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WAR AND PRIESTS
CATHOLIC COLLEGES AND SLAVERY IN THE AGE OF REVOLUTION

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(Draft chapter for *Slavery's Capitalism* (2016))

I have been a faithful servant to the Society [of Jesus] going on 38 years, & my wife Molly has been born & raised in the Society, she is now about 53 years of age[.] Now we have not a place to lay our heads in our old age after all our service. We live at present in [a] rotten logg house so old & decayed that at every blast of wind we are afraid of our lives and such as it is it belongs to one of the neighbours-- -- -- all the rest of the slaves are pretty well fixed and Father [Peter] Verhaegen wants me and my wife to live on the loft of one of the outhouses where there is no fire place nor any way to warm us during the winter, and your Reverence know it is cold enough here -- -- -- I have not a doubt but cold will kill both me and my wife here—To prevent the evil , I am will[ing] to Buy myself & wife free if you accept of 100 dollars[,] 50 dollars I can pay down in cash, the rest as soon as I possibly can.

--Thomas Brown, enslaved, St. Louis University, 1833

In August 1797, shortly after the end of his final term in office, President George Washington rode horseback to the Catholic college in Georgetown, a settlement that the state of Maryland had ceded six years earlier to the federal district. In 1789 John Carroll had founded the college. Carroll was the nation's first Catholic bishop and a former Jesuit—Pope Clement XIV had suppressed the Society of Jesus in 1773, a proscription that lasted forty-one years. Georgetown president Louis Guillaume Valentin DuBourg and a small faculty of French and Creole Sulpicians (Order of St. Sulpice) and ex-Jesuits from the United States, the West Indies, Ireland, and continental Europe greeted the general. Washington spoke to the faculty and a larger body of students from the porch of Old North, the second academic hall on campus. Enslaved people completed the scene. Slaves belonging to the faculty and officers and slaves owned by or leased from local craftsmen and merchants labored at Georgetown during its first four decades. The Catholic clergy owned several Maryland slave plantations that funded their missions, including the college and St. Mary's Seminary (founded 1791) in Baltimore. In fact, the

college had an account with the local tobacco merchant Brooke Beall—who owned Yarrow Mamout—before it had a single student. The vice president governed the campus servants, and the records offer glimpses into the routineness of that business: In 1793 the merchant Thomas Corcoran received “Cash [for] 1 pair shoes for Negroe Nat.” Two years later the officers paid “Cash for Negro[es] Jos[eph] & Watt for 3 days work.” In December 1798 they agreed to board “4 Negro Children @ \$20. Each” with Margaret Medley in town.¹

If George Washington’s visit to Georgetown confirmed the incorporation of Catholics into the United States, then the enslaved people on campus captured the economic forces binding the new nation. Georgetown was a product of the American, French, and Haitian Revolutions—exiles of the Atlantic uprisings dominated the college—and it was a beneficiary of slave economies that excited this age of political transformation. Higher education in the United States rose with the slave trade and evolved with the westward expansion of plantation slavery and the dependent rise of the manufacturing and banking economies of the northeastern cities. Colleges had advanced the commercial development of the American colonies. Europeans used colleges to supply colonial administrations, impose religious orthodoxy, facilitate trade, and wage cultural warfare against Native peoples. Americans founded at least seventeen new colleges—an average of one per year—between the end of the Revolution and the turn of the century to secure their economic and political interests. The commodification of black bodies also underwrote those developments.

Washington had financial links to the town and personal ties to the college. He was a founder of the Potomac Company, a commercial partnership that sought to develop

Georgetown—“the gateway to the West”—a Potomac River port situated at the narrowest land passage from the Atlantic seaboard across the Appalachian Range and into the rich territories of the Ohio and Mississippi River Valleys. Bishop Carroll, a slave owner, located his college at the center of this region, on a cliff overlooking an active tobacco port. Father DuBourg and the faculty had corresponded with George and Martha Washington, and the professors and students had visited the Washingtons at Mount Vernon. A small group of Protestants studied at the college during its first decade, and among them were the president’s grandnephews, Bushrod and Augustine Washington.ⁱⁱ

Of the possible years that Georgetown’s governors could have chosen as their founding moment, they eventually selected 1789, a relatively late date but one concurrent with the ratification of the constitution and the inauguration of George Washington. “It gives me Pleasure to hear G[eorge]. Washington is chosen President,” the Reverend John Fenwick wrote from the Catholic college in Flanders to his cousin, the prominent tobacco merchant Captain Ignatius Fenwick of Carrollsburg, Maryland, “he deserves that Post to be sure if merit has any Weight.”ⁱⁱⁱ

The crisis of the American Revolution had allowed Catholics to escape their status as a persecuted and despised minority, and Washington was the symbolic guarantor of the fragile compacts unifying a diverse nation. Early in his presidency, he sent assurances of religious liberty to Quakers, the Reformed Dutch, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians. He replied to a plea from the nation’s Roman Catholics—signed by John Carroll and several lay leaders, including the wealthy planter Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Maryland—with an affirmation of freedom of conscience and faith. (John Carroll and Charles Carroll were maternal cousins through the Darnall family.) A few

months later, the president promised the Jews of Newport, Rhode Island, a government that “gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance.” His response to John Carroll also acknowledged the sacrifices of Catholics, domestic and foreign, during the Revolution.^{iv} The inclusion of Catholics in the citizenry rewarded their wartime contributions, but commerce opened this era of interdenominational concord and undergirded this political confederation.

In late 1633, three English Jesuits—Fathers Andrew White and John Gravener, and Brother Thomas Gervase—set sail for Maryland aboard the *Ark* and the *Dove*. The ships landed first in Barbados, which had a population of English and Irish Catholics. The captains piloted the vessels through the Caribbean before venturing up the mainland coast to Virginia. On Lady Day 1634 the Jesuits officiated the first Catholic mass in Maryland, and then turned their efforts to evangelizing Native peoples. Four other Jesuits arrived that decade. Rev. White opened an Indian academy near the Anacostia River. Father Roger Rigby ministered to the Piscataway and translated the catechism into their language. By 1640 the Jesuits had plans for a college at the St. Mary’s settlement to facilitate missionizing the Lenape, Anacostia (Nacotchtank), Nanticoke, Susquehannock, Powhatan confederacy, and other indigenous nations.^v At that time there was only one Protestant college in the Americas, Harvard (founded 1636), and it was constitutionally anti-Catholic.

