

## Women and the Catholic Church in Maryland, 1689–1776

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From the mid-1500s to the late 1700s, Catholics in England endured a dark period when the law proscribed their church, government agents hunted for priests, and the courts harassed lay Catholics. During this trying period, women helped to ensure the existence of Catholicism. Even as their husbands conformed to the Anglican Church for economic or political reasons, Catholic women remained true to their faith and raised their children in the church. Partly as a result of their important role and partly as a result of Catholic veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Catholic women enjoyed a higher status than their Anglican counterparts.<sup>1</sup>

Colonial Maryland Catholics have not received nearly as much attention as English Catholics, but what has been written about them has largely centered on white men.<sup>2</sup> Women's experiences were in some ways quite different from men's: the laws which excluded Catholic men from the political arena and which proscribed public worship actually provided women with an elevated position within the Catholic community. But gender and religion were not the only factors that affected a woman's life; race and class were extremely important. One way of exploring the experiences of Catholic women during Maryland's penal era is to look at the lives of specific women. I propose in this paper to explore the lives of Jane Mathews Doyne, a gentlewoman, and Jenny, an enslaved woman.

When Jane Doyne's father came to Maryland in 1637, it was an unstable, crude frontier society, yet for Catholics, it was the promised land, a place where they could practice their faith openly. Despite making up no more than about 10 percent of the population of seventeenth-century Maryland, Catholics formed a tightly-knit community, transacting business together and taking care of widows and orphans. Their church flourished, for Maryland had no religious establishment and allowed Catholics to worship freely. Men dominated the church. Among lay Catholics, as among the general population, men far outnumbered women, and only male religious orders sent members to this raw frontier. The Franciscans and others provided a few missionary priests, but the Jesuits supplied the bulk of the clergy. The Catholicism of the proprietary family and of most of the leading government officials ensured the church a place of special prominence, with priests giving sermons on public occasions.<sup>3</sup>

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Jane's family enjoyed a privileged position within the colony. Her father, Thomas Mathews, had migrated as a free man with four servants. In addition to planting tobacco on the two thousand acres of land he owned, he practiced medicine, acted as an attorney for the Jesuits, served as a justice of the peace and sheriff, and won election to the Lower House. Mathews married twice; his second wife, Jane Cockshutt, was a Catholic who had migrated to Maryland as an infant and probably brought a substantial dowry to the marriage. She gave birth to the daughter who is the focus of this story.<sup>4</sup>

The Mathews family lived near Jesuit churches, first at St. Inigoes and later at Port Tobacco, allowing them to attend Mass regularly and enjoy other sacraments such as baptism and marriage. We do not know who Jane's godparents were, but many friends and relatives lived nearby who could have acted in this capacity; quite often, single men were symbolically incorporated into families as godfathers, and godparents often assumed responsibility for their godchildren since most children lost one or both parents to death.<sup>5</sup> Thomas himself died in 1676 at the age of fifty-three, an old man by the standards of the seventeenth-century Chesapeake, yet not old enough to see his youngest children reach maturity. Like most men with young children, he bequeathed the bulk of his estate to his widow, giving her the ability to maintain the children.<sup>6</sup>

The demographic situation—men outnumbered women by as much as three to one in the 1670s—put enormous pressure on widows to re-marry. Thomas's widow did marry, again choosing a Catholic planter, but we know nothing of their lives together or about Jane's relationship with her new stepfather. Given the size of the estate that her father had left, however, it is extremely unlikely that Jane ever had to work in the tobacco fields.

As was typical of native-born girls, Jane seems to have married at an early age—possibly in her teens—to an older man, a widower named Joshua Doyne. Born into an Anglo-Irish family, Joshua had been transported to Maryland around 1670 but had returned to Ireland. He immigrated again in 1680 with his first wife, who soon died, leaving Joshua to raise four or five children on his own. By 1688 the widowed father had married young Jane Mathews.<sup>7</sup>

Around the time Joshua and Jane Doyne married, Catholics in the English empire were enjoying a renaissance. With Catholic King James II on the throne, enforcement of the anti-Catholic laws in England relaxed. In 1688, however, the good times came crashing to a halt. The end began innocently enough, with the birth of a son to King James II in England. As sheriff of St. Mary's County, Joshua Doyne was likely present in October 1688 when the colonial government held its official celebration of the birth. A month later, at the invitation of the Protestant-controlled Parliament, William of Orange landed on the shores of England, overthrowing James II in the Glorious Revolution. Disgruntled Protestants in Maryland seized the opportunity to rebel against the Catholic propri-

etor. Joshua was surely in the thick of things as sheriff. Perhaps he was one of the men who surrendered the State House to the rebels, or perhaps he made his stand with the proprietary forces at the governor's house before they surrendered.<sup>8</sup>

The rebellion was an almost entirely male affair. Jane Doyne and other women, however much anxiety they may have felt, did not participate in political affairs. But Jane and her co-religionists were deeply affected by the rebellion's outcome. The English government eventually took over Maryland's government, and Catholics were ousted from their offices. Joshua lost his post as sheriff, while at least three of Jane's kin forfeited their positions as justices of the peace.<sup>9</sup> Catholics no longer were allowed to serve on juries. More important for women was the change in the Catholic Church's position. In the immediate aftermath of the rebellion, most of the Catholic priests left the province and the churches closed, some for nearly four years. The Church of England became the established church, and everyone, whether Catholic or Protestant, was required to pay taxes to support it. In 1697 the governor banned proselytizing by Catholics. In 1704 the governor permanently closed the Jesuits' great church at St. Mary's City, and the assembly limited Mass to private homes.

Catholics were still able to worship, because most of the Jesuits' chapels were attached to their residences and qualified as private. In addition, wealthy Catholics such as the Doynes had long maintained chapels in their homes, especially in areas where the Jesuits did not own land. Several Doyne relatives, including Jane's brother Ignatius Mathews and her brother-in-law William Boarman, also owned chapels. The ban on public worship made the network of domestic chapels even more important, and their numbers increased.<sup>10</sup> Later, the Doynes' daughters Mary and Jane also owned chapels, as did their grandson Robert Doyne.<sup>11</sup>

The proliferation of domestic chapels probably made it easier for women to practice Catholicism. The Jesuits stressed regular attendance at Mass and urged frequent communion. Despite the priests' urging, however, pregnant women or those with small children—most married women, in other words—may have found it difficult to get themselves and their children to a distant church. If the priest came to say Mass at their home or at a nearby plantation, they surely were much likelier to attend. Another pious practice made easier by domestic chapels was visiting the Blessed Sacrament. Following communion, the celebrant placed the remains of the consecrated host in a goblet-shaped vessel called a ciborium, which was then placed inside an ornamented box or tabernacle and kept in a place of honor in the chapel.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to allowing women to practice their faith more easily, domestic chapels also elevated the position of women whose families owned chapels, imbuing the role of mistress of the house with religious significance. Joan Gundersen has observed that the practice of holding rites of passage—baptisms,

marriages, and funerals—at home gave Anglican women more influence than if the ceremonies had been held at church.<sup>13</sup> How much truer that observation must be for Catholic women who oversaw preparations not only for occasional rites of passage but also for regular services. Although we have no direct evidence, undoubtedly women were responsible for preparing the chapel for Mass, polishing the silver communion vessels, and maintaining the textiles used in the service. Most of the probate records simply refer to “Church Stuff,” but the inventory of Jane’s son-in-law Thomas Jameson provides additional details. When he died in 1734, he owned three sets of “Church Stuff,” but this is clearly a reference to textiles since the sets were described as red, green, and striped. Jameson also owned a tabernacle and bread box, so members of the family or neighbors would have been able to visit the Blessed Sacrament after Mass. Finally, the inventory included bread iron cutters; presumably his wife was responsible for baking the communion bread.<sup>14</sup>

