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THE FOUNDING OF ST. MARY'S CITY

"IT IS AS BRAUE A PIECE OF GROUND to set down on as most is in the Countrey, & I suppose as good, (if not much better) than the primest parcell of *English* ground." So an early propagandist described St. Mary's City, Maryland, the fourth permanent English settlement on the mainland of North America (Figure 1—see also Figure 2).¹ We could wish he had added more details, however, for the exact location of the landing place and first settlement are still in doubt. The records of the colony before 1636/1637 (dates so expressed indicate year on old/new calendar) are lost, and the gap is filled by little more than a few letters and printed accounts, luckily most of them by known participants. These leave unresolved many questions.

THE ORIGINAL NARRATIVES

Our information about the first expedition comes essentially from six sources.² First is the "Relatio Itineris in Marylandium," written about the end of April 1634, and presumed to be the work of Father Andrew White, S.J., a member of this first group. The original "Relatio" has not been found. In 1832 Father William McSherry, S.J., found a copy in the archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome and made a transcript, copies of which were published in *The Woodstock Letters* in 1872,³ and in 1874 by the Maryland Historical Society.⁴ Father Thomas Hughes printed the "Relatio" again (working directly from the manuscript in Rome) in his *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*. The latter is probably the most accurate printed text available.⁵

Father Hughes at first supposed that the manuscript in the archives in Rome was a copy made in

the 1820s or 1830s and that Henry Foley, S.J., who had printed a translation in 1878, had been responsible for various markings found on it in another hand. Father Hughes so informed the editors of *The Calvert Papers*.⁶ In his *History*, however, he tells us that this document was in existence in the 1660s, when Father Nathaniel Southwell put it together with excerpts from other annual letters to form a narrative of the Maryland mission.⁷ Although a copy, it is nearly contemporary with the original.

The second source is "A Briefe Relation of the Voyage into Maryland," a manuscript in the Maryland Historical Society. It was found with correspondence between Leonard Calvert and Sir Richard Lechford, one of his partners in the financing of the first voyage to Maryland, and appears to be that "more exact journall of all our voyage" Calvert alludes to in his first letter to Lechford from Maryland, dated 30 May 1634.⁸ This manuscript was printed in *The Calvert Papers, Number Three*⁹ and in *Narratives of Early Maryland*.¹⁰ There is no certain proof that Father White wrote either the "Relatio" or the "Briefe Relation." Internal evidence, however, makes it clear that both were written by a priest, and historians have concluded that since Father White was then head of the mission, his authorship is the most likely.¹¹ One version he wrote for his superiors in Rome, the other for Governor Calvert. Both accounts were doubtless based on a log or journal that he kept throughout the voyage. Copies of both were probably sent to Cecil Calvert.

The third contemporary account, *A Relation of the Successful Beginnings of Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Maryland*, was published in London

in 1634. It appears to be a loose transcription of Father White's narratives with some cuts and some additional comments that may come from other letters. Beginning with the arrival of the ships in Virginia, it follows the "Briefe Relation" and the "Relatio" nearly sentence for sentence, sometimes paraphrasing one more closely than the other, but with greater dependence upon the "Relatio."¹² The narrative section of this pamphlet (which includes the conditions of plantation) was reprinted in 1865 as *Shea's Early Southern Tracts*, No. 1.¹³

The fourth account is a brief paragraph in the above-mentioned letter of 30 May 1634 from Calvert to Lechford. The fifth is a pamphlet published in 1635 specifically to inform prospective settlers not only of life in the new country but of the equipment they would need, the terms upon which they could acquire land, and so on. Only in recent years has the authorship of Jerome Hawley and John Lewger been proved through discovery of a deposition by William Peasley, Cecil Calvert's brother-in-law.¹⁴ The introductory description of the first expedition and settlement does not conflict in any important particular with Father White's narratives and adds many details, especially for the period after the first month, when both of Father White's accounts end. Since Hawley was also present at these beginnings, his story strengthens Father White's, and vice versa. This pamphlet, *A Relation of Maryland; together, with a Map of the Countrey, the Conditions of Plantation, His Majesties Charter to the Lord Baltimore, Translated into English*,¹⁵ was reprinted in Baltimore in 1865 as *Sabin's Reprints*, Quarto Series, No. II, with an introductory note and appendix by F. L. Hawkes, and then in *Narratives of Early Maryland*.¹⁶

The last account is a "Short Treatise by R[obert] W[intour] in a Letter written to his worthy friend C[aptain] J[ohn] R[eade] September 12, 1636," which in the 1930s was in the Sotheby Papers in private hands in England.¹⁷ The text of this account seems not to have been printed, and I have not examined it.

A few references from later records of the colony supplement these narratives. The most important are the surveys and patents for the town land tracts laid out in 1639 and 1640.

THE ACCOUNTS OF THE LANDING

Late in March 1634, *Ark* and *Dove* (Figure 3) sailed up the St. Mary's River and landed somewhere on the shore of what was to be St. Mary's City. All accounts agree that Leonard Calvert had just purchased the site from the Yoacomico Indians, who had a village there that they were already preparing to abandon.

In all printed versions of the "Relatio," including that of Thomas Hughes, S.J., prepared directly from the copy in the Jesuit archives in Rome, the text which describes the settlement is thus:

In ejus ostio duo usuntur sinus, 300 navium immensae molis capaces. Sinum unum, S^{to} Georgio consecravimus, alterum interius B^{mae} Virgini Mariae. Laeva pars fluminis sedes erat regis Yoacomico; nos ad dexteram excendimus, et ad mille passus a littore avulsi civitati designatae nomen a S^{ta} Maria posuimus.¹⁸

Father White's account (see Figure 4) in English says:

This river makes 2 excellent bayes, wherein might harbour 300 saile of 1000 tunne a peece with very great safetie, the one called St. George's bay, the other, more inward, St. Maries. In the one side of this river lives the King of Yoacomaco, on the other our plantation is seated, about halfe a mile from the water, and our towne we call St. Maries. . . .¹⁹

A Relation of the Successful Beginnings (1634) shows interesting variations from these two texts and an interpolation (shown in brackets):

This river makes two excellent Bayes, for 300 sayle of Shippes of 1000 tunne, to harbour in with great safety. The one Bay we named *St. George's*, the other (and more inward) *Saint Maries*. The King of Yaocomico, dwells on the left-hand or side thereof: & we tooke up our Seate on the right, one mile within the land. [It is as braue a peece of ground to set down as most is in the Countrey, & I suppose as good, (if not much better) than the primest parcell of *English* ground.]

Our Town we call Saint Maries. . . .

This account is dated 27 May 1634 and adds de-

tails at the end not to be found in Father White's narratives:

We have been upon it but one month, and therefore can make no large relation of it. . . . For our own safety, we haue built a good strong Fort or Palizado, & have mounted vpon it one good piece of Ordnance, and 4 Murderers, and haue seuen pieces of Ordnance more, ready to mount forthwith.²⁰

Leonard Calvert's account, dated 30 May, reads thus:

I have found a most conuenient harbour, and pleasant Countrey lying on each side of it, wth many large fields of excellent land, cleared from all wood; on the east side of it we have seated ourselues, wthin one halfe mile of the riuer, wthin a pallizado of one hundred and twentie yarde square, wth fower flankes, we have mounted one peece of ordnance, and placed six murderers in parts most convenient; a fortification (we thinke) sufficient to defend against any such weake enemies as we haue reason to expect here.²¹

Hawley's account, in *A Relation of Maryland* (1635), is too long to quote complete. He is less specific than Father White in describing the two bays and the actual landing, but tells more about the building of the settlement.

The land is good, the ayre wholesome and pleasant, the River affords a safe harbour for Ships of any burthen, and a very bould shore; fresh water and wood there is in greate plenty, and the place so naturally fortified, as with little difficultie it will be defended from any enimie.

The English lived aboard their ships while they constructed a guard house and a store house and unloaded the ships. Governor Calvert then ordered the colors on shore "which were attended by all the Gentlemen, and the rest of the servants in armes; who received the Colours with a volley of shot, which was answered by the Ordnance from the ships." Since the site was one previously occupied by the Indians, there were fields already cleared and the settlers planted corn and English seeds. They had begun to build houses for themselves when a growing unfriendliness on the part of the Indians—created, it was believed, by Wil-

liam Claiborne—led them to concentrate on finishing the fort

where they mounted some Ordnance, and furnished it with some murtherers . . . which being done, they proceeded with their Houses and finished them, with convenient accommodations belonging thereto. . . . They have also set up a Water-mill for the grinding of Corne, adjoining to the Towne. Thus within the space of sixe moneths, was laid the foundation of the Colonie in Maryland.²²

From these narratives we know the following: There were, and are, two bays on the east side of the river; the King of the Yoacomaco lived "on the left"; the English disembarked "on the right"; they went in by one account "ad mille passus a littore"; by another "one mile within the land"; by still another "about halfe a mile from the water"; and by a fourth "wth in one halfe mile of the riuer"; and by the end of May they had constructed a fortified pallisade near or within which the first habitations presumably were built. But the exact sites of the Indian town, of the landing, and of the pallisade remain in doubt.

