

From Old Hall to Great Hall: Governor Thomas Notley and his Rise to Power

Skylar Bauer
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St. Mary's College of Maryland
Advisor: Dr. Julia King

Abstract:

It did not take long for “Thomas Nottley late of Barbados” to establish himself in Maryland. Having immigrated around 1662, the planter and merchant climbed his way up the social ladder and into the company of Charles Calvert and his tight-knit group of advisors. Notley's Protestant beliefs did not seem to faze the Catholic Lord Baltimore who appointed Notley as his personal attorney in 1669 and Governor in 1676. By 1664, Notley acquired his dwelling plantation at Manahowic's Neck on the Wicomico River. Using documents and limited surface survey data, this paper reveals the political significance of Manahowic's Neck as a meeting place for the Council. Potential motives behind its emergence as a place of proprietary power are discussed.

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Acknowledgments	1
Table of Contents	2
I. Introduction	3
II. Context and Historical Significance	5
(1) <i>Landscape Archaeology</i>	5
(2) <i>Power in the Landscape: St. Mary's City</i>	5
(3) <i>Catholicism in the Landscape: St. Mary's City</i>	6
(4) <i>Power in the Landscape: Beyond the Capital</i>	8
(5) <i>Transforming Landscapes: From St. Mary's City to Mattapany and Manahowic's Neck</i>	9
III. Historical Landscape: Trouble along the Wicomico River Drainage	11
IV. Biographical Background of Thomas Notley	15
V. Analysis	17
(1) <i>Probate Inventories in Documentary Archaeology</i>	17
(2) <i>Thomas Notley's 1679 Probate Inventory</i>	18
i. Room Function.....	19
ii. Wealth and Status Within.....	22
iii. Eleanor Butler and Saltwater Charles.....	24
iv. Livestock.....	25
(3) <i>Surface Collections</i>	25
(4) <i>Reading the Landscape</i>	29
(5) <i>Places of Power and Their Material Culture</i>	30
VI. Discussion and Future Research	31
Bibliography	35
Appendix I. Quantifications of items found in Thomas Notley's 1679 inventory by main house rooms and old rooms	42
Appendix II. Thomas Notley's 1679 Inventory	45

I. Introduction

St. Mary's City was an important place of political power in 17th-century Maryland. As the colonial capital, St. Mary's City served as the principal setting in which much of the colony's political business was done and it was one of the few settlements in the colony that approached the size of a town. Indeed, the capital appears to have had a Baroque-style town plan, and the majority of the colony's masonry structures, including a state house and a Jesuit chapel, were located there (Miller 1988a).

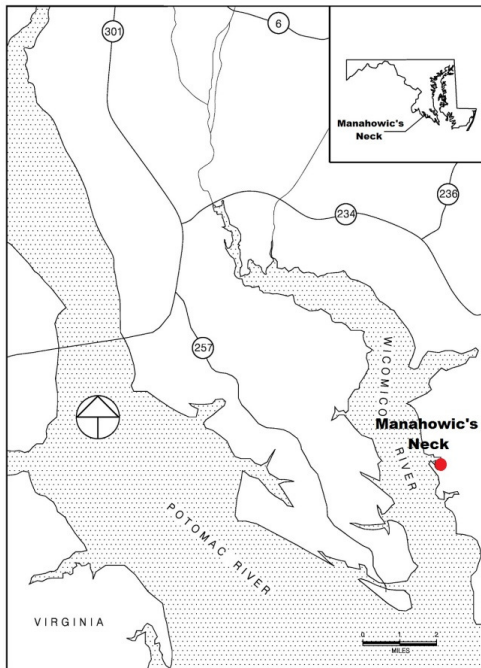
Recent scholarship, however, has suggested that, while St. Mary's was an important settlement in the colony, the Lords Baltimore, who were essentially the colony's landlords, also worked to establish their authority well beyond the boundaries of the capital. They did this in part by conducting political meetings throughout the colony. Nearly 25-percent of the meetings of the Maryland Provincial Council took place at locations outside the capital, and a number of these meetings involved foreign diplomacy with Native and European nations alike (Flick 2009). The Council was an exclusive group of influential men hand-picked by Lord Baltimore or the governor; the majority of Council members also sat as members of the Provincial Court (Flick 2009:1-2). While some Council meetings were located just outside the capital, many required several days travel (Flick 2009:30-31). Such a statistic begs the question, why was the Council willing to travel and conduct its business away from the colony's center of political power? An analysis of the Maryland Council's mobility suggests that "the increased mobility of Maryland's council appears responsive to certain [political] 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" (Flick 2009:49). The Council also used its mobility to reassert proprietary power.

One especially important Council meeting site was Mattapany, the home of Charles Calvert, governor and third Lord Baltimore, who lived on the south side of the Patuxent near the river's mouth. Archaeological excavations undertaken at Mattapany have revealed a massive brick structure measuring 25-by-50-feet with a pantile roof (King and Chaney 1999). The house appears to have been fortified during at least part of its occupation, and the colony's weapons magazine was located nearby.

The Provincial Council also met several times on the Wicomico River at Manahowic's Neck. The land had been purchased in 1664 by Thomas Notley. Notley played a significant role in this region, commissioned by Lord Baltimore as acting Governor in 1676, a title which he held until he died in 1679 (Archives of Maryland Online [AMOL] 15:135). Charles Calvert used his close relationship with Notley to pursue his own agenda in the Wicomico area. Largely overlooked by historians and archaeologists, the Wicomico River drainage has only recently become the focus of a number of archaeological survey projects (Alexander et al. 2010; Bauer and King 2011; King, Strickland, and Norris 2008; King and Strickland 2010; Strickland and King 2011). This work is revealing the economic and political importance of this region in the second half of the 17th-century, especially its role as the setting in which the Protestant Associators plotted their overthrow of Baltimore's government.

This paper explores the growing political significance of the Wicomico River through a focus on the development of Notley's plantation at Manahowic's Neck as a place of power. For nearly a decade, Manahowic's Neck, like Mattapany, served as a meeting place for the Council, including the proprietor (Flick 2009:40-41). Located approximately 20-miles northwest of St. Mary's City on the Wicomico, the site's location is known (18ST74) (Figure 1). Surprisingly, little systematic archaeological investigation has taken place at Manahowic's Neck, which was later called Notley Hall.¹ This coming summer, St. Mary's College of Maryland plans limited testing of the site.

To prepare for that work, I have assembled a material history of the site, a kind of documentary archaeology which uses material culture to explore this site's significance. The evidence for such an analysis includes a catalog of collected material and a detailed room-by-room probate inventory.



Research has demonstrated Manahowic's Neck role in redefining a landscape. Interpreting Manahowic's Neck requires an understanding of the form, use, and meaning of both the St. Mary's City and the Mattapany landscapes, and interpreting St. Mary's City similarly requires an understanding of the Manahowic's Neck and Mattapany landscapes. The wealth and power associated with Notley and his estate by the end of his life symbolized an attempt at proprietary dominance in a politically instable region. Ultimately, Lord Baltimore's transition into places like Mattapany and Notley Hall may demonstrate a desire to distance himself from Maryland's increasingly Catholic capital, the reasons for which will be addressed.

Figure 1. Location of Thomas Notley's estate at Manahowic's Neck (Notley Hall) in St. Mary's County, Maryland.

¹ Notley's dwelling plantation is known as Manahowic's Neck from 1664 to 1680. After 1680, the plantation is primarily called Notley Hall. While this paper primarily refers to Governor Notley's house as Manahowic's Neck, it is also used interchangeably with Notley Hall and its archaeological site number, 18ST74.

II. Context and Historical Significance

(1) *Landscape Archaeology*

Archaeologist Paul Shackel describes landscapes as a “symbolic medium for social interaction” (2003:9). Landscapes can be utilized as “artifacts with meaning that help create a past and express and reinforce cultural ideals” (Shackel 2003:9). These cultural ideals shape a landscape which, in turn, affects the social interactions within it. An individual can choose to accept, reject, or ignore the meanings associated with the landscape. Documenting and interpreting the economic, social, and political interactions of past cultures reveals the meanings once embedded in these landscapes. The study of landscapes in historical archaeology has the potential to inspire better informed and increasingly thoughtful discussions of past lifeways (see Branton 2009; Yamin and Metheny 1996). Landscape is valued in this study particularly for its ability to communicate political power. The meanings connected to a place of power are explored to better understand its social implications, that is, how individuals or groups reacted to the ideals it represented. Archaeology helps to reconstruct these landscapes by uncovering their material remains and examining their uses. Documents can also help to identify how these places were used and thought about.

(2) *Power in the Landscape: St. Mary’s City*

Archaeological remains and historical documentation have uncovered a number of features at St. Mary’s City that archaeologists argue promoted power in the landscape. The landscape was transformed, in part, by the elite members of the proprietary government who often met throughout St. Mary’s City. Meeting places included the Country’s House, St. John’s, the Council Chamber, Statehouse, and St. Peter’s (all located in the capital). Each site helped define St. Mary’s City as a center of political power and social influence throughout the 17th-century. Decisions rendered in the political sessions held in the first capital drove the economic, social, and political development of the colony, affecting the daily lives of Maryland’s colonists.

The Country’s House (c. 1635), for example, functioned as the colony’s first state house and was home to Maryland’s first governor, Leonard Calvert (Miller 1988a:64). Its placement at what became the town center is believed to have later formed an important element of the capital’s “Baroque-style” city plan. Decades later, the town center became the radial point from which roads branched out to emphasize other places of authority in the town (e.g., statehouse, prison, chapel). Archaeologists from Historic St. Mary’s City argue that the proprietary government purposefully used the Baroque plan as a way to exhibit its power and control over its subjects (Leone and Hurry 1998; Miller 1988a, 1999).

St. John’s (c. 1638), located along the north edge of the St. Mary’s City town boundaries, was not a part of the 1660s Baroque plan. Officials from other colonies and delegates from Native American nations often met at St. John’s (Flick 2009), although presumably only up until 1676 when the brick State House was completed (Stone n.d.). And, like the Country’s House, St. John’s also served as the residence of one of the Calverts. Charles Calvert lived at St. Johns from 1661 until 1666, relocating to Mattapany, a place even further from the capital (King and Chaney 1999; Keeler 1978; Henry 1979; Hurry 1978; Miller, Pogue, and Smolek 1983; Miller 1988b; Stone 1982).

In 1676, the colony built a dedicated State House, a brick structure with a cruciform plan atop a bluff overlooking the St. Mary's River. The provincial meeting place was situated opposite from the Chapel in accordance to the Baroque layout. This design is believed to represent the "separation of church and state," as Maryland's 1649 Act Concerning Religion has sometimes been described (Miller 1988a:68; Krugler 2008:223). The State House's imported Dutch tile roof and brick walls spoke to its permanence and formality. This structure represents one of the five archaeologically-known brick buildings that stood in an area once dominated by ephemeral earthfast, wooden buildings.

Mark Leone and Silas Hurry stress the element of elite control in St. Mary's town layout. The authors suggest the Baroque setting affirmed the capital's political hierarchy. Its intentionally symmetrical and orderly design was meant to promote stable conditions within the town (Leone and Hurry 1998:37). Ultimately, the Baroque-style plan represents an elite response to impress, manipulate, and control the population (Leone and Hurry 1998:58). Whether visiting or residing, colonists walking the strategically placed roads of St. Mary's City were meant to interact with the layout so that they would be constantly reminded of the power and control embodied by the capital and its Catholic elite. Such a symbolic expression served to put colonists in their place, thus promoting social order (Leone and Hurry 1998:38).

The c. 1665 Jesuit Chapel building signified the success of the English Catholics in Maryland "without government support and without church hierarchy" (Krugler 2008:226). At the same time, it also was a constant reminder for Protestants of their failure to succeed under the same rules. Historian John Krugler addresses the irony associated with the Chapel's construction. Krugler acknowledges that the Jesuit Chapel, which archaeologists have found anchored one end of the town plan, was a large brick building that was also conspicuous in its design and placement. Krugler suggests that the placement of the Chapel contrasted with Lord Baltimore's original instructions to the colonists to keep religion a predominantly private matter. Although the Chapel did not conflict with the 1649 Act Concerning Religion in that taxes were not used to support the building's construction, its placement on the landscape was visible to all.

As wealthy and "good" Catholics, it is assumed that both Philip and Charles Calvert contributed part of their salaries to the Chapel project. Although the Calverts would have contributed to the project as private actors, the fact remains that the Calverts were indelibly associated with the colony's governance (Krugler 2008:222, 228-229). Even the elite office holding members may have deserved to worship without scrutiny, Charles and Philip were constantly harassed for their faith. The 1676 "Complaint From Heaven With a Hue and a crye" addressed to the King of England specifically attacked the "popish" Lord Baltimore and his elite rank of "champions" (AMOL 5:134-148). Complaints of excessive taxation, Indian affairs, and political representation were couched in virulent anti-Catholic terms (Krugler 2008:347). The letter, written by an anonymous group of Maryland and Virginia residents, told of secrets hidden within "the Cabinet of Popish Maryland," many of which were false (AMOL 15:135). Their plea for Parliamentary assistance expressed the paranoia felt among a growing number of Protestants.

(3) *Catholicism in the Landscape: St. Mary's City*

As part of the capital's effort to communicate power in the landscape, the Baroque town plan may have been the city's undoing. Although the first Lord Baltimore had, with the cooperation of the assembly, legally codified Maryland's policy of religious toleration, the subsequent construction of the brick Jesuit Chapel may have been sending a different message about the role of religion in politics. The prominent placement of the Chapel in the capital may have strengthened some colonists' fears about the role of Catholicism in the colony's governance; other colonists not especially loyal to Lord Baltimore may have preyed on these fears. Fears and anxieties about Catholics were on the rise in the late 1670s and 1680s when a high amount of anti-Catholic immigrants were entering Maryland. Many Protestants, especially the recent immigrants, were fearful of Catholic conspiracies and saw Catholic success, like the Chapel, as grounds for resentment and potential conflict (Krugler2008:243-244).

Henry Miller suggests the Baroque plan as a whole was used to focus attention on the Proprietor's power and Catholic faith (1999:88). Miller's current research reinforces Krugler's observation that the construction of the 1667 Chapel "marked a sharp divergence from Baltimore's 1633 injunction to keep all acts of Roman Catholic religion as private as possible" (2008:226). According to Miller (2011), Baroque design principles of geometry, symbolism, and visibility are evident in the construction of the Chapel and the use of unit measures of 14, 28, and 140 in the building's layout. The town plan, for example, consisted of two triangles that met at the town center, one extended towards the Chapel and possible school while the other triangle reached out towards the State House and prison (Figure 2). The interior angles at their nearest juncture at the town square measures 28° while its base angle is 140° . The town square, itself, measures 128 feet by 140 feet. The Chapel, by comparison, has a 28-foot wide nave and transepts extending outward 14 feet, a dimension that produces the lateral cross of the cruciform layout (Miller 2011).

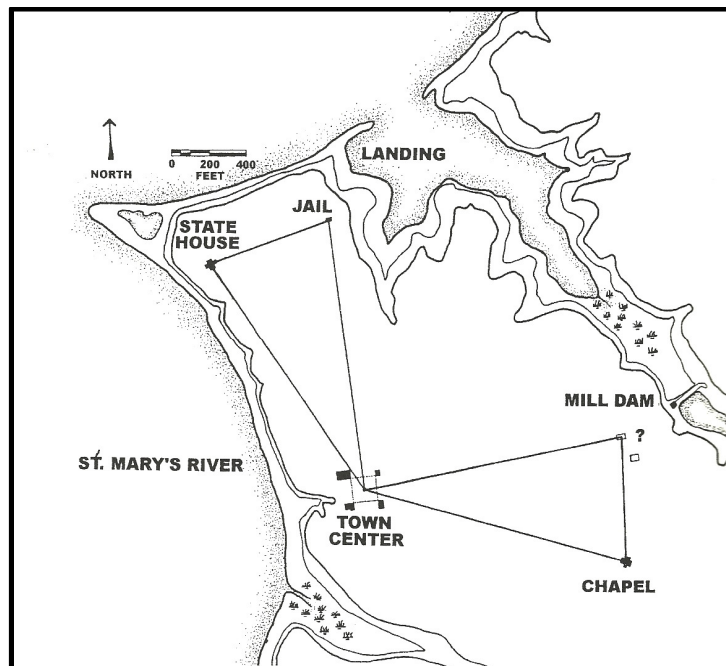


Figure 2. Triangular design of St. Mary's City layout connecting four brick buildings to the town center (Source: Miller 1999:78).

