BINDETH UP OUR WOUNDS

Enslavement in the Roots of the Episcopal Diocese of Washington in Colonial and Antebellum Maryland, 1692-1864

by

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Prepared for the Episcopal Diocese of Washington
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FOR THE GLORY OF GOD

"He healeth the broken in heart, and bindeth up their wounds." Psalm 147:3

"Tell your children of it, and let your children tell their children, and their children another generation." Joel 1:3

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INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research report is primarily focused on the history and interaction of the eight Episcopal Diocese of Washington (EDOW) root parishes with the free Black and enslaved population between 1692-1864. This report grew out of an earlier report focusing on three questions posed by Diocesan Council. Those three questions centered on the history of the parishes of the EDOW (1895) and their involvement (if any) with chattel slavery. This report expands on those queries using extant historical records, and the surviving historical records of the eight root parishes. These parishes are located in the counties of Charles, Prince George's, and St. Mary's.

This report investigates the surviving historical records of these eight parishes with regard to their relationship with enslaved and free Black parishioners during colonial and antebellum Maryland, 1692-1865. This history is further explored through legislation enacted by the colonial Provincial Assembly and after the Revolution by the successor governing body the Maryland General Assembly, as well as the records of the Episcopal Diocese of Maryland, extant parish records, correspondence, reports, and writings of the period.

The report is divided into three parts.

Part I: Initial Research Objectives Answered is an updated version of the initial findings presented at the initial Reparations Symposium held at Calvary Church, Washington, DC in October 2022. Diocesan Council posed three research objectives/queries that are stated in this part with the subsequent research results. These initial results have been updated for this report with additional research and findings.

Part II: History and Contextual Timeline, 1692-1864 is a brief discussion of context, the history of the establishment of the Anglican Church as the official Church of the colony of Maryland in 1692, and enslavement in the broadest sense with relation to the Anglican Church and the colony. The Contextual Timeline is a timeline 1692-1864 with entries relating to the free Black and enslaved population whether the source be Maryland or county laws, newspaper advertisements, excerpts from sermons, county and state court records, and other primary source records. This is by far not an exhaustive listing but included to give more context and flavor to the parish entries that follow in Part III.

Part III: Eight Root Parishes and Their Individual Histories, 1692-1866, explores the eight root parishes of the EDOW and their history in relation to their free Black and enslaved parishioners. Histories are focused on material gleaned from extant primary sources and in cases where evidence warrants, further investigation using the public record. These are not exhaustive histories, and they purposely focus to a greater extent on the free Black or enslaved persons within each parishes surviving records.

Research Methodology and Records Consulted

The largest portion of the word "research" is "search." Part of the challenge of this work was locating primary source records that were said to be housed in one repository, but in fact were in another repository or proved to be lost or non-existent. Research involved reviewing these extant original records firsthand in these repositories that did have them: Archives of the Episcopal Diocese of Maryland (EDOM), Maryland State Archives (MSA), and Archives of the Episcopal Diocese of Washington. Each of the eight parishes was contacted inquiring what, if any, pre-1864 records they held within the parish. Two rectors responded there were no records from that

time-period within the parish, no responses were received from the other six. Each parish was researched individually and has been written up in its own separate report in Part III of this document.

Parishes established during the colonial era were under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, and research into the Lambeth Palace Papers has been done using local published sources, printed indices, and facsimile records at the Library of Congress. These parishes came under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Maryland from 1780 until the creation of the EDOW in 1895. The Diocese of Maryland has extensive archives relating to these parishes located at the cathedral in Baltimore, but the number of extant records varies from parish to parish. The Maryland Center for History and Culture has records pertaining to this time-period and these parishes, but much of it is microfilm duplicating materials held by the Maryland State Archives. Unless this microfilm differed from what was available at the MSA it was not consulted.

Research focused primarily on vestry minutes, correspondence, and any extant financial records from the time-period 1692-1864. Research into wills and probate records of the first vestrymen was done. It is to be noted that given the vagaries of the passage of time, war, varying levels of care, creation of records, and geographical distance, many records, especially financial and those relating to the enslaved population, were either never created, saved, or have been lost. Historical records may potentially exist in private hands and have not been made publicly available. Therefore, it is to be noted that the primary facts and histories assembled here are from a disjointed and incomplete data set. Expectations should be tempered with the reality that factual records on which to base any opinions and actions will, in part, be incomplete.

What This Report Does Not Include

This report does not include parishes not currently under the jurisdiction of the EDOW, or parishes created after the original eight 1692 root parishes.

Research into records created past the date of November 24, 1864 (the enactment of the new Maryland Constitution outlawing enslavement) excepting those reports submitted to the EDOM Convention of 1865 covering 1864. Reports submitted in 1866, when available, are cited to give a measure of the aftereffects of the Civil War on the Black presence in the eight root congregations.

This report does not include biographies of individual parishioners and rectors other than where they intersect with the parish records regarding the questions posed in the Research Objectives, or as they relate to the history being investigated.

A Word about Words

The nomenclature used within the records to denote people of African descent varies using, “black, colored, and negro”, with “Black” and “Colored” being the racial descriptors used most often. These terms as found in the original records have been retained in the quotations in this report. Not once in the records was encountered the derogative form of “negro” or anything of a similar nature. Even the word “enslaved” was absent except for one instance and that to describe

a Native Person in that condition. The word “slave” was used, but not as often as one might assume, the word “servant” being used most often to describe someone presumably enslaved. The absence in many of the sources of a description of the condition of the Black parishioners (free or enslaved persons) leaves it difficult to discern how many freepersons may have been parishioners along with their enslaved counterparts. In Bishop Whittingham’s book of confirmations from 1840-1842, he lists both Black and White confirmands, Blacks are listed with surnames when given. Rectors and registrars differ in their notation and nomenclature as well as does the detail of their record keeping. It is to be noted that in some of these parish records the detail for Black parishioners relating to names (first and last), birth, death, marriage, and confirmation dates is far beyond what the author expected to encounter and would be a boon to anyone interested in genealogy of the Black families of this region. For all the quoted excerpts, the original syntax, spelling, and punctuation has been retained.

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PART I: INITIAL RESEARCH OBJECTIVES ANSWERED

The foundation of these updated findings was first presented at the initial Reparations Symposium held at Calvary Church, Washington, DC in October 2022.

Research Objectives Posed by Diocesan Council

Through research in primary and secondary records this project has sought to answer as much as possible the extant that the Anglican parishes in Maryland now under EDOW's jurisdictions:

a) engaged in enslavement by owning enslaved persons or by participating in the sale or transportation of them
b) benefited directly from enslaved persons by the use of enslaved persons labor to work church lands, to erect church buildings, or through the sale of enslaved persons to fund church bequests
c) benefited indirectly from enslaved persons by receiving gifts, subsidies or bequests from the wealth accumulated through the use of enslaved persons' labor.

A) Engaged in enslavement by owning enslaved persons or by participating in the sale or transportation of them.

It can definitively be said that many parishioners, vestrymen, and priests from 1692 until 1864 held enslaved persons. Numerous examples of this in all pre-1864 parishes abound. Enslaved persons were considered property and from the time that enslavement was codified into Maryland law in 1692 until the new Maryland Constitution of November 1864 enslaved persons were bought and sold. The transatlantic slave trade was outlawed in the United States in 1808 but that does not mean that the business of enslavement did not still exist within the continental United States or rather among those states where it was legal until being formally outlawed.

Of the 48 original vestrymen elected in 1692 from the eight root parishes (6 vestrymen per parish), 20 owned enslaved persons at the time of their deaths, a total of 307 enslaved persons, on average 15 enslaved persons per vestryman.

Three instances of a parish being gifted with or owning enslaved persons were discovered within the histories of three of the eight root parishes.

August 1698: William and Mary Parish, St. Mary's County. Mary Denton widow of Henry Denton, clerk of the Council reported that vestryman Robert Mason sold her husband "one Negro man slave a white Woman & Mulatto Child". The child was by law the property of William and Mary Parish in St. Mary's County until he turned thirty-one. The vestry threatened to sue Denton since the sale had apparently been illegal. Mason acknowledged he was a vestryman of the parish. Governor Francis Nicholson ordered him prosecuted for breach of oath. Mason was taken into custody and by the end of August had made up his accounts with the William and Mary vestry. What happened to the enslaved man, White woman and bi-racial child is unknown. [1]

[1] Archives of Maryland (AMD) Volume 23, pages 508-510, Maryland State Archives (MSA), Annapolis, Maryland.

August 1796: Durham Parish, Charles County. Francis Martin willed four enslaved persons (only after the death of his wife Sarah) to Durham Parish for the establishment of, "a charity school or schools in most convenient parts of the said Parish for the use and Benefit of those children whose Parents are incapable of bestowing an Education on them" He wrote his will in 1780. No evidence was found to confirm whether this bequest took place or if Martin's wishes were followed. [2]

December 1796: William and Mary Parish, Charles County was authorized by the Maryland General Assembly to sell the enslaved persons gifted to them, "and the money arising from such sales to invest in real or other property, in their discretion, for the use and benefit of the said parish." The legislation does not mention who gifted the enslaved persons. The further history of this bequest or gift was not found in any of the surviving records, only extant from 1864 forward. Searches in newspapers and other governmental records of the time regarding the sale or any mention of these enslaved persons was not found. The records destroyed by the Union Army during the Civil War may have contained further information. [3]

B) Benefited directly from enslavement by using enslaved persons labor to work church lands, to erect church buildings, or through the sale of enslaved persons to fund church bequests.

Yes, many parishes used the labor of the enslaved persons of vestrymen and priests for work in graveyards and glebes but by no means was this standard or a commonplace practice. It appears that persons hired as sextons may have on occasion been enslaved persons owned not by the parish but by an individual or freeperson. Glebes were most often simply rented out and not worked by the parish. Some records show the use of a person for odd jobs but whether wages were paid to either the enslaver or the enslaved persons is unclear because of the dearth and lack of detail in existing financial records. Regarding the erection of church buildings, no doubt some undertakers (early term for what we would now call a contractor) used enslaved and free labor, but the enslaved labor was not owned by the parish.

Commissaries Wilkinson and Henderson, 1729, 1751
Both Maryland Commissaries (representatives of the Bishop of London during the colonial period) the Rev. Mr. Jacob Henderson (Western Shore and after Wilkinson's death all of Maryland) and the Rev. Mr. Christopher Wilkinson (Eastern Shore) owned enslaved persons and held indentured servants.

Christopher Wilkinson died on April 11, 1729. He had arrived in Maryland in 1711 and was inducted to All Hallows in Somerset County and then St. Paul's, Queen Anne County. He was appointed Commissary of the Eastern Shore by Bishop John Robinson, Bishop of London, on February 16, 1716. He was described as, "to have been remarkable for the prudent and judicious-yet slow-operation of a sound and well-balanced mind, directed by the feelings of a truly pious

[2] Frances Martin will signed 27 April 1780, appears in vestry minutes just below an entry for August 6, 1792, so assuming Martin may have died in summer 1792. Martin mentions no children but mentions two nieces Linder and Mary, and Robert and Alexandra Crain. Pages 62-63.
[3] AMD, Volume 105, pages 160, 230-231, 1796, MSA.

heart." He held at least 7 enslaved persons and indentured at his death: John Dorson (White), Jenny, Moll, Mary, Alford, Little Tom (White), Robin (mixed race), Shoalloe (mixed race), John Moore, a weaver. He once recommended all parishes be provided with glebes and houses with "mulattos, . . . (once the right of the church), . . ." being supplied as glebe servants and managers. This was never instituted. [4]

Jacob Henderson (?-1751). Henderson was born in the small town of Glenavy, near Loch Neagh, in the north of Ireland. Initially a member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.), he left his initial post in Delaware, resigning from the S.P.G., arrived in Annapolis, Maryland and was inducted into St. Anne's Parish on 8 February 1714 by acting Governor Edward Lloyd. He briefly served St. Paul's Parish, Prince George's and in 1718 he was inducted into Queen Anne's Parish, also Prince George's County. [5]

Answering Bishop Gibson's queries in 1724, Henderson said he honored the charge to catechize and baptize the enslaved persons, often preaching to his parishioners on the need to do so. He conducted catechism classes in spring and fall and these classes were open to any enslaved persons that were allowed to attend. [6]

In 1729, after the death of Commissary Wilkinson, Henderson was appointed the Commissary of Maryland. He held a visitation for the Eastern Shore clergy at Oxford, Talbot County, in June 1731 and one for the Western Shore at Annapolis in July of the same year. Henderson's focus for these visitations grew out of his previous exhortation to carry the gospel to the enslaved population. He began by giving an account of his own efforts, ". . . last Summer read prayers in the afternoons Every Sunday, and Catechized Negro's and others that Came and Spent near half an hour in Explaining, that he confesses such numbers did not attend as he Expected, but that did not discourage him, he would persist in sowing the good seed, and doubted not, but it would take root, in some or other; . . .." [7]

He asked each of the clergy present to give an account of their efforts. The remainder of the clergy reported varying degrees of success apparently dependent on the commitment of the enslaver in seeing that their enslaved persons were spiritually cared for and allowed time from their labors to be included in the fullness of the church's ministry. [8]

Henderson died at his home, Catton, on August 21, 1751. Turner Wootton and Benjamin Hall appraised Henderson's estate in November 1751. Detailed in the estate inventory, were twenty-two enslaved persons: Bellinder, Bess, Daphney, Davie, Dick, blind George, Hercules, "new" Jack, Jamey, Jerry, Kate, Nacey "(a boy)", Nan, Nell, Pegg, Peter, Sam, Sue, Tobey, Tom, Will (who was infirm) and Willer, ranging in age from three-month-old Sue to one-hundred-year-old Bess. There was one, White, indentured servant, John, who still had two years and two months left on his indenture. Back in 1719 Henderson had freed an enslaved woman named Old Jenny. (In July 1755, the Assembly passed an act making it unlawful to set cripple enslaved

[4] Fulham Palace Papers (FP), Volume 3, microfilm Reel 1, pg. 69, Library of Congress (LoC); Manross, *Fulham*, pages xiii, 34-38; Perry, *Collections*, Volume 4, pages 231-232.; Wilkinson, Christopher, original will, Box 13, folder 31, Queen Anne Wills, C-1496-20, MSA; Emory, Frederic, *History of Queen Anne's County*, pages 156.
[5] Society of the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) Papers, LoC, microfilm Reel 2, Volume 2, pages 154, 161-164, 191, 200-258, Reel 6, Volume 6, pages 301-303, receipt for books, Reel 11, Volume 11, pages 243 (dtd. 20 May 1711), 246, Reel 12, Volume 12, pages 66-69, ltr. Henderson to the SPG, dtd. 28 Dec. 1710; Reel 15, Volume 15, pg. 176, ltr. Chamberlayne to Col. Gooking[?], dtd. 23 Sept. 1710; S.P.G. in the Home Archives, transcripts, Series A, Box 5450, pages 78-81, Henderson to the Society, dtd. 20 August 1712, LoC.
[6] Manross, *Fulham*, pg. 35; Prince George's County Court Records 11/1715-8/1720, Liber H, pg. 5, MSA.
[7] Manross, *Fulham*, pg. 35; Prince George's County Court Records 11/1715-8/1720, Liber H, pg. 5, MSA.
[8] FP, microfilm Reel 1, Volume 3, pages 90-96, 151-152, LoC; The visitation for the Western Shore was held on 21-22 July.

persons free or extend manumission to any enslaved person by last will and testament.) He left the enslaved Pegg to Mary Tyler, and the enslaved Jerry to Mary Watson. [9]

Bishop Thomas John Claggett, 1816

The first Bishop of Maryland and the first bishop consecrated on the soil of the United States, Thomas John Claggett (1743-1816) was born October 2, 1743, the son of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Clagett and his wife Elizabeth Gantt. Upon his father's death in 1756, Thomas John inherited the Croome estate in Prince George's County and two enslaved persons, Clem and Harry. Nothing more is known about Clem or Harry. Claggett pursued a career in the church throughout his life. Claggett was ordained in London by Bishop Richard Terrick in 1767. He returned to Maryland and served All Saints Parish, Calvert County until the American Revolution. After the Revolution he continued his work for the Maryland church. He consecrated as the first Bishop of Maryland at the General Convention in New York City in September 1792, thus uniting the English and Scottish apostolic successions. He served as Chaplain for the United States Senate upon their seating in the District of Columbia in November 1800. He married his cousin Mary Gantt, and they had six children. [10]

Any evidence of Claggett holding enslaved persons is complicated by the fact that the name, "Thomas John" is used throughout the extended Claggett family. Census records record a variety of men named Thomas John Clagett with enslaved, but which, if any, of these is the bishop is uncertain. Claggett died at his home, Croome, on August 3, 1816. His Last Will and Testament mentions no enslaved persons, and there is no inventory extant listing goods and chattels, so it appears at the time of his death Claggett held no enslaved persons. Bishop Kemp termed Claggett, "a true and genuine son of the church." In many ways, through his diligence, determination, and faith, he was the savior of the Episcopal Church in Maryland. [11]

C) Benefited indirectly by receiving gifts, subsidies, or bequests from the wealth accumulated through the use of enslaved labor.

Given that until 1776 the Anglican Church in Maryland was supported by a tobacco tax on the taxable population and that tobacco, in part, was raised by enslaved persons labor it follows that enslaved persons labor directly supported the parish and the salary of its priests. Of course, it would have also supported the parish indirectly since by being part of the economy all participated knowingly or not in an economic system built in part on enslaved labor. It is safe to assume and borne out by later sources that enslaved and free Blacks may have worked as sextons, on glebes, and would have been part of the undertakers' workforce in building the early churches of the Diocese. (See also answers for A) above.)

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[9] Prince George's Court Record, Liber H, pg. 930, Nov. Ct. 1719, MSA; Prince George's County Will Book, 1740-1770, pages 441-442, MSA; Henderson's inventory, Prince George's County Inventories 1747-1758, pages 379-386, dtd. 19 November 1751 and an additional inventory dtd. 13 November 1753, MSA; Ages and names of enslaved: Bellinder (27), Bess (almost 100), Daphney (15), Davie (9 mos.), Dick (12), blind George (?), Hercules (18), "new" Jack ((35), Jamey (4), Jerry, Kate (47), Nacey "(a boy)" (7), Nan (56), Nell (36), Pegg, Peter (25), Sam (40), Sue (3 mos.), Tobey (3), Tom (30), Will who was infirm (45) and Willer (16).

[10] Inventory for Samuel Clagett, Charles County, Maryland Inventories, 1753-1766, pages 85-89, MSA; Will of Samuel Clagett, Charles County Will Book AD5, 1752-1761, pages 64-67, MSA; Ltr. from Joseph W. Hopkins, III, Senior Archeologist, Greenhorne & O'Mara, Inc. to Ms. Marina King of the Prince George's County Historic Preservation Commission, dated 12 December 1989, MNCPPC files for Croome, Upper Marlborough. Middleton, *Anglican Maryland,* pages 79-80; MBD, Volume 1, pages 407-408.; Robinson, *Faith & Tobacco,* pages 207-237.; EDOM Archives, VF.

[11] Bishop Claggett's will, Will Book TT1, pages 186-190, Prince George's County Wills, MSA.

PART II: HISTORY AND CONTEXTUAL TIMELINE, 1692-1864

We may only imagine here in the first half of the 21st century what the time-period 1692-1864 was like, the reality of the time that was experienced firsthand by those living in it and who this report centers on. We have accounts, stories, myths, primary and secondary sources, and centuries of scholarship to inform us. That said, all writing goes through a writer's personal sieve. Looking at the historical record, different people will draw varying conclusions reflective of their personal journeys and life experience. One must be ever mindful when applying current attitudes and morals to a time that is different from our own. One thing is certain: history is past and there is no way to alter or change it, but we may learn from it.

Southern Maryland in the colonial and antebellum period was an agrarian society, the economy underpinned by the tobacco trade. All, whether planters, farmers, free, enslaved, indentured, or Native Peoples, all lived lives deeply intertwined with the land. Enslavement mirrored what was true for most of the colonies and early republic: there were planters farming large tracts of land, middle-size planters with holdings of a few hundred acres or less, those with little or no holdings, and tradesmen. The level of enslavement could mean enslaving many persons, a few or none, but the reality was that enslavement was a way of life. It was taken for granted, codified, baked into the way society and business functioned. Not everyone enslaved others, but all were part of the larger economy that in many ways was supported by the labor of enslaved persons.