THE LOCATION OF THE FIRST SETTLEMENT

The archaeological investigations of Dr. Henry Chandlee Forman have established beyond question that several buildings of the seventeenth-century St. Mary's City stood on and near Church Point, the middle point of the three that define the two bays described in the early narratives.²³ He has not as yet, however, published evidence to locate the pallisade with certainty.

We know from contemporary documents only that there was a "fort of St. Mary's" in or near this area by 1638.²⁴ It is possible, although not probable, that the first pallisade and settlement were elsewhere, and that the fort on or near Church Point was the second St. Mary's Fort. The evidence for the location of the pallisade, the Indian town, and the landing place is interdependent. It is thus necessary to consider the evidence all together. (See Figure 5.)

Two scholars of the past have considered the problem in part or in full and have presented theories based on the language of Father White's "Relatio." The first is an unknown annotator of



Figure 1.—Aerial photograph of St. Mary's City area. North is upriver. The town lands are on the east shore. The southernmost promontory is Chancellor's Point; the middle one is Church Point, where the State House of 1676 was built.



Figure 2.—Map showing Chesapeake Bay-Potomac River area of Maryland. The blocked portion at bottom shows St. Mary's River and present location of St. Mary's City.

the "Relatio" as published by the Maryland Historical Society in 1874. He suggests that the Indian King lived on the east bank of the river and accounts for the phrase that he lived "Laeva pars fluminis" by supposing it to mean on the left as the river flowed. He then suggests that the settlers landed on the right ("ad dexteram"), not of the river but of "St. Ignatius's Bay," which may be a nineteenth-century designation of St. George's Bay mentioned in the narratives. He explicitly suggests Chancellor's Point, the lowest of the three points, as the place of debarkation. From there he supposes that the settlers explored on foot or by pinnace for a site for the town.²⁵

James Thomas, in his *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland*,²⁶ adopts a cogent modification of this theory. He starts with the assumption that the pallsade was located on the shore of St. George's Bay by the mouth of the Key Swamp, where he states there were still visible the remains of earthworks at the time that he wrote. This is the traditional site of the pallsade. He then argues that, since the colonists could walk to the Indian village (the first chapel was in an Indian house), it would not have been on the left-hand side of the river as *Ark* and *Dove* sailed up it. When the ships turned to anchor in St. George's Bay, however, Church Point would be on the left and Chancellor's Point on the right. The Indian village must, therefore, have been on Church Point, he reasons, and the settlers must have debarked on Chancellor's Point. Thence they walked inland along the shore for a mile (his translation of *mille passus*) to the site of their town.²⁷

There is plausibility to this theory. Nevertheless, a study of the texts of all the narratives and of the early land records seems to me to shed varying degrees of doubt on the critical points: the location of the pallsade, of the Indian King, and of the first landing.

Let us first examine the notion that the pallsade was on the traditional site, the river bank above the Key Swamp. In 1641 Leonard Calvert had surveyed for himself a tract called "East St. Maries" or the "Governor's Field," which was 100 acres "lying nearest together about y^e fort of St. Maryes." The bounds of this tract are known. They included Church Point and followed the Mill Creek southeast about half a mile to a point whence a line was drawn "westerly" to the

river.²⁸ The traditional site of the pallsade, however, is only partly included. About half of it is either on a tract laid out as town land for the Jesuits, or this "Chapel Land" (as it was sometimes called) borders part of the site on the east. The Jesuit town land was surveyed before Calvert's tract, which might account for land "lying nearest together about y^e fort" being only partly adjacent.²⁹ It seems likely, nevertheless, that the Governor had first choice of a site, and that any previous surveys had taken his wishes into account. The "fort" should be within his tract.

The boundaries given in 1639 for the Chapel Land are even more puzzling, for they make no mention of the "fort." They refer only to the Governor's Field, "St. Peter's Freehold," and "The White House" as adjoining tracts on the north, east, and south, respectively. The western call is described as a "Swamp in St. George's River, called the Key Swamp."³⁰ The swamp has disappeared, and its traces are mostly inland. Since we know, however, that by 1757 several acres of the adjoining tract, The White House, were under water,³¹ it is likely that the Key Swamp once extended below the present steep bluff but has also become part of the river. Had the pallsade been standing above it here, one would have expected that fact to be noted in the survey for the Chapel Land. Instead, a fort is mentioned only in the survey to the Governor's Field, with the strong implication that the tract surrounded this "fort."³²

One obscurity, however, could conceal an allusion to a fort partly on the Jesuit town land, provided the pallsade had been at least partly destroyed by 1641. In Calvert's survey (1641), the common boundary of the Governor's Field with the Chapel Land is "a right line drawn Westerly from the Said Angle [formed by the Chapel Land and St. Peter's Freehold] unto St. George's River Where the Vale [in one copy, or the rail in another copy] formerly began." In the second survey (1641) for the Jesuit's grant, the common boundary is "a right line drawn from the top of the hill on the North Side of the said Swamp [Key Swamp] where the Vayle heretofore Stood unto that part of the Mill Brook where the freehold of St. Peter's ends"; and in a patent of confirmation (1667) for this tract copied from the survey the word "Vayle" is written "rayle."³³ The

surveys of 1641 exist only in copies made in 1717 and 1724 from Proprietary Liber F, now lost.³⁴ The possibility exists that the original word was pail or pale, which could have been reference to the former pallisade. But if so, why was it partly on the Chapel Land; and if, instead, the pallisade was between the Chapel Land and the river, why was the boundary of this tract given as a swamp in the river? (See Figure 6).

The early narratives also create difficulties. A literal reading would force us to suppose that the pallisade was not even near the water. One translation of the "Relatio" gives to "ad mille passus a littore avulsi civitati designatae Nomen a S^{te} Maria posuimus" the reading "having advanced about a thousand paces from the shore, we gave the name of St. Mary's to the intended city"; another reads more gracefully "going in about a mile from the shore, we laid out the plan of a city, naming it after St. Mary."³⁵ The "Briefe Relation" specifies that "our plantation is seated about halfe a mile from the water"; the *Relation of the Successful Beginnings* says "one mile within the land." Whatever the distance was, only Leonard Calvert's version, "wth in one halfe mile of the riuer," stretches to a waterfront site; for the open river, as opposed to the Bay, can be interpreted as beginning at the end of Church and Chancellor's Points. We might suppose that the "city" was inland and the pallisade on the river bank, but Leonard Calvert is explicit; "We have seated ourselves . . . wth in a pallizado."³⁶ The pallisade and the town must be one and the same. Either the pallisade was somewhere inland, or the accounts refer to distances from the landing place, not the bank of the river or bay.

The narratives disagree as to the distance the colonists seated themselves from the shore or landing place, but these discrepancies can be resolved. A good Latinist like Father White, it is true, should have meant by *mille passus* a mile. If we assume, however, that he intended literally 1,000 paces or 2,500 feet or nearly half a mile,³⁷ he is then in agreement both with himself in his English narrative and with Governor Calvert. There then remains only the *Relation of the Successful Beginnings* to explain away. This is not an original document, nor do we know who prepared it. The likelihood of its being in error in such a detail is far greater than the likelihood that both

Leonard Calvert and Father White mispoke themselves and in the same words. It appears, in fact, from the language of the whole passage that the pamphlet at this point borrowed from the Latin version of Father White's narrative and that the translator mistakenly interpreted *mille passus* to mean a mile.

Despite various problems, the traditional site partly on Chapel Land makes some sense. The tradition is likely to be based on the long existence of physical remains, whether or not the "entrenchments" mentioned by Thomas represented actual vestiges. There would be no reason, furthermore, to carry the supplies from the ships inland; a fortified storage spot near the shore would be the logical choice. At one time the topography fitted what we know about the pallisade reasonably well, although part of the river bank has been destroyed in digging for gravel. A pallisade 120 yards square would have fronted on a bluff above the river and marsh. A drop to the Key Branch on the south side and a short declivity on part of the north side would have offered some additional natural protection. A reference in an act of Assembly of 1638/1639 lends support to Thomas' location. It sets the rendezvous for the militia in an alarm at "the Chappel yeard neere the fort."³⁸

This site seems less plausible, however, if we consider the advantages of the steep three-sided bluff on Church Point itself as the location of the pallisade. Surely this is the spot that would have first attracted the Governor's attention and most appealed to him. The guns would command the water both north and south. At the same time, a quick retreat to the ships, unimpeded by marsh, would be possible, and danger from the land would come from only one direction. Jerome Hawley's description of the site as "naturally fortified" would better fit this physical location,³⁹ and the Governor's Field certainly "lies nearest together" around it. What reason would Governor Calvert have had for overlooking this site in favor of the one above the Key Swamp?

