Roman Catholics, Not Papists: Catholic Identity in Maryland, 1689–1776

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In 1771 Charles Carroll of Carrollton wrote a letter briefly relating his family's history. Anti-Catholic laws, he observed, had deprived his Irish ancestors of their land, so his grandfather had moved to Maryland, a colony that offered Catholics religious freedom and equal privileges with other settlers. Having won a commission as attorney general, Charles Carroll the Settler arrived in 1688, the year of the Glorious Revolution in England. A year later, rebels calling themselves the Protestant Associators overthrew the proprietary government of Maryland. "The Revolutionists," recounted the younger Carroll, ". . . turned out of their places all the R[oman] C[atholic] gentlemen vested with most or chief of ye posts of honour, profit or trust, hanged some of them, & imprisoned many." That assessment was somewhat inaccurate and in his grandfather's case premature. Charles Carroll the Settler continued to serve the proprietor privately until 1717, when the assembly's hostility cost him his position.[1]

What Charles Carroll of Carrollton could see so clearly—that the Revolution of 1689 had been a crucial turning point for Catholics in Maryland—had not been nearly so obvious to his grandfather. He knew, as his grandfather could not, that Catholics had never regained the rights lost in 1689, and that, in fact, their situation had considerably worsened in the ensuing eighty years. He also knew, as his grandfather could not, that Catholics had come to feel oppressed in the colony they once had considered a refuge. Before 1689, the offer of religious freedom had drawn Catholics to Maryland. Although their religious practices had distinguished them from their neighbors, Catholics had not formed a separate group politically. Instead, they allied with Protestants loyal to the proprietary family. The Glorious Revolution and the subsequent actions of the government strengthened Catholics' religious identity and eventually forced them to create a new political identity for themselves. At first, Catholics joined with Quakers to protest the establishment of the Church of England. Both the governor and assembly, however, took actions aimed specifically at Catholics, isolating them from any possible allies except the proprietor. Catholics cast their lot with the proprietary family, remaining loyal until the 1750s, when proprietary offi-

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cials agreed to a double tax on Catholics. At the same time, imperial events weakened their loyalty to England and international events eroded their identification with English Catholics. It was therefore as Marylanders that Catholics in the 1770s allied with Protestants and rebelled against both proprietary and English rule.

In 1689, Catholics in Maryland did not know what the future would bring, but their reaction to the Glorious Revolution does shed light on what they knew about the past and how they perceived their own place in Maryland history.[2] Together with Protestants loyal to the proprietor, Catholic leaders expected to put down the rebellion relatively easily, since the government had weathered several revolts earlier in the century and had always survived. Two months after the rebellion started, Charles Carroll the Settler advised Lord Baltimore, "certainly your Lordship's charter is not such a trifle as to be annulled by the bare allegations of such profligate wretches." Carroll ended his letter with an assurance of his "hearty prayers that your Lordship may meet with noe great difficulties in composeing these matters."[3]

Although virtually every Catholic sided with Lord Baltimore, they did not initially consider the revolt a religious conflict pitting Catholics against Protestants nor did they conceive of themselves as a Catholic political party. They believed the rebellion was simply a political uprising against proprietary authority and saw themselves as defenders, along with many Protestants, of the proprietary interest. Carroll, for example, reported that the rebels had excluded from office "not only all Roman Catholiques . . . but also all Protestants that refuse to join them in their irregularities, . . . arbitrarily threatening to hang any man that takes upon him to justify your Lordship's right." Carroll concluded, "Neither Catholic nor honest Protestant can well call his life or estate his own." Colonel Peter Sayer of Talbot County tried to console the proprietor by observing that "the best men & best Protestants . . . (men of the best Estates, & real professors of the Protestant Religion) stand stifly up for your Lordship's interests."[4]

The causes of the uprising puzzled Catholic leaders, who believed that the colony had simply been misled by the rebels. Colonel Henry Darnall I, a deputy governor and the proprietor's agent, thought "the people were led away by false reports and shams," while Charles Carroll the Settler blamed "the wicked instigations" of the Protestant Associators for "the strange rebellion."[5] They seemed oblivious to the long-term grievances which contributed to the revolt, including the perception by many Anglicans that the Catholic Church held a privileged position in the colony compared to the Church of England.

In England, the Anglican Church benefited from its status as the established church. Taxpayers supplied its financial needs; laws required attendance at its services; the monarch even served as its head. English Catholics, by contrast, had long suffered from persecution, and their numbers had declined precipitously;

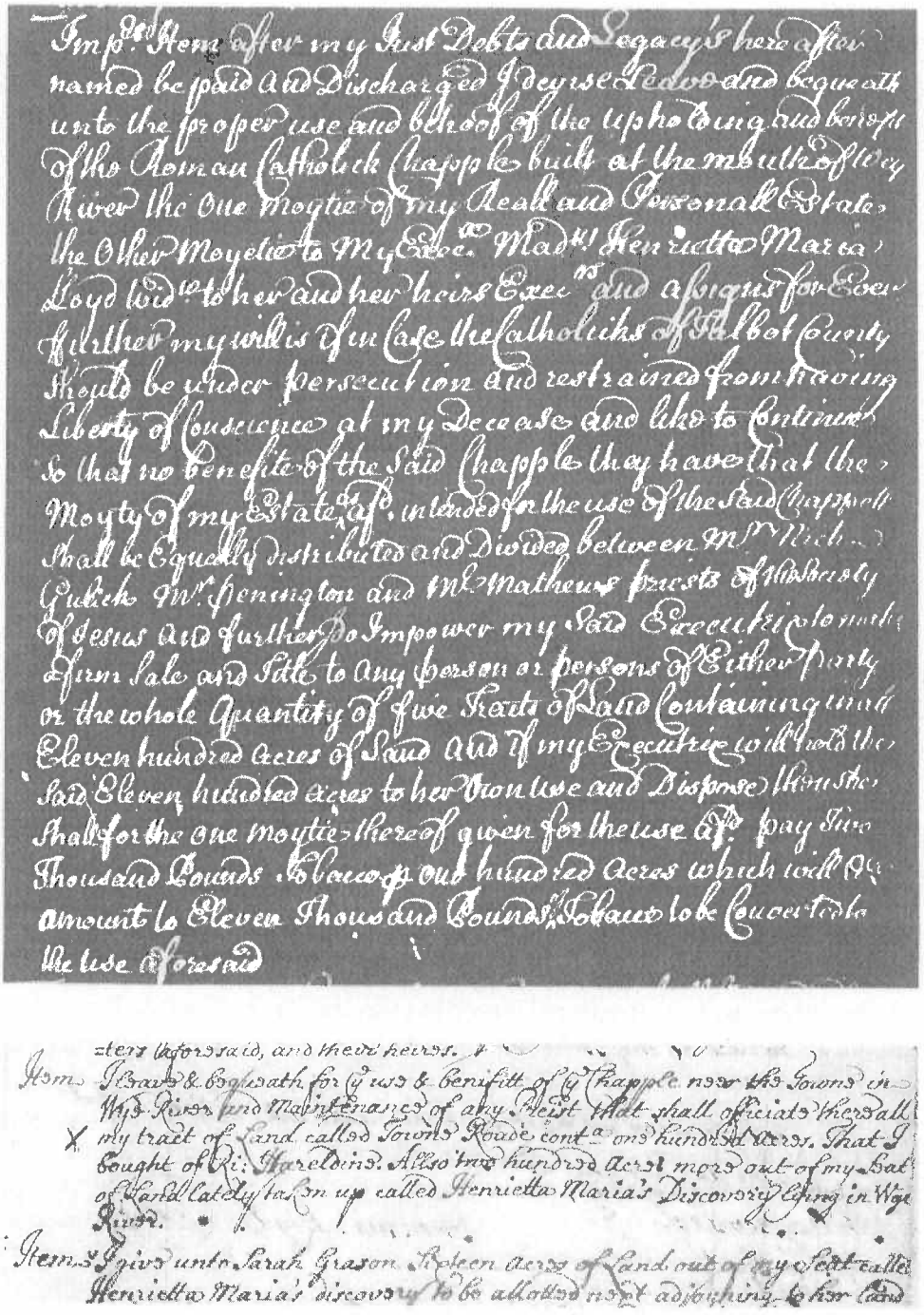
by the 1600s, they constituted fewer than two percent of England's population. Despite their small numbers, "the poor afflicted Catholics," according to the first Lord Baltimore, "have their grievances daily multiplied, their estates spoiled, and their persons disgraced." Over time, however, English Catholics had developed strategies for coping, living quietly to avoid attracting attention from the government. They established chapels at their homes and supported chaplains, who ministered to the gentry families and their neighbors and dependents. Some priests rode circuits between chapels, relying on their families and congregations for support.[6]