Miller argues that the Chapel's design and the town plan are intimately related and, indeed, connected. The 17th-century intellectual mindset understood geometry as reflecting the divine order of things. Miller argues that the presumed architect of St. Mary's Baroque town design, the Catholic Jerome White, was guided by Christian humanism to incorporate principles of geometric order as a means of building a more orderly world. Miller (2011) points out that triangles, the shape used to join the capital's main buildings to the town center, have long represented the idea of the Holy Trinity.

(4) *Power in the Landscape: Beyond the Capital*

Proprietary power was not confined to the capital. While most provincial business took place in St. Mary's City, nearly 25-percent of Council meetings held between 1634 and 1695 took place at locations outside of the capital, with some meeting locations greater than 75-miles away (Flick 2009:22). Mattapany, for example, located on the south side of the Patuxent near its mouth, was one of the places where the Council convened. The Council met at Mattapany House 38 times after Charles moved there in 1666 (Flick 2009:47). The Council continued to meet at Mattapany until 1689, the year the Protestant rebels seized control of the colony. Indeed, the rebels set up their headquarters at Mattapany after their successful coup. Manahowic's Neck on the Wicomico represents yet another meeting place that required Councilors to travel beyond the proprietary capital. For nearly a decade, from 1675 until 1684, Manahowic's Neck (n=15) and Mattapany (n=27) hosted the majority of the Council meetings that were held outside of St. Mary's town boundaries (Flick 2009:40-41).

The Council's role in establishing proprietary power throughout the colony is comparable to the work the St. Mary's City town plan is doing within the colonial capital. Both strive to control and stabilize social and political conditions through reclamation of the landscape. Even if the Baroque plan was an effective means of control, only a small portion of Maryland's population was located in St. Mary's City and few were subject to the effects of its design (and, as I show below, others massively resisted the control the town plan was trying to assert). Traveling any distance over a few miles in the 17th-century Chesapeake was taxing. It was an investment of time and money and typically required a combination of transportation methods, including horseback, boat, and/or foot (Grulich n.d.). Maryland's dispersed settlements and the difficulties associated with travel meant only a limited audience for the capital's Baroque plan. The Council, on the other hand, could establish its control through meeting places located some distance from the capital. The Council's ability to travel reflected the status of its members. The sight of Charles Calvert moving along Maryland's travel routes with his entourage would have emphasized the power of the proprietary family to the colony's denizens.

While the Council meetings may have only been temporary visits, they had the potential for longer lasting impacts. Especially for Mattapany and Manahowic's Neck, repeated Council visits had the power to transform new locations throughout the colony into places of proprietary power. Private homes frequented by Councilors became public symbols of proprietary presence and favor. This identity could function in the same way as the capital's town plan: to control the landscape and communicate to the Maryland colonists the active engagement of the proprietor not just with politics but with the land itself. Both undertakings sought to shape space, display power, and enhance proprietary control.

The mobility of the elite Councilors could also be tempered by its secrecy, with the potential to rile segments of the citizenry in the same way the prominence of the Chapel may have. Those distrustful of the proprietary government and intent on its disruption were quick to scrutinize the elite group of influential and wealthy men who happened to be predominately Catholic. Anti-proprietary groups ridiculed the Council as Lord Baltimore's "champions" and a "secret Council of priests" were said to have served the "tyrannical" proprietor in whatever private enterprises he devised (AMOL 5:137, 141). The business conducted by its members may have appeared "secret" because councilors who broke the oath of confidentiality were taken to court and charged for the violation (AMOL 3:354).

Manahowic's Neck became an important meeting place for government business, especially Council meetings, beginning in the 1670s. In 1664, Thomas Notley, a Protestant described as "late of Barbados," purchased Manahowic's Neck from Thomas Gerard (AMOL 49:131-135).² The 500-acre tract, situated in St. Mary's County along the Wicomico River, was presumably taken up by Notley at that time. Manahowic's Neck first appears as a meeting place for provincial business nine years later, in 1673, when an Admiralty court is held there. In 1676, Notley was appointed Governor and the Council soon traveled on fifteen occasions to Notley's house, over 20-miles west of the capital.

Twelve out of the fifteen Council meetings at Manahowic's Neck discussed issues concerning Native American nations. Most of these meetings concerned a 1678 murder of an English family at the head of the Patuxent River. After several meetings with the Piscataway, a nation in tributary status to the Calvert government, two Indians (Azazams and Manahawton) were found guilty by the Council. In compliance with the peace treaty between the two Nations, the Indians were delivered to the Council and ordered to "be shott to death this Evening at Manahowicks Neck Plantation and that ord^r be directed to Capt Gerrard Slye High Sher. of S^t Maries County to see the same Executed" (AMOL 15:221-222). While most meetings at Manahowic's Neck dealt with violations to the Articles of Peace and Amity, the Council also worked to forge alliances with other Nations (AMOL 15:211). Depositions were also heard during several Council meetings concerning the "false malitious and scandalous reports" of ex-governor Josias Fendall (AMOL 15:244-247).

When he was in Maryland, Charles Calvert attended the Council meetings held at Manahowic's Neck. While maintaining his principal residence at Mattapany, Calvert is also believed to have made lengthy stays at Manahowic's Neck, which he inherited from Notley in 1679 (AMOL 15:245-248, 336; 8:311). In at least one instance sometime before 1684, Lady Baltimore (Jane Sewall) is placed at Manahowic's Neck, making it likely that Calvert, on occasion, stayed at the site for longer periods of time (AMOL 17:185). After Notley died, Lord Baltimore's son-in-law, William Digges, and his stepdaughter, Elizabeth Sewall, took up residence at Manahowic's Neck (AMOL 717:188).

(5) *Transforming Landscapes: From St. Mary's City to Mattapany and Manahowic's Neck*

² Prior to 1751's "Act for Regulating the Commencement of the Year; and for Correction the Calendar now in Use," the New Year did not begin until March 25 in Great Britain or the colonies. For the purpose of this paper, all double year dates are transcribed in terms of today's calendar (e.g., February 9, 1663/4 becomes 1664). See Mark M. Smith's 1998 "Culture, Commerce, and Calendar Reform in Colonial America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 55, No. 4, pp. 557-584.

Charles Calvert's understanding of his Maryland enterprise and the mobility of its Council played a significant role in transforming plantations like Jane Sewall's Mattapany and Thomas Notley's Manahowic's Neck into landscapes of proprietary power. Charles Calvert moved to Mattapany after marrying Jane Sewall, the widow of Henry Sewall, the secretary of the colony and a close friend of Charles Calvert. Between 1666 and 1671, Calvert built a new brick house on the plantation to serve not only as the family's dwelling but as a private meeting place for the Council. But what reasons persuaded Charles to leave the political capital? What did remote places like Mattapany and Notley Hall offer the governor and later third Lord Baltimore in his administration of the colony?

At least two researchers suggest that Calvert may have decided to live at Mattapany to distance himself from his uncle Philip Calvert, with whom he often felt competitive. Philip, who resided in St. Mary's City, had been demoted to second in command under his nephew after Charles was appointed Governor in 1661. Other evidence suggests the two men engaged in what may be described as sibling rivalry. The large brick, two-story house at Mattapany with its tiled roof, elaborate fireplaces, and raised basement served as an important statement of proprietary wealth. Calvert's uncle began construction of an even larger brick structure in St. Mary's City known as St. Peter's in 1679 (Forman 1942; King and Chaney 1999; Riordan 1997). This building was the largest brick structure in the province and may have also been a rebuttal to his nephew's Mattapany dwelling, symbolizing the power struggle behind the scenes of the Calvert regime (King and Chaney 1999).

This study of Manahowic's Neck suggests that Charles Calvert's choice to establish proprietary strongholds outside of St. Mary's City may have been driven by more than sibling rivalry. I argue that it is also possible that Calvert saw an ideological shift taking place in the capital, one that would have great and potentially dire implications in his governance of Maryland. In his 1633 "Instruction to the Colonists by Lord Baltimore," Cecil Calvert cautioned Catholics to keep their religious practices as private as possible (Krugler 2008:157). The second Lord Baltimore did not want religion to undermine his expensive endeavor to establish a New World colony, and he was well aware of the fear and discrimination Catholics experienced in early 17th-century England. This direction, however, appears to have been ignored or at least minimized thirty years later when a Baroque-style town plan may have been put in place in the colonial capital. The new town layout may have been intended by its designer(s) to remind the colonists of the Calvert family's power but the Jesuit Chapel's incorporation into the plan also no doubt signified the Jesuit's success under Calvert rule (Krugler 2008:226). The positioning of the two largest structures, the Chapel and State House, in relation to each other and the town center emphasized the power and Catholic faith of the proprietor (Miller 1999:80). Of further interest is the fact that the Chapel stood within the capital bounds unanchored by the State House for nine years. If these interpretations of the capital's changing landscape from the 1660s through 1670s are correct, St. Mary's City, the most public space at that time in Maryland, was indeed diverging from Cecil's intentions to keep religion private (Krugler 2008:226).

Philip Calvert's construction of St. Peter's, his dwelling home located in St. Mary's City, also adds to the increasing visibility of Catholicism in the capital. The name of Philip's home, "St. Peter's," pays homage to Christian figure St. Peter, also known as the Prince of the Apostle. One can imagine the Christian allegory linked with the space associated with an apostle and political leader. Philip, like his

nephew Charles, was well-known for his Catholic devotion and, probably unlike his nephew, may have had a leading role in developing and seeing through the seemingly Catholic-inspired town plan (Riordan 2004; Miller 2011). Philip Calvert's attachment to the city and Catholic faith followed him to his grave. The Chancellor chose to be buried at the Chapel instead of being returned to England like most of the colony's leaders (King and Chaney 1999:58). A prominent figure's permanent resting place at the Chapel in a special area often dedicated to nobility and patrons further reified Philip's own vision for the Maryland colony.

Maryland's capital appears to have become a public space with inspired by Catholicism, at least, after the Jesuit Chapel and the possible Baroque plan was in place. And, while Philip appears to have been dedicated to the success of St. Mary's City, Charles Calvert is portrayed as one who had no special attachments to the capital. Since 1674, Charles even entertained ideas to move the capital (King and Chaney 1999:54, 58; Papenfuse 1995:10; AMOL 2:371). His relocation to St. John's and eventually Mattapany attests to his willingness to detach, distance, and insert himself into new locations. But while King and Chaney (1999) argue that this is because of Charles Calvert's uneasy relationship with his uncle, Philip, in fact, Charles' actions may be in response to the growing Catholic presence in the seat of government.

Perhaps Charles, who is clearly detached from the capital in his residence and governing patterns, understood his distancing from the capital as an attempt to revive his father's instructions to keep the practice of Catholicism private. Charles was a practicing Catholic who was in good standing with the church but, unlike his uncle, he chose to minimize his Catholicism in public. Charles did not name his house after an apostle, keeping the original Native name for his plantation and adding his wife's name to the title (Mattapany-Sewall) nor, it appears, did he involve himself in any recorded way at all with the Catholic-inspired town layout that ultimately reminded colonists of the proprietary's Catholic support. Perhaps Charles' hand in transforming places like Mattapany and Manahowic's Neck into places of power was an attempt to define new political spaces that were not laden with Catholic symbolism and therefore associated with the Catholic practices that inspired such fear or anger in some of Maryland's colonists. By establishing himself in these landscapes, Charles would have distanced himself from public displays of Catholic worship while adhering to the instructions first promulgated by his father. After all, Cecil directed Philip and his nephew to "get along" and while they maintained their rivalry, they came together often for the sake of the proprietary (King and Chaney 1999:54; Papenfuse 1995:7). Such was the case in 1681 when Phillip and Charles united against Josias Fendall, a rebel convicted on several accounts for malicious speech against the Calvert government (AMOL 5:311-334).

III. Historical Landscape: Trouble along the Wicomico River Drainage

As the center of political activity in the colony, St. Mary's City was often the settlement most likely to be attacked during struggles for control of the colony. For example, in 1645, Richard Ingle, a Puritan who supported Parliamentary forces in the English Civil War, overthrew the proprietary government. Ingle imprisoned a number of the colony's leaders and wreaked havoc among its Catholic settlers. Governor Leonard Calvert fled Maryland for Virginia to escape Fendall. Ingle's Rebellion lasted two years and became known as the "plundering time" (Riordan 2004). Tensions between the Calvert

regime and anti-proprietary forces carried into the 1650s. In 1652, Parliamentary forces united again in attempt to usurp power (AMOL 3:269-272). Maryland's governor, William Stone, was banished from the colony by the opposing forces. Governor Stone was, in 1655, subsequently defeated in his attempt to regain proprietary control in the Battle of the Severn. It was not until 1660, after the restoration of Charles II in England, that Maryland was restored as a proprietorship (Andrews 1964:319-322).

The Wicomico River became an important setting in the Maryland political landscape beginning in the 1660s (Strickland 2011). Its location and nutrient-rich soils attracted planters, merchants, and politicians. The Wicomico is a 37-mile long tributary that empties into the Lower Potomac River. At its headwaters to the north is the rich ecosystem of the Zekiah Swamp. The river is known to have been navigable in the late 17th-century for 10-miles. The merchant ship, the *Gerard*, would anchor at the head of the Wicomico not far from the estate known as Westwood Manor, (18CH621), (AMOL 17:94). Not only could the colonists more easily engage in trade with the nearby Chaptico Indians, they were closer to the Piscataway Indians who were then living at Piscataway Creek in what would later become Prince George's County.

The lowland plains running along the Wicomico provided excellent land for crop cultivation. Well-drained, deep Woodstown Series soils, suitable for agricultural use, border the river on uplands and low terraces. Mattapanex Series soils are also common in the region as moderately well-drained silty deposits that are easy to work. Othello and Annemesex Series soils, located adjacent to the river, are poorly drained but can be easy to work with favorable moisture content (USDA 1978). While the agricultural advantages and protective harbors along the river encouraged settlements so too did its access to oysters. The Wicomico and greater Potomac River beds were teeming with oysters in the 17th-century. Even today, the Southern Maryland Heritage Area Tourism Management Plan recognizes the Wicomico "as one of the most productive oyster grounds in the state of Maryland" (2003:55).

Although a steady flow of immigrants came to Maryland through the 17th-century, high death rates, a low proportion of women, and late marriages hindered a natural increase in the English settler population. According to Russell Menard, 23,500 to 38,000 Europeans migrated to the colony between 1634 and 1681. Yet, there were only 19,000 Europeans living in Maryland in 1681. Maryland's population did not become self-sustaining until the early 18th-century (Menard 1974:88-105). Still, the population grew enough through immigration that the demand for land became almost insatiable.