Did many people question it? Some did, but more than likely most simply saw it as the way things were. While it may have been in the back of the mind, it was not until the outbreak of the Civil War that it entered the forefront of everyone's thinking. For those enslavers, freedom for the enslaved population would upend society, changing the way life was lived and the way society functioned. Monumental change does not come without its concurrent upheaval. In the aftermath of the Civil War, when casting about for someone or, something to blame for the turmoil and carnage, a racist hammer fell upon the formerly enslaved persons, one that was determined to nail them in their former place legally and culturally. The web of segregation and racism continues to plague our society in many ways.

Did the church question it? While it is apparent from the surviving written record that the church cared for the souls of enslaved persons, offered them the rites of the church without exemption, the discussion of slavery, the condition of enslaving persons was not high on the list for Sunday sermons or a frequent topic at Convention. As William Daniel, Maryland lawyer, politician, and abolitionist noted in 1864, "It is true that the Episcopal church, as a church, has held rather aloof from the subject [slavery and freeing the enslaved persons] until within a few years past. But now she too has come up boldly and taken her stand side by side with her sister churches." [12]

This portion of the report focuses on the eight root parishes that are the historic roots of all parishes in the EDOW. The eight parishes were a portion of the original thirty Anglican parishes created in 1692 during the Maryland Establishment of the Anglican Church by the colonial assembly. All exist, sometimes with reduced or modified parish bounds, to the present day. These original eight parishes are located in the present-day counties of Charles, Prince George's, and St. Mary's.

[12] AMD, Volume 102, Volume 1 Debates, Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention 1864, pages 632-633.

At its planting Maryland was a religiously tolerant colony-for Christians, with no sanctioned governmentally supported denomination, and there was freedom of conscience to worship as one chose. Even so, Anglican congregations were founded by groups of individuals during the early Maryland colonial period, 1634-1692. Prior to the 1692 Establishment they were what would now be considered independent congregations, with no governmental sanction, support or oversight. In 1689, as a result of the Glorious Revolution and the Protestant overthrow of Lord Baltimore's government, the colony was made a Royal Colony thus making by default, but not yet by law, the Anglican Church the official religion of the colony.

Lionel Copley (1648-1693), Maryland's first royal governor, was given a long list of instructions to implement upon his Maryland arrival in 1691. In a belated attempt to honor the oft stated desire to Christianize the enslaved and Native Peoples, Copley was given charge to pass a law restraining the use of, "inhuman severities" on Christian servants and the enslaved persons by "ill Masters or Overseers." With the assistance of Council and Assembly, Copley was to discover the best means for encouraging conversion of enslaved persons and Native Peoples to Christianity. The deliberate killing or maiming of enslaved persons and Native Peoples was to be penalized. Copley himself owned no enslaved persons. [13]

Copley was charged with establishing the Anglican Church as the official denomination of the colony. The Assembly passed the Establishment Act, with lightning speed and on June 9, 1692, Copley signed into law, "An Act for the Service of Almighty God and the Establishment of the Protestant Religion Within this Province." The act established the Church of England as the state religion, provided for the observance of the Sabbath, established and geographically defined the thirty original parishes (pre-Establishment congregations already existed in each of the ten counties), empowered the laity (Protestant men with sufficient value of property eligible to vote) to elect vestries, defined vestry responsibilities, and instituted a tax of forty pounds of tobacco for each taxable person to support payment of the incumbent priest. A taxable person was defined as any male above the age of sixteen, servant or freeborn, imported or native, and any enslaved person, male or female, above the age of sixteen, native born or imported. Clergymen and persons receiving alms from the county were exempt from taxation. Additional tobacco taxes could be levied for building churches, chapels of ease, vestries, and for graveyard upkeep. Parishes could also lobby for additional taxes to purchase a glebe, a plot of land farmed or rented out to benefit the incumbent clergy and/or parish. These lands were owned by the parish outright. In some parishes the glebe was donated by a parishioner. Few of Southern Maryland's parishes purchased or owned a glebe. Copley did not live to institute many of the changes brought about by the Protestant Rebellion, for both he and his wife were dead by September 1693. Copley's legacy was the establishment of the Church of England within Maryland and the act legalizing enslavement. [14]

Until after the American Revolution and the creation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1789, the parish administration as created under the Establishment Act consisted of a priest, his clerk, six vestrymen, two wardens, and a registrar. For political reasons, no provision was made for a resident bishop. Maryland would be without a resident bishop and hence a leader, spiritual and temporal, for her church until well after the American Revolution. This deficiency

[13] AMD, Volume 8, pages 271-280.

[14] 1692 version, AMD, Volume 13, pages 439-552; 1702 version AMD, Volume 24, pg. 265-273; Skirven P., *First Parishes*, pages 47-59; Ervin, "The Established Church of Colonial Maryland", Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church (HMPEC); A few of the other acts passed during 1692 concerned the securing, seizure and disposal of tobacco, coopers and the gauge of tobacco hogsheads, encouragement for killing wolves, *"preventing vexatious and unnecessary suits at law", and one, "against Divulgers of false News"*, guarding against outbreaks of political unrest related to the Pretender to the throne, James II.

was addressed in part by the appointment of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Bray in 1696 as Commissary for Maryland and after his tenure, the subsequent appointment in 1716 of two clerical commissaries, one each for the western and eastern shores. Only the Bishop of London could license and qualify clergy for service in the colonies and he alone exercised any real authority, little though it was, over the colonial church. Due to its unique charter, he exercised even less control over Maryland than in any other American colony. The clergy were political appointments of the royal governor and after restoration of the charter to the Calvert family in 1715 of Lord Baltimore, the vestry having no choice of a parish priest unlike their counterparts in Virginia. Baltimore and the governor could seek advice and recommendations of potential candidates from the Bishop of London, bishops of the Church of England, and the Maryland commissary, but the ultimate decision as to who was to be inducted into what parish remained the governments. Clergy received proceeds from the tobacco poll tax as their compensation and suffered no oversight from the parish vestry or non-existent local bishop. With no recourse, except outright confrontation, the vestry could not legally remove an incumbent from his pulpit once he was inducted. In the years ahead, this provided many vestries with frustratingly impossible situations when a rector proved less than fit, or in some instances physically unable, to stand in a pulpit much less administer a parish. Since clerical compensation was included in the act, the laity maintained some control. Numerous attempts would be made to reduce and modify clerical compensation during the colonial period, often putting clergy at odds with the Assembly. Even so, Maryland's clergy eventually became the best compensated of any of their colonial American brethren. [15]

One of the most important positions created by the Establishment Act was that of the parish registrar (consistently referred to in both provincial and parish documents as the register). After the vestry appointed the registrar, he was administered the same oaths prescribed for both vestry and churchwardens. In a "well bound" book, he recorded the vestry's proceedings. He was required to record parish births, marriages, and burials, with each entry noting the person's Christian and surname as well as the day, month, and year of the event. The registrar was to be informed within two months of the occurrence of any one of these events and paid six pence per entry. Failure to comply with the two-month deadline carried a fine of 100 pounds of tobacco. Registration for mixed race and enslaved persons was the exception to the rule, but some parish registrars included them in the records even though not legally required to do so. The registrar could charge six pence for certificates of recorded entries and for any copies requested from the parish account books or vestry proceedings. The importance of the parish registrar was such that one was to be appointed in each parish within six months of the passage of the Establishment Act or each vestryman would be fined 500 pounds of tobacco for non-compliance. As one might expect over the course of time many of these records have gone missing or been destroyed by fire, mice, and time. [16]

The vestry was the only popularly elected governing body within the counties. To vote in vestry elections, one had to be an Anglican, male, and a tax-paying freeholder. The only officials elected by the qualified voting populace, other than vestrymen, were county delegates to the Assembly's Lower House. The royal governor appointed Council members and government officials with Baltimore regaining this right upon restoration of his charter in 1715. Those eligible to vote for Assemblymen were males owning at least fifty acres of land or equivalent

[15] 1702 version AMD, Volume 24, pg. 265-273; Ervin, "The Established Church of Colonial Maryland", HMPEC.
[16] 1692 version AMD, Volume 13, pages 439-552; 1702 version AMD, Volume 24, pg. 265-273; Ervin, "The Established Church of Colonial Maryland", HMPEC.

personal property valued at 40 pounds sterling. Often, one qualified for the vote on the value of enslaved persons, plate, or tobacco, as well as other commodities. Many men in the colonial period became eligible to vote by contracting advantageous marital alliances thus adding to their property. Politically prominent families often had family members on their local parish vestry with vestrymen often connected to each other through sometimes-intricate familial ties. Being one of only two political offices in which Marylanders had a voice, the office of vestryman often became a stepping-stone to obtaining higher public office. [17]

The Maryland economy through the Revolution and into the antebellum period rested on tobacco, especially in the five Southern Maryland counties of Anne Arundel, Calvert, Charles, Prince George's, and St. Mary's. Tobacco is a labor-intensive crop, and therefore the availability of laborers was a necessary pre-requisite to large-scale production. The work force of early Maryland was a combination of hired freemen, indentured persons, enslaved persons, and political and criminal prisoners. Freemen (as opposed to "freedman" a common term for an emancipated person) usually non-landowning, were a financial stratum below the yeoman farmer and planter class. They worked for wages or raised tobacco as tenants or sharecroppers. Indentured servitude was a common means of immigration to Maryland. For one's passage to the colony, an individual was bound for a specific period of years to the person paying the passage. Indentured servants were both male and female and certificates of indenture could be bought or sold. Indentures for those servants with a particular skill or experience at a trade or profession were worth more than those without such qualifications. At the end of an indenture, one was free to pursue one's own fortune. Indentured servants, both male and female, were guaranteed certain incentives upon the completion of their term, namely, " . . . one good Cloth suite of Keirsy or broad cloth a Shift of white linen one new pair of stockins and Shoes two hoes one axe 3 barrells of Corne and fifty acres of land five whereof at least to be plantable women Servants a Years Provision of Corne and a like proportion of Cloths & Land." [18]

Enslavement

The experience of the enslaved in Maryland as it relates to the Anglican Church has not been fully explored. The African slave trade to Maryland was established in 1663 by The Royal African Company, a monopoly granted by the crown. Increasingly, African and Maryland-born enslaved persons worked the tobacco fields, but the importation of enslaved persons to the colony was not prevalent until after the company lost its monopoly in 1698. After this date, the importation to and use of African enslaved persons within Maryland increased greatly. The price of the enslaved varied according to the season of the year, spring and summer bringing higher prices since the most intensive labor for the crop was required during that portion of the year. Aside from providing labor, enslavement was viewed as a threat to the safety and welfare of the colony, with British enslavers being held in generally low regard for perpetuating this mode of labor. Nevertheless, the use of slave labor steadily increased during the colonial period as the value of the tobacco trade increased along with labor needed to grow and process it. [19]

By 1704, African enslaved persons were increasingly replacing the indentured workforce becoming the preferred method of ensuring one's plantation had enough hands to work the

[17] 1692 version AMD, Volume 13, pages 439-552; 1702 version AMD, Volume 24, pg. 265-273; Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, pages 56-57; Ervin, "The Established Church of Colonial Maryland", HMPEC.
[18] Carr, Lois Green; Menard, Russell R. and Peddicord, Louis. *Maryland . . . at the beginning*. Annapolis, MD: Hall of Records Commission of the State of Maryland, Department of General Services, 1984.
[19] Middleton, *Tobacco Coast*.

fields. The enslaved persons came from such regions as the West Indies, Gambia River, Guinea, and other countries along the coast of West Africa. The percentage of Africans entering Maryland was approximately fifty percent with the remaining enslaved persons being imported from the West Indies, the slave trade was conducted predominately by British firms based in the English cities of Bristol, London, and Liverpool. [20]

The spiritual life of the enslaved person was of great concern to Parliament's Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, who even questioned Lord Baltimore about the pastoral care given to these enslaved persons. In 1678, he replied that in many parts of America, owners refused to baptize their enslaved persons for fear that baptism somehow conferred freedom. The Assembly had gone so far as to pass an act ensuring that baptized enslaved persons remained enslaved. According to Baltimore, this had the effect of reassuring owners of the enslaved, who in turn felt free to allow enslaved persons to be baptized. The guarantee that baptism did not confer manumission was confirmed again in June 1692 by "An Act for the Encouragement of the importation of negros and enslaved persons into this province". The act dealt more with the manumission and baptism issue than with the actual importation of the enslaved. Another type of labor, political and criminal prisoners, was transported to Maryland from England, Ireland, and Scotland. By the 18th century, over 30,000 felons were at work on the Maryland and Virginia plantations. [21]

During the same session the Assembly passed, "An Act to punish Blasphemers, Swearers, Drunkards, and Sabbath-Breakers; and for the repealing the Laws heretofore made for the Punishing such Offenders," incorporating the previous laws concerning these offenses into one law. Blasphemy is described as, "That if any Person shall here-
after, within this Province, wittingly, maliciously, and advisedly, by Writing or Speaking, Blaspheme or Curse God, or deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, or shall deny the Holy Trinity the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, or the Godhead of any of the Three Persons, or the Unity of the Godhead, or shall utter any profane Words concerning the Holy Trinity, or any the Persons thereof. " The provisions concerning Sabbath breaking stated, "That no Person whatsoever, shall Work, or do any bodily Labour on the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday, and that no Person, having Children, Servants or Enslaved, shall command, or wittingly or willingly suffer any of them to do any Manner of Work or Labour on the Lord's Day, (Works of Necessity and Charity always excepted) nor shall suffer or permit any Children, Servants or Enslaved, to profane the Lord's Day, by Gaming, Fishing, Fowling, Hunting, or unlawful Pastimes or Recreations: . . .." One lawful witness to the infraction was required and a conviction carried a fine of 2,000 lbs. of tobacco. As well as restriction on gaming, there was to be no strong liquor consumed on Sundays, ". . .. (except in Cases of absolute Necessity.)" For blasphemy and Sabbath breaking, charges had to be filed within one month of the infraction. All former acts touching upon these crimes were repealed. [22]

The established church seemingly gave tacit approval to the enslavement of Africans, focusing not on the moral question of their enslavement but instead on their soul and conversion to Christianity. It was stated and encouraged almost from the very beginning of the Maryland colony that the enslaved and Native Peoples were to be a part of a cleric's ministry and all were eligible for baptism and catechism. Although the Church of England and especially Governor

[20] "Act Relating to Servants & Enslaved", 3 Oct. 1704, S.P.G. papers at LoC, Reel 12, Volume 12; Lambeth Palace Library, Mss. 941, pg. 72; Information on enslaved and slavery found in Middleton, *Tobacco Coast,* pages 148-196.
[21] AMD, Volume 13, pg. 505; Middleton, *Tobacco Coast,* 160-172.
[22] AMD, Volume 34, pages 733-737 (blasphemy).

Francis Nicholson during his tenure in government encouraged ministrations to the slave population, it was dependent upon a parish's incumbent priest to carry this out. Pastoral care for the enslaved varied from parish to parish being contingent on the personality of the resident clergyman and the attitude of the enslaver. Some priests took seriously their charge to carry the Gospel to all people and did so. The enslaved persons did attend worship services. Some priests made it a point to visit plantations on a regular basis to baptize and catechize and consecrate burials. While the Church of England might encourage their faith and freeing their soul, little to nothing was broached about freeing their body. Many enslaved persons secretly held onto a myriad of religions from their native traditions storing them away in their hearts and secret places safely out of view of enslavers and overseers. [23]

Contextual Timeline, 1685-1864

This is not an exhaustive listing, but selections to provide a window into the world of colonial and antebellum Maryland. The entries are quoted from original records and retain their original spelling, nomenclature, and syntax, some are quoted in part.

***Letter from Lord Baltimore to the Maryland Council,* 1685**

Writing to the Maryland Council about the Rev. Mr. Paul Bertrand a French Protestant with a good command of English coming to be inducted into St. Paul's Parish, Prince George's County, "You are likewise to procure him possession of the plantation and a negro at the head of the Pattuxen River, which was given by Peter Archer for the use of Ministers, and I desire that Col. Darnall doe procure him a horse out of the wild gang . . ." Sheriff Michael Taney alerted Lord Baltimore to the fact that Archer's plantation had been sold to settle Archer's estate. [24]

***An Act Concerning Negro Enslaved,* 1692**

Less than sixty years after its founding, Maryland began a long legal tradition of enslavement and segregation. Enslavement lasted until being written out of the Maryland Constitution in November 1864. It is sadly ironic that the same year that the Church of England was established as the official religion of the Maryland colony, 1692, that enslavement was codified into law, stating in part, "That all negroes and other enslaved already imported or hereafter to be Imported into this Province, shall serve their natural lives and all the Children born already or hereafter to be born of any Negroes or other Enslaved within this Province shall be Enslaved to all intents and purposes as their parents were for the terme of their natural lives."

"That any freeborn English or White woman with or permit herself to be begotten with child by any Negro or other Enslaved, shall undergo the paines and penalties by this Law . . . that if any English or White woman upon marrying with any Black or enslaved would forfeit her freedom for seven years "to the use and benefit of the Ministry or the Poor of the same Parish at the discretion of the Vestry men of the Parish" in which the woman belonged at the time of her

[23] Schablitsky, Julie M.: "Meanings and Motivations Behind the Use of West African Spirit Practices.", JSTOR.
[24] Letter Lord Baltimore to the Maryland Counncil, 9 December 1685, AMD, Volume 5, page 461.

marriage. The man, whether free or enslaved, would forfeit his freedom for life. The children of such marriage would be enslaved until their 21st birthday. If the woman is not married but with child, she too will serve seven years from the time of delivery of her child; the same for the man who fathered the child.

The same penalties applied to English or White men that intermarry with an enslaved woman or father a child with one. If any enslaver allowed the marriage, then they lost the right to the service of the woman and the woman was freed, free to serve out the seven years that is. Enslavers men or women were required to pay 10,000 pounds of tobacco, half to the King and Queen for the support of the province, and half to the informant. Any priest marrying an interracial couple would also forfeit 10,000 pounds of tobacco to be paid as above. [25]

An Act Restraining the frequent Assembling of Negroes within this Province, 1695

"Whereas this present Generall Assembly have taken into this serious consideration the evil consequences attending the continual concourse of Negroes on Sabboth & holy days meeting in great numbers having thereby the opportunity of imbezelling & bartering away sundry Goods belonging to their Masters or Owners to the great damage of such Masters & Owners as aforesaid as also of conspiring & proposeing waies & means for the gaining of their liberty & freedom which must inevitably end in Insurrrection to suppress which would occasion much bloodshed if not impossible ever to be effected, for the prevention of al which mischiefs & inconveniencies for the future." Any enslaved person traveling from plantation to plantation under "pretext of visiting" traveling or "wandering" shall receive coporall punishment from anyone finding them transgressing against the act. Institutes need for any negro travelling off the plantation to have a pass signed by master or overseer, fine is 200 pounds of tobacco to be paid to the parish wherein the Master or overseer reside. Also, "outlying negroes" that have "runn out in the woods & there remaine" killing hogs and cattle, need to surrender themselves; if they refuse to surrender themselves up to the pursuer it is lawful for the pursuers to "shoot kill & destroy" them. And each vestry of each parish ordered to publish this act four times every year during the life of the act for three years or to the end of the next session of Assembly whichever comes first. [26]

[25] AMD, Volume 13, pages 546-549, June 2, 1692 (obviously this was ignored or repealed.)
[26] AMD, Volume 38 pages 48-49.