When the Calverts founded Maryland in 1634, they deliberately tried to create a society different from England's, a society where religion was a private matter and all Christians enjoyed liberty of conscience. This was a matter of both principle and necessity: the Calverts wanted their colony to be a refuge for fellow Catholics, but they also needed to attract as many settlers as possible if Maryland was going to be a success. The Calverts could afford to alienate neither prospective Protestant settlers nor the English government by favoring the Catholic Church. In any case, their own experience with religious discrimination led the proprietary family to support the principle of liberty of conscience.[7]

What the Calverts intended to be equal treatment of all Christians was perceived by some Protestants as favoritism toward Catholics. Protestant settlers had outnumbered Catholics from the first day of colonization, but the Catholic Church had fared relatively well compared to the Anglican Church.[8] Lay Catholics in Maryland voluntarily supported the church and built chapels. Priests, freed from the shackles of the English penal laws, zealously ministered to their flocks and sought converts. A close-knit Catholic community quickly developed, offering its members a variety of advantages: Catholics acted as godparents for each other's children, watched out for orphans and widows, attended Mass regularly, and transacted business with each other.[9]

By comparison, the Anglican Church in Maryland languished. Although the majority of settlers in Maryland were nominally Anglican, they never fully accepted the idea of voluntarily building churches or supporting their pastors. Few Anglican clergymen found Maryland attractive, preferring to settle in neighboring Virginia, where they could count on regular salaries. As a result, the Church of England failed to establish a lasting presence during the period of toleration, forcing most Anglicans to choose between not practicing religion at all or converting to Catholicism or Quakerism.[10]

Politically, Catholics in Maryland had also enjoyed an advantage over Protestants before the Glorious Revolution. Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, had appointed both Catholics and Protestants to governmental offices. However, Charles Calvert, who succeeded his father as Lord Baltimore in 1676, preferred to award provincial offices only to an inner circle of his friends and



Eastern Shore Catholics bequeathed money and land for their churches in the late seventeenth century. Shown here are portions of the wills of John Londey (above) and Henrietta Maria Lloyd (below), to whom Londey had left half his estate. (Maryland State Archives, MSA SC538.)

relatives, nearly all of whom were Catholics. In an era when economic and social elites normally wielded substantial political power, many wealthy Protestants in Maryland found themselves excluded from profitable provincial offices. Some, such as ex-cleric John Coode and attorney Kenelm Cheseldyne, had once enjoyed but then lost proprietary favor, while Nehemiah Blakiston, another attorney, had never gained it. Henry Jowles, a large planter, served in many county-level offices but was unable to make the leap to the provincial level. These frustrated Protestants tended to blame their lack of opportunity on Lord Baltimore's favoritism toward Catholics, and all four became leaders of the Protestant Associators.[11] During the Revolution their resentment prompted them to remove Catholics from all civil and military offices and close Catholic chapels.[12]

Restriction and Reaction

After the revolt the English government decided that Maryland would become a royal colony but that Lord Baltimore would retain his lands and certain proprietary revenues. A royal governor arrived in 1692. The newly elected assembly prohibited Catholics from serving in the royal government, although the ban did not apply to the remaining proprietary offices, such as collectors of quitrents. In addition, the assembly officially established the Church of England. The law did not require attendance at Anglican services or ban other churches, but henceforth Catholics had to pay an annual poll tax of forty pounds of tobacco to support a church they did not attend. The government also allowed the Catholic chapels to reopen.[13]

The establishment of the royal government and the Anglican Church forced Catholics to begin to accept the possibility that this time Lord Baltimore would not regain control of the government in the short run. The government's actions compelled Catholics to begin to identify themselves as a distinct group in the early 1690s, although they did not immediately develop a new political identity.[14] Instead, they continued to be loyal to the proprietary family, hoping for the restoration of the colony to Calvert control; the more optimistic among them even hoped for the restoration of Stuart control in England. Catholics joined with the Quakers, another group that dissented from the new order, to oppose the Church tax and promote a return to proprietary rule. The Anglican clergy complained that both Catholics and Quakers "dayly Endeavour to draw People to their parties, by suggesting" that Lord Baltimore would again govern the colony. The council complained that Lord Baltimore's agents—presumably a reference to Henry Darnall I and Charles Carroll the Settler—were using their control of the Land Office to win support for the proprietor. Additionally, some Catholics drank toasts to the deposed king, James II.[15]

Catholics' political troubles strengthened their commitment to their faith. Even among the gentry, who stood to lose the most by exclusion from office, very

few responded to the discrimination they faced by converting.[16] Instead, they rallied around the Church. At least half of the Catholics who wrote wills in the 1690s made bequests to the Church, compared to only about one-third a decade earlier.[17] Catholics continued to attend Mass and to be baptized, married, and buried in the Church, allowing them to maintain their religious identity as a separate group.[18]

The changed environment made maintaining access to their chapels a critical issue for Catholics. Eastern Shore Catholics displayed tremendous concern over the fate of their chapel at Doncaster, which was owned by Colonel Peter Sayer. In 1693 planter John Londey bequeathed half his estate to support the Doncaster chapel, but the bequest was to be void if "the Catholics of Talbot County should be under persecution and restrained from having Liberty of Conscience at my Decease." Londey left the other half of his estate to Henrietta Maria Lloyd, a wealthy Catholic widow, who bequeathed her share of Londey's estate plus an additional three hundred acres of land for the support of the chapel in 1697. A year later Sayer's widow died, leaving no children. She carefully specified in her will that the Doncaster chapel should become the property of her nephew Charles Blake and Lloyd's son, Richard Bennett III. Nor was this concern with chapel access limited to the isolated Catholics living on the Eastern Shore. In 1698, Joshua Doyne of St. Mary's County specified in his will that the "Church Stuff" should go first to his wife Jane and, after her death, to his son Jesse. Although lay Catholics had maintained chapels and left bequests to the Church and individual priests for many years, they had not previously used their wills to ensure the chapels' existence.[19]

Catholics' religious zeal was also evident in their efforts to seek converts. According to Governor Francis Nicholson, an epidemic that swept the Lower Western Shore in the late 1690s provided an excellent opportunity for "several Popish Priests and zealous Papists . . . (under pretence of visiting the sick during this time of common calamity and sickness) to seduce, delude, and persuade divers of His Majesty's good Protestant subjects to the Romish faith." Additionally, Catholic masters sometimes prevented their servants from attending Protestant church services, pressuring them to convert to Catholicism.[20]

Nicholson, a zealous Anglican and royal appointee, already suspected Catholics for their loyalty to the proprietor, support for the Stuart kings, and opposition to the establishment of the Church of England. Allowing Catholics to seek converts among the vulnerable was more than he could endure. Nicholson issued proclamations in 1698 forbidding Catholics to proselytize and banning toasts to James II. He also signed a law to limit the importation of Irish servants—mostly Catholics—into the province.[21]

