

***Att A Councill Held Att: The Politics and Mobility of Maryland's Council, 1637-1695***

Alex Flick  
SMP – Fall 2009  
St. Mary's College of Maryland  
Advisor: Dr. Julia King

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank the following people for their help with various aspects of this project:

- Professor Julia King, my advisor, for her guidance, suggestions, and assistance throughout this entire project
- Professor P. Joan Poor, for her generous assistance with the regression analysis
  - Martha McCartney, for her insight on the Virginia Council of State
- Edward Chaney, for providing historical information regarding Mattapany

## **Table of Contents**

<i>Introduction...</i>	1
<i>The Council and Its Role in Maryland's Government...</i>	1
<i>Historical Background: A Brief History of Maryland...</i>	7
<i>Council Mobility in Context: Seventeenth Century Travel &amp; Settlement Patterning...</i>	13
<i>Methodology...</i>	23
<i>Analysis/Discussion...</i>	30
<i>Conclusions...</i>	49
<i>Works Cited/References...</i>	52
<i>Appendix I: Regression Analysis Results...</i>	56

## *Introduction*

One of the key political institutions in early Maryland was the Council—a group of wealthy and powerful men who served as advisors to the governor, patrician legislators, and sometimes as judges. This exclusive group, hand-selected by the proprietor or the governor, possessed tremendous decision-making influence in provincial affairs. While St. Mary’s City served as Maryland’s capital during most of the seventeenth century, this powerful body repeatedly met at locations remote from the established seat of government. While a few historians have acknowledged the mobile nature of this elite governing body, no one has undertaken a detailed examination as to why the Council met with such frequency at a variety of locations outside the capital. After all, St. Mary’s City was the formal site of Maryland’s government—it housed many members of the proprietary Calvert family, was the site of the Statehouse constructed in 1676, and was home to *most* provincial business. The challenges involved in travel during this period add to the question of why the Council was so highly mobile.

This paper seeks to explore the relationship between politics and geographical mobility in seventeenth century Maryland by examining when and where the council met and what business was conducted at those meetings. By analyzing these meetings and their locations based on content and historical context, we can gain some insight into the factors contributing to this peripatetic behavior.

## *The Council and Its Role in Maryland’s Government*

The Council of Maryland (or Privy Council, as it was sometimes called) was originally created as an executive advisory body, and as historian David Jordan has

noted, the Council “constituted the most powerful ruling body below the governor.”<sup>1</sup> The group held significant political authority, expressed through debate and decision making on a diverse range of issues within Maryland. When the Colonial Assembly split into separate houses in the middle of the seventeenth century, the Council constituted the upper house, demonstrating its legislative role.<sup>2</sup> Most Council members also sat (sometimes with the governor) as the Provincial Court, further signifying the breadth of the body’s power.<sup>3</sup> By the late seventeenth century, the group’s multiple functions represented the proprietor’s consolidated provincial power. As Carr and Jordan describe, “At the top of the social and political structure in 1689 were the proprietor and his deputy governors or council, a small number of men who through plural officeholding controlled all the powerful and lucrative posts of the central government.”<sup>4</sup>

Lord Baltimore’s 1637 commission to Governor Leonard Calvert and the Council states:

And for the better assurance of him our Lieutenant in the Execution of the premisses, and of the charge by us Comitted to him, We have appointed and Ordained, And by these presents Doe appoint and Ordain our Well beloved Jerome Hawley Esq, Thomas Cornwall's and John Lewger Gent, to be of our Councell of and within our Said Province with whome our Said Lieutenant Shall from time to time advise as he Shall See cause upon

---

<sup>1</sup> David W. Jordan, “Maryland’s Privy Council, 1637-1715,” in *Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland*, ed. Aubrey C. Land, Lois G. Carr, and Edward C. Papenfuse, (Baltimore: JHU Press, 1977): p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province* (New York: Norwood Press, 1901): p. 176-7. See also Lois G. Carr and David W. Jordan, *Maryland’s Revolution of Government: 1689-1692* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974): pp. 5-6. Mereness states that the split in the Assembly occurred in 1649 or 1650, while Carr and Jordan describe the division happening “By 1660.” Also, the lower house was composed of elected representatives of freeholders.

<sup>3</sup> Mereness, pp. 176-7.

<sup>4</sup> Carr and Jordan, *Maryland’s Revolution of Government*, p. 187.

all occasions concerning the good of our Said Province and of the people there.<sup>5</sup>

As an advisory body to the governor (with significant legislative and judicial influence in the colony), the Council held tremendous influence in provincial affairs. Consultation with the Council by the governor was customary before any major decision or action on issues of pressing importance, and rarely was the governor expected to break from the group's suggestion.<sup>6</sup> The business of this elite body touched numerous issues, including the creation of provincial offices and the commission of officers, levy of taxes and other matters of fiscal policy, the hearing of petitions, dealings with the Assembly, issues of land policy, negotiations with Indian groups and other foreign sovereigns, county and hundred creation, etc.<sup>7</sup>

Given the immense power conferred on councilors and the importance of the body's affairs, the proprietor and governor needed to carefully select educated, trustworthy men with political acumen. Lord Baltimore often chose those with personal ties to himself or the Calvert family, with the intention of selecting indisputably loyal advisors. Those selected who were not relatives or friends of the Calverts were nonetheless typically wealthy, educated, established elites.<sup>8</sup> Even when Charles Calvert, 3<sup>rd</sup> Lord Baltimore, lost control of the colony in the late seventeenth century, the royal government employed similar standards in councilor selection. In a command from Her Majesty in England to Governor Lionel Copley in 1691, the governor is ordered "in the

---

<sup>5</sup> *Commission to Governor Leonard Calvert and Council*, (15 April 1637). Accessed from the *Archives of Maryland Online*, Volume 3: pp. 49-55.

<sup>6</sup> Mereness, p. 174.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p. 175.

<sup>8</sup> The politics of religion cannot be overlooked in this discussion. Many of those selected (but not all) happened to be Catholics, which upset some of the province's Protestant majority.

choice and nomination of the members of our said Council as also of the principall Officers, Iudges, Assistants, Iustices and Sheriffs you are always to take care that they be men of Estate and Ability and not necessitous people or much in Debt and that they be persons well affected to our Government.”<sup>9</sup> According to Jordan, such an order breaks down into three desirable traits for those commissioned to the Council: “wealth, ability, and unquestioned loyalty.”<sup>10</sup>

Sebastian Streeter’s investigation into the personal circumstances of the original members of Maryland’s Privy Council, including Jerome Hawley, Thomas Cornwalleyes, and John Lewger, demonstrated that these three men were chosen based on their presumed conformity to the aforementioned criteria.<sup>11</sup> Hawley and Lewger both had personal connections to the Calvert family, the latter having been a friend of Cecil Calvert at Oxford; each of the group of three was born into a wealthy and well-connected English family and upon emigration to Maryland, used such wealth and connections to quickly acquire significant property holdings (especially Cornwalleyes, who owned over 10,000 acres).<sup>12</sup> Nonetheless, a Council comprised of members meeting the criteria did not necessarily translate into an amicable, professional, and effective elite ruling body as intended.

Seventeenth century proprietary and royal governors alike typically had difficulty in both identifying and retaining individuals meeting such requisites for the Council.

This is partially due to the fact that early emigration to Maryland was undertaken

---

<sup>9</sup> *Archives of Maryland Online*, Volume 8: pp. 271-280.

<sup>10</sup> Jordan, “Maryland’s Privy Council, 1637-1715,” p.65.

<sup>11</sup> Sebastian F. Streeter, *Papers Relating to the Early History of Maryland*, Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 9 (Baltimore, 1876, reprinted 1972): pp. 104-275. See chapters II & III for detailed analysis of personal and public lives of these three men.

<sup>12</sup> Jordan, “Maryland’s Privy Council, 1637-1715,” p. 67.

primarily by indentured servants who, with terms completed, became freeholders “with no appreciable wealth or education.”<sup>13</sup> Such circumstances were typical among the majority of colonial Maryland’s free population, presenting a dearth of qualified potential public officeholders. Even when able candidates for office could be found, appointments were frequently short or otherwise unsuccessful. Returning to the case of the three original Council members, Hawley moved to Virginia by 1638, Lewger was dismissed in 1644 for issuing orders without proper authority to do so (thus angering deputy governor Giles Brent), lost his commission in 1646 and returned to England soon thereafter, and Cornwalleys began to grow increasingly sympathetic to proprietary opposition, culminating in his resignation from the Council in 1642.<sup>14</sup> Council turnover remained especially high in the latter half of the seventeenth century up to the revolution in 1689. Of the thirty-two men who sat as councilors, seventeen, or about half (53.2%), served terms of five years or less.<sup>15</sup> Cases such as these demonstrate the problems faced by the proprietary in firmly establishing this elite governing body.

One factor, given its significance in seventeenth century life and politics, should not be neglected in the discussion of councilor selection. Religion also played a role in Council appointments, although this may have simply been a product of selecting those with close ties to the proprietary family. Catholics and Protestants did manage to get along well in early Maryland, except when they didn’t. Jordan suggests that Charles Calvert, succeeding his father Cecil as proprietor, “had deliberately reserved council and

---

<sup>13</sup> David W. Jordan, “Political Stability and the Emergence of a Native Elite in Maryland,” in *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society*, ed. Thad Tate and David Ammerman, (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1979), p. 248.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. Jordan also notes that Robert Wintour and Giles Brent, the fourth and fifth councilors, respectively, “had similarly brief or tempestuous tenures.”

<sup>15</sup> Jordan, “Political Stability and the Emergence of a Native Elite in Maryland.” See Table 5, p. 262 for longevity of service data.



court appointments for fellow Catholics and relatives of the Calvert family,” and by the climax of Protestant discontent in 1689, William Digges was the only Protestant sitting on the Council—and he was married to Lord Baltimore’s stepdaughter.<sup>16</sup> This religious friction played a role in the 1689 Protestant overthrow of the Catholic proprietor, although a number of factors contributed to this revolution.<sup>17</sup> Whether the lopsided selection of Catholics for Council positions was intentional or incidental, it nonetheless appears to have been one factor in the events that transpired leading to royal control of the colony. Protestants, however, did serve not only as councilors, but also as governors and in other high-ranking provincial capacities. Because of this, it is difficult to definitively conclude that religious favoritism was a Council selection factor.

While nepotism and, in some cases, political expedience drove Council appointments for most of the seventeenth century, with Calvert relatives and wealthy Catholics disproportionately chosen from a largely uneducated Protestant population, effective governance did not necessarily follow. Even the wealthy, educated, and reliable appointees had considerable rates of attrition from the body which certainly did not contribute to Maryland’s political stability. As Jordan describes, longer service “meant an important accumulation of experience with greater knowledge of procedures...and greater skill in achieving objectives.”<sup>18</sup> This accretion of experience, he argued, correlated with increased political stability, which was not achieved until late in the century when councilor longevity noticeably increased.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> Jordan, “Political Stability and the Emergence of a Native Elite in Maryland,” pp. 249-250. Jordan notes that between 19 and 21 of the 32 members of the Council between 1660 and 1689 were Catholic.

<sup>17</sup> See Carr and Jordan for a comprehensive analysis of factors leading to the events of 1689.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p. 262.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, p. 261-263.

*Historical Background: A Brief History of Early Maryland*

The Maryland colonists did not find an uninhabited land. Human occupation of the area that is now Maryland predates European colonization by several thousand years. The natives, as well as Virginia colonists (who had been in the Chesapeake region for several years), would play a significant role in colonial life and politics. As Miller describes, three general periods comprise pre-Contact history in the region: the Paleo-Indian (from circa 13,000-10,000 B.P.), the Archaic (10,000-3,000 B.P.), and the Woodland (3,000-400 B.P.).<sup>20</sup> The Paleo-Indian period was characterized by a hunting-gathering subsistence strategy, often over an extensive area. This way of life continued into the Archaic period until Late Archaic environmental shifts stimulated the growth of fish and shellfish populations, prompting human populations to move to coastal areas. By the Middle and Late Woodland periods, native groups were developing horticultural practices and congregating in more sizeable settlements. With such developments came increased social complexity and the genesis of politics based on control of food surplus and limited resources.<sup>21</sup>

At the time of Indian-European contact, several established Indian villages were situated along the coastal areas of the region. One of the major Indian towns was Moyaone, a stockaded village on the north side of the Potomac River with about 500 Piscataway Indians at its peak.<sup>22</sup> The Piscataway inhabited numerous towns on the west

---

<sup>20</sup> Henry M. Miller, "Living Along the 'Great Shellfish Bay': The Relationship between Prehistoric Peoples and the Chesapeake," in *Discovering the Chesapeake: The History of an Ecosystem*, ed. Philip D. Curtin, Grace S. Brush, and George W. Fisher, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), p. 110.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 114-117.

<sup>22</sup> James H. Merrell, "Cultural Continuity Among the Piscataway Indians of Colonial Maryland," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series 36, no. 4 (October 1979): pp. 549-551.

side of Maryland's Western Shore, and "each village... although linked to Moyaone by a common culture and kinship ties, was ruled by its own werowance [chief]."<sup>23</sup> The Yaocomico, who inhabited the land on which St. Mary's City was built, were probably influenced and had ties to the Piscataway chiefdom.<sup>24</sup> The Piscataway were to play a significant role in colonial Maryland politics. Meanwhile, on the south side of the Potomac were the Patawomeck Indians, sometimes affiliated with the Powhatan Confederacy.