It is also likely that women were responsible for providing hospitality for the visiting priest and for those attending Mass. The number of participants could be substantial. Boarman’s chapel is one of the few domestic chapels whose dimensions are known: it was fairly large, thirty feet long by twenty feet wide, big enough to allow possibly 150 people to attend. We know that attendance at the Doyne chapel also extended beyond the immediate family, for a distant relative left a bequest to it. Bachelor’s Hope, the Doyne home, was well-situated to draw a crowd. The Doynes lived near the confluence of the Wicomico and Chaptico rivers in St. Mary’s County, just north of the large Catholic population of St. Clement’s Manor and just across the Wicomico River from many Catholics in Charles County. Indeed, the Doynes themselves likely attended Mass at the homes of friends or relatives whenever possible.<sup>15</sup>

Most of the people who owned domestic chapels were quite wealthy, and the Doynes were no exception. Joshua Doyne earned income from holding office, keeping a store, and planting tobacco on some of his more than three thousand acres of land. Bachelor’s Hope was larger than most Maryland houses of the day, with at least six rooms, a dairy, and a kitchen. The Doynes enjoyed a fairly luxurious standard of living: they ate off pewter plates using silver spoons on tables laid with tablecloths and napkins; they slept on feather beds with sheets warmed by a warming pan, dressed in front of a looking glass, and relieved themselves in chamberpots. Though white servants were becoming harder to find, Jane and the younger Doyne children did not have to work in the fields for Joshua owned at least sixteen slaves.<sup>16</sup>

Jane nevertheless certainly kept busy. Women typically bore children every two to three years. Jane gave birth to at least four children, three sons and one daughter. In addition to childrearing, she was also responsible for supervising the kitchen, the dairy, and the garden as well as producing textiles. Supervising

food preparation was a particularly important task in a Catholic household due to the rigorous fasting requirements the church imposed. On fasting days, Catholics were to eat no meat and have only one meal, while on days of abstinence, they could eat as many meals as they wished but were to avoid meat.<sup>17</sup> As the mistress of the household, it would have been Jane Doyne's duty to ensure that her family—including servants and slaves—followed these requirements and to prepare meals accordingly.

In 1698, Jane Doyne's responsibilities increased dramatically when her husband Joshua died. Like most seventeenth-century husbands, Joshua named his wife as sole executor, although he also appointed three "Esteemed & Trusty Friends" to be overseers to help her. All three of the men were Catholics, a reflection of the closely-knit Catholic community in which the Doynes lived. Joshua granted Jane a life interest in Bachelor's Hope, and he divided his sixteen slaves among nine heirs, breaking up some slave families in the process. In addition, he bequeathed to Jane the "Church Stuff" for her lifetime and asked her to distribute one thousand pounds of tobacco to "poor Catholiques." He also made bequests to two priests, the Jesuit William Hunter and the Franciscan Richard Hubbard, and discharged two other priests from the debts they owed him. The change in government may have left Joshua apprehensive about the future: he insisted that his children be "taught educated & Nurtured" in the Catholic faith "and furnished with all necessarys & conveniences to frequent Goeing to Chappells and Places of Divine Service." Joshua seemed particularly concerned over the faith of his youngest daughter, making her bequest conditional on her staying single or marrying a Catholic.<sup>18</sup>

The task of instructing children and servants in the faith was a major parental responsibility. The Jesuits urged Marylanders to have family prayers and devotions; the duties of a pious family, they preached, included "frequenting ye Sacraments, constant publick prayers & pious Reading especially on Sundays & holydays." Many families owned religious books such as John Gother's *Book of Instructions* or *A Manual of Godly Prayers*, which provided specific prayers and devotions. Since Joshua Doyne owned books at the time of his death, it seems likely that the Doynes used these sorts of manuals for leading devotions and instructing their dependents.<sup>19</sup>

Even if Joshua had lived, much of the burden for the family's religious life likely would have fallen on Jane. Among English Catholics and Chesapeake Anglicans, women assumed responsibility for the spiritual education of their children and dependents, and we have no reason to think it was otherwise for Maryland Catholics.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, in 1694 a married Catholic woman who had custody of an orphan was accused of instructing him in the Catholic faith; the court ordered her Protestant husband to take over the boy's religious education.<sup>21</sup> The assembly also credited mothers with having particular influence over their



children's religious education. In 1715 it passed a law allowing the government to remove the children of deceased Protestant fathers from the custody of their mother, if she was a Catholic or married a Catholic.<sup>22</sup>

That Jane Doyne instructed her children well is evident. All of them remained true to the Church, marrying other Catholics and raising their children in the faith. The Doyne chapel continued to serve as a center for the local Catholic community. The present-day house at Bachelor's Hope dates from the early eighteenth century, when Jane owned the property. One unusual feature of the building is that the second floor, consisting of a large room over the central portion of the first floor, can be reached only by an exterior staircase; perhaps this room served as the chapel, since the easy access from outside made it ideal for that purpose. In any case, as the owner of a chapel, Jane apparently enjoyed a good reputation: two other Catholics in their wills asked her to take in their daughters. The records suggest that she may have run a small school for Catholic girls at Bachelor's Hope.<sup>23</sup>

Jane Doyne, unlike her mother and grandmother, did not choose to re-marry after the death of her husband. As a wealthy widow with an extensive kin network, Jane could afford to remain single.<sup>24</sup> Nonetheless, the years immediately after Joshua's death were surely challenging. Joshua's estate was complex to administer, given its size and the variety of economic activities it encompassed. In addition, the majority of the children were not yet of age, and Jane had to run the estate in such a way as to assure that each child received his or her inheritance at the appropriate time. She could turn for assistance to the overseers whom Joshua had appointed or to adult male kin. Joshua, despite his confidence in her managerial skill, had clearly worried that his older sons would not respect their stepmother and made their bequests partially conditional on "their Good Behaviour towards" her.<sup>25</sup>

After all her children had grown, Jane Doyne apparently continued to live on her own. Many of her children and grandchildren lived nearby, but the majority of her daily interactions must have been with the enslaved African Americans at Bachelor's Hope. No records survive to indicate if she took instructing her slaves in religion as seriously as she had her children, although they almost certainly would have been baptized in the Catholic Church. Nine of the ten slaves Jane Doyne owned at the time of her death shared names with her relatives, including the highly uncommon name Victoria.<sup>26</sup> This suggests that the whites may have played a role in naming them; certainly the Catholic priests would have insisted on appropriately Christian names at baptism, but that goal could have been accomplished without choosing Doyne family names. It is possible that some of the Doynes were godparents to the slaves who shared their names. Despite the shared names, there is no evidence that Jane Doyne felt any strong personal ties to them. Unlike some planters, she did not free any of them

or allow them to choose their new masters after her death. Instead, as her husband and many other small slave owners had done, when Jane died in 1738 she distributed her ten slaves among various heirs, possibly breaking up some families in the process.<sup>27</sup>