Although Maryland was the most heavily Catholic of the English mainland colonies and the only Catholic proprietorship, Catholics were less a tenth of the population. In 1649 the General Assembly and Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, instituted religious tolerance in the colony, a modest protection that survived only a few decades. Following the outbreak of England's Civil War in 1642, Protestants arrested Fathers White and Copley and deported them in chains. They hunted the Reverends Roger Rigbie, Bernard Hartwell, and John Cooper, and brought them to Virginia where they died. Anti-Catholics gained strength after the Glorious Revolution of 1688—the overthrow of the Catholic James II, formerly the Duke of York, and the restoration of the Protestant monarchy—forcing the revocation of Baltimore's proprietorship. In 1692 the General Assembly established the Church of England. In 1704 it restricted the exercise of Catholic sacraments, prohibited Catholics from operating schools, limited the corporate ownership of property to hamper religious orders, and encouraged the conversion of Catholic children.^{vi}

Established churches in the English colonies were vigilant against Catholic infiltration, and colleges helped address these religious and political threats. During the English Civil War, Massachusetts banished Catholic clergy and assigned the death penalty for repeat trespassers. New England's proximity to New France fueled tensions. The colonists had a half dozen wars with New France, beginning with King Williams' War, the American theater of the Nine Years' War (1688-1697), and ending with the French and Indian War, the colonial arm of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). Virginia established Anglicanism and forbade Catholics from voting, bearing arms, serving on juries or as witnesses in court. In 1693, during King William's War, planters and

ministers in Virginia organized the College of William and Mary under Anglican governance. Anti-Catholic literature filled the libraries at Harvard, William and Mary, and Yale (founded in 1701 by Connecticut's Congregationalists).^{vii}

The Glorious Revolution also swept New York, bringing the departure of Governor Thomas Dongan, a Catholic appointed by King James. As early as 1685 Governor Dongan had encouraged English Jesuits to establish a Latin school in New York City with hopes of raising a college. Many New Yorkers feared the Jesuit incursion. Jacob Leisler's 1698 rebellion sought to erase the vestiges of Catholic rule. After November 1, 1700, authorities could imprison for life any Catholic priest found in the colony, execute priests who were recaptured, and drag any persons who aided a Catholic cleric to the pillory.^{viii}

The colonial government's bloody response to the April 1712 slave revolt in Manhattan—during Queen Anne's War, the colonial arm of the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713)—fed in part on anti-Catholic rage. Following the revolt, the New York legislature assigned the death penalty for any slave who attempted or conspired to harm or kill any free Christian, and in 1730 it expressly broadened the law to punish slaves who assaulted “any Christian or Jew.” By that time, Jewish merchants such as Rodrigo Pacheco, Jacob Franks, Moses and Samuel Levy, Nathan Simpson, Isaac Levy, and Mordecai and David Gomez were trading enslaved people and goods between the Dutch and British Caribbean, the North American mainland colonies, Africa, and Europe. They often partnered with leading Christian merchants, including Adolph Philipse, Robert Livingston, William Walton, Anthony Rutgers, Arnot Schuyler, Jacob Van Cortlandt, David and Matthew Clarkson, and Henry Cuyler.^{ix}

The 1741 slave conspiracy revealed how commerce was reshaping social relations. In April, as the investigations began, several Jewish merchants distanced themselves from the threats, domestic and foreign, by swearing loyalty to George II and acknowledging his absolute political and spiritual authority over the colonies. They then condemned as “impious & heretical” the “damnable Doctrine & position” of the Catholic Church that monarchs could be excommunicated, deposed, and “murdered by their Subjects.” The authorities hung John Ury, a suspected Catholic priest, and three other white people, and tortured, exiled, or executed scores of black people. Mordecai Gomez served as interpreter in the trial of several “Spanish Negroes”: black men from the Spanish colonies who had been taken by the English and sold into slavery despite claiming to be free. The justices ordered death for a “Spanish Indian,” a captive Native American from a nation allied to Spain.^x

The violent expansion and integration of the Atlantic slave economies created the financial and social conditions for the growth of higher education in the British colonies. In less than a quarter century, slave traders and other merchants in New England and the upper Mid-Atlantic and planters in the lower Mid-Atlantic, the South, and the West Indies funded six new colleges. In 1745 Anglicans in Barbados organized Codrington College, the only such academy in the English Caribbean. The following year, Presbyterians chartered the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University). About 1749, Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Quakers began the College of Philadelphia (the University of Pennsylvania). In 1754 the governing Anglican minority in New York City organized King’s College (Columbia University). A decade later, in 1764, Baptists founded the College of Rhode Island (Brown University). In 1766 the Dutch Reformed

leadership in New Jersey opened Queen's College (Rutgers University). In 1769 New Hampshire granted a charter to the Congregationalist minister Eleazar Wheelock for Dartmouth College.^{xi}

Jewish families had used tutors and small private academies to educate their children, but they gained some access to the new colleges. Donations from the slave traders Jacob Rodriguez de Rivera and Aaron Lopez of Newport, Rhode Island, and the planter and merchant Moses Lindo of Charleston, South Carolina, led the trustees of the College of Rhode Island to admit Jewish students. The colleges in New York City and Philadelphia also opened admissions.^{xii}

Catholics had no colleges in the British colonies. Ordered priests ran small academies and sent privileged youth abroad to complete their educations. A number of colleges in continental Europe specialized in training English and colonial Catholics. The cousins John and Charles Carroll studied at the somewhat clandestine preparatory school at the Jesuits' Bohemia Manor plantation in Maryland. Eleanor and Daniel Carroll then sent John to the Jesuit College of St. Omer in northern France. Elizabeth and Charles Carroll of Doughoregan, Maryland, enrolled "Charley" at the College of Rheims. Robert Plunkett and Robert Molyneux—later the first two presidents of Georgetown—journeyed from England to the seminaries at Watten and Douai respectively. The young Louis Guillaume Valentin DuBourg—Georgetown's third president—left Cap François, Saint-Domingue (now Cap-Haïtien, Haiti), to attend St. Omer. Another future president of the college, Stephen Larigaudelle DuBuisson sailed as a boy from Saint-Marc, Saint-Domingue, to study in France. "I shall never be able to repay the care & pains you [have]

taken of my education,” Charley Carroll wrote to his “Dear Papa” while studying law at the Inner Temple in London.^{xiii}

African slavery afforded these Catholics significant personal freedom. Charley Carroll served as his father’s business liaison while studying in Europe. “I shall keep my Estate in and nigh Annapolis, two large seats of Land containing each about 13000 Acres, my Slaves and [the Baltimore] Iron Works to ye last, so that you may chuse,” Carroll of Doughoregan promised his son. The family estate neighbored those of a number of wealthy plantation and merchant families, including the final generation of Quaker slave owners, such as the elder Johns Hopkins.^{xiv}

Family and social networks, rooted in the slave economies, allowed colonial Catholics to negotiate the British Atlantic. “I shall always have a great Regard for any of our Countrymen; so that if you know of any Gentlemen, who chuse to send their children to the College, I shall be glad to have them here at Bornhem,” the Reverend John Fenwick appealed from the Dominican (Order of Preachers) college in Flanders. Individual priests, including Father Henry Pelham, and lay leaders held the Jesuits’ farms as personal property and bequeathed this real estate to other clerics and lay people to evade the legal restrictions on religious corporations. The Jesuits were also among the first slave owners in the colony, and they used similar legal maneuvers to secure their titles to hundreds of enslaved people.^{xv}

These were significant holdings. By the eighteenth century, the order owned plantations that reached from the northeast border with Pennsylvania and Delaware to the southwest boundary with Virginia. In 1637 the Calverts gave the Jesuits the St. Inigoes (Ignatius) plantation, which comprised two thousand mainland acres and a thousand acres

on St. George's Island in the St. Mary's River. In the summer of 1640 William Britton acquired the Newtown plantation. In February 1670 Father Pelham received four thousand acres, along the Potomac near Port Tobacco, where the Jesuits built St. Thomas Manor. By the eighteenth century, the Jesuit estates comprised more than fourteen thousand acres in Maryland—including St. Inigoes and Newtown in St. Mary's County; St. Thomas in Charles County; White Marsh in Prince George's County; and Bohemia in Cecil County—almost two thousand acres in Pennsylvania, and small parcels in other colonies.^{xvi}