To the north of the Piscataway, in what is now northern Maryland and Pennsylvania, were the Susquehannock Indians. The Susquehannocks controlled the flow of beaver pelts, a hot commodity among European colonists, "from the interior to the coast."<sup>25</sup> At the time of the 1634 landing at St. Mary's City, "the Susquehannocks and the Piscataways were engaged in their own violent battle for control of the [Chesapeake] bay, and the Piscataways were losing."<sup>26</sup> Hostilities between the two groups manifested in the form of raids by the Susquehannocks on Piscataway villages down Maryland's Western Shore. This provides the context for European settlement in Maryland. As Riordan describes with respect to Indian relations, "[the Europeans] had settled in the middle of a war zone."<sup>27</sup>

In 1632, two years before the landing at the Yaocomico Indian village on the St. George's (St. Mary's) River, George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore and a former

---

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 550.

<sup>24</sup> According to Lawatsch-Boomgaarden and IJsewijn, "Although [Father Andrew White's] *Relatio* seems to suggest that the Yaocomicos were part of the Piscataway hegemony, other evidence indicates that they were autonomous. Nonetheless, the Yaocomicos shared much in common with the Piscataways..." See Barbara Lawatsch-Boomgaarden and Josef IJsewijn, *Voyage to Maryland: Original Latin Narrative of Andrew White, S.J.*, (Wauconda, Illinois: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 1995), p. 11.

<sup>25</sup> Timothy B. Riordan, *The Plundering Time: Maryland and the English Civil War 1645-1646*, (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2004): p. 34.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

British Secretary of State, was granted a renewed charter (from his earlier settlement of Ferryland/Province of Avalon in Newfoundland) from King Charles I encompassing the land which is now Maryland and a portion of Delaware.<sup>28</sup> This proprietary charter outlined his claims to the territory and his extensive authority in governing the colony. That same year, Calvert died and the charter was passed on to and executed by his son Caecilius (Cecil) Calvert, who would become the Second Lord Baltimore. In March of 1634, approximately 150 colonists, including the appointed governor Leonard Calvert—brother of Cecil and second son of George—came aboard the Ark and the Dove from England to Maryland. In the location they landed was erected the province’s original capital, “grandiosely named” St. Mary’s City.<sup>29</sup>

Governor Leonard Calvert purchased the land for St. Mary’s City from the Yaocomico Indians. Archaeologist Timothy Riordan notes that, “in the eyes of the Susquehannock, Lord Baltimore’s colonists had established themselves in enemy territory and had made an alliance with their rivals. Consequently the Susquehannocks viewed them with suspicion.”<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, the settlers had to contend with Virginian colonists opposed to the founding of Maryland.<sup>31</sup> This led them to fortify their settlement, as Leonard Calvert described, “within one half mile of the river, within [an armed] pallizado of one hundred and twentie yard square....”<sup>32</sup> Soon after, the fledgling

---

<sup>28</sup> Jared Sparks, *The Library of American Biography: George Calvert, The First Lord Baltimore*, Second Series, Vol. IX, (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1846): pp. 18-21.

<sup>29</sup> Thomas P. Jackson, *Maryland Design: The First Wall Between Church and State*, Occasional Papers, (St. Mary’s City, MD: Center for the Study of Democracy, Fall 2008), p. 6.

<sup>30</sup> Riordan, 34.

<sup>31</sup> Henry M. Miller, “Forts of St. Mary’s,” (Historic St. Mary’s City, n.d.), <<http://www.stmaryscity.org/Archaeology/Forts%20of%20St.%20Mary%27s/Forts.html>>, (accessed 10 December 2009).

<sup>32</sup> Leonard Calvert, “Letter From Leonard Calvert to Sir Richard Lechford, 30 May 1634,” In *The Calvert Papers*, No. Three. Fund Publication 35 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1889), p. 21. Quoted in Miller, *Forts of St. Mary’s*.

institutions of government began to take form. For instance, an Assembly met for the first time in 1635. Furthermore, the population began to move away from St. Mary's, settling in a dispersed fashion to meet the intensive land requirements for a successful tobacco crop.<sup>33</sup> Tobacco drove not only seventeenth century economics, but was also the force which defined settlement and land use patterns, which in turn influenced sociopolitical development of the province.

One of the first challenges to the young Maryland government came from William Claiborne, who had established a trading post on Kent Island in the northern area of the Chesapeake Bay. This post played a strategic role in the beaver pelt trade, and Claiborne held influence among the Susquehannocks. Claiborne rejected the authority of the new Maryland government, instead claiming his post lay in Virginia. In the 1630's, Governor Leonard Calvert sent an expedition to take the Island, successfully forcing Claiborne from the province.

This, however, would not be the last time that the Maryland Government had to deal with Claiborne. In 1645, Richard Ingle, a privateer who sympathized with Parliamentary forces during England's Civil War, overthrew the Catholic proprietary government (which was more sympathetic to the Royalist faction) and caused general havoc among the province's Catholics during a period known as the "plundering time."<sup>34</sup> Perhaps acting in collusion with Ingle, Claiborne sought to retake his post at Kent Island.<sup>35</sup> Governor Calvert, who had been forced to Virginia during the rebellion led proprietary forces to retake the colony and reestablish order.

---

<sup>33</sup> Both the role of tobacco and settlement patterning in colonial Maryland are further discussed later in this paper.

<sup>34</sup> See Riordan's *The Plundering Time* for a detailed account of this period.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, 185.

Governor Calvert died shortly after reestablishing proprietary control, recommending Thomas Greene to take his place. Cecil Lord Baltimore replaced Greene with William Stone, a Protestant, to help quell discontent among Protestant freeholders with the Catholic proprietary. In 1652, Claiborne and others attempted again, this time as Parliamentary commissioners, to seize the Maryland government in what is known as the Reduction of Maryland.<sup>36</sup> These events transpired after further civil war in England between Royalist and Parliamentarian forces. Stone was forced into exile, but raised a force at proprietary order to retake control of the colony and sailed to Providence—the home of many of the commissioners. What became known as the Battle of the Severn took place on 25 March 1655 resulting in the defeat of Stone's proprietary force at the hands of William Fuller and Puritan forces.

Cecil Lord Baltimore was only able to fully regain control of the province after the restoration. He appointed Josias Fendall governor and the commissioners peaceably relinquished control. During his tenure as governor, Fendall worked to again establish order. In 1660, however, he abandoned his governorship under Lord Baltimore and accepted a commission as governor from the Lower House of the Assembly, in what amounted to a bloodless rebellion against proprietary authority by attempting to usurp Calvert power and form a commonwealth. This became known as Fendall's Rebellion.

Fendall's rebellion was short-lived, however. When Charles II regained the throne in England a few months later, Lord Baltimore commissioned his brother Philip, who had been Secretary of the province, to the governorship. Fendall was exiled from Maryland, appealed and was pardoned, but then banned from ever holding office. The resumption of power by Charles II signified the beginning of a period of relative stability

---

<sup>36</sup> See *Archives of Maryland Online*, Vol. 3, pp. 269-272.

within Maryland. In 1661, Cecil sent his son Charles to replace Philip as Governor, but Philip—appointed Chancellor and continuing as a councilor—would remain active in the colony’s politics. In 1675, Cecil Calvert died, and proprietorship passed on to Governor Charles, who became 3<sup>rd</sup> Lord Baltimore.

In 1684, Charles left Maryland to return to England to resolve a dispute with William Penn, proprietor of Pennsylvania, over the northern boundary of the province. England’s Glorious Revolution occurred while he was there, and these political events influenced a group of Protestant “agitators and ambitious men” in Maryland to raise a militia against the proprietary government.<sup>37</sup> Despite the relative stability of government during the period preceding this revolution in 1689, an undercurrent of discontent with the exercise of proprietary power (perceived as near-monarchical power) and, to a lesser extent, “fear of popery” existed among some Protestants in the colony.<sup>38</sup> This malcontent group, led by John Coode and Nehemiah Blakiston, seized the opportunity to overthrow proprietary authority, given Charles Calvert’s absence from Maryland.

The two along with a larger committee ruled the colony from the period of 1689-1692, when the crown appointed an agent, Lionel Copley, to serve as royal governor of the province. Copley’s assumption of the governorship marked the beginning of a period of royal (non-proprietary) control of Maryland. Following Copley’s death in 1693, a series of interim governors filled the void until Francis Nicholson, the new royally-appointed governor, arrived in the colony in 1694. The following year, Nicholson moved the capital from St. Mary’s City to Annapolis.

---

<sup>37</sup> Carr & Jordan, *Maryland’s Revolution of Government* p. xii.

<sup>38</sup> See Carr & Jordan, *Maryland’s Revolution of Government* for a detailed analysis of the causes and outcomes of the 1689 revolution.

*Council Mobility in Context: Seventeenth Century Travel & Settlement Patterning*

St. Mary's City originally appeared to have been a haphazardly organized village. By the 1660s, however, the capital had a town center with roads radiating from it, forming what look like triangles in plan; the triangles formed the established boulevards of the town and at the nodes of each were the key government buildings and other loci of power, including the statehouse, prison, Jesuit chapel, etc.<sup>39</sup> Based on this, a baroque style of design is believed to have been used in the development of the early capital. This baroque layout of St. Mary's City and the similarly-fashioned architecture of primary buildings (which were constructed with expensive brick and tile construction materials, as opposed to the ordinary earthfast, wood and clapboard structures of the time) was a tool used by the proprietor and the province's elite to psychologically reinforce social hierarchy by drawing residents' and visitors' eyes to sources of authority in the capital.<sup>40</sup> Such considerations ostensibly imply proprietary intention, at least initially, to make St. Mary's City a permanent, and perhaps the principal source of political and social power in Maryland.

It did not take long, however, for the Maryland settlers to begin moving away from St. Mary's City, which never became the powerful metropolis originally envisioned. In a well-known quote, Governor Charles Calvert, also third Lord Baltimore, described Maryland's human geography:

---

<sup>39</sup> Henry Miller, "Baroque Cities in the Wilderness: Archaeology and Urban Development in the Colonial Chesapeake," *Historical Archaeology* 22, no. 2, pp. 57-73. See also 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 Archaeology Series* No. 2, St. Mary's City, Maryland.

<sup>40</sup> Mark P. Leone and Silas D. Hurry, "Seeing: The Power of Town Planning in the Chesapeake," *Historical Archaeology* 32, No. 4, pp. 34-62.



The people there not affecting to build nere each other but soe as to have their houses nere the Watters for conveniencye of trade and their Lands on each syde of and behynde Their houses by which it happens that in most places There are not ffifty houses in the space of Thirty Myles And for this Reason it is that they have beene hitherto only able to divide This Provynce into Countyes without beeing able to make any subdivision.<sup>41</sup>

Settlement patterning in the Chesapeake region centered on the tobacco economy. As Smolek argued (and Calvert had recognized), the model for settlement patterning was based on land that had light, sandy soil favorable for tobacco growth, ready access to potable water, and proximity to waterfront location, allowing trade through port access.<sup>42</sup> Tobacco rapidly depletes the soil of nutrients, and successful planters required a significant area to profitably produce the crop. What resulted was a low population density throughout the province.

Historian Kevin Kelly recognized that settlement patterns are contingent on social and economic conditions. He describes how non-waterfront properties—cheaper land—began to be utilized under this same, scattered settlement pattern. Plummeting tobacco prices in the 1670's led to lower land prices, and those who purchased previously undesirable property further inland could afford transportation costs to shipping points for their goods. A smaller initial investment for similar acreage to pricier areas allowed

---

<sup>41</sup> *Archives of Maryland Online*, Vol. 5, p. 266.

<sup>42</sup> Michael A. Smolek, "Soyle Light, Well-Watered, and on the River: Settlement Patterning of Maryland's Frontier Plantations," *The Third Hall of Records Conference on Maryland History: 1984*, <<http://www.jefpat.org/Soyle%20Light%203-31-05.pdf>>, (accessed 10 December 2009).

for settlement incursions away from coastlines.<sup>43</sup> These scattered landholdings naturally shaped and influenced social conditions in the area (rural lifestyles, absence of strong community institutions). Kelly's work illustrates the point that seventeenth century settlement patterns in the Chesapeake were contingent on everyday social and economic realities while simultaneously reinforcing or influencing social and political development on a larger scale.<sup>44</sup>

In the midst of this dispersed settlement, St. Mary's City, the capital of the province, was one of the few places of concentrated population. As capital, St. Mary's was host to the operations of provincial government. However, upon even a cursory analysis of Council records, it is evident that the Council convened at dozens of locations throughout and beyond the borders of the province. Scholars of colonial Maryland history and politics have briefly noted the mobility of the Council, and, to a lesser extent, the Assembly.<sup>45</sup> To my knowledge, however, there has not been a comprehensive analysis or examination of this behavior.

One brief mention of Council mobility suggests that the varied meeting locations were a result of the provincial government's lack of a permanent meeting place. Henry C. Forman writes:

The Government of Maryland assembled in sundry places, until the Province acquired the Smith's Town House in 1662. During those twenty-eight years before 1662, the members of the Assembly met at the Fort of

---

<sup>43</sup> Kevin P. Kelly, "In dispers'd Country Plantations': Settlement Patters in Seventeenth-Century Surry County, Virginia," in *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society*, ed. Thad Tate & David Ammerman, (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1979): pp. 183-205.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 204-205.