On the other hand, this site is not a half mile, much less a mile, in from any body of water or any probable landing place. It is little more than a quarter mile from the tip of Church Point. There is the possibility that Church Point may once have had a long spit such as now terminates Horseshoe Point, just above. If there was no such

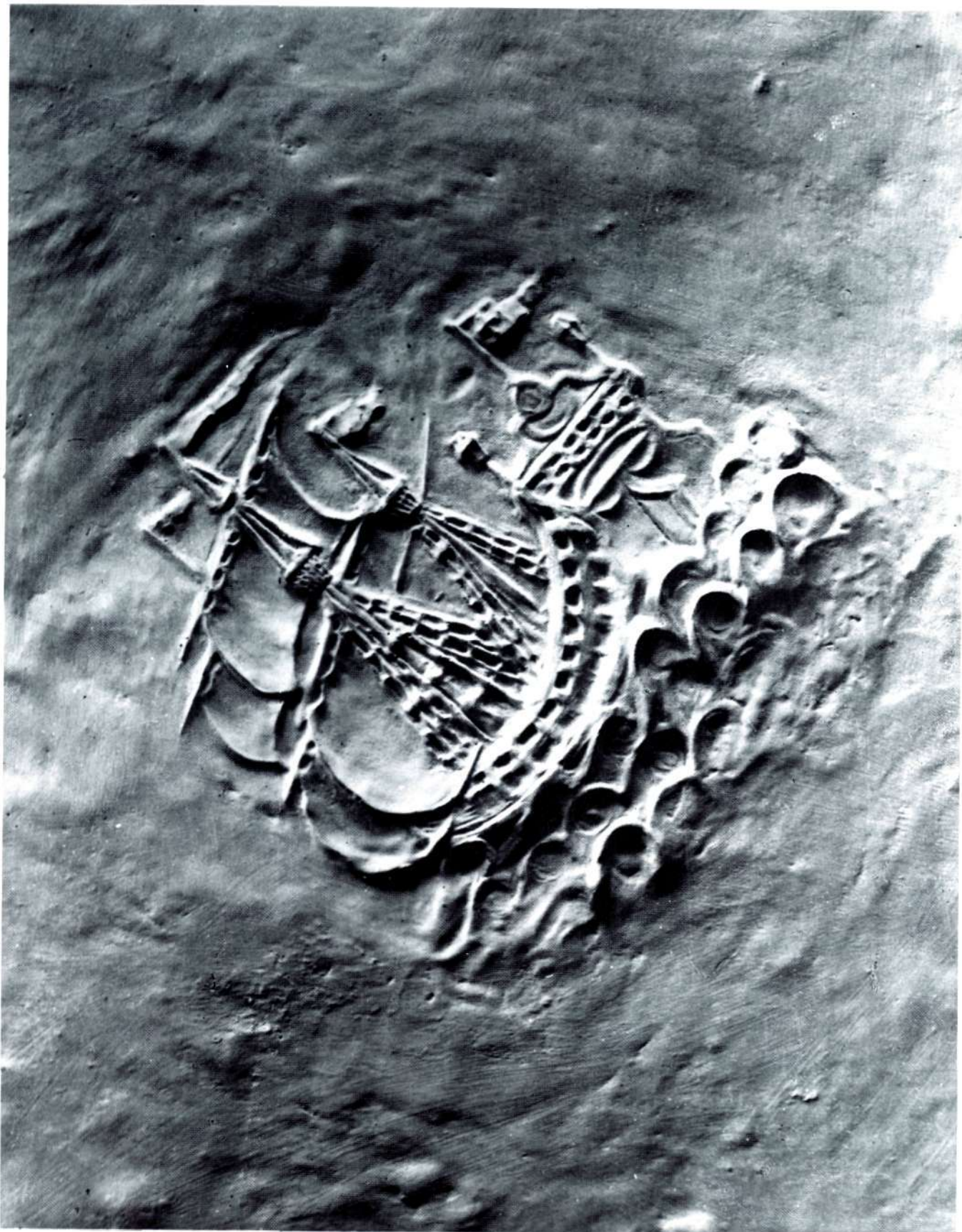
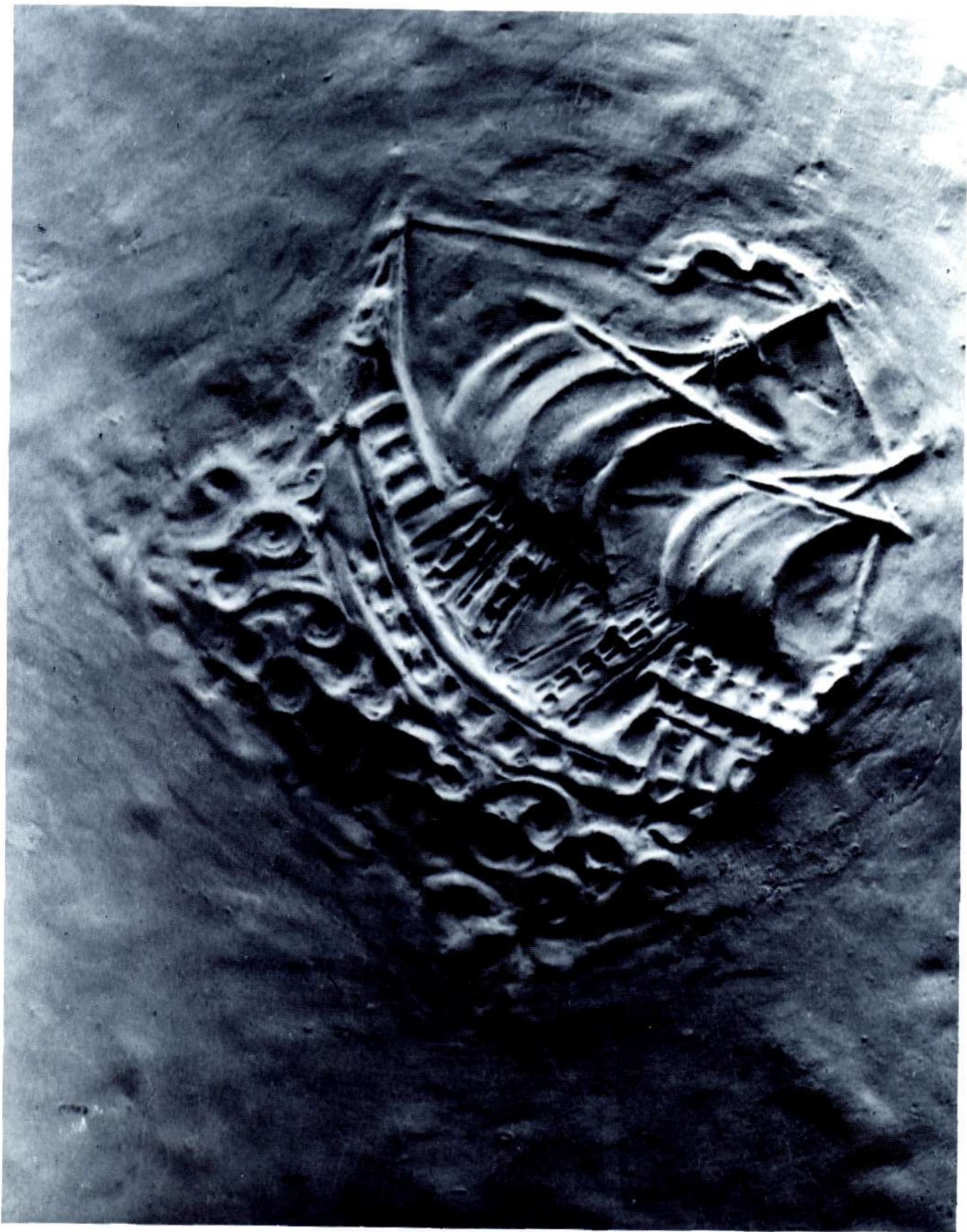
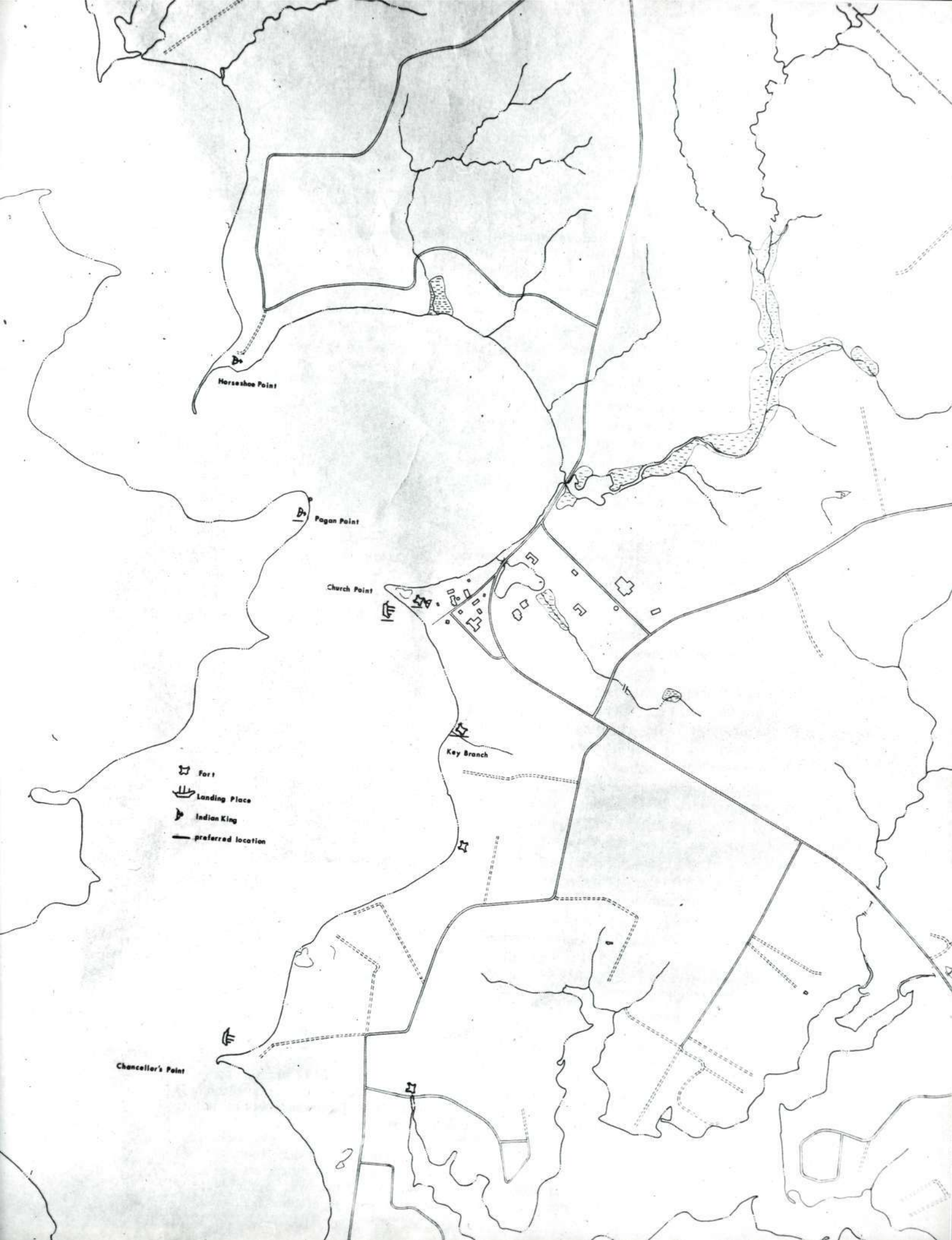