Visitors acknowledged the importance of slavery to the Catholic missions. “Ten thousand acres of the best ground in Maryland forms at this hour, part of the property of the Jesuits,” protested Patrick Smyth, an Irish priest who spent several months in Maryland and then published a treatise that accused the clergy of abusing enslaved people to support profligacy. He had ample evidence. Granny Sucky, a ninety-six-year-old enslaved woman, recalled that Father John Bolton of St. Inigoes beat her when she was a child, in the mid-eighteenth century, for interrupting his self-flagellation. Violence was not the only form of abuse. Child mortality was high at St. Inigoes and the other Jesuit plantations. During the twenty-five year period ending 1780, when Jesuit superior George Hunter resided at St. Thomas Manor, only twenty-six of the forty-eight black children born on the plantation survived to maturity. The Jesuits “have a prodigious number of negroes, and these sooty rogues will not work, unless they be goaded, and whipped, and almost slayed alive,” Smyth charged.^{xvii}

Lay Catholics were no less dependent upon the slave economy. Carroll of Doughoregan taught his son the businesses of plantation management and manufacturing,

which involved lessons on the application of violence. The Carrolls used enslaved black laborers on their estates and at the iron works, for which they also purchased European indentured servants. Upon his return to America, the younger Carroll took ownership of a share of the lands and more than three hundred human beings. “Two of them have been well whipped,” he assured his father after hiring a new overseer, “& Will shall have a severe whipping tomorrow—they are now quite quelled.”^{xviii}

At the outbreak of the American Revolution, Charles Carroll could not vote, hold public office, or serve in the militia. His coreligionists from Georgia to New Hampshire also faced restrictions on their civil liberties. When he journeyed to the Continental Congress, he came not as a member but as a mere advisor to the Maryland delegation. Carroll was a strident defender of political freedom who had described the tendencies of tyranny in the pages of the same colonial paper that had carried advertisements for the family’s runaway slaves. In July 1776 Carroll of Carrollton became the only Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence. That August Marylanders affirmed the right to the free exercise of religion for professing Christians. Another fifty years passed before the legislature approved a constitutional amendment to enfranchise Jews.^{xix}

The American Revolution required a radical transformation in the status of Catholics. Although Protestants in Ireland displayed significant sympathy for and interest in the American Revolution, David Doyle concludes, they rejected models of independence that required “sharing political power with Catholics.” Thus, “Long Live the King of France”

ranks among the more noteworthy chants of a colonial army that had acquired its military experience in wars against the French empire. The United States accepted a peculiar dependence upon the Catholic powers of the Atlantic world. Benjamin Franklin sailed for Paris to serve as ambassador to the court of Louis XVI. Congress sent James Jay of New York and Arthur Lee of Virginia to plead its cause before the Spanish crown. In September 1777 it authorized Ralph Izard of South Carolina to appeal for funds and support in Italy, where there was significant interest in the American conflict.^{xx}

For a war between the Protestant king of Great Britain and his Protestant colonists, the American Revolution was a decidedly Catholic affair. Several French Catholic general officers advised George Washington and the new United States government, devised military strategies, and even commanded colonial troops, including: Jean-Baptiste Donatien-Joseph de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau; the young and daring Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette; François Jean de Beauvoir, Marquis de Chastellux; and Claude-Gabriel, Duc de Choisy. Casimir Pulaski, a Polish Catholic, raised the cavalry for the colonial army, and Thaddeus Kosciuszko, also a Polish Catholic, served as the American army's chief engineer.^{xxi}

The Americans embraced their Catholic allies. Yale granted an honorary degree to Conrad Alexander Gerard, French minister to the United States, and the College of William and Mary paid the same tribute to Chastellux. The Reverend John Carroll preached patriotism and three of his nephews fought under Lafayette. Washington made camp at White Marsh, where General Thomas Conway, headquartered at the Jesuits' manor, sought Charles Carroll's advice on organizing Irish troops. The Catholic clergy set up a military hospital at Newtown. The United States commissioned a Catholic

chaplain for the continental troops, and Abbé Claude Robin, a priest under Rochambeau's command, boasted of the enthusiastic crowds and extravagant official reception that greeted French forces in Philadelphia in early September 1781. The celebrants became even more raucous when they learned that French troops had arrived in the Chesapeake.^{xxii}

The French and Spanish crowns had given covert support to the American rebellion from its earliest stages. The colonists negotiated with Spain through the embassy in Paris, and Lafayette returned to France to appeal for direct military intervention in the American war. Spain attacked Britain's interests in South America, and smuggled supplies to the colonists across the Alleghenies. In 1778 France officially recognized the United States, and, the following year, Spain declared war on Great Britain. In the summer of 1780, forty-six French vessels carrying more than twelve thousand soldiers and sailors landed in New England. Jacques-Melchior Saint-Laurent, Comte de Barras, brought his fleet south from Rhode Island, and François Joseph Paul, Marquis de Grasse, sailed north from Saint-Domingue and Martinique to force General Charles Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown. The Spanish naval officer Francisco de Saaverda de Sangronis served under the Marquis de Grasse, raised money in Cuba and Santo Domingo for the offensive, and helped design the campaign. General Washington and three French officers—Rochambeau, Barras, and Grasse—signed the October 19, 1781, capitulation on behalf of the victorious United States.^{xxiii}

In 1783, as the British evacuation continued, John Carroll called the clergy to White Marsh to draft a governing structure for the church. The Corporation of Roman Catholic Clergy—which the Maryland General Assembly incorporated in 1792—also

administered its financial affairs and took ownership of its estates. Carroll's vision took shape as the slave economies recovered, and it focused on a region of the new nation with a long history of commercial and social interaction between Protestants and Catholics. The English invasion had disrupted slavery, and enemy troops had ransacked Newtown Manor. The British navy had blockaded and occupied the Chesapeake Bay and the lower Potomac, empowering thousands of black people to escape the plantations in St. Mary's County and Port Tobacco. In December 1784 Father James Walton ordered the slaves at St. Inigoes to begin raising a new church. The following year, Father Carroll laid the cornerstone. Francis Neale, a future president of Georgetown College, later dedicated the new church.^{xxiv}

The American victory and the subsequent unraveling of the French empire set the conditions for the institutionalization of the Catholic Church in the United States. In April 1789 George Washington was inaugurated in New York City. That same month riots broke out in Paris, and in weeks France was in the throes of revolution. After mobs stormed the Bastille on July 14, 1789, the Marquis de Lafayette sent the key to the breached prison as a souvenir to his friend and ally, George Washington. That year, Pope Pius VI established a diocese in the United States that became a refuge for French clerics. Urged by Benjamin Franklin, the Vatican also elevated John Carroll to bishop.^{xxv}

The ripples of the French Revolution were felt in the United States. The tobacco merchant Joseph Fenwick Fenwick had left for France after the American Revolution, a

moment of great economic optimism. He soon encountered an Irish smuggler and Thomas Jefferson, and he sought business advice from both. The smuggler convinced Fenwick to situate his business in Bordeaux, and Jefferson promised that French markets would be eager for American goods. Fenwick kept his cousin and sponsor, Ignatius Fenwick of Carrollsburg, abreast of the events in Paris. During the first year of the Revolution, the National Assembly abolished aristocratic titles and curtailed the authority of the church. The Sulpician John Dubois fled Paris in disguise. In August 1791 Dubois landed in Virginia with letters of introduction from Lafayette. The Lees, Randolphs, Monroes, and Beverlys assisted the young priest, and Patrick Henry tutored him in English. By that time, enslaved people on the island of Saint-Domingue, France's most valuable colony, were in full rebellion, after months of isolated uprisings. White families fled the island. Hundreds of French and Creole families relocated to Maryland, with assistance from the state, to wait out their respective revolutions.^{xxvi}