For Converting the Negroes, 1704

In some quarters it was supposed, or rather feared, that baptizing enslaved persons somehow granted manumission. This fear was specifically addressed by the Assembly in October 1704. To quiet concerns of slaveholders and ensure the enslaved persons continued receiving clerical attention the Assembly passed an "Act Relating to Servants & Enslaved" officially assuring everyone that baptism did most certainly not confer freedom. There was also movement in London concerning enslaved person's spiritual lives. Stating, "There is an Undoubted Obligation upon all Persons professing the Christian Religion to shew a Prudent Zeal to promote & propagate the same Religion," the draft of a bill entitled "For Converting the Negroes" was circulated to Bishop Compton, Bishop of London for his thoughts. [27]

Petition of Major John Hawkins and Mr. John Salter, 1715

Tuesday May 3, 1715, His Majesty's Council
". . . whether Free white women marrying with negro Enslaved ought to be Enslaved also
Whereupon the Honble Col. Wm. Whittington offers to the Consideration of the Board that there was a Law made in Virginia imposing a Fine of twelve pound on any Person that should set a negro free, And in Case the negro so set free did not depart the Colony in a certain time in the said Law Limitted, such negro so sett free should be taken up by the Vestry and Sold as a Enslaved and the mony [sic] applied to the use of the Parish." [28]

An Act to punish Blasphemers, Swearers, Drunkards, and Sabbath-Breakers; and for the repealing the Laws heretofore made for the Punishing such Offenders, 1722

During the 1722 October-November session the Assembly passed "An Act to punish Blasphemers, Swearers, Drunkards, and Sabbath-Breakers; and for the repealing the Laws heretofore made for the Punishing such Offenders." incorporating all the previous laws concerning these offenses into one law. Every parish minister was to have a copy of the act with a requirement to read it four times yearly on a Sunday in March, June, September and December between divine service and the sermon. There was a fine of 1,000 pounds of tobacco for each omission. The punishments for blasphemy were, for the first offense, boring through the tongue with a fine of twenty pounds sterling or six months in prison. For the second offense, the letter B was branded on the offender's forehead with a fine of forty pounds sterling or twelve months in prison. The third offense brought death, ". . . without the Benefit of the Clergy." For a conviction of swearing or cursing, the accuser had to have one lawful witness or a confession, the fine for the first offense being twenty shillings six pence, with a fine of five shillings for each subsequent offense. With regard to drunkenness, each infraction carried a fine of five shillings and if the offender neglected or was unable to pay the fine it was time in the stocks, not exceeding three hours, or a lashing with the whip, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes. Abuse of magistrates or other officers carried a fine of five pounds sterling with a requirement for three

[27] "Act Relating to Servants & Enslaved", 3 Oct. 1704, S.P.G. papers at LoC, Reel 12, Volume 12; Lambeth Palace Library, Mss. 941, pg. 72; Information on enslaved and enslavement found in Middleton, *Tobacco Coast*, pages 148-196.
[28] The Petition of Major John Hawkins and Mr. John Salter, May 3, 1715, AMD Volume 30. Page 16, MSA.

months of good behavior. If the offender was unable to pay the fine, it was one month in prison. If you made the poor choice of physically beating the magistrate, the fine was tripled, and you were charged with full costs. [29]

The provisions concerning Sabbath breaking stated, "That no Person whatsoever, shall Work, or do any bodily Labour on the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday, and that no Person, having Children, Servants or Enslaved, shall command, or wittingly or willingly suffer any of them to do any Manner of Work or Labour on the Lord's Day, (Works of Necessity and Charity always excepted) nor shall suffer or permit any Children, Servants or Enslaved, to profane the Lord's Day, by Gaming, Fishing, Fowling, Hunting, or unlawful Pastimes or Recreations:" One lawful witness to the infractions was required and a conviction carried a fine of 2000 pounds of tobacco. As well as the restriction on gaming, there was to be no strong liquor consumed on Sundays, ". . .. (except in Cases of absolute Necessity)". For blasphemy and Sabbath breaking, charges had to be filed within one month of the infraction. For swearing, cursing, drunkenness and omission, charges had to be filed within ten days of the offense. For selling liquor, allowing drunkenness or gaming on the Sabbath, or not reading the act, charges needed to be brought within six months of the offense. All former acts touching upon these crimes were repealed. [30]

Queries from Bishop Gibson, Question 7. Are there any Infidels, bond or free, within your Parish; and what means are use'd for their Conversion?, 1724

With a desire to obtain a clearer understanding of the state of the colonial church, Bishop Gibson issued a series of queries in 1724, [See Appendix I], to be answered by every minister resident in the colonies. The answers to these queries, if any were given, are detailed under each parish heading. [31]

The Maryland queries presented by Governor Charles Calvert to the clergy were answered by twenty-three clergymen in twenty-six parishes, the Rev. Mr. William Maconchie holding the two Charles County parishes of Port Tobacco and Durham and the Rev. Mr. Lee Massey holding the three St. Mary's County parishes of William and Mary, St. George's, and St. Mary's. There were an estimated 5,851 families in all the Maryland parishes with Great Choptank Parish in Dorchester County on the Eastern Shore, held by the Rev. Mr. Thomas Howell, being the largest with an estimated 1,000 families. [32]

All parishes had a church structure and all priests responding noted they baptized and catechized the enslaved persons with only two parishes, St. Paul's Parish, Kent County held by the Rev. Mr. Alexander Williamson and St. Paul's Parish, Queen Anne's County held by Christopher Wilkinson, Commissary for the Eastern Shore, reporting that there was no instruction of the enslaved within their parishes. Wilkinson recommended all parishes be provided with glebes and houses with mulattos, ". . . (once the right of the church) . . ..", being supplied as glebe servants and managers. This was never instituted but at least in one parish there is an instance of the parish [All Faiths, St. Mary's County] claiming a mixed-race

[29] AMD, Volume 34, pages 733-737.
[30] AMD, Volume 34, pages 733-737.
[31] FP, microfilm Reel 1, Volume 3, pg. 61, LoC; Manross, *Fulham*, pg. 36; Manross notes that Rainsford's estimate of the number of families is 120, study of the original reveals it to be 220. Piscataway Parish was known as King George's Parish from 1724 until an act of Assembly in 1726 fixed the name as St. John's Parish, but the name King George's persisted.
[32] Ibid.

individual. Among his many suggestions he stressed the need for a resident bishop for, "The better Government of the Church and clergy and regulation of our Ecclesiastical affairs." [33]

Even though the church was a possible spiritual refuge for the enslaved persons, it was also a reminder of the misery of their servitude. The forthcoming act of Assembly passed in 1725 dealing with runaway enslaved persons required the advertisement of unclaimed runaway slave auctions be posted on the door of all county churches as well as on the doors of county court houses. [34]

An Act to encourage the Takers up of run-away Slaves, that shall be taken up by any Person and brought in from the Back-Woods: 1725

"Whereas sundry of the Slaves belonging to several of the Inhabitants of this Province, have of late Years runaway into the Back-Woods, some of which have there perished, and others who held it out (as to their Lives) have been entertained and encouraged to live and inhabit with the Shewan-Indians; And forasmuch as many Negroes (upon hearing the Success some of their Fellow-Slaves have met with) are daily making Attempts to go the same Way, which if not timely and effectually prevented, may be of very ill and fatal Consequences to the Inhabitants of this Province: For Prevention whereof, it is humbly prayed that it may be Enacted,

And be it Enacted, by the Right Honourable the Lord Proprietor of this Province, by and with the Advice and Consent of His Lord-ship's Governour, and the Upper and Lower Houses of Assembly, and the Authority of the same, That any Person whatsoever, either Indian or others, that shall take up any Run-away Slave (already run away, or that shall hereafter run away) in any Part of the back Woods, to the Northwestward of Monocacy River, from the Mouth thereof up the said River, to the fording Place where the Conestogo-Path crosses the same, near one Albine's Plantation, and then to the Northwestward of the said Conestogo-Path, until it meet with Susquehannah-River, and by them shall be brought in and delivered to the Person to be appointed and commission'd (according to the Directions of this Act) to receive such Run-away Negroe, shall be paid by the said Commissioner, as a Reward for each Run-away Slave taken up, brought in, and delivered as aforesaid, the Sum of Five Pounds Current Money. And be it further Enacted, by the Authority, Advice and, Consent aforesaid, That such Person as the Governour of this Province for the Time being, with the Advice of his Lordship's Council of State, shall think fit to appoint and commission for that End; be and is hereby authorized, impowered and required to receive all Run-away Slaves, from such Person or Persons as shall take them up in the Back-Woods as aforementioned, and shall immediately pay the Takers-up of such Slaves, out of the Publick Stock lodged in his Hands, the Sum of Money allowed them by this Act.

And be it further Enacted, That the Sum of Thirty Pounds Current Money be immediately paid by the Treasurer for the Western-Shore, to the aforesaid Commissioner to be appointed, and lodged with him, or such other Person as shall hereafter be appointed and commissioned, as a Stock and Fund, for the due discharging and paying the Takers up of such Run-away Slaves as are provided for by this Act: And the said Commissioner to be appointed to execute the same

[33] FP, Volume 3, microfilm Reel 1, pg. 69, LoC; Manross, *Fulham*, pages xiii, 34-38; Perry, Collections, Volume 4, pages 231-232.
[34] AMD, Volume 36, pages 583-586, Act concerning runaway enslaved was passed in 1725.

Trusts, shall be and is hereby further authorized and impowered to commit all such Run-away Slaves as he shall receive from the Takers-up, and shall have paid them for so doing, according to the Directions of this Act, to the Custody of the Sheriff of Prince-George's or Baltemore Counties, (unless such Commissioner can secure the Reward paid to the Taker-up of such Slave, with the other Fees that shall accrue, and otherwise conveniently convey such Slave to the Owner,) there to remain till the Master or Owner of such Slave or Slaves (to whom the Sheriff is to give speedy Notice, if known) shall make full Satisfaction to the said Sheriff for the Sum of Money certified to the Sheriff that hath been paid out of the Publick Stock for taking up such Run-away Slave, together with Ten Shillings Current Money, a Fee hereby allowed the Commissioner aforesaid for his Trouble on such Run-away Slave brought before him: All which Sums of Money received by the Sheriff as aforesaid, shall be by him immediately paid to the aforesaid Commissioner, to make good the Publick Stock so far as has been disburst out of it; of all which Sums of Money received or disburst by the said Commissioner according to the Directions of this Act, he is hereby required to keep a fair Account, to be laid before the General Assembly of this Province, as often as need shall require, and to be always under their Correction and Direction : And in case the Owner of any Run-away Slave that shall be committed to the Custody of the Sheriff, in manner aforesaid, after one Month's Notice given by the Sheriff to such Owner, if living in the Province, of his having such Slave or Slaves in his Custody, or Two Months like Notice if living in any of the neighbouring Provinces; or if after Six Months Imprisonment of such Slave, the Owner shall not be discovered to such Sheriff; and if such Owner of such Run-away Slave do not appear within the Time limited as aforesaid, and pay such Imprisonment Fees as are due to the Sheriff, together with the several Sums of Money deposited out of the Publick Stock for taking up such Slave or Slaves, as also the Fee of Ten Shillings Current Money allowed the said Commissioner for his Trouble on each Slave; In all such Cases, the Sheriff having such Slaves in his Custody, is hereby authorized and required (such Time of Notice limited as aforesaid being expired,) immediately to give publick Notice to all Persons by setting up Notes at the Churches and Court-House Door of the County, of the Slave or Slaves in his Custody, and of the Time and Place of the Sale thereof by him to be appointed, not less than Ten Days after the Time limited as aforesaid, is expired, and at such Time and Place by him appointed as aforesaid, to proceed to sell and dispose of such Slave or Slaves to the highest Bidder; and out of the Money the said Slave or Slaves shall be sold for, to pay himself his own just Fees, reckoning his Tobacco at One Penny per Pound, Current Money, and like-wise paying to the aforesaid Commissioner all such Sums by him deposited out of the Publick Stock for taking up such Run-away Slave, together with his own Fees by this Act allowed him; and after such Payments made, if any Residue shall remain of the Money such Slave or Slaves were sold for, such Sheriff shall be only accountable to the Owner of such Slave or Slaves for such Residue or Remainder of the money as aforesaid, and not otherwise. And in Case the Owner of such Slave so as aforesaid sold, shall not make out his Title to such Slave within Six Months after such Sale as aforesaid, and demand such Residue as such Slave shall clear as aforesaid, after Reward and Fees as aforesaid paid, then such Sheriff shall pay such Residue to the Publick Treasurer of this Province for the Time being, there to be lodg'd for the Use of such Person as shall make appear a Right to it. And in Case any Sheriff, or the Buyer of such Slave, or others concerned in the Execution of this Act, shall be sued by any Person or Persons for any Matter or Thing done or to be done in Pursuance hereof, it shall and may be lawful for any such Person or Persons so sued, to plead the General Issue, and give this Act and the special Matter in Evidence; and in case of Non-Suit, Discontinuance or Verdict against the Plaintiff, the Court shall award

double Costs of Suit. And forasmuch as that the Encouragement provided by this Act for the taking up such Run-away Negroes as aforementioned, may not be sufficient to deter such Negroes from running away in Manner aforesaid, without inflicting some corporal Punishment on them, such as may render them an Example to Others if they should be guilty of the like Offence, Be it therefore Enacted, by the Authority, Advice and Consent aforesaid, That every Run-away Negroe that shall be taken up to the Northward of Monocacy River from the Mouth thereof up the said River, to the fording Place near Albine's Plantation, where the Conestogo Path crosses Monocacy, and so to the Northward of said Conestogo Path, 'till it meets with Susquehanna River, for the first Offence shall have One of his Ears cut off, by such Person as such Commissioner as aforesaid, shall for that Purpose authorize; and if afterwards he shall be guilty of a Second Offence in the same kind, that then he shall have the other Ear cut off, and be branded on the Chin with the Letter R, by such Person authorized as afore- said by such Commissioner as aforesaid: Always excepting from the aforementioned Punishments, young Negroes that are not arrived to the Years of Discretion; and New Negroes Twelve Months after their Arrival here in the Country." [35]

***Instruction of the Ignorant in the Faith and practice of Christianity, excerpt from a sermon Given by the Rev. Mr. Jacob Henderson, Commissary,* July 15, 1730.**

"2ly: The Instruction of the Ignorant in the Faith and practice of Christianity, this is the proper Work of our Calling: to Explain the Doctrine, Recommend the Duties and Inforce the motives of the Gospel, the other is but Accidental occasioned by the poison Dispersed by Wicked Men: But then that Requires Medicine, and antidote of Sufficient to Expell it.

The Ignorant are not yet Tainted great Diligence in Explaining and Inforceing the truths of the Gospel, may in a great Measure prevent it; for Christianity is So Rational a scheme that it cannot fail of Success where the Subject wrought upon is not miserably Corrupted.

The method of Such Instruction Consists in Catechizing and Preaching; Points So well handled by the Right Rev. Prelate before mentioned that there is noe necessity to Say any more about them.

There is one thing / tho / in which wee must Confess wee are blame Worthy, both Pastors, & people in that greater Care is not taken about the Instruction of the Negros: It cannot be denyed but that they are part of our Cure, and that wee Shall be accountable to God for the Discharge of our Duty to them. But on the other Side it Cannot be expected that wee Should become Schoolmasters, and Tutors to them, anymore than to others, there is in that an Impossibility, it would be Inconsistent with Several Branches of the Ministerial Function; Yet wee may Seriously & passionately Exhort Masters & Mistresses to Teach and Instruct them, or procure others to doe it for them. Wee may with Truth and Justice represent to them, that this is their Duty that their own Salvation Depends upon the Faithfull discharge of it, and wee on our part may Settle Fixt times for their publick Instruction in the Church: The afternoons of Every Sunday through the Summer, and those Days at the time of our great Festivals that are Indulged them from their Labour; would in my opinion be proper Seasons for that purpose. I hope / my Brethren / that you will Concurr with me in this pious Undertakeing that is likely to bring Soe much Honour to God and to be the happy means of the Salvation of the Souls of these poor Creatures.

[35] AMD, Volume 36, pages 583-586, 1725, MSA.

I cannot give my Self Leave to think that any Master or mistress will be Soe Barbarous as not to ingage in this Laudable Design, Especially if they Seriously peruse the Lord Bishop of London's letter to them, Exhorting them to Encourage and Promote the Instruction of their Negroes in the Christian faith; in what a Clear light and How Pathetically has his Lordship pressed this upon their Consciences? And wee Should in Imitation of him, doe all in our power to accomplish it." [36]

Ayuba Suleiman Diallo (known as Job ben Solomon), 1732-1733

It was during the hard winter of 1732-33 that the Rev. Mr. Jacob Henderson, Commissary of Maryland, met Ayuba Suleiman Diallo, also known as Job ben Solomon (1701-1773). Ayuba, an Arab-African Muslim, had been enslaved in Maryland for about a year and was currently awaiting passage to England. Ayuba had been captured by members of the Mandingo tribe in 1731 while on his way to sell enslaved persons at Joar, Gambia River. Instead, Ayuba himself was sold into enslavement arriving in Annapolis on the ship *Arabella* after suffering the Middle Passage. Through a serendipitous and elaborate chain of events Ayuba's identity, great intelligence (he had committed the Koran to memory,) and religion were discovered and in late 1732 none other than James Oglethorpe took time from planning his colony of Georgia to extend his own personal bond to have Ayuba purchased from Mr. Tolsey of Kent Island and delivered to London. [37]

It was during Ayuba's enforced sojourn in Annapolis at the home of Vachel Denton, factor for London merchant Henry Hunt and a clerk in the Secretary's Office and Provincial Court, that he and Henderson were introduced. Henderson found him affable, intelligent, and good-natured. Ayuba learned English and had nearly mastered the language by the time of his arrival in London in late April 1733. He was presented to George II and Queen Caroline with great acclaim. His engraved portrait appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Ayuba returned to his native Africa in July 1734 – ironically as an employee of the Royal African Company, a company built on the African slave trade. He assumed the position of hereditary high priest of Boonda and worked for increased trade between his country and Great Britain. Ayuba's life is detailed in a biography written by the Rev. Mr. Thomas Bluett in 1734. [38]

Petition of John Blandford, May 30, 1741

"Read the Petition of John Blandford of Prince George's County praying an Allowance may be made for him for an Enslaved of his who died in Prison before his Trial, the said enslaved being committed on Suspicion of conspiring the Death of sundry white People of this Province." [39]

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[36] FP, LoC, Reel 1, Volume 3, pages 134-141. Excerpt from a sermon given by the Rev. Mr. Jacob Henderson, Commissary at his Western Shore Visitation, July 15, 1730.
[37] Middleton, "The Strange Story of Job Ben Solomon", WMQ, pages 342-350.; Bluett, Thomas *Some Memoirs of the Life of Job, the Son of Solomon, the High Priest of Boonda in Africa; Who was a Slave About Two Years in Maryland; and Afterwards Being Brought to England, was Set Free, and Sent to His Native Land in the Year 1734*, published in London, 1734.
[38] Middleton, "The Strange Story of Job Ben Solomon", WMQ, pages 342-350.; Bluett, Thomas *Some Memoirs of the Life of Job, the Son of Solomon, the High Priest of Boonda in Africa; Who was a Slave About Two Years in Maryland; and Afterwards Being Brought to England, was Set Free, and Sent to His Native Land in the Year 1734*, published in London, 1734.
[39] AMD, Volume 42, page 165, May 30, 1741.

An ACT for the more effectual Punishment of Negroes and other Slaves, and for taking away the Benefit of Clergy from certain Offenders; and a Supplementary Act to an Act, entitled, *An Act to prevent the tumultuous Meeting and other Irregularities of negroes and other Slaves, and directing the Manner of Trying Slaves.* July 11, 1747

Enacted by the Assembly during the governorship of Samuel Ogle, the act sought to punish any enslaved person that sought to foment an insurrection, rape a White woman, poison, or burn a house down (among a long list of other offences). That if they were convicted by a jury, confess, or remain mute they would be put to death and in the cases of felony without benefit of clergy. [40]

***An Act continuing an Act, entituled, A Supplementary Act to an Act, entituled, An Act laying an Imposition on Negroes, and several sorts of Liquors Imported, and also on Irish Servants, to prevent the Importing too great a Number of Irish Papists into this Province,* July 11, 1747**

Be it Enacted, by the Right Honourable the Lord Proprietary, by and with the Advice and Consent of his Lordship's Governor, and the Upper and Lower Houses of Assembly, and the Authority of the same, That the above mentioned Act, entituled, A Supplementary Act to an Act, entituled, An Act laying an Imposition on Negroes, and several sorts of Liquors Imported, and also on Irish Servants, to prevent the Importing too great a Number of Irish Papists into this Province, made at a Session of Assembly, begun and held at the City of Annapolis, the Twentieth Day of March, Anno Domini, One thousand seven hundred and thirty four, be, and is hereby Continued, and shall remain and be in full Force for and during the Term of three Years next Ensuing, and to the End of the next Session of Assembly which shall happen after the End of the said three Years. [41]

***A Report Made by the Justices of Assize,* 1754**

"His Excellency having communicated to this Board a Report made to him by the Justices of Assize of their having passed Sentence of Death in Charles County on Samuel Knowler alias Nollar and Yellow Dick (the Enslaved of William Dent) for Store braking and Stealing Sundry Goods and also against James Macdowell alias John Nicholson for the same offence and likewise against Edward Butler for Robbing Trinity Parish Church. [Trinity Church, Newport]

Ordered that Dead Warrant issue for the aforesaid Samuel Knowler alias Samuel Nollar and Yellow Dick to be hung on Friday the Twenty fourth day of this Instant May at the common Place of Execution and that Pardons issue for the said James Macdowell Alias John Nicholson and Edward Butler." [42]

[40] AMD Volume 75, page 483, July 11, 1747.
[41] AMD, Volume 44, page 646, July 11, 1747.
[42] 1754 AMD, Volume 31, page 32.

