

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

Trade in Colonial Anne Arundel County: The Tobacco Port of London Town

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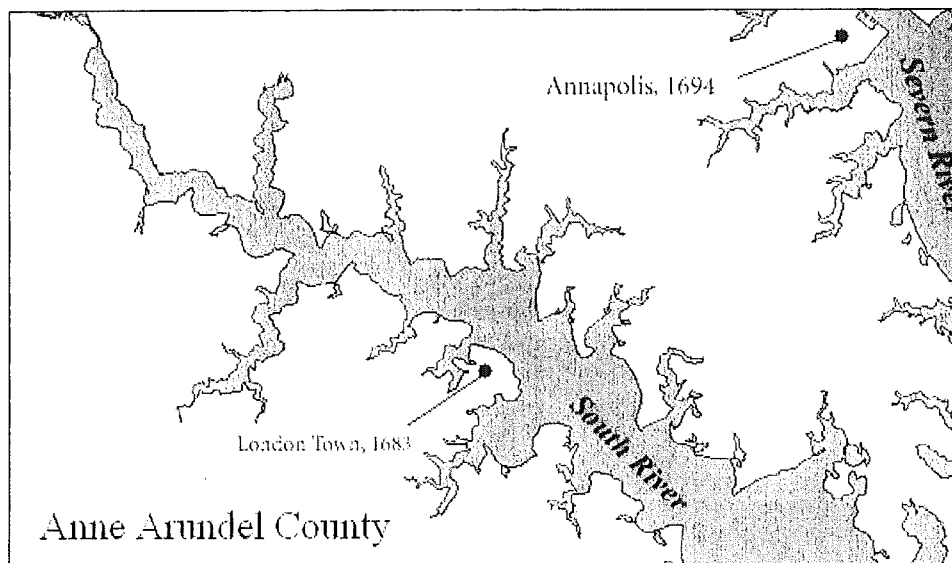
Port records are useful tools for studying the regional economy in colonial Maryland. Their pages preserve the comings and goings of vessels and describe the types of cargo they carried. They provide accounts of local crops, trade partners, and areas of shipping activity. This study used mid-eighteenth century Port of Annapolis, Naval Officer Records to investigate trade patterns in Anne Arundel County, Maryland.¹

In 1683, as part of a plan to advance the tobacco trade, the Maryland General Assembly established towns in which officials would promote, organize, and regulate tobacco—the colony's most lucrative cash crop. County representatives proposed locations for more than thirty towns throughout Maryland. Anne Arundel County developed three, including London Town.

The South River, nearly seven miles in length, was London Town's reason for existence. Ships that weighed up to 160 tons could navigate two-and-a-half miles up the tributary from the Chesapeake Bay.² The port juts out into South River on a mushroom-shaped peninsula with navigable creeks on either side, and it became the natural choice for ships taking on tobacco from the area south of Annapolis. In addition to operating as a ferry crossing, London Town functioned as the only town with services such as an ordinary and stores for those who lived in the southern part of the county from the 1690s through 1740.

Ships loaded cargo on one of the county's six major rivers—from north to south, the Patapsco, Magothy, Severn, South, West, and Patuxent. Ships usually remained in one river until the vessel was full of tobacco or other cargo and ready to sail for Britain. Planters moved their tobacco to the nearest lading area via a

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rolling road (a path designed to handle hogsheads of tobacco that were rolled to the desired location) or in small boats. In London Town factors and local merchants kept warehouses in which they stored hogsheads of tobacco until sale and transport to England and beyond.³ Maryland law required ship captains to set a price for transporting tobacco and to post that information on the “County Court House door, at what rate they will receive tobacco upon freight per ton.”⁴ In the case of London Town, ships anchored in the South River and their captains then publicized their rates (in pounds sterling per ton of tobacco) by posting a notice on the door of the courthouse in Annapolis as well as in the pages of the *Maryland Gazette*. Those loading in the South River area had to “clear” with the Naval Officer in Annapolis. As an employee of the Crown, this customs officer was responsible for recording the particulars of each ship: its size, country of origin, owner, captain, and the amount and value of all cargo aboard.⁵

From 1705 to 1762 hundreds of tobacco ships made more than 585 voyages to Anne Arundel County.⁶ Thirty-eight percent of them (231) came to South River and London Town. The Severn River received 20 percent and the West River 13 percent of the county’s tobacco shipping. The volume of shipping for London Town shows the commercial vitality of the small settlement. Figures 2 and 3 show that the South River attracted more ships than any other Maryland port. Furthermore, from the high volume of ship traffic it is clear that London Town and Annapolis formed a belt of economic activity and services in Anne Arundel County.

The economic expansion of areas similar to London Town created new markets and affected town growth tremendously. New settlements encouraged the growth of surrounding areas through increased trade, enlarging the markets for

established towns and local planters. This activity created and sustained an evolving interchange between England and its Chesapeake colony.

Tobacco production preoccupied most Marylanders, who depended on the crop as a medium of exchange, one of few by which they could buy both necessities and luxuries. British manufacturers experienced a rising demand for household goods, clothing, and farm implements as the colony grew. The rate of population growth in the eighteenth-century North American colonies during this period was exceedingly rapid, doubling almost every twenty-five years.⁷ This growth dramatically increased the demand for imports during the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century.⁸

Participating in this wider trend, London Town and the colony generally experienced steady growth from roughly 1700 to 1748. One way to track this growth in trade is through the number of ships visiting the South River.⁹ London Town's longest (and only) period of sustained growth occurred during the period between the end of Queen Anne's War in 1713 and the beginning of the War of Austrian Succession in 1740. The colonies saw a peak in imports in 1749 and experienced moderate increases in trade growth until 1755, the beginning of the Seven Years' War.

