marylanders during this period. In 1681, two Protestant Marylanders, Josiah Fendall and John Coode plotted to overthrow and imprison Lord Baltimore. After their capture, a Provincial court found Fendall guilty and banished him from Maryland. The same court acquitted Coode. The trial exposed the continuing fear Maryland's Protestant majority held toward the power of the ruling Catholics. Lord Baltimore's assumption that the trial of Coode and Fendall had put a rest to such issues turned out to be a baseless one, and one that eventually cost his family much of their power in Maryland.¹⁸

The 1685 death of Charles II placed the throne in the hands of his younger brother, James, Duke of York. The Catholic James II supported religious and political equality for Catholics and Anglicans alike. In practice, however,

the Regent appointed Catholic favorites to high government and military positions, without much regard for the Protestant majority in England.¹⁹

Protestants who feared that their country was being ruled by a “Catholic Cabal” found confirmation of their worries when, in 1668, James’ second wife gave birth to James Edward. James Edward became the heir to the throne, preventing the Protestant Princess Mary, the wife of William of Orange, from seceding her father. Protestant leaders, worried that a Catholic dynasty would destroy the Church of England, secretly invited William and Mary to come to England and take the throne. William landed in England on November 5 1688 and entered London on December 18. James abdicated his throne in favor of William without bloodshed, an event that became known as the Glorious Revolution. William and Mary were declared King and Queen in 1689.²⁰

While William and Mary were busy shoring up their new power, word of the coup reached Maryland. Lord Baltimore’s directive commanding Maryland to recognize the new Regents was lost at sea and never arrived in the colony. The apparent failure of the leadership to recognize the Protestant regents made Maryland’s Protestants uneasy, and their fears were further fueled by Governor William Joseph’s refusal to convene the Assembly the following spring, and by his recall of all weapons from county stores for repair.

In July of 1689, Protestants under the leadership of John Coode met in Charles County to organize a Protestant Association. The Association prepared a document called the “Declaration of the reason and motive for the present appearing in arms of His Majesties Protestant Subjects in the Province of Maryland,” which listed grievances against Lord Baltimore, proclaimed the Association’s loyalty to William and Mary, and implored the Monarchs to take Maryland under their protection. The association marched on St. Mary’s City, hopelessly outnumbering Lord Baltimore’s Councilors, who capitulated without a shot being fired.²¹

William and Mary, distracted by war with the French, did not assent to take over the Colony until 1692, nearly three years after the Association’s petition. During that period, Maryland was without colonial leadership. In 1692, Lionel Copley, the first Royal Governor of Maryland, traveled to St. Mary’s City.²² He died in 1693, and Francis Nicholson took his place. Nicholson worked with the legislature to move the seat of power from Catholic St. Mary’s City to Arundelton or Anne Arundel Town, located at the mouth of the Severn River, within the bounds of what had been called Providence. In October 1694, the assembly passed “An Act for Settling Assemblies & Provincial Courts at & Erecting a Court House at Anne Arundel Town”²³

Lord Baltimore continued to receive quit-rents from the colony, but was otherwise without power in Maryland. He petitioned William and Mary for the return of his colony, but they refused to do so. In 1715, after the ascension of George I to the throne, the colony was returned to Charles Calvert, fifth Lord Baltimore. The Calvert family held the colony until the American Revolution.

Agriculture

While it is clear that the Providence settlers hoped to engage in the fur trade, as Claiborne had, there is little evidence that they were particularly successful²⁴. The first order of business for the settlers of Providence was the clearing of land for their home lots and farms. Carr et al. estimate that one and one half acres was necessary for a dwelling, kitchen lot and orchard. Such an area would be cleared completely of trees, while crop fields were probably cultivated by girding trees, burning the underbrush, and growing corn and tobacco beneath the dead branches. Early Maryland agriculture probably did not involve plowing. Instead, the ground was broken by hoe. Numerous agricultural implements appear in the probates of Providence planters and in the archaeological assemblages recovered from Providence sites.²⁵

*

*

While waiting for their first corn crop, Providence settlers traded with Susquehannocks for pots of corn. Archaeological excavations at the Broad Neck site (18AN818), the Swan Cove site (18AN934) and the Leavy Neck site (18AN828) have recovered sherds of late woodland pottery which may be associated with the Susquehannocks or other Native American trading partners. At Swan Cove, the sherds were found in close association with ground stone celts. At Leavy Neck and Broad Neck, these sherds were recovered within sealed historic contexts. While settlers traded for food early in the outpost's existence, as their fields began to produce, they were able to provide for themselves²⁶.

The standard ration of corn per year, according to Carr, et al. was three barrels of shelled corn for adult males, roughly two and one quarter barrels for adult females, and three-quarters of a barrel for children. Carr et al estimate that an acre of land produced three to four barrels of shelled corn.²⁷ Hence, for a Providence household such as William Slade's, which in 1675 consisted of one adult male, four children, one adult male servant, one adult female servant and one young servant boy, an estimated minimum of three to four acres was needed to supply the household demand for corn²⁸.

Settlers devoted most cleared land to the production of tobacco. Chesapeake tobacco planters grew two types of tobacco, sweet scented and Oronoco. Sweet scented had a milder taste and required a limited range of soils for proper cultivation. These soils were mostly distributed along tidal Virginia rivers: the Potomac, the Rappahannock, York, and James. Oronoco, which had a much wider market than sweet scented, was more versatile, could be grown throughout the Chesapeake, and especially in Maryland. Sweet scented tobacco was sold primarily in England, while Oronoco was more popular in continental Europe, and was thus generally more profitable, except during times of war.²⁹

The amount of acreage planted in tobacco per laborer increased over the course of the seventeenth century. In the 1650s, a mean estimate of tobacco produced per laborer was 1000 pounds, probably from 5000 to 6000 plants. Carr et al. estimate that if 6000 plants were spaced at four feet, two and one-fifth acres were needed to produce 1000 pounds of tobacco. By the 1660s, mean production per laborer had reached 1400 to 1500 pounds of tobacco. The amount of land tended by each laborer was probably between three and four acres.³⁰ Based on this data, and using Slade's plantation as an example again, by the early 1670s Slade may have had between six and eight acres of land devoted to tobacco production. Including the acreage necessary for corn, then, the minimum household acreage under cultivation was probably between nine and twelve acres per year. However, because of tobacco's propensity to exhaust soils, the minimum size for a viable plantation was much larger – roughly 75 acres.

Tobacco culture was hungry for labor, since work on one year's crop extended past the next year's seeding. The tobacco year for the planter began with the seeding of the tobacco beds in late winter or early spring. Beds were prepared by burning underbrush from a wooded location and planting seeds in the remaining ashes. Within a few months, the plants began to appear, and were ready for transplant to cultivated fields in late spring. Workers transplanted the tobacco only when the weather was damp, as the process required soft ground. The small plants were positioned in mounds fashioned by hoes. The mounds looked like "mole hills and nearly as high as the knee... the laborer fashioning the hill would complete it by flattening...the top of the hill by a dab with the flat part of the hoe(*sic*)."³¹ During the summer, the tobacco plants were "topped" in order to produce higher quantities of the large full leaves the market demanded. Topping was regarded as difficult, and was generally a task performed by someone with a particular skill for it. Some planters also primed their plants by removing the low-quality bottom leaves, or lugs. Throughout the summer, plants were weeded and searched for worms or grubs that could damage the crop.

By the end of the summer, the plants had reached heights between four and seven feet. When the leaves had thickened and began to discolor, workers cut them with tobacco knives, leaving them in the field to wilt. They then carried the wilted tobacco to a tobacco barn, and hung it up, allowing it to air-cure. The dry and brittle tobacco was then "sweated" in piles during periods of damp weather. Laborers packed or prized it into hogsheads using a series of

weights and screws to pack as much product as possible into a given barrel. They then weighed and marked the hogsheads, preparing them for market. This final step sometimes took place as the new season began.³²

Hogsheads were sometimes manufactured right on the tobacco plantation. The 1683 probate inventory of Providence settler Thomas Homewood lists a set of cooper's tools, and several broken barrel straps have been recovered from sealed features at the Homewood's Lot.³³

Tobacco culture quickly exhausted the soil. After approximately three crops, fields became useless for growing tobacco. Planters could use them to grow subsistence crops for a couple of seasons, but the fields then had to be abandoned for up to twenty years.³⁴ Corn, cultivated in much the same way as tobacco, was a ready substitute for the exhausted fields. The practice required no additional investment in tools, and saved workers the backbreaking labor of clearing new fields.³⁵

Domestic livestock also served as a source of nourishment, providing up to 70% of the meat consumed. Again, archaeological remains and probate inventories illustrate this fact. Sealed archaeological features from Providence, particularly filled cellars, which have presumably been piled with the cleanings from kitchens and hearths of no-longer-extant buildings, contain large deposits of butchered bone from both wild and domestic sources. Those bones include cows, hogs, chicken, horses, and occasionally geese and sheep.³⁶ A circa-1660s cellar from Homewood's Lot (18AN871) contains 3217 fragments of cooked bone and butchered bone weighing 42.03 pounds. William Neale's 1675-76 probate inventory testifies to the fact that Neale, a seventeenth century occupant of the Leavy Neck site (18AN828), who owned 5 heifers and 14 pigs, used his animals for more than their meat value. Listed in the inventory are milk trays, a churn, a cheese vat, and butter pots, objects that would have helped him to supplement his diet with dairy products. Providence settler William Slades' will specifically mentions a milk house, or dairy.³⁷

Dairying activities were considered women's work, a tradition that extended back to thirteenth century England. Both the Slade and Neale households had female presences. Neale was married, had two daughters and his probate lists a female servant. Slade also had a wife, daughter, and a female indentured servant.³⁸

Lord Baltimore granted his backers, especially the Catholic elite, large estates, but most colonists lived on average sized farms of roughly 250 acres. William Slade, a fairly wealthy member of the Providence community, owned 250 acres of land in the Broad Neck peninsula, as well as an additional 200 acres north of Providence, on the Patapsco at the time of his death in 1675. Elizabeth Strong James, who died in the early 1670s, owned 250 acres of land on the Broad Neck Peninsula at her death, as well as 800 acres in Charles County. Ralph Hawkins owned 200 acres of land in Providence, and at his death in 1669, and claimed another 250 acres that was not patented in his lifetime. Only 200 acres of his land were located in Providence. Emmanuel Drue inherited 150 acres at Swan Cove, from his brother Hugh, who died in 1661. Thomas Thurston, a shoemaker, held 120 acres at the Tanyard, while William Piper owned 60 acres and William Neale held only 50 acres at Leavy Neck.³⁹

Commerce

Commerce during much of the seventeenth century in the Chesapeake was predicated on the growth and sale of tobacco. The settlers at Providence were not unfamiliar with tobacco, having immigrated from Virginia, another tobacco producing colony. Until the creation of a warehouse and inspection system in 1747, individual planters generally sold tobacco from their own wharves. As the seventeenth century progressed and some of the elite of the province prospered, some were able to establish themselves as local merchants. By including the tobacco from smaller planters with his own shipment, a large-scale planter could increase his own wealth. In exchange for shipping the smaller planter's crop, the planter/merchant extended credit to the smaller planter with which he could buy goods such as cloth from the planter/merchant's store of imported goods.

*

*

Often, if the small planter's crop did not receive the expected price, he found himself in debt to the planter merchant. Planters who engaged in mercantile enterprises considered themselves to be planters first. They were gradually able, through the credit system to extend control over the small planters, keeping them in perpetual debt that could pass from one generation to the next.⁴⁰

Tobacco commerce was a risky venture. It had begun first in the Virginia Colony. During the 1620s, strong demand drove tobacco prices exceedingly high, around 16 pennies a pound. The high price encouraged more settlers to raise tobacco, and to cultivate it more efficiently. Between the 1620s and 1670, the production increased from approximately 710 pounds per laborer to 1600 pounds per laborer. At the same time that production increased, and the area under cultivation increased, the price in England dropped. From its high of 16 pennies per pound, the price dropped to 5 pennies per pound in the 1630s and then to one penny per pound in 1670. Planters generally continued to profit, however, because the market expanded as the price dropped.⁴¹

Tobacco prices were exceptionally vulnerable to over production, labor problems, and international conflict. By the 1670s however, Maryland tobacco production stagnated because of low prices. Initially a luxury good, tobacco became relatively cheap, and as the price dropped, and members of the middle and lower classes were able to take up the habit.

After 1670, tobacco production per laborer decreased, causing a long-term stagnation in tobacco exports. Gloria Main explains that this stagnation is directly related to low prices. She also suggests that the advent of the institution of slavery has some relationship with that price stagnation. As the number of enslaved Africans began to increase dramatically after 1680 and again after 1705, smaller planters, who relied on indentured servitude for labor found themselves unable to compete with the wealthier, slave-holding class. The smaller planters relocated or left the colony. By the late seventeenth century, Maryland had developed regional specialization in agriculture, Anne Arundel, Charles, and Calvert counties became tobacco areas, while the counties of the southern eastern shore began to produce wheat and other cereals.⁴²

Despite a slowdown in tobacco production after 1680, planters occasionally over-produced, causing periodic gluts in the market. In 1681, an extreme glut in the market drove prices further down, causing a depression in the Chesapeake economy. The era of James II, (1685-1689), a time of relative peace in a century marked by war, made it possible for London merchants to dump excess tobacco on the continental markets, temporarily reviving the Chesapeake economy. European Wars, however, such as King William's War (1689-1698), severely restricted this trade with such European markets, again depressing prices. This war-related boom-bust cycle was to characterize the tobacco economy well into the eighteenth century.