Catholics did not react in any organized way to these new restrictions. Two Charles County court cases suggest, however, that some individuals stubbornly

refused to obey the proclamations and tried to impose their religious beliefs on others, especially their Protestant dependents. In the first case, Mary Stigalier, a Protestant, complained to a member of the council in 1701 that her husband James and their friends James and Elizabeth Neale, all Catholics, had pressured her to convert. When she refused, her husband told her "that within two yeares shee and all the rest of the protestants would bee forced to turne Roman Catholicks." If they resisted, "the Roman Catholicks would broyle them all on Grid Irons . . . for feare the times should turne againe." This man had come to see Protestants—even his own wife—as enemies. A jury found him not guilty, but required him to post a recognizance bond for good behavior.[22] In the second case, a servant named John Emory alleged that his master, Anthony Neale, "a Seveare and Rigid Roman Catholick," had forced him "to go to the Romish Church" and had burned some Protestant books belonging to Emory. The court acquitted Neale, while admitting that he probably had burned the books.[23]

A new governor, John Seymour, arrived in 1704, two years after the outbreak of Queen Anne's War. He quickly let it be known that he would not tolerate any more misbehavior by Catholics, closing the Jesuits' large brick chapel at St. Mary's City and threatening two priests with expulsion. Additionally, he lobbied for anti-Catholic legislation. Parliament had recently passed a new, stricter anti-Catholic law, and with Seymour's encouragement, the Maryland assembly now passed its own version, entitled an "Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery," which banned Catholics from teaching or proselytizing and prohibited priests from celebrating Mass.[24]

The measure stunned Catholics, who were used to practicing their faith relatively openly. The Maryland act was much milder than its English counterpart, but rigorous enforcement of it eventually would have destroyed Catholicism in the colony. Several leading Catholics quickly petitioned the assembly for relief on "behalf of themselves and all the Rest of her Ma[jes]ties Roman Catholick Subjects." This petition marked the first time Catholics identified themselves as a group when approaching the government. The petitioners probably included Henry Darnall I and his son-in-law Charles Carroll the Settler; both men had resisted the Protestant Associators and were the two highest-ranking officeholders in the proprietary revenue establishment. They may have been joined by Carroll's nephew James Carroll, a wealthy merchant in his own right, and by Richard Bennett III, a very rich and well-connected Eastern Shore Catholic whose sister had married Darnall's brother.[25]

The petitioners appealed to the assembly's sense of fairness, claiming a common heritage for Catholics and Protestants in Maryland. They were "much surprised to find themselves . . . deprived of that Liberty in point of Religious worshipp wch they and their Ancestors have without interuption constantly enjoy'd from the first seating of this province togeather with the Rest of theire fellow Subjects of Different perswasions." This religious liberty had been included

in the charter, advertised in the public conditions of settlement used to attract settlers, and codified by a law passed by an earlier assembly. Maryland's experiment in religious liberty had led to a firm "union between all the people towards carryeing on the Comon interests of the Crowne of England and their owne." The Catholics had "been as active and forward in hazarding their lives and fortunes for the Comon interest and reduction of the Country to the English . . . as any other proportionable number of the people." The colonists, whether Catholic or Protestant, had paid a heavy price for advancing England's interests: "A great many of them left their lives as well by the hands of the infidell enemy as by the Hardshipps which the seating of such a desarte as must of necessity Render people lyable to." Given all that Catholics had done and suffered in Maryland, it seemed to the petitioners only just that the "covenant" of religious liberty "ought to continue to posterity."[26]

The petition persuaded the lower house to suspend part of the Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery, pending the queen's approval. Queen Anne eventually ordered that the suspension be made permanent, allowing priests to celebrate Mass but only in private houses, not publicly. The provision that Catholics worship only in private houses was hardly onerous, since most of the existing chapels, even those belonging to the Jesuits, were either attached to houses or were rooms in houses. The suspension was only a partial victory for Catholics, because the rest of the Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery remained in effect. Governor Seymour and the council continued to attack Catholics, especially their control of the Land Office, but they were stymied by support for Catholics in the lower house.[27]

No anti-Catholic laws passed for the remainder of the royal period, which ended in 1714 with the conversion of the fourth Lord Baltimore to Protestantism. The crown restored control of the government to the Calvert family. Catholics rejoiced, believing that the restoration of the Calverts meant the restoration of their own political power. Charles Carroll the Settler had become the proprietor's agent after Henry Darnall I's death, and the proprietary family now rewarded him for his years of loyal service by granting him additional offices and powers. At the same time, the Jacobite rebellion in 1715, which sought to return the Stuarts to the throne of England, inspired open sympathy for the Pretender among some Catholics—a few Jacobites, in fact, fired cannons in Annapolis to celebrate the Pretender's birthday. Together, these events made Protestant leaders uneasy. Led by Governor John Hart, they passed laws to strip Catholics of any political power by banning them from voting in elections and from serving in the proprietor's private revenue establishment. The assembly also repealed the 1704 Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery, intending to leave Catholics subject to the harsher English laws.[28]

The actions of the assembly prompted Peter Attwood to write an essay en-

titled, "Liberty and Property or The Beauty of Maryland displayed."[29] Attwood was a Jesuit priest closely associated with Charles Carroll and Henry Darnall II.[30] His essay is the longest, most detailed, and best documented discussion of Catholic history in Maryland written by a colonial Catholic. His understanding of Maryland's early history resembled that in the 1704 petition, stressing the common heritage of Catholics and Protestants. Attwood observed that with the encouragement of the charter and the toleration laws, "Christians of all Persuasions lived intermixed in this Province, in Peace & good Neighborhood: nor was there any Difference to be seen, save only in their different Places, & manner of worship." In every other way, "they all agreed as Neighbors, Friends & Brothers, whilst some of all Persuasions (that is to say, those that were thought most fit & capable) employed promiscuously Places of Honor, Trust & Interest."[31]

The trouble for Catholics started with the Revolution of 1689. "From this Epoch," wrote Attwood, "we may date our changes, not only in Governmt but in manner Laws & union to & wth each other: then it was prejudice & party set up their unhappy standards, & Religion wch till then lay quiet & undisturbed, was discountenanced, brought to ye Bar & confined to much narrower Limits than she enjoyed before." He did, however, excuse Maryland's Protestants, blaming instead the governors of the royal period, "who . . . came to fleece & not to feed, to raise their own Fortunes, not to advance ours: Govrs who instead of healing our wounds, widened our Breaches, fomented our Divisions, & wn no other Crime could be objected made the Religion of some high Treason, or at least a mark of Disgrace." John Seymour in particular attracted Attwood's condemnation: the governor, complained Attwood, pushed for the Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery out "of a Pique" against some Catholics "who, wn the Govr had modestly demanded a purse well lined, had the indiscretion or Impudence, as it was then deemed, to refuse the same."[32]

Attwood's main concern was the effort to impose the English penal laws, and he argued that liberty of conscience was a fundamental law in Maryland. For more than seventy years, he observed, no one—from the lowliest Catholic to Queen Anne and her Privy Council—had considered the English laws to extend to the colony. As a result, regardless of any actions by the assembly, Attwood believed that Catholics were free to practice their faith.[33]

A New Generation

Catholic leaders apparently considered presenting a version of Attwood's essay to the assembly in 1719 but backed off after a neutral observer warned them it sounded more like a claim of right than a humble petition.[34] This troubled period ended in 1720 with the death of Charles Carroll the Settler and the departure of John Hart. Later that year, Charles Calvert, the fifth Lord Baltimore, wrote

to his colonists that he hoped "to Bury those Seeds of Rancour and Jealousie wch have too long prevailed," and that Catholics would "peaceably & Quietly Submitt to the Known Laws . . . And rest happy under the Indulgence pmitted to them." The assembly quickly announced that it also desired peace with Catholics and did not intend to enforce the penal laws if Catholics behaved themselves.[35] The Catholic community, wearied by the long years of trouble, accepted the olive branch and gave up their attempts to restore their lost political power.