An Account of the Number of Souls of MARYLAND, in the Year 1755

Entitled, *"*An Account of the Number of Souls of MARYLAND, in the Year 1755,*"* it reported the colony's fourteen counties held a total population of 153,564 persons White, Black, slave, free, and indentured. Out of this total, there were thirty-five clergymen of the Church of England (noted as *"*Persons not taxable*"*) living in the province (roughly one priest for every 4,388 persons.) Baltimore, Frederick, Worcester, Dorset, and Queen Anne's counties were the most heavily populated, with the remaining populace distributed across the remaining counties. Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Charles, and Prince George's Counties were the largest slave-holding counties. At a tax of 30 pounds of tobacco per poll, the colony's 49,801 taxables yielded 1,494,030 pounds of tobacco yearly to support the clergy. The yield per parish varied according to the number of resident taxables, but on average an Anglican priest's Maryland living yielded him 42,687 pounds of tobacco annually and, due to the positive results of the Tobacco Inspection Act it produced a tidy sum when finally sold in Great Britain. The census illustrated some basic points: the native-born population was increasing, indigenous native peoples were in decline, indentured servitude was in steep decline, and enslavement was on the increase. In addition to providing statistics supporting a colonial vision of social and economic good health, the census plainly showed that Maryland, excepting the far western lands, was colonized. [43]

The Maryland Vestry Act, 1779

In November 1779, the General Assembly briefly revisited the Vestry Act closing a possible loophole. Where the 1776 Declaration of Rights had given all property of the Church of England to the Church of England "forever," they now vested all parish property in the vestries and their successors as "trustees of the parish." A technicality, but one that had evidently given some lawmakers pause. The vestry could now recover and sue for any debts due the parish in any court of law or equity in the state as a body politic. The 1779 Vestry Act stood until the Assembly passed a revised version in 1798. [44]

An Act Relating to Negroes, 1796

Quoted in part, "And be it enacted that any negro or mulatto heretofore or hereafter held in bondage, and claimed as a slave, but who has been or hereafter may be adjudged free, as descending from a free ancestor, or the descendants of any negro or mulatto so manumitted or adjudged free, shall be received a competent evidence to manumit any slave's petitioning for freedom." [45]

[43] An Account of the Number of Souls in the Province of MARYLAND, in the Year 1755", Hill Papers, Box 1, MS446, Maryland Center for History and Culture (MCHC).
[44] AMD, Volume 203, pages 215-216; Heinton, *Heritage*, pg. 201.
[45] AMD, Volume 105, pages 47-48, 160, December 27, 1796.

1799 Charles County

In 1799 Charles County passed a law barring retailers from selling liquor to "any free negro or mulatto or slave between sun-set and sun-rise, or on the sabbath, or to suffer them to be about their houses [taverns], without a written order." This an early example of what would be known as a "sunset law." [46]

Convention Journal of 1825, Trinity Church, Upper Marlborough, John Claxton, Rector

"The church is opened twice on the Sabbath, in the morning for all the members of the congregation, and in the afternoon for the colored people; both congregations are apparently regular and devout and much attached to the doctrines and discipline of our venerable church." [47]

An additional supplement to the act entitled, an act concerning crimes and punishments, **January 1828**

"SECTION l. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, That if any free person shall entice, persuade or assist any slave or servant, knowing him or her to be such, to run away from his or her lawful owner or possessor, and such slave or servant, shall actually run away, or having harboured such run away slave or servant knowing him or her to be such, then such person shall be liable to indictment in the county court of the county where such offence shall have been committed, or in the city court of Baltimore, if such offence shall have been committed in the city of Baltimore, and upon conviction shall undergo a confinement in the Penitentiary not exceeding six years."

"SEC, 2. And be it enacted, That if any slave shall entice, persuade or assist any slave or servant, knowing him or her to be such, to run away from his or her owner, master or mistress, and such slave or servant shall actually run away, then such slave so enticing, persuading or assisting, shall upon conviction thereof before any justice of the peace of the county where such offence was committed, or before any justice of the peace of the city of Baltimore if the offence shall be committed within the limits of said city, shall be sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes for such offence."

"SEC. 3, And be it enacted, that all such parts of the law, to which this is a supplement, as are inconsistent with the provisions herein contained, be, and the same are hereby repealed." [48]

[46] AMD Volume 0192, page 2426.
[47] Convention Journal 1825, Page 27.
[48] AMD Volume 474, page 10, Index to Laws, MSA. Original act passed December session 1818, chapter 157.

***Bishop William M. Stones Pastoral Letter*, Convention, Baltimore, 1835**

Regarding poor church attendance, "Others venture to offer excuses for absence from worship, which they would consider insufficient to detain them from any place of secular duty, profit, or pleasure. A cloudy morning or an occasional visitor will keep many from church, who will travel through storms and tempests, rather than neglect the smallest temporal concern. Some hesitate to expose their servants and carriages in attending the house of God, while the scruple not at all, for their own pleasure, to expose them at night, and in tempestuous weather." [49]

***Marlboro Gazette*, Upper Marlboro, Prince George's County, 1841**

Enslaved woman 37 years old and her 9 children offered for sale, "only to kind Masters residing in the State of Maryland."

***Rev. Mr. James Abercrombie, rector Trinity Parish, Charles County reporting to Convention*, Baltimore, 1844**

"The catechizing of the colored people has been continued. 'A catechism to be taught orally to those who cannot read, by a bishop of the Church,' has been used by the rector, and it is believed, under God, with no little benefit." [50]

***Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention, excerpt from debate testimony of William Daniel against enslavement,* 1864**

"It is true that the Episcopal church, as a church, has held rather aloof from the subject [slavery and freeing the enslaved persons] until within a few years past. But now she too has come up boldly and taken her stand side by side with her sister churches." It was at this convention that the 1864 Constitution of Maryland outlawing enslavement was passed. [51]

[49] Journal of the Convention, 1835, page 5, EDOM Archives.
[50] Journal of Convention, 1844, page 92, Rev. Mr. James Abercrombie, rector Trinity Parish, Charles County reporting.
[51] AMD, Volume 102, Volume 1 Debates, Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention 1864, pages 632-633.

PART III: EIGHT ROOT PARISHES INDIVDUAL HISTORIES, 1692-1864
(Parishes researched are listed alphabetically within their county.)

The eight root parishes of the Episcopal Diocese of Washington (EDOW) were created by the Maryland Assembly's 1692 Act of Establishment. The Establishment Act, with occasional modifications, governed the Anglican church in Maryland until November 1776. The Maryland church attempted to organize itself even before the end of the Revolutionary War. On November 9, 1780, on Maryland's Eastern Shore, in Chestertown, Kent County, thirteen parishes met in convention and formed the nucleus of what would become the Episcopal Diocese of Maryland (EDOM). Representatives from every one of the eight root parishes were present. Still at war, the British Navy not only evidenced itself on the Patuxent but also on the Potomac causing postponing of vestry elections in Port Tobacco Parish. [52]

Up until the creation of the EDOW in 1895, these eight root parishes were administered under the EDOM. Through natural population growth and expansion across the geographic area that we now consider the EDOW, these eight parishes divided becoming the eighty-six parishes of the current EDOW. The first building erected by Episcopalians for public worship within the boundaries of the District of Columbia was Christ Church, Washington Parish, near the Navy Yard in 1810. The oldest standing Episcopal church building of the eight root parishes is most likely St. Paul's in Baden built between 1733-1735, the others being later replacements for earlier buildings. [53]

Strict segregation in church was apparently not the norm. While in some parish churches the balcony was the area designated for Blacks, it was not a hard and fast rule or legally mandated. Blacks were not banned from attending services along with Whites and, as in the case of a few parishes, there were even additional services conducted for Black congregants. After the termination of the Establishment and into the 19th century, the church suffered from vacant pulpits, little to no resources or money, and poor attendance. It was a time of near poverty for most parishes. Many of them who could not afford dedicated clergy either shared clergy or made do with supply priests or licensed lay readers. Few parishes retained their glebes; those that did usually rented them out. Most seem to have been sold as the need for cash to pay the rector or for repairs became critical. For those parishes retaining their glebes, control over them varied between rector and vestry. In July 1813, the Rev. Mr. Joseph Jackson of William and Mary Parish, Valley Lee preached a sermon about the use, or rather the abuse, of the glebe by its tenant a Mr. Watts. [54]

In analyzing each parishes involvement with enslavement, the first vestrymen elected in 1692-93 were researched. The number of enslaved persons noted for each vestryman are those appearing in their inventories of goods and chattels at the time of their death, not at the time of their election, which would be next to impossible to discover. Values given are those assigned at the time of appraisal for the deceased's estate.

In many parishes, it is more often Black than White parishioners appearing in greater numbers in parochial statistics (i.e. baptism, marriage, and burial). Blacks were regularly confirmed meaning that somehow, they did participate in Holy Communion. It appears that many priests did not discriminate in their pastoral attentions to the free Black and enslaved population. The number of burials and funerals attest to the fact that many Blacks expected and

[52] AMD May Session 1781 pages 134-138, 144.
[53] The WPA Inventory of 1940 confirms that these eight parishes are considered the origins of the EDOW.
[54] Vertical File (VF) EDOM Archives July 1813 Joseph Jackson to Parishioners, Sermon.

wanted the rites of the Episcopal Church in death. The Rev. Mr. Henry B. Goodwin writes in January 1837, "I had been sent for, to visit an aged colored man, in the parish in which I reside, a distance of 6 or 7 miles. He had expressed a strong desire to see me, the hand of death was on him – he died. I had agreed to go over Allen's Fresh, a distance of 7 or 8 miles from Mrs. Parham's on a particular Sunday to bury him." [55]

Early Diocesan journals seldom, if ever, mention statistics by race: few reports break out the sacraments by race at all. When reporting by race they are most often not classified by condition, therefore free Blacks are included with those that are enslaved persons. One of the first instances of reporting statistics according to race is found in the Journal of 1807: the Rev. Mr. George Ralph of All Faiths, reporting for 1806, reported baptizing ninety-seven Blacks. The Rev. Mr. Benjamin Contee, Bishop Claggett's agent for most of Southern Maryland in the early nineteenth century, sent out queries in 1807. No copy of them survive to give context or illumination about ministry to the Black population. [56]

The first Annual Diocesan Convention was held in Annapolis in June 1784. Early conventions concerned themselves mostly with the setting up of the church, offices, canons, and operations. The years 1811-1813 seem to have held no conventions due to the War of 1812 or perhaps, those records disappeared. There was a convention in 1814 even though Southern Maryland was beset with invasion of the British forces. In an effort to affect the life and commerce of the region, the British Army offered freedom to any enslaved person joining them in their fight. The Rev. Mr. Joseph Jackson of William and Mary Parish, St. Mary's writing to the Rev. Mr. James Kemp on June 14 noted, "Our situation here is perilous indeed. The British incensed by Barney's flotilla are carrying on a dreadful work of conflagration on both shores of the Patuxent. They are nearly opposite Col. Platers [Sotterley in St. Mary's County] & have I fear injured him considerably. They have landed twice under a flag, & the second time brought about 400 men on shore. What stock they have taken I have not understood. Negroes are still weak enough to be going off to them." [57]

In Convention journals from 1814 to 1823, a strict listing of sacraments and communicants without breaking down into any racial subgroups was the norm, priests returned just the numbers and seldom any narratives about parish life. Not all parishes submitted parochial reports. One of the few instances of reporting on Black parishioners is found in the 1818 journal report for St. Anne's in Annapolis. The Rev. Mr. H. L. Davis reported ninety-five Black Sunday Scholars. [58]

Once again in 1819, St. Anne's Annapolis was the only parish reporting Sunday School numbers for both races. The 1819 Diocesan Convention was remarkable in the passing of a resolution supporting the American Colonization Society, "That the institution of the society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States on the coast of Africa, meets with the cordial approbation of this convention; and it is earnestly recommended to the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this Diocese, to give to the said society their countenance and support." The resolution avoids stating that the goal of the Society was not only to colonize free but also the enslaved. The Society sought to free the enslaved and repatriate them to the African continent to the country of Maryland, later part of Liberia, in the belief that this was the only way to avoid war and remove the stain of enslavement (and the enslaved persons) from the country.

[55] Goodwin, Henry B. to Stone, William M., letter dated January 19, 1837, EDOM Archives.
[56] Convention Journal of 1807, page 8, EDOM Archives.
[57] VF EDOM Archives June 17, 1814 Jackson, Rev. Joseph to Kemp, Rev. James.
[58] Convention Journal of 1818, page 18, EDOM Archives.

The state of Maryland continued its support of the Colonization Society as did many parishes in Maryland with contributions. [59]

The Rev. Mr. Henry Goodwin of Trinity Parish, Charles County, freed nine of his enslaved persons who chose to be relocated to Liberia. No doubt there were others. There was controversy over this approach as well, many making the point that enslaved persons had been here for generations and that they were indeed citizens of the United States even though they may not have the rights of citizenship. While the colonization effort supported by both state and the parishes professed good intentions, the reality was that a final reckoning was to come. [60]

His Torch Is at Thy Temple Door

In the lead up to the American Civil War, Maryland was a house divided, a microcosm of the varying opinions surrounding enslavement. The census of 1860 reported that the United States population stood at 31,429,891, with 3,951,800 of those living in enslavement. In the presidential election of 1860, Abraham Lincoln received one vote in Prince George's County. Politics of the region heading into the Civil War ran the entire spectrum of public opinion, from those favoring secession to those supporting the Union or something in between. Bishop Whittingham's position in 1859 had been, "I am satisfied that no community can permanently thrive, that is, for a course of generations, in which slaveholding prevails," but believing Maryland should be left alone in her position of self-determination, stated candidly, "We are quite at ease about answering for it." [61]

With entry of federal troops into Baltimore and the spilling of first blood during the Baltimore Riot on April 19, 1861, many fence-sitting Marylanders jumped into the Southern camp. The Rev. Mr. James Chipchase, British born, who had been serving parishes on the Eastern Shore, All Faiths (Charlotte Hall), and parishes in Allegany County, returned to Southern Maryland just as the rumblings of dissent were being heard. Writing Bishop Whittingham on April 29, 1861, just over two weeks since the siege of Fort Sumter he relayed, "The majority of the people in this parish [Christ Church, Prince George's, and Charles] were once "Union Men" supporting Gov. Hicks & willing to try Lincoln's rule. But all this is changed now. Lincoln's proclamation [Lincoln's April 15 proclamation calling for state militias to quell the rebellion] together with his persisting in sending troops through Maryland territory in defiance of even Gov. Hick's remonstrances he so [incensed?] them, that I believe that with few exceptions, they would rather I omitted "the prayer for the President of the U.S., etc." He had already encountered some "unpleasantness" and now referred the matter to the bishop. The mail was suspended between Piscataway and Baltimore, but he hoped for its resumption and an answer from the bishop by the following Saturday. Whittingham's reply does not survive so no evidence whether he allowed Chipchase to omit the prayer or not. Due to the chaos caused by the outbreak of hostilities and Federal troops in Baltimore, no convention was held in 1861. [62]

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[59] Convention Journal of 1819, page 17, EDOM Archives.; Robinson, *Faith & Tobacco*.
[60] https://marylandepiscopalian.org/2022/01/18/from-the-archives-the-american-colonization-society/ accessed July 10, 2024.
[61] "The Official Returns of the Census", *The Daily Exchange*, March 25, 1861.; Rightmeyer, "The Church in a Border State-Maryland" HMPEC.; Robinson, *Faith & Tobacco*.
[62] Chipchase, James to Bishop Whittingham, letter dated April 29, 1861, from Piscataway post office, EDOM Archives.;Allen, *Clergy in Maryland* page 68.

Bishop Whittingham became a firm believer in the Union cause, supporting Governor Thomas Holliday Hick's position of not calling a special session of the legislature to discuss secession. In February 1862, a bill was introduced into the Maryland legislature requiring priests to take an oath of allegiance supporting the constitution and laws of the state and to resist attempts of separation from the Union. The bill stated that if a priest failed to take the oath his right to officiate would be deprived. The bill did not pass before the legislature adjourned, nor ever would, but it put priests and those sympathetic to the Southern cause on notice that there was little tolerance for differing viewpoints. Whittingham supported and helped frame the bill, making him even less popular with his Southern Maryland constituency. [63]

Federal troops were in Upper Marlboro by October 1862. John William Burroughs a parishioner of St. Thomas' Parish wrote in his diary, "The draft is going on in Marlboro' for the quota of this County to serve in this unfortunate war against the South. Soldiers are at the forks of the roads searching everyone for arms going into Marboro' etc." He writes the very next day, "Billy, Tom Williams & Sasscer who had come down from Marlboro with all names of drafted men--it really made me feel sad to read them over. To think that the men had to leave home family and every thing for a cause to which they were entirely opposed." Lincoln's January 1863 Emancipation Proclamation held little promise for Maryland's enslaved persons as it freed only those enslaved persons in states in rebellion to the Union, which of course Maryland was not. [64]

Distaste for Lincoln lingered after the war's end; even after his assassination in April 1865, parishes continued holding their annual meetings as if nothing had happened. The war was officially over but the gulf created between Bishop Whittingham and the southern part of his diocese had not ended with Appomattox. President Andrew Johnson ordered a day of fasting and prayer in honor of the fallen president for June 1, by coincidence the second day of diocesan convention. In order to keep the appointed day of fasting and prayer, Whittingham motioned to postpone the remainder of the convention until September. The motion was defeated and Whittingham, weary of the politics that played a part in his motion's defeat, walked out of the convention. Chastened, shamed, or simply weary, convention delegates then voted to move the convention to September as Whittingham had initially asked them to do. [65]

Parishes and congregations were devastated by the war, perhaps not as dramatically as in the Deep South but in an economy that had largely depended on enslaved persons labor for its money crop, tobacco, it was going to take a while to adjust. Sympathy for Southerners continued; in 1866, a collection for relief of southern clergy was taken up in many parishes. The agrarian way of life persisted in Southern Maryland, and many of the newly freed stayed and worked for wages or as tenant farmers, or sharecroppers. Some were able to purchase land and continue farming on their own property. Others simply moved away, seeking opportunity elsewhere. The previous enslavers either adapted, accepting the new order, or refused to adjust and moving forward looked for any avenue to keep the formerly enslaved persons in a social stratum akin to the place they occupied before freedom.

In these histories, the "Overall Statistics (Black parishioners only)" figures contain numbers reported to Convention and printed in Convention Journals. The numbers only include Black communicants; statistics for Whites have been excluded from these averages. There are no Journal entries for 1861 as there was no Convention held that year. Detailed numbers and years

[63] Rightmyer, "The Church in a Border State - Maryland", HMPEC.
[64] Burroughs, John William, diaries, entries for 15 and 16 October 1862, Prince George's County Historical Society.
[65] Rightmyer, "The Church in a Border State - Maryland" HMPEC.

from Convention Journals are included for each parish in Appendix II. With regard to full sacramental and other entries relating to Black parishioners from the records, only a sampling is included here, the original records would be voluminous if transcribed and are sometimes, depending on rector and parish, a more complete record of the Black population, enslaved persons and free, than any extant records of a governmental or other entity. Each history has been broken down into three categories, “Colonial Era,” “Antebellum Era,” and “Civil War Era.”

