

"A Fair House of Brick and Timber": Archaeological Excavations at Mattapany-Sewall (18ST390) Naval Air Station, Patuxent River St. Mary's County, Maryland

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**“A Fair House of Brick and Timber”:
Archaeological Excavations at Mattapany-Sewall (18ST390)
Naval Air Station, Patuxent River
St. Mary’s County, Maryland**

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INTRODUCTION

Today, Mattapany is an 18th-century house known as Quarters A, located aboard the Naval Air Station Patuxent River (NASPAX) in St. Mary's County, Maryland (Figure 1). However, the history of this area is far older than that of Quarters A. Long the site of Native American settlements, the Mattapany area was first occupied by Europeans around 1637, when the Jesuits established a mission and plantation in the vicinity. Thirty years later, Gov. Charles Calvert, who would become the third Lord Baltimore (and the only Baron of Baltimore to reside in Maryland), moved to Mattapany following his marriage to Jane Sewall, and he continued to live there for nearly two decades. An arsenal established at Mattapany in the 1670s was seized by Protestant rebels in 1689, signaling the end of Calvert proprietary rule in Maryland for over 25 years. Clearly, Mattapany is extremely significant to the 17th-century colonial history of Maryland and of the United States.

Unfortunately, few traces of these early settlements survive above ground in the Mattapany area. The extant Mattapany house dates to no earlier than the mid-18th century. However, because the area was traditionally used mostly for agriculture, there was a high probability that the remains of earlier structures survived intact below the ground surface. Indeed, limited archaeological testing in this vicinity in 1981 and 1982 revealed artifacts dating to the second half of the 17th century, probably associated with Lord Baltimore's occupation of Mattapany (Pogue 1983a, 1987). Although few subsurface architectural features were encountered, the presence of numerous other 17th-century features and artifacts was considered significant enough to place the site, 18ST390, on the U.S. Department of the Interior's National Register of Historic Places (Southern Maryland Regional Center Files, n.d.).

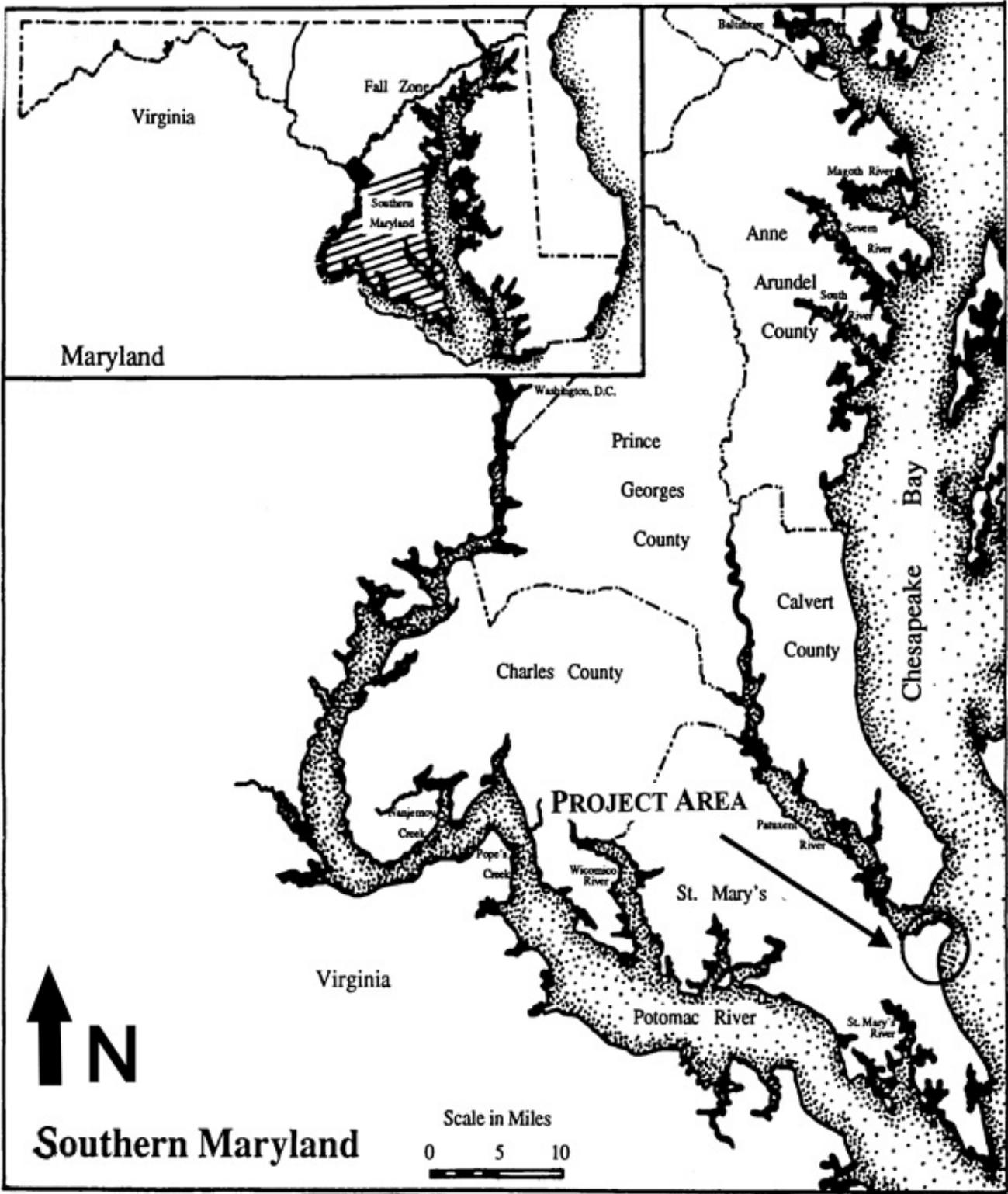


Figure 1: Map of Maryland showing the project area location within St. Mary's County.

Figure 2 Placeholder

Geology and Hydrology

The study area consists of generally level land lying approximately 40 feet above sea level. It is composed of unconsolidated beds of marine-deposited gravel, sand, silt, and clay up to 150 feet thick (Pogue 1983a:5-7). A tidal creek once bounded the eastern edge of the site, [REDACTED]. [REDACTED]. A freshwater stream, Pine Hill Run, which lies approximately 5000 feet south of the project area, once formed part of the boundary of the Mattapany plantation. Springs were also abundant in the area (Scarborough 1934:89-91).

The soils in the study area are of the Matapeake-Mattapex-Sassafras association, with Matapeake silt loam (0-2% slope) predominating. These are well-drained silty and loamy soils, well-suited to most crops (Gibson 1978:9). Tobacco on these soils is usually of high quality, and the soils are not difficult to manage. Matapeake-Mattapex-Sassafras soils are equally suited for cultivation, pasture, or woodland. Evidence suggests that nearly all of the project area was in cultivation at one time or another. Across most of the site, the A horizon soils are incorporated within the plowzone. Typically, a silty clay subsoil underlies the A horizon soils.

Fauna and Flora

A number of mammals are found at the Naval Air Station. These include beaver, fox, groundhog, muskrat, opossum, otter, rabbit, raccoon, skunk, squirrel, and white tail deer, as well as small mammals like mole, mouse, and rat (Pogue 1983a:8-9). Most of these species would have been present historically, along with a few, such as black bear, which are no longer endemic to the area (Chaney and Miller 1990:12). Birds found in the area include a diversity of coots, ducks, geese, and

other waterfowl, plus eagles, hawks, osprey, quail, turkey, and numerous songbirds. Various reptiles and amphibians are also present, including edible turtles. Aquatic species found in the waters around the project area include bluefish, crab, drum, oyster, perch, sea trout, striped bass, and toadfish.

The project area is within the Willow Oak-Loblolly Pine Vegetation Association (Brush *et al.* 1976). Species in this biome include beech, blueberry, Virginia creeper, dogwood, grape, greenbrier, sweet and black gums, American holly, red maple, black, Spanish, willow, and white oaks, Virginia and loblolly pines, tulip poplar, and sassafras. Present-day ground cover in the project area consists largely of open meadow and brush, although some second-growth woods are also present. Feral exotic ornamental plants from an earlier Navy nursery dot the landscape, along with untended fruit trees and berries.

PREHISTORIC BACKGROUND

Paleo-environment

The environment of Southern Maryland was rapidly changing when humans first arrived in the area 12,000 years ago. Average temperatures were increasing, so the ice sheets were in retreat and sea level was on the rise. The last of the Pleistocene megafauna were quickly dying out. Mixed coniferous forests with deciduous components were replacing the primarily spruce and pine forests of the glacial era (Barse 1988:8). This forest changed into one dominated by beech, birch, hemlock, and oak by 11,000 years before present (B.P.). The predominant fauna at that time were deer and elk (ibid.; Custer 1988:123). Between 9,000 B.P. and 6,000 B.P., the climate became considerably warmer and drier, and seasonal changes were more pronounced (Barse 1988:8; Steponaitis 1986:103). Swamp areas increased in size as sea level rose, and an oak-hickory forest dominated the landscape. This forest was replaced by oak-hickory-pine and oak-chestnut woodlands between 6,000 B.P. and 4,000 B.P. Deer populations declined during this time, but there were increased numbers of turkeys and nuts available for human exploitation. Sea level rise slowed, creating a more stable environment for shellfish and other estuarine species (Barse 1988:9). Great seasonal runs of anadromous fish probably began in the rivers of the Middle Atlantic region at this time. By 5,000 B.P. the climate had become wetter and cooler, approximating the conditions of the present day (Steponaitis 1986:103). Forest composition remained relatively stable from that time forward. However, the extensive use of fire as a management tool by Native Americans in order to create an environment favorable to large deer populations resulted in a forest understory that was not

completely natural (Kraft and Brush 1981; Reeve *et al* 1991:10). Indian agricultural activities also resulted in sections of the forest being cleared. The pace of this woodland clearing increased during the historic period, and was accompanied by the widespread introduction of imported plants and animals. European farming techniques produced extensive soil erosion and the siltation of numerous waterways (Reeve *et al* 1991:10-11).

The rise in sea level has been dramatic over the last 12,000 years. During the last glacial period, so much water was captured in ice sheets that sea level was at least 340 feet lower than what it is today (Kraft 1976:85). Sediment cores taken at the Thomas Johnson Bridge indicate that the Patuxent River bed then was 130 feet below its modern shoreline (Wilke *et al* 1981:16). The streams of Southern Maryland were all fresh water and the Chesapeake Bay did not exist. As the glaciers melted, sea level began to rise at an approximate average rate of 0.5 feet per century during the period 12,000 B.P. to 8,000 B.P., although the actual rate of increase may have fluctuated (Kraft 1976:97; Reeve *et al* 1991:6). Between 8,000 B.P. and 4,000 B.P., the sea level rise increased to about 1.5 feet per century (*ibid.*). It was during this time that the Chesapeake Bay was formed (Wilke and Thompson 1977). Since 4,000 B.P., sea level rise has again slowed to about 0.5 feet per century, although the rate may have doubled during the last 30 years (Kraft and Brush 1981:12; Reeve *et al* 1991:6). Sea level changes and erosional forces over the last 4,000 years have resulted in continuous changes to the shoreline of the Lower Patuxent River, which may well have impacted on any archaeological sites located there (Reeve *et al* 1991:8).

Paleo-Indian Period (12,000-9,500 B.P.)

The first definitive evidence for human occupation in Southern Maryland occurred during the Paleo-Indian period. This period is characterized by the distinctive fluted projectile points, generally made from jasper and chert, that were used by the people of that time. These points are rare in Southern Maryland, and consist solely of isolated surface finds. The recently discovered Higgins Site in Anne Arundel County is the first intact Paleo-Indian occupation found on the Maryland western shore of the Chesapeake Bay (Ebright 1992). The scarcity of Paleo-Indian sites in St. Mary's County is probably due in part to later inundation of occupation areas by rising sea levels, although it appears that the Paleo-Indians focused more intensively on the resources of fluvial headwater environments located further to the west (Custer 1988:125; Reeve *et al* 1991:33). The changing climate of the Paleo-Indian period produced a more diverse environment than the period which preceded it, and this resulted in a greater variety of food resources. The Paleo-Indians apparently specialized in hunting, with elk and deer being the preferred game, and also fished, and in addition gathered wild plants while following a semi-nomadic lifeway (*ibid.*; Barse 1988:10). No megafauna remains have been found in association with Paleo-Indian artifacts in the Middle Atlantic region (*ibid.*).

Archaic Period (9,500 B.P.-3,000 B.P.)

The Archaic has been divided into three sub-periods: Early, Middle, and Late. During the Early Archaic (9,500-8,000 B.P.), fluted points were replaced by notched and stemmed varieties, such as Palmer, Kirk, and the bifurcate-base types. Quartz and quartzite replaced chert as the preferred lithic source in the Patuxent drainage and elsewhere in Southern Maryland (Wanser 1982:73-75; Reeve *et al* 1991:41). Non-local rhyolite was utilized in significant quantities for the

first time (Wanser 1982:82). The semi-nomadic hunting and gathering lifestyle of the Paleo-Indian period was maintained, but probably became more seasonally organized (Barse 1988:10). Population size increased during the Early Archaic, and settlement spread across a wider range of environments in Southern Maryland (Chaney and Miller 1990:18; Reeve *et al* 1991:33). Early Archaic points have been found on both sides of the lower Patuxent River, as well as along the St. Mary's River (*ibid.*). However, little investigation into the Early Archaic in this region has been undertaken.

The Middle Archaic (8,000-6,000 B.P.) is characterized by the introduction of the Morrow Mountain, Guilford, and Stanley projectile points, often made of non-local rhyolite. Other stone tool types, such as atlatl weight, celts, adzes, and axes, along with plant processing tools, also appeared (Wanser 1982:84). The increased diversity of the Middle Archaic tool kit suggests that a wider range of food resources was being exploited. Settlement tended to be centered around inland swamps, with short-term camps in upland areas (Custer 1988:125; Chaney and Miller 1990:18). Caches of Morrow Mountain points made of rhyolite imported from Western Maryland have been found along the lower Patuxent River and the St. Mary's River. These caches indicate that long-range trade networks had possibly developed by the Middle Archaic (if not earlier), and that there was a more sustained occupation and exploitation of the region's estuarine areas (Reeve *et al* 1991:35). However, as with the Early Archaic, little systematic archaeological investigation of the Middle Atlantic has taken place in Southern Maryland.

The Late Archaic (6,000-3,000 B.P.) is characterized by a large variety of new projectile point types, usually manufactured from local materials (although a few point types were manufactured in significant quantities from non-local chert and rhyolite). These points reflect

influences from the Northeast and Southeast, as well as from the Middle Atlantic Piedmont (Reeve *et al* 1991:35). Steatite bowls used for food preparation also appear. The steatite was derived from western quarries, suggesting the presence of a long-range trade network (Custer 1988:126). Late Archaic projectile points are found in great numbers in Southern Maryland, indicating that this was a period of rising population, increased sedentism, and expanded utilization of estuarine resources (Barse 1988:14). Settlement shifted in many areas from inland swamps to estuarine areas and freshwater streams (Chaney and Miller 1990:18), although Wanser (1982:125) asserts that for central Southern Maryland the Middle Archaic pattern of heavy use of interior swamps continued. The first oyster shell middens in the region appear at this time (Reeve *et al* 1991:35). Late Archaic sites are numerous along the lower Patuxent River and the St. Mary's River, although most have not yet been intensively investigated. The points found on these sites are most commonly derived from the Piedmont tradition (*ibid.*).

Woodland Period (3,000-350 B.P.)

The Woodland period has also been divided into three phases: Early, Middle, and Late. The chronology described below follows that used by Steponaitis (1986) and Reeve *et al* (1991) for the lower Patuxent River basin. Their sequence differs somewhat from those developed for the Potomac River, the Eastern Shore, or elsewhere in the Chesapeake region. For example, they extend the Early Woodland further forward in time than do many other researchers, largely because of the rarity of early Middle Woodland ceramics along the Patuxent. Nevertheless, the temporal relations of the various Woodland artifact types are fairly consistent among most of the chronologies.

The Early Woodland (3,000-1,800 B.P.) is characterized by the appearance of ceramics, initially tempered with steatite or other coarse rock. However, these types are rare along the lower Patuxent and elsewhere in Southern Maryland (Wanser 1982:133; Steponaitis 1986:187; Reeve *et al* 1991:36). A type of crushed quartz tempered pottery known as Accokeek, which appears somewhat after the steatite tempered types, is more common along the lower Patuxent and other parts of the region. Sand tempered Popes Creek pottery, which is placed variously in the both the Early and Middle Woodland, appears after Accokeek ware along the lower Potomac River, but it is rare along the lower Patuxent (Reeve *et al* 1991:36). Fishtail-type, Calvert, and Rossville projectile points characterize the Early Woodland, although they are not all contemporaneous. These points are typically made of local materials. Polished stone tools also appear at this time (Kavanagh and Ebright 1988:12). There was increased use of riverine food resources during the Early Woodland, as suggested by the association of shell middens with Accokeek ceramics (Barse 1988:14; Reeve *et al* 1991:36). Base camp settlements centered around fresh water/brackish water stream junctions (*ibid.*).

Along the lower Patuxent, the Middle Woodland period (1,800-900 B.P.) is characterized by the appearance of shell tempered Mockley ceramics and Selby Bay projectile points. These points are often made of non-local rhyolite, suggesting that a long-distance trade network for that material may have been in place (Reeve *et al* 1991:36). Sedentism increased during this period, with settlement concentrating along the floodplains of larger streams (*ibid.*; Kavanagh and Ebright 1988:12). It has been suggested that from autumn to spring Middle Woodland groups resided in small camps located at the lower end of rivers, and then in the summer moved upstream to larger multi-band settlements

(Reeve *et al* 1991:38). Consumption of oysters appears to have declined by the end of the Middle Woodland, possibly as a result of increased reliance on agriculture (Kavanagh and Ebright 1988:12).

The Late Woodland period (900-350 B.P.) is characterized by the appearance of well-made, generally thin, often decorated, shell, grit, and sand tempered ceramics (Townsend series, Potomac Creek, Moyaone, etc.). Small triangular arrowheads, such as the Levanna and Potomac types, which are usually made of local stone, appear for the first time. Maize agriculture becomes widespread, and an even more sedentary settlement pattern develops. Stockaded villages appear after 600 B.P., although in non-palisaded villages the houses were often widely dispersed across the landscape (Kavanagh and Ebright 1988:15; Steponaitis 1986:39). The villages were frequently relocated, probably in response to both political factors and the over-exploitation of resources at a particular site, such as a decline in agricultural fertility or the elimination of firewood (Steponaitis 1986:43). The development of fortified villages suggests that warfare, possibly resulting from political nucleation, became more common during the Late Woodland (Reeve *et al* 1991:38). The near disappearance of imported lithic materials supports that conclusion. The lower Patuxent differs from many other areas of the Middle Atlantic region in that Late Woodland ossuary burial complexes and highly developed art traditions are largely absent along the Patuxent (*ibid.*:39). The presence of powerful Native American groups surrounding the lower Patuxent no doubt contributed to the area's cultural isolation. By the 1600s, major villages were absent from the lower Patuxent, as demonstrated by the John Smith map of 1608. However, it is likely that some use was still being made of the region.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Mattapany's significant role in Maryland history has resulted in a relative abundance of documentary evidence concerning the site. Of course, this abundance is only relative, as there are still great gaps in our knowledge of the plantation's past, particularly for the period between 1642 and 1663, as well as for much of the 18th century. Basic questions, such as the exact location of the Jesuit mission, the arrangement of the Mattapany-Sewall manor and magazine complex, and the construction date of the extant Mattapany house, remain to be answered. Indeed, it is doubtful that documents alone could ever fully resolve these issues. Nevertheless, the historical evidence which is available has been examined in detail by two previous investigators, Fenwick (1956) and Pogue (1983a, 1987), and the following discussion builds upon their work.

Before describing the history of Mattapany, it is necessary to clarify a potential source of confusion in the documentary evidence. "Mattapany" is an Algonquian Indian geographical term, variously defined as "the place where the path out of the forest reaches the water" (Dalrymple 1877:43) or "meeting of waters [at a sand spit?]" (Kenny 1984:155). Whichever definition is preferred, it obviously could refer to any number of locations in Maryland, and so not surprisingly was a common 17th-century place name. For example, an Indian village variously called "Mattanpanient," "Mattapament," or "Mattapany" was noted at the tidal headwaters (or "freshes") of the Patuxent River by John Smith in 1608 and later by the early settlers of Maryland (Maryland Historical Society [MHS] 1889:142, 145; Smith 1907:49). A 1658 reference to two English servants who had run away to stay among the Indians at "Matapanian fort in Patuxent" may well indicate that

this same settlement was fortified to protect it against attacks by the Susquehannocks or others (Archives of Maryland [Arch. MD.] XLI:232).¹ An Indian village called "Mattapany" was noted on the Eastern Shore in 1680 (Arch. MD. XV: 413), while another Native American settlement, "Mattapanient," was found near the Wicomoco River, at St. Clement's Manor in St. Mary's County. In 1640, Thomas Gerard acquired an estate near this village which became known as "Mattapany Plantation," a name that survived into the 20th century (Beitzell 1964:30). Gerard's Mattapany appears often in 17th-century records, and could easily be confused with Mattapany-Sewall (cf. Arch. MD. IV:239, XLI:477, XLIX:123, 454). Several "Mattapany Hundreds," including the "Mattapanient Hundred" which encompassed the area now incorporated into the Naval Air Station Patuxent River, were created during the colonial period. By 1680 there was a Mattapany Hundred in Somerset County (Arch. MD. XV:332), while in 1688 a proposed legislative act called for the erection of a town "in the freshes of Patuxent River" for the use of the people of Mattapany Hundred in what is now Prince Georges County (Arch. MD. XIII:219). Prince Georges County also contained a 17th-century plantation that was for a time named Mattapany, as well as a "Mattapany Landing" mentioned in 1706 (Arch. MD. XXVI:637; Provincial Court WRC#1:401). Finally, there was a "Mattapony Hundred" in Worcester County in the 18th century (Arch. MD. LXI:512). (The place name was also used in Virginia and New England). The existence of these various "Mattapanys" has led to some confusion among historians about whether the Jesuit mission was established at an Indian village, whether it was fortified, and how long it was occupied, as well as whether there was a fort (apart from the magazine) at Mattapany-Sewall (Beitzell 1976:7; Semmes 1929:198, 1979:300, 444; Shea 1969:488; Shomette 1995:20; Stein 1976:8).

Mission Period, 1608-1648

Captain John Smith was one of the first Europeans to be in the Mattapany-Sewall area. He explored the Chesapeake Bay, including the Patuxent River, in 1608. Smith's maps and descriptions of that expedition do not indicate the presence of substantial Native American villages anywhere along the lower Patuxent or on the Western Shore of the Chesapeake north of the Patuxent (Smith 1907). However, there is archaeological evidence for earlier aboriginal settlement in the area during the Late Woodland period (Pogue 1983a; Reeve *et al.* 1991). The apparent disappearance of significant Native American occupation by the 17th century was probably the result of waterborne raids by the Susquehannocks from the north end of the Chesapeake Bay, as well as possible pressure by the Powhatan Confederacy to the south (Cissna 1986:110; Steponaitis 1986:26). These threats continued after the European settlement of Maryland had begun.

The land along the lower Patuxent River was probably largely vacant until after the establishment of St. Mary's City by the Calverts in 1634. It appears that by 1637 a Jesuit mission had been created near the mouth of the river. Whether Jesuits or any other settlers were living in the area before 1637 is unknown, as there are very few extant records from the period 1634-1637. Those documents that are available from this time suggest that, at the very least, overland traffic between the Patuxent River and St. Mary's City was going through the area, possibly along Mattapany Road. For example, Henry Ewbanks, who was a trader from William Claiborne's unsanctioned Kent Island settlement, was captured in 1635 by men loyal to the Calverts at the Indian village of Mattapany, which was located towards the head of the Patuxent River. He was then taken downstream to the village of "Potaxun" (Patuxent). The next day he was rowed to the mouth of the river, where he was put ashore

and marched to St. Mary's City (Arch. MD. XLI:533; MHS 1889:146; G. Stone 1989).

The earliest known reference to the Jesuit mission of Mattapany is a letter dated 3 April 1638² from Fr. Thomas Copley to Lord Baltimore, in which Copley complains of the possibility of losing "Metapanian" (MHS 1889:164). The context of the statement suggests that Mattapany was already a developed and valued property, which would indicate that it had been established sometime earlier, possibly by 1637. The fact that Baltimore moved to invalidate the Jesuit's land claims during the Assembly which began in January 1638 also suggests that the mission was in existence by 1637 (see below).

In the Jesuit's Annual Letter of 1639, written by the missionaries to their superiors in England, they stated that "the plantation of Metapanneyen...was given us by Maquacomen, the King of Patuxent" (Hall 1967: 124).³ The village of Patuxent, as depicted on John Smith's map, was upstream from the mission, on the north side of the river. The people of the Patuxent chiefdom were very receptive to the idea of English settlement at the lower end of the river. According to the Jesuits, Mattapany was expressly given to them by the Patuxent so that the missionaries could support themselves while they were instructing the Indians (Hughes 1907(1):489; Hughes 1908:168). However, the English were well aware that a more likely motivation for the Patuxent's gift was that Mattapany would provide a buffer against Susquehannock attacks, and allow more direct access to European trade (Hall 1967:42).

In A Relation of Maryland, 1635, the werowance (or chief) of Patuxent is quoted as telling Gov. Leonard Calvert in 1634 that "I love the English so well, that if they should goe about to kill me...I would command the people, not to revenge my death; for I know they would not doe such a thing,

except it were through mine owne default" (Hall 1967:75).⁴ While it is unlikely that the affections of the Patuxent towards the English ran as deep as the writers of the Relation would have one believe, it is true that the two groups were relatively amicable. A more dispassionate account of Patuxent attitudes toward the English can be seen in a trial deposition taken in June 1634 at "Patuxon," in which the werowance stated that his people initially believed the settlers at St. Mary's City were Spanish, and thus to be feared, but that they were soon dissuaded of that notion (Arch. MD. V:165). In the 1630s and 1640s, despite occasional incidents between the two groups, such as livestock theft by the Patuxent and murder and theft by the English (Arch. MD. 1:136, III:104, IV:166, 269, 409), relations were generally peaceful. In 1640, and again in 1644, the English proclaimed that the Patuxent were their friends and allies, and thus under Lord Baltimore's protection (Arch. MD. III:88, 147). This was at a time when the colonists were being ordered to shoot-on-sight the Susquehannocks and many other Native American groups, and when Indians upstream from the Patuxent were being accused of murdering settlers (ibid.).

The land that Maquacomen gave to the Jesuits for their mission was located on both shores of the Patuxent River. It was apparently also vacant. This is suggested by several lines of evidence. First, as noted above, John Smith did not identify any Native American villages in the area. Secondly, there are no other contemporary accounts which mention Indians living at or near Mattapany. Finally, in the Jesuit Annual Letter of 1638 and in Copley's April 1638 letter to Lord Baltimore, both written after Mattapany had been established, the missionaries complained that the Calverts had not yet permitted them to live among the Indians (Hall 1967:119; MHS 1889:162, 167). On the other hand, it is possible that small Indian hamlets or resource procurement areas existed, or had recently existed,

at Mattapany when the Jesuits acquired it. Archaeological evidence found during the present survey and described below indicates that there was a significant Late Woodland period occupation in the area. A site where fields were already cleared, or had been cleared in the not too distant past, would have been attractive to the Jesuits for settlement. This is because they intended Mattapany to serve not as a center for proselytization, but rather as their headquarters and, as it was described in 1639, "a sort of storehouse of the mission, whence most of our bodily supplies are obtained" (Hall 1967:124). Native American lands were preferred by the colonists because these areas were already suitable for agriculture. St. Mary's City itself was established at the village of Yoacomaco, while "St. Anne's," a Patuxent River manor upstream from Mattapany that was patented in 1640, was valued because of its Indian fields (G. Stone 1982:20, 171).

The fact that Mattapany was acquired directly from the Indians led to a dispute between the Jesuits and Lord Baltimore. The Charter of Maryland gave Baltimore the exclusive right to grant property titles. If settlers could obtain land from Native Americans without his consent, his proprietorship would be threatened.⁵ In addition, Baltimore was concerned that if the Jesuits became major property owners, and held the land under the principles of canonical law, rather than secular law, it could have political repercussions in England that could cost him his colony (MHS 1889:220). When Baltimore first asked the Jesuits to send men to Maryland, it was on the condition that they would receive no aid from the proprietor, but rather would be self-supporting and take up land just like the other colonists. He felt this would actually help protect them from persecution, and the Jesuits were in agreement with this *de facto* separation of Church and State (Curran *et al.* 1976:10; Hughes 1908:168; Krugler 1979:74). However, by as early as 1635 disputes began to develop

between Baltimore and the Jesuits concerning governmental control over the missionaries' activities (Hughes 1907(1):349ff). It has been suggested that Baltimore delayed Fr. Copley's arrival in Maryland as a result of the rising tensions (ibid.:357). When the Jesuits acquired Mattapani directly from the Indians by 1637, in violation of the Charter, relations between the missionaries and Baltimore further deteriorated.

Lord Baltimore quickly moved to invalidate the Jesuit's claim to Mattapani. As early as April 1638 Fr. Copley complained that:

Secondly by the new lawe⁶ we should relinquish what we have, and then cast lotts in what place we shall chooce, and if our lott prooue ill, what we haue already may be chosen from us and so we may beginne the world anew, and then ether we must loose all our buildinge, all our cleering, all our enclosures, and all our tennants, or else be forced to sitt freeholders, and to pay for euey hundred acres one barrell of corne wheras we are not yet in a little care to gitt bread. 3^{dly}. Though we should haue the best lott; yet if we should choose Metapanian first, then we are sure to loose Mr. Gerards Mannor,⁷ notwithstanding that we haue bought it at a deere rait...(MHS 1889:163-164).

Eventually, the Jesuit's went so far as to suggest that Lord Baltimore's only legitimate property titles were those granted to him by the Indians, and even questioned the King's right to charter colonies on Native American land without their permission (Dennis 1901:119).

The debate moved very slowly towards resolution, as Lord Baltimore apparently was not willing to use force against the Jesuits like he had with Claiborne and the Kent Islanders during their territorial dispute. After all, the Jesuits had been major investors in the colony, and they had important supporters both in England and Maryland. In addition, they played a key role in attracting Catholic settlers to the colony, and in ministering to them (Bossy 1982:162; Krugler 1979:68). Thus, in 1639 the Jesuits were even allowed to undertake surveys which divided Mattapani into three

manors: Conception (where the primary mission complex was located), St. Gregory's to the west (which apparently had little if any settlement), and St. Leonard's on the north side of the river (which had a number of residents) (Patents 1:39-41; G. Stone 1982:20).⁸ The Jesuits probably hoped that the surveys would strengthen their land claims. According to Seed (1995:18-23), the English, unlike the other colonial powers, used four mechanisms to legitimize private possession of property: building houses, erecting fences or other enclosures, planting gardens, and surveying boundaries. The Jesuits performed all four at Mattapan, and so could argue that even if the land had been obtained illegally, prior possession and the demonstrated improvements should allow them to retain ownership of the property. Of course, the Calvert government did not agree, and title to Mattapan was never granted to the Jesuits.

By 1640 the disputes with Lord Baltimore, as well as sickness among the missionaries, led Jesuit leaders to consider withdrawing the Maryland Mission. However, Fr. Ferdinand Poulton, Superior of the Mission, opposed this, so the priests were allowed to stay (Curran *et al.* 1976:12). Nevertheless, in July 1641 Lord Baltimore appealed to Rome to have the Jesuits recalled and replaced with secular priests (Hughes 1907(1):494).

Church authorities turned the matter of Mattapan over to Fr. Edward Knott, the Jesuit Provincial in England, for arbitration.⁹ However, Lord Baltimore did not wait on his decision. Baltimore may have confiscated Mattapan by as early as late 1640, and had certainly done so by September 1641, when Fr. Knott complained of the seizure of the land given to the Jesuits by the "King of Patuxent" (Hughes 1907(1):477, 489). In November 1641, Lord Baltimore submitted to the English Provincial an agreement which Fr. Knott was then supposed to issue in his own name (*ibid.*:508).¹⁰ The

agreement contained four points, including concessions by the Jesuits that they would no longer trade with the Indians without a license, or acquire lands from the Indians without Lord Baltimore's permission. Land tenure in mortmain (transfer to the Church) was also made illegal (Hughes 1908:163,166). The Jesuits were thus to surrender to Baltimore all "domains, properties, tenements or inheritances" in the colony, including "some properties situated in a place that is called Mattapony or in some other place or places...[that they] have even divided some of the said properties into various domains..." (Johnson 1883:85). Properties at Mattapany mentioned specifically in the agreement included Conception and St. Gregories (Hughes 1908:190). Fr. Knott responded in protest to Baltimore's demands, claiming once again that Mattapany - which the government had seized and distributed to others - had been given to the Jesuits so that they might instruct the Patuxent (ibid.:168). Baltimore persisted in his demands, since he now believed that the priests "do designe my destruction...[and may] endeavour to doe it by the Indians within a short time by arming them" (MHS 1889:217). By October 1643, Church authorities in Rome agreed that the Jesuits would no longer acquire land directly, but that they would still retain all their existing properties (Hughes 1908:28-29). In November 1644 the Jesuits stated that they were willing to give up their land if Rome agreed to it (ibid.:32). The debate continued into 1647, when the Jesuits again proclaimed their willingness to give up their land if Baltimore obtained the approval of Rome (ibid.:34).

In the end, the Jesuits were able to indirectly retain most of their properties, but not Mattapany. They had apparently anticipated early in the debate what the final outcome might be, because in July 1641 they had transferred their estates at St. Inigoes, St. Mary's City, and St. George's Island in trust to Cuthbert Fenwick (Hughes 1907(1):484-485). The arrangement permitted the Jesuits to remain at

the estates and reap the profit of their production. Gov. Leonard Calvert approved the transfers, which, although they angered Lord Baltimore, were allowed to stand (Beitzell 1976:8). Other properties were similarly transferred or purchased outright by the Jesuits in later years (ibid.; Patents 1:115).

There is no evidence of a continuing Jesuit presence at Mattapany after 1641. Fr. Roger Rigby, who in that year had been assigned to the "mission on the Patuxent," presumably Mattapany (Beitzell 1976:6), was described in a 1642 letter as going to a "new residence, which in the vulgar idiom they call Patuxen, where he could learn the more easily the Indian language" (Hall 1967:135). This suggests that Rigby had left for the village of Patuxent after Mattapany had been seized by the government.¹¹ The sacking of Mattapany by the Susquehannocks in 1642 no doubt made Baltimore's seizure easier for the Jesuits to accept (see below). The Jesuit Letter of 1642 complained about the loss of men (servants or tenants) and goods during the Susquehannock attack. However, it is not clear if this referred to the raid on Mattapany (which the Jesuits may still have considered theirs) or on another mission (Curran 1988:69). Even if the Jesuits did maintain a presence at Mattapany after 1642, it was over by 1645, when Ingle's Rebellion put an end to missionary efforts in Maryland for some time (Pogue 1983a:28).

Three Jesuits arrived with the first Maryland settlers of 1634: Fathers Andrew White and John Altham, and Brother Thomas Gervase (Beitzell 1976:2). For the first few years, their time was spent largely in the St. Mary's City area, administering to the colonists because the Calverts, ostensibly for security reasons, would not permit them to go out among the Indians. From 1634 to 1637 new Jesuits came and went, with some, such as Gervase, succumbing to disease while in Maryland (ibid.:4).¹²

Fr. Thomas Copley arrived in 1637 and began to oversee the Jesuit's temporal affairs (ibid.:5).¹³ Although the priests were not allowed to live among the Indians until 1639, by 1638 (and probably earlier) the Jesuits were engaging in trade with Native Americans. For example, in February 1638 Robert Clerke, a servant of Copley's, shipped 115 yards of truck cloth, 18 axes, 14 hatchets, 48 knives, and 12 hoes, which were to be traded with the Indians for beaver and corn (Arch. MD. III:63). At the same time, Fr. White wrote of the ongoing beaver trade (Hughes 1907(1):395). According to the rules of the Jesuit Order, trade with the Indians was only permitted to acquire basic necessities, not to make a profit (ibid.:339). However, given the nature of the fur trade, the Jesuits almost certainly were making a profit. In April of 1638 Copley appealed to Lord Baltimore not to enact new regulations which would require the Jesuits to get government license to engage in the fur and corn trade, and thus make them dependent on possibly hostile outside interests for their bread (MHS 1889:164, 168). Lord Baltimore again tried to gain control of Jesuit trade in 1641, and in response the Jesuits complained that trade was necessary because of the shortage of currency in Maryland (Hughes 1908:166, 168). It would thus appear that during the early mission period trade continued despite the regulations, and Mattapany, as the main Jesuit outpost on the Patuxent, may well have served as a center for this activity (Beitzell 1976:6).

In November 1638, Fr. Ferdinand Poulton, who often went by the alias John Brock or Brooke, arrived to become Superior of the Maryland Mission (Beitzell 1976:5; Dalrymple 1874:126; Hall 1967:116; Hughes 1907(1):343; Maryland Historical Magazine [MHM] 1910a:167; Treacy 1889:64).¹⁴ The Jesuits commonly used aliases, in order to protect themselves from possible anti-Catholic persecution (Beary 1983:21). For example, Fr. Copley was also known as Phillip Fisher

(Hall 1967:124). Poulton replaced Copley because the Jesuit leadership thought he had better administrative judgement and was more prudent (Hughes 1907(1):423; 1908:201).

By 1639 the Jesuits had gone out to live among the Indians, but the Annual Letter of that year stated that Fr. Poulton and a co-adjutor or lay brother, who has been identified as Walter Morley, "remains in the plantation of Matapanneyn" (Beitzell 1976:7; Hall 1967:124). Morley had come over with Poulton. He died in March 1641, at the age of 50 (Hughes 1907(1):423, 493, 564). Poulton remained in Maryland, serving at both Mattapany and elsewhere, until June 1641, when, at about the age of 40, he was accidentally shot and killed while crossing the St. Mary's River (Beitzell 1976:6; Hughes 1907(1):492, 564). He was replaced as Superior by Copley. That same year Fr. Roger Rigby (an alias for Robert Knowles) of Lancashire arrived in Maryland and was assigned to Mattapany (Beitzell 1976:6; Curran 1988:72; Hughes 1907(1):493; Shea 1969:494). The next year Rigby moved to Patuxent, where he remained until 1645 (Beitzell 1976:14). Rigby was sick for three months in 1642, and unable to work. According to the Jesuit Letter for that year, he made slow progress in learning the Patuxent language, and still needed an interpreter. Unfortunately, the interpreter was a young man "not himself so well acquainted with their language," whose utterances often provoked Indian laughter. However, the two of them were able to compose a short catechism in the Patuxent tongue, and Rigby had hopes of soon being able to converse directly with the Indians on simple matters, and thus prepare them for baptism. He was eventually able to convert the "Queen of Patuxent" and her mother (Curran 1988:68-69; Hughes 1907(1):549). During Ingle's Rebellion that year, Rigby and the other Jesuits were captured or forced to flee to Virginia. Rigby died in Virginia in 1646, at the age of 38 (Curran *et al.* 1976:12; Hughes 1907(1):564).

By June 1639 Fr. Andrew White was living at Piscataway, 75 miles from St. Mary's City. However, before then White had spent much time trying to convert the werowance of Patuxent. White felt he was close to succeeding, but at the last moment Maquacomen changed his mind and became angry at the missionary. Fearing an unfortunate incident, Gov. Calvert ordered White to return to St. Mary's City. However, a few of the Patuxent became Christians (Hall 1967:124-125). This has led to the suggestion that some of these converts may have moved to Mattapany, perhaps to assist in agricultural activities (Cissna 1986:139-140). While there is no independent evidence for this, a small Native American presence at Mattapany to help in farming, hunting, or language instruction is not implausible, as there were Indians working for other colonists at this time (cf. Arch. MD. III:143).

There are no known physical descriptions of Mattapany Mission. Copley's letter of 1638 describes "buildinge," "cleering," "enclosures," and "tennants," but this does not necessarily refer specifically to the mission (MHS 1889:163). Beitzell (1976:8) states that the Jesuits at Mattapany had fenced in part of the land, built a residence, a warehouse, and farm buildings, and successfully cultivated cleared land. No citation is given for this, but they are not unreasonable improvements to expect to find on a 17th-century plantation. None of the contemporary accounts of Mattapany Mission mention a chapel building, but there may have been one.

There are references from the 1640s and 1650s to "Mattapanian house", which presumably was the Jesuit residence (Arch. MD. III:149). In a frontier setting, one would expect this house to be timber framed, and perhaps it was. However, a brickmaker, Richard Coxe, arrived in Maryland with Fr. Copley in 1637, and it is known that the Jesuits were fond of building with brick because, in the

words of Fr. White, it kept out "the heates of summer and the coalds of winter" (Beitzell 1976:20). The Jesuits' institutional support may have made it easier for them to afford masonry construction than could the typical colonist. This suggests the possibility that at least part of Mattapany House may have been made with brick. An intriguing 1668 reference to "Brickhill point" at Mattapany-Sewall hints at earlier manufacture or use of brick in the area, presumably in the distant enough past that a geographical location name had time to develop and pass into common usage (Arch. MD. V:31). It is possible that "Brickhill Point," the exact location of which is unknown, refers to the site of the mission house, but this is far from certain.

The area that the Jesuits controlled along the lower Patuxent was vast, but many of the mission's improvements were probably centralized around the priest's residence, at what became Conception Manor. Storage facilities, barns, and quarters for servants all could have been located in the vicinity of the main residence, with agricultural fields nearby. The core area was almost certainly accessible to shipping. Other domiciles, barns, and fields may have been scattered in outlying portions of the plantation. It is possible that additional Jesuit buildings were located at the manors of St. Gregory's and St. Leonard's, but these areas appear to have contained mostly smaller estates leased by freemen.

The mission of Mattapany was part of a larger political entity called "Mattapanient Hundred."¹⁵ This hundred encompassed both sides of the Patuxent River, and extended as far upstream as colonial settlement occurred. It included both Jesuit and non-Jesuit lands. However, population disruptions in the area resulting from the Indian raids of 1642 and Ingle's rebellion three years later caused "Mattapanient Hundred" to disappear. By the 1660s two smaller subdivisions had arisen on the south side of the river: "Resurrection Hundred" and, at the lower end of the Patuxent, "Harvey

Hundred" (Arch. MD. I:260; Reeve *et al.* 1991:59). The population of Mattapanient Hundred was never very large. A tax roll from 1642 lists 14 freeholders in the area, suggesting a population of only 30 to 40 spread over more than 100 square miles (Carr *et al.* 1978:17, 20; Pogue 1987:3).

Although the Jesuit mission was but a part of Mattapanient Hundred, its priests apparently maintained a position of authority there. Many of the freemen of the hundred had been brought to Maryland to work on the Jesuit plantations, and they often remained near these centers when their indentures were completed, either leasing land from the Jesuits or patenting their own estates (Woodstock Letters n.d.). For example, in 1650 Fr. Copley demanded 20,000 acres of land from Lord Baltimore in compensation for the "Servants of Andrew White Esq." that were brought to Maryland by the Jesuits in the first two years of the colony (Arch. MD. III:258-259). The names of 18 non-priests are given in this appeal, in addition to many "whose names I cannot suddenly remember", for a total of "at least sixty persons [transported] into the Province" (*ibid.*). Four of the 18 named immigrants are known to have lived in Mattapanient Hundred. Another, "James killed at Mattapanie," may have as well, although it is uncertain who he was or at which Mattapanie he was killed. At least five other men transported by the Jesuits are known to have lived at Mattapanient Hundred between 1637-1642 (Pogue 1983a:17).¹⁶ Given the close ties of many of the residents of the hundred to the Jesuits at Mattapanie, it is not surprising that in September 1640 "Ferdinando Putton" (Fr. Poulton) was asked by Gov. Calvert to gather the freemen of his hundred "at such time and place...as you shall think fit" for the purpose of electing a burgess to represent them at the next Assembly (Arch. MD. I:88).

One of the earliest references to Mattapanient Hundred was at the Assembly of January 1638.

Richard Garnett Sr., Joseph Edlow, Annum Benum, Nicholas Harvey, William Broughe, Henry Bishop, John Bryant, and Richard Lusthead, all "of Mattapanient, planters," were either present or represented by proxy at the Assembly (Arch. MD. I:2-4). Fathers Copley, White, and Altham, who were represented at the Assembly by Robert Clerke "by reason of sickness," were listed as being from St. Mary's Hundred, which supports the evidence from the Annual Letters that no Jesuit actually lived at Mattapany until 1639.¹⁷ Given the association of many of the residents of Mattapanient Hundred with the Jesuits and the Mattapany Mission, their biographies are detailed below.

Based on the 1642 tax roll, Nicholas Harvey was apparently the wealthiest resident of Mattapanient Hundred (Arch. MD. I:146). He had arrived in Maryland in 1634 as a Jesuit servant, but by 1638 he was a freeman (Patents AB&H:65-67; Reeve *et al.* 1991:51). He was at least semi-literate. Harvey was described in 1638 as a planter, but in 1639 he paid off a debt with roanoke (shell beads), suggesting that he may also have been involved in the Indian trade (Arch. MD. IV:84).¹⁸ Harvey returned to England in 1640, where he married and obtained a warrant from Lord Baltimore for 1,000 acres at any location he chose, provided he brought his wife and five others back to Maryland with him. He returned late in 1641 with his wife Jane, his daughter Frances, and four servants -- Robert Beard, Henry Spink, John Chair, and a boy named Robert Ford (Patents 1:129; Reeve *et al.* 1991:53).¹⁹ In 1642 he patented St. Joseph's Manor, located well to the northwest of Mattapany Mission.²⁰ During Ingle's Rebellion in 1645, Harvey's house was burned and his corn and other goods were stolen, forcing him into exile to Virginia, where he died in 1647 (*ibid.*:54).

Richard Garnett Sr. (1592-c.1651) was also one of the wealthier residents of Mattapany Hundred.

"Garnett" was an alias; he was the son of Sir Thomas Gardiner (Arch. MD. I:146; Barnes 1999b:204; Beary 1983:21). He arrived in Maryland in August 1637 with his wife Elizabeth, five children ranging in age from 4 to 21, and two servants, Elias Beach and Mary Dorrick (ibid.:21-22; Patents 1:62). Dorrick was sold to Jerome Hawley by 1638, and Beach apparently had been sold by the same date (Arch. MD. IV:31, 59). Gardiner paid for the passage of all of his party except for his son Luke, who was transported by Fr. Copley (Patents AB&H:60, 65-67). Gardiner's ability to transport such a large number of people, as well as the fact that he was literate, indicates he was a man of some means. He settled in Mattapanient, and in December 1640 patented 1,000 acres west and north of the mission called "St. Richard's Manor," as well as another 200 acres to the northeast called "Sacawaxhit," where he may have resided (Beary 1983:23). The warrant for St. Richard's Manor states that it was bounded on the north by St. Lawrence Creek (probably today's Lewis Creek) and a line drawn from the west side of the creek to St. Gregory's Manor, then continuing west to a path crossing the head of St. Lawrence Creek, on the west by a line drawn 530 perches south from the path intersection, on the south by a line drawn to the south branch of St. Stephen's Creek "where the Mannor of the Conception [Mattapany] ends," and on the east by the Patuxent River (Patents 1:61, AB&H:77).

An ambiguous court deposition from 1644 could be interpreted as indicating that Gardiner was living at Snow Hill Manor in 1643, but it is more likely that he was just keeping livestock there, perhaps to protect them from Susquehannock raids (Arch. MD. IV:282; Beary 1983:24). In 1644 he was one of several men ordered to "restore corne and other goods taken from the patuxent Indians," so possibly Gardiner was also involved in the Indian trade (Arch. MD. IV:269). During Ingle's

Rebellion, Gardiner was forced to flee to Virginia, and he was dead by 1651. His property was inherited by his son Luke (Beary 1983:24). Luke Gardiner and his sister Julian had returned to Maryland in 1647, and for that transport Luke demanded land in 1651 (MHM 1914:39).

Richard Lusthead was taxed at the same rate as Richard Gardiner in 1642. He had been transported by the Jesuits in 1633-1634, but was an illiterate freeman by 1638 and a burgess of Mattapanient Hundred in 1640 (Arch. MD. I:89, III:258; Patents AB&H:65-67). He married Richard Gardiner's daughter Elizabeth (Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:554). In April 1642 Lusthead demanded 100 acres from the government for transporting Edward Smith, a servant. He was allowed to take any unclaimed land along the Patuxent (Patents 1:25, AB&H:60). Lusthead and two other residents of Mattapanient died at the same time in 1642, suggesting that they may have been killed during the Susquehannock raids (see below). Lusthead's probate inventory of December 1642 lists, among other things, one servant (Smith?) and "3 Indian basketts" (Arch. MD. IV:94). The latter suggest that Lusthead, like Harvey and Gardiner, may have been involved in trade, perhaps through the mission. Lusthead's probate also lists "a parcell of corne in the house," but the location of the house is unknown. Lusthead was survived by his wife, and possibly by their children, since children's clothes were included in his probate inventory (*ibid.*).

Three of the remaining freemen of 1638 -- Henry Bishop, John Bryant, and Joseph Edlow -- probably lived together. Bishop and Bryant had been transported by the Jesuits during the first two years of the colony, while Edlow had been brought over by Leonard Calvert (Arch. MD. III:258; Patents AB&H:65-67, 118). The three men were represented by proxy at the Assembly of January 1638 (*ibid.* I:3-4). This may have been so that they could work on their farm, because that same

month Bryant was killed while cutting down a tree, leaving behind an unnamed widow and possibly a son called Matthias (Arch. MD. IV:10, 107; Newman 1985:177). Twelve planters gathered at "Mattapien" to hold an inquest on the death (Arch. MD. IV:9). Edlow testified that he and Bryant were felling a tree on "their plantation" when he was killed, which was attested to by Bishop.²¹ The fact that all three men were working together suggests that they were also living together. This is supported by Richard Gardiner's April 1638 inventory of Bryant's goods, which included "a third part in the house" (ibid.:31). Bryant's share of the house was only worth 20 pounds of tobacco, the same as "a paire of boots and spurrs" or even "5. boles 2. spoones" (ibid.:30). This may indicate that the house was not yet completed, and that Bryant was building it at the time of his death, or that the finished house was a very crude structure.

A servant, Elias Beach, was also listed among Bryant's goods. This was presumably the same Elias Beach who had been transported to Maryland by Richard Gardiner in 1637, at the age of 23 (Patents 1:62).²² He was apparently soon sold to Bryant. Bryant's executors may have sold or given Beach away to pay off the estate's large debts, because a few months later he was a servant of Thomas Cornwaleys at St. Inigoes (ibid.:35-37). By 1642, Beach was an illiterate freeman from Snow Hill Manor in St. Mary's Hundred, possibly living with another individual who had also been transported by the Jesuits (but who probably never lived at Mattapany) -- Christopher Carnoll (Arch. MD. I:169, IV:171; G.Stone 1982:345). In 1650, Beach demanded 50 acres for himself, 100 acres "in right of his wife who transported herself...about 10 Years Since, and 50 acres for a woman servant who got married a year ago" (Patents AB&H:36). This land was laid out near the head of the St. Mary's River. Beach was dead by 1653, leaving behind his wife Ann and at least one child, Elias Jr.

(Arch. MD. I:507; X:269).

John Bryant's two partners, Henry Bishop and Joseph Edlow, remained at Mattapanient Hundred after his death. In February 1639, and again in July 1642, Bishop (who was literate) was elected burgess of the hundred (Arch. MD. I:28, 130). By 1642, and probably by early 1641, he was living at St. Leonard's on the north side of the Patuxent River. He unsuccessfully tried to have St. Leonard's officially made into a separate hundred, which it already was informally (ibid. I:130, IV:53). A fort located in Mattapanient Hundred at that time may have been at Bishop's residence (Arch. MD. III:107).²³ Bishop apparently shared a house with Simon Dennibiel, who was described in 1642 and 1644 as his "mate" (Arch. MD. IV:162, 292). Dennibiel claimed that he transported himself and another man, Walter Waters, to the colony in "about 1640," but this is apparently untrue, as a Simon Dennibiel was listed as a servant of Robert Wintour in 1638 (Arch. MD. IV:85; Patents 2:604, AB&H:36).

Indeed, it appears that Bishop and Dennibiel were somewhat shady characters. For example, Bishop was described in a lawsuit from January 1645 as being Dennibeil's "mate late deceased," although no other documentation exists to support this (Arch. MD IV:292). However, in February 1650 a Henry Bishop and Simon Dennibiel together petitioned to be granted land for transporting themselves around 1640 (Patents 2:604, AB&H:36). Although it is possible that there were two Henry Bishops, one whom the Jesuits transported in 1633/1634 and who died in 1644, and another who brought himself to the colony in 1640 and asked for land in 1650, both of whom had an association with Dennibiel, this seems somewhat unlikely.

It may be that Bishop's death was misreported (or even faked) during the chaotic period of the

mid-1640s. A possible reason for this may have been fear. In 1644, the year before Ingle's Rebellion, Bishop testified against Richard Ingle during the latter's treason hearing. After Ingle escaped from custody, he stole guns and other goods from Bishop, and threatened to "assault & beate downe the dwelling houses of divers the inhabitants of this colony." He then fled to England (Arch. MD. IV:248; Benham 1959:300). Perhaps Bishop was concerned that Ingle would return, seeking even stronger revenge. If Bishop did not actually die in 1644, then he may have left Maryland for a while, since the whereabouts of both Bishop and Dennibiel between 1645 and 1649 are unknown. In the fall of 1649, a Henry Bishop reappears as an agent for John Dandy in a lawsuit against Christopher Carnoll (Arch. MD IV:500). Bishop's association with Dandy went back to at least 1644, when he was given interrogatories by John Lewger concerning Dandy's "late estate" (ibid.:262). This would seem to support the assertion that there was only one Henry Bishop in Maryland in the 1640s. However, by 1650 the government apparently believed that Bishop was not the same man who had "died" in 1644, because he was granted 100 acres "upon Patomeck River or any Branch or Creek thereof" (Patents 2:604, AB&H:36). Simon Dennibiel, however, was apparently unsuccessful in obtaining a land warrant in 1650, suggesting that the authorities were aware of how he had arrived in the colony. Dennibiel disappears from the records after this, while Bishop died relatively poor and intestate in August 1658 (SMCC Career Files; Testamentary Proceedings 1B:34-36).

In the early 1640s, Bishop and Dennibiel may have lived with Leonard Leonardson. Little is known about Leonardson, other than that he was living on Kent Island in February 1639, and that he died sometime between March 1641 and April 1642 at St. Leonard's (Arch. MD. I:31, IV:53, 94). An inventory of his goods included part of a boat, part of a house and plantation, and a canoe, along with

a number of household items. He also had roanoke, suggesting he was involved in the Indian trade. His will describes debts due to the "mateship," which presumably included Bishop and Dennibiel since they were executors of his estate (Arch. MD. IV:94, 258).

Joseph Edlow remained at Mattapanient for at least one more year after the death of his mate John Bryant in 1638, as he was a freeman of the hundred at the 1639 Assembly (Arch. MD. I:28). However, by 1641 Edlow had entered into a partnership with Christopher Martin, a tailor from St. Mary's Hundred (Arch. MD. IV:66). Edlow, who was illiterate, apparently lived with Martin and his wife Eleanor, because an inventory of Edlow's and Martin's "joint rights goods & chattells," taken after Martin's death in 1641, included "the dwelling house, plantation, & other housing" (ibid.:66, 92-93). Around the same time, Edlow transported to the colony his own wife "Eliner...and Roger Webb his Servant" (Newman 1985:194). Eliner was apparently the sister of Cyprian Thoroughgood, because in 1643 Thoroughgood assigned 300 acres of land to his "brother in lawe" Joseph Edlow (MHM 1913a:337). The tax roll of 1642 showed Edlow to be a middling planter from the Jesuit-owned St. Mary's Hill Freehold in St. Mary's Hundred (Arch. MD. I:143; G. Stone 1982:346). He apparently remained in the St. Mary's City/St. Inigoes area for a number of years. Edlow may have sold the estate he shared with Martin to John Dandy, because in 1644 he had to sue Dandy for non-payment on a plantation sale (Arch. MD. IV:264). Edlow was sued himself in 1643 for stealing a canoe "now lying at St. Inigoes," suggesting the location of his residence at the time (ibid.:209). By 1648 Edlow and Eliner apparently had two sons, Barnaby and Joseph Jr. (ibid. IV:438, X:87; Newman 1985:195).²⁴ During this period he apparently entered into a partnership with (and presumably shared a plantation with) Robert Wiseman of St. Mary's Hundred, who died in 1650

(Arch. MD. X:10; Pogue 1983a:22).²⁵

Edlow then returned to his old stomping grounds at Mattapanient. In February 1650, he demanded 50 acres due him as a servant of Leonard Calvert (who had brought him to the colony), plus 250 acres assigned to him by Cyprian Thoroughgood. A warrant was issued the same day to lay out for him 300 acres "between Capt. Dorrels quarter and Mattapany house" (Patents AB&H:35). In March, Edlow was granted a tract called "Susquehanna Point," which was bordered on the north and west by the Patuxent River, on the east by "Machewalt's Creek (now St. James Creek)," and on the south by a line drawn from a "hollow out of Putuxent river called Halfehead's Hollow" southeast into St. James Creek (Menard 1973:264; Patents AB&H:39, 118, 2:608). Three years later he requested an additional 200 acres for transporting his wife and servant "twelve years since and upwards" (Newman 1985:194). Edlow's wife had apparently died by 1657, because in that year he got in trouble for entering into an unsanctioned marriage with Henry Coursey's servant, Mary Cole, during a drunken party, and may have even temporarily fled the colony (Arch. MD. X:549, 550, 558, XLI:598; Newman 1985:195). Two years later he allegedly fathered the child of another servant, Anne Barbery (Arch. MD. XLI:329). Despite his troubles, Edlow still retained Susquehanna at his death around 1660/1661, but he died intestate, leaving only a "poore Estate" (Arch. MD. XLI:599; Newman 1985:195; Pogue 1983a:22).²⁶

Two final representatives from Mattapanient Hundred to the Assembly of 1638 remain to be discussed: Annum Benum and William Broughe. The illiterate Benum was transported to the colony as a servant by Thomas Green in 1633-1634, but by 1638 he was a freeman (Patents 1:17, AB&H:67). Benum also served in the Assembly of 1639, but does not appear anywhere on the

Maryland tax rolls of 1642 (Arch. MD. I:28, 142-146). He apparently had moved or fled to New York, because in a letter to the governor there in 1643 it is stated that Thomas Cornwaleys had won a judgement against Benum for over 1,600 pounds of tobacco, which had not yet been satisfied (Arch. MD. IV:204). William Broughe was a Protestant, possibly Dutch, who had paid his own passage to Maryland in 1636, and brought over a servant, Francis Thruacts (or Thwaitesin), two years later (Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:174; Patents 1:123, AB&H:99; SMCC Career Files). Broughe was living at Mattapanient by 1638. However, by 1639 he had moved to St. Georges Hundred. In January 1642 he was granted 100 acres on Breton Bay (*ibid.*). In that same year he was burgess for St. Clement's Hundred, and in 1650 he was burgess for Newtown Hundred (Arch. MD. I:144, 260). He died in 1651, leaving his widow Sarah and no children (Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:174; Pogue 1983a:23).

At the General Assembly of February 1639, most of the same men represented Mattapanient Hundred as in 1638 (Arch. MD. I:28). There were a few changes: John Bryant was dead and William Broughe had moved. Nicholas Harvey was also not listed, probably because he was on a military campaign, having been ordered by Gov. Calvert to raid the "Maquantequat" Indians (Arch. MD. III:87). Two new names appear at the 1639 Assembly: Lewis Freeman and Robert Wiseman. Freeman had been transported by the Jesuits in 1633-1634 (Arch. MD. III:258-259; Patents AB&H:65-67). Since he does not appear in the records until 1639, that may be the year that he earned his freedom. Freeman was still living in Mattapanient in 1642 (Arch. MD. I:146). In 1649 he sued Elias Beach for shoes, stockings, powder, and shot that Freeman had lent to Beach "about nyne yeares since" (Arch. MD. IV:491). In 1654, a "Lewis ffroman," age 29, testified that he was a servant of Robert Brooke, "Imployed as an Interpreter by him to the Indians" (Arch. MD. X:353). Newman

(1985:209-210) believes him to be the same Lewis Freeman who was transported in 1633-1634, but that would mean that Freeman sat at the Assembly of 1639 at the age of 15 or 16. This would be somewhat unusual, even for early Maryland, given that the legal age of majority was 21 (Carr *et al.* 1991:147). It may be that there were two Lewis Freemans; on the other hand, immigration records apparently exist for only the one who arrived in 1634 (Skordas 1986). At any rate, the last mention of any Lewis Freeman occurs in 1658, and no date of death is known (Newman 1985:210).

The other new name from Mattapanient at the Assembly of 1639 was Robert Wiseman. He may have been one of the "Gentlemen of Fashion" who paid his own passage to Maryland in 1634, although this is a matter of dispute (Carr 1984:69(note 45); Newman 1985:273). Wiseman was described as a planter from St. Mary's Hundred at the 1638 Assembly, but had moved to Mattapanient by the next year (Arch. MD. I:3). By 1642 he was a literate, fairly well-to-do resident of St. Inigoes Neck in St. Mary's Hundred, where he had bought a "house and plantacon upon St. Paules foreland (alias Wisemans point)," and where he lived with his wife (Alice Capell), son, and servant (Arch. MD. I:142, IV:223; Barnes 1999b:473; G. Stone 1982:346). He apparently entered into a partnership with Joseph Edlow, because at Wiseman's death in 1650 he was described as "heretofore Joseph Edlows mate" (Arch. MD. X:10). In 1665 his son, John Wiseman, patented "Batchelor's Hopewell," which adjoined Mattapany-Sewall (Rent Roll 1707:334).