This was an important transition for Catholics. To this point, their leaders—Henry Darnall I, Charles Carroll the Settler, Richard Bennett III, and others—had fought to regain the rights they had lost and return to an equal footing with Protestants. They had stressed the common experiences of Catholics and Protestants, who together had settled the colony and advanced the interests of both the proprietor and England. The attitudes and goals of the rising generation of Catholic leaders were quite different. Born in Maryland and descended from Catholic gentry, they surely had heard stories of Catholics' glorious past in the colony but had never personally known a time when Catholics could serve in provincial office or practice their faith publicly. They lacked the sense of deprivation felt by their fathers, who had chosen to migrate to Maryland in search of religious freedom only to see it snatched from them in 1689. This younger generation took a more defensive position: they were willing to live quietly, as Catholics in England did, and not challenge the existing laws. Rather, they simply sought to maintain the status quo.[36]

Like their fathers, the younger generation of Catholic leaders tied their political fortunes to the proprietary family and demonstrated their loyalty at every opportunity. In 1727, for example, they thanked Lord Baltimore for sending his brother as governor and asked him to present their congratulations to George II, the new king. Five years later, when the proprietor visited Maryland, Catholics again sought to ingratiate themselves by congratulating him on his safe arrival and reminding him of their loyalty to the now-Protestant proprietary family and the English monarchy.[37]

The desire of both Catholics and Protestants for peace in the colony survived the outbreak of war with Spain in 1739 and with France in 1744. It even survived the Young Pretender's rebellion in 1745, which did inspire some Jacobite outbursts in Maryland. The most notable was by William Fothergill, a landless Catholic in Anne Arundel County, who voiced his desire "to see the time that the Poor Roman Catholicks (who had been kept in Slavery forty two years) out of their Bondage and to wash their hands in the hearts Blood of the Protestants." Fothergill's reference to forty-two years of "Slavery" clearly is a reference to the passage of the Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery. That a poor Catholic had such specific knowledge of Catholic history in Maryland suggests that such knowledge was not limited to the wealthy and well-educated but was part of what it

meant to be a Catholic, transmitted from generation to generation and priest to congregation along with Catholic rites and practices. In any case, despite the Fothergill incident, Catholics in Maryland enjoyed a peaceful relationship with the government from 1720 to 1750.[38]

The peace was shattered in 1751, not because of anything Catholics had done but because a convert to Protestantism, Dr. Charles Carroll, had embezzled a large estate and tried to cover up his misdeeds by preventing the heirs—two Jesuit priests—from claiming their inheritance. Dr. Carroll, a member of the lower house, proposed that the English penal laws be strictly enforced, for under English law, Catholic priests did not have the right to own property, even property bequeathed to them. The lower house agreeably passed a bill explicitly declaring England's penal laws to apply in Maryland and appointing officials to enforce them.[39]

Catholics were shocked. Had this bill become law, the effect on them would have been devastating. Twelve prominent Catholics immediately asked the upper house to reject the bill. The petitioners, political leaders of the Catholic community, were men of wealth and maturity, averaging forty-five years of age. Most had been teenagers when their fathers and grandfathers resisted Governor Hart. They were an interrelated group; each one was related to at least one of the others. Ignatius Digges, for example, was the half-brother of Philip Darnall and Henry Darnall of Portland Manor and the cousin of William Digges III, whose sister was the wife of Clement Hill III. Geography also contributed to their role as political leaders. All lived near Annapolis—eight in Prince George's County, three in Anne Arundel County, and one just across the Chesapeake Bay at Queenstown.[40]

The petition reveals how much Catholics' view of themselves and their place in Maryland had changed. Unlike their predecessors earlier in the century, the petitioners made no mention at all of a common heritage with Protestants, nor did they claim equal rights. Instead, they hoped "that a ready and implicit obedience to the Laws in being and quiet Submission to the Civil Power would have justly intituled them to the Protection of that Government, which they so chearfully contributed to support and so willingly obeyed." The implication was that they had kept their side of the bargain struck in 1720 and had done nothing to merit this crackdown. Look into Catholics' conduct, they begged, "before you consent to deprive them . . . of all those Liberties, and Privileges which they have hitherto been blessed with."[41]

Charles Carroll of Annapolis, the wealthiest Catholic in Maryland and a kinsman of the Protestant Doctor Carroll, sent his own petition to the upper house. Unlike his co-religionists, however, Carroll wrote not of liberties and privileges but of rights. He stressed the contributions made by Catholics to the settlement of the colony, observing "that a very great Number of Gentlemen of good and antient Families and other Roman Catholicks" had "quit their native Countries,

Charles Carroll of Annapolis (1702–1782) successfully petitioned the Maryland legislature on behalf of Catholics in 1751. (Courtesy, the Charles Carroll House, Annapolis.)

Friends, and Relations," and migrated to Maryland, "then a Wilderness and in the Hands of a Barbarous and savage People, hoping and confiding that by such a Sacrifice they should procure to themselves and their Descendants, all the Religious and Civil Rights they were deprived of" in England and Ireland. But their hopes had been in vain, as Catholics had lost some of their rights. Despite his militant tone, Carroll did not demand the restoration of these lost rights but merely asked for the maintenance of the status quo. For the past thirty years, he noted, "the Roman Catholics as a Body" had behaved quietly and decently, so he asked "that no new penal laws be enacted against them . . . whereby the Religious, and Civil Rights they have hitherto enjoyed may be any ways infringed."[42]

The upper house accepted the petitions and refused to pass Dr. Carroll's bill. For the next five years, the lower house periodically attacked Catholics, but the upper house and the governor consistently defended them. It was not until 1756, two years into the French and Indian War, that the lower house succeeded in penalizing Maryland Catholics. A major supply bill to raise defense funds imposed a new land tax, and the lower house added a provision that Catholics should pay double. Given the urgent need to protect frontier settlers, the governor and the upper house agreed to the tax.[43]

The tax itself was not a heavy burden for Catholics, amounting to one shilling per one hundred acres annually.[44] It was not the actual cost which so alarmed Catholics, but the fear of what might come next. They interpreted the actions of the governor and upper house as signalling an end to the proprietary protection on which Catholics had long relied. The governor and upper house had always

blocked the efforts of the anti-Catholic party in the lower house, but perhaps that group would now have a free hand to tax Catholics' property and possibly even impose other restrictions on them. The Provincial Court justices appointed by the proprietor had steadfastly refused to enforce the English penal laws, but Catholics feared the courts would no longer protect them. Particularly disturbing in this regard was the arrest in September 1756 of James Beadnall, a Jesuit priest, for celebrating Mass and trying to convert a Quaker to Catholicism.[45]

Leaders among the Catholic gentry responded to the sudden deterioration in their position by sending petitions to Governor Sharpe and to Frederick Calvert, the sixth Lord Baltimore. Like Carroll five years earlier, they stressed the contributions Catholics had made to Maryland, depicting them far more heroically than Carroll had. Catholics formed "the Bulck of the first Settlers," who overcame nearly insurmountable obstacles. "The Country was a Vast and one uncultivated Forest: the Possessors of that Forest a savage and Cruell People," with whom the colonists frequently fought. In addition, "the Labour of clearing thickly wooded Lands was allmost intollerable, the Scarcity of Provisions and the want not only of the conveniences but of necessaries of Life, allmost unsurportable." Worst of all, "the distempers and sicknesses attending a new unhealthy Climate were most discouraging." Despite these woes, Catholics had "looked on Maryland as an Asylum and place of Rest for themselves and their Posterity." That had changed beginning in 1689; from that time forward, "many severe Laws were made . . . by wch we were oppressed." These laws reduced Catholics almost "to a Levil with our Negroes not having even the Priviledge of voting for Persons to represent us in Assembly." Catholics nonetheless had "not only increased the Trade and riches of their M[othe]r Country but laid the foundation of the present flourishing state of this Province." Justice and gratitude, argued the petitioners, should compel the proprietary government to veto the double land tax.[46]