Jane Doyne survived her husband by forty years and outlived four of her nine children and stepchildren, leaving behind twenty-five grandchildren and even some great-grandchildren at the time of her death. The lives of Jane's children demonstrate some of the changes occurring in Maryland. The colony was no longer a land of opportunity: none of Joshua Doyne's seven sons owned as much land as he did, and only one had a larger personal estate.<sup>28</sup> Jane Doyne and her children lived through some hard times for Catholics, especially before 1720, but the next generation would enjoy much greater opportunities. In fact, two of Jane's grandsons attended Catholic schools in Europe, an opportunity open only to the very wealthiest families earlier in the century; both of these boys became Jesuits. One of Jane's granddaughters also attended Catholic school in Europe, becoming a Carmelite nun. As was true in colonial Protestant churches, women came to outnumber men in the Catholic Church in Maryland. Catholics enjoyed access to new outlets for piety, such as the sodalities founded by the Jesuits in the late colonial period; women made up more than 80 percent of the members. Thirteen of Jane's descendants—including four males—participated in the Perpetual Adorers of the Blessed Sacrament, a sodality at Port Tobacco whose members took turns praying and honoring the Blessed Sacrament from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. daily.<sup>29</sup> The commitment to Catholicism of these later generations is a tribute to the solid foundation of piety which Jane Doyne had established for her family.

### **A Slave's Life**

The circumstances of Jane Doyne's life were quite different from those of the second woman who is the subject of this paper. Jenny was born in January 1752 at Blakeford, a plantation belonging to Philemon Blake in Queen Anne's County on Maryland's Eastern Shore.<sup>30</sup> Her mother may have been Frances, who was described in 1761 as "often ailing" and who was thirty-three at the time of Jenny's birth. Her father may have been Matthew, a slave on another Blake plantation. Blake owned more than two thousand acres and fifty-nine slaves, while other Blakes living nearby were equally wealthy.<sup>31</sup> Parish records suggest that there was much visiting and intermingling among the enslaved populations of the various Blake properties. Jenny, then, was probably raised within a relatively large kin network.

The Blakes were devout Catholics, maintaining chapels at each of their homes. At the time of Jenny's birth, the Jesuits did not own any property in this

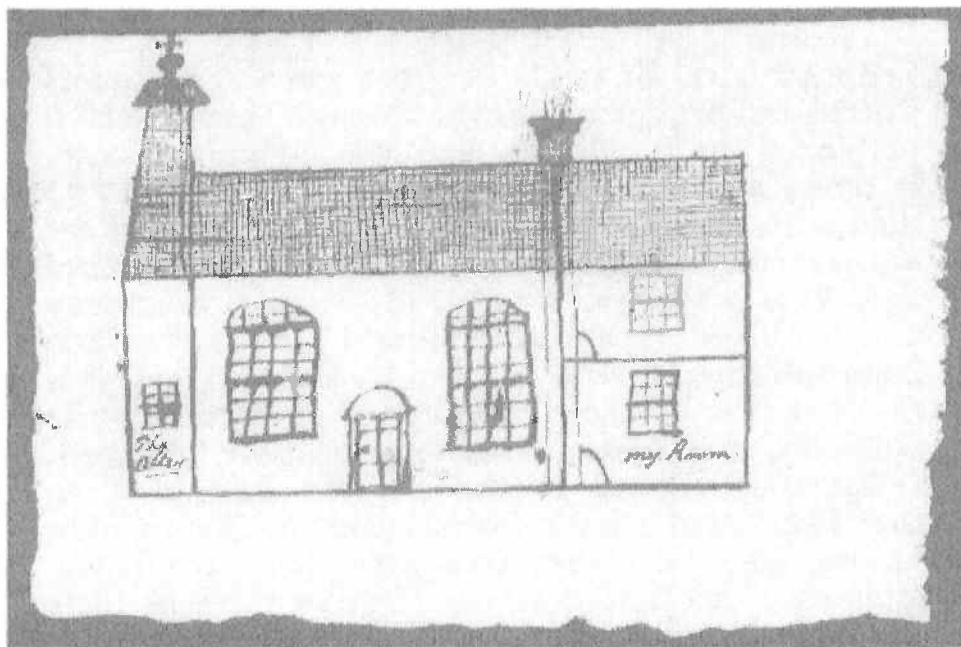


*St. Joseph Mission, Tuckahoe, Talbot County, where Reverend Joseph Mosley performed the sacraments for slave women as well as white women and their families in the eighteenth century. (Reverend Joseph Mosley, S.J. Papers, Special Collections Division, Georgetown University Library.)*

area of the Eastern Shore, so the only way Catholics could worship was to provide their own chapels. An itinerant Jesuit visited **every** four to eight weeks, and these visits became great occasions when work was suspended and rites of passage celebrated. It is clear that the Blakes and other Catholic slaveowners in Queen Anne's County felt a deep concern for the slaves' spiritual welfare. How they displayed this concern is less clear. We do not know how regularly they instructed the slaves in religion, or if they offered any incentives to encourage the bondspeople to join the church. Neither do we know if they required slaves to participate in Mass, or if they left that decision to each individual. Some of the enslaved Catholics appear to have been quite devout and willingly participated in the rituals of the church. For slaves to choose to serve as godparents or to marry in the church suggests a certain degree of religiosity. The Jesuit records from the late colonial period indicate that the Eastern Shore Church was, in fact, made up largely of slaves. The number of baptisms and marriages of slaves far exceeds the number for whites. Whether slave women outnumbered slave men in the Catholic Church as they did in Protestant churches is difficult to determine.<sup>32</sup>

The opportunity to have formal rites of passage may have appealed to enslaved African Americans.<sup>33</sup> Baptism drew people into formal relationships, as godparents agreed to take responsibility for their godchildren's spiritual instruc-





*Father Mosley sent this drawing of his mission to his sister in England. (Georgetown University Library.)*

tion. In St. Mary's County, where most Catholic slaveowners owned only a few slaves, two-thirds (68 percent) of the godparents of slaves were white. On the Eastern Shore, by contrast, nine-tenths (90 percent) of the godparents of slaves were themselves enslaved, probably because of the large slave population. Having slave godparents helped to expand the kin network beyond blood relatives, which was especially important in a situation where families could be broken apart for reasons beyond their control.<sup>34</sup>

Given what we know about the late colonial period, it seems likely that Jenny was baptized during one of the visits made by the priest in 1752 and that her godparents were probably enslaved. Jenny was raised on the main plantation, not a distant quarter, and she probably had no work obligations during the first few years of her life. Like most enslaved women, Jenny's mother probably was a field hand, helping to raise wheat, corn, and tobacco. Typically, an older slave woman looked after the young children. On Blakeford, Beck—who was about fifty-three at the time Jenny was born—may have been responsible for childcare.<sup>35</sup>

When Jenny was nine, about the time she probably started working in the fields, Philemon Blake died. The death of an owner often had tragic consequences for his slaves, wrecking their families as bondsmen were distributed among various heirs, as happened to the Doyme slaves. Catholic slaves confronted the additional peril that their new owners might not be Catholic; some Protestants were not willing to