ST. MARY'S COUNTY

All Faith, Mechanicsville, 1692

Colonial Era, 1692-1776

At the Establishment, All Faith Parish, was located within the boundaries of Calvert County that at the time encompassed both sides of the Patuxent River. The boundaries were described as "from the main branch of Swanson's Creek to the Lower part of Harvy [sic Harvey] Hundred," nearly fifty miles. Swanson's Creek is the current boundary between Charles and Prince George's County. The parish included the port town of Benedict and its environs until the establishment of Trinity Parish (Charles County) in 1744. Even then, it seems that All Faith continued its ministrations to that area until the building of Oldfields Chapel, Trinity Parish, in 1766. The church structure was already standing by the forks of Trent Creek and had the name of All Faith before the Establishment. The Reverend Mr. John Turling is credited with ministering to the early congregation prior to 1691 and the Rev. Mr. Thomas Davies ministered to All Faith and St. Pauls' 1695-1696. The current parish church was built between 1765-1768. In All Faith's history there were chapels of ease and in the early 20th century an African American mission, St. Mary's, was located closer to Charlotte Hall. [66]

The first vestrymen elected in 1693 and the number of indentures and the enslaved persons at the time of their deaths, if known, were:
James Keech (ca. 1651-1708/09) 6 enslaved persons [67]
John Smith (?-1698) The human property at Smith's death was comprised of the following: "a servant named Thomas Williams," £14.4; Thomas Sparkes, a year and a half to serve, £4; James Farmer, a year and a half to serve, £6; Durane (?) Whitehurst a woman, £12 (86–87). [68]
Richard Southern (?-?)
John Gillam (?-?)
Charles Ashcom (?-1727)

1 White servant man, about 3 years to serve	£10
1 Negroe man named Paul, about 40 years old	£28
1 Negroe man named Robin, about 56 years old	£30
1 Negroe man named Joseph, about 34 years old	£30
1 Negroe man named Tom, about 28 years old	£36
1 Negroe man named Goneo, about 60 years old	£6
1 Negroe man named Toney, about 40 years old	£30
1 Negroe man named Abraham, about 40 years old	£26
1 Negroe man named Harry, about 18 years old	£36
1 Negroe man named Christmas, disabled, 18 years old	£1
1 Negroe boy named Robin, about 12 years old	£25 (257)

[66] AMD Volume 23 page 18, Volume 8 page 474; Middleton, *Anglican Maryland*, pages 65-66.; Berkley, Henry J., "Early Records of the Church and Parish of All Faiths, St. Mary's County, 1692-1835", Maryland Historical Magazine, pages 326-363, EDOM Archives.; Skirven, *First Parishes*, page 129.
[67] *Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature* (MBD), 1635-1789, Volume II, page 502.
[68] Liber 18 (MSA S536-24) (location 1/11/2/30)

1 Negroe boy named Charles, about 5 years old	£5
1 Negroe boy named Prince, about 5 years old	£5
1 Negroe boy named Peter, about 4 years old	£5
1 Negroe woman named Sue & child	£35
1 Negroe woman named Pegg, about 65 years old	£15
1 Negroe girl named Sarah, 6 years old	£10
1 Negroe girl named Rynah, 3 years old	£4
1 Negroe girl named Joyce, 6 years old	£9
1 Negroe man named Benn	£36
1 Negroe woman named Rachel & child named Tom	£35
1 Negroe boy named Marcus	£12 [69]

Captain Richard Gardner (?-1693) No listing of the enslaved persons in his estate inventory but the only entry for human property is for servants valued at £39; these could have been indentured. [70]

On September 23, 1704, Thomas Ronals (Renals) reported to the vestry that he saw seven enslaved persons of John Quinzey (surname may be Taney or Tansy) working on the 17th of September, a Sunday – which was against the law. [71]

The Rev. Mr. Robert Scot answering Bishop Gibson's queries in 1724 stated, "Most enslaved attend church with their masters." He also reported that he baptized and catechized, "As often as he can get parents or masters to send them." [72]

"June ye 13th 1728. The Same Day brought by Jon Macintosh a Servant boy named Paul Eaton by order of the Court and was adjudged by the Vestry to be abt 14 years of age." The extant vestry minutes do not denote Eaton's race but describing him as a "servant" would likely mean enslaved person or indentured. [73]

September 9, 1751 "The Same Day was a Negro Boy belonging to Rachel Billingsley to be judged and therefore judged him to be twelve years old." [74]

Antebellum Era, 1807-1860

The first reports to convention that are still extant are those of the Rev. Mr. George Ralph (?-1813). Ralph, an Englishman, was ordained by Bishop White in 1791. In all his parishes, he had kept a school and at the time he served All Faith, he was the principal at nearby Charlotte Hall School. In June 1802 he wrote to Bishop Claggett, "I, this year, am engaged in All Faith's parish; it was vacant 2 years & the inconvenience to this Publick Seminary [Charlotte Hall School]

[69] Liber 12 (MSA S534-12) (on archives computer).
[70] Prerogative Court, Inventories and Accounts, Collection S536
Liber 12 (MSA S536-17) (location 1/11/2/24).
[71] All Faiths Vestry Minutes Liber A, MSA.
[72] Manross, *Fulham,* page 37.
[73] All Faiths Vestry Minutes Liber A, MSA, page 126.
[74] All Faiths Vestry Minutes, Liber B, page 98.; All Faiths Vestry Book, liber C, pages 180, 224.

appeared so serious, that a sense of Duty prevailed, I hope, over self Interest for the Salary is trifling, nor should I [?] to this change except to prevent a supposition that other avocations have risen in suppression to my clerical duty." It is not known if Ralph was an enslaver but writing to Bishop Claggett in 1806, he alludes to a potential enslaved person: "My servant returned late last night . . ." Ralph's lone report is from 1807 and in it the only sacrament he reported at that time was baptism. He left All Faiths in 1809. It is during this period that Mrs. Elizabeth Davis is hired and continued as sexton. She was responsible for the chapel of the parish (later All Saints, Oakley). Thomas Robinson is noted as being concerned for educating the poor of the parish. [75]

Neale Hammond Shaw (?-1832) a native of neighboring Charles County came to All Faith in 1821 having been ordained by Bishop Claggett in 1813. During his rectorate at All Faith, he taught English at nearby Charlotte Hall School. Neale reported to Bishop James Kemp in June 1822 that regarding his Black parishioners, ". . . they appear to be so careless about religious affairs." Shaw continued as rector until his death in 1832 but whether he was remiss in filing his diocesan reports or they have not survived, little is known about his ministrations to the Black parishioners. [76]

In May 1829 St. Andrew's Parish contacted the All Faith vestry to ascertain if they were open to sharing the services of a priest; they were not. All Faith's attitude changed in 1835 when they did explore a sharing arrangement. During a lapse in the rectorate Francis H. L. Laird of neighboring Trinity Parish in Charles County took over pastoral duties in All Faiths. Laird was raised a Presbyterian and a native of Pennsylvania. [77]

Samuel Chalmers Davis (1807-1862), a native Marylander and Methodist before joining the Episcopal Church, was rector before being called to William and Mary Parish in Charles County in January 1842. Charles E. Pleasants succeeded him, then served St. Andrews briefly before resigning due to ill health in 1843.[78]

John Claxton (?-1854) an Irishman served St. Andrew's Parish and in 1836 added All Faith to his charge. He served as principal at Charlotte Hall School. In his Journal report for 1843 he did not break out his statistics by race apparently being the first rector to do so. He served the two parishes into 1844. [79]

". . . this usually neglected race." James W. Hoskins

In 1856 All Faith called James W. Hoskins (1816-1877), a North Carolinian, as rector. There had been no rector since December 1, 1854. Hoskins was originally a Congregationalist but joined the Episcopal Church and was ordained by Bishop James H. Otey, Bishop of Tennessee, in 1847. Having served parishes in Delaware and in Dorchester County on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, Hoskins arrived in Southern Maryland finding a society resembling that which he had known in his native North Carolina. Given the existing primary resources, Hoskins appears to be

[75] Ralph, George to Claggett, Thomas John, letter dated June 5, 1802. EDOM.; Allen, CMD, page 21.; VF EDOM Archives July 2, 1806, Ralph, George to Bp. Claggett.
[76] Allen, CMD, page 30.; All Faiths Vestry Book, Liber D, 1819-1892, MSA.
[77] Allen, CMD, page 47.; All Faiths Vestry Book D, 1819-1892, MSA.
[78] Allen, CMD pages 58-59.
[79] Claxton an Irishman, died in New York. Allen, CMD page 40.

the first rector of All Faiths to actively engage with his free and enslaved Black parishioners. No evidence exists to point to Hoskins as an enslaver. [80]

Beginning a parish register on October 20, 1856, he wrote, "Note-There was no parish registry here when I came, and none has been known to be left here by any Rector for the last 20 years, if ever! What is the use of law? I will leave one when I depart." Hoskins then goes on to note the parish communicants, both Black and White, free and enslaved persons. Hoskins was meticulous in his record keeping, his handwriting exquisite, and even to the current time the registers have the faint smell of woodsmoke, perhaps hinting at hours spent beside a warming fire updating the parochial records. [81]

Hoskins notes first and last names when available, free or enslaved persons, names of enslavers when given, and separates out his entries by race. As in many parishes, baptisms were not always performed in church, but often in the parsonage or on a priests' visitations to plantations. On these plantation visitations, Hoskins was often called on to consecrate and commit burials that had taken place earlier. He notes for one visitation, "During the same period 39 others (Colored) received Christian burial, whole bodies had already been put in the ground." In many instances, Hoskins simply notes place of burial as, "at the farm". [82]

In the Journal for 1859, Hoskins reported a collection ". . . from colored congregation for Africa, 2.06" and, "There is an uncommon degree of religious inquiry among the colored congregation, as may be inferred from the large numbers confirmed and added to our communion during the last eighteen months. I hold services for them twice a month, when they are taught to repeat the General Confession, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Commandments, besides saying an oral catechism on the Fall of Man, or the Birth and character of the Death of Christ, and listening to a short extempore Sermon on the vileness of sin and the practical duties of life [?] pointed character. The effect of this instruction is already [?] and I hope that much good will be done, but this means, for this usually neglected race." [83]

Parish Register 1857, October 18, 1857, baptism, "Eli, infant son of Sarah Ann Custiss (Free Woman) at Parsonage." "Note: During the same period 39 others (colored) received Christian burial, whole bodies had already been put in the earth." Burial, "Meshack Curtiss (Free man) age 50 at Dr. Shaw's." [84]

Hoskins seems to have taken especial care for his free Black and enslaved parishioners. They took up collections for diocesan missions. In 1859 and 1860 they took up collections "for Africa," most likely designated for the colony of Maryland in Liberia. 1860 saw a welcome improvement in the worship space; "This year we buy new stoves and make the church more comfortable." Hoskins does not appear as owning enslaved persons in the United States 1860 Slave Census. [85]

[80] Allen, CMD, page 78.; Hoskins is buried at Christ Church, Cambridge, Dorchester County, Maryland.; All Faiths Vestry Book D, 1819-1892, MSA.
[81] All Faiths Parish, register 1856-1870, MSA.
[82] All Faiths Parish, register 1856-1870, MSA, pages 90-91, 113-115.
[83] Journal of 1859, page 71, EDOM.
[84] All Faiths register, page 55, pages 90-91, 98.
[85] All Faiths Parish, register 1856-1870, MSA. Page 118.

Civil War Era, 1861-1864

As much as Hoskins devoted himself to the spiritual life of the free Black and enslaved persons of his parish, he was not agreeable to the position of the Federal government at the outbreak of the Civil War. In May 1861, just over a month since the siege of Fort Sumter and the entry of the Union into the Civil War Hoskins attempted to resign the rectorate. "Here the Rector resigns the Parish because he is required to read a prayer for the prosperity of a Government, which is waging war upon his brethren in violation of the Constitution." Whether Hoskins meant his "brethren" in a broad universal sense or his brethren in North Carolina is not clear. The vestry not wanting to lose him struck a compromise, "But his resignation is not received, & he is desired by the Vestry to do as he may seemed best by himself, which he does by opening the Church & omitting the prayer." Services for the following Sunday were suspended but Hoskins decided to remain. [86]

Hoskins was not done with his protests. In early May 1862 he drafted a resolve directed squarely at Bishop Whittingham and his pro-Union stance, "Resolved that in as much as the Bishop of this Diocese has been interfering in the private & political views of the people and has attempted to convert the church into a political machine in support of a tyrannical government, we send no funds to the Convention for his support." Convention was to be held on May 28 and parish delegates J.F. Shaw and Colonel John Henry Sothoron were to relay the resolution to the Convention. Cooler heads prevailed because the vestry decided to pay their dues to the Diocese, noting, ". . . it is well for us to do right if he [Whittingham] does wrong." Fewer vestry meetings occurred during the course of the war and from there forward the war no longer intrudes on the vestry minutes. [87]

Parish Register 1861, April 21, 1861, baptized "Susan daughter of Patty Thomas, Free-one at home sick." October 29, 1861, baptized Stephen Arundel and Susan Adams, children of Stephen and Mary Holly (Free) [88]

Parish Register 1863 "James Tollson (free man) requests me to put down the ages of his children, and they are as follows – Catherine Lelia was born 20th of Jan 1857, died 20th March, William Henry was born 30th of June 1859, Georgeanna was born 5th of October 1861, Ann Dove was born 13th of Dec. 1863" October 4, 1863, baptized Charles William (Curtiss) "free man" [89]

Over the course of the war collections were taken up "to send the word of God South", for Confederate prisoners at a local prison Point Lookout, and for those prisoners at Fort Warren in Massachusetts. Even after the close of the War in 1865 for the church at Fredericksburg, Virginia, and as of December 1865, the parish collected for a "Southern Fund." Hoskins remained in the parish until 1870. [90]

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[86] All Faiths Parish, register 1856-1870, MSA. Page 118.
[87] All Faiths Vestry Book D, 1819-1892, MSA.
[88] All Faiths register, pages 60, 105, 118.
[89] All Faiths register, inside back cover, MSA.
[90] All Faiths Parish, register 1856-1870, MSA. Pages 106, 120-121.; Collection taken up in 1863 for "sending the word of God South". Register 1865: September 10 and 17, collection of $24.23 taken up for the church at Fredericksburg [Virginia]. A subsequent collection of $25.00 was taken up for the same purpose on October 2. December 22, 1865, a collection of $10 taken up for the "Southern Fund".

Statistics (Black parishioners only) 1807-1864
Baptisms: 591
Confirmations: 43
Marriages: 53
Burials/Funerals: 172

King and Queen Parish, Chaptico, 1692

Colonial Era 1692-1776

The parish of King and Queen, claims their first church was built prior to 1640 and called the "Newport Church." This church was built by Thomas Gerard, a Roman Catholic, for his Protestant wife, Sushannah Snow, and located on St. Paul's Creek, since renamed St. Patrick's Creek. The early date of circa 1640 would make this the second oldest Anglican congregation in the province of Maryland, the oldest being the congregation established on Kent Island in 1632. The second church was reportedly built in 1642 on St. Clément's Manor. The church existing when the Establishment was laid down was noted as being, "built at Wicomico on land belonging 1696 to Capt. Gerrard Slye." The Reverend Mr. Thomas Davies, a Welshman, is credited with serving Anglicans in this area prior to 1691. Two of the Protestant revolutionaries that overthrew Lord Baltimore's government in 1689, Nehemiah Blackiston and John Coode, were members of this parish. [91]

The parish boundaries for the two St. Mary's County parishes were set at a meeting at Newtown on September 5, 1692. In simplistic terms, the bounds were described as, ". . . Divided between New town hundred and Clements hundred by Mr. Langworths branch which leads to Pottuxen main road and the said Branch divides the said Hundreds and Parishes the Lower whereof being called by the Name of William and Mary Parish and the upper by the Name of King and Queen Parish". [92]

The first vestrymen elected in 1693 and the number of indentures and enslaved persons at the time of their deaths, if known, were:
Colonel Nehemiah Blackiston (?-1693) 14 enslaved persons, 4 servants, ally of Lionel Copley. [93]
Captain John Coode (ca 1648-1708/09) Anglican priest, 7 enslaved persons, was an ally of Blackiston and with him worked to overthrow Baltimore's government in 1689, convicted of blasphemy 1699. [94]
Richard Clouds (?-1735) there is a Richard Cloud in Queen Anne's Co d. 1735 owned no human property, but not sure if this is the same man or not. [95]
Captain John Dent (?-1733?) A John Dent dies in Charles County in 1733 with no human property, but not sure if this is the same as Captain Dent. [96]
Philip Brisco (?-1724/25) 14 enslaved persons. [97]
John Barecraft (?-?) No record of John Bearcraft. There is a Bearcraft family in the Northern Neck (Northumberland County) Virginia but whether they are related is unknown. [98]

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[91] AMD Volume 20, page 585. AMD Volume 23, page 18.; Skirven, *First Parishes*, page 113.
[92] AMD, Volume 8, pages 474-475, and Volume 23, page 17.
[93] MBD Volume I pages 137-138.
[94]MBD Volume I pages 233-234.
[95] Liber 21 (MSA S534-21) (on archives computer); Not listed in the MBD.
[96] Liber 17 (MSA S534-17) (on archives computer).
8 June 1733: An inventory of the goods & chattels of John Dent, late of Charles County. He does not appear in MDB and apparently not related to any Dents in the MBD.
[97] MBD Volume 1 page 166.
[98] AMD Volume 23, page 18.; Does not appear in the MBD, and only entry in AMD is election to the vestry.

The Rev. Mr. John Donaldson reported to Bishop Gibson in 1724, "Some Negroes come to church." He simply answered "All Sundays and holy days" to the general question about when he performed baptism and confirmation. [99]

The most controversial rector during King and Queen's colonial era was the Rev. Mr. Richard Brown (?-1789). Brown a member of the Brown family of Rich Hill, Charles County, was educated in Scotland and after returning home was inducted into King and Queen Parish in 1751. Governor Horatio Sharpe writing to Hugh Hammersley, Lord Baltimore's secretary, in June 1768 related, " . . . another whose name is Brown was lately accused of murdering one of his Enslaved & actually fled thereupon to Virginia where he remained several Months till his Son who could be the only positive Witness against him could be ship't away thence to Scotland so that the Coroner's Inquest tho' Circumstances were very strong against him wanted Proof sufficient to charge him with Murder, as this added to his Behaviour on many other occasions made his Parishioners consider him as a very bad Man none of them will even yet attend Divine Service at his Church about which indeed he is said to be extremely indifferent." [100]

Brown's misdeeds soured his parishioners, as the Committee Aggrievances and Courts of Justice noted, "It appears to your committee, from the information of three of the delegates of Saint Mary's County, that Richard Brown, incumbent of King and Queen parish, constantly resided out of his parish, upwards of three years together, without procuring any curate to officiate in his stead. That tho' he has lately returned to reside within this parish, his long course of immoral conduct, and his being under a prosecution for the supposed murder of a negro has determined his parishioners, universally, not to hear him; and that the growth of popery and superstition, are, as may be expected, attendant consequences of such remiss and immoral conduct, ..." [101]

Not to be undone, Brown simply retired to Rich Hill and employed George Goldie as curate, dividing the legislated tobacco tithe between them. Goldie had been ordained in 1765 by Richard Terrick, Bishop of London, and was slated to be inducted into a parish in Virginia but instead landed in Maryland. He may have been employed by Brown as curate as early as 1767. Brown's legal troubles extended to at least 1770 but he was never convicted of the murder of which he was charged. Goldie proved to be a popular replacement or rather substitute for Brown. One of Goldie's sermons could be interpreted to speak to Brown and his predicament, "And tho' we struggle as hard for the transitory possessions of this life as if they were to endure for ever, yet we find in the end that our own Acquisitions have been chiefly imaginary . . ." and then perhaps more to the point, "Let us now dear Christian Bretheren lay our Hands upon our Hearts, and seriously ask ourselves the question---should my Lord now call me to a Reckoning by immediate Death, am I prepared to go before him in confidence of the Goodness of my course and the Integrity of my Heart and Manners?" Brown never returned to his parish, instead living out the remainder of his life at Rich Hill. Goldie remained as rector until his death in 1791. [102]

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[99] Manross, *Fulham*, pages 34-35.

[100] Archives of Maryland Volume 14, page 506-507, letter Sharpe to Hammersley, June 22, 1768.; AMD Volume 61, page ixx, xlvii.

[101] AMD Volume 61, pages 410-411, June 22, 1768.

[102] Manross, *Fulham*, page 308, George Goldie ordained by Bishop Terrick; Manross, *Fulham*, page 348 Brown appears in ordination papers for Joseph Philmore 1774 Manross page 311.; George Goldie, from 1 Chronicles, Chapter XXIV, verse 15, VF EDOM Archives Goldie, Rev. George Sermon.; Middleton, *Anglican Maryland*, pages 72-73.; James Jordan's accounts for King and Queen Parish, James Jordan for Edward Norsman for attendance at suit Richard Brown September 8, 1770, Goldie seems to have been there as early as 1767, legal fees charged to Brown in 1767 were deducted from his share of tobacco. Goldie there until his death. VF EDOM Archives 1770-75? James Jordan Accounts King & Queen Parish.