Colonists including merchant Thomas Notley, merchant Humphrey Warren, Samuel Maddox, John Goldsmith, Captain John Bayne, and planter Benjamin Hammond established plantations along the river. Among these planters and merchants were several wealthy and influential figures who frequently agitated the proprietor and promoted volatility in the Wicomico landscape. Robert Slye, Thomas Gerard, Sr., Josias Fendall, and John Coode often challenged Calvert rule from the 1660s through the 1680s (Figure 3). All wealthy individuals, and connected by marriage or through friendship, these men felt increasingly excluded from Baltimore's government as a result of their disagreements with proprietary governing policies and decisions. Since governmental positions were often, in early Maryland as elsewhere, sources of wealth through fees, these men found an important source of wealth accumulation cut off to them. By the 1680s, they were intent on dissolving proprietary power and

making way for the royal governorship, a movement that Charles Calvert struggled and, eventually, failed to prevent (AMOL 1:389; 3:387; 5:312-313; 8:155-156; 15:388-391).

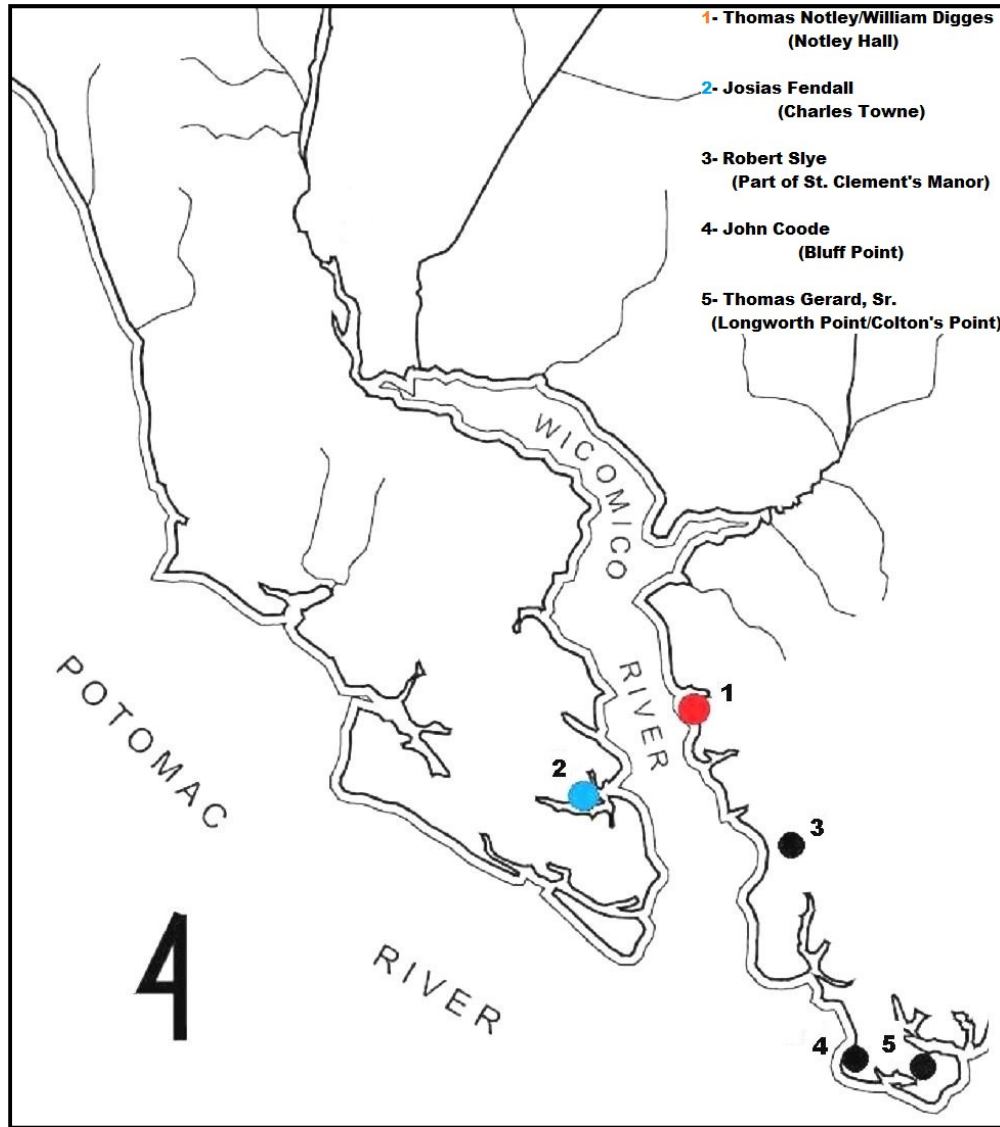


Figure 3. Wicomico River neighborhood. Red: Notley, friends or allies of Charles Calvert; Black: friends or allies of Fendall; Blue: Fendall, which later becomes Charles Towne (named for the proprietor) after Fendall is banished from the colony (Source: Strickland 2011).

Fendall, Gerard, Coode, and Slye were not the only ones making trouble for Lord Baltimore. However, their proximity to one another, their distance from the capital, and the exclusion they experienced fueled their anger and increased the risks they were willing to take to gain access to political power. While Josias Fendall was specifically appointed Governor by the Lord Baltimore in 1656, his loyalty to the Catholic Lord Proprietor was fleeting. Fendall initially established his loyalty to Baltimore in 1655 when he acted admirably in the Battle of the Severn, an accomplishment that would soon be offset by malicious behavior.

In 1660, Fendall and close friend Thomas Gerard met along the Wicomico at the home of Robert Slye to discuss overthrowing the Calvert government by eliminating the Upper House of the Assembly (essentially the Provincial Council) (AMOL 1:389; Strickland and King 2011:3). Gerard, a Catholic physician, had also been accused in the 1650s of spreading “false & scandalous speeches” about Baltimore as he complained about excessive taxation (AMOL 3:355). He served on the Provincial Council from 1643 until he was arrested and tried with Fendall in 1660. Lord Baltimore put a quick stop to Fendall and Gerard’s scandals, banning both men from seeking or holding public office again and confiscating a portion of their land (AMOL 3:406; Strickland and King 2011). After Fendall’s short-lived rebellion, Gerard left Maryland for good and moved to Westmoreland County, Virginia (Alexander et al. 2010:3-4).

Fendall seems to have obeyed the directive to stay out of politics and kept a low profile for 18 years. But, by 1678, Fendall was once again spreading rumors about the proprietary government, this time from the seat of his own plantation on the west bank of the Wicomico River. Fendall spread rumors that Catholic conspirators, like the Lord Baltimore, were partners with the Indians and the French in an effort to kill Protestants. He used this fear to encourage his fellow Charles County colonists to elect him their delegate so that he might put an end to the popish injustices being committed against the Protestant majority (AMOL 15:244-247).

Ongoing violations of proprietary laws demanded immediate action if Baltimore was to keep the colony from reverting to its unstable early years. Indeed, Fendall, the first of the group to directly challenge proprietary rule, was finally banished from the colony in 1681 by the Calvert government (AMOL 5:311-334). Even so, the agitation continued and, in 1689, John Coode, who had been acquitted in the 1681 Fendall trial, led an army of Protestants who succeeded in sacking the proprietary government and taking control of the colony (Carr and Jordan 1974). Coode organized a large number of troops on his march to the capital at St. Mary’s, spreading the same conspiracy theories as Fendall had done eight years earlier. While officers of the militia were ready to defend the proprietorship, most of the colony’s population “were possessd with a belief that Cood rose only to preserve the Country from the Indians and Papists and to proclaim the King and Queen and would doe them noe harm” (AMOL 8:116, 156; Carr and Jordan 1974:57-59). The rebels seized both the State House in St. Mary’s and Charles Calvert’s home at Mattapany (where the colony’s arms were stored) before declaring victory (King and Chaney 1999:53).

Robert Slye died before Maryland’s 1689 Protestant Revolution. Slye was a Protestant merchant-planter, an elected Captain by 1655, and was appointed to the Council under Governor Fendall in 1660. He also sat with Notley as a St. Mary’s County member of the Lower House, both having served as its speaker. Robert’s son, Gerard Slye, appraised Notley’s goods and chattels when he died (see Appendix II). After Slye died, his wealthy widow (Thomas Gerard’s daughter) remarried John Coode (Carr n.d.).

Chesapeake historians Lois Carr and David Jordan describe John Coode as having “perhaps the most colorful and tempestuous career of any figures in Maryland’s history” (1974:245). Coode briefly served as a minister but “was not suited by religious beliefs or temperament” for such a profession (Carr

and Jordan 1974:245). He was appointed Justice of the Peace in 1676 and served until his removal in 1681. Notley commissioned Coode in 1676 to command the Lord Proprietor's yacht known as *Loyal Charles* whose mast sported "his Lsps [Lordships] Standard." Coode was ordered to patrol the colony's waterways for "Robbers, Pyrates, Spyes or others that shall attempt any thing against this is Lsps [Lordships] Province " and to examine all vessels coming into the Province (AMOL 17:216-218). Coode also sat as a member of the Lower House alongside Notley. The remainder of Coode's life was often guided by his instincts of opposition and a drive to assume political offices. He died in 1708/9, several months after the lower house ruled him ineligible to be a burgess because he had served as a minister (Carr and Jordan 1974: 245-248).

IV. Biographical Background of Thomas Notley

Lois Carr, Lorena Walsh, and Russell Menard (1991) describe the third quarter of the 17th-century as a kind of "golden age" for the yeoman planter. This was a period of considerable social mobility, a time when a male indentured servant, if he was lucky enough to survive the seasoning, could finish his term of service and go on to amass real estate and servants himself. By the end of the 17th-century, however, low tobacco prices slowed the economy that attracted servants and drove social mobility. Credit became increasingly difficult to obtain and, by the 1680s/90s, the so-called golden age of the yeoman had come to a close. A more visibly stratified society took shape with defined gentry lines and increasing inequality. The emergence of a native-born elite and a decline in immigration significantly reduced the opportunities for social advancement once available to a newly freed servant.

Thomas Notley was himself a beneficiary of the social mobility experienced by planters and freed servants alike through the 1660s and 1670s. Notley probably grew up in Dorset, a county located in southwest England (Pearson 1995:8-9). He had arrived in Maryland, probably from Barbados, by 1662 and had, in 1664, acquired a large 500-acre tract of land along the Wicomico (AMOL 41:577-578). Notley established himself as a planter and merchant, probably building on his connections to Barbados. From at least 1663 until 1673, Notley served as an attorney and he also took on political positions within the government; in 1666 he was elected Speaker of the Lower House (AMOL 2:10; 49:131-134; Papenfuse 1985:616).

Operating as a merchant was lucrative for Notley, and allowed him to acquire additional landholdings and servants and slaves. Notley's wealth alone, however, did not launch him into the seat of governor. It was Notley's relationship with Charles Calvert, governor and eldest son of the second Lord Baltimore, which provided the Protestant Notley with political opportunities that ultimately enhanced his economic and social standing in Maryland.

The court clerks commonly referred to Notley as Mr. or without title altogether, whereas Charles referred to him as a gentleman (AMOL 57:546; 51:387). Only when he was appointed Deputy Governor in 1676 by Lord Baltimore (Charles Calvert) did clerks begin addressing Notley as Esquire, a title typical of governors and other elites (AMOL 15:105). In the same year, anonymous Maryland and Virginia colonists complaining to the King of England about the proprietary government referred to Notley as an "instrument" of Lord Baltimore. The 1676 complaint stated "Natly, Nat indeed, you and

sutch are the instruments, with which my Lord Baltemore worked, and converts the common good to his privat ends, under the cloak of Assemblys and Assent of the freemen within the Province which is utterly denied” (AMOL 5:141). The authors were infuriated by the Maryland government and were protesting many things including the Assembly’s taxation of two shillings per hogshead of exported tobacco. Notley supported this motion during the last 1676 Assembly where he sat as speaker.

While Notley may have been derided as an “instrument” of the Lord Baltimore for his defense of proprietary privileges, he was nonetheless rewarded handsomely for his loyalty. That loyalty was first evident in 1673 when, at Manahowic’s Neck, the Provincial Court sat as an Admiralty Court. This appears to have been the first political use of Notley’s house at Manahowic’s Neck. Notley served as the attorney for the Swedish captain of a vessel that was discovered in the Potomac in violation of the Navigation Acts. The ship and its rich cargo of goods, including 50,000 yellow bricks, were ultimately confiscated when the captain was found guilty of violating the Navigation Acts. The cargo, including the yellow bricks, was divided among friends and relatives of the Calvert family. Notley was one of those friends (Forte, Furgol, and Murdoch 2004:97; Owens and Tolley 1995).

Notley does not appear to have ever married nor have children. While men outnumbered women in Maryland in the 17th-century, and many men died unmarried, Notley’s resources would have made him an attractive husband. At his death in 1679, Notley left his possessions to Charles Calvert and Benjamin Rozer – a fellow planter, merchant, and attorney who married Charles Calvert’s step-daughter and also had ties to Barbados (Carr n.d.).

Thomas Notley did have a brother, John Notley, also of St. Mary’s County, who died in 1675. Although a probate inventory exists for John’s estate, little else is known about this brother. The records that are available do not suggest that John lived at Manahowic’s Neck. However, a clerk and close friend of Thomas’, John Llewelin, did stay with Notley between 1671/2 and 1678/9. Llewelin had immigrated to Maryland in 1671, achieving gentleman status by 1678 (Carr n.d.). The clerk was in good standing with Charles Calvert and his father Cecil Calvert (Stockbridge, Lee, and Johnson 1889:302).

The final Council meetings to take place at Notley’s house occurred a year after Notley died (AMOL 15:276-278). Even after the Council stopped meeting there, however, Notley Hall remained an important place for proprietary agendas. In 1682, Justinian Gerard and his company in arms were sent to what was called Notley Hall field. Charles Calvert ordered William Calvert to meet here with Gerard “to take a list of their names, and to cause their Armes belonging to the Magazine,” and to store the said guns at Notley Hall and make sure they were repaired by Charles’ blacksmith (AMOL 17:88).

In 1691, two years after Lord Baltimore had lost political control of his colony in what is now called the Protestant Uprising, Notley Hall functioned as a holding cell for rebels. George Mason of Calvert County (laborer) and William Burley of St. Mary’s County (carpenter) were sent to Notley Hall having been charged with murdering one of the King’s collectors, John Payne. William Digges, who had been living with his wife at Notley Hall through the 1680s, had fled Maryland in 1689, staying with Calvert family relatives (the Brents) in Stafford County, Virginia. It is also likely that the Protestant Associators, or one of their sympathizers, had control of the estate given the nature of the crime (AMOL

8:259, 262). Mattapany was also used as a prison for Calvert sympathizers during the Protestant Rebellion. Taney, who supported the proprietary government, was caught circulating a petition that questioned the right of Protestants to overthrow the government. He was arrested by Coode and imprisoned at Mattapany for at least five months (Shomette 2000:40-47).

In 1692, Henry Darnall, Charles Calvert's friend and formerly a colonel, petitioned the new government on behalf of Lord Baltimore (who was in England) for custody of "his Lordships two houses & Plantations of Mattapony and Notley Hall" (AMOL 8:311). The next known land transfer took place in 1708, when Notley Hall is referred to as the dwelling plantation of Henry Wharton, the son of Notley's predecessor, Governor Jesse Wharton. The elder Wharton had been married to one of Baltimore's step-daughters. Lord Baltimore had given Henry the plantation at Notley Hall in 1707 because of the service and good faith of Henry's father, Jesse (MSA, Land Patent, DD 5, Folio 261). The land passed to Henry's heirs after he died in 1745 (MSA, Wills, Liber 24, Folio 282).

V. Analysis

Although the site of Thomas Notley's dwelling is known and has been recorded in the Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, no systematic archaeological investigations have been conducted there.³ Archaeological materials exist in both a private and a state-owned collections, but these materials were not collected systematically. Nonetheless, this material is useful for providing important if limited insight into the nature of occupation at Manahowic's Neck in the 17th-century. A trove of historical documents also survives about Manahowic's Neck, including a remarkable 20-page room-by-room probate inventory. The existing artifact collections and documents reveal Manahowic's Neck role as an important place of political power at the beginning of the fourth quarter of the 17th-century. I use a documentary archaeology approach to bring together the diverse sets of data. The materials related to the site are compared to similar materials recovered at other 17th-century sites in southern Maryland, including Mattapany and St. John's.⁴ As such, these sites offer a lens through which to view Notley's home and explore the social space associated with it.