Planters and colonial legislatures both attempted to solve the problem in their own ways. Planters often included inferior tobacco –stems and lugs - with their shipment in order to add to the overall shipment weight.⁴³ In a 1661 court case, New Englander John Browne sued William Piper or Pyther, of "Broad Neck" (Providence) for trying to sell him inferior tobacco. A witness, Robert Burle attested to the fact that the tobacco was "...in a rotting condition, secondly that there was frost bite on them and thirdly there was many ground leaves (lugs) left amongst the said tobacco and therefore was not merchantable..." The Court also deposed William Neale of Leavy Neck, who was present at the time. A jury found Pyther to be in the wrong and forced him to pay one thousand pounds of sweet scented tobacco for his misdeed.⁴⁴

While planters tried to maximize their profits through dishonesty, the colonial legislatures of both Maryland and Virginia sought to control prices by limiting production. Attempts to establish quotas proved fruitless, and efforts for moratoria on growing tobacco in 1663, 1666, and 1681 turned out to be too difficult to legislate.⁴⁵

While tobacco was the Chesapeake's main industry, the fur trade had some place in the economy as well, especially during the first half of the seventeenth century. By the time that Providence was settled, the population of fur-bearing animals such as beaver was crashing, the population of Susquehannock trading partners dwindling, and the fur trade in Maryland, as perpetuated by William Claiborne and his Kent Island outpost, was in decline.⁴⁶ Nonetheless, some fur trading went on in the second half of the century. Robert Burle's 1675 probate inventory lists several furs among the items in his estate.⁴⁷

Tobacco and furs comprised the majority of the goods shipped from Providence. While England was Maryland's primary trade partner, the archaeological record shows that Dutch trade items - tobacco pipes, decorative bricks and tiles, roofing tiles, and ceramics - made their way to Providence despite English mercantile laws to prevent them.⁴⁸ In 1643, the Maryland Assembly passed a law prohibiting tobacco export in non-English ships until all the available English ones were loaded. The Navigation Acts of 1650-51 imposed a seven-year custom, paid to the Lord Proprietor on the export of tobacco on Dutch ships. Funds raised by the custom were to pay for the "recovery & defense of the Province" during Ingle's Rebellion. Records of the Provincial Court in 1654 show that of the 12,073 pounds of tobacco raised with the so-called Dutch Custom, 8,890 was paid out to several soldiers. The remainder went to administrative fees and the purchase of "...Indian arrows for his [Lordship's] use..." (Maryland's Colonial Charter required that the Proprietor provide the King with an "Indian Arrow" annually).⁴⁹

Archaeological evidence from Providence shows that despite these trade restrictions, the people of Providence maintained some level of trade with their Dutch contacts. Archaeological excavations at Homewood's Lot (18AN871), a Providence plantation located on the bank of Whitehall Creek, located a square intrusion, Feature 30, from which researchers recovered 12,793 artifacts. In a lower stratum of this feature lay a lead window frame fragment dated 1661, providing a *terminus post quem* for the feature. It is likely, based on the absence of late seventeenth century artifacts that the feature was filled sometime before 1670. Among the nearly 13,000 artifacts recovered, researchers noted fragments of Dutch tin-glazed earthenware, including a decorative porringer, imported Dutch yellow Bricks, and pantiles. Similarly, archaeological research and salvage projects at Burle's Town Land (18AN826), Swan Cove (18AN934), Town Neck (18AN944), Broad Neck (18AN818), and Leavy Neck (18AN828), have all recovered numerous Dutch-produced items, despite a near-moratorium on Dutch trade.⁵⁰

The presence of Dutch artifacts on post-Navigation Act sites can be explained in part by the apparent fluidity with which people and goods moved between the Maryland and the Dutch colonies in the Delaware River Valley. Evidence of this fluidity lies in Augustine Herrman's account of his 1659 trip to Maryland. Herrman, an emissary for the Dutch, made his voyage to dispute boundary claims with Lord Baltimore and to tackle the problem of illicit trade between the colonies. On his way, he stopped at several settlements, including Providence (Severn). Over the course of his journey, he encountered several escaped Dutch servants, and offered them amnesty in exchange for their return.⁵¹

A 1663 complaint from British customs officials provides further evidence for the illegal movement of such goods:

...great abuses committed...by the inhabits and planters...masters mariners and traders to Virginia, New England, Maryland, Long Island &c....do both by land and water carry and convey great quantities of tobacco to the Dutch...the custom whereof would amount to ten thousand pounds per annum or upwards, thereby eluding the late Act of Navigation and defrauding his [Majesty].⁵²

The Chesapeake also kept up active trade with New England, Portugal, Spain, Italy, and the Wine islands: Madeira, Cape Verde, and Azores. The Province of Maryland engaged in illicit trade not only with the Dutch, but with the West Indies as well.⁵³

*

*

Trade networks, such as those delineated by Fausz, are readily visible in the archaeological records of Catholic St. Mary's City and Puritan/Quaker Providence. While artifacts recovered from St. Mary's include the products of the Catholic France and Spain, such trade goods are less conspicuous at Providence. Particularly lacking in the Providence assemblages are Merida Micaceous earthenware, Iberian olive jar, and Martincamp wares, all of which hail from Catholic Europe. Italy appears to be an exception – North Italian Slip Wares and Venetian table glass appear in small numbers at both settlements.⁵⁴

Religion

In seventeenth century England, and its colonies, politics and religion were inextricably linked. Charles I of England's declaration that: "Religion is the only firm foundation of all power,⁵⁵" serves as a vivid illustration of this fact. His subsequent execution at the hands of Oliver Cromwell's Parliament illustrates the point further. Wars of religion steered the course of the mid-century and profoundly affected the Providence settlers. The Providence settlement was born out of religious tumult. Its early years were characterized by religious struggle. That spiritual turmoil, intertwined as it was with political power, eventually undid the Providence settlers. The story of Providence's religious history began in Southeastern Virginia's Nansemond County in the 1620s.

Prior to 1619, three Puritan ministers had served in various parishes in Virginia, but established no Puritan enclave. Richard Lawne founded the earliest Puritan settlement in the Chesapeake in 1619, when he transported 100 settlers to his Virginia plantation. His settlement failed to thrive and Lawne succumbed to disease in 1620. In the same year, Edward Bennet founded a Protestant community just to the south of Lawne's Plantation. Bennet was Brownist or Puritan Separatist, and a wealthy merchant. He had been president of the Dutch Shipping Guild and an elder of the Ancient Church in Holland. After a brief stint in Virginia, Bennet returned to England, and sent his nephews Richard and Reverend William Bennet to settle a 200-acre plantation in Nansemond County.⁵⁶

While their fellow Brownists settled into their new colony in Massachusetts, the Bennet brothers and their Puritan companions enjoyed relative, if temporary, success in establishing their new enclave. For nearly a decade, they had little trouble practicing their religion. That religion, characterized by a rejection of the episcopacy, a disdain for the *Book of Common Prayer*, and a general desire to "tarry no longer for the Church of England to complete its reformation, but to set up their own independent congregations."⁵⁷ In 1629, Virginia's new Governor, John Harvey, began a program of compelling Virginians to conform to the Church of England, a program advocated by then-Archbishop Bancroft of Canterbury. Harvey pressed the Virginia Assembly into action, and they passed a 1631 act requiring "...uniformity throughout this colony..." in the practice of Religion. The next decade saw repeated attempts to enforce the act, and attempts at resistance by the colony's Puritans. Despite this new form of oppression, the Nansemond Puritans managed to build a new church in 1638, and to recruit learned men from Massachusetts in the persons of John Wilson of Boston and William Durand.⁵⁸

Durand, educated at Christ Church, Oxford, was then 46 years old. He had been arrested in the 1620s in London for his non-conformist activities. He was also ejected from the Massachusetts colony shortly before his arrival in Virginia, probably for holding views considered unpalatable by the New England's Puritan leadership. (Such views would continue to be a problem for Durand in the coming years.)⁵⁹

In 1641, the Nansemond group, recognizing their deteriorating political position, sent Elder Philip Bennet to Boston with letters asking Governor Winthrop for Puritan ministers for Nansemond. Winthrop, apparently sympathetic to their plight, sent three ministers. The men entered Virginia with letters of introduction from Winthrop, but received a chilly reception from the colony's new governor, William Berkeley. Two of them had been expelled within six months. The third, William Thompson, stayed on, apparently protected by a friendly relationship with Berkeley's personal chaplain, Thomas Harrison.⁶⁰

*

*

Harrison, seemingly convinced by Thompson's Puritan arguments, left his post with the governor and moved to Nansmond in 1644. Berkeley, after repeated attempts to recover his cleric, retaliated by sending draconian religious legislation through the legislature in 1647. He used those laws to eject Harrison and Thompson from Virginia, leaving their flock in Nansmond without a pastor.

Thompson and Harrison fled to Massachusetts, met with Winthrop, and asked for permission move the colony. Winthrop refused them, saying that the group had better stay in Virginia, "...as there was prospects of a large harvest."⁶¹ Harrison went on to become Oliver Cromwell's Chaplin, while Thompson remained in Boston.

Meanwhile, the preacherless flock in Nansmond turned to the unorthodox William Durand, for spiritual leadership. After preaching for only two months, he was arrested by Sheriff Richard Conquest for failure to preach according to the *Book of Common Prayer*. Two Puritan brothers, Edward and Cornelius Lloyd, rescued Durand. Durand fled to St. Mary's City, Maryland, where Edwin Bennet and his mercenary forces were still waiting for payment from Lord Baltimore for services rendered during the Ingle's Rebellion.

The authorities in Virginia fined Durand, Cornelius Lloyd and Thomas Marsh for their activities, and in August of 1649, Governor Berkeley banished the Lloyd brothers and several other members of the Elizabeth River Parrish. Berkeley and his regime had issued their threat to conform to the Church of England, or leave Virginia.⁶²

Meanwhile, the Catholic Lord Baltimore felt pressure to prove his loyalty to Cromwell's new Puritan Regime in England. Confronted with accusations of treachery by his enemies in Parliament, he felt compelled to prove that his colonial leadership posed no threat to either the Maryland Protestants or to the Commonwealth itself. As a demonstration of his willingness to cooperate, he appointed Thomas Stone, a Virginia Protestant, as Maryland governor in 1648. One of Stone's earliest duties was to populate the Colony with 500 settlers of British or Irish descent. Stone, Durand, and Bennet began negotiations to bring the members of the Elizabeth River Parish to Maryland. Stone promised the Puritans that their religious views would be tolerated. The Maryland Assembly passed "An Act Concerning Religion" in April of 1649. The Act appears to be Lord Baltimore's attempt to ingratiate himself to Parliament and to lure the Nansmond Puritans to Providence. It secured religious freedom for all Marylanders adhering to the basic tenets of Christianity, established punishments for heresy and blasphemy, and recognized that government regulation of religion often turned out badly. The crux of the statute, however, was its assurance that "no person should be molested on account of the free exercise of his religion."⁶³

Conditions worsened for the Puritans in Nansmond County. Governor Berkeley's official opposition to the new British Commonwealth placed the Puritan members of the Elizabeth River Parrish in further danger. When Bennet transmitted Governor Stone's invitation to move to Maryland, the Puritans accepted. They began their move in January of 1649/50, eventually populating the area around the Severn River with up to 300 people.

The next several years saw the Nansmond Puritans establishing their outpost in Anne Arundel County and asserting their political power in the Maryland Colony. With this new political power, the Puritan Commissioners were able to replace the "Act Concerning Religion," with an identically named bill. The new law declared that "none who profess and excise the Popish Religion commonly known by the name of the Roman Catholic Religion can be protected in this Province..." thereby subjecting Catholics of the Maryland colony to the same harsh treatment that Puritans had endured under Berkeley's Protestant Regime in Virginia. At the same time that the Puritan Commission repealed the Act Concerning Religion, they also renamed Anne Arundel County, calling it Providence County after their settlement. This name change is a strong reflection of the anti-Catholic ideology that pervaded the Puritan settlement during their rule of Maryland.⁶⁴

The premise that religious activity in seventeenth-century Britain and her colonies was closely linked to political power may help to explain the Providence settler's behavior in the late 1650s. In 1656, the year following the Battle

*

*

of the Severn, Elizabeth Harris, a Quaker missionary, traveled to Providence, where she “convinced” several members of the settlement. It seems possible that this mass conversion was a response to the Providence settlers’ sense that their power was waning. Their wish to disassociate themselves from their traitorous overthrow of the Calvert government and the resulting violence, may have lead some prominent Providence Puritans to convert quickly to Quakerism. William Fuller and William Durand, both Puritan leaders of the Parliamentary commissioners, became Quakers in 1657, beginning a trend that would continue well into the 1660s.⁶⁵

It does not, however, seem likely that the conversion was simply one of political expedience. The people of Providence, under the tutelage of Elder William Durand were already experienced with many of the tenets of Quaker teaching. Durand, it seems, had some experience with the radical religious thinking of the time. He preached a religious philosophy, known as antinomianism, that rejected the sacraments and celebrated the communion of Christ and the human soul in a way that mainstream Puritans would have found extremely objectionable, but would have resonated with Quakers.

It is evident that these teachings generated some rifts in the Providence community. Some time in the 1640s, Margaret and Robert Burle, both religious people, but self-avowedly ignorant in matters of theology, wrote to the New England Puritan leaders for advice about Durand’s teachings. Their letter describes some of Durand’s teachings and begged for the return of Thomas Harrison, who had been their pastor in Nansemond.⁶⁶ That rift continued through the rest of the centuries as several members of the Providence community, presumably those comfortable with Durand’s teaching, converted to Quakerism.

While Quakerism may have had some specific appeal to the people of the Providence community, it must also be seen as part of a larger trend throughout the Chesapeake. Many of the Puritan areas of the tidewater, including the Chesapeake’s Eastern Shore, Nansemond County and Isle of Wight County, saw the rise of new Quaker meetings in the 1640s and 1660s.⁶⁷ The Baltimore Yearly Meeting, started by Quaker leader John Burnyeat, began in West River, Anne Arundel County in 1672.