THAT Mrs. BLAKE's Negroes got some kind of Putrid or Malignant Fever amongst them, which perplexed the Physicians, and was difficult to cure, is true; and that Seventeen only (not THIRTY) died with it, I believe is true also; but, that its Rage did not intermit, until by a waste of Lives, it wanted Subjects to prey upon, is not true; because, after they omitted Bleeding, and administer'd James's Powders, I am informed several of them recovered; and it is thought that Method of Cure, if at First happily fallen on, might have saved some of those that died. It is certain several of the Negroes belonging to that Plantation are still living, and the Two young Ladies, Mrs. BLAKE's Daughters, who constantly attended, and nursed all the Negroes through their Sicknes, intirely escaped the Fever: Mrs. BLAKE herself, who was a very worthy Lady, and very anxious for the Interest and Welfare of her Children, went through much Fatigue and Solitude in nursing the Slaves; and being tender and delicate in her Constitution, got ill herself, and died; whether with the same Kind of Fever, or not, is doubted, as the young Ladies did not take it. Doctor HALE says, a Number of People, con-

*The Maryland Gazette carried an account of the Blake family tragedy on July 30, 1767. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

allow their slaves to practice Catholicism.<sup>36</sup> Blake divided his estate among his four children and his wife. Jenny became the property of the widow, Sarah Blake, and remained at Blakeford. We do not know what happened to her immediate family. Blake's older son, Philemon Jr., established his own home and quarters apart from the rest of his family. While he moved of his own volition, the slaves he inherited had no choice but to leave behind friends and families. Fortunately, at least, his plantation was nearby, so it was possible for the enslaved Africans to visit each other.<sup>37</sup>

In 1765, four years after Philemon Blake's death, an English-born Jesuit named Joseph Mosley established the mission of St. Joseph's at Tuckahoe. The mission, situated on the relatively flat lands near the Wye River along the border

between Queen Anne's and Talbot counties, included a chapel and a farm. Mosley brought with him eight slaves from the Jesuits' plantation at White Marsh in Prince George's County. The priest served the mission with dedication, and, thanks to his good work, Catholics in the area probably were able to go to Mass more often.

The missionary's relationship with his enslaved parishioners was complex. Mosley did not think highly of slaves, describing them as "naturally inclined to thieving, lying and much lechery" and "a stubborn, dull set of Mortalls that do Nothing but by driving." But he clearly served the enslaved Catholics with zeal. Not only did he perform more slave baptisms and marriages than white, but he also made sure that they were properly catechized. He reported with pride to his sister that the slaves who "belong to ye Gentlemen of our Persuasion; & our own, are all [Christ]ians and instructed in every [Christ]ian duty with care."<sup>38</sup>

Two years after Mosley's arrival, a deadly fever swept through the Blake plantations. Although the Blakes sent for doctors and the Blake women "constantly attended, and nursed" the slaves, they could not prevent a massive loss of life. On March 5, 1767, Mosley buried Vincent and other children at Mrs. Blake's, followed the next day by five children at Charles Blake's plantation. The epidemic continued throughout the summer, and work must have come to a halt as those who escaped illness tended the sick and dying. In all, between twenty-three and thirty-six Blake slaves died, perhaps more. The experience of such tremendous loss of life must have affected the survivors, including Jenny, for the rest of their lives. The death of Sarah Blake in June added to the trauma, for once again the survivors faced dislocation. Jenny became the property of Sarah's younger son, Charles Blake.<sup>39</sup>

Jenny by now was in her late teens, and it was time to consider a marriage partner. The kin connections between the Blake slaves were close enough that at least two couples required dispensations to marry. The lack of suitable partners led almost one-third to marry slaves from other plantations. Jenny's attentions turned to a young man named Jerry, who had come to Tuckahoe from the Jesuit plantation at White Marsh in 1767. Jerry was twenty-two and Jenny eighteen when they were married in November 1770. Their wedding took place on a Monday at St. Joseph's Chapel at Tuckahoe, with Father Mosley officiating. Mosley and the Blakes gave their slaves time off to attend the wedding, so the couple married in the presence of many of their friends and relatives.<sup>40</sup>

The young couple was unusually fortunate in that Mosley bought Jenny, so she was able to join her husband. Only eight other slaves lived at the two-hundred-acre farm. The oldest, Nanny, had been born in Guinea around 1710 and had come to Tuckahoe in 1765 from White Marsh. At age thirty-three, Tom was the oldest male. He and his first wife Frank had also been among those coming from White Marsh to Tuckahoe in 1765, along with their five children, all under



age twelve. A sixth child had been born to them in 1765, but the next year Frank had died. Tom remained a widower until early 1770, when he married Nell Told, a Blake slave whom Mosley apparently bought.<sup>41</sup>

Jerry and Jenny were of necessity quite intimate with Tom and Nell, for all the slaves apparently lived in the same building. When Mosley had first moved to Tuckahoe in 1765, he told his sister that "there were three buildings, a miserable dwelling-house, a much worse for some negroes, and a house to cure tobacco in. My dwelling-house was nothing but a few boards riven from oak trees, not sawed plank . . . no plastering, and no chimney, but a little hole in the roof to let out the smoke." He had immediately gotten the slaves to plaster his house and build a brick chimney, and surely the slaves carried out some improvements on their house as well. Nevertheless, the slaves' house was quite crowded, a situation which eased a little in 1771 when Mosley sent three of Tom's daughters to live at another Jesuit plantation. However welcome more space might have been, the breakup of the family—two of the girls were only five and seven—surely disturbed all the slaves at Tuckahoe.<sup>42</sup>

Given the lack of adult laborers at the farm, Jenny probably worked in the fields. The slaves raised tobacco and corn and tended livestock. Since Mosley was not an experienced farmer and was often away on missionary trips, Tom must have had a great deal of authority over the work routines. According to his diary, Mosley did join his enslaved workers in the fields at harvest time. Nanny was surely past field work, although she probably did watch the children and performed some household chores. Mosley hired neighboring white women to do his washing and mending. Like many Chesapeake masters, the priest sometimes paid the male slaves for doing extra tasks, such as making rails and mauling logs. He occasionally bought chickens, and once a pig, from the female slaves. Sundays and holy days provided the African Americans an opportunity to tend to their own gardens and animals and to extend their social network beyond Tuckahoe, visiting friends and relatives from other plantations after Mass.<sup>43</sup>

Jerry and Jenny began a family right away, and Jenny was pregnant approximately every two years for the next decade. Their first son, Matthew, was baptized in 1771 but died before reaching his second birthday. His brother Samuel, born in 1773, survived, but his sister Frances died just twelve days after her baptism in 1775. The next year Jenny gave birth to another girl, also named Frances. Thomas, who was born in 1778, was apparently Jenny's child, as was Henrietta, born two years later. There were five more children born at Tuckahoe in the 1780s, including three in 1784. It is hard to identify their parents, but surely at least one of these children was Jerry and Jenny's.<sup>44</sup>

Naming these children provided an opportunity to honor relatives and friends. Matthew and the two girls named Frances may have been named for Jenny's parents, while Samuel may have been named for her brother. Thomas and



Henrietta were named for other slaves at Tuckahoe. It is possible that these slaves were related to Jerry, since they all came originally from the Jesuits' plantation at White Marsh.<sup>45</sup>