Antebellum Era, 1807-1859

Formal records of the parish are extant from 1799 forward. In August 1807, The Rev. Mr. Benjamin Contee writing to Bishop Claggett in answer to Claggett's queries about the parish, "The Parish is about 16 miles long and about 6 miles wide-along square-there are five churches in the Parish, three of which belong to the Roman Catholic Society, and two to the P.E. Church, the Parish church at Chaptico is tenable but wants a little Repairs, the chapple is almost in Ruins." During the War of 1812 period, the records reveal nothing about the British invasion and movements in St. Mary's but, according to parish legend British troops did occupy and ransack the church. The truth of this is borne out in the vestry minutes with a letter from Baltimore in January 1816, "Gentlemen, A few Episcopalians of the City hearing with much sorrow of the injuries your church sustained some time ago by the British & others and wanting very much to encourage the laudable zeal lately manifested thereby repairing it, authorized me to purchase two stoves & pipes which I sent on to the care of Mr. Wm. Turner . . . we have to [relate?] that no longer stoves could be had at any time but hope that you will accept of those sent, being the best we could get, the names of the Gentlemen who subscribed shall be given to Mr. Turner. We most sincerely wish that the church under your care may prosper & the members thereof continue pious & reap the rewards of a well spent life. By order R. K. Heath for the Subscribers." The vestry promptly sent a note of thanks. [103]

James A. Mckenny (1807-1880), bachelor, a native of Kent County, Maryland, was called as rector in 1831. In the Convention Journal for 1831 he reported, "Something has been attempted for the spiritual benefit of the Black population of the Parish, by giving them familiar instruction, after the White congregation has left the Church on Sundays. This plan has succeeded at the *Chapel*, beyond our most sanguine expectations. Large numbers attend, and receive instruction in the Christian religion with thankfulness. We are greatly encouraged, in this department of our labours. Ten or twelve coloured persons will be ready for confirmation when the Bishop shall visit us, which, we hope, will be in the course of the summer." [104]

McKenny's time in King and Queen was not for long. Reporting in the Convention Journal for 1832 he styles himself as "late rector" having accepted a call to St. Stephens parish in Cecil County. He updated the Convention on his former efforts, "After considerable difficulty (there being no catalogue in the parish,) he ascertained that there were thirty-two White and eighteen coloured persons who considered themselves communicants. Since that time, twelve White and eleven coloured persons have been added to the communion; all of whom, with the exception of five individual, had been confirmed at the recent visitation of the Bishop. [confirmations 25 White, 27 coloured] . . . The course of instruction, which was reported to the last convention, as having been commenced for the benefit of the Black population, was steadily pursued during his residence in the parish. The result has satisfied him that this neglected race are fully capable of appreciating and profiting by the services of our church." [105]

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[103] VF, Contee, Benjamin Rev., answers to queries, August 28, 1807, EDOM Archives.; Letter from Baltimore donors, Baltimore January 10, 1816, pages 46-47, MSA 2321-1-1, 1799-1822, Vestry minutes (births and baptisms) volume begins May 27, 1799, page 43 but there were references earlier to Tomakoken – a place of service as it is listed along with Chaptico per subscriptions.
[104] Generally nothing but vestry minutes, ends in 1838 not 1822 as stated, a few baptisms.; Convention Journal 1831, EDOM.
[105] Convention Journal 1832, page 33, EDOM.

John Hamilton Chew, Bishop Claggett's grandson-in-law, was called to the parish in October 1844. In October 1845, Chew noted that Remus (no last name given) "Color'd" "confessed immoral & scandalous conduct – professed penitence & a determination to reform, (which he had already communicated – was admonished before all the col''d communicants & suspended from the communion until its next administration." [106]

Most likely aware of the work done by McKenny, Chew sought to build on the ministry to the Black congregation. In the Convention Journal of 1846, Chew reported, "Special services are occasionally held for the colored people, many of whom attend also, with much apparent interest and advantage, upon the stated seasons of worship." In February 1848 he was confronted with "a matter which gives me some uneasiness." Chew had recently married two enslaved persons on his own consideration and the advice of one of the "intelligent and pious" vestrymen of the parish. He related the facts to the bishop, "Two colored persons came to me to be married, the man informing me (and [?] me a note from his Master to the same affect) that he had been married before, and that his wife (or rather she who was his wife) was still living, but had been unfaithful to him, and deserted him, and gone to live with another. I suggested to him the propriety in such a case, and the necessity of obtaining a divorce before he married a second time. He said that he had queried on that subject with several gentlemen and had been informed that in his station in life a divorce could not be obtained. I finally concluded therefore that on the point of his being virtually divorced by the misconduct of his former wife, it was allowable to marry him, and did on that premise perform the said marriage. I have understood since than the Revd. Mr. Dougherty (the Romish Priest here), to whose flock, it seems, the woman belongs, has publicly condemned the act, acclaimed the marriage to be invalid, and denounced me before his congregation, though not by name, as having put asunder those whom God had joined together." He asked the bishop for his advice, if he had done wrong, how to amend it, and whether to take any notice of Dougherty's judgements. [107]

What the Bishop's response to this quandary is not extant and barely two weeks later Chew was writing to the bishop again with another situation involving marriage between two enslaved persons. "I was applied to yesterday to marry a man whose wife was sold in the course of the last year. He was a constant attendant upon the services of the church & a candidate for Confirmation before the loss of his wife, but since that time has been much less interested in religion. He says now that he wants to live a religious life, and that in order to do so it is absolutely necessary for him to be married. Indeed, although he waits patiently for your decision of his case (praying most earnestly [?] that it may be given speedily) yet I very much question whether, if you decide against him, he will be inclined to break off his engagement even though it may lead him into what he knows is a state of sin." [108]

The situation continued and became even more complicated. Chew wrote to Bishop Whittingham in March on a point of clerical discipline, regarding the enslaver of the man whose wife had been sold and who desired to marry again. "The servant---man who applied to me to be married, and his wife, who was sold from him, both belonged to a communicant of this parish,

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[106] Under the "Remarks" section in the back, Chew notes "N.B. – 59 [which is keyed to Remus (no last name given) in the "Color'd" communicants section] confessed immoral & scandalous conduct – professed penitence & a determination to reform, (which he had already communicated – was admonished before all the col''d communicants & suspended from the communion until its next administration." October 19, 1845. MSA SC 2321-1-10, 1844-1884 (title page says 1879), register baptisms, confirmations, marriages, burials, includes "colored" records, historical notes. Location 0/66/9/22, MSA SC. Page 178.; John Hamilton Chew was married to Sophia Claggett the Bishop's granddaughter.

[107] Convention Journal 1846, page 115.; Chew, John Hamilton to Bishop Whittingham, letter dated February 3, 1848, EDOM Archives.

[108] Chew, John Hamilton to Bishop Whittingham, letter dated February 21, 1848, EDOM Archives.

and the woman, of course, was sold by that communicant. The man's application for a second marriage has afforded me a fair opportunity of enquiring of the master as to his reason for separating those who God hath joined together. He does not pretend to allege any inevitable necessity for selling the woman, nor indeed does he attempt to justify his conduct in selling her, but says that such things have been extremely common and that he never knew an instance in which any such act has been made a subject of discipline by the Church, and therefore his course was almost a sin of ignorance. At the same time, he professes that since he has reflected seriously upon the consequences of his act, he has seen its impropriety and has earnestly repented of its commission." [109]

Even though repentant, Chew felt that the unnamed master should be disciplined, and refused him Holy Communion until "he shall have openly declared himself to have repented of the wrong done to his servants." Chew argued that since the Church had been remiss in calling out the frequency of these instances that it was no time to relax the discipline. Chew asked for the bishop's opinion on the issue and the proper mode of making the declaration. Chew felt that taking action would set an example for others to follow. He closed his letter stating bluntly, "I know well that your solicitude for every part of your Diocese & every member of the Church entrusted to your care will cause you to look upon this matter as one which it is nothing more than my duty to communicate to you, and therefore I shall make no apology for the trouble I give you." Whether the enslaver ever atoned to his enslaved persons or if Chew followed through on his determination to set a new standard for the church is not recorded in either the vestry minutes extant or in surviving correspondence. [110]

Chew was credited with ten enslaved persons in the Slave Census of 1850 and when serving St. Paul's Parish, Prince George's County often called upon his fellow clergyman, Samuel R. Gordon of St. Thomas' Parish, Prince George's to baptize some of the children of his female enslaved persons. Chew left King and Queen for St. Paul's Parish, Prince George's in November 1850. Until King and Queen called a new rector Chew preached three times and twice administered Holy Communion in public and private, this along with neighboring clergy. He recorded in the register in April 1851, "N.B. The name of an old servant at Mr. Luke W. Hutchins has heretofore been omitted, and I can not now recollect it. She appears to be a very good old woman: and shall be looked after, as she is too old & infirm to get to church. On a visit to the parish in April 1851 I administered the Holy Communion to her in private." He ended his rectorate hoping the parish, "may soon be supplied with a faithful pastor, and that his labors may be crowned with abundant fruit to the glory of God." [111]

By 1852 the Rev. Mr. Henry Aisquith (1800-1855) had been called as rector taking charge of the parish on Christmas Day, 1851. In 1854 he reported, "There was great mortality and suffering in the Parish during the last summer such as I had never witnessed before." Aisquith himself was to die in July 1855 while rector of the parish. [112]

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[109] Chew, John Hamilton to Bishop Whittingham, letter dated March 16, 1848, EDOM Archives.
[110] Chew, John Hamilton to Bishop Whittingham, letter dated March 16, 1848, EDOM Archives.
[111] Chew, John Hamilton to Bishop Whittingham, letter dated March 16, 1848, EDOM Archives.; "King and Queen Parish, St. Mary's Co." typed notes, EDOM.; "N.B. The name of an old servant at Mr. Luke W. Hutchins has heretofore been omitted, and I can not now recollect it. She appears to be a very good old woman: and shall be looked after, as she is too old & infirm to get to church. On a visit to the parish in April 1851 I administered the Holy Communion to her in private. J. H. Chew." MSA SC 2321-1-10, 1844-1884 (title page says 1879), register baptisms, confirmations, marriages, burials, includes "colored" records, historical notes. Location 0/66/9/22, MSA SC, page 170.; Robinson, *St. Thomas' Parish Register*, entries for Chew appear.
[112] Aisquith was from St. Mary's County, Maryland, he is buried at St. Stephens Church in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. CMD page 43.; Convention Journals 1852-1854.

The Rev. Mr. Meyer Lewin (1815-1886) was called as rector in July 1856. Lewin had been born in Eastern Europe and was originally of the Jewish faith. He converted to Christianity and was ordained to the priesthood. In the census of 1850, he had been credited with enslaving thirty-three individuals. Lewin was very sporadic in his record keeping and in 1857 he reported adding three enslaved persons to the congregation and noted, "1 colored moved from the parish, restored after suspension of several years." "Of the above offerings, 69 cents were from colored people for African Missions." Donations for the African missions increased to $3.32 by 1859, that Lewin reported were, "from the colored congregation." [113]

Civil War Era 1860-1866

In the United States Slave Census of 1860, Lewin is credited with owning eleven enslaved persons. What had caused a decrease in the numbers from thirty-three in 1850 until now is not known. Lewin continues as rector through the Civil War period and entries in the parish register all but end in 1860. Vestry minutes continue but are silent from May 1864 until January 1865.

Newly ordained Leonard John Mills visited Lewin at Chaptico in September 1860. He wrote to Bishop Whittingham from the parsonage, "We are going around every day to see our people so that when Mr. L. is called away, I may know something of my work. The field of labor is large, but it seems a deeply interesting one:" In 1866 Meyer Lewin reported conducting baptisms, marriages, and burials within the newly free community of Blacks adding three as communicants. [114]

Statistics (Black parishioners only) 1831-1864

Baptisms 494
Confirmations 86
Marriages 94
Burials/funerals 253

Notes On and From the Records

Bishop Whittingham's Record

Confirmations by Whittingham, December 7, 1845, Black: Rebecca, Catherine, Rosetta, Margaret Gainer
December 8, 1845, confirmation at All Saints in King and Queen, Black: William Alexander Cooper, Elizabeth Sommerville

[113] Lewin was born in either Prussia or Poland and was originally of the Jewish faith. He is buried at Oak Hill Cemetery in Washington, DC. Allen, CMD page 66.; Convention Journal 1857-1859.
[114] Diocesan Journal, EDOM, 1866, page 62.; Allen, CMD, page 86.; Mills, L.J. to Bishop Whittingham, letter dated September 5, 1860, VF EDOM Archives.

Vestry Minutes and Register 1842-1876

In back (upside down) a partial register, under marriages, John Bush to Lucy Ann Elizabeth Wilder "coloured free" is noted, August 26, 1843.
James Coates to Elizabeth Harris "Free Colored" married December 30, 1848.
Under funerals, Richard Mitchell Rustin "Free Colored" 3 months old, April 10, 1847.
Sarah Mack "Free Colored" age 26, June 6, 1847.
Celeste Mack "Free Colored" age 17, July 10, 1847.
Sarah Thompson "Free Colored", age 80, January 5, 1848. [115]

Register 1844-1884 (title page say 1879 but entries clearly go beyond that) [116]

On the cover page is written, "On the first list every thing is mixed. At the second you will find every thing under its proper title."

In the back "upside down" an enrollment of communicants by Rev. Philip Berry 1844, does list "Communicants – Col'd" with first and last names if known but does not note if an enslaved person or not.

On the first page, "Commencing with the Rectorship of John Hamilton Chew October 27th A.D. 1844. This Book was presented to King and Queen Parish by John H. Chew."

Then baptisms 1844-45 are broken out with Whites on left side and "Coloured" on right side, both sides noted as "Infants." The column labeled "Master or Mistress Name" then in entry Chew notes the parents if free. Does not always note day of birth, but most often day of baptism.
Juliana "Free" Nov. 3, 1844.
Henry Clay [Rustin] "Son of Stephen + Elizabeth} Rustin Free, Nov. 30, 1844.
Georgiana "Free" April 27, 1845

Burials: Ellen "Free – Sister of Lydia Cooper visited several times – wished to commune" age 60, funeral February 1845, page 5.

Chew maintained this arrangement throughout of separation. He is good about his notes, and also admits failing to note every funeral. He is also good about noting familial relationships. This arrangement and notation are maintained until 1850 when changed to "Master or Parents Names." But this heading goes and comes. This is as complete a record as one might find. Separation of races last through the entire register.

Page 11, notes laying the cornerstone of All Saints, Oakley, a time capsule, lead box with a copy of the Bible, a copy of the Book of Common Prayer, then in a tin box all the officers, etc. of the parish, "6th a coin found under a corner of the old church bearing the date (1819) of its last

[115] MSA SC 2321-1-2, 1842-1878, Vestry minutes (baptisms, marriages, funerals) Location 00/08/06/24, MSA SC. Seems that latest record is 1860 but very sporadic record keeping and other than "free" does not seem to note them, but according to diocesan reports they did more than the above.
[116] MSA SC 2321-1-10, 1844-1884 (title page says 1879), register baptisms, confirmations, marriages, burials, includes "colored" records, historical notes. Location 0/66/9/22, MSA SC.

repair." The last issue of "The Spirit of Mission," copy of the service, part of a "Charge" of William Wilberforce in "Practical Preaching" and lastly a letter from Bp. Whittingham. Inscription on the tin box, "God grant that our names may all be written in the Book of Life, and that we may all meet in that temple not made with hands, the chief corner-stone of which is the Lord Jesus Christ." This deposited at the SE corner when a new church is built.

Page 30, burials, Cecilia, servant of Dr. James Waring, age 90 yrs, died on Dec. 26, 1858.
Page 31, burials, Patty servant of Charles Bowles, age 100, died January 1862.

Page 34, burials, "George Hayden – Died from the effects of a wound received in the battle of Gettesburg [sic]-July 1863 Corporal in the C. S. A." 19 years September 23, 1863.

William and Mary, Valley Lee, 1692

Colonial Era 1692-1724

The parish of William and Mary, Valley Lee, claims their first church dedicated to St. George, patron saint of England was built circa 1642 and was reportedly the second Anglican church built in the province. A new church was constructed circa 1721, Joshua Doyne being the undertaker. The current church dates from circa 1750. The first permanent Anglican clergyman in Southern Maryland, the Rev. Mr. William Wilkinson (1612-1663) began his ministry here in 1650. [117]

The parish boundaries for the two St. Mary's County parishes were set at a meeting at Newtown on September 5, 1692. In simplistic terms the bounds were described as, ". . . Divided between New town hundred and Clements hundred by Mr. Langworths branch which leads to Pottuxen main road and the said Branch divides the said Hundreds and Parishes the Lower whereof being called by the Name of William and Mary Parish and the upper by the Name of King and Queen Parish." [118]

The first vestrymen elected in 1692 and the number of indentures and enslaved persons at the time of their deaths, if known, were:
Kenelm Cheseldyne (1640-1708) 12 enslaved persons at death. [119]
Major John Campbell (1634-1695) 2 "servants" indentures. [120]
Robert Mason (1653-1700) 4 servants 9 enslaved persons, ship Loyal Society.
John Watson (ca. 1649-1699) none listed at death.
John Llewellin (?-1698) [121]

The human property consisted of:

1.	A man servant, not a year to serve	£1.5
2.	A woman servant almost out of her tyme	£0.10
3.	A Negro woman	£19 (13)

Thomas Beale (?-1713) 9 enslaved persons. [122]

The first priest under the Establishment was Thomas Davies, a Welshman who went on to serve All Faiths and St. Paul's. [123]

August 1698, Mary Denton widow of Henry Denton, clerk of the Council reported that vestryman Robert Mason had sold her husband "one Negro man slave a white Woman & Mulatto Child." The child was by law the property of William and Mary Parish in St. Mary's

[117] Vestry minute notation, April 13, 1721, VF EDOM, Doyne was also the undertaker for St. Paul's Church, Baden 1733-35.; "Old Trinity Episcopal Church First Church c. 1638", pamphlet, undated, VF EDOM.
[118] AMD, Volume 8, pages 474-475, and Volume 23, page 17.
[119] MBD Volume 1, pages 216-217.
[120] MBD Volume 1, page 191.
[121] Liber 16 (MSA S536-22) (location 1/11/2/28).
[122] MBD Volume 1. page 122.
[123] Allen, CMD, page 15.

County until he turned thirty-one. The vestry threatened to sue Denton since the sale had apparently been illegal. Mason acknowledged he was a vestryman of the parish. Governor Francis Nicholson ordered him prosecuted for breach of oath. Mason was taken into custody and by the end of August had made up his accounts with the William and Mary vestry. What happened to the enslaved man, White woman, and bi-racial child is unknown. [124]

The Rev. Mr. Leigh Massey, rector of William and Mary Parish in 1724 as well as serving St. George's and Trinity Church, St. Mary's City (Trinity Church until 1851 when it became St. Mary's Parish.), reported that there were no infidels within his parish. He performed baptism and catechism in Lent but did not make specific mention about the enslaved persons. [125]

Antebellum Period 1809-1860

The bulk of the parish records are only extant from 1798 onward and within those many of the priests serving William and Mary did not break out their register by race. The statistics reported to Convention then would most likely not include all the rituals that were performed for the free Black and enslaved populations.