(1) *Probate Inventories in Documentary Archaeology*

The 20-page probate inventory describing Notley's goods and chattels at his death in 1679 forms the heart of this investigation. This room-by-room inventory brings Manahowic's Neck to life, albeit as a still life. The document illuminates the archaeological artifacts associated with Notley's dwelling plantation (18ST74) recorded in 1972 and again in 1981 (McMillan 1972a; Pogue and Smolek 1981). I approach the inventory as a kind of emic artifact catalog. Its artifacts include hundreds of listed items the locations of which are, for the most part, identified by distinct rooms.

³ St. Mary's College of Maryland plans limited testing at the site beginning in May 2011.

⁴ The Country's House is not included in the analysis because the site is still being excavated and no recent cumulative counts for the studied artifact types are currently available. A 1986 report of St. Mary's City does record tobacco pipe counts from 1981-1984 excavations. A total of 4,876 white clay tobacco pipe fragments and 603 terra cotta tobacco pipe fragments were recovered at the Country's House during this time (Miller 1986:16).

Documentary, or “text aided,” archaeology seeks to make sense of material culture by fusing the research methods used by historians with those of archaeologists (Beaudry 1988a; Little 1992). The aim of this interdisciplinary approach is to produce fresh insights applicable to addressing research questions. Archaeologists have long known the power of the written word in assisting site investigations (Deetz 1977, 1992; Stone 1982, 1988). A document-based analysis can provide answers to questions that otherwise would have been difficult or even impossible to know if one only consulted the archaeological record (Langhorne and Babits 1988:132).

Archaeologist Mary Beaudry advises researchers to “develop an approach towards documentary analysis that is uniquely their own” (1988a:1). For example, in her analysis of ceramic vessels found in Chesapeake probate inventories, Beaudry used a linguistic analysis, tracking ceramic vessel modifiers over time by using the information found in the inventories (1988b). Ultimately, her study demonstrates how certain documents, and inventories in particular, can be productively used to study material culture and provide what might be called an “emic” approach to artifacts.

Other examples of probate studies by archaeologists include, but are not limited to, researching changing uses of space over time (Deetz et al. 1987), the evolution of diet (Miller 1988b), the ideological basis for the appearance of consumer goods (Shackel 1992), the distribution of material culture to determine occupational differences (Bragdon 1988), and the behavioral context of probate inventories (Brown 1988). These archaeologists pull together a large sample of inventories in order to produce quantitative data to address their questions.

While I examine room layout and function using Notley’s probate inventory, I am also interested in the question of Notley’s apparent social mobility, from a relatively well-off merchant who served as speaker of the Lower House to close friend, confidant, and governor for the proprietor. Thomas Notley’s probate inventory, with its “old” house and presumably new “great” house, is used as a social mobility meter hinting at the different status levels he occupied before serving as governor of Maryland. Although the inventory mostly reflects the status he had attained at the end of his life, the presence of an “old” house, its size, and its furnishings suggests the material circumstances of his earlier years at Manahowic’s Neck. Other types of historical documents are also examined in order to build a more complete narrative and develop a better understanding of how Notley came to be Governor.

(2) *Thomas Notley’s 1679 Probate Inventory*

Notley’s Wicomico house was inventoried at his death in 1679 on a room-by-room basis.⁵ Some servants, slaves, and livestock are listed in association with another estate owned by the governor but all other material goods and rooms reflect his dwelling plantation at Manahowic’s Neck. The livestock was valued at 39,560 pounds of tobacco or, in terms of pounds sterling, at 1,346 pounds, 19 shillings,

⁵ Thomas Notley’s inventory was transcribed by Lois Green Carr (recorded as ID no. 552). A revised copy of this transcription can be found in Appendix II.

and 1 penny. This sum also includes eight servants and 29 slaves⁶, two of whom are believed to represent the couple, Eleanor Butler (an Irish servant) and Charles (an enslaved African).

i. Room Function

The first 15 spaces inventoried belong to the main house. These rooms include the Best Room, Room Against Best Room, Passage Below, Passage Upon Stairs, Back Room Upon Stairs, Back Garret, Passage in Garret, Garret Over Best Room, Garret Over Hall, Hall or Great Hall, Back Room Below Stairs, Back Room, Room Against Hall, Counting House, and Cellar.

The remaining rooms are labeled in this paper as other “places.” While these spaces may have been attached to the main house, the place of their listing in the inventory itself and the different materials associated with them suggest they were most likely detached, or at the very least functionally distinct, from the activities taking place in the main dwelling house. The break between the main house and other “places” occurs when the inventory progresses from a list of goods found in the Back Room of the main house to a list of items apparently missed in the inventory of previous rooms. This inclusion of items is followed by a description of rooms identified as the Old Hall, Loft Over Hall, and Old Room “within ye payles.” These old rooms contain very few materials, none of which are distinctly upper class in nature, a trait uncommon even in the service rooms of the main house (see Appendix I).

The tables found in Appendix I compare the material culture of the main house to that found in the “old” spaces.⁷ Most inventoried items are organized by several categories (e.g., Food Consumption, Fireplace Equipment, Chairs, Tables) in an effort to determine the function of each space. For example, the Great Hall is interpreted as having been a large room used for social purposes given its large number of tables (n=4) and chairs (n=24). The appearance of fireplace materials indicates it was heated. These characteristics, combined with the absence of beds and the presence of green wall hangings, a coat of arms, and three framed pictures reveal a room that could have easily accommodated the Council proceedings at Notley Hall.

The Garret Over Hall, on the other hand, appears to have been a large attic that stored the bulk of Notley’s merchant goods. The room contained mass quantities of items from a variety of object categories, including 800 quills and 218 tools or equipment. The inventory also includes a Store and Store Loft stocked with goods. The Store’s supply, however, is much less diverse than that found in the Garret Over Hall, an apparent storage area for merchant overstock. The Store consists primarily of tools/equipment (axes, saws, nails), clothing (linen, stockings, canvas), and a number of alcohol consumption and production goods (brandy, sugar, malt, and cases of bottles). The Garrett Over Hall

⁶ To distinguish between slaves and servants whose identity was unclear, Table III.I on page 102 of Main’s *Tobacco Colony: Life I Early Maryland, 1650-1720* (1982) was used in conjunction with each person’s ascribed worth as noted in Notley’s inventory. The table shows adult males slaves to have been worth £23.5 and servants £9 in 1679, the year his inventory was taken.

⁷ The remaining spaces that make up other “places” including the Store, Store Loft, Salt House, Kitchen, Buttery, and Stable are not include in Appendix I because their primary function is apparent given their titles. For additional information concerning their contents see Table 1 and Appendix II.

includes all of these categories in larger quantities with items from additional categories as well (e.g., wild cat skins, dressed deer skins, medicine, flower pots).

The use of two separate storage areas may reflect the limited space available in the Store. But it also may symbolize a class distinction through the division of social space. The Store, most likely separate from the main house, may have represented a commonplace. Those seeking items beyond the basics found in the Store, however, may have entered the dwelling house and made their way up to the Garret Over Hall. It is there that a more elite customer could get an all-access pass to the merchant stock and compare items not displayed in the Store. The customer could peruse a variety of linens, examine cat skins, or compare the quality of its 52 axes to determine the best buy.

The Old Room in payles most likely functioned as a place to sleep but it may have served as a place for business pertaining to Notley's merchant trade. Besides two beds and two chairs, the room also consisted of a pair of steelyards (scale) with a pea (sliding weight for scale) and a piece of slate (for writing). The purpose behind creating a single room surrounded in paling fence is unknown. This reference of an "Old Roome within ye payles" will no doubt prove valuable during systematic excavations of the site. It is possible that, prior to 1679 when it was inventoried, the Old Room may have functioned as the original merchant store; however, no records of additions or repairs exist to substantiate this. Archaeological investigation has the potential to inform of the estate's development. It is also possible that the "Old Roome within ye payles" describes a building that was palisaded in 1676, when Lord Baltimore instructed colonists living on the frontier to "infort themselves in their houses, and into the said fforts to draw any persons able to beare Armes not exceeding ten men in number" (AMOL 15:100).

Although it cannot be stated with certainty that the Old Room in pales is related to Notley's business as a merchant, Notley's success as a merchant is demonstrated by the presence of a store, store loft, and a garret used specifically to store stock. His skills as a merchant are recorded in the archives, as well. James Jolly of St. Mary's County owed Notley 30,000 pounds of tobacco in 1665 (AMOL 49:384). Many smaller debts owed to Notley also appear in the records (see Carr n.d.). Notley, for example, took George Taylor of Charles County to court in 1670, claiming George owed him 1,347 pounds of tobacco "for divers goods and merchandises sold and delivered by the said Thomas to the said George" (AMOL 75:518). Notley amassed land as well as tobacco from merchant negotiations. In 1672, Notley transported 53 indentured servants from England to the province and, as a result, was owed 2,650 acres of land (MSA, Land Records, Patent Liber 16, Folio 411).

Historian Gloria Main (1982:148) argues that the number of structures found on an estate is more revealing of one's wealth than an analysis of house size and quality. An estate with numerous structures had the potential to create an impressive "village" effect (Main 1982:151). This may have been the case for Notley's plantation, given that he had a main house with a number of other "places" (i.e., Old Hall, Loft Over Hall, Old Room in payles, Store, Store Loft, Salt House, Kitchen, Buttery, and Stable).

Main (1982:152) prepared a table using probate inventories to show a high correlation between personal wealth and the number of rooms and other "places" in Maryland households from 1660 until 1719. According to the table (Figure 4), Notley fits into the top 10% of the wealthiest households for having six main house habitable rooms and three habitable other "places." Notley's minimal six habitable main house rooms include the Best Room, Room Against Hall, Backroom Upon Stairs, Room Against Best Room, Back Garret, and Garret Over Best Room (Table 1). Garrets are normally considered to be storage areas and therefore not habitable spaces, as is the case with the Garret Over Hall. However, these two garrets have beds and appear to have been lived in, possibly by servants or slaves, and not used solely for storage (see Appendix I). The three additional other "places" include the Old Hall, Loft Over Hall, and Old Room in payles (Table 1).

<i>PPW Class</i>	<i>Percentile Rank Households^b</i>	<i>Main House Average No. Rooms</i>	<i>Other "Places"^a Average No.</i>	<i>Total Rooms Plus "Places"</i>
£ 0-15	0-6	1?	0.0	1.0?
16-34	7-21	less than 2	0.0	less than 2
35-49	22-34	2.0	0.5?	2.5?
50-71	35-46	2.8	0.6	3.4
72-96	47-56	3.1	1.0	4.1
97-149	57-69	3.1	1.0	4.1
150-228	70-79	5.0	1.5	6.5
229-399	80-89	5.3	3.1	8.4
400-799	90-95.5	6.0	3.1	9.1
800-up	95.6-99.9	6.3	5.1	11.4

Figure 4. Thomas Notley's percentile by average of main house rooms and other "places" (Source: Main 1982:152).

<i>Living and Meeting</i>	£	Beds	<i>Meeting, No Living</i>	£	<i>Chairs Tables</i>	<i>Storage/Manufacturing</i>	£	Beds
Best Room	71	1	Hall/Great Hall	30	28	Passage Upon Stair	77	1
Room Against Hall	59	1				Passage in Garret	1	0
Backroom Upon Stair	16	1	Backroom Below Stairs ⁸	100	18	Passage Below	1	0
Room Against Best Room	15	1				Garret Over Hall	49	0
Counting House	38	1				Cellar	69	0
Back Garret	19	2				Store/Store Loft	76	0
Garret Over Best Room	26	7				Salt House	16	0
						Kitchen/Buttery	16	0
						Stable	5	0
Old Hall/Loft Over Hall	11	2						
Old Room in "payles"	5	2						

Table 1. Functions (living, meeting, storing, and manufacturing) for all spaces listed in Thomas Notley’s inventory with approximate pounds sterling per space. Other “places” appear in bolded green text to distinguish from main house rooms.

ii. Wealth and Status Within

The main house lists a number of high-status objects indicative of the Governor’s wealth. A total of 5 chamber pots and 2 close stools were identified in the main house. A silver hilted scimitar (sword), wild cat skins, velvet horse saddle, agate hafted knives, Roanoke beads, gilded leather, a bag of silver and gold, and 2 sets of silver utensils attest not only to Notley’s elevated rank but to his involvement in trade. Roanoke beads were also status symbols and, as such, a valuable commodity used for exchange. One Maryland colonist even compared its value to that of silver (Klein and Sanford 2004:59). Beads also represent the exchange that took place with Native Americans. Trade items could have been acquired from the nature of Notley’s merchant relationship with Indians or from his occupation as a Governor. One Council meeting at Manahowic’s Neck records the exchange of animal skins for guns and ammunition (AMOL 15:242).

Notley’s inventory also discriminates between a number of material compositions (e.g., ceramic, silver, tin, iron) to describe a total of 135 items. The frequency of these material types in the main house differs with the types of materials found in other “places” (Figure 5). Ceramics (i.e., chamber

⁸ A “Plate in ye back Roome” is listed in the inventory separate from the Backroom Upon Stairs and the Backroom Below Stairs. This table includes the Plate’s materials (e.g., silver spoons, porringers, castors) with the Backroom Below Stairs as part of a meeting area. It is likely that a public room, as opposed to a single bedroom, boasted this status symbol during more prominent events.

pots, flower pots, and parcel of fine earthenware), gold, and silver only appear in the main house. Lead and copper items, while few in number, only appear in places outside of the main house. To make sense of Figure 3, an object's composition must be interpreted in terms of its function. The inventory uses tin primarily to describe candlesticks. The higher amount of tin then represents the larger trend that candles appear more in the main house than they do in other "places." A distribution which only makes sense in a larger, wealthier house unable to light its non-fireplace rooms else wise.

The high amounts of more utilitarian compositions, like iron⁹ and brass, within the main house are primarily attributed to the merchant overstock room (Garret Over Hall). The remaining main house iron describes three stirrups and 1 marking iron; all iron pots/pans are found in the other "places." The remaining non-merchant stock brass items come from the Counting Room. A brass warming pan was likely used for warming a bed. Eleven "paper brass chaines" with an unknown function or purpose are also listed in the Counting Room. Stone from the main house included agate knives and one piece of slate. Stone from other "places" consisted of grindstones and slate. The slate was most likely used for writing but may have been used for roofing tile. Not including the variety of materials in the Garret Over Hall (which includes items from lace to hoes), the grindstones and iron pots of the other "places" and fine agate knives, silver serving dishes, and chamber pots of the main house reiterate the contrast of Great Hall and Old Hall. They once again convey the main house's tendency toward wealthier materials associated with more powerful figures and the other "places" tendency towards industrial and manufactured items associated more with "the help."