The choice of godparents also helped strengthen ties among the slave families at Tuckahoe and slaves on other plantations. Half of the godparents of Jenny's children lived at Tuckahoe. Tom served as godfather to two of the children, while two of his sons and one of his daughters also were godparents to Jenny's children. The Blake plantations provided three additional godparents, and the remainder were slaves belonging to small planters living in the vicinity. Jerry and Jenny together acted as godparents for three slave children belonging to small planters, and Jenny joined Robert, a slave from Blakeford, as godparents to a fourth child.<sup>46</sup>

Mosley certainly expected other slaveowners to instruct their slaves in religion, so he must have participated in guiding the spiritual development of Jerry and Jenny's children. But he would have expected Jerry and Jenny to participate as well.<sup>47</sup> We know nothing about how the families at Tuckahoe practiced their religion. At a minimum, they attended Mass regularly, participated in confession and communion at Easter, and took part in rites of passage. They certainly had the opportunity to visit the reserved sacrament in the chapel, to protect themselves by using holy water and making the sign of the cross, and to use rosary beads to count their prayers. They probably also observed the church's days of abstinence, and it seems likely that Mosley allowed them to refrain from hard labor on the more important holy days, as Church regulations demanded.<sup>48</sup> But they did not join sodalities, they did not attend Catholic schools, and they did not join religious orders. Nor could they read Catholic books, since there is no evidence that Jenny or Jerry or any other Jesuit slave was literate.

Jenny's life surely revolved around her family, her work, and probably her church, but outside forces sometimes impinged on her world. In late 1773, for example, news of the papal suppression of the Society of Jesus sent Mosley into a deep depression, and he contemplated giving up his mission. He clearly cut back on his pastoral work for at least the next year, presumably spending more time at Tuckahoe. How Jenny felt about Mosley's increased presence is not known, of course.<sup>49</sup> The American Revolution caused much turmoil on the Eastern Shore, as civil war developed between the loyalists and the patriots. Mosley tried to avoid taking sides: he initially refused to take an oath of loyalty required of ministers by the Maryland assembly in 1778, which kept him from preaching for a few months, until he took the oath. There is no evidence to indicate that the enslaved population at Tuckahoe took advantage of the disorder to run away nor is there any indication of how the tumultuous war years affected their lives.<sup>50</sup>

By the end of the Revolutionary War, Mosley had embarked on a building program at Tuckahoe, which surely disrupted the lives of Jenny and the other

slaves at the plantation. He and the slaves built a brick chapel with a dwelling house attached; the building was substantial, fifty-two feet long and twenty-four feet wide. The first service in the new chapel, held on Easter Sunday in 1784, attracted an overflow crowd, and between two and three hundred people attended the Masses that Mosley offered there each month. The more frequent Masses probably meant both more work and more opportunities for socializing for the enslaved population at Tuckahoe, while the new house may have meant that one of the slave families was able to move into Mosley's old house.<sup>51</sup>

Unlike the situation when most small slaveowners died, Mosley's death in 1787 apparently did not disturb the routine at Tuckahoe. Another former Jesuit, John Bolton, moved to Talbot County to take his place. At some point, whether before or after Mosley's death, other whites moved to Tuckahoe. The 1790 census listed Bolton as head of a household that included another free white male, two free white females, and eleven slaves. Presumably, the white male was an overseer, while the females were surely his relatives. What effect their presence had on Jenny is difficult to determine, but it did mean housing was in short supply once again.<sup>52</sup>

Jenny was more fortunate than many enslaved women. She and Jerry were able to spend their entire married lives together. It is not clear if all of their children remained with them. Mosley had sent some of Tom's children to larger Jesuit plantations, and perhaps he did so with Jerry and Jenny's as well. There was only one more slave living at Tuckahoe in 1790 than had lived there when Jerry and Jenny had gotten married twenty years earlier. But Jerry was not among them, having died in 1788 at age forty. He was buried at the Blakes' plantation at Wye, near Tuckahoe. Perhaps that was where he died, since he normally would have been buried in the graveyard at St. Joseph's, as their two children had been. Jenny lived long enough to attend Samuel and Henrietta's weddings in 1799. Both of them married slaves from other plantations. That same year, Henrietta's son Jerry was baptized in the Catholic Church. Jenny's death is not recorded in the church records.<sup>53</sup>

Jenny is unusual in that we know more about the details of her life than we do about most Catholic slaves in colonial Maryland. But her life was typical for Catholic slave women on the Eastern Shore. Most belonged to whites who encouraged their slaves to practice Catholicism, and most lived on plantations with ten or more slaves. Jane Doyme, meanwhile, is also representative of the landowning white women of the Western Shore. She lived longer and enjoyed a more luxurious lifestyle than many of her neighbors, but she was not from the very upper crust of the gentry.

The lives of these two women demonstrate some of the experiences of Catholic women in colonial Maryland. They played a crucial role in the survival of Catholicism, supervising their households in the observance of Sundays and holy

days, participating in rites of passage, and transmitting the faith to the next generation. Race and class affected their experiences profoundly. While her husband lived, Jane Doyne was legally subordinate to him, but as a wealthy widow, she was able to govern her own religious life. It was her choice to continue to sponsor a chapel, to instruct others in Catholicism, to pray, to read religious books. It was true that the government did place some constraints on Catholic worship, but those restraints did not limit and in some ways enhanced her experience of Catholicism. Her children and grandchildren had even greater opportunities to seek Catholic educations, to pursue religious vocations, and to join sodalities. Jenny's experiences as a Catholic, by contrast, were limited by her status as a slave. She was able to attend Mass regularly, marry in the Church, and have her children baptized. But that was to some extent a result not of her own choices but because of who her owners were: the devout Blakes, followed by the Jesuit Mosley. She had no opportunity to seek education for herself or her children. She could not pursue a religious vocation, and even joining a sodality was apparently not a possibility. Yet she succeeded in passing the faith to her children. They remained, so far as we can tell, practicing Catholics, marrying and having their children baptized in the Church.

#### NOTES

1. John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 112, 153–59. For Scottish Catholics, see Alasdair F. B. Roberts, "The Role of Women in Scottish Catholic Survival," *Scottish Historical Review*, 70, 2, no. 190 (October 1991): 129–50.
2. Two recent works on American Catholic women's history have included very little on colonial English women. See James Joseph Kenneally, *The History of American Catholic Women* (New York: Crossroad Publishing Co., 1990) and Karen Kennelly, ed., *American Catholic Women: A Historical Exploration*, *The Bicentennial History of the Catholic Church in America*, ed. Christopher J. Kauffman (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1989).
3. The best work on seventeenth-century Catholics is Michael James Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise: Religion and Community in Seventeenth-Century Maryland" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1984). See also Edward F. Terrar, *Social, Economic, and Religious Beliefs Among Maryland Catholic Laboring People During the Period of the English Civil War, 1639–1660* (Bethesda, Md.: International Scholars Publications, 1996).
4. Edward C. Papenfuss, et al., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979, 1985), 204, 275, 581; Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise," 86. Jane Cockshutt's mother Jane had married 1) John Cockshutt, 2) Nicholas Causine, and 3) Robert Clarke. Jane and John Cockshutt had migrated in 1641 and had two daughters, Jane and Mary, who were born in England. Jane and Nicholas Causine had two sons, Ignatius and Nicholas. Robert Clarke had been married twice before he married Jane; his stepchildren from these previous marriages included Robert Greene, Thomas Greene, and Leonard Greene. Robert Clarke also had children of his own, although it is not clear which of his three wives gave birth to which of the children. These children were John, Robert, Thomas, and Mary.