Although Britain had a monopoly on the tobacco trade, very little of the "sot weed" was consumed in the kingdom; the majority of Maryland's Orinocco tobacco was re-exported to France and Holland. British wars with France sharply curtailed that trade, sharply depressing the Chesapeake economy. During the twenty-eight-year period between wars, 150 ships took on tobacco in the South River. This constitutes 68 percent of shipping for the period as a whole from 1705 to 1762, the period for which these records are available. The average was more than five ships per year with the highest number, eleven, visiting London Town in 1730. In the twenty-two years following 1740, only two or three ships visited London Town annually. During the Seven Years' War (from 1756 to 1763), only one or two ships visited the South River per year. Additionally, restrictions on trade as a result of taxation by the British Parliament negatively affected maritime commerce in the American colonies. The volume of imports rose again, peaked in 1760, and then fell slightly until 1765. Growth resumed in 1768 but did not reach the levels of 1760. In 1769, imports decreased dramatically after colonists reacted to Parliament's postwar tax plans to pay for the Seven Years' War by organizing nonimportation associations through which they boycotted British goods. Imports remained depressed until the repeal of some taxes led to the reversal of the nonimportation agreements in 1771, at which time imports reached their highest level for the colonial period. The period from 1771 to 1775 saw another small decline, then trade nearly stopped in 1775 when the nonimportation agreements were enacted again. This cycle of economic contraction and growth is reflected in the number of ships visiting London Town each year.¹⁰

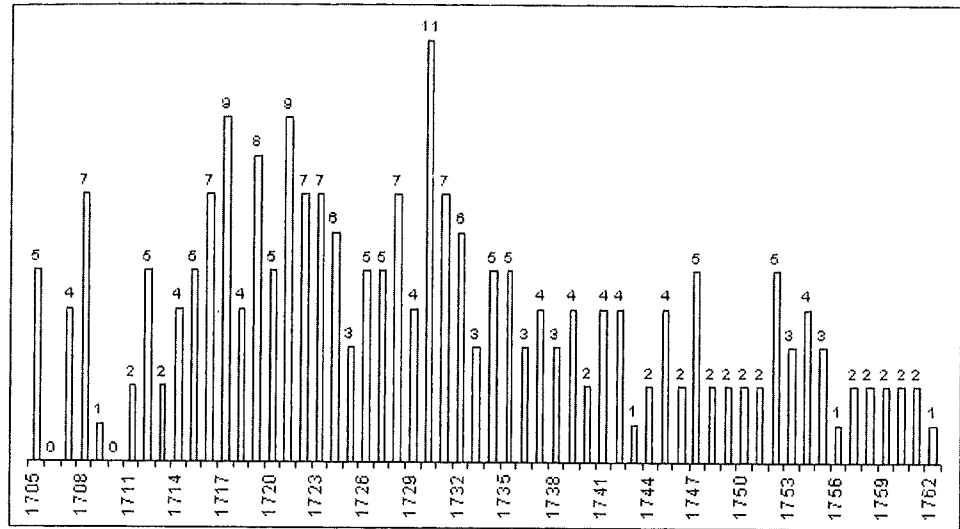


Fig. 1: Number of Ships Awaiting Freight in the South River, 1705–62. Data from Provincial Court, Land Records Office. Compiled by Jacob M. Hemphill in "Tobacco Freight Rates on the Maryland Tobacco Trade, 1705–1762," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 55 (1959): 36–58.

As did many of the ports throughout the colony, London Town faced a steep decline in trade and growth by the end of the American Revolution. Other factors drew trade from the South River region as well, including Baltimore's wartime prosperity. Earlier in the eighteenth century, during the period in which London Town experienced its greatest growth, Baltimore was a small town, a sleepy confluence of fallways and streams that powered the local grain mills. By 1752, the little village on the Patapsco counted only twenty-five houses.¹¹ Fewer than eight hundred tithables or taxable laborers, usually heads of households, lived in the county, and the total population stood at about three thousand.¹² Yet the town's deep natural harbor and proximity to Pennsylvania farmers provided fuel for sustained growth without tobacco.¹³ When war and price inflation brought the tobacco market to the verge of collapse, Baltimore merchants continued to ship milled wheat and corn and began to absorb all other shipping, reducing the need for small tobacco port towns such as London Town.

Port of Annapolis Records

Much of the historical discussion of trade in colonial Maryland has concentrated on the exportation of tobacco to England. Although tobacco was the primary commodity, foodstuffs such as corn and wheat, as well as natural resources such as wood, iron, and animal hides appear prominently on ship manifests. Any study of the economy of London Town and Anne Arundel County is not complete without an analysis of the shipping records from the Port of Annapolis. These lists

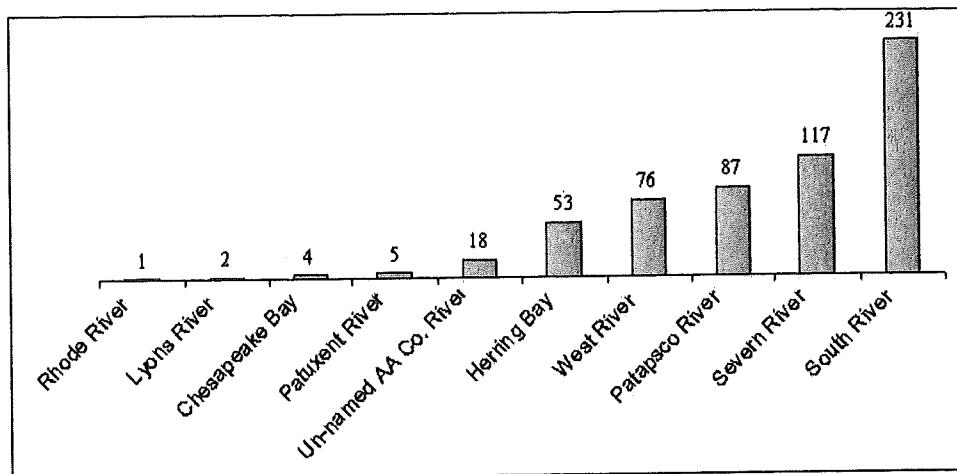


Fig. 2: Number of Voyages to Each Anne Arundel County River from 1705 to 1762. Data from Provincial Court, Land Records Office, 1705–62. Compiled by Jacob M. Hemphill in "Tobacco Freight Rates on the Maryland Tobacco Trade, 1705–1762," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 55 (1959): 36–58.

show what came into the county and what was exported from the area. The records are scattered—some are in Maryland, others in England—and many years of reports are missing. Many records were lost or destroyed during the hectic days of the Revolution, while others were consumed in a fire that swept through the Plantation Wing of the London Customs House in 1814. Moreover, accidental destruction is not the only culprit for the dearth of customs data. Although the system of recording shipping activity was established in 1676, it went through many revisions. Records may well be lacking for the period 1696 until 1710 because the system of record-keeping was revised.¹⁴