Quakers in Providence experienced some initial persecution, but the change in colonial leadership that came with Lord Baltimore’s restoration to power in 1659, along with the changing nature of Quaker doctrine, brought the Quakers a new respectability starting in the early 1660s. Lord Baltimore’s return reinstated the religious freedoms codified in 1649, making the practice of Quakerism acceptable under the law. In the meantime, the character of Quakerism was changing from that of a shrill sect of radical activists, akin to England’s Ranters and Howlers, to one that stressed quiet family life and pacifism. These changes were driven by a doctrinal move, led by George Fox, that advocated the spiritualization of all relationships, especially that of family. This doctrinal shift may also be responsible for the Quaker community’s gradual withdrawal from public life in the 1660s and 1670s.⁶⁸

A notable exception to that rule exists in the person of Thomas Thurston, a shoemaker and Quaker rabble-rouser who owned a small parcel in Providence. The long-haired Thurston, credited with many of the early “convincements” of Maryland Quakers, remained so militant into the 1680s that he was eventually rejected by the local meeting and was forced to relocate to Baltimore County.

Despite their newfound acceptance in colonial society, Quakers also found some obstacles to participating in everyday life, and their presence caused discomfort in the Providence community. Michael Higgins of Providence reported to the Council of Maryland that in April of 1664, after overhearing seditious discussion held by several Quakers, he feared that the “Quakers might do him some Mischief.” Quaker doctrine did not allow the taking of oaths, making it difficult for Quakers to perform their duties as public officials and public citizens.⁶⁹ Quaker leaders repeatedly petitioned the Maryland authorities to relieve them of oath taking, but received no such relief until 1702.⁷⁰

The religious climate in Maryland grew more complex, with Presbyterians, Quakers, Anglicans and Roman Catholics, as well as other sects, practicing their particular version of Christianity until nearly the end of the century. The Protestant minority nonetheless remained wary of the Catholic leadership, as evidenced by Fendall and Coode's rebellion of 1681. Efforts by Anglicans like John Yeo, to establish the Church of England as the official church of Maryland remained ineffective until the Ascent of William and Mary in 1688. The Protestant regents stripped Lord Baltimore of power and seized Maryland as a Royal Colony.⁷¹

In 1692 and 1694, and 1696, the Maryland Assembly, under the leadership of Governors Copley and Nicholson, passed laws establishing the Church of England as the colony's official church. The 1694 law coincided with Nicholson's moving the capital from St. Mary's City to its new place in Arundelton. The new city, called Annapolis, sat upon a part of the Providence settlement, on the south side of the Severn River. The movement away from the Catholic stronghold finalized the shift in power from the Catholic Lord Proprietor to Anglican royal governor.

The Establishment Acts met with opposition from Quakers and groups whom the act forced to pay a substantial poll tax. Quaker interests in London managed to convince the King to repeal the acts in 1695/96, and again in 1699. The Assembly finally prevailed in 1701/02, passing the "Act for the Establishment of Religious Worship in this Province According to the Church of England: and for the Maintenance of Ministers". Passage of the act, and the unwillingness of the new Queen Anne to repeal it, effectively ended the ten-year religious struggle, and stripped members of dissenting religious groups of nearly all political power.⁷²

Settlement and Community Organization

Around 1652, Massachusetts historian Captain Edward Johnson commented on the apparent inferiority of Chesapeake community planning. Referring to the newly founded Providence colony, he wrote, "...the manner of the English Plantations there being very scattering, quite contrary from the [New England] people, who for the most part desire society." Johnson and people of his time equated "society" with towns. This is evident in the repeated efforts of the Lords Baltimore to legislate towns into being in Maryland. Without towns, the Colony was nothing more than a barbarous outpost, whose population was destined to descend into sin and savagery.⁷³

Providence, too, began as an attempt to form a town. Luckenbach has suggested that the settlers there conceived it as a town, naming various features on the landscape Town Point, Town Creek and Town Path, and practicing a system of land tenure that involved the use of "town lands."⁷⁴

The system of town lands was first used in Maryland in the 1630s, when Cecelius Calvert commanded his brother to allow the first "adventurers" to own town lands in "freehold." Owners of such lands were not obligated to pay the quit-rent that other lands were subject to. Most landowners in the colony held their land in the medieval tradition of *fee socage*, that is, they were able to occupy the land and pass it through inheritance, but the Maryland charter gave Lord Baltimore real power over the land. This power meant that every landowner had to pay him an annual fee or quit-rent. This fee was at first exacted in wheat, but as the Chesapeake economy developed, the quit-rent became payable in pounds of tobacco⁷⁵. The town lands system, then, can be seen as an economic incentive system for the development of towns that would later be replaced by legislation, such as the Town Acts of the 1680s.

Lord Baltimore granted the colony's first adventurers or investors ten acres of town land in St. Mary's City, and gave subsequent settlers five acres. This seems also to be the case with the initial Providence settlers, likely as a part of the deal struck between Stone, Bennet, and Durand in 1649. Many Providence settlers were able to claim, with their land rights, ten or more acres of town land, while indentured servants, who presumably were unable to claim the land due them until after their bondage was expired, only claimed five acres. The function of town lands in the formation of the Providence settlement is not fully understood to date. It may be the case that early settlers were able to claim ten

*

*

acres, while later ones were forced to make do with five. But the model is complicated by the survey certificates for Zephaniah Smith, who in June of 1650, with a patent for 600 acres, took up 585 on the South River and 15 of town lands on Broad Neck. Similarly, not all town lands were located in the Broad Neck area. Thomas Homewood's town land was located on Gibson Island, across the Magothy River and half a day's sail from Broad Neck.⁷⁶

Even if all of the town lands had been located close together, five- and ten-acre lots seem large for a 'proper' town. New Englanders such as Edward Johnson found the Chesapeake plantation system to lack the "society" that they were used to. New England colonies were settled with central villages surrounded by cultivated fields and commons – the "open field" settlement system found throughout much of England. The dispersed Chesapeake settlements, however resembled the settlement patterns of western and South Central England.⁷⁷

This near-absence of towns in the Chesapeake was a particular adaptation to the land and labor-intensive practice of tobacco agriculture. Chesapeake planters located themselves close to navigable water to facilitate the trade and transportation of tobacco crops. In Providence, archaeology of several domestic sites strongly suggests that the Providence colonists chose locations at or near the heads of navigable creeks and close to sources of fresh water. Their houses generally faced downstream. The plenitude of shoreline, with the access that it afforded trading vessels, made traditional English towns almost totally unnecessary in the early years of the Maryland Colony.

Despite the dispersed nature of their settlement, Providence settlers managed to forge communities in their new home, forming units that Lorena Walsh has called "neighborhoods." Such units consisted of individuals living within five miles of one another who socialized together and acted as a unit of collective social and political action. Geographic features such as rivers, swamps, or large wilderness areas bound the neighborhood. A neighborhood did not generally extend beyond the distance from one's home that one could comfortably travel on foot in a day⁷⁸.

These communities served as the loci for rituals, economic activities, social support networks, and legal activities. While the written record provides ample opportunity for the study of the formal legal networks represented by neighborhoods, we must turn to the archaeological record for evidence of neighborhood activity on the socio-economic level. Anne Arundel County records allow reconstruction of the formal activities that existed in Broad Neck, present-day St. Margaret's, Maryland, on the shores of Whitehall Bay and the Chesapeake. The name Broad Neck derives from land records dating to the 1660s.

At least ten families lived in Broad Neck, and several of them have been the subject of archaeological and historical investigations over the course of the last 10 years. The families were headed by Richard Moss, William Slade, Emanuel Drue, Robert Burle, Elizabeth Strong, William Pyther, John Homewood, Henry Lewis, William Neale and Ralph Hawkins. Thomas Thurston lived in the neighborhood in the early 1660s, but moved to Baltimore County by the 1670s, when Dr. Henry Lewis bought his plantation.

All of the families engaged in tobacco agriculture. Even Emmanuel Drue, who operated a tobacco pipe kiln, is listed in his probate inventory as a planter. Thomas Thurston also engaged in light proto-industry – operating a tanyard and making shoes, but he supplemented his income with tobacco agriculture as well. Henry Lewis, who bought Thurston's Tanyard, was a doctor or surgeon.

By the late 1660s, the Mosses, Drues, Strongs, Thurstons, Homewoods, and Hawkins families had converted to Quakerism. Some members of the Neale family were also Quakers, but the status of William Neal of Leavy Neck is ambiguous.⁷⁹ The Slades, Burles and Lewises were Anglicans. Pyther's religious affiliation was unknown.

The effect that the religious divide had on the neighborhood is uncertain. There are certainly instances in the 1660s when the rift affected the whole community. In 1664, two deponents in Council of Maryland hearings stated that a meeting of Quakers, including Thomas Thurston, who was at the time under exile from Maryland for his teachings, as

well as John Homewood, his wife and Sarah Marsh, caused fears in the community “...that the Quakers might perhaps do [them] some mischief.”⁸⁰ Robert and Mary Burle’s letter to Puritan leaders in New England, questioning the theological precepts of William Durand, provides further fodder for speculation that the community in Broad Neck, and the community of Providence in general, was divided along religious and ideological lines.

Despite divides of this kind, the neighborhood of Broad Neck seemed to function relatively well. Thomas Thurston received his Tanyard on assignment from John Homewood in 1665.⁸¹ When Hugh Drew died around 1662, his brother, Emmanuel, divided the land into two sections, selling Leavy Neck to William Neale and keeping Swan Cove for himself.⁸² When Emmanuel died, he left the care of his daughter to Elizabeth Strong. William Slade, Ralph Hawkins, Robert Burle, and Richard Moss managed the estate, while William Neale helped to appraise it.⁸³ Neale also witnessed and helped to administrate Ralph Hawkins’ will.⁸⁴ William Slade often served as an appraiser of estates. The community reinforced social ties through marriages. Elizabeth Slade married into the Moss family and her daughter, Elizabeth Moss, married into the Boone Family whose members in turn married descendents of Robert Burle.⁸⁵

Archaeology in Providence provides hints about the less formal social ties within the Broad Neck settlement. Archaeology at the site of John and Thomas Homewood’s Lot (18AN871) has recovered a spoon handle bearing the monogram of “RB,” likely that of Robert Burle. Collections from both the Burle and Homewood’s sites contain distinctive tobacco pipes manufactured at Emanuel Drue’s kiln.⁸⁶

The socio-economic status of Broad Neck neighbors varied. Archaeology at Homewood’s Lot and Burle’s Town Land demonstrate a wealth of material goods, and large houses with glazed windows, while archaeology at Swan Cove and Leavy Neck yield fewer of the trappings of luxury. While Drue and Neale were not poor for the time, archaeology shows that they did not share the prosperity of their neighbors.

Total Estate Value (TEV) analysis conducted by Anne Arundel County’s Lost Towns Project place Neale (TEV=10.784) and Drue in the lowest of four wealth categories, while Burle lies within the second lowest (TEV=69.49) and members of the Homewood Family (Thomas Homewood II TEV= 130.04) lie within the middle two categories. The highest wealth group is occupied by men like Nicholas Gassaway and Thomas Meeres, planter-merchants who had large stores of goods for sale within their inventories. It is important to note that even members of the lowest wealth group, Neale and Drue had indentured servants listed in their probates, while members of the wealthier classes owned slaves, at least after 1673.⁸⁷ Those people – the bonded labor – constitute the real underclass of Providence inhabitants. Lacking property and power, they are virtually invisible in the historical record, but nonetheless must have made some impact on the landscape and in the material remains of Providence.

Architecture

The homes of most Chesapeake planters were usually impermanent, one or two room structures, constructed of wood, wattle and daub, occasionally with some brick. Archaeology reveals that wealthier home builders also employed imported Dutch fireplace tiles, Dutch paving and fire bricks, as well as Dutch terra cotta roofing and paving tiles. Few possessed expensive glazed windows, but those that did also possessed the lead comes that held the small glass panes together. Those comes, stamped with the date of their manufacture, help archaeologists to date such buildings.