5. Papenfuse, *Biographical Dictionary*, 581; Lorena S. Walsh and Russell R. Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake: Two Life Tables for Men in Early Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 69 (1974): 222; Lorena S. Walsh, "'Till Death Us Do Part': Marriage and Family in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," in Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds., *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society and Politics* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1974), 143; Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, "'New-Wives and Sons-in-Law': Parental Death in a Seventeenth-Century Virginia County," in Tate and Ammerman, eds., *Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century*, 158–64; Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise," 85–91. Thomas Mathews had seven children who lived to adulthood: Thomas (?–1676/7), who married Sarah Boarman; Ignatius (?–1698), who married Mary Doyne (?–1755); William (1674–1725); Anne, who married 1) Thomas Mudd (?–1696) and 2) Philip Hoskins (c1650–1718); Jane (?–1738), who married Joshua Doyne (?–1698); Victoria, who married William Thompson; and Mary, who married William Boarman (1630–1709). He almost certainly had other children, but they probably died at an early age, since the child mortality rate was as high as 55 percent.
6. Thomas Mathews' will, Prerogative Court Wills, liber 5, folios 83–85, Maryland State Archives (hereafter cited as MSA); Carr and Walsh, "The Planter's Wife," 555–57.
7. Papenfuse, *Biographical Dictionary*, 581; Doyne folder, Filing Case A, Maryland Historical Society. Joshua's children by his first wife were: Dennis (?–1698), who married Jane; Ethelbert (?–1725), who married Jane Sanders; Jesse (1677–1727), who married Elizabeth Brent; Mary, who married 1) Ignatius Matthews (?–1698) and 2) Thomas Jameson (1679–1734); and possibly William (who died by 1726). For seventeenth-century marriages, see Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 34 (1977): 542–71, especially 542–53; Walsh, "Marriage and Family," 137–140; Russell R. Menard, "Immigrants and Their Increase: The Process of Population Growth in Early Colonial Maryland," in Aubrey C. Land, Lois Green Carr, and Edward C. Papenfuse, eds., *Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 88–110; Mary Beth Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), especially chap. 1. Carol Berkin provides an excellent synthesis of the literature on seventeenth-century Chesapeake women in *First Generations: Women in Colonial America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1996), chap. 1.
8. William Hand Browne, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland*, 72 vols. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883– ), 8:44, 155–57. The best work on the Glorious Revolution in Maryland is Lois Green Carr and David W. Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689–1692* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974).
9. Jane's uncle Ignatius Causine was a justice of the peace in Charles County, while her nephew William Boarman Jr. and her brother-in-law Thomas Mudd were justices of the peace in St. Mary's County. Lois Green Carr, *County Government in Maryland, 1689–1709* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987), Appendix 1, 18–19, 25–26.
10. Joshua Doyne's will, Prerogative Court Wills, liber 6, folios 169–73; Ignatius Matthews's inventory, Prerogative Court Inventories and Accounts, liber 18, folio 20; William Boarman's will, Prerogative Court Wills, liber 12, folio 108, MSA. The sheriffs compiled a list of Catholic chapels in 1697 which included very few of the domestic chapels; it did, however, include Boarman's and described its size. See *Archives of Maryland*, 26:46. Of the Catholic gentry who were adults in the 1680s, many of whom held government offices, only one-fifth (22.5 percent) owned chapels; of the Catholic gentry who reached adulthood between 1689 and 1720, nearly half (47.6 percent) owned chapels. See Beatriz B. Hardy, "Papists in a Protes-



tant Age: The Catholic Gentry and Community in Maryland, 1689–1776" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1993), 91.

11. The inventory of Mary's husband Thomas Jameson in 1734 included a tabernacle and a bread box as well as two complete suits and one incomplete suit of "Church Stuff." See Prerogative Court Inventories, liber 18, folios 493–97, MSA. In her will in 1755, Mary mentioned a large silver chalice, a little silver chalice, a pewter chalice, and one suit of "Church Stuff." See Prerogative Court Wills, liber 29, folios 559–60, MSA. Jane Doyne, the daughter of Jane and Joshua, married Henry Wharton, whose 1745 inventory included "1 Suit of Church Furniture." See Prerogative Court Inventories, liber 32, folios 86–89, MSA. The inventory of Jane and Joshua's grandson Robert Doyne included "1 Suite Church Stuff" and "1 Silver Challice." See Prerogative Court Inventories, liber 74, folios 71–74, MSA.

12. See Joseph C. Linck, "Fully Instructed and Vehemently Influenced": Catholic Preaching in Anglo-Colonial America" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1994), 157–67; Joseph P. Chinnici, *Living Stones: The History and Structure of Catholic Spiritual Life in the United States*, The Bicentennial History of the Catholic Church in America, ed. Christopher Kauffman (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1989), 27–28.

13. Joan R. Gundersen, "The Non-Institutional Church: The Religious Role of Women in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 51 (1982): 349–50.

14. Thomas Jameson's inventory, Prerogative Court Inventories, liber 18, folios 493–97, MSA; Linck, "Fully Instructed and Vehemently Influenced," 166. When Mary Jameson died twenty years after her husband, she owned the bread box, the bread iron cutters, and the red suit of "Church Stuff," as well as one large silver chalice, and a small silver chalice. See Prerogative Court Inventories, liber 60, folios 369–70, MSA.

15. Thomas Clark, who had married Jane's niece Juliana Mudd, in 1719 left a legacy to the chapel "at Mrs. Jean Doyne's." See Prerogative Court Wills, liber 15, folio 280, MSA.

16. Joshua Doyne's inventory, Prerogative Court Inventories and Accounts, liber 17, folios 97–103; Joshua Doyne's will, Prerogative Court Wills, liber 6, folios 169–73, MSA. Jane's children were Joshua (1690–1743), who married Ann; Ignatius (?–1763), who married Elizabeth Craycroft; Edward Aloysius (?–1748); and Jane, who married Henry Wharton (1674–1745). For housing in early Maryland, see Gloria Main, *Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650–1720* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 152, and Cary Carson, et al., "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 16 (1981): 135–96. On consumption, see Main, *Tobacco Colony*, chapters 6 and 7; Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "Inventories and the Analysis of Wealth and Consumption Patterns in St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1658–1777," *Historical Methods*, 13 (1980): 81–104; Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Standard of Living in the Colonial Chesapeake," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 45 (1988): 135–59.

17. Fasting days included all Sundays except during Lent, all weekdays during Lent, Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays in the four Ember weeks, all Fridays except during Christmas and between Easter and Whitsuntide, and the eves of most festivals or saints' days. Children, sick people, and pregnant or nursing women were allowed to eat more than one meal on fasting days but were not allowed to eat meat. Days of abstinence included Sundays in Lent, the three Rogation Days, St. Mark's Day, and most Saturdays. See *A Manual of Catholic Prayers for the Subscribers* (Philadelphia: Printed by Robert Bell, 1774), Evans #13588, 3–4; Richard Challoner, *The Catholic Christian Instructed in the Sacraments, sacrifice, ceremonies and observances of the Church: by way of question and answer* (London: n.p., 1737), 199–209.