The Atlantic revolutions allowed Bishop Carroll to create a network of colleges and seminaries to project the Catholic Church in the United States. After opening Georgetown in 1789, the bishop turned his attention to helping the Sulpicians organize a seminary. The anti-church and anti-clerical thrusts in France threatened the order's Parisian academy, and the Sulpicians began fundraising and recruiting European students for a Maryland seminary. In 1791, as the first class was entering Georgetown, the French priests opened St. Mary's. "All our hopes are founded on the seminary of Baltimore," Carroll declared. In 1792 Bishop Carroll dispatched a group of Dominicans, who had come to Maryland as refugees, to the rapidly growing territory of Kentucky. Catholics were not the only Americans to recognize the opportunities in Europe's instability. In

1795 George Washington and Thomas Jefferson briefly plotted to resettle the whole faculty of the College of Geneva, thrown into turmoil by the European revolutions, in the United States.^{xxvii}

Georgetown was the child of the Atlantic rebellions. Émigrés of the revolutions in France and Saint-Domingue filled the faculty and the student body. The first class included François and Antoine Cassé, and students from France, Madeira, Martinique, St. Lucia, Guadeloupe, Cuba, St. John, and Saint-Domingue and Santo Domingo arrived in the following years. By 1798 the governors were publishing the college prospectus in English, French, and Spanish. Among the earliest presidents were Fathers Louis DuBourg and Stephen DuBuisson, born to slaveholding Creole families in Cap François and Saint-Marc, respectively—key sites of the slave unrest that matured into the Haitian Revolution. Rev. DuBourg traveled to Havana, Cuba, to open a college, and, when that effort failed, he recruited the children of the planters to St. Mary’s Seminary and St. Mary’s College (chartered 1805), which the Sulpicians began under the presidency of John Dubois.^{xxviii}

“To American Commerce—May it ever derive greater pride from the distress it has relieved, than from the wealth it has accumulated,” the guests toasted during a feast on the evening of January 9, 1809. “The concourse of French and American ladies and gentlemen was numerous and brilliant,” the *Maryland Gazette* praised. Creoles from Aux Cayes came to honor the West Indies trader Duncan M’Intosh and other merchants and captains who had risked their vessels and money running rescue missions to Saint-Domingue. Father DuBourg presented M’Intosh with an award for his humanitarianism. M’Intosh was credited with saving more than two thousand people. In an address to the

Free School Society that same year, New York City mayor DeWitt Clinton praised “the Refugees from the [French] West Indies” who had established one of the city’s early charity schools, an academy that was “patronized and cherished by French and American gentlemen, of great worth and respectability.”^{xxxix}

Slavery allowed for the immediate incorporation of these refugees into the American church. The Corporation of Roman Catholic Clergy assigned Bohemia to the Sulpicians, who used the profits from the plantation to fund St. Mary’s Seminary. “That the managers of St. Thomas [plantation] be allowed the sum of £75 for a Negro boy called Alexis in the service of the Bishop,” read the March 1797 minutes. The clergy also voted to sell a parcel of land to raise four thousand dollars to complete the construction of Georgetown College. In the late summer 1799, the Sulpicians protested that they had made major improvements to Bohemia farm, and asked to be compensated with “the young negro girl, called Peg, and the small boy, called Jack, both now in the Service of the Seminary, and another boy also called Jack, now in the Service of Revd. Mr. Marechal, at Bohemia.” (Ambrose Marechal was the philosophy professor at Georgetown and the seminary.) A few months later, the clergy voted to allow the Sulpicians to keep Jack and Peg, “as long as they retain said negroes in the Seminary.”^{xxx}

The bodies and the labor of enslaved people paid the Catholic Church’s debts, including the liabilities of Georgetown College, which was tuition free during its first forty years. In October 1799 the Roman Catholic Clergy approved the sale of “Kate & her two Children now belonging to Bohemia estate.” In April 1804 the corporation resolved to satisfy its obligations by selling expendable slaves from their Deer Creek property “to humane and Christian masters.” A couple of years later, John Ashton

demanded that the clergy give him “ye boy Davy . . . (Simon’s son & now motherless)” from White Marsh to meet a debt. “Whereas, permission . . . was heretofore granted for two slaves of the estate of Bohemia to be sold for the benefit of Geo-town College,” began a March 1808 inquiry from the trustees. Money and people flowed fluidly between the campuses, the churches, and the plantations. As late as 1820, nearly two-dozen Georgetown undergraduates vacationed at the horse farm on Newtown plantation. The corporation typically held its meetings at St. Thomas, Newtown, and White Marsh. Robert Plunkett, Georgetown’s founding president, began his ministry at White Marsh, and at least two early presidents had managed Jesuit plantations—Leonard Neale, St. Inigoes; and Francis Neale, St. Thomas—a duty that involved disciplining, acquiring, and disposing of people.^{xxx1}

The treatment of enslaved people on the Jesuit farms was alarming. After 1805 the Jesuit brothers began supervising the plantations. “Some years ago Blacks were more easily kept in due subordination and were more patient under the rod of correction than they are now, because then discipline flourished, but now it is going to decay,” complained Brother Joseph Mobberly, supervisor of St. Inigoes. “The present white generation seems to lose sight of the old observation, ‘the better a negro is treated, the worse he becomes.’” Mobberly hired five overseers in the four-year period beginning 1816. He also served as the doctor and only hired trained physicians for emergencies.^{xxxii}

The declining profitability and deteriorating management of the Maryland farms created other crises. In 1820 the Irish priest Peter Kenney, official visitor to the Maryland province, documented awful conditions. The supervisors were providing insufficient rations to slaves, overworking servants, and inflicting *excessive* violence

upon enslaved men and women. Father Kenney particularly condemned the practices of tying up women and beating them “in the priests own parlor, which is very indecorous,” and whipping pregnant women. The clergy paid little attention to the spiritual lives of the servants, and Kenney suggested that the order begin looking toward a moment when it could “get rid of the slaves, either by employing whites or letting out their lands to reputable tenants.”^{xxxiii}

Rather than retreating from slaveholding, the bishops built their church by tracking the westward expansion of plantation slavery. The 1803 Louisiana Purchase had opened a vast and heavily Catholic missionary field. After being named bishop of Louisiana in 1812, Louis DuBourg recruited veteran Maryland priests—particularly a dozen Belgian Jesuits under Father Charles Van Quickenborne—to establish the Missouri province, manage its plantations, and elevate St. Louis Academy (founded 1818) into a university, the first west of the Mississippi River. Bishop DuBourg gave his Florissant farm and slaves to the Missouri Jesuits, and empowered the future president of the college, Rev. Van Quickenborne, “to sell any or all of them to humane and Christian masters” if they proved recalcitrant or immoral.^{xxxiv}