The usual descriptions of seventeenth-century Chesapeake houses suggest that they were somewhat dismal places. Usually of earth-fast construction, they had no foundation other than wooden posts placed into holes in the ground. Around those vertical poles, the rest of the house was framed. Planters also built some houses simply by constructing a wooden sill and framing atop that sill. Such houses may have been outfitted with nothing more than a tamped earth floor and wooden or wattle and daub chimney. Others, however, such as Robert Burle’s, contained a hearth decorated with Dutch tin-glazed and lead-glazed tiles and protected by Dutch yellow fire bricks. The average size of a

*

*

Chesapeake house was sixteen by twenty feet, but could be much larger. Robert Burle's Providence town home, for example, measured sixty feet by twenty feet, and was constructed in a unique symmetrical, two-part plan. The spacious home of colonial secretary John Lewger at the St. Johns site in St. Mary's City, Maryland measured fifty-two by twenty-feet. King's Reach, in Calvert County, Maryland, measured thirty by thirty feet.⁸⁸

A survey of archaeologically recovered architectural evidence reveals that Providence possessed a distinct vernacular tradition that was a variant of the Chesapeake style. Providence houses were characterized by high variability in construction techniques, extensive use of imported Dutch materials, and in some cases relied on unique floor plans. Moser et al., citing the unusual number of imported decorative materials, particularly Dutch ones, suggest that this tradition reflects urban ambitions in the settlement.⁸⁹

Data from probate inventories provides evidence about the variability of housing stock in Providence. Richard Beard and James Rigby, while having disparate economic statuses had the dubious good fortune of dying within a year of one another. Beard, a middling planter of Providence died in 1682. His probate inventory, organized room by room, mentions a Hall, a Middle Room and a Chamber, with two outbuildings. Rigby, who died in 1681, was a wealthy Providence planter. His probate indicates that he lived in a house with eight rooms, several outbuildings and an outdoor summer kitchen. The rooms listed on Rigby's inventory include a Hall, a Parlor, a Porch Chamber (indicating that the house also had a porch), a Hall Chamber, a "Ground Chamber Adjoining the Kitchen", the "Wenches Chamber", the Kitchen, and the White Chamber, and the Servant's Chamber. Outbuildings included the milk house, the workhouse, and the store.⁹⁰

Archaeology conducted within the bounds of the Providence multiple property area reveals that the Providence settlers made use of both the post in the ground and ground-laid sill architecture, and also, in at least one case used a ferrous sandstone foundation over which a timber frame building was constructed. Robert Burle occupied a relatively large post in the ground structure with at least one outbuilding. An early building at Homewood's Lot, constructed some time after 1661, was framed atop a sill of ferrous sandstone over a shallow storage pit. Other seventeenth century buildings on the same site, however, were constructed in the usual post-in-the-ground manner. Excavations at Emanuel Drue's Swan Cove site yielded a shallow, artifact-filled storage pit, but no other features related to the architecture of the building were located. The preliminary evidence may indicate that Drue employed the ground-laid-sill method of house construction. Those excavations are ongoing, and may yet yield further information about the Drue house. Similarly, the Broad Neck site, occupied from the 1640s, appears to have been ground-laid-sill structure.⁹¹

The seventeenth century landscape of Providence was a highly varied one. Organized in part by surveyors who laid out parcels of land on the basis of natural features like wilderness, swampland and meadow, the settlement carved its way along the shoreline. Planters further altered and organized the landscape by constructing buildings and fences and planting tobacco, kitchen gardens, and orchards. The dwelling, with its main living and cooking space, formed the centerpiece of the plantation; smaller, auxiliary buildings, like servant or slave quarters, dairies and workspaces existed on the periphery. The tobacco fields could contain tobacco barns. An inventory of "houses yards and paled places" at Homewood's Lot, taken in 1713 by Thomas Cockey and Phillip Jones lists 20 buildings and illustrates the wide range of features that would have been present on the late seventeenth century landscape.

The great dwelling house much out of repair, the two kitchens, ye one in pretty good repair ye other good for little, one storehouse 35-foot ling in pretty good repair, wash house in very good repair, and a good corn house, a horse mill house and stable adjoined in pretty good repair, a 40-foot barn butt ordinary, and two sheep houses one pretty good the other butt ordinary, and five small houses little worth and one paled yard, three paled gardens, three paled penns, in good repair and one graveyard in good repair, two orchard pretty well fenced but in one of them nearly half ye trees are gone, one new 40-foot tobacco house and two pretty good 50-foot tobacco houses and one very old 40-foot tobacco

*

*

house good for nothing with a cornfield fence but ordinary and paster and some other convenient fences all in middling repair⁹².

While waterways served as the main places for transportation, paths also connected houses and fields and they led to other plantations. A deed reconstruction of Leavy Neck notes that it is bounded on one side by “Blay’s Path”. Blay’s path probably represents a portion of present day Pleasant Plains Road; a highway that connects many of the properties in the Multiple Property Area⁹³.

Bonded Labor – Indentured Servitude, Slavery and Immigration

Historian Russell Menard estimates that between 1634 and 1681, 23500 to 40000 Europeans immigrated to Maryland. An estimated seventy percent of those immigrants were indentured servants. The majority of these servants came from three major English ports – London, Bristol, and Liverpool – while a smaller group came from Ireland, particularly after 1680. Still smaller minorities of servants migrated from Scotland, Wales, Barbados, Holland and Portugal. Generally, servants signed indenture agreements in the summer season and sailed for Maryland within two months, following the timing of the tobacco trade⁹⁴. In 1649, William Bullock wrote, “The ordinary time of going is about September, or October which times ships have made choice of, in respect of the Crop of Tobacco, will be ready for their homeward freight, which is always in, or about December, and so they lade, and return in February, March, or April.”⁹⁵

Prior to 1660, the majority of those leaving England and Europe as indentured servants were young men between the ages of 15 and 24. They generally hailed from the lower middling ranks of English society and had some labor skills or work experience. Table 1 illustrates the point⁹⁶.

Table 1: Skills of Indentured Servants from Bristol and London (after Horn⁹⁷).

Bristol		London	
Trade/Skill	Percentage	Trade/Skill	Percentage
Yeoman	44.0	Yeoman	24.0
Laborer	19.0	Laborer	28.0
Textile Trades	14.5	Textile Trades	14.5
Other/Unskilled	22.5	Other/Unskilled	33.5

Once in Maryland, these young men greatly outnumbered young women. In the 1630s the ratio of men to women was 6 to 1, but by the 1680s the ratio had dropped to 3 to 1. Young women servants who migrated to Maryland saw the promise of economic opportunities. They also had very good chances of marrying, and even marrying into higher station, as long as they were one of the 40% of indentured laborers who survived their term of service in the seventeenth century.⁹⁸

The decision to leave England or Europe for the colonies was often tied to economic conditions at home. In England, the enclosure of common fields for pastureland, begun in the sixteenth century, continued through the seventeenth, eroding the economic base of many rural areas. In the cities, a depression in the cloth industry left many people jobless. Becoming an orphan, and hence losing the economic support of parents, seems also to have been a major factor for becoming an indentured servant. Menard has noted that the influx of servants into the Chesapeake during the seventeenth century was based on the level of English wages. During periods of low wages, the number of servants leaving England increased. Menard then, notes that the servant system was tied not only to the boom-bust cycle of the Chesapeake tobacco economy, but to long-term conditions in the English economy as well.⁹⁹

*

*

Peak servant immigration to Maryland and Virginia occurred between 1640 and 1680 after a sugar depression in the West Indies in the 1640s eliminated it from competition as a destination for indentured workers. When the West Indian economy rebounded, it made use of a thriving slave trade in lieu of indentured servitude. After 1680, the increase in the Chesapeake slave trade and rising real wages in England brought about the decline of indentured servitude. Decreasing social mobility and a serious tobacco depression also contributed to the decline of the system¹⁰⁰.

The social divide between planter and servant began as a relatively small phenomenon, but increased in size over the course of the century. Many planters had come to the Chesapeake as indentured servants, taken advantage of the 50-acre incentive that Lord Baltimore offered for completing one's service. In the homes of small and middling planters, indentured servants often integrated themselves into the daily lives of the plantation family. They often ate and slept under the same roof, and worked side by side in the tobacco fields. By the late seventeenth century, this social structure was changing. It became difficult for middling planters to afford bound labor, and class of bound laborers was growing. Native born wealthy planters had never served as indentured servants and the system of enslaving Africans was becoming prevalent. Servants were less often integrated into family life, and were often supervised by an overseer rather than the planter.¹⁰¹ A recent study by Paul Shackel suggests that the physical separation of slaves and indentured servants from main dwellings and each other late in the seventeenth century was part of a social control mechanism, reinforced by racial bigotry, that allowed the upper class to break the laboring class into two smaller, less formidable groups.¹⁰²

Servitude in Maryland and Virginia could be indentured, or at the "custom of the country". Those arriving in the Chesapeake with contracts of indenture typically served for four years, but could serve as many as five or six years. The custom of the country, for those not under contract, was based on age, and provincial laws. Minors who became servants under the age of 15 had to serve until age 22, and the term became shorter as the initial age of servitude became older, with older teenagers serving six or seven years, and adults over the age of 22 serving five years.

The indenture system was not without its abuses. In July 1652, the Maryland Provincial court heard the case of Captain William Mitchell, who was tried for murdering his wife Joan, fathering a child with servant Susan Warren, and trying to kill the child while she carried it. Mitchell was found not guilty, but was forced to pay a 5000-pound (tobacco) fine. Susan Warren was found guilty of blasphemy and adultery and ordered whipped thirty-nine times on her bare back. A second court case in March of the following year found Warren appearing before the court claiming that she was not Mitchell's servant and that he had held her falsely. She had paid her own passage, and Mitchell had forced her to become his servant upon her arrival. The court freed Warren of any service, and ordered him to pay all fees and charges incurred during her false imprisonment.¹⁰³

Once a servant was freed, he or she was issued freedom dues in the form of clothes and corn. In the 1670s these dues amounted to 700 pounds tobacco in Anne Arundel County.¹⁰⁴ Generally, freed servants spent several years as wage laborers or tenant farmers until they had sufficient capital to claim the land due them or to purchase land, and begin building a plantation. After 1660, however, the opportunities for freed indentured servants to accumulate the necessary resources shrank. By 1680, more and more freed servants were leaving the Chesapeake. One of the causes of these shrinking opportunities was the decline in the price of tobacco that made less money available to the small planter. A second was the rise of the enslavement system in the Chesapeake. Slavery pushed the price of bound labor above the means of most newly freed servants. While an indentured servant, at a price of 18 pounds tobacco for 5 years, may be affordable for a relatively impoverished Providence planter, a slave was much more expensive. Slaves are generally valued between 25 and 40 pounds in Providence probate inventories.¹⁰⁵ In time, faced with overwhelming competition from large planters, who exercised control over smaller planters with credit, many former servants found it impossible to survive in the tobacco economy and left the Chesapeake.¹⁰⁶

*

*

While Africans occasionally served as indentured servants, the overwhelming majority of Africans brought to Maryland were enslaved. Estate inventories often list the bound labor present on the decedent's plantation. The listings of white indentured servants are accompanied by the length of the individual's indenture that remains. African servants, often listed as "Negroes", usually have no term listed with them, presumably because they are enslaved indefinitely.¹⁰⁷ The implication is that African slaves and their descendants served for life. Probates also list much higher values for slaves than for servants, presumably because their life term makes them even more valuable, even if they are sick or lame.¹⁰⁸

In 1664, the Maryland Assembly passed an act that firmly established the practice of perpetual chattel slavery. The act specified that all Africans living in the colony and those brought into the colony in the future *durante vita* (for the remainder of their lives). In addition the act addressed the question of children born of free English women and African men:

...be it further enacted that whatsoever free born woman shall intermarry with any slave from and after the last day of this present assembly shall serve the masters of such slave during the life of her husband and that all the issue of such freeborne woman shall be slaves as their fathers were...¹⁰⁹

The Act of 1664 differed from most slave legislation in other colonies, which legislated slave status through the mother. The Maryland Assembly clearly passed this law to end the practice of interracial marriage in the colony.

The earliest African Americans brought to Maryland probably did not live in family groups. During the seventeenth and eighteenth century Africans were usually separated from their kin. Male slaves found themselves without African or African American women, and never found mates. Hence, many African male slaves found themselves in households of African males.¹¹⁰

The few African women in the colony in the early period of slavery generally lived with any children that they had. Through the seventeenth century, the birthrate of African-Americans was much lower than the influx of newly "immigrated" Africans. Kulikoff has observed the following. "The first large generation of Afro-Americans in Maryland probably came of age in the 1690s; by the 1720s, when the second generation had matured, the black population finally began increasing naturally."¹¹¹

The masters of both indentured servants and slaves in the Providence settlement, while they were immigrants to Maryland, had come from Virginia. They had already accumulated some wealth on their plantations in Virginia, and had moved to the colonies for religious rather than economic reasons. Thus, the Providence settlers had the dual advantage of increased wealth and resistance to disease. English immigrants, like the indentured servants coming to Providence, had to weather the "seasoning" period, in which they developed immunity to a series of new diseases, including malaria. Most English immigrants arrived as young, single individuals and would require several years to serve their indentures, find a mate, if possible, and start a family. Their African counterparts, brought to the colonies against their will and forced to serve strangers for their entire lives, would fare even worse. Even if they were able to survive the initial shock of arriving in the hostile Chesapeake climate, they looked forward to no future other than servitude *durante vita*.¹¹²

Transportation

Transportation in the Chesapeake region during the seventeenth century was primarily by water. To the north of the region, neighboring Pennsylvania, much of the day-to-day work was done with horse or oxen drawn wagons. In the Chesapeake, planters performed daily tasks in their own boats, barges, canoes, or pinnaces launched from their own piers. Larger English ships called in the Chesapeake for the purpose of trans-Atlantic trade. During the seventeenth century, according to Middleton, most small craft were probably built locally. By the end of the century, ship building in the Chesapeake was flourishing. In 1698, Maryland sheriffs reported a total of "...thirteen ships, nine

vessels, six pinks, twelve brigantines, seventy sloops and fifty-one shallops owned or built in the province besides a great variety of small boats.”¹¹³

Building of larger vessels early in Maryland’s history was hampered by the lack of shipwrights and associated maritime craftsmen who would later populate port towns like Londontown, Annapolis, and Baltimore. Lulls in the tobacco economy drove planters to apprentice themselves to shipwrights, while skilled shipwrights began to move into the Chesapeake. By 1730, shipbuilding seems to have become established as a major Chesapeake industry.¹¹⁴

Regardless of the slow development of shipbuilding as a major industry in the seventeenth century, smaller vessels abounded in seventeenth century Maryland. In December 1650, Zephaniah Smith of Providence sold and delivered to Robert Simpkin, also of Providence, a newly trimmed and fitted shallop of 12 tons and a small boat belonging to her. A year and a half later, in June 1652, Richard Trew, a shipwright bound over to Edward Lloyd of Providence, built a sloop called Anne. A few months later, Trew petitioned the Provincial Court for aid in collecting a debt owed him on the construction of a sloop for Thomas Warr and Nathaniel Hunt. Warr and Hunt had left Maryland without paying Trew for the ship. The 1676 probate inventory of William Slade lists a boat worth 300 pounds of tobacco.¹¹⁵

Although water transportation dominated the seventeenth century, land travel was also necessary at times. Overland travelers used footpaths to walk or ride on horseback. William Slade’s 1676 probate inventory lists several mares and colts, as well as four young horses, valued at 7,200 pounds of tobacco and a parcel of horse gear valued at 150 pounds of tobacco. Slade also made specific bequeaths of horses, saddles, and other tack to his children and to Dr. Henry Lewis.¹¹⁶

Overland travel in the gently rolling tidewater country was probably not as difficult as travel in the western piedmont and mountains would be in the eighteenth century, though creeks, rivers and swamps often impeded tidewater travel. A system of ferries arose throughout the tidewater to remedy this problem. Within the boundaries of the Providence Multiple Property area there was a ferry over Mill Creek as early as 1663, which was then called Ferry Creek.¹¹⁷ Blay’s Path, also within the Multiple Property area, ran the course of present-day Pleasant Plains Road. The path linked all of the plantations on the lower Broad Neck Peninsula, completing the transportation network for the area.¹¹⁸

Notes

¹ Aubrey C. Land, Colonial Maryland : A History, (Millwood, New York, KTO press, 1981) , pp. 5-6. W. Keith Kavenagh, Foundations of Colonial America: A Documentary History. Volume II Part I: Middle Atlantic Colonies, (New York, Chelsea House, 1983), pp. 756-765. Maloney, John Eric, “Papists and Puritans in Early Maryland; Religion in the Forging of Provincial Society, 1632-1655.” Dissertation, SUNY Stonybrook, Stonybrook, NY (1996).