Detailed data on trade from Anne Arundel County can therefore only be retrieved from the Port of Annapolis records. This study encompasses 511 voyages to or from Annapolis during the years from 1754 to 1761. It covers ships entering and clearing the Port of Annapolis, although not all administrative quarter records were preserved. The naval officer assembled the reports each quarter and sent them on to London to the Board of Plantations and, eventually, to the Treasury. The data transcribed for this study were entered into a database in order to analyze the types of cargo coming and going at the Port of Annapolis. Of the 511 voyages, 146 cleared the port and 365 entered it. Two hundred and twenty different vessels, captained by 285 masters, made these trips to or from Annapolis. Many voyages were repeat trips (for the vessels and captains) to the capital.¹⁵

Numerous studies of trade in the Chesapeake restrict themselves to tobacco as the only commodity. This study uses the data from the Naval Officer reports to see what other types of goods were circulating in Anne Arundel County during the

Table 1: Anne Arundel County Produce Exported from 1754 to 1757

Tobacco		Wheat	
Other Destinations	10%	American Colonies	40%
England & Scotland	90%	<i>New York</i>	21%
<i>London</i>	54%	<i>Massachusetts</i>	12%
<i>Bristol</i>	20%	<i>Pennsylvania</i>	5%
<i>Biddeford</i>	11%	<i>Rhode Island</i>	2%
<i>Southampton</i>	3%	Other Destinations	60%
<i>Liverpool</i>	3%	<i>Portugal</i>	24%
<i>Leith</i>	3%	<i>England</i>	18%
<i>Falmouth</i>	3%	<i>Ireland</i>	16%
<i>Aberdeen</i>	3%	<i>Caribbean</i>	2%
Staves and Heading		Flaxseed	
England	48%	Ireland	80%
Caribbean	27%	Scotland	14%
Ireland	12%	England	4%
American Colonies	5%	Pennsylvania	2%
Portugal	4%		
Scotland	4%		

Information from the Port of Annapolis, Naval Officer Records collected from the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland, and the Public Record Office, Kew, London, England. See the following collections: Maryland State Archives, Port of Entry Collection, 1745–1775; Special Collections: SC2910 (M1002-A Microfilm) and Public Record Office, Treasury Papers, 1557–1920: Items T1/359/2, 3, 4; 76999; T1/355/58, 59, 60; 76999; T1/374/50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59; 76999.

middle of the eighteenth century. Merchandise available in London Town can be documented from newspaper advertisements and merchant probate records. These sources taken together paint a clearer picture of economic activity in the county.

In addition to tobacco, commodities exported from Maryland in sufficient amounts to warrant study and tabulation included wood products, primarily timber and staves and heading, wheat and corn by the bushel, iron by the ton, and flaxseed. Merchants also exported foodstuffs such as flour, ships bread, pork, beans, and peas, but not on the same scale as the items mentioned above.¹⁶

Wood and wood products were exported from Anne Arundel County in large quantities. The sugar colonies needed barrels of all sizes, especially casks and hogsheads, to process, store, and export their products. England required timber for shipbuilding during the wars of the eighteenth century. One common wood product exported from Maryland was “staves and heading,” the prefabricated tops, bottoms, and staves of barrels. Colonial Maryland timber enterprises also produced shingles as well as the planks used in both ship and house construction. These products were noted as “oak planking” and “cedar shingles,” two types of

wood readily available in Maryland. From 1755 to 1757, nearly 500,000 pieces of staves and heading were sent overseas and to other colonies.¹⁷ Although much was exported, the planters of Anne Arundel County themselves would have required thousands of hogsheads for tobacco and as many barrels for flour, wheat, and corn. It is clear that there was large-scale production of staves and heading somewhere in the county.

Tobacco totaling 11,391 hogsheads was exported in forty-one of the 146 outgoing voyages to clear Annapolis from 1754 to 1757. Nearly all (90 percent) of this tobacco went to England, with most of it to London. The average shipment consisted of 268 hogsheads per voyage. One of the largest traveled with London Town's William Strachan to London, England, in August 1757. His vessel, the 250-ton *Lyon*, carried 512 hogsheads.¹⁸ Most Chesapeake tobacco left the colonies for Europe. The raw tobacco leaves were then processed for use in pipes and as snuff in England, Holland, and France. In three instances, very small amounts of tobacco went to other colonies: Halifax, Nova Scotia (one hogshead), Boston (one hogshead), and St. Christopher's in the Caribbean (two hogsheads).¹⁹ The scale of tobacco exported indicates the scale of tobacco production in Anne Arundel County.

Sixty percent of all wheat exported was shipped to foreign ports, with the remainder going to other American colonies. During the period for which records are available, from 1754 to 1757, more than 89,000 bushels of wheat were shipped out of Anne Arundel County. The Portuguese (in Lisbon and Madeira) received most of the shipments, nearly 24 percent, and New York received 21 percent. More than 21,000 bushels of wheat went to Portugal in five voyages. Nine voyages shipped 19,054 bushels to New York.

Corn, also referred to as maize, was a Native American crop embraced by the early colonists in Virginia and Maryland. By the middle of the eighteenth century, corn was used to feed slaves not only in the colonies but also in the Caribbean. Two-thirds (68 percent) of the corn exported from Annapolis went to the Caribbean sugar islands. This is a stark difference from the amount of wheat sent to the islands during the same period, only two percent. Twenty-six percent of the trade in corn was intercolonial and the remaining 6 percent was exported to Ireland, Newfoundland, and Madeira.

Of forty-seven voyages that involved some type of foodstuffs in the outgoing cargo, all contained flour, which was shipped in barrels. A minimum of 6,286 barrels and 493 bushels of flour, were exported from Anne Arundel County during this period. Bread, presumably for the crew and not for trade, was included on twenty-six of the voyages and was accompanied by pork or hams in thirteen of those voyages. Beans and peas made up 18 percent of the exported foodstuffs. From these data, it is interesting to note that the exported pork, peas, and beans were distributed equally among the American colonies, the Caribbean, and Brit-

ain. However, as with corn, nearly two-thirds of the flour and bread went to the Caribbean—Barbados (nearly 80 percent of both flour and bread), Antigua, Bermuda, Jamaica, and St. Christopher's. Although many of the islands were home to large plantations, the Caribbean did not produce enough food to feed its immense number of slaves. It was more profitable to cultivate land to grow cash crops such as sugar.