On the tax rolls of 1642 a total of 14 freemen from Mattapanient Hundred are listed, nine of whom are new residents: Thomas Charington, Walter Cotterell, Simon Dennibiel, "Mr. Dracutt," John Gye, Walter King, Thomas Petitt, Francis Posie, and Francis van Ryrden [van Enden] (Arch. MD. I:146). Charington had been transported to the colony in 1633-1634 by Edward and Frederick

Wintour for the Jesuits (Patents AB&H:65-67). He was an illiterate freeman from St. Georges Hundred in 1638, and had apparently been free since at least 1636. In fact, it is possible that he arrived in Maryland as a freeman (Newman 1985:186). In 1638 he shared a debt with Annum Benum and Joseph Edlow, suggesting that they may have once been in partnership together (Arch. MD. I:9, 11). In October 1640, Charington was granted 50 acres of land which in 1636 he had partly cleared and built upon with Leonard Calvert's permission. Charington immediately assigned his rights to this land to "Nicholas Cossin Frenchman" (Patents AB&H:90). The property was on Wickliff's Creek, in St. George's Hundred (Patents 1:100). Charington also served as a bailiff at Robert Evelyn's Manor of Evelynton on Piney Point (Newman 1985:186). Charington was residing at Mattapanient by 1642. He died that year under circumstances that suggest he may have been killed by the Susquehannocks. Charington probably lived (and died) with Richard Lusthead, since Lusthead's probate inventory lists "2. thirds of a crop of corne & tobacco," while Charington possessed one third of a crop, and both men are described as having "a parcell of corne in the house" (Arch. MD. IV:95). Charington had very few possessions, particularly when compared to Lusthead (ibid.). A third man who died in the summer of 1642, John Machin, may have lived with Lusthead and Charington as well. Machin was transported to Maryland by the Jesuits in 1637 (Patents 1:20, AB&H:65-67), but little else is known about him. He never appears as a freeman, even in the tax rolls of 1642, so he may have been a servant of Lusthead and Charington, or else had just earned his freedom. His only listed possession at death was a cow with a calf (Arch. MD. IV:95). The way that Machin, Charington, and Lusthead are linked in the records (Thomas Cornwaleys was assigned to administer all three estates at once) suggests that they lived with, or close by, one another (ibid.:71). If so, their household consisted of at

least those three men, plus Lusthead's wife and children, a servant of Lusthead's who survived the Susquehannock attack, and Charington's "black dogge" (ibid.:94-95).²⁷

Walter Cotterell, John Gye, and Thomas Petitt may also have been in a partnership of some sort. Cotterell transported himself to Maryland in 1640, while Petitt was brought over as a freeman by Nicholas Cawsin in 1639 (MHM 1912:186, 307). Gye apparently paid his own passage to Maryland after 1638 (Pogue 1983a:17). Cotterell was living on Kent Island in 1639, and at "St. Leonard's Hundred" (part of Mattapanient) by 1641 (Arch. MD. I:31, IV:53). Gye and Petitt were both residents of St. George's Hundred in 1641 (Arch. MD. I:104). In April of 1642, Gye demanded 100 acres for himself, while Petitt demanded 200 acres for himself and his wife, whom he had brought over in 1639. They were allowed to patent any free land on the north side of the Patuxent River (MHM 1912:192; Patents 1:26, AB&H:60).²⁸ By 1642, Cotterell, Gye, and Petitt were all living at Mattapanient Hundred. It would appear that some time after 1644 - possibly during Ingle's Rebellion of 1645 - Cotterell, Petitt, and perhaps Gye temporarily left Maryland. Evidence for this is found in 1649, when Cotterell demanded land for transporting himself to Maryland four years earlier, while Petitt demanded land for transporting himself, his wife, and a child named Catherine Petitt in 1645 (MHM 1912:192, 391). In November 1649, Gye, Cotterell, and Nicholas Cawsin each assigned 100 acres to Petitt. He combined this land with that which he was due for transporting his wife and child, patenting a 450 acre tract on the Potomac River at a place called Cedar Point (MHM 1913a:52-53). Petitt, Cotterell, and Gye were still linked together by Petitt's will of 1657, which stated that his property was to be divided by his "mates" Gye and Cotterell (Pogue 1983a:23).

Francis Posie arrived in Maryland in 1640 as an illiterate immigrant. By 1642 he was acting as

proxy at the Assembly for a number of residents of Mattapanient Hundred (Arch. MD. I:168). He and his wife Elizabeth lived at St. Leonard's, where, in addition to his Assembly duties, he was deputy sheriff (Arch. MD. IV:162, 344). He continued to serve in the Assembly throughout the 1640s, and eventually moved to St. Clement's Hundred, where he was elected burgess (Arch. MD. I:260). In 1648 and 1649, Posie demanded land for a servant, John Villaine, that he had brought over from Virginia in 1646, for another servant, Joseph Gregory, and for transporting himself. This land was laid out along the Wicomoco River (MHM 1912:191, 312, 315). In July 1650, Posie demanded an additional 50 acres in the name of his new wife, whom he had bought from Cuthbert Fenwick, as well as 100 acres for a servant named Thomas whom he had transported five years earlier. This land was laid out at Swan Point on the Potomac (Patents AB&H:42). Posie died in 1654 (Arch. MD. X:182).

Little is known about two other residents of Mattapanient Hundred: Walter King and Mr. Dracutt. King was transported by the Jesuits in 1637, and last appears in the records in 1653 (Patents AB&H:60, 65-67; Pogue 1983a:23). Dracutt is last mentioned in September 1642, when he could not be located to notify him that his presence was required at the Assembly (Arch. MD. I:169). The remaining freeman of 1642 at Mattapanient, Francis van Enden, is discussed in more detail below.

At the beginning of 1642, Mattapanient Hundred could be seen to be entering a period of political and social change, accompanied by population growth. The Jesuits, and the local leadership they once wielded, were gone, and new immigrants without ties to the missionaries were arriving to replace them. Of course, the Jesuits left behind a lasting influence; approximately half of the freemen of Mattapanient between 1637-1642 had been brought over by the Jesuits, and many no doubt

worked as servants or tenants at the mission before setting up freeholds of their own elsewhere in the hundred. Even those who paid their own passage may have settled for a time on Jesuit lands. Nevertheless, Jesuit influence in the area was lessening by the early 1640s.

The manner in which the residents of Mattapanient arrived in the colony provides another demonstration of the changing social landscape in the hundred. For example, of the eight freemen from Mattapanient at the 1638 Assembly, six (75%) had been transported to Maryland by others, while only two (25%) had paid their own passage. Of the 11 additional freemen who were represented in the Assembly or on tax rolls after 1638, only five (45%) had been transported as servants, while an equal number had immigrated on their own (the remaining freeman arrived under unknown circumstances).

In the summer of 1642, the bright outlook for Mattapanient Hundred changed. A letter from Leonard Calvert to the governor of Virginia in August of that year reported on the "barbarous Massacres Comitted formerly upon John Angood and four others of his Majesty Subjects in his Company belonging to your Colony, and now lately againe upon eight more belonging to this Province together withe burning and robbing of their houses..." (Arch. MD. III:106). John Angood was a Virginia merchant who frequently did business in Maryland (cf. Arch. MD. IV:135). The attacks were apparently carried out by the Susquehannocks, because when Henry Fleete was sent in June 1644 to negotiate peace with them one of the conditions of the treaty was to be "satisfaction for their plundrings of mr. Angud, & of Mattapanian house twice wherin especially to require a returne of all the armes taken at those times..." (Arch. MD. III:149).²⁹ "Mattapanian house" was probably the Jesuit missionary residence. The missionaries had already left the area by then, but apparently

either some tenants had stayed behind or new residents had moved in. It is quite possible that Richard Lusthead, Thomas Charington, and John Machin were living at Mattapanian House then, either as freeholders or tenants of Lord Baltimore.³⁰ The attacks apparently happened in August, because Lusthead and Charington show up on the tax rolls of 2 August, but are dead by 22 August, when Thomas Cornwaleys is ordered to inventory their property (Arch. MD. I:146, IV:71). Whether or not they were living at the old mission house, it seems likely that Lusthead, Charington, and Machin were among the eight supposedly killed by the Susquehannocks. Who the others were is unknown, but they could include the men's families and servants. The residents of St. Leonard's also apparently suffered during that summer, which was characterized by generally tense relations with all Indians. For example, Fr. Rigby, then living at Patuxent village, was ordered to "repair to the Great men of Patuxent and of the Nations adjoynd to them" to discover the identity of the Indians who had killed the swine of Henry Bishop, Simon Dennibiel, and others (Arch. MD. III:104). In September, Francis Posie demanded satisfaction from the government for damage to his house and property suffered while he was away, presumably on patrol against further raids (Arch. MD. IV:162).

Inferences about population distribution in Mattapanient Hundred in September 1642 can be made from the Assembly records of that year. Fourteen freemen were listed as residents of the hundred on the tax rolls of August 1642. By September two of them, Lusthead and Charington, were dead, and Mr. Dracutt had disappeared. Of the remainder, two men, Richard Gardiner and Lewis Freeman, were represented at the Assembly by their proxy Nicholas Harvey (Arch. MD. I:168). Gardiner and Harvey lived on the south side of the Patuxent River, and Freeman may have as well. The Jesuit mission at Mattapany had shut down the previous year, and the land returned to Lord

Baltimore. The missionaries presumably took their servants, and possibly some of their tenants, with them, so it would appear that by September 1642 the south side of the river had considerably fewer inhabitants than previously. All that remained were the large manors belonging to Gardiner and Harvey, along with any tenants or freeholders (such as Freeman) who lived with them or on the former Jesuit lands now belonging to Baltimore. The remaining freemen of Mattapanient -- Bishop, Cotterell, Dennibiel, Gye, King, Petitt, and van Enden -- were represented at the Assembly by their proxy Francis Posie (*ibid.*). Bishop, Cotterell, Dennibiel, and Posie are known to have been living in "St. Leonard's Hundred" on the north side of the Patuxent, and there are suggestions that Gye and Petitt did as well. Van Enden's whereabouts in 1642 are unknown, but at some point he did acquire a plantation at St. Leonard's which he had sold by 1650 (Arch. MD. X:99). If Posie was acting as proxy for all the residents of St. Leonard's, which seems likely, then it can be presumed that King lived there as well. Thus, by September 1642 it would appear that the population center of Mattapanient Hundred was located across the Patuxent at St. Leonard's.

The Susquehannock raids of 1642 and Ingle's Rebellion three years later demonstrated the vulnerability of the Patuxent River settlements. Many of those who weren't killed were forced to flee the colony, and thus the area was left largely depopulated. Of the 14 taxed freemen in Mattapanient in 1642, two were killed that year, another allegedly died two years later, and five fled, moved, or otherwise disappeared (mostly during Ingle's Rebellion). The locations of the other six men are unknown. One new individual, John Genallis, is occasionally associated in the records with Henry Bishop, Simon Dennibiel, Nicholas Harvey, and Richard Gardiner after 1642, so he may have moved into the area (Arch. MD. IV:201, 217, 269, 281). However, even if he and the six unlocated freemen

all stayed in the hundred, the population of the area was still greatly reduced. The disappearance of "Mattapanient Hundred" as a political entity during the 1640s supports the notion of population decline in the area. This situation continued until the late 1640s, when a number of new land grants were made in the area, while properties which had been seized by Ingle, such as Gardiner's St. Richard's, were returned to their rightful owners (Beary 1983:24).

Resettlement, 1648-1663

Renewed settlement of the Mattapanient area had begun by 1648, when William Eltonhead had a survey made of a 2,000 acre tract which became known as "Little Eltonhead Manor" or "Richneck," located on Cedar Point at the mouth of the Patuxent River (MHM 1912:311; Pogue 1983a:28; Rent Roll 1707:334). This estate, which was bounded on the west by St. James Creek and the land of Capt. William Hawley, on the north by the Patuxent, and on the east and south by the Chesapeake, was granted because Eltonhead had transported to Maryland one boy, seven servants, and one freewoman, in addition to himself (Patents AB&H:16, 21).³¹

Approximately 4250 acres of land between "Machewetts Creek [Harper Creek] & Sacqueakitts" had been surveyed for William Hawley in January 1649. This property was bounded on the north by the Patuxent, on the west by "Hawleyes Branch" and St. Valentine's River, and on the east by St. James Creek, extending from the head of that creek SSE to the Chesapeake Bay, bordering on a place "commonly called Scruttons Plantacion" (MHM 1912:190, 310-311). Most of the Jesuit's former manor of Conception was encompassed by Hawley's grant. The fact that this land was available for patenting suggests that the area had been abandoned, probably since the Susquehannock raids of

1642. Although Hawley had this land surveyed in January 1649, he was still residing in Virginia as late as July 1649 (Arch. MD. IV:468, 505). By 1652 he had moved to Maryland (ibid. X:250). However, by 1650 Hawley's land was being patented by others, suggesting that he was never actually granted the property or took possession of it. There is no evidence to suggest that he ever lived in the area.

In 1650, Joseph Edlow, a former resident of Mattapanient Hundred, returned to the area when he patented "Susquehanna Point," located west of Richneck (Patents 2:608). Also in 1650, John Halfehead demanded 100 acres as "Servant to his Lordship," 100 acres in "right of Ann his first Wife a free Woman," and 50 acres in right of Julian his "now Wife Servant to Mrs. White" (Patents AB&H:35, 118). Halfehead was an illiterate brickmason who had been about 28 years old when he was transported to the colony by Leonard Calvert in 1633-1634, and who was a freeman of St. Mary's by 1638 (Arch. MD. I:3; X:155; Patents AB&H:98). As a result of his petition, a warrant was issued to lay out for Halfehead a 250 acre tract located "between Cap^t Dorrels quarter & Matapany house on the south side of Putuxent River" (Patents AB&H:35). The same language was used in the warrant for Edlow's Susquehanna Point. The exact location of "Dorrel's quarter" is unknown, but presumably it was to the west of Cedar Point, east of Harper Creek.³² Mattapany House was located somewhere between what are today the East and West Patuxent Basins.

Halfehead's tract, called "Halfehead on the Hill" in the 1660 Rent Roll (Sharon 1981:349), was bounded on the north by Edlow's land, on the west by the Patuxent, on the east by St. James Creek (Harper Creek today), and on the south by St. Patrick's Creek (East Patuxent Basin) and a line drawn from the head of the creek to the head of St. James Creek (Patents AB&H:39, 118; 2:608).³³ In

1664, Halfehead patented an additional 200 acres called "Halfehead's Folly," which was bounded on the north by Pine Hill Run, on the west by a line abutting Mattapany-Sewall and running south for 170 perches,³⁴ on the south by a line running southeast for 300 perches to the Chesapeake, and on the east by a line running along the Bay for 50 perches until it meets the mouth of Pine Hill Run (Arch. MD. LXVI:77; Patents 7:480; Rent Roll 1707:324).³⁵ This grant was made to Halfehead in consideration for transporting three men and one woman to the colony between 1660 and 1662 (Patents 7:481).³⁶

The "Mattapany house" referred to in Edlow's and Halfehead's patents may well have been the Jesuit mission site, which had been sacked twice and apparently burned in 1642 (see above). Halfehead's patent could suggest that the house had been rebuilt, or it may be referring merely to its original location, which would still be remembered just eight years later. Evidence from other patents in the area suggests the latter is most likely (Pogue 1983a:31). Documentary evidence suggests that the Jesuits' residence was located on one of three tracts of land patented in 1650 between the areas of the Naval Air Station Patuxent River known today as East Patuxent Basin and West Patuxent Basin.

The westernmost of these tracts was a 400 acre area patented by Thomas Warr, an illiterate carpenter who had immigrated to the colony with his wife and two children in 1648 (Arch. MD. III:228, X:230; Skordas 1986:486). In June 1650, Warr demanded 300 acres "formerly upon record," plus 100 acres which had been assigned to him in April by Nathaniel Hunt (Patents AB&H:41). Little is known about Hunt, other than that he had immigrated around 1650 and was at least semi-literate (ibid.; Skordas 1986:246). A warrant was issued to lay out for Warr 400 acres "on the South Side of the River Putuxent from the head of Machens Creek Joyning upon Gardner's Neck

[Sacawaxhit] and so along to Mattapania" (Patents AB&H:41). The tract, called "Machin's Neck" (presumably after John Machin, who had been killed at Mattapany in 1642), was surveyed in October. It ran from the mouth of Gardiner's Creek (West Patuxent Basin) east along the Patuxent for 125 perches to a spring called Warr's Spring, then south into the woods for 500 perches, then west to the head of Gardiner's Creek, and finally north back to the starting point (Patents AB&H:53, 117; 3:83).³⁷ Warr apparently had financial difficulties, because in October 1651 he was forced to sell to Thomas Knott of Nansemond, VA., "half of my plantation which I now live upon at Mattapany" (Arch. MD. X:230). This was the portion of the estate bordering on Luke Gardiner's Sacawaxhit. Knott died by May 1653, leaving his Mattapany property to his son Francis, who apparently sold it (Baldwin 1901:8; Richardson 1913:385). In September 1652, Warr and Hunt, "both of Mattapania of Patuxent River," bought the sloop *Anne* from Richard Trewe for 5,000 pounds of tobacco (Arch. MD. X:187). They then apparently fled the colony without paying off their debt, leaving behind an empty, locked house (ibid.:188, 200). In November 1652, a military force assembled to fight Indians on the Eastern Shore was ordered to "meet together at Mattapania upon the said Patuxent River near the house late of Thomas Warr" (Arch. MD. III:283).

East of Warr's property there was a 50 acre tract of land patented by Hugh Hopewell and Thomas White. Hopewell had immigrated to the colony in 1641 and married a servant (Skordas 1986:237). They had several children. White had been transported between 1635-1640 (ibid.:500). In March 1650, Hopewell demanded 100 acres for transporting himself and 50 acres in "respect of his wife's services to Mr. Copley" (Patents AB&H:35). White demanded 50 acres for his service to William Claiborne "which expired about Nine Years Since" (ibid.). A warrant was issued to lay out for the

two men a 200 acre tract at "Hogpen Tavern Neck at or near to Sanawakett" (ibid.).³⁸ In October, 150 acres called "Hogpen Neck" was laid out between Hogpen Creek on the west and "Sakawatts Creeke" on the east (well west of Mattapany). At the same time, another 50 acre parcel was laid out on the south side of the Patuxent, beginning at Warr's Spring and running east along the river for 16 perches to the property of Francis van Enden, then running south along van Enden's boundary for 500 perches, then running west back to Warr's eastern boundary (Patents AB&H:53; 3:84-85). This tract became known as "Hopewell-White." The fact that Hopewell and White divided their 200 acres into two tracts apparently led to some confusion, because the final grant of 6 October 1650 awarded them 200 acres at Hogpen Neck plus 50 acres at Warr's Spring (Patents AB&H:121). In the Rent Roll of 1660 two properties are described: "Hopewell White" (50 acres) and "Hogpin Neck" (250 acres), both owned by Nathaniel Utie (Sharon 1981:351). In the Rent Roll of 1707 Hogpen Neck is listed as patented by Hopewell and John White [sic] and consisting of 150 acres plus 50 acres "more for them sur: the same day upon Putt: River at Ward's Spring" (Rent Roll 1707:334).³⁹ Hopewell and White appear to have retained possession of "Hopewell-White" for only a few years at most, and there are few records pertaining to their tenure. One account does occur in January 1651, when Hopewell seized a gun from an Indian employed by his neighbor Luke Gardiner (Arch. MD. X:52). It is unknown if Hopewell or White ever lived at "Hopewell-White."

Adjoining "Hopewell-White" to the east was the estate of Francis van Enden, a literate innkeeper who was listed as a freeman of Mattapanient in 1642. Van Enden was a Catholic transported to Maryland by Fr. Copley in 1635, afterwards becoming a servant to Thomas Cornwaleys (Beitzell 1976:25; Johnson 1883:178; Patents AB&H:60; Skordas 1986:476). By 1642 he was probably living

at St. Leonard's. During Ingle's Rebellion he may have moved to Virginia, because in October 1648 he conveyed to John Hallows of Appomattox, VA. "all my Sallery due...for keeping my Ordinary," suggesting that van Enden had set up a tavern in Virginia (Arch. MD. IV:429, 442). However, van Enden had already returned to Maryland, because in February 1648 he described himself as being from "New-Towne hundred" in St. Mary's County (ibid.:371). At that time he was trading his cattle for hogs, chickens, corn, and tobacco, perhaps because he was planning to move to St. Mary's City, where the cattle would be more of an inconvenience. He was already spending considerable time at St. Mary's City. For example, he billed the Assembly of January-March 1648, held at "St. John's," a total of 3,600 pounds of tobacco, presumably for running an ordinary for the delegates (Arch. MD. I:231). He also ran ordinaries during the Assemblies of 1649 and 1650 (Arch. MD. X:122-23). In February 1651 he sued John Nunne for backpayment on a "Plantacon of the plts at St. Leonard's Sold to the Defdt." (ibid.:99). The plantation sale probably occurred in 1650, but evidently van Enden did not actually live at St. Leonard's, because in September 1650 he described himself as being from St. Mary's Hundred (ibid.:211).

In August 1651, van Enden demanded 50 acres "due for his time of Service performed to Capt. Thomas Cornwalley's One hundred Acres in respect of one William the Scott a Manservant by him bought of Robert Smith and fifty acres in right of his Wife was a Servant to Thomas Green Esq^r." (Patents AB&H:45). A warrant was immediately issued to lay out for van Enden 200 acres "at the head of Macheny Creek Extending itself towards Pyne Hill River on the South Side of Putuxent River" (ibid.). It soon must have been discovered that this was the area of Warr's grant, because in September a new warrant was issued to "lay out two hundred Acres of Land for Francis Vanenden at

the Place where Mattapania house was formerly built Joyning upon Thomas Warr's Land there on the South Side of Putuxent River" (ibid.:47). In October this parcel was surveyed and granted. It was bounded on the north by the Patuxent River, on the east by a line drawn south into the woods for 500 perches, on the west by Hopewell-White, and on the south by a line drawn between the east and west lines (Patents AB&H:119; 3:84). In January 1652, van Enden had an additional 50 acre tract surveyed. This property began at the eastern boundary of his original grant, then ran "East and by South" along the Pautuxent for 16 perches, then "South and by East" into the woods for 500 perches, then "West and by North" 16 perches back to the original property line. The two tracts were then combined into a single 250 acre parcel and granted to Francis van Enden, "Planter" (Patents AB&H:138, 208). Whether van Enden actually lived there is unclear, because in March 1652 he described himself as "late of St. Inigoes" in a court document in which he bound over to William Assiter two cows "at Mattapanie in Patuxent River" (Arch. MD. X:153). In June 1653, van Enden was sued by Ann Beach, the widow of Elias, but he was too sick to appear in court (ibid.:269). Van Enden was dead by April 1654, when Walter Peake was made administrator of his estate (MHM 1914:44).

It is unclear which of the above three tracts of land contained the Jesuits' Mattapany House. The warrant for Warr's grant stated that his property ran along the Patuxent from Gardiner's Creek to Mattapany. He described himself as living at Mattapany, and others stated that his house was at or near Mattapany. The Rent Roll of 1660 appears to treat Warr's land and Mattapany as one and the same (Sharon 1981). On the other hand, the warrant for van Enden's land states that it was at the place where Mattapany House was, adjoining Warr's land, and van Enden himself declared that he

kept cattle at Mattapany (although it is possible that they were kept on Warr's property). Given the conflicting nature of the descriptions, it may be that the core of the Jesuit plantation spread across both tracts. Unfortunately, Hopewell-White, which lay between Warr's and van Enden's properties, does not appear to have ever been associated with Mattapany in the records, so the location of the mission cannot be further pinpointed. However, if Mattapany House was located near the eastern edge of Warr's land or the western edge of van Enden's, then a possible site for the mission would be an unnamed springhead [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

In the 1650s Lawrence Ward of Nansemond, VA. acquired, under unknown circumstances, the estates of van Enden, Hopewell and White, and Warr, as well as the property Warr had sold to Thomas Knott. Evidence for this is noted in 1662, when Ward's widow turned over title to those tracts to Lord Baltimore (Arch. MD. XLIX:92). It is unclear if Ward actually lived in the area. In August 1652 he is described as "Lawrence Ward of Putuxent River Planter" (Patents AB&H:272). However, in October 1653 he still had a "dwelling house...in Nancymum," and in December of that year he gave Richard Collett power of attorney "to receive all Such debts as are due to me in Patuxent River" (Arch. MD. X:349, 356).⁴⁰ Ward was still living in Nansemond in 1655 (Arch. MD. X:414; MHM 1913b:203). Therefore, it appears that by at least 1653, if not earlier, Ward was leasing his lands, suggesting that tenants may have been living on the properties.

Lawrence Ward died around 1655, and by October 1659 his widow and heir, Mary, had married Nathaniel Utie (Arch. MD. XLI:326; MHM 1913b:203). Mary and Nathaniel may have been married

as early as October 1657, because at that time Utie gave Richard Collett power of attorney to collect all debts "belonging to mee in Patux^t and Maryland" (Arch. MD. XLI:196). Utie was a wealthy merchant, born in Virginia, who had immigrated to the colony by 1654, when he provided powder to the "County of Putuxent" (Arch. MD. I:356). He may have come to Maryland with Richard Collett in 1650 (Collett 1939:81). Utie was to play a prominent role in Maryland politics, serving in a number of public offices, including colonel in the colonial militia (Arch. MD. III:349). Like Ward, Utie also apparently chose not to reside at his Patuxent estates, staying instead at "Spesutia" in Baltimore County (Arch. MD. XLI:409, 460). In the Rent Roll of 1660, Utie was listed as a non-resident of Harvey Hundred who owned the 50 acres called "Hopewell White," 400 acres called "Mattapanyent or Narres [Warrs?] Land," the 250 acres of "Hogpin Neck," and 100 acres called "Bynden" [Eynden - van Enden] (Sharon 1981:348, 351). Utie had sided with Josias Fendall during the latter's rebellion of 1660, so in May 1661 he had to petition Lord Baltimore for a pardon, which was granted (Arch. MD. III:419, XLI:428). The decline in his political fortunes may have caused Utie some financial difficulty, because in January 1662 he gave Henry Coursey power of attorney to sell "All that parcell of land knowne by the name of Mattapenny in Patuxent River now in the posson of Mr. Richard Collett and Contayning seaven hund^d and fifty acres more or less" (Arch. MD. XLI:529). This indicates that many of the individual properties listed as belonging to Utie in 1660 were part of a larger tract called Mattapany.⁴¹ In September 1663 Philip Calvert testified that in November of the previous year Mary Utie, "Relict of Lawrence Ward," had surrendered to Lord Baltimore:

A Certaine Patent by th^e Lord Proprietary graunted to ffrancis Van Eynden for Two hund^d & ffifty Acres of Land in Patux^t Riuer, As allso another Patent by his s^d L^p to Thomas Warr for ffowre hund^d Acres in th^e s^d Riuer Graunted, Together wth another pattent to Hugh Hopewell & Thomas White for ffifty Acres of Land in th^e s^d Riuer Graunted... (Arch. MD. XLIX:92).

Mary Utie also relinquished 10 acres that she had purchased from John Halfehead in June 1657 (ibid.). She was later killed by a slave at Spesutia in September 1665 (ibid.:489-490). Nathaniel Utie then married Elizabeth Carter of Virginia in April 1669, and died in 1675 or 1676 (Arch. MD. LI:4-6, LXVI:158, 364).

The link connecting Lawrence Ward's period of ownership at Mattapany with that of the Uties was Richard Collett. Collett was the son of John Collett and Susan Farrar of London (MHM 1906:191). He was born around 1602, and immigrated to Virginia with his brother John in 1650 (Arch. MD. XLIX:500; Barnes 1999b:128; Collett 1939:81). Religious persecution of the Puritans drove the Colletts to Maryland a short time later. Members of the Collett family had long been associated with the legal profession, and Richard Collett was a Fellow of the Middle Temple, trained in law at London's Inns of Court (Collett 1939:81). Collett was one of the first professional attorneys in Maryland, practicing at a time when most colonial lawyers were untrained public officials or prominent planters (Arch. MD. LVII:xvii). His earliest appearance in Maryland records as an attorney, "Richard Collett of Putuxent," occurs in November 1653 (Arch. MD. X:357). In December of that year Lawrence Ward gave Collett power of attorney to collect his debts (ibid.:356). Collett may have been living on Ward's estate, because in April 1654 he is described as having a "Landing place upon the South side of Putuxent River" (ibid.:358). In July of that year he was appointed sheriff of Calvert County (Arch. MD. III:308). Collett sided with anti-government Protestants during the rebellion that began in 1654, and was later "...Convicted of a Scandalous offence against the Governm^t by his Subscribing of a Petition of Dangerous Contents..." (Arch. MD. X:414). In April

1655, he was ordered to leave Maryland by Christmas, and to "...give Notice unto Mr. Lawrence Ward in Virginia part of whose estate the said Collett doth Manage in Putuxent River to appoint another in his room..." (ibid.). The banishment does not appear to have been enforced, because in June 1656 Collett was still acting as an attorney in Maryland (ibid.:449, 469).

In October 1657 Collett apparently began managing Mattapany for Mary and Nathaniel Utie, who described Collett as "my loveing Unkle" (Arch. MD. XLI:196, 409). This was because Mary Ward Utie was the daughter of Susan Collett Mapletoft, Richard Collett's sister (MHM 1913b:203). In January 1662, Nathaniel Utie asked Henry Coursey to sell Mattapany, where Richard Collett was then living (Arch. MD. XLI:529). Collett stayed in the area, possibly moving to Susquehanna Point, where he was known to be living by April 1666 (Arch. MD. LVII:84). Susquehanna Point had been patented by Joseph Edlow, and Collett was involved in settling Edlow's estate in 1662 (Arch. MD. XLI:598). In the meantime, Collett had again been made sheriff of Calvert County, and had a commission from the governor to seize illegal shipping on the Patuxent, which he exercised (Arch. MD. XLIX:23, 49, 120). He also acted as county coroner (Arch. MD. LVII:367). In March 1667, at a special court held at Mattapany-Sewall, Collett was again "deputed sherriffe" (Arch. MD. LVII:158). The position was no sinecure, because in May of that year Collett was beaten by Thomas and Phillis Howe when he tried to attach their goods. The Howes were found guilty of assault in June (ibid.:198). Collett must not have been too badly hurt, because he continued to perform his duties as "High Sheriffe" (ibid.:200, 237). However, in February 1668 Collett was again beaten by a man he was trying to arrest, Thomas Manning. Collett was too "very sick and weak" to appear in court, so on 14 February the court met at his "howse...at Petuxent" (ibid.:244, 250). Collett was dead by June

(ibid.:312), but no murder charges were brought against Manning, so apparently Collett's death was not attributed to the beating. In December 1669 Manning was forced to pay a 50 pound sterling fine for being a general troublemaker (ibid.:607). Collett left behind his widow, Elizabeth, and a tract of land on the Eastern Shore called "Colletton," patented in 1660 (Arch. MD. LXV:89, LXVI:410; MHM 1933:348). By 1669 Elizabeth had remarried, this time to Christopher Rousby, who eventually came to own Susquehanna Point and part of Halfehead's Folly (Arch. MD. LVII:598; Pogue 1983a:36).

Mattapany-Sewall, 1663-1684

As mentioned above, Mary Utie ceded her lands at Mattapany to Lord Baltimore in 1662. He, in turn, incorporated much of this land into a larger manor which was granted to Henry Sewall on 25 May 1663 in exchange for 15,000 pounds tobacco (Patents 5:271).⁴² The patent stated that the tract began at the mouth of Gardiner's Creek and extended east along the Patuxent River for 210 perches to a marked oak near the mouth of a small creek (probably St. Patrick's Creek).⁴³ From there the boundary went south into the woods for 660 perches to a marked oak, then turned west to another oak in a "dry valley," then north back to the mouth of Gardiner's Creek. This was an area of 1,000 acres, for which an annual tax of 20 shillings was due. Another 200 acre tract, called "The Addition," was granted to Sewall in May 1664 (Patents 7:32). It had been assigned to him by Benjamin Rozer, who had obtained the rights to the property by transporting himself and three others to the colony. The tract began at the mouth of the small creek which formed the eastern boundary of Mattapany, then ran east along the Patuxent for 85 perches, then turned and went southeast into the woods for

378 perches, and then went west 85 perches back to the eastern boundary of Mattapany. In April 1665, Henry Sewall's widow Jane surrendered these two properties to Lord Baltimore, who combined them into a single 1200 acre tract called "Mattapany Sewall," which he then re-granted to her (Patents 7:551).

Henry Sewall was one of nine children (six girls, three boys) born to Richard Sewall (1578-1638) of Nuneaton, Warwickshire, and his wife Mary Dugdale (1597-c.1648) (Barnes 1999b:391; Heartland 1999; Johnston 1909:291; MHM 1906:190; www.sewallgenealogy.com). The year of Henry Sewall's birth is not certain, but it was probably sometime in the late 1620s or early 1630s.⁴⁴ Henry was still a minor in 1642, according to the will of his brother Richard Jr. (who was a military surgeon under Oliver Cromwell). Henry was an adult by 1652, when he petitioned for the return of an estate at Corley, Warwickshire, that he had inherited from Richard Jr. (Johnston 1909:291).⁴⁵ He apparently married Jane Lowe around 1654 (Fresco 1989:263).⁴⁶

Henry Sewall had close ties with the Calvert family, particularly Charles Calvert, and he assumed the position of Secretary after his arrival in Maryland from London in 1661 (Jordan 1977:72; Patents 4:615).⁴⁷ He was also described as a "Merchant" (Patents 6:294), indicating that Sewall, like many wealthy planters, would collect tobacco from his neighbors for export, and in turn import goods for their use, hopefully making a profit in the process. However, Sewall's probate inventory does not list many items which might be intended for trade, nor many debts owed to him by other planters, suggesting that he may not have been a very active merchant, at least not at the time of his death.⁴⁸

Shortly after his arrival in Maryland, Sewall was granted the 5000 acre plantation known as "Great Eltonhead Manor," located between Cove Point and Drum Point in Calvert County, which he

sold in 1664 (Stevenson and Sundberg 1996:48). This may be where he lived before acquiring Mattapany. He later added extensive land holdings on both the Western and Eastern Shores of Maryland. Papenfuse *et al* (1985:724) estimated that Sewall owned 8000 acres at the time of his death.

Sewall continued to serve as a government official until his return to England in 1664 (Arch. MD. I:509). He soon came back to Maryland, but was dead by April 1665. His body may have been sent to England for burial (Fenwick 1956:217).⁴⁹ He left the bulk of his estate, which was one of the largest in the colony, to his widow Jane Lowe Sewall (c. 1633-1701)⁵⁰ and their children Nicholas (1655-1737), Elizabeth (c. 1656-1710), Mary (1658-1694), Anne (1660-1693),⁵¹ and the unborn Jane (1664-1692), the child "my dear wife now is bigg of"⁵² (Carr *et al.* 1991:100; Johnston 1909:292; Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:724; Testamentary Proceedings 1E:137-139; Wills 1:225; www.sewallgenealogy.com). The estate included a large, well furnished house, and 21 servants (Appendix 1).⁵³ Among the furnishings were four beds, eight leather chairs, seven guns, two stills, a mill, "Church Stuff & a chalice," a large quantity of silver goods, and numerous small household items. Jane Sewall was executrix of this estate, while Charles and William Calvert were its overseers.

It is not known if Henry Sewall built the house described in his probate inventory or instead moved into an existing structure. In July 1663 a messenger was reported to be staying at Mattapany, so quite possibly there were habitable buildings on the property at the time Sewall acquired it (Arch. MD. III:485-486). However, none of the probable residents of Mattapany in the 1640s and 1650s were particularly wealthy, therefore it seems more likely that Sewall erected a house more fitting to

his station in life, rather than simply occupying an earlier structure. Based on his probate inventory, Sewall's house had a dining room, a lodging room, and a nursery, with chambers over the latter two rooms. A quarter and a kitchen were also listed, but they were probably separate structures. Given the large number of servants Sewall had, there may have been additional quarters located elsewhere on the manor. A stable was probably present as well. The day after Sewall purchased Mattapany, he bought a "sorrell horse Colt," and at the time of his death he owned many horses, cows, and pigs (Arch. MD. XLIX:29; Appendix 1). Barns and other utilitarian buildings are also likely to have been located on the plantation. The presence of "church stuff" in Sewall's inventory suggests that the house at Mattapany also served as a private Catholic chapel. The religious items were reported to be in the chamber above the lodging room. However, nearly all the chairs in the house were kept in the lodging room. Since chairs were generally used for seating guests and other worshippers during services at private chapels in 17th-century Maryland (Hardy 1993:3/10-11), it would appear that the lodging room functioned as the chapel and that the valuable religious paraphernalia were stored above it for safekeeping.

Like Henry Sewall, Charles Calvert immigrated to Maryland in 1661, and according to an 18th-century account he arrived on the same ship as the Sewalls (Howard 1914:129). Charles was born at Wardour Castle on 27 August 1637, the son of Cecil, Second Lord Baltimore, and his wife Ann Arundell (Bibbins 1933:306; Calvert 1907:369; Nicklin 1921).⁵⁴ He had six siblings who died in infancy, and three sisters who reached adulthood: Anne (1636-1661), Mary (1638-1671), and Elizabeth (?-1712) (Hastings 1927:308; Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:187).⁵⁵ Little is known about Charles' adolescent years, although he may have been attending St. Omers College in Flanders in 1645 (Holt

1979:56).⁵⁶ Charles assumed the office of Governor upon arriving in the colony in November 1661, and took up residence at "St. John's" in St. Mary's City (Pogue 1983a:32). In 1666 he married the widow Jane Lowe Sewall, and moved to Mattapany-Sewall (G. Stone 1982:303).⁵⁷ Jane was Charles' second wife. In 1656 he had married Mary Darnall, who died in childbirth in 1663, and after Jane's death in January 1701 he married twice more - the widow Mary Banks Thorp in December 1701 (d.1710), and Margaret Charleton (d.1731) in 1712 (Calvert 1907:369; Nicklin 1921; Payne 1889:38; Rollo 1989:35; G. Stone 1982:300).⁵⁸ Mattapany-Sewall was deeded to Lord Baltimore in 1666, but Charles and Jane continued to use it as their primary home. In 1669, as compensation for Mattapany-Sewall, Jane was granted "Charles' Gift" at Cedar Point, previously known as "Richneck" or "Little Eltonhead Manor" (Pogue 1983a:32; Stevenson and Sundberg 1996:42). In 1676, after the death of his father the previous year, Charles became the Third Lord Baltimore, and the only Baron of Baltimore to actually reside in his colony. He and his wife moved back to England in 1684, never to return to Maryland (Pogue 1983a.:35).⁵⁹ Charles signed his will on 29 July 1714, and he died on 21 February 1715. He was buried five days later at St. Pancras church near London. Charles's widow Margaret was the executrix of his estate (Calvert 1907:369; Hastings 1927:330; London Magazine 1768: 284; Nicklin 1921).

Relatively little is known about the manor house at Mattapany-Sewall in which Charles and Jane Calvert lived. No known 17th-century documents pinpoint its location, although in 1673 Calvert mentioned that security was a problem, given "my house at Mattapenny standing so neare the water" (MHS 1889:277).⁶⁰ Ogilby (1671:189) indicates that the house itself was built by Calvert, but it is possible that Charles and Jane resided, at least for a time, in the house erected by Henry Sewall.⁶¹

There is at least one known contemporary description of Calvert's home: "a fair house of Brick and Timber, with all Out-houses, and other Offices therto belonging at a place called Mattapany...where he and his Family reside being a pleasant, healthful, and commodious Seat..."(ibid.). A somewhat later description, "a very fair House partly of Brick and partly of Timber," was probably derived from Ogilby (Marden 1700:294-296, cited in Semmes 1979:300).⁶² Ogilby, who was the King's geographer, never actually came to America, so his account must be based on secondhand sources, instead of being an eyewitness description (Aubrey 1962; Mood 1944:378). In the first decade of the 18th century, Oldmixon (1741:337) stated that Lord Baltimore had built at Mattapany "a handsome house, tho' more for Convenience than Magnificence." The ruins of the manor house were still visible in the late 19th century, and were described as consisting of a foundation measuring 60 feet by 30 feet, with a "capacious wing" and a "cemented cellar" (Thomas 1913:352). The only documentary evidence for the division of space within Mattapany-Sewall comes from a letter Charles Calvert wrote to his father in 1673, thanking him for a painting of his mother which Charles planned to hang in his "parlor," and from a deposition by John Llewellyn in 1677, in which he describes being in the "Kitchin" of the "Governor's house" with several of Calvert's servants (MHS 1889:285; Arch. MD. XV:226). In addition to the Ann Arundell painting, other items known to be present in the house included "M^r Ogilbyes Bookes" and a "Capp feather Sword & Belt" given by Lord Baltimore to "little Cis" (Charles' son Cecil) in 1672, and two hampers of wine sent over in 1673 (MHS 1889:268, 285, 293). A 1682 reference to a number of people standing in the "yard" at Mattapany-Sewall suggests that a courtyard or other enclosed, non-cultivated area was adjacent to the manor house (Arch. MD. V:365).

Even less is known about the cultural landscape on the rest of the manor, but Calvert's previous residence of St. John's, which was more richly documented and has been intensively investigated archaeologically, provides a good comparative model. Ogilby mentions outbuildings at Mattapany-Sewall, and no doubt these included quarters, barns, stables, and animal sheds like those found at St. John's and most other large 17th-century plantations (Chaney and Miller 1990:22). Some of these may have been constructed originally by Henry Sewall. The presence of stables is suggested by references from 1672 and 1681 indicating that horses could be provided for at Mattapany-Sewall (Arch. MD. XV:378; MHS 1889:273). Non-farm buildings were present as well. Calvert, who encouraged the development of industry in Maryland, had allowed a tannery to be set up at St. John's (MHS 1889:238), and similar industrial structures were probably erected at Mattapany-Sewall. For example, in 1690 a reference is made to "his Lordsp's Mill" (Arch. MD. VIII:182). This may be the "Ringmill" located on Pine Hill Run, which is depicted on the Augustine Herrman Map of 1670 (Pogue 1983a:35). In addition, Mattapany-Sewall, like St. John's, doubtlessly had gardens, orchards, and pastures, along with associated fences and ditches (Chaney and Miller 1990:22). Calvert was something of a progressive farmer, experimenting with a variety of crops in an effort to break the colony's dependence on tobacco (MHS 1889:245-246). He wrote his father in 1672 about his success at growing oats, barley, peas, and wheat, while his wife often sent Lord Baltimore dried peaches which she had prepared herself (ibid.:263,273,293). Finally, there may have been tenants living on the plantation, with their own quarters, outbuildings, fields, etc.

Two other features of the Mattapany-Sewall plantation are revealed by an edict issued in June 1668. In an effort to encourage the development of towns in Maryland, several places in the colony

were designated as exclusive ports of entry for all merchant ships. One of these was "Att Brickhill point in Mattapant Manor...in Patux^t riu^r in Calvert County" (ibid.:31). Calvert's attempt to keep ships from trading at individual plantations, and thus to centralize mercantile activity, ultimately proved to be unsuccessful, as similar orders had to be issued throughout the 17th century. Mattapany-Sewall is not mentioned in these later edicts, so possibly Calvert had second thoughts about using his own estate as a major port of entry. Nevertheless, the June 1668 proclamation makes it clear that Mattapany-Sewall, like many other plantations, had a landing large enough to handle the cargoes of merchant ships. This was probably the same place where Calvert kept his sloop (ibid.:57).⁶³ The reference to "Brickhill point" is intriguing. As mentioned previously, this could refer to an earlier brick building on the property. If so, it was more likely associated with the Jesuits than with the land owners of the 1650s, who probably would have built timber-framed houses. Alternatively, Brickhill Point may have been the site of the brick clamp (or even just the brick clay) used in building Mattapany-Sewall, which is known to have been of partial brick construction. The exact location of Brickhill Point is unknown, but if the 17th-century landing continued in use to become the "Millstone Landing" of the 19th and 20th centuries, then the point was located along the Patuxent east of Gardiner's Creek, near the possible location of the Jesuit mission (Pogue 1983a:40).

As governor of Maryland and eventual Lord Baltimore, Charles Calvert required the services of a large staff. He also had Henry and Jane Sewall's children to care for, as well as his own family. In 1664, while single, childless, and living at St. John's, he complained to his father that "I haue Thirty to prouide victualls for" (MHS 1889:246), and it seems likely that the household and resident staff at Mattapany-Sewall would have been just as large, especially if it included any of Jane Sewall's own

servants. In addition, overnight visitors were probably a constant presence at Mattapany-Sewall (cf. Chancery Court #3 P.L.:758; MHS 1889:286). In one incident, an envoy from Pennsylvania became ill while at St. Mary's City, so Calvert brought him to Mattapany-Sewall, where he spent three weeks recovering (Fortescue 1964a:207).

The Calvert household would have consisted of Charles and Jane, their children Cecil (1667-1681), Clare (1670-c.1693),⁶⁴ Anne (1673-1731), and Benedict Leonard (1679-1715, who became the Fourth Lord Baltimore),⁶⁵ and Jane's five children by Henry Sewall, including Nicholas, who eventually gained possession of the manor (Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:187; SMCC Career Files).⁶⁶ At least some of the Calvert-Sewall children made periodic trips back to England. For example, in 1679, while Charles Calvert and Jane Lowe Sewall were still in Maryland, Cecil and Benedict Leonard Calvert and the younger Jane ("Jenny") Sewall were living in London, under the care of their uncle Nicholas Lowe (Jane Lowe Sewall's brother) and "Cozen" Mary Darnall. Benedict Leonard, who was just an infant, was proudly described by his father as "as lusty and brave a Child as any in Middlesex," who was not to be weaned until he had teeth. Charles Calvert had intended to return to England in the summer of 1679, but the death of Thomas Notley, the acting governor, prevented his departure (MHS 1889:305-311).

In addition to Calvert's immediate family, there were several other socially prominent residents of Mattapany-Sewall⁶⁷. In 1684, Charles and Jane, who were preparing to return to England, deeded the manor to John and Henry Darnall for Lord Baltimore's use (Patents PL#5:6-7; Provincial Court WRC#1:281-282, 285). There are a number of references to suggest that Henry Darnall spent considerable time at the plantation, even before 1684, although he had patented 1,000 acres of his

own by 1674, and 10,000 more between 1680 and 1688 (Archives XV:99, 391, VIII:56, 156; Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:250-251). Henry Darnall, born in 1645, was a Catholic who immigrated to Maryland in 1664 (Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:250-251). He was related by marriage to the Calvert family, and his father was secretary to the first Lord Baltimore (*ibid.*; Carr and Jordan 1974:39).⁶⁸ He married Elinor, the widow of Thomas Brooke, and they had five children, plus Elinor's seven children by Brooke.⁶⁹ Darnall served in many public offices, including Chancellor of the colony and sheriff of Calvert County (Archives LXVIII:xiv). His close relationship with the Calvert family proved beneficial in other ways, as well. For example, in 1684 he was granted one-third of all ships which were confiscated in Maryland for smuggling or other reasons (Fortescue 1964b:374). After the end of Lord Baltimore's Proprietary in 1689, Darnall continued to act as custodian of Mattapanysewall, although it appears that he did not actually reside there at that time, since his home plantation was in Anne Arundel County (Arch. MD. VIII:311; Main 1982:85). At his death in 1711 he owned 26,000 acres of land, much of it in Prince Georges County, and over 100 slaves (Main 1982:79; Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:250-251).

Another prominent resident of Mattapanysewall was the "Governors Steward," William Brooke (Arch. MD. V:57). According to family records he was born in the town of Battle on "the 1st day of December, 1643, between 11 and 12 o'clock at night, the moon being new in the morning at 5" (Tyler 1872:24). William was the son of Robert Brooke and his second wife Mary Mainwaring, and was the half-brother of Baker Brooke. Both Robert and Baker Brooke served as members of the Colonial Privy Council (Chancery Court #2 P.C.:261; Johnston 1906:69; Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:171). Robert Brooke had come to Maryland in 1650 with William and nine other children, as well as with

28 servants (Johnston 1906:68). Robert was a Protestant, but his son Baker converted to Catholicism when he married Leonard Calvert's daughter Anne (Krugler 1984:42-43; Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:168).⁷⁰ Given William Brooke's close association with Charles Calvert, it is possible that he also converted. William may have been working for, or living with, Philip Calvert in 1661, because in July of that year he was found guilty of beating overseer Thomas Allanson at Philip's house (Arch. MD. XLI:474-475). Brooke first appears in the records of Mattapany-Sewall in September 1668, when Richard Eltonhead gives "William Brooke of Mattapanient in Calvert County" power of attorney to sell Little Eltonhead Manor to Charles Calvert (Arch. MD. LVII:439, 443). Brooke's duties as Steward included providing "the Governors sloop with men and victuals," and keeping a book of entry on, and collecting fees from, all shipping entering the Patuxent (Arch. MD. V:51, 57). In May 1669, John Blomfield, Clerk of the Court, was ordered to go to Mattapany-Sewall every two weeks and make an account of Brooke's record book entries (*ibid.*). In 1671 William and his brothers inherited "Brooke Place Manor," on the north side of the Patuxent, from their uncle Charles Brooke (Forman 1982:59; Testamentary Proceedings 5:136). William may have continued to reside at Mattapany-Sewall, because in 1673 Charles Calvert wrote that:

Before W^m Brookes died, he had a greate inclination for a young woman here who is my servant to whom upon his Death bed he gave 3000^{li} of Tobacco, and 800^{li} of Tob to the Church, his Estate was very inconsiderable...

Charles also stated that after paying off Brooke's debts, he would forward any remaining portion of the estate to Lord Baltimore, who would pass it on to Brooke's brother (MHS 1889:282).

For at least a short period around 1673, Charles Calvert employed a teacher, Robert Dowglas, to instruct his children at Mattapany-Sewall. In a letter to Lord Baltimore, Charles promised to try to

start a school there, with Dowglas as the master, until the time when Dowglas could obtain his own property. This may have been partly in response to a bill introduced by the Upper House of the Assembly in 1671 to establish a school in the colony (Arch. MD. II:262-264). However, Charles had his doubts that the people of Maryland would be supportive of formal education, because the distance between houses would make getting children to school difficult (MHS 1889:286). Nothing else is known about Robert Dowglas, so he may well have returned to England.

Little is known about the other residents of Mattapany-Sewall. The Calverts tried to encourage the establishment of slavery in Maryland (without too much success initially), so it is possible that Charles had enslaved African workers. However, only one potential slave, a "Negro Boy Peter," is known by name (Arch. MD. XV:227; Land 1981:72). A few named servants also appear in the records. One, "Joane Colledge of Mattapenny-Sewall...Spinster being great with Child with a certain liveing Infant," was accused of killing her newborn girl in November 1669, to which she pleaded not guilty (Arch. MD. LVII:598). A number of witnesses, including Elizabeth Collett Rousby and William Brooke, were called to testify. In December, a jury found Colledge guilty, with sentencing set for the next day (ibid.:599). Colledge begged for the court's mercy, but she was sentenced to hang. However, a number of local women, some neighbors and some possible residents of the manor, petitioned the court to suspend the execution until it could be determined if Lord Baltimore would grant a pardon. Colledge was then reprieved until October 1670 (ibid.). It is not known if she was eventually hanged or pardoned, but her name does not appear in the Chancery Court records of those who were granted pardons, and other women found guilty of infanticide at that time were generally executed (Arch. MD. LVII:xxix, LXV:xix).

Two other servants were named in a 1673 letter written to Lord Baltimore by Charles Calvert. One was a boy named Thatcher, who Henry Coursey claimed had a musical talent, but Charles stated that he could find no evidence of this (MHS 1889:283). The second servant was a married man named Ellis (ibid.:302). Charles also complained in the letter that another servant, a boy who had been sent by Lord Baltimore to his grandson Cecil, was a thief and had a "scall'd head," and therefore would have to be sent away (ibid.:285). The year before, Lord Baltimore had sent to Jane Sewall a young woman named Anne Rouse, who Charles had hoped would prove "usefull" (ibid.:275).⁷¹

In addition to being a plantation, Mattapany-Sewall, as residence of the Governor and Lord Proprietor, served a public function that was in many ways the equivalent of today's White House. Meetings of the Governor's Privy Council frequently took place there (Arch. MD. III:358; V:21, 33, 417; VIII:61, 65; XV:50, 90; XVII:144, 246). These meetings occurred even when Charles Calvert was back in England, such as during the summer of 1676, reinforcing the idea that Mattapany was a seat of the Calvert government and not just his home (Arch. MD. XV: 97, 105, 126). The Provincial Court also occasionally met at Mattapany-Sewall, as did the Court of Chancery (Arch. MD. V:72, 82, LI:401). One Chancery Court session in April 1667 is referred to specifically as having taken place "att the Gouverno^{rs} howse att Mattapenny" (Arch. MD. LVII:183). A "speciall court held att Mattapenny in Caluert County" was called in March of that year to decide an admiralty case (ibid.:158). Mattapany-Sewall also occasionally functioned as a prison. For example, in September 1676 several rebels were brought to the "Garrison at Mattapany Sewall" to be kept in safe custody (Arch. MD. XV:131). In July 1681, Josias Fendall, after his unsuccessful rebellion, was kept in the "Custody of Coll. Henry Darnall to remaine under a guard at his Lordships house at Mattapony"

(Arch. MD. V:333, XV:391). Other public functions, such as issuing tavern licenses or making official proclamations, also were performed sometimes at Mattapany-Sewall (Arch. MD. V:123, 406).

The Magazine and Revolution, 1671-1690

Mattapany-Sewall played one other major public role: it was the location of the principal armory for the colony from the 1670s to 1689. Some authorities (cf. Stein 1976:9) claim that there was a military involvement at the site from the days of the Jesuit mission, but this appears to be a misconception based on several pieces of admittedly confusing evidence. For example, when the mission was sacked in 1642 the Indians were able to seize some weapons, but these were probably the personal arms of the residents. The nearest forts at that time (outside of St. Mary's City) were upriver at St. Leonard's and possibly at the Indian village of Patuxent, which was occasionally garrisoned by English soldiers. Further upstream, the Indian village of Mattapany was similarly fortified as late as 1658. In 1652, an English military force did rendezvous at Thomas Warr's "Mattapania," but given that the soldiers had to provide their own arms and supplies, it seems unlikely that a fort or armory was located there then, or at any time before the 1670s.

The military history of Mattapany-Sewall probably did not begin before April 1671, when an act was passed requiring that money be spent "towards the mainteining of a Constant Magazine with Armes and Amunicon for the defense of this Province..." (Arch. MD. II:285).⁷² That same year, Ogilby's map of Maryland (1671) used a fort symbol to depict Mattapany-Sewall (Figure 3). However, this does not necessarily mean that the site was fortified, or even that a magazine was



Figure 3: 1671 map by John Ogilby.

erected by that date. Ogilby apparently got his information about Maryland from Lord Baltimore, and therefore his map depicts features (e.g. county boundaries) that Baltimore envisioned but had not yet implemented (Papenfuse and Coale 1982:11). The armory is mentioned again in April 1672, when Charles Calvert wrote to Lord Baltimore expressing his hope that enough money would be raised that year to provision the magazine (MHS 1889:254). However, establishing a magazine was apparently not easily done, for in June 1673 Charles Calvert again wrote Lord Baltimore that:

As for the Magazine yo^f. Lo^{pp} seemes to Chide me for my neglect of it...
Cap^t Coop informed you I had sent for 20 Muskets by him I sent for fifty by
him, but I thanke him he brought me none...in all I sent for 250, of which I
have but 20 come in... (MHS 1889:290).

The military importance of Mattapany-Sewall had increased by 1676. That was a year of considerable Native American unrest in Maryland and Virginia, which occurred while Charles Calvert, the new Lord Baltimore, was away in England (Land 1981; Pogue 1983a:33). Members of his family had stayed behind, so in order to protect them, his plantation, and the magazine, Calvert ordered in July 1676 that "twenty or thirty of Cap^t [Henry] Darnalls men be appointed to keepe Guard at Mattapeny for the Safety thereof, and be allowed Out of the publique" (Arch. MD. XV:99).⁷³ A commission was given to Lt. John Peerce to be "Cap^t of the Guard of the house at Mattapenny Sewall and that he have six horsemen and two files of ffoott under his Comand with a Sergeant and a Corporall" (ibid.:118). Darnall was ordered to provide the horses (ibid.). Powder and shot was to be sent to St. Mary's City from "his Lordships Magazine" (ibid.:119). Apparently, the guard was felt to be inadequate, because in August it was ordered that Capt. Peerce "(for the Safety of his L^{opps} house at Mattapenny) have under his Comand twelve horsemen fowre & twenty ffootmen

two Sergeants and a Corporall" (ibid.:125). Provisions and drink for the soldiers were to be paid out of public funds at a rate of nine pounds tobacco per soldier per day (ibid.). This was soon increased to ten pounds tobacco. Peerce was ordered to "give accomodations to Coasters as Occasion shall require" (ibid.:127). The garrison was dismissed in December 1676, after the Indian threat had passed (ibid.:131, 136). It would appear from this and subsequent records that a permanent garrison was never part of Mattapany-Sewall, but rather that troops were stationed there as need arose

During the late 1670s the magazine seems to have been fairly well maintained. In March 1677 the troops of an expeditionary force sent to deal with the Indians of the Eastern Shore were ordered that when their mission was completed they were to return their arms to Nicholas Sewall at Mattapany-Sewall (ibid.:144). In August of the next year arms were taken from the magazine for an expedition against the Piscataway (ibid.:181). In October 1678, the Assembly passed an act reaffirming that Lord Baltimore was required to provide a "sufficient standing Magazine for this Province" (Arch. MD. VII:59). Calvert was apparently doing his job, because at the same time the Council petitioned him that:

Indians Doe know our whole Magazine lyes at Mattapony, and that it is possible the Indians may endeavour to surprise that house first, whensoever they shall Designe any mischiefe, Wee are of Opinion that Tenn men ought to be putt into That house for the security of the Magazine (Arch. MD. XV:196).

There is no evidence that this petition was ever acted upon, and by December relations with the Indians had improved. In October 1678 an inventory was made of the arms at Mattapany-Sewall that had been bought by Lord Baltimore for the defense of the province: 315 muskets, 101 carbines, 1 blunderbuss, 1,750 pounds of powder, and 6,400 pounds of shot, plus 100 pounds more of shot at

Gov. Thomas Notley's house (Arch. MD. VII:30).

In May 1680 arms were again dispersed from Mattapany-Sewall for use against the Indians (Arch. MD. XV:296). In September of the next year an act was passed requiring that any gunpowder taken from public reserves and given to citizens was to be replaced by an equal quantity of fresh powder added to the provincial magazine (Arch. MD. VII:194). At that time each county had its own magazine, under the command of the colonel of the militia from that county (Arch. MD. V:310). Usually the magazine was located on the colonel's property (McCarthy *et al.* 1991). Under normal conditions the counties were responsible for their own defense, so, for example, in May 1682 Kent and Cecil counties had to pay for arms they acquired from Mattapany-Sewall (Arch. MD. VII:308).

In October 1681, Nicholas Lowe, acting on orders from Lord Baltimore, petitioned the English Privy Council for permission to send to Maryland 200 muskets, 100 carbines and "furniture", 100 pistols and holsters, 100 saddles, 100 "ordinary" swords and belts, 9000 pounds of lead shot and bullets, and 20 barrels of gunpowder (Grant and Munro 1966:25). Presumably, at least a portion of this material was stored at Mattapany-Sewall.

In the summer of 1682 pirates were active in the Virginia portion of the Chesapeake Bay, and rumors were rampant that they intended to raid Mattapany-Sewall. However, the pirates were driven off by the Virginians before any attack materialized (Shomette 1985:62-63). Nevertheless, a guard was apparently posted at Mattapany-Sewall, because in November the Assembly was presented with a "charge of the Guard at Mattapany this year when in danger of the Pyratts amounting to 39900¹ of Tob:" (Arch. MD. VII:430). This would have paid for perhaps a half dozen men, which was apparently not considered an adequate force, because on 28 October 1682 the Upper House of the

Assembly, "considering the Endeavour of the Pirates last Summer to have Surprised the Person of...the Lord Proprietary and with him the Magazine kept at Mattapony for the Defence of the Province," asked the Lower House to join "in providing a Convenient Guard for Defence of his Lordship and Security of the Magazine" (ibid.:338). Two days later representatives of both houses met in a conference committee and proposed that a guard of one captain, one other officer, and twelve troopers was necessary for the protection of the magazine. The captain was to be paid out of public funds at the rate of 80 pounds tobacco per day, the other officer 70 pounds, and the troopers 60 pounds per day. They were to provide their own arms and provisions for themselves and their horses. They were to remain on duty for three years or until the Assembly decided otherwise (ibid.:341-342). The Upper House agreed to this, although it suggested that the captain be paid 12,000 pounds tobacco per year, the other officer 10,000 pounds, and each "private Centinell" 8,000 pounds. This rate:

may some what Exceed the Ordinary Allowance made by Act of Assembly for Troopers yet Considering the Quality they serve in; and that it will be Decent and Absolutely Necessary that they should be more than Ordinarily well Accoutred this house think the same but a reasonable Allowance (ibid.:342).