“The Indian Mission was the chief object of the establishment of the Society [of Jesus] in Missouri,” Father Van Quickenborne admitted in January 1830, just months before Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, which initiated the relocation of the eastern Native nations west of the Mississippi River. Bishop DuBourg donated Florissant on the condition that the Missouri Jesuits begin an Indian mission. The Belgians had raised more than three thousand dollars in Europe for Christianizing Native Americans, and they staffed missions to the St. Johns and Kickapoo. “On the loftiest hill of the

renowned Charbonniere (I do not recall whether you saw it) there is an Indian mound,” Father Peter Verhaegen, another of the Belgian presidents of St. Louis University, wrote to Georgetown president William McSherry in 1838, “& this mound we undertook to explore . . . & found human bones, but no indian curiosities.” However weak, the missions justified further expansion. “Our Belgians . . . have arrived safe,” Verhaegen told McSherry of a new group of recruits in 1839, “they wish to be remembered to their brethren at Georgetown.”^{xxxv}

African slavery and the dispossession of Native peoples had been tied together from the early years of European colonization, and assertions of the urgency of evangelizing Indians were routinely followed by declarations of the necessity of human bondage. In 1832 when Father Kenney inspected the Missouri province, he complimented “the good conduct, industry, & christian piety of all the coloured servants of both sexes.” Despite the broad use of enslaved labor, Missouri was the only province in which Kenney registered no serious concerns. However, a year later, Thomas Brown, enslaved to President Verhaegen, strongly disagreed. Brown begged the Jesuit superior for permission to buy his and his wife Molly’s freedom. He had served the society for nearly 38 years and Molly Brown, 53 years old, was born enslaved to the Jesuits. He accused Verhaegen of confining them to an outhouse with neither heat nor insulation as winter approached. “Now we have not a place to lay our heads in our old age after all our service,” he continued. Father Kenney’s visit had exposed troubling issues. Kenney had to remind his brethren that it was beneath the dignity of priests to beat or threaten enslaved women. He recommended that they employ lay people to punish women, and

assigned the Jesuit brothers the duty of whipping enslaved men, while cautioning that they should all avoid “severe punishments.”^{xxxvi}

In 1832 Georgetown’s governors conceded that the college had to impose tuition, a business decision that intensified the Corporation of Roman Catholic Clergy’s discussion of dissolving the Maryland slaveholdings. Financial concerns rather than moral considerations brought an end to slavery in the Maryland province. The order had been violating commitments to maintain families and find suitable Christian masters. It was now seeking bids on hundreds of human beings, and apparently even attempted to sell the whole group to the Missouri Jesuits. In June 1838 former Georgetown president Thomas Mulledy contracted the sale of 272 men, women, and children to Henry Johnson, a Catholic and the former governor of Louisiana, for \$115,000. Beginning that fall the Jesuits shipped their slaves to Louisiana in three cargoes. About fifteen percent of the revenues went to pay down Georgetown College’s construction debts.^{xxxvii}

Clergy trained in Maryland migrated across the nation. Belgian and French priests governed expansion into the regions opened by the Louisiana Purchase and Indian Removal. John Dubois left St. Mary’s to become bishop of New York, and was succeeded in that seat by one of his most famous students: the Irish immigrant, John Hughes, who had paid his tuition at St. Mary’s by supervising servants in the college gardens. In 1841 Bishop Hughes founded the college that became Fordham University, the first Jesuit college in New York City. In 1843 Thomas Mulledy became the charter

president of Holy Cross, the first Catholic college in New England. John McElroy, who also departed from Maryland, founded Boston College.^{xxxviii}

Neither the Jesuits nor the antebellum Catholic Church disengaged from human bondage with the Maryland sale, rather both followed the path of plantation slavery in search of influence and affluence. African slavery had repeatedly rescued the Catholic community through a century and a half of oppression in the Protestant colonies. Catholics used the slave economies to evade anti-Catholic laws and survive anti-Catholic violence. They embraced human bondage to secure their own liberty. The pro-slavery and anti-abolitionist tradition in the Catholic hierarchy began at the birth of the church in the Revolutionary era when human slavery straightened and leveled the road to Catholic assimilation. The Atlantic slave economies laid the foundations of the Catholic Church in the United States, and underwrote the creation of a national church that helped to integrate future waves of Catholic immigrants.

ⁱ Yarrow Mamout was an African Muslim who eventually gained his freedom and became a landowner and businessman in Georgetown. Charles Wilson Peale and James Alexander Simpson painted portraits of Mamout, whom, a biographer suggests, might be posing in both portraits in the blue uniform of a Georgetown student. One of Beall's sons attended the college and Simpson taught art there. Georgetown was originally part of Montgomery County, Maryland. In 1814 Pius VII restored the Society of Jesus. Paul R. O'Neill and Paul K. Williams, *Georgetown University* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2003), 9-16; John M. Daley, *Georgetown University: Origins and Early Years* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1957), 94-96; Robert Emmett Curran, *The Bicentennial History of Georgetown University: From Academy to University, 1789-1889* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1993), I: 46-48; Michael Pasquier, *Fathers on the Frontier: French Missionaries and the Roman Catholic Priesthood in the United States, 1789-1870* (New York: Oxford, 2010), 25-31; Georgetown College, "Expense Book, February 12, 1794-February 12, 1802," esp. the entries for 22 April 1795, 14 December 1796, 21 December 1796, 24 October 1796, 3 January 1797, 15 January 1798; Georgetown College, "Book of Expenses and Remittances, October 1796-December 1799," esp. 120; Georgetown College, "Ledger A, Financial Ledgers," 3 volumes, 1789-1799, esp. I: 78, 94, 99 III: 120, Special Collections Research Center, Georgetown University Library. "Brooke Beall Ledger, 1790-1798," 112, MS 111, Furlong Baldwin Library, Maryland Historical Society; James H. Johnson, *From Slave Ship to Harvard; Yarrow Mamout and the History of an African American Family* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012), esp. 98-99; Kathleen M. Lesko, Valerie Babb, Carroll R. Gibbs, *Black Georgetown Remembered: A History of Its Black Community from the Founding of "The Town of George" in 1751 to the Present* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1991), 1-11; Sylviane A. Diouf, *Servants of Allah: African Muslims Enslaved in the Americas* (1998; New York: New York University Press, 2013), 107, 119-20; see, Peter

Kenney, "Consultations" (1832), 7, Box 126, Folder 2, Maryland Province Archives, the Society of Jesus, Special Collections Research Center, Georgetown University Library.

ⁱⁱ William W. Warner, *At Peace with All Their Neighbors: Catholics and Catholicism in the National Capital, 1787-1860* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1994), 7; Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 13; John Carroll, Last Will and Testament, 22 November 1815, in Thomas O'Brien Hanley, ed., *The John Carroll Papers* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), III: 369-73; John Gilmary Shea, *Memorial of the First Centenary of Georgetown College, D.C., Comprising a History of Georgetown University* (Washington, DC: for the College, 1891), 9-10; *New-York Weekly Museum*, 7 March 1789; Georgetown College, "College Catalogs, 1791-1850," Box 1, Vol. 1, Georgetown University Archives, Special Collections Research Center, Georgetown University Library; President and Professors of George Town College to George Washington, 1 March 1797 and 15 March 1797, and Louis Guillaume Valentin DuBourg to Mrs. Martha Custis Washington, 20 July 1798, George Washington Papers, Series 4, General Correspondence, Library of Congress.