<sup>45</sup> Henry C. Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's: Buried Cities of Romance*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), p. 268.

St. Mary's, the Fort of St. Inigoe's, St. Inigoe's House, the Palace of St. John's of Secretary Lewger, the house of Captain Henry Fleet on the West St. Mary's Manor, and—outside the St. Mary's neighborhood—at Patuxent, or Preston-at-Patuxent, of Richard Preston, St. Leonard's and the houses of Doctor Thomas Gerrard and Mr. Robert Slye. Long did the Government long for a settled home. When it did settle down for a number of years, it was in a tavern which needed a new roof.<sup>46</sup>

Keep in mind that the Council constituted the Upper House of the Assembly. Forman's description of meeting locations can be traced through the Council proceedings. However, he does not mention several other places at which the Council met during this twenty-eight year period, including meetings as far away as Kent Island or a 1661 meeting held at Appaquimmin in present-day Delaware. It is hard to imagine the Council would travel such far distances simply for lack of a permanent, public meeting place. Furthermore, while the General Assembly certainly seems to settle down at St. Mary's during this period as Forman describes, the same is not true for the Council. The year Smith's Town House is procured at St. Mary's, the Council also met at St. John's, Portobacke, and Resurrection Manor on the Patuxent River. The following year, 1663, the group convened not only at St. Mary's, but also at St. John's, Dela Brooke Manor on the Patuxent, the Indian town of Pascataway, Goldsmith's Hall in Baltimore County, and the Fort of New Amstill in Delaware. Even with VanSweringen's Council Chamber at St. Mary's, the group continued to meet at remote locations. Clearly, other factors drove the selection of Council meeting locations, and not just a simple lack of a permanent meeting place at the capital.

---

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

Another suggestion centers on the geographical location of St. Mary's City within the province as a whole. Explaining the development of Maryland's counties and systems of local government, historians Lois Carr and David Jordan observed that, "scattered settlement early rendered it impractical to administer all provincial affairs from St. Mary's City, the capital on the lower western peninsula."<sup>47</sup> However, it is not farfetched to consider an argument that the isolated location of the capital within the province, along with Chesapeake patterns of settlement, rendered it difficult to conduct administrative affairs solely from the capital. Under such a theory, the Council would have traveled to streamline administrative affairs within the province.

A response to this necessitates the recall of the aforementioned Smolek and Kelly discussions. The scattered settlement patterning, based on economic motives and geographical considerations (favorable soils, plentiful land, nearness to navigable water, potable water sources) necessitated a response from Maryland's political establishment that erected and empowered localized courts and administrative institutions in the form of counties.<sup>48</sup> Over the course of the century, these county governments grew in power in to account for the distribution of Maryland's population, further demonstrating the effect on sociopolitical institutions. As Carr and Jordan describe, "The period from 1660 to 1689 saw a great expansion in the powers of the county courts and their development into local governments. By the 1660's, the commissions...enable[d] the local justices to punish all the offenses that occurred with any frequency in their communities."<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> Carr and Jordan, p. 8.

<sup>48</sup> Kelly's article explicitly describes settlement patterning based on *socioeconomic* factors. In using "economic motives" to describe factors influencing settlement, I mean to include social factors as well. Consider the relationship of maximization of wealth in a commodity economy and coincident effects on social standing.

<sup>49</sup> Carr and Jordan, pp. 8-9.

While the proprietary government responded to scattered settlement and the administrative problems such patterns posed by erecting counties, it is unlikely that the creation of counties alone led the Council to meet in a diverse set of locations within the province. Firstly, we can point to the county system and its increase in power over the seventeenth century as proprietary response to decentralizing administrative and judicial functions from the capital, negating the need for the Council to travel around the province to conduct administrative business. If the Council's purpose was to supervise or otherwise augment county-level governments, the Council's records don't support it. The Council would have needed to travel on a somewhat regular circuit to each county or at least to travel to each county occasionally in response to its public needs. Analyzing the actual record of Council meeting locations, however, I found that no pattern readily emerges and instead, meeting locations (at first glance) appear quite arbitrary.<sup>50</sup>

Despite proprietary establishment of four counties on the Eastern Shore in the seventeenth century, the only records of the Council meeting in any of them are for the meetings held 16, 18, and 20 April, 1647 on Kent Island.<sup>51</sup> The number of meetings on the Western Shore, when analyzed spatially, also refutes this theory. For instance, the Council met only a few times in Baltimore County in the seventeenth century—four times within the same month at Spesutia, the home of Colonel Nathaniel Utie (who would later become a Councilor) on 13, 15, 18, and 21 May, 1661, twice at Goldsmith's Hall within a two-week period in 1663, and once at the home of George Wells, on 17

---

<sup>50</sup> Meeting locations appear arbitrary in the sense that there is no recognizable circuit of travel.

<sup>51</sup> These counties are: Kent (erected 1642), Talbot (1662), Somerset (1666), and Dorchester (1668). Five, if Cecil (1674) is included. See Edward B. Mathews, *The Counties of Maryland, Their Origin, Boundaries, and Election Districts*. (Maryland Geological Survey: 1907), On *Archives of Maryland Online*, Vol. 630.

April 1685.<sup>52</sup> Compare this to the hundreds of meetings at several locations within St. Mary's County. If the administrative impracticality of St. Mary's City were the impetus for the Council meeting in varied locations throughout the province, they would not have met with such disproportionate frequency in the most proximate area to the capital; that is, they would have met fewer times in St. Mary's City than they did.

Nor does Council meeting location appear to have correlated with the colony's growth over the century. As settlement of the province spread up the bay and on the Eastern Shore while simultaneously encroaching inland, perhaps the Council was meeting in such varied locations as a public demonstration of proprietary power. After all, Lord Baltimore had "instruct[ed] his various agents in the colony to create for him at least two tracts of 6000 acres each in every county."<sup>53</sup> This implies a desire to have a significant proprietary presence diffused throughout the province. It would then make sense that this presence could also be achieved through display of political power over a diverse geographic area.<sup>54</sup>

However, we must again consider the lack of Council meetings in the northern and eastern areas of the province relative to the number nearer the capital. There is no record of the Council convening in Dorchester, Somerset, or Talbot counties and the body met only a handful of times in Baltimore County in the seventeenth century. Unless

---

<sup>52</sup> Goldsmith's Hall was the home of Major Samuel Goldsmith, "believed to have been on the Bush River" in Baltimore County according to George Johnston, *History of Cecil County, Maryland and the Early Settlements Around the Head of the Chesapeake Bay and Delaware River*, (Elkton, MD: Reprinted by Heritage Books, 1998), pp. 60-62. By 1695, Goldsmith's Hall was possessed by Colonel George Wells, Goldsmith's son-in-law. See *Will of George Wells of Baltimore County*, (20 February 1695), <<http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~wellsfam/country/maryland/mbalwil.htm>>, (accessed 10 December 2009).

<sup>53</sup> Julia A. King and Scott M. Strickland, *In Search of Zekiah Manor: Archaeological Investigations at His Lordship's Favor*, (2009: p. 2).

<sup>54</sup> Also consider the cost of travel at this time and how frequent Council travel could act as a display of wealth, along with power.

the Council was specifically choosing meeting places to project their power at explicit times in the colony's history, such a consideration would seem to refute this explanation as well.

What is more, Councilors were often some of the most prominent men in their communities. As Jordan notes, "from 1660 to 1689, St. Mary's County had contributed twelve councilors; Calvert, six; Charles, five; Anne Arundel, four; Talbot, two; and Somerset and Cecil, one each."<sup>55</sup> That councilors represented most of Maryland's existing counties during this period shows that proprietary political power could be projected across a geographically diverse area, without necessarily having the Council travel. "The governor and council...could wield considerable local control: through appointments to the bench; through power to remedy various kinds of grievances... [and] through power to sit as justices on any county court."<sup>56</sup> Additionally, the business of the Council was confidential, and when the group traveled, it frequently met at private homes rather than public venues. If the intention was to display proprietary power, this would not be the most effective way to do it.<sup>57</sup> The Provincial Court, a body in greater contact with the public, may have been better suited to such a purpose, but this group did not travel on circuit.<sup>58</sup> Based on such points, it is unlikely that Council travel was based on exhibition of proprietary political power throughout the growing province.

Also noteworthy are the challenges of long-distance travel in the seventeenth century. The significance of the geographical diversity of Council meeting locations is

---

<sup>55</sup> Jordan "Maryland's Privy Council 1637-1715," p. 77.

<sup>56</sup> Carr and Jordan, p. 10.

<sup>57</sup> At a meeting at St. Leonard's on 5 October 1658, charges are brought by the province's Attorney General against councilor Thomas Gerrard for breaking the oath of confidentiality, among other things. Councilors "are by Oath bound the debates of the said Councell to keepe Secrett to the end the intentions & endeavours of his Lordship & them his faithfull Councillors." See *Archives of Maryland Online*, Vol. 3, p. 354.

<sup>58</sup> Carr and Jordan, p. 9.

made all the more striking when one considers the challenges of travel in early Maryland. In her study of 17<sup>th</sup>-century mobility in the Chesapeake, Anne Grulich notes that, “in terrain like that of the Chesapeake region, travel over any distance greater than a few miles was not a horse, or boat, or foot proposition. It was an integration of all three means of conveyance.”<sup>59</sup> Seventeenth century travel was a considerable undertaking which required numerous resources: a horse with appropriate riding equipment, access to inns or the homes of acquaintances, supplies to last for several days, oftentimes a boat, and in some cases a guide. The importance accorded to the resources for travel is illustrated by the case of James Douglas who, in 1686, was convicted by the Provincial Court of “felonious stealing and taking away a Horse Bridle and Sadie.”<sup>60</sup> Such a crime carried with it a sentence of death by hanging, but Douglas’ petition to the Council for mercy led to a decision to pardon him—a decision concealed from him until the noose was around his neck. Such a severe punishment for the theft of a horse bridle and saddle demonstrates how precious such transportation-related items were during this time.

Augustine Herman’s account of his 1659 trek from the Dutch settlement at New Amstill (now New Castle, Delaware) to St. Mary’s City provides some sense of what travel was like at this time. The most noticeable aspect of this expedition is that Herman departed New Amstill on September 30, 1659 and did not arrive at Phillip Calvert’s house at St. Mary’s City until October 7, 1659—an eight day trip consisting of significant hiking (sometimes through untrammelled wilderness), rowing a constantly leaking boat,

---

<sup>59</sup> Anne D. Grulich, “The Mettle of Mobility: Travel in the Colonial Chesapeake as Exhibited by Metal Artifacts,” <http://www.chesapeakearchaeology.org/AnneGrulich/HTML%20Files/Introduction.htm>, (accessed 10 December 2009).

<sup>60</sup> See *Archives of Maryland Online*, Volume 5, pp. 498-499.



horses, etc.<sup>61</sup> Today, the trip measures about 115 miles as the crow flies (or approximately 160 miles taking a feasible land route through Baltimore which skirts the Bay) and takes approximately three to three and a half hours by car.<sup>62</sup> Herman's journey was about 140 miles and involved a considerable amount of rowing.<sup>63</sup> Additionally, "His trip required Native guides, compass and navigational skills, and intimate knowledge of the physical environment."<sup>64</sup> Add to this the unpredictability of weather, seventeenth century health considerations, etc. and it is quite clear what a massive undertaking long-distance travel was.

Given the costly, difficult, and sometimes dangerous nature of seventeenth century travel, the Council's frequent meetings outside St. Mary's City (sometimes at locations greater than 75 miles away) raise the question as to why they would travel so far from the capital city and ostensible power center of the province. While many historians of colonial Maryland politics have noticed the tendency of the Council (and Assembly, to a lesser extent) to travel, there is little discussion of why the group left St. Mary's City and met where it did.

The lack of a suitable meeting place, administrative impracticality of the capital, or the desire to project proprietary power do not sufficiently explain the Council's tendency to frequently convene away from St. Mary's City. This leaves us with the question as to why this body often traveled away from the capital for meetings. By spatially analyzing Council meetings over the seventeenth century, as well as the political

---

<sup>61</sup> Clayton C. Hall, ed. "Journal of the Dutch Embassy to Maryland, by Augustine Herrman, 1659," in *Narratives of Early Maryland 1633-1684*, (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1910): pp. 309-334.

<sup>62</sup> It should be noted that this is not the route taken by Herman. See Hall or Grulich for documentation on the actual route, which involved much boat travel. Also, the Bay Bridge offers modern travelers an alternate route.

<sup>63</sup> Distance was estimated using *ArcMap* GIS software.

<sup>64</sup> See Grulich.

clime and the business conducted during these meetings, I hope to shed some light on this matter.

### *Methodology*

To explore where, and when the Council of Maryland met and the business conducted during these meetings, I used the records of Council meetings transcribed and published in the *Archives of Maryland*. The *Archives of Maryland* were created in 1882, when the Maryland General Assembly passed legislation authorizing the Maryland Historical Society to collect, transcribe, and publish selected historical documents important to the state's history. These volumes, including the Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, have since been digitized and are publicly accessible through the Maryland State Archives website ([www.msa.state.md.us](http://www.msa.state.md.us)). These online archives served as the primary resource in my data collection.