Evidently, it was important to the Upper House that the guard not only protect the magazine and Lord Baltimore, but that they look good in doing so. However, as a result of the reluctance of the Lower House to increase the Proprietor's military strength, it did not act on the proposal for some time (ibid.:357-359; Webb 1995:206). Finally, on 14 November they agreed that although the normal defense levy should be sufficient to provide adequate protection for the magazine, "in Token and Demonstration of their Gratitude to his Lordship" an additional 100,000 pounds tobacco would be

allocated for the guard (ibid.:385, 433). It is not known how large a garrison was ultimately stationed at Mattapany-Sewall as a result of this, nor how long the soldiers remained in place. Nevertheless, it is possible that a garrison was a fairly permanent fixture at the magazine between 1682 and 1689.

In January 1689, the Provincial Council used the pretext of Dutch threats against England to order that all public arms in the colony were to be fixed and put in order, as they were "altogether unfit for service" (Arch. MD. VIII:56). In reality, the Council was trying to get weapons out of the hands of the unreliable, anti-government county militias, and "into such hands as shall faithfully serve the King your Lordsp and the Country" (ibid.:65; Webb 1995:209). The weapons needing repair were to be sent to Mattapany-Sewall or St. Mary's City. Those taken to Mattapany-Sewall would be turned over to Henry Darnall, who in turn would pass them on to "William Haimes Gun Maker at Harvey Towne to be fixed" (ibid.:56, 67).

The year 1689 was one of great unrest in Maryland. The preceding decade (and indeed much of the 17th century) had been characterized by tensions between the colony's Protestants and Catholics. The Protestants, led by men such as John Coode and former governor Josias Fendall, often plotted against proprietary rule. But the source of discontent was more than just religious strife; it was rooted in a host of political, economic, and social factors. For example, many people, particularly the more wealthy and successful immigrants, resented that most of the important colonial offices and administrative powers rested in the hands of just a few of Lord Baltimore's closest friends and relatives, especially after Charles Calvert's return to England in 1684 (Land 1981:85, 88). They were especially angered in 1676, when Calvert returned to England for several years and made his nine year old son Cecil acting governor, and again in 1684, when four year old Benedict Leonard Calvert

was acting governor (ibid.:78, 82).⁷⁴ The often high-handed behavior of the ruling inner circle did not help matters. Evidence of this can be seen at the Assembly of November 1682, when Henry Darnall and Nicholas Sewall were denied entry into the Lower House chamber for refusing to remove their swords, as was customary (Arch. MD. VII:348). The authoritarian incompetence of William Josephs, who was appointed governor upon his arrival in Maryland in 1688, further exacerbated colonial resentment (Land 1981:86). In addition, a period of economic depression which affected the colony during the 1680s contributed to the popular discontent (ibid.:83). Lord Baltimore also began to lose royal support during the 1680s, particularly after 1684 when his cousin George Talbot murdered Christopher Rousby, the King's custom agent for Patuxent River (ibid.:85-86).

The Glorious Revolution of 1688, in which the Catholic James II was replaced on the English throne by the Protestants William and Mary, gave the Protestant plotters in Maryland the final encouragement they needed, particularly when the Proprietary government was slow in proclaiming support for the new rulers (ibid.:87).⁷⁵ Popular support for the rebel cause was enhanced in the spring of 1689 by the spread of wild rumors accusing Catholics and Indians of allying to destroy the Protestants (Arch. MD. VIII:70-94). The allegations were duly investigated by the government and found to be false, but arms were dispatched from Mattapany-Sewall to the counties in order to allay public fears. However, the rumors continued and got progressively more outrageous, until they finally suggested that 9,000 Seneca had landed at Mattapany-Sewall and elsewhere along the Patuxent (ibid.:84, 86). Things quieted down somewhat after that, but the climate of fear and discontent remained (ibid.:156). On the night of 16 July 1689 a messenger came to Col. Henry Darnall at Mattapany-Sewall to inform him that John Coode was raising a rebel force along the

Potomac River (ibid.). On 25 July the rebels issued a declaration stating their goals and complaints, which helped rally more troops to their side (Land 1981:88). Two days later the rebels reached St. Mary's City. Colonel William Digges and 80-100 loyalist troops had stationed themselves inside the State House, where they were opposed by 100-250 rebels (Arch. MD. VIII:116, 156, 227). The loyalist soldiers were reluctant to fight, and once "the said Protestants marched up resolutely to the said Garrison and...gained the Doores and windows...Those within did surrender takeing with them their private armes and leaving the publick armes to the Protestants" (ibid.). While Coode was sacking the State House, Col. Darnall and Maj. Nicholas Sewall were trying to raise a defense force along the Patuxent. Although they found most militia officers to be loyal, the rank-and-file generally supported Coode (ibid.:156). For example, Richard Smith Jr., commander of a Calvert County foot company, wanted his unit to defend the government, but it balked. He was able to talk only 40 soldiers (interestingly, all but four of them Protestant, like Smith) into going with him to "Mattapany the garrison and place where the Government then was" (ibid.:148). In all, Darnall claimed he was only able to gather 160 men at Mattapany-Sewall (Coode countered that the loyalists had 400 men), along with some of their families (ibid.:117, 151, 156, 227). To oppose them, Coode had 700 or 800 men and, more importantly, two cannon he had borrowed from the merchantman Constant of London (ibid.). On 1 August the rebel siege of Mattapany-Sewall began -- and ended. Coode sent a trumpeter to demand the government's surrender. The loyalists, under Gov. Josephs, hoped they could talk the rebels into retiring, but Coode denied them the opportunity. Coode then spread a rumor that an Indian attack had occurred, which further incited the rebels (ibid.:157). Given the overwhelming odds against them, the loyalists decided to surrender before there was any bloodshed. The articles of

surrender stipulated that all the loyalist defenders would be guaranteed safe passage home and the full rights of English subjects, but that no Catholic would be allowed to hold any political or military office. William Josephs, Henry Darnall, Nicholas Sewall, Edward Pye, and Clement Hill accepted these conditions and signed the agreement on the same day that the seige had begun (ibid.:107-108, XX:144).

After the surrender of the loyalists at Mattapany-Sewall, the rebels moved quickly to consolidate their power. On 3 August these "loyall Protestant Subjects" wrote to William and Mary, congratulating them on their accession and explaining why the Proprietary government had been overthrown (ibid.:108-110). On 22 August the rebels called an Assembly which filled all the counties' civil and military offices with their supporters, but left the provincial positions unfilled (Land 1981:89-90). By September, Coode was operating from "His Majesty's Garrison at Mattapany" (Arch. MD. VIII:123). In England, Lord Baltimore was lobbying for the return of his authority, but by February 1690 it was evident that King William was content with the current state of affairs.⁷⁶ In 1691 he appointed Lionel Copley to be royal governor. Lord Baltimore was granted continued property rights and duty revenues, so that Maryland remained a lucrative enterprise for him, but he no longer had any political power there (Land 1981:91).⁷⁷

Life was difficult for some of the loyalist leaders after the coup. For example, Richard Smith Jr. was initially allowed to go home on 1 August, but several days later he was arrested out of fear that he would flee to England to argue Lord Baltimore's cause. He was freed once the ship to England had departed, but was arrested again when the Assembly was called (Arch. MD. VIII:147-149). In September, his second wife Barbara (who had been with her husband at the siege of Mattapany-

Sewall) had to go to England to plead for his release (ibid.:117, 153-154). Henry Darnall and Nicholas Sewall tried to sail to England soon after the fall of Mattapany-Sewall, but they were denied passage. They then went to Pennsylvania before finally returning to Anne Arundel County. Rumors swirled that they were travelling throughout the colony, trying to convince people that James II was restoring his hold on the throne. On 26 September, Darnall boarded a ship to England (where he later appeared before the Lords of Trade and Plantations), but Sewall was too sick to go (ibid.:157, 162-163; McAnear 1942:406). By November, Sewall, Josephs, and several other Catholics had fled to Virginia, allegedly carrying "away with them severall armes and Ammunition belonging to the Publique Magazine" (ibid.:127; McAnear 1942:406-408).

In December 1689, Nicholas Sewall returned to Maryland with eight or nine of his men on his "yacht" Susana, in order to get supplies from his plantation at Cedar Point. On 3 January 1690, while Sewall was at his house with his family, the King's Collector for the Patuxent, John Paine, and four of his men pulled up next to the Susana and tried to board it. They were denied access by the Susana's crew, and a half hour-long argument ensued. Eventually, a long gun battle broke out, during which Paine was killed by "two Muskett Bulletts & five high swan shott," and one or two of Sewall's men were wounded. The two sides disputed as to whether Paine had come alongside the Susana in broad daylight or had tried to come aboard in the middle of the night. Sewall was forced to go back to Virginia, where he was accused of making "his Men A great bowll of punch & bid them singe the fight was done, for they had killed John Pain." By 1691 Sewall had returned to Maryland, along with Henry Darnall and William Josephs. Sewall demanded a trial to clear his name, but was placed under house arrest with one guard until the court could decide his fate. In September 1692, he

was found not guilty of involvement in the Paine murder (Arch. MD. VIII:307-309; McAnear 1942:409; Fortescue 1964b:221, 224, 238, 669; Carr and Jordan 1974:93-94; SMCC Career Files).

In March 1690, John Coode claimed that 400 pounds of gunpowder, 4,000 pounds of shot, and 400 guns had been seized from "the publick magazine" when the government surrendered (Arch. MD. VIII:173). This total may include supplies captured at St. Mary's City. In 1694, Col. Humphrey Warren made an inventory of the armaments recovered after the rebellion. These included four barrels of gunpowder found at Mattapany-Sewall, along with 3,000 pounds of shot and another 3,000 pounds "found Afterwards plaistered up in the Wall." Also found were 194 muskets and 118 carbines, plus 32 assorted blunderbusses, fowling pieces, and other guns from either Mattapany-Sewall or St. Mary's City (Arch. MD. XIX:40, 67, XX:206-207). These arms were distributed around the colony, with the new primary provincial magazines located in St. Mary's City at the Governor's House ("St. Peter's," also known as the "Chancellor's House") and the State House (Arch. MD. XX:145, 206-207).

Other than its plaster walls, there are no known physical descriptions of the magazine at Mattapany-Sewall. Indeed, there are no accounts that prove positively that the armory and Calvert's dwelling house were separate buildings. "Magazine" can refer to weapons that are being stored as well as to the building they are stored in, and "garrison" can mean both a body of troops or the place where they are stationed. The contemporary accounts of Mattapany-Sewall usually refer to the magazine and garrison without any further identifier (e.g., "the Magazine at Mattapany"), or locate them at "Mattapany House" or "Mattapany Fort" (Arch. MD. VIII:157, 227; Fortescue 1964b:374). However, there is a 1690 description of "Mattapony House and Plant^a being a Garrison inforted"

(Arch. MD. VIII:183). This would seem to suggest that a fortification of some sort, perhaps a palisade, surrounded the manor house and some of its associated buildings, and that the whole complex was referred to as "Mattapany House" or "Fort." The fact that 160 or more people barricaded themselves there in 1689 suggests that a fairly large area had been fortified.⁷⁸

Circumstantial evidence suggests that the armory and manor house would have been separate structures within the fortified area. First, common sense would probably have kept Lord Baltimore from storing a large amount of a volatile substance like gunpowder in the house where he lived for nearly 20 years. In addition, it is known that after 1689 the public arms were stored at the State House and St. Peter's, two public or otherwise vacant structures. These buildings were used for storing weapons because doing so posed little threat to the public, and probably because both were of brick and pantile construction, which would have been preferred for security and for keeping powder dry (Forman 1956:107).⁷⁹ The danger posed by storing gunpowder was demonstrated in 1694, when St. Peter's blew up (ibid.:104). Discussions of the need for a new armory after 1689 show what was considered to be necessary for a magazine at that time. In 1694 the Assembly complained that there were "noe publick store houses here nor ffortifications to preserve the [public arms] from fire lightening & other Casualties" (Arch. MD. XIX:82). Once the government moved to Annapolis, the weapons and powder were stored at the new State House (which leaked) and at a school house (Semmes 1979:307). These facilities were inadequate, and once again there were calls for a "Publick Storehouse" (ibid.). As a temporary measure in 1696, the magazine was stored at Edward Dorsey's "House," but he actually rented three buildings to the government, suggesting that at least some non-domestic structures were being used (ibid.). Eventually, a separate public armory was built in

Annapolis (*ibid.*). A final piece of evidence comes from an early 18th-century armory archaeologically investigated at the Addison Plantation in Prince George's County. This county magazine was kept in the cellar of a non-domestic structure, and was accessed by an exterior subterranean passageway (McCarthy *et al.* 1991:67). Altogether, the evidence suggests that standard procedure in the 17th century would have been for the magazine, when possible, to be kept away from residences. Certainly Charles Calvert could have afforded to do this, so it seems likely that there was a separate armory at Mattapany-Sewall.

Transition Period, 1690-1721

In June 1690 James Heath, acting as agent for Lord Baltimore in the absence of Henry Darnall, demanded of the rebels the "delivery of Matapany House Plantation and Stock wth an Account of the disposall of the latter and his Lordsp's Mill with an Account of the proffitts thereof," as well as the return of all of Baltimore's private papers and belongings (Arch. MD. VIII:182). Coode replied that it was not in his power to return Mattapany-Sewall without the King's permission, but that Heath could have the stock, save for that which had been "necessarily expended for their Maj^{tyes} service" or that which "Mad^m Darnall and Mad^m Sewall may have taken and applyed to uses best known to themselves" (*ibid.*:183). Coode also said Heath could have "use of the Plan^{ta} for the Benefit of his Lordsp's Stock thereon the Cropp of Corn &c: thereon growing to be and enure to the use of person there residing who planted the same" (*ibid.*). The identity of the farmer residing at Mattapany-Sewall at that time is unknown, but apparently at least some aspects of life went on as normal there after the revolution. Finally, in April 1692 it was ordered that "his Lordships two houses & Plantations of

Mattapony and Notley Hall be delivered into the Custody and Possession of Col Darnal for his Lordships Use" (ibid.:311, XIII:389).

In May 1692 William Josephs, the former colonial governor, petitioned the Assembly for compensation for a "Horse & some Arms taken from him upon the late Revolution whilst himself was sick at Mattapony" (Arch. MD. XIII:323). The Assembly agreed that the items were "taken in Hostility or Surrender" and that Josephs should get restitution, but none was forthcoming (ibid.:324). Josephs may have been living at Mattapony-Sewall at the time, and he certainly was in residence by April 1695, when "William Josephs at Mattapony in petuxt" was ordered to store 11 barrels of gunpowder from St. Mary's City "in some secure Room under lock & key" until they could be redistributed to the counties (Arch. MD. XX:211). The barrels were still there in October, but were eventually taken away (ibid.:308). This is the only reference to the use of the magazine at Mattapony-Sewall after 1689. Josephs was still at Mattapony-Sewall in 1697, but it is not known how long he stayed there (Arch. MD. XXIII:38). He had returned to Dublin by 1701 (Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:500-501). He continued to have an interest in Maryland, since he owned considerable acreage in Charles and Dorchester counties (ibid.). According to the Rent Roll of 1707, he was also the possessor of Hogpen Neck, the plantation northwest of Mattapony-Sewall which originally had been patented by Hugh Hopewell and Thomas White (Rent Roll 1707:334).

In May 1692 Henry Darnall, who had been acting as Lord Baltimore's land agent in Maryland since 1687 or 1688, was imprisoned for refusing to turn over to the royal government the pre-Revolution naval record books, which Darnall claimed belonged to Baltimore (Arch. MD. XIII:321, XXXVI:426). Although he was eventually freed, the struggle for control of these documents

continued for some time. Finally, in February 1697 Darnall delivered to the Council all the navigation bonds and certificates that he knew of "unless by Chance some might be left in the meantime of the Revolution at Mattapany in Mr. Josephs Charge" (Arch. MD. XXIII:38).

Another possible resident of the manor at this time was Cecil Butler, a distant relative of the Calverts who had been arrested with Richard Smith Jr. after the Revolution of 1689 (Arch. MD. VIII:149; Carr and Jordan 1974:77; see also Note 65). Butler served as Clerk of Calvert County from 1684-1689 (Owings 1953). In June 1692 he was appointed by Henry Darnall as a deputy for collecting naval duties (Arch. MD. XIII:343). Five years later the Sheriff of St. Mary's and the Naval Officer of Patuxent District were sent to Butler to find out what bonds and certificates "he has in his Custody it being signified that he had found Severall in Mattapany House" (Arch. MD. XXIII:199). It is unclear from this if Butler was actually living at Mattapany-Sewall. However, in 1698 he was described as being "of no visible estate," suggesting that perhaps he was staying at Mattapany-Sewall while performing his duties for Darnall (G. Stone 1982:320). In the early 18th century Butler's wife, Margaret Carville, inherited an estate from her father Robert, to which they then moved. Butler leased St. John's, Charles Calvert's first home in Maryland, from Lord Baltimore in 1712, and died the next year, leaving behind his son Cecil and his daughters Mary and Frances (Fresco 1989:349; Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:202; G. Stone 1982:320).

One of the last 17th-century references to Mattapany-Sewall occurs in October 1697, when the Sheriff of St. Mary's, in a letter to Charles Carroll, mentions that a man had been killed there by a horse (Arch. MD. XXIII:260). In 1708, Lord Baltimore complained of "haveing his house in Maryland plundered, and all his books of accounts and papers burnt and destroyed" (Headlam

1964b:676). This incident occurred in 1699. It is not known if Mattapany-Sewall suffered any structural damage at the time.

In 1711, after the death of Henry Darnall, his son-in-law Charles Carroll was appointed Lord Baltimore's land agent in Maryland (Arch. MD. XXXVI:426; Owings 1953). Presumably Baltimore's property included Mattapany-Sewall, although it is not known who lived there at the time. On the Rent Roll of 1707 the manor is listed, but no possessor or other information is given, suggesting that there were probably only tenants or leaseholders on the estate (Rent Roll 1707:334).⁸⁰ At that time Nicholas Sewall, who had formerly lived at the manor, was apparently in residence at his neighboring estate of Charles' Gift.⁸¹ Henry Darnall, another former resident of Mattapany-Sewall, was still managing the estate in 1707, but he was residing elsewhere. Oldmixon (1741:332), writing around 1708 about the revenues Lord Baltimore still received from Maryland, mentioned his "large plantation at Mettapaney."

The Sewall's Return, 1722-1840

In December 1722 Henry Darnall Jr. was empowered to lease and rent Lord Baltimore's properties on the Western Shore of the Chesapeake (Arch. MD. XXXVIII:432). However, this no longer included Mattapany-Sewall, because in October 1722 Charles, the Fifth Lord Baltimore, re-patented the manor to Major Nicholas Sewall (Mattapany Sewall Papers, it. 25).⁸² Nicholas, son of Secretary Henry Sewall and stepson of the Third Lord Baltimore, had been born in England in 1655, and had arrived in Maryland with his family in 1661 (Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:724-725). He presumably lived at Mattapany-Sewall until he came of age. In 1676, at age 21, he moved to Charles' Gift, his mother's

2000 acre property at Cedar Point, east of Mattapany-Sewall (Thomas 1913:355). He was granted Charles' Gift, "on which the Said Nicholas Sewall is now seated," in April 1684. This was "in consideration" for the simultaneous deeding over of Mattapany-Sewall to the Darnalls (Patents PL#5:6-7; Provincial Court WRC#1:285). Charles' Gift remained in the Sewall family into the 19th century. Until 1689 Nicholas Sewall was one of the governing elite of the colony, serving in the Council (1683-1689) and in the Upper House of the Assembly (Arch. MD. XIII:3; Hammett 1977:59). He was also a major in the militia. Sewall was married to Susanna Burgess, daughter of Col. William Burgess of the Provincial Council.⁸³ They had 11 children: Charles, Henry, Nicholas Jr., Clement, Jane, Clare, Elizabeth, Susanna, Mary, Ann, and Sophia (Bowie 1947:582; Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:724-725). At his death in 1737 Nicholas' estate included 31 enslaved Africans and at least 10,000 acres of land (*ibid.*). His sons Clement and Charles acted as executors of his will, and his property was divided among his many children and grandchildren (Arch. MD. XL:160, 460, 557; Baldwin 1901:214-215).⁸⁴

Mattapany-Sewall was not included with Major Sewall's estate. According to the standard procedures of inheritance at that time, Charles Sewall, as the oldest son of Major Nicholas, was entitled to the family's home plantation of Charles' Gift. The second oldest son, Henry, would receive the next most valuable property -- Mattapany-Sewall (Fenwick 1956:218). However Henry (who had served briefly in 1716 as Surveyor General for the Eastern Shore, until he was replaced because of his Catholicism), had died in the spring of 1722, before the family had even regained Mattapany-Sewall (Owings 1953). In his will, Henry asked that his wife, Elizabeth Lawson Sewall, be given that portion of Major Sewall's estate which he would have inherited, and that this in turn be passed on to

his own sons Henry Jr. and Nicholas Lewis (Baldwin 1901:91).⁸⁵ In accordance with his son's wishes, the Major transferred Mattapany-Sewall to his young grandson Nicholas Lewis Sewall, who was just one year old when his father died (Fenwick 1956:218). Henry's widow Elizabeth and his brother Nicholas Jr. acted as co-executors of his estate (Arch. MD. XXV:463, 495; Wills 20:371-372). Until Nicholas Lewis turned 21, they would be responsible for managing Mattapany-Sewall.

In 1725 Nicholas Jr. assumed full administrative rights over his brother Henry's estate (Wills 20:371-372). However, matters soon became complicated. By 1725 Elizabeth had remarried, to Provincial Council member Philip Lee (Arch. MD. XXV:494; Fresco 1989:263). She became a Protestant, and wanted to raise Nicholas Lewis as one also, using the proceeds from his estate to pay for his upbringing. She claimed that this had been made impossible because Nicholas Jr. was profiting from Nicholas Lewis' estate, and in addition she feared that Nicholas Jr. would raise his nephew as a Catholic if he was legal guardian (*ibid.*:495). Therefore, she petitioned the Council to give her control over her son's finances. Nicholas Jr. doubted that he would get a fair hearing by a Council on which Philip Lee was a member. Citing legal precedent going back as far as the Magna Carta, he argued that this was a matter for the courts to decide, and the Council agreed (*ibid.*:498). Elizabeth was apparently never successful in getting guardianship of her son's estate, because when Nicholas Jr. died in 1732 he was living at Mattapany-Sewall (Baldwin 1901:220).⁸⁶ His brother Charles then became administrator of the property. Nicholas Jr. had no children, so he left his own estate to Nicholas Lewis, who was still a minor. If Nicholas Lewis died without heirs, then Mattapany-Sewall was to pass on to Charles' son - Charles Jr. - while Nicholas Jr.'s property would be split among his own siblings (*ibid.*; Wills 20:371-372).

Fortunately for those trying to trace the history of the manor, Nicholas Lewis Sewall (1721-1800) did reach adulthood, and resided at Mattapany-Sewall for the rest of his life. It was probably Nicholas Lewis who built the extant Mattapany house, replacing Charles Calvert's earlier structure (see below). Nicholas Lewis Sewall had six children: sons Henry (who inherited the manor), Charles, and Nicholas Lewis Jr. (the latter two became Jesuit priests),⁸⁷ and daughters Lettice, Eleanor, and Ann. His wife's name is unknown (Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:725-726). Although he was a successful planter, as a Catholic Nicholas Lewis Sewall was not allowed to hold public office in colonial Maryland. That changed with the advent of the American Revolution. In 1774 Nicholas Lewis Sewall and his cousin Nicholas Sewall of Little Eltonhead Manor at Cedar Point were members of the St. Mary's County General Committee, which voted to support the resolutions passed by the Continental Congress in defiance of the British government (Hammett 1977:66).⁸⁸ In 1776 Nicholas Lewis Sewall was a member of the county's Committee of Observation, which raised a militia and otherwise enforced state and congressional resolutions (*ibid.*:67). He also attended the Assembly which created Maryland's first state government in 1777, and was a representative to the state House of Delegates in 1778-1779 (*ibid.*:446; Beitzell 1975:127). Finally, Nicholas Lewis Sewall was a St. Mary's County Justice in 1778 (Beitzell 1975:59).

When war finally broke out, the Sewalls were to suffer more than many of their compatriots for their revolutionary fervor. The Patuxent was subject to frequent British naval raids (Shomette 1985). In September 1780 the Sewalls sent Nicholas Lewis' son Henry to Governor Lee in Annapolis to complain about the attacks on St. Mary's County (Arch. MD. XLV:77-78). However, little could be done to offer protection, and in April 1781 Nicholas Sewall's house at Cedar Point was burned

(Arch. MD. XLVII:178).⁸⁹ The British attacks also apparently affected Mattapany-Sewall, because in 1781 Nicholas Lewis filed a claim for 380 pounds worth of property damage caused by the war, while his cousin Nicholas asked for 622 pounds compensation. These claims were among the highest in the county (Hammett 1977:80). The British threat clearly made Nicholas Lewis Sewall nervous, because in 1783 wrote to state officials complaining of enemy ships in the Patuxent, and that his "haste in moving property" from Mattapany-Sewall had delayed his report (Beitzell 1975:121). The Sewalls were not deterred from the war effort, however. In July 1782 Nicholas Sewall was paid 33 pounds by the government: 25 pounds to him for manufacturing salt, and the rest to be given to Nicholas Lewis Sewall for unstated purposes (Arch. MD. XLVIII:209).⁹⁰

After the war, Nicholas Lewis Sewall was made a Justice of the Peace, and was a member of the Convention of Maryland which ratified the Constitution in 1788 (ibid.:501; Hammett 1977:450). This was apparently a time of some financial hardship for Sewall. For example, in 1790 he owned 39 enslaved Africans (Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:725-726). However, this number was reduced to 30 by 1793, and just 26 in 1796 (Tax Assessment, St. Mary's County). He also sold off over 200 acres of land in 1790 (Fenwick 1982:479). This decline could be the result of the general post-war economic crisis which gripped the new nation (and which affected farmers in particular), or perhaps it was necessitated by a need to raise capital for other expenditures, such as repairs to the plantation.

Sewall's economic fortunes apparently began to improve late in the decade. According to the 1798 Federal Tax Assessment, he had 29 slaves (13 between the ages of 12 and 50) on an estate of 827 acres valued at \$7,809, later revised to \$8,589 (Federal Tax Assessment 1798). By the time of Sewall's death in 1800, the number of enslaved persons he owned had grown to 36, and his land

holdings totaled 830 acres (Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:725-726). Nevertheless, Sewall's plantation in 1800 was considerably smaller than the 1,000+ acres he had owned 20 years earlier, suggesting (along with the slave numbers) a change in his economic situation after the war (Fenwick 1956:219; Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:725-726).

Table 1. St. Mary's County Tax Assessments For Nicholas Lewis Sewall, By Year.⁹¹

	1793	1794	1796	1801
Acreege	829.75	829.75	829.75	830
Land Value	1650.10	1659.10	1659.10	1660
Male/Female Slaves Under Age 8 (Value)	8 (31.10)	8 (31.10)	8 (32)	12 (60)
Male/Female Slaves 8-14	3 (45)	3 (45)	3 (45)	4 (60)
Male Slaves 14-45 (Value)	8 (337.10)	8 (337.10)	5 (203)	9 (415)
Female Slaves 14-36 (Value)	7 (210)	7 (210)	6 (180)	7 (210)
Male/Female Slaves Over Age 45/36	4 (40)	4 (40)	4 (40)	4 (30)
Plate (Value)	15 oz. (6.5)	15 oz. (6.5)	15 oz (6.5)	9 oz. (3.15.0)
Other Property	194.10.6	199.10.6	199.5.0	294.5.0
Total Value	2524.5.6	2529.5.6	2365	2733

In the 1740s Nicholas Lewis Sewall had acquired two tracts -- "Sewall's Discovery" (108 acres) and "Fishing Point" (13 acres) -- both contiguous to the original manor lands. Sewall had obtained a warrant for 100 acres in 1742 at a cost of five pounds sterling (Patents LG#E:713). In 1744 he

purchased an additional eight acres. In April 1745 Sewall patented these two tracts as Sewall's Discovery (ibid.).⁹² This property started at the southeast corner of Mattapany Addition, then ran west 85 perches, southeast 172 perches, east 78 perches, northeast 18 perches, northwest 160 perches,⁹³ west 16 perches, and from there ran in a straight line back to the starting point (ibid.). It adjoined in part with the property of Edward Horn. Sewall then obtained another warrant for 12 acres. However, this warrant was invalid, because the land to which it entitled Sewall had already been cleared and cultivated (Patents TI#1:391). Sewall then had the Fishing Point area surveyed. This tract, on the east side of Gardiner's Creek, was found to contain 13.5 acres rather than 12 acres, so he purchased the additional portion (Patents BT & BY#3:701). The patent to Fishing Point was granted in March 1746. By 1756, Fishing Point had grown to 50 acres (Reno 1995). In 1749, Nicholas Lewis sold 289 acres to John Smith of Calvert County (Fenwick 1956:219).⁹⁴ According to the St. Mary's County Debt Book for 1753, Sewall's land holdings included 911 acres at Mattapany-Sewall itself, 108 acres at Sewall's Discovery, and 13 acres at Fishing Point (Reno 1995). These holdings soon grew with the addition of 37 acres to Fishing Point. In 1790 Sewall sold 202.5 acres designated as "Sewall's Discovery" to William Holton (Fenwick 1982:479).⁹⁵ The 1794 St. Mary's County Tax Assessment listed Sewall's holdings as 13 acres at Fishing Point, and 816.75 acres at Mattapany-Sewall and part of Sewall's Discovery. In 1795 he donated 6.5 acres of land for a church, which was named St. Nicholas, although this transaction was not noted in the tax assessments of 1796 or 1801. The actual deed transfer was made in 1800 by his son Henry to a group of trustees including Nicholas Sewall of Cedar Point (Fenwick 1956:219, 1982:479). Finally, Nicholas Lewis Sewall owned land elsewhere in Maryland, including a property in Charles County called "Rogers

Refuge" which he sold to Alexander Hamilton sometime before 1798 (Chancery Court B.64:454).

After Nicholas Lewis Sewall died in 1800 and was buried at St. Nicholas, his estate passed to his eldest son Henry (b. 1762).⁹⁶ Among the more interesting items listed in Nicholas Lewis Sewall's probate inventory were surveyor's instruments (his father had been a surveyor) and millstones, the latter probably belonging to a mill that Sewall had once run (see Appendix 3). Henry Sewall died in Baltimore on November 22, 1801 (Chancery Court B.22:478; Fresco 1989:452). Henry's probate inventory indicated that his estate was only about one-seventh the size of his father's, with most of his money tied up in corn and wheat. He had only one slave, and just a few animals. However, a large number of nails, shingles, and boards appear in his inventory, suggesting that Henry Sewall may have intended making repairs to his house or outbuildings before his death (see Appendix 4).

In his will, made in 1800, Henry left to his brother, Fr. Charles Sewall of St. Thomas Manor in Charles County, "all the Land I now possess call'd Mattapany with the appertences thereunto belonging," except for 200 or 300 acres "which I intend to sell" (Wills JJ2:294). If that land was not sold, it would also go to Charles. Charles was also given the use of all slaves at or above the age 18 for three years, "at the expiration of which period they shall be free." Slaves under 18 were to be set free at age 21. All of Henry's remaining personal property was also given to Charles, who was the executor of the will.

When Charles tried to execute the will on 30 December 1801, he had Nicholas Sewall and Robert Jarboe verify that the signature was that of Henry Sewall. This was probably because Dr. Robert Sewall, a cousin from Poplar Hill in Prince Georges County, claimed that Henry had sold him the plantation for \$6000 on the day he died, and as proof offered a deed to this effect dated 5 December

1801 (Chancery Court 79:40-41; Fenwick 1982:479; Mattapany Sewall Papers, it. 19, 28).⁹⁷ Since Henry's will did not reflect this transfer, Charles and his brother Nicholas Lewis Jr. felt that the deed should be invalidated (Sewall Correspondences, Box 57.5, f.16). However, in January 1802, Charles Sewall and Eleanor Pye (Henry's sister) deeded to Robert Sewall their share of Mattapany-Sewall for five shillings, "in consideration of a certain agreement made between Henry Sewall and Robert Sewall" (Deeds 1802:298). Nicholas L. Sewall Jr. in England soon followed suit, in exchange for 10 pounds (ibid.:365). Finally, a Thomas and Alice Rogerson deeded their share of Mattapany-Sewall to Robert Sewall for five shillings, although who the Rogersons were is not clear (ibid.:299). However, these actions apparently did not end the dispute, as Henry's siblings did not turn over their deeds. Robert had to sue to get the title to his land (Mattapany Sewall Papers, it. 28). Finally, in 1810 the Chancery Court ruled in Robert's favor, and he gained legal ownership of the plantation (ibid.: it. 22).

Robert Sewall was the son of Nicholas Sewall of Little Eltonhead Manor at Cedar Point. His mother was Mary Darnall, the daughter of Henry Darnall of Poplar Hill in Prince George's County. In 1789, Robert married Mary Brent of Richland, Virginia (Bowie 1947:583; Brown 1973). Their children included sons Robert Darnall, William H. Brent, Henry Darnall, and Richard B., and daughters Elizabeth Carroll, Ann, Susan, and Mary Brent (Bowie 1947:583-584).⁹⁸

Robert inherited Poplar Hill (also known as His Lordship's Kindness) from his uncle Robert Darnall in 1801 (Bowie 1947:582, 584). He also was given a number of other properties, including "land on the Bay in St. Mary's County if he pays his brother, my nephew Nicholas Sewall [Jr.], 200 pounds" (ibid.:583). With his new wealth, Robert was able buy Mattapany-Sewall from Henry Sewall. However, he continued to live at Poplar Hill.

As noted above, ownership of Mattapany-Sewall was disputed until 1810. However, the St. Mary's County Tax Assessment for 1806 lists Robert Sewall as the owner of the 830 acres at Mattapany-Sewall, Sewall's Discovery, and Fishing Point. There were eleven slaves on the property (two children ages 8-14, six males ages 14-45, two females 14-36, and one older adult), as well as other property worth 112 pounds. The total estate was valued at 2067 pounds. An overseer was presumably resident at Mattapany-Sewall to manage the plantation's enslaved labor force.

During the War of 1812 British naval raids were again carried out in the Patuxent. In June 1814 the Sewall plantation at Cedar Point was attacked, and its slaves and cattle were captured (Shomette 1981:41). Although no such raids on Mattapany-Sewall are known, it is unlikely that it escaped the war unscathed.

Robert Sewall died by December 1820. He left half of his real estate, including a townhouse in Washington, D.C., to his wife Mary Sewall (d.1822). Poplar Hill was divided between his sons Robert Darnall and Richard B., while Mattapany-Sewall, the Addition to Mattapany-Sewall, and Fishing Point, along "with all the other Lands which I may own in the same neighborhood," were passed on to another son, William H. Brent. William also received all the "livestock and Implements of Husbandry" on those tracts, plus a 1/8 share of 2/3 of Robert's slaves (Bowie 1947:583; Fresco 1989:452; Wills TT1:284-286).

According to the 1821 St. Mary's County Tax Assessment, William Sewall owned 830 acres at Mattapany-Sewall that were valued at \$5130. He had seven slave children under the age of 8 (\$135), one boy between 8-14 (\$40), seven males ages 14-45 (\$875), six females ages 14-36 (\$480), and two older adult slaves (\$106). His other property was worth \$469, for a total estate of \$7231. Following

the pattern started by Nicholas L. Sewall, William continued to sell off small pieces of Mattapany-Sewall. For example, in 1825 he transferred two tracts totalling nine acres to Joseph S. Thomas (Fenwick 1982:480). These may have been at Fishing Point, because the 1826 St. Mary's County Tax Assessment shows that Sewall owned 817 acres at Mattapany-Sewall and Sewall's Discovery, but only 3 acres at Fishing Point. The combined value of his 820 acres was \$5070. His slave holdings were unchanged from 1821. He owned \$500 worth of other property, for a total assessed value of \$7202. William died at Mattapany-Sewall in August 1832, at the age of 38 or 39 (Fresco 1989:452). He left to his brother, Robert Darnall Sewall of Prince Georges County, all of his land holdings at Mattapany-Sewall, plus his slaves, livestock, and tools (Henry Sewall Papers). It is doubtful that Robert Darnall Sewall (b.1784-d.1853) ever made Mattapany-Sewall his primary residence (although his son Henry was there in 1835), and in 1840 he sold the property to George Forbes of St. Mary's County, who was already living there (Bowie 1947:584; Fenwick 1956:219; Maryland Provincial Archives, Box 3, f.7). Forbes immediately sold the plantation to Richard Thomas, son of Maj. William Thomas of De La Brooke Manor (Fenwick 1956:220).

The Thomas' and the Navy, 1840-present

Richard Thomas (1797-1849) served in the Maryland Legislature for many years, including terms as Speaker of the House and Senate President (ibid.; Thomas 1963:143). His father and grandfather had also served in the Maryland Legislature (Thomas 1896:162). Richard's brother James became governor of Maryland in 1833 (ibid.). The Thomases were prominent landowners in St. Mary's County. For example, James owned Deep Falls, the family's home plantation, while Richard's brother

William owned Cremona. De la Brooke Manor came into the Thomas family through Richard's mother, who was related to the Brookes (ibid.).

Richard Thomas married Jane Wallace Armstrong (1799-1870), daughter of James Armstrong of Baltimore, in July 1832 (Fresco 1989:288). They lived at Mattapany with their sons Richard Jr., George, Andrew (who died at age seven in 1845), and James William (ibid.:465-466).

According to the U.S. Census of 1840, there were also 34 slaves at Mattapany. Among the males, there were six under the age of 10, seven between 10-24, five between 25-35, and one 36-55. There were four female slaves under the age of 10, six between 10-24, two between 24-35, and three between 36-55. Sixteen were employed in agriculture, while the rest had no listed occupation. By the time of Richard's death in 1849, there were only 24 enslaved blacks at the plantation (Thomas 1963:176).

Richard Sr. was buried at Deep Falls (ibid.:144). Mattapany was inherited by Jane, while the slaves were divided between her and her sons (ibid.:176). According to the Census of 1860, Jane Thomas, "farmer," owned real estate worth \$36,000 and personal property worth \$25,000. This made Mattapany the fifth largest estate in the Second Election District of St. Mary's County. Living with Jane were her three sons and Eliza Dyson, a 54 year old black farmhand (Colleary *et al.* 1982:39). The Slave Census for that year listed at Mattapany 14 enslaved males (four under the age of 10, two between 10-24, three between 25-35, three between 36-55, and two between 56-65) and 15 females (seven under age 10, five between 10-24, one age 35, and two between 36-55). None were described as having disabilities, and, unlike many neighboring plantations, none were mulatto.⁹⁹ There were seven slave houses on the property. The median number of slaves on a Southern Maryland plantation

in 1860 was fifteen, so Mattapany was well above that (Fields 1985:25).

The Thomas boys all fought for the Confederacy during the Civil War. In May 1861 the eldest son, Capt. Richard Thomas, placed an advertisement in the St. Mary's Beacon asking men to join the St. Mary's Light Infantry, Company A, the barracks of which would be the "dwelling house at Mattapany which will quarter 200 men" (Hammett 1977:109). It is not clear if Mattapany actually served as a barracks, but if it did it was only temporarily. However, Millstone Landing at Mattapany was used by Confederate sympathizers during the early years of the war, with small vessels traveling between there and Virginia. Millstone Landing was described by one Union officer as "a position whence more smuggling of men and provisions is carried on than any other place in the Chesapeake waters" (Holly 1991:71). As a result of this activity, Mattapany did suffer during the war. Animals and equipment were removed by Union soldiers who occupied the plantation, burned the fences, and took possession of the overseer's house. By January 1865 Jane Thomas was writing from "Mattaponi" about how "the place had gone down very much, outhouses etc." (ibid.:117; Jane Thomas 1963:7).

Although the Thomas' were Confederate supporters, at least one of their slaves, Josiah Briscoe, enlisted in the Union army. Briscoe, who was not listed on the 1849 inventory of enslaved Africans at Mattapany, belonged to Jane Thomas (Callum 1990:89; Thomas 1963:176).¹⁰⁰ He joined Company I of the 7th U.S. Regiment (Colored) in October 1863, at the age of 28, and was made a corporal (Callum 1990:89). Part of the regiment was stationed at Millstone Landing (ibid.:3). The 7th Regiment took part in campaigns in Virginia, Florida, and South Carolina, and was garrisoned in Texas as an occupation force after the war. Briscoe was mustered out of the Army in 1866, after

three years of service. By November of that year he had opened an account at the Freedmen's Bank in Baltimore, where he may well have lived (ibid.:56).

Richard Thomas, Jr. (1833-1875) was the most famous of the Thomas brothers. He was described by a contemporary as having short hair and a small frame, and as unusually active (Letcher 1914:418). Educated at the Charlotte Hall School and at Oxford on the Eastern Shore, he had briefly attended the U.S. Military Academy (Earp 1939:334). He was later a surveyor and soldier of fortune, serving in the American West and China (Manakee 1969:63). Thomas allegedly fought with Garibaldi in Italy, where he adopted the *nom de guerre* "Zarvona," which later became his legal name by an act of the Virginia legislature (Fresco 1989:466; Thomas 1963:256). However, the Italian phase of his career is mysterious and poorly documented, and may be more myth than fact. He returned to Mattapany shortly before the Civil War broke out, and in 1860 was described as an engineer (Colleary *et al.* 1982:39). His two younger brothers enlisted in the Confederate military, but Richard Thomas was expected to stay home and care for his mother (Hartzler 1986:29). However, by as early as April 1861 Thomas was writing of Maryland's need for a Navy, and making arrangements to raise a militia (ibid.). By June, he had devised a plan to capture Union shipping on the Chesapeake, and went to Baltimore to recruit a force for this purpose (Hammett 1977:115-116). Thomas then disguised himself as a French woman and boarded the steamship *St. Nicholas*. His men, "Zarvona's Zouaves" (Thomas often donned the Zouave dress and cap), were disguised as laborers on the same ship. They threw off their disguises and seized the steamship as it entered the Potomac. The *St. Nicholas* was then placed under the command of Capt. George Hollins, CSN, who used it to capture three cargo boats which carried large amounts of coffee, ice, and other items of value to the

South (Holly 1991:71; Letcher 1914:418).

After the raid, Richard Thomas was made a colonel in the Virginia forces (Hartzler 1986:47). In 1862, Thomas and some of his men returned to Maryland and boarded the steamship *Mary Washington* at Millstone Landing, intending to use it to capture more Union vessels. Laughing off warnings that he would be recognized, Thomas was not discreet about his plans (Holly 191:71-73). As a result, a small force of Union police and soldiers also boarded the steamship. By coincidence, the original captain of the *St. Nicholas* was on board, and he was able to identify Thomas. The *Mary Washington* was therefore diverted to Ft. McHenry after it left Millstone Landing. The Union troops then seized Thomas and his men. Thomas initially tried to resist, but disappeared while his men were being arrested. He was later found hiding in a dresser in one of the women's cabins on the steamship (ibid.). Thomas was first imprisoned at Ft. McHenry, then moved to Ft. Lafayette in New York. He was initially charged with piracy, later changed to treason (Earp 1939:340). In April 1862 he attempted to escape, but was caught swimming across New York Harbor. As a result, he was no longer allowed any visitors, not even his mother (ibid.:341). Thomas's health began to deteriorate while in captivity, although an Army doctor who examined him in 1863 declared that he was in relatively good shape and sane, but eccentric. As a political, not military, prisoner, Thomas was held for over a year without trial. In order to secure the release of one of its most celebrated heroes,¹⁰¹ the Confederacy placed a number of Union soldiers in a state prison as hostages, and also appealed directly to Abraham Lincoln (ibid.:342). These efforts, and his declining health, won Thomas parole in April 1863, on the condition that he leave the country (Hammett 1977:116). Thomas went to Paris, and remained in Europe for some time after the war was over, but his difficult financial situation

eventually forced him to return to the U.S. (Manakee 1969:64; Thomas 1963:214).

Jane Thomas died at Mattapany in 1870, and was buried at Deep Falls (Fresco 1989:466). In her will, she left her sons Richard and James a house and lot in Baltimore, while George inherited Millstone Landing and Mattapany, including all the “stock & farming utensils, household & kitchen furniture” (Wills JTMR1:275-277).¹⁰² George was the executor of the will. Richard was apparently not happy with this division of Jane’s property, and in 1873 he sued his brothers, asking the courts to settle the estate (Decree Records JFF:347-357). Richard was given title to 389 acres, including barns and tenements, while his brother James retained 459 largely unimproved acres, and George got 257 acres and the plantation house (ibid.). A plat made of the property at that time by George Dent shows this division (Figure 4). Richard Zarvona Thomas died in March 1875 at the home of his brother James (Fresco 1989:466). He was buried at Deep Falls (Hammett 1977:115-116).

George Thomas (1835-1903), younger brother of Richard, enlisted as a lieutenant in the 1st Maryland Infantry (CSA) in 1861. The next year he became the first lieutenant of Company A of the 2nd Maryland Infantry. He was promoted to captain immediately after being badly wounded in the thigh at Gettysburg (in 1886, he gave the dedication speech during the unveiling of the Maryland Monument at Gettysburg). He returned to combat in 1864, and was severely wounded at Pegram’s Farm. After recovering, he spent the rest of the war in the Ordnance Department (Ruffner 1997:328).

In 1866 he married the daughter of an Episcopal minister, Ellen Ogle Beall of Norfolk (1841-1909). She had been a nurse during the war, and it was while tending to George’s injuries in Richmond that they met (Dent 1906:69; Fresco 1989:287; Thomas 1963:147-149; Hilda Thomas Mumford 1994,

and John (10 months).¹⁰³ George was described as a farmer, while Ellen's occupation was listed as "keeping house." His real estate was valued at \$15,000, while his personal property was worth \$5,000. After Mattapany was divided by court decree in 1873, George purchased his brother Richard's share for \$4,050 in 1875, thereby expanding his holdings to nearly 650 acres (Fenwick 1956:221; Thomas 1963: 117, 171, 177; St. Mary's Beacon 27 May 1875). George and Ellen had nine children, three of whom -- Brook, Louisa, and Katherine -- were still living at Mattapany in 1903 when George died of a heart attack (although an obituary described the cause of death as "paralysis"). George Thomas was buried at Trinity Church in St. Mary's City, leaving Mattapany to his widow (Dent 1906:69; Hilda Mumford 1994, personal communication; Wills PHD1:148).

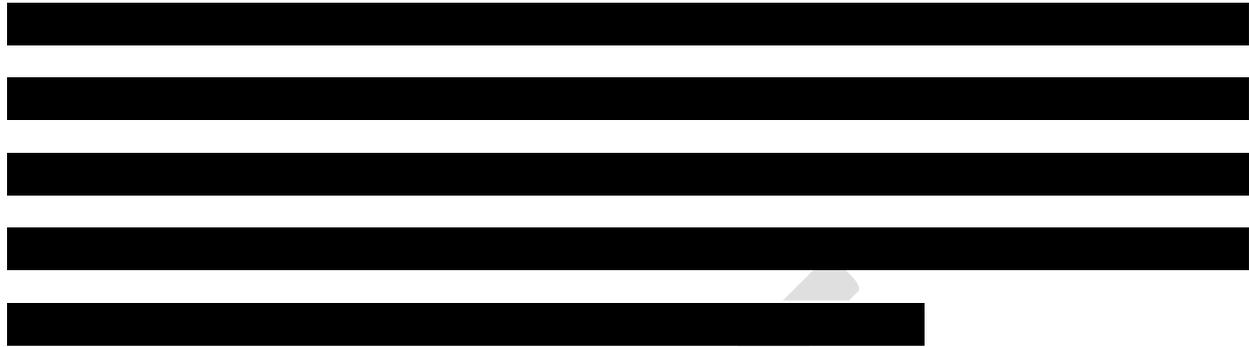
Mattapany continued to be a working plantation after the Civil War, and photographs taken in the 19th and 20th centuries show some of its agricultural buildings (Thomas 1963:188). However, other activities besides farming were being conducted at Mattapany. For example, George Thomas taught school there. It was not unusual for wealthy landowners to run private schools, both as a source of income and as a way of insuring that their own children would be educated with others of their social status (Neuwirth 1996:28; Thomas 1963:117). There was also a post office at Mattapany between 1885-1889, with George Thomas and Richard Hammett serving as postmasters (Hammett 1977:130, 162). Another 19th-century post office, at Millstone Landing, later became a country store (ibid.:131; Thomas 1963:160). Millstone Landing, which may have been in use as early as the 17th century, continued as a steamboat wharf until 1932, and a ferry ran between there and Point Patience before World War II (Hammett 1977:410; Holly 1991:190; Shomette and Eshelman 1981:60).

In addition to the Thomas family, there were also tenants and servants living at various places on

the plantation. For example, a former enslaved woman known to the Thomas' as "Aunt Priscilla," who was the plantation cook, lived in a small whitewashed house "beyond the barns," [REDACTED]. And the 1873 plat shows at least five tenant houses spread across the estate (Thomas 1963:202, 258; Hilda Mumford 1993, personal communication).

When Ellen Ogle Thomas died in 1909, she left Mattapany and Millstone Landing to her eldest surviving son, John Henry, with the stipulation that the income from the property was to support his sisters Louisa and Katherine for as long as they were unmarried. The two sisters also inherited Ellen's personal property, including horses, cattle, and household furniture. The only exception was a silver service, which was left to John. John was given permission to sell the estate if a majority of his siblings agreed, and once Louisa and Katherine married or died, Mattapany was to be divided equally between all of Ellen's children (Wills PHD1:305). John Henry Thomas eventually bought out his sibling's shares and became sole owner of the property (Fenwick 1956:221). When he died in 1931, his widow Margaret sold the 600 acre estate to George and Theresa Weschler of Washington, D.C. for \$35,000 (ibid.; Home Owners' Loan Corporation 1942; Thomas 1963:197). The Weschlers maintained a large herd of cattle there (George Purcell, personal communication). The house was in bad repair, so they began to refurbish it. The interior was largely gutted, a new wing was added, and the foundation was underpinned (Home Owners' Loan Corporation 1942). However, the property (which had grown to 1,014 acres) was acquired by the U.S. Navy in 1942, before the Weschler's had completed the restoration (ibid.). The Navy finished the work and converted Mattapany into a residence for the commander of the naval test facility. Considerable changes also were made to the surrounding landscape. [REDACTED]





Quarters A

There is some uncertainty as to the construction date of the admiral's quarters. The original Mattapony-Sewall house was probably built in the 1660s. Thomas (1913:352) states that by 1773 this house was reported to be in a state of decay, although he does not provide the source of this information. In May 1836, the author John Pendleton Kennedy visited the area around "Mattapony Creek" (St. Patrick's Creek) while doing research on the 1684 murder of Christopher Rousby (Kennedy 1860:34). Kennedy knew that a "fort" and Charles Calvert's "mansion" were located there. An elderly black man (presumably a Sewall slave), who Kennedy estimated to be 80 years old, took him to the site. The old man said he had spent all of his life on the plantation, and that Calvert's dwelling had been a "mighty grand brick house" (ibid.). It may be that in his youth (the 1760s?) the house was still in good enough shape for this to be evident, or it may be that the old man was just passing along stories he had heard. At any rate, only ruins were left for Kennedy to see. He described them as sitting:

upon a hill that sloped down to the Mattapony, and there traced out for us, by the depression of the earth, the visible lines of an old foundation of a large building, the former existence of which was further demonstrated by some scattered remains of the old imported brick of the edifice which were embedded in the soil (ibid.:34).

The site looked out over the Chesapeake. Kennedy found no evidence of the fort, but believed that the house was incorporated within the fortification, since in some "old records" the fort is called "Mattapony House" (ibid.:35).

In 1873 the surveyor George Dent described the ruins of "Mattaponi House" as being [REDACTED] [REDACTED] (Thomas 1963:174). In 1879, Scharf (1967:187) briefly mentions that the ruins are still visible. A Baltimore newspaper article from 1883 (notable for the historical accuracy of its account) describes the old manor house as situated on "slightly undulating" land on top of a bluff overlooking the Patuxent River (MHS 1883). The ruins were nothing more than "a depression in the ground and a few scattered bricks a short distance south of the present farm-house." However, the house must have been a "large and imposing edifice", based on "the traces still remaining of the excavation for the foundations." Remains of "a brick pavement extending presumably to a number of other buildings" were noted as having been "discovered," but what was actually being observed here is not clear (ibid.). In the early 20th century, Thomas (1913:352) stated that the house ruins were still visible [REDACTED]

[REDACTED].¹⁰⁴ A photograph of "My Lord Baltimore's Spring," heavily overgrown with trees and brush, is illustrated in Sioussat (1913:1-2). The same source states that a landslide near this spring had exposed "a pavement of small round stones and other traces of where the dairy had been in other days, also the ground work of a passageway between where the old house stood and the offices which belonged to it." Traces of "fortifications" could be found on the adjoining bluffs. A depression (presumably the cellar) and at least part of the

foundation of Mattapany-Sewall were still visible in the 1910's and 1920's, but the magazine had largely disappeared, although its location was still remembered (Hilda Mumford 1993: pers. comm.). A newspaper article from the 1930s suggests that the house and magazine, each located next to a spring and connected by an old path, were still visible (Scarborough 1934:89-91). However, this may have been based on second-hand information, because around that time Henry Chandlee Forman claimed that no trace of the house remained (Forman 1982:29).¹⁰⁵

The original Mattapany-Sewall was occupied throughout the 17th century. It is not known for certain if anyone was living there in the early 18th century, but by 1732 Nicholas Sewall Jr. was in residence. In 1742, Nicholas Lewis Sewall reached the age of majority and presumably gained possession of the plantation. His son Nicholas Lewis Jr. was supposedly born in the present Mattapany house in 1745. The source of this last piece of information is a letter written by Fr. Fidele de Grivel, a friend of Nicholas Lewis Jr. who was visiting the house in 1835 (Maryland Provincial Archives, Box 3, f.7). Grivel states that:

the residence of Charles Calvert which was a fort also had so much decayed that the grandfather or greatgrandfather of our Fr. Nicholas [Lewis Sewall Jr.] had built a fine brick house at a short distance.

This would make Maj. Nicholas Sewall or his son Henry the builder of the second Mattapany. However, Henry died before the family reacquired Mattapany-Sewall in 1722, and the property was held in trust until his heir, Nicholas Lewis, reached adulthood. It seems unlikely that Maj. Sewall or his son Nicholas Jr. (guardian of Nicholas Lewis) would build a fine house on land that was not technically theirs. This then would suggest that the house where Nicholas Sewall Jr. lived in 1732 was the original Mattapany-Sewall. His will hints that he may have made improvements to that

house, which probably would have been necessary if it had been vacant, or even occupied by tenants, between 1700-1722. So if Fr. Nicholas L. Sewall Jr. was really born in the new Mattapany, it most likely would have been built between 1742, when his father reached adulthood, and 1745, when he was born. However, Grivel's letter contains many inaccuracies, such as the date of Charles Calvert's residency and the claim that from 1682 to 1715 the manor was the "proprietary of the Jesuits," who then sold it to the Sewall's. Therefore, it may be that Grivel's history of the second Mattapany house is also incorrect.

In the Federal Tax Assessment of 1798, Mattapany-Sewall was described as a "brick Dwelling house two stories high 32 by 38 feet in bad repair" with 14 windows, with a "Kitchen in good repair 27 by 18 ft, Cornhouse 32 by 14 feet with a 10 ft shed each side, of wood," all together valued at \$400 (Federal Tax Assessment 1798). The size of the 1798 dwelling corresponds with that of the original, eastern portion of the extant Mattapany, suggesting that they are the same structure (Pogue 1983b:48). The fact that the house was in disrepair in 1798 led Fenwick (1956:222) to conclude that it had been built many years earlier, probably shortly after 1722. However, Mattapany had apparently been damaged during the Revolutionary War, and it is known that Nicholas L. Sewall's slave and land holdings declined in the post-war years (although they were increasing again at his death in 1800). He may not have been able to completely renovate the dwelling, therefore the fact that it was still in bad shape in 1798 may be more a reflection of economics than of age. Modern architectural studies (based largely on documentary and photographic evidence) have suggested that the oldest portion of Mattapany was erected in the late 18th century, with additions and modifications made between 1830-1850, and that several renovations occurred in the 20th century (Hammett 1977:408;

Maryland Historical Trust 1980:141; Thomas 1963:184).¹⁰⁶ It may be that the house was extensively repaired and modified shortly after 1798, thus giving it the appearance of a structure built at that time. The presence of large quantities of nails, shingles, and boards in the 1802 probate inventory of Henry Sewall supports this idea (Appendix 4). Pogue (1983b) concluded that the house was built in the mid-18th century, and this seems most likely to be correct.

Historical Summary and Archaeological Implications

The earliest historical occupation in the Mattapany area was the Jesuit mission, probably dating from 1637-1642. The main house would be of timber or brick, and would be associated with typical plantation outbuildings. There should be evidence of burning resulting from the Susquehannock attacks of 1642. The site would probably be characterized by a relatively small number of early artifacts, including a high percentage of Indian trade goods such as glass beads. In the late 1640s and 1650s there were a number of small landowners and tenants living in the area. Their dwellings were probably of timber construction. Artifacts from these sites would be of mid-century date, and would generally be typical of planters of low to middling social status. In the 1660s many of these small landholdings were acquired by Henry Sewall. He probably built a large house for himself, although it is remotely possible that he moved into an earlier structure. Charles Calvert probably moved into Sewall's house in 1666, but he may have soon built a brick and timber house. It continued to be the residence of some of the colony's wealthiest citizens until the end of the 17th century, and may well have been occupied by tenants and others until 1732 or even later. It was apparently still standing in 1773, and in the late 19th century its foundation remained visible [REDACTED]

██████████. Traces of both the house and the magazine could even be seen on the landscape in the early part of this century. Archaeologically, it would be indicated by the presence of considerable brick and by a large number of artifacts typical of high social status individuals dating to the period 1660-1700, and perhaps by a lesser amount of artifacts from 1700-1740. About 100 yards from the house should be the provincial magazine, which was probably built after 1671 and ceased to fulfill its primary function after 1689, although it remained in sporadic use until at least 1695. It was periodically garrisoned by up to 39 men. It may have been built of brick or wood, but brick magazines with good roofs would have been preferred at that time. Archaeologically, it would be characterized by the presence of military items and domestic artifacts dating to the period 1660-1700. Brick and pantile could also be present. Other outbuildings associated with Mattapany-Sewall should be located in the area, and it is possible that both the house and magazine were surrounded by a defense work of some sort. The manor was regranted to Major Nicholas Sewall (son of Henry) in 1722, who passed it on to his son Henry, then to Henry's son Nicholas Lewis (whose live-in guardian was the second Henry's brother Nicholas Jr.). Nicholas Lewis passed Mattapany-Sewall on to his son Henry in 1800, who then sold it to his cousin Robert Sewall. Robert passed it on to his son William, who left it to his brother Robert Darnall Sewall. In 1840 Robert sold the plantation to George Forbes, who immediately sold it to Robert Thomas. It was eventually acquired by his son George Thomas, who passed it on to his son John Henry Thomas. It was then bought by the Weschler family, who deeded it over to the Navy during World War II. The present Mattapany house was built after 1722, possibly during the 1740s. It was certainly in existence before 1798, when it was described as being in poor condition. Archaeological investigations around the house should reveal artifacts dating from

the mid-18th century to the present. Outbuildings from this period, such as slave quarters, overseer quarters, tenant and servant houses, barns, stables, mills, landings, etc., should be present throughout the Mattapany area.

DRAFT

PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

In the 19th and 20th centuries, members of the Thomas family (who owned Mattapany) would occasionally remove prehistoric artifacts [REDACTED] and apparently recovered military item from the area of 18ST390 (Thomas 1963:259; Mrs. Hilda Mumford 1992, personal communication). Formal investigation of the area began with a cultural resources survey conducted at NASPAX in 1981 and 1982, under the direction of Dennis J. Pogue (1983a, 1983b, 1987). The purpose of this survey was to locate significant cultural resources aboard NASPAX, and to identify areas of high archaeological potential. Survey work conducted in the vicinity of Mattapany included the architectural documentation of Quarters A; systematic surface collection of Tract 80, a 1.3 acre plowed field; and systematic shovel testing of Tract A, which consisted of approximately seven acres of partially cleared land (Pogue 1983a:63, 1983b:48-54).

The architectural research demonstrated that Quarters A (Maryland Historical Trust designation SM-128) is a middle 18th-century structure that was greatly altered in the 19th and 20th centuries (see below). Nevertheless, the house itself may be eligible for listing in the federal National Register of Historic Places.

Tract 80 consisted of a 200 foot x 300 foot "food plot" just to the south of 18ST390, which was plowed and then systematically surface collected in 50' transects. Both prehistoric and 18th-century materials were recovered from the field, which was later designated as site 18ST389. According to Pogue (1983a:66), the prehistoric component appeared to be a "camp of long duration and/or periodic reoccupation throughout the Late Archaic and Late Woodland periods". The

aboriginal artifacts were concentrated in the northeastern two-thirds of the field, within 200' of a filled-in springhead. The only temporally diagnostic items recovered were two Late Woodland triangular points. The historic materials found on Tract 80 included "a light scatter" of two white clay tobacco pipe stems, one Oriental porcelain sherd, two white salt glazed stoneware sherds, two English brown stoneware sherds, two American grey stoneware sherds, two lead glazed earthenware sherds, and one wine bottle glass fragment. Pogue (*ibid.*) suggested that this site may have been associated with a tenant structure shown on an 1873 plat. However, the complete absence of refined earthenwares and other 19th-century materials is unusual for a site of that period, and is more suggestive of a mid-to-late 18th century date.