ⁱⁱⁱ The college was chartered to grant degrees in 1815. Edward B. Bunn, "*Georgetown*": *First College Charter from the U. S. Congress (1789-1954)* (New York: Newcomen Society, 1954); Thomas E. V. Smith, *The City of New York in the Year of Washington's Inauguration, 1789* (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph, 1889); John Fenwick to Ignatius Fenwick, 12 June 1789, Capt. Ignatius Fenwick Papers, MS 1274, Furlong Baldwin Library, Maryland Historical Society.

^{iv} "The Address from the Roman Catholics to Washington," 1790, and "Washington to the Roman Catholics of the United States of America," 12 March 1790, Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll: Archbishop of Baltimore* (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1922), I: 363-67; George Washington to the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church in North America, October 1789, George Washington to the Society of Quakers, October 1789, George Washington to the Presbyterian Ministers of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, 2 November 1789, and George Washington to the Hebrew Congregation at Newport, 18 August 1790, in W. W. Abbot and Dorothy Twohig, eds., *The Papers of George Washington* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1987-), IV: 263-77, VI: 284-86; see also, Fritz Hirschfeld, *George Washington and the Jews* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005).

^v Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America: Colonial and Federal* (London: Longmans, Green, 1917), I: 247-93, 344-46; Andrew White, *A Relation of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore, in Maryland, Near Virginia; A Narrative of the First Voyage to Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1847); Nelson Waite Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church* (Baltimore: Diocese of Maryland, 1956), 5; Margaret C. DePalma, *Dialogue on the Frontier: Catholic and Protestant Relations, 1793-1883* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2004), 5-6.

^{vi} The Catholic community closed St. Mary's Chapel under that assault, and reused the bricks for a manor house on the safer ground of St. Inigoes. Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, I: 562-64, II: 13-45, 155, 480; Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church*, 5-7; Joseph A. Agonito, "St. Inigoes Manor: Portrait of a Nineteenth Century Jesuit Plantation," 2-5, Dr. Lois Green Carr Research Collection, SC 5906-10-83, Maryland State Archives; Nelson Waite Rightmyer, *Parishes of the Diocese of Maryland* (Reisterstown, MD, Educational Research Associates, 1960), 1-2; John D. Krugler, *English and Catholic: The Lords Baltimore in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 242-43; Thomas Murphy, "Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1717-1838: Real Poverty and Apparent Wealth on the Jesuit Farms," in Graham Russell Hodges, ed., *Studies in African American History and Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2001), esp. 37-39.

^{vii} Arthur J. Riley, "Catholicism in New England to 1788" (doctoral dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1936), esp. 180-93, in Catholic University of America, *Studies in American Church History*, Vol. XXIV; DePalma, *Dialogue on the Frontier*, 6-11; Mary Peter Carthy, *English Influences on Early American Catholicism*" (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1959), 12-19.

^{viii} Dongan received the Castleton estate on Staten Island. Although he returned to Ireland in 1688 to succeed his brother as Earl of Limerick, the Castleton grant lived into the next century as the largest single slaveholding on the island. Robert Emmett Curran, *Papist Devils: Catholics in British America, 1574-1783* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2014), 124-25; David S. Lovejoy, *The Glorious Revolution in America* (1972; Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1987), 282-84; William J. McGucken, *The Jesuits and Education: The Society's Teaching Principles and Practice, Especially in Secondary Education in the United States* (1932; Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2008), 55-56; Rev. D. P.

O'Neill, "Liberation of Spanish and Indian Slaves by Governor Dongan," United States Catholic Historical Society, *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. III, Part I (January 1903), 213-16. John Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*, 2 Vols. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1899), II: 289; DePalma, *Dialogue on the Frontier*, 7-8. Jacob Leisler's holdings were valued at fifteen thousand guilders in a 1674 tax assessment. See, "Valuation of Property in New York in 1674," in *Ecclesiastical Records, State of New York* (Albany: James B. Lyon, 1901), I: 641-42. Also see, Francina Staats, "Last Will and Testament," 19 August 1728, "Abstracts of Unrecorded Wills Prior to 1790," Vol. XI, *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1902* (New York: printed for the society, 1903), 186-88.

^{ix} Kenneth Scott, "The Slave Insurrection in New York in 1712," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* (January 1961), 47-67; New York Colony, *Census of Slaves, 1755* (New York: 1755); "An Act for Preventing Suppressing and Punishing the Conspiracy and Insurrection of Negroes and Other Slaves," 10 December 1712, "An Act for the More Effectual Preventing and Punishing the Conspiracy and Insurrection of Negro and Other Slaves; for the Better Regulating Them and for Repealing the Acts Herein Mentioned Relating Thereto," 29 October 1730, *Colonial Laws of New York, From the Years 1664 to the Revolution* (Albany: James B. Lyon, 1894), I: 761-67, II: 679-88; Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* (New York: Octagon, 1965), III: 462-508; New York Colony Treasurer's Office, "Reports of Goods Imported (Manifest Books) to New York," esp. Boxes 1-4, New York State Archives. See also, Isaac Levy and merchant trade in Philadelphia. Darold D. Wax, "Negro Imports into Pennsylvania, 1720-1766," *Pennsylvania History* (July 1965), 261-87.

^x Mordecai Gomez's slave, Cajoe (alias Africa), was also arrested. Colonists routinely searched for fugitive Spanish Indians and Spanish Negroes, and their advertisements betray the expansive geography of slavery. Spanish Indians had also participated in 1712 revolt. Oath of Allegiance to George II by Jews in American Colonies, 27 April 1741, Papers of Jacques Judah Lyons, Box 14, Folder 35, American Jewish Historical Society; Daniel Horsmanden, *The New York Conspiracy*, edited with an introduction by Thomas J. Davis (Boston: Beacon, 1971), esp. 178-87, 249-51, 260-62, and appendices; *American Weekly Mercury*, 23 July 1741. Scott, "The Slave Insurrection in New York in 1712"; *Boston Evening-Post*, 9 April 1739.

^{xi} Craig Steven Wilder, *Ebony & Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013); Donald G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities before the Civil War with Particular Reference to the Religious Influences Bearing upon the College Movement* (New York: Teachers College, 1932), 16-33, 55-60.

^{xii} Catholic families in the British colonies routinely bypassed the colleges in New Spain and New France. Moses Lindo to Sampson and Solomon Simson, 17 April 1770, and corporation of the College of Rhode Island to Moses Lindo, 1 January 1771, Rhode Island College Miscellaneous Papers, 1763-1804, Box 1, Folder 1, Brown University. Jacob R. Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew, 1492-1776* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970), III: 1198-1211; Jacob Rader Marcus, *Early American Jewry: The Jews of New York, New England, and Canada, 1649-1794* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1951), I: 64-68, 79, 164; Oscar Reiss, *The Jews in Colonial America* (New York: McFarland, 2004), 175-77; Edwin Wolf and Maxwell Whiteman, *The History of the Jews of Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson* (1956; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1975), 14-27.