Figure 3.—Plaster reliefs of seventeenth-century ships on a ceiling at Hook Manor, Wiltshire, England. Cecil and Anne Arundel Calvert owned and occupied this house when the expedition sailed. It is believed that these reliefs were intended to represent *Ark* (above) and *Dove* (right).





Horseshoe Point

Pagan Point

Church Point

Key Branch

Chancellor's Point

-  Fort
-  Landing Place
-  Indian King
-  preferred location

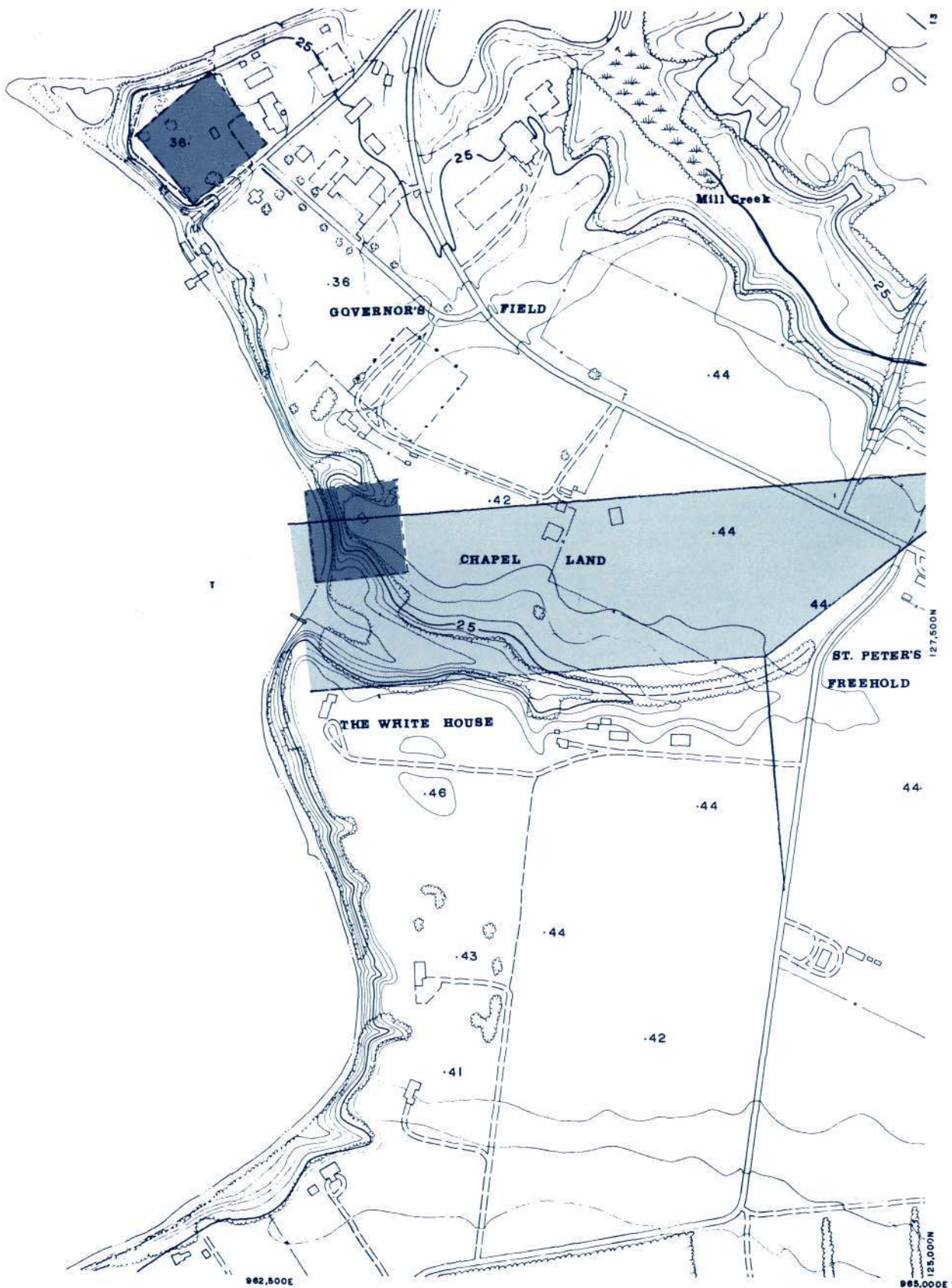


Figure 6.—Map of the area from Church Point to the Key Branch showing the present topography, probable tract boundaries of 1640, and possible locations of the pallisade (squares in deeper color). The south boundary of the Governor's Field runs through the middle of the traditional pallisade site by Key Branch, instead of enclosing it, as the language of the tract survey states it should. In placing the tract boundary, all information available about all the town land tracts was considered, and allowance was made for the magnetic declination from true north at the date of the survey. From late eighteenth-century plats it has been possible to make a rough estimate of the erosion of the river bank that may have occurred since 1640. The dot-dash lines show a possible pallisade site of nearly correct size as indicated by aerial photographs taken since this article was written. Note that this site is nearly a half mile from the north side of Church Point.

spit, the traditional site, a half mile along the shore from the present point, better fits the descriptions in the early narratives. Or the pallisade may have been literally inland on the Governor's Field (see Figure 6).

Given any of these sites for the pallisade—at the Key Branch, on Church Point, or inland from there on the Governor's Field—the designation of Chancellor's Point as the landing place seems to me doubtful because it is too far away. The distance is at least a mile and a half from the Key Branch and farther from the Governor's Field. Leonard Calvert had arrived before the settlers and must have already selected his site.⁴⁰ Why would he have allowed them to debark a mile and a half to two miles away when Church Point was much closer? The likelihood that the distance traveled was in fact a half mile, not a mile, further weakens Thomas' argument. Supposing we accept his location for the pallisade, he might argue that it was by very rough estimate a mile from Chancellor's Point,⁴¹ but to say that it was roughly a half mile seems a statement impossible to justify.

Local residents have explained a landing on Chancellor's Point by the supposition that here then, as now, the water was deep close to the shore, enabling even *Ark* to debark its people close to the beach. Others have suggested that the ascent to the bluff was more gradual from there, making easier the hauling of stores. We know, however, that in 1824 waters very close to the tip of Church Point were fourteen feet deep, or more, and are still this deep nearly 150 years later.⁴² (See Figure 7). The chances seem good, therefore, that in 1634, also, there was water here sufficient to float *Ark*. Given this, plus the other evidence that favors Church Point, the possible advantages of an easier haul for stores seems ground too weak to support the theory of a landing at Chancellor's Point.