18. Joshua Doyne's will, Prerogative Court Wills, liber 6, folios 169–73, MSA. The trustees

were Luke Gardiner, Clement Hill, and Clement Hill Jr. Maryland widows were entitled to an absolute interest in one-third of their husbands' personal estate (including slaves) and a lifetime interest in one-third of their real estate. See Marylynn Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 149.

19. The quotation is from Le-6, American Catholic Sermon Collection, Special Collections, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University; for other examples of colonial sermons urging parental instruction, see Di-32, Mos-2, Mos-6, and Neal-1. See also Challoner, *Catholick Christian Instructed*, 105, 194; Linck, "Fully Instructed and Vehemently Influenced," 117–18, 137–38, 142–45. Joshua Doyne owned a parcel of books which were kept in the hall; see Prerogative Court Inventories and Accounts, liber 17, folio 97, MSA. The Doyne's son Ethelbert owned "3 small catechisms." See Prerogative Court Inventories, liber 11, folios 130–35, MSA.

20. Dianne Willen pointed out that women in early modern England had tremendous religious influence within their households; see "Women and Religion in Early Modern England," in Sherrin Marshall, ed., *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 140, 147. Debra Parish studied Anglican and Presbyterian funeral sermons and concluded that women were portrayed as important "religious models and valuable spiritual guides" and that they involved "themselves in wider religious affairs through both patronage and public example." See "The Power of Female Pietism: Women as Spiritual Authorities and Religious Role Models in Seventeenth-Century England," *Journal of Religious History*, 17 (1992): 35, 38, 41. For Anglican women in the Chesapeake, see Gundersen, "The Non-Institutional Church," 347–57. Slaveowning women in the nineteenth century were concerned about their slaves' spiritual state, although they did not challenge the legitimacy of slavery itself; see Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "Religion in the Lives of Slaveholding Women of the Antebellum South," in Lynda Coon, Katherine Haldane, and Elisabeth Sommers, eds., *That Gentle Strength: Historical Perspectives on Women in Christianity* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 207–25.

21. Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 158–62, 170; *Their Majesties v. Honor Boughton*, Charles County Court and Land Record, liber S No. 1, folios 242, 283–84, MSA.

22. *Archives of Maryland*, 30:71–73, 76–77, 89, 334.

23. Bachelor's Hope, St. Mary's County, Survey Report No. MD-59, Historic American Buildings Survey. Nicholas Power in 1712 had ordered that his daughter Mary "be and remain" with Jane Doyne until age sixteen, and his executor paid Jane Doyne for boarding and schooling Mary. Mary ended up marrying Jane's son Joshua Doyne. The widow Jane Llewellyn in 1722 left her daughter Margaret to the care of Mrs. Jane Doyne. See Prerogative Court Wills, liber 13, folio 430, and liber 18, folio 7; Prerogative Court Inventories and Accounts, liber 35A, folios 15–16, and liber 36C, folios 285–90, MSA.

24. As the male-female ratio improved, Chesapeake widows were under less pressure to marry. On widows, see Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers*, chap. 3; Vivien Leigh Bruce Conger, "Being Weak of Body But Firm of Mind and Memory": Widowhood in Colonial America, 1630–1750" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1994).

25. Joshua Doyne's will, Prerogative Court Wills, liber 6, folios 169–73, MSA.

26. When Joshua Doyne died in 1698, only seven of his sixteen slaves listed in his will shared names with members of the Doyne family; see Prerogative Court Wills, liber 6, folios 169–73, MSA. On naming patterns among Chesapeake slaves, see Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, *A Place in Time: Explicatus* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1984), 97–103; Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake & Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 451–52, 546–

51; and Lorena S. Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 159–70. The Burwell slaves studied by Walsh did not share their owners' names; the other scholars did not note any relationship between the names of slaves and owners.

27. Prerogative Court Wills, liber 22, folio 81, MSA. Jane left the children of her son Joshua Doyne six slaves: the adults Ann and William, the lad Joseph, and the children Robert, Phillice, and Mary. These six slaves were to remain in Joshua's possession until his death. Jane's son Ignatius received the boy Ignatius and the girl Victoria. Her son Edward received the man Joshua and the girl Ann.

28. For the estates of Joshua's sons, see Prerogative Court Inventories and Accounts, liber 17, folio 18; Prerogative Court Inventories, liber 11, folio 130; *ibid.*, liber 12, folio 340; *ibid.*, liber 28, folio 201; *ibid.*, liber 83, folio 39, MSA. No inventories exist for the estates of William Doyne, who died by 1726, and Edward Aloysius Doyne, who died in 1748.

29. Joseph Doyne, the son of Ignatius Doyne, studied at St. Omers from 1755 to 1758 and became a Jesuit priest. Francis Wharton, the son of Jane Doyne Wharton, studied at St. Omers from 1741 to 1749 and became a Jesuit, but died before taking holy orders. Eleanor Wharton became a Carmelite nun at Lierre. The only parish membership lists which survive are for St. Inigoes in 1768 and 1769, when women outnumbered men, 163 to 140; the lists have been printed in Edwin W. Beitzell, *The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County, Maryland*, 2d ed. (Abell, Md.: n.p., 1976), 68–70. Women outnumbered men in the sodalities, 158 to 27; see #6.3, folio 3, and #202A14, Archives of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, Special Collections, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University (hereafter cited as MPA). Women outnumbered men in most colonial churches; see Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 112–15.

30. The literature on slavery is vast. In addition to the previously cited *Slave Counterpoint* by Philip Morgan and *From Calabar to Carter's Grove* by Lorena Walsh, the most important works on colonial Chesapeake slavery include Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986); Jean B. Lee, "The Problem of Slave Community in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 43 (1986): 333–61; Russell R. Menard, "The Maryland Slave Population, 1658 to 1730: A Demographic Profile of Blacks in Four Counties," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 32 (1975): 29–54; Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975); Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Anne Elizabeth Yentsch, *A Chesapeake family and their slaves: A study in historical archaeology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994). For Jesuit slaves, see Peter Finn, "The Slaves of the Jesuits in Maryland" (M.A. thesis, Georgetown University, 1974), and R. Emmett Curran, S.J., "Splendid Poverty: Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1805–1838" in *Catholics in the Old South: Essays on Church and Culture*, ed. Randall M. Miller and Jon L. Wakelyn (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1983), 125–46.

31. Philemon Charles Blake's inventory, Prerogative Court Inventories, liber 73, folios 170–81, and John Sayer Blake's inventory, *ibid.*, liber 43, folios 176–86, MSA; Queen Anne's County Debt Book, 1754, folio 3, MSA.

32. Mosley's diary, #6.4, MPA; Gundersen, "Non-institutional Church," 351; Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998),



163–64. Frey and Wood suggest that enslaved women may have been more likely to accept Christianity than enslaved men in hopes of protecting their children from witches, disease, and accidents.