Flax apparently thrived in the South River area. Stem fibers were used to make linen, or mixed with hemp fiber to make canvas for sailcloth. Flaxseed or linseed oil was used in treating wood for ships and household furniture. Many ships cleared the Naval Office in Annapolis with flaxseed bound for Cork in Ireland. This is a prime example of mercantilism. Flaxseed was produced in the colonies, sent to Ireland to be cultivated and made into linen that was, in turn, exported to the colonies in the form of fabrics for sale. It is very likely that planters in Maryland purchased linen fabric made from flaxseed that had come from their own farms. The flaxseed also could have been sent to facilities in Britain to manufacture linseed oil. None of the shipping records indicate that flax fiber was exported, only flaxseed. The fiber apparently remained in the colony and was used in domestic fabric production. Eighty percent of the flaxseed exported from Annapolis (15,550 bushels) was sent to the cities of Cork and Newry in Ireland. Only 14 percent went to Leith in Scotland (the port of Edinburgh), and 4 percent was sent to Falmouth in England. Less than 3 percent was sent to other colonies, 2 percent to Philadelphia, and less than 1 percent to New York.

Iron production was not a large part of the colonial economy but initially functioned within the British economy as a way to make profitable "remote and barren lands, as are now entirely useless and uncultivated."²⁰ Encouraged by the 1719 Maryland General Assembly, the colony's first ironworks, Principio (established c.1725), operated about sixty miles north of Annapolis.²¹ By 1748, Governor Samuel Ogle reported to the Board of Trade that "There are a great many Iron Mines and Several of them very good in the Province and there are Eight Furnaces for making Pig Iron & Nine forges for making Bar Iron."²² By 1776, Maryland had as many as eighteen iron furnaces and forges from which to recover iron from ore and undertake minimal refining. The furnace nearest to Annapolis was the Patuxent Iron Works owned by the Snowden family of Anne Arundel County. Another Anne Arundel family, the Dorseys, owned both a furnace and a forge in southern Baltimore County, located in Elkridge (established c.1755) and Avalon (established c. 1772).²³

Early iron production consisted of melting ore in blast furnaces to form cast-iron "pigs" or bar ingots. These were easy to transport and were sometimes used as ship ballast. As iron was too heavy to move in large shipments, it was often paired with other cargo in order not to waste valuable shipping space. The smallest shipment, only one ton, departed Annapolis for Madeira in October 1754 on the

ninety-five-ton *Christian*, George Watt, master. Iron made up only a small amount of the vessel's cargo. The remaining cargo consisted of 4,500 bushels of wheat and 6,000 pieces of staves and heading. Most commonly, iron was paired with staves and heading, grains, and tobacco. Only eight of the fifty-one voyages carried iron as its only cargo. The average shipment of iron sent from Annapolis was roughly twenty-four tons.

From 1754 to 1757, 68 percent or 826 out of 1,120 total tons of iron exported from Annapolis went to Britain, to the ports of Bristol, Biddeford, London, and Liverpool, with London receiving most of it (574 tons). Twenty-six percent of the shipments went to the American colonies of Virginia and North Carolina, and 6 percent went to the Caribbean. Only one shipment (one ton) was sent to the Portuguese Island of Madeira.

In 1750, Parliament passed the Iron Act, which prohibited colonists from manufacturing iron products and restricted them to supplying raw iron to England. This act, designed to protect British manufacturing and reinforce the colonies' role as supplier, also prohibited the colonies from making tools and from exporting iron to non-British countries.

Although Maryland's colonial economy may have been dependent on tobacco, it is clear from the shipping records that other commodities contributed to the mercantile system. Tobacco was shipped to London in exchange for European goods, but locally grown grain and foodstuffs were exported to the Caribbean and other North American colonies. Maryland grain and foodstuffs supported the Caribbean sugar economy. Flaxseed became Irish cloth. The distribution of trade reflects the importance of relationships between the American colonies and their trading partners. Over all, Great Britain (England, Scotland, and Ireland) was the destination for 41 percent of Anne Arundel County goods and produce. Other North American colonies made up 31 percent of the county's trade, and the Caribbean was third with 24 percent, although it has been shown that the Caribbean received foodstuffs rather than tobacco. The remaining trade (4 percent) was conducted with other places such as Nova Scotia and Portugal.

Trade in People: Imported Labor

Tobacco was a labor-intensive crop. It had to be planted, maintained, harvested, cured, packed, inspected, stored, and shipped. Maryland, like other plantation-based cash-crop economies, had to supplement its labor pool with servants—indentured, convict, and enslaved (Figure 3). Furthermore, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland were the three great servant-importing colonies. Between 1754 and 1760, 2,252 people came through Annapolis in order supply labor to Anne Arundel County and beyond.²⁴ In addition to slaves, three other servant groups came into the colonies: convicts, sentenced to transportation by the British courts, indentured servants who voluntarily signed a contract in Britain be-

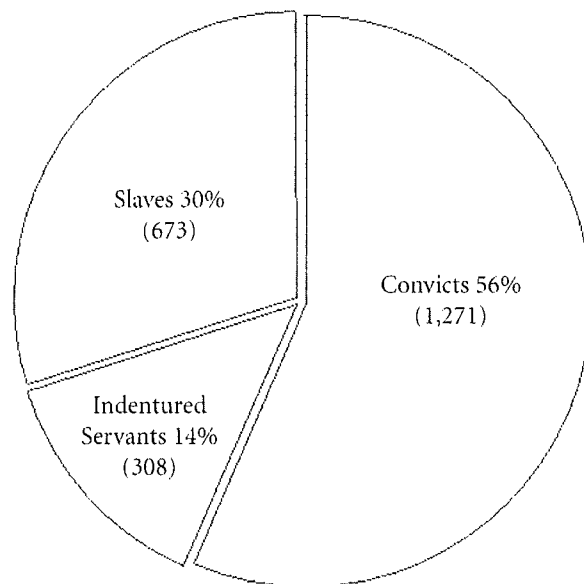


Figure 3: Types of Bound Immigrants Sent to Anne Arundel County, 1754–1760. Information from the Port of Annapolis, Naval Officer Records collected from the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland, and the Public Record Office, Kew, London, England. See the following collections: Maryland State Archives, Port of Entry Collection, 1745–1775; Special Collections: SC2910 (M1002-A Microfilm) and Public Record Office, Treasury papers, 1557–1920: Items T1/359/2, 3, 4; 76999; T1/355/58, 59, 60; 76999; T1/374/50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59; 76999.

fore emigrating, and redemptioners—persons who signed no indenture in their home country but were given a certain number of days after arriving in the colonies to negotiate an indenture and pay for their passage.²⁵