If the settlers landed on Church Point rather than Chancellor's Point, where, then, was the seat of the Indian King? There are two possibilities. The most probable is suggested by the literal wording of the early narratives. The "Relatio" states that the Indian King lived on the left side of the river: "laeva pars fluminus." Surely Father White is speaking of the left side as *Ark* and *Dove* sailed toward the site of St. Mary's City from

the Potomac; he is hardly likely to mean left as the river flowed, the theory of the annotator of his text. His English text, furthermore, tells us that the Indians and the English lived on opposite sides of the river. If he had meant one of the bays instead, as Thomas suggests, surely he would have said so. Both versions mention that some Indians were to remain until the following year, and *the Relation of Maryland* (1635) speaks of the town as in parts: The King and his men "freely gave consent that Hee [Leonard Calvert] and his company should dwell on one part of their Towne, and reserve the other for themselves."⁴³ It seems plausible that the natives who stayed lived on the left or west bank of the river, leaving the part of the village on the right or east bank—perhaps previously abandoned—to the whites. The narrative of 1635 speaks of the frequent visits of the Indians, including women and children, to the English settlement, but such visits could have been made by canoe, or perhaps a few Indians remained in the part of the town on the east bank. In 1663 Pagan Point, across from Church Point, was called "the Indian Poynt."⁴⁴ (See Figures 8 and 9).

The other possible location for the seat of the Indian King is Horseshoe Point, the northernmost of the three points that create the two bays of the river. If the ships anchored in St. Mary's rather than St. George's Bay, the English could have landed on the right on Church Point and still have walked a half mile to the site of the pallisade. If so, however, Father White is still guilty of speaking of the river when he meant the bay.

Until more evidence is available, I suggest the following as the most probable sequence of events: *Ark* and *Dove* sailed up the St. Mary's River to Church Point, which may then have stretched farther into the river. The Indian village occupied land on both sides of the river here, and the Indian King lived on the west or left side. The colonists debarked near the tip of Church Point on the right and walked a half mile to a spot either on the Governor's Field or on the bluff above the Key Swamp. There they established their pallisade and built their first shelters.

This account gives maximum credence to the exact wording of the early narratives, especially those known to be the work of actual participants. A landing on Chancellor's Point requires us to

explain away three parts of Father White's accounts; a landing on Church Point raises problems with respect only to one part. Father White said the Indian King lived on the left or opposite side of the river; Thomas says he must have meant the bay. Father White said the English seated themselves a half mile (or *mille passus*) from the water (or *a littore*); Thomas has to account for a distance that is at least one and a half miles. Admittedly, however, we must in any case stretch Father White's texts to account for the location of the pallisade on the shore rather than inland. Perhaps we do not yet know the real location. (See Figure 6.)

A new set of possibilities arises if we abandon the idea that the pallisade was the St. Mary's Fort mentioned by 1638 and referred to in Leonard Calvert's survey of 1641. Two other forts are mentioned in the early records, St. Inigoes and St. Thomas's Forts. The first references to St. Inigoes Fort occur in Leonard Calvert's order of 28 August 1642, that required settlers who lived between St. Inigoes Creek and Trinity Creek to remove because of Indian alarms.⁴⁵ Cannon that must have been mounted in a fort were recovered from the river off Fort Point in the early nineteenth century and it seems certain that this was the location of St. Inigoes Fort.⁴⁶ (See Figure 10.) From here the guns commanded the lower St. Mary's River. The language of the narratives does not lend itself in any way to such a location for the first settlement. St. Inigoes Fort was doubtless soon constructed as a protection against marauders from the water, but it was not the pallisade.⁴⁷

There are only passing references to St. Thomas's Fort. These are in the Assembly and Provincial Court records for 1647 and 1648. Sometime in 1647, Joseph Edloe deposed that he had heard Leonard Calvert say that he would replace the ox "he had killed of hers [Blanch, widow of Roger Oliver] at S^t Thomas ffort" with another as good;⁴⁸ and in January 1647/1648 "Nicholas Gwyther brought in account upon oath of his labo^r since the taking of S^t Thomas' ffort untill the last of Novembe^r 1646."⁴⁹ Now Roger Oliver had patented the tract "St. Peter's Key," a fifty-acre strip that ran north from St. Peter's Key (now Lucas) Creek.⁵⁰ If the settlers first landed on Chancellor's Point and walked inland a half mile, they would have built the pal-

lisade on this tract. Whether or not Oliver built a house here, the chances are good that his widow pastured livestock in the area. By 1646, indeed if not by 1638, the Fort of St. Mary's was certainly on or near the traditional site, but it could have replaced an earlier defense near the head of St. Peter's Key Creek, which could then have been renamed St. Thomas's. Such a theory, however, places a heavy burden upon a few casual words. As yet there is no reason otherwise to locate any fort in this area.

Another possibility is that St. Thomas's Fort was on the southern edge of Giles Brent's tract, The White House. In 1705, Charles Carroll had surveyed a tract of 224 acres or more that included Chancellor's Point and began at "the bound red oake now bounded, standing near the old Fort in the white house field to the westward of the said fort and on the bank of St. Mary's River then down & with the said river. . . ."⁵¹ Since The White House was also called St. Thomas's Freehold,⁵² possibly the "old Fort" was St. Thomas's Fort. We know also that when Giles Brent had The White House surveyed in 1639, part of the southern bound was along a "Close now hedged in" that ran to the river.⁵³ Perhaps he had hedges and fortifications sufficient to lend the title "fort" to his close and house; or perhaps this was not St. Thomas's Fort, but the remains of his close and its buildings had come to be called "the old Fort."

Supposing, however, that here is the location of St. Thomas's Fort, there is both difficulty and plausibility in assuming that this was originally the first St. Mary's pallisade. The distances fit, since the site is about a mile from both Church and Chancellor's Points and a half mile inward from the open river. On the other hand, the pallisade that Leonard Calvert describes could hardly have been demoted to a "close" within five years of its construction, and it is hard to see what advantage there would have been in moving it from this spot to the traditional site or to an inland site on the Governor's Field. The point of the bluff on Church Point would have offered an improved military position, but what reason would there have been not to select it in the first place? These same arguments militate against a possible site on the adjoining "Sister's Freehold," also called "St. Thomas's Lot,"⁵⁴ upon which the ac-

tual beginning point of the Chancellor's Point tract seems to fall when platted.

In the absence of provincial records before 1637, which might determine the matter, the assumption that the St. Mary's Fort of 1637/1638 is the palisade the settlers built upon their first arrival seems best to fit the known facts. Given this assumption, the conclusions discussed earlier seem the most probable: that the palisade stood on or near the bluff in the Church Point area, that the landing place was near the tip of Church Point, and that the Indian King was located on the west bank of the St. Mary's River. Nevertheless, new documents or archaeological investigation may uncover a different story.

NOTES

Lois Green Carr (Mrs. Jack L. Carr) is Historian, St. Mary's City Commission, a Maryland State agency charged with preserving and developing St. Mary's City as a historic area. She is also writing a book on local institutions in Maryland about 1700 and how they reflected and influenced the society they served.

1. See p. 78 above.

2. With these six narratives of the settlement the "Declaratio Coloniae Domini Baronis de Baltimore" should be mentioned—in manuscript in the archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome—and its counterpart in English, *A Declaration of the Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Maryland . . .* (London, 1633). Historians believe these may also have been the work of Father White, but they are not here considered because they were written before *Ark* and *Dove* set sail and tell us nothing of the early events in Maryland. See introduction by Lawrence Wroth to the facsimile edition of *A Declaration . . .* (Baltimore, 1929).

3. I (1872), 12–24, 71–70, 145–155; II (1873), 1–13.

4. Fund Publication No. 7 (Baltimore, 1874).

5. 4 vols. (London, 1907–1917), *Documents*, Part I, 94–107. The first translation of the "Relatio" was made by N. C. Brooks from a copy of Father McSherry's transcript and printed in *Tracts and Other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, From the Discovery of the Countrey to the Year 1776*, comp. Peter Force, Vol. IV, No. 12 (Washington, D. C., 1846). A revision of this translation appeared in the *Woodstock Letters of 1872 and 1873* (see Note 3). The Latin text that accompanies this translation may have been prepared from a copy of the transcript still housed with the papers of the Society of Jesus, Maryland-New York Province, now at the Provincial Residence, 5704 Roland Avenue, Baltimore. There are, however, slight variations in spelling and punctuation between the printed Latin text and this copy of the transcript. The identifying number for this transcript is 3 T 1. All records cited

hereafter of the Maryland-New York Province are at the Provincial Residence. In 1874 the Maryland Society Fund Publication No. 7 printed a new translation by J. Holmes Converse made from a corrupted copy of Father McSherry's transcript, now also in the Maryland-New York Province Archives (3 T 1). For a discussion of these two translations and their histories, see Wroth's introduction to the facsimile edition of *Declaration* cited in Note 2. A third translation, made from the manuscript in the archives in Rome, appears in Henry Foley, S.J., *The Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, Vol. III (London, 1878), 339–361.