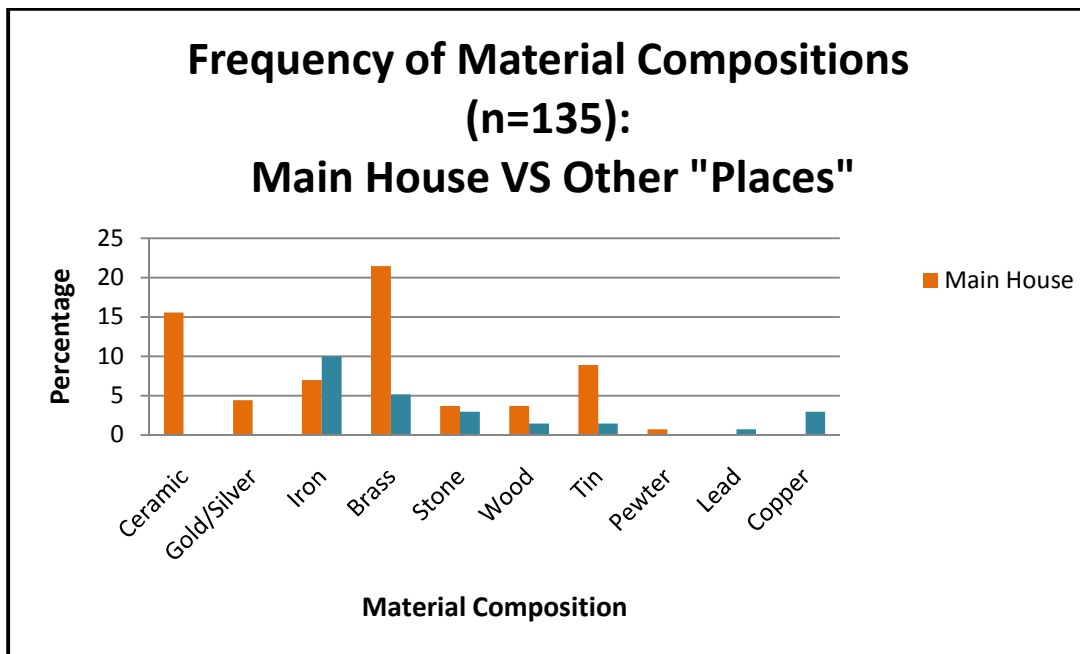


Figure 5. Comparison of item material composition from Thomas Notley's main house rooms and other "places."

⁹ Andirons not included in count. Only objects specifically given a composition were included for metals (e.g., pewter cistern, iron pot, brass scale).

The main house may have been grander than what has been evidenced by its furnishings. Architectural historian Cary Carson (December 18, 2010) has suggested that room orientation may suggest the passage in the garret followed along the back of the structure similar to a hotel's hallway which would lead to each garret's own door. This arrangement would have made it possible for others to sleep upstairs with a greater sense of privacy. Instead of going through each garret to get to another room, one could simply enter the back passage to access the room without traipsing through other people's rooms. This layout, however, would have been a very early and therefore unlikely example for a structure of Notley's time. In making sense of dissimilar stair references (i.e., Passage Upon Stairs, Backroom Upon Stairs, and Back Room Below Stairs), it was also proposed that Manahowic's Neck may have featured a stair tower, a more likely possibility. In this instance, the Backroom Upon the Stairs would open up to the passage. While these architectural are admittedly speculative, they also suggest the degree of architectural information that can be extracted from inventories.

With or without the private room access or stair tower, Notley's house was nothing short of an elite structure. The inventory as a whole described at least 24 spaces (including garrets, cellar, and probable outbuildings) with at least 19 beds (consisting of feather, flock, and bed ticks), 99 chairs, and 13 tables. Fine amenities like chamber pots with stools, silver utensils, landscape pictures, maps, lime juice, exotic spices, and agate knives made for a comfortable living.

In contrast, the appearance of beds, blankets, pillows, and chairs in association with an old "dirty" pillow and two "Negro Cuchins" in the main house may represent servant and/or slave sleeping quarters. The contrasting quality of materials in the house serves as a reminder of the different members who composed the household and their different roles within it.

iii. Eleanor and Charles Butler

Notley's inventory also lists "An Irish Wench at the hous" and "Charles Negro," and these two people are probably the couple more commonly known as Eleanor Butler and "salt water" Charles. The 1681 marriage of Eleanor Butler, or "Irish Nell," to the enslaved Charles was met with disapproval – Charles Calvert himself apparently tried to talk Eleanor out of the marriage – but the couple married anyway. An account of their relationship is recorded in mid-18th-century court records when their grandchildren sued for their freedom (Heinegg n.d.).

Court testimonies from the 1767 Provincial Court proceedings claim Charles Calvert transported Eleanor to Maryland (Heinegg n.d.). Other accounts report that Charles later sold Eleanor and Charles to Major William Boarman (Hodes 1999:20-22). A few years earlier, Notley's 1679 will gave Charles Calvert (Lord Baltimore) and Benjamin Rozer the freedom to do as they saw fit with Notley's "meniall servants" (MSA, Wills, Liber 10, Folio 9). It is very possible that Charles Calvert, after receiving such authorization, transferred Nell's services from the deceased Notley to Boarman. It is true that the 1767 testimonies took place nearly a century after Nell and Charles wed and, as a result, some variability occurs with their stories. Nevertheless, it remains highly possible that Charles Calvert brought a young Eleanor Butler to Maryland during his trip to England in 1676/7 when he left Notley as the Governor.

iv. Livestock

According to Gloria Main’s table, produced below, Notley’s inventory of livestock ranks him in the richest class (Figure 6). Even excluding the 52 swine and 8 cows at his estate at Bachelor’s Hope, Notley owned 90 “sheppes” or sheep, 43 cows, 100 swine, and an unknown number of horses whose value came to 10,350 pounds of tobacco, and all were at Manahowic’s Neck. Horses were valuable assets with a number of functions. In addition to being a means of hunting, plowing, and hauling, horses were a principal means of transportation and an evident mark of status (Main 1982:66).

Main observed from her inventory analysis that few farmers raised sheep prior to 1680 for fear of wolves. In addition, the lack of cleared lands often meant the dominance of thickets and shrubs which proved damaging to the wool (Main 1982:62-63). The high number of sheep found in Notley’s inventory may suggest that he maintained a large cleared, fenced-in pasture on his dwelling plantation, perhaps using his horses to hunt down intrusive wolves. Although more labor intensive, he had the labor necessary to care for his sheep.

<i>Class PPW</i>	<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Horses</i>	<i>Swine</i>	<i>Sheep</i>	<i>% with Swine</i>	<i>% with Sheep</i>
£ 0-49	9.8	2.2	8.6	8.2	75%	27%
50-149	21.2	3.3	19.2	13.2	90	45
150-399	34.2	4.9	24.0	20.6	92	58
400-up	76.3	9.9	51.7	32.2	100	81

SOURCE: Probated estates of men whose children were all under age, referred to as the “young fathers” sample from probate records of six counties, Maryland, in Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Figure 6. Thomas Notley’s PPW (physical personal wealth) according to inventoried livestock (Source: Main 1982:62).

(3) *Surface Collections*

Although 18ST74 (initially surveyed as 18ST52) has not been systematically surveyed or tested, artifacts documented in 1972 and again in 1981 also shed some light on Notley’s dwelling plantation. Barbara Ann McMillan of American University described her finds at Notley Hall in her 1972 dissertation, *An Archaeological Survey of St. Mary’s County, Maryland*. The segments on Notley Hall (18ST52) are sparse and only make mention of prehistoric artifacts. McMillan described the site as 500-yards by 200-yards consisting mostly of oyster shells in rich dark soil. She surface-collected the site and examined a large, privately-owned collection of Native American tools (some points described as Early Archaic) and ceramics (some of which are believed to be Townsend series ceramics dating to the Late Woodland). The collection, owned by Mrs. Dorothy Holmes, included clay tobacco pipe and European ceramic fragments. McMillan supplemented her surface collection data with the Holmes’ collection to propose

site occupation dating back to at least the Early Woodland (1972b:231). McMillan's descriptions of artifacts, however, are often ambiguous. The surface collection which included such things as a probable Bare Island projectile point, axe head, and flakes could not be relocated for further analysis.

The Holmes collection (Figure 7) is today in the possession of Miss Laura Holmes, a daughter of Dorothy Holmes. Some artifacts in the Holmes collection, including European white clay tobacco pipes, are labeled "18ST52," suggesting that McMillan catalogued at least a portion of the Holmes collection. Despite an exhaustive search, however, no catalog was found nor was it possible to locate McMillan. Dr. Julia King, Scott Strickland, and I visited Miss Holmes and, with her permission, examined the materials which had been originally surface collected by her brother in the 1930s. Hundreds of white clay tobacco pipe fragments, a 17th-century molded red clay tobacco pipe stem fragment marked "WD," several Native American-made red clay tobacco pipe fragments, Rhenish blue and gray fragments, Rhenish brown medallion fragments, North American stoneware, lithic points and tools, yellow brick, and oyster shells were observed during the visit. Miss Holmes is reluctant to part with her collection but may agree to further processing of the collection during the summer of 2011.



Figure 7. Artifacts from Holmes Collection including glass, yellow brick, Native American tobacco pipes, Native American ceramics, lithic tools, Rhenish brown medallion fragments.

In 1981, archaeologists Michael Smolek and Dennis Pogue visited Notley Hall (18ST74).¹⁰ Although McMillan suggests in her report that Smolek and Pogue planned to conduct controlled surface collection, their primary interest lay in verifying the site as 17th-century in date and connecting yellow brick observed on the surface of 18ST74 with that recovered from Upper Notley Hall (18ST75), a mid/late-18th-century site less than a mile east of 18ST74 (Pogue 1981). They, too, observed the

¹⁰ Smolek and Pogue also refer to the site as Lower Notley Hall, Notley Hall II, and formerly 18ST52. Artifacts surfaced collected by Smolek and Pogue are curated at the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory, Jefferson Patterson Park & Museum.

extensive Holmes collection, describing it as including thousands of 17th-20th-century and Native American artifacts. Smolek and Pogue divided the archaeological site into three main areas: A, B, and C (Table 2; Figure 8). McMillan is believed to have investigated the vicinity of Area A. Smolek and Pogue record A as the area nearest to Manahowic Creek and describe it as tested by a professional archaeologist and subsequently bulldozed. During Pogue and Smolek’s investigation, this area produced 19th-/20th-century artifacts along with an area of red brick and shell scatter. Area B (100-meters by 50-meters) and Area C both consisted of a dense scattering of 17th-century structural and domestic artifacts (Table 2). Pogue and Smolek’s collection of Rhenish stoneware, tin-glazed earthenware, and wine glass fragments are indicative of domestic sites. Consequently, it is believed that Area B and C represent the general location of Governor Thomas Notley’s house.

The appearance of yellow brick and red tile observed in 1981 suggests a well-appointed dwelling and it is very likely related to the 50,000 yellow bricks divvied up between Notley and his Calvert friends in 1673. Yellow bricks came in two varieties: a smaller, extremely durable brick resistant to high temperatures and known as “klinkers,” and a larger form known as “moppen” (Becker 1977:115; Moser et al. 2003:204; Luckenbach 1993). Yellow brick was also used decoratively in the construction of fireplaces (Luckenbach 1993). Its appearance has also been used to argue the existence of an iron furnace at the Chancellor’s Point site in St. Mary’s City (personal communication Silas Hurry, February 15, 2011). The moppen variety of yellow brick was recovered from another 17th-century site, Westwood Manor, located less than 10-miles north of Notley Hall. The yellow brick at Manahowic’s Neck appears to represent both varieties, including klinkers and moppen. Moppen bricks usually measure between 8.5 to 9 inches, klinkers only average between 6.5 and 7.5 inches (Alexander et al. 2010:80). Area C’s complete yellow brick is of moppen variety. The other two yellow brick samples may represent another moppen and a klinker. The brick was most likely a status indicator for Notley, much like his extravagantly furnished rooms depicted in his inventory.

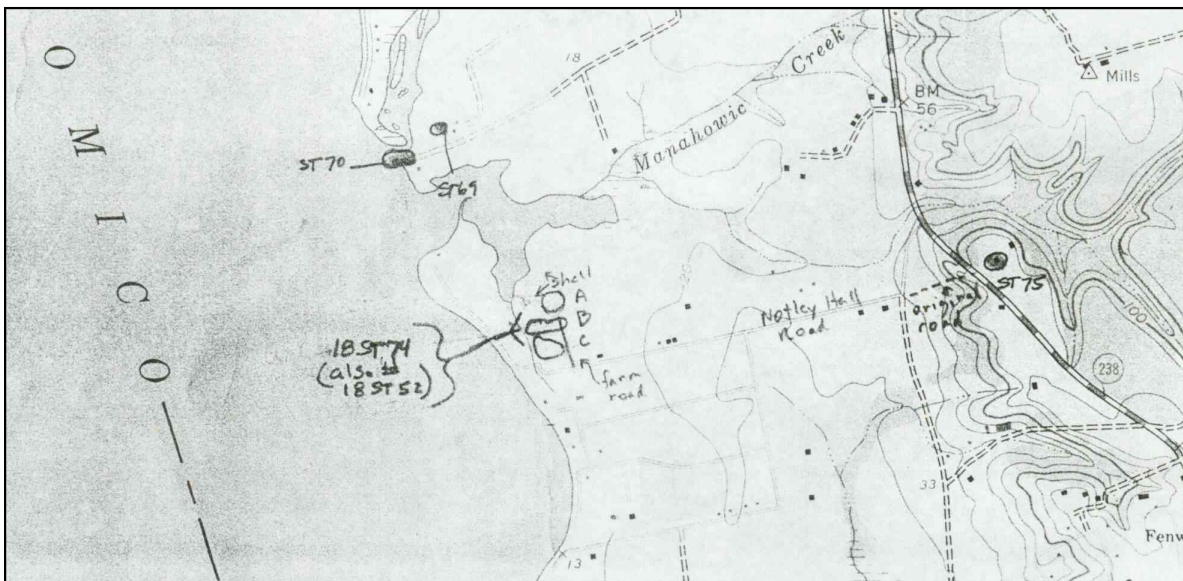


Figure 8. USGS map of 18ST74 along the Wicomico River in St. Mary’s County, Maryland (Source: Pogue and Smolek 1981).



Area	Artifacts Surface Collected	Notes
A	(nothing collected)	Intense red brick scatter with few domestic artifacts Observed 19 th /20 th century artifacts Observed oyster shells north of brick scatter
	1 red earthenware flat roofing tile with attachment hole 5 Rhenish brown stoneware sherds (including 1 with a medallion) 3 Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherds (including 1 handle fragment) 1 purple-painted tin-glazed earthenware sherd 1 colorless wine glass stem fragment 1 dark green glass wine bottle fragment 4, 7/64" white clay tobacco pipe stem fragments	Dense scatter of structural and domestic artifacts Area measures approximately 100 meters by 50 meters
B		
	2 tin-glazed earthenware sherds (1 with blue decoration) 2 Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherds 1, 7/64" locally-made molded terra cotta pipe stem 1 colorless wine glass stem/base fragment 1 North Devon slipped earthenware sherd 3 yellow brick samples 1 quartz projectile point tip	Dense scatter of structural and domestic artifacts
C		

Table 2. Summary of finds reported in Dennis Pogue and Michael A. Smolek’s Maryland Archaeological Site Survey for 18ST74 (1981) with photos taken by author.

(4) Reading the Landscape

18ST74 is located in an agricultural field bordering the southern portion of Manahowic Creek, a tributary of the Wicomico River that feeds into the Potomac River in St. Mary's County. The site is bound on the west by the Wicomico River. The area's soil types are primarily Mattapex fine sandy loam (2- to 5-percent slopes) and Woodstown sandy loam (0- to 2-percent slopes), both moderately well-drained, sandy loams composing flat landforms. The site is considered to be on a coastal lowland consisting of a level knoll and west sloping hillside (Pogue and Smolek 1981).

In 1608, Captain John Smith explored and mapped the Chesapeake region, noting place names and Indian towns. Smith depicted a chiefdom in the area of 18ST74 (Figure 9). Smith also recorded information on the "Manahoac" tribe of Virginia located adjacent to the Rappahannock River.¹¹ The name, Manahowic, is believed to be Algonquin for "They dig them," perhaps referring to shellfish or tuber. This interpretation comes from the Algonquin *man-* meaning "dig", *-awh* "action by tool," and *-äwaki* "they-them" (Kenny 1984:149-150). The translation pairs with the site survey's description of prehistoric oyster shell concentrations lying north of the 17th-century sites mentioned in Pogue and Smolek's survey.