England's judicial system used Maryland as a “dumping-ground” for its jails, and the colony received more convicts than any other colony on the continent. Convicts provided a steady source of white labor, since most convicted felons considered transportation to the colonies preferable to hanging. Twenty-four of the documented 365 incoming voyages to Annapolis carried convict servants. From 1754 to 1760, Anne Arundel County received at least 1,271 criminals. The convict ships came from London, Bristol, Falmouth, and Biddeford. More than 54 percent came from the London area and its overflowing prisons. Almost 80 percent of convicts were men, but women and young boys were also sent away for their crimes.²⁶ “This morning there was sent from hence forty-six women for Theft and Whoredom under Strong Guard for Lochrayan to be Ship’d off then to Maryland,” reported a Scottish newspaper in 1706. It seems that one’s fate could depend upon the criminal court to which one was assigned. At London’s chief criminal court, the Old Bailey, “more than two-thirds of all felons from 1718 to 1775 were ordered for exile” or transportation to the colonies.²⁷

The length of time a convict was banished was based on both the crime and his/her social standing. The court that tried prisoners was given full power to order transportation of any person convicted of crimes subject to benefit of clergy. The term of this class of felon was a fixed seven years. Persons convicted of crimes without benefit of clergy received a term of fourteen years. Some of the most serious offenders were banished for life. The greatest numbers of seven-year passengers sent to the plantations were common criminals, men and women of all ages and descriptions. As it happened, those who could afford to buy their way out of minor crimes could go free. In some cases, convicts could purchase their freedom from the person contracted for transporting them. These convicts were allowed to "escape" after paying off the master of the vessel.²⁸

Ship captains sold convicts into temporary bondage. The convicts had very few rights and were required to work for those who contracted to keep them for the duration of their sentence. The purchaser paid the cost of transport in return for labor. If the convict broke the terms of his sentence—i.e., committed other crimes, tried to run away, or became pregnant—the local court sentenced the accused to serve the county. Convicts, managed during bondage by county law, often served additional time. Maryland justices and sheriffs enforced the regulations regarding convict behavior.²⁹

Most indentured servants, on the other hand, entered into voluntarily agreements. Terms varied in length from one to five years for adults, longer in the case of minors. All males eighteen years of age or older who came to the colonies without a prearranged indenture (e.g., a redemptioner) were expected to serve terms of four years from the date of arrival. If under eighteen years of age the law required them to serve until the age of twenty-four. The terms for female servants were a little more forgiving. Women over the age of twelve served four years, and those under twelve worked for seven years. Whatever terms were fixed by the indenture were binding in a court of law and enforced by the authorities in Maryland. During the term of indenture, the servant could be involved in any type of labor, but most carried out plantation work or household duties. The owner provided food, lodging, and clothing for the servant and, upon completion of their service, each received "freedom dues" that included a new suit of clothing, shoes, three barrels of corn, and planting tools.³⁰ Much like the convict servants, all of the indentured servants who entered the Port of Annapolis were from ports in mainland England.

During the period 1754–60, fifteen ships brought 308 indentured servants to Anne Arundel County. Most trickled in at one, three, or five per voyage (ten of the voyages carried fewer than thirteen). Some ships carried many servants. Three voyages in 1757 transported sixty-nine (the *Eugene*), seventy-seven (the *Tryal*), and seventy-five (the *Frisby*) indentured servants, respectively, 221 in one year. Voluntary servitude was a temporary status somewhere between freedom and

Table 2: Sources of Goods Imported into the Port of Annapolis, Maryland from 1754 to 1761

Rum			Salt	
Caribbean		81%	American Colonies	42%
American Colonies		19%	<i>Massachusetts</i>	45%
<i>New York</i>	62%		<i>New York</i>	17%
<i>Massachusetts</i>	23%		<i>Rhode Island</i>	17%
<i>Pennsylvania</i>	10%		<i>Pennsylvania</i>	13%
<i>Rhode Island</i>	5%		<i>Virginia</i>	4%
			<i>Delaware</i>	4%
			Caribbean	38%
			England	17%
			Other Destinations	3%
Molasses				
American Colonies		64%		
<i>Massachusetts</i>	63%			
<i>Rhode Island</i>	26%			
<i>Pennsylvania</i>	8%			
<i>New York</i>	3%			
Caribbean		36%		

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slavery, and upon arrival in colonial port the servant was displayed on the deck of the ship and sold to the highest bidder much like a slave.³¹

Slavery was a well-established practice in Maryland by the mid-eighteenth century. Imported to work on both large and small plantations, by 1755, 30 percent of Maryland's population consisted of slaves.³² The Port of Annapolis records show that a minimum of 673 slaves were imported from 1754 to 1760 (although there were no shipments recorded in 1755, 1756, and 1757). The actual number is probably higher. In the twelve documented voyages, most of the ships arrived from the Caribbean (eight), but these only carried forty-four slaves. A ship from London brought one slave, and a Virginia vessel conveyed thirty slaves to Annapolis in 1760. Most of the slaves (598) were brought to Maryland directly from Africa in only two voyages. The first ship (the *Upton*, a vessel of 180 tons, Thomas Birch, master) arrived in 1759. Twenty-five sailors manned the seventeen-gun ship, protecting its cargo from pirates. The *Upton* brought 205 slaves from Gambia in Africa. The second ship, the *Jenny*, a square-built vessel of 120 tons, John Wilkinson, master, was manned by thirty-five men, carried ten guns, and transported 393 slaves from an unspecified location in Africa in 1760. Both ships were registered in Liverpool.

Imported Foods

Mercantilism required colonists to import among other things the ingredients of everyday food preparation. According to archaeologist Olive Jones, "the completely self-sufficient household, in Britain or in North America, in terms of food production probably did not exist in the eighteenth century, at any level of society, in either rural or urban settings." As previously outlined, Anne Arundel Countians exported food, but they also imported staples such as sugar, salt, coffee, tea, salted fish and molasses, as well as rum and wine.³³

These commodities supported the "triangle trade" between England, Africa, and the North American colonies and Caribbean islands. For example, this system involved sugar from the Caribbean plantation owners who exported their crop to the North American colonies and Britain. New England colonists used the sugar and its processing by-product, molasses, to make rum, which was then shipped to other colonies as well as Africa, and thus used in trade for slaves. African slaves, purchased with British manufactured goods, went to both the Caribbean and North American colonies where they worked with raw materials such as sugar cane, tobacco, and iron ore. In turn, these raw materials were sent to Britain, processed, and then sold to the colonies and the islands in the form of manufactured goods such as refined sugar, fabric, and metal wares.