6. *The Calvert Papers, Number Three*, Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 35 (Baltimore, 1899), 8, 49–50.

7. *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Text*, I, 63.

8. *Calvert Papers, Number Three*, 23.

9. Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 35 (Baltimore, 1899), 26–45.

10. Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, a volume in J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Original Narratives of Early American History* (volumes unnumbered, New York, 1910), 29–45.

11. *Calvert Papers, Number Three*, 8–9.

12. The account of the mass held on St. Clement's Island on Annunciation Day, 1634, provides an example of how the three accounts resemble and differ from one another. Here the printed version follows most closely the Latin version of the narrative. The "Briefe Relation" reads: "In this place on our b: Ladies day in lent, we first offered, erected a crosse, and with devotion tooke solemne possession of the Country." The "Relatio" says: "Die Annunciationis S^{mae} Virginis Mariae, primum in hac insula litavimus: id in hac coeli regione nunquam antea factum. Sacrificio peracto, sublata in humero ingenti cruce quam ex arbore dedolaveramus, ad locum designatum ordine procedentes, praefecto et commissariis caeterisque catholicis adjuvantibus, trophaeum Christo Servatori ereximus, litanis S^{tae} Crucis, humiliter flexis genibus magna animorum commotione recitatis." In the Fund Publication No. 7 the passage is translated thus: "On the day of the Annunciation of the Most Holy Virgin Mary in the year 1634 we celebrated the mass for the first time, on this island. This had never been done before in this part of the world. After we had completed the sacrifice, we took upon our shoulders a great cross, which we had hewn out of a tree, and advancing in order to the appointed place, with the assistance of the Governor and his associates and the other Catholics, we erected a trophy to Christ the Saviour, humbly reciting, on our bended knees, the Litanies of the Sacred Cross, with great emotion." Hughes, *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Documents*, I, 10; *Relatio Itineris in Marylandiam. . . . Narrative of Voyage into Maryland . . .*, Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 7 (Baltimore, 1874), 32–33. *The Relation of the Successful Beginnings* (in *Shea's Early Southern Tracts*, No. 1, 8–9), tells: "Heere we went to a place, where a large tree was made into a Crosse; and taking it on our shoulders, wee carried it to the place appointed for it. The Gouernor and Commissioners putting their hands first unto it, then the rest

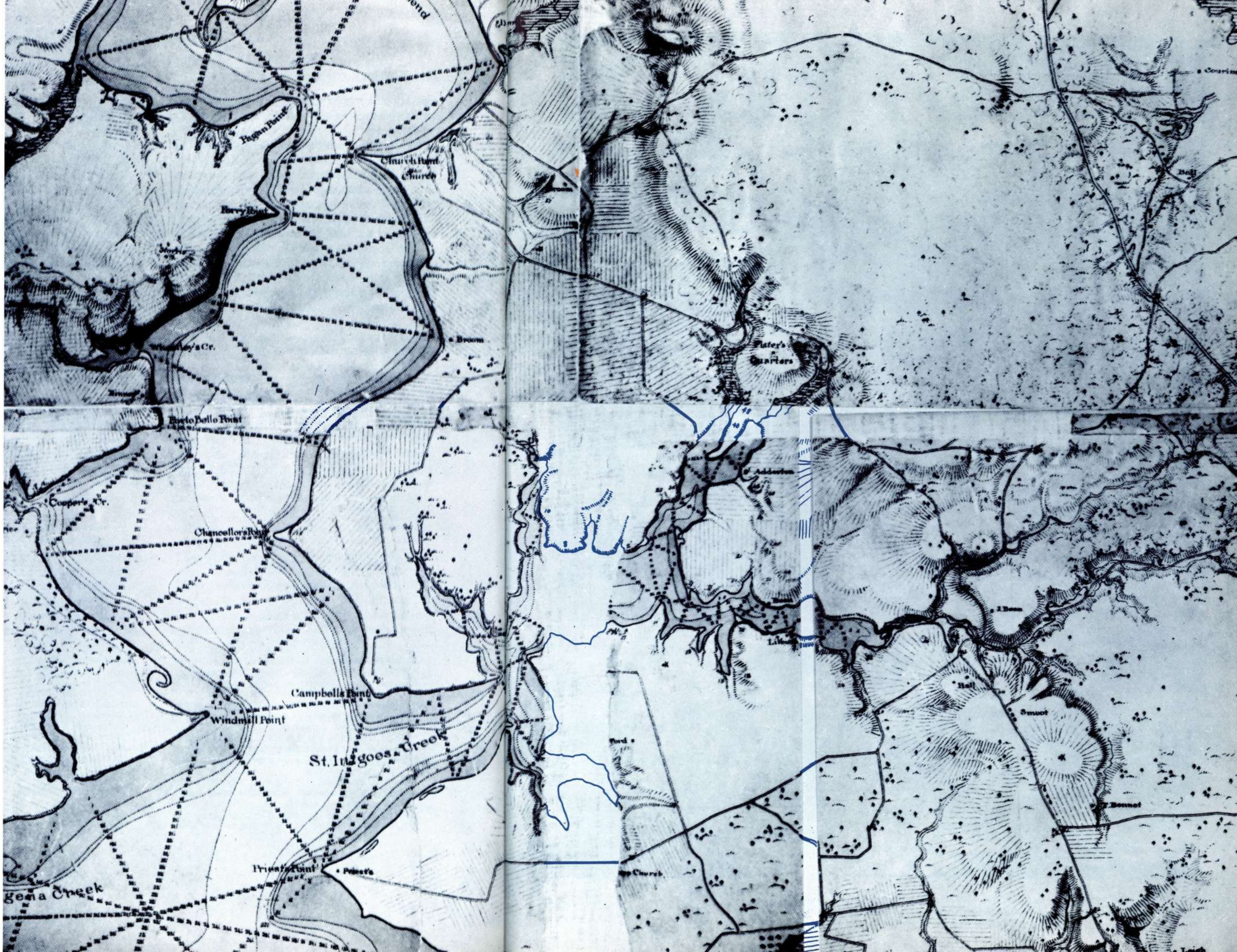


Figure 7.—Map of the St. Mary's City area, detail of map of the St. Mary's and Patuxent Rivers prepared by United State Army Engineers in 1824. Although there is considerable overall distortion, it is more accurate in some outlines of the shore than any state topographical map available before the advent of aerial photography. This is a manuscript map, apparently never published. The center portion is an artist's reconstruction from a tracing of the original, shown in color.



Figure 8.—John White's Indian Chieftain of the Albemarle Sound area, painted in 1585 and engraved by Theodore De Bry in 1590, probably resembled the Yoacomico King in general appearance.