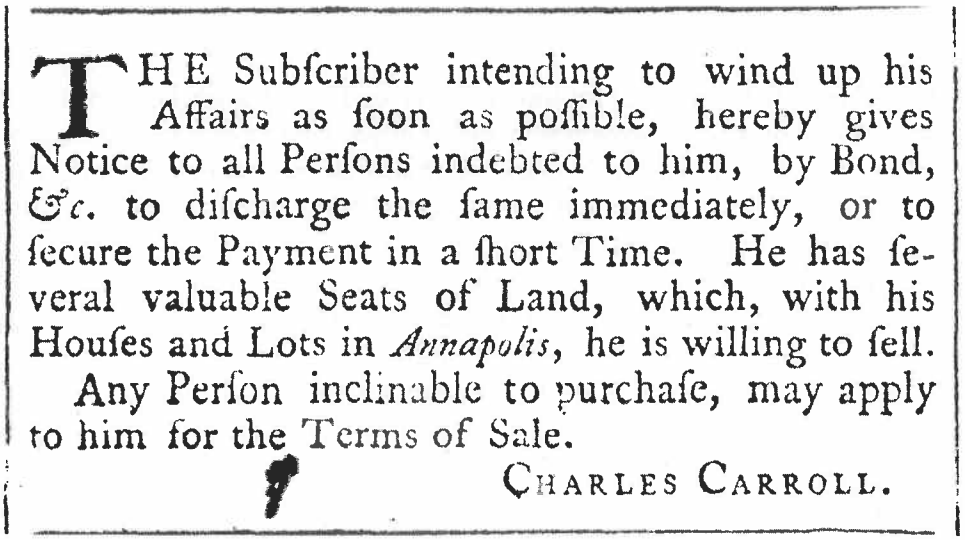
The Jesuits, meanwhile, portrayed the Catholic community as especially chosen by God and encouraged Catholics to endure. James Beadnall, the priest arrested in 1756, observed, "You suffer Persecution for Justice sake! You're deprived of Liberties! Debar'd from high Posts & Offices! You're revil'd (as I may say) but all for Justice sake." He urged his congregation to "Rejoyce therefore & be glad for yr Reward is exceeding great in Heaven." Joseph Mosley compared Catholics' suffering to that of the apostles and encouraged his congregations to "Stick steadily to your Faith, adhere firm to your Religion, against whatever oppositions, your Enemies can only hurt ye Body, by ye Soul they can't endamage." Finally, James Carroll, one of the Jesuits whose inheritance Dr. Carroll had embezzled, sounded a more militant note: he urged Catholics to cast off the "heavy yoke which we have too long carried," give up trying to please "the wise men of this world [who] are so lyable to be mistaken and so often err," and "manfully defend ourselves and our holy liberties, liberties belonging to the children of God alone."[47]

The proprietary government never again agreed to any anti-Catholic laws, but what the Catholics saw as their betrayal in 1756 struck at their identity and radicalized their outlook. Since the Glorious Revolution, they had seen themselves as siding with and relying on the proprietary family, but the proprietary family had deserted them in their time of need. The events of 1756 destroyed this long-standing identification of Catholics with the Calverts. No family had been more loyal to the proprietor than the Carrolls, yet Charles Carroll of Annapolis bitterly wrote to his son in 1759, "remember ye ill treatment yr Grandfather met with after so long a series of services, remember ye cruel usage of ye Roman Catholicks by ye late & present Ld Baltimore & let yt so weigh with you as never to Sacrifice yr own or yr Country's Inter[es]t to promote ye Inter[es]t or power of ye Proprietary Family."[48]

More significant was Catholics' use of the word slavery to describe their situation. The landless Fothergill had complained in the 1740s that Catholics were being "kept in Slavery," while the gentlemen who petitioned in 1756 felt that the laws diminished their status to a position equivalent to their slaves, specifically by denying them the right to vote. These references to slavery should not be dismissed as mere hyperbole. The word was commonly used in the political discourse of the times to refer to people who could not protect their rights and property, and it was in this sense that the American revolutionaries often voiced a fear of slavery. Stephen Hopkins of Rhode Island, for example, wrote in 1764 that "those who are governed at the will of another, or of others, and whose property may be taken from them by taxes or otherwise without their own consent and against their will, are in the miserable condition of slaves."[49] It was exactly in this sense that Maryland Catholics had begun to view themselves as slaves. Despite the Jesuits' assurances that Catholics would be rewarded for their suffering, the situation seemed intolerable to many laymen, particularly given their increasingly heroic view of Catholics' past experiences in Maryland.

Many Catholics grew sufficiently alarmed by their circumstances in the mid-1750s to consider leaving Maryland. One petition reported that the troubles had "already compell'd some to leave ye Country to ye great prejudice of yt Province, to have sett others on winding up their affairs in order to quit it, & determined many more to retire & look for peace & Quiet elsewhere." No one was angrier than Charles Carroll of Annapolis. Less than two weeks after the double tax became law, Carroll placed an advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette* announcing his intention "to wind up his Affairs" and sell his land. He went to France in 1757 to negotiate a deal for land in Louisiana, but his plans fell through.[50]

A decade later, in 1767, Dr. Henry Jerningham, an English emigrant who had moved to Maryland seventeen years earlier, tried to organize a move to Louisiana. He wrote to the Spanish governor that hundreds of families would move if the Spanish would accept them and assured the governor that none of the Catho-



THE Subſcriber intending to wind up his Affairs as ſoon as poſſible, hereby gives Notice to all Perſons indebted to him, by Bond, *&c.* to diſcharge the ſame immediately, or to ſecure the Payment in a ſhort Time. He has ſeveral valuable Seats of Land, which, with his Houſes and Lots in *Annapolis*, he is willing to ſell.

Any Perſon inclinable to purchaſe, may apply to him for the Terms of Sale.

CHARLES CARROLL.

Angered by the Assembly's double tax on Catholics, Charles Carroll of Annapolis planned to leave the colony and in 1756 placed this advertisement in the Maryland Gazette. *(Maryland State Archives, MSA SC2311.)*

lics in Maryland had ever sworn allegiance to the British government. A mixed group of Acadian, German, and English-speaking Catholics made the trip from St. Mary's County to Louisiana in 1769, but their ship was blown off course. The local Spanish officials where they landed, not having been notified of their impending arrival, imprisoned them. The Acadian and German families chose to stay, but the English-speaking families did not. No mass migration resulted.[51]

Despite—or perhaps because of—the decline in Catholic political fortunes after 1750, their religious lives flourished. To serve the growing population, the chapel network expanded from twenty-two in the 1720s to at least fifty in the 1760s. This extensive network of chapels allowed Catholics to continue to attend Mass regularly and enjoy rites of passage in the Church, a necessity for maintaining their identity as Catholics.[52] One sign of this new sense of separation may be a decline in the rate of intermarriage with Protestants, which fell from 22.1 percent for Catholic gentry in the period from 1720 to 1750 to just 12.3 percent for the remainder of the colonial period. Catholics expressed their religious commitment in other ways. In the 1760s and 1770s, the Jesuits maintained lending libraries at each of their plantations, and they also organized at least five sodalities, which mostly women joined. Additionally, many more parents were able to provide their children with Catholic educations. Before 1750 only about thirty-five Maryland boys had attended Catholic schools in Europe, but the number skyrocketed to at least eighty-two by 1773. Before 1750 only seven Maryland girls had studied at convents or joined religious orders, compared to at least

thirty-six after 1750. This was an expensive commitment for parents to make: six years at St. Omers, the most frequently chosen boys' school, cost roughly one hundred pounds sterling just for tuition, room, and board, while families had to come up with dowries of anywhere from one hundred to three hundred pounds sterling for daughters entering convents.[53] That so many parents were willing to pay so much to provide their children with Catholic educations testifies to the deep attachment they felt for their church.