The first crucial step involved the collection of a significant amount of data—including all known Council meetings from 1637 to 1695. These dates signify the period St. Mary's City served as the capital of the Maryland colony—1695 being the year Governor Nicholson moved the capital up the Chesapeake Bay to Annapolis.<sup>65</sup>

This first step involved the creation of a simple database to annotate Council proceedings. I set up a spreadsheet for each relevant volume of the archives for this purpose using Microsoft Excel.<sup>66</sup> This spreadsheet listed each meeting of the Council found in the *Archives* and was organized by archive volume and page numbers for each

---

<sup>65</sup> Although St. Mary's City was established as the capital in 1634, the availability of Council records from the Archives of Maryland begins with the year 1637, coinciding with the arrival of John Lewger, Councillor and Secretary of the province. Lewger brought with him a new Council commission from England.

<sup>66</sup> Relevant volumes from the *Archives of Maryland Online* covering the given time period include volumes: 3 (1636-1637), 5 (1667-1687/8), 8 (1687/8-1693), 15 (1671-1681), 17 (1681-1685/6), and 20 (1693-1697).

given meeting, the date of each meeting, meeting location (if stated, otherwise left blank), Council members present for each meeting, and a brief summary of any business discussed or actions taken at each meeting. Data collection, then, centered on systematically combing through the relevant proceedings of the Council and accruing information based on the aforementioned categories.

It is appropriate to mention that, given the focus of this analysis on Council

July the xvij<sup>th</sup> MdClnij  
patent DenizacOn mutatis mutandis  
ut est in fol 277. John Jourdean.

Att a Councell held att Petuxent the 6<sup>th</sup> day of Aug<sup>o</sup> 1667

Charles Caluert Esq<sup>r</sup> Leutenn<sup>t</sup> General and Cheife  
Justice  
present—Philip Caluert Esq<sup>r</sup> Chancello<sup>r</sup>  
Jerome White  
Henry Coursey Esq<sup>rs</sup> Justices

Cap<sup>t</sup> In<sup>o</sup> Odber and his Seruant being lately murdered by  
some of the Wiccomeses Indians, and satisfaccon being of  
them demanded and to returne and deliuer up those Indians  
(who Committed the murder) by William Coursey Esq<sup>r</sup> being  
impowred thereunto by the Gouverno<sup>r</sup>, which said demand was

Figure 1: Ordinary Proceedings Format

8, 15, 17, and 20. Figure 1 provides an example of the ordinary proceedings format. A

persons an absolute and free pardon of & for all Crimes of  
Rebellion, or other offences whatsoever of what Nature soever,  
Committed within this Prov: at any time heretofore to this  
present day. And of all losses of life, lands, or Goods & of  
all other penalties whatsoever any way incurred by the said  
offences, or any of them Given at the Ile of Kent this 16<sup>th</sup> day  
of Aprill Anno 1647 Leonard Calvert

Comiss<sup>n</sup> for the  
Comder, of Kent Know all men by these presents that I  
Leonard Calvert Esq Governour & Cap<sup>t</sup> Grall of the Province  
of Maryland under the R<sup>l</sup> Honble the Ld Prop<sup>r</sup> of the Same,  
reposing especiall trust & confidence in the fidelity, & prudence

Figure 2: Atypical Proceedings Format

treated as a separate meeting and given a row in the database, although records in such a format sometimes failed to specify a location. Such a format was utilized primarily in the earlier years of Council records during the governorships of Leonard Calvert, Thomas

meeting location, two formats were found in the records for descriptions of location. The first was the more typical meeting heading in the records, explicitly designating the business of a new meeting and listing location and those present. This method of formatting the Council proceedings is the norm throughout Volumes 5,

portion of Volume 3 differs from this norm, however. This format gives the location and date at the end of an order, commission, or other form of Council business, often including only the Governor's or Secretary's name. Each item of business in this format with a unique date was

Greene, and William Stone (1637-1657). Meetings which do not specify a location infrequently occur in the proceedings. Because Council mobility was not specific to a given time period (the group traveled throughout the century), it is difficult to infer where these meetings at unspecified locations occurred. While some *may* have occurred at St. Mary's it is impossible to say with certainty and to make assumptions for each instance would threaten the validity of the study. Because of this, data was collected for these meetings, but such incidences were excluded from the analysis. When Josias Fendall became governor in 1657, the format changed to the more standard example. For an example of this second method of formatting, see Figure 2. While such a format may make data collection slightly more difficult and increase the likelihood of error in interpreting the records for my purposes, a conscientious, careful reading and examination of each page has hopefully minimized any such issues.

Once this spreadsheet was completed, I created another database to organize the original spreadsheets into a more manageable format. This analysis seeks to explain the motive for Council travel (the *why*) by examining the relationship between meeting location (the *where*), business attended to at these locations, and historical circumstance (the *what* and *when*). In total, the number of unique Council meetings afforded a sample size of 640, each unique datum represented by a row in the master spreadsheet.

Headings in the master database included citation (referring to the volume and page number in the archives from which the information was drawn), meeting date (with data arranged chronologically),<sup>67</sup> and meeting location. The remaining columns were devoted to various Council functions or business, dividing the original category of

---

<sup>67</sup> This, despite the non-chronological nature of the volumes from the archives—the dates of some volumes overlap.

“Council Business/Actions Taken” into several components. Summarized Council business was then placed into one or more of these constituent categories, including foreign policy, trade, etc. When Council business touched the criteria pertaining to a specific category on the master database, an “x” was entered under that heading, or, if business pertained to a specific group (this is true for the Foreign Policy and Trade columns), a coded system of initials took the place of the “x.” Otherwise, spaces were left blank if business did not touch on given criteria.

See Table 1 for a summary and example of each of these categories. Foreign Policy concerns any Council dealings or business pertaining to sovereign foreign governments, including other colonies, European nations, or native tribes.

Declarations of war, peace treaties, and orders on how to interact with local

<b>Category</b>	<b>Subcategories</b>	<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Example</b>
Commissions & Appointments	Civil/Militia	C-A/C, C-A/M	Commission of county sheriff
County/Hundred Establishment		C-HE	Erection of a county
Foreign Policy	Indians/Others	FP/I, FP/O	Peace treaty with Indians
Immigration/Denization		IMM	Denization of foreign settlers
Judicial Affairs	Criminal/Civil	JUD/CR, JUD/CI	Hearing a petition/complaint
Land Policy		LP	Order to survey land
Legislative Affairs		LEG	Proroguing the Assembly
Military		MIL	Expedition planning
Taxation/Fiscal Policy		T-FP	Order to collect proprietary fees
Trade & Tobacco	Indians/Others	TR/I, TR/O	Establishment of ports

Table 1: Categories of Council Business

Indians are all examples of Council business designated “foreign policy.” The category Trade was similarly treated. In this case, however, the Other subcategory could also refer to trade affairs within the province. Trade with foreign entities was coded as both “Trade” and “Foreign Policy.” Not surprisingly, categories were not mutually exclusive—this system of data organization relied on the consideration of data applicability to each individual heading. Actions encompassed by this category include

such things as trade licensing, tobacco pricing tobacco-related business, establishment of ports, or tariff institution and adjustment, to name a few general examples. Military decisions and policies, including planning for expeditions, orders to the militia (training, etc.), Ranger policy, declarations of war, etc. were the types of Council activity assigned to the Military category.

Militia commissions, however, were treated separately as a subcategory under the Commissions/Appointments heading. As settlement in the colony expanded and population grew, the governor and Council created counties and empowered other local governments, including hundreds (hence the “County & Hundred Establishment” category). The Council frequently filled county positions—justice, coroner, sheriff, etc.—by issuing civil commissions and appointments to those believed to be qualified.

As for the Council’s judicial business, examples included hearing petitions, arbitrating disputes, acting as an appellate court, issuance of pardons, etc. The Legislative category deals with any actions taken by the Council pertinent to legislation or the Colonial Assembly. For instance, initiating, discussing, or drafting laws (or laws considered or passed by the Assembly), or calling or proroguing the Assembly are examples of Council behavior that would apply to the Legislative category.

The remaining categories are relatively straightforward, and so will be described concisely. The Land Policy category pertains to any orders or actions regarding the use of land. Such a category would include delineation of geographical boundaries, orders to survey land, granting of tracts or land patents, indemnification of lands, etc.

Taxation/Fiscal Policy deals with business touching on the imposition or adjustment of fees or taxes to be paid to the proprietor, as well as provincial expenditures. Finally, the

Immigration/Denization category includes policies regarding foreign individuals settling in the province and the rights extended to them. Council business sometimes included issuance of official recognition of denization of individuals wishing to settle in Maryland, having come from Dutch, Swedish, or various other colonies. All of these categories together cover nearly all of the observed Council business. It is based on this data, then, that the analysis is performed.

The collected data was broken into geographic clusters in an attempt to identify any trends of Council activity in a given area in the province (although individual locations were analyzed singularly as well). These clusters were based on geographic distance (as the crow flies) from the capital. The immediate St. Mary's City area served as its own cluster, while locations within a 5-mile radius of the capital served as another cluster. These locations represent less than half of one day's travel from the St. Mary's town center. This cluster includes meeting locations such as Pope's Freehold, Fort St. Inigoes, and West St. Mary's. Also included in the 5-mile cluster was St. John's. Despite being located within the St. Mary's town boundary, (its border comprised the northern boundary of St. Mary's townland) I have included this location within this cluster based on two primary considerations.<sup>68</sup> One is its geographical distinction from the center of town, situated on a hill across Mill Creek (now St. John's Pond). Also, St. John's is referred to separately from St. Mary's in both the proceedings and on Augustine Herman's 1670 map of Maryland.<sup>69</sup> Based on the number of meetings held there over the period of study, I chose to designate it separately from St. Mary's for the purposes of analysis.

---

<sup>68</sup> See Maryland settlement map in Riordan, p. 2.

<sup>69</sup> See Augustine Herman's *Virginia and Maryland Map*, (1670), Maryland State Archives, <<http://www.msa.md.gov/msa/educ/exhibits/images/fig18.jpg>>, (accessed 10 December, 2009).

The next cluster encompassed locations in a radius between 5- and 30-miles from St. Mary's. The 30-mile mark was selected based on some very rough calculations of how much ground one could cover within a single day. Looking again to Herman's journey from New Castle, Delaware, to St. Mary's City, we find that Herman took about 7 ½ days to make this trip.<sup>70</sup> His route from Delaware to St. Mary's was approximately 140 miles.<sup>71</sup> Although Herman rowed and sailed for portions of his trip (which would likely be unnecessary to reach many of the locations included in this cluster), taking 7 ½ days to cover 140 miles gives us an average of 18.67 miles covered per day. Considering the possibility of covering more ground on horseback, as well as distance that could have been covered more quickly had Herman's skiff not been leaking, I boosted this number to 30 miles as a ballpark maximal one-day coverable distance for travel in seventeenth century Maryland. Keep in mind that this number is a *very* rough estimate; however, it suits the purpose of this analysis and conveniently encompasses nearly the entire Wicomico River and the meeting locations on its banks.

The next cluster included locations within a 30-70 mile radius of St. Mary's City, representing about a 2-3 day journey, utilizing the available modes of travel. This cluster includes a group of meeting locations in the Anne Arundel County area as well as a few locations in (present-day) Prince George's and Charles counties. The limit of the 70-mile radius is roughly demarcated by the Patapsco River, which serves as a general boundary between this and the next cluster, or all locations beyond a 70-mile radius from the capital. Designated the 'long-distance cluster,' this group of meeting locations includes Baltimore County locations and meeting places outside of the province. By breaking

---

<sup>70</sup> Clayton Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland*, p. 309-334.

<sup>71</sup> Bear in mind that these numbers are very rough estimates derived from Grulich's annotation of Herman's journey. See Grulich, *Mettle of Mobility*.



meeting locations into geographical clusters, analysis was simplified and evidence of specific trends in the data for specific geographic areas could be determined.

Regression analysis was used to identify and determine the significance of relationships observed in the data. With the assistance of economist Joan Poor, select variables from the master database were converted into dummy variables and a logit regression performed. The model utilized location (organized by geographic clusters) as the dependant variable, comparing each of the clusters to other variables, including Council activities, major governors, meeting date, and whether the meeting occurred during a period of native unrest or included negotiations with other groups. Through this analysis, the significance of relationships between meeting location and the aforementioned variables could be determined to corroborate or reject my inferences. Additionally, the regression is useful in finding significant relationships that may have otherwise gone unnoticed.

### *Analysis/Discussion*

Over 50 distinct Council meeting locations were identified in the Council Proceedings for the period from 1637 through 1695.<sup>72</sup> Of the 640 Council meetings for which a meeting location is given, 474, or 74.06%, were held at the provincial capital.<sup>73</sup> Fully one quarter of the Council meetings, however, occurred in locations removed from the capital. Between 1637 and 1695, the Council met 166 times at approximately 40 locations outside the capital. While some meeting locations were only a brief walk or

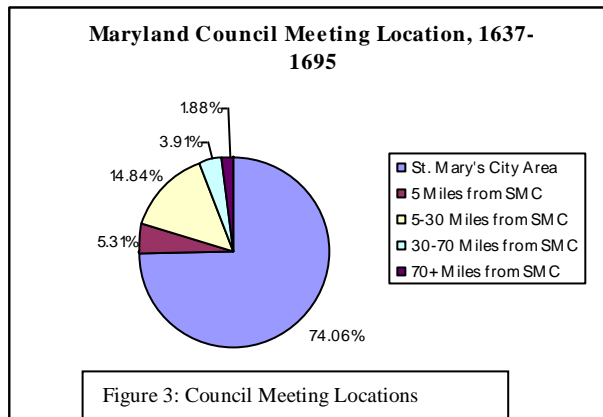
---

<sup>72</sup> Council proceedings sometimes referred to a single location by different names. In such circumstances, the collected data was combined and treated as a solitary location. For instance, Notley Hall is identified as both Manahowickes Neck Plantation and the Deputy Governor's home in the proceedings.