Rum seems to have been the most popular comestible in the colonies during the eighteenth century. It was produced in the Caribbean and in New England and consumed throughout British North America. The Anne Arundel County court regulated the prices tavern keepers could charge for alcoholic beverages (as well as food, lodging, and pasturage for horses).³⁴ Rum drinks appear prominently on these lists and were among the most affordable alcoholic beverages (second only to locally produced beer). Rum punch, made with rum, sugar, and lime juice, was a popular drink in both the colonies and Britain.

Of the 365 incoming voyages to Anne Arundel County, 124 ships brought 3,126 hogsheads (or 196,938 gallons) of rum from 1754 to 1761.³⁵ One would expect that the Caribbean would have been the sole source for rum traded to Maryland, as it was a principal place of manufacture, and the Port of Annapolis records do show that 81 percent of the rum came directly from the Caribbean: Barbados (the greatest portion, 45 percent), Antigua, Bermuda, St. Christopher's, St. Stephen's, and Montserrat. Nearly 20 percent, however, came from New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island. Less than 1 percent came from Virginia, South Carolina, and Nova Scotia. This intercolonial trade shows the retail nature of coastal exchange. Colonies imported rum but then traded it for regional goods produced by other colonies, or in the case of Rhode Island, imported molasses and produced their own rum for export.

Salt, used everywhere in the preparation and preservation of food, was made by boiling seawater or taking it from natural formations.³⁶ Salt from Portugal's

Cape Verde Islands supplied the cod fishers in Newfoundland; the mineral was harvested from natural formations (crust formed on salt ponds and shallow lagoons) in the Caribbean from the Dutch Antilles, Anguilla, and the Turks Islands. By the time of the American Revolution, colonists were producing their own salt in New England, particularly Cape Cod, by natural evaporation. One traditional location for British salt production (boiling water in salt pans) was Cheshire, near Liverpool, and dates back to the Roman occupation.³⁷ Anne Arundel County exported large quantities of ham and pork preserved with salt and water and packed into barrels. Salt was also used in the processing of animal hides.

Between 1754 and 1761, 56,661 bushels of salt were imported through Annapolis, forming part of the cargo of fifty-eight of the 365 incoming voyages. The ships carrying salt came from the Caribbean (38 percent), as well as England (17 percent). A very small number (3 percent) came from other areas such as Madeira and Halifax, Nova Scotia. However, there is no indication where the salt was produced. The highest percentage of salt-carrying ships came from other American colonies (42 percent), such as Massachusetts (45 percent of the total), New York and Rhode Island (both 17 percent) and Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Delaware (21 percent collectively). Salt shipments from American colonies probably consisted of re-exported products. The single largest shipment (5,400 bushels) came from Southampton, England. The average voyage contained 944 bushels and the smallest only twenty-five bushels.

North American colonists also used sugar to prepare and preserve foods and drinks. Sugar came into the Annapolis port on almost 30 percent (98 of 365) of the 1754–61 voyages. These cargoes contained brown (unrefined) and white sugar. Characteristically, most of the sugar came from Barbados in the Caribbean (over 100,000 pounds). Sugar was another commodity that saw a high level of intercolonial trade. Of the ninety-eight voyages to Annapolis, fifty-seven were from other colonies. New York, with 38 percent of the voyages, appears to have dominated this intercolonial trade. Massachusetts and Rhode Island together sent 50 percent of the ships. Only a small number of ships left Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Delaware, and Virginia.

Molasses, another sweetener from the Caribbean, was like sugar produced from sugar cane. Both are by-products of boiling sugar cane juice but molasses is the main ingredient in rum. From 1754 to 1761, 171 hogsheads of molasses (10,773 gallons) were imported through the Port of Annapolis. Twenty-four voyages originated in other British North American colonies and fifteen sailed directly from the Caribbean. Logic would hold that the most molasses would come directly from its place of production (the Caribbean), but shipping records indicate otherwise. Sixty-five percent of the molasses imported to Anne Arundel County came from other colonies—6,845 gallons from the colonies as compared to 3,934 gallons directly from the Caribbean. The New England colonies imported large quan-

tities of molasses for rum production and apparently profited from intercolonial exchange. Molasses also came from Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and New York and is an example of manufacture and retail sale as opposed to wholesale trade. Rum was one of the only commodities the colonies were permitted to manufacture.

Eighteenth-century Anne Arundel Countians also enjoyed their wine. The beverage appears prominently on the liquor price lists the county issued in attempt to regulate taverns. Port, Canary, Sherry, Rhenish, Florence, Phial, claret, and Madeira were available in the county.³⁸ Between 1754 and 1761, 245 pipes (a large cask of 126 gallons used for transportation) of wine containing 30,870 gallons were imported to Annapolis in twenty-four voyages.³⁹ Most lists simply noted "wine" with no indication of its variety or origin. However, two types of wine were noted in the cargo lists, Madeira and claret.⁴⁰ The single largest source of Madeira wine was the Portuguese island of the same name. The size of the shipments from Madeira (forty-seven pipes in one 1759 voyage) is an example of wholesale shipping directly from the region of production. Although 45 percent of the wine was imported from wine producing areas, nearly the same amount came from other American colonies in the form of intercolonial retail trade. Other colonies such as Virginia, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York dealt in the re-exportation of wine.

The Port of London Town

Unfortunately, because it had no customhouse (Annapolis was the official port of entry for this area of Anne Arundel County) there are no port records for London Town, and shipping data must be retrieved from the Port of Annapolis records. By the 1750s, London Town's economic vitality waned. Between 1754 and 1762, twelve ships totaling nineteen voyages traded with London Town. Four of these vessels were built in Maryland: *Buchanan*, 1752 (150 tons); *Unity*, 1755 (30 tons); *Robert & Ann*, 1747 (100 tons) and *Polly*, 1750 (100 tons).