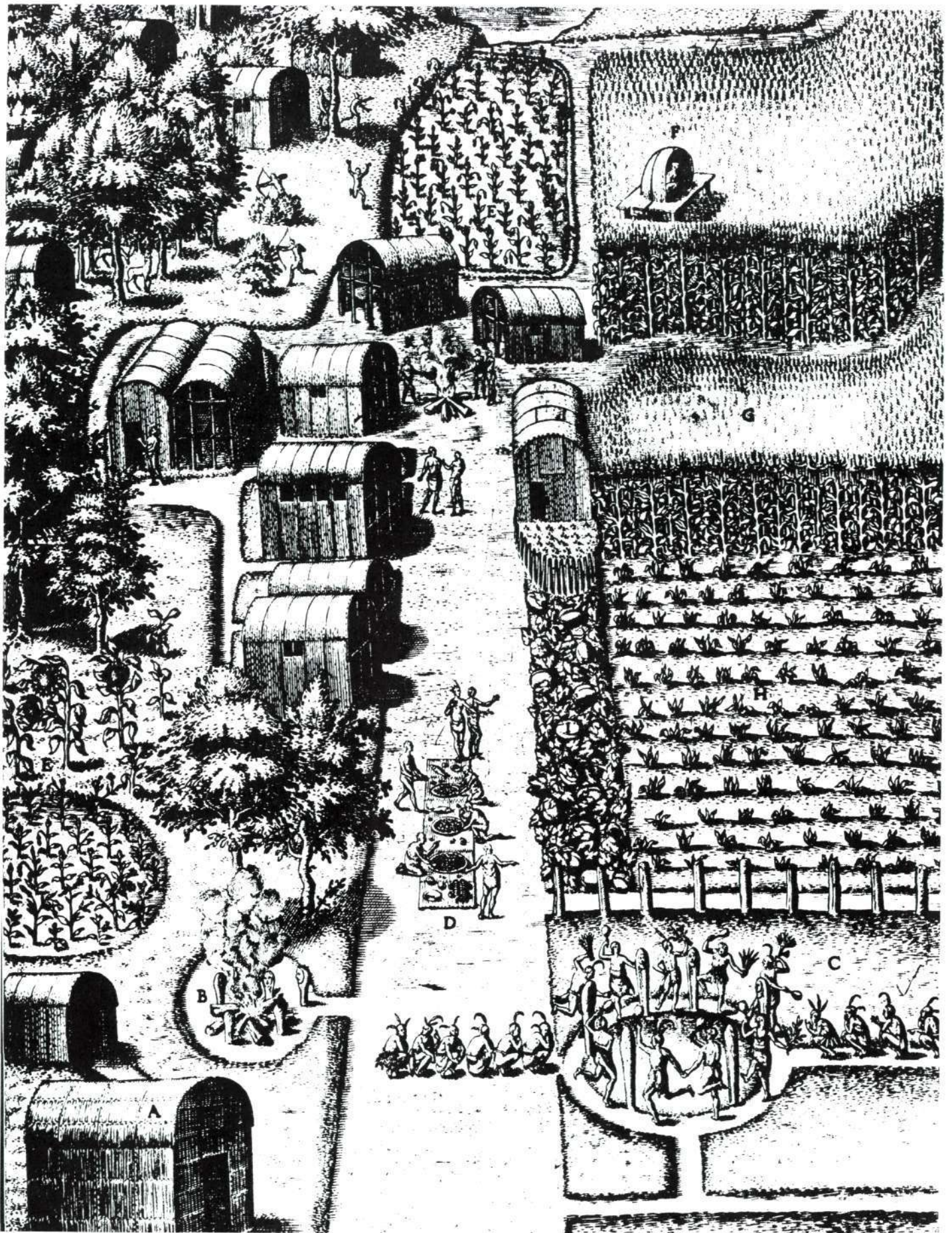
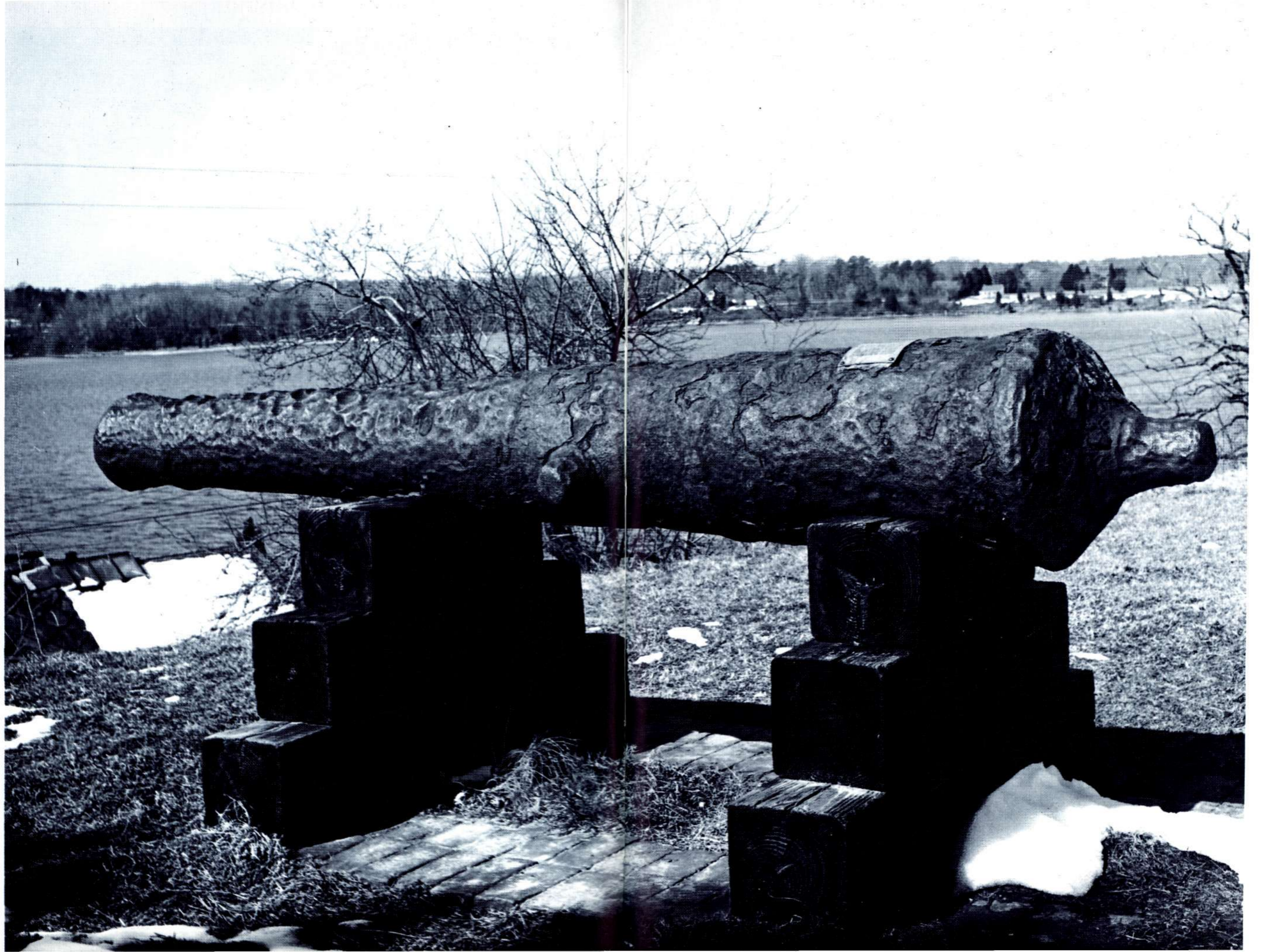


Figure 9.—The Yoacomico fields and wigwams along the St. Mary's River must have been similar to those at Secotan, painted by John White and engraved by Theodore De Bry. The town at St. Mary's was not pallisaded, so far as we know.



of the chiefest aduenturers. At the place prepared wee all kneeled downe, & said certain Prayers; taking possession of the Countrey for our Saviour, and for our soueraigne Lord the King of England." The published version follows the "Relatio" in speaking of the cross but omits reference to celebrating the mass, which to Englishmen would have been an illegal act. It adds a statement contained in neither account—that they took possession for the King of England. The paragraph that follows immediately in all three accounts shows how the pamphlet could follow the "Briefe Relation" more closely than the "Relatio." "The Relatio" (in Fund Publication No. 7 translation, 33), says: "Now when the Governour had understood that many Princes were subject to the Emperour of Pascatawaye, he determined to visit him, in order that, after explaining the reason of our voyage, and gaining his good will, he might secure an easier access to the others." The "Briefe Relation" says: "Here our governour was advised not to settle himselfe, till he spoake with the emperour of Pascatoway, and told him the cause of his comeing (to wit) to teach them a diuine doctrine, whereby to lead them to heaven, and to enrich with such ornaments of ciuill life as our owne countrey abounded withall, not doubting but this emperour being satisfied, the other kings would be more peaceable." In the *Relation of the Successful Beginnings* this becomes: "Here our Gouvernour had good aduice giuen him, not to land for good and all, before hee had beene with the Emperour of Paschatoway, and had declared vnto him the Cause of our coming: Which was first to learne them a diuine Doctrine, which would lead their Soules to a place of happinesse after this life were ended; And also, to enrich them with such Ornaments of a ciuill life wherewith our Countrey doth abound: and this Emperour being satisfied, none of the inferiour Kings would stirre." For a further comparison, see the passages on the landing cited in Notes 19–21.

13. (Baltimore, 1865).
14. L. Leon Bernard, "Some New Light on the Early Years of the Baltimore Plantation," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLIV, No. 2 (June 1949), 100.
15. (London, 1635).
16. pp. 70–112.
17. See Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, II, *The Settlements* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1936), 288n.
18. Hughes, *The History of the Society of Jesus in*

Figure 10.—Cannon, one of several pulled from the St. Mary's River in 1824. It is of a kind known to have been shipped in *Ark*. Some of these cannon were found in the water just below Church Point, others off Fort Point, farther down the river, the likely site of St. Inigoes Fort. The early narratives tell that "murtherers" and "ordnance" were mounted in the pallisade that enclosed the first settlement at St. Mary's.

See preceding page.

North America, Documents, I, 104. Other printed versions have slight variations in punctuation and abbreviations.