<sup>73</sup> While many of these meetings were designated generally as "St. Mary's" in the archives, private homes and government buildings in the capital were included in calculating these numbers.

horseback ride from the capital, many others, including a few located outside Maryland, involved multi-day journeys.

Meeting locations were analyzed based on distance from the capital. I gathered data by examining the number of meetings held at each location and what business the Council conducted at each. This data was then aggregated for each geographic cluster.<sup>74</sup>



Based on these aggregate totals, aside from the 74.06% of meetings at St. Mary's, 5.31% were held within a 5-mile radius of St. Mary's, 14.84% between 5- and 30-miles, 3.91% between 30- and 70-miles, and 1.88%

beyond a 70-mile radius (see Figure 3).

Was the Maryland Council's travel to meetings unusual? The meetings of the Virginia Council of State provide a context for comparison. The developmental similarities between the two colonies—scattered settlement patterns, tobacco-oriented economies, etc.—help to provide a meaningful foundation for comparison of Council mobility. Despite some differences in the structure of government between the two colonies, the Virginia Council functioned similarly to its Maryland counterpart.<sup>75</sup> Like the Maryland Council, the Virginia Council of State was an executive advisory body composed primarily of elite and wealthy figures in the colony and wielded significant political influence in Virginia.

<sup>74</sup> See *Methodology* for a detailed explanation.

<sup>75</sup> One primary difference being that Maryland was founded with a unitary proprietor whereas the charter of the Virginia colony was possessed by a joint-stock company.

Jamestown historian Martha McCartney reports that while the Virginia Council did not meet solely at the capital (Jamestown), it certainly did not travel as extensively as its Maryland counterpart. Virginia's Council of State primarily met at Jamestown; it also met at Governor Berkeley's residence at Green Spring (3-4 miles from the capital) after the Statehouse was destroyed by a fire set by agents of Nathaniel Bacon during the period of rebellion in 1676. Prior to construction of the Statehouse, which was built after Governor Berkeley took office in 1641, the Council typically met in the homes of Councilors, taverns, ordinaries, or various other rented facilities in the Jamestown area.

During the 1680's, Virginia's Council meets at a diverse range of sites:

In October 1682 the council convened at the home of Samuel Weldon, James City County's high sheriff, who lived a few miles west of Middle Plantation. The council also met at Nicholas Spencer's leasehold, the Hot Water plantation, near the James City County crossroads known as Centerville, and in Gloucester at Poropotank, probably in the home of Major General Robert Smith. During the late 1680s the council convened at Nominy (in Lancaster County) and at Rosegill, in Middlesex. Later, they met in Charles City County at Westover, at the York Plantation in York County, in Hampton, and at Mathew Page's in Gloucester.<sup>76</sup>

This information depicts a highly mobile Virginia Council for about a decade following the Statehouse arson, but only for that decade. Considering the entire period of study, however, Jamestown and the immediate surrounding area (including Green Spring) serves as the primary Council meeting location. Additionally, there are no distinct or

---

<sup>76</sup> Martha McCartney, "Documentary History of Jamestown Island Volume 1: Narrative History," Jamestown Archaeological Assessment 1992-1996. (Williamsburg, VA: National Park Service, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, & College of William and Mary, 2000): p. 148.

unusual patterns of Council activity at meeting locations away from the capital, suggesting the group was meeting at these places because the Statehouse had been destroyed.<sup>77</sup>

Relative to the Virginia Council, Lord Baltimore's Council was highly itinerant. As has been established, one-in-four (Maryland) Council meetings during the period of 1637-1695 took place outside the capital. Of the 640 Council meetings analyzed between 1637 and 1695, for instance, more than 1 in 20 (5.79%) were held at locations greater than 30 miles from St. Mary's, while over 1 in 5 (20.63%) were held at least 5 miles from the capital. Unlike the Virginia Council, this mobility is not isolated to a specific period of time. Although its travel patterns vary, the Maryland Council met outside the capital repeatedly throughout the seventeenth century.

To make sense of Council travel, I first analyzed the business being conducted at each meeting location. The hypothesis was that an observable trend would emerge—that specific business would correlate to a given location or geographic cluster. The St. Mary's City cluster was treated as a general standard of comparison for the other location clusters. This control cluster, which included 13 individual meeting locations within St. Mary's City, unsurprisingly displayed the broadest range of Council activity. Each of the categories of Council business (foreign policy, trade issues, etc.) comprised at least 1% of total activity at the capital.<sup>78</sup> This is not the case for any of the other clusters. Note that Civil Appointments/Commissions, Indian Foreign Policy, and Judicial Proceedings or Affairs (both criminal and civil) constitute the highest shares of total Council activity at St. Mary's.

---

<sup>77</sup> Information regarding Virginia's Council of State based on personal correspondence with Martha McCartney. Information from the Executive Journals of the Council (Virginia).

<sup>78</sup> Consult *Methodology* for explanation of categories of Council business.

These percentages provide a rough portrait of what specific provincial affairs the Council dealt with at the capital. Data on Council activity by category for each of the other geographic clusters is summarized in Table 2. Examining these results, certain observable patterns relating Council activity to specific locations can be identified.

	<i>FP/I</i>	<i>FP/O</i>	<i>MIL</i>	<i>C-A/C</i>	<i>C-A/M</i>	<i>TR/I</i>	<i>TR/O</i>	<i>LEG</i>	<i>JUD/CR</i>	<i>JUD/CI</i>	<i>LP</i>	<i>C-HE</i>	<i>T-FP</i>	<i>IMM</i>
<b>St. Mary's City Area</b>	14.66%	5.03%	5.73%	18.02%	3.91%	3.35%	6.70%	6.15%	11.45%	9.50%	6.28%	1.40%	5.03%	2.79%
<b>5 Mile Radius</b>	16.67%	8.33%	10.42%	22.92%	4.17%	6.25%	4.17%	0.00%	6.25%	14.58%	2.08%	0.00%	4.17%	0.00%
<b>5-30 Mile Radius</b>	22.36%	8.70%	13.66%	10.56%	3.11%	1.24%	6.21%	6.83%	14.91%	3.73%	3.11%	0.62%	4.35%	0.62%
<b>30-70 Mile Radius</b>	15.38%	9.62%	11.54%	19.23%	9.62%	0.00%	3.85%	1.92%	11.54%	9.62%	5.77%	0.00%	0.00%	1.92%
<b>70+ Mile Radius</b>	42.86%	19.05%	14.29%	4.76%	9.52%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	4.76%	0.00%	4.76%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

Table 2: Council Activity by Category (as a percentage of total business conducted)

These numbers, representing percentages of Council activities for each geographic cluster, provide some interesting preliminary insight to the group's behavior. For example, proportions of business relating to foreign policy (both with Indians and with others) and military affairs are consistently higher at each cluster outside of the capital. A number of conclusions can be similarly drawn from this data; however, the proportions of Council activities alone do not tell the whole story.

In analyzing the data by geographic cluster, we must consider both the proportion of meetings at each location relative to the total number of Council meetings, as well as

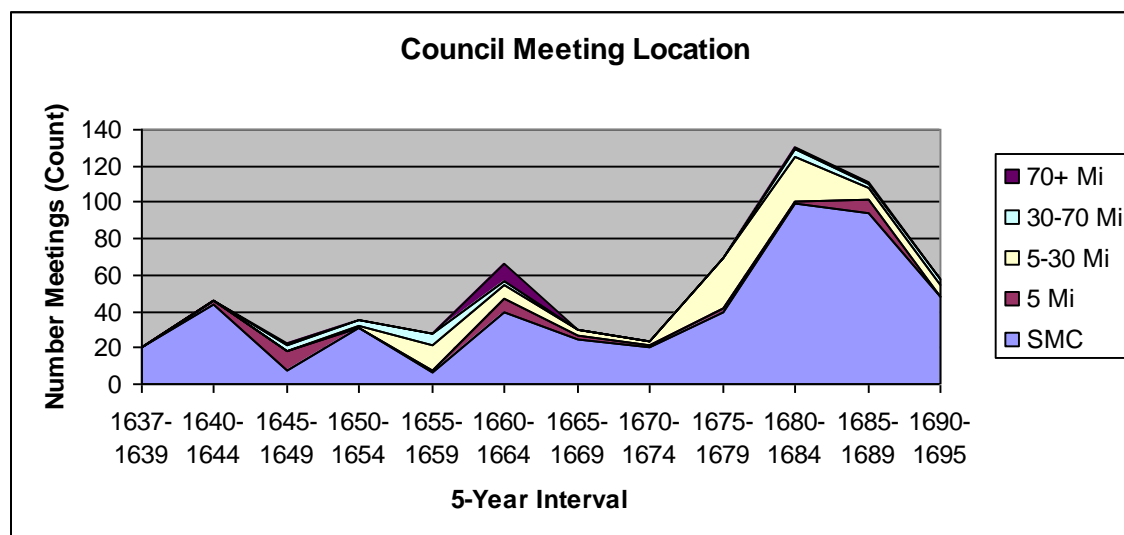


Figure 4: Council Meeting Location (Count) Over Time

the historical context. The graph in Figure 4 shows the proportion of total meetings of each geographic cluster in five-year intervals from 1637-1695. This allows us to look to events within Maryland's history to help explain Council behavior.

During the colony's earliest years, under the governorship of Leonard Calvert, Council meetings took place predominantly at St. Mary's. Regression analysis shows the significance of the relationship between Governor Calvert and probability of meeting at St. Mary's.<sup>79</sup> A few of the meetings during this period took place within Fort St. Mary's in the years 1642 and 1644, a period of tension with the Susquehannock Indians.<sup>80</sup> By the 1645-1649 period, the total number of Council meetings had decreased by about half, indicating that the Council was not meeting as frequently as it had, and, during this period, meetings at locations outside the capital became more common—mostly within a five mile radius. A few meetings also took place within the 30-70-mile cluster during

<sup>79</sup> For an explanation of the regression analysis, see Appendix I.

<sup>80</sup> Riordan, 36-38.

this period. The mobility evident during this period makes sense: Ingle's Rebellion commenced in the year 1645, and Governor Calvert did not regain control of the province until late in 1646. In 1644, leading up to the rebellion, the group met at the fort, as previously mentioned. They also met at West St. Mary's manor, issuing an order "to prohibite all & every the inhabitants of this Province to lend, give, sell, or barter any armes or ammunition whatsoever vnto any Indians within this Province."<sup>81</sup> During the actual period of rebellion, little Council activity occurred, as Giles Brent and John Lewger were both captured by Ingle's agents.<sup>82</sup> Governor Calvert was in Virginia at this time, returning to Maryland in 1646 to reestablish order. In January of 1647, the Council began convening again at Fort St. Inigoes. Calvert ordered "an embargo to be laid at this present...during this time of war I doe hereby forbidd all persons now being in the County of S<sup>t</sup> Maries, that they presume not to goe...out of the County of S<sup>t</sup> Maries without acquainting me first therew<sup>th</sup> and my Leave."<sup>83</sup> This suggests that the meetings at the fort functioned to reestablish normalcy in Maryland.

The several post-rebellion meetings at Fort St. Inigoes account for the increase in meetings at locations in the 5-mile cluster. As for the meetings within the 30-70-mile cluster, three meetings are held at Kent Island on 16, 18, and 20 April 1647. This is the site where Claiborne attempted to reassert his claim to the island, and the business conducted there suggests a further attempt to move on from the rebellion and reestablish the functioning of proprietary government. For instance, at the first meeting, Calvert

---

<sup>81</sup> *Archives of Maryland Online*, Vol. 3, p. 160. This was a time of tension with the Susquehannock, who were allied with their trading partner William Claiborne. Remember that Claiborne attempted to retake Kent Island at the same time (and possibly in conjunction with—see Riordan) of Ingle's plundering time.

<sup>82</sup> Riordan, pp. 188-198.

<sup>83</sup> *Archives of Maryland Online*, Vol. 3, p. 174-5.

pardoned those rebels who submitted to the oath of fidelity, while on the 18<sup>th</sup>, he appointed Robert Vaughan to command the militia on the island. On the 20<sup>th</sup>, he ordered Vaughan to seize the land, goods, and chattels of those rebels who refused the oath to the proprietary.<sup>84</sup> All of this is to say that for this interval, Council meeting location is generally a response to events affecting the province—predominantly Ingle’s Rebellion and Susquehannock unrest.