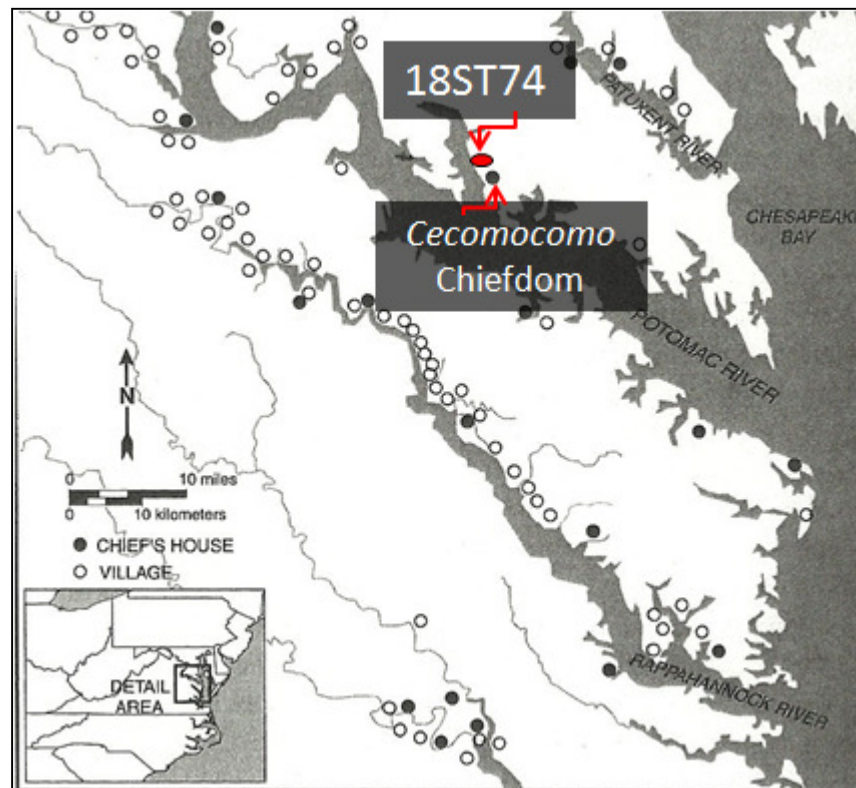


Figure 9. Village and chiefdom map from John Smith's voyages (Source: Klein and Sanford 2004:62).

¹¹ Refer to David I. Bushnell, Jr.'s 1935 *The Manahoac Tribes in Virginia, 1608* Smithsonian Institution: Washington, DC.

(5) Places of Power and Their Material Culture

The material culture associated with Manahowic's Neck's, including that recovered archaeologically and that found through documentary analysis, reveals a plantation occupied by a wealthy household, one whose owner lived a fairly comfortable life, especially when compared with the lifeways of ordinary planters. The extensive assemblage of yellow brick, the presence of red clay tobacco pipes, and Roanoke beads are particularly interesting artifacts that can be read as objects suggesting wealth, power, and status associated not only with Governor Notley but with this landscape. A brief analysis of these three materials at two other political power houses, Mattapany and St. John's, is used to investigate Manahowic's Neck's place as a site of political significance.

The great quantity of imported yellow brick observed at Manahowic's Neck reflects Notley's position as a wealthy planter merchant. Its functional value as a strong brick as well as its aesthetic qualities, was no doubt an attractive feature sought after by those who could afford it. But it is quite possible that Notley did not acquire this brick through a traditional purchase exchange. Documentary evidence suggests Notley acquired the brick through confiscation and through his personal relationship with the proprietor. Further work at Notley Hall this summer will reveal just how much yellow brick is incorporated into the dwelling's construction.

Yellow brick also appears in high relatively quantity at Charles Calvert's Mattapany (18ST390) and at St. John's (18ST1-23). Mattapany produced 752 fragments (1,757.9 grams) of yellow brick. While the counts for St. John's are unavailable it is known to have appeared in high quantities (personal communication with Silas Hurry, February 15, 2011).

Locally-made, 17th-century red clay pipe fragments were observed in Miss Holmes' private collection and a single fragment was also collected by Pogue and Smolek. The private collection's red clay tobacco pipe assemblage also consisted of what appear to be pre-Contact Native American pipes. Several fragments are decorated but their designs remain unidentified. One plain, red clay tobacco pipe stem fragment is unusually large with a fabric clearly of Native American manufacturing. The presence of Native American-made tobacco pipes may represent the pre-Contact occupation of the site. After all, the appearance of Indians at Manahowic's Neck before Notley's time and the site's proximity to a supposed 1608 chiefdom defines the site as a prehistoric landscape of power.

It is equally possible and even likely that some of Miss Holmes' Native-American tobacco pipe fragments are associated with the site's late 17th-century occupation. Court records demonstrate the site's function as a space where English colonists met with Native Americans. These pipes were likely traded between colonists and Native visitors to the plantation and, given the nature of the meetings at Manahowic's Neck, may have been exchanged as part of the ritual of two governments convening to discuss issues of shared interest.

The English and Indians were also brought together by meetings held at Mattapany and at St. John's. Red clay tobacco pipe fragments were recovered at both sites during excavation. Yet, only 15

red clay tobacco pipes were recovered from Mattapany and it is unclear how many (if any) are of Native American manufacture. St. John's, a far more extensively excavated site than Mattapany, yielded more than 1,800 red clay tobacco pipe fragments. A total of 111 of these pipes were studied and 75 were determined to be hand-made and 35 were classified as mold-made (Henry 1979). It is difficult to compare these assemblages given the tentative data and varying methods of excavation. St. John's was also occupied beginning in 1638, and archaeologists at Historic St. Mary's City suggest that red clay pipes are most common on sites there dating before 1660 (Hurry and Miller 1992).

However, spatial analysis of St. John's Native American-made tobacco pipe fragments suggests they were discarded during colonial occupation. These hand-made pipes were recovered primarily from areas of colonial trash disposal which dated from 1645-1700 (Henry 1979:31). Manahowic's Neck's Indian-made tobacco pipes are not provenienced and, as a result, are limited to the decorative motifs, none of which have proven diagnostic.

Several strings of glass beads and a parcel of Roanoke beads are items found in the Notley inventory but are absent from the site's archaeological record. The small size of the beads makes them difficult to recover during surface reconnaissance and it is quite possible both glass and shell beads are present at Notley Hall. Shell beads (Roanoke) are even rarer because of their high susceptibility to degradation. Roanoke beads in particular are excellent indicators of upper class households in 17th-century Maryland. So valuable, in fact, settlers would break into Native American tombs just to collect the beads (AMOL 5:483). No shell beads were recovered during testing at Mattapany but 4 glass beads were. A total of 347 beads were recovered from the four seasons of excavations at St. John's, 2 of which were shell, possibly Roanoke. Their occurrence in the archaeological record supports St. John's as a household of wealth that not only saw the exchange of information between colonists but also material goods. However, these beads may have been used by colonists for their own adornment instead of a common commodity used for exchange (Miller, Pogue, and Smolek 1983).

VI. Discussion and Future Research

The existing archaeological record for 18ST74 is limited to two small surveys and a restricted private collection. The two surveys at Manahowic's Neck, while limited in scope and material, do offer intriguing finds that suggest a colonial occupation with a higher degree of wealth and a substantial prehistoric component. Miss Holmes' private collection, while extensive, also suggests a wealthy site with prehistoric occupation. Unfortunately, it lacks the spatial context useful in drawing more meaningful interpretations.

Thomas Notley's inventory provides important material culture data and better context for the site. The inventory accounts for a number of artifacts not present in the archaeological record. But, at the same time, the inventory does not include other classes of artifacts (e.g., yellow brick and red clay tobacco pipes). Nonetheless, without historical documents like the inventory, Manahowic's Neck loses much of its material richness and, with it, knowledge of its political significance. Documentary archaeology is used for its ability to repair issues similar to this by encouraging the integration of diverse sets of data to better inform of material culture.

The results of this analysis offer a more detailed understanding of Thomas Notley, his dwelling plantation, and its place in the political landscape of 17th-century Maryland. Documents reveal that Charles Calvert and Thomas Notley enjoyed a strong bond in their governance of the colony. A focus on the landscape and its materiality, however, brings into far greater relief the nature of that relationship and the benefits accruing to both men. Already a relatively wealthy man, Notley accumulated even more material wealth as his relationship with the proprietor allowed him to keep relatively rare yellow brick and facilitated exchange relationships with multiple Indian nations. In return, Notley provided Calvert with a base of operation on the Wicomico and, at his death, left his entire plantation to Lord Baltimore and Baltimore's son-in-law. And, indeed, this was a dwelling fit for a lord, a comfortable structure that was clean, well lit, and furnished with all of the niceties one might expect in the finest Atlantic households.

The room-by-room analysis suggests the extent to which Notley was able to amass such a great amount of material wealth through his relationship with the proprietor. The contrasting room descriptions of *Old Hall/Great Hall* and the *Old Room in payles/Best Room*, for example, represent the evolution in wealth and power experienced by Notley as his relationship with Charles Calvert grew. The Governor's accumulation of enough wealth to build the main house rooms and to stock them with such affluent materials attests to his social mobility and upward climb in status from Old Hall to Great Hall.

Although the archaeological data currently available from Manahowic's Neck is limited, it is supplemented by data from more extensively and systematically excavated sites. A comparative analysis of yellow brick, red clay tobacco pipes, and beads recovered from Mattapany and St. John's explores the material culture of politically significant sites of 17th-century Maryland. With its collection of yellow brick, red clay pipes, and beads, Manahowic's Neck emerges as a place of encounter and of power.

This study suggests that understanding of Notley Hall provides a greater and important context for the interpretation of both Mattapany and St. Mary's City. The material culture and documents reveal Manahowic's Neck as yet another important political landscape in 17th-century Maryland, if for only a decade. Manahowic's Neck is a center for government business, beginning with the 1673 Admiralty Court case and continuing with fifteen Council meetings between 1676 and 1680. It is at Manahowic's Neck that the Calvert government appears to most frequently engage the region's Piscataway Indian nation. Manahowic's Neck was a "great house" with a large room to hold Council meetings and host government-to-government meetings. It was a dwelling perfectly suited for housing Lord Baltimore and his wife, and, later, his step-daughter and son-in-law in comfort befitting the family's status.

Further, Manahowic's Neck provides an important base of operation for the Calvert's in the Wicomico River, where many of Lord Baltimore's enemies were congregated. The wealth and power that came to be associated with Notley and his estate demonstrates an attempt at proprietary dominance in a politically instable region. It symbolized the presence and power of the proprietary government in an area that would have been visible to those traveling through this neighborhood, including those hostile to Charles Calvert and his proprietary rule.

But perhaps the most important discovery of this research is the role Manahowic's Neck played in minimizing Lord Baltimore's Catholicism. Research at Historic St. Mary's City has suggested the development about c. 1667 of a town plan anchored in part by a highly visible Jesuit Chapel, with the suggestion that angles found in the construction of the Chapel are repeated in the town plan itself. The town plan has been closely associated with Philip Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore's younger brother. Indeed, Philip appears to be a devoted Catholic, naming his estate in St. Mary's City after a saint and, at his death, being interred in the north arm of the Chapel. Nonetheless, these facts indicate that St. Mary's City was becoming more closely associated with Catholicism than perhaps the second Lord Baltimore would have intended. At the very least, at first settlement, the second Lord Baltimore cautioned his agents in Maryland to keep religion out of governing, a position he appears to have been sticking with as late as 1649 when the Act Concerning Religion was passed. Further, the second Lord Baltimore was careful to appoint governors who were Protestant unless he was appointing his own kinsmen.

While Philip Calvert may have felt that conditions in the colony warranted a change from the second Lord Baltimore's earlier prescriptions, it is also the case that not everyone in Maryland was Catholic. Indeed, Catholics were never in the majority in Maryland. And, while most Protestants appear to have been tolerant, other colonists may not have shared that sentiment. Still others disliked Lord Baltimore and his kin, angry that the proprietor kept lucrative positions out of their hands. While these latter colonists may not have necessarily been motivated by anti-Catholic feelings, they nonetheless recognized that using the third Lord Baltimore's Catholicism against him might prove valuable for securing his ouster, or at least getting the Crown to take a stronger interest in what was going on in Maryland.

Charles Calvert, the third Lord Baltimore who is often compared with his father unfavorably, may have recognized that the Jesuit Chapel's highly visible position may have provided opportunities for his enemies to more closely link Calvert's Catholicism with his governance of the colony. Governor Calvert may have decided to establish himself as apart from the colonial capital, choosing to live at Mattapany and spending a considerable amount of time at Manahowic's Neck, especially in the 1670s and early 1680s. Not only did such strategizing perhaps distance Calvert from what may have been increasingly perceived as the center of Catholicism, it also allowed him to place himself visibly throughout the colony, including on the Wicomico, where many of his enemies lived. This may also explain why, when Calvert left Maryland in 1676 to claim his inheritance, he chose to leave a Protestant governor in charge (Notley) rather than his uncle, Philip, who may have simply been too closely associated with the Jesuit Chapel to have been an effective or trusted executive in Calvert's absence.

Although Charles Calvert did make a number of decisions that would later come back to haunt him, it may be that he clearly understood how his enemies were using his Catholicism – and what they saw as the growing power of the Jesuits in the landscape – to undermine his authority. As a Roman Catholic, Calvert may have approved of the Chapel's visible presence in the landscape in the capital city. As a governor, however, he may have understood the opportunity the Chapel presented to his enemies, and thus elected to become associated with places well outside the capital's bounds. This is not to say

that Calvert avoided St. Mary's City. Hardly. It is clear he is there regularly to attend Council meetings. Nonetheless, he chooses not to live there and, it is clear, he and his family are much more closely identified with Mattapany and, now it is evident, Manahowic's Neck.

Charles Calvert's push to transform places like Mattapany and Manahowic's Neck into symbols of proprietary power was explored through landscape archaeology. His relocation to places outside of the politically active capital represents his desire to extend Calvert rule. Other factors including his competitive relationship with Philip Calvert and the capital's increasing public demonstrations of Catholicism complicate the picture and require an analysis of St. Mary's City and Mattapany. By seeking to understand Notley Hall a greater context for understanding both Mattapany and St. Mary's City is revealed. It is possible that Charles' residential association with places like Mattapany and Manahowic's Neck allowed him to distance himself from what his citizens may have been interpreting as a growing Catholic presence in the capital city, one Charles Calvert knew might and in fact was used against him.

This study shows that archaeology is not just about digging in the dirt. It is about context, description, and interpretation of landscape and material evidence, regardless of the source of that evidence. Archaeology as a more holistic history justifies the study of all forms of material culture associated with Thomas Notley and his Manahowic's Neck plantation. Documents can be misrepresentative and important evidence may be altogether absent. That said, the comprehensive assessment of evidence pertaining to the site also seeks to develop a model for what can be expected, and not expected, to be uncovered in future excavations. It is our hope that, this summer, this model will serve to guide the collection of archaeological evidence from Manahowic's Neck.

Further investigation and the collection of additional data this summer will add to this narrative of late 17th-century life along the Wicomico River. Building the ideologies associated with this region can help explore the motives behind Charles Calvert's desire to insert himself into a seemingly removed location like Mattapany and Manahowic's Neck. Such an endeavor has the potential to understand early Maryland's evolving landscape and its political implications.

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Appendix I. Quantifications of items found in Thomas Notley's 1679 inventory by main house rooms and old rooms which are considered to be part of other "places" (table based on Lois Green Carr's transcription).