According to Pogue (1983a:63), Tract A was "investigated via systematic excavation of 400 shovel tests and 24 5-by-5-foot test units". The area surveyed was supposedly 7 acres in size, but Pogue's Figure 19 (*ibid.*:70) shows that only approximately one acre was tested. Shovel test unit placement is shown on Pogue's Figure 18 (*ibid.*:68); only 269 of the 400 STPs are shown on this map. Review of the original field notes yielded evidence that 27 or more additional STPs were excavated, but that the fill was not screened.

Artifact distributions from the STPs suggested that a mid-to-late 17th-century site was located in the southeastern portion of Tract A, which was given the designation 18ST390. Test units subsequently excavated in this vicinity revealed intact 17th-century features (Pogue 1987). Few of the features could be positively identified as architectural in origin, and most were described as large, trash-filled borrow pits. Over 500 17th-century ceramic sherds were recovered from the site, and a large number of these (50%) were tin glazed. Other artifacts found at 18ST390, such as table glass, a

coin weight, a brass candleholder, window glass and leads, and a large quantity of brick and pantile, suggested that it was the site of a substantial structure occupied by fairly high status individuals. A number of military items, including lead shot, gunflints, and a gun barrel fragment filled with molten lead shot were also recovered. The above artifacts, plus the bore diameter measurements from 540 clay tobacco pipe fragments, all indicated that the site was occupied between 1660 and 1700 (ibid.:35). Prehistoric artifacts were also found at 18ST390. These included 24 Late Woodland period Potomac Creek and Townsend Series pottery sherds, an Early Woodland Calvert point, a possible Early Archaic Palmer point, eight other point fragments or bifaces, a slate gorget fragment with tally marks, and 276 flakes. No aboriginal features were identified, but the quantity of prehistoric artifacts led Pogue to conclude that a "substantial Woodland Period Indian occupation" had occurred in the area.

Pogue's discoveries were so significant that the site was placed on the National Register of Historic Places, since it was almost certainly associated with the occupation of Mattapany by Lord Baltimore. However, the absence of architectural features on the site meant that the precise location of his dwelling, as well as a possible associated magazine, was still uncertain. Further, no traces of the earlier Jesuit mission and plantation were encountered during the 1981/1982 testing. Nevertheless, there was a good probability that these sites existed in the vicinity of 18ST390.

METHODS

The purpose of this project was to locate and identify any archaeological features on the site, with the primary goal of finding and assessing the actual structure or structures which once stood on Lord Baltimore's homelot. Therefore, an excavation strategy using 5-foot-by-5-foot test units was employed. The test units were designed to systematically remove and screen the plowzone from as large an area as possible, in order to expose features. Excavation of the features themselves was to be kept limited.

The project began by laying a grid system across the site. Although every effort was made to re-establish the system used by Pogue at Mattapan, this was not possible because no permanent grid points had been left in place. However, Pogue's grid appeared to be aligned with [REDACTED], so the present grid was also established along that alignment. The grid was emplaced using a Teledyne Gurley Model 400 transit and measuring tapes marked in feet and tenths; permanent points were established using 1/2-inch iron reinforcing bars. Grid north was declined 13°45' east of magnetic north. Siting of the grid began by placing an iron rebar at the center of the crossroads which form the southeast corner of 18ST390. This point was given the coordinate N2000/E2000. Rebars were placed every 200 feet going west along the dirt road south of the site to E1400. Gutter spikes were placed at various intervals between the rebars.

The 5-foot-by-5-foot units were excavated in two clusters: in the area where Pogue had tested, and in the area of a brick concentration located 300 feet to the west. The latter portion of the site became the primary focus of the investigations. Each unit was given a unique number that

identified it. These numbers, which began with 1 and increased sequentially, were assigned to each unit when its excavation began. The numbering system was created by arbitrarily dividing the site into 5-foot blocks. Rows of 260 blocks ran east-west across the site, and an infinite number of rows could be extended north from the site. Test Unit #1 was in the southwest corner of the southernmost row of blocks. Using an actual example from the project, the test unit at N2090-2095/E1715-1720 was located immediately north of (and adjacent to) the unit at N2085-2090/E1715-1720. The northern unit was given the identification number of 34663, while the southern unit's number was 260 smaller, 34403. These unit numbers were used for all project records and on the artifact labels. All test units were also identified by the grid coordinates of their four corners.

Excavation followed natural stratigraphy, with each stratum or feature given a letter designation, starting with "A" and continuing sequentially (certain letters, such as I, O, Q, and X, were not used because of the possibility for confusion if they were not written clearly). The fill from each stratum was screened through 1/4-inch mesh, and all archaeological materials were retained. The soil from each provenience was described by its texture and Munsell soil color. An elevation of 50.00 feet above sea level was arbitrarily established for the point at N3320/E1320, and the elevations of all the test units were then related to this point. A line level and tape were used to establish the top and base elevations of all strata. The base of each stratum was mapped and photographed, and photographs and drawings were made of representative unit wall profiles. A detailed provenience card was filled out for each excavated stratum and feature, and additional project information was noted in a daily field journal.

Following the completion of fieldwork, all artifacts were transported to the Jefferson

Patterson Park and Museum for processing. They were washed in tap water and air-dried, and then processed and catalogued according to standard procedures, including the Standards and Guidelines for Archeological Investigations in Maryland (Shaffer and Cole 1994). All artifacts remain the property of the Naval Air Station Patuxent River, and these materials and the records are curated by the Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum and the Maryland Historical Trust. All field and laboratory records were produced on acid-free paper or card stock, and field drawings were made on high quality 20 percent rag paper. Photographs were made using Kodak Kodachrome 200 slide and Kodak Tri-X 400 black and white film.

RESULTS

The test units at 18ST390 were concentrated in two areas. The first, at the eastern end of the site, was believed to be the location of the colonial magazine, based on oral tradition and the results of Pogue's excavations in the early 1980s (Figure 5). The second test unit group was at the western end of the site, in an area where a large amount of colonial brick was visible on the ground surface (Figure 9). Based on historical sources, this was suspected to be the site of Lord Baltimore's house, and became the primary focus of excavation during the Mattapan Archaeological Project.

Magazine Area

31852 Test Unit 31852 (N2035-2040/E1960-1965) was located at the southern end of this portion of the site. Excavation here revealed a dark brown (10YR3/3) silty loam plowzone approximately 1.1 feet deep. At the base of the plowzone was sterile clay subsoil, along with plowscars running east-west. There were also a number of root molds, including what appeared to be a burned tree stump in the southeast corner of the unit. Artifacts recovered from the plowzone included a probable quartz Rossville projectile point dating to the Early Woodland period, two brass furniture tacks, a white metal button, and a .35 caliber lead shot.

32368 Test Unit 32368 (N2045-2050/E1940-1945) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4 to 10YR4/6) silty loam plowzone approximately 0.9 feet thick. At its base were plowscars and root molds, along with one small circular feature, 0.8 feet in diameter.

Figure 5: Placeholder

Table 2. Artifacts from Test Unit 31852

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Blue-on-white Chinese porcelain plate sherd
4	Rhenish brown stoneware sherds
6	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
3	Micaceous Merida coarse earthenware sherds
1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
4	Chalky-pasted lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
8	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherd
7	Modern flowerpot sherds
18	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 9/64" bore
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, 8/64" bore
6	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 5/64" bore
22	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
2	Terra cotta pipe bowl fragments
6	Colonial bottle glass fragments
6	Colonial flat glass fragments
7	Colonial table glass fragments
3	Modern glass fragments
1	White metal button
2	Brass furniture tacks
1	Lead shot
9	Gunflint fragments
28	Wrought nails or nail fragments
29	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
51	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
38.7 g.	Pantile
19.9	Yellow brick fragments
3474.7 g.	Handmade brick fragments
32.7 g.	Daub
2	Prehistoric pottery sherds
1	Quartz projectile point
82	Lithic debitage fragments
4.7 g.	Bone
33.5 g.	Shell

At the top of the feature (which was not excavated) were brick and charcoal flecks and several nail fragments. It lined up with three similar features in Test Unit 32628, suggesting that they might be post holes or molds (see below). However, a plowscar intruded on the features, making them difficult to interpret. Among the artifacts recovered from 32368 a .34 caliber lead shot, a fragment of a lead bale seal, a brass furniture tack, and two copper-alloy leather clasps, molded in a Tudor Rose motif (Figure 6). Also found were 15 Late Woodland period Townsend Series pottery sherds, and one Late Woodland Potomac Creek pottery sherd.

Table 3. Artifacts from Test Unit 32368

Count/ Weight	Description
3	Rhenish brown stoneware sherds
4	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
3	Morgan Jones coarse earthenware sherds
2	Chalky-pasted lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
5	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
11	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
21	White clay pipe bowl fragments
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 8/64" bore
7	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment 5/64" bore
15	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
1	Terra cotta pipe stem fragment
16	Colonial bottle glass fragments
14	Colonial flat glass fragments
2	Colonial table glass fragments
1	Iron knife blade fragment
2	Copper-alloy leather clasps
1	Brass furniture tack
1	Lead bale seal fragment
1	Lead shot
6	Gunflint fragments
36	Wrought nails or nail fragment
29	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
98	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
28.6	Yellow brick fragments
2860.0 g.	Handmade brick fragments
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd, Potomac Creek cord-marked
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd, Townsend Series cord-marked
14	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Townsend Series plain
1	Quartz biface
1	Quartz bifacially retouched flake
61	Lithic debitage fragments
3.1 g.	Bone
4.8 g.	Shell

32628 Test Unit 32628 (N2050-2055/E1940-1945) was immediately north of 32368. It consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silty loam plowzone approximately 0.8 feet thick. At its base were plowscars, root molds, and several cultural features. Three of these were dark, round features approximately 0.8 feet in diameter, similar to the feature described in 32368 (Figure 7). They appear to be post holes. Two of the post holes in 32628 form a line with the post hole in 32368. The remaining post hole in 32628 is perpendicular to this line, three feet east of the center post. The size and

closeness of the posts suggests that they may be part of a fence or small, crude structure. The posts in 32628 surround, and slightly intrude into, a pit-like feature which contained a ring of large cobbles. The cobble ring, which was approximately two feet in diameter, is suggestive of a fire pit of some sort; however, no charcoal or other evidence of burning was visible on the surface of the feature.

Table 4. Artifacts from Test Unit 32628

Count/ Weight	Description
2	Rhenish brown stoneware sherds
6	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
2	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
9	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
10	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
6	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
5	19 th century domestic stoneware sherds
1	Modern flowerpot sherd
35	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment 9/64" bore
4	White clay pipe stem fragments, 8/64" bore
11	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment 5/64" bore
26	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
16	Colonial bottle glass fragments
19	Colonial flat glass fragments
1	Modern glass fragment
4	Lead shot
2	Gunflint fragments
2	Wrought nails or nail fragments
4	Cut nails or nail fragments
83	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
134.5 g.	Pantile
34.8 g.	Yellow brick fragments
3273.3 g.	Handmade brick fragments
7.1 g.	Daub
22	Prehistoric pottery sherds
103	Lithic debitage fragments
3.2 g.	Bone
23.1 g.	Shell

Nails and brick flecks were present at the top of the feature (which was not excavated), suggesting that it may be of colonial origin. One possible explanation for the posts and pit is that they represent a shed or frame which was used to smoke meat or fish. Among the artifacts recovered from the plowzone in 32628 included a fragment of a Rhenish brown stoneware bellarmine jug, and four lead shot, .20, .23, and .31 (2) in caliber.



Figure 6: Copper alloy leather ornaments recovered from Mattapan. Top row, left to right: quatrefoil or floral shape, Lot 66, Unit 33112A; Tudor rose motif, Lot 13, Unit 32368A; Fleur-de-lis motif, Lot 7, Unit 32315A; Diamond/shell-shaped, Lot 153, Unit 35236B. Bottom row, left to right: Double rose motif, Lot 13, Unit 32368A; Dumbbell shape, Lot 78, Unit 33668A.

Figure 7: Placeholder

Table 5. Artifacts from Test Unit 33668

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Rhenish brown stoneware sherd
2	English brown stoneware sherds
2	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
1	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherd
2	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
3	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
10	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 8/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
10	Colonial bottle glass fragments
7	Colonial flat glass fragments
3	Colonial table glass fragments
2	Modern glass fragments
1	Brass furniture tack
1	Copper-alloy leather clasp
4	Gunflint fragments
19	Wrought nails or nail fragment
12	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
16	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
211.9 g.	Pantile
19.1	Yellow brick fragments
4541.3 g.	Handmade brick fragments
22.9 g.	Daub
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd, Accokeek plain
17	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Townsend Series plain
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd, Potomac Creek cord-marked
6	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Potomac Creek plain
1	Chert projectile point fragment
96	Lithic debitage fragments
3.5 g.	Bone
14.1 g.	Shell

Table 6. Artifacts from Test Unit 33671

Count/ Weight	Description
5	Modern flowerpot sherds
1	Colonial bottle glass fragment
7	Modern glass fragments
2	Modern buttons
51.5 g.	Handmade brick fragments
2	Lithic debitage fragments
47.5 g.	Shell

33668 Test Unit 33668 (N2070-2075/E1940-1945) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR3/4) silt loam plowzone approximately 0.9 feet thick. Only root molds were exposed in the clay subsoil at its base. Artifacts from the plowzone included a copper-alloy leather clasp and an unidentifiable chert projectile point fragment.

33671 In Test Unit 33671 (N2070-2075/E1955-1960), after the sod layer (approximately 0.2 feet thick) was removed, it became obvious that all but the western edge of the unit had been previously

excavated by Pogue as part of his 1981 investigations. Because of this disturbance, excavations of 33671 were discontinued at this point. Artifacts that had been found in the sod layer were retained.

33925 In Test Unit 33925 (N2075-2080/E1925-1930) there were two plowzones. The upper, later one (Stratum A) consisted of dark brown (10YR3/3) sandy silt loam approximately 0.55 feet thick.

Table 7. Artifacts from Test Unit 33925

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Chinese blue-on-white porcelain sherd
1	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherd
1	Rhenish brown stoneware sherd
1	English brown stoneware sherd
1	Lead-backed tin-glazed earthenware sherd
8	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	Manganese Mottled earthenware sherd
4	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
1	Sandy Pasted coarse earthenware sherd
2	Chalky Pasted coarse earthenware sherds
2	Morgan Jones coarse earthenware sherds
5	Micaceous Merida earthenware sherds
4	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
2	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
14	Modern flowerpot sherds
7	White clay pipe bowl fragments
4	White clay pipe stem fragments, 8/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 7/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 6/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 5/64" bore
10	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
17	Colonial bottle glass fragments
3	Colonial flat glass fragments
2	Colonial table glass fragments
4	Modern glass fragments
2	Lead shot
1	Gunflint fragment
62	Wrought nails or nail fragment
1	Unidentified nail fragment
186.6 g.	Pantile
10.0	Yellow brick fragments
3947.6 g.	Handmade brick fragments
473.9 g.	Daub
2	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Accokeek plain
1	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Townsend Series cord-marked
19	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Townsend Series plain
2	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Potomac Creek cord-marked
3	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Potomac Creek plain
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
151	Lithic debitage fragments
2.3 g.	Bone
3.8 g.	Shell

The lower, earlier plowzone (Stratum B) was a brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) silt loam about 0.5 feet thick. Below Stratum B, along the west wall of the unit, there was what appeared to be a shovel test pit from Pogue's 1981 survey. The east half of 33925 was occupied by a series of possibly related features containing some charcoal and cobbles. These features may have been produced by a tree or some other natural agent, but it is also possible they are cultural in origin. They were not excavated further. Among the artifacts found in 33925 were two lead shot, .26 caliber and .39 caliber.

33934 The top layer (Stratum A) of Test Unit 33934 (N2075-2080/E1970-1975) consisted of a yellowish brown (10YR5/6) sandy fill layer. This fill, which was probably put down by the Navy,

was approximately 1.0 feet thick. It was not screened. Below it was a dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) silty clay loam plowzone (Stratum B) about 0.7 feet thick. Below Stratum B was a large, trash-filled feature, probably associated with the storage pits excavated by Pogue in 1981 as part of his Units 153 and 154. The feature in 33934 was not excavated further. Among the artifacts found in the plowzone of 33934 were three .39 caliber lead shot. Also recovered was a copper-alloy coin weight (Figure 8). It was about 0.6 inches on a side, and weighed 4.85 grams (75 grains). On its face were two crossed scepters, with a crown above and a dagger below. It was dated 1606. This weight was used for a coin called the Albertus, first minted in the Spanish Netherlands around 1600. In 1606 the value

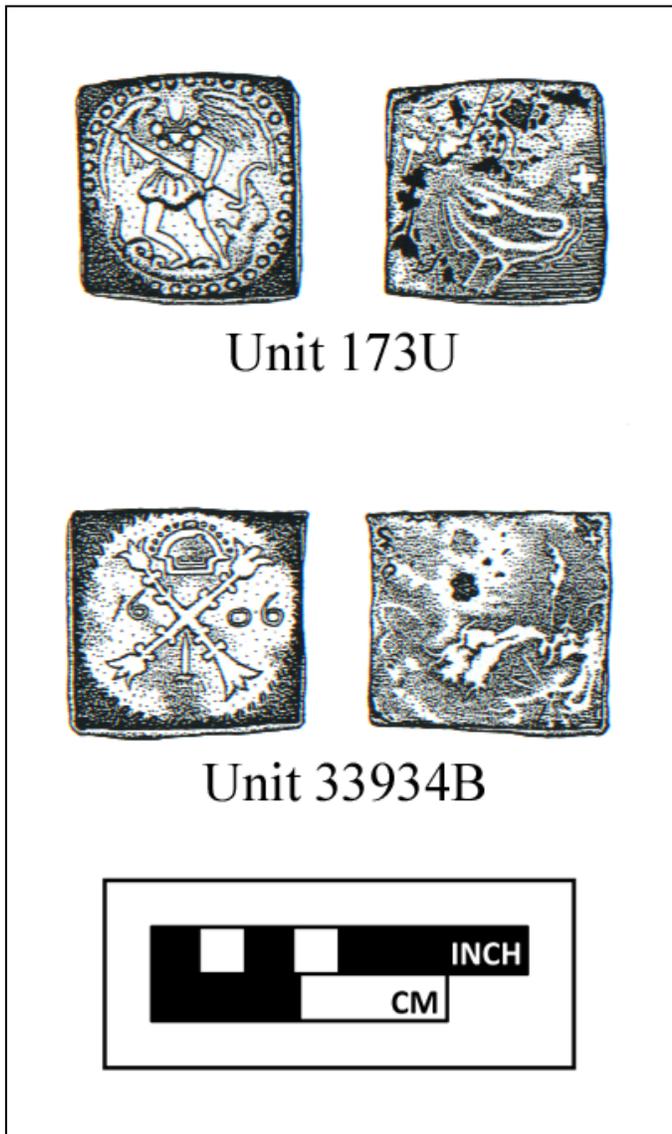


Figure 8. Coin weights from Mattapan. Top: Front and back of a Half Angel weight recovered during the Pogue excavation in 1981. Bottom: Front and back of of an Albertus weight dated 1606 recovered during the current project.

of the coin was changed, and the weight from 33934 reflects that change. The weight may have been cast in Amsterdam (Paul Withers 1994, personal communication). In 1981, Pogue also found a coin weight on the site. It showed the Archangel Michael slaying a dragon, and was used for an English

Table 8. Artifacts from Test Unit 33934

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherd
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, manganese painted
6	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds, blue painted
13	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	Iberian olive jar sherd
14	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
1	North Devon slipware sherd
3	Micaceous Merida earthenware sherds
20	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
3	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
5	Whiteware sherds, undecorated
41	White clay pipe bowl fragments
15	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, 6/64" bore
18	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
3	Terra cotta pipe bowl fragments
2	Terra cotta pipe stem fragments
46	Colonial bottle glass fragments
38	Colonial flat glass fragments
1	Colonial table glass fragment
9	Modern glass fragments
3	Lead shot
13	Gunflint fragments
3	Brass furniture tacks
1	Lead window came
1	Copper-alloy coin weight
1	Glass button fragment
4	Wrought nails or nail fragments
3	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
67	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
598.2 g.	Pantile
788.3 g.	Yellow brick fragments
11568.9 g.	Handmade brick fragments
54.1 g.	Daub
17	Prehistoric pottery sherds
1	Quartz uniface fragment
74	Lithic debitage fragments
174.2 g.	Bone
77.2 g.	Shell

coin called the Half Angel, minted between 1605 and 1619 and worth approximately 5 shillings. Coin weights came in boxed sets, with a variety of weights that could be used to make sure that different types of coins had not been shaved or otherwise altered. The only other 17th-century site in Maryland where coin weights have been reported is St. Johns in St. Mary's City, which was owned by Charles Calvert (Silas Hurry 1995, personal communication). This is perhaps not a coincidence. The Calverts tried to get Marylanders to use coinage instead of tobacco as currency, even going so far as to issue their own coins, but without much success. If coin weights were going to be found anywhere in Maryland, they would be at places associated with the Calverts.

34452 Test Unit 34452 (N2085-2090/E1960-1965) consisted of a dark brown (10YR3/3) silt loam post-Navy plowzone (Stratum A), approximately 0.55 feet thick. Below this was a yellowish brown (10YR5/4) sand layer (Stratum B), about 0.65 feet thick. This sand appeared to have been deposited

Table 9. Artifacts from Test Unit 34452

Count/Weight Stratum A	Count/Weight Stratum B	Count/Weight Stratum C	Description
	1	3	Rhenish blue & gray stoneware sherds
		2	Rhenish brown stoneware sherds
	1	34	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds, manganese painted
		5	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds, blue painted
1		13	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
		4	Morgan Jones coarse earthenware sherds
		3	Micaceous Merida earthenware sherd
		5	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
		3	North Devon gravel free earthenware sherds
		13	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
		8	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
		40	White clay pipe bowl fragments
		1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 9/64" bore
		6	White clay pipe stem fragments, 8/64" bore
	3	24	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
		4	White clay pipe stem fragments, 6/64" bore
	2	22	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
		2	Terra cotta pipe stem fragments
		2	Black glass beads
3		58	Colonial bottle glass fragments
		44	Colonial flat glass fragments
		4	Colonial table glass fragments
		3	Brass furniture tacks
		2	Lead shot
		5	European gunflint fragments
		6	Lead window cames
		47	Wrought nails and nail fragments
		60	Unidentified square nail fragments
	1	61	Unidentified nail fragments
43.7 g.		2782.9 g.	Pantile
		208.5 g.	Yellow brick fragments
334.9 g.	1328.4 g.	11379.3 g.	Handmade brick fragments
		38.9 g.	Mortar
		49.5 g.	Daub
		13	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Townsend Series plain
		1	Prehistoric pottery sherd, Townsend Series cord-marked
		5	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Potomac Creek plain
	1		Prehistoric pottery sherd
		1	Quartz projectile point fragment, distal end
2	1	103	Lithic debitage fragments
	0.1 g.	549.1 g.	Bone
15.0 g.	3.1 g.	772.0 g.	Shell

by the Navy, [REDACTED]. Strata A and B contained relatively few artifacts, suggesting that they only partially incorporated soils from elsewhere on the site, and thus that disturbance to the area was minimal. Along the south wall of 34452, a portion of a unit excavated by Pogue in 1981 was exposed. Below Stratum B was an earlier plowzone (Stratum C), composed of dark brown (10YR3/3) silt loam approximately 0.6 feet thick. At its base was a large, trash-filled feature, probably associated with the storage pits excavated by Pogue in 1981 as part of his Unit 153. The feature in 34452 was not excavated further. Among the artifacts recovered from Stratum C were three sherds of a Rhenish blue and gray stoneware handled mug, portions of which were found by Pogue in 1981 and are now on display at the Natural Resources Office at NASPAX. Also found were two black glass beads (possibly part of a rosary), 3 brass tacks, and two lead shot, .30 and .36 caliber.

34710 Test Unit 34710 (N2090-2095/E1950-1955) consisted of a brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) sandy silt loam, post-Navy plowzone (Stratum A), approximately 0.5 feet thick. At its base, along the east wall of the unit, the edge of two of Pogue's 1981 test units (172 and 173) was uncovered. To the west there was an earlier plowzone (Stratum B), composed of mottled brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) silt loam approximately 0.4 feet thick. At the base of B was a large, trash-filled pit feature, a portion of which had been excavated by Pogue in 1981. Subsoil was present along the west wall of 34710, defining the edge of the pit. At its top, two distinct areas were visible in the feature. One, on the western edge, contained a lot of charcoal and shell in a dark brown (10YR3/3) silt loam. It was removed as Feature C. The remainder of the pit, designated Feature D, was a brown/dark brown

Table 10. Artifacts from Test Unit 34710

Count/Weight Strata A-B	Count/Weight Feature C-D	Description
1	1	Rhenish blue & gray stoneware sherds
3		Tin-glazed earthenware sherds, manganese painted
2	2	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
2		Chalky Pasted coarse earthenware sherds
7		North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
	1	North Devon gravel free earthenware sherd
8	4	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
6		Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
1		Pearlware sherd, undecorated
1		Whiteware sherd, undecorated
16	12	White clay pipe bowl fragments
3	1	White clay pipe stem fragments, 8/64" bore
9	5	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
10	4	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
4	4	Colonial bottle glass fragments
8		Colonial flat glass fragments
2	1	Colonial table glass fragments
1	1	Lead shot, .36 caliber
1		European gunflint fragment
2	25	Wrought nails and nail fragments
9	11	Unidentified square nail fragments
32	50	Unidentified nail fragments
235.8 g.	1.2 g.	Pantile
17.9 g.	71.5 g.	Yellow brick fragments
5069.8 g.	1655.9 g.	Handmade brick fragments
	118.2 g.	Plaster
8.8 g.	26.2 g.	Mortar
59.9 g.	26.9 g.	Daub
3		Prehistoric pottery sherds, Townsend Series plain
1		Prehistoric pottery sherd, Moyaone plain
1		Prehistoric pottery sherd, Potomac Creek cord-marked
16	10	Prehistoric pottery sherd
1		Quartz Potomac Creek projectile point
3		Quartz bifacially retouched chunks
72	24	Lithic debitage fragments
12.2 g.	75.5 g.	Bone
252.2 g.	461.6 g.	Shell

(10YR4/3) silt loam that had less shell than C. Feature C was about 0.3 feet thick, and intruded into Feature D. It was apparently just a fill lens within the pit. Feature D was discontinued after about 0.1 feet, when a layer of heavy charcoal and rubble was encountered. This was designated Feature E. It was a very dark brown (10YR2/2) ashy clay loam. At about 0.2 feet down, a new layer of fill within the pit was encountered. Because this pit had already been investigated by Pogue, and because the

complicated stratigraphy would make it time-consuming to excavate, work in 34710 was stopped at this point.

Table 11. Artifacts from Test Unit 35236

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Chinese porcelain sherd
6	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	Iberian olive jar sherd
1	Manganese Mottled coarse earthenware sherd
1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
3	Chalky Pasted coarse earthenware sherds
3	Morgan Jones coarse earthenware sherds
9	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
1	Micaceous Merida earthenware sherd
24	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
4	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
2	Whiteware sherds, undecorated
18	White clay pipe bowl fragments
8	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
6	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
15	Colonial bottle glass fragments
31	Colonial flat glass fragments
2	Colonial table glass fragments
12	Lead shot, .34 caliber
45	Lead shot, .35 caliber
5	Lead shot, .37 caliber
2	Lead shot, .39 caliber
14	Lead shot, indeterminate caliber
5	Gunflint fragments
1	Brass furniture tack
1	Copper-alloy leather clasp
2	Lead window comes
12	Wrought nails or nail fragments
10	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
42	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
267.5 g.	Pantile
225.0 g.	Yellow brick fragments
3233.0 g.	Handmade brick fragments
15.1 g.	Daub
13	Prehistoric pottery sherds
1	Quartz biface fragment
1	Quartz bifacially retouched flake
125	Lithic debitage fragments
9.8 g.	Bone

35236 Test Unit 35236 (N2100-2105/E1980-1985) consisted of a heavily mottled brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) sandy fill layer (Stratum A), approximately 1.2 feet thick, which was removed without being screened. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Below this was Stratum B, a dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) buried plowzone approximately 0.6 feet thick. This layer was extremely compacted, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and thus very difficult to dig. The plowzone was notable for the large number (n=78) of lead shot it contained. At the base of B was a mottled dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) silt loam

feature which covered the entire unit. A number of shot were visible on the surface of the feature.

Because the compacted soils were so hard to dig (even too hard to core), excavation of 35236 was

stopped at this point. The number of lead shot recovered from this unit suggests it was near the part of the magazine where ammunition was stored and/or manufactured.

Table 12. Artifacts from Test Unit 35483

Count/ Weight	Description
4	Rhenish brown stoneware sherds
1	English brown stoneware sherd
2	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
8	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
1	Micaceous Merida earthenware sherd
8	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
7	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Modern flowerpot sherd
12	White clay pipe bowl fragments
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, 8/64" bore
5	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 6/64" bore
9	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
9	Colonial bottle glass fragments
14	Colonial flat glass fragments
2	Colonial table glass fragments
1	Modern glass fragment
1	Lead shot, .28 caliber
2	Gunflint fragments
2	Brass furniture tacks
8	Wrought nails or nail fragments
9	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
25	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
124.2 g.	Pantile
206.4 g.	Yellow brick fragments
4758.7 g.	Handmade brick fragments
19.5 g.	Daub
8	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Townsend Series plain
3	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Potomac Creek plain
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd, Moyaone plain
3	Quartzite bifacially retouched flakes
5	Quartz bifacially retouched flakes
96	Lithic debitage fragments
9.8 g.	Bone
7.7 g.	Shell

35483 Test Unit 35483 (N2105-2110/E1915-1920) consisted of a mottled dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) sandy loam, Navy fill layer (Stratum A), approximately 0.95 feet thick. It was not screened. Below this was Stratum B, a brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) silt loam, pre-Navy plowzone approximately 0.6 feet thick. At subsoil, only plowscars and root molds were evident.

35490 Test Unit 35490 (N2105-2110/E1950-1955) consisted of a dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) sandy loam, plowed Navy fill layer (Stratum A), approximately 0.5 feet thick. Below this

was Stratum B, a dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) unplowed sand fill layer approximately 0.25 feet thick. At the base of B was a brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) silt loam buried plowzone (Stratum C),

about 0.3 feet thick. There were a number of plowscars at subsoil. In the eastern half of the unit, a large, dark loam feature was uncovered. It contained brick rubble, and appeared to be a pit of some sort. It was not excavated further.

Table 13. Artifacts from Test Unit 35490

Count/Weight	Description
1	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherd
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, manganese painted
7	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
2	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
18	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
4	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	White clay pipe bowl fragment
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 8/64" bore
6	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
2	Colonial bottle glass fragments
5	Colonial flat glass fragments
1	Modern glass fragment
1	Lead shot, .36 caliber
1	Gunflint fragment
1	Copper-alloy leather clasp
6	Wrought nails or nail fragments
18	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
68	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
94.7 g.	Pantile
36.2 g.	Yellow brick fragments
3973.8 g.	Handmade brick fragments
13.2 g.	Mortar
6	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Townsend Series plain
2	Prehistoric pottery sherds
1	Quartzite biface fragment
1	Quartz bifacially retouched flake
58	Lithic debitage fragments
6.0 g.	Bone
1012.7 g.	Shell

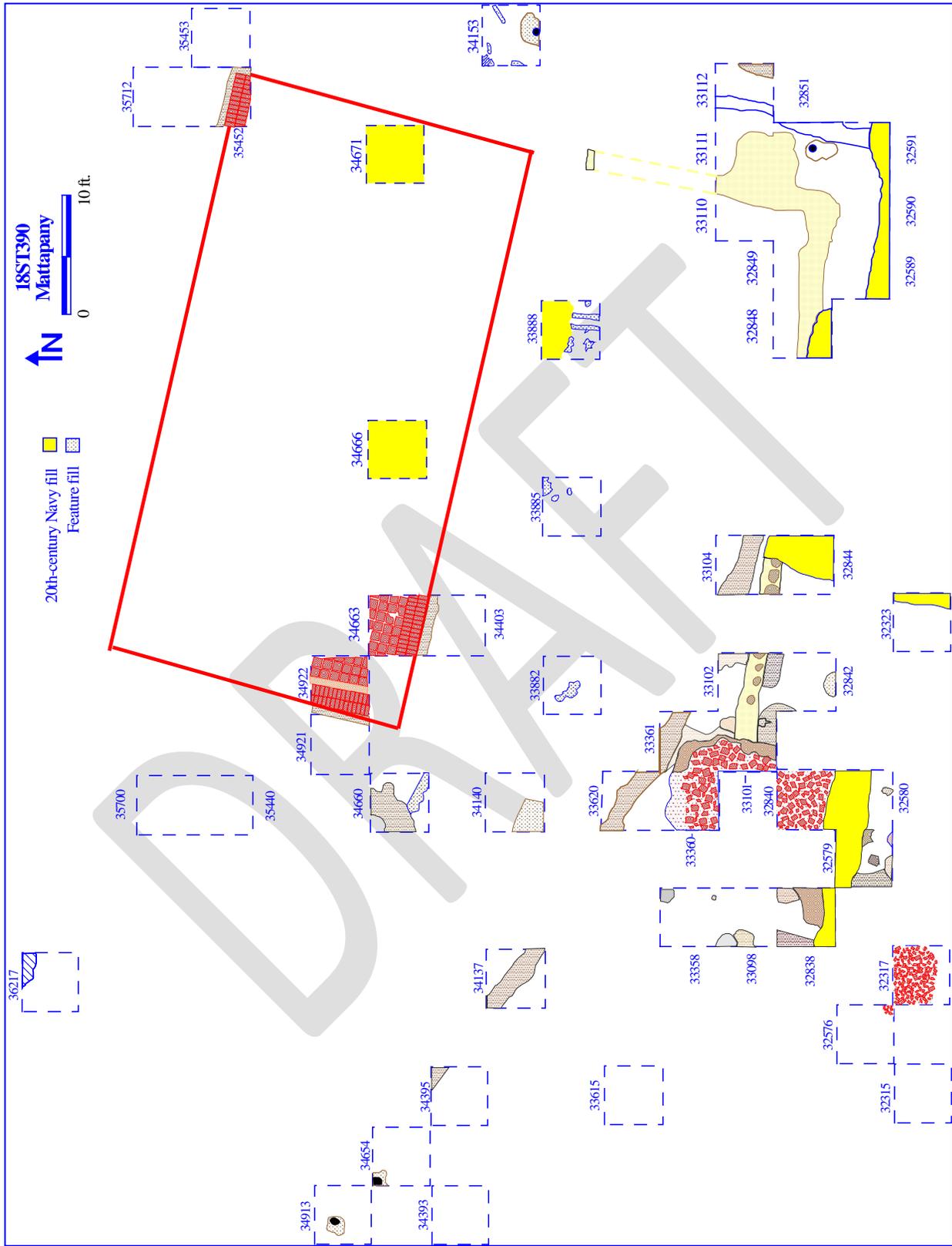


Figure 9. Plan view showing phase II excavation unit locations and major features found.

House Area

31533 Test Unit 31533 (N2030-2035/E1665-1670) was located at the southern end of this portion of the site. A dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) silty clay loam plowzone, approximately 0.8 feet thick, was excavated, revealing a clay subsoil but no cultural features. Artifacts recovered from the plowzone included a North Devon sgraffito earthenware sherd with a floral design motif, and a complete white clay tobacco pipe bowl with a rouletted rim.

Table 14. Artifacts from Test Unit 31533

Count/ Weight	Description
2	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	North Devon sgraffito earthenware sherd
20	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherd
8	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	White clay pipe bowl, rouletted rim, 7/64" bore
5	White clay pipe bowl fragments
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
4	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
24	Colonial bottle glass fragments
2	Colonial flat glass fragments
5	Modern glass fragments
1	Window lead fragment
6	Wrought nails or nail fragments
2	Cut nails or nail fragments
3	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
6	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
168.1 g.	Pantile
1645.4 g.	Handmade brick fragments
6.1 g.	Daub
0.6 g.	Mortar
4	Prehistoric pottery sherds
21	Lithic debitage fragments
2.8 g.	Bone
6.0 g.	Shell

31546 Test Unit 31546 (N2030-2035/E1730-1735) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy loam plowzone approximately 0.9 feet thick. Below the plowzone was only sterile clay subsoil.

Table 15. Artifacts from Test Unit 31546

Count/ Weight	Description
2	Rhenish blue & gray stoneware sherds
1	Rhenish brown stoneware sherd
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd
4	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
8	Modern flowerpot sherds
3	White clay pipe bowl fragments
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, 6/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 5/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
6	Colonial bottle glass fragments
1	Colonial flat glass fragment
4	Modern glass fragments
9	Wrought nails or nail fragments
7	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
50.3 g.	Pantile
1123.5 g.	Handmade brick fragments
0.4 g.	Mortar
1	Quartz biface fragment
32	Lithic debitage fragments
17.7 g.	Shell

31799 Test Unit 31799 (N2035-2040/E1695-1700) consisted on a dark yellowish brown

(10YR4/4) silty loam plowzone, approximately 0.7 feet thick. At its base were several plowscars and rootmolds, along with one small circular feature projecting into the northeast corner of the unit (this feature was also evident in units 32059 and 32060). At the top of the feature were flecks of brick and charcoal, along with occasional artifacts such as pipe stems and bone. The feature was not excavated, but may represent a small trash pit. Among the artifacts from the plowzone in 31799 was the distal end of an unidentifiable quartz projectile point.

Table 16. Artifacts from Test Unit 31799

Count/ Weight	Description
2	Rhenish blue & gray molded stoneware sherds
6	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
7	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
3	North Devon gravel free earthenware sherds
17	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
2	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
2	Whiteware sherds, undecorated
4	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 8/64" bore
5	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, 6/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 5/64" bore
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
6	Colonial bottle glass fragments
4	Colonial flat glass fragment
5	Modern glass fragments
1	Wire nail fragment
3	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
8	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
100.3 g.	Pantile
2305.4 g.	Handmade brick fragments
537.5 g.	Mortar
0.7 g.	Daub
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
1	Quartz projectile point fragment
57	Lithic debitage fragments
0.3 g.	Bone
47.2 g.	Shell

32059, 32060 These two units (N2040-2045/E1695-1700 and N2040-2045/E1700-1705) were excavated to further expose the feature uncovered in the northeast corner of 31799. Because of time constraints, only the eastern half of 32059 and the western half of 32060 were excavated, forming one continuous five-foot open area that straddled the feature. Plowzone in these two units consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silty loam, approximately 0.6 feet thick. Below the plowzone were plowscars, root molds, and

sterile clay subsoil, and more of the feature found in 31799. The feature was circular, approximately

1.5 feet in diameter, and at its top contained charcoal and brick flecks, along with occasional artifacts like pipe stems and bone. It was not excavated, but probably represents a small trash pit. Artifacts

Table 17. Artifacts from Test Units 32059, 32060

Count/Weight 32059	Count/Weight 32060	Description
2		Rhenish blue & gray stoneware sherds
	1	Rhenish brown stoneware sherd
1		Staffordshire slipware sherd
	2	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
4	1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
2	2	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
1	1	North Devon gravel free earthenware sherds
4	1	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	3	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
1		Colonoware rim sherd
3		White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
2	1	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
	1	Glass bottle seal fragment
6	3	Colonial bottle glass fragments
1		Colonial flat glass fragment
2		Colonial table glass fragments
	1	Brass furniture tack
	2	Wrought nail fragments
1		Cut nail fragment
3	9	Unidentified nail fragments
44.4 g.	10.6 g.	Pantile
1551.1 g.	1104.6 g.	Handmade brick fragments
	256.5 g.	Mortar
	1.7 g.	Daub
1		Bifacially retouched quartz flake
18	15	Lithic debitage fragments
7.5 g.	0.7 g.	Bone
7.0 g.		Shell

from the plowzone included a fragment of a glass bottle seal with no visible markings, a brass furniture tack, and a rim sherd from a Colonoware plate.

32315 Test Unit 32315 (N2045-2050/E1675-1680) consisted of dark yellowish brown (10Y/R 4/4 and 4/6) sandy silt loam

plowzone overlying sterile clay subsoil. Only plowscars and root molds were evident at the base of the plowzone, which was approximately 0.9 feet thick. Among the artifacts recovered from the plowzone was a molded, bow-shaped, copper-alloy leather strap clasp.

Table 18. Artifacts from Test Unit 32315

Count/ Weight	Description
9	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	Lead-backed tin-glazed earthenware sherd
1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
3	North Devon sgraffito earthenware sherds
8	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
1	North Devon gravel free earthenware sherd
9	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
2	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
2	Creamware sherds, undecorated
2	Whiteware sherds, undecorated
10	White clay pipe bowl fragments
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
6	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
1	Terra cotta pipe bowl fragment
1	Terra cotta pipe stem fragment
12	Colonial bottle glass fragments
14	Colonial flat glass fragments
5	Modern glass fragments
1	Copper-alloy leather clasp
1	Gunflint fragment
1	Wire nail fragment
19	Unidentified nail fragments
69.7 g.	Pantile
3098.8 g.	Handmade brick fragments
2	Prehistoric pottery sherds
49	Lithic debitage fragments
8.2 g.	Bone
11.1 g.	Shell

brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) silty loam only 0.1 to 0.2 feet thick. The two strata probably represent pre-Navy and post-Navy plowing, with A being slightly lighter in color because it incorporates clay and soil from nearby Navy construction and filling activities. At the base of the plowzone, a brick rubble-filled feature was uncovered (Figure 10). It occupied all but the southern end of the unit. Excavation of the adjacent Test Unit 32576 indicated that the feature extended less than a foot

32317 In Test Unit 32317 (N2045-2050/E1685-1690) the plowzone was divided into two strata: A and B. The upper layer (A) was a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silty loam approximately 0.6 feet thick, while B was a

Table 19. Artifacts from Test Unit 32317

Count/ Weight	Description
3	Rhenish blue & gray stoneware sherds
1	White salt-glazed stoneware sherd
4	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	Staffordshire slipware sherd
4	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
14	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
1	North Devon gravel free earthenware sherds
15	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Creamware sherd, undecorated
1	Whiteware sherd, undecorated
13	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 7/64" bore
4	White clay pipe stem fragments, 6/64" bore
8	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
13	Colonial bottle glass fragments
1	Colonial flat glass fragment
1	Colonial table glass fragment
2	Modern glass fragments
4	Wrought tacks
22	Wrought nails or nail fragments
13	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
198.0 g.	Pantile
4.8 g.	Yellow brick fragments
26101.2 g.	Handmade brick fragments
429.7 g.	Mortar
11.5 g.	Daub
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd, Potomac Creek
5	Prehistoric pottery sherds
2	Quartz bifaces
61	Lithic debitage fragments
69.0 g.	Bone
111.4 g.	Shell

to the northwest, while probing with a soil corer suggested that it only went a couple of feet further to the north, west, and east. A rubble-filled cellar was uncovered less than ten feet away (see below). This, along with the presence of large brick fragments apparently deposited after the demolition of a building, suggest that the feature in 32317 was a small cellar or storage pit. The feature was not excavated, but it was cleaned up, and the artifacts from this activity were given the designation of Feature C. These artifacts included a large number of brick bats and mortar fragments, along with a few pieces of earthenware, tobacco pipe, bottle glass, bone, and shell. Artifacts recovered from the plowzone included two marked pipe bowl fragments. One, which had a 5/64" bore diameter, was marked with what appeared to be "I.D." in a cartouche, which may have been made in London between 1750 and 1790. The other pipe fragment had a "W", and may have been made in Bristol between 1660 and 1720 (David Higgins 1998, personal communication).

Figure 10 Placeholder

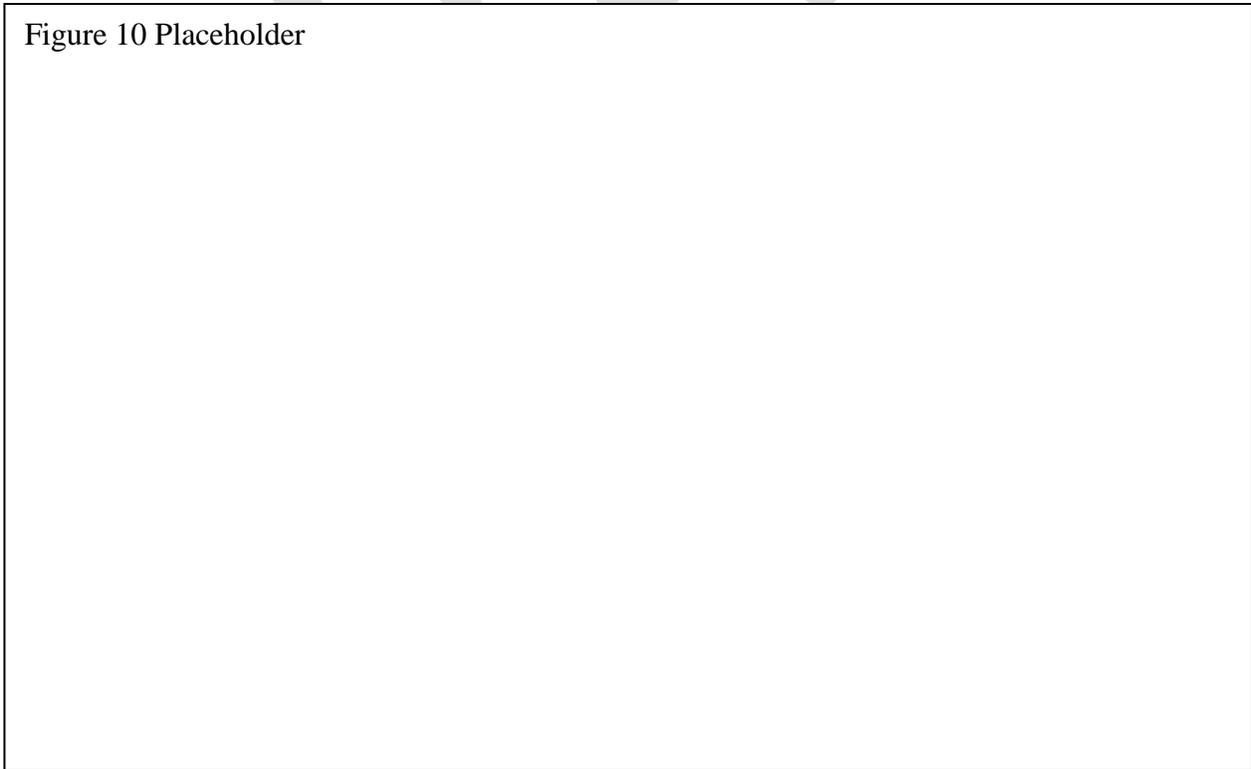


Table 20. Artifacts from Test Unit 32323

Count/ Weight	Description
2	White salt-glazed stoneware sherds
7	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
2	Staffordshire slipware sherds
5	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
1	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherd
7	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
2	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Creamware sherd, undecorated
1	Modern flowerpot sherd
4	White clay pipe bowl fragments
6	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 6/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 4/64" bore
7	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
3	Colonial bottle glass fragments
6	Colonial flat glass fragments
1	Colonial table glass fragment
2	Modern glass fragments
8	Wrought nails or nail fragments
6	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
1	Wire nail fragment
16	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
11.8 g.	Pantile
0.6 g.	Yellow brick fragments
3950.3 g.	Handmade brick fragments
2.5 g.	Daub
2	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Potomac Creek
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
32	Lithic debitage fragments
0.1 g.	Bone
24.9 g.	Shell

32323 Test Unit 32323 (N2045-2050/E1715-1720) consisted of pre-Navy and post-Navy plowzone strata (A and C). The upper, post-Navy plowzone was a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy silt loam approximately 0.7 feet thick. The earlier plowzone was a brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) sandy silt loam approximately 0.1 feet thick. At the base of the post-Navy plowzone, a clay-filled feature (B) was uncovered. It was part of a hole that was excavated by the Navy in order to place in the ground a concrete access box for a buried electrical line. The only other

features in 32323 were plowscars and root molds. Among the artifacts from the plowzone was a molded tobacco pipe stem, possibly of Dutch origin and made between 1650 and 1700 (David Higgins 1998, personal communication).

32557 Test Unit 32557 (N2050-2055/E1585-1590) was located at the western end of the house area portion of the site. It consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silty loam plowzone approximately 1.1 feet thick. At the base of the plowzone were several root molds and plowscars, along with sterile clay subsoil. Artifacts were still relatively common in the plowzone, despite being

more than 100 feet from the house site, and included a copper-alloy button front. Also found were one Early Woodland period pottery sherd (Accokeek) and nine Late Woodland period sherds (Townsend Series and Potomac Creek).

32576 Test Unit 32576 (N2050-2055/E1680-1685) was designed to further expose the brick rubble feature uncovered in Test Unit 32317. The stratigraphy in 32576 consisted of two plowzone strata, A and C. Stratum A was a post-Navy plowzone, composed of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy silt loam approximately 0.6 feet thick. At its base, along the north wall of the unit, was Feature B, a Navy electrical line trench that was partially excavated but not screened. Also below Stratum A was Stratum C, a pre-Navy plowzone

Table 21. Artifacts from Test Unit 32557

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Chinese blue-on-white porcelain sherd
5	White salt-glazed stoneware sherds
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, polychrome painted
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, blue-on-white
1	Morgan Jones coarse earthenware sherd
1	Manganese mottled coarse earthenware sherd
1	Chalky-pasted coarse earthenware sherd
1	Jackfield-like earthenware sherd
3	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
2	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
5	White clay pipe bowl fragments
5	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
5	Colonial bottle glass fragments
2	Colonial flat glass fragments
3	Colonial table glass fragments
1	Copper-alloy button front
4	Wrought nails or nail fragments
10	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
1	Wire nail fragment
1	Unidentified nail fragment
213.1 g.	Pantile
1789.6 g.	Handmade brick fragments
2.9 g.	Daub
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd, Accokeek
3	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Potomac Creek cord-marked
3	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Potomac Creek plain
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd, Townsend Series plain
1	Quartz biface fragment
1	Quartz bifacially retouched chunk
1	Quartz bifacially retouched flake
44	Lithic debitage fragments
4.6 g.	Shell

composed of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silty loam 0.4 feet thick. At the base of Stratum C were several plowscars and a small portion of the brick rubble feature, which was located in the

Table 22. Artifacts from Test Unit 32576

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherd
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, manganese sponged
4	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
7	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
7	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
2	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
2	Whiteware sherds, undecorated
7	White clay pipe bowl fragments
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
7	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
8	Colonial bottle glass fragments
2	Colonial flat glass fragments
2	Modern glass fragments
1	Iron spike fragment
1	Iron tack fragment
3	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
11	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
179.8 g.	Pantile
7046.0 g.	Handmade brick fragments
3116.0 g.	Mortar
0.9 g.	Plaster
4.0 g.	Daub
1	Possible slate projectile point fragment, distal end
42	Lithic debitage fragments
3.4 g.	Bone
1.0 g.	Shell

of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy silt loam approximately 0.55 feet thick. At its base, occupying the north half of the unit, was Feature B, a Navy electrical line trench that was partially excavated but not screened. Also below Stratum A was Stratum C, a pre-Navy plowzone composed of dark yellowish brown

southeast corner of the unit. This feature, which was not excavated, may be a small cellar or storage pit.

32579 Test Unit 32579 (N2050-2055/E1695-1700) consisted of two plowzone strata, A and C. Stratum A was a post-Navy plowzone, composed

Table 23. Artifacts from Test Unit 32579

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Chinese blue-on-white porcelain sherd
3	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherds
1	White salt-glazed stoneware sherd, dipped
3	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	Manganese mottled coarse earthenware sherd
1	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherd
9	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherd
1	Whiteware sherd, blue annular decoration
1	Whiteware sherd, plain
10	White clay pipe bowl fragments
9	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
11	Colonial bottle glass fragments
3	Colonial flat glass fragments
1	Colonial table glass fragment
1	Modern glass fragment
1	Prismatic gunflint
1	Lead window came
3	Wrought nails or nail fragments
3	Cut nail fragments
10	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
7	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
126.2 g.	Pantile
7310.6 g.	Handmade brick fragments
36.9	Mortar
0.9 g.	Daub
2	Prehistoric pottery sherds
1	Quartz Levanna point
1	Quartz point, midsection
40	Lithic debitage fragments
9.4 g.	Bone
78.5 g.	Shell

(10YR3/4) silty loam 0.35 feet thick. At the base of Stratum C, south of the electrical trench, several features were uncovered in the clay subsoil. However, because of the small area exposed, none of these features could be identified, and some were probably not cultural in origin. Artifacts recovered from the plowzone included a quartz Levanna projectile point dating to the Late Woodland period, the mid-section of an unidentifiable quartz projectile point, a lead window came, and a complete prismatic brown gunflint.

32580 Test Unit 32580 (N2050-2055/E1700-1705) consisted of two plowzone strata, A and C. Stratum A was a post-Navy plowzone, composed of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy loam approximately 0.5 feet thick. At its base, occupying the north half of the unit, was Feature B, a Navy electrical line trench that was partially excavated but not screened. Also below Stratum A was Stratum C, a pre-Navy plowzone composed of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silty loam 0.3 feet thick. At the

Table 24. Artifacts from Test Unit 32580

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherd
2	Rhenish brown stoneware sherds
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, polychrome painted
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd
1	North Devon gravel free earthenware sherd
3	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherd
2	Whiteware sherds, plain
7	White clay pipe bowl fragments
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 8/64" bore
4	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 4/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
1	Colonial bottle glass fragment
4	Colonial flat glass fragments
1	Modern glass fragment
1	Copper-alloy button
1	Pewter buckle
3	Lead window comes
1	Wrought nail fragment
1	Cut nail fragment
8	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
1	Wire nail fragment
3	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
65.7 g.	Pantile
9017.6 g.	Handmade brick fragments
1.3 g.	Daub
2	Prehistoric pottery sherds
25	Lithic debitage fragments
3.8 g.	Bone
97.7 g.	Shell

base of Stratum C, south of the electrical trench, was clay subsoil and a root mold. Although the fill

from Feature B was not screened, several artifacts were recovered from it, including a copper-alloy button, a pewter buckle, three widow leads (including one with glass still embedded), and a few pieces of pottery and tobacco pipe. Artifacts from the plowzone included a molded pipe stem, possibly Dutch, dating from 1650-1700 (David Higgins 1998, personal communication).

32589 Test Unit 32589 (N2050-2055/E1745-1750) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silty loam plowzone approximately 0.75 feet thick. At its base was sterile clay subsoil, except along the south wall, where a Navy electrical line trench ran. Also, a small feature, possibly non-cultural, was present in the northwest corner of the unit.

32590 Test Unit 32590 (N2050-2055/E1750-1755) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silty loam plowzone approximately 0.9 feet thick. At its base was sterile clay subsoil,

except along the south wall, where a Navy electrical line trench ran. Another feature, the corner of a palisade fence ditch, was present along the north wall of the unit. This feature is described in detail

Table 25. Artifacts from Test Unit 32589

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, blue on white
1	Staffordshire slipware sherd
2	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
3	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Pearlware sherd, plain
3	White clay pipe bowl fragments
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 5/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, unmeasurable bore
7	Colonial bottle glass fragments
3	Colonial table glass fragments
3	Modern glass fragments
1	Wrought nail fragment
1	Cut nail fragment
7	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
6	Wire nail fragments
8	Unidentified nails or nail fragment
130.0 g.	Pantile
1435.6 g.	Handmade brick fragments
1	Barb wire fragment
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd, Townsend Series
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
1	Quartz bifacially retouched chunk
22	Lithic debitage fragments
0.5 g.	Bone
3.0 g.	Shell

Table 26. Artifacts from Test Unit 32590

Count/ Weight	Description
1	White salt-glazed stoneware sherd, scratch blue decoration
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, manganese sponged
2	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	North Devon gravel free earthenware sherd
1	Manganese mottled coarse earthenware sherd
2	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
3	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 5/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 4/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
1	Colonial glass bottle seal fragment
8	Colonial bottle glass fragments
5	Colonial flat glass fragments
6	Modern glass fragments
3	Wrought nail fragments
2	Cut nail fragments
4	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
1	Wire nail fragment
5	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
32.5 g.	Pantile
1919.1 g.	Handmade brick fragments
0.5 g.	Mortar
0.6 g.	Daub
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
12	Lithic debitage fragments
46.2 g.	Shell

the unit there was a Navy electrical line trench. Another feature, a paling fence ditch, ran along the east wall of the unit. The paling was traced north into units 32851 and 33112, a distance of 15 feet, and apparently continued on both to the south and north. In 33112, the paling ditch was about 0.6 feet to 1.0 feet wide, which is typical for paling fences of the

in Test Unit 32844. Artifacts from the plowzone in 32590 included a fragment of a heavily patinated wine bottle seal. No marks were discernable on the seal.

32591 Test Unit 32591 (N2050-2055/E1755-1760) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silty loam plowzone approximately 0.9 feet thick. At its base was sterile clay subsoil and two cultural features. Along the south wall of

Table 27. Artifacts from Test Unit 32591

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Chinese blue-on-white porcelain sherd
6	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
2	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
7	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
5	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 8/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 5/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, unmeasurable bore
1	Lead shot
1	Gunflint fragment
12	Colonial bottle glass fragments
2	Colonial flat glass fragments
1	Modern glass fragment
1	Wrought nail fragment
1	Cut nail fragment
5	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
7	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
2245.2 g.	Handmade brick fragments
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
12	Lithic debitage fragments
3.6 g.	Shell

time period. However, in units 32591 and 32851, the ditch was up to 1.8 feet wide. This exceptional width, along with some very subtle distinctions in the ditch fill, suggests that in the two southern units there are actually two adjacent paling ditches running side by side. Based on the currently available information, it is not clear if the two fences were contemporary and overlapped one another, or if one was a replacement for the other, although the latter explanation seems more likely. Small post molds, approximately 0.4 feet in diameter, appeared to run along the west side of the feature, and were most noticeable in Test Unit 32851. The paling ditch runs perpendicular to the long axis of the house, and parallels the palisade fence described below. Perhaps the paling fence originally defined the yard around Lord Baltimore's house, and was later superceded by the more substantial palisade fence, possibly during the Revolution of 1689. Artifacts from the plowzone in 32591 included a .64 caliber lead shot and a fragment of European gunflint.

32838 Test Unit 32838 (N2055-2060/E1690-1695) consisted of two plowzone strata, A and C. Stratum A was a post-Navy plowzone, composed of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silty loam approximately 0.65 feet thick. At its base, running along the south wall of the unit, was Feature B, a Navy electrical line trench, that was partially excavated and screened to a depth of 0.4 feet. Also below Stratum A was Stratum C, a pre-Navy plowzone composed of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silty loam 0.4 feet thick. At the base of Stratum C, north of the electrical trench, several features were uncovered in the clay subsoil. Some of these were plowscars and root molds. However, because of the small area exposed, the origin or function of the other features could not be identified. Artifacts from 32838 included two brass furniture tacks and a .21 caliber lead shot. Most interesting

Table 28. Artifacts from Test Unit 32838

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Rhenish brown stoneware sherd
1	English brown stoneware sherd
4	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
2	Chalky pasted coarse earthenware sherds
1	Morgan Jones coarse earthenware sherd
7	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
1	Manganese mottled coarse earthenware sherd
13	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
4	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Whiteware sherd, undecorated
1	19 th century domestic stoneware sherd
8	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 8/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
4	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
1	Lead shot
2	Brass furniture tacks
3	Colonial bottle glass fragments
2	Colonial flat glass fragments
7	Colonial table glass fragments
4	Modern glass fragments
20	Wrought nail fragments
7	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
8	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
1	Tin-glazed fireplace tile fragment
123.1 g.	Pantile
9378.0 g.	Handmade brick fragments
65.5 g.	Mortar
5.7 g.	Plaster
9.1 g.	Daub
2	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Potomac Creek
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
1	Quartz biface fragment
1	Jasper bifacially retouched flake
62	Lithic debitage fragments
11.1 g.	Bone
192.7 g.	Shell

composed of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy silt loam 0.8 feet thick (Stratum A), and a pre-Navy plowzone composed of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam 0.2 feet thick (Stratum B). Cutting through the earlier plowzone was a Navy

was a piece of Dutch tin-glazed fireplace tile, painted in purple with a geometric design (Figure 11). The same style of tile has been found at four sites in St. Mary's City, which led archaeologists there to suggest that a large shipment of the tiles was brought into the colony around 1675 (Stone 1986:13).

32840 Test Unit 32840 (N2055-2060/E1700-1705) consisted of two layers of plowzone: a post-Navy plowzone

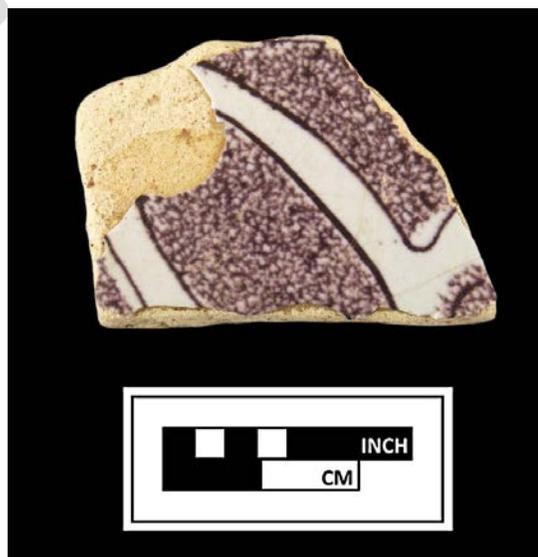


Figure 11: Fragment of a tin-glazed tile from unit 32838.