19. *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 42. Here and elsewhere I have compared the printed text with the original at the Maryland Historical Society.
20. *Shea's Early Southern Tracts, No. 1*, 11–12, 20–21.
21. *Calvert Papers, Number Three*, 21. I have compared the printed text with the original at the Maryland Historical Society.
22. *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 73–76.
23. *Jamestown and St. Mary's, Buried Cities of Romance* (Baltimore, 1938), 192–307.
24. An assembly of freemen was held in the fort of St. Mary's on 25 January 1637/1638. William Hand Browne *et al.*, eds., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883—), I, 2, hereafter referred to as *Archives*. An act of 1638/1639 mentions a fort near the chapel yard. In 1641, Leonard Calvert's tract on Church Point was laid out "lying nearest together about the fort." See pp. 82–83 above. If the St. Mary's Fort was moved, it seems probable that the removal was before January 1637/1638. Father Copley complained in April 1638 of being taxed "towards the building of a fort." but this was most likely St. Inigoes Fort, completed before 1642. See p. 90, above, and *Calvert Papers, Number One*, Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 28 (Baltimore, 1889), 163.
25. *Relatio Itineris in Marylandiam*, 36. The manuscript, with annotations in Latin, from which the Fund Publication editors printed the "Relatio" was then in the Loyola College Library and is now in the Maryland-New York Province Archives (see Note 5 above). It is not the copy printed in the *Woodstock Letters*. See *ibid.*
26. (Baltimore, 1913).
27. Pp. 16–17.
28. Certificate of survey, Patent Liber AB & H, f. 98; *ibid.*, I, f. 121. Mss., Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland. All patent libers hereafter cited are at the Hall of Records. The patent for the Governor's Field is recorded with patents for three manors in Patent Liber I, ff. 219–221, and is dated 30 August 1634. Internal evidence is strong, however, that the number 1634 is a clerical error. A marginal note beside the part of the patent that describes Governor's Field says "Vid Certificates Lib' F. fol 139." Proprietary Liber F is lost, but it was copied into Patent Liber AB & H in 1717 and into Patent Liber I in 1724. Elizabeth Hartsook and Gust Skordas, *Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland*, Hall of Records Commission Publication No. 4 ([Annapolis, Maryland], 1946), 44, 46. The certificate for the Governor's Field as copied in both volumes (see above references) is dated 14 August 1641 and in Patent Liber I it is clearly described as having been copied from Liber F, f. 139. The certificate would necessarily have preceded the patent. This patent, as recorded in Patent Liber I (there is no copy in AB & H), is marked as copied from Liber B, f. 45. Both copies of the certificate, however, say the patent is recorded in Liber A, f. 45. Hartsook notes that Patent Liber I copies Liber B from folio 4 through folio 48, then begins again on folio 29 and continues to folio 243. She suggests that folios 4–48 are pages from Proprietary Liber A, which

survives but which has its first 58 pages missing. See Hartsook and Skordas, *Land Office and Prerogative Court Records*, 45, 45n. The above comparison bears out her theory.

The boundary of the Governor's Field as shown on the map (Figure 6) is based on the author's Preliminary Map of St. Mary's Town Lands, ms., in possession of the St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's City, Maryland. This map is based on a study of all surveys and resurveys of town lands made through 1787, and includes preliminary estimates of soil erosion along the Governor's Field and Chapel Land based on a comparison of Provincial Court Plat D (1787), ms. Hall of Records, Annapolis, and topographic maps prepared for the Commission. The high water mark as shown on the plat was a disputed boundary and is therefore assumed to be as accurate as the surveyor knew how to make it.

29. Patent Liber 1, ff. 39, 115-116; *ibid.*, AB & H, f. 66.
30. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, 1, f. 39.
31. On 12 August 1757 The White House was resurveyed into "Townland Enlarged" for Massey Leigh. The survey states that the original survey had amounted to sixty-three acres but that five acres were in the water. *Ibid.*, BC & GS No. 12, f. 331. There is an original plat for this survey at the Hall of Records (St. Mary's County Original Certificate of Survey, No. 654). I have tentatively plotted the bounds both of The White House and of Townland Enlarged, taking into account the differing magnetic declinations of 1639 and 1757. At the declination of 1757, about one acre of The White House as resurveyed falls in the water, but at the declination as of 1639 about three acres is so lost. See Map of St. Mary's Town Lands cited in Note 28.
32. See above, p. 82.
33. Patent Liber AB & H, ff. 66, 98; *ibid.*, 1, ff. 115-116, 121.
34. Hartsook and Skordas, *Land Office and Prerogative Court Records*, 44, 46.
35. *Relatio Itineris in Marylandiam*, 36; *Woodstock Letters*, II, 6. The translation given by Foley in the *Records of the English Province*, III, 353, is close to that of the Fund Publication: "We landed on the right-hand side and going inland about a mile from the shore, laid out the plan of a city, naming it St. Mary."
36. For these quotations, see p. 79 above.
37. The editors of the *Calvert Papers* are in agreement with this translation. *Calvert Papers, Number Three*, 11, 11n-12n.
38. *Archives*, I, 78. In May 1836 John P. Kennedy visited St. Mary's City (note of Father Fidelis Grivel in No. 1, *Ex Archivo Prov.^{ae} Marylandiae*, Maryland-New York Province Archives, 10.6) and in his novel *Rob of the Bowl, A Legend of St. Inigoe's* (Baltimore, 1838), he describes the fort as "at the extremity of the cape or headland which formed the lower or more seaward point of the crescent-shaped harbour. . . . A few hundred paces in the rear of the fort, stood the ample dwelling-house of the Lord Proprietary." This passage can be interpreted to mean either of the two sites under discussion. The word "extremity" would seem to mean the point of the bluff, but could refer to the landward end, which is at the traditional site of the "fort." We know that the "Governor's Castle" (not in fact the residence of the proprietor but the building that Kennedy described) was not far inland from here.
39. *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 73.
40. See Hawley's narrative of 1635, *ibid.*
41. In a footnote Thomas acknowledges the differences between the "Relatio" and the "Briefe Relation" but explains them as representing estimates. *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland*, 25n-26n.
42. Map of part of St. Mary's County, Maryland, surveyed under the direction of Major J. Kearney, Topl Engrs, 1824, ms, Map F-27, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, *United States-East Coast, Chesapeake Bay to Piney Point, Soundings in Feet at Mean Low Water*, 12th ed. (25 March 1968, corrected to 18 January 1969).
43. *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 73-74.
44. *Ibid.*, 75-76; deposition of Daniel Clocker, *Archives*, LXIX, 29.
45. *Archives*, III, 107. This and the references to the *Archives* that follow have been checked against the original text in Proprietary Liber A, ms., Hall of Records, Annapolis.
46. Maryland-New York Provincial Archives, 100 N 5, microfilm, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
47. See Note 24.
48. *Archives*, IV, 334.
49. *Archives*, I, 222.
50. Patent Liber AB & H, ff. 81-82; *ibid.*, 1, ff. 71-72. The location of this tract is determined as follows: It had escheated by 1659 (Rent Roll 0, f. 3, photostatic copy, Hall of Records, Annapolis, of the ms. "Land Grants of St. Mary's County"—1639-1659—Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore); it was regranted as "Van Swearingen's Point" to Garret Van Swearingen in 1667 (Patent Liber 13, f. 103), who sold it to Robert Ridgley in 1675 (Provincial Court Deeds, WRC, No. 1, ff. 3-5, ms., Hall of Records); Thomas Courtney in 1676/1677 and Daniel Clocker in 1681 surveyed nearby tracts that refer respectively to "Land that was Roger Olliver" and "land formerly Roger Olivers" but now Ridgley's, and the bounds of these tracts explicitly place them along St. Andrew's Creek in such a way that St. Peter's Key Creek, mentioned in the surveys for both St. Peter's Key and Van Swearingen's Point, must be the present Lucas Creek. Patent Liber 19, f. 584; *ibid.*, 21, f. 349. It should be noted that James Thomas supposed St. Peter's Key Creek to be the northeastern end of St. Inigoes Creek. He also assumed that the tracts St. Peter's Key and Van Swearingen's Point were separate (although the bounds given are identical) and he placed both tracts east rather than west of St. Andrew's Creek. *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland*, appendix. The St. Mary's County Rent Roll compiled c. 1704 also assumed that the two were separate tracts, but only St. Peter's Key appears in the later rent rolls and debt books. Rent Roll 7, ff. 2, 6; *ibid.*, 43, f. 2; St. Mary's County Debt Book, 1753, f. 45. Mss., Hall of Records, Annapolis. Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Text*, I, appendix, 567-569, concludes that the tracts were identical and suggests the location I have selected. H. Chandlee Forman at first accepted Thomas' views, but has since repudiated them. *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, end paper; "The 'Kent Fort Manor'

and 'St. Peter's Key' Myths," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLIX, No. 2 (June 1957), 171-174.

51. Patent Liber DD, f. 719.

52. Rent Roll 0, ff. 1-2.

53. Patent Liber AB & H, f. 65; *ibid.*, 1, ff. 33-34.

54. Rent Roll 0, f. 2.

PICTURE CREDITS

Figure 1: United States Navy photograph, courtesy of United States Navy and St. Mary's City Commission.

Figure 2: From *National Geographic*, April 1941, p. 405. Base map courtesy of the National Geographic Society.

Figures 3-4: From the collections of the Maryland Historical Society.

Figures 5-6: M. E. Warren, photographer. Courtesy St. Mary's City Commission.

Figure 7: Courtesy National Archives, Record Group 77, Composite of F-27, center portion reconstructed.

Figures 8-9: From Stefan Lorant, *The New World: First Pictures of America* (New York, 1946).

Figure 10: Courtesy St. Mary's City Commission.