² J. Frederick Fausz “Merging and Emerging Worlds: Anglo-Indian Interest Groups and the Development of The Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake.” In Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B, Russo (eds). Colonial Chesapeake Society. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1988.), pp. 58-59. Kavenagh, pp. 755-756.

³ Henry M. Miller “Baroque Cities in the Wilderness: Archaeology and Urban Development in the Colonial Chesapeake.” Historical Archaeology (1988 22:2 Pp.57-73).

*

*

⁴ Fausz “Merging and Emerging Worlds”.

⁵ Michael Raymond Bradley “The Puritans of Virginia: Their Influence on the Religious Life of the Old Dominion” Dissertation, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee (1971). Pp. 115-116

⁶ Fausz, p. 76.

⁷ Ibid, Pp. 77-79, Land, pp. 45-47, Fausz pp. 76-78. Henry M. Miller. Discovering Maryland’s First City: A Summary Report on the 1981 – 1984 Archaeological Excavations in St. Mary’s City, Maryland. (St. Mary’s City, MD St. Mary’s City Commission 1984).

⁸ Maloney “Puritans and Papists” p. 78.

⁹ Fausz “Merging and Emerging Worlds,” Pp. 79-80.

¹⁰ Maurice Ashley, England in the Seventeenth Century, 3rd ed., (Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 73-90.

¹¹ Fausz, “Merging and Emerging Worlds,” pp. 47-98. Robert J. Brugger Maryland A Middle Temperament: 1634-1980 (Baltimore Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.) Daniel R. Randall, A Puritan Colony in Maryland, (Baltimore Johns Hopkins University Press, 1886.)

¹² Leonard Strong with William Durand. “Babylon’s Fall” reprinted in Clayton Coleman Hall (ed.) Narratives of Early Maryland. (Barnes & Noble, New York 1953 [1655].) Pp. 235-253. This text names seven captives taken by the Puritan forces, but does not mention the execution of any of their number. None of the executed captives are named. P. 244.

¹³ John Langford, “Refutation of Babylon’s Fall” reprinted in Clayton Coleman Hall (ed.) Narratives of Early Maryland. (Barnes & Noble, New York 1953 [1655].) Pp. 249-275. This narrative names lists the four executed captives, three of them by name. They are: Councilman William Eltonhead, Lieutenant William Lewis, Mr. Leggat, and a “German” that lived with Eltonhead. p. 266.

¹⁴ John Hammond, “Leah and Rachel, or, the Two Fruitful Sisters Virginia and Mary-Land” reprinted in Clayton Coleman Hall (ed.) Narratives of Early Maryland. (Barnes & Noble, New York 1953 [1655].) Pp. 279-308. Again, the executed men are listed in this narrative. They are: Eltonhead, Leggat (spelled “Legate”, Lewis, and John Pedro. p. 305.

¹⁵ Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox (eds.). Maryland: A History. (Annapolis, MD. Hall of Records Commission Department of General Services, 1983). p. 8.

¹⁶ Ashley, England in the Seventeenth Century pp. 91-107, Fausz “Merging and Emerging Worlds,” pp.84—85, Brugger, Maryland A Middle Temperament pp. 21-22

*

*

¹⁷ Carville Earle, The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650-1783. Research Paper no. 170 (The University of Chicago Department of Geography. Chicago 1975.) P. 8.

¹⁸ Land, Colonial Maryland, pp 79-84.

¹⁹ Ashley, England in the Seventeenth Century pp 167-171.

²⁰ Ibid. pp 173-176, 178.

²¹ Brugger, Maryland A Middle Temperament p. 39

²² Ashley, England in the Seventeenth Century pp. 195-212.

²³ Edward C. Papenfuse, Doing Good to Posterity: The Move of the Capital of Maryland from St. Mary's City to Anne Arundell Towne, Now Called Annapolis (Crownsville, MD, Maryland State Archives and Maryland Historical Trust 1995) 12-13.

²⁴ Fausz, "Merging and Emerging Worlds." pp. 63, 69.

²⁵ Lois Green Carr, Russel R. Menard and Lorena S. Walsh. Robert Cole's World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1991), pp. 34-35. Gary Wheeler Stone. "Manorial Maryland" Maryland Historical Magazine, 82 (1987) 18-19. Darret B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia 1650-1750, New York, W.W. Norton and Company 1984. P. 40.

²⁶ Luckenbach, Al and David Gadsby "Notes on Native American Axe Heads from Colonial Contexts in the 17th Anne Arundel County, MD." Maryland Archaeology. In press.

²⁷ Carr et al., Robert Cole's World p.36 The number of barrels per individual includes seed for the following year.

²⁸ The members of William Slade's Household in 1675 are extracted from this Will and Probate Inventory. The will lists his four children and three servants are listed in the probate inventory. Prerogative Court Records (PCR) Wills Liber 5 folios 45-48. PCR Inventories and Accounts Liber 2 Folios 271-274.

²⁹ Arthur Pearce Middleton, Tobacco Coast: A Maritime Story of the Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), p.110.

³⁰ Carr et al., Robert Cole's World, pp. 37 – 40.

³¹ William Thatman, "An Historical and Practical Essay on the Culture and Commerce of Tobacco. Reprinted in G. Melvin Herndon, William Thatman and the Culture of Tobacco, (Coral Gables, FL, 1969), P.13.

*

*

³² Carr et al., Robert Cole's World Pp. 55-75. Brugger, Maryland A Middle Temperament pp. 16-17, Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, p. 40-42; Stone "Manorial Maryland" P. 19, Tatham, pp. 109-113).

³³ PCR Inventories and Accounts. Liber 8, folio 115.

³⁴ Carr et al. Robert Cole's World p. 39.

³⁵ Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time p. 43

³⁶ Aubrey C. Land, "The Planters of Colonial Maryland" Maryland Historical Magazine, 69 (1972): 121. Henry M. Miller, "An Archaeological Perspective on Diet in the Colonial Chesapeake 1620-1745," in Lois Green Carr, et al. (eds.), Colonial Chesapeake Society. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1988), P. 187.

³⁷ PCR Inventories and Accounts Liber 2, folio 15; Artifact Catalog for Homewood's Lot (18AN871), on file at the Anne Arundel County Archaeology Laboratory; PCR Wills Liber 5 Folios 45-48. PCR Inventories and Accounts, Liber 2, folios 271-274.

³⁸ Carr et al., Robert Cole's World p. 38; Frances Gies and Joseph Gies. Life in a Medieval Village, (New York, Harper Collins Publishers, 1990), p. 145.

³⁹ Slade owned three tracts totaling 250 acres. Land Office Records (LOR) Liber 5 , folio 634 and LOR Liber 7, folio 276, LOR Liber 7, folio 223, ACLR Liber RD. no. 2, folio 236. LOR Liber 14, folio 375, Liber 16, Folio 360. Elizabeth Strong owned Maidstone, surveyed in 1659/60. LOR Liber 4 folio 280. Hawkins owned four tracts. LOR liber 8 folio 100-103, Liber AB&H, folio 260. Emmanuel Drue and his brother Hugh originally patented 300 acres on the West River, but later bought Broad Creek from William Fuller. After Hugh's death, Emmanuel divided the tract into Swan Cove and Leavy Neck. LOR Liber IH no. 3 folio 32.

⁴⁰ Middleton, Tobacco Coast pp. 116-123; Brugger, Maryland A Middle Temperament p.58.

⁴¹ Allan Kullikoff. Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), p. 31.

⁴² Gloria L. Main. "Maryland and the Chesapeake, 1670- 1720," in: Aubrey C. Land, Lois Green Carr, and Edward C. Papenfuse (editors). Law Society and Politics in Early Maryland , (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press.) p. 138.

⁴³ Middleton, Tobacco Coast p. 125.

⁴⁴ Browne, William Hand et al. Archives of Maryland Online. *Proceedings of the County Courts of Kent (1648-1676, Talbot (1662-1674) and Somerset (1665-1668)*. 54 pp. 221-222 www.mdarchives.state.md.us. Accessed Tuesday, September 23, 2003.

*

*

⁴⁵ Middleton, Tobacco Coast p. 125.

⁴⁶Fausz, “Merging and Emerging Worlds,” pp. 58-79, 87-91.

⁴⁷PCR Inventories and Accounts, Liber 2, folio 94. PCR testamentary papers Liber 3 folio 61.

⁴⁸ Al Luckenbach. Providence: The History and Archaeology of Anne Arundel County Maryland’s First European Settlement, (Crownsville, The Maryland State Archives and the Maryland Historical Trust 1995.)

⁴⁹ Archives Online. *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1637-1667*. 3:302-3.

⁵⁰ Artifact Catalog Homewoods Lot (18AN871), Artifact Catalog, Burle’s Town Land (18AN826). On File at the Anne Arundel County Archaeology Lab 2664 Riva Road Annapolis, MD 21401.

⁵¹Augustine Herrman. “Journal of the Dutch Embassy to Maryland by Augustine Herrman, 1659,” in: Clayton Coleman hall, Ed. Narratives of Early Maryland 1633-1684. (New York, Barnes and Noble, 1946.)

⁵²Edmund B. O’Callaghan. Documents Relative to the Colonial history of the State Of New York, Volume III. (Albany, Weed, Parsons and Co., 1853-1858), p.47

⁵³ Middleton, Tobacco Coast pp. 197-206.

⁵⁴Miller (1984), Luckenbach. Providence. 18-23

⁵⁵Christopher Hill, The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution. (Penguin Books New York, 1985).

⁵⁶ Kevin Butterfield, Puritans and Early Religious Strife in the Early Chesapeake. *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*. 109:1 pp. 5-36.; Paape, Karina From Nansemond to Providence: The Quest for Piety and Profit in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake. M.A. Thesis, University of Maryland Baltimore County.

⁵⁷ John Adair, Puritans: Religion and Politics in the Seventeenth Century. (1998) Sutton, Gloucestershire 18.

⁵⁸ Butterfield, Puritans and Early Religious Strife pp. 10-14.

⁵⁹Sargent Bush, Jr. (ed.) The Correspondence of John Cotton, (Chapel Hill University of North Carolina Press, 2001), pp.489-90.

⁶⁰ Paape, From Nansemond to Providence, pp. 26-30.

⁶¹ Here, Winthrop can be seen as acting in accord with the goals of London Puritan interests who wished to establish broad reach in the new world. This may also be seen as one of the motivations for establishing the

*

*

Nansemond colony, which, along with Lord Sele's Colony of Providence in the Carribean, helped to extend Puritanism beyond the boundaries of New England.

⁶² Paape, From Nansemond to Providence pp. 26-30.

⁶³ Smith, pp. 318-319; Land, Colonial Maryland, pp. 49-50.

⁶⁴ Archives Online . I:340-41, 345, 362

⁶⁵ Paape, From Nansemond to Providence p. 88.

⁶⁶ Robert Burle and Mary Burle "To Ministers of Jesus Christ in New England" (1649-52) reprinted in Sargent Bush Jr., (ed.) The Correspondence of John Cotton, (Chapel Hill University of North Carolina Press, 2001[17th-century]), pp.489-90.

⁶⁷ James P. Horn Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth Century Chesapeake.(University of North Carolina Press Chapel Hill 1994) pp. 396-8.

⁶⁸ Anne Hughes, Early Quakerism: a Historian's Afterword In The Emergence of Early Quaker Writing: Dissenting Literature in Seventeenth-Century England. Edited by Thomas N. Corns and David Lowenstein (Frank Cass, London 1995) pp. 143 - 148; Barry J. Levy, Notable Settlements of Radical Domesticity in Settlements in the Americas. Edited by Ralph Bennet (1993) 145-174. University of Delaware Press Newark.