The vessels cleared at the Port of Annapolis and took their cargo (or ballast) south to London Town to exchange it for tobacco for the return voyages to England.⁴¹ Incoming voyages brought "sundry European goods" loaded upon "crockets" or pallets of like goods from one merchant or manufacturer.⁴² These ships varied in size from sixty to 150 tons with crews of from nine to fourteen seamen. Many ships were armed, and after 1754 all vessels traveling to London Town carried defensive munitions. In July 1757 the *Robert & Anne* (David Lewis, master) and *Betsey* (John White, master) apparently traveling in convoy, entered the port of Annapolis. They brought their European goods and stayed for two months, taking on tobacco in the South River.⁴³ The one-hundred-ton *Robert & Anne* took on 317 hogsheads of tobacco and the 120-ton *Betsey* took on 365 hogsheads. They both also loaded wood products as well as twenty-five and thirty tons

of iron, respectively. The *Betsey* was well known at London Town, for mariner William Strachan, a town resident, was often her master. All of the vessels trading with London Town dealt with a handful of English merchants: John Buchanan, Bryan and Thomas Philpot, William Perkins and the Sydenham and Hodgson Company, all of London.⁴⁴

Conclusion on Anne Arundel County Trade

It is clear from the data that residents of Anne Arundel County could expect to receive all manner of goods in exchange for their tobacco or other crops. They could visit London Town and sell their tobacco as well as partake of Caribbean rum and wine from Europe. They could call on London Town merchants and purchase sundry European goods brought home by London Town mariners. County residents had access to the world market via Annapolis and London Town. They traded local produce such as wheat, corn, wood, and flaxseed, in addition to tobacco, to ports around the world. Residents of Anne Arundel County could secure labor for their plantations by engaging an indentured or convict servant, or they could purchase slaves. Annapolis was the location of a slave market and was one of the major ports of debarkation for slaves in Maryland. Anne Arundel County and its tobacco port of London Town actively participated in worldwide trade. The data presented here demonstrate dependence on trade for the ingredients of everyday life, labor, and a market for produce. They also show the importance of tobacco towns as places to assemble, store, and sell the colony's cash crop—the main economic stimulus in colonial Maryland. This study of port records also shows that Anne Arundel County's economy was not totally dependent on tobacco nor was it the only produce grown for exportation. In Maryland, wheat, corn, and other vegetables grown for export are generally associated with the nineteenth century when "truck farming" became very popular.⁴⁵ This study provides additional evidence that the shift from tobacco started much earlier. Port records, which document the extent and nature of intercolonial trade, show that the exportation of Maryland produce has a long history that has not been fully investigated.

NOTES

1. This study employed Port of Annapolis Records. See Port Entry Collection 1745–1775, Special Collections, SC2910, Maryland State Archives and PRO, Treasury Papers, 1557–1920, Collection 76999; T1/359, 355, 374, Public Record Office, Great Britain. Not until 1710 was the administrative system deemed efficient enough to preclude tinkering until the 1760s. The lack of records for Maryland is nevertheless somewhat surprising, since Maryland and Virginia had the highest number of customs officials. Maryland's customs collectors were located at Patuxent, North Potomac, and Pocomoke Rivers. Customs surveyors resided at Annapolis

(the capital), Wicomocco (also spelled Wicomico) and Munni, Williamstadt, Bahama, and Sassafras Rivers. A riding surveyor oversaw the Potomac River. Many things led to a large backlog and interference in the customs service. Customs administrators were far away in England, leaving many local officials to their own devices, with little or no official oversight. War and its associated confusion led to poor management. There were only six years of peace between 1739 and 1763. The gaps are numerous, but at least the trade of the county can be outlined and some activities at London Town illustrated. The story emerging from the records of Annapolis helps to provide a view of commerce and economic forces in the area immediately surrounding London Town.

2. In 1754, the snow *Beaumont*, James Hovell, master, was moored in the South River waiting the ship with tobacco. From the PRO, Port of Annapolis Records T1.355/60, Mid-Summer Quarter, 1754. Tobacco ships varied greatly in size during the colonial period. Ships visiting the port of Annapolis during the period 1754–57 averaged 111 tons and held an average of 279 hogsheads of tobacco. The smallest tobacco ships were only thirty tons and the largest 250 tons.
3. After 1747, the Maryland Assembly passed a regulation that required planters to use sanctioned tobacco inspection warehouses to store their tobacco until it was shipped to Britain. This was an attempt to improve the quality of Maryland tobacco. This act was not implemented immediately and there are very few primary records to show compliance. See William Hand Browne, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland*, 44:454.
4. “Masters of ships, before taking on tobacco freight, shall publish, under their hands, by a note fixed on the County Court House door, at what rate they will receive tobacco upon freight per ton; which note shall be recorded by the County Clerk.” See *Archives of Maryland*, 75:668.
5. Maryland had six maritime regions during the colonial period; Annapolis, Cecil, North Potomac, Oxford, Patuxent, and Pocomoke. London Town was located in the Annapolis region. Edward C. Papenfuse, et al., *Archives of Maryland, Historical List*, vol. 1 (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, 1990).
6. This record set is from the Maryland State Archives, Land Records Office, Provincial Court 1705–1762. Ship captains were required to record, with the court, their tonnage rate for tobacco. Each record lists the ship name, the captain’s name, his freight rate, as well as the river location of his ship. The captains would stay in the river until the ship was full. See data set compiled by Jacob M. Hemphill in “Tobacco Freight Rates in the Maryland Tobacco Trade, 1705–1762,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 55 (1959): 36–58. Hemphill used the data to track freight rates for tobacco. The author used the same data to trace the number of ships to each river in Anne Arundel County to show patterns of shipping in the county.
7. James F. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade and the Economic Development of Colonial North America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 31.
8. John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America 1607–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 39.
9. For London Town this is also reflected in the land records. Population growth was most dramatic during the first half of the eighteenth century and continued until the end of the colonial period. In 1712, the population was estimated at 46,159. By 1755, it had grown to 155,363 and to 319,728 by 1790. This increase resulted in the growth of markets and imports. For population statistics see *Arch.Md.*, 25:255, 265, 358; Edward C. Papenfuse, and Joseph M. Coale III, *Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland, 1608–1908* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 37 (from “The Population of Maryland, 1755,” *Gentleman’s Magazine* 34 [1764]); U.S. Bureau of Census, *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken*

in the Year 1790: *Maryland* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1965), 8, 9; Shepherd and Walton, *Economic Development*, 37.

10. Shepherd and Walton, *Economic Development*, 37–38. Taxes and other measures imposed by Parliament following the Seven Years' War to pay the costs of the war—the Sugar Act (or Revenue Act), the Quartering Act, the Currency Act, and the 1765 Stamp Act—adversely affected trade and the American economy.

11. Sherry Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 1.

12. *Ibid.*, 4. Tithable: individual heads of household who were subject to payment of the tithe (usually 10 percent of their income or worth) to support the church. In the colonies, these were usually freemen landholders with plantations.