Table 29. Artifacts from Test Unit 32840, Strata A and B (Plowzone)

Count/ Weight	Description
2	Chinese blue-on-white porcelain sherds
1	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherd
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, blue painted
3	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	Chalky pasted coarse earthenware sherd
2	Staffordshire slipware sherds
2	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
4	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
5	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Pearlware sherd, undecorated
1	Modern flowerpot sherd
12	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 9/64" bore
4	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
1	Gunflint fragment
1	Brass furniture tack
7	Colonial bottle glass fragments
1	Colonial flat glass fragment
10	Colonial table glass fragments
3	Modern glass fragments
15	Wrought nail fragments
2	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
2	Wire nail fragments
33.8 g.	Pantile
10033.8 g.	Handmade brick fragments
12.7 g.	Mortar
20.6 g.	Daub
2	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Potomac Creek cord-marked
2	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Potomac Creek plain
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
1	Quartz bifacially retouched chunk
38	Lithic debitage fragments
22.0 g.	Bone
50.4 g.	Shell

electrical line ditch (Feature C). This ditch consisted of strong brown (7.5YR4/6) clay loam mottled with yellowish brown (10YR5/8) sandy loam. It was excavated to a depth of 1.5 feet, but the fill was not screened. At the base of the ditch was a concrete layer which encapsulated the electrical line. Below the plowzone, a layer of brick rubble was exposed. This proved to be the top of a cellar hole. There were three general zones of fill within the cellar: a dense brick rubble layer at the top (Strata D-E), followed by a mortar and plaster-filled loam layer (Strata F-G), and finally another brick rubble layer (Strata H-R). The floor of the cellar was 4.3 feet below the ground surface. Stratum D consisted

of a dense layer of brick embedded in a brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) silty loam. It was 0.4 feet thick. One notable artifact from D was a pipe stem stamped with an "LE" maker's mark. LE stood for Llewellyn Evans, a Bristol pipe maker who worked between 1661 and 1689 (Pogue 1991:18).

Because of the large amount of rubble in the cellar, the fill layers below Stratum D were only excavated from the southern half of Test Unit 32840, creating a two-foot wide trench into the cellar. Stratum E, which was similar to D, was also about 0.4 feet thick. The rubble in D and E may be the result of an effort to fill in the cellar hole, using brick from the ruins of Lord Baltimore's house. Below E was a brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) loamy layer, which was divided into two arbitrary strata (F and G, which were 0.7 feet and 0.3 feet thick, respectively). Artifacts recovered from F and G included late 18th and early 19th century items, such as creamware sherds and cut nails. They suggest that the cellar continued to be used for trash deposition well after the site was abandoned. No evidence of a late 18th or 19th century occupation on the site has yet been found, so the trash may have come from visitors to the house ruins, or from a deliberate effort to fill in the cellar. Strata F and G also contained large quantities of plaster. This presumably came from the structure which stood over the cellar, as it started to decay. Below Stratum G was another zone of brick rubble, which probably represents the period of site abandonment in the 1740s, since no later artifacts were discovered there. There is no evidence that the structure over the cellar was built of masonry, so the brick probably came from the building's chimney or fireplace. The rubble zone was divided into Strata H through R, which included both natural strata and arbitrary levels within strata. Stratum H was a brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) loam approximately 0.6 feet thick. It contained a number of snail shells, suggesting that it lay open for some time before the filling of the cellar resumed. Stratum J was identical to H in appearance and depth, but it contained more charcoal and fewer snail shells. Stratum K was a yellowish brown (10YR5/4) sandy clay loam layer, 0.3 feet thick, which contained a large amount of charcoal. Below it, Strata L and M (each 0.3 feet thick) consisted of a dark yellowish

brown (10YR4/4) silty loam containing large amounts of shell. An 18th century tin-glazed fireplace tile fragment, painted in blue, was found in L. At the base of M, the molds left by two boards or posts (Feature N) ran north-south across the unit's floor (Figure 12). They may represent cellar wall studs, shelf supports, or planking which fell to the floor after the building was abandoned. They were 0.1 feet to 0.2 feet thick and 0.45 feet wide, and were surrounded by Stratum P, a dark yellowish brown (10Yr4/4) sandy clay loam 0.1 feet thick. (Stratum R consisted of mixed cellar fill which was removed from below the concrete of the electrical line trench). At the base of N and P, a brick floor was exposed. The bricks measured 9 inches by 4.5 inches, and were not mortared together. They lay on a dirt base, but it could not be determined if this was an earlier floor or not. The southernmost row of bricks (under the electrical trench) was located 1.3 feet north of the south wall of the cellar.

The gap between the bricks and the wall consisted of an artifact-filled loam. This may represent material which accumulated during the life of the cellar. The gap between the brick and the wall could indicate that some sort of shelving was present there, and that the brick floor was not extended beneath the shelves. The two board molds found on the floor could be from shelf supports which originally stood against the south wall of the cellar. The bottom 0.7 feet of a similar stud was found still in place in a vertical position along the east wall of the cellar. Since it was in line with the last row of bricks, this stud could be part of the shelf support system, although it is also possible that the cellar had a wood plank lining. Evidence that the cellar had a lining is provided by the fact that a thin band of dark soil ran between the cellar's wall and the brick rubble which filled the hole. The lining would have still been in place as the cellar was filled, preventing the rubble from reaching the

cellar's earth walls. Topsoil would fill in the gap between the walls and the lining, and as the lining rotted it too would leave a dark band. The lining rested on top of the brick floor (if it went that deep at all), since the bricks extend all the way to the cellar's earth walls. However, the bricks went around the studs, as evidenced by the vertical mold which is still in place. A support brick was jammed under this stud at an angle, so that its north end was deeper than its south end. This brick was lower in elevation than the bricks of the floor. Smaller brick bats were then used to fill in the gap between the main brick floor and the stud. In summary, the cellar had a brick floor and earthen walls, which probably had a plank lining. A shelf may have stood at the south end of the cellar. The building which stood over it was probably timber framed, since no evidence of a masonry foundation was uncovered. It apparently had plastered interior walls and a brick fireplace or chimney. Most likely, it was used as a servants quarter or summer kitchen. After the building was abandoned, probably in the 1740s, the cellar shelving collapsed to the floor. The fireplace then fell into the cellar, and soil and building debris slowly accumulated in the hole. Eventually, the remaining walls of the structure gave way, bringing plaster into the cellar hole. By the late 18th century, the cellar was being used for trash disposal, perhaps by visitors to the ruins of Lord Baltimore's house, or in an effort to fill up the hole. Finally, at an unknown date, brick from Baltimore's house was used to completely fill the hole.

Figure 12 Placeholder

Table 30. Artifacts from Test Unit 32840, Cellar Fill (Strata D-P)

Count/Weight Strata D-E	Count/Weight Strata F-G	Count/Weight Strata H-R	Description
	1	2	Chinese blue-on-white porcelain sherds
	1	2	Rhenish blue & gray stoneware sherds
1			Rhenish brown stoneware sherd
		1	English brown stoneware sherd
1	1	7	White salt-glazed stoneware sherds
1			Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, polychrome painted
2	1	3	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds, blue painted
1	1	5	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
		2	Jackfield earthenware sherds
2	2		Staffordshire slipware sherds
		1	Manganese mottled coarse earthenware sherd
1		1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
1			North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherd
		1	North Devon slipware sherd
8	9	17	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
3	19		Creamware sherds, undecorated
13	5	24	White clay pipe bowl fragments
	1		White clay pipe stem fragment, 10/64" bore
1	1		White clay pipe stem fragment, 8/64" bore
2		3	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1		1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
	1	2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 5/64" bore
	2	11	White clay pipe stem fragments, 4/64" bore
7	1	3	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
	1		Possible bone handle fragment
	1		Blue glass bead
22	10	29	Colonial bottle glass fragments
2	7	38	Colonial flat glass fragments
		4	Colonial table glass fragments
	1		Brass furniture tack
	1		Copper-alloy button
	1		Copper-alloy thimble fragment
	1		Copper-alloy buckle fragment
		1	White metal buckle fragment
	1		Copper-alloy rivet
	1		Lead shot, .44 caliber
		6	Lead window comes
4	40	58	Wrought nails and nail fragments
	6		Cut nail fragments
7	31	19	Unidentified square nail fragments
5		44	Unidentified nail fragments
		1	Tin-glazed fireplace tile, blue painted
106.6 g.	347.3 g.	51.6 g.	Pantile
8.7 g.			Yellow brick fragments
126399.0 g.	61709.2 g.	211206.7 g.	Handmade brick fragments
4.2 g.	832.9 g.	388.3 g.	Plaster
641.2 g.	21849.5 g.	3017.9 g.	Mortar
3.4 g.		1.2 g.	Daub
3		1	Prehistoric pottery sherds
35	9	11	Lithic debitage fragments
19.7 g.	189.0 g.	208.6 g.	Bone
593.5 g.	4629.6 g.	14948.0 g.	Shell

32842 Test Unit 32842 (N2055-2060/E1710-1715) consisted of pre-Navy and post-Navy plowzone strata (A and B). The upper, post-Navy plowzone was a brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) silt loam approximately 0.8 feet thick. The earlier plowzone was also a brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) silt loam, approximately 0.2 feet thick, which was distinguished from A by having a higher concentration of brick. At the base of the plowzone were plowscars and root molds, along with a couple of small features which could be cultural in origin, but which were not positively identifiable. Among the artifacts from the plowzone included a European gunflint and a fragment of a Late Woodland chert triangular projectile point.

Table 31. Artifacts from Test Unit 32842

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Chinese blue on white porcelain sherd
1	Rhenish brown stoneware sherd
2	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
2	Staffordshire slipware sherds
5	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
9	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
3	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Creamware sherd, undecorated
9	White clay pipe bowl fragments
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 5/64" bore
8	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
1	Gunflint
4	Colonial bottle glass fragments
2	Colonial flat glass fragments
5	Modern glass fragments
13	Wrought nail fragments
13	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
10	Wire nail fragments
17	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
224.9 g.	Pantile
6830.5 g.	Handmade brick fragments
3.2 g.	Daub
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd, Potomac Creek cord-marked
5	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Potomac Creek plain
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd, Townsend Series plain
1	Chert triangular projectile point fragment
1	Quartz unifacially retouched flake
39	Lithic debitage fragments
2.8 g.	Bone
15.4 g.	Shell

32844 Test Unit 32844 contained a post-Navy plowzone layer. This was divided into two strata, A and B, because the plowzone became more mottled with depth. Stratum A was a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silty loam approximately 0.55 feet thick. Stratum B was similar, but mottled with yellowish brown (10YR5/6) sandy clay loam, and was 0.5 feet thick. Uncovered at the base of B was the edge of a large hole dug by the Navy to emplace a concrete access box for the electrical line

that runs through the site. This hole was designated as Feature C, and was partially excavated but not screened for artifacts. Also found at the base of Stratum B was an earlier, pre-Navy plowzone, Stratum D. This was a dark yellowish brown (10YR3/4) silty loam approximately 0.1 feet thick. Artifacts from the plowzone included white salt-glazed stoneware plate

Table 32. Artifacts from Test Unit 32844

Count/Weight Strata A-D	Count/Weight Strata E-G	Description
1		White salt-glazed stoneware plate sherd
1		Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, blue painted
1	1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1		Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
6		Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
3		Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
1		Creamware sherd, undecorated
1		Whiteware sherd, overglaze painted
3		Modern flowerpot sherds
1		White clay pipe bowl fragment
1		White clay pipe stem fragment, 8/64" bore
1		White clay pipe stem fragments 7/64" bore
	1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
3		White clay pipe stem fragments, 5/64" bore
1	3	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
4		Colonial bottle glass fragments
	1	Colonial flat glass fragments
1		Modern glass fragment
4		Wrought nails and nail fragments
6		Unidentified square nail fragments
4		Wire nails and nail fragments
	3	Unidentified nail fragments
2.8 g.		Pantile
2917.4 g.	545.2 g.	Handmade brick fragments
21.2 g.	0.1 g.	Mortar
	1	Prehistoric pottery sherd, Townsend Series plain
1	2	Prehistoric pottery sherds
5	12	Lithic debitage fragments
	13.1 g.	Bone
27.6 g.	7.4 g.	Shell

rim, molded in a dot, diaper, and basket pattern. At the base of Stratum D were several plowscars, and a linear feature which ran along the north wall of the unit. They had all been cut through by the access box hole. When Test Unit 33104, immediately to the north, was opened up, the linear feature was revealed to be a large fence ditch, approximately 1.9 feet wide. The ditch was partially excavated, with all material from both 32844 and 33104 combined as 32844E, F, and G. Feature E was the top of the ditch. It was a dark brown (10YR3/3) silt loam mottled with strong brown (7.5 YR4/6) and yellowish brown (10YR5/8) clay loams. At a depth of about 0.4 feet into the ditch, two

distinct areas became apparent: a dark band running along the south wall of the ditch, and a lighter band to the north.

The dark band was excavated as Feature F. At a depth of approximately 0.1 feet, a series of large, round postmolds became evident (Figure 13). The rest of the fence ditch was excavated to this same depth as Feature G, then excavation of the fence was discontinued. However, in order to get a look at the profile of the fence, so as to determine its true size, the fill in the Navy hole adjacent to the feature was removed. This revealed that the bottom of the fence ditch was approximately 2.3 feet below the ground surface, and that the ditch had sloping sides. The post mold that was evident in this profile abutted the south wall of the ditch, and its base (which was slightly rounded) was 1.8 feet below the surface. The post molds ranged from 0.8 feet to 1.0 feet in diameter, and were located no more than 0.3 feet apart. The large size of these posts and their ditch indicate that this was no ordinary paling fence around a yard, but rather something more on the order of a defensive palisade. Excavations elsewhere revealed that the fence started at the building with the brick-floored cellar (see above), ran east for 45 feet, then turned north and went to the southeast corner of Lord Baltimore's house. The fence and the two buildings formed an enclosure. The fence was not original to the house, since its fill included bone, brick, and other artifacts that were lying in the yard at the time it was constructed. The fence ditch does not seem to be particularly deep, given the size of the posts which were placed in it, suggesting that maybe the fence was hastily erected. All of this leads to the possibility that the fence was put up during the Revolution of 1689. It was only during the siege of Mattapany that the place was ever described as fortified. Running the palisade from Lord

Figure 13 Placeholder

Baltimore's brick house to another probably well-built structure (the outbuilding), would be a quick and dirty way of creating a defensible location. Seventeenth-century houses with similar fortifications have been reported from Virginia and elsewhere (Hodges 1993). Of course, it is also possible that the palisade pre-dates the Revolution, and that Lord Baltimore simply wanted his yard to be defined by a more substantial fence than was normal.

Table 33. Artifacts from Test Unit 32848

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherd, molded
4	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
1	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherd
1	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherd
1	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherd
1	Creamware sherd, undecorated
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 5/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 4/64" bore
1	Colonial flat glass fragment
2	Modern glass fragments
1	Lead shot
4	Wrought nail fragments
7	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
16.4 g.	Pantile
32.5 g.	Handmade brick fragments
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd, Townsend Series plain
3	Prehistoric pottery sherds
12	Lithic debitage fragments
0.1 g.	Bone
4.5 g.	Shell

32848 Test Unit 32848 (N2055-2060/E1740-1745) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silty loam plowzone 1.0 feet thick. At its base, along the south wall of the unit, was part of a hole dug by the Navy in order to emplace a concrete access box for a buried electrical line which runs through the site. The Navy hole partially intruded through a palisade fence ditch (described in Test Unit 32844), which runs east-west across 32848. One

possible post mold was evident in the surface of the ditch. The fence ditch was not further excavated in this unit. Artifacts from the plowzone included a .75 caliber lead shot.

32849 Test Unit 32849 (N2055-2060/E1745-1750) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silty loam plowzone 0.95 feet thick. At its base, running east-west through the south half of the unit,

Table 34. Artifacts from Test Unit 32849

Count/ Weight	Description
4	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	Staffordshire slipware sherd
3	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
1	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherd
2	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
4	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
3	White clay pipe bowl fragments
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 6/64" bore
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
10	Colonial bottle glass fragments
2	Colonial flat glass fragments
2	Modern glass fragments
1	Wrought nail fragment
2	Cut nail fragments
9	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
5.5 g.	Plaster
2099.7 g.	Handmade brick fragments
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
1	Quartz biface fragment
14	Lithic debitage fragments
3.0 g.	Bone
52.0 g.	Shell

communication).

32850 Test Unit 32850 (N2055-2060/E1750-1755) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silty loam plowzone 0.95 feet thick. At its base, running east-west through the south half of the unit, was a palisade fence ditch, described in detail in Test Unit 32844. In the eastern part of the unit, the fence turns 90 degrees to the north. The fence ditch was not further

was a palisade fence ditch, described in detail in Test Unit 32844. The fence ditch was not further excavated in this unit. Artifacts from the plowzone included a tobacco pipe bowl and stem with a bore diameter of 7/64". Stamped on the stem was the letter "S" inside a "V". This was the mark of a London pipe maker, name unknown, who worked between roughly 1660 and 1690 (David Higgins 1998, personal

Table 35. Artifacts from Test Unit 32850

Count/ Weight	Description
2	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds, blue painted
2	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
2	Manganese mottled coarse earthenware sherds
1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
2	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
8	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherd
2	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 8/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
9	Colonial bottle glass fragments
1	Colonial flat glass fragment
1	Modern glass fragment
1	European gunflint fragment
1	Brass furniture tack head
1	Wire nail fragment
1	Unidentified square nail fragment
20	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
38.0 g.	Pantile
12.7 g.	Plaster
2157.9 g.	Handmade brick fragments
3	Prehistoric pottery sherds
20	Lithic debitage fragments
0.2 g.	Bone
17.6 g.	Shell

excavated in this unit. Artifacts from the plowzone included a brass furniture tack.

32851 Test Unit 32851 (N2055-2060/E1755-1760)

consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy silt loam plowzone approximately 0.95 feet thick. At its base were several cultural features.

One, along the east wall of the unit, was a paling fence ditch, described in Test Unit 32591 (above).

Another, in the north end of the unit, appeared to be

related to the palisade fence discussed earlier. It is described in detail in Test Unit 33111. Finally, just west of the paling ditch, there was a probable post hole and mold. The hole was about 2.7 feet long and 1.3 feet wide, with its long axis oriented north-south. The post mold was about 0.7 feet in diameter, and was situated at the north end of the hole. The size of the post, and its position between the palisade and the paling, suggests that it too may have been part of a fence line, but this is not certain. None of the features in 32851 were further excavated. Artifacts from the plowzone included a brass furniture tack and a fragment of a molded copper-alloy buckle.

32853 Test Unit 32853 (N2055-2060/E1765-1770) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam plowzone approximately 0.9 feet thick. At its base were plowscars, root molds, and one cultural feature, which appeared to be a trash pit. It was located in the north end of the unit, and a

Table 36. Artifacts from Test Unit 32851

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Rhenish brown stoneware sherd
1	English brown stoneware sherd
6	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherd
6	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
4	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
8	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 7/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
11	Colonial bottle glass fragments
1	Colonial flat glass fragment
1	Copper-alloy buckle fragment
1	Brass furniture tack
14	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
178.2	Pantile
2536.7 g.	Handmade brick fragments
6	Prehistoric pottery sherds
29	Lithic debitage fragments
0.8 g.	Bone
30.8 g.	Shell

Table 37. Artifacts from Test Unit 32853

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Molded porcelain sherd
1	Chinese porcelain sherd, overglaze painted
3	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherds
1	Dipped white salt-glaze stoneware sherd
1	White saltglaze stoneware sherd
1	Tin-glaze sherd, blue painted
4	Tin-glaze sherds
2	Staffordshire slipware sherds
6	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
4	White clay pipe bowl fragments
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
9	Colonial bottle glass fragments
5	Colonial flat glass fragments
3	Modern glass fragments
2	Wrought nails or nail fragment
1	Wire nail
49	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
1	Cast iron plate fragment
3470.0 g.	Handmade brick fragments
2.2 g.	Mortar
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
55	Lithic debitage fragments
1	Hammerstone
4.0 g.	Bone
49.5 g.	Shell

33090 Test Unit 33090 (N2060-2065/E1650-1655) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam plowzone approximately 1.0 feet thick. At its base were plowscars, several features that appeared to be natural in origin, and one cultural feature. The latter was located along the west wall of the unit. It was a small pit, about 1.7 feet across, that contained a number of large brick fragments.

small portion of it was also exposed in Unit 33112. Artifacts, bone, and shell were present at the top of the feature, along with a concentration of charcoal in the southeast corner of the pit. Coring suggested that the base of the pit was approximately 1.0 feet below subsoil. It was not excavated.

Table 38. Artifacts from Test Unit 33090

Count/ Weight	Description
3	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherds
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, blue painted
2	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	Staffordshire slipware sherd
4	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
1	North Devon slipware sherd
2	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
5	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
5	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Creamware sherd, undecorated
1	Whiteware sherd, blue transfer-printed
5	White clay pipe bowl fragments
5	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
6	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
5	Colonial bottle glass fragments
1	Colonial flat glass fragment
4	Modern glass fragments
4	Wrought nail fragments
8	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
1	Wire nail fragment
8	Unidentified nail fragments
319.0 g.	Pantile
5049.3 g.	Handmade brick fragments
3.7 g.	Yellow brick fragments
2.8 g.	Daub
2	Prehistoric pottery sherds
57	Lithic debitage fragments
0.7 g.	Bone
8.5 g.	Shell

The function of this feature is unclear, but perhaps it was a footing for a post or pier of some sort.

33098 Test Unit 33098 (N2060-2065/E1690-1695) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam plowzone approximately 1.2 feet thick. At its base were two small, roundish features, one intruding the other, along the west wall of the unit. Their function is unclear, but one showed clear evidence of fire, including charcoal and burnt clay around the edges. Artifacts from the plowzone in 33098 include a small fragment of colonial table glass with a decorative prunt attached, along with two quartz projectile point fragments, one of which might be a Late Archaic Piscataway point.

33101 Test Unit 33101 (N2060-2065/E1705-1710) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy silt loam post-Navy plowzone (Stratum A) approximately 0.8 feet thick, and a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam pre-Navy plowzone (Stratum B) approximately

Table 39. Artifacts from Test Unit 33098

Count/ Weight	Description
3	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherds
6	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
2	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
1	Staffordshire slipware sherd
1	Iberian olive jar sherd
1	Jackfield-like sherd
2	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
1	North Devon gravel free earthenware sherd
13	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherd
1	19 th -century domestic gray stoneware sherd
23	White clay pipe bowl fragments
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 8/64" bore
6	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 6/64" bore
11	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
1	Terra cotta pipe stem fragment
20	Colonial bottle glass fragments
1	Colonial flat glass fragment
1	Colonial table glass fragment
7	Modern glass fragments
1	Gunflint fragment
8	Wrought nails or nail fragments
1	Cut nail fragment
13	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
3	Wire nail fragments
15	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
105.5 g.	Pantile
0.1 g.	Yellow brick fragments
11091.3 g.	Handmade brick fragments
5.0 g.	Plaster
0.1 g.	Daub
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
2	Quartz projectile point fragments
54	Lithic debitage fragments
1.9 g.	Bone
104.8 g.	Shell

0.15 feet thick. At the base of the earlier plowzone was a layer of heavy brick rubble in a brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) silt loam matrix (Stratum C). This was probably a mixture of plow-disturbed soils and fill from the underlying features. After the top 0.1 feet of C was removed, the features present at subsoil became clearly defined. These features included the eastern edge of the outbuilding cellar described in Test Unit 32840, and the palisade fence ditch described in Test Unit 32844. The

Table 40. Artifacts from Test Unit 33101

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherd
2	White salt-glazed stoneware sherds
1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
2	North Devon slipware sherds
1	North Devon gravel free earthenware sherd
9	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
2	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	19 th -century domestic gray stoneware sherd
1	Creamware sherd, undecorated
2	Whiteware sherds, undecorated
1	Modern flowerpot sherd
4	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 8/64" bore
5	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 5/64" bore
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
1	Lead shot
7	Colonial bottle glass fragments
6	Colonial flat glass fragments
1	Colonial table glass fragment
8	Modern glass fragments
1	Lead window came
3	Wrought nails or nail fragment
6	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
6	Wire nails or nail fragments
12	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
189.9 g.	Pantile
15602.6 g.	Handmade brick fragments
9.2 g.	Mortar
3.7 g.	Daub
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd, Townsend Series plain
2	Prehistoric pottery sherds
40	Lithic debitage fragments
18.2 g.	Bone
82.4 g.	Shell

palisade ditch abuts directly against the cellar. At first it was thought that the cellar hole post-dated the palisade and had intruded through it, but no evidence of the fence was uncovered anywhere to the north or west of the cellar, suggesting that maybe the palisade was dug up to the wall of an existing building. The cellar and palisade did intrude through two smaller cultural features of uncertain origin, located in the northeast corner of the test unit. Artifacts from 33101 include a lead window came and a .36 caliber lead shot.

33102 Test Unit 33102 (N2060-2065/E1710-1715) consisted of a

Table 41. Artifacts from Test Unit 33102

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Chinese blue-on-white porcelain sherd
2	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds, blue painted
2	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
2	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
2	Staffordshire slipware sherd
1	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherd
7	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
3	Creamware sherds, undecorated
2	Whiteware sherds, undecorated
5	White clay pipe bowl fragments
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 5/64" bore
4	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
9	Colonial bottle glass fragments
6	Colonial flat glass fragments
6	Modern glass fragments
1	Wrought nail fragment
8	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
2	Wire nail fragments
4	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
31.2 g.	Pantile
4.5 g.	Yellow brick fragments
8180.4 g.	Handmade brick fragments
0.5 g.	Plaster
4.1 g.	Daub
4	Prehistoric pottery sherds
1	Quartz bifacially retouched chunk
39	Lithic debitage fragments
1.5 g.	Bone
28.9 g.	Shell

brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) silt loam plowzone approximately 0.95 feet thick. At its base, running east-west across the unit, was the palisade fence ditch described in Test Unit 32844. At least four post molds were evident along the south edge of the palisade ditch. The palisade cut through a feature of uncertain origin which was present along the east and south walls of the unit.

33104 Test Unit 33104 (N2060-2065/E1720-1725) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy silt loam, post-Navy plowzone (Stratum A)

approximately 0.65 feet thick. At its base, in the eastern half of the unit, was a hole dug by the Navy to emplace a concrete access box for an electrical line which runs through the site (Feature B, described in more detail Test Unit 32844), and a pre-Navy plowzone (Stratum C). This earlier plowzone was a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy silt loam approximately 0.2 feet thick. Below Stratum C were several features. One was a palisade fence ditch, described in detail in Unit 32844. The small portion of this ditch in the southern end of the unit was excavated as part of Features E, F, and G in 32844. Another linear feature, approximately 2.0 feet to 2.2 feet wide, ran

Table 42. Artifacts from Test Unit 33104

Count/Weight Strata A&C	Count/Weight Feature D	Description
	1	White salt-glazed stoneware plate sherd
	1	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherd
3		Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
1		Unglazed coarse earthenware sherd
	2	Creamware sherds, undecorated
1		Yellowware sherd
1		Modern flowerpot sherd
	1	White clay pipe bowl fragment
1		White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
1		White clay pipe stem fragment, 4/64" bore
3	5	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
2		Colonial bottle glass fragments
1	1	Colonial flat glass fragments
6		Modern glass fragments
1		Wrought nail fragment
1		Unidentified square nail fragment
1		Wire nail fragment
3		Unidentified nail fragments
45.3 g.	11.5 g.	Pantile
3056.8 g.	640.6 g.	Handmade brick fragments
3.8 g.		Plaster
1.6 g.		Daub
11	4	Lithic debitage fragments
0.1 g.	0.1 g.	Bone
25.1 g.	6.0 g.	Shell

across 33104, from the northwest corner of the unit to the southeast corner. This feature was followed to the northwest for a distance of about 50 feet. In 33104, it was excavated as Feature D. It proved to be a shallow (0.1 feet to 0.2 feet deep) ditch

with gently sloping sides and base. The function of this ditch is unclear, but the presence of creamware in it suggests that it dates to sometime between the late 18th century and the first half of the 20th century. It could be a field ditch surrounding the ruins of Lord Baltimore's house. Some 19th century maps suggest that the ruins were somehow set off from the surrounding fields. Alternatively, it could be a dead furrow, a feature which often appears at the edge of repeatedly plowed fields. Since the area immediately around the ruins of Baltimore's house could not be plowed until the Navy filled in the building's cellar hole (see below), Feature D could represent the limits of plowing before the 1940s.

Table 43. Artifacts from Test Unit 33110

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherd
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd
1	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherd
1	Creamware sherds undecorated
2	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 5/64" bore
1	European gunflint fragment
6	Colonial bottle glass fragments
2	Colonial flat glass fragments
1	Wrought nail fragment
5	Cut nail fragments
13	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
2	Wire nail fragments
7	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
10.2 g.	Pantile
2999.9 g.	Handmade brick fragments
0.7 g.	Daub
22	Lithic debitage fragments
21.8 g.	Shell

1760) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam plowzone approximately 1.0 feet thick. At its base, running north-south along the west wall of the unit, was the palisade fence ditch described in Test Unit 32844. However, running off to the east of this, and extending south into Test Unit 32851, was a straight sided feature measuring approximately 3.5 feet by 5.0 feet. It was impossible to distinguish from the palisade ditch, because their soils were so similar. However, coring indicated that the squarish

33110 Test Unit 33110 (N2060-2065/E1750-1755) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam plowzone approximately 1.0 feet thick. At its base, running north-south along the east wall of the unit, was the palisade fence ditch described in Test Unit 32844.

33111 Test Unit 33111 (N2060-2065/E1755-

Table 44. Artifacts from Test Unit 33111

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Chinese blue-on-white porcelain sherd
1	Rhenish brown stoneware sherd
4	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherds
1	White salt-glazed stoneware sherd
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, blue painted
3	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
2	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
1	Manganese mottled earthenware sherd
2	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
6	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherd
1	White clay pipe bowl fragment
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 5/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, unmeasurable bore
7	Colonial bottle glass fragments
4	Colonial flat glass fragments
2	Colonial table glass fragments
4	Modern glass fragments
2	Wrought nails or nail fragments
8	Cut nail fragments
1	Wire nail fragment
10	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
36.1 g.	Pantile
4.4 g.	Yellow brick fragments
2972.7 g.	Handmade brick fragments
3.3 g.	Daub
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
37	Lithic debitage fragments
8.8 g.	Shell

feature was only a few inches deep. Its location near, but not on, the corner of the palisade leads to the suggestion that it is somehow associated with an entrance through the fence, but this is far from certain. No further excavation of the feature was conducted.

33112 Test Unit 33112 (N2060-2065/E1760-1765) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam plowzone approximately 1.0 feet thick. At its base were two features. One was the paling fence ditch described in Test Unit 32591. However, unlike in the units to the south, where two paling fence ditches ran side-by-side, in 33112 there was only one paling ditch, 0.6 feet to 1.0 feet wide (which is the typical size of paling ditches). The other feature in 33112 was found in the southeast corner of the unit. It was part of the trash pit described in more detail in Test Unit 32853. Among the artifacts from 33112 was a small copper-alloy leather clasp.

33335 Test Unit 33335 (N2065-2070/E1575-1580) consisted of a brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) silt loam, post-Navy plowzone (Stratum A), approximately 0.6 feet thick. At its base, in

Table 45. Artifacts from Test Unit 33112

Count/ Weight	Description
6	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
8	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
2	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
6	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 7/64" bore
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, 6/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 5/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, unmeasurable bore
1	Copper-alloy leather clasp
1	European gunflint fragment
12	Colonial bottle glass fragments
13	Colonial flat glass fragments
1	Modern glass fragment
1	Wrought nail fragment
4	Cut nail fragments
3	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
1	Wire nail
24	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
209.2 g.	Pantile
5305.7 g.	Handmade brick fragments
44.0 g.	Mortar
2	Prehistoric pottery sherds
1	Quartz uniface
20	Lithic debitage fragments
24.6 g.	Bone
66.2 g.	Shell

Table 46. Artifacts from Test Unit 33335

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Chinese porcelain sherd, overglaze painted
1	Rhenish brown stoneware sherd
7	White salt-glazed stoneware sherds
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd
1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
6	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
16	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherd
4	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 8/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 7/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 6/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 5/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 4/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, unmeasurable bore
1	Lead bale seal fragment
1	European gunflint fragment
2	Colonial bottle glass fragments
3	Colonial flat glass fragments
1	Modern glass fragment
10	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
112.7 g.	Pantile
0.4 g.	Yellow brick fragments
653.4 g.	Handmade brick fragments
4.9 g.	Daub
3	Prehistoric pottery sherds
1	Quartz biface fragment, distal end
40	Lithic debitage fragments
7.5 g.	Shell

was a small lead disk, possibly part of a bale seal.

33349 Test Unit 33349 (N2065-2070/E1645-1650) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam plowzone approximately 1.0 feet thick. Only plowscars were present in the clay subsoil at its base.

the southern half of the unit, was a Navy utility line trench. North of this was a pre-Navy plowzone (Stratum C). This earlier plowzone was a brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) silt loam approximately 0.25 feet thick. Only plowscars and root molds were present in the clay subsoil below Stratum C. Among the artifacts found in 33335

Table 47. Artifacts from Test Unit 33349

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, blue painted
2	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
1	Manganese mottled earthenware sherd
13	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
3	Morgan Jones coarse earthenware sherds
1	Micaceous Merida earthenware sherd
1	Staffordshire slipware sherd
6	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherd
9	White clay pipe bowl fragments
7	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
7	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
1	European gunflint fragment
9	Colonial bottle glass fragments
4	Colonial flat glass fragments
4	Colonial table glass fragments
2	Modern glass fragments
9	Wrought nails or nail fragment
6	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
9	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
249.6 g.	Pantile
3163.1 g.	Handmade brick fragments
3.2 g.	Daub
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
1	Quartz bifacially retouched chunk
54	Lithic debitage fragments
0.5 g.	Bone
33.7 g.	Shell

Table 48. Artifacts from Test Unit 33352

Count/ Weight	Description
1	White salt-glazed stoneware sherd
3	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
2	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
1	Manganese mottled earthenware sherd
9	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
2	Morgan Jones coarse earthenware sherds
1	Chalky Pasted earthenware sherd
6	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherd
5	White clay pipe bowl fragments
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 6/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 5/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, unmeasurable bore
7	Colonial bottle glass fragments
1	Colonial flat glass fragment
1	Colonial table glass fragment
1	Modern glass fragment
8	Wrought nails or nail fragments
7	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
449.9 g.	Pantile
5031.9g.	Handmade brick fragments
0.1 g.	Mortar
3.6 g.	Daub
3	Prehistoric pottery sherds
36	Lithic debitage fragments
2.9 g.	Bone
16.7 g.	Shell

plowscars were present in the clay subsoil below Stratum B.

33358 Test Unit 33358 (N2065-2070/E1690-1695) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam plowzone, approximately 1.1 feet thick. The features present in the clay subsoil

33352 Test Unit 33352 (N2065-2070/E1660-1665) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy silt loam plowzone (Stratum A), approximately 0.7 feet thick, underlain by an earlier plowzone (Stratum B), which was comprised of brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) silt loam approximately 0.2 feet thick. Only

Table 49. Artifacts from Test Unit 33358

Count/ Weight	Description
2	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
2	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
4	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
2	North Devon gravel free earthenware sherds
1	North Devon slipware sherd
9	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
2	Cremware sherds, undecorated
8	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 8/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, unmeasurable bore
14	Colonial bottle glass fragments
4	Colonial flat glass fragments
2	Colonial table glass fragments
5	Modern glass fragments
7	Wrought nails or nail fragment
2	Cut nail fragments
12	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
2	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
5.0 g.	Pantile
7908.8g.	Handmade brick fragments
36.8 g.	Mortar
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
36	Lithic debitage fragments
2.9 g.	Bone
30.0 g.	Shell

below the plowzone appeared to be natural in origin.

33360 Test Unit 33360 (N2065-2070/E1700-1705) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam plowzone, approximately 1.0 feet thick. Below the plowzone, everywhere but along the north wall of the unit, there was a brick rubble-filled feature. This was part of the outbuilding cellar described in detail in Test Unit 32840. Unit 33360 exposed the northern edge of this cellar. Among

the artifacts found in the plowzone was a copper-alloy leather clasp in the shape of a six-sided star.

Table 50. Artifacts from Test Unit 33360

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherd
1	Rhenish brown stoneware sherd
1	English brown stoneware sherd
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd
3	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
1	Manganese mottled earthenware sherd
5	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
1	Staffordshire slipware sherd
7	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
3	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Modern flowerpot sherd
7	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 4/64" bore
4	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
1	Copper-alloy leather clasp
2	Brass furniture tacks
15	Colonial bottle glass fragments
8	Modern glass fragments
10	Wrought nails or nail fragment
7	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
1	Wire nail fragment
12	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
174.4g.	Pantile
12419.1 g.	Handmade brick fragments
16.0 g.	Mortar
12.4 g.	Daub
3	Prehistoric pottery sherds
45	Lithic debitage fragments
3.7 g.	Bone
28.7 g.	Shell

33361 Test Unit 33361 (N2065-2070/E1705-1710) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) silt loam plowzone (Stratum A), approximately 0.45 feet thick, underlain by an earlier plowzone (Stratum B), which was comprised of dark brown (10YR3/3) silt loam approximately 0.2 feet thick. At the base of plowzone was the northeast corner of the rubble-filled outbuilding cellar described in detail in Test Unit 32840. In addition, just north of the cellar hole was the linear feature

Table 51. Artifacts from Test Unit 33361

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Rhenish brown stoneware sherd
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, blue painted
2	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
2	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
6	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
2	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	19 th -century domestic brown stoneware sherd
1	Whiteware sherd, undecorated
6	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment 8/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, unmeasurable bore
1	Brass furniture tack
2	Colonial bottle glass fragments
2	Colonial flat glass fragments
5	Modern glass fragments
1	Wrought nail fragment
3	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
4	Wire nail fragments
6	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
108.4g.	Pantile
5.2 g.	Yellow brick fragments
10751.7 g.	Handmade brick fragments
6.9g.	Plaster
124 g.	Daub
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd, Townsend Series plain
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
1	Quartz projectile point, mid-section
25	Lithic debitage fragments
0.4 g.	Bone
46.0 g.	Shell

plowzone approximately 1.2 feet thick. The features exposed at the base of plowzone were all plowscars or natural in origin.

33620 Test Unit 33620 (N2070-2075/E1700-1705) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam plowzone approximately 0.8 feet thick. Below

described in detail in Unit 33104. It could be a field ditch or dead furrow. Neither feature in 33361 was excavated further. Among the artifacts recovered from the plowzone were a brass furniture tack and the handle from a Rhenish brown stoneware vessel.

33615 Test Unit 33615 (N2070-2075/E1675-1680) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam

Table 52. Artifacts from Test Unit 33615

Count/ Weight	Description
1	White salt-glazed stoneware sherd
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd
1	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherd
1	Staffordshire slipware sherd
3	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
4	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Whiteware sherd, undecorated
2	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
1	Colonial bottle glass fragment
3	Colonial flat glass fragments
6	Modern glass fragments
4	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
202.0g.	Pantile
7042.7 g.	Handmade brick fragments
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
37	Lithic debitage fragments
0.8 g.	Bone
26.8 g.	Shell

Table 53. Artifacts from Test Unit 33620

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherd
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd
2	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
1	Manganese mottled earthenware sherd
2	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
1	North Devon sgraffito earthenware sherd
1	Merida Micaceous earthenware sherd
8	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
5	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
2	Creamware sherds, undecorated
2	Whiteware sherds, undecorated
1	White clay pipe bowl fragment
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, unmeasurable bore
1	Copper-alloy rivet
15	Colonial bottle glass fragments
5	Modern glass fragments
7	Wrought nails or nail fragments
45.5 g.	Pantile
8901.6 g.	Handmade brick fragments
12.7 g.	Mortar
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd, Townsend Series plain
27	Lithic debitage fragments
7.1 g.	Bone
26.1 g.	Shell

(10YR4/3) silt loam plowzone approximately 0.95 feet thick. Below that were several root molds. Along the east wall of the unit the subsoil appeared to have been burnt, since the clay was reddened and charcoal was present. It is possible that this was the result of a natural fire. However, it could also indicate the location of a hearth for the outbuilding whose brick-floored cellar is just 10 feet to the south.

that were several plowscars and root molds, along with a portion of the linear feature described in Test Unit 33104. In the northeast corner of 33620 there was a large burned feature of some sort. Its irregular shape suggested that it was a burned tree root.

33882 Test Unit 33882 (N2075-2080/E1710-1715) consisted of a brown/dark brown

Table 54. Artifacts from Test Unit 33882

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherd
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, blue painted
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd
3	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
1	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherd
1	North Devon slipware sherd
8	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	White clay pipe bowl fragment
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
1	European gunflint fragment
3	Colonial bottle glass fragments
3	Colonial flat glass fragments
6	Modern glass fragments
4	Unidentified square nails or nail fragment
9	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
15.5 g.	Pantile
6552.9 g.	Handmade brick fragments
13.4 g.	Plaster
24.2 g.	Daub
4	Prehistoric pottery sherds
19	Lithic debitage fragments
2.9 g.	Bone
72.3 g.	Shell

33885 Test Unit 33885 (N2075-2080/E1725-1730) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4)

Table 55. Artifacts from Test Unit 33885

Count/ Weight	Description
3	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherds
1	Rhenish brown stoneware sherd
1	Dipped white salt-glazed stoneware sherd
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, blue painted
2	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	Manganese mottled earthenware sherd
1	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherd
2	Staffordshire slipware sherds
3	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
2	Creamware sherds, undecorated
3	Modern flowerpot sherds
4	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 5/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 4/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
1	European gunflint fragment
10	Colonial bottle glass fragments
4	Modern glass fragments
2	Wrought nail fragments
2	Cut nails or nail fragments
6	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
6	Unidentified nails or nail fragments
95.0 g.	Pantile
8611.5 g.	Handmade brick fragments
28.0 g.	Plaster
237.8 g.	Mortar
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd, Townsend Series plain
18	Lithic debitage fragments
14.4 g.	Bone
56.4 g.	Shell

yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam plowzone approximately 0.9 feet thick. Below that were several root molds and plowscars. The north half of the unit was an area of re-deposited clay. This clay was used by the Navy to fill in the robbed-out cellar hole of Lord Baltimore's house (see Test Unit 34663

silt loam plowzone approximately 0.95 feet

thick. Below that were several root molds.

In the northeast corner of the unit there was

a small, irregularly-shaped feature which

did contain some brick and charcoal. It

could be cultural in origin, but if so, its

function is uncertain.

33888 Test Unit 33888 (N2075-

2080/E1740-1745) consisted of a dark

Table 56. Artifacts from Test Unit 33888

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Dipped white salt-glazed stoneware sherd
2	White salt-glazed stoneware sherds
1	Staffordshire slipware sherd
3	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	19 th century domestic stoneware sherd
2	Colonial bottle glass fragments
3	Modern glass fragments
10	Wire nail fragments
1	Cut nail fragment
4	Unidentified square nails or nail fragments
2	Unidentified nail fragments
92.6 g.	Pantile
6084.6 g.	Handmade brick fragments
0.5 g.	Plaster
356.0 g.	Mortar
0.6 g.	Daub
3	Prehistoric pottery sherds
8	Lithic debitage fragments
19.7 g.	Bone
122.0 g.	Shell

for a detailed description). The Navy fill in 33888 was not excavated further. Among the artifacts in the plowzone was a handle sherd from a dipped white salt-glazed stoneware mug.

34125 Test Unit 34125 (N2080-2085/E1625-1630) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4)

Table 57. Artifacts from Test Unit 34125

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherd
1	White salt-glazed stoneware handle sherd
1	White salt-glazed stoneware sherd, brown annular decoration
1	Staffordshire slipware sherd
5	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
1	Morgan Jones coarse earthenware sherd
10	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
10	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherd
7	White clay pipe bowl fragments
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 6/64" bore
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
11	Colonial bottle glass fragments
1	Colonial flat glass fragment
2	Colonial table glass fragments
1	Modern glass fragment
3	Wrought nail fragments
4	Unidentified nail fragments
269.2 g.	Pantile
1.9 g.	Yellow brick fragments
1844.3 g.	Handmade brick fragments
2	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Potomac Creek plain
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd, Townsend Series plain
1	Quartz bifacially retouched flake
1	Quartzite bifacially retouched flake
40	Lithic debitage fragments
1.0 g.	Bone

banded stoneware mug.

34137 Test Unit 34137 (N2080-2085/E1685-1690) consisted of a dark yellowish brown

silt loam plowzone approximately 0.7 feet thick.

At its base were only plowscars running north-south across the unit. Among the artifacts in the plowzone was a handle sherd from a white salt-glazed stoneware vessel, and the rim of a brown

Table 58. Artifacts from Test Unit 34137

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, blue painted
3	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	Manganese Mottled earthenware sherd
2	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
1	North Devon gravel free earthenware sherd
7	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
2	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
5	Whiteware sherds, undecorated
3	White clay pipe bowl fragments
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
1	European gunflint fragment
5	Colonial bottle glass fragments
2	Colonial flat glass fragments
1	Colonial table glass fragment
15	Modern glass fragments
4	Wrought nail fragments
2	Unidentified square nail fragments
5	Wire nail fragments
137.3 g.	Pantile
6460.7 g.	Handmade brick fragments
14.3 g.	Mortar
3.1 g.	Daub
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
38	Lithic debitage fragments
1.0 g.	Bone
18.7 g.	Shell

(10YR4/4) silt loam plowzone approximately 0.9 feet thick. At its base was the linear feature described in detail in Unit 33104. It ran from the northwest corner of 34137 to the southeast corner. It intruded across several amorphous features at the western end of the unit. Because of the linear feature, it could not be determined if these latter features were natural or cultural.

34140 Test Unit 34140 (N2080-2085/E1700-1705) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4)

Table 59. Artifacts from Test Unit 34140

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherd
1	White salt-glazed stoneware sherd
2	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	Staffordshire slipware sherd
3	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
1	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherd
1	Whiteware sherd, blue sponged decorated
1	White clay pipe bowl fragment
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 7/64" bore
1	Copper-alloy button front
1	Lead window came
8	Colonial bottle glass fragments
2	Colonial flat glass fragments
2	Colonial table glass fragments
8	Modern glass fragments
1	Wrought nail fragment
6	Unidentified nail fragments
118.4 g.	Pantile
2.8 g.	Yellow brick fragments
7486.5 g.	Handmade brick fragments
41.1 g.	Mortar
0.5 g.	Daub
2	Prehistoric pottery sherds
25	Lithic debitage fragments
6.7 g.	Bone
61.0 g.	Shell

sandy silt loam plowzone approximately 0.7 feet thick. At its base were several root molds and plowscars. In addition, in the southwest corner of the unit there was a portion of a large squarish feature, with some brick and mortar fragments present on its surface. Corings indicated it was about two feet deep. Although it did not have the heavily mottled soil typical of post holes, its shape lends itself to that possibility. However, since the feature was not excavated or further exposed, its function cannot be determined with certainty.

34153 Test Unit 34153 (N2080-2085/E1765-1770) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam plowzone approximately 0.85 feet thick. At its base were several root molds. In addition,

Table 60. Artifacts from Test Unit 34153

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Chinese porcelain sherd
1	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherd
1	White salt-glazed stoneware sherd
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, blue painted
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd
2	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
2	White clay pipe bowl fragments
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1	Colonial bottle glass seal fragment
11	Colonial bottle glass fragments
8	Colonial flat glass fragments
1	Modern glass fragment
3	Wrought nails or nail fragments
1	Cut nail fragment
7	Unidentified square nail fragments
85.8 g.	Pantile
1.8 g.	Yellow brick fragments
16810.5 g.	Handmade brick fragments
110.8 g.	Mortar
4.7 g.	Daub
2	Prehistoric pottery sherds
1	Chert projectile point fragment
27	Lithic debitage fragments
1.0 g.	Bone
153.0 g.	Shell

it was heavily patinated, it appeared to have a crown molded on it.

34380 Test Unit 34380 (N2085-2090/E1600-1605) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam plowzone approximately 0.75 feet thick. No features of any sort were present at subsoil. Among the unit's artifacts was a piece of a colonial glass bottle seal, without any identifiable marks.

along the south wall of the unit there was what appeared to be a post hole and mold. The post mold went into the wall of the unit, but it looked to be about 0.6 feet in diameter. From the available evidence, it could not be determined if it was a structural post or fence post. Among the artifacts recovered from the plowzone was a fragment of a colonial glass bottle seal. Although

Table 61. Artifacts from Test Unit 34380

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherd
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, blue painted
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd
2	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
11	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
5	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
7	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Modern flowerpot sherd
3	White clay pipe bowl fragments
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
1	Colonial bottle glass seal fragment
5	Colonial bottle glass fragments
2	Colonial flat glass fragments
2	Colonial table glass fragments
2	Modern glass fragments
1	Wire nail fragment
2	Cut nail fragments
9	Unidentified nail fragments
131.6 g.	Pantile
1111.0 g.	Handmade brick fragments
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
1	Quartz uniface
22	Lithic debitage fragments
7.8 g.	Shell

34393 Test Unit 34393 (N2085-2090/E1665-1670) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6)

Table 62. Artifacts from Test Unit 34393

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, blue painted
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd
1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
1	Manganese Mottled earthenware sherd
1	Staffordshire slipware sherd
2	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
3	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
12	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
2	Whiteware sherds, undecorated
3	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 7/64" bore
1	Brass furniture tack
1	Lead window came
1	Lead shot
7	Colonial bottle glass fragments
1	Colonial flat glass fragment
9	Modern glass fragments
3	Wrought nail fragment
5	Unidentified square nail fragments
10	Unidentified nail fragments
88.3 g.	Pantile
2431.2 g.	Handmade brick fragments
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
1	Quartz bifacially retouched flake
32	Lithic debitage fragments
2.5 g.	Bone
3.4 g.	Shell

34395 Test Unit 34395 (N2085-2090/E1675-1680) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) silt loam plowzone approximately 0.75 feet thick. At the base of the plowzone, in the northeast corner of the unit, was a small section of the linear feature described in Test

silt loam plowzone approximately 0.75 feet thick.

The only features present at subsoil were plowscars and root molds. Among the artifacts recovered from 34393 were a .39 caliber lead shot, and a tobacco pipe bowl fragment stamped with "LE", the mark of Llewellyn Evans.

Table 63. Artifacts from Test Unit 34395

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Chinese porcelain sherd, undecorated
1	English brown stoneware sherd
1	White salt-glazed stoneware sherd
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd
1	Manganese Mottled earthenware sherd
3	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
3	North Devon slipware sherds
1	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherd
2	Whiteware sherds, undecorated
2	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 8/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, unmeasurable bore
2	Copper-alloy buckle fragments (mend together)
5	Colonial bottle glass fragments
1	Colonial flat glass fragment
1	Colonial table glass fragment
3	Modern glass fragments
1	Wrought nail fragment
1	Wire nail fragment
4	Unidentified nail fragments
104.5 g.	Pantile
3.5 g.	Yellow brick fragments
4039.8 g.	Handmade brick fragments
0.4 g.	Mortar
9.7 g.	Daub
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
22	Lithic debitage fragments
26.3 g.	Shell

Unit 33104. This was the westernmost extent of the feature found during the project. The only other features present at subsoil in 34395 were plowscars and root molds.

34403 Test Unit 34403 (N2085-2090/E1715-1720) had at its top a mottled dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy clay loam, post-Navy plowzone (Stratum A) approximately 0.95 feet thick (Figure 14). At the base of the plowzone, in the northern half of the unit, was an area of Navy fill composed of various mixed sands and clays (Strata B and C). The plowing of these fill soils is what made Stratum A so clayey. The Navy placed the fill into the robbed-out cellar hole of Lord Baltimore's house, described in more detail in Unit 34663. The fill got progressively thicker as it sloped toward the cellar hole to the north, so that along the north wall of 34403 it was up to 1.05 feet deep. It was clear from the artifacts found in Strata B and C that at least part of the fill came from elsewhere on the site. Included with these artifacts was a black glass bead about 0.25 inches in diameter, and a .36 caliber lead shot. South of Strata B and C (below plowzone) was a brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) silty loam buried topsoil layer (Stratum D). This same buried topsoil was also uncovered under Strata B and C after the Navy fill was removed. Like the fill, Stratum D sloped downwards towards the north, the result of the original topsoil on the site slowly eroding into the cellar hole over time. At the south end of 34403 there was subsoil below Stratum D. However, along the north wall of the unit another layer of cellar fill (pre-Navy) was encountered. This was removed as part of Unit 34663 (see below).

Table 64. Artifacts from Test Unit 34403

Count/Weight Stratum A	Count/Weight Strata B-C	Count/Weight Stratum D	Description
	1	1	Rhenish blue & gray stoneware sherds
	1		Unidentified brown stoneware sherd
3		2	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
		1	Asbury earthenware sherd
		1	Staffordshire slipware sherd
	1		Morgan Jones coarse earthenware sherd
1		3	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
1		1	Creamware sherds, undecorated
1			Pearlware sherd, undecorated
		1	Whiteware sherd, blue sponged decorated
4			White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	1		White clay pipe stem fragment, 8/64" bore
	1	1	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1			White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
	1		White clay pipe stem fragment, 5/64" bore
		1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 4/64" bore
1			Terra cotta pipe bowl fragment
	1		Black glass bead
1		1	Colonial bottle glass fragments
1		2	Colonial flat glass fragments
1		1	Colonial table glass fragments
4		1	Modern glass fragments
	1		Lead shot, .36 caliber
1			Tin-glazed fireplace tile fragment, manganese painted
1			Wrought nail fragment
		1	Cut nail fragment
6	1	12	Unidentified square nail fragments
1		1	Wire nail fragments
12	5	15	Unidentified nail fragments
49.9 g.	51.5 g.	5.0 g.	Pantile
2.0 g.	3.0 g.		Yellow brick fragments
5071.3 g.	2244.8 g.	4716.2 g.	Handmade brick fragments
		7.1 g.	Mortar
1.4 g.	1.3 g.	0.3 g.	Daub
1			Prehistoric pottery sherd
	1		Quartz biface
16	7	19	Lithic debitage fragments
	1.6 g.	0.1 g.	Bone
17.8 g.	3.7 g.	92.0 g.	Shell

Figure 14 Placeholder

Table 65. Artifacts from Test Unit 34633

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Chinese porcelain sherd, overglaze painted
2	White salt-glazed stoneware sherds
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, polychrome painted
4	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	Staffordshire slipware sherd
2	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
1	Chalky Pasted coarse earthenware sherd
7	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
2	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Pearlware sherd, blue painted
1	White clay pipe bowl fragment
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, 5/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 4/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, unmeasurable bore
5	Colonial bottle glass fragments
2	Colonial table glass fragments
3	Modern glass fragments
4	Wrought nail fragments
2	Unidentified nail fragments
56.6 g.	Pantile
993.5 g.	Handmade brick fragments
2	Prehistoric pottery sherds, Townsend Series plain
1	Quartz biface fragment
1	Quartz bifacially retouched flake
58	Lithic debitage fragments
3.7 g.	Shell

feet thick. At the base of the plowzone there were a number of root molds and plowscars. In the northwest corner of the unit there appeared to be a portion of a post hole and post mold. Another post mold was found five feet to the northwest, in Unit 34913. The two posts may be associated with each other. Whether they are fence posts or part of a structure could not

34633 Test Unit 34633 (N2090-2095/E1565-1570) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam plowzone approximately 0.85 feet thick. At the base of the plowzone, the only feature present at subsoil was a plowscar.

34654 Test Unit 34654 (N2090-2095/E1670-1675) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam plowzone approximately 0.9

Table 66. Artifacts from Test Unit 34654

Count/ Weight	Description
2	White salt-glazed stoneware sherds
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd
1	Staffordshire slipware sherd
2	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
9	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
7	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Whiteware sherd, undecorated
6	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 4/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
7	Colonial bottle glass fragments
1	Colonial table glass fragment
3	Modern glass fragments
1	Wrought nail fragment
2	Unidentified square nail fragments
6	Unidentified nail fragments
105.7 g.	Pantile
4032.4 g.	Handmade brick fragments
8.2 g.	Daub
1	Prehistoric pottery sherd, Townsend Series plain
26	Lithic debitage fragments
4.1 g.	Bone
27.3 g.	Shell

be determined from the available evidence. Interestingly, they are oriented on the same axis as the linear feature found in Units 33620, 34137, and 34395, but that could just be a coincidence.

34660 Test Unit 34660 (N2090-2095/E1700-1705) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy silt loam plowzone approximately 0.85 feet thick. At the base of the plowzone there were several root molds and plowscars. In the northwest half of the unit there was a pit-like feature that had a fair amount of mortar, along with a few other artifacts, at its surface. Coring indicated this feature was about 1.3 feet deep. It could be a trash pit, although the presence of the mortar suggests

that it might be associated with the construction or destruction of Lord Baltimore's house, just five feet away. The pit intruded into a narrow (0.8 feet) linear feature which ran out of the southeast corner of the unit, angled to the northwest. Although it looks similar to a paling fence ditch, its axis of orientation is different from that of Lord Baltimore's house, suggesting that it may be some other sort of feature. Among the artifacts recovered from 34660 was a .28 caliber lead shot.

Table 67. Artifacts from Test Unit 34660

Count/ Weight	Description
1	White salt-glazed stoneware sherd
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd
5	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
5	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
3	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
7	White clay pipe bowl fragments
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, 8/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 4/64" bore
7	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
5	Colonial bottle glass fragments
4	Colonial flat glass fragment
6	Modern glass fragments
1	Lead shot
1	Cut nail fragment
2	Wire nail fragments
4	Unidentified nail fragments
59.9 g.	Pantile
7.8 g.	Yellow brick fragments
8344.3 g.	Handmade brick fragments
340.8 g.	Mortar
3	Prehistoric pottery sherds
23	Lithic debitage fragments
26.0 g.	Bone
279.6 g.	Shell

34663 Test Unit 34663 (N2090-2095/E1715-1720) came down on the wall and cellar floor of Lord Baltimore's house. At its top it had a mottled dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy clay loam, post-Navy plowzone (Stratum A) approximately 0.9 feet thick. At the base of the plowzone was an area of Navy fill composed of various mixed sands and clays (Stratum B). The plowing of these fill soils is what made Stratum A so clayey. The Navy placed the fill into the robbed-out cellar hole of the house. The fill got progressively thicker as it sloped toward the north, so that along the north wall of the unit it was up to 1.5 feet deep. It was clear from the artifacts found in Stratum B that at least part of the fill came from elsewhere on the site. Below Stratum B were two layers of brown (10YR5/3) to brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) silty loam buried topsoil (Strata C and D), which combined were approximately 0.8 feet thick. Like the fill, these strata sloped downwards towards the north, the result of the original topsoil on the site slowly eroding into the cellar hole over time. Below the erosional topsoil layers was a layer of heavy brick rubble in a brown/dark brown (10YR4/3) sandy loam matrix (Stratum E). This rubble layer consisted of destruction debris that fell

into the cellar after the building was abandoned and demolished. It was up to 1.75 feet thick, and contained huge numbers of brick bats. At the base of the rubble layer, along the south end of the unit, were

Table 68. Artifacts from Unit 34663, Plowzone and Navy Fill

Count/Weight Stratum A	Count/Weight Stratum B	Description
	2	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware plate sherds
	1	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherd
1	2	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
	2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 6/64" bore
4	2	Colonial bottle glass fragments
	1	Colonial flat glass fragment
7	4	Modern glass fragments
3	6	Unidentified square nail fragments
6	7	Unidentified nail fragments
89.0 g.	50.7 g.	Pantile
1687.5 g.	2734.1 g.	Handmade brick fragments
0.7 g.		Mortar
0.4 g.		Daub
	1	Chert biface fragment
20	11	Lithic debitage fragments
6.7 g.	14.4 g.	Shell

two areas of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) clay loam (Strata F and G), which contained a lot of mortar but less brick than Stratum E. Strata F and G proved to be shallow lenses of soil lying above the brick foundation of the house, and should really be considered part of Stratum E.

Three features were evident below Stratum E (Figure 15). One was the brick foundation. The second was the builder's trench (Feature H) lying on the south (exterior) side of the wall, and the third was the tile floor of the cellar. The intact portion of the builder's trench was 2.9 feet deep, and it was approximately 0.4 feet wide. The fill in the trench was a mixture of sands and clayey loam, and contained a few artifacts, including ten fish scales, perhaps part of one of the builders' meals. Unfortunately, none of the artifacts allowed the erection of the house to be closely dated. At the base of Feature H was a mortar bed about 0.15 feet thick, below which was coarse sandy subsoil. The mortar also went below the foundation itself, forming a footing for the first course of bricks. It was recommended practice in the 17th century to have a footing at least four inches wider on a side than the foundation itself, and the builder of Mattapan followed that procedure (Moxon 1994:255).