While Catholics' commitment to their religion did not waver in the late colonial period, their sense of identification with English Catholics weakened greatly. In 1765, for example, Marylanders discovered that the Catholic Church was considering appointing a vicar-apostolic or bishop for the English colonies. Charles Carroll of Annapolis, Ignatius Digges, Henry Darnall of Portland Manor, and 256 other Catholics immediately petitioned against such a move. They feared the appointment would give their enemies, who were "bent on our ruin, a stronger handle yn anything they have hitherto been able to lay hold on, and consequently terminate in the utter extirpation of our religion." That the English Catholic authorities could be so oblivious to the situation in Maryland frustrated the colonists.[54]

The declining fortunes of the Society of Jesus may also have contributed to a sense of alienation among Maryland Catholics. The Portuguese government had expelled the Jesuits from its empire in 1759, the French followed suit in 1762, as did the Spanish in 1767. Pope Clement XIV suppressed the Society of Jesus worldwide in 1773. The Jesuits had always dominated the Maryland mission; since 1720 they had been the only priests to serve in Maryland. Few Maryland Catholics alive in 1773 had ever received communion, made confession, or been baptized or married by any priest except a Jesuit. Suppression of the Jesuits severed the close ties that had always existed between Maryland and European Catholicism. Catholics in Maryland had little reason to feel any loyalty to or identification with the Catholic Church beyond Maryland—it had turned its back on them.[55]

Both the growing isolation of Maryland Catholics within the Catholic Church and their alienation from the proprietor contributed to a subtle shift in their identity. By the late colonial period, Catholics increasingly began to take pride in their identity not as proprietary loyalists or as Catholics in the English empire but as Marylanders. Petitions in the 1750s reminded Catholics of their proud heritage in the colony. The efforts to organize mass migrations failed in part because most Catholics had been born and had lived their entire lives in Maryland. They had familial and economic ties to the area and considered themselves Marylanders just as much as any Protestant. Even the boys sent to St. Omers took pride in this provincial identity, describing themselves as "Marylandians."[56]

It was as Marylanders that Catholics began once again to participate in poli-

Charles Carroll the Signer (1737–1832), grandson of the Settler, signed the Declaration of Independence in 1776. (Courtesy, the Charles Carroll House, Annapolis.)

tics in 1773, joining with Protestants in opposition first to the proprietor and then to England. The first to get involved was Charles Carroll of Carrollton, son of Charles Carroll of Annapolis. Carroll joined in a newspaper debate over the fees paid to proprietary officials and wrote various essays opposing the proprietary government. His public stand brought him great popularity. By mid-1773 he had become an important figure in the emerging popular party, while his father assumed an active role behind the scenes.[57]

When the popular party turned its attention from the proprietary government to the growing rift between Britain and her colonies, Catholics flocked to join. Partly, of course, the fact that a Catholic was a leader of the popular party helped draw them to the movement. But Catholic support for the American Revolution involved more than mere emotion. Principles the patriots espoused held great meaning for Catholics. Taxed without their consent, denied the vote for more than fifty years and stripped of other rights for even longer, they could easily rally behind the ideas of no taxation without representation and equality before the law. The Revolutionary movement offered them the possibility of becoming political actors once again. Catholics served on the patriot committees, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton became a delegate to the Continental Congress. The state constitution of 1776 formally returned to Catholics the rights they had lost since 1689, and they once again became citizens with the same rights and privileges as other Marylanders.[58]

Catholics had come full circle by 1776. Prior to 1689 they had established themselves as a separate and successful group in Maryland's competitive reli-

gious environment, while politically, they had allied themselves with Protestants in the proprietary party. The Glorious Revolution and the subsequent establishment of the royal government and the Church of England had forced Catholics in Maryland to fashion a new identity for themselves. Their new status as "Papists," as a minority singled out for discrimination by the government, caused them to become even more firmly attached to the Catholic Church, as seen in their wills; they rejected the pejorative title Papist, always referring to themselves in their petitions and wills as Roman Catholics. Politically, the changed circumstances required that Catholics give up ecumenical politics and form a separate political group, one specifically aimed at restoring Catholics to an equal position with Protestants. The return of government control to the proprietary family did not solve Catholics' troubles, and, in fact, they lost the right to vote and suffered other defeats. In 1720 a new generation of Catholic leaders informally accepted the government's offer to maintain the status quo. For thirty years this defensive stand worked well, but in the 1750s the coming of the French and Indian War and the actions of Dr. Carroll caused a crisis for Catholics. In 1756, when the assembly passed a double tax on Catholic-owned lands, they turned once again to the proprietor to defend them, complaining that they were reduced nearly to slavery, but the proprietor ignored their petitions. Alienated Catholics eventually allied with Maryland Protestants in a revolt against both the proprietor and England. The coming of the American Revolution turned out to be their salvation, restoring to Catholics the right to practice their faith openly and without penalty and removing the stigma of being Papists in a Protestant age.

NOTES

1. Charles Carroll of Carrollton to the Countess D'Azouer[?], September 20, 1771, item 492, in Ronald Hoffman, ed., *Charles Carroll of Carrollton Family Papers*, microfilm edition (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives and National Historical Publications and Records Commission, 1985). Several Catholics, including Charles Carroll the Settler, were briefly imprisoned, but none suffered hanging. An earlier version of this essay was presented at the 1996 Annual Conference of the Institute of Early American History and Culture. The author wishes to thank Denvy Bowman, Lois Green Carr, Sylvia Frey, Stephen Hardy, Ronald Hoffman, and Sally Mason for their comments and suggestions.

2. For the Glorious Revolution in Maryland, the most important work is Lois Green Carr and David Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689–1692* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974), especially ch. 1 for the background of the Revolution. The best general history of colonial Maryland is Aubrey Land, *Colonial Maryland: A History* (Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1981). Many of the relevant documents are printed in William Hand Browne, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland*, 72 vols. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–1972), vol. 8.

3. Charles Carroll to Lord Baltimore, September 25, 1689, *Archives of Maryland*, 8:125–26.

4. Carroll to Lord Baltimore, September 25, 1689, *Archives of Maryland*, 8:125–26; Peter Sayer to Lord Baltimore, December 31, 1689, ibid., 8:161.