During the next interval, 1650-1654, there was a return to relative normalcy with regard to meeting location. After Leonard Calvert’s death in 1647, Lord Baltimore appointed William Stone governor. The proportion of meetings held at St. Mary’s spiked back up during this period, comprising nearly the entirety of total meetings for this interval. The small proportion of meetings held in the 30-70-mile cluster is attributable to the Council’s meeting in Providence on 29-30 July 1650. This year marked the erection of Anne Arundel County and it appears that the Council made the trip there to commission various administrative officers for the new county.<sup>85</sup>

While the 1650-1654 interval generally indicates a post-Ingle return to customary meeting at the capital, the Council in the ensuing decade demonstrated unusually mobile tendencies. Between 1655 and 1659, there was another precipitous drop in meetings held at St. Mary’s City, countered by a higher proportion of meetings held at the 5-30-mile and 30-70-mile clusters. Between 1660 and 1664, the Council held a similar number of meetings at the capital as the 1640-1644 and 1650-1654 intervals. However, the total number of meetings spikes, with the Council meeting multiple times in each of the geographic clusters, including that of 70+ miles from the capital.

---

<sup>84</sup> *Archives of Maryland Online*, Vol. 3, pp. 181-3.

<sup>85</sup> *Archives of Maryland Online*, Vol. 3, p. 258.



The years between 1655 and 1659 were a rather eventful period for the province. Recall the Parliamentary Reduction of Maryland (which led to the Battle of the Severn) issued by Claiborne and Richard Bennett and executed by commissioner William Fuller, usurping Governor Stone's authority.<sup>86</sup> This governing body's Council—Maryland's Council for this period—typically convened in 1655 at Patuxent (commonly assumed to be the property of Richard Preston on the Patuxent River) in the 5-30-mile cluster. In 1657, newly appointed Governor Josias Fendall arrived in the province and resumed proprietary control from the Parliamentary commissioners. It is under the leadership of Governor Fendall that the Council began to convene in numerous locations around the province. After a Council held at St. Mary's, Fendall convened the group at St. Leonards on 18 March 1658, where the Council met with William Fuller and the commissioners as they formally surrendered the government to the proprietary. The Council is further convened in 1658 and 1659 at St. Mary's, in the 5-30-mile cluster at St. Leonards, Wicocomoco, Matapanjent, Patuxent, and Resurrection Manor, and in the 30-70-mile cluster at Annarundel and Kent Isle.

Much of the Council's business at these diverse locations seems to concern reestablishing proprietary control and order after the tumult of the previous years. Considerable administrative reorganizing, both militia and civil, took place during these meetings. At the meetings held at Wicocomoco on 13 April and 3 June 1658 (possibly Fendall's plantation), the Council dealt with the creation of a new county court on the north side of the Wicomico River (in what would become Charles County), discussed requirements for newcomers to the province to take the oath of fidelity to the proprietary, and fundamentally reorganized the militia by assigning individual Captains to specific

---

<sup>86</sup> *Archives of Maryland Online*, Vol. 3, p. 311.

localities.<sup>87</sup> A short time later, through the month of July 1658, in what appears to have been a business trip up and down the Western Shore of the province, the Council met at Patuxent, Annarundel, Kent Isle, twice again at Annarundel, and once more at Patuxent. Their business further concerned reorganizing the militia, separating it into Potomac, Patuxent, and northern regiments and delineating a specific chain of command. Furthermore, they receive word of some Indian unrest at the first meeting at Patuxent on 8 July (prompting the ordering of the militia). The group also dealt with a few leftover Parliamentary sympathizers who refuse the Articles of Surrender signed at St. Leonards the month prior, as well as a group of Quakers who refused an Act of the Assembly. A year later, in July 1659, the Council returned to Annarundel to negotiate with several groups of Indians for peace. All of this implies that the high level of mobility demonstrated during this interval under the Fendall administration was a response to some residual turmoil from the previous years, serving the goal of restoring proprietary order to the province.

At the beginning of the next interval, 1660-1664, Fendall's term as governor ends and he is replaced by Philip Calvert. Meetings return to St. Mary's at peace-time levels. Fendall's attempted coup does not appear to have thrown the province into the administrative disarray evident after Ingle's Rebellion and the commissioner's government during the Reduction of Maryland. However, the number of *total* meetings increases, suggesting further Council business outside the capital. One major item of note is the significant increase in meetings in the 70+ mile cluster and still noteworthy numbers of meetings in the 5-30-mile cluster. Many such meetings occurred under Governor Philip Calvert, who negotiated several peace treaties with various Indian

---

<sup>87</sup> *Archives of Maryland Online*, Vol. 3, pp. 340-344.

groups. This demonstrates a continued attempt to provide a stable foundation for Maryland's government.

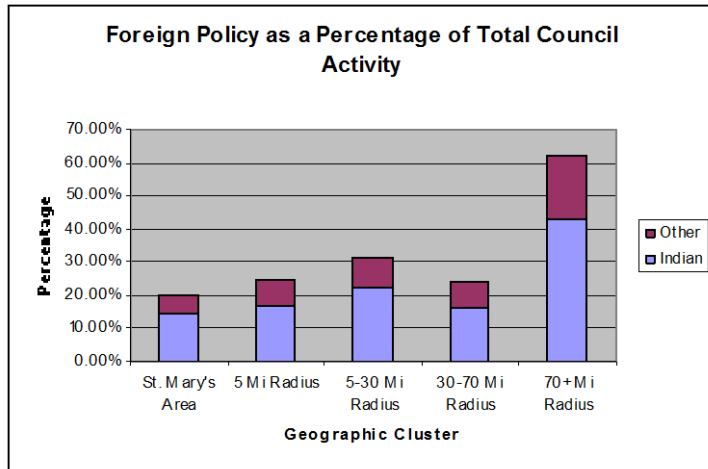


Figure 5: Foreign Policy as a Percentage of Total Council Activity

locations. Whereas policy or other issues pertaining to Indian groups comprised 14.66% and other foreign sovereigns 5.03% of total Council activity at the capital, increased mobility coincided with higher proportions of foreign policy activity. This is illustrated in Figure 5. While the 5-mile and 30-70-mile clusters are identical with foreign policy comprising 25.00% of total business, respectively, their ratios of foreign policy business relative to all other Council activity are slightly higher than that of the capital (19.69%).

The 5-30-mile cluster demonstrates a considerable disparity from St. Mary's City in the proportion of foreign policy activity, with nearly one-third, 31.06% (22.36% Indian related and 8.70% other-related), of total business falling under the foreign policy categories. Much (but not all) of the foreign policy activity behind these numbers is occurring during intervals 1675-1679 and 1680-1684. Both Mattapanay and Notley Hall at Manahowickes Neck Plantation are locations within this geographic cluster which hosted multiple Council meetings during this period; 27 meetings were held at Mattapanay

These meetings at distances of over 70 miles from the capital (many of which occurred during Philip Calvert's tenure as governor) share a commonality in that foreign policy activity predominated total Council business at these

during this decade, and 14 at Notley Hall.<sup>88</sup> Several of these meetings related to dealings with foreign sovereigns.

At a meeting held 16 June 1676 at Mattapany, for example, the King of the Mattawoman was present to ask for assistance from the provincial government as “he was in great danger of being destroyed by the comon Enemy.”<sup>89</sup> Less than a month later, on 13 July 1676, the Great Men of the Choptico came to another Council meeting at Mattapany “and informed the Deputy Governour and Councell of the death of their King, and desired the same amity as formerly with them might be continued.”<sup>90</sup> Two years later, at a meeting on 19 August 1678 at Manahowickes Neck, the Council met with the Great Men of the Piscataway Indians, who advised them on a response to recent murders of their men by the Cinnigo (Seneca) and Susquehannock Indians. They also discussed the case of Englishmen killed by a suspected Piscataway Indian.<sup>91</sup>

It is worthy of note that this location is roughly equidistant from both St. Mary’s City and Piscataway Creek, where the Piscataway fort stood prior to Lord Baltimore’s ordering the Piscataway into the Zekiah Swamp in 1680 as a defense from hostile Susquehannock pressures.<sup>92</sup> This could suggest that Manahowickes Neck was not chosen simply because it was the site of Governor Notley’s home. Instead, other factors may have driven the Council north of St. Mary’s to meet on the Wicomico River, and Notley’s

---

<sup>88</sup> In 1730, an amendment to a bill in the General Assembly makes reference to “three hundred and Sixteen Acres of the said Land called Notley Hall alias Mannahoick Neck beginning at the mouth of Bromley Creek and running up Wicomoco River.” The Council proceedings refer to this location by both titles. These names are used interchangeably in this analysis. See *Archives of Maryland Online*, Vol. 37, p. 41.

<sup>89</sup> *Archives of Maryland Online*, Vol. 15, p. 90.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid*, p. 99.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid*, p. 183.

<sup>92</sup> Julia A. King, *A Timeline of Events Related to Settlement in the Zekiah*, draft document, (2009), p.11.

plantation was a convenient location. Before discussing these factors, however, we should first look to the data for the final geographic cluster.

The major statistical outlier with regard to foreign policy is the cluster of meeting locations greater than 70 miles from St. Mary's City. While foreign policy (Indians and Others) amounted to less than one-fifth of total Council activity at St. Mary's (19.69%), it constituted over three-fifths of total business (61.91%) at meeting locations over 70 miles from the capital. This data presents a clear pattern—that foreign policy issues constituted the highest proportion of Council business at the locations 70-plus miles from St. Mary's. Regression analysis corroborates this—the relationship between these most distant locations and foreign policy is significant, with a positive coefficient. Most of the meetings in this 70+ mile cluster take place during the 1660-1664 interval, many under the governorship of Philip Calvert who negotiated a number of treaties with native groups.

In May of 1661, for example, the Council is meeting at Colonel and Councilor Nathaniel Utie's home of Spesutia in Baltimore County.<sup>93</sup> One order of business is the forging of "Articles of peace and amity"—a peace treaty—with the Susquehannock Indians.<sup>94</sup> A few months later, on 19 September 1661, the Council met at Appaquimmin, near present Odessa, Delaware, to negotiate articles of peace—this time with Pinna, King of Pickhattomitta, representing the Passyunk Indians.<sup>95</sup> Then, on 3 August 1663, the

---

<sup>93</sup> Spesutia/Spesutie Island is now part of the US Army's Aberdeen Proving Ground in Harford County. See William B. Cronin, *The Disappearing Islands of the Chesapeake*, (Baltimore: JHU Press, 2005), p. 22-25.

<sup>94</sup> *Archives of Maryland Online*, Vol. 3, p. 420-1.

<sup>95</sup> Clinton A. Weslager, *The Delaware Indians: A History*, (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1972, reprinted 2003), p. 140-143. Weslager also provides information on the events leading to these negotiations. See also *Archives of Maryland Online*, Vol. 3, p. 431.

Council met at the Dutch Fort of New Amstill, in what is now Newcastle, Delaware, to treat with the Delaware Bay Indians.<sup>96</sup>

Both the data and the aforementioned examples may suggest two premises or generalizations concerning Council mobility *with regard to foreign policy*: 1) that Council travel which concerned foreign policy was often responsive to a situation or event (in other words, specific circumstances in dealing with foreign sovereigns frequently compelled the Council to meet outside the capital), and 2) meeting location selection may have had a diplomatic function.

While responsive mobility has been discussed with respect to previous historical intervals (in that mobility was a reaction to various events/rebellions), it is also applicable in this circumstance. As for the diplomatic function of meeting places, consider many of the aforementioned examples. The Mattapany data and examples suggest, if one group needed some form of assistance from the Council, they would meet at a decidedly partial location—in this case, the proprietor’s home and site of the province’s public arms magazine. Other such circumstances involve foreign groups traveling to St. Mary’s City to make a request of the provincial government. For instance, at a Council at St. John’s on 29 June 1666, leaders of the Susquehannock came to renew a peace treaty with Maryland. Evidently, tension between the two groups existed, as the “warre Captaines of the Sasquesahanoughs” at the meeting came “protesting that they were allwayes ready to haue deliuered Wanahedana up to the Justice of his Lordp for murdering the men at the mill in Baltemore County and desiring that the Villany of One man may not be imputed to the whole Nation.”<sup>97</sup> What is more telling, and pertinent to the meeting location,

---

<sup>96</sup> *Archives of Maryland Online*, Vol. 3, p.486.

<sup>97</sup> *Archives of Maryland Online*, Vol. 3, p. 549.

however, is that the Susquehannock were “requesting the Assistance of the Gouverno<sup>r</sup> now at this time hauing lost a Considerable number of men in ranging the head of Patapsco...so to secure the English Plantacons from the Cinigoes and remonstrating that the Cinigoes are resolued to Storme the Sasquesahanough fort in August next.”<sup>98</sup>

At meetings where symbiotic recourse between the provincial government and another group was sought, however, a different trend was noticed with regard to meeting location. For example, the Council sought to forge alliances through articles of peace at some of these meetings, as the proceedings with the Susquehannock at Spesutia, the Passayunk at Appaquimmin, or the Delaware Bay Indians at Fort New Amstill suggest. With regard to negotiation, “it is fair to split the difference and agree on a point that lies midway between the two sides’ last bids.”<sup>99</sup>

If we apply this wisdom to geographical location, each of these locations suggests a “meet-in-the-middle” approach between the two groups—the Council and the Indian group. Bartos describes that, “...hierarchical as many preliterate societies may be, the equalitarian norm of reciprocity nevertheless plays a crucial role in them. ...Malinowski (1922), Mauss (1925), and Levi-Strauss (1949) emphasized that...reciprocal exchanges created bonds of friendship that hold the society together.”<sup>100</sup> Seth Mallios details the significance of this among Chesapeake and Carolina Algonquian tribes and the hostilities that could result for violating the codes of this exchange system.<sup>101</sup> This may be a bit speculative, as the meetings involved reciprocal negotiations of peace rather than

---

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Otomar J. Bartos, “Simple Model of Negotiation: A Sociological Point of View.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 21, no. 4. (1977): pp. 565-579.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid, p. 566.