Main Rooms <i>Interpretive Function</i>	Beds Bedsteads Hammock	Chairs Tables	Other Furnishings	Fireplace Equipment	Health Hygiene	Linen Clothing	Books Papers	Food Consumption Materials	Food Tobacco Alcohol	Food Preparation Materials	Other Tools Equipment
Best Room <i>Parlor (heated bedroom)</i>	1	9	4	1	2	-	X*	-	-	-	-
Room Against Best Room <i>Chamber (heated private meeting and bedroom)</i>	1	8	4	1	3	-	1	-	-	-	-
Passage Below	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Passage Upon Stairs <i>(storage in Trunks/chests)</i>	1	2	10	-	3	161	X	-	-	-	56
Backroom Upon Stairs <i>Parlor (full-sized heated room private meeting and bedroom)</i>	1	14	1	3	3	3	-	-	-	-	-
Backroom Below Stairs <i>Chamber(heated study)</i>	-	18	5	1	6	14	XX	X	XX	-	X
Back Room	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	34	-	-	-
Back Garret <i>Attic Chamber (possible servant dwelling)</i>	2	5	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Passage in Garrett	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	7
Garret Over Best Room <i>Attic Chamber (possible servant dwelling)</i>	9	4	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Garret Over Hall <i>Attic storage (merchant stock)</i>	-	-	55	3	1	79	800	79	XX	42	218
In Hall (Great Hall) <i>Hall (large, heated public meeting room)</i>	-	28	5	3	-	3	-	1	-	-	-
Room Against Hall <i>Chamber (heated private</i>	1	14	8	5	1	21	-	-	X	-	5

<i>meeting room with bed)</i>											
Main Rooms <i>Interpretive Function</i>	Beds Bedsteads Hammock	Chairs Tables	Other Furnishings	Fireplace Equipment	Health Hygiene	Linen Clothing	Books Papers	Food Consumption Materials	Food Tobacco Alcohol	Food Preparation Materials	Other Tools Equipment
Counting House <i>Chamber (meeting and storage room)</i>	1	-	26	-	3	92	x	39	XX	-	24
Cellar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	XX	-	-
MAIN HOUSE TOTAL	17	102	126	17	22	378	XXX	XXX	XX	42	XXX

Old Rooms	Beds Bedsteads Hammocks	Chairs Tables	Other Furnishings	Fireplace Equipment	Health Hygiene	Linen Clothing	Books Papers	Food Consumption Materials	Food Tobacco Alcohol	Food Preparation Materials	Other Tools Equipment
Old Hall <i>Hall (bedroom)</i>	1	1	2	-	-	1	-	X	-	-	-
Loft Over Hall <i>Loft (bedroom)</i>	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Old Room in "payles" <i>Chamber (merchant business and bedroom)</i>	2	3	2	1	-	-	-	10	-	-	2
OLD ROOMS TOTAL	4	4	5	2	0	1	0	XX	0	0	6

*Some of the materials recorded in the inventory use different labels for quantification making it difficult to compare counts (e.g., Food Consumption: 4 individual glasses and 2 cases of glasses; Books Papers: several books, one parcel of paper, and trunk of books). The following presence/absence notation allows for a comparison of relative quantities which have been estimated using the data available.

Notation	Quantity Represented
X	1-9
XX	10-99
XXX	100-999

Beds Bedsteads Hammock: Feather beds, flock beds, bed ticks, and bedsteads.

Chairs Tables: Leather, wooden, and Turkey-worked chairs. Great, small, and oval tables.

Other Furnishings: Scriptoris, cuddy, chests, trunks, stands, boxes, maps, landscapes, framed pictures, a coat of arms, mirrors, rugs, carpets, and animal skins.

Fireplace Equipment: Pairs of andirons, tongs, fire shovels, and bellows.

Health Hygiene: Chamber pots, close stools and pans, and brushes.

Linen Clothing: Articles of clothing although primarily remnants of cloth, ribbon, silk, and lace in addition to napkins, towels, table cloths, curtains, sheets, and pillow cases.

Books Papers: Books, papers, pen knives, quills, letter press, parcel of cake ink and wax, and binding.

Food Consumption: Tumblers, tankard, parcel of fine earthenware, wooden cups, porringer, castors, glasses, forks, knives, spoons, and fish plates.

Food Tobacco Alcohol: Salt, lime, hops, sweetmeat, syrup, sugar, spices, rum, wine, tobacco box, pipe cases, etc.

Food Production: Skimmers, ladles, chopping iron, and colanders.

Other Tools Equipment: Horse equipment (saddles, bridles, bits, girths, etc.), nails, scissors, razors, gimlets, hoes, sieves, faucets and spigots, axes, funnel, etc.

An Apprisement of ye goods and Chattells of Thomas Notley Esq decd taken by Capt:e Gerrard
 Slye and Mr: John Darnell thereunto Appointed & Sworne

In the Best Roome viz	£	S	P
One feather bed, one boulster 2 pillowes 2 Blancketts Silke Counterpane, Camlett Curtaines & Vallaines headprs all lined with Silke 7 small Camlett Chaires & one great ditto }	45	00	00
2 Stanes.....	00	10	00
1 Table & 1 leather Carpet.....	00	13	00
1 p of Andirons with brass heads.....	00	05	00
2 large Earthen flower potts.....	00	00	08
2 small Ditto.....	00	00	04
1 dark Coloured woosted Rugg in ye Bed.....	00	10	00
1 Quilt upon ye bed.....	02	05	00
1 Trunck with: severall books vallued at.....	21	19	04
2 Earthen Chamber potts.....	00	01	00
	<u>71</u>	<u>04</u>	<u>04</u>
In ye Roome over Agt: ye Best Roome viz			
1 p of Beades.....	00	00	02
1 Lookeing glass.....	00	01	00
1 Table & painted Carpett.....	00	03	00
1 Book called Gillotson Rule of faith ¹	00	02	06
1 large Dutch Cupboard.....	00	12	00
7 low Turkey worked Chaires.....	01	15	00
On bed, one Boulster 2 pillowes 2 Blancketts, one Rugg Curtaines & Vallaines.....	09	00	00
1 p Andirons with brass heads.....	00	05	00
1 Earthen Chamber pott.....	00	00	06
1 Close Stoole & pann.....	00	12	00
1 Silver hilted Scimeter ²	02	10	00
	<u>15</u>	<u>01</u>	<u>02</u>
In ye Passage upone p Staires			
2 high Leather Chaires.....	00	07	00
A Mapp of ye World.....	00	10	00
One Trunck 1672.....	00	05	00
5 p new browne hold: Sheets.....	03	15	00
1 Remnant of painted Callico.....	00	03	00
1 Remnant of Course Lockeram.....	00	03	00
2 hard Brushes & Comb brush.....	01	00	00
1 Brand mark.....	00	00	06
1 Chest next ye best Roome.....	00	06	00

¹ John Tillotson, Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury (1691-1694), wrote "Rule of Faith" pamphlet in 1666

² A scimitar is a short, curved, single-edged sword (Oxford English Dictionary)

6 m of pinns.....	00 04 00
3 m of ditto greater.....	00 03 00
1 lb of whited browne threed & 1 Remnant of fine ditto.....	00 03 00
4 ¾ yds: of Stuff.....	00 07 00
a Remnant of Course browne hold.....	00 03 06
One Trunck with a skinn over it.....	00 11 00
One very fine Holland sheete.....	01 10 00
One small Diaper Table Cloth.....	00 02 06
1 p of new Holland sheetes.....	01 00 00
1 p of ditto.....	01 00 00
2 p of fine large ditto.....	05 00 00
3 fine Pillowbeeres.....	00 09 00
One Trunck-M: 1668-N.....	00 06 00
3 Damaske table Clothes.....	01 13 00
36 ditto Napkins.....	03 06 00
2 old Trimmings Clothes.....	00 01 06
2 Large Diaper Table Clothes.....	03 15 00
2 Ditto Smaller.....	01 10 00
2 Ditto Smaller.....	00 08 00
5 small ditto.....	00 15 00
44 Ditto Napkins.....	02 15 00
7 Ditto Towells.....	00 17 06
	<u>33 01 00</u>
In ye Passage upone p of Staires viz	
A Box.....	00 00 06
3 Leather Carpetts.....	02 05 00
2 Kederminister Curtaines.....	00 10 00
One Box Marked HN ⊕.....	00 00 08
2 Painted Carpetts.....	00 01 00
10 Course towels.....	00 05 00
7 Table Clothes.....	01 04 06
15 Old Napkins.....	00 10 00
One great Large Chest.....	00 06 00
1 Course bedtick a Remnant of Cloth.....	00 07 00
2 little Pillowes one large ditto.....	00 10 00
a pcell of Wooster fringe.....	00 05 00
a pcell of ole written bookes.....	00 00 00
17 yds: of gilded leather.....	00 05 08
One p: of gilded Leather.....	00 03 00
22 girths.....	00 11 00
2 halters, one whereof to J Lewellin.....	00 01 00
5 snaffle Bridles.....	00 05 00
4 Snaffle Bitts.....	00 01 04
2 Kerb bridles.....	00 07 00
9 p Stirrup Leathers.....	00 06 00
3 p of Stirrup Irons.....	00 02 03
1 broad Skirted Saddle, Stirrup & girths.....	00 08 00
1 Round skirted Sadle bridle furniture JL.....	00 12 00

1 plush Sadle Kirb bridle and furniture.....	01 15 00
1 Blankett.....	00 06 00
1 Kitty sall.....	00 04 00
	<u>44 12 11</u>

In ye Back Roome upone p Staires viz

One great Lookeing glass.....	02 00 00
1 Ovall table.....	00 12 00
1 Diaper cloth.....	00 04 06
1 Diaper Towell.....	00 01 06
1 p of Andirons with brasse heads.....	00 05 00
1 p of tongs & fire shovel.....	00 03 00
1 Dutch Cupboard.....	00 10 00
1 small Dantrick Case.....	00 05 00
1 Doz leather Chaires.....	01 16 00
1 Bed 1 boulster, two pillows, 1 Quilt, 2 blanketts Curtaines & Vall.....	10 00 00
1 high leather Chaire.....	00 04 00
1 Earthen Chamber pott & 2 brushes.....	00 01 06
	<u>16 02 06</u>

In ye Back Garrett viz

One bed, one boulster, one pillow, 2 Blanketts, 1 Rugg silke damack Curtaines, silk teaster & headps }.....	08 10 00
On other bed, 1 boulsters, one pillow 2 Blancketts, one rug Curtaines & vallaines.....	09 10 00
4 Chaires.....	00 16 00
1 small table & drawer.....	00 05 00
	<u>19 01 00</u>

In ye Passage in ye Garretts

One whole skirted saddle velvet seated, holsters 2 p stirrups and Leather 2 Cruppers & breast plates }.....	01 10 00
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In ye Garratt over ye best Roome

2 feather bedes in bedsteads 2 pillowes, one Rugg one quilt 6 Blanketts chequered linen Curtaines }.....	13 00 00
2 flockbedds under ye two feather bedds.....	01 10 00
1 flock bed & boulster.....	01 05 00
2 feather beds, one Boulster one Large pillow & one little ditto.....	07 00 00
4 feather pillows & flock boulster.....	00 16 00
1 suite of checkered Linnen Curtaines.....	00 08 00
1 Course Hammock.....	00 05 00
1 old dirty pillow & 2 Negro Cuchins.....	00 02 00
1 silk Rugg.....	01 00 00
1 Bantado Coverlett & 1 white searge ditto.....	00 07 00
4 Leather Chaires.....	00 12 00
	<u>26 05 00</u>

In ye garret over ye Hall viz

32 hilling hoes.....	01 09 04
41 weeding hoes.....	02 11 03
52 axes.....	03 05 00
6 grubbing hoes.....	00 07 06

4 fflower potts in ye Cuddy.....	00 01 00
2 Large ditto in ye garrett.....	00 01 00
2 Ditto smaller.....	00 00 06
1 Bagg hopps qw: 50 te.....	02 10 00
6 lb hopps in a tubb.....	00 06 00
1 box horse medicines in ye Cuddy.....	00 05 00
16 Haire broomes.....	00 16 00
6 flagg broomes.....	00 06 00
1 Barrll with hopps qw: 40 te.....	02 00 00
2 Boxes qw: 38 glasses.....	01 00 00
	<u>14 18 07</u>

In ye Garret over ye hall viz

A pcell of pipes in two boxes one hamper & 1 Barrll.....	01 00 00
a Jugg of Varnish.....	00 01 06
2 brass skillits tinnd within.....	00 09 00
5 lasteing hammers.....	00 05 00
1 Jugg.....	00 00 06
1 Claw Hammer.....	00 01 00
1 pointeing Trowell.....	00 01 03
7 Brass skimmers.....	00 07 00
2 Brass cullendar Ladles.....	00 02 00
5 Brass ditto plaine.....	00 05 00
2 tinn Cullondars.....	00 01 06
A trunk M 1679 N.....	00 15 00
800 Quills.....	00 03 00
23 fossetts & spiggots.....	01 01 00
2 Curry Combes.....	00 02 06
2 p of Weomens stockins.....	00 13 04
6 gimletts.....	00 04 00
1 Bagg of pepper qw: 6 lb.....	00 04 06
2 Maine Combs.....	00 01 00
A parcel of Scraped ginger.....	00 01 06
5 Striped Curtaines.....	00 15 00
2 Remnants blew Linnen.....	00 03 00
3 ½ yards broad Cloth.....	01 01 00
One Lime Seive.....	00 02 06
One Barrell & 20 lb of powder.....	00 13 04
One haire seive.....	00 00 09
2 Iron vaines.....	01 00 00
10: Stock locks.....	01 00 00
	<u>23 19 03</u>

In ye garrett over ye hall viz

1 Earthen Chamber pott.....	00 00 06
43: drest deare skinns.....	02 13 09
4 petticoates & Wastecoates.....	01 18 00
22 Servants capps.....	01 02 00
3 Hatts.....	00 06 00
A pcell of shotte & Bullets.....	01 05 00

3 p of Andirons.....	00 12 00
1 old Carpett 2 Iron weights.....	00 02 00
1 p Ozenbriggs browne qty: 56 ½ Ells.....	02 02 05
2 p french falls.....	00 07 06
7 Ells Coloured Bengall.....	00 10 06
2 striped Saddle Cloathes.....	00 05 00
4 ells Bengalls.....	00 03 00
3 ¼: stiped Linnon.....	00 03 00
12 ½ ells flowered tufted holland.....	00 12 06
60 3/5 ells browne ozenbriggs.....	02 05 06
7 3/5 ells of purple Callico.....	00 08 00
2 harks of tincey lace.....	00 06 00
3 Remnants of Narrow Livery Lace.....	00 04 00
1 gro of haire Buttons.....	00 01 06
2 hanks of threed tape.....	00 01 00
53 ells white ozenbriggs.....	01 09 09
22 4/5 ells blew checkered Linnen.....	01 02 09
a Trunk TN 1665.....	00 04 00
5 Servants Suites.....	03 10 00
2 Red Wastecoates & 3 p Drawers.....	00 12 06
14 shirts & smocks.....	01 05 00
2 p boyes stockings.....	00 01 06
Trunk I1659.....	00 03 00
	<u>48 16 11</u>

In ye garrett over ye Hall viz

4 Wild Catt skinnes.....	00 04 00
18 pottee panns.....	00 03 00
1 sawce pann.....	00 00 02
3 funnells.....	00 00 09
2 fish plates.....	00 00 06
1 p brass snuffers & 2 Rollers for paste.....	00 01 00
2 Tinn Candlesticks.....	00 01 06
1 Kettle.....	00 01 06
1 Chopping Iron.....	00 01 00
	<u>49 09 10</u>