5. "The Narrative of Coll. Henry Darnall late one of the Councill of the Right Honble the Ld Proprietary of the Province of Maryld," December 31, 1689, *Archives of Maryland*, 8:156; Carroll to Lord Baltimore, September 25, 1689, ibid., 8:124.
6. Calvert quoted in Michael Graham, S.J., "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise: Toleration and Community in Colonial Maryland, 1634–1724" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1983), 47. For English Catholicism during this period, the most important work is John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).
7. Lois Green Carr, "Sources of Political Stability and Upheaval in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 (1984): 53–64; Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise," ch. 2; James Hennesey, "Roman Catholicism: The Maryland Tradition," *Thought*, 51 (1976): 282–95; David W. Jordan, "'The Miracle of this Age': Maryland's Experiment in Religious Toleration, 1649–1689," *Historian*, 47 (1985): 338–59; John D. Krugler, "Lord Baltimore, Roman Catholics, and Toleration: Religious Policy in Maryland during the Early Years, 1634–1649," *Catholic Historical Review*, 55 (1979): 49–75; John D. Krugler, "'With Promise of Liberty in Religion': The Catholic Lords Baltimore and Toleration in Seventeenth-Century Maryland, 1634–1692," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 (1984): 21–43.
8. Land, *Colonial Maryland*, 63–64; George B. Scriven, "Religious Affiliation in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 25 (1956): 220–29.
9. My discussion of the seventeenth-century Catholic community in Maryland is based on Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise," especially ch. 3. For the experiences of a Catholic family, see Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh, *Robert Cole's World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1991), ch. 5.
10. Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise," ch. 4; Krugler, "Lord Baltimore," 38.
11. Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise," 60–61, 80–82, 98, 231, 236–42; Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution*, 26–45; David W. Jordan, *Foundations of Representative Government in Maryland, 1632–1715* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 97–137. For biographical sketches of these four men, see Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution*, 236–37, 242–43, 245–48, 266–68.
12. "Articles of Surrender," *Archives of Maryland*, 8:107. One of the Associators, Gerard Slye, alleged in 1698 that the Jesuits' chapel at St. Mary's City had been closed in 1689 and implied that the other Catholic chapels had also been closed. See Gerard Slye to James Vernon, Secretary of State, May 26, 1698, and June 23, 1698, Colonial Office 5/719, Public Record Office, photostats at the Library of Congress (hereafter cited as PRO/LC).
13. The Establishment Act of 1692 was disallowed in England, as were subsequent acts passed in 1696 and 1700. A permanent establishment act finally passed in 1702. See Carol van Voorst, *The Anglican Clergy in Maryland, 1692–1776*, Outstanding Studies in Early American History, ed. John Murrin (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988), 8–26. The Catholic chapels likely reopened in 1692, when Governor Copley arrived with instructions allowing liberty of conscience to all people who were willing to live quietly. See Copley's instructions, *Archives of Maryland*, 8:273.
14. According to Michael Zuckerman in his seminal article on the formation of identity, when people feel expendable—as Catholics had become in Maryland—they begin to question their own identity and define others as adversaries. See "The Fabrication of Identity in Early America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 34 (1977): 192–93, 195–97, 202.
15. Clergy of Maryland to Bishop Compton, May 14, 1698, Archives of the Bishop of London, Fulham Palace Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library, microfilm at the Library of Con-

gress, 2:100–103 (hereafter cited as Fulham Papers); Council of Maryland to Lords of Trade, November 17, 1697, CO 5/714, folio 207, PRO/LC. Darnall was His Lordship's Agent and Receiver General, while Carroll was the Clerk of the Land Office. See Donnell MacClure Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1953), 166, 169–70.

16. Thomas Brooke converted to Anglicanism around 1689. Henry Lowe also converted; however, in 1704, when he was elected to the lower house, he refused to take the required oaths and was denied a seat. These are the only conversions to Protestantism among the Catholic gentry in the 1690s. The only notable conversions later in the colonial period all came in the 1730s, when Dr. Charles Carroll, Henry Darnall III, and John Darnall all converted. See Beatriz B. Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age: The Catholic Gentry and Community in Colonial Maryland, 1689–1776" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland at College Park, 1993), 85–86, 239–41.

17. Michael Graham estimated that between 31.3 and 37.5 percent of Catholic testators in the 1680s made bequests to the church, compared to between 51.5 and 61.8 percent in the 1690s. See Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise," 374.

18. John Bossy has argued that the principal characteristic of the English Catholic experience involved a three-step process of separation from other Englishmen, through the observance of their own seasonal calendar, adoption of an exclusive practice of the Mass, and development of an exclusive discipline of rites of passage. See Bossy, *English Catholic Community,* 108, 144.

19. John Londey's will, Prerogative Court Wills, Liber 2, folios 259–61, Maryland State Archives (hereafter cited as MSA); Frances Morgan Sayer's will, Prerogative Court Wills, Liber 6, folios 166–67, MSA; Henrietta Maria Lloyd's will, Prerogative Court Wills, Liber 7, folio 252, MSA; Joshua Doyne's will, Prerogative Court Wills, Liber 6: folios 169–73, MSA.

20. Governor Francis Nicholson's proclamation, March 29, 1698, printed in William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (London: privately printed, 1878; repr., New York: AMS Press, 1969), 4:24–25; Clergy of Maryland to Bishop Compton, May 14, 1698, Fulham Papers, 2:100–103.

21. Nicholson's proclamation, March 29, 1698, Perry, *Historical Collections,* 4:24–25; Nicholson's proclamation, July 23, 1698, *Archives of Maryland,* 23:470–71; *Archives of Maryland,* 22:497.

22. *King v. Neale,* Charles County Court and Land Record, Liber S No. 1, folio 309, and Liber A No. 2, folio 1, MSA.

23. Charles County Court Record, Liber A No. 2, folios 136–37, MSA. James Neale and Anthony Neale were brothers.

24. *Archives of Maryland,* 26:46. The English law was An Act for the Further Preventing the Growth of Popery, 11 Will. 3, c. 4; for the Maryland law, see *Archives of Maryland,* 26:181, 289, 340–41. The Jesuits tore down the St. Mary's City chapel in 1705; see John D. Krugler and Timothy Riordan, "'Scandalous and Offensive to the Government': The 'Popish Chappel' at St. Mary's City, Maryland and the Society of Jesus, 1634 to 1705," *Mid-America,* 73 (1991): 208.

25. "The humble remonstrance of the severall Roman Catholicks hereunto subscribed for and on the behalf of themselves and all the Rest of her Maties Roman Catholick Subjects within this Province of Maryland," CO 5/715, PRO/LC. The existing copy of this petition is unsigned; however, a follow-up petition in 1706 was signed by four men: Henry Darnall I, Charles Carroll the Settler, James Carroll, and Richard Bennett III. See *Archives of Maryland,* 26: 591.

26. "The humble remonstrance of the severall Roman Catholicks hereunto subscribed for

and on the behalf of themselves and all the Rest of her Maties Roman Catholick Subjects within this Province of Maryland," CO 5/715, PRO/LC. Despite Catholic claims, the charter did not actually mention religious liberty.

27. Michael J. Graham, S.J., "'The Collapse of Equity': Catholic and Quaker Dissenters in Maryland, 1692–1720," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 88 (1993): 9–10; Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," 111–30.

28. *Archives of Maryland*, 30:372–74, 421, 512, 520, 613–17 and 33:225–78, 287–89; Provincial Court Judgment Record, Liber VD2, folios 158, 359–60, MSA; Ronald Hoffman, "'Marylando-Hibernus': Charles Carroll the Settler, 1660–1720," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 45 (1988): 226–34; Bernard C. Steiner, "The Restoration of the Proprietary of Maryland and the Legislation against the Roman Catholics during the Governorship of Captain John Hart (1714–1720)," *American Historical Association Annual Report*, I (1899): 231–307.

29. Peter Attwood, "Liberty and Property or The Beauty of Maryland displayed, Being a brief and candid Search into her Charter Fundamental Laws and Constitution," Peter Attwood Papers, Early Maryland Jesuit Papers, Special Collections, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University. Attwood's essay is also discussed in Gerald Fogarty, S.J., "Property and Religious Liberty in Colonial Maryland Catholic Thought," *Catholic Historical Review*, 72 (1986): 586–90.

30. Attwood had accompanied Charles Carroll on a 1714 expedition to determine the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania, and the Carroll accounts include payments to him in 1721; see James Logan to Thomas Grey, March 29, 1714, printed in "Father Peter Attwood the Jesuit Surveyor of the Boundary Between Pennsylvania and Maryland, 1714," *American Catholic Historical Researches*, 7 (1890): 154–55, and John Digges Account Book, 1720–1749, folios 1–2, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Attwood in 1712 had described Darnall as being "extreamly obliging." See Attwood to William Killick, December 21, 1712, *Archives of Maryland*, 25:329–32.

31. Attwood, "Liberty and Property," folio 9.

32. Ibid., folio 12. No other Catholic document mentions this charge against Governor Seymour.

33. Ibid., folios 10–15.

34. *Archives of Maryland*, 33:368; Black Books, Maryland State Papers, 8:43, MSA.

35. *Archives of Maryland*, 34:4, 55, 108.

36. For a discussion of the transition in leadership, see Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," 182–89.

37. "The humble address of the Roman Catholicks of the Province of Maryland," 1727, and "The humble Address of ye Roman Catholick Inhabitants of ye province of Maryland," 1732, both in #5S1, Archives of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, Special Collections, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University (hereafter cited as AMPSJ). The latter address was published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 28, 1732.