<sup>101</sup> Seth W. Mallios, “Exchange and Violence at Ajacan, Roanoke, and Jamestown,” in *Indian and European Contact in Context: The Mid-Atlantic Region*, ed. Dennis B. Blanton and Julia A. King, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida & Society for Historical Archaeology, 2004), pp. 126-148.

exchange of some good (although the Council did sometimes engage in exchanges with Indians, often offering matchcoats or alcohol). Nonetheless, by meeting at a neutral or ostensibly neutral location, impressions of equality or potential friendship are implied between the two allies or two bargaining sides in such treaty negotiations and may have played on the same mindset that bonds of friendship could be created through the “reciprocity” of each side traveling to a middle location away from the formal power centers of each.

Such negotiations were not limited to sovereign Indian groups. Take the boundary dispute with William Penn. When the Council met to find a compromise on this issue, they met at the Tailor home in Ridge, Annarundel County. Not only is this location middle ground between St. Mary’s City and Pennsylvania, but it also was located in West River Hundred, an area which early Quaker roots took hold in Maryland and home to Penn’s associate and fellow Friend William Richardson. As Richardson (author, *not* Penn associate) describes, “The first Quaker meeting in Maryland, the second in America was established there. From 1672 to 1785 yearly meetings of the Friends were held in an old frame building...which stood [near] the Quaker Burial Ground near Galesville.”<sup>102</sup> The partiality of this location—being undisputedly in Maryland jurisdiction—was neutralized given its proximity to Penn’s acquaintance Richardson and its association with the Friends. It appears, then that meeting location functioned in diplomatic efforts when the Council negotiated with other sovereign groups.

---

<sup>102</sup> William E. Richardson, “Colonial Homes in West River Hundred,” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington D.C.* 44/45 (1942/3), pp. 105-106.



A model for maintaining relative peace and stability within the province was laid by the business conducted by Josias Fendall and Philip Calvert at locations outside the capital.<sup>103</sup> The former's reorganization of the militia, transition from a period of Parliamentary dissenters, and administrative reforms, and the latter's multiple peace treaties negotiated with Indian groups, including a treaty with the Susquehannock, all set the stage for the governorship of Charles Calvert in 1661. Carr, Menard, and Walsh describe how "anti-Catholic and antiproprietary sentiments had simmered in Maryland after 1660, occasionally bubbling up but not posing a serious threat to public order and Calvert rule until the late 1680's."<sup>104</sup> This relatively stable period from Charles Calvert's inauguration as governor in 1661 to the revolution in 1689 is marked by a return to the Council's proportion of total meetings again being dominated by St. Mary's City.

Between 1675 and 1689, culminating in the revolution in 1689, there is a steep increase in the number of total Council meetings. Nonetheless, the proportion of meetings that occur at the capital remain the dominant portion of this total. However, it is during these three intervals that a large share of meetings take place within the 5-30-mile cluster. Given that this was a period of peace and stability within the provincial government, tumultuous political circumstances cannot explain Council behavior in this case.

Instead, the data suggests that many of the meetings within this 5-30-mile cluster during this period took place at Mattapan, the home of Charles Calvert on the

---

<sup>103</sup> This is not to say that the actions by these governors and their councils alone account for the period of relative stability. Other factors undoubtedly played a role in this. See Jordan's *Political Stability and the Emergence of a Native Elite*.

<sup>104</sup> Lois G. Carr, Russell R. Menard, Lorena S. Walsh, *Robert Cole's World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), p. 164.

Patuxent.<sup>105</sup> This location would also later serve as the public magazine for the province.

The numerous meetings held at Charles' home at Mattapany—the Council met here 38 times between 1666 and 1689—after his move there imply this location functioned not only as a home, but served as a key political location outside the provincial capital. To determine in what capacity Mattapany served this political role, we can compare the data on business conducted there to that of the capital for the period of Mattapany's significance. See Table 3. Proportional to the capital, Mattapany appears to have served

<b>Mattapany</b>	<i>FP/I</i>	<i>FP/O</i>	<i>MIL</i>	<i>C-A/C</i>	<i>C-A/M</i>	<i>TR/I</i>	<i>TR/O</i>	<i>LEG</i>	<i>JUD/CR</i>	<i>JUD/CI</i>	<i>LP</i>	<i>C-HE</i>	<i>T-FP</i>	<i>IMM</i>	<b># Meetings</b>
1665-1669	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
1670-1674	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
1675-1679	6	0	6	2	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	4	0	12
1680-1684	5	1	2	4	0	1	0	4	3	0	2	0	0	0	15
1685-1689	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>% Total MAT Items</b>	<b>21.05%</b>	<b>3.51%</b>	<b>19.30%</b>	<b>14.04%</b>	<b>1.75%</b>	<b>1.75%</b>	<b>7.02%</b>	<b>10.53%</b>	<b>7.02%</b>	<b>1.75%</b>	<b>3.51%</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	<b>8.77%</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	
<b>St. Mary's</b>															
1665-1669	5	3	3	1	0	1	4	1	0	1	2	2	4	6	25
1670-1674	1	1	0	9	0	1	0	1	3	2	4	3	3	1	20
1675-1679	13	5	6	4	0	1	2	3	3	8	5	0	4	1	40
1680-1684	30	7	8	14	1	1	8	13	23	13	11	0	6	0	99
1685-1689	20	8	5	32	4	1	11	17	26	21	11	2	2	0	94
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>278</b>
<b>% Total SMC Items</b>	<b>16.75%</b>	<b>5.83%</b>	<b>5.34%</b>	<b>14.56%</b>	<b>1.21%</b>	<b>1.21%</b>	<b>6.07%</b>	<b>8.50%</b>	<b>13.35%</b>	<b>10.92%</b>	<b>8.01%</b>	<b>1.70%</b>	<b>4.61%</b>	<b>1.94%</b>	

Table 3: Proportions of Business-St. Mary's City vs. Mattapany

as a location for military/militia issues. This category saw a greater share of discussion at Mattapany than at St. Mary's, which is consistent with the location's use as an armory.

Regression results show a significant correlation with a positive coefficient between Mattapany's geographic cluster and military business. Many of the other proportions of activity mirror those of St. Mary's, including total foreign policy, commissions—both

<sup>105</sup> This property was previously owned by Henry Sewall, who died in 1665. In 1666, Governor Charles Calvert married the widow Jane Lowe Sewall and moved from St. John's to Mattapany. See Edward Chaney, "Mattapany – Historical Background," in Mattapany-Sewall Archaeological Site Report on file at Maryland Archaeological Conservancy, Jefferson Patterson Museum and Park, St. Leonard MD, (1999).

civil and militia, trade, and legislative business. This may suggest that aside from its role as the public arms magazine, Mattapany may have also played a role as a secondary capital for a period of about twenty years.

The last five years under consideration, 1690-1695, represent the period of revolution from 1689-1692 (during which no Council meetings were held—this accounts for the drop-off in total meetings) and the subsequent period of royal control of the colony. St. Mary's City was the location for almost all of the meetings in this period. The Council did convene a handful of times outside the capital during this period of royal control, both in the 5-30-mile cluster at Battletown and Benedict Leonardtowne and in the 30-70-mile cluster at John Larkin's home on the Ridge in Annarundel and Captain Bayne's home at Westwood. The meetings in February and April of 1694 at Battletown and Larkin's home were driven by discussions of assisting New York against the French and Indians. When the Council met again at Battletown on 14 June 1694, it discussed letters from the Governor of New York, but also met with agents of the Piscataway Emperor, who described some Indian unrest in Charles County. The following two meetings, at Westwood and Benedict Leonardtowne (both in Charles County—the latter is the modern town of Benedict), had business which touched on the Indian unrest and the murder of an Englishman by a Piscataway. Again, it appears that these meetings outside the norm of Council meetings at the capital are reactionary—they are prompted by extra-governmental events which the Council left the capital to deal with.

### *Conclusions*

To reiterate some of the key observations of this research, the increased mobility of Maryland's council appears responsive to certain events, coincides with higher proportions of foreign policy and military affairs (than at the capital), and may have served a diplomatic function in treaty negotiation. This council "responsiveness" is most evident after rebellions during the period prior to Charles' assuming the governorship in 1661. The business of such reactionary meetings away from the capital often concerns reestablishing proprietary power (in the case of a rebellion, for instance).

Dealing with the aftermath of Richard Ingle and William Claiborne in 1647 forced Governor Calvert and the Council to convene at both Fort St. Inigoes and the Isle of Kent, despite the fact that prior to the rebellion, the Council had met only within St. Mary's, a couple of times at St. John's, and once at West St. Mary's just across the river. When Josias Fendall became governor and restored proprietary authority in 1657 after the Parliamentary Commissioners overthrew William Stone (prompted by events relating to the English Civil War) the Council meets at numerous locations in the province, helping to restore order.

It does not take major rebellions or an overthrow of the government, however, to demonstrate the effect of outside forces on Council mobility. Such an effect occurred on a smaller scale as well. Dealings with Indian tribes, other colonies, and malicious dissenters all prompted Council meetings at a diverse list of locations. Sometimes meeting location served a diplomatic function in treaty negotiation, creating a representative "middle ground" away from the symbolic power centers of negotiating parties. This is most evident with Indian groups and perhaps acknowledges the

importance of the concepts of reciprocity and exchange among Chesapeake natives. Additionally, remote meeting locations were found to have high proportions of foreign policy and military-related business. Such relationships between the higher proportion of foreign policy and military business and locations distant from the capital, I think, are indicative of forces which compel the group to meet at dozens of locations around the province. Both foreign policy and military affairs are contingent on external actors and events.

Response to external forces cannot satisfactorily account for all Council meetings away from the capital, though. Mattapani provides an example of this. Although this location saw a high proportion of military business, it was utilized by the Council at during a period of relative provincial harmony. Aside from increased military usage, the proportional breakdown of other business conducted at Mattapani generally mirrors that of the capital. This suggests that this location may have served as a symbolic political locus—essentially a capital away from the capital. Just as well, some meetings may have been held here during this period simply out of convenience (it was Charles Calvert's home, after all).

While no comprehensive explanation for council mobility could be discerned, we should consider the fact that selection of meeting locations was a conscious decision. The observations of responsive mobility, foreign policy and military-related business away from the capital, and the possible diplomatic role of location all suggest that certain places were chosen to achieve specific goals. The elite ruling body of Maryland is meeting, in these cases, where it is most able to achieve favorable political ends. Political

response to external factors is one way of explaining, in several cases, why councilors would undertake lengthy and arduous trips to locations throughout the province.

This notion of political expedience may also help explain some of the seemingly arbitrary meetings away from the capital. When a meeting occurs at an apparently random location, the council may be responding to internal pressures or events within the province. After all, despite near kingly powers, the proprietor had learned by mid-seventeenth-century all too well how easily he could lose control of the province. Location selection may have been a response to both external forces and, to a lesser extent, internal pressures on the government.

Further refinement of the regression model, I think, would likely prove fruitful in future research of council mobility. Additionally, a thorough investigation into the properties at which the Council meets (including history of ownership, etc.) coupled with research on seventeenth-century social networks, particularly between Council members and other provincial elites, may also provide further insight in explaining Council mobility.

## Works Cited

- Archives of Maryland Online*. Volumes 3, 5, 8, 15, 17, 20, and 37.  
<<http://aomol.net/html/volumes.html>>. Accessed 10 December 2009.
- Bartos, Otomar J. "Simple Model of Negotiation: A Sociological Point of View." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 21, no. 4. (1977): pp. 565-579.
- Calvert, Leonard. "Letter From Leonard Calvert to Sir Richard Lechford, 30 May 1634." In *The Calvert Papers*, No. Three. Fund Publication 35 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society 1889). Quoted in Miller, *Forts of St. Mary's*.
- Carr, Lois G. and David W. Jordan. *Maryland's Revolution of Government: 1689-1692*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974.
- Carr, Lois G., Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh. *Robert Cole's World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.
- Chaney, Edward. "Mattapany – Historical Background." In Mattapany-Sewall Archaeological Site Report, available from Maryland Archaeological Conservancy, Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum. St. Leonard, MD, 1999.
- Commission to Governor Leonard Calvert and Council*. 15 April 1637. Accessed from the *Archives of Maryland Online*, Volume 3: pp. 49-55.
- Cronin, William B. *The Disappearing Islands of the Chesapeake*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.
- Forman, Henry C. *Jamestown and St. Mary's: Buried Cities of Romance*. London: Oxford University Press, 1938.
- Grulich, Anne D. "The Mettle of Mobility: Travel in the Colonial Chesapeake as Exhibited by Metal Artifacts." *Chesapeake Archaeology Website*. <<http://www.chesapeakearchaeology.org/AnneGrulich/HTML%20Files/Introduction.htm>>. Accessed 10 December 2009.
- Hall, Clayton C., ed. "Journal of the Dutch Embassy to Maryland, by Augustine Herrman, 1659." In *Narratives of Early Maryland 1633-1684*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910.
- Herman, Augustine. *Virginia and Maryland Map*. Maryland State Archives Website, 1670. <<http://www.msa.md.gov/msa/educ/exhibits/images/fig18.jpg>>. Accessed 10 December 2009.