⁶⁹ Maryland Archives Vol. 3:494. Higgins reported that Thomas Thurston, John Homewood and his Wife, Thomas Tuner, Thomas Meetes (Meeres), Maurice Baker, William Fuller's Wife, and Sarah Marsh were present at the meeting. Other known Quakers from Providence include Hugh and Emmanuel Drue, Elizabeth Strong, Ralph Hawkins, Sr. William Fuller, James Homewood, William Durand, Henry Woolchurch, Richard Ewen, Sarah Marsh, and Thomas Cole. Sources for this list include the following: Robert Barnes (compiler) Maryland Marriages, 1634-1777, (Baltimore, Geneological Publishing Co. 1975). Kenneth L. Carroll, "Maryland Quakers in the Seventeenth Century ," Maryland Historical Magazine, XLII (1952): 298-299. J. Reany Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County Maryland, (Baltimore, The Maryland Historical Society 1963). Henry C. Peden, Quaker Records of Southern Maryland: Births , Deaths, Marriages and Abstracts from the Minutes 1658-1800, (Westminster, MD, Family Line Publishers, 1987). Bill Reamy and Martha Reamy, St. Johns and St. George's Parish Registers, 1698-1793, (Silver Spring, MD, Family Line Publishers 1987), F. Edward Wright, Anne Arundel County Church Records of the 17th and 18th Centuries. (Westminster, MD Family Line Publishers, N.D.). Margaret W Sparrow, "The Sparrows of Sparrow Point," Maryland Historical Magazine, 85 (1990): 395-404.

⁷⁰ Brugger, Maryland A Middle Temperament P. 30; Graham P.264.

⁷¹ Brugger, Maryland A Middle Temperament p. 30; Graham p. 264; Maryland Archives, V:130-131.

*

*

⁷² Kenneth L. Carroll, "Quaker Opposition to the Establishment of a State Church in Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine, 65, (1970):149-170. Maryland A Middle Temperament, pp.52-56.

⁷³ Earle, The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System, p. 5.

⁷⁴ Luckenbach, Providence pp. 5-6.

⁷⁵ Ibid, pp. 5-6. Beverley W. Bond, "The Quit-Rent system in the American Colonies." The American Historical Review (1912) 17:3 496-516.

⁷⁶ Luckenbach, Providence, pp.5-6.

⁷⁷ Joyce Youings. Sixteenth Century England, (London, Pelican Books, 1984).

⁷⁸ Rutman and Rutman present a detailed analysis of the development of a community in Middlesex county, Virginia between 1650 and 1750. In "Community Networks..." Walsh considers a smaller neighborhood, St. Clement's Manor, in St. Mary's County Maryland in the 1640's and '50's. T.H. Breen's analysis of early 17th century Virginia plantations runs counter to this – he argues that settlers specifically avoided community, even when it would have been advantageous to them. Breen's analysis is not borne out by archaeological evidence from Providence, which suggests that homelots were clustered though not immediately adjacent to one another.

⁷⁹ Several modern sources, including Reed's 1992 discussion of the Providence Quakers and Recent B.A. Thesis by Cesnik state that William Neale was a Quaker, but Anthony Lindauer recently pointed out to me that no primary source exists that attests to Neale's Quakerism. The apparent confusion appears to stem from the fact that there were two William Neales, one at Leavy Neck in Providence and one in West River. J. Reany Kelly exacerbates the problem by stating that the Neale family was Quaker. He seems to be referring to the West River Neales. The only clue to William Neale's religious affiliation lies in a set of Westminster parish records from the early 18th Century, well after William's death. They show that Neale's son's widow was married in the Anglican Church and that her son, William Neale's Grandson was buried in the Anglican parish as well.

⁸⁰ Archives 3:494 (1664)

⁸¹ LOR liber 9, folio 113, 301, 337.

⁸² 1662 Anne Arundel County Court Records. Liber IH Page 32.

⁸³ PCR Testamentary papers, Liber 3, folio 309, PCR Wills, Liber 1, folio349-350.

⁸⁴ PCR Original Wills, Box H folio 65.

⁸⁵ Wright, Anne Arundel County Church Records.

⁸⁶ Al Luckenbach and C. Jane Cox, "Tobacco-Pipe Manufacturing in Early Maryland: The Swan Cove Site (ca. 1660-1669)." in Al Luckenbach, C. Jane Cox and John Kille (eds.). The Clay Tobacco Pipe in Anne Arundel County,. (Annapolis Anne Arundel County Trust for Preservation, 2002).

⁸⁷Lost Towns Providence Database. The earliest known reference to slavery in Providence is the 1671 probate of Samuel Withers. Withers probate lists "Clare, a Negro thirteen years old having sour legs - & much deceased (diseased) and sick." Clare is valued at 25.00 pounds tobacco, significantly higher than the able bodied indentured servants listed in the same probate. MSA Liber 5 pp. 352-57 (1671). A second 1670's probate is that of William Durand, the Nansemond/Providence Lay preacher, former secretary of the Puritan Council of Maryland and Quaker convert. It lists among Durand's chattel "...one old lame Negro woman..." whose worth is given as 25 pounds of tobacco. Durand was a member of the second lowest wealth group, but was a man of stature in the Providence community *Testamentary Proceedings* Liber 5, pp 463. (1673).

⁸⁸ Carey Carson, "The Virginia House in Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine, 69 (1974): 186. Dennis J. Pogue, "Spatial Analysis of the King's Reach Plantation Homelot Ca. 1690-1715," Historical Archaeology, 22 (1988): 40. Dennis J. Pogue "King's Reach and 17th-Century Plantation Life," Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum Studies in Archaeology No.1, (Annapolis, Maryland Historical and Cultural Publications, 1990) p.13.

⁸⁹ Jason D. Moser, Al Luckenbach, Donna Ware and Sherri Marsh. "Impermanent Architecture in a Less Permanent Town" Alison K. Hoagland and Kenneth A. Breisch (eds.), Constructing Image Identity and Place: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture: IX. Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, pp. 197-214 (2003)

⁹⁰*Inventories and Accounts* Liber 7C pp. 6-8 (1682), Liber 7B pp, 119-131 (1681).

⁹¹ Moser et al. "Impermanent Architecture" (2003).

⁹² *Deeds* Liber IB2 pp. 161-162.

⁹³ 1662 Anne Arundel County Court Records. Liber IH Page 32. Personal Communication Sherri Marsh, Anne Arundel County Office of Environmental and Cultural Resources 27 October 2003.

⁹⁴ Lorena S. Walsh, "Servitude and Opportunity in Charles County, Maryland 1685-1705." In Land, Aubrey C. et al. (eds.) Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977, p. 111. Lois Green Carr and Russell R. Menard, "Immigration and Opportunity: The Freedmen in Early Colonial Maryland", in Tate, Thad W. and David L. Ammerman (eds.), The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society, (New York, W.W. Norton & Company, 1979), P. 230. James Horn, "Servant Emigration to the Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century," in Tate and Ammerman (eds.), Russel R. Menard, "British Migration to the Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century," in Lois Green Carr et al. (eds.), Colonial Chesapeake Society. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press) 1988, pp 122-123.

*

*

⁹⁵ Horn, "Servant Emigration" p. 91.

⁹⁶ Walsh, "Servitude and Opportunity," p.113; Horn, "Servant Emigration" pp. 61, 65; Menard, p.129.

⁹⁷ Horn, "Servant Emigration" pp. 58-59.

⁹⁸ Walsh, "Servitude and Opportunity," p. 111-112; Horn, "Servant Emigration" pp. 62, 65; Menard, p.129; Carr and Menard, pp. 208-209.

⁹⁹ Walsh, "Servitude and Opportunity," p. 112; Horn, "Servant Emigration" pp. 62,65; Menard, p.108-109.

¹⁰⁰ Menard, pp 110-111.

¹⁰¹ Walsh, "Servitude and Opportunity," p. 117-118; Carr and Menard, pp. 227-228.

¹⁰² Paul A. Shackel "Town Plans and Everyday Material Culture: An Archaeology of Social Relations in Colonial Maryland's Capital Cities". In Paul A. Shackel and Barbara Little (ed). Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake. (Washington, Smithsonian University Press 1994), pp. 85-96. This thesis is similar to an argument made in Philip D. Morgan's Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1998), in which he argues that the Chesapeake Colonies transformed from societies with slaves to slave societies during this period.

¹⁰³ *Archives Online*, X:184-185.

¹⁰⁴ This inference is based on the amount that Thomas Jeffe, Jr., paid to his late father's servant in 1679. "Tobacco paid to Rosamon Harrison being due out of the estate for her freedom clothes and corn as by receipt of the said Rosamon...700 [pounds tobacco]" PCR Inventories and Accounts, Liber 6, Folio 416.

¹⁰⁵ Lost Towns Providence Database.

¹⁰⁶ Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves, pp 3-20.

¹⁰⁷ The probate inventory of Thomas Meeres (1674), contains an exception. It lists "John Longo, a Negro boy to serve 17 years" valued at 40 pounds tobacco. White servants in the same probate have terms listed between 14 months and eight years. Liber 1 pp. 67 (1674).

¹⁰⁸ *Inventories and Accounts*. Liber 5 pp. 352-57 (1671). *Testamentary Proceedings*. Liber 5, pp 463. (1673).

¹⁰⁹ *Archives Online*, I:533.

¹¹⁰ Allan Kulikoff, "Beginnings of the Afro-American Family in Maryland," in Aubrey C. Land, et al. Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland, (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), pp. 172-174

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 175.

¹¹² Carr and Menard, pp 208-209, Carr et al., p. 142. Lorena S. Walsh, “Till Death Do us Part: Marriage and Family in Seventeenth-Century Virginia” in Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman (eds.), The Chesapeake the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society, (New York, W.W. Norton & Company , 1979) p.127.

¹¹³ Middleton, Tobacco Coast p. 242.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 253-254.

¹¹⁵ PCR Original Wills, Box B, Folder 119; PCR Inventories and Accounts, Liber 2, folio 271-274.

¹¹⁶ PCR wills Liber 5, Folio 45-48.

¹¹⁷ LOR Liber 8, folio 103. The 1663/4 Swan Cove certificate of survey for Swan Cove gives Ferry Creek as one of its bounds. Later in 1662/3, the Certificate of Survey for Wolfs Neck also gives Ferry Creek as one of its bounds. LOR Liber7, Folio 223.

¹¹⁸ AACLR Liber IH no. 3, folio 32. This deed between William Fuller and Hugh Drew for the sale of Broad Creek to Drew in March 1660 gives Blay’s Path as one of the boundaries of the property. The road was still called Blay’s Path as late as 1737 when Robert Boon had Swan Cove and part of Broad Creek resurveyed as “Swan’s Cove Joined”. In the Certificate of Resurvey, Blay’s Path appears several times as a bound. LOR Liber EI #4, folio 528.

* * *

Section F: Associated Property Types

Name of Property Type: Home Lots

Property Type Description: The bulk of domestic life in seventeenth century Providence took place in the one or more acres surrounding the dwelling house and its service buildings. The earliest home lots included a dwelling structure, kitchen garden and orchard and their associated fences and ditches. Later ones may also have included a dairy, detached kitchens, quarters for laborers, and other outbuildings.

Seventeenth century dwelling houses in the Chesapeake were most often impermanent, post-in the ground buildings, although significant variations from this norm occur. Seventeenth century settlers sometimes constructed buildings with ground- or trench-laid wooden sill buildings, as well as buildings with laid sandstone or limestone foundations. In almost all cases, the buildings were framed with local timber. Only public buildings or those that belonged to the very wealthy were constructed of brick. Archaeological research is the only means for understanding the distribution and variability of impermanent structures.

Storage pits or cellars existed under or near many dwelling houses. These cellars often serve to catch artifacts deposited when the cellar or dwelling passes out of use, and are thus an important part of the archaeology of such sites. This is particularly true when the site has been used for agriculture. Plowing destroys or disturbs much of the natural stratigraphy of an area, leaving only deeper features. On a typical seventeenth century site, trash-filled cellars, post-holes and other deep depressions, such as borrow pits are the predominate sealed archaeological feature.

As the seventeenth-century progressed, some landowners began to accumulate wealth and construct more permanent structures, dividing the landscape into more specialized segments, which often included separate quarters for servants or slaves, as well as service buildings such as wash houses. The buildings began to include more intricate features, such as porch towers, and casement windows. In some cases, artisans used their home lots to ply their crafts, constructing kilns, tanning vats, mills, or other proto-industrial features.

Property Type Significance

Home Lot sites are significant under National Register Criterion D. The impermanent nature of dwelling houses and service buildings makes archaeological research one of the only venues for exploring the variability of architecture and material culture in Providence. Archaeological research has already established a valuable foundation of information from which to launch future explorations. This research has generated numerous questions about the material, mental and spiritual lives of Providence settlers and the potential for serious study remains.

Property Type Requirements

Home lot sites must contain archaeological deposits associated with domestic life in seventeenth-century Providence. While plow zone deposits meet this requirement, deep, intact features such as midden, cellars, or posthole/mold complexes, should exist in most cases on home lot sites.

* * *

Name of Property Type: Agricultural Outbuildings

Property Type Description:

Agricultural outbuildings include structures associated with farming or animal husbandry such as tobacco barns or chicken coops are often located outside of the home lot area. This may also include buildings such as milk houses or dairies, provided that they lie outside of the main locus of the home lot. Further, this may include the fences that are often found in association with agricultural activities.

Agricultural buildings were, like dwelling houses, impermanent buildings usually made fast by burying structural components in the ground. No extant agricultural outbuildings exist within the multiple property area. Thus, only subsurface archaeological features, particularly post hole/molds, are available for research.

Property Type Description

Agricultural outbuildings are significant under National Register criterion D. Because of their impermanent nature, only archaeological research can answer questions about the nature and distribution of these buildings. Scholarly understanding of seventeenth century agriculture is based heavily on information produced by historians, so systematic study of the material remains of agriculture, including agricultural building location and construction, has the potential to lend a new dimension to this type of scholarship.

Property Type Requirement

Agricultural outbuilding sites must contain deposits associated with farming or livestock-related activities that occurred at the site. These include post holes and post molds, as well as plowed deposits. It is unlikely that the archaeological remains of outbuildings will contain large concentrations of artifacts, and it is equally likely that plowing has occurred atop such sites. Thus, careful examination of soils recovered from plow zone deposits, along with careful consideration of the remaining buried features, are necessary to properly interpret such buildings.