^{xiii} J. Fairfax McLaughlin, *College Days at Georgetown* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1899), 17-20; Maura Jane Farrelly, *Papist Patriots: The Making of an Early Catholic Identity* (New York: Oxford, 2012), 181-85; Bernard Ward, *History of St. Edmund's College, Old Hall* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1893), 50-95; Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558-1795* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1914), I: esp., 63-120, 141-45; Ronald Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland: A Carroll Saga, 1500-1782* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 99-101; Annabelle M. Melville, *John Carroll of Baltimore: Founder of the American Catholic Hierarchy* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955), 8-12; Lewis Leonard, *Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton* (New York: Moffat, Yard, 1918), 241-49; Thomas Murphy, *Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1717-1-1838* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 3-32; John Gilmary Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days* (New York: John G. Shea, 1886), 40-50; James Hennessy, "Neither the Bourbons nor the Revolution: Georgetown's Jesuit Founders," in Michèle R. Morris, ed., *Images of America in Revolutionary France* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 1; Cornelius Michael Buckley, *Stephen Larigaudelle Dubuisson, S. J. (1786-1864) and the Reform of the American Jesuits* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2013); Shea, *Memorial History of the First Century of Georgetown College*,

23, 69; Charles Carroll (son) to Charles Carroll (father), 23 July 1761, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XI: 177-78.

^{xiv} In 1776 the estate of the first Johns Hopkins, grandfather of the philanthropist, included six black men, twelve black women, and twenty-five black children in Anne Arundel County.

Charles Carroll (father) to Charles Carroll (son), 16 April 1759, in Thomas Meagher Field, ed., *Unpublished Letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and of His Father Charles Carroll of Doughoregan* (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society, 1902), 20, 29-32; Robert W. Hall, *Early Landowners of Maryland: Volume I: Anne Arundel County, 1650-1704* (Lewes, DE: Colonial Roots, 2003), 32-33; Betty Stirling Carothers, comp., *1776 Census of Maryland*, 12, Furlong Baldwin Library, Maryland Historical Society; Charles Carroll (father) to Charles Carroll (son), 1 September 1762, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XI: 272-74.

^{xv} John Fenwick to Ignatius Fenwick, 14 March 1784, Capt. Ignatius Fenwick Papers; *The American Missions: Maryland Jesuits from Andrew White to John Carroll*, An Exhibit in the Special Collections Division, Georgetown University Library, 27 September-29 November 1976 (Washington, DC: Georgetown University, 1976), entry 10; see Jesuit and non-Jesuit wills, Maryland Province Archives, Box 25, Folders 6-12; Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, I: 281-82.

^{xvi} *American Missions*, entry 9; Agonito, "St. Inigoes Manor," 2-3; lists of lands and acreage held by the Jesuits in Maryland and Pennsylvania, Maryland Province Archives, Box 23, Folder 9; James Walter Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland* (Cumberland, MD: Eddy, 1913), 218-19.

^{xvii} Patrick Smyth, "The Present State of the Catholic Missions Conducted by the Ex-Jesuits in North America" (Dublin: P. Byrne, 1788), 17-19; *American Catholic Historical Researches* (July 1905), 193-206. Joseph Mobberly, *Diary*, Part I, 20-21, Brother Joseph P. Mobberly, S.J., Papers, 1805-1827, Folder 1, Special Collections Research Center, Georgetown University Library; Agonito, "St. Inigoes Manor," 11-16. The births are recorded on the front inside cover of "Old Records," pigskin account book from St. Thomas Manor, Maryland Province Archives, Box 3, Folder 8. See also, John Carroll to Cardinal Leonardo Antonelli, 1 March 1785, and John Carroll to John Thayer, 15 July 1794, Hanley, ed., *John Carroll Papers*, I: 179-82, II: 122-23.

^{xviii} Thomas O'Brien Hanley, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton: The Making of a Revolutionary Gentleman* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1970), 175-82; Whitman H. Ridgway, *Community Leadership in Maryland, 1790-1840: A Comparative Analysis of Power in Society* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 327; Charles Carroll (son) to Charles Carroll (father), 5 November 1769, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XII: 285-86.

^{xix} Farrelly, *Papist Patriots*, 220-57; *A Declaration of Rights, and the Constitution and Form of Government, Agreed to by the Delegates of Maryland, in Free and Full Convention Assembled* (Annapolis: Frederick Green, 1776), 11-14; Peter Wiernik, *History of the Jews in America, from the Period of the Discovery of the New World to the Present Time* (New York: Jewish Press, 1912), 125-27; H. M. Brackenridge, *Speeches on the Jew Bill, in the House of Delegates of Maryland* (Philadelphia: J. Dobson, 1829). The Carrolls's advertised regularly in the *Maryland Gazette*, including an appeal on 5 September 1754 for the capture of his "New Negro," Caesar, and three indentured servants, Robert Cox, George Dale, and John Oulton.

^{xx} David Noel Doyle, *Ireland, Irishmen and Revolutionary America, 1760-1820* (Dublin: Mercier, 1981), 167; James Breck Perkins, *France in the American Revolution* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), 241-25; Martin I. J. Griffin, *Catholics and the American Revolution* (Philadelphia: privately printed, 1911), 233-52; *Connecticut Courant and Weekly Intelligencer*, 4 May 1779; David W. Robson, *Educating Republicans: The College in the Era of the American Revolution, 1750-1800* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1985), 110.

^{xxi} General Washington's personal secretary was an Irish Catholic. Thomas P. Phelan, "Colonel John Fitzgerald: Aide-de-Camp and Secretary to General George Washington," *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, Vol. 18 (New York: by the Society, 1919), 233-44.

^{xxii} Hennesey, "Neither the Bourbons nor the Revolution," 5; Griffin, *Catholics and the American Revolution*, 250; Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland*, 218-20, 269-71; Doyle, *Ireland, Irishmen and Revolutionary America*, 51-76; David Lee Russell, *The American Revolution in the Southern Colonies* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2000), 14-16; David T. Gleeson, ed., *The Irish in the Atlantic World* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2010); Maurice J. Bric, *Ireland, Philadelphia and the Re-invention of America, 1760-1800* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2008), 1-45; Thomas D'Arcy McGee, *A History of the Irish Settlers in North America, from the Earliest Period to the Census of 1850* (Boston: Office of the

American Celt, 1851), 23-32; Chris Beneke, "The 'Catholic Spirit Prevailing in Our County': America's Moderate Religious Revolution," in Chris Beneke and Christopher S. Grenda, eds., *The First Prejudice: Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 279; Thomas J. Fleming, *Beat the Last Drum: The Siege of Yorktown, 1781* (New York: St. Martin's, 1963), 102; Abbé Claude C. Robin, *New Travels through North-America: In a Series of Letters; Exhibiting, the History of the Victorious Campaign of the Allied Armies, under His Excellency General Washington, and the Count de Rochambeau, in the Year 1781 . . .* (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1783), 44-47.

^{xxiii} Robert Arthur, *The End of a Revolution* (New York: Vantage, 1965); Thomas E. Chávez, *Spain and the Independence of the United States: An Intrinsic Gift* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 8-13; Lee Kennett, *The French Forces in America, 1780-1783* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1977), 7-36; Stephen Bonsal, *When the French Were Here: A Narrative of the Sojourn of the French Forces in America, and Their Contribution to the Yorktown Campaign Drawn from Unpublished Reports and Letters of Participants in the National Archives of France and the MS. Division of the Library Congress* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1945), 3-7.

^{xxiv} Agonito, "St. Inigoes Manor," 7-9; Griffin, *Catholics and the American Revolution*, 252; Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1961), 116-18; Warner, *At Peace with All Their Neighbors*, 3-5; Philip A. Crowl, *Maryland during and after the Revolution: A Political and Economic Study* (Baltimore: 1943); Ronald Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics and Revolution in Maryland* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

^{xxv} Carroll was installed in office on August 15, 1790, while in England. Frances Sergeant Childs, *French Refugee Life in the United States, 1790-1800: An American Chapter of the French Revolution* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1940), 9-19.