38. *Lord Proprietary against William Fothergill*, Provincial Court Judgment Record, Liber EI10, folio 232, MSA. Some Catholics did drink to the Pretender's health, but there was no incident as serious as the firing of cannons in Annapolis during the 1715 Jacobite rebellion. See Provincial Court Judgment Record, Liber EI10, folios 65, 222–23, MSA; Anne Arundel County Court Judgment Record, Liber IB6, folios 138–143, MSA. Governor Thomas Bladen, whose mother was Catholic, met with the Jesuit superior and urged the Jesuits to avoid having large gatherings, to prevent any trouble. See *Archives of Maryland*, 28:355–57.

39. Dr. Charles Carroll and Charles Carroll of Annapolis were the co-executors of the will of their kinsman James Carroll, but Dr. Carroll was the one who actually controlled the estate.

For Dr. Carroll's initial recommendation to enforce the penal laws, see *Archives of Maryland*, 46:549–50. Charles Carroll of Annapolis responded in dramatic fashion by nailing a notice denouncing Dr. Carroll's embezzlement on the State House door; see *Archives of Maryland*, 46:572–73, 583. The story of the dispute over the estate can be found in a letter written by Governor Horatio Sharpe to Lord Baltimore, December 16, 1758, *Archives of Maryland*, 9:315–18, and in an undated petition, probably from the late 1750s, apparently addressed to Lord Baltimore, entitled, "A short acct of ye state & condition of ye Rom. Cath. in ye Provce of Maryland, collected from authentick copys of ye Provincial Records & other undoubted testimonys," #5R4, AMPSJ.

40. Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," 266–67.

41. "The Petition of sundry the Roman Catholics in Behalf of themselves and all others of the same Communion, residing in the Province aforesaid," Add. MSS, 15489, folios 71–72, British Library, microfilm at the Library of Congress (hereafter cited as BL/LC). In addition to petitioning the upper house, Maryland Catholics also petitioned Lord Baltimore. See "The Representation of several Gentlemen, Merchants, Planters and others, Inhabitants in the sd Province of Maryland in America," Add. MSS, 15489, folios 65–66, BL/LC.

42. "The humble Petition and Remonstrance of Charles Carroll on Behalf of himself and all the other Roman Catholics of the Province of Maryland," Add. MSS, 15489, folio 71, BL/LC. Charles Carroll of Annapolis was the son of Charles Carroll the Settler.

43. *Archives of Maryland*, 9:316, 46:534, 566–69, 593–98, 50:51–58, 66–67, 177–78, 198–205, 249–50, 419–22, 513–19, and 52:159–60, 189–91, 274–78, 325, 356–60, 376. Richard Brooke to the Calvert County delegates, February 25, 1752, #5W3, AMPSJ; "Letter to the Public," *Maryland Gazette*, March 14, 1754. For an account of the attacks by the lower house and the defense of Catholics by the upper house during the 1750s, see Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," ch. 6.

44. Catholics owned a total of 316,150 acres in 1759, according to "An Account of the Number of Acres of Land in each County, in the Province of Maryland; distinguishing what Number of Acres are held by Protestants, and what Number of Acres are held by Papists, in each County, as it was returned by the several Collectors of the Land Tax on Sept. 29, 1759," *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 35 (January 1765): 15. At one shilling per hundred acres, the total annual tax came to £158.1.6 current money for the entire colony.

45. The charges were eventually dropped for lack of evidence. See Cecilius Calvert to Horatio Sharpe, April 7, 1757, *Archives of Maryland*, 6:539–40; Cecilius Calvert to Joshua Sharpe, April 31 [sic], 1757, #582, Calvert Papers, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore; Horatio Sharpe to Cecilius Calvert, December 26, 1756, *Archives of Maryland*, 9:117.

46. "The Petition of sundry Roman Catholicks in behalf of themselves and others of the same Communion residing in the Province aforesaid," #5S1, AMPSJ; "The Case of the R.C. in Maryland," #5R2, AMPSJ; "A short acct of ye state & condition of ye Rom. Cath. in ye Provce of Maryland, collected from authentick copys of ye Provincial Records & other undoubted testimonys," #5R4, AMPSJ; "The Petition of Sundry Ro Catholics on behalf of themselves, and others of the same Communion residing in the Province," #5T1, AMPSJ.

47. Be-10, Mos-1, Ca-3, American Catholic Sermon Collection, Special Collections, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University. Beadnall preached his sermon at St. Inigoes in St. Mary's County and three private homes on the Eastern Shore. Mosley gave his sermon in 1758 at Cobs Neck in Charles County, while James Carroll preached his sermon in 1756 at Crosby's on the Eastern Shore.

48. Charles Carroll of Annapolis to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, October 6, 1759, item 169, Carroll Papers microfilm.

49. Stephen Hopkins, *The Rights of Colonies Examined*, in *Pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1750–1776*, ed. Bernard Bailyn (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), 1:507–508. For a discussion of the revolutionaries' fear of slavery, see Joyce Appleby, *Liberalism and Republicanism in the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 155–58, and Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), 132–39; Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), 380–87.

50. "A short Account of ye proceedings of ye Assembly of Maryland in regard to ye Rom: Catholicks settled there, together with a justification of their conduct, & behavior, ye whole proved from authentick copy's of ye Provincial Records & other undoubted testimonys," #5R3, AMPSJ; *Maryland Gazette*, May 27, 1756. The story of Carroll's journey to France emerges in the correspondence in the Carroll Papers microfilm. For example, see items 84, 94, 113, and 118.

51. Dr. Henry Jerningham to Don Antonio de Ulloa, November 28, 1767, printed in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1945*, vol. 2, *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765–1794*, ed. Lawrence Kinnaird (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949), 36–37. The Spanish records include a list of the names of all the German and Acadian settlers. See Alexandro O'Reilly to Don Julian de Arriaga, December 10, 1769; John Steel and other seamen of *La Bretana* to Alexandro O'Reilly, November 20, 1769; List of German and Acadian families who went by an English vessel to New Orleans to settle; all printed in Kinnaird, *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, 2:135–42. Although the documents do not specifically state that these settlers came from Maryland, the names of the crew readily identify them as coming from St. Mary's County, Maryland, where Dr. Jerningham also lived.

52. For the chapel network, see Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," 540.

53. Ibid., 190, 250, 316, 330–33, 346, 358; for a list of most of the Marylanders who joined religious orders, see Edwin W. Beitzell, *The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County, Maryland*, 2d ed. (Abell, Md.: n.p., 1976), 313–21.

54. There were two petitions, the first signed by Charles Carroll of Annapolis, Ignatius Digges, Henry Darnall of Portland Manor, and 256 others and the second by Carroll alone. The originals no longer exist, but unsigned copies survive; see "Ye Petition of ye RC to Mr Dennett relating to V:A:," July 16, 1765, #202K6, and Charles Carroll of Annapolis to Bishop Richard Challoner, July 16, 1765, #202K7, AMPSJ. The text of these petitions is printed in Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore (1735–1815)* (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1922), 154–56.

55. Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," 359–71.

56. Ibid., 319–20. For example, Charles Carroll of Carrollton wrote to his father from St. Omers on March 22, 1750: "Most of our Marylandians do very well, and they are said to be as good as any, if not the best boys in the house." See item 43, Carroll Papers microfilm.

57. The letters in the newspaper debate are printed in Peter S. Onuf, ed., *Maryland and the Empire, 1773: The Antilon-First Citizen Letters* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974). See also Ronald Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics, and the Revolution in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), ch. 5.

58. For the coming of the Revolution in Maryland, the best source is Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension*. The committees included at least seventeen Catholics in St. Mary's County and twenty-eight in Prince George's County. See the *Maryland Gazette*, November 10, 1774, November 24, 1774, January 5, 1775, and January 26, 1775.