In the early part of the lone register dating 1692-1865 is a rare written reference to the Black population not being relegated to a balcony but being provided seating in the aisle of the church: "The Vestry reconsidered their former pew [?] to sell certain vacancies in the Isle [sic] of St. Mary's Church & agreed to revoke the same & to place Benches therein for the use of the Negroes." The entry does not give a date, but the entry afterward is dated February 1, 1809, during the rectorate of Rev. Mr. Francis Barclay. [126]

There was nothing prior to that entry seeming to relate to the reconsideration. The entries are very spotty and are fewer and fewer as time goes on. Most important seemed to be the annual meeting on Easter Monday and financial concerns. Their glebe land was rented out and at times given over to the use of the rector but only mentions hands and overseer (not enslaved persons). There is no mention of anything pertaining to the War of 1812. [127]

The Rev. Mr. Joseph Jackson (?-1820), an Englishman, served both William and Mary and St. Andrews Parishes beginning in 1811. He writes his fellow clergyman (and later bishop), James Kemp, in 1812, "There is a society here not brilliant in any respect, but far from uninteresting, to a mind such as mine. This county indeed has been inferior to no one in the state, & in point of local advantage is at this day exceeded by few, if any." He noted that strong drink was present in the county and the downfall of many. [128]

Mentions of the glebe lands are often slight or non-existent and most often silent as to the work force maintaining them. In March 1810, vestryman William Hebb wrote to Bishop Claggett, ". . . our Glebe is well stocked with everything & a considerable preparation for a crop with 40 Bus. of wheat seeded all of which with the hands & overseer could be made by a person

[124] AMD Volume 23, pages 508-510.
[125] Manross, Fulham, page 35.
[126] MSA SC2313-1-3, Vestry minutes and register, only resource of the time period, 1692-1865 on deposit at MSA. Page 18 left hand side.
[127] MSA SC2313-1-3, Vestry minutes and register, only resource of the time period, 1692-1865 on deposit at MSA.
[128] VF, Jackson, Joseph to Kemp, James, letter dated 1812 February 18, EDOM Archives.: Allen, CMD, page 23.

filling the vacancy . . .." Whether those hands were enslaved persons or free, Hebb does not note. [129]

The Rev. Mr. Harvey Stanley, a native of North Carolina, was called as rector in 1847. He is noted as having two enslaved males, nineteen and twelve, in the United States 1850 Slave Census. The Rev. Mr. Richard Henry Barnes "R.H.B." Mitchell, entered duties as rector on January 1, 1852. Like many of his predecessors, he does not break out his register by race and reported, "He found it [the parish] in a divided and wretched state." ". . . lukewarmness prevailing throughout." Mitchell is noted as having eleven enslaved persons in the United States 1860 Slave Census. [130]

Within the financial records is noted the vestry paying to Henry Watts who worked/rented the glebe and may have been the sexton. Watts did repairs on the churches occasionally. These two payments to Watts may have been for work his enslaved person did on the parish church, "To cash to Negro's Harry, Titus & Jarrett, for 17 days hire at 40. 6.80," and "To 2 days hire of my Negro carpenter, at 75, 1.50." [131]

Civil War Era, 1861-1865

The record of the parish meetings and issues decrease. There is a meeting on May 23, 1861, a little over a month since the firing of Fort Sumter, but none again until December and then only to write resolutions on the death of the Rev. Mr. Richard H. Waters to be printed in *The St. Mary's Beacon*, the local newspaper. Waters had recently been called to the parish but suffered a heart attack and died. Then only vestry meetings recorded are in May 1862. Then in 1863, James G. Leason, a former priest of the Roman Catholic Church who converted to the Episcopal faith, was called as rector. Then the only recorded vestry meetings are on Easter Monday 1863, Easter Monday March 28, 1864, and April 17, 1865 – but within them there was no mention of Civil War, Bishops issues, or political issues, life simply moved on without comment. [132]

Statistics (Black parishioners only) 1825-1864
Baptisms 168
Confirmations none reported.
Marriages 22
Burials/Funerals 21

Vestry Minutes and Register, 1692-1923, note.

Few of the early rectors break out the parish register entries by race. On page 82 are some notes that may have been transcribed from an earlier volume – then pages are cut out up to page 113! Nothing from page 189 to 312, then on 313 confirmations, 1873. "Transfer of Pews" begins on

[129] Hebb, William to Bishop Claggett, letter dated March 18, 1810, EDOM Archives.
[130] Convention Journal of 1852, page 102.; Allen, CMD, pages 39, 65.; Stanley was a native of North Carolina. He is buried at Holy Trinity Church, Collington, Maryland. Allen, CMD page 65, FindaGrave.com.
[131] MSA SC2313-1-3, Vestry minutes and register, only resource of the time period, 1692-1865 on deposit at MSA, page 426.
[132] Leason was Irish and previously a Roman Catholic priest. He converted in 1851. Allen, CMD page 74.; MSA SC2313-1-3, Vestry minutes and register, only resource of the time period, 1692-1865 on deposit at MSA.

324, dating from 1812. Baptisms begin on page 356 but only start in 1868, does denote if they are “Col.” [colored] Births on page 364 beginning 1798 but does not break out by race. Burials for this period begin on 404. [133]

[133] MSA SC2313-1-3, Vestry minutes and register, only resource of the time-period, 1692-1865 on deposit at MSA.

CHARLES COUNTY

The clerk of the Assembly neglected to lay out the bounds of the Charles County parishes because, "The Bounds whereof being Artificiall and Some what Long have been Omitted." [134]

Nanjemoy Parish, (Old Durham) Nanjemoy also known as Ironside, 1692

The Colonial Era, 1692-1774

Nanjemoy, or Durham, Parish lay along Mattawoman and Nanjemoy Creek. At the time of the Establishment there was reportedly no church in the parish but one was soon thereafter constructed. Acts of Assembly authorized the construction of the brick church we now know as Christ Church, Durham in 1732 and 1736. It was originally a one-story structure and later renovated and enlarged to the structure we see today. Even though built it was not consecrated until 1809 when Bishop Claggett performed the service. Durham shared the services of two rectors, Tubman and Maconchie during its early history but after 1750 had a succession of rectors solely responsible for Durham alone. One of Durham's later rectors was Walter Hanson Harrison. He was a native son, born in the parish on June 21, 1750. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1774 and licensed to the parish of his birth to be an assistant to Henry Fendall, then current rector. Harrison was a brother to Richard Harrison, George Washington's aide-de-camp and a supporter of the American Revolution. [135]

Originally known as Nanjemoy Parish it was changed to Durham Parish during the provincial governorship of William Stone, ". . . in honor of Lord Baltimore, who like the then Bishop of Durham, sought to combine in himself all churchly and civil authority." [136] There was a church being built at the time of the Establishment and when completed it was named Durham Church. The present church was authorized by the Assembly in 1732. There is a record of a marriage being performed by the Reverend Mr. John Turling in 1685 and he is assumed to have been the first priest serving that congregation. The boundaries as later described were, "Beginning at Phillip Hoskin's Quarter, soe with a straight line to the head of Joseph Bullett's Mill Branch and down the said Branch to Mattawoman Creeke and so down Mattawman Creek to the mouth thereof, and down the Potomak River to the mouth of Nanjemy Creek or Avon River and so up the said creek or river to the Mill at the head thereof and thence to Capt. Hoskin's Quarter." [137]

The first vestrymen elected in 1693 and the number of indentures and enslaved persons at the time of their deaths, if known, were: [138]
John Stone (ca. 1648-1697) uncle of William Stone below, 3 servants 1 enslaved person. [139]
Joseph Manning (?-?) no information found.

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[134] AMD Volume 23, page 19.
[135] Acts of Assembly, Durham Parish 1732, Chapter 28, 1736, Chapter 12, and 1754, Chapter 7.; Harrison, Walter Hanson ordination papers, Volume XXII, pages 95-99, Fulham Palace Papers.; Middleton, *Anglican Maryland*.
[136] WPA inventory, page 114.
[137] Allen MS, LoC.
[138] AMD, Volume 23, page 19.
[139] MBD Volume II, pages 783-784.

William Dent (ca. 1660-1704) a descendant of Rev. Mr. William Wilkinson the first Anglican priest to take up residence in Southern Maryland, 34 enslaved persons, 7 servants. [140]
William Stone (1666-1731) nephew of John Stone above, 13 enslaved persons. [141]
Richard Harrison (1659-1710) listed under his son Joseph Harrison in the Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, Richard a justice of Charles County but not in the legislature. [142]
Gerrard Fowke (1663-1735) 16 enslaved persons. [143]

The Rev. Mr. William Maconchie held both Port Tobacco and Durham Parishes in 1724 and noted in his responses to Bishop Gibson that "Some Negroes baptized" and that he "Visits the schools in his parish to catechize." [144]

July 31, 1781, "Note – No business of Importance required a meeting of the Vestry during the Winter, and an Invasion of the Enemy prevented a meeting of the Qualified Voters in this Parish on Easter Monday last, in order to ballot out Two Vestrymen and Elect Two agreeable to Law." Lot of tobacco related documentation in this volume, as much as I've seen anywhere. [145]

The Antebellum Era, 1792-1860

August 1792, the will of Francis Martin is spread upon the minutes, "Item I give and bequeath four negroes two male and female from the age of fourteen to thirty after the death of the said wife [Sarah Martin] to Durham Parish in Charles County Maryland for the purpose [?] that it is my desire the said negroes them and their Increase forever and all profit arising from them or theirs should be under the management of the Vestry of the said Parish that it may enable them the said Vestry to Establish a charity school or schools in most convenient parts of the said Parish for the use and Benefit of those children whose Parents are incapable of bestowing an Education on them only and that it is my desire the said Vestry should have full power and authority to judge of those Parents who are not capable of educating their children refusing to admit any child or children Person or Persons who ae in sufficient circumstances to educate them or theirs." The will was signed 27 April 1780 but entries surrounding it date to August 1792, most likely meaning that Martin died that summer. Martin mentions no children but mentions two nieces Linder and Mary and Robert and Alexandra Crain. [146]

On December 7, 1798, the vestry discusses a house at the glebe that was built for a school, that one Allen Martin (no indication of a relation to Francis and Sarah Martin) wants to conduct school there, which the vestry agrees to, if the house is moved outside of the tenant (Mr. Isaac Bowie's) fence to the common area. Not clear if this is the school built in response to the Martin bequest above, and there is no further mention of the four enslaved persons past the transcription of the bequest. [147]

[140] MBD Volume I, pages 266-267.
[141] MBD Volume II, page 789.
[142] MDB Volume I, page 417.
[143] MBD Volume I, page 326.
[144] Manross, *Fulham*, page 25
[145] MSA SC 2604-1-1, location 0/8/4/25, Durham Parish, Christ Church, vestry minutes and accounts, page 27.
[146] MSA SC 2604-1-1, location 0/8/4/25, Durham Parish, Christ Church, vestry minutes and accounts. Just below is an entry for August 6, 1792, so assuming Martin died in summer 1792? pages 62-63.
[147] MSA SC 2604-1-1, location 0/8/4/25, Durham Parish, Christ Church, vestry minutes and accounts., page 86.

In report for 1792 Hatch Dent, member of the Standing Committee states, "Your Reporter finds the State of the Church in this District [William and Mary, Port Tobacco, and Durham] nearly the same as reported by him to be last year, save only in Durham, where he is happy to inform the Convention, the Spirit of Religion seems to be revving, active & vigorous. Exertions are used by the Minister & Vestry to restore and cement the Union of the parish, Enthusiasm appears to be on the Decline through Diversions & Factions among the Dissenters, a new & elegant Church, begun late in last summer, from the almost total Ruins of the old one, is erecting & likely to be soon completed, and Things in general have a more pleasing & promising aspect." [148]

In 1826, the Rev. Mr. Robert Prout (1798-1880) a native of Washington DC, ordained by Bishop Moore of Virginia was called as rector. He reported in the Convention Journal of 1826, "The black part of my charge has likewise greatly increased. To attach this portion of my flock to the Church, I frequently preach a lecture to them, which exercise, under the Divine blessing has proved beneficial." Prout served Durham until being called to St. Paul's, Calvert County but returned to Durham by 1847. In the 1850 United States Slave Census he is credited with no enslaved persons. He reports collections taken up for, "African missions" in 1853. [149]

Civil War Era, 1860-1866

Prout is credited with twenty-nine enslaved persons in the 1860 United States Slave Census. What happened between 1850 and 1860 to create such a change? Prout reports to Convention in 1862, "The attendance at Church, I am thankful to say, has been good considering the times." [150]

The vestry minutes for meetings are usually brief; then, in 1860 through the Civil War period they only record the Easter Monday annual meeting. This continues into the latter part of the 19th century. List of subscribers in the back and some register material, even then there are few entries all categorized as "White."

Interesting in that almost always in this parish Black baptisms exceeded and usually were double in number to the White baptisms. After the War, the parish continued to serve both Black and White parishioners. During the Civil War period, Prout does not break out the register by race, but beginning in 1866 he once again segregates his entries.

Statistics (Black parishioners only) 1826-1864

Baptisms 978
Confirmations none reported.
Marriages 19
Burials/Funerals 66

[148] Dent, Hatch, Report to the Convention, June 1, 1792, EDOM Archives.
[149] Prout was a native of Washington DC, he served Durham Parish with a brief stint at St. Paul's, Calvert County, 1841-1847, until his death and he is buried in the Durham Parish graveyard. Allen, CMD page 42.; Convention Journal 1826, page 29.; Convention Journal 1853.; MSA SC 2604-1-4 location 0/8/9/30 vestry minutes beginning in 1824.
[150] Convention Journal 1862, EDOM, page 42.

Port Tobacco Parish, Port Tobacco (later La Plata) 1692

Colonial Era, 1684-1776

The church for what became Port Tobacco Parish was initially located at the head of the Port Tobacco River and noted as early as 1684. It was called Christ Church. The Reverend Mr. Moore preached there beginning in 1691. When time came to describe the parish bounds, clerk of the assembly took the easy way out regarding Charles County's parishes, "The Bounds whereof being Artificiall and Some what Long have Omitted to insert them here." [151]

The first vestrymen elected in 1692 and the number of indentures and enslaved persons at the time of their deaths, if known, were: [152]
Henry Hawkins (?-1699) father of John Hawkins, 3 enslaved persons, 11 servants, daughter Eleanor's first marriage was to the Reverend Mr. George Tubman. [153]
William Barton (ca. 1634-1717) no evidence of enslaved persons, but son did have enslaved persons. Family involved in negotiations with Native Peoples. [154]
Philip Hoskins (ca 1650-1718) 21 enslaved persons. [155]
Cleborne Lomax (?-1699) A true and just inventory of the goods and chattels of Mr. Cleborne Lomax, Sr. made Dec. 28, 1699: The estate totaled £33.18.0. The only human property was one servant woman with two years to serve, appraised at £3.10. [156]
John Hawkins son of Henry Hawkins but did not serve in Assembly, no evidence of enslaved persons. [157]
John Hanson (?-1714) father-in-law of Mary Hoskins Hanson, daughter of Philip. No evidence of enslaved persons. [158]

The parish church has been in three different locations over the parish's history, suffering fire, relocation, and a tornado before becoming the church we now know as Christ Church, La Plata. The parish shared the services of George Tubman with two of her sister parishes William and Mary and Durham. Tubman was at Port Tobacco until 1701. [159]

A controversial rector, William Machoncie, was inducted into the livings of both Port Tobacco and Durham Parishes after Tubman's demise. In April 1724, Giles Rainsford, a fellow clergyman, wrote an unnamed English friend lodging fresh complaints against many of his religious brethren including Machoncie, "Mr. Maconchie is a Mere Nuisance, & makes the church stink. He fights & drinks on all occasions; &, as I am told he molests the wives of others." Maconchie reported to Bishop Edmund Gibson in 1724 that there were approximately 300 families covering both parishes (Port Tobacco and Durham), and that he baptized enslaved persons. He noted he had glebes in both parishes, but the land was "worthless." There were no

[151] AMD Volume 13 page 112, AMD Volume 23, page 19.; Skirven, *First Parishes*, page 132.; WPA page 123.
[152] AMD, Volume 23, page 19.
[153] MBD Volume I page 424.
[154] William Barton the elder, not in MBD but in the biography for his son, also William Barton, who was on the St. Paul's first vestry MBD Volume I page 117.
[155] MBD Volume I, pages 463-464.
[156] Liber 19½B (MSA S536-27) (location 1/11/2/32).
[157] MBD Volume I page 424.
[158] Not in MBD but in the biography for his son Robert Hanson, Volume I, pages 406-407.
[159] AMD Volume 23 Page 19.; Skirven, *First Parishes*, page 132.

public schools, but several private schools and he noted Durham parish had a small library. The Assembly approved a new parish church in 1751 and, in 1754 a chapel of ease was authorized to be located at Ivy Springs. This congregation was founded in the northern part of the parish and came to be known as St. Paul's Church, Piney. St. Paul's Church formed its own parish, Piney Parish in 1968. [160]

The Antebellum Era, 1790-1860

The Reverend Mr. John Weems was credited with five enslaved persons in the 1790 census. Weems was rector of the parish until 1821. [161]

Lemuel Wilmer (1795-1869) a native of Kent County, Maryland, was called to Port Tobacco Parish after his ordination in 1822 and remained there for his entire preaching life. Writing to Bishop Kemp in April 1825, he describes the outreach to his parishioners, "Now it appears to me a very rational way of spending an hour on Sunday night & Wednesday nights to call the villagers together at my house for the purpose of religious worship. And conduct it in this way: commence with singing and after singing, the confession, with the collect for peace, for aid against perils of the night & Chrysostom prayer. We then sing again, after singing, read one of Coopers Sermons & then conclude with singing and a form of prayer." [162]

Regarding the Black population, Wilmer held attitudes at variance with many of his parishioners, that they were deserving of the sacraments and that enslavement was wrong. He did not often report out statistics relying more on a narrative for the parish year, and seldom when reporting statistics did, he break them out by race, but he noted that Blacks are part of his congregation.

In the 1829 Convention Journal, Wilmer reported, "It gives the rector no small degree of pleasure to say, that he knows of no church where they more generally respond, and more generally kneel, than in those churches of which he has the charge. . .. He can with truth say, that he is attached to the soil and to the people; but if circumstances shall so change, as to make it advisable for him to leave his present residence, he hopes that he will be enabled to overcome all local feelings, and go where duty calls." [163]

His parochial report for 1835 continued the good news on his work with the Black population, "The rector of this parish would mention, that in his three churches, not less than three hundred colored persons regularly attend. Forty of them are regular communicants. He should not forget to add, that the knows of no place where they are treated with more humanity than by the people of this parish." [164]

1843 "Services on Holy Days-Colored people catechized." [165]

1849 "Congregations still large and attentive. Communicants gradually increasing but deaths, withdrawals and changes, especially with the colored communicants, leave about the

[160] Letter Ransford, Giles to 'Reverend Sir', August 10, 1724, Fulham Palace Papers.; Maconchie, William answers to Bishop Gibson's queries 1724, Fulham Palace Papers.; Acts of Assembly, Port Tobacco Parish, 1751, Chapter 12, and 1754, Chapter 7.
[161] 1790 Federal Census, EDOM Archives.; CMD, page 18.
[162] Wilmer, Lemuel to Bishop Kemp, letter dated April 11, 1825, EDOM Archives.
[163] Convention Journal 1829, page 34.
[164] Convention Journal, 1835, page 41.
[165] Convention Journal 1843.

same to be reported." Wilmer is not credited with owning any enslaved persons in the 1850 United States Slave Census. [166]

1857 "Communicants as reported last year, some added, always fluctuating, from the fact that a portion of the communicants are colored persons;" [167]

1859 "Communicants gradually increasing, but varying, owning to a portion being of the colored race;" [168]

1860, Wilmer is credited with owning no enslaved persons in the 1860 United States Slave Census. He reports to the Convention, "I do not know how it is with other Parish Rectors, but I can only say, that with our colored Communicants, there is continual vacillation, and in some instances from circumstances unavoidable. We have had forty colored communicants, and then again not more than fifteen. The White Communicants are yearly increasing. The changes referred to in the colored Communicants, and the changes caused by death, may account for the Communicants being about the same in number." [169]

Civil War Era, 1861-1865

There was no diocesan convention in 1861, but in 1862 Wilmer supplied a narrative only and noted 75 baptisms, but as usual not broken out by race. He further wrote, "The state of the Parish, in consequence of the state of the country, has been such, that I am grieved to say, that I cannot report favorably as to the number of communicants, nor speak of overflowing congregations, as in previous years." [170]

Wilmer is one of the best sources for information about Southern Maryland during the Civil War period. His convention reports and correspondence paint a vivid picture of the disparity of opinion in the region at the time. In 1863, he noted, "Port Tobacco being a military post [Union Army], I have been appointed Post Chaplain. The soldiers are well supplied with Testaments, Prayer Books, and Tract. When circumstances admit, they attend Church, and conduct themselves with order and propriety." [171]

Writing to Bishop Whittingham on March 4, 1864, he reported on the Rev. Mr. Todd at nearby William and Mary Parish, Charles County, "Yesterday I took a long ride to a distant encampment not far from Wm. & Mary Parish. I was informed that Mr. Todd had not performed service since his return. Whether this proceeds from his aversion to using the Prayer for the President or the anger of the soldiers because of his return without trial I know not. They say he should have been compelled to have done one of three things. Compelled to take the oath of allegiance, and act on accordingly or be sent across the Potomac onto Fort Deliverance.