^{xxvi} Patrick Henry arranged for the small Catholic community to meet in the state capitol. Joseph Fenwick, Bordeaux, to Captain Ignatius Fenwick, Maryland, 21 March 1787, 31 May 1787, 11 October 1788, 8 December 1790, Capt. Ignatius Fenwick Papers; John R. G. Hassard, *John Hughes, First Archbishop of New York* (New York: D. Appleton, 1866), 26; James Haltigan, *The Irish in the American Revolution and Their Early Influence in the Colonies* (Washington, DC: Patrick J. Haltigan, 1908), 270; *Maryland Gazette*, 6 October 1791-15 December 1791; James V. Crotty, "Baltimore Immigration, 1790-1830: With Special Reference to Its German, Irish, and French Phases" (doctoral dissertation, Catholic University of America, June 1951), 22-23.

^{xxvii} Charles G. Herbermann, *The Sulpicians in the United States* (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1916), 16-23; John B. Boles, *Religion in Antebellum Kentucky* (1976; Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1995), 54-56; Alphonsus Lesousky, "Centenary of St. Mary's College, St. Mary, Kentucky," *Catholic Historical Review* (October 1921), 154n-157n; François D'Ivernois to Thomas Jefferson, 5 September 1794, in John Catanzariti, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950-), XXVIII: 123-33; Thomas Jefferson to George Washington, 23 February 1795, in Jared Sparks, ed., *The Writings of George Washington: Being His Correspondence, Addresses, Messages, and Other Papers, Official and Private, Selected and Published from the Original Manuscripts; with a Life of the Author, Notes, and Illustrations* (Boston: Ferdinand Andrews, 1838), XI: 473-76.

^{xxviii} Georgetown College, "College Catalogs, 1791-1850," Box 1, Vol. 1; *Georgetown University Alumni Directory* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Alumni Association, 1957); *American Missions*, entries 69-70; Shea, *Memorial History of the First Century of Georgetown College*, 24; "An Account of the Foundation and Progress of the College of St. Mary's, Baltimore," *Companion and Weekly Miscellany*, 16 August 1806; Curran, *Bicentennial History of Georgetown University*, I: 54-56. On the chartering of St. Mary's College, see *Maryland Gazette*, 3-24 January 1805.

^{xxix} The rescues were dramatic. About 3pm on July 9, 1793, several ships carrying hundreds of refugees had landed in Baltimore. Dozens of vessels followed with approximately a thousand white people and hundreds of enslaved black people. A relief committee of prominent Marylanders greeted the white passengers, and the state appropriated funds to aid their relocation. *Maryland Gazette*, 11 July 1793, 18 January 1809; Crotty, "Baltimore Immigration, 1790-1830," 22-25; De Witt Clinton, "Address Before the Free School Society in the City of New York" (1809), in William W. Campbell, ed., *The Life and Writings of De Witt Clinton* (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1849), 323.

^{xxx} The corporation retained the profits from any sale of enslaved people or increase of other capital stock at Bohemia. "Proceedings of the Corporation of Roman Catholic Clergy," 25 August 1795, 29 March 1797, 22 August 1799, 9 October 1799, Maryland Province Archives, Box 23, Folders 9-10.

^{xxxi} "Proceedings of the Corporation of Roman Catholic Clergy," 9 October 1799, 24 May 1803, 25 April 1804, and 3 February 1806, Maryland Province Archives, Box 23, Folders 10 and 13; Georgetown College, "Minutes of the Board of Directors of Georgetown College from 1797-1815," entry for 29-31 March 1808, in Minutes of the Board of Directors, 1 September 1797 through 11 July 1815, Box 1, Special Collections Research Center, Georgetown University Library; Murphy, "Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1717-1838," 38. Father Joseph Moseley noted, "David arrived from ye White Marsh to St. Joseph's, ye 10th of January 1767, formerly Mr. Neale's Negroe at Deer-Creek in Baltimore." Joseph Moseley, "St. Joseph's Church Account Book, 1764-1767," Maryland Province Archives, Box 49, Folder 2. See also, Father Neale's agreements for the training of women servants and his "Register, 1827-1832," which records the births and baptisms of enslaved children, Maryland Province Archives, Box 15, Folders 17 and 18; Curran, *Bicentennial History of Georgetown University*, 32; "Newtown Ledger, 1817-1823," 80-81, Maryland Province Archives, Box 46, Folder 1.

^{xxxii} Robert Emmett Curran, *Shaping American Catholicism: Maryland and New York, 1805-1915* (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press of America, 2012), 35; Mobberly, *Diary*, Part I, 14; Agonito, "St. Inigoes Manor," 11-13. See Mobberly's comments on the overseers: "St. Inigoes Receipt Book, 1804-1832," 55-58, Maryland Province Archives, Box 44, Folder 1.

^{xxxiii} Peter Kenney, "Temporalities, 1820," 11, Maryland Province Archives, Box 126, Folder 7.

^{xxxiv} Gilbert J. Garraghan, "The Beginnings of St. Louis University," *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review* (October 1918), 85-101; Kenneth J. Zanca, ed., *American Catholics and Slavery: 1789-1866* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994), 153-56; Joseph Aloysius Griffin, *The Contribution of Belgium to the Catholic Church in America, 1523-1857* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1932); Obituary for the Reverend Charles Felix Van Quickenborne *Catholic Telegraph*, 31 August 1837.

^{xxxv} "Reasons for giving a preference to the Indian Mission before any other. Given by F. Chas. C. Vanquickenborne," ca. 1831, in Peter Kenney, "Missouri Mission, 1831-32, Consultors Diary," and Peter Verhaegen to William McSherry, 10 July 1837, 19 July 1837, 4 January 1838, 27 November 1839, Maryland Province Archives, Box 128, Folders 2-4.

^{xxxvi} Brown added that Verhaegen's other slaves were treated far better. A year earlier, Verhaegen had presided at the opening of a church for people of color. Wilder, *Ebony & Ivy*, Prologue; Curran, *Shaping American Catholicism*, 34-42; Thomas Brown, St. Louis University, (probably to William McSherry, Georgetown), 21 October 1833, Maryland Province Archives, Box 40, Folder 5; Rev. Father Peter Kenney, "Extraordinary Consultation," 20 August 1832, and "Memorial, 1832," Maryland Province Archives, Box 126, Folders 2 and 6; *Catholic Telegraph*, 2 June 1832.

^{xxxvii} Murphy, *Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland*, 76-77, 203-04; Kenney, "Temporalities, 1820," 11, and Kenney, "Extraordinary Consultation," 20 August 1832, 20, Maryland Province Archives, Box 126, Folders 2 and 7; Peter Verhaegen to William McSherry, 9 February 1837, Maryland Province Archives, Box 128, Folder 4; see the correspondence, mortgage certificates, 1838, and articles of agreement between Thomas Mulledy, SJ, and Henry Johnson and Jesse Baley, 19 June 1838, Maryland Province Archives, Box 40, Folders 9 and 10.

^{xxxviii} Hassard, *John Hughes*, 23-24; George P. Schmidt, *The Old Time College President* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), esp. 32-33.