- Jackson, Thomas P. *Maryland Designe: The First Wall Between Church and State*. Occasional Papers 3, No. 1. St. Mary's City, MD: Center for the Study of Democracy, Fall 2008.
- Johnston, George. *History of Cecil County, Maryland and the Early Settlements Around the Head of the Chesapeake Bay and Delaware River*. Elkton, MD: 1881, Reprinted by Heritage Books, 1998.
- Jordan, David W. "Maryland's Privy Council, 1637-1715." In *Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland*, ed. Aubrey C. Land, Lois G. Carr, and Edward C. Papenfuse. Baltimore: JHU Press, 1977.
- Jordan, David W. "Political Stability and the Emergence of a Native Elite in Maryland." In *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society*, ed. Thad Tate and David Ammerman, pp. 243-273. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press (1979).
- Kelly, Kevin P. "In dispers'd Country Plantations': Settlement Patters in Seventeenth-Century Surry County, Virginia." In *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society*, ed. Thad Tate & David Ammerman, pp. 183-205. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1979.
- King, Julia A. and Scott M. Strickland. *In Search of Zekiah Manor: Archaeological Investigations at His Lordship's Favor*. Charles County, MD: 2009.
- King, Julia. "A Timeline of Events Related to Settlement in the Zekiah." Draft document, unpublished, 2008.
- Lawastch-Boomgaarden, Barbara and Josef IJsewijn. *Voyage to Maryland: Original Latin Narrative of Andrew White, S.J.* Wauconda, IL: Bolchasy-Carducci Publishers, 1995.
- Leone, Mark P. and Silas D. Hurry, "Seeing: The Power of Town Planning in the Chesapeake." *Historical Archaeology* 32, No. 4, pp. 34-62.
- Mallios, Seth W. "Exchange and Violence at Ajacan, Roanoke, and Jamestown." In *Indian and European Contact in Context: The Mid-Atlantic Region*, ed. Dennis B. Blanton and Julia A. King, pp. 126-148. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2004.
- Mathews, Edward B. *The Counties of Maryland, Their Origin, Boundaries, and Election Districts*. Maryland Geological Survey, 1907. *Archives of Maryland Online*, Vol. 630.
- McCartney, Martha. "Documentary History of Jamestown Island Volume 1: Narrative History." Jamestown Archaeological Assessment 1992-1996. Williamsburg, VA:



National Park Service, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, & College of William and Mary, 2000.

McCartney, Martha. Personal e-mail correspondence. 21-22 October 2009.

Mereness, Newton D. *Maryland as a Proprietary Province*. New York: Norwood Press, 1901.

Merrell, James H. "Cultural Continuity Among the Piscataway Indians of Colonial Maryland." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series 36, no. 4. (October 1979), pp. 548-570.

Miller, Henry M. "Baroque Cities in the Wilderness: Archaeology and Urban Development in the Colonial Chesapeake." *Historical Archaeology* 22, no. 2, pp. 57-73.

Miller, Henry M. "Discovering Maryland's First City: A Summary Report on the 1981-1984 Archaeological Excavations in St. Mary's City Maryland." *St. Mary's City Archaeology Series* No. 2. St. Mary's City, Maryland.

Miller, Henry M. *Forts of St. Mary's*. Historic St. Mary's City. <  
<http://www.stmaryscity.org/Archaeology/Forts%20of%20St.%20Mary%27s/Forts.html>>. Accessed 10 December 2009.

Miller, Henry M. "Living Along the 'Great Shellfish Bay': The Relationship between Prehistoric Peoples and the Chesapeake." In *Discovering the Chesapeake: The History of an Ecosystem*, ed. Philip D. Curtain, Grace S. Brush, George W. Fisher, pp. 109-125. Baltimore: JHU Press, 2001.

Richardson, William E. "Colonial Homes in West River Hundred." *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington D.C.* 44/45 (1942/3): pp. 103-125.

Riordan, Timothy B. *The Plundering Time: Maryland and the English Civil War 1645-1646*. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2004.

Smolek, Michael A. "Soyle Light, Well-Watered, and on the River: Settlement Patterning of Maryland's Frontier Plantations." The Third Hall of Records Conference on Maryland History. (1984). <  
<http://www.jefpat.org/Soyle%20Light%203-31-05.pdf>>. Accessed 10 December 2009.

Sparks, Jared. *The Library of American Biography: George Calvert, The First Lord Baltimore*, Second Series. Vol. IX. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1846.

Streeter, Sebastian F. *Papers Relating to the Early History of Maryland*. Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 9. Baltimore, 1876, reprinted 1972.

Weslager, Clinton A. *The Delaware Indians: A History*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1972, reprinted 2003.

Will of George Wells of Baltimore County. 20 February 1695.  
<<http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~wellsfam/country/maryland/mdbalwil.htm>>  
Accessed 10 December 2009.

*Additionally, the following source was used as a general reference:*

Menard, Russell R. "Tract Map of St. Mary's County 1705." *Chronicles of St. Mary's* 21, no. 5. St. Mary's City Commission, May 1973.

*Appendix I: Regression Analysis Results*

Is there statistical significance in these inferred relationships between Council

Dummy Variable	Description
FPI	Indian Foreign Policy
FPO	Other Foreign Policy
CAC	Civil Commissions/Appointments
CAM	Milita Commissions/Appointments
JUDCR	Criminal Judicial Proceedings
JUDCI	Civil Judicial Proceedings
DATE	Year of meeting (not dummy)
MAJGVLEC	Leonard Calvert, Governor
MAJGVJF	Josias Fendall, Governor
MAJGVCC	Charles Calvert, Governor
MAJGVTN	Thomas Notley, Governor
MAJGVCC2	Charles Calvert, Governor (2nd time)
MAJGVLIC	Lionel Copley, Governor
INDUNR	Meeting mentions Indian unrest
NEGOTI	Negotiation with sovereign at meeting

business or historical events and meeting location? As previously stated, regression analysis can help determine these relationships. A logit regression analysis was performed with EVIEWS econometric software (and the assistance of Dr. P. Joan Poor), using each of the five location clusters as a dependent variable (designated A through E, St. Mary's being A and meetings over 70 miles E). Each of the 640 observed Council meetings were included in the analysis. The first model included dummy variables for Council activities, major governors, and four "historical context" variables (PREREB [if meeting occurred immediately prior to a major rebellion], POSTREB [if meeting occurred immediately following a major rebellion], INDUNR [if meeting occurred during period of Indian unrest], and NEGOTI [if negotiations with a foreign sovereign occurred at meeting]). The purpose of Council activities variables was to attempt to find relationships between the business conducted by the group and a given cluster of locations, while the variable, major governors, sought to examine the influence of a particular governor on meeting location. A 1 designated the applicability of a given variable to a particular meeting, otherwise a 0 was used. Following some issues with the

first regression, the model was refined and run a second time to produce better results. PREREB and POSTREB categories were dropped from the analysis for lack of data and location clusters A and B were combined, as cluster B would not work in the original model. These alterations to the model seemed to make the analysis run more smoothly. Model 2 (revised) logit regression results are summarized in the table.

In general, the regression results corroborated the inferences made based on earlier analysis. With regard to the council activity variables, both foreign policy (Indian and other)  $p$ -values were significant for Cluster E with positive coefficients. This corresponds well with the high proportion of activity in these categories within this location cluster. Military activity was significant for clusters A, B, C, and D—with an inverse coefficient for the former and a positive for the latter two. This is in line with expectations, given that armory at Mattapan was located in cluster C. Additionally, cluster D saw such business in Annarundel during Fendall's reorganization of the militia, among other items of military policy at locations in this group. Locations within this cluster (D) also saw significant, positive results for the issuance of commissions and judicial proceedings, both in their civil subcategories.

As for the major governor variables, the regression results again supported previous observation of certain patterns of council mobility under specific governors. Results for the Leonard Calvert variable were significant only with cluster C, with an expectedly inverse coefficient. A significant  $p$ -value was lacking for cluster A (St. Mary's) as would be consistent with previous observations, perhaps due to the combination with cluster B (5-mile radius) for Model 2. There were significant results for Josias Fendall, however, for each cluster. Uniform with earlier analysis, an inverse

relationship between Fendall and meetings at AB and E was observed, while coefficients were positive for C and D, suggesting a greater likelihood of council meetings between 5 and 70 miles from St. Mary's City during Fendall's governorship. The only significant, positive result for Thomas Notley was cluster C; Notley Hall, the governor's home, was located in this cluster on the Wicomico River. Recall that the Council met here several times during Notley's governorship. The increased use of Mattapany as a council meeting location can be inferred through the significant, positive result from cluster C during Charles Calvert's second term as governor (variable MAJGVCC2, 1676-1684).

Finally, regarding the results for the final two variables, significant inverse relationships between meetings in clusters D and E and mentions of serious Indian unrest (murders of English residents, threats of raids, etc.) were found. This suggests that meetings concerning such circumstances were not held in such distant locations from the capital, although there were no significant results for other clusters. With regard to negotiations with foreign sovereigns, significant results were found for each cluster with an inverse coefficient for AB and positives for C, D, and E. Perhaps the likelihood of council negotiations (with outside groups) occurring outside the immediate capital area served the previously detailed diplomatic, "middle-ground" approach.

Logit  
Regression  
Results**Model 2**

Variable	Cluster AB			Cluster C			Cluster D			Cluster E		
	Coefficient	Std. Error	p-value	Coef	SE	p-value	Coef	SE	p-value	Coef	SE	p-value
FPI	-0.474612	(0.288605)	0.1001	0.040825	(0.311610)	0.8958	0.224662	(0.663009)	0.7347	2.160124**	(0.873731)	0.0134
FPO	-0.681840**	(0.307102)	0.0264	0.285898	(0.368378)	0.4377	0.659699	(0.638680)	0.3016	1.483798*	(0.838232)	0.0767
MIL	-1.283949***	(0.343820)	0.0002	0.966452**	(0.381010)	0.0112	1.737056**	(0.713423)	0.0149	0.736031	(0.800074)	0.3576
CAC	-0.169183	(0.301603)	0.5748	-0.166071	(0.351435)	0.6365	1.083028*	(0.557373)	0.0520	-0.694101	(1.021932)	0.4970
CAM	-1.044065**	(0.475744)	0.0282	0.532041	(0.722499)	0.4615	1.067959	(0.743139)	0.1507	0.547436	(0.800309)	0.4940
JUDCR	-0.533864*	(0.280378)	0.0569	0.438962	(0.297600)	0.1402	0.610388	(0.650485)	0.3481	0.032960	(1.160547)	0.9773
JUDCI	0.401730	(0.404178)	0.3203	-0.848005*	(0.491555)	0.0845	1.102658*	(0.608017)	0.0697	-32.44872***	(0.653046)	0.0000
DATE	-0.005405	(0.013422)	0.6871	0.043145**	(0.020978)	0.0397	-0.041388	(0.026346)	0.1162	-0.071935***	(0.021963)	0.0011
MAJGVLEC	1.206467	(0.807702)	0.1353	-29.884180***	(0.894305)	0.0000	-1.157879	(1.299342)	0.3729	-1.984371	(1.302838)	0.1277
MAJGVJF	-3.278552***	(0.561403)	0.0000	3.476722***	(0.724539)	0.0000	1.523867*	(0.818899)	0.0628	-35.12753***	(1.065366)	0.0000
MAJGVCC	-0.279212	(0.362610)	0.4413	0.828749	(0.507711)	0.1026	-0.673561	(0.776442)	0.3857	-0.094343	(0.848154)	0.9114
MAJGVTN	-1.221396***	(0.423940)	0.0040	1.767761***	(0.435235)	0.0000	-29.74311***	(0.687891)	0.0000	-34.61550***	(0.809937)	0.0000
MAJGVCC2	-0.525363*	(0.307200)	0.0872	0.675090**	(0.333026)	0.0426	0.331254	(0.748801)	0.6582	-0.933532	(1.148018)	0.4161
MAJGVLIC	1.647690**	(0.807348)	0.0413	-31.924960***	(0.363000)	0.0000	0.771312	(1.200323)	0.5205	-33.38875***	(0.707345)	0.0000
INDUNR	0.411159	(0.381298)	0.2809	0.342804	(0.388763)	0.3779	-2.355243*	(1.203004)	0.0503	-2.171908*	(1.197485)	0.0697
NEGOTI	-2.037446***	(0.458488)	0.0000	0.905101*	(0.471166)	0.0547	2.897470***	(0.870973)	0.0009	2.289081**	(1.093115)	0.0363

Log likelihood=	-260.7193	-212.7902	-82.12244	-38.0275
McFadden r <sup>2</sup> =	0.202859	0.208349	0.222105	0.362014

\*\*\*  $p < .01$   
 \*\*  $p < .05$   
 \*  $p < .10$

Cluster AB=Meetings within 5 mile radius of St. Mary's  
 Cluster C =Meetings within 5-30 mile radius of St. Mary's  
 Cluster D =Meetings within 30-70 mile radius of St. Mary's  
 Cluster E =Meetings beyond 70 mile radius of St. Mary's