Stratum J was the tile floor of the cellar, which lay 4.5 feet below the ground surface. One tile was removed as an example, along with a sample of the mortar surrounding and underlying it. The tile measured 8.5 inches on a side, and was 2.0 inches thick. It weighed 4142.75 grams, and was made of red brick clay. Most of the tiles appeared to have once been coated with a whitewash, probably to help lighten the cellar. Below the tile mortar bed (which was about one inch thick) was Stratum K, a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) sandy loam 0.2 feet deep. Stratum K was only excavated in the area immediately below the removed floor tile. It appeared to be the original dirt floor of the cellar, since it had an uneven surface (from use wear), and contained artifacts, including

a rouletted white clay pipe bowl fragment, a copper-alloy lacing tip, 4 bone fragments (15.4 g.), 4 shell fragments (1.2 g.), 3 mortar fragments (3.1 g.), and 7 brick fragments (28.1 g.). There was also a considerable amount of ash and charcoal, suggesting that the cellar may have had a fireplace. Below Stratum K was sterile fine sand subsoil, followed by a layer of coarse sand.

The house foundation was constructed of brick, laid in English bond. Most of it had been robbed out (probably in the 18th century to re-use the bricks at Quarters A and other buildings), but the bottom 2.3 feet of the wall was still intact. The bricks measured 9x4x2 inches, and were set in mortar which was not pointed. There was a facing coat of mortar or rough plaster on the interior side of the foundation, probably to help lighten the cellar. A mortar-filled gap of about two inches existed between the wall and the tile floor.

Table 69. Artifacts from Test Unit 34663, Cellar Deposits

Count/Weight Strata C-D	Count/Weight Strata E-G	Count/Weight Feature H	Description
	1		Chinese porcelain sherd
1			Rhenish blue & gray stoneware sherd
		1	Rhenish brown stoneware sherd
		2	English brown stoneware sherds
1		2	White salt-glazed stoneware sherds
		2	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds, blue painted
1			Tin-glazed earthenware sherd
2			Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
		1	Staffordshire slipware sherd
2			North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
4	3	1	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
1			Creamware sherd, undecorated
1			Whiteware sherd, blue transfer print
1			Whiteware sherd, undecorated
5	13		White clay pipe bowl fragments
2		1	White clay pipe stem fragments, 8/64" bore
1		1	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
	2		White clay pipe stem fragments, 6/64" bore
	2	4	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
	1		Colonial glass bottle seal fragment, no mark
4	142	1	Colonial bottle glass fragments
3	31		Colonial flat glass fragments
	1		Colonial table glass fragment
2			Modern glass fragments
	1		Iron horseshoe fragment
3	103	3	Wrought nails and nail fragments
	1		Cut nail fragment
6	9		Unidentified square nail fragments
19	21	4	Unidentified nail fragments
66.9 g.	1787.6 g.		Pantile
16989.4 g.	704475.5 g.	3865.2 g.	Handmade brick fragments
	892.5 g.	193.9 g.	Plaster
100.2 g.	11015.3 g.	5340.5 g.	Mortar
10.7 g.	7.3 g.		Daub
		1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
1			Quartz bifacially retouched flake
14	9	1	Lithic debitage fragments
4.7 g.	136.5 g.	33.2 g.	Bone
386.9 g.	949.3 g.	219.0 g.	Shell

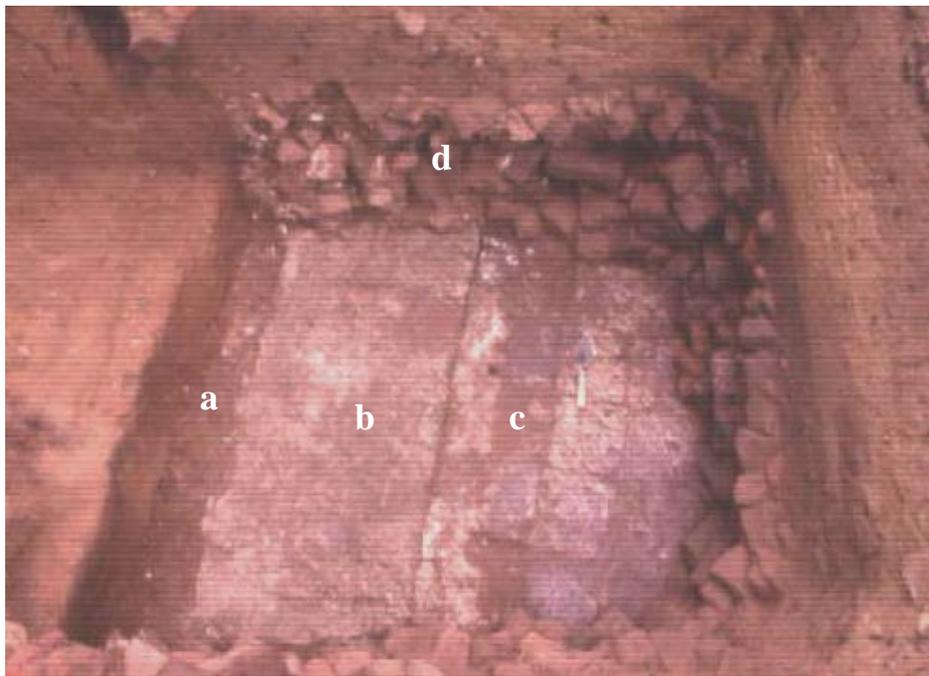


Figure 15. Plan views showing major architectural features encountered.

Top: Unit 34922, showing top of builder's trench (a), brick foundation (b), and tile floor (c). Note brick rubble in the wall (d). View facing north.

Bottom: Unit 34663, showing top of builder's trench (a), brick foundation (b), and tile floor (c). Note brick rubble in the wall (d). View facing north.



34666 Test Unit 34666 (N2090-2095/E1730-1735) was placed inside the cellar area of Lord Baltimore's house. At its top it had a mottled dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy clay loam, post-Navy plowzone (Stratum A) approximately 0.9 feet thick. At the base of the plowzone were east-west running plowscars, and a layer of fill composed of various mixed sands and clays (Stratum

Table 70. Artifacts from Test Unit 34666

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd
3	Modern flowerpot sherds
1	White clay pipe bowl fragment
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, unmeasurable bore
2	Terra cotta pipe stem fragments
1	Colonial bottle glass fragment
9	Modern glass fragments
1	Wrought nail fragment
2	Unidentified square nail fragments
3	Wire nail fragments
9	Unidentified nail fragments
2.0 g.	Yellow brick fragments
1370.0 g.	Handmade brick fragments
2.7 g.	Daub
1	Quartz biface fragment
8	Lithic debitage fragments
1.0 g.	Bone
8.0 g.	Shell

B). The Navy placed the fill into the robbed-out cellar hole of the house. Stratum B was 2.3 feet to 2.7 feet thick, and was removed without being screened. At its base was a layer of dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) clayey loam with brick rubble. This represents pre-Navy cellar fill. Since the unit had confirmed that the cellar was present here, excavation was stopped at this point.

34671 Test Unit 34671 (N2090-2095/E1755-1760) was placed inside the cellar area of Lord Baltimore's house. At its top it had a mottled dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy clay loam, post-Navy plowzone (Stratum A) approximately 0.6 feet thick. At the base of the plowzone was an east-west running plowscar, and a layer of fill composed of various mixed sands and clays. The Navy placed the fill into the robbed-out cellar hole of the house. Coring indicated that Stratum B was a little over 2.0 feet thick. At that level a layer of dark loam with brick rubble was encountered. This represents pre-Navy cellar fill. Since the unit had confirmed that the cellar was present here, excavation was stopped at this point, without removing the Navy fill.

Table 71. Artifacts from Test Unit 34671

Count/ Weight	Description
2	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds, blue painted
1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
1	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherd
3	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
2	Modern flowerpot sherds
1	White clay pipe bowl fragment
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 9/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
1	Colonial bottle glass fragment
3	Modern glass fragments
3	Unidentified square nail fragments
10	Wire nail fragments
3	Unidentified nail fragments
6.6 g.	Pantile
2493.8 g.	Handmade brick fragments
4.5 g.	Daub
2	Prehistoric pottery sherds
8	Lithic debitage fragments
14.2 g.	Shell

Table 72. Artifacts from Test Unit 34913

Count/ Weight	Description
1	White salt-glazed stoneware sherd
4	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
4	Staffordshire slipware sherds
2	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
9	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
3	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Whiteware sherd, undecorated
4	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
8	Colonial bottle glass fragments
10	Colonial flat glass fragments
7	Modern glass fragments
1	Lead shot
2	Unidentified square nail fragments
4	Unidentified nail fragments
382.5 g.	Pantile
1.0 g.	Yellow brick fragments
4253.8 g.	Handmade brick fragments
2	Prehistoric pottery sherds
14	Lithic debitage fragments
0.9 g.	Bone
47.2 g.	Shell

34913 Test Unit 34913 (N2095-2100/E1665-1670) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam plowzone approximately 0.9 feet thick. At the base of the plowzone there was a post hole and post mold. The post hole measured 1.6 feet by 1.3 feet, while the post mold was approximately 0.8 feet in diameter. Another post mold was found five feet to the southeast, in Unit 34654. The two posts may be associated with each other. Whether they are fence posts or part of a structure could not be determined from the available evidence. Among the artifacts recovered from 34913 was a .64 caliber lead shot.

34921, 34922 The stratigraphy in Test Units 34921 (N2095-2100/E1705-1710) and 34922 (N2095-2100/E1710-1715) was very complicated and confusing, so to simplify things they are presented together. Stratum A in both

units was a post-Navy plowzone composed of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy loam, approximately 0.7 feet to 0.9 feet thick. Below this was Stratum B, a Navy fill composed of mixed sands and clays. They were used to fill in the cellar hole of Lord Baltimore's house. The fill was only about 0.2 feet thick at the western end of 34921, but had a thickness of about 1.3 feet at the eastern edge of 34922. This uneven thickness was a result of the sloping sides in the cellar hole at the time the Navy filled it in. Below this fill were two layers of buried original topsoil (Strata C and E) which had eroded into the cellar hole after the building's abandonment and demolition. The top of this eroded topsoil was 0.9 feet below today's ground surface at the west end of the two units, and 2.2 feet below at the east end. It ranged in thickness from 0.1 feet to 1.0 feet, with the thicker deposits on the lower portions of the slope. A recent disturbance, possibly root or animal related, cut through the topsoil along the center of the north wall of the two units. It was removed as 34921D, 34922D, and 34922G. Below the buried topsoil was a layer of destruction rubble resulting from the robbing of brick from the house in the 18th century to build other structures, possibly including Quarters A. This layer was up to 2.0 feet thick, and was excavated as 34921F, G, and H, and 34922F, H, and J. In 34921, below the buried topsoil and west of the brick rubble layer, there was an area that sloped down towards the cellar hole, and which contained numerous fill lenses (Features J, K, L, M, N, and P). Although hard to interpret, it would appear that the slope may have been a ramp designed to allow access to the cellar hole during the building's construction, and that once the house was finished, the ramp was filled in, producing the various soil lenses. At the bottom of the rubble layer, the remnants of the brick foundation were uncovered. On the exterior (west) side of the foundation was the builder's trench (34922K). Directly above the builder's trench were several pockets of soil

(34921R, S, T, and U). It is not clear if these were differential fill deposits within the trench, or were created when the foundation bricks were robbed out.

The foundation's bricks were laid in English bond. Unlike the building's south wall, there was no evidence of a mortar bed for the west wall. Rather, the bricks were laid on packed fine sand.

Table 73. Artifacts from Test Unit 34921, Strata A-E

Count/Weight Stratum A	Count/Weight Stratum D	Count/Weight Strata C,E	Description
		1	Rhenish blue & gray stoneware sherd
1			White salt-glazed stoneware sherd
		1	Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, polychrome painted
1			Tin-glazed earthenware sherd
1		1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
1			Jackfield earthenware sherd
1			Chalky Pasted coarse earthenware sherd
1			Manganese Mottled earthenware sherd
		1	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherd
		1	North Devon gravel free earthenware sherd
1		4	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
		2	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
		3	White clay pipe bowl fragments
1			White clay pipe stem fragment, 8/64" bore
1		1	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1			White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
2			White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
1			Copper-alloy lacing tip
4		2	Colonial bottle glass fragments
2	1	2	Colonial flat glass fragments
2			Colonial table glass fragments
11		1	Modern glass fragments
		1	European gunflint fragment
		2	Wrought nails and nail fragments
13			Unidentified square nail fragments
	3	22	Unidentified nail fragments
	1		Hearthstone, dressed sandstone
141.8 g.	290.0 g.	71.8 g.	Pantile
		6.0 g.	Yellow brick fragments
3500.3 g.		7809.8 g.	Handmade brick fragments
0.5 g.	1.0 g.	7.0 g.	Plaster
49.0 g.	30.0 g.	187.8 g.	Mortar
0.5 g.		4.1 g.	Daub
14	1	14	Lithic debitage fragments
1.1 g.	0.1 g.	3.3 g.	Bone
89.5 g.	76.7 g.	314.9 g.	Shell

In addition, the builder's trench on the west wall was less deep. Brick bats were often used for the inner portions of the west wall. Perhaps the west wall was less carefully constructed because it didn't have to bear as much weight as the south wall, which would carry the floor and roof beams. The foundation appears to have been robbed out down to its last course or two.

Also uncovered below the brick rubble layer was the cellar's tile floor. These tiles were the same as those described in 34663, except that the whitewash was better preserved in 34922. However, the westernmost row of tiles had been cut, and only measured 8.5 inches by 6 inches. Since there was a gap of six inches between the tiles and the wall, it wasn't necessary to cut the tiles to fit them in place against the foundation. Rather, it would appear that there was an object adjacent to the wall that forced the tiles to be cut. It was most likely a wooden lining for the cellar or shelving of some sort. Since no evidence of this was found along the south wall, shelving seems the more

Table 74. Artifacts from Test Unit 34921, Strata F-U

Count/Weight Strata F-H	Count/Weight Strata J-P	Count/Weight Strata R-U	Description
1			Tin-glazed earthenware sherd
	1		Unglazed coarse earthenware sherd
1	1		White clay pipe bowl fragments
1			Colonial bottle glass fragment
2		1	Colonial flat glass fragments
1			Colonial table glass fragment
2			Wrought nails and nail fragments
3			Unidentified square nail fragments
2		2	Unidentified nail fragments
548.4 g.			Pantile
		0.6 g.	Yellow brick fragments
55425.8 g.	218.9 g.	4048.6 g.	Handmade brick fragments
122.7 g.	6.0 g.	119.2 g.	Plaster
3772.8 g.	47.0 g.	6677.8 g.	Mortar
2.0 g.			Daub
	1		Prehistoric pottery sherd, Mockley cord-marked
2	1		Lithic debitage fragments
14.7 g.	1.5 g.	8.6 g.	Bone
1074.5 g.	20.0 g.	965.1 g.	Shell

probable explanation. A thin band of mortar, spillage from the mortar bed for the tiles, filled the gap between the wall and the floor. Underneath the mortar was the cellar's original dirt floor. Two 6-inch square post molds (34922M and N) rested on, or slightly into, the dirt floor in the gap. They predated the tile floor, since the tile's mortar bed was built around them. These posts, which were 2.25 feet apart center-to-center, were probably supports for the shelving. One had apparently been burned, since a large amount of charcoal was present in the mold. The two post molds were partially excavated and profiled. A sample of the original dirt floor (34922P) was excavated at the base of each of the post molds.

Table 75. Artifacts from Test Unit 34922, Strata A-E

Count/ Weight Stratum A	Count/ Weight Strata B,D,G	Count /Weight Strata C,E	Description
		3	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds, blue painted
		2	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
	2	1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
1		1	Staffordshire slipware sherds
		1	Micaceous Merida coarse earthenware sherd
		1	North Devon sgraffito earthenware sherd
		1	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherd
		1	North Devon gravel free earthenware sherd
	2	5	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
		3	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
	1	1	Whiteware sherds, undecorated
1			Modern flowerpot sherd
2	2	9	White clay pipe bowl fragments
		1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 9/64" bore
1	1	1	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
		1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
		2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 5/64" bore
1	1	5	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
		1	Terra cotta pipe stem fragment
1			Pewter button
2	2	6	Colonial bottle glass fragments
1		3	Colonial flat glass fragments
7		3	Modern glass fragments
		7	Wrought nails and nail fragments
3	1	11	Unidentified square nail fragments
	2		Wire nail fragments
4	2	6	Unidentified nail fragments
90.1 g.	49.6 g.	214.9 g.	Pantile
1920.0 g.	9169.8 g.	23585.9 g.	Handmade brick fragments
	4.7 g.		Plaster
32.0 g.	113.5 g.	88.0 g.	Mortar
	1.0 g.	19.7 g.	Daub
		1	Prehistoric pottery sherd
		1	Quartz Piscataway projectile point
3	2	34	Lithic debitage fragments
		24.0 g.	Bone
42.5 g.	134.4 g.	170.6 g.	Shell

Table 76. Artifacts from Test Unit 34922, Strata F-P

Count/Weight Strata F-J	Count/Weight Stratum K	Count/Weight Strata L-N	Count/Weight Stratum P	Description
2				White salt-glazed stoneware sherd
1				Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, polychrome painted
1				Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, manganese painted
1				Tin-glazed earthenware sherd, blue painted
4				Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1				Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
2				Staffordshire slipware sherds
1				Chalky Pasted coarse earthenware sherd
1				Asbury earthenware sherd
6				Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
6				White clay pipe bowl fragments
2				White clay pipe stem fragments, 8/64" bore
2				White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1				White clay pipe stem fragment, 5/64" bore
2	1			White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
18		1		Colonial bottle glass fragments
25		17		Colonial flat glass fragments
3				Colonial table glass fragments
			1	Lead window came
8				Wrought nails and nail fragments
73	4			Unidentified square nail fragments
8	1		1	Unidentified nail fragments
911958.9 g.	1884.5 g.	17.0 g.	18.8 g.	Handmade brick fragments
346.8 g.	194.5 g.	16.7 g.	2.9 g.	Plaster
16052.9 g.	1331.4 g.	129.9 g.	69.0 g.	Mortar
15.7 g.		153.1 g.		Daub
11				Lithic debitage fragments
258.7 g.	1.9 g.	0.2 g.		Bone
3779.4 g.	27.6 g.	3.3 g.		Shell

35169 Test Unit 35169 (N2100-2105/E1645-1650) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy silt loam plowzone approximately 0.65 feet thick. At the base of the plowzone there was a large feature containing brick rubble and other artifacts on its surface. It occupied all but the southeast corner of the unit. Based on the number of artifacts from this unit, the feature may be a trash pit. Since there were white salt-glazed stoneware sherds in the feature, it would appear to date to the 18th century. Among the artifacts recovered from the plowzone in 35169 was a .64 caliber lead shot.

Table 77. Artifacts from Test Unit 35169

Count/ Weight	Description
5	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherds
5	White salt-glazed stoneware sherds
2	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds, blue painted
4	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	Manganese Mottled earthenware sherd
5	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
13	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
1	North Devon slipware sherd
13	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
7	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
9	White clay pipe bowl fragments
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 5/64" bore
7	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
11	Colonial bottle glass fragments
3	Colonial flat glass fragment
3	Modern glass fragments
1	Lead shot
2	Wrought nail fragments
17	Unidentified nail fragments
450.0 g.	Pantile
0.8 g.	Plaster
6767.5 g.	Handmade brick fragments
37	Lithic debitage fragments
14.9 g.	Bone
346.5 g.	Shell

35440 Test Unit 35440 (N2105-2110/E1700-

1705) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy silt loam plowzone approximately 0.8 feet thick. At the base of

the plowzone there a number of linear features (Features B, C, and D) oriented north-south.

Excavation showed that they were not plowscars, but their origin remains unclear. The best guess is

35431 Test Unit 35431 (N2105-2110/E1655-1660) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam plowzone approximately 0.8 feet thick. At the base of the plowzone there were only root molds and plowscars.

Table 78. Artifacts from Test Unit 35431

Count/ Weight	Description
2	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherds
5	White salt-glazed stoneware sherds
5	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
2	Staffordshire slipware sherds
1	Manganese Mottled earthenware sherd
2	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
3	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
14	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Whiteware sherd, undecorated
6	White clay pipe bowl fragments
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 8/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 4/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
9	Colonial bottle glass fragments
2	Colonial flat glass fragments
6	Modern glass fragments
1	European gunflint fragment
7	Wrought nail fragments
16	Unidentified nail fragments
308.5 g.	Pantile
5825.1 g.	Handmade brick fragments
1.5 g.	Daub
4	Prehistoric pottery sherds
28	Lithic debitage fragments
110.2 g.	Shell

that they were produced by the heavy machinery used to dig the steam line which passes through the site.

35452, 35453 Test Units
 35452 (N2105-2110/ E1760-
 1765) and 35453 (N2105-2110/
 E1765-1770) consisted of a
 dark yellowish brown
 (10YR4/4) sandy silt loam
 plowzone approximately 1.0
 feet thick. At the base of the
 plowzone in 35452 there several
 plowscars, along with two
 vaguely evident round features.
 They could be post molds, but

Table 79. Artifacts from Test Unit 35440

Count/Weight Stratum A	Count/Weight Features B-D	Description
1		White salt-glazed stoneware sherd
1		Tin-glazed earthenware sherd
1		Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
	1	Manganese Mottled coarse earthenware sherd
1	1	North Devon gravel free earthenware sherds
2		North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
2	3	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
2	2	White clay pipe bowl fragments
	1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 8/64" bore
	1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 7/64" bore
1	3	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
	1	Colonial bottle glass fragment
2		Colonial flat glass fragments
3	1	Modern glass fragments
	1	Bullet
14	9	Unidentified nail fragments
26.8 g.		Pantile
1.2 g.		Yellow brick fragments
2355.2 g.	3032.4 g.	Handmade brick fragments
73.0 g.	335.4 g.	Mortar
1		Rhyolite Selby Bay projectile point
1	2	Prehistoric pottery sherds
9	10	Lithic debitage fragments
0.1 g.	7.2 g.	Bone
19.0 g.	78.9 g.	Shell

this is far from certain. In the southeast corner of the unit there was an area of dark loam that could be the remnants of a buried topsoil. No further excavation took place in 35453. In 35452, there was a large area of Navy fill below plowzone. This fill was taken out in two layers, B and D, which were not screened. Below this was an area of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) silt loam, up to 1.6 feet thick, which was taken out in two levels (C and E). This loam layer sloped down toward the south end of the unit, and may have been the original topsoil which slowly eroded into the cellar hole of Lord Baltimore's house. Below this were two layers of brick rubble (F and G) which were produced

Table 80. Artifacts from Test Units 35452 and 35453, Stratum A

Count/Weight 35452	Count/Weight 35453	Description
	1	Rhenish brown stoneware sherd
1	1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherds
1		Staffordshire slipware sherd
2	5	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
3		Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
	1	Whiteware sherd, blue transfer print
	2	White clay pipe bowl fragments
	1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 7/64" bore
1	1	White clay pipe stem fragments, 6/64" bore
	1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 5/64" bore
1	5	Colonial bottle glass fragment
3	3	Colonial flat glass fragments
4		Modern glass fragments
1	1	Lead shot (.64 caliber, .31 caliber)
	1	Unidentified square nail fragment
1	7	Unidentified nail fragments
9243.2 g.	10651.3 g.	Handmade brick fragments
11.9 g.		Mortar
	1.1 g.	Plaster
1.0 g.	6.4 g.	Daub
5	25	Lithic debitage fragments
	1.1 g.	Bone
26.5 g.	44.5 g.	Shell

Table 81. Artifacts from Test Units 35452, Strata C-G

Count/Weight Strata C,E	Count/Weight Strata F,G	Description
3		Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
3		Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
4		White clay pipe bowl fragments
1		White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
6		Colonial bottle glass fragment
4		Colonial flat glass fragments
8		Unidentified square nail fragments
4	1	Unidentified nail fragments
90.1 g.	23.0 g.	Pantile
290.7 g.		Yellow brick fragments
21283.3 g.	11126.5 g.	Handmade brick fragments
70.0 g.	1175.4 g.	Mortar
23.8 g.		Plaster
9.4 g.		Daub
46	4	Lithic debitage fragments
3.7 g.	.	Bone
23.2 g.	138.0 g.	Shell

after the house was abandoned and demolished. At the base of G was the top of the remaining portion of the northeast corner of the house foundation. Like the southwest corner, this corner was brick, with a builder's trench on the exterior (north) side.

Excavation of the unit was terminated at this point.

35700 Test Unit 35700 (N2110-2115/ E1700-1705) consisted of a dark yellowish brown

(10YR4/4) sandy loam plowzone approximately 0.75 feet thick. At the base of the plowzone there a number of linear features (Features B, C, D, and E) oriented north-south. Excavation showed that

they were not plowscars, but their origin remains unclear (Features D and E were not excavated). The best guess is that they were produced by the heavy machinery used to dig the steam line which passes through the site. The same features were found in Unit 35440. Another, somewhat irregular linear feature was intruded by Features B-E. It ran

Table 82. Artifacts from Test Unit 35700

Count/Weight Stratum A	Count/Weight Features B-C	Description
1		Rhenish brown stoneware sherd
1		English brown stoneware sherd
4		Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
	1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
1		Manganese Mottled coarse earthenware sherd
3		Micaceous Merida earthenware sherds
3		Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
3		White clay pipe bowl fragments
2		White clay pipe stem fragments, 8/64" bore
1		White clay pipe stem fragment, 7/64" bore
2		White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
1		Terra cotta pipe stem fragment
5		Colonial bottle glass fragments
3		Modern glass fragments
5		Wrought nail fragments
13	6	Unidentified square nail fragments
57.2 g.		Pantile
1.3 g.		Yellow brick fragments
4766.9 g.	2946.3 g.	Handmade brick fragments
269.4 g.	84.2 g.	Mortar
3.1 g.		Daub
1		Prehistoric pottery sherd
10	2	Lithic debitage fragments
8.7 g.	8.8 g.	Bone
29.5 g.	12.7 g.	Shell

from the northeast corner of the unit to the southwest corner. Because it was so heavily disturbed, its

Table 83. Artifacts from Test Unit 35712

Count/ Weight	Description
1	North Devon gravel free earthenware sherd
3	White clay pipe bowl fragments
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, 5/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, unmeasurable bore
1	Colonial bottle glass fragment
2	Colonial flat glass fragments
1	Modern glass fragment
1	Wrought nail fragment
4	Unidentified square nail fragments
3	Unidentified nail fragments
9149.3 g.	Handmade brick fragments
3.5 g.	Mortar
2	Prehistoric pottery sherds
2	Quartz bifacially retouched flakes
12	Lithic debitage fragments
1.3 g.	Shell

function could not be determined.

35712 Test Unit 35712 (N2110-2115/E1760-1765) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy loam plowzone approximately 0.45 feet thick. At its base were plowscars and Navy fill, which is described in detail in Unit 35452. Test

Unit 35712 was not excavated further.

36217 Test Unit 36217 (N2120-2125/E1685-1690) consisted of a strong brown (7.5YR4/6) clayey sandy loam, post-Navy plowzone (Stratum A) approximately 0.4 feet deep. Below this, in the northeast corner of the unit, was a Navy steam line trench. South of the trench was a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam, pre-Navy plowzone (Stratum B). Only plowscars were present at the base of this earlier plowzone.

37009 Test Unit 37009 (N2135-2140/E1745-1750) consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy loam plowzone approximately 0.8 feet thick. At the base of the plowzone there was a layer of clay fill put down by the Navy, probably as part of the effort to fill in the ravine that lay just to the north. This fill layer was too compacted to excavate, so two shovel test pits were used to explore the unit's stratigraphy. The STP in the southeast

corner of 37009 revealed that the fill layer was 0.45 feet thick, and that it overlay sterile subsoil. The

Table 84. Artifacts from Test Unit 36217

Count/ Weight	Description
1	Rhenish blue and gray stoneware sherd
1	Unidentified brown stoneware sherd
3	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds
1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
2	North Devon gravel tempered earthenware sherds
1	North Devon slipware sherd
4	Lead-glazed coarse earthenware sherds
3	Unglazed coarse earthenware sherds
1	Creamware sherd, undecorated
5	White clay pipe bowl fragments
3	White clay pipe stem fragments, 7/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 6/64" bore
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 5/64" bore
4	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
11	Colonial bottle glass fragments
3	Colonial flat glass fragments
2	Modern glass fragments
1	Brass furniture tack fragment
1	European gunflint fragment
1	Wrought nail fragment
14	Unidentified nail fragments
50.0 g.	Pantile
831.3 g.	Handmade brick fragments
3.9 g.	Daub
0.5 g.	Plaster
5	Prehistoric pottery sherds
1	Quartz Piscataway projectile point base
1	Rhyolite unidentified projectile point base
36	Lithic debitage fragments
13.6 g.	Bone
183.0 g.	Shell

STP in the northeast corner of the unit revealed that the fill layer was 0.3 feet thick, and that below it was a dark loamy layer containing brick and mortar fragments. This dark layer was also 0.3 feet thick. It could represent the remnants of the original topsoil or plowzone on the site, before Navy filling operations began. Below the loam layer was sterile subsoil.

Table 85. Artifacts from Test Unit 37009

Count/ Weight	Description
3	Tin-glazed earthenware sherds, manganese painted
1	Buckley coarse earthenware sherd
1	Pearlware sherd, green scalloped edge
1	White clay pipe bowl fragment
1	White clay pipe stem fragment, 5/64" bore
2	White clay pipe stem fragments, unmeasurable bore
1	Colonial bottle glass fragment
2	Modern glass fragments
3	Unidentified square nail fragments
1	Unidentified nail fragment
61.9 g.	Pantile
2421.1 g.	Handmade brick fragments
12	Lithic debitage fragments
2.8 g.	Shell

SUMMARY

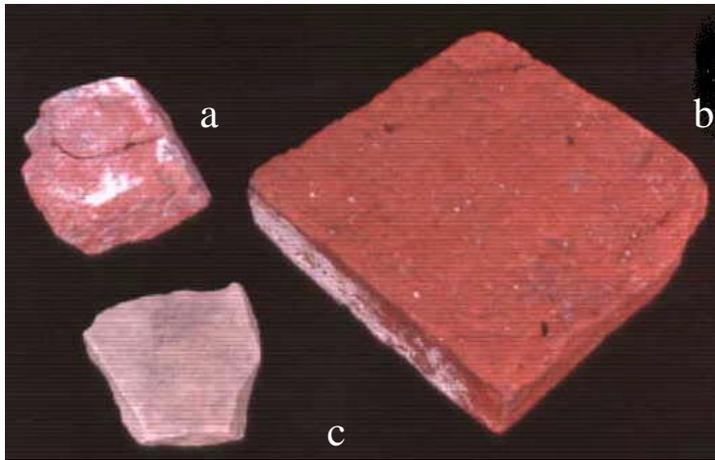
The archaeological investigations at Mattapany confirmed what Pogue concluded in 1981: that 18ST390 was the site of Charles Calvert's home. They also demonstrated the accuracy of oral traditions which placed the colonial magazine 100 yards from the house. However, based on the results of the Legacy-funded excavations, we now know that the area Pogue tested was the location of the magazine, not the house as he believed. The amount of military items recovered from the area, particularly the 78 lead shot from Test Unit 35236, support this conclusion. Nevertheless, Pogue's assumption is easy to understand. The magazine area produced large numbers of domestic artifacts, even more than Calvert's house site. This is somewhat surprising for a building just designed to store arms. However, the structure may have been used for more than just that. It is possible that it began as the Sewall house. Sewall's residence was a substantial structure for its time, and just a few years old when Charles Calvert moved to Mattapany and built his own house. Using it for the magazine would have made sense. It could also have been used to quarter Calvert's servants or slaves, or to provide rooms for visitors or members of his staff. In addition, we know that garrisons of up to 39 troops were stationed there at times, and these men would have been provided with the necessities of life. All of this activity no doubt resulted in a great amount of domestic refuse being scattered around the site.

Unfortunately, we haven't learned much more about what the armory looked like. It had a pantile roof, which would have helped to keep the gunpowder dry. It had glass windows, and at the very least a brick chimney and fireplace. Whether the rest of the building was masonry is unknown,

but no evidence of a foundation has been uncovered to date. It appears to have been occupied from the 1660s to around 1700, which fits in well with the documentary evidence about the magazine.

The Calvert house site, by contrast, has artifacts dating from the 1660s to the second quarter of the 18th century. A smaller amount of materials dating to later in the 18th century and the 19th century show that the site was still being used long after the building had been abandoned, possibly for trash disposal or by visitors to the ruins. Historical evidence suggests that the Calvert house was still being occupied in the 1730s, while architectural evidence indicates that Quarters A was built by Nicholas Lewis Sewall in the 1740s. Artifacts from 18ST390 support the idea that the site was largely abandoned by the 1740s.

The Calvert house measured 52 feet by 25 feet, which was large for the time. It also incorporated features which were rare in the 17th-century Chesapeake, and which could be afforded only by the very wealthy. The building was described as being made of “brick and timber.” However, the amount of brick we recovered suggests that a substantial portion of the structure was masonry. Included with this brick were unusual pieces, rubbed and gauged bricks that were intended for use as decorative elements. For example, beveled bricks used in a jackarch over a window or door were recovered (Figure 16). This style of masonry was relatively new in England, and its use at Mattapanay represents one of its earliest appearances in America. Rounded water-table bricks were also found. Pointed mortar fragments were recovered, indicating that the masons took the trouble to score the brick joints with their trowels, producing a more pleasing visual effect. Clearly, Mattapanay was a house fit for a lord.



A sample of masonry from Mattapany. Shown are (a) a beveled brick (34922F), (b) a floor tile (34663J), and (c) a hearthstone (34921D).



A close-up of the beveled brick shown above (a).



A brick showing marks characteristic of mould manufacture.

Figure 16. Masonry from Mattapany

Given the size of its foundation, Mattapan was probably at least two stories tall. The roof was pantile. The chimneys must have been masonry, while the fireplaces probably included Dutch yellow bricks and were decorated with tin-glazed tiles. A stone hearth apparently fronted at least one fireplace. Another unusual element of the house was its full cellar, with a tile floor. For most Marylanders, small earthen cellars were all they could hope for. Mattapan's cellar was probably lit by small ground-level windows. Whitewash on the floors and walls helped brighten it. Shelving apparently lined the west wall. The floor was originally dirt, but at some point tiles were put down. It is tempting to suggest that this occurred in the mid-1670s. The Dutch tile used on the house's fireplaces was apparently imported around 1675, so perhaps major renovations happened at that time.

An outbuilding was located south of the main house. It was probably a quarter or kitchen. It had an earthen cellar with a brick floor, which was lined with shelves and/or boards. The structure over this cellar was probably timber-framed and earth-set, and its interior walls were plastered. Running from this building to the southeast corner of the Calvert house was a large palisade fence. The palisade was not original to the site, and it is possible that it was thrown up for protection during the Revolution of 1689, which is the only time Mattapan is described as fortified.

One of the unusual things about the Calvert house site is its relative paucity of artifacts, given that this was the residence of the most powerful man in the colonies. There are several possible reasons for this. One, Charles Calvert had been educated in Europe, and was exposed to new Enlightenment ideas about architecture and the use of space. He may have desired that the yard around his house, which was a public space, be kept relatively clean. Trash disposal might have

occurred in the further reaches of the yard. Our recovery of numerous artifacts in test units located some distance from the house supports this hypothesis. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The Legacy-funded investigations at 18ST390 have shown that there are considerable intact deposits at Mattapan, and that much can still be learned from the site. This is particularly true since feature excavations so far have been limited. The site has already been placed on the National Register of Historic Places. Given the integrity of the site, and the importance of Lord Baltimore, consideration should be given to making Mattapan a National Historic Landmark. At the very least, the Naval Air Station Patuxent River should continue its fine tradition of protecting the site from future development, and should be encouraged in its efforts to make the story of Mattapan known to base personnel and the local citizenry. Additional research on the site should also be part of any long-range management plan.

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NOTES

1. Other fortified Native American villages, such as Piscataway, are known to have existed in Maryland in the 17th century (Stephenson and Ferguson 1963:10-15).
2. All dates are given in modern calendar style, rather than in the 17th-century style, which began the new year on March 25.
3. Some writers, such as Johnson (1883:56) and Thomas (1913), identify the King as "Pathuen" or "Pantheon." However, it is obvious from a document written in 1641 that "Pathuen" is a corruption of "Patuxent", since the document uses the name "King Patuen" (Johnson 1883:81).
4. The same source also states that the werowance "goes frequently in English Attire" (Hall 1967:88), suggesting something of the desire of the Patuxent for European goods.
5. One realization of Baltimore's fear occurred when Giles Brent unsuccessfully pressed a claim to the lands of the Piscataway Empire through his marriage to the emperor's daughter (Semmes 1979:440).
6. The "new law" Copley refers to was actually a series of acts passed by the Assembly of 1638. One act required that all land grants be awarded by the Proprietor, and that any properties which had been acquired directly from the Indians were to be forfeited to Lord Baltimore. Another law which displeased the Jesuits required anyone engaged in the Indian trade to have a government license (Arch MD. I:41-44). The new laws were aimed at all the colonists, not just the Jesuits. However, the dispute over Mattapany certainly helped motivate Lord Baltimore to seek passage of these acts. The laws of 1638 represented a compromise between Baltimore's efforts to gain further feudal control over Maryland and the colonists' desire for greater independence (Land 1981). The fact that new laws were often laxly enforced, and frequently had to be repassed, is a reflection of the contrary interests of Baltimore and the colonists (Hughes 1907(1):163, 477).
7. "Mr. Gerards Mannor" was St. Inigoes, which had been purchased by the Jesuits from Richard Gerard in 1637 (Beitzell 1976:18).
8. Conception Manor contained 4500 acres and was bounded on the north by the Patuxent River, on the east by the Chesapeake Bay, on the west by a line drawn from the southernmost branch of St. Stephens Creek to a line drawn from the Chesapeake below St. Valentine's Creek, and on the south by a line drawn between the east and west lines. St. Gregory's Manor consisted of 1000 acres located further up the Patuxent. St. Leonard's Manor contained 3600 acres, bounded on the south and west by the Patuxent and on the north by a "great Creek upon which old Town of Putuxent was scituate called now St. Augustine's [St. Leonard's] Creek..." (Patents AB&H:65-67). Hughes (1907(1):529-530) felt that Conception and Mattapany were one-and-the-same, and that St. Gregory's was at Piscataway. The surveys show clearly that he was mistaken.
9. Johnson (1883) and Hall (1967:116) say the matter was arbitrated by Henry More, but this is incorrect. More was Provincial from 1635 until August 1639, followed by Knott until October 1646 (Hughes 1907(2):xvii).

10. Johnson (1883) and others feel that the agreement actually was written by the Jesuits, but Hughes (1907(1):506) argues that it was prepared by Lord Baltimore. The fact that the dispute continued on for several more years strongly supports Hughes in this matter.
11. The village of Patuxent is depicted on the John Smith Map as being on the north side of the Patuxent River, south of Hunting Creek or possibly Battle Creek (Smith 1907). This is well to the north of the "old Town of Putuxent" located on St. Leonard's Creek (see Note 8). The town of "New Putuxent" was on the south side of the Patuxent River, between "St. Vincent Bay" and "St. Anne's Creek," north of present-day Cuckold Creek (Patents 1:108, AB&H:93; G. Stone 1982:19). By October 1640, when John Lewger patented this area for his manor of St. Anne's, the village had moved again, presumably further upriver (Patents AB&H:93). This was probably the village of "Patuxen" to which Rigby was assigned in 1642. Its exact location is unclear. The fact that there were at least four locations for the village of Patuxent between 1608 and 1640 demonstrates the transitory nature of these settlements.
12. Gervase died during the yellow fever epidemic in 1637. Fr. John Knowles, who had arrived just two months earlier, died at the same time. Gervase was 47, Knowles 30 (Hughes 1907(1):336, 564).
13. Copley was born in Spain in 1594. His parents, although English, had long resided in that country and received a pension from the Spanish king. Fr. Copley sold family properties in England to help support the Jesuit efforts in Maryland. During Ingle's Rebellion, he and Fr. Andrew White were captured and taken prisoner back to England. Copley eventually returned to Maryland and died there in 1652 (Beitzell 1976:15; Dorsey 1885:32, 45; Hughes 1907(2):11, 15).
14. Holt (1979:212) states that Ferdinand John Poulton, the son of Francis and Anne Morgan Poulton, was born in 1601 in Buckinghamshire. He attended St. Omers College in Flanders from 1613-1619, and joined the Jesuits around 1621-22. Shea (1978:55) and Dorsey (1885:43) agree with this assessment. However, Hughes (1907(1):423; 1908:201) suggests that Poulton was probably Spanish, perhaps because he sometimes appears in English records as "Ferdinando" (Arch. MD. I:88). The Calvert and Poulton families were intimate: Ferdinand Poulton's brother was the chaplain to Cecil Calvert's sister-in-law, Mary Somerset (Dorsey 1885:43).
15. The hundred was known officially as "Mattapanient" between 1638 and 1641. However, by 1642 it was frequently referred to in official documents as "Conception alias Mattapanient" (Arch. MD. I:114). Since this attempt at re-naming by the government occurred after Lord Baltimore had seized Mattapany, it may well have been part of the ongoing effort to wrest both symbolic and actual control of the area from the Jesuits. It was no doubt embarrassing to the Calverts to have a political subdivision named after an illegal and actively contested property.
16. Another transported individual, Cuthbert Fenwick, was asked to represent the hundred at the General Assembly of 1641 (Arch. MD. I:106), but there is no evidence to suggest he actually lived there, despite Pogue's (1983a:17) assertion to the contrary. The fact that the residents of the hundred wrote to Fenwick asking him to represent them, rather than

- simply certifying to the government that they had chosen him to be their burgess as was normally done, supports this surmise.
17. Clerke spoke for the priests at the Assembly, but only to offer their excuses for not attending. He did not serve as their official proxy (Hughes 1907(1):382). The Jesuits felt that their absence from colonial assemblies should not be held against them or lessen their rights as freemen (Hughes 1908:168). In refusing to attend the Assembly, the Jesuits were following medieval English church tradition. Like their predecessors, they were protesting being subject to Lord Baltimore's taxes. They were also opposed to the fact that civil, rather than religious, authorities controlled marriage and death records (Dennis 1901:115).
 18. There is other evidence of Harvey's interaction with Native Americans. In 1640, he was ordered to lead twelve men on a raid against the "Maquantequat" Indians (probably the Nanticoke), and several years later he was forced to return goods he had stolen from a Patuxent Indian in an attack which left one Indian dead (Arch. MD. IV:87, 166).
 19. Newman (1985:225) suggests that Jane was Harvey's second wife, since she was described in 1645 as his "now wife." If this is true, then the name of his first wife is unknown, or perhaps he married two women named Jane.
 20. St. Joseph's was bounded on the south by St. Lawrence Creek (probably present-day Lewis Creek), on the east by the Patuxent River, on the north by Back River (today's Mill Creek) and on the west by the "known path of Patuxon" until it intersected a line drawn southwest from a branch of Back River called St. Francis Branch (Patents 1:129; AB&H:103). Reeve *et al.* (1991:53) state that this manor adjoined the Jesuit's Conception Manor, but it is clear from Harvey's patent that St. Joseph's lay northwest of Richard Gardiner's manor of St. Richard's, which had been patented earlier and which, according to its patent, did adjoin Conception to the east. Therefore, St. Richard's was situated between St. Joseph's and Conception.
 21. As a result of the inquest, the legal principle of "deodand" was enforced, and the tree which killed Bryant was forfeited to Lord Baltimore.
 22. In 1649, Beach claimed that he had been transported to the colony by Nicholas Cawsin (Patents AB&H:36). Assuming that this was the same Elias Beach, it would appear that he was mistaken about who had brought him over 12 years earlier.
 23. The fortified village of Patuxent, located upriver, was also under Bishop's jurisdiction (Arch. MD. III:107).
 24. Barnaby and Joseph Jr. were left orphaned by their father's death around 1660/1661. Joseph Jr. was placed in the custody of Thomas Walton at that time, but by December 1662 he was claiming payment for two years of service to Walton, suggesting that he had reached the age of majority. Both brothers were adults by 1665. If Barnaby was born around 1648 (the year he received a cow from his godfather), then this would suggest that Joseph Jr. was the eldest brother (Arch. MD. X:87; XLI:598-599; XLIX:460, 508).
 25. Newman (1985:274), citing Wills 1:24, states that in a deposition made in 1650 Edlow described Wiseman as "heretofore this Dept Master." However, the same deposition is reproduced in Arch. MD. (X:10), where Edlow describes Wiseman as "heretofore this depon^{ts} Mate." Given that Edlow had long been a freedman, claimed to be "one of the

greatest creditors of the said Mr. Wiseman," and administered Wiseman's estate, it would appear that the deposition in Wills 1:24 was mis-recorded, and that Edlow and Wiseman really were "mates."

26. In 1648, William Eltonhead claimed he had transported to Maryland that year one Joseph Edlow, a 16 year old boy also named Joseph Edlow, and a "ffreewoman wife to Edlow" (MHM 1912:194). This is obviously not the Joseph Edlow of Susquehanna Point. While it is fairly certain that the first Edlow was involved in the incident with Mary Cole, it may be that the later Edlow was Robert Wiseman's partner, or the father of Anne Barbery's child. However, the later Edlow probably still would have been a servant at the time of Wiseman's death in 1650, and this, plus the fact that Edlow and Wiseman both lived in Mattapanient Hundred in the 1630s, suggests that Wiseman's "mate" was the first Joseph Edlow.
27. Newman (1985:235) feels that Elizabeth Gardiner Lusthead predeceased her husband, since it was Thomas Cornwaleys -- not Elizabeth -- who administered her husband's estate. However, in 1651 Luke Gardiner petitioned for 50 acres due to "Richard Lustich, servant to M^r Copley who married Luke Gardiner's Sister deceased who survived her Said husband" (MHM 1914:39).
28. A third individual, Arthur Le Hay, also demanded 100 acres on the north side of the Patuxent at this time. However, during the Assembly of 1642 he was a resident of St. Georges Hundred, so he probably never actually moved to Mattapanient (Arch. MD. I:144).
29. Angood had apparently gone out to trade with the Indians, because in February 1643 John Hamton demanded 300 pounds of tobacco from Angood's estate for "a dogg lent unto him when he went to the sesquihanowes" (Arch. MD. IV:180).
30. In the early 1640s, after the Jesuits had vacated Mattapany but still disputed its ownership, Fr. Copley wrote to Lord Baltimore that the tenants on the property were not paying rent to anyone, and offered to collect payments until the case was resolved, so that tenants would not get in the habit of not paying rent (Woodstock Letters n.d.). The residents of Mattapanian House, and others in the vicinity, may well have been taking advantage of the confused ownership of Mattapany to live there rent free.
31. According to the patent records for Cedar Point, William Eltonhead immigrated to Maryland in 1648 (Patents AB&H:16, 21). However, in August 1643 a William Eltonhead testified in a Maryland court about a conversation he had witnessed in London the previous year (Arch. MD. IV:210). Later, in January 1647, he is recorded signing an oath of fealty (Arch. MD. III:174). There are no other references to him before 1648, so it is not known how much time he spent in Maryland during this period. It is not even clear that he is the same William Eltonhead who patented the 2,000 acres at Cedar Point. However, one piece of evidence suggests that he probably is. The conversation Eltonhead testified about in 1643 involved Sir Edmund Ployden, a knight of the realm who had been granted the colony of New Albion in present-day Delaware, Maryland, and New Jersey. Edward Eltonhead, William's uncle, was a major investor in New Albion (Stevenson and Sundberg 1996:36, 47). This would suggest that the two William Eltonheads are the same man, and indicate that he spent some time visiting Maryland before finally moving there in 1648.

32. The quarter may have belonged to Thomas Dorrell, one of the "Gentlemen of Fashion" who arrived on the *Ark* in 1634. He died by 1638, leaving no will and no probate inventory. Some of his belongings came into the possession of John Lewger (Newman 1985:191).
33. Shortly after Halfehead's death in 1676, a dispute arose between his son -- John Jr. -- and Joseph Edlow Jr., concerning a 50 acre tract called "Halfeheads Hollow," "wherein the said John Halfehead [Sr.] lately dwelt," and an adjoining 100 acre parcel called "Susquahannough Point." A resurvey of the area had found that both tracts were part of Joseph Edlow Sr's original 300 acre Susquehanna Point grant. Halfehead Jr. and his wife Jane agreed to lease Halfeheads Hollow from Edlow, suggesting that they, like the elder Halfehead, resided there (Arch. MD. XLVI:132-134).
34. One perch equals 16.5 feet.
35. The patent for this property describes the south boundary as running northeast to the Chesapeake Bay, rather than southeast as I have described it. This change was made because it is impossible to make the tract boundaries geographically fit the real world otherwise. Presumably a transcription error was made in the 17th-century patent. The western half of Halfehead's Folly (100 acres) was later sold to George Aynsworth, who sold it in 1676 to Christopher Rousby (Arch. MD. LXVI:77). By 1707 the eastern half belonged to Edward Horn (Rent Roll 1707:324).
36. By 1665 Halfehead had married his third wife, Elizabeth. He had at least one son, John Jr. It is tempting to suggest that the elder Halfehead, as an immediate neighbor of Henry Sewall and Charles Calvert, was the brickmason who constructed Mattapany-Sewall.
37. In order to make Warr's tract fit properly both in the real landscape and with the 17th-century bounds of neighboring properties, it is necessary to place its northwest corner at the mouth of a small creek (known in the 19th century as Millstone Lake) located just to the east of Gardiner's Creek, rather than at the mouth of Gardiner's Creek itself. Further support for this change can be found in the fact that the land between Gardiner's Creek and Millstone Lake, known as Fishing Point, was not part of the original Mattapany-Sewall grant, and had to be purchased by the Sewall family in the 18th century (Patents T.I. #1, 391).
38. "Sanawakett" was Richard Gardiner's "Sacawaxhit" (also called "Gardiner's Neck"), located to the west of Warr's property. It was a 200 acre tract that began at the mouth of Gardiner's Creek, then ran northwest along the Patuxent for 60 perches to an "unnamed branch" (later called Sacawaxhit Creek), then south along the branch for 500 perches, and finally east back to Gardiner's Creek (Patents AB&H:53, 221, 227). In the early 1650s this property was restored to Luke Gardiner, who then sold it to Hugh Hopewell in 1660 (Beary 1983:23).
39. Menard (1973) and Pogue (1983a) locate Hogpen Neck adjacent to Mattapany-Sewall, east of Gardiner's Creek. This does not correspond to the original patent, and probably results from the confusion about Hogpen Neck and Hopewell-White which exists in 17th- and 18th-century records.
40. Ward's Patuxent estates included both those around Mattapany as well as "The Schoolhouse," a parcel on the north side of the river (Patents AB&H:272).

41. The lands patented by Warr, Hopewell and White, and van Enden added up to 700 acres, 50 acres less than the property Utie called "Mattapenny." At least some of the additional 50 acres had been purchased by the Uties (Arch. MD. XLIX:92). The Rent Roll of 1660 indicates that Utie owned 800 acres in Harvey Hundred, including Hogpen Neck. This could mean that Hogpen Neck was part of Utie's Mattapenny, but the known inaccuracies in the Rent Roll (e.g., Hogpen Neck was really only 150 acres, Bynden was probably 250 acres), as well as later documentary evidence, suggests that this was not the case.
42. Shortly before this, Sewall had requested 400 acres for transporting himself, his wife, their three children (Nicholas, Elizabeth, and Ann), and three servants (Patents 5:251). The warrant for "Mettapania" which was issued to Sewall on 14 August 1663 stated that it was to be a manor of 700 acres, with an additional 300 acres to be purchased by Sewall (Patents 6:42). Thus, it would appear that Sewall's Mattapany consisted of the 700 acres that had belonged to Mary Utie, plus 300 additional acres that he paid for. Four hundred acres were due to him, and 300 acres he agreed to buy, but it is not clear if the remaining 300 acres were a gift or were obtained with the 15,000 pounds tobacco that he paid for the manor. It may be that the additional acreage was a benefit of his close relationship with the Calverts.
43. In order for Mattapany's northern boundary to be 210 perches long and to be between two creeks, its northwest corner must be located at the mouth of the small creek later known as Millstone Lake, rather than at Gardiner's Creek (located a short distance to the west). Those two creeks had been similarly confused in Warr's patent 13 years earlier. The fact that the land between these two creeks, known as Fishing Point, was later purchased by the Sewalls in the 18th century, indicates that indeed it was not a part of the original Mattapany.
44. Fresco (1989:263) gives Henry Sewall's birthdate as 1628. Although this is plausible, the accuracy of this information is uncertain, since she is apparently drawing upon sources from Massachusetts, where other Sewalls lived. An example of this potential confusion can be found on two internet sites that discuss Sewall genealogy. On one, Henry Sewall of Mattapany is said to have been born in 1624. However, the other site claims that 1624 is the birth year of Henry Sewall III, a resident of Massachusetts who was the son of Henry Sewall Jr. and the husband of Jane Dummer (Clayton 1999; Heartland 1999; www.sewallgenealogy.com).
45. The coat-of-arms of the Maryland branch of the Sewall family has been described as: sable, a chevron between three bees, argent, with a crest of a leopard's head affrontee (Johnston 1909:295; Parran 1935:260).
46. Parran (1935:323) states that Jane Lowe was Henry Sewall's second wife, but provides no documentation for this claim. Jane and Henry were certainly married by July 1658, when Henry purchased 147 acres at Shirland Park in England, on which he intended to build. The land was leased in the name of Mrs. Mary Lowe, presumably one of Jane Lowe's relatives. Henry's uncle, Sir William Dugdale, helped arrange the transaction (Green 1965a:89). Dugdale was a well-known antiquarian and author (Barnes 1999b:391).
47. Evidence of the friendship between Henry Sewall and Charles Calvert can be seen in a letter which Charles wrote to his father, Lord Baltimore, in 1664. In it, Charles mentions that

his uncle Philip Calvert, along with Henry Coursey, had accused Sewall of uttering unspecified ill words against Lord Baltimore. Charles strongly defended Sewall against these charges, stating that he had no reason to believe they were true, and expressed his hope that Lord Baltimore would receive Sewall when the latter arrived in London (MHS 1889:240). The accusations are probably more reflective of a long-standing rivalry between Philip and Charles Calvert, rather than any disloyalty on Henry Sewall's part (see Note 55). Connections between the Sewalls and the Calvert/Arundell families can also be seen in Henry Sewall's land purchase of 1658 (see Note 46), which was assisted by a Mr. Howard (presumably related to Thomas Howard, Lord Arundell) and a Mr. Philips, "who has good interest at Arundel House" (Green 1965a:89). Charles Calvert was Lord Arundell's grandson.

48. Hastings (1927:328) refers to Sewall as "Dr. Sewall," but her reasons for this honorific are not clear.
49. Parran (1935:323) claims that Jane Sewall took Henry's body back to England for burial, and met Charles Calvert, who had just buried his wife, on the return boat to Maryland. Parran provides no documentation for this, and there are two problems with her story. First, Charles and Jane had no doubt known each other for many years, probably even before they first arrived in Maryland in 1661. Secondly, Charles' wife Mary Darnall had died two years before Henry Sewall, and Charles is known to have spent 1665 in Maryland (cf. Arch. MD. III).
50. Jane Lowe Sewall, who was described as a "beauty" by a younger relative in 1725 (Howard 1914:129), was one of ten children born to Vincent Lowe and Anne Cavendish of London (Anne later became the Countess of Shrewsbury by her fourth marriage). Vincent and Anne Lowe were living in Virginia in 1634, but it does not appear that Jane was born there (Roberts 1947:140; Thomas 1913:351). Barnes (1999a:2) states that Jane was christened in Denby, Derbyshire on 14 October 1633 (see also www.sewallgenealogy.com). This may seem surprising, since Denby was a Church of England parish, and Jane Lowe is presumed to be Catholic like the rest of her family. However, the Lowes were long-time patrons of the Denby church, called St. Mary's, and there is even a memorial to Jane's grandparents still in the church (www.denbychurch.org.uk/lowe.html). Another source (Heartland 1999) states that Jane was born in 1616, but this does not seem credible, as that would make her 21 years older than her second husband Charles Calvert, and 63 when her last child was born.
51. Heartland (1999) gives the birth year of Anne Sewall as c. 1650, and that of Elizabeth Sewall as before 1654, but provides no citations for this. Given other known dating problems in this source, the dates should be taken with a grain of salt. Anne Sewall married Benjamin Rozer, and after his death in 1681, married Edward Pye. Elizabeth Sewall married Jesse Wharton, and after his death in 1676, married William Digges (Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:724). Mary Sewall died in childbirth at the age of 33 and was buried near Woodstock, Virginia. Fragments of her grave marker, which describes her as the daughter of "Lady Baltimore by Henry Sewall, Esq.", are still present in the cemetery. She was married to Col. William Chandler, and then to George Brent, nephew of Margaret Brent (French 1981:48; Wilfong 1960:115).

52. The younger Jane Sewall married Philip Calvert while she was still a teenager (Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:724). Philip's first wife, Anne Wolsey, was a first cousin of the elder Jane Lowe Sewall (Nicklin 1921). It has been suggested that the younger Jane Sewall returned to England after Philip's death, where she married John Paston (Howard 1914:123). However, this is incorrect; Paston was married to Jane's half-sister Anne Calvert (MHM 1915:374). It would appear that Jane Sewall Calvert did not remarry. She administered Philip Calvert's estate after his death. In her will, Jane divided her estate between her four god-children (including a niece and two nephews), with most going to a child named Jane Sutton. The will was executed by Lady Baltimore (Hastings 1927:324; O'Gorman 1947).
53. Based on the value of the servants listed in Sewall's probate inventory, it would appear that he had 13 adult males, 3 adult females, 1 girl, and 4 boys working for him at his death. Their names are listed in Appendix 1. This was a very large number for the time period. The names of at least six other servants who were no longer members of the Sewall household at the time of the inventory are present in other records: Darby Cunningham and Winifred Joanes (who, along with Abraham Rhodes, came over with the Sewall family in 1661), William Braithwell (who Sewall brought over in 1662), John Whittingham, (who had run away in 1663), Thomas Woodward, and Edward Allen (Arch. MD. XLIX:37, 350; Patents 5:251, 490). The latter two left Sewall's service sometime between January and May 1665. Elizabeth Woodward, who may well have been related to Thomas Woodward, was still a servant at the time of Sewall's death.
54. Wardour was the Arundell family estate. Thomas, Lord Arundell supported his son-in-law Cecil Calvert and his young family during the early years of Maryland, when Calvert was short of money. This support included lodging at Wardour (Bibbins 1933:307). However, according to Hyde (1953:186), Charles Calvert was actually born at Hook House, which was located on a farm adjacent to Wardour. Hook Farm was given to Cecil Calvert by Lord Arundell as part of Ann's marriage dowry.
55. Philip Calvert, who was Charles' uncle and ten years older, was raised by Cecil Calvert after the death of their father, George. This may have contributed to the sibling-like rivalry Charles and Philip exhibited in Maryland (Papenfuse 1995:7, 24). Deeper psychological underpinnings for their conflict can also be speculated. For example, Philip entered his brother's household at about age five, and may have come to see Cecil as a surrogate father. But when Charles was born five years later, Philip may have felt replaced in Cecil's affections. The fact that the younger Charles would one day be Lord Baltimore and superior to his uncle perhaps exacerbated Philip's feelings. Charles, for his part, may have experienced the resentment common to younger siblings. The Jesuit education both boys apparently received may also have contributed to their adult rivalry (see Note 56). The Jesuit schools maintained rigorous control over all aspects of student life, and practiced firm, though gentle, discipline. As part of this "total education", the Jesuits strongly encouraged competition, rivalry, and even spying between the students (Good and Teller 1969:157-158).
56. English Catholic gentry occasionally attended Cambridge or Oxford, or, like Henry Arundel of Wardour, the Inns of Court. Both the First and Second Lords Baltimore matriculated

at Oxford's Trinity College (Hall 1902:28). However, their schooling can be explained by surrounding circumstances. George Calvert, the First Lord Baltimore, had initially been sent by his Catholic parents to a Catholic tutor (Aveling 1966). However, the government shut the school down, and George's father agreed to conform to the Church of England and to educate his son at a Protestant school (George's mother never renounced her faith, and was jailed for a time as a result). George's eldest son Cecil had completed his education when his father converted back to Catholicism in 1625. Cecil had converted around the same time (Krugler 1979:51). In the 17th century, most English Catholics were sent to schools abroad, such as St. Omers (Miller 1973b:19). Cecil's younger brothers Philip and Leonard apparently attended St. Omers, and Charles Calvert's son Benedict Leonard sent his own sons there (Holt 1979:56). Philip Calvert also attended the College of Saints Peter and Paul in Lisbon from 1642-1646 (Sharratt 1991:26). St. Omers was founded by English Jesuits, and provided a classical, Latin-based humanistic curriculum (Catholic University 1967:927). There is some uncertainty about Charles Calvert's attendance at St. Omers, in part because of his age. In 1645, Charles was only 8 years old. Ordinarily, boys did not begin matriculating at Jesuit colleges until 11 or 12, suggesting that perhaps this was a different Charles Calvert (*ibid.*). However, 7 or 8 was the age at which boys began attending grammar school (Thompson 1958:11), so perhaps there was a grammar school associated with the college. Alternatively, it may be that St. Omers became a refuge for English Catholic children during the English Revolution, and accepted underage boys. It is known that attendance at the school was affected by the Revolution (Catholic University 1967:927).