* *

Name of Property Type: Quarters

Property Type Description

Quarters were living areas for laborers separate from the main dwelling house. Many of the inhabitants of such quarters, from the late 1660s on, were probably African or African-American slaves, but some indentured servants also inhabited quarters. Quarters occurred on larger, wealthier plantations at some distance from the dwelling house. A quarter could contain one or several barracks-style buildings, or might house single families.

Such buildings do not occur on early seventeenth century archaeological sites, but are linked with the rise of the institution of slavery in Providence and the Chesapeake in the third quarter of the century. Prior to this period, indentured servitude played a major role in providing labor for the tobacco plantations. However, with the introduction of large-scale slavery on large plantations, and the increased segmentation of the landscape, more laborers were needed on remote parts of the plantation. Increased segmentation of the plantation landscape in this period is related to a more general move toward an early modern worldview, and with the development of racism as a parallel institution to slavery.

No standing slave quarters dating to the seventeenth century exist within the boundaries of the Multiple Property area and few written descriptions of quarters dating to the seventeenth century exist. It is likely that such buildings were also built in a vernacular style, probably using earthfast construction techniques.

Property Type Significance

Quarter sites are significant under National Register Criterion D. Because of their impermanent nature, no extant examples of such buildings exist. Only archaeological research can inform a study of how such buildings were built, where they were placed, and how their occupants lived. While the scholarly study of slavery has increased since the early 1990s, few texts about slaves or slavery exist from the seventeenth century. Archaeological sites, then, are a primary source of information about a group of people who might otherwise remain “invisible.”

Aside from holding evidence about the daily lives of servants and slaves who inhabited them, quarters also attest to some of the fundamental changes that occurred in seventeenth century society. Early in the settlement of the Chesapeake, settlers generally shared their dwelling houses with their bound or hired laborers. However, toward the third quarter of the century, planters, particularly wealthy ones, began to move their laborers to separate buildings. This move is an indication of increased stratification in what many researchers have argued was a very traditional, but highly egalitarian society – it is one of the first transformations that made eighteenth century society possible. Just how this transformation occurred is a compelling topic for scholars of the past, and its reflection in the landscape is a valuable source of information for archaeologists.

Property Type Requirements

Quarter sites must contain deposits associated with the domestic activities of the laborers, mostly African slaves, who lived there. Because it is likely that plowing has disturbed such deposits, plow zone deposits meet this requirement. Subsurface deposits, such as intact midden strata, filled cellars, or posthole/molds should also be present on quarter sites.

* *

Name of Property Type: Religious Sites

Property Type Description

Religious sites include sites associated with religious ritual that are not within the boundaries of a home lot or other property type. Such sites include meeting houses and churches. While the earliest religious services in Providence probably took place in private homes, the Nansemond Puritans who settled in the 1640s were used to worshipping in churches, and likely moved to a meeting house on Greenbury Point after arriving. The approximate location of this site has been located through archaeological reconnaissance. Later religious groups in the area, primarily Anglicans and Quakers, likely built structures to house their religious activities. These buildings may also have served as centers for secular activities, such as “town meetings” or other gatherings.

Property Type Significance

Religious sites are significant under National Register Criterion D. Little is known about the architecture of any religious structures in Providence, and no extant examples of seventeenth century religious meeting places exist within the Multiple Property area. Archaeological research into such sites is the only way to gain knowledge about how they were constructed and distributed throughout the area. Additionally, these sites represent, and are likely to yield further information about, the important shift in religious ideology that occurred in Providence after 1656, with conversion of the Providence Puritans to Quakerism and Anglicanism.

Property Type Requirements

Religious sites must contain deposits associated with religious and secular activities that occurred there. Because these deposits are likely to be ephemeral and that plowing may have disturbed such deposits, plow zone deposits meet this requirement. Subsurface deposits, such as intact midden strata, filled cellars, or posthole/molds may also be present on religious sites.

* *

Name of Property Type: Cemetery and Mortuary Sites

Property Type Description

Cemetery or mortuary sites are the locations of more than one human burial associated with the settlers of Providence and not located within the boundaries of home lots or other property types. Providence settlers probably buried many of their dead in family plots adjacent to home lot sites. With the later erection of religious buildings, more deceased persons were probably interred in church yards or community burial grounds. Quaker cemeteries generally did not contain markers, and many Anglican graves were marked with wood or other perishable materials. Hence few formal seventeenth century graves are known to exist in Anne Arundel County, and all of those are located outside the boundaries of the Multiple Property area. Cemetery sites within the boundaries of the Providence Multiple Property area are unmarked. The exact number and types of these sites is unknown. An unusual exception is the case of Leavy Neck (18AN818), in which a highly informal human burial was recovered from a large pit feature, likely a cellar.

Property Type Significance

Cemetery and Mortuary sites are significant under National Register Criterion D. Because these early sites are unmarked within the Providence Multiple Property area, they can be located only through archaeological survey. These sites provide valuable information about attitudes and customs associated with the early modern mortuary tradition. Archaeological research on these sites can also provide valuable information concerning nutrition, injuries and pathologies of the seventeenth-century population of Anne Arundel County, MD.

Property Type Requirements

Cemetery or mortuary sites must contain more than one intact human burial dating to the second half of the seventeenth century, regardless of supposed descent or ethnic origin.

* *

Name of Property Type: Sites of Armed Conflict

Description of Property Type

Sites of armed conflict include sites where armed and organized military units undertook warfare. Such sites may overlap or encompass other property types. The seventeenth century in Maryland was a tumultuous time, and several armed conflicts took place throughout the course of the century. Most notable among such battles was the 1655 battle between the forces of the Providence settlers under the command of Captain William Fuller, and Lord Baltimore's forces, commanded by proprietary governor William Stone. The battle, a rout in favor of the smaller Puritan force, resulted in several casualties on the side of the Proprietary, as well as the capture of at least ten prisoners. Puritan commanders executed four of the prisoners.

Significance of Property Type

Sites of armed conflict are significant under National Register Criterion D. The location of the Battle of the Severn is not known, and information about its location would be of interest to military historians. In addition, while several first-hand accounts of the battle exist, they are highly partisan narratives that contradict one another. Archaeological research into such sites could resolve questions about the conduct of the Battle. The battle was the culmination of five years of overt religious and political conflict in the Maryland colony. It had significant impacts on the lives of Providence settlers, who, after the battle and the eventual restoration of Lord Baltimore's authority in Maryland, began to disassociate themselves from Puritanism, even stopping the use of the name Providence for their settlement. No accounts of other armed conflict exist for seventeenth century providence, but discovery of such sites would yield new historical information.

Property Type Requirements

Sites of armed conflict must contain deposits associated with the conduct or aftermath of the Battle of the Severn or other unknown battles. Such sites could include the field of battle, as well as provisioning stations, or sites for holding or executing prisoners. Deposits containing the remains of people killed during or after the battle should also qualify for this property type. Because most deposits related to military conflict in the seventeenth century are likely to leave a weak archaeological signature, and it is likely that such plowing may have disturbed such deposits, plow zone deposits meet this requirement.

* * *

Name of Property Type: Maritime sites

Property Type Description

Maritime sites are the locations of activities associated with transportation or trade over water. This includes submerged sites such as ship or boat wrecks, wharves, piers and docks as well as terrestrial sites such as shipbuilding and warehouse sites. Such sites were likely located adjacent to waterways, and may now be submerged themselves. Temporary camps for fishing, as well as hunting blinds, fall within this category.

Property Type Significance

Maritime sites are significant under National Register Criterion D. Because many of these sites are now submerged, a combination of maritime and terrestrial archaeology is necessary to research them. Such sites have the potential to yield information about international and local trade networks that the Providence settlers participated in, as well as information about the construction of seventeenth century maritime features.

Property Type Registration Requirements

Maritime sites must contain submerged or subterranean deposits associated with maritime trade or transportation, or construction activities. Submerged or subsurface deposits in the form of intact strata or archaeological features should be present. These features can include submerged timbers for piers, wharves or docks; timbers or artifacts associated with a sunken vessel; or posthole/molds or foundations associated with service buildings or warehouses.

*

*

Verbal Boundary Description

The Providence Multiple Property Area lies within the following boundaries. The northernmost border of the MPS begins at U.S. Route 50, at the base of the Severn River Bridge, following U.S. Route 50 to its intersection with St. Margaret’s Road (MD Route 179) and continuing east to the western terminus of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge. The eastern boundary follows the shore along the Chesapeake Bay south from the Chesapeake Bay Bridge to Hackett’s Point and includes the waters of Goose Pond. The southern boundary follows a line drawn west from the tip of Hackett’s Point to the tip of Greenbury Point. This includes the waters of Whitehall Bay. From Greenbury Point, the boundary turns Northwest, following the eastern shoreline of the Severn River to Maryland Route 50 at its crossing of the Severn River. Included within the boundaries of the Providence Multiple Property Area are the U.S. Naval Ship Research and Development Center, the community historically known as St. Margarets, and Whitehall Manor (a National Landmark Property). Waterways within this area include Carr Creek, Mill Creek, Martins Cove, Burley Creek, Whitehall Creek, Tanyard Cove, Ridout Creek, Meredith Creek, Goose Pond, Moss Pond, Westinghouse Bay, Brewers Pond, Winchester Pond, and Whitehall Bay. This area is commonly known as the lower Broad Neck Peninsula.

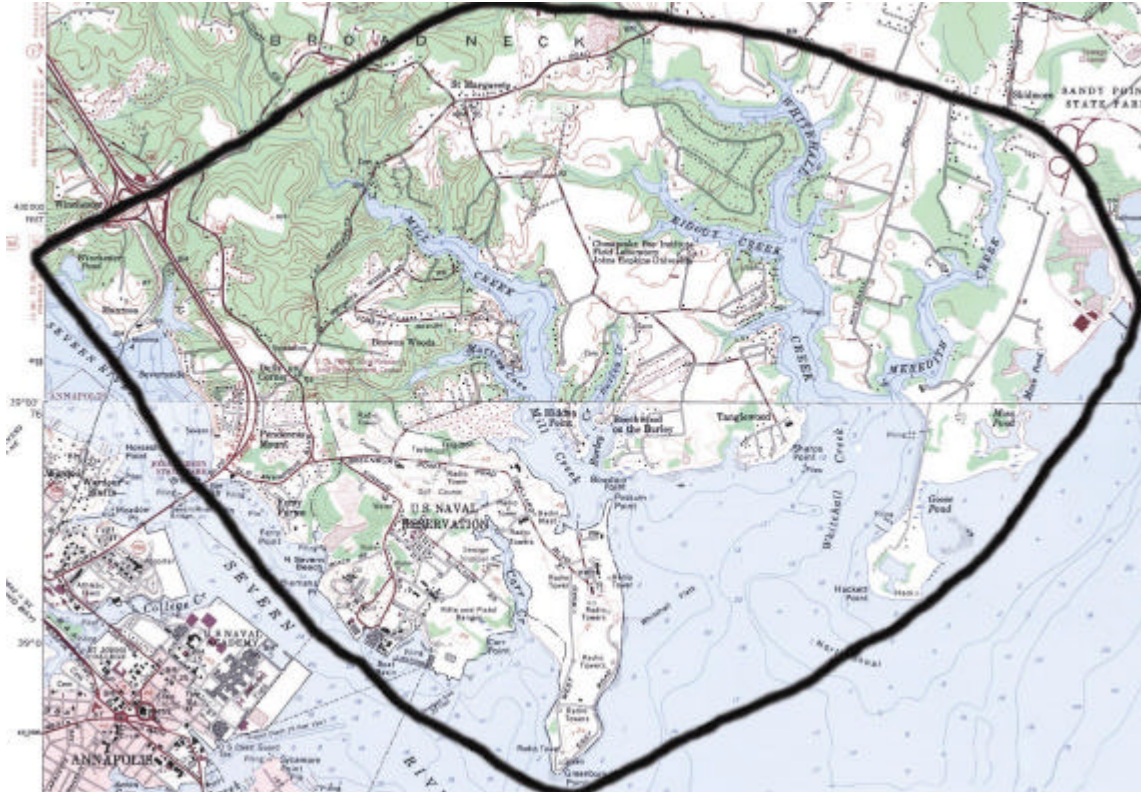
Boundary Justification

The area within the verbal boundary description is historically known as the main locus of the original Providence settlement. Early descriptions of the area by nineteenth-century historian such as Riley and Randall suggest that the “town” was located only on Greenbury Point. Recent historical and archaeological evidence contradict this, however, indicating that the settlement spread from Greenbury Point to other areas of the Broad Neck Peninsula and even to the south side of the Severn River, within the boundaries of present-day Annapolis. Annapolis is not included in the Multiple Property Area because it is a historic district in its own right, and because three centuries of intensive occupation in that municipality have likely destroyed any remains of the earliest occupation. The waterways to the east and south of the area serve as natural boundaries for the area, while some roadways probably date to the seventeenth century and serve as historical boundaries. Baltimore and Annapolis Boulevard winds its way over Pendennis Mount, which was the plantation of Edward Lloyd, the first commander of Providence. U.S. Route 50, a modern superhighway, represents a modern physical boundary.

*

*

Boundary of Providence, MD as shown on a composite of segments of the Annapolis and Gibson Island USGS 7.5 minute maps.