In ye Hall viz

22 high Leather Chaires.....	08 05 00
2 Turky worked chaires.....	00 57 00
2 great tables & green Clothes.....	01 05 00
1 small table & painted Cloth.....	00 06 00
1 Dutch table.....	00 05 00
1 Large Lookeing glasse.....	02 00 00
3 pictures in frames.....	12 00 00
1 p of Andirons.....	00 05 00
1 p of tongs & one fire shovell.....	00 04 00
Green figured hangings.....	03 00 00
1 Coate of Armes of Mr: Winsors.....	00 00 00
	<u>28 07 00</u>

In ye Back Roome below Staires viz

1 Case of Pistells.....	01 10 00
1 letter Press.....	01 05 00
1 small case of Bottles.....	00 02 06
Six Marble salts.....	00 04 06
1 Table & Turky worked Carpett.....	01 00 00
A pcell of fine Earthenware.....	01 03 09
17 high turky worked chaires.....	10 04 00
A Chest of drawers.....	02 10 00
45 yds of green bayes.....	03 07 06
2 Jerusalem Mapps.....	01 10 00
1 Case of Razor Scissars hone & ca.....	01 00 00
a seale skinn Trunke.....	00 07 00
4 penn knives.....	00 05 04
Wasstiballs Sweete balls & Sweete powder:	00 04 00
6 mouth brushes.....	00 03 09
1 ps. of figured Ribbon.....	01 07 00
An Agate hafted knife & fork.....	01 00 00
A pcell of Cake Ink & Wax.....	01 04 00
A p white Callico Curtaines & Vall.....	01 00 00
9 p gloves.....	01 00 00
2 Boxes of Pills.....	00 00 06
1 suite of woosted Camlett Curtaines & Vallaines.....	05 10 00
16 gr: fine large Paper.....	00 16 00
1 Case of Bottles.....	00 03 06
1 p of Andirons with brass heads.....	00 05 00
A pcell of sweetemeate in severall potts & boxes.....	00 00 00
several writing bookes & paper used.....	00 00 00
	<u>37 03 04</u>

In ye Back Roome below viz

3 bottle wth: syrups.....	00 03 00
Hangings & Curtaines.....	03 10 00
	<u>40 16 04</u>
A pcell of Bookes.....	20 18 00
	<u>61 14 04</u>

In ye Roome agt ye hall viz

1 Table & Leather Carpett.....	00 12 06
10 high leather chaires & 2 low ones.....	02 14 00
1 wooden chaire.....	00 04 06
1 p of Andiron.....	00 05 06
1 p of tongs & fire shovell.....	00 03 00
1 small p of tongs.....	00 00 06
1 fowling pe.....	00 12 00
1 p of Bellowes.....	00 00 09
1 Mapp.....	00 08 00
1 Bedstead Camlett Curtaines & vall.....	04 00 00
2 Ruggs.....	00 14 00
1 Lookeing glass.....	00 01 06

2 Negro Cuchims.....	00 01 00
1 Chest next ye beds foote.....	00 05 00
1 Bagg mony qty: in silver & gold.....	24 00 06
1 p of fine Holland sheetes.....	01 17 06
1 p of Ditto.....	01 05 00
3 p of Ditto.....	03 15 00
2 p Course Holland sheetes.....	03 00 00
2 p Ditto.....	03 00 00
	<u>47 00 03</u>

In ye Room agt: ye Hall viz

Chest next ye bed	
1 p Holland Sheetes.....	01 10 00
2 p pillowbeeres.....	01 16 00
3 p Course Sheetes.....	04 10 00
1 p Ditto.....	01 10 00
2 small pillowbeeres & 2 old sheetes.....	00 15 00
2 Cases with 4 Razors & 1 p scissors.....	00 15 00
1 Chest next ye Chimney.....	00 05 00
5 sugr: loaves.....	00 15 00
1 slate.....	00 01 00
6 strings beadds.....	00 03 00
1 Earthen Chamber pott.....	00 00 06
	<u>59 00 09</u>
1 Chest of Medicines.....	_____

In the Counting house viz

A chest next ye doore.....	00 08 00
3 lb of Cotton Wick.....	00 04 06
¾ yds of stuffe.....	00 00 06
A pcell of twine & a Brush.....	00 00 04
7 ps & two Remnts: of Callico.....	04 00 00
2 ps of Cambrick.....	03 00 00
2 p of gloves.....	00 03 00
3 packs of Cards.....	00 01 06
4 Extinguishes.....	00 00 08
4 savealls.....	00 00 08
3 p snuffers.....	00 03 00
12 horne spoones.....	00 01 00
	<u>08 03 02</u>

In ye Counting House viz

A pcell of Jamaica spice.....	00 00 02
2 Agate hafted knives one Mr: Rozer hath.....	00 08 00
12 yds: of Cersian Taffety.....	02 02 00
1 pe checkered Callico qty: 7 yds.....	00 09 04
1 fishing line.....	00 06 06
3 p spective glasse.....	00 06 00
1 small gimlett.....	00 00 02
1 p marking Irons & Case.....	00 01 00

2 Wild Catt skins.....	00 02 00
1 lb of Wafers.....	00 01 06
5 yds of Red Searge.....	00 11 00
26 ells of Dowlas.....	02 16 04
1 Kettisale.....	00 04 06
3 Tinn Candlesticks.....	00 04 06
11 1/5 ells slotia holland.....	00 18 04
7 hankes glass beades.....	00 07 00
19 p of scissars.....	00 04 09
1 lb of starch.....	00 01 00
¼ lb whited browne threed.....	00 00 06
3 qer of paper.....	00 01 06
16 knives.....	00 04 00
A pcell of small Sacks.....	00 02 00
2 ps of Manchester binding & 6 ps Narrow Tape.....	00 02 06
2 Pipe Cass.....	00 00 02
2 oz of silk.....	00 01 06
A pcell of Roanocke.....	00 16 00
	<u>18 03 05</u>

In ye Counting house viz

1 Close stoole & pann.....	00 08 00
In ye new Scriptow box Y 6 marble salts.....	00 04 06
In box Z a tobacco box, & eight sticks of wax.....	00 05 00
4 wooden cupps.....	00 00 06
2 fflower potts.....	00 01 00
2 scriptores.....	03 00 00
1 spice box with several sorts of spice.....	01 10 00
1 Brass warming pann.....	00 05 00
1 Tinn Candlestick.....	00 00 06
1 Tinn Box with wax Candle.....	00 05 00
1 Haire seive.....	00 00 10
1 Tinn funnell.....	00 00 06
1 old grater.....	00 00 00
1 Tinn Candlestick & 3 p snuffers.....	00 04 00
4 drincking Glasses.....	00 02 00
1 fflock bed 2 boulsters & 4 feather pillowbeares.....	02 00 00
2 small Chests & 1 great one up the stepps.....	00 15 00
11 paper brass chaines.....	00 02 06
1 Tinn Candlebox.....	00 01 00
3 Table Clothes & 23 Course Napkins.....	02 02 00
1 p holland sheetes.....	02 10 00
9 Towells.....	00 09 00
8 pillowbeeres.....	01 00 00
1 p of Course holland sheetes.....	01 10 00
1 large table Cloth diaper & 22 Napkins ditto.....	04 00 00
	<u>38 19 09</u>

In ye Cellar viz

7 ½ Pipes of ffayall wine at 8.....	60 00 00
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1 Cask of Rumm No 7 qw: 58 ¼ gals at 2 s.....	05 16 06
5 bushs salt at 1s: 6d.....	00 07 06
25 gals Lime Juice at 8s 6d.....	01 17 06
50 lb Castile soape.....	01 05 00
	<u>69 06 06</u>

Plate in ye back Roome viz

1 Doz New silver spoones.....	07 04 00
1 New Silver Porringer.....	06 19 00
1 Doz silver spoones & used.....	05 12 06
1 sett of silver Castors for mustard sug: & pepper.....	07 01 04
1 large Tumbler.....	02 13 00
1 Ditto larger.....	02 16 06
2 small Ones.....	03 15 06
1 Tankard & Little Sack Cupp.....	03 13 06
	<u>39 15 04</u>

In ye passage below	3 Lanskipps.....	01 00 00
In ye back Roome	A Mapp of Virga.....	00 05 00
		<u>01 05 00</u>

435 doz bottles glass & stone 2s 3d.....	<u>03 18 09</u>
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In ye old Hall viz

1 Lanskipp.....	00 06 09
2 old guns.....	00 05 00
1 feather bed, 1 boulster, 2 blanketts, 1 Rugg, 1 quilt painted Callico Curtaines & Vallaines...	07 10 00
1 Leather Chaire.....	00 05 06
2 Cases with bottles & 1 without.....	01 00 00
	<u>09 07 03</u>

In ye Loft over ye Hall viz

1 p of Andirons.....	00 03 00
3 p of old stylliards.....	00 09 00
1 flockbed two Blanketts 1 Rug & Pillow.....	01 00 00
1 p New Stylliards & pea.....	00 15 00
	<u>02 07 00</u>

In ye Old Roome within ye payles

2 feather beds and appurtences for but one.....	02 10 00
1 Ditto.....	01 05 00
1 Table 2 Chaires a p of Andirons 2 Lanskipps & 10 bottles.....	01 00 00
1 p stillyards & pea.....	00 12 00
1 slate.....	00 01 00
	<u>05 08 00</u>

In ye Kitchen

2 Coppers, 1 large Iron pott & pestell.....	06 10 00
2 Barrls tarr in ye lower salt house.....	02 00 00

In ye Store viz

1 great chest with two locks.....	00 10 00
1 ps green say.....	02 00 00
32 ells Canvas.....	01 12 00

13 ps: narrow blew Linnen.....	00 07 07
21 ps: broad ditto.....	00 15 01
14 ells fingham Holland.....	00 18 01
17 p of Jersey Stockings.....	00 04 03
2 mo: of 4d Nayles.....	00 04 00
12 mo of Nayles more of sorts.....	02 08 00
2 pipes of Brandy.....	35 15 00
1000 lb sugr: in 2 hdds.....	12 10 00
4 ½ hdds of Malt.....	12 16 03
	<u>70 00 03</u>

In ye Store Loft viz

9 p Island stockings.....	00 09 00
1 p of old Andirons.....	00 02 00
1 New Spade.....	00 04 00
1 New fire shovell.....	00 04 00
1 hatchett.....	00 01 00
1 Pick axe.....	00 02 00
1 Iron Bayle for a Copper.....	00 01 00
2 Iron Winches.....	00 01 00
3 Cross Cutt Sawes.....	00 18 00
2 Barrlls Ruck.....	00 06 00
1 fryin pann.....	00 02 06
9 grubbin hoes.....	00 10 06
1 Narrow hoe.....	00 00 09
	<u>03 01 09</u>

In ye Store Loft viz

A Tennant Sawe.....	00 03 00
3 Hand Sawes.....	00 04 06
1 p tongs & fire shovell.....	00 04 00
a p large hookes & hinges.....	00 03 00
1 p Crosse garnetts.....	00 01 06
1 Gridiron.....	00 03 00
2 Latches & Ketches.....	00 02 00
5 p of Dovetayles.....	00 01 03
2 Augurs 2 bolts & hatchett.....	00 04 00
A pcell Nayles in severall Cask.....	01 00 00
4 Cases of Bottles.....	00 04 00
2 Ketches 1 old locke & 1 Hatchett.....	00 02 06
1 Dantsick Case.....	00 01 00
	<u>05 15 06</u>

More in ye Store viz

1 Iron back 1 p brass skales & small stilliards.....	<u>01 05 00</u>
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In ye Salt house viz

1 Pipe wyne.....	08 00 00
1 sute of sales.....	01 00 00
2 Barrills Tarr.....	02 00 00
	<u>11 00 00</u>

1 Cart & a p Wheeles.....	05 00 00
3 grindstones.....	00 07 06
	<u>05 07 06</u>

In ye Kitchin Buttery viz

4 old Chaires & 2 tables.....	00 03 00
2 Copper potts & 3 Iron bound payles.....	00 08 00
1 Brass skimmer, 1 Brass Ladle 1 Tinn fish plate & 1 sawce pann, 1 p large Andirons & tongs 1 gridiron }.....	01 10 00
3 pott racks and 1 Brass Kettle.....	00 13 00
4 Iron potts, 1 Dripping pann & 1 frying pann.....	01 10 00
1 Spitt 1 bellmettle skillet, 1 brass pestill mortar.....	00 12 00
2 wooden trays.....	00 01 00
1 Iron fletch fork 1 chopping knife 1 fish plate cutting knife, lasting hammer, pepper box snuffers & snuff dish }.....	00 03 06
A stew pann 1 small Iron pott.....	00 12 00
4 spades.....	00 12 00
A pcell of sheete lead & some paveing tiles.....	00 12 00
2 Dantrick Cases & bottles.....	00 12 00
2 Brass Candle sticks.....	00 12 00
1 Tinn candlesticks.....	00 01 00
	<u>08 01 06</u>
2 hhds Malasses in ye Stable.....	05 00 00
90 sheppe.....	27 00 00
350 lb Pewter.....	15 06 05
1 Pewter Cistern in ye great hall.....	02 05 00
2 hair broomes below.....	00 02 00
8 p sheetes on ye bedd.....	12 00 00
	<u>61 13 05</u>

Servants & Negroes & ca:

Christopher Kirkley Joyner.....	06 10 00
Richard Uvedale freed within a weeke.....	00 00 00
Narbo Negro.....	30 00 00
4 men Negros at ye qrter, & 4 weomen at 25 lb.....	200 00 00
Charles Negro.....	022 00 00
9 Negro Children.....	054 00 00
2 White Servants.....	024 00 00
	<u>336 10 00</u>
Jupiter Negro.....	020 00 00
	<u>356 10 00</u>
A suite of horse Harniss.....	02 00 00
7 iron potts, 2 payles 2 dishes & a tray at qrter.....	02 00 00
2 sawes 3 pestills & 3 Wedges.....	00 12 00
3 grindstones.....	00 07 06
An Irish Wench at the house.....	12 00 00
	<u>16 19 06</u>

Servtts: & Negros at B Hope³ viz

³ Bachelor's Hope

3 Weomen Negros.....	75 00 00
1 old Negro woman & 1 girls.....	18 00 00
Sampson and Prince.....	60 00 00
Jack & Mingo.....	50 00 00
3 White servants.....	36 00 00
	<u>239 00 00</u>

1346 19 01

Cattle & Hoggs viz		total:
13 Cowes with 12 Calves at 550.....		7150
10: 2 yeare old heifers at 300.....		3000
2 two yeare old steeres at 300.....		0600
2: 3 yeare old Bulls.....		0600
3: three yeare old steeres at 350.....		1050
2 three yeare old heifers at 350.....		700
1 three yeare old steere.....		350
100 head of hogs boares & sowes.....		8000
		<u>21450</u>
Horses & Mares.....		10350

At Bachelrs Hope		
52 head of hogs & ca.....		4160
8 head of Cattle.....		3600
		<u>7760</u>

39560

Whereas wee Gerrard Slye & John Darnall were Impowred by virtue of a Comon: directed to us by ye honoble Philip Calvert Esq to appraise ye goods chattels of Thomas Nottley Esq late of St: Maryes County decd & to certifie ye vallue thereof under or: hands & seales, By vertue of ye said Comon: Wee did upon ye 10: 11: 12 dayes of this present Aprill appraised ye severall goods Wares Merchandizes belonging to ye estate of ye said decd according to ye severall prises aforemenconed which amounts to in mony Sterling to ye summe of 1346 lb=19 s= 01 d as all soe ye Cattle hogs horses Mares and Colts at ye severall Rates aforemenconed amounts to in tobacco ye just summe of 39560 pounds of tobacco. In testimony whereof wee have hereunto sett or: hands & seales this 12 day of Aprill 1679

Gerrard Slye loco sigilli

John Darnall loco sigilli