33. One factor making the Catholic Church attractive may have been the differing attitudes of the whites involved. Unlike Catholic priests, Anglican ministers usually charged fees for officiating at marriages or funerals, although by law they could not charge for baptisms. One minister in Anne Arundel County regularly officiated at baptisms for slaves from the late 1600s to the 1720s and performed a few marriages. But most of the Anglican ministers in Maryland complained in 1731 that while they tried to encourage baptism of slaves, many slaveowners resisted; only seven of nineteen ministers reported instructing and baptizing slaves. And, indeed, a decade before Jenny's birth, an Anglican minister in neighboring Talbot County had drawn objections from his parishioners when he baptized slaves "at the same time, and in the same manner with white people." The white parishioners also objected to his publishing banns and officiating at the marriages of slaves. See Parish Register, All Hallows Parish, Anne Arundel County, MSA; "A true Copy of Negroes & Mulattoes that have been Baptized Married & Buried in & near the Parish of All-hallows in the Province of Maryland by the Revd Mr Joseph Colbatch from the year 1722 to the Year 1729," Fulham Papers, 3:126–31; [Thomas Bacon] *Four Sermons, Preached at the Parish Church of St. Peter, . . . Two Sermons to Black Slaves, and Two Sermons for the Benefit of a Charity Working-School. . . . Orphans and Poor Children, and Negroes* (London: John Oliver, 1753; reprint, Bath: R. Cruttwell, 1783), 75.

34. From 1760 to 1776, Joseph Mosley recorded baptizing 235 blacks on the Eastern Shore, and he and James Walton recorded 291 black baptisms in St. Mary's County. See Mosley's diary, #6.4, MPA; Walton's diary, #6.3, MPA.

35. There were four other girls and two boys born within two years of Jenny at Blakeford. See Prerogative Court Inventories, liber 73, folios 170–87. For women's work, see Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 196–97; Carole Shammas, "Black Women's Work and the Evolution of Plantation Society in Virginia," *Labor History*, 26 (1985): 5–28.

36. In 1749 the wealthiest man in Maryland, a Catholic named Richard Bennett, died; his primary heir was his Protestant nephew, Edward Lloyd, who must have inherited dozens of slaves. Though the Bennett/Lloyd estate was very near to the Blake plantations, none of the Lloyd slaves appear in any of the Jesuit records for the Eastern Shore. Slaves belonging to other Protestants do appear, so some Protestants must have been willing to allow their slaves to practice a different religion. For Bennett, see Beatriz Betancourt Hardy, "A Papist in a Protestant Age: The Case of Richard Bennett, 1667–1749," *Journal of Southern History*, 60 (1994): 203–28.

37. Prerogative Court Wills, liber 31, folios 166–67, MSA. Philemon Blake's daughters were unmarried, however, and continued to live with their mother, so presumably they kept their slaves together. Charles, the younger Blake son, was off at Catholic school in Europe and did not return to claim his property until 1763, so his slaves also probably remained at the main plantation.

38. Joseph Mosley to his sister, June 5, 1772, and October 3, 1774, in Joseph Mosley Papers, Early Maryland Jesuit Papers, Special Collections, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University.

39. For the burials, see Mosley's diary, #6.4, MPA. The final account of Sarah Blake's estate included payments of 8.16.6 current money to two doctors for "Medicine and Attendance on the Negroes . . . after the Death of the afsd Sarah Blake (the Negroes being at that time Ill & in Great Danger)." See Prerogative Court, Accounts, liber 71, folios 84–85, MSA. The *Maryland Gazette* also reported on the epidemic at the Blakes in the July 9 and July 30, 1767 issues.



40. Mosley recorded the birth dates of the Tuckahoe slaves and the dates of their arrivals in his private diary; see #6.2b, MPA. The marriage is recorded in Mosley's diary, #6.4, MPA. Most of the Eastern Shore slave marriages recorded by Mosley from 1764 to 1776 occurred on Sundays (22 of 43), while the most common days for Eastern Shore white marriages in the same years were Thursdays (10 of 31), followed by Sundays (8 of 31). Of the forty-two Blake slaves whose marriages were recorded in those years, twenty-two married other Blake slaves.

41. Mosley's private diary, #6.2b, and Mosley's diary, #6.4, MPA.

42. Mosley to his sister, October 14, 1766, Mosley Papers; Tom's daughters Lucy, Henny, and Mary, ages seventeen, seven, and five, respectively, were sent to Bohemia on the upper Eastern Shore. See Mosley's diary, #6.2b, MPA. In 1798, Tuckahoe had 354.5 acres, one old dwelling house, one quarter, a smokehouse, a kitchen, an old granary, a stable, and a cornhouse; see Particular Lists of Dwelling Houses, Lands, Lots, Buildings, and Wharves, and Slaves, Island and Part of Tuckahoe Hundreds, No. 3, Federal Direct Tax of 1798, M3478-5, MSA.

43. Mosley's diary, #6.2b, MPA. On master-slave exchanges, see Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 364–65. On visiting by both slave and free women, see Joan R. Gundersen, "Kith and Kin: Women's Networks in Colonial Virginia," in *The Devil's Lane: Sex and Race in the Early South*, ed. Catherine Clinton and Michele Gillespie (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 90–108.

44. For the baptisms and deaths, see Mosley's diary, #6.4, MPA. On the different experiences of white and black women in childbirth, see Joan Reznor Gundersen, "The Double Bonds of Race and Sex: Black and White Women in a Colonial Virginia Parish," *Journal of Southern History*, 52 (1986): 359–65.

45. These relationships are my best guesses, based on the Blake inventories and Mosley's records, cited above.

46. Mosley's diary, #6.4, MPA.

47. In one of Mosley's surviving sermons, he urged his listeners to offer "a daily pious morning oblation. Let Fathers and Mothers see [their] Children & Servants perform duely this truly Xan Exercise." In another sermon, he rebuked those who "neglect Publick Prayers in [their] Family, . . . [and] dont instruct [their] ignorant children & servants." See Mos-6 and Mos-2, American Catholic Sermon Collection.

48. "Regulations concerning the observance of Holydays in Maryland," in "The Old Records," #4 1/2, MPA, folios 4–6.

49. Mosley to his sister, October 3, 1774, Joseph Mosley Papers. From 1767 to 1772, Mosley had performed an average of 50.8 baptisms, 8.7 marriages, and 11.3 funerals per year. In 1774, the first full year after the suppression, he performed only 17 baptisms, 3 marriages, and 3 funerals. See Mosley's diary, #6.4, MPA.

50. Gretchen Z. Koning, "The Transformation of the Catholic Community: Maryland, 1750–1840" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1993), 131–32. For the American Revolution in Maryland, see Ronald Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics, and the Revolution in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

51. Mosley to his sister, October 4, 1784, Joseph Mosley Papers.

52. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Maryland* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1907), 110. Mosley was buried at the graveyard at St. Joseph's on June 5, 1787. John Bolton (1742–1809) had arrived in Maryland in 1766 and served at Tuckahoe from 1787 until 1802, continuing Mosley's diary. Mosley bequeathed his property to a former Jesuit, James Walton of St. Mary's County. Walton assigned his property to the Corporation

of the Roman Catholic Clergymen in 1793. See Mosley's will, Talbot County Wills, Box 17, folder 41, MSA; Koning, "Transformation of Catholic Community," 144.

53. Mosley/Bolton diary, #6.4, MPA. Jenny was one of the official church witnesses at Samuel's wedding on May 13, 1799. Samuel was an official witness at his sister Henrietta's wedding on January 31, 1799; the entry noted that Henrietta was Jenny's daughter.