*

*

Section H: Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

The Multiple Property Submission of archaeological sites within the Puritan Settlement area of Anne Arundel County, MD is based on archaeological and archival work carried out over nearly a decade by Anne Arundel County’s Lost Towns Project. The Project Director, county archaeologist Al Luckenbach, and with County Architectural Historians Donna Ware, along with David Gadsby, Anthony Lindauer, Sherri Marsh , Jason Moser, Lisa Plumley, Esther Doyle Read, and Shawn Sharpe and C. Jane Cox have performed archaeological and historical research on Providence sites. Esther Read prepared an early draft of this MPS. Gadsby used the initial draft as a platform from which to reshape, rewrite and update the MPS. The work was conducted as part of an FY2004 non-capital grant from the Maryland Historical Trust, a division of the Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development, entitled “The Search For Providence”. Gadsby performed the work in as part of an internship for graduate credit from the University of Maryland under the advisement of professor Mark Leone. Sharpe, Plumley, Moser, Cox, and Gadsby are archaeologists who, working under the auspices of Luckenbach and Anne Arundel County, conducted archaeological explorations at Providence sites. Lindauer is a historian, who has studied Providence for over ten years, and Marsh is an architectural historian who consults with the Lost Towns Project on various projects, including Providence research.

Between 1993 and 2003, archaeologists have identified seven sites on the lower Broad Neck Peninsula with the seventeenth century occupation of the Providence Settlement. Historical researchers have successfully identified six of these property owners and reconstructed the plats for their initial land grants. All have been archaeologically tested, or have undergone systematic excavation. All retain their integrity in the form of remaining seventeenth century features and plow zone deposits.

The historic context for this Multiple Property Submission was developed through the use of primary sources, principally those land and probate records stored at the Maryland State Archives, as well as records reprinted in the journal *Archives of Maryland*, or accessed in the online version of that journal. Secondary sources include those by Carr and Walsh, Luckenbach, Rutman and Rutman, Kulikoff, Shackel, Maloney and others. Archaeological data was drawn from the collections and museum archive stored at the Anne Arundel County archaeology lab, as well as from collections at Historic St. Mary’s City (as reported by Miller). The geographic area was defined based on historic research and archaeological research in the lower portion of the Broadneck Peninsula. These explorations have expanded the known area of the settlement from Greenbury Point to much of the Peninsula and to the south side of the Severn River.

Significant property types were created based on functional uses reflected in historical documentation. Documents such as probate inventories, land surveys and narratives list the various components of the seventeenth century landscape and were used to determine those categories.

*

*

Section H: Major Bibliographic References

Primary Sources

Anne Arundel County Office of Environmental and Cultural Resources, Office of the County Archaeologist. 2664 Riva Road Annapolis, MD 21211.

Archaeological Site Records: Provenience Cards, Site Maps, and Artifact Catalogs

- 18AN818 Broad Neck Site
- 18AN826 Burle's Town Land
- 18AN825 Tanyard
- 18AN871 Homewood's Lot
- 18AN934 Swan Cove

Lost Towns Project Providence Document Database

Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis

Anne Arundel County Land Records (AACLR)

- Liber IB no. 2
- Liber IH no. 3
- Liber RD no. 2
- Liber WT no. 2

Anne Arundel County Court Documents (AACCD)

- Liber TB no. 1

Land Office Records (LOR)

- Liber AB &H
- Liber EI no. 4
- Liber EI no. 5
- Liber 4
- Liber 5
- Liber 8
- Liber 9
- Liber 14
- Liber 16

Prerogative Court Records (PCR)

Inventories and Accounts

- Liber 2
- Liber 4
- Liber 6
- Liber 24

Testamentary Proceedings

- Liber 3
- Liber 5
- Liber 9
- Liber 10
- Liber 12A
- Liber 18

Wills

- Liber 1
- Liber 2

USDI/NPS NRHP Multiple Property Documentation Form

Providence, MD: Puritan/Quaker Settlement Near The Severn River. (Page # 42)

*

*

Liber 5
Liber 9
Liber 10
Liber 11
Liber 12
Liber 13

Maryland Historical Trust, Crownsville, MD.

Maryland Archaeological Site Survey: Basic Site Data Forms

18AN818 Broad Neck Site
18AN826 Burle's Town Land
18AN825 Tanyard
18AN871 Homewood's Lot
18AN934 Swan Cove

Published Transcripts of Primary Sources

William Hand Browne et al. (eds.) Archives of Maryland. Baltimore, 1883. Volumes I, V, X.

William Hand Browne et al. (eds.) Archives of Maryland Online. Baltimore, 1883. www.mdarchives.state.md.us. Accessed Tuesday, September 23, 2003.

Robert Burle and Mary Burle "To Ministers of Jesus Christ in New England" (1649-52) reprinted in Sargent Bush Jr., (ed.) The Correspondence of John Cotton, (Chapel Hill University of North Carolina Press, 2001[seventeenth-century]), pp.489-90.

John Hammond, "Leah and Rachel, or, the Two Fruitful Sisters Virginia and Mary-Land" reprinted in Clayton Coleman Hall (ed.) Narratives of Early Maryland. (Barnes & Noble, New York 1953 [1655].) Pp. 279-308.

Augustine Herrman. "Journal of the Dutch Embassy to Maryland by Augustine Herrman, 1659," in: Clayton Coleman hall, Ed. Narratives of Early Maryland 1633-1684. (New York, Barnes and Noble, 1946.)

John Langford, "Refutation of Babylon's Fall" reprinted in Clayton Coleman Hall (ed.) Narratives of Early Maryland. (Barnes & Noble, New York 1953 [1655].) Pp. 249-275.

Leonard Strong with William Durand. "Babylon's Fall" reprinted in Clayton Coleman Hall (ed.) Narratives of Early Maryland. (Barnes & Noble, New York 1953 [1655].) Pp. 235-253.

Secondary Sources

John Adair, Puritans: Religion and Politics in the Seventeenth Century. (1998) Sutton, Gloucestershire 18.

Michael Raymond Bradley, "The Puritans of Virginia: Their Influence on the Religious Life of the Old Dominion" Dissertation, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee (1971).

Robert J. Brugger, Maryland A Middle Temperament: 1634-1980 (Baltimore Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.)

Beverly W. Bond, "The Quit-Rent system in the American Colonies." The American Historical Review (1912) 17:3 496-516.

USDI/NPS NRHP Multiple Property Documentation Form

Providence, MD: Puritan/Quaker Settlement Near The Severn River. (Page # 43)

*

*

Sargent Bush, Jr. (ed.), The Correspondence of John Cotton, (Chapel Hill University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

Kevin Butterfield, Puritans and Early Religious Strife in the Early Chesapeake. *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*. 109:1 pp. 5-36.

¹Lois Green Carr, Russel R. Menard and Lorena S. Walsh, Robert Cole's World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

Lois Green Carr and Russell R. Menard, "Immigration and Opportunity: The Freedmen in Early Colonial Maryland", in Tate, Thad W. and David L. Ammerman (eds.), The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society, (New York, W.W. Norton & Company, 1979), P

Kenneth L. Carroll, "Quaker Opposition to the Establishment of a State Church in Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine, 65, (1970).

Carey Carson, "The Virginia House in Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine, 69 (1974): PGS.

Carville Earle, The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650-1783. Research Paper no. 170 (The University of Chicago Department of Geography. Chicago 1975.)

J. Frederick Fausz, "Merging and Emerging Worlds: Anglo-Indian Interest Groups and the Development of The Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake." In Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo (eds). Colonial Chesapeake Society. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1988.), pp. 58-59.

Frances Gies and Joseph Gies. Life in a Medieval Village, (New York, Harper Collins Publishers, 1990), p. 145.

Anne Hughes, "Early Quakerism: a Historian's Afterword," In The Emergence of Early Quaker Writing: Dissenting Literature in Seventeenth-Century England. Edited by Thomas N. Corns and David Lowenstein (Frank Cass, London 1995)

James P. Horn, "Servant Emigration to the Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century," in Thad W Tate and David L. Ammerman (eds.), The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society, (New York, W.W. Norton & Company, 1979).

James P. Horn, Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth Century Chesapeake.(University of North Carolina Press Chapel Hill 1994.)

W. Keith Kavenagh, Foundations of Colonial America: A Documentary History. Volume II Part I: Middle Atlantic Colonies, (New York, Chelsea House, 1983)

J. Reany Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County Maryland, (Baltimore, The Maryland Historical Society 1963).

Allan Kulikoff, "Beginnings of the Afro-American Family in Maryland," in Aubrey C. Land, et al. Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland, (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), pp. 172-174

Allan Kullikoff. Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.)

Aubrey C. Land, Colonial Maryland : A History, (Millwood, New York, KTO press, 1981).

Aubrey C. Land, "The Planters of Colonial Maryland" Maryland Historical Magazine, 69 (1972)

USDI/NPS NRHP Multiple Property Documentation Form

Providence, MD: Puritan/Quaker Settlement Near The Severn River. (Page # 44)

*

*

Barry J. Levy, Notable Settlements of Radical Domesticity in *Settlements in the Americas*. Edited by Ralph Bennet (1993) 145-174. University of Delaware Press Newark.

Al Luckenbach, Providence: The History and Archaeology of Anne Arundel County Maryland's First European Settlement, (Crownsville, The Maryland State Archives and the Maryland Historical Trust 1995.)

Al Luckenbach and C. Jane Cox, "Tobacco-Pipe Manufacturing in Early Maryland: The Swan Cove Site (ca. 1660-1669)." in Al Luckenbach, C. Jane Cox and John Kille (eds.). The Clay Tobacco Pipe in Anne Arundel County, (Annapolis Anne Arundel County Trust for Preservation, 2002).

Al Luckenbach and David Gadsby "Notes on Native American Axe Heads from Colonial Contexts in the 17th Anne Arundel County, MD." *Maryland Archaeology*, in prep (2004).

Gloria L. Main. "Maryland and the Chesapeake, 1670- 1720," in: Aubrey C. Land, Lois Green Carr, and Edward C. Papenfuse (editors). Law Society and Politics in Early Maryland , (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press.)

Russel R. Menard, "British Migration to the Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century," in Lois Green Carr et al. (eds.) Colonial Chesapeake Society. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press 1988.)

John Eric Maloney, "Papists and Puritans in Early Maryland; Religion in the Forging of Provincial Society, 1632-1655." Dissertation, SUNY Stonybrook, Stonybrook, NY (1996).

Arthur Pearce Middleton, Tobacco Coast: A Maritime Story of the Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).

Henry M. Miller, Discovering Maryland's First City: A Summary Report on the 1981 – 1984 Archaeological Excavations in St. Mary's City, Maryland. (St. Mary's City, MD St. Mary's City Commission 1984).

Henry M. Miller "Baroque Cities in the Wilderness: Archaeology and Urban Development in the Colonial Chesapeake." Historical Archaeology (1988 22:2 Pp.57-73).

Henry M. Miller, "An Archaeological Perspective on Diet in the Colonial Chesapeake 1620-1745," in Lois Green Carr, et al. (eds.), Colonial Chesapeake Society. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1988.)

Philip D. Morgan's Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1998)

Jason Moser, Al Luckenbach, Donna Ware and Sherri Marsh, "Impermanent Architecture in a Less Permanent Town" Alison K. Hoagland and Kenneth A. Breisch (eds.), Constructing Image Identity and Place: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture: IX. Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, pp. 197-214 (2003)

Edmund B. O'Callaghan. Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State Of New York, Volume III. (Albany, Weed, Parsons and Co., 1853-1858.)

Dennis J. Pogue, "Spatial Analysis of the King's Reach Plantation Homelot Ca. 1690-1715," Historical Archaeology, 22 (1988).

Dennis J. Pogue "King's Reach and Seventeenth-Century Plantation Life," Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum Studies in Archaeology No.1, (Annapolis, Maryland Historical and Cultural Publications, 1990) p.13.

Karina Paape, From Nansemond to Providence: The Quest for Piety and Profit in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake. M.A. Thesis, University of Maryland Baltimore County.

USDI/NPS NRHP Multiple Property Documentation Form

Providence, MD: Puritan/Quaker Settlement Near The Severn River. (Page # 45)

*

*

Papenfuse, Edward C. Doing Good to Posterity: The Move of the Capital of Maryland from St. Mary's City to Anne Arundell Towne, Now Called Annapolis (Crownsville, MD, Maryland State Archives and Maryland Historical Trust 1995).

Henry C. Peden, Quaker Records of Southern Maryland: Births, Deaths, Marriages and Abstracts from the Minutes 1658-1800, (Westminster, MD, Family Line Publishers, 1987).

Daniel R. Randall, A Puritan Colony in Maryland, (Baltimore Johns Hopkins University Press, 1886.)

Bill Reamy and Martha Reamy, St. Johns and St. George's Parish Registers, 1698-1793, (Silver Spring, MD, Family Line Publishers 1987)

Darret B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia 1650-1750, (New York, W.W. Norton and Company 1984. P. 40.

Paul A. Shackel "Town Plans and Everyday Material Culture: An Archaeology of Social Relations in Colonial Maryland's Capital Cities". In Paul A. Shackel and Barbara Little (ed). Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake. (Washington, Smithsonian University Press 1994), pp. 85-96.

William Thatman, "An Historical and Practical Essay on the Culture and Commerce of Tobacco. Reprinted in G. Melvin Herndon, William Thatman and the Culture of Tobacco, (Coral Gables, FL, 1969).

Gary Wheeler Stone, "Manorial Maryland" Maryland Historical Magazine, 82 (1987) 18-19.

Lorena S. Walsh, "Servitude and Opportunity in Charles County, Maryland 1685-1705." In Land, Aubrey C. et al. (eds.) Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977, p. 111.

Lorena S. Walsh, "'Till Death Do us Part: Marriage and Family in Seventeenth-Century Virginia" in Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman (eds.), The Chesapeake the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society, (New York, W.W. Norton & Company, 1979)

Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox (eds.), Maryland: A History. (Annapolis, MD. Hall of Records Commission Department of General Services, 1983).

F. Edward Wright, Anne Arundel County Church Records of the seventeenth and eighteenth Centuries. (Westminster, MD Family Line Publishers, N.D.)

Joyce Youings. Sixteenth Century England, (London, Pelican Books, 1984).

=====
Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 120 hours per response including the time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.