57. Jane Lowe Sewall's relationship with Charles Calvert apparently was something of a scandal in its day. In an October 1713 letter to his son Benedict Leonard Calvert, Charles stated that "many persons in Maryland know but to well that shee and I were Whore and Rogue together long before I played the weake Man, and married her; For which I was and still am reflected on by the people there as well as many here; My Father greatly offended at me, and my Relations both there and here much afflicted for that misfortune of" (Hall 1960:362). The letter does not make clear whether the affair began before or after Henry Sewall's death. This was apparently not the first time a Calvert man had been involved in such a relationship. In 1632, a Catholic priest complained that the First Lord Baltimore had been "co-habiting" with his late wife's maid (who was also her goddaughter), had married her, then put "her aside on grounds of affinity" (Havran 1962:116).
58. Jane Lowe Sewall was buried at St. Giles-in-the-Fields in London, as was Mary Thorp Calvert. Other family members at the cemetery include the Second Lord Baltimore, his father-in-law Lord Arundell, Jane's son Cecil Calvert and her daughter Jane Sewall, and Charles Calvert's sister Anne Calvert. In 1685, the burial of "Thomas, a black child from Lord Baltimore's" was recorded there (Hastings 1927:329). Although an Anglican church, St. Giles-in-the-Fields was frequently a burial place for prominent Catholics during the 17th century. Roger Mainwaring, the grandfather of Charles Calvert's steward William Brooke, had been made rector of St. Giles-in-the-Field in 1616 (Taylor n.d.:20; 1989:3, 5). Charles Calvert's burial place, St. Pancras, was also often used to inter Catholic gentry (Hastings 1927:329).

59. Calvert did intend to return to his colony someday. He apparently booked passage to Maryland from London in September 1684 and September 1685, but he did not actually make the voyages (Coldham 1990:486, 545). In England, Calvert had various country estates where he could stay. He also spent considerable time in London. In 1689, he was reported to be living on that city's Bloomsbury Square, and in 1708 he was residing on Devonshire Street (Payne 1889:xv; Scharf 1967:336).
60. In 1667, reports circulated in England that Calvert had been killed in a hurricane which hit the Chesapeake (Headlam 1964a:509). The circumstances of his alleged death are not recorded, so it is not known if any damage occurred to Mattapany-Sewall during the storm.
61. In 1672-1673, Charles Calvert built a summer house for his young son Cecil on 500 acres of cleared land he called "Zachya" or "Sachay" (Zekiah Manor) in Charles County. He intended for the house to be made of brick, but it was ultimately constructed "in the fashion of the building of this country," suggesting that it may have been a more simple wooden structure. Because of the expense of building, Charles decided not to construct an overly elaborate house, in case Cecil later decided he did not like it (Klaphthor and Brown 1958:9, 50; MHS 1889:272, 284). Given the cost of the building, it is unlikely that Charles would have attempted such an undertaking until after he had finished erecting his new house at Mattapany-Sewall. This suggests that Mattapany-Sewall was completed by 1672, and supports the idea that the house Ogilby described in 1671 had in fact been built by Charles Calvert.
62. Calvert's preference for brick dwellings can be seen in the 1674 Assembly debate over moving the capital to Anne Arundel County. Before he made his choice in the matter, Calvert asked the burgesses of Anne Arundel and St. Mary's counties if either party would build for him a "Convenient dwelling house of Brick" located near the new state house (Arch. MD. II:371).
63. Although the name of this sloop is not known, in 1693 Calvert petitioned the Privy Council to allow the 250 ton ship *Little Baltimore* to sail to Maryland (Grant and Munro 1966:223). This vessel presumably belonged to Lord Baltimore.
64. Clare Calvert was married to Edward Marie Somerset, "a gentleman of great estate," and Lord Baltimore's business partner, but she "fell down dead" shortly after the wedding (Hardy 1969b:412). After Clare's death, her sister Anne married Somerset. Anne then married John Paston after Somerset's death (Hastings 1927:315, 328).
65. Charles Calvert continued to provide considerable financial support for his son and successor, Benedict Leonard Calvert, until the latter's conversion to Protestantism in November 1713, an act which his father urged him to reconsider (Hall 1960:361-362; L. Stone 1993:59). Relations between the two became very strained after that. Lord Baltimore withdrew his annual support of 450 pounds sterling, forcing Benedict Leonard to subsist on his marriage settlement of 600 pounds annually (Headlam 1964c:200). For his part, Benedict Leonard feared that his father's fourth wife would cut him out of his inheritance (Hall 1960:363). Charles also paid for much of the schooling and expenses of Benedict Leonard's four sons and two daughters (who were the great-grandchildren of King Charles II), particularly after Benedict Leonard separated from his wife Charlotte

(Stone 1993:59; Hall 1960:366; Headlam 1964c:200). The children were sent to St. Omers, a Catholic seminary on the Continent (Hall 1902:139). Charles maintained this support after his son's conversion, intending that the children would be raised Catholic. However, Benedict Leonard wanted them raised as Protestants, and asked for financial assistance from the Crown for this until his father died. This was granted by the King, and in 1714 Benedict Leonard placed his children in a Protestant school in London (Hall 1960:362; Headlam 1964c:200). English court documents indicate that Benedict Leonard was a violent wife beater, an adulterer, and probably an alcoholic. Charles disapproved of his son's extramarital affairs, particularly that with his housekeeper (by whom Benedict Leonard had several illegitimate children), and he blamed these affairs for the dissolution of Benedict Leonard's marriage. He also accused Benedict Leonard of disowning his children. However, it appears that before Benedict Leonard's conversion, Charles turned a largely blind eye towards the lifestyle of his reprobate son (Hall 1960:361, 366; L. Stone 1993:54).

66. It is believed by some historians that Charles Calvert had another son, named Charles Calvert Lazenby (Papenfuss *et al.* 1985:187). However, the parentage of Lazenby (1680 or 1688-1733/4) is a matter of dispute. It has been suggested (Nicklin 1921:317) that Lazenby may have been the son of Philip and Jane Sewall Calvert, born after Philip's death, but this seems unlikely since Jane left her estate to Jane Sutton (see Note 52). If Lazenby was the child of the Third Lord Baltimore, he was illegitimate, since his mother was apparently the Countess Henrietta Butler, also known as "Mother Calvert." He later dropped the surname Lazenby, and was known simply as Charles Calvert. The Third Lord Baltimore supported Lazenby, giving him land in Maryland which he sold to purchase a position in the British military (he was a captain of the Grenadier Guards in 1718), and in 1720 the Fifth Lord Baltimore appointed Charles Calvert as Governor of Maryland. This close relationship with the Calvert family suggests that Gov. Calvert may well have been a son of the Third Lord Baltimore (Barnes 1999b:98; Nicklin 1921; Norris 1937:114-115; Yentsch 1994:53-55).
67. Nettie Leitch Major (in Clark 1987:37) states that "family papers" indicate that Notley Rozer (1673-1727), son of Col. Benjamin Rozer and Anne Sewall, was mostly raised in the home of his grandmother, Lady Baltimore (Jane Sewall). Why this would be the case, given that Notley's father and his later stepfather, Edward Pye, were both wealthy Maryland landowners, is not clear. Perhaps tutors for the Sewall-Calvert grandchildren worked out of Mattapan. However, Major errs when she states that Notley Rozer was the son of Jane Sewall, daughter of Henry Sewall (who was only 9 when Notley was born), so her information about his residency may also be incorrect.
68. The Calvert and Darnall families (as well as the Butler family -- see below) were related through Ann Mynne, wife of the First Lord Baltimore. Various marriages between the families, including that of Charles Calvert and Mary Darnall, further linked them (Hastings 1926).
69. The elite families who lived along the Patuxent during the colonial period were closely intertwined. For example, Thomas Brooke was the brother of William Brooke, who lived at Mattapan-Sewall. His sister, Elizabeth, married Richard Smith Jr. sometime before

- 1679 (Johnston 1906:69). Smith was the son of Maryland's first Attorney General, and was later one of the defenders of Mattapany-Sewall during the Revolution of 1689. Thomas Brooke's widow, Elinor (who married Henry Darnall), was the sister-in-law of Luke Gardiner, the son of Richard Gardiner (Carr *et al.* 1991:253). One of Thomas and Elinor's sons, Clement Brooke, married Henry Sewall's granddaughter Jane, who became the grandmother of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, signer of the Declaration of Independence (Johnston 1906:187). Henry Darnall's great-granddaughter, Mary Darnall, married Nicholas Sewall of Cedar Point, cousin of Nicholas Lewis Sewall of Mattapany-Sewall. Their son, Robert Sewall of Prince Georges County, later acquired Mattapany-Sewall (Pleasants 1936:269).
70. Krugler (1984:42-43) suggests that Brooke was a Puritan, but the basis for this assertion is unclear. Brooke's wife, Mary Mainwaring, was the daughter of an Anglican bishop, and there is some evidence to suggest that Brooke himself was a clergyman. It has also been suggested that Brooke converted to Catholicism before 1649, but his support for the Puritan faction in Maryland from 1650 to 1655 (he was even appointed as a Commissioner by Parliament in 1652) probably indicates that he was a Protestant, possibly even a Puritan as Krugler suggests (MHM 1910b:200; Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:171).
71. In 1704, William Willoughby, age 80, testified that 29 or 30 years earlier he and George Seward had worked for Lord Baltimore at Mattapany-Sewall (SMCC Career Files "Charles Calvert"). However, the deposition does not state that the two men were servants, so their exact relationship to Calvert is unknown.
72. In 1664 an act was passed which created a public magazine (Arch. MD. I:535). The act was to be in effect for three years. Based on evidence from the Assembly of 1666, it would appear that nothing more than gunpowder was procured for this magazine. In that year the Upper House proposed that arms be acquired for the magazine, since 14,000 pounds tobacco had been set aside for this in 1664 (*ibid.*:82-83). Apparently, there had been difficulty in purchasing the arms (*ibid.*:111). The Lower House inquired as to where the 240 pounds of powder which had supposedly been bought in 1664 was currently being stored, and if any more had been acquired in 1665 or 1666 (*ibid.*:84). As a result of all the confusion, the Assembly of 1666 passed a new act to impose a tobacco levy, when necessary, in order to raise troops and weapons with which to fight against the Indians (*ibid.*:136). Both houses agreed that Charles Brooke should be sent to England with a list of guns and military supplies to purchase (*ibid.*:89). It is unknown if he did so, and no mention of a magazine was made at the Assembly of 1669. If any military supplies were acquired for a public magazine in the late 1660s, which is doubtful, they were almost certainly kept in St. Mary's City or distributed to the county militias.
73. Calvert's concern was probably heightened by an incident in February 1675, when the "Great Men" of the Susquehannocks suddenly appeared at Mattapany-Sewall to ask for a place to settle in Maryland. The Susquehannocks were apparently seeking refuge after a war with the Senecas (Arch. MD. II:428-429).
74. A particularly angry diatribe, sent anonymously to the King from Maryland in 1676, complained that Charles Calvert had left the colony in the control of his young son Cecil,

his son-in-law Jesse Wharton (who was married to Calvert's stepdaughter Elizabeth Sewall), his nephew William Calvert, his "kindsman" Baker Brooke, and his uncle Philip Calvert the "Pukly Chancellor" (Arch. MD. V:137; Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:880). This missive also protested the high fees levied on the colonists, which were used to "maintain my lord a prince," when he was in fact "but an inferior Irish Lord" (Arch. MD. V:140, 144).

75. In order to curry the favor of King James II, Lord Baltimore raised "a troop for his Maj^{ties} service" in 1688 (Arch. MD. VIII:65). This probably occurred during the great expansion of the royal army that began in September 1688, since he was commissioned captain of the cavalry unit on 10 October 1688 (Dalton 1960(II):179; Miller 1973a:46; Webb 1995:154, 347). His unit was one of the independent militias formed at the end of James II's reign. The men of the troop were selected, equipped, and paid by Lord Baltimore. As a militia force, they could serve where and how they chose. Most of the newly commissioned officers of 1688 had never been in the military before, and would never be again (Miller 1973a:49, 51). On 12 December 1688, the day after James II had fled London, Calvert surrendered his troop to John Churchill (a leader of William of Orange's coup and soon to be Duke of Marlborough) at Whitehall Palace or Wapping. Some reports suggest that Calvert was taken into custody along with George Jeffreys, the Lord Chancellor. Ironically, Calvert was brought to a hearing before the provisional government along with his colonial arch-rival, William Penn (Beddard 1988:193; Miller 1973a:163, 207). That same day, the government ordered that Lady Baltimore and her daughter or daughters were to be released from confinement in Bromley, Kent. A priest being held with them was to remain imprisoned. The charges against the women are not specified, but almost certainly are related to the events surrounding the Glorious Revolution. Calvert's cousin, Henry Arundell of Wardour, and his family were also arrested and then released around this time (Beddard 1988:78, 103).

It has been suggested by some authorities (cf. Nicklin 1921; Yentsch 1994) that Charles Calvert was a general in the English army under Marlborough during the European campaigns of 1696 and 1707. Haydn (1970:871, 964) states that Calvert was commissioned a major-general in 1707, but he also describes Charles as the 4th Lord Baltimore. Even if Calvert was a general, it seems unlikely that he actually served under Marlborough in Europe. There is no mention of his service in the standard histories of the time period, including Winston Churchill's six volume biography of Marlborough, nor is it referred to in the Calvert Papers or other known Calvert correspondence. Dalton (1960) only describes his service as a cavalry captain in 1688. It would be especially unlikely for a Catholic of advanced years, who had recently been outlawed for treason, to be given a position of combat command, particularly by Marlborough, who had arrested Calvert in 1688 (see Note 76). After all, one cause of the Glorious Revolution had been James II's acceptance of Catholics in the army, and after 1688 Catholics were prohibited from military service (Miller 1973a:35; Watkins 1957:103). In addition, except for his brief command during the Revolution (in which he surrendered without a fight), Lord Baltimore apparently had little military experience. However, officer positions could be

- purchased in the 17th century, so perhaps Lord Baltimore attempted to do so as a way of gaining royal favor. The confusion over Calvert's military service may also be in part a case of mistaken identity. Charles Calvert Lazenby, who was possibly Lord Baltimore's son and who eventually dropped the surname Lazenby (see Note 66), served as an officer in the Grenadier Guards. After his death in 1734, the Maryland Gazette published an elegy poem to Lazenby written by Richard Lewis. The poem includes the lines: "And grateful Marlborough's worthy Shade confess/If Calvert [Lazenby] had not fought, His triumphs had been less" (LeMay 1964:183).
76. In 1689, Lord Baltimore was outlawed in Ireland for high treason. He claimed to be too sick to travel to Ireland for an appeal, and asked the English Parliament to reverse his status (Semmes 1944:103). He was eventually able to prove that he had never even been to Ireland, and in 1693 the King issued a warrant repealing Calvert's outlawry (Hall 1902:101). The charges against Lord Baltimore, and his support of King James II during the Glorious Revolution, must not have been taken too seriously, because during the period 1689-1693 he remained a free man in England, and ultimately held onto many of his proprietary rights in Maryland. In 1691, the Earl of Nottingham certified that since the ascension of William and Mary, Calvert had behaved "peaceably and quietly," and had not taken up arms against them (Hardy 1969a:376). The fact that Lord Baltimore was generally on good terms with his Protestant neighbors in England probably helped his cause as well (Miller 1973b:16). However, this was not the first time that Calvert had been the subject of treason rumors. In the late 1670s he had been forced to flee England, allegedly at the urging of King Charles II, after accusations of treason committed by the Catholic lords led to the arrest of Calvert's uncle, Henry Arundell (Yentsch 1994:346). He had also been arrested by the Northumberland militia in August 1659, although the charges in this case are not known (Green 1965b:114).
77. In 1713, rumors that Parliament was going to abolish the proprietary colonies lead Lord Baltimore to try to sell off his remaining proprietary rights. However, the conversion of his son, Benedict Leonard Calvert, to Protestantism ended this threat by winning the favor of the Crown, and paved the way for the restoration of full proprietary rights to Charles Calvert's grandson Charles, the Fifth Lord Baltimore, in 1715 (Hall 1960:360).
78. The only time that Mattapany is described in the documents as being fortified is during the period of the Protestant Revolution. For example, in 1678, Lord Baltimore wrote that there were no "Castles or forts" anywhere in Maryland (Arch. MD. V:265). This would suggest that the fortifications around Mattapany were erected in response to the political unrest of the late 1680s.
79. Archaeological evidence discussed elsewhere in this report suggests there were two brick and pantile buildings at Mattapany-Sewall.
80. The Rent Roll of 1707 also did not specify any possessor of Lord Baltimore's Notley Hall plantation ("Basford Manor"), but, unlike Mattapany-Sewall, Notley Hall was described as being in "His Lordships Hands" (Rent Roll 1707:332).
81. The Rent Roll also indicated that Sewall owned 255 acres at the former Jesuit property of St. Mary's Freehold (Fenwick 1956:218; Rent Roll 1707:323, 334; G. Stone 1982:346). In 1724, Sewall was granted the 150 acre tract called "St. Peter's" in St. Mary's City. St.

- Peter's had formerly belonged to Sewall's step-uncle, Philip Calvert. When Calvert died without heirs in 1681, the land came into the possession of Lord Baltimore (Patents PL#5::638).
82. In 1686 Nicholas Sewall purchased from Robert Brooke a 2530-acre plantation called "Brookfield," formerly known as "Mattapany" (Provincial Court WRC#1:401). Henry Darnall acted as Brooke's agent. Brookfield was located on the south side of the Patuxent, but it should not be confused with Mattapany-Sewall. Brookfield, a.k.a. Mattapany, was located in what is today Prince Georges County, on Mataponi Creek (Forman 1982:83; Stearns 1951:17). It had been surveyed in 1650, at the site of the former Indian "Mattapan town" (Patents AB&H:54; Stearns 1951:17).
 83. Susanna Burgess Sewall was indirectly involved in early investigations into the nature of electricity. A letter written in 1683 by William Digges, Lady Baltimore's son-in-law, came to the attention of the renowned scientist Robert Boyle, who described its contents in one of his books. The letter was later reproduced in full in a 1745 report by the Rev. Henry Miles concerning "luminous Emanations" from bodies. According to Digges, Susanna Sewall experienced "a strange Flashing of Sparks (seem'd to be of Fire) in all the wearing Apparel she put on." A number of witnesses reported that from November to February, whenever her clothes "were shaken, [they] would fly out in Sparks, and make a Noise much like unto Bay leaves when flung into the Fire; and one Spark litt onto Major Sewall's Thumb-nail, and there continued at least a Minute before it went out, without any Heat: All which happened in the Company of My Lady Baltimore, her Mother-in-law, for some time before the Death of her son Cecilius Calvert, had the like happened to her; which has made Madam Sewall much troubled at what has happened to her. They caused Mrs. Susanna Sewall one Day to put on her Sister Digges's Petticoat, which they had tried beforehand, and would not sparkle; but at Night, when Madam Sewall put it off, it would sparkle as the rest of her own Garments did" (Royal Society of London 1746:443-444). Reverend Miles went to note that he had observed a similar phenomenon while petting a cat, or when a woman brushed her hair, suggesting that the Sewall women were especially strong conductors of static electricity.
 84. His grandson Nicholas, who owned Charles' Gift for much of the 18th century, was given one enslaved girl (Wills TA1:66).
 85. In his will, Henry Sewall "being weake and infirm in body," asked his father to give to his widow one-third of the land he was entitled to, with his sons Henry Jr. and Nicholas to divide the rest. If either boy died before the age of 21, the survivor was to get all the land. The eldest son was also to have four slaves who had been given to Henry Sr. as a wedding present (Wills PC1:272). Henry Sewall Jr. died in 1780, leaving his widow Mary (d. 1794) and children Charles, Henry, Clement, Mary, Dorothy, and Susannah (Fresco 1989; Wills JJ1:118, JJ2:99).
 86. The will of Nicholas Sewall Jr., dated 28 October 1727 and taken when he was "Sick and Weak of Body," leaves his estate to Nicholas Lewis Sewall (Wills 20:371-372). According to the will, Nicholas Jr. was living at Mattapany-Sewall at the time. The will also speaks of improvements to Henry Sewall's "goods and chattel" made by his brother

- Nicholas Jr., suggesting possibly that alterations were made to Mattapany-Sewall at that time.
87. Nicholas Lewis Sewall sent his sons to St. Omers College in Flanders for their education. While there, he arranged for them to be supplied with “pocket money, linnen, cloaths, taylors expenses, hatts, shoes, stockings, etc., and travelling expenses” (Holt 1979:236; Spalding 1931:139-140).
 88. Because of their similar names, it is easy to confuse Nicholas Lewis Sewall and Nicholas Sewall. Nicholas Sewall lived at Charles’ Gift, also known as Little Eltonhead Manor, located on Cedar Point. This was long the home plantation of the Sewall family, and had been given by Maj. Nicholas Sewall to his son Charles in 1737. Charles was married to Eleanor Brooke, and had two sons -- Charles and Nicholas. In 1742, Nicholas inherited the manor from his father. He married Mary Darnall, and their children included Nicholas Jr., Charles, Robert (who later purchased Mattapany-Sewall), Henry, Mary, Sarah, and Catherine. Nicholas died in 1798, and left Charles’ Gift to Nicholas Jr. (Wills JJ2:217-218). He was married to Mary Fenwick, and their children included Henry L., Robert, Catherine L., and Maria Laura. Nicholas Jr. died in 1813, leaving the plantation to his minor sons, Henry and Robert. His daughter Catherine was given land adjoining the property “lately owned by my brother Robert Sewall,” perhaps a reference to Mattapany-Sewall (Johnston 1909:293-295; Wills JJ3:312).
 89. In August, two of Nicholas Sewall's slaves, possibly taken in the raid on Cedar Point, were re-captured from the British on the Eastern Shore (Arch. MD. XLVII:462).
 90. According to legend, the Revolutionary War hero Marquis de Lafayette was once entertained at Mattapany-Sewall. The reception room on the first floor of the house was supposedly left unchanged from that time until the sale of the house to the Weschlers in the 1930s (Knight 1942:112-114). This story appears to be based on Thomas family tradition, since the Thomases are described as the hosts. However, the Thomases did not acquire Mattapany-Sewall until 1840. This would suggest that Lafayette was really entertained at Deep Falls or some other Thomas family property, or that they absorbed a Sewall tradition into their own. The Thomases downplayed the presence of the Sewalls at Mattapany, claiming that they owned it for only a short time (Hilda Thomas Mumford 1994, personal communication), so it may be that tradition has confused Lafayette’s hosts. The story is plausible, since the Marquis was in St. Mary’s County in 1781 (Beitzell 1975:87). As a Catholic, albeit one who strongly supported toleration towards Protestants in France, it would not be surprising for Lafayette to seek the company of Nicholas Lewis Sewall, one of the leading Catholics in St. Mary’s County.
 91. Nicholas Lewis Sewall’s son Henry was also assessed in 1793. He was living at Mattapany-Sewall, and had one male or female slave between the ages 8-14 (worth 15 pounds), two male slaves between 14-45 (90 pounds), and 35 pounds 10 shillings in other property, for a total estate of 140 pounds 10 shillings. This assessment was unchanged in 1794, but by 1796 one of his adult slaves was gone, and the total value of the estate was only 96 pounds. The 1801 assessment has Nicholas Lewis as the owner of Mattapany-Sewall, while Henry is not listed. However, Nicholas Lewis had died the year before.

92. The St. Mary's County Debt Books for the 1750s indicate that Charles Sewall owned a 117 acre tract also known as "Sewall's Discovery." In 1756, it was apparently renamed "Richard's Discovery" (Reno 1995).
93. The patent gives this length as 260 perches, not 160 perches. However, as with many of the patents in the Mattapany area, this appears to be incorrect, since the former length would cause the boundary of Sewall's Discovery to considerably overlap that of Mattapany-Sewall.
94. The Smith holdings at Mattapany-Sewall continued into the 19th century. For example, in 1814 Darcus Smith deeded to Joseph Sanner Jr. her right to a portion of the tract, while in 1816 there was a deed transfer of "Mattapony-Sewell" between Job Smith and Basil Smith (Fenwick 1982:492).
95. In 1824 this property included "Holton Mill," on Pine Hill Run (Pogue 1983a:39).
96. The 1796 will of Nicholas Lewis Sewall (Wills JJ2:251-253) is quite interesting. In it, he left to his son Henry that part of Mattapany-Sewall which lay east of a line which began at the mouth of a small gully on the Patuxent, ran up the gully to a place opposite the main dwelling house, then passed through the middle of the house to a gate called Mill Gate, then ran straight from the gate to the head of a gully where a mulberry tree and wild cherry tree stood, then across a "branch that leads to where I had a mill", then to a fence on the west side of the branch, then along the branch to the road that passed by the north side of the "church or chapel lately erected" [St. Nicholas], and finally following the road to the property boundary. Nicholas Lewis's daughter Lettice was to have the rest of the plantation during her lifetime, along with half the dwelling house and use of the kitchen, plus the use of half "of my other houses on any part of my land." At her death, Lettice's property was to go to Henry. Henry and Lettice were given the liberty to take timber from any portion of the estate to build or repair houses, or otherwise improve the plantation. Henry was given two slaves, a boy named William and man named Jacob. Lettice was left a mulatto slave named Anne, and "her present and future increase," along with a boy named Joe (son of Molly). Lettice was also given "a single riding chair or sulky, which I bought for her," and a horse called "Driver." Another daughter, Eleanor Pye (wife of Walter Pye), inherited two slaves, a girl called Lall and a boy named Peter (son of Harry and Nell). The rest of the estate was to be equally divided between the three heirs, except for 10 pounds given to sons Fr. Charles and Fr. Nicholas Lewis Jr., "to remind them of me," and three pounds left to Rev. James Walton. (Sewall's last daughter, Ann, had died in 1789). By 1800, Mattapany-Sewall belonged wholly to Henry Sewall, so perhaps Lettice had married, or her share was bought out. Lettice was married to Francis Taney (d. 1802), but the date of their wedding is unknown (Fresco 1989:282; Papenfuse *et al.* 1985:725).
97. The deed's validation date was some two weeks after Henry Sewall's death, which was reported on 22 November 1801 (Fresco 1989:452). Robert Sewall claimed that Henry had first agreed to sell Mattapany-Sewall in October 1801 (Mattapany Sewall Papers, it. 19).

98. Mary Brent Sewall married Philip Barton Key, the brother of Francis Scott Key. When Mary died at Poplar Hill in 1831, Key married her cousin, Maria Laura Sewall (1812-1897), the daughter of Nicholas Sewall Jr. of Cedar Point (Bowie 1947:585).
99. Although no mulatto slaves were listed at Mattapany in the 1860 Slave Census, Thomas family tradition holds that Richard Thomas Jr. fathered mulatto children after the war (Hilda Thomas Mumford 1994, personal communication).
100. Jane Thomas received a bounty for Briscoe from the Federal government in 1864 (Callum 1990:61). This bounty, of up to \$300, was paid to any slaveholder who permitted a slave to enlist, provided the owner signed a manumission agreement and an oath of allegiance to the government. Given her family's Southern sympathies, Jane Thomas probably agreed to Briscoe's departure for economic reasons, because during the war the market value of slaves had plummeted.
101. A popular song in the South, "The French Lady," described Richard Thomas's exploits during the war (Semmes 1943:225). As might be expected, attitudes towards Thomas in the North were very different. Union general John Dix described his prisoner as a "crack brained fellow who can do no mischief beyond his individual capacity, mental and physical, which is constitutionally small." Nevertheless, Dix felt Thomas was too dangerous to release (Clark 1959:262).
102. Armstrong Thomas (1963:117, 255) suggests that all three brothers inherited Mattapany, with Richard getting the mansion, but that since they could not agree on how to divide the property, they took the matter to court for arbitration. This is not supported by Jane Thomas's will, but would explain why Richard sued both his brothers over Mattapany in 1873.
103. George and Ellen's eldest son, Richard Brook Thomas, died at Mattapany in 1874, at age six (Fresco 1989:466).
104. James Walter Thomas was related to the Thomas's of Mattapany. He was born at Deep Falls in 1855, but moved to Cumberland, Md. in 1878 (Johnson's Makers of America Series 1912:228-229). It is not clear if his observations of the ruins at Mattapany were made between 1855 and 1878, or later, when he wrote *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland*.
105. [REDACTED]



DRAFT

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DRAFT

APPENDIX 1

The inventory of the estate of Henry Sewall, taken 8 May 1665 (Testamentary Proceedings 1E:137-139)

In the Kitchen the Brass	0800
1 Lymbeck [alembric-a type of distiller]	1500
One Iron Kettle & Iron pott	0400
the pewter	0600
2 brass Candlesticks one chafen dish one brass skimer one brass ladle one warming pann	0150
 In the Quarter one Mill	 1200
 In the chamber over Madam Sewalls Roome	 1000 [error?]
4 doz. of black boxes	0200
3 horse collars one pack saddle 2 bridles the ropes	0200
Church Stuff & a challice	3000
2 blankets one bolster 2 pillows one red rugg one pr ^e [pair] curtaines & vallence	0800
One Quilt and one Covering one thousand [misprint?]	1000
One trunck of sheets table linnen & Napkins	3000
 In the Dyneing Room	
One feather bedd one Rugg one bolster 2 pillows 1 pr ^e of Holland sheets 2 Blanckets one flock bed flock bolster one pr ^e curtaines	1800
 plaite	
ffour Silver Tankards one Silver plaite one Salt sellar one Sugar Dish 2 sack cups one dram cup halfe a doz. of spoones one Silver porringer	4000
 One Leather chaire	 [? value missing, page torn]
One Looking glass	"
one small Sesterne [cistern]	"
 Madam Sewalls lodging Roome	
Seven Letherre chairs	"

5 fixed Gunns 2 unfixed 1000

In the Nursery Roome

One flock bed Curtaines & vallenge 0400
on[e] still 0150

The Chamber over the Nursery

One feather bed one flock bed 0800

[servants]

Roger Towell 2000

Tho. Miles 1600

Jonas Jorden 2000

John Addison 1800

John Cooke 2000

Wm. Kerckby 2000

Joyce Rubel 1600

Eliz. Greene 1800

George Aldridge 1800

Abraham Rhodes 1800

Jeremy Cunikin 0800

Wm. Sardginson 1800

Eliz. Woodward 1600

Wm. Thompson 1000

Wm. Turvile 2000

Wm. Brakan 2000

Christopher Barns 1800

Joseph Hatch 1800

Anne Davies 0800

Edw. Savage 1200

Walter Greene 2500

2 horses 1 Mare 2 Horse colts 7000

19 Soves 8 barrowes [hogs] 2 bores & some piggs 2000

Seven yearlings six Cowes with calfe one Cow
more without Calfe 3 stears at 2 yeare old 4400

1 steare at 3 yeare ould one Heifer 2 years
old

sum tot 73520

DRAFT

APPENDIX 2

The inventory of the estate of Nicholas Sewall Jr., taken
7 August 1732 (Inventories 16:554)

78 head of Cattle	72.12.06
36 Ditto of Sheep	8.12.00
11 Negroes	233.00.00
1 Old Small Trunk	0.04.06
66 Head of Hoggs	25.07.06
1 Black Walnut Table	1.00.00
18 Chairs	1.16.00
1 Gun	1.00.00
1 Old Tea Table	0.05.00
2 Cases with Bottles	1.05.00
1 Close Stool	0.12.00
2 Old Trunks	0.09.00
1 D ^o . a Chest	0.03.06
Wearing Apparell	10.00.06
13/4 Y ^d . of Diaper	0.03.06
13/4 Y ^d . of Scotch Cloth	0.03.00
3 1/2 Yards of Stript Holland	0.08.09
6 ^{lb} of Cullered Thread	0.09.00
3 1/2 ^{lb} of Stone Blue	0.03.06
1 pair of Scales and Weights	0.10.00
6 Sticks of Mohair	0.00.06
Cash	3.12.07
2 Small Lines + 17 hooks	0.02.06
2 Writing Books	0.04.00
8 Silver Spoons	3.17.10
1 Old Watch + 2 Christells	3.06.08
1 Silver Seal	0.02.00
3 Razours, a Hone, + Penknife	0.07.00
8 Old Books	0.04.00
14 Horses + Mares	29.01.00
5 pair and one Old Sheet	4.08. -
4 Diaper Table Cloths	1.08.00
10 Ditto Napkins	1.00.00
1 Purse	0.02.00
2 Small Runners + Tackles	0.08.00
4 Diaper Towells	0.08.00
5 Pillabears	0.04.00

3 New Holland Shirts	1.16.00
4 Old Ditto	0.12.00
3 Old Stock	0.00.09
2 Seall Skinns	0.04.00
1 Raw Buck Skin + fawn D°.	0.03.00
8 Hides	1.12.00
38 ^{lb} of Pewter	1.05.04
9 1/2 ^{lb} Ditto of New	0.09.06
14 Patty Panns	0.03.00
11 Earthen Milk Panns	0.06.05
4 Butter Potts	0.06.00
4 Bottles Juggs + 2 Small Butter Potts	0.07.02
4 Small Cream Potts	0.01.00
1 Brass Saucepan	0.02.06
1 Bell Mettle Skellet	0.06.00
1 Gridiron	0.02.06
1 Hand Mill + 2 Peckers	1.05.00
4 Iron Pots	1.18.07
1 Copper	3.15.00
1 Frying Pann	0.03.06
1 Old Ditto	0.01.06
1 Spitt + Pottrack	0.09.09
1 Old Crack Brass Mortar	0.01.00
83 ^{lb} of Old Iron	0.07.00
2 New England Axes	0.08.00
4 London Ditto	0.08.00
2 Broad Hose	0.04.00
8 Old Harrow Ditto	0.01.03
4 Narrow Axes	0.07.00
2 pair of Old fire Tongs	0.02.00
1 Box Iron + 2 Heaters	0.04.00
2 Brass Candlesticks + Snuffers	0.02.06
4 Pair H Hinges	0.02.08
1 pair of Spring Stilliards	0.01.00
2 Old Plows	0.16.00
45 ^{lb} of Old Cart Hoops + Boxes	0.04.00
1 Brand Mark	0.02.00
18 1/2 pound of Tallow	0.07.08 1/2
6 Narrow Hoes + 3 Broad Ditto	0.07.00
5 Featherbeds, 4 Pillows, + 4 Boulsters	16.01.00
1 Suit Old Linsey Woolsey Curtings + Testers	0.10.00
1 Ditto very Old Ditto	0.02.00
2 pair New Blanketts	1.04.00

2 pair of Old Ditto	0.12.00
1 Worsted Rugg	0.15.00
2 Old Ditto	0.11.00
1 Suit Green Curtings with Testor + head Cloths	0.16.00
1 New Bed Stid	0.08.00
3 Old Ditto	0.12.00
18 ³ / ₄ Yards of Country Cloath	1.08.00
1 Cott	0.16.00
2 Riddles	0.06.00
1 Old Ditto	0.01.06
2 ¹ / ₂ Sides Yearling Skinns Cur'd	0.06.00
2 Sides of Sole Ditto	0.09.00
5 Y ^{ds} . of Crocas	0.01.08
14 Gallons of Malosses	1.01.00
1 ³ / ₄ Shoemakers Thread	0.02.07
1 ^{lb} of Gunpowder	0.01.03
7 ^{lb} of Bristol Shott	0.01.09
1 Old Drumline + five Hooks	0.01.03
1 Minet + half Minet Glass	0.01.03
1 pair Old Leather baggs	0.03.06
1 Collar Hamms, + Cart Saddle 2 Bridles	0.09.00
1 Shot bagg + Gunworm	0.00.09
6 New Sithes	0.15.00
1 Colter + 2 Iron Rods	0.05.06
1 Old Chest + Box	0.04.06
1 Old Table	0.01.06
3 Pailes, 2 Piggens, + 1 half Bushell	0.09.00
4 Sider Cask	1.02.00
8 Ditto Smaller	0.04.00
3 Powdering Tubbs	0.15.00
15 Bushells of Salt	1.10.00
7 Old Tubbs	0.07.00
1 Saddle + Bridle	1.00.00
1 Old Ditto	0.08.00
1 Hand Saw + 2 Brass Cocks	0.06.00
1 Cart + Wheels	2.05.00
4 Leather Collar Hamms + Cart Sadle	0.06.00
3 Sugar Boxes + a Candlebox	0.05.02
15 ¹ / ₂ ^{lb} of feathers	0.15.06
4 Glasses 1 Tea Pot, 4 Scissers, 2 Coffee Cups + 1 Cruett	0.03.00
15 ¹ / ₂ of Lead	0.02.07
a Parcell of Old Hardware	0.03.06

4 Glass Bottles, 3 Earthen Muggs	0.01.09
4 Old Sives	0.02.00
1 pair of Gloves	0.01.03

	t 465.11.09 ^{1/2}
One Bay Horse Silver	4.00.00

A further account of the estate of Nicholas Sewall Jr., taken by Charles Sewall
10 May 1733 (Accounts 11:689-691)

...the Inventory return'd Amounting to	469.11.09 ^{1/2}
Also with Tobacco as being the Crops	
9806 ^{1/4}	40.17.02 ^{1/2}
135 Bushells Indian Corn	11.05.00
17 ^{1/2} Bushells Wheat as Delivered in by the Overseer	3.01.03

[next follows debts paid off by various people]

a Side Sole Leather found Since	0.04.06
One Old Lanthorn Omitted	0.01.00

[the Bay Horse in the original inventory did not belong to Sewall, so it was subtracted]

APPENDIX 3

The inventory of the estate of Nicholas Lewis Sewall, taken 20 March 1800
(Wills C1611-2:187-189)

	Dol ^s	Ct ^s
1 Negro man named Jacob aged 36 yr ^s	160	00
1 do do Constant aged 33 do	240	
1 do Baptist 32 do	200	
1 do Tobey 30 do	270	
1 do Johnny 26 do	270	
1 do Jacob 37	300	
1 do James 22	250	
1 do Joe 18	250	
1 do Boy Bill 14	200	
1 do woman Rachel aged 45	100	
1 do do Moll do 40	120	
1 do Mary Ann 34	160	
1 do Beck 29	170	
1 do Grace 25	170	
1 do Agnes 27	170	
1 do Priss 17	180	
1 do Girl Kitty 12	140	
1 do Celia 10	100	
1 do Henny 6	40	
1 do Charlotte 3	70	
1 do Lucy 9	120	
1 do Sall 16	170	
1 do Sally 8	120	
1 do Betty 7	100	
1 do Boy Hary 5	120	
1 do Ossy 5	100	
1 do Nat 4	75	
1 do Lewis 3	80	
1 do Davy 2	50	
1 do Isaack 1	40	
1 Horse 8 years old	70	
1 do 7 do	50	
1 Mare 5 do	60	
1 do 10 do	40	
1 do 12 do	20	
1 Colt 3 do	40	
1 do 2 do	30	

1 do 1 do	16	
7 yoke of oxen @ 24\$ p yoke	168	
9 young steers @ 9\$ Each	81	
1 Bull	12	
3 Cows and yearlings @ 9\$	27	
2 cows & calves @ 10\$	20	
6 Cows with calf @ 9\$	54	
1 Heifer 7\$ 1 yearling 2 ¹ / ₂	9	50
27 Ewes and Lambs @ 2\$ 21 old sheep @ 1 ¹ / ₂	85	50
6 Sows @ 3\$ 10 Shoats @ 1\$ 1 Boar @ 4\$	32	
9 Piggs @ 3 ¹ / ₃ , 6 ¹ / ₂ ^{lb} pewter @ 3 ¹ / ₃ a parcel of old Books 6\$	11	16 ¹ / ₂
1 old Desk 2 ¹ / ₂ \$ 1 Walnut Table 8\$ 1 Break fast do 2 ¹ / ₂ \$	13	
1 large Table 5\$ 1 ovel do 2\$ 1 old do 25 Cts	7	25
11 old leather Chairs @ 6 ² / ₃ , 2 armed do @ 1\$	9	33
2 Beds and furniture @ 25\$ 1 old do 20\$	70	
3 Beds @ 10\$ 6 Bedsteads @ 3\$ 6 ^{lb} new feathers @ 50	51	
8 ^{lb} Cotton @ 3 ¹ / ₃ 7 ^{lb} wool @ 12 ¹ / ₂	3	54
Some upper leather 3\$ 14 ^{lb} Soal leather @ 20c	5	80
1 Pitt saw 6\$ 1 + Cut Do 3\$ Some carpenters Tools 2/50	11	50
6 axes @ 50c 3 old spades 50c 9 Hoes 2\$		
7 old plows @ 1\$	12	50
4 old Harrows 1 ¹ / ₂ \$ 3 ox Chains @ 1\$		
1 Curry Knife 1\$	5	50
17 old sickles @ 12 ¹ / ₂ c 3 pair sheep shares @ 25c 2 pair Steelyards @ 1.25c	5	37 ¹ / ₂
3 Trunks @ 1.50. 1 old clock 4\$ 2 old Chests 25c 1 old slay 25c	9	
Scales and weights 1\$ 2 pair old fire tongs Shovel & poker 1 ¹ / ₂ \$	2	50
1 Spy Glass 4\$ Surveyors Cain and Instruments 16 Dols.	20	
1 pair and Irons 1 ¹ / ₂ \$ a parcel of old Copper and tin 1 ¹ / ₂ \$	3	
2 wheels @ 50c 3 do @ 3 ¹ / ₃ 1 old Chest 50c 1 pair wool cards 12 ¹ / ₂	2	62 ¹ / ₂
2 barrels Tar @ 2 ¹ / ₂ \$ 4 Empty Barrels 1 ¹ / ₂ \$ 3 Tubbs @ 3 ¹ / ₃	7	50
3 Hogshead 50c some old Tubbs 50c 2 funnels 25c 5 Juggs @ 25c	3	50

1 Still 40\$ 6 old salt Kettles 10\$ 4 Iron pots 6\$ 1 Skillet 25c	56	25
1 old candle box 12 ¹ / ₂ c 30 quart bottles @ 4 ^d		
6 Butter pots @ 20c	2	52 ¹ / ₂
12 Knives and forks 1\$ 5 Dishes @ 30c Teaware 75c	3	25
6 Barrels 75c 1 Coffee pot 6c 1 Coffee mill 25c		
4 Tumblers 25c	1	31
2 Candlesticks @ 1\$ 3 old do @ 33 ¹ / ₃ 1 Server 12 ¹ / ₂ c		
1 Tea Kettle 50c	3	62 ¹ / ₂
1 Tea pot 12 ¹ / ₂ , 12 snuff Bottles @ 2c 1 p ^r sad Irons [flat iron] 50c		86 ¹ / ₂
1 pair and Irons 3\$ 3 pot racks 225c		
2 pot Hooks 25c	5	50
1 flesh fork 12 ¹ / ₂ 1 frying pan 6c 1 spice mortar 50c	0	68 ¹ / ₂
2 Iron pestles 1\$ Woodenware 25c 1 Grine Stone 12 ¹ / ₂	1	37 ¹ / ₂
1 Wheat fan 3\$ 4 pair Cartwheels @ 16\$		
Some old Tubbs 1\$	68	
3 Half bushels 50c 1 Tan Trough 4\$		
1 old Saddle 1\$	5	50
1 Sulky and Harness 20\$ 1 bottle Snuff 50c	20	50
5 Chamber pots @ 20c 1 ^{lb} soap 12 ¹ / ₂ , 2 ¹ / ₄ y ^{ds}		
Coarse Cloth 1\$	2	12 ¹ / ₂
Shaving utensils 1 ¹ / ₂ \$ 1 Candle mould 25c		
1 Seive, wire, 50c	2	25
1 Seave 12 ¹ / ₂ 1 Decanter 40c		
2 pitchers 25c 4 salts 25c	1	02 ¹ / ₂
Towels & Table linnen 1\$ 12 ounces of plate @ 1 ¹ / ₂ \$	19	00
Deceaseds Wearing apparel	5	00
1 ^{oz} 7 ^{Dwt} 16Grs. old Silver	1	
Cash found in the house	<u>243</u>	
	<u>6087</u>	<u>42</u>

In testimony to this Inventory we have hereunto set our hands & seals this 20th day of March 1800

William Holton
William Herbert

An additional inventory of the estate of Nicholas Lewis Sewall, taken 11 November 1802 (Wills C1611-2:372)

1 Negro boy Jerrard 15 months old	50	0
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1 ditto girl Bridget 12 ditto	40	0
1 ditto Milly 12 d ^o	40	0
1 ditto Jenny 6 ditto	30	0
1 pair Mill Stones with the Iron to them	60	50
1 Negro boy Nace 2 months old	20	0
1 ditto d ^o Baptist 3 ditto d ^o	<u>20</u>	<u>0</u>
	\$260	50

DRAFT

APPENDIX 4

The inventory of the estate of Henry Sewall, taken 10 August 1802
(Wills C1611-2:372-374)

	\$	Ct.
1 Negro man named Jacob aged 38 years	66	66
1 colt 2 years old 26.25 1 ditto ditto 20.50	46	75
1 Colt 1 year old 19.0 1 ditto ditto 12	31	00
1 old Horse 20\$. 7 Shoats 7.20. 2 pigs 0.60	27	86
5 yearlings 8.50. 2 Stack blades 15.75	24	25
141 feet fodder house a 15 ^{cts} _21.15 _ 12 loads corn husks at 1\$.. 12\$	33	15
13/4 doz. queens ware plates 1\$. 2 small pitchers 50 ^{cts}	1	50
4 Butter pots a 25 ^{cts} 1\$. 1 Demi John 1\$	2	0
1 Jin case 1\$. 10 tin milk pans a 25 ^{cts}	3	50
1 Dripping pan 0.50. 2 small coffee potts 0.40	0	90
1 Tin Lantern 0.50. 1 Cullender 0.12 1/2	0	62 1/2
1 Set candle moulds 0.50. 1 Dutch oven 0.50	1	0
1 Chaffing dish 1.0. 41 ^{lb} Nails a 13 ^{cts} _ 5.33	6	33
Some clover seed in the chaff 0.25. 1 1/2 ^{lb} bees wax a 40 ^{cts} 60 ^{cts}	0	85
18 ^{lb} coffee a 25 ^{cts} _\$4.50 _ 28 ^{lb} Sugar @ 10 ^{cts} _2.80	7	30
775 Shingles a 40 ^{cts} _\$3.10 ^{cts} _ 100 boards a 33 ^{cts}	3	43
2 1/4 B. flax seed a 25 ^{cts} _56 ^{cts} . 1 pair small scales \$1.0	1	56
1 pair old Scales 25 ^{cts} . 1 pair Sugar Tongs 3.0	3	25
Towels and Table Linen	3	0
762 ^{lb} Pork a 8..60.96. 107 ^{lb} Beef a 6 ^{cts} . \$6.42	67	38
43 ^{lb} Lard a 13 ^{cts} . 5.59. 16 ^{lb} Tallow a 13 ^{cts} . 2.8	7	67
134 Barrels corn a 2.66	356	44
1 old Cyder Trough 25 ^{cts} . A parcel of Straw 2.57	2	82
60 Bushels wheat sown in the field a 2.13	127	80
4 rawhides 4.91 a small parcel Leather 1.80	6	71
	833	73 1/2

In Testimony of this Inventory we have
hereunto set our hands, this 10th day of August 1802

William Holton
William Herbert Jun.

An additional inventory of the estate of Henry Sewall, taken 15 February 1803
(Wills C1611-2:493)

1 old Saddle	\$ 5	00
2 Razors & a Shaving box	2	50
1 old horse	30	00
1 Gold Watch	<u>80</u>	<u>00</u>
	117	50

DRAFT

APPENDIX 5

Interview with Mrs. Hilda Thomas Mumford
Sykesville, Maryland
November 1992

Edited Transcript

Mrs. Mumford: O.K., so you want to know about Mattapany.

Julie King: Yeah, everything you can remember and...

M.M.: About that particular place?

J.K.: About Mattapany or about the farm too, which...we're very interested in Mattapany, the site where Lord Baltimore lived, but anything else you add about the surroundings would be - you know, the farm itself - would be useful, I think, to what we are trying to do. And not just to us but, you know, a hundred years from now, if somebody is listening to this tape, if they are interested in other aspects of the place...they might be. Because I am sure this interest will continue.

M.M.: Oh, I don't know, it's a...I have photographs, I inherited everything. Everybody else is dead. So I have photographs taken of all of my family, all the way back five generations. And so I gave them to the kids, and I thought this was fine, children and grandchildren...And they said "Oh, that's lovely. Write a biography about each one of them". Well, I have been doing it. Just for that very reason, that they some day - not now, some day - these children are going to be fascinated...

Ed Chaney: What, what's your line? Like...

M.M.: The Thomases. I am the oldest.

E.C.: The three brothers of the Civil War era - Richard Zarvona, George, and...

M.M.: And James.

E.C.: James. Which line are you?

M.M.: I'm George.

E.C.: O.K.

M.M.: As far as I'm concerned...well, I don't even know where to start with all this mess. William Thomas was brother with the governor of Maryland, and he came from Deep Falls. They had been in the Senate, they, you know, they had served that way. And then, when he had his children, they couldn't stay there in Deep Falls. You know where Deep Falls is?

J.K.: Right near Chaptico.

M.M.: Yes. So what he did was, he bought a piece of property for each one of the children when they were going to get married. One was Saratoga - do you know Saratoga? Right across the road - now they've burned it, it's burned up - right across the road from Deep Falls. There's a stair going in there. If you went the other way, there is a perfectly beautiful stone house that he built for their daughter - and that's what I guess he gave up to get the property right on the place. Cousin Truman's was another one, down on the St. Mary's River. Way, way down on the other side, beyond...through Chaptico and all the way down to the point.

J.K.: Do you remember the name of that property?

M.M.: Brambly. William Thomas was the oldest, next to oldest - and then you've got Cremona, you know Cremona? - well, he got Cremona. And then who else was there? Another one got De La Brooke, and they got that one, and then Richard, who was my ancestor, got Mattapan. And at that point it was just a small house, and there was a house up there - who built it? I guess Sewall built it because it was...that would have to be where it came from. And it was...I never knew it had been a small house until I went down there after the government took it and they just knocked it all to pieces, you know, they took down everything like this. So what you were left with when they finished was a stripped building. And stripped...I couldn't have been more fascinated, because you know when you go into the hallway now at Mattapan - there's a stairway? There was no stairway. That's ridiculous, because there was a great full hall that went all the way through. It was cool all summer long. And on the left hand side, in the middle between where the library and the parlor was going to be, there was a doorway. A great big doorway. So obviously, you once...originally when the house was built you came in from that left side, and then there's this great big huge room. Or maybe it wasn't a great big huge room, maybe it was a divided room. But as far as the kitchen, the basic thing, it was all stripped. They bricked up one room with this great big door that came in from the side. And then Richard Thomas married a Yankee. Oh, it was a great storm in the family. In fact, we were practically never allowed to mention her name, and whenever we did it was always a tease. You had everyone just rigid about it. But however, they always said "when we have a daughter, we're going to name her Jane, we are going to name her Jane", but of course this...anyhow, there it was. And she had money. Her father was a businessman out of Baltimore, you see - this is that Yankee ancestor - and she had a lot of money. And she was the one who built the terrace from Mattapan down to the lower wood, down to the bank, and then she extended the house, closed up that wall, and put on the parlor and the library. The original stairway doesn't even exist...well, on the right as you go in from the land side into the hallway there's a little door that goes there. And there was a strip probably seven feet wide, and that went right straight through the house. Now that was there originally, and went right straight through the house. It doesn't exist anymore. And as you went in the first door on the right, there was a great big closet. And then you went through to a door on the other side to then what was a sitting room beyond - I don't know what it is now - a room beyond. Only that room has now been extended to include what was that little hallway. And the second door you went into, there was a stairway that was that wide, and it went up two steps and then it went right up along the wall, and then turned at the top of the steps. And that was the only stairway. So it was a concealed stairway. You went upstairs to a hallway, but you see, that stairway was torn down and became part of the room on the other side. The third door went into the dining room. But in that seven foot wide area it went all the way from where the stair was all the way to the front. Which was probably just about fifteen feet, something like that. Or maybe more. And on either side as you walked through this seven foot, six foot strip, there was a closet on either side, and there was china and wine and art and everything. It was used as a storage room. And I remember the pair of doors, and there was a door in the hallway and a door in the dining room. And when I was a child we always had colored help, and it was always help that came from my family's ancestors. They were slaves that had always been there, and they didn't leave, they stayed on. The only live one I knew was Aunt Priscilla. She was the only one I knew who was a slave. The rest were their children or grandchildren.

J.K.: Do you remember her last name?

M.M.: Oh no, they didn't have last names.

E.C.: Do you know where she lived, what it was near?

M.M.: Oh sure, I knew exactly where - I used to go visit her all the time.

J.K.: Before you go on, can I turn the radio down, in case it may be making a little interference with the tape?

M.M.: It's on the table next to the bed, and you turn it either way. The thing on the left. Yes, of course you can. I just let it run all day.

E.C.: Let me ask you about this. You mentioned the terrace that Jane Thomas did. Is that the big slope that goes down to the river today?

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] There was no...there was a valley that went down on the right hand side, and it was so beautiful. Very, very, very old trees. Jane had put shrubbery and told them somebody had planted jonquils in there, so in the spring the whole thing was jonquils. And the ground cover was that myrtle that was blue. And that was the only way you could get to the beach. And that was all dense, thick, and there was a little path just wide enough for you to walk on. That's all it was. But the rest of the bank...the lawn went right straight to the edge of the bank and then dropped straight. And that's what I told you on the phone.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] On either side of the house - I don't know how much you want to know - on either side of the house, going down to the water's edge - and that is back of that valley on that side and all the way down on this side - there was a double row of lilacs on each side. Lilacs all the way down on either side, with a space about that big in between, and they were kept cleared. And at the end of those two, down on the river, were outhouses.

[REDACTED]

M.M.: Well, what fascinated me was the fact that they had these outhouses down at the end, so rain or shine, whatever it was, you had to walk the whole length of that lawn to get to an outhouse. The men's was on the right hand side and the women were on the left. So this is another...

J.K.: This is when you lived at the house, or when you visited the house?

M.M.: No, no. The lilacs were all still there. But the outhouses...because my grandmother - the next

generation after Richard Thomas - had an outhouse built at the end of the garden. I don't know what's at Mattapany now. But there was a big...as you came into the house there was a fence all the way around it.

J.K.: Do you know what the fence was made of?

M.M.: Oh, sure.

J.K.: Was it wood?

M.M.: I think I even have a picture of it. It was a whitewashed fence, and the house was whitewashed. I don't know what it is today. You see, I don't know anything about today. It was a whitewashed house. Stone underneath, covered with plaster, but meant to be a white house. And it was whitewashed every year. Then on the right hand side, as you run around to the right, there was one wing on the right - I think it's a garage. That was a stone-floored kitchen. A huge stove in it, a fireplace stove, you know, and then ultimately a wood stove. And a little tiny stairway like this - and I mean narrow, like that big - at the corner of the dining room that led up to the attic. And that's where the cook slept, and the cook's little girls slept up in there. And then you had four or five steps up to the entryway to get into the dining room. So that was...and then when they had day help there and they started taking other women, they put a stairway at the back. So that you could actually get in from outside. Now all that's changed, I know that.

J.K.: Yeah.

M.M.: The firebacks of Mattapany were absolutely out of this world. Do you know what a fireback is?

J.K.: Yeah, those iron...

M.M.: There was one in the dining room, and there was a child, a little boy, sitting in a field of daisies, and there were sheep sort of off to the distance, and another sheep here with its head against it. And when that thing got...when you lit that fire, the whole...you know how...the crystals found the light. I don't know what, I suppose it's specks of ash. And you look so that the head of the child showed, and every daisy and the sheep were all crystals. It's simply an incredible view.

J.K.: How many are in there?

M.M.: Well, there were only two - one in that room and one in the next room, which is the sitting room. Because that was the old house. And those had had that before my grandparents lived there and the great-grandparents lived there. And then the other two were newer, they were 1840s, something like that - 1842, I guess it was. So anyhow, that was that. There were no bathrooms in the house, obviously. I think probably everything else...I don't see anything else you would want to know about the house, but... From this house, if you went around to the right and then you walked about, when you got to the kitchen door at the back and you walked about forty feet, there was a fence. And that fence ran all the way down to the front of the yard and all the way back. And that was the horses and stables. Just before you walked into the stable yard there was a small smokehouse, and all the

meat was smoked there. And beneath the kitchen there was a - what do you call it? - a milk locker with water underneath it.

J.K.: A dairy?

M.M.: Yes. Where it came from I don't know, but there was water. And, so that you have your...you put your great big pot -round pot, you see - in the water to keep it cool and make clabber. Then as you go...and then the smokehouse, then you went into the barn yard. The other side of the barn yard, just as deep, on the other side was the garden. So that up that garden, along the walk to the...along the edge of the grapevines, there was a walk to the outhouse and there was a huge garden that went all the way on down. I don't know how big it was, but it was tremendous. And they had all the berries you could think of. They had, you know, raspberries and blackberries and gooseberries, and you name it - they had it. And that was for the use of everybody on the place. The place produced - except for sugar, salt, this kind of thing. It was a self-supporting farm from the very beginning. And the slaves ate from the barn and from the garden just as the main house did. It was a shared process. When cattle were killed for meat and hung, the slaves got a certain portion of it. I don't know a great deal about them. I knew Aunt Priscilla because she was living when I was there, and my father had great respect for Aunt Priscilla. And I have an odd family, and my father was probably one of the gentlest men I've ever known. And my mother was a Spaniard, and this produces an odd creature, I can tell you that. These cross marriages...you can say what you want about them, but they produce trouble. So anyhow, I was taught - and there was no question whatever - Aunt Priscilla was the oldest person on this place. She deserved dignity, respect, and good behavior. And they told Aunt Priscilla - and they told another woman we had, named Emma - if these children misbehave on this place, you punish them just exactly as you would your own children. They are not to get out of hand. Her children were great little grandchildren, so that's the way it's going to be, and boy it was true. So when I arrived, and took off my shoes and socks, and ran across the lawn and across the field out to the far barn, far side of the...what do you call it? It wasn't even a paddock, it was a great big place. It was way over in the middle of it. Out into the field, beyond where the cattle just roamed. And in that field was Aunt Priscilla's house, and there were other houses there in my father's day. The only one left was Aunt Priscilla's. It was a white...again, a wooden house, but whitewashed. And you knocked on the door, and I can remember the very order. When I saw her...as soon as I would get there, father would sit and hand me a fifty cent piece. And I would run, you know - what? - all the way over to Aunt Priscilla's. And I would knock on the door and she would appear. She was about this big then, just a darling. And she would say "You been good?" "Yes I have, yes I have, Aunt Priscilla." "You haven't been making trouble for your mother?" "No, no, Aunt Priscilla, I haven't been making trouble." So then she would say, "You can come in." And then she would hold out her hand, I'd shake hands with her, and the fifty cent piece disappeared. That was the most fascinating thing to me. I never knew where it went. It just disappeared. This was what it was. Then I was allowed to go in the sitting room with her, and then I got tea. And she would give me tea and crumpets, and talk and talk and talk. Tell you something that's interesting, a cousin of mine called up. Richard Thomas - do you know Richard? He is the one who manages Deep Falls. Three boys own it. Andy, Richard, and Bobby - all three own it. Richard's certainly more interested in the past. The other two aren't, but I don't blame Richard. But anyhow, he called me up one day and said, "Hilda, I want you to have lunch with me down at the old place." So I went down. But he said - before he hung up - he said, "I want you to meet some...well, somebody wants to meet you." And I said, "Well fine." He said,

"They're black." You can see how well I know him. He said, "Do you...uh...she's black." I said, "So what." So we dined, this black lady and myself, in the dining room down there at that elegant restaurant. We had no sooner sat down then Richard announced he had an engagement {Mrs. Mumford claps} - gone. So I said to this woman, "I'm perfectly delighted to have dinner with you...have lunch with you. Delighted to talk about anything. But why did you want to meet me? What am I? What am I?" And she said, "I'll tell you what you are. My grandmother raised me, my mother and father worked so they couldn't take care of me. My grandmother...I remember I had no home except my grandmother. I lived with her." And she said, "My grandmother lived on the corner of Charles Street and...but its now Pratt. I don't know what it was in those days, but that's where the wharfs used to be. The old name was 'Wharf'. And she was on that corner on a slave barge. And your grandfather got out of a boat and came over and bought her, took her down to Mattapany." And she said, "I've been doing research for my family." And she said, "I wanted to meet somebody who knew - really knew - Mattapany, because", she said, "I grew up on stories of Mattapany."

J.K.: Do you remember her name?

M.M.: I have it down somewhere. {It was probably Agnes Callum -- E.C.}

J.K.: Uh-huh.

M.M.: And I said to her, "The...I want to know what my grandparents were like. Your grandmother could tell me. You know, you could tell me from what she knew." She said, "She never talked about Captain Thomas. He was a very, very" - they were all English educated - "very, very British and very, very conservative and very rigid." She said, "He lived on the farm and ran the place, but he had an overseer who was black. They were all black, they were always done that way. So that his...he had been badly hurt in the Civil War, so", she said, "his job apparently, according to my grandmother, was just to give support to the manager. But the place was run by blacks. She said that, that he wasn't well enough to." Well, he ended up married with six sons. So I guess they ran it something like this. Now I haven't any idea. It must have been something. But she said, "Your grandmother was a different story." Well, she was, she was. You see, well, she was an absolutely incredible person and everybody loved her. She was just a...even I can't imagine why she...it was a dreadful place to have lived. She was born and brought up in Richmond and met my grandfather in the hospital, and then after the war married him. And it's a...it must have been a dreadful place because there were no friends. There was nothing, actually. No jobs were there. All black, there wasn't a white person there. That was the nearest you came to it. You went down to Fishing Point. There was...I have forgotten the name of that man who ran it - Travis.

J.K.: Who ran what? Millstone Landing?

M.M.: No, our wharf - Mattapany.

J.K.: Millstone?