13. Baltimore was not strictly a tobacco port, and by the 1750s its economy was beginning to shift to concentrate on the exportation of wheat and flour. The city provided Pennsylvania farmers with mills and transportation for their goods to the islands. For more on the history of Baltimore, see Olson, *Baltimore*.

14. The data are not chronologically complete. The periods covered are January–December 1754, January–April 1755, October–December 1756, January–December 1757, January–December 1758, January–December 1759, January–December 1760, and January–March 1761. These records were chosen because they were the most complete of this very fragmented resource. During these periods, eight reports were filed each year; four entering and four clearing for each quarter. These data consist of thirty Naval Officer Report Sheets. The total data-set, if extant, would have consisted of fifty-six Naval Officer Report Sheets for the period under consideration.

15. The administrative quarters were: January to April–Lady Day Quarter; April to July–Midsummer Quarter; July to October–Michaelmas Quarter; October to January–Christmas Quarter.

16. Staves and heading are the unassembled parts of barrels and hogsheads.

17. The number from the port records is 481,227, but this number may be low, because some of the clearing records did not note the number of pieces but simply “staves and heading.”

18. Port of Annapolis Records for 1757, PRO.

19. During the eighteenth century the weight contained in a hogshead, a large wooden cask used to transport dry goods such as tobacco, varied although it was regulated by the crown and by the provincial government of Maryland. In 1704, the crown established the dimensions of “the size of forty six inches in length and thirty inches in the head and the same hogsheads or any of them shall pack full of Tobacco.” See *Arch.Md.*, 23:330–31. By 1718 the size had changed, the hogshead dimensions were a little smaller, but the hogshead was required to hold 500 lbs. of tobacco. See *Arch.Md.*, 36:507–10. Furthermore, by 1763 a hogshead was required to weigh no more than 1,000 lbs. This included the weight of the construction materials (i.e. wooden staves and nails) and the contents. (See *Arch.Md.*, 75:607–8.) From the Port of Annapolis Records, it appears that a hogshead of tobacco weighed 1,000 lbs. and a hogshead of liquid, usually rum, held 100 gallons during the period under study, 1754–1762.

20. *Arch.Md.*, 33:467–69.

21. Ronald L. Lewis, “The Use and Extent of Slave Labor in the Chesapeake Iron Industry: The Colonial Era,” *Labor History*, 17 (1976): 392. Principico is located near modern-day Perryville, Cecil County, Maryland.

22. *Arch.Md.*, 28:469.

23. Ronald L. Lewis, *Coal, Iron and Slaves: Industrial Slavery in Maryland and Virginia, 1715–1865* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979), 224; John W. McGrain, “The Development and Decline of Dorsey’s Forge,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 72 (1977): 346.

24. Eugene Irving McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland, 1634–1820*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1904), 30.
25. The Naval Office Records stipulate no difference between indentured servants and redemptioners.
26. Breakdown of gender comes from the study of British Assize Circuits (court) records found in: A. Roger Ekirch, *Bound for America: The Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies, 1718–1775* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 48–49.
27. McCormac, *White Servitude*, 98; Eric Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 11; *Edinburgh Courant*, January 28, 1706; A. Roger Ekirch, “Bound for America: A Profile of British Convicts Transported to the Colonies, 1718–1755,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 42 (1985): 184.
28. McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland*, 95, 99, 100. For the latter half of the eighteenth century, benefit of clergy noted one’s ability to read and write. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, literacy was usually limited to the clergy and nobility who were given special privileges based on their education.
29. *Arch.Md.*, 36:82.
30. McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland*, 37–44.
31. John Wareing, *Emigrants to America: Indentured Servants Recruited in London, 1718–1733* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1985), 9.
32. Papenfuse and Coale, *Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland*, 37; “The Population of Maryland, 1755,” *Gentleman’s Magazine* 34, (1764).
33. Olive R. Jones, “Commercial Foods, 1740–1820,” *Historical Archaeology*, 27 (no. 2, 1993): 25.
34. Tavern or ordinary keepers were required to have a license to operate an ordinary in Anne Arundel County. Every few years the county would set prices for food, drinks, and lodging. Tavern keepers were required to post these price lists or be fined by the county. See Anne Arundel County Court Judgements, Liber IB2, folio 224, 1737, MSA.
35. Based on the measurement that one hogshead of liquid equaled 63 gallons.
36. Jones, “Commercial Foods,” 29.
37. See Mark Kurlansky, *Salt: A World History* (New York: Walker and Company, 2002), 180, 207–9, 222–23.
38. Anne Arundel County Court Judgements [Liquor Rates], Liber IB2, folio 244; 1737 and Liber IB2, folio 98; 1751 and Liber IB6, folio 215; 1746, MSA. White sugar was refined from brown or blond sugar that was processed minimally in the Caribbean. The process of boiling, crystallization and cooling produced varying distillations of the granular by-product. The highest quality refined sugar came from England. Partially processed loaf sugar was sent to England from the Caribbean, further refined, and exported to the colonies. On ship manifests, it was measured by weight in pounds and by volume in hogsheads and barrels. This inconsistent packaging and accounting method is a result of the different forms of sugar (i.e., brown, single refined or loaf, and double refined).
39. For eighteenth-century trading weights and measures, see Edward Hatton, *The Merchants Magazine: or Trades Man’s Treasury 6th Edition* (London, 1712), s.v VI, “The Tables of Wine-measure to be used in Addition and Subtraction.” Wine was imported in pipes (126 gallons), hogsheads (63 gallons), and quarter casks (16 gallons).
40. A red wine generally associated with the Bordeaux region of France.
41. Established by comparing Port of Annapolis Records (from MSA and PRO) and South River Freight Rate Records (Hemphill, aforementioned).
42. A container of varying size, derived from the word crock, meaning vessel. The goods on

these crockets were not detailed. A vessel was recorded as simply having 5, 10, or 15 (or more) crockets of European goods.

43. From the Port of Annapolis Records located at the PRO. Call number T1/374.55; 76999; Midsummer Quarter and Michaelmas Quarters, 1757.

44. There were Philpots in Annapolis and Baltimore who were apparently acting as factors or partners in the trading with Anne Arundel County. See *Arch.Md.*, 61:316, and 28:452.

45. Willard R. Mumford, *Strawberries, Peas, & Beans: Truck Farming in Anne Arundel County*. (Linthicum, Md.: Anne Arundel Historical Society, 2000), 2.