M.M.: Millstone. We owned that. We owned all the way through that. We owned all the land in there. So that...and Millstone was built to take the pilots off of our...off of Mattapany, that was. And then everybody else, of course, who wanted to use it, did. But...now why did I draw in on Millstone Landing? I don't know. Anyhow, the...this woman that...this woman that I met, her grandmother had lived there on the place. She said it was a good place to be. A few of the slaves left after the war, but not many. She said some of the young ones were all afire. Boy, they were free and they were gone. But she said enough stayed on the place at the time to run it. And then grandmother did a typical thing for the kind of woman she was. She brought all the slaves in - men, women, and children, the

whole lot. And she said, "There isn't anything I can do for you." The war was over. Difficult days were there. So she said, "I don't know where I am. You've got a little, but we've got a little. So we'll just have to pool everything ourselves." So she took pieces of paper, wrapping paper, and cut them into, you know, like that. And she marked them '\$1', '\$5', '\$10', '\$20', whatever it was. She just made it up. And she said, "Now you have to keep records, and I have to keep records." And she said, "You do all the cleaning for me. You do the washing for me. You do the...you do all the cooking for me. You..." The men worked in the field. She listed these, they were all written down. This is what you do. You've got to keep track of every single hour that you spend, you know. Except that they didn't do it in hours, they did it in days. How many days did you work for me, doing this, doing this, doing this. And she said, "At the end of the month, I will pay you in this money that you can see is made of wrapping paper. It isn't worth two cents." But there wasn't a cent on this property. All they had was Confederate money, which you'd throw out, burn - no good. So you have nothing. "So this is what you're to be paid in. On the other hand, I make all your children's...grandchildren's clothes and children's cloths out of grain sack, that kind of thing. So that, I make your clothes, and if you get sick, I'm the one who comes and takes care of you." There were no doctors. "So that I sew you up, and I look after you when you're sick, and I see that you get the right kind of food, you get...you know, to stay healthy." Of course she said, "And I will keep track of everything that I do, on a time basis. And at the end of the month we'll ration it out - this is what time I've given you, this is the time you've given me. And we just pay it up. Because as we make money, if you work the land", for of course, the land had been occupied by Northerners, "if you work the land and bring it back, then we can ship from Millstone Landing. And then there will be money." And - and this I don't know at all, except that it's just, you know, back of the brain - but it took over one whole year. There was no money made on the place. Because it had to go back into fertilizer to keep the place going. And to buy what was no longer existing - cattle, horses, something to keep the place going. But the second year they began making money. And then shipping it up to Baltimore. So that's...that's the history of the place as far as I know. Then my grandmother, Jane Thomas, spent her life...her favorite child was Zarvona. He was perfect. So he...

J.K.: He was your uncle.

M.M.: Great uncle, yes.

J.K.: Great uncle.

M.M.: But he was arrested. He was the one who sailed down the Chesapeake Bay, dressed as a woman, took over the...very great hero. Anyhow, he was captured later on. Brought to a prison up there and...he sailed up to the island off of New York City. It's an army base, right on an island, right above New York. He was plunked there, plunked there, and his mother spent all her time trying to get him out of jail. In the end she bought him out, quite literally bought him out, and she brought him home because by that he was ill, very ill. Then she got him well, and then he took off right away, he was a soldier of fortune. He ran off to Italy and he fought in Garibaldi's War. Anyway, you know, he had a career and went and fought for Russia. And then came back, and he came back still a single man and a drunk. And so he took up the cottage. He had settled after my grandmother died, after my great...Jane Armstrong died, Jane Thomas died. The problem was left to her son George, who was my grandfather. Because he was the one who stayed home to look after...to run the farm, and did. James left the...left Mattapany, came to Baltimore and became a lawyer, and worked here in Baltimore, and died here. Never came back to the place. Zarvona just walked out, soon as his mother

died, and never came back. But he saved my grandfather, because when grandmother...when Jane died, the property was left...about two thousand acres. Fifteen hundred and fifteen hundred makes...five hundred...that's about right. Left a thousand acres to James, and a thousand acres to Zarvona, and maybe five hundred acres - or something like that -with the house to George, since George had stayed home to run the place, all that, so he got the house. And figure now that two...between two hundred and 500 hundred acres. And the far outlying pieces belonged to Zarvona and James. He bought the two of them out. Out of what I don't know. I have no idea what he bought it out on. After the war, he had no money. But what he paid for it, I don't know. But anyhow, he bought out his two brothers, Zarvona and Armstrong Thomas' father, James Thomas of Baltimore. He...Zarvona came back and sued his brother because he wanted the land back. He said he got his land under false pretenses. Well, it was a legal thing to run through the courts. But anyhow, that's what happened. So Zarvona built himself a house up out at between Leonardtown and Charlotte Hall, nearer Charlotte Hall. And a black woman moved in with him. And I can remember - child, I had an odd upbringing, I can tell you right now - my mother, who believed in calling a spade a spade, said "Your great uncle Zarvona lived with black women and they were the ones who would look after him, and they did." But she said, "He had this house, and this woman lived with him until he died." And she, you know...he was buried at that point, but, but...and the blacks moved out. But I can remember going down there as a child, and there would be Negroes working on the...loading and unloading the great steamers, you know, coming in the dock midway. And my mother would say, "That's one of Zarvona's children." And you could spot Zarvona's children all the way through in that place, all through Southern Maryland - it use to amuse me no end. But they all have a certain line of the nose. Boy I tell you, it's a big, solid nose, and my grandfather had it. They all had it. Zarvona had it, and you can see it on these perfectly, absolutely black, absolutely solid faces. And they were negroid faces. Proud faces, you know, but by gum they had a Thomas nose. It struck me, it use to strike me as so funny. And because it didn't matter...my mother didn't mind it. It was just a fact of life. You have to know this kind of thing, so therefore...just because it's a fact. So, you must know these things.

J.K.: Your mother was...?

M.M.: Spanish

J.K.: Spanish. Your father was...

M.M.: My father?

J.K.: ...was Zarvona's nephew.

M.M.: Was what?

J.K.: Your father was Zarvona's nephew.

M.M.: Yes. And money was given to them. I know what, my father was too good to be true. All the other boys left home - there were about eight of them - and they all left home. One went to New York, next one went to Ohio - who was the third one? Oh, Edward, who was the black sheep of the family. He joined the Coast Guard and disappeared, and then came back out of Baltimore. My father was the fourth. Anyhow, all the way up and down the line, the only one that ever set a foot on Mattapany again, and looked after anybody, was my father. And he did. He cared...

J.K.: Was your father George?

M.M.: Hmm?

J.K.: Was your father George Thomas?

M.M.: No, my father was Tazewell.

J.K.: Tazewell.

M.M.: There was no George Thomas in that generation. There was Richard. Let's see, the oldest was Uncle John. John, Upton, Edward, Taz, and Merrick. If I've forgotten one, I've forgotten five of them. And Aunt Kitt and Aunt Lou. Aunt Kitt was...Aunt Lou never...never married. So, whenever Aunt Kitt married, she got Mattapany. So, that's how Mattapany...my connection with it. My father looked after it, and paid attention to it. And we...so you know, we all went down there to vacation every holiday. So anyhow, that was...let me see, what else...what do you want to know? Tell me.

J.K.: O.K., well...

M.M.: I can go on talking about the place, but it's...

J.K.: Yeah, actually that's a lot of good information. Because I'm real interested, you know, in what went on in that community in the 1800s and 1900s. But the...we're also interested in trying to track Lord Baltimore's house.

M.M.: Well alright, I can tell you that. As I said, as a child I went down there. My brother - I had a brother - he was totally geared to the water. They got him a boat. He had a boat, then he had a sailboat, and he was always there. He had...we each had a little black attendant. His was Raymond. And Raymond was something. So one time a big horse fell off the bank. It went down to the bottom, broke a leg, and had to be shot. Well, you can't...how are you going to pick up a horse down on the...that's on the beach. It's dead, and you've got these banks. Anyhow, you're not...they dug a hole on the beach and buried it. And I remember George. I used to trail behind him. And George...I can remember George saying, "Raymond, I bet you can't jump over that grave." And he said, "Bet I can." He said, "No, you can't jump over that abyss."

J.K.: Horse grave?

M.M.: Yes, well of course, the poor horse's grave. So he said, "Alright, I'll take you up on it. Take you up on it. Bet you fall into the hole. And I can see Raymond. I looked at him out of the corner of his eye, and he said, "'Taint fittin' for a colored boy to jump before a white boy. You jump." Well, he did jump, and he went right through the horse. So for one week he was not allowed in the main house. I can tell you he smelled to high heaven. I can tell you that. And you can't wash that off. I mean with water. It was something. Anyway, I can...Raymond was hung in the end. You know, along came...it's crazy, you know. He had to get away, he wanted to make money and do things. He got in with a Baltimore gang and he killed a man, and they hung him. And he was a nice kid. And he really was a bright, bright kid. So it's sad, anyhow, and for what? And so father would take me when I would go down there. I was just...I adored the place, just loved it. So we walked the place. And if you went across, here's Mattapany with the water up there going by. And here's a great big cattle field. But if you want to, call it...call it stable yard, only it was like, it was like a lawn, with the big stables in the middle of it. And there was a fence on the other side of it, going like that, so you go through the whole yard like this. Aunt Priscilla's house was over there. We pass her house and go over toward...just due, in that direction, due east, due east. And we'd walk through there and you came to the woods. And the woods went right on down to the creek. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] It used to be a very wide creek. Wide enough for any boat to get in up to the time of my father's childhood. By the time I got up there, it was a shallow creek that was easily accessible at high tide. A very, very...I have even seen it, as a small child, when it was dry. And that was already a very low tide, a seasonal thing would turn up. But actually, you could always get in. I could always

get in in a row boat. But at high tide you could put a big boat in there. And when you got into the creek, it split like all those creeks, and there was one that came up further east and one that came up west. And the one that came up on the western side of it was wide - wide, wide, wide. Let me think how wide it would be. I wonder what you know? Do you know the creek that runs up on either side of what was our house in Calvert County? You know, where you come in by Solomons Island.

J.K.: Uh-huh.

M.M.: You come into the creek...

J.K.: Hungerford? Hungerford?

M.M.: What?

J.K.: Back Creek?

M.M.: No, that wasn't it. There wasn't any Hungerford Creek, there was...anyhow, there was the creek as you came in and then it split. And you went up, and I guess that's...I don't know what creek that would be. On the left hand side was Back Creek. And it went way up, and there was a big peninsula in the middle of it. It was the distance between our house, you see, in the middle there of the peninsula, and the other shore. You know where the Roman Catholic church is?

J.K.: In Solomons, yeah.

M.M.: Well, from the Roman Catholic church over to that new section - which as I said before, we lived on the point - that was the width of the creek, of that right hand creek, if you went in back up to Mattapany.

J.K.: Was that like five hundred feet?

M.M.: I don't know.

J.K.: Or one thousand feet?

M.M.: Well, let me think.

J.K.: A mile is about one thousand...five thousand feet, five thousand two hundred.

M.M.: No, I don't know what it is, but I was just trying to see. Oh God. Never get old, don't get old. That's my advice to you.

J.K.: I'm trying not to, but...

M.M.: It's a terrible mistake. I would say it probably isn't as far as from this corner down to the water...down to the bridge, to the road, you think? It wasn't this wide, it was this wide, from here to the road.

J.K.: Oh, to the road.

M.M.: Yeah.

J.K.: Oh, oh, oh. It looks like it's maybe less than two hundred feet.

M.M.: I would say.

J.K.: From here to the asphalt road, yeah.

M.M.: Now it was always filling up, you know. Actually, in the early days, in my father's days, it was wider than that, but not much. And then the vines grew up over it, and when they grew up over it, of course, they covered it in. So if we walked past Aunt Priscilla's and into the woods, when you got into the woods, you came across it, and it was right there. That far back from the...

J.K.: It was in...it was in the woods?

M.M.: Yes, it was in the woods. And that far back from the bank, as far...a little farther from the bank than Mattapany house is. And Lord, I haven't been there for, what?...I'll tell you, I haven't been in seventy years. But anyhow, at that time it was very obvious where Lord Baltimore's house was.

That's what they said it was. He didn't say they lived there. They said...he told me, he said, "This is where Lord Baltimore lived because of the problems between the Catholics and the Protestants." And after the Catholics were thrown out, the Baltimore's moved over, to get out. Because the capital city was originally a Roman Catholic city. And then the Catholics were refused admission. They were to be denied completely. So the Calverts moved over to that house, over to Mattapany, and built that house. Now they bought the property from the...they bought it from the Jesuits. The Jesuits had a place there - a monastery - and they were, of course, very close to the Lord Calverts. And they left there when the Baltimores went down there. And so, that's what the property was...the property which they got, bought from the Jesuits. The Jesuits had been given the land to begin with, but they had to start again somewhere else.

E.C.: Did you all know where the monastery was?

M.M.: No. At least I never was told. I'm sure father did, but I don't know. I haven't any idea. It's perfectly conceivable in my mind - it may have been where the present house is. This is a logical thing to me. It's pure guess work.

J.K.: About the history that you were talking about - of Baltimore building that house - did your father tell you that?

M.M.: My father told me that the house...that Baltimore had built it, and that that's where they had retired to, and that it was a very sizable house. It was a gentleman's home, not a great big home. But it was...well, I guess it was as big as the present Mattapany, actually. It was that kind of a house. And then, going west from the house, there was what had been a...some kind of a fort. This fort, father said, "We never knew what it was for. We never knew what he was trying to fight." He knew there was something the Jesuits had put up to protect themselves. Anyhow, that's where it was. It was down closer to the water, so that anybody coming in from the water, along the property itself, could be protected.

J.K.: Well, if it was actually closer to the water, wouldn't it be east?

M.M.: You would be going east.

J.K.: O.K., you had said go west.

M.M.: Oh, I'm sorry. No, I'm going east from the house.

J.K.: O.K.

M.M.: West you can't go very much out. Further on, you would come to this place right along the water. Now that place never meant anything to me at all.

J.K.: What did it look like?

M.M.: It didn't look like anything. It was just a hole in the ground with stones around and bric-a-brac. That place I only know through him, and what he said to me was, "When we were children, there were, you know, there were stones around in the woods there, and these were old stones. We never paid any attention to it, but it looked like a fort." So they played there, and they had guns, and they played wild games, I'll tell you. Those boys, they used to go hunting each other in the woods all the time, and the point was to be able to be quick enough to jump behind a tree so that the brothers didn't shoot you. And you know, with all of this kind of foolishness - it was live guns - but with all of this they never killed each other. I don't know why.

J.K.: You mean, live guns from the site? Live guns that they found there?

M.M.: No. They all got their own guns.

J.K.: Oh, their own guns.

M.M.: No, but they used the others when they were younger. You see, when they were very young. You played that it was a fort. But when you were older you became...you wanted something real, so you began battling your brothers. But they were all taught to shoot young, because they killed anything on the place to eat. You know, you would kill rabbits, you would kill anything to eat. And the black people would always be...ate 'possums down there.

J.K.: What do you remember of Lord Baltimore's house?

M.M.: I only remember that...now that was...in the first place, it was bigger and it had a cellar.

J.K.: And did you see that?

M.M.: I did actually see that, but I don't...

E.C.: What did it look like? The cellar.

M.M.: Oh, it didn't look like anything on the face of it. It was a hole in the ground. What father said, "This used to be the cellar." And this is the way it was. To me it was a hole in the ground full of trees, full of brambles, full of everything growing all around it.

J.K.: Were there any walls?

M.M.: Underneath all the scrub. Vague walls, yes, but full. Nothing above ground. Nothing. It was just a hole in the ground. So that you could get a marking, you know, just of traces.

J.K.: Like an outline? Or...

M.M.: You could see enough...the land would go like this, and trees and trees and trees, and if you looked at it from a distance there was no hole. You had to walk in to realize that there was this cavity. And that a lot of these things were growing right out of that. So that's what it was. So, it's a story of...as far as he was concerned, you know, what he said was, "You know, life is funny. The Thomases didn't come from here at all. It had nothing to do with the Thomases. The Thomases came from...where did they come from? They came from Wales, they were Welsh. And they were given the tract of land in what they call St. Mary's County." Now I know it wasn't there at all, it wasn't St. Mary's at all, it was across the river.

J.K.: On the Eastern Shore?

M.M.: No, across the river, across the Patuxent. So that was actually Calvert County, where the Thomases came. And our connection with it, as far as my father was concerned, was that his mother, you see, came from the Ogles. And that was the tie, you see, because the Ogles were the ones who had been at Mattapany, who had done something about it. {One tape recorder stops} Is that you?

J.K.: It must be at the end. Yeah.

M.M.: You mean this has been going all this time?

J.K.: Yeah. Everything you say is extremely valuable to us.

M.M.: I don't think it's valuable at all.

J.K.: Well, it's valuable to us. We want to make sure...we took notes if you...if we would not get all of it. So by having you talk on it, we can listen and listen and listen. Because you're talking about lots of different topics.

M.M.: Are you? That's why. Yes, I do talk about different topics.

J.K.: Let me go back to the Baltimores' house. Why do you suppose they never tore it down? Why they didn't just clear the land. Why didn't they just clear it away? And fill in the hole and farm it. You know, where Lord Baltimore's...the hole was.

M.M.: Well, Lord Baltimore lived there and then - I don't know - and then...

J.K.: Why didn't the Thomases clear it? I mean, once it was abandoned.

M.M.: Why would you want it? It had been there since the Sewalls bought it. Now the way they got it was that Leonard...the Calverts again, you go back to the Lord Baltimores, the Calverts...coming down that line, they had a daughter and no sons, and that daughter married a Sewall. And the Sewalls...that's how they got the property. And then they only had it for one generation, and they didn't want it. And so it was sold to the Thomases, to William Thomas. And that was about 1830s. How old that original house is...presumably that original house was a heck of a lot older, 1700s, who knows?

J.K.: Uh-huh.

M.M.: I don't know what it was. And they never knew, they just said that there was, when grandfather bought it...when great-grandfather bought this - Mattapany - there was here a house. And that is the house that had the door you see coming in from the west. You know, before they added the parlor and the library.

J.K.: Uh-huh.

M.M.: So there was that house there. Now there was...my feeling is - and I haven't been over those papers of Sewall's and never would go over them again - they...but my feeling is that he built that house. And he must have decided...that was not a big house, you see. It was just...it was a big, big room. It was the great big room on the hall, you know, maybe two rooms and then two room next to it. And upstairs there were one, two, three, four - four bedrooms.

J.K.: This is in the house where they were living?

M.M.: Yes, in the original house that's there now.

J.K.: Uh-huh.

M.M.: So that was a relatively small house. And probably by that time the house in the woods had fallen to pieces and things had grown up. Because some of those trees were awfully old.

J.K.: But what...it just seems odd to me that they didn't just take all the stones and bricks down and clear it away, you know, and just clear the land. And, you know, they may have just left it there...they obviously left it there, but I was just wondering if you knew why.

M.M.: No, I couldn't possibly tell you why. To me, it was probably logical that there probably was - when Sewall bought the place - there probably was a pleasant house there. A small house, in condition, so he moved in to it.

J.K.: Uh-huh.

M.M.: And then the rest of it - so what? There it is. It's a...it was a big place. What do you do with a large thing like this? I don't know what Sewall's life was like, I don't know what he was doing. But I know that when my grandparents moved there...great-grandparents moved there, the little house was too little for them, and they added it and expanded it. And at that point everything had gone except the ruins, which were still at that point very visible, when my father was born. He said it was very evident, and you could see where his fort had been. You could see where the house had been. But it was in the woods, and there was poison ivy. So you know, they may have just thought, "What's the use?" So they took it and put it into what had been just nothing but farmland. And they moved there and built the house and property around with it. But why they moved out I wouldn't have any idea.

J.K.: When you, when you were at...when you saw Lord Baltimore's dwelling, you said there were a lot of old trees. Were there, were there any bushes or things that looked like people might have planted things around there?

M.M.: No.

J.K.: O.K.

M.M.: It was dense, dense woods - really dense. Tremendous vines. I think they were probably old grape vines. Wild grapes, you know. You know, you had to struggle to get through that place. We never went down...you wanted to go up in the creek. You went down to the water, got into a boat, and went up the creek. You never went through the woods.

J.K.: Now where the fort was - did you see that area? Did you see...I'm sure you saw it. But did...

M.M.: There was nothing there to indicate anything. We...

J.K.: There was a hole? Was there...

M.M.: Well, there was...well, there wasn't even a hole there. There were stones, which obviously couldn't...had come from somewhere, or else it shouldn't have been there. Piles of stone. And that was down toward the edge of the water. And that, presumably, was the fort. I don't know. But there was nothing left. There was no landing, there was no indication that anybody had come in from the water. When I was a child, father said, "We knew that you used to be able to come in and out there, that people could come in and out by big boats." But we never knew the big boats down there.

J.K.: Uh-huh.

M.M.: We knew that there was a lot of water coming in, so that you could put any size boat in there, but not the big steamers. And they must have had shipping boats, you know, to lug their stuff up that way. We did, I guess.

J.K.: {To E.C.} Did you have any questions about the ruins?

E.C.: Well, you talked about them finding guns and stuff like that. What else did they find in that area?

M.M.: I don't know what, but that's all they found. That's all they were looking for. There were pieces of pottery. This thing, they meant nothing to...pieces of glass, pieces of pottery. That meant nothing. They were Roman Catholics.

J.K.: Who was Roman Catholic?

M.M.: Those, those Calverts. We're not Roman Catholics. And I was wondering if that had anything to do with it. I'm sure that's why they moved out of St. Mary's City. Because their church was torn down with all the rest of it. And they moved onto Jesuit land, so you presumed this was done because of it. And then it was...when was that? 1692 that was. So you've got really almost a hundred years between then and the time the Calverts moved out. But you know, when they lost control of it, they lost the land entirely.

J.K.: Do you remember anybody that was - and the reason we ask this is because we're archaeologists and we're going to be digging - did anybody that you know of actually dig. Like, did any family members dig for the guns or anything, because...

M.M.: I don't know.

J.K.: O.K.

M.M.: The kids probably did.

J.K.: Uh-huh.

M.M.: Kick things apart. You know how you did, you kick things apart, especially kids. I never did things like that.

J.K.: I used to do that.

M.M.: And that's what they did. You know, they dig things. You know, you dig around and you find something and think, "that's kind of fun." [REDACTED]



J.K.: Did you know the Carrolls? The people...do you know Susquehanna Farm? That was the farm next to Mattapany.

M.M.: Yeah. But that wasn't Carroll.

J.K.: It wasn't Carroll by then, but did you ever hear stories of the Carrolls or...I'm asking you to really...

M.M.: I know, but I wonder if they were...there aren't Carrolls there. There never were Carrolls there.

J.K.: At Susquehanna?

M.M.: Susquehanna.

J.K.: The last name of the family was Carroll. They lost the farm in 1894. But they...the Carrolls got the farm...actually, it was Rousby, and then...

M.M.: Yes.

J.K.: A Rousby heir was a female, and she married a Carroll in...right before the Revolution. And I think your cousin Armstrong mentions the Carrolls in his book, but not a whole lot. He just mentions that they came from the neighboring farm. And I had done some work on...at that farm.

M.M.: Well, I knew the house because we used to go over there. It was fascinating to me. One of the most interesting houses I knew of, because it was so different. Rousby Hall, which is on the other side of the river, is also another interesting house. But no, as far as I knew, they never knew anybody down there. I know that after the Civil War...before the Civil War, there was so much...there was a lot of travel. They stayed usually a week, or two weeks, or a month, or three months, and departed. And after the war there was no money, so there was no...there was very little coming and going. But cousins came. Aunt Kitt from Cremona used to come down to Mattapany to stay. Eleanor Carroll...have you heard of Eleanor Carroll?

J.K.: Yeah, she lived at Susquehanna. She grew up there. She was born and grew up there, and she is somebody I've been trying to track down - unrelated to Mattapany.

M.M.: I absolutely adored that woman.

J.K.: Did you know her?

M.M.: Of course I knew her. She was six feet tall. Absolutely blond hair. I suppose now in my old age that she probably dyed it, but it never occurred to me. She never wore anything except white, and she was a big woman. She was a big woman, great big bust, you know, but solid. And she wore the most beautiful clothes - lace and all the rest of these things. Her father was the ambassador successively in Russia and Prussia and Austria.

J.K.: Uh-huh.

M.M.: And so she grew up abroad. So you can't say she grew up down there, she grew up abroad.

J.K.: I think it was actually her grandfather.

M.M.: Well, that might be more like it.

J.K.: Because I think her father was a man named Henry Carroll. And he had a daughter. He had several children - one's name was Eleanor. Eleanor ended up living in Baltimore, and then she

married a Darnell.

M.M.: I'm not sure.

J.K.: Well, if it's the same Eleanor.

M.M.: Well no, Eleanor...isn't that funny? This wouldn't have been the same one. This woman lived abroad all of her life, since the First World War broke. And when the First World War broke she came to this country.

J.K.: Uh-huh.

M.M.: She was a contemporary of my grandfather.

J.K.: Maybe it is a different Eleanor.

M.M.: And she came to this country. She'd never married.

J.K.: Uh-huh.

M.M.: And she rented, bought - I have no idea - a tiny, tiny, little house - and I mean tiny - up, way up the river.

J.K.: Where?

M.M.: Oh, I don't know, well above Fishing Creek, which is up there about that far. And she used to come down there in the summer time. Now the winters she spent at Doughoregan Manor. Do you know Doughoregan Manor?

J.K.: I have heard the name.

M.M.: That's the old Carroll property. Now that's the...

J.K.: Oh, that's how I know the name.

M.M.: That's the revolutionary - Charles Carroll of Carrollton. That's the way he signed his name, on the...whatever it is. The Declaration of Independence, I guess it is. Isn't that what he signed? And so, that's where he lived, in Doughoregan Manor. And he wanted to be famous, he wanted position. They didn't want him to sign it, because the other Carroll, Charles Carroll from Annapolis...he had built Mt. Clair. Do you know Mt. Clair? Alright, he was the one who was to sign it, and he was ill, so they had to get somebody else to sign it. And Charles Carroll said he would, he wanted to sign it. The other one. And they said, "You can sign it if you will pay all the expenses." Of what? - I guess the trips to New York, to go up there for the conference. So he did, he put up money. And he signed it. But that became, as far as I knew...I thought that was the Carroll house, because Miss Eleanor lived there in the winter. Because I went out there and stayed with her, and they had a cabin...

J.K.: Where would she stay in the summer in St. Mary's?

M.M.: In this little house.

J.K.: O.K.

M.M.: The little house just above Fishing Creek. There was a black woman who came every day and cleaned, cooked, and washed and ironed for them.

J.K.: Where is Fishing Creek?

M.M.: Well, you go up from...You go above Millstone Landing.

J.K.: O.K.

M.M.: And just as far from Millstone Landing as the other creek is that goes up toward old Lord Baltimore's house - there was another creek, and it was called Fishing Creek. Just exactly the same - you went in and the creek divided, and you went up there into Dent's place on the peninsula in that place.

J.K.: O.K.

M.M.: And the house was on the side of it. And it's just above that, up by De La Brooke, where Miss Eleanor had a place. And it was that she used to come down to Mattapany every summer and stay for about two or three weeks. And I was more fascinated by her stories. But her life was a life abroad. So the stories that she told that were so funny to me - would send you into hysterics. I can still tell these stories and go absolutely crazy over them, they were so funny. Anyhow, that was Miss Eleanor. Now the other, you see...I never heard of a Carroll down in St. Mary's County.

J.K.: Yeah, it was a Carroll who owned it.

M.M.: Obviously, obviously.

J.K.: Yeah. And it's in the land records.

M.M.: Well obviously, my father never...they never spoke of them.

J.K.: Well, the first Carroll was actually a cousin of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. He was a merchant, and he came down and he ended up marrying this Rousby heir. And he lived there, and they stayed on the land until 1894.

M.M.: Isn't that interesting.

J.K.: {To E.C.} Do you know any more, or do you have any more questions?

E.C.: You just mentioned the Dents of Fishing Creek...

M.M.: Yes.

E.C.: Was that George Dent? Was one of the Dents a surveyor? Because there was a map made of Mattapany in the 1870s...

M.M.: I wouldn't be surprised. The Dents have been there forever, and they...Patty Dent was my era and one of the prettiest things I ever knew. Now her father lived...her grandfather - not her father - her grandfather lived on that point of land in Fishing Creek. So she would come down...Patty only came down to visit, to visit her grandfather. So that goes back to my grandfather, so went back to the days of, you know, 1840, '45, '50.

E.C.: In the 1870s a map was made of Mattapany when they were having the court case with Zarvona...

M.M.: Oh, was there now?

E.C.: It was made by a man named George Dent.

M.M.: Well, that's who it would have been.

J.K.: The map is reproduced in Armstrong Thomas' book.

M.M.: I should get out that book and look at it again.

J.K.: Yeah.

M.M.: There is so much inaccurate in it that I was very skeptical.

J.K.: Yeah.

M.M.: I remember his saying to me one day, "Do you think Aunt Marie" - my mother - "would be willing to talk to me? And let me ask her a question about Zarvona?" And I said, "Armstrong", I said, "you know, let's be realistic about this thing. Certainly mother will talk to you. Because that's what she is, she's that kind of a person, but she is a realist." And I said, "There are legends in the family. And she can give you the legends. I can give them to you, whatever you want. But mother will give you the facts, because this is the way mother is." So oh, he said, "That's what I want, I really want the facts." So he came over for dinner, and mother was there. He asked some questions about Zarvona and about Zarvona's life, because mother had...actually knew him. And he was there, still living, when mother was a girl, so she actually did know him. And she made some comment

about his relationship to these blacks, and Armstrong immediately developed a meeting in Washington he had to attend, he had forgotten about. And as I went out to the car with him he said, "It's too bad that Aunt Marie has become so senile." So I said, "Well Armstrong, I'll tell you, there are facts that you have to face in this world. And this is what Zarvona was, and if you want to write a eulogy of him you better make him human - make him what he was, you know."

J.K.: Armstrong...

M.M.: But there's no mention of this in Armstrong's book. I can tell you, everything is true.

J.K.: Yeah.

M.M.: I mean everything.

J.K.: Yeah.

E.C.: In fact, he even mentioned in his book that there are some certain 'distasteful' parts of the past that he's not going to mention in his book.

M.M.: And yet mother lived there.

J.K.: Well, you said your mother was Spanish?

M.M.: My mother was Spanish.

J.K.: How did she...how did she meet your dad?

M.M.: Well, she was the daughter of one...I don't know the whole of that story, but anyhow...

J.K.: What was she doing ending up in Maryland? I guess...

M.M.: Her father was one of...he came from Valez {?}, the town south of Barcelona. And there were so many children, and they never went to school. They were all tutored at home. What they did, who they were, I don't know, but they were tutored at home. And they were sent away to college, and every one of them married, and every one of them - women as well as men - went to college. It was back in the 1860s, and this was something. Well anyhow, at first they went to graduate school, or whatever they were...college. Anyhow, by the time he came along as the last of the lot, he had a sister who had married an Englishman. So he was sent to London. One of his older brothers took him to London when he was a child. And there he was educated and went to...I don't know where...he went to college in England. Left the Roman Church - because of course they were all Roman Catholics - left the Roman Church and became an Anglican, and then became a clergyman in the Anglican Church. So when he was finished, he went and set out for Jamaica as a priest in the Church - Episcopal Church. And then there was a big showdown within the Spanish government. In that four year interval, the English merchants who were doing business - had offices and were doing business in Ponce in Puerto Rico - got him in touch with the prime minister or whoever he was, and got him to make a plea to the Spanish Queen to allow them to have a Church of Christ - Episcopal Church. The thing was agreed to, and then they took - the Church of England, Canterbury - plucked my grandfather out of Jamaica and took him over to Puerto Rico to build the first Protestant church ever built on Catholic lands. And that's still there, a charming little old church right in the middle of it. And there he married a girl whose family was Scottish - the man was a Scots doctor, of all blessed things - and he couldn't...the climate was so bad that he actually went down to the tropics to live. And then...and then he married, and having married they raised at least four children. And when my grandmother had her last child, they said to her, "You can never have another child." So she said, "O.K." So anyhow, she did become pregnant. So when she became pregnant she said to her husband, "I will not...I do not want my daughters raised in a Catholic country."

J.K.: Uh-huh.

M.M.: Because evidently their marriages were grim. "I want my daughters raised in the United States, since I'm going to die." So, by gum, she persuaded her husband to go to New York City. So they lived in New York, where the child was born, and they did both die. And her mother came up at the time that she died and said to her son-in-law, "You cannot raise these children in this city. You will have to apply to the Church in the United States for a parish." He was given the parish of St. Andrews.

J.K.: Oh.

M.M.: You know where St. Andrews is? He was given that parish. So he went down there to...they had a house and it was on chapel land in the middle of Leonardtown. And so they were given a rectory there in Leonardtown. And my Thomas family sent my father up there to see what...well, first of all, Captain Thomas went up and he said, "The minister, the new minister, has four children and no wife." So he said to his wife, "We have to do something about these children." So he sent my father to collect all four of them and bring them down in a cart. And my grandmother Thomas said to my mother, "I hope he didn't ruin the trip." That's because Tazewell - that was her son, Tazewell - his horses were always very fast horses. He loved horses, he loved big, strong...and she said, "Oh no, it was a lovely trip." And my Aunt Hilda said very firmly, "That's not true Mrs. Thomas, because she pinched me black and blue all the way home, she was so scared." Anyhow, that's where she met them. She became very close to my grandmother Thomas. And actually, I have letters of grandmother's...she was more fond of mother than she was of her own children. Not that she loved her more, but she was closer to her. You know, there was just something that worked. So that for her money, my mother was Mrs. Thomas' child. She just absolutely adored her, just adored her. So that's how...and then ultimately Captain Thomas one day said to my mother - he always called her 'Miss Maria' - he said, "Miss Maria, when you...I have" - and there are six sons - "I have six sons. You may have any one of them for a husband. John is going to make a lot of money, but he is a cold, formal person, not very demonstrative. Upton isn't very bright, but he's a very good man. So he wouldn't be very nice because I think he's not going to get very far. Eddie is as wild as a mad hatter, but interesting. It would make an exciting life. He will not make a good husband or a good father, but it will be an exciting life. Or you can have Tazewell, who comes close to being a saint. And he will make two cents for the girl on the way. And then there's Merrick, who is ambitious but not bright. So he would do well...he is going into the ministry and that will be...". He ended up a bishop, you know. So that was that, but anyhow...who was the other one? Oh, the bottom one. The bottom one was Uncle Brook. He was the youngest of the lot and he went into...I don't know, he was much too young to know. But anyhow, he went into USF & G and worked for them selling insurance. So he said, "You can have any one of them you want." And mother said, "Oh, but Captain Thomas, I don't want any of them." And then ultimately married Tazewell. But that's how that all came about. But she never let me go to, to...I never was allowed to go to either Puerto Rico or to Spain. I never was. I saw Spanish cousins because they came to this country, but I never was allowed to go. And it wasn't until I married that I got an answer to it. Then mother said to me, she said, "You certainly never went." She said, "You are absolutely, totally Spanish, and consequently it was actually ridiculous. You would have married a Spaniard and there is no life for a Spanish woman. So therefore, the only thing to do was to keep you here where you wouldn't meet any of them. Or a Latin American." So that's the way they met. But that doesn't help you in the end, you know.

J.K.: No, but it's interesting.

M.M.: We used to go down to the...all of my father's...everybody from Mattapany is buried at Trinity Church. Before that they were all buried up at Deep Falls in that private cemetery, including Zarvona.

J.K.: Oh, really?

M.M.: Oh yeah, sure. You never denied anybody, you know. The family saw in the end how he had to live, and his lifestyle was his lifestyle. But in the end, when he died, he came home.

J.K.: Did he ever marry?

M.M.: No. So that's...but all of my family, my grandparents, they're all down there. So I have always gone there, because the Bromes, you see, were cousins. And they were...and they lived right next door. So you always collected there when you went down, because otherwise it was so far. It used to take us...we used to go by buggy from Mattapany to church every Sunday morning.

J.K.: Uh-huh.

M.M.: Well, it took forever. You went down the old Mattapany Road, and so it took a long time. And then you had lunch there with the Bromes. And then Cousin Libby - was it? I really can't remember which one - ran St. Mary's Seminary for the young ladies. And that's what it was.

J.K.: What time...what years were these, when you went down there? Do you remember?

M.M.: Oh yes. I went...I started going down there in 1911 and kept going...kept up my ties with it until '32 or '33.

J.K.: Do you remember in St. Mary's City any of the old...the old State House ruins? Could you see that?

M.M.: Oh no. Oh no.

J.K.: It was gone already?

M.M.: All of that was a field. The Bromes harvested it. It's also of value to see how far down they have to go to find these things. We did know a legend - whether it was true or not, nobody knew - that the governor's mansion was in the rose bed, under the rose bed. That's what they always said, you know, this...

E.C.: They said where? At the Brome House or at the church?

M.M.: The Brome House. They said under the rose bed there, right, you know...well, the house here faces the river on the other side, and the rose bed was right outside here, towards the church. And they just said, you know...well, that's what they always said. They said the Calverts...

J.K.: Did they say where the fort was?

M.M.: No, nothing else. They just said that the whole city...they said, you know, there was a whole city here once. Somebody had told somebody - down the family - that's where it was. Because those people...some of that family never left St. Mary's. One of them married into the Briscoes at Sotterley. I can't remember who that was. Because in my mother's day that belonged to a member of the family, and one of the places you went and stayed was in Sotterley.

E.C.: Well, that legend is actually true. The governor's house is beneath the Brome House. Not on that side - it's on both sides.

M.M.: Well, I know...a green house? What green house? You mean her green house?

E.C.: No, the governor's house.

J.K.: The governor's house.

E.C.: The ruins. You said the legend about the governor's house.

M.M.: Yes, it was under the rose bed.

E.C.: Yeah. They...we have found it archaeologically.

M.M.: It is there?

E.C.: It is underneath the Brome House.

M.M.: Isn't that funny.

J.K.: Yeah.

M.M.: I often wondered. Cousin Jeanette Brome, - that's Spence Howard's mother - had things that originally came from Mattapan.

J.K.: Did she take these when the Navy came? Is that when?

M.M.: No, when she took them...the Navy didn't come to us. This man Weschler bought the property. When Uncle John died, he had promised the property was to be left to my brother, who was the idol of the whole family. George was perfect, he was...everybody adored George. But anyway, he was to get Mattapan. Then the Depression hit in '31. And in '32 Uncle John was dying, and he changed his will and left the property to be sold immediately after. He bought it from Aunt Lou. Aunt Lou had inherited it. When my grandmother died she left the boys nothing. You know - "I love you dearly, goodbye darling." She left the girls the property - the house down there, and everything in it - and if one of the girls married she could take a share of the stuff that was in Mattapan with her, but nothing else, and the other one had the house and the property and that was it. A certain amount of land around it. So that was her land. And then, well after I was born, Uncle John decided - why this went about I never understood - anyhow, he bought the property from Aunt Lou. Well, she wanted him to have it. Aunt Lou was acting as his hostess. He was in the shipping business, and based in Boston and New York. She was acting as his hostess, and whether she thought she would never come back or not, I don't know what she thought. Anyhow, she sold it to John, Uncle John, and so while he technically owned it, we never paid any attention to it at all because, you know, the property - as far as we were concerned - belonged to Aunt Lou, who never married. And so we used it, we used it constantly. Eventually, my father bought a piece of property across the river on Mill Creek, across from Solomons Island. And the strange thing was that my grandmother...that Aunt Lou was jealous of my mother and was very, very critical of her. And I quoted something that she had said...

J.K.: Uh-huh.

M.M.: ...in support of that. Well, it was something to the statement that my mother really didn't know anything because she was Spanish, she was a colonist. Well, I told my father this, and my father hit the ceiling and bought the place across the creek, across the river, so that I was to be no longer living under the supervision of Aunt Lou in the summertime. But you know you rowed across the creek, back and forth across the river. This is the way you went next door to see your neighbor. And all of our vegetables and fruits and everything else in the summertime came from Mattapan.

J.K.: So was Jeanette Brome a cousin?

M.M.: Jeanette Brome was a cousin. When the Weschlers bought that property, Aunt Lou called me - I was in college - and she said the property had been sold. I didn't even know it, that the property had been sold, and that they were going to clear it out. She said, "Do you want anything?" And I said, "No". I was in the middle of working at the college. I didn't have time to deal with that. I guess I was in graduate school at college. Anyhow, my mother called and said, "I have broken my leg. You ought to go. Your father is in a state because of the fact that the property is going. Because he was trying to put together a combination of family people to buy the whole property. To pay off on the mortgage,

and that would be all right." So I began to think and I said, "Why don't you just leave the property to her?" He said, "Because there is so little money." She had an income - this was in 1932 - she had an income of about \$45,000 a year, in '32. And I said, "She's rich. God bless us that's a lot of money." Multiply that by four, what has she got? - an income of two or three hundred, two or three thousand. Not a year, this is a month. That was money. It was just astronomical money as far as I was concerned. Father said, "She had been living on an income of around \$250,000 a year. So that now she's only going to have about thirty-five to forty, and she is frightened." And he said, "That's one of the things you have to learn. You cannot criticize unless you can see the whole picture. She is frightened because to her forty to forty-five thousand is nothing. She's poor. You know, that's the way it is. So now you have a million and then next you have what? You always have to make more, otherwise you're poor." So anyhow, at that point Aunt Lou went to Cousin Jeanette and said, "There are heavy pieces in the house." I was still in college, you see, and can't take it. George was...well my brother wasn't married, he can't take it. So there is no one. She never had any feeling about any of the others. We were the ones that were there. And so she said, "You can come down." Well, she sent a very big, huge truck. I can see it now - a very big, huge farm truck she sent down. And she herself arrived and she...anything that Aunt Lou said that she didn't want, Cousin Jeanette would take and put it on the truck, put it on the truck. And I tried to buy from her the lovely candle with a reflector, you know, with a cut glass top hanging from the beam in the middle of the hall. I was dying for that, and the other was a four-post bed that I would have given anything for. It was my grandmother's, great-grandmother's. And I wanted it - it was a beautiful bed. And she said to me, "You're so wild, you're never going to get married, you're never going to have any use for these things, so certainly not." So that was the end of that. So all these things went into the car with Jeanette.

J.K.: Is that how you got the papers you said you had?

M.M.: They were in the attic at Mattapany.

J.K.: The Sewall Papers that were donated to the Historical Society?

M.M.: Yes, I found those in the attic, along with...I don't know if you remember...It was a perfectly beautiful...Who does the paintings, the profile paintings that are on pink paper? He was a Frenchman. He was a very, very famous Frenchman. Came over to this country in the 1800s and painted people all over the country, and all these portraits. Well anyway, we had one, which I found in the attic.

J.K.: Uh-huh.

M.M.: And so I took it away. It is Richard Thomas. No, it was William Thomas, the governor. So I've got those just thrown down on the floor. And that's all that I got. The library had already been pretty well cleared out. A lot of stuff...well, I guess I would have liked to...I would like to have that spinet. Because I was willing to spend the money to have it put into condition. I would love to have it, but she took it, and it was something that she looked at and admired in the living room. And what became of all the furniture? A dozen chairs, all these things, all in the attic.

J.K.: Well, how about if I...I'd like you to do some kind of drawing of the house. You were describing it before. But actually, if you could like maybe sketch something. You know, to draw, like, a plan of the house. It doesn't have to be to scale, but just sketch it out. You can just...if you want to, sit in the chair...

M.M.: I will.

J.K.: ...and do it there.

E.C.: These are...this is a map from 1907. You can see Mattapanay there, but...

M.M.: 1907?

E.C.: So see, I think this is probably the driveway.

M.M.: That is the driveway.

E.C.: And this...

M.M.: Well, I don't know.

E.C.: This says 'Cole'. Were there Coles living there? Any Coles?

M.M.: In 1907?

E.C.: Oh, 'cultivated'. That's it.

J.K.: 'Cultivated', that's what it says.

M.M.: Well anyhow, this came up...this property came up to a regular square and then there was a square here, and it was out here where Aunt Priscilla lived.

E.C.: O.K., I think I know where that is.

J.K.: We found the site?

E.C.: Yeah.

J.K.: Really?

E.C.: Let me put a little mark next to it here.

J.K.: Yeah.

E.C.: You think it's out in here.

J.K.: That's what the Navy did. That's the Navy.

E.C.: O.K., this is the driveway - two driveways coming off...maybe they weren't there when you were there. This is the house.

J.K.: The Navy did it.

M.M.: You've got a road around the house?

J.K.: Well...

E.C.: They don't really use it very much.

J.K.: They don't use it.

E.C.: They just come up here. This is a barn here, a barn or garage over here, and this is a house. I don't know if that house was there.

M.M.: That's about where Aunt Priscilla was.

E.C.: O.K.



E.C.: Here's the creek.

M.M.: That's exactly right.

E.C.: She lived more like here, you think?

M.M.: Oh no. She wasn't that near to it. I would say it was about there, you see.

E.C.: That's all swamp.

M.M.: Well now, where are you digging?

E.C.: The house where we're digging is down here. We think the fort is here - it's all been filled in now there. All that fort was filled in, and would be right...I believe down here.

M.M.: That's right. That's just about right. The house...and the fort would have been down toward the river.

E.C.: The fort was this way.

M.M.: Yes. Not up here. It would have been down toward the river. Down to the river. Down to the water.

E.C.: [REDACTED] We think this is the fort and this is the house. Does that seem right to you?

M.M.: Yes, that's right. And down here you get that - that's all right. But the house...the fort was down, but...well, I don't know, this was 1907? Well, alright then. You have to go back to two hundred years. Because at that point the river went the length of the ravine, probably to here.

J.K.: Yeah, this map is...

E.C.: We'll show you the map from the 1870s. It's not a very good copy, but...

M.M.: Yes.

E.C.: Do you have Armstrong Thomas' book? He shows this map.

M.M.: I don't think I have Armstrong Thomas' book. But as I said, it was indeed very, very funny how he got on with the truth.

J.K.: Is that a portrait of a Thomas on the wall?

M.M.: No, that's not.

J.K.: Are you looking for the plat?

E.C.: Yeah, I know it's in here somewhere.

J.K.: Yeah, I remember it was in there because that's where I got the revelation.

E.C.: It's a terrible copy.

M.M.: That was my mother.

J.K.: She was beautiful.

M.M.: She was a beautiful woman. Boy, I tell you, she was a beauty. It's funny to grow up with a person like that. And that was my mother...my father's mother and father.

J.K.: Uh-huh.

M.M.: And she's the one that made the paper money. And that one left to the war. He was shot, his chin was shot off.

E.C.: That's George Thomas?

M.M.: That's George Thomas.

J.K.: Can I take pictures of these men?

M.M.: And that was Richard Thomas.

J.K.: Yeah, that looks like him.

M.M.: Now that is a painting.

J.K.: I've seen that.

M.M.: And then, I don't know...well, it's in the book.

J.K.: Uh-huh.

M.M.: He came and took mine. He took mine when he took that. And that is her mother. He was a

Beall. She was an Ogle. And this is her mother and this is her father.

J.K.: O.K.

E.C.: And that was Jane?

M.M.: No, that's Ellen Ogle Beall.

E.C.: Oh, that's a Beall?

M.M.: That's a Beall.

J.K.: You look like her, kind of.

M.M.: I think maybe I do.

J.K.: Well, I might just take pictures anyway. Just to have them. I brought the macro. I can't believe I had the foresight.

M.M.: I'll show you a lovely picture of my grandfather as an older man, with whiskers. Mother said the one thing that upset him was that here he had a face that just burst and could never heal. And would bleed. And this was so embarrassing to him, you know, this is why - in a sense - he shut himself off.

J.K.: The one whose chin is missing?

M.M.: Yes.

J.K.: It was blown off in the Civil War?

M.M.: Right.

E.C.: Here's an 1870s map. It's very hard to see, since I copied it. Here's the house and here is the ruins of Lord Baltimore's house.

M.M.: That's about right.

E.C.: Where would you put the fort?

M.M.: Well, down by the water. Actually, about in there. But I would have thought, from the way father said, that this thing came way up to here...

E.C.: It may. Yeah, it's possible.

M.M.: ...and then swung around. And where the creek goes into the land, there was a point. It came...this divided just like that. It came up here and it came up here. And on this point I remember was the Dent's house.

E.C.: Right.

M.M.: And then Hodgekins lived up there on that point. But you see, as I knew the place, the road...this was the line of the house, like that. And that was the property and this was the...

E.C.: And this was all gardens?

M.M.: What?

E.C.: On both sides was all gardens and pasture?

M.M.: Yes, they were all gardens then. And this was all in...there was an apple orchard out here, back of the ...there was an apple orchard with this house way down in there. Except it wouldn't be that big. This is such a big scale that...

E.C.: Right.

M.M.: It would have been...it was patterned so that it didn't take up too much, and all of this was in grain. And this right near the house was...this other land that went down here...and this was the vegetable garden there, which came up and formed a part and joined this barn and place where the horses were. They were here. And there was a well there, and all the water that we had, the water all came out of that little well. Armstrong Thomas came in one day and he said, "Aunt Lou, Kitty's in

the well." And she said, "Armstrong, you're not to talk like that. I don't like it. You're not allowed to say these things." "Kitty's in the well." Well, she said, "Go upstairs." And she sent him upstairs and he couldn't come down for dinner. But this is the funny thing. Three days went by and no sign of Kitty. And mother shouted, "Armstrong, how did you know Kitty was in the well?" "I put him in there." Oh, Armstrong. Well, that's where the well is, right there. And right next to it, on the edge there of the garden, past the outhouse and vegetable garden, was the smokehouse. That's where it was. And then right outside of that, there would be Aunt Priscilla's house, you see. When you walked to it you went through the woods. The road came down...where would you put it? Oh, that's all right, it's going all the way to here, that's right.

E.C.: This is the 1870s map.

M.M.: Yeah, that was my grandfather's land. This was Bell's land. He was hired by my uncle after he took the place. He was hired - a white man - to run the place.

E.C.: How about...you see it says here, a 'tenant house'...do you know...?

M.M.: Now, where are we?

E.C.: Right here. Right near the ruins. Just south of the ruins.

M.M.: Isn't that interesting. No, I don't remember. This was in 1870?

E.C.: Right.

M.M.: Well, I have no idea. The only house that I remember is that one. Where did the others live? That's so stupid. I never thought of it. Because there were blacks all over the place. They didn't live with Aunt Priscilla. She was an old woman and she had a style. And everybody paid attention to her when she said 'when'. So I don't know. So they probably did live over there. Now that would be logical.

J.K.: Where's that?

M.M.: The tenant house there in the woods.

E.C.: The tenant house by the ruins.

{Tape runs out and conversation is interrupted}

{Beginning of Tape 2}

E.C.: George got, like you said, got the...the lot with the house. So this is Lot Number One. And - I forget which one, James? - said he got Three and his brother only got Two, or vice versa. And eventually George re-acquired all the land.

M.M.: Well, you know, you wonder. I was always told he bought it, period.

E.C.: Well, he bought it from them, yeah.

M.M.: Isn't that something. I knew he wanted to, I knew...I read a lot of stuff from Zarvona's arguments, and I could never see why he thought he had any right to it. When he had been paid for it.

E.C.: Well, I think it was before, and see, as I read the court cases...

M.M.: Oh?

E.C.: ...their mother gave the land to all three of the boys when she died.

M.M.: Yes.

E.C.: And then they went to court to divide up the land. They couldn't decide how to divide it up, and she had said, "You guys split it up", and they couldn't decide, and they went to court and divided it up. And then when Zarvona eventually died, not too long later, and James moved away - like I said -

so George re-acquired the land.

M.M.: Oh, yes.

E.C.: Here's something you might be interested in.

M.M.: I'm interested in anything. I'm fascinated.

E.C.: In 1981 and '82, an archaeologist dug at Lord Baltimore's house at Mattapany and this is just...

M.M.: Isn't that fascinating.

E.C.: ...the result. I'll show you some of the...

M.M.: Isn't that something.

E.C.: ...some of the stuff. Here's a map from the 1670s, and it shows Mattapany - here's Mattapany - and it shows Lord Baltimore's house.

M.M.: Isn't that...

E.C.: Well, it shows the whole Chesapeake Bay, so it's very...

M.M.: Isn't that intriguing.

E.C.: I can show you some of the artifacts and stuff we've found. This is...

M.M.: Oh, isn't that beautiful.

E.C.: I don't know, I don't know if these roads...I guess these roads weren't in existence. This is where he dug. I think it's the fort - he said it was the house. It could be either one, Lord Baltimore's house or the fort. This is closer to the...this is very close to the bank. The bank would have been right up here.

M.M.: Yes, yes.

E.C.: So that's why I think it's the fort. He found...this is where he found the most artifacts. He dug some holes. He found some ditches and stuff like that, that we think might be associated with the fort. Fort ditches, things like that. We're not sure. We're going to go back this winter and do some more work. And then...here's a profile of one of the ditches. You can see it kind of looks like a ditch. And then...I can show you some artifacts. We have some neat artifacts. We found this pot, this pot, some pipes, all kinds of pottery - lots of pottery, 17th-century pottery, all dates to the 1600s.

M.M.: You know, I'm pleased to see all this, because this is what father talked about - bits and pieces, but you can see why boys would throw that out.

E.C.: Yeah, bits and pieces. This is a bottle, here's a hoe, a buckle. This is a candlestick, a candlestick. You know how you use a candlestick. He also found - I don't know if there's a picture - here's a photograph. This is a piece of window lead - you know, you put the panes into the window lead. Some bottles, some table glass, some brass tacks, dice or a die. And the neat thing - and of course he doesn't show a picture of it in here - he found a gun barrel, and it's filled with lead. They stuffed it with molten lead. He found a bunch of...

M.M.: What for?

E.C.: We're not really sure. Maybe this is a way to store the lead. Take a broken gun barrel and store your extra lead for use to make bullets. He found a lot of bullets and he found gun flints. That's why we think it's the fort. Because we went back last summer and did another survey, beyond where he dug in 1980, and we found an area where there was a tremendous amount of brick on the surface, and we think that's probably the house you went to, that you saw, where that brick is. There's a lot of pottery and stuff around there, so we're going to go back this winter and dig there, see...

M.M.: There was construction of the Naval Air Station over there.

E.C.: Right, see how they've changed it. I mean, this is the creek that you played on.

M.M.: This creek?

E.C.: And this is the site where we've been digging.

M.M.: Yes, well this is the old road, you see. The only one I know anything about. It went on down right to the water, and the water came in to there. And a long, long pier.

E.C.: Let me ask you, did you ever hear of a place called 'Brickhill Point' on the property? It's mentioned in the 17th century as being part of the property, and I've always wondered if maybe that's where the Jesuit area is.

M.M.: No, I don't know.

E.C.: We're looking forward to going back this winter to dig and to try to answer some of these questions about which is the house and which is the fort.

M.M.: Well, I have a friend, Elaine Cochran. That's my mother's family, she was a first cousin. And we decided to get together, because she lives in Calvert County, at Scientists Cliffs.

J.K.: Oh, really?

M.M.: And she is going to come. We have decided we are going down the second or third week in January, as soon as they allow. Usually it's very cold, but there's sort of a spell in there where it's not so bad. And we thought we'd all go down there and spend a week trying to...finding old...finding...trying to locate what we once knew.

E.C.: Well, if you do that, we'd like you to...if you go to Mattapany, we would like to be there.

M.M.: Well, I'll tell you what. You've got to leave name and address. I couldn't remember that.

J.K.: Well, we might be able to help get you to Mattapany. We can tell them that we've met with you and...

M.M.: Well, it would be a great help, I'll tell you right now.

E.C.: We'll be digging there at that time, and so we'll be on base every day, except for the weekends, but we can get you on.

J.K.: I'm sure they'll give you permission.

E.C.: Yeah, we can get you on base, and we can take you out to the house and you could show us around.

J.K.: The admiral might even let you tour it. We haven't met the new admiral.

M.M.: I didn't know...

J.K.: The old admiral, who just left - was it a year ago? - his wife was wonderful. She loved history, and she loved Mattapany, and I know she would have been delighted to have you there. I haven't met the new admiral's wife, but I'm supposed to call her, and Kyle got after me because I hadn't called her.

M.M.: {Reading from a history of Mattapany} They called it 'Mattapany-Sewall', but it wasn't 'Mattapany-Sewall'.

E.C.: It was known as 'Mattapany-Sewall' when the Sewalls lived there - they called it that. When the Thomases moved in, they dropped the 'Sewall'.

M.M.: That's right, it was later. Well, you're talking about Leonard Calvert. What are we talking

about?

E.C.: No, Charles.

J.K.: Charles.

M.M.: Charles?

E.C.: Charles.

J.K.: Yeah.

M.M.: That's the one you're talking about.

J.K.: Charles was his...Leonard was his uncle.

E.C.: Yeah, Leonard was Charles' uncle.

M.M.: Charles Calvert was the son of Cecilius.

J.K.: Right, and Cecil was the Second Lord Baltimore.

E.C.: Right, Charles was the Third Lord Baltimore.

M.M.: Charles Calvert was the third one, his father was...he succeeded his father in 1675. That's late.

E.C.: Uh-huh.

M.M.: He married Henry Sewall's widow. And he moved from St. John's, his house at St. Mary's - I never heard it called 'St. John's' - and he used Mattapany-Sewall as his primary residence. Well, he moved down to Mattapany in '84. So he owned and lived there, you see, he owned and lived there from '66 to '84.

E.C.: Right, he moved back to England in '84.

M.M.: Now that's an awfully short time.

J.K.: But it's a longer time than any of the other Baltimores lived in Maryland. You know he was...I guess he was...

E.C.: He's the only one...

J.K.: Who actually lived here, even though it was only eighteen years.

M.M.: And then he died, and that's when it then became the Sewall property. Isn't that interesting. It didn't become that until after he died.

E.C.: Right. Well see, he married a Sewall, so...

M.M.: He married the widow.

J.K.: Jane. Yeah.

E.C.: Henry Sewall first got the property, and then Charles married his widow and moved in. Henry Sewall probably built the original house. It's not clear yet.

M.M.: Yes, yes, I know. That's probably it.

E.C.: Then his son, Nicholas - Major Nicholas Sewall - acquired it. It was...the Calverts re-granted it to Major Sewall in 1722.

M.M.: Oh really? So they had it much longer than I thought they had. They had it over a hundred years.

E.C.: Right.

M.M.: She got "Charles' Gift".

E.C.: Right.

M.M.: Eleven hundred acres at Cedar Point.

E.C.: It became more commonly known as 'Cedar Point'. It's also known as 'Little Eltonhead Manor' before that, but its recent name...

J.K.: The lighthouse - the Cedar Point Lighthouse...

E.C.: Right.

J.K.: Do you remember Cedar Point Lighthouse? When you went down there as a child.

M.M.: I lose track. I thought Cedar Point was the one on the north side of the Patuxent.

E.C.: That's Drum Point.

J.K.: That's Drum Point, yeah.

M.M.: So Cedar Point is...

J.K.: On the south side.

E.C.: South side.

J.K.: South of Mattapany, past Susquehanna. Yeah.

M.M.: How is Susquehanna south of it?

E.C.: Here is Cedar Point. Here is Mattapany. Susquehanna is up here.

M.M.: And then Drum Point would be up here.

E.C.: Right.

J.K.: Down at Cedar Point...Arundel Sand and Gravel had bought it, and they started mining it for gravel, and that's basically what did the lighthouse in. The lighthouse is still there, but it's out in the middle of the water. It's decaying. But you know it changed the whole course of the shoreline. I'd love to get a picture of you if I can.

M.M.: I don't know whether it would be good or not.

J.K.: Well I do, and I think you're more than worth a picture.

M.M.: Well I don't. I look like hell. I certainly won't deny you anything.

J.K.: {Laughter}

M.M.: Well, I'm very much interested in the report. This is interesting. I'll have to spend some time with you when I do come down there.

J.K.: That would be great.

E.C.: We'd love you to.

M.M.: {Reading} Charles Calvert, son of Cecilius, '75. '66 when he moved in there.

J.K.: In fact, I'm going...when I get back, I'll get back in touch with you before Christmas. These things, as you know...you have to leave your name, but I'm going to call Kyle and I'm going to try to set something up so you can come down.

M.M.: I can't think of anything nicer. This friend of mine has a place at...we always stay down there whenever we can. {Pause for telephone}.

M.M.: I'm trying to get all these things done.

J.K.: Uh-huh.

M.M.: And I've written, as I've said, I've done my grandparents - the Thomases. Researched historical records of them. Such fun. There's the picture I know.

J.K.: Who is this?

M.M.: That was George Thomas. You know of George Thomas?

J.K.: Yeah.

M.M.: I think that's lovely, and that was taken after he was older and could grow a beard. And that's when my father knew Mattapany. But I have the other one, of the young man in the Civil War, and one when his wife was young. It's just arbitrary - I just picked the pictures up.

J.K.: So this is your grandfather.

M.M.: That's my grandfather.

J.K.: Can I take a picture of this? Are these...I wrote down what was on the back of these others, so I need to...I need to get you to tell me just how they were related to you, and that kind of thing. Do you have any of the ruins themselves, or did you ever take any of the...? I mean, I know it was just a hole in the...

M.M.: No, no, I never took any pictures, never had any photos of it. I still don't know why we...you know, we never did.

J.K.: I remember when I got my first camera, I was like, you know, a big ordeal. And now you can buy one of those disposables. I mean, kids can go into...

M.M.: Well, I don't know. These kids, all they do is drive me absolutely up the wall. So much material I have on this family, that's the problem. All this is related to the family. This is Eleanor coming to visit. That's Eleanor Carroll.

J.K.: You have a picture of her?

M.M.: Just this one. You see, a picture...it's so hard to know...this is the story of my...How do you put all this stuff together? You see, this is the story of my whole...well, in reality, just about all of me.

J.K.: Uh-huh.

M.M.: And you keep trying to put these things together. And anyhow, it's kind of fun - it is fun.

End of interview