The large encampment at Benedict now about to be dismissed or broken up-the still large encampment at Point Lookout, the [?] of soldiers everywhere, the [?] of Mr. Todd tell you Bishop it requires something more than bull dog tenacity a little more than the stubbornness of a Jew to hold out."

[166] Convention Journal 1849, page 61.
[167] Convention Journal 1857, page 51.
[168] Convention Journal 1859, page 57.
[169] Convention Journal 1860, Page 58.
[170] Convention Journal 1862, Page 42.
[171] Convention Journal 1863, Page 94.

The Rev'nd Mr. Wiley [Trinity Parish, Charles County] long since announced to his Vestry that he could not conscientiously use the prayer for the President- that he would rather die than use it. Two Sundays since, while in Church at the Old Fields' his wife went to him and told him that there was a detective in Church. Most audibly did the good worthy [Irishman?] read the Prayer for the President: When lo and behold the man taken for a detective proved to be a tall, gaunt schoolmaster recently come to the neighborhood. . . ..." [172]

Early September 1864, Wilmer writes to Bishop Whittingham about the state of Southern Maryland, his hand trembling he writes that he read the prayers as recommended but that they had not arrived in the mail as expected, since Confederate sympathizers still controlled the mail routes, but took the prayers from the pages of the *Baltimore American* newspaper. He relates that the small congregation received them unfavorably, that two vestrymen "Doct. R. & Mr. J.H. Hawkins" had stood outside the church, heard the prayers and went home. He speaks of the absence of any Union troops to stem the contraband trade and shares his concern, "I was subject to bodily fear I have had since '61, and still have enough to shake me." [173]

Later that same September, Wilmer was writing again to Bishop Whittingham, taking issue with his fellow clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Meyer Lewin who had voiced the opinion that it was every man's duty to vote, and those who were barred from voting because they had served the Confederacy could take a false oath, that it was no sin to do so. Wilmer concludes, "My soul can have no fellowship with <u>any</u> man, or <u>any</u> men, that would allow political or any secondary consideration, a place or thought in this our country's bloody throes, in her bursting forth to future permanent greatness and equal rights <u>to all men</u>." [174]

By Convention of 1864, Wilmer seems to have the collective weight of the war on his shoulders, "To give form to any parochial report in the midst of continually disturbing element, appears to be impactable." Even though by November 1864, the Maryland Assembly passed the new state constitution outlawing enslavement. Wilmer writing to Bishop Whittingham heads his letter, "Day of Jubilee" and joyfully imparts, "This is a day of thrilling sensations: - the 8th of November an eventful day!" He later notes that Rev. Mr. Todd is still immovable, "The Rector of William & Mary will have to perform service on the Lord's Day or resign. So speaks out some in his parish." Todd was not in favor of the new Constitution. [175]

With the War's end in April 1865, peace lay uneasy on the country. Wilmer does not remark on Lincoln's assassination but reports to Convention, "The transition state has diminished the number of colored communicants, and greatly diminished the number of Baptisms." In 1866, for perhaps the first time he breaks out baptisms and communicants by race, 30 for the former and 20 for the latter and concludes, "A healthful reaction has taken place in Port Tobacco Parish. Congregations are increasing. St. Paul's Chapel is about to be remodelled, making it a plain brick gothic structure." After the War he continued in Port Tobacco serving all his parishioners. He served the parish for forty-seven years until his death in 1869 and is buried at St. Paul's Church, Piney Parish. [176]

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[172] Wilmer, Lemuel to Whittingham Bp. from the Rectory, March 4th, 1864, EDOM Archives, Port Tobacco vertical file.
[173] Wilmer, Lemuel to Whittingham Bp., letter dated September 11th, 1864.
[174] Wilmer, Lemuel to Whittingham, Bp., letter dated September 23, 1864, VF EDOM Archives.
[175] Convention Journal 1864, Page 32.; Letter from Washington DC from Wilmer, Lemuel, Rev. of Port Tobacco Parish to Bp Whittingham, dated November 1, 1864, EDOM Archives.
[176] CMD page 39.; Convention Journal 1865, Page 48. Convention Journal 1866, page 49. EDOM.

Statistics (Black parishioners only), 1866

Wilmer's reports for the period are narrative only, no statistics. It was not until 1866 that Wilmer reported or delineated his statistics by race.

Journal 1866, Lemuel Wilmer, rector
Baptisms 30
Communicants 20

William and Mary, (also known as Pickawaxon/Piccawaxon), Wayside, 1692 [177]

Colonial Era, 1692-1781

William and Mary (Picawaxon) lay on the Potomac side of the county. A church had been built prior to 1692 but that church was replaced by the current brick structure sometime in the 18th century. When created in 1692, the boundaries were described as, "Beginning at the plantation of John Courtes, Senior, and running with a straight line to the plantation formerly Samuel Cresseyes' Landing-the said Courtes on the north of the said line and the said Cresseyes on the southside of the said line and bounding with the Potomac River to the mouth of Wiccomomico River and so up the Wiccomomico to the head of said river with the branch thereof to the said Courtes Point." In 1706 Newport Hundred was cut off from King and Queen Parish in St. Mary's County and added to the area of William and Mary. [178]

The first vestrymen elected in 1692 and the number of indentures and enslaved persons at the time of their deaths, if known, were: [179]
Colonel John Courts (1655/56-1702) 30 enslaved persons, 6 servants. [180]
Robert Yates (?-1713) merchant immigrated from London 1697, unknown if held enslaved persons. [181]
William Hawton (Hatton?) (?-1712) seen as "Hatton" in MBD 5 enslaved persons, 1 servant. [182]
Henry Hardy, unknown.
John Wielder, unknown.
William Herbert (?-1718) A runaway servant man, 3 years to

Serve, Wm. Halfry, 2 Negroe men, Roger & Iningoe		£60
1 Indian enslaved, Webb	£25	
1 Negroe Woman, Jane	£28	
1 Negroe Girl, Bess	£20	
1 White Servant, 5 years to serve,		
Named William Jones	£12 (286)	
At the Burnt Quarter:		
1 old Negroe Man, Tom	£15	
1 young Negroe Man, Toby	£30	
1 younger Negroe Man, Peter	£28	
1 younger Negroe Man, Will	£20	
1 young woman Negroe, Bess	£28 [183]	

[177] Portions of this section have previously been published in *Faith & Tobacco*, published 2015, reprint 2022, copyright Franklin A. Robinson, Jr.
[178] Charles County Land Records, Liber R, page 459.
[179] AMD Volume 23, page 19.
[180] MBD, Volume 1, pages 237-238.
[181] Is listed under his son Robert Yates (?-1745) in MBD Volume II, page 928.
[182] MBD, Volume I, page 423.
[183] Prerogative Court, Inventories, Collection S534, MSA, Liber 1 (MSA S534-1) (on archives computer) Liber 2 (MSA S534-2) (on archives computer)

The Reverend Mr. Moore was rector 1692-1693 and the Rev. Mr. George Tubman from 1695-1700. The parish shared him with Durham and Port Tobacco parishes. Tubman was controversial, beleaguered by charges of bigamy. He was dead by 1700. [184]

Perhaps the most historical rector was Samuel Clagett, father of the future Bishop of Maryland, Thomas John Claggett. He was born at Croom, the Clagett family estate in Prince George's County and was ordained in England on Ash Wednesday, February 24, 1748, in St. Benet, Paul's Wharf, London, by Bishop John Thomas, Bishop of Peterborough, Northamptonshire. Clagett was inducted into William and Mary by September 1750 following the death of his wife, Elizabeth Gantt, and newborn son Richard. Samuel was previously at Christ Church, Calvert County. Clagett served William and Mary until his death in 1756. [185]

Clagett owned New Alford a modestly appointed house and plantation located in his parish – including eight enslaved persons: Ben, Cate, Clem, David (known as Davy), Harry, Pegg, Phyllis and Sukey (known as Sue.) Three of them, Ben, Harry, and Pegg, had been former enslaved persons of his father, Richard, at Croome. [186]

Samuel died in 1756. On September 17, a little over a month since making his will, it was proved in Charles County Court. Surviving him were his wife, the former Anne Brown, who was with child, and the two children by his former marriage, Priscilla and Thomas John. In his will, Samuel recommended his, "Soul to the Mercies of its dear Redeemer Jesus Christ," and left his body to be buried at the discretion of his executors, his "loving wife" Anne and his brother-in-law Edward Gantt (brother of his first wife Elizabeth Gantt). His son Thomas John inherited the Croome estate in Prince George's County and two enslaved persons, Clem and Harry. To his daughter Priscilla, Samuel left the plantation Pitch Craft in Prince George's County, and the enslaved persons Sue and Cate. To "the Child my wife is now bigg with and unborn be it Son or Daughter" he left the plantation Brock Hall, also in Prince George's, and the enslaved persons Davy and Phyllis. To Anne he left two enslaved persons, Ben and Pegg, and in trust for the unborn child he willed his plantation, New Alford, in William and Mary Parish. The Rev. Mr. John McPherson (?-1785) a native of Scotland, succeeded Samuel in William and Mary. [187]

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[184] Allen Ms. Page 18.

[185] Samuel Clagett's ordination documented in Peterborough Diocesan Institution Book 9 (ML 732) 1718-1764.; Utley, *Bishop Claggett*, pages 7-8; Christ Church Parish, Calvert County, Parish Register 1685-1902, pg. 53, M270, MSA; Vestry minutes of William and Mary Parish are only extant from 1864 forward, the parish register is extant from 1845 forward.; Bowie, W., *Bowies & Their Kindred*, pages 402-403; Calendar of Maryland State Papers, No. 1 The Black Books, pg. 98, entry #660, a petition from William & Mary Parish dated 5 Sept. 1750 is signed by Samuel Clagett as rector.; Middleton, *Anglican Maryland*, pages 79-80; Allen, *Annals*, pg. 12, and *Records of Clergy Meetings in Maryland*, pg. 165, notes Samuel being at William & Mary Parish in 1750, LoC.

[186] Utley, *Bishop Claggett*, pages 7-8; Christ Church Parish, Calvert County, Parish Register 1685-1902, pg. 53, M270, MSA; Vestry Minutes of Christ Church Parish, Calvert County extant only from 1781 forward.; Vestry minutes of William and Mary Parish are only extant from 1864 forward, the parish register is extant from 1845 forward.; Bowie, W., *Bowies & Their Kindred*, pages 402-403; Calendar of Maryland State Papers, No. 1 The Black Books, pg. 98, entry #660, a petition from William & Mary Parish dated 5 Sept. 1750 is signed by Samuel Clagett as rector.; Middleton, *Anglican Maryland*, pages 79-80; Allen, *Annals*, pg. 12, and *Records of Clergy Meetings in Maryland*, pg. 165, notes Samuel being at William & Mary Parish in 1750, LoC.

[187] Inventory for Samuel Clagett, Charles County, Maryland Inventories, 1753-1766, pages 85-89, MSA; Will of Samuel Clagett, Charles County Will Book AD5, 1752-1761, pages 64-67, MSA; Ltr. from Joseph W. Hopkins, III, Senior Archeologist, Greenhorne & O'Mara, Inc. to Ms. Marina King of the Prince George's County Historic Preservation Commission, dated 12 December 1989, MNCPPC files for Croome, Upper Marlborough. Middleton, *Anglican Maryland*, pages 79-80; MBD, Volume 1, pages 407-408.

In addition to what was legally due him, part of McPherson's living was derived by renting out the parish glebe and the income from approximately fourteen enslaved persons that were considered part of the glebe land. McPherson, while well liked, fell into indebtedness, and was reduced to having his finances managed by trustees for the benefit of his creditors. At his death in 1785, he was buried in the church graveyard. [188]

In 1787, the Rev. Mr. John Wilson Compton (?-1813) a native of Charles County, is called as rector to the parish. In the 1790 census Compton is credited with six enslaved persons. On April 22, 1793, Bishop Claggett records confirming both White and enslaved persons. In December 1796, the parish was authorized by the Maryland General Assembly to sell the enslaved persons in their possession, "and the money arising from such sales to invest in real or other property, in their discretion, for the use and benefit of the said parish." Due to the destruction of records by the Union Forces during the Civil War, no further information about the outcome of this act is known. Compton leaves the parish in 1797 and accepts a call to St. James Parish, Anne Arundel County. [189]

The Rev. Mr. Charles Mann (1792-1880) is called to the parish after his ordination in 1817. In 1820, he reports, "Black Catechumens 41" and was the only parish of the eight root parishes to report statistics on the Black congregation for this year. Writing to Bishop Kemp from the parish glebe near Allen's Fresh in November 1825, he thanks him for the recent gift of tracts that he distributed to the "laboring class." "The tracts are admirably calculated to arrest the attention and improve the piety of the laboring class who during the long & dreary season of winter have little to occupy their time; and it will afford me much happiness to ride around to their cabins; and enforce the lessons they contain." In the 1828 report to Convention, "In the report of the last year, the number of Communicants was returned as 55. The difference between that number and the one now reported (42) proceeds from the circumstance of a large number of blacks always communing in the Church, some of whom have been entered as members, who really belonged to other denominations, the list has been revised, and only those retained who undoubtedly belong to the Church." Mann left the parish in 1831, moving to Alexandria, Virginia. [190]

The Rev. Mr. James Asbury McKenney (1807-1880) is called to the parish in 1837. He reports for the same year, "A Sunday afternoon service in the church, designed exclusively for the colored population, was commenced last autumn. It was suspended during the winter but has been resumed this spring." McKenney leaves in 1839 and is succeeded by the Rev. Mr. John W. Hoffman, a Pennsylvanian. When Bishop Whittingham visits the parish in 1840, he notes, "46 White communicants and two black: Polly Stewart and Grace Craig." Hoffman resigns as of December 31, 1841, and is succeeded by Samuel Chalmers Davis (1807-1862) who began in January 1842. Special services for the Black members of the parish begun during McKenney's rectorate seem to have continued, for Davis reports in 1843, "Since the last Convention, a

[188] Middleton, *Anglican Maryland*, pages 79-80.; CMD, page 10.
[189] Allen, CMD, page 18.; Confirmations, EDOM Archives, William and Mary Parish, Charles County.; AMD, Volume 105, pages 160, 230-231, 1796.
[190] Mann a native of Annapolis, Maryland went to Virginia in 1831 died as rector of the Ware Episcopal Church in Gloucester, Virginia where he is buried. Mann, Charles to Bishop Kemp, letter dated November 27, 1823, EDOM Archives.; CMD, page 34.; Convention Journal 1820.; Convention Journal 1828, page 26.

monthly service has been held, for the special benefit of the colored people, which is usually well attended, and promises to be greatly serviceable to that class of the parishioners." Davis leaves the parish in 1844. [191]

The Rev. Mr. John Mallory Todd (1815-1903) is called as rector after Davis's departure. He takes up residence at "Milton Hill" but whether that is the name given the glebe or Todd's own property is unknown. A notable aspect of Todd's rectorate is that offerings are taken up, "for missions to Jews" which seems to be unique to this parish. Todd, a Virginian by birth was no stranger to enslavement, in the 1850 United States Slave Census he is credited with owning six enslaved persons. Todd does not appear in the 1860 United States Slave Census; whether this denotes a change of heart, or he sold or freed his enslaved persons is unknown. Given his conduct during the upcoming Civil War he leaves no doubt as to what side of the conflict he favored. [192]

Civil War Era, 1861-1865

Given the loss of parish records during the Civil War, it is difficult to know the life of the parish during this time. One of Todd's clerical neighbors does give us some insight. The Rev. Mr. Lemuel Wilmer, rector of Port Tobacco Parish, wrote from the rectory to Bishop Whittingham, on March 4, 1864, with local news concerning William and Mary, "Yesterday I took a long ride to a distant encampment not far from Wm. & Mary Parish. I was informed that Mr. Todd had not performed service since his return. Whether this proceeds from his aversion to using the Prayer for the President or the anger of the soldiers because of his return without trial I know not. They say he should have been compelled to have done one of three things. Compelled to take the oath of allegiance, act on it accordingly, or be sent across the Potomac onto Fort Deliverance.

The large encampment at Benedict [Camp Stanton] now about to be dismissed or broken up-the still large encampment at Point Lookout, the [?] of soldiers everywhere, the [?] of Mr. Todd tell you Bishop it requires something more than <u>bull dog</u> tenacity a little more than the stubbornness of a <u>Jew</u> to hold out." [193]

Wilmer wrote, again to Bishop Whittingham on November 1, 1864, this time from the District, a day Wilmer termed a "Day of Jubilee." November 1 was the first day of the new Maryland Constitution outlawing enslavement, "The Rector of William & Mary [Rev. Mr. Todd] will have to perform service on the Lord's Day, or resign. So speaks out some in his parish." Whether Todd complied with the wishes of at least some of his parishioners it is unknown if he preached, but at some point, he seems to have closed the church. With Todd not in favor of the new Constitution and antithetical to the cause of the Union during the War, the loss of vestry minutes prior to 1864 may be put to either destruction by Todd or a member of the vestry or perhaps retribution from Union soldiers for Todd's lack of conformance. [194]

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[191] Convention Journal 1837, Page 43.; CMD page 49, 57, 58; Bishop Whittingham, Listing of Families, 1840-1841, EDOM.; Convention Journal 1840.; Convention Journal 1842.; Convention Journal 1843.

[192] Todd was from Virginia became rector of William and Mary, Charles County, in 1844. He is buried at Christ Church, Newberg. CMD pages 64-65.; Convention Journal 1848.

[193] Letter from Rev. Lemuel Wilmer of Port Tobacco Parish to Bp. Whittingham, from the Rectory, March 4th, 1864, Port Tobacco vertical file, EDOM.

[194] Wilmer, Lemuel in Washington DC, Rector of Port Tobacco Parish, letter to Bishop Whittingham, dated November 1, 1864, EDOM.

Todd's apparent response to the Union occupation was to close the church. Rather than leave the parish without pastoral care, it seems as if his fellow clergy stepped into the breach. In December 1864, Horatio Southgate wrote to Bishop Whittingham with regard to Todd and William and Mary Parish, "They tell me here that the Church has been long closed, and thought Mr. Todd thinks of resuming services I cannot hear that he has yet done so. The new arrangement, [?] his Parish, was made with his concurrence. I go today to Rev. Hoskins, officiate there tomorrow Saturday, on Sunday at Chaptico, and then on according to my programme." [195]

Todd continued as rector and reported in 1866 "Communicants, present number, wh. 60, col. not known." He remained as rector until his death in 1903 and is buried in the church graveyard. [196]

In 1940, the Works Projects Administration inventory of church records (WPA) noted about the parish records prior to 1864-1865, "All of the early records of the parish are reported to have been destroyed by fire at various times; and that some early records were destroyed in 1864-65, when Union Soldiers burned them in the fireplace of Blackfriars, the home of Mr. Shaw, the register of the parish at the time." Given the sentiments of then rector Todd, and most likely Mr. Shaw, this is not surprising. What the Union soldiers failed to realize was, that while they were exacting retribution upon the rector and parish of enslavers, the very records they were burning held the history of the people they were fighting to free, a people whose written history was already scarce enough. [197]

Statistics (Black parishioners only) 1820-1864

Baptisms 384
Confirmations 51
Marriages 96
Burials/funerals 109

[195] Southgate, Horatio to Bishop Whittingham, letter dated December 9, 1864, from Trinity Parish rectory, EDOM Archives.
[196] Convention Journal 1866.
[197] WPA inventory (WPA) 1940: entry 21, pages 128-129.

PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY

Piscataway Parish (1692) or St. John's Church, then King George Parish (1902) (Broad Creek), Oxon Hill, 1692

Colonial Era, 1692-1760

The boundaries of the parish in 1692 were, "Beginning at the mouth of the Mattawoman Creek and running up the said Creek and Branch thereof to the utmost limits of the county [at that time Charles County] and running North to the line of the Province and then Wets to the Potomac River and then down the said River to the mouth of the Mattawoman Creek." Initially named Piscataway Parish it became known as King George Parish as early as 1730 but not officially until 1902! [198] The first rector was the Reverend Mr. George Tubman, called in August 1696. At the time Tubman was also priest for Port Tobacco Parish, William and Mary Parish, and Nanjemoy (Durham) Parish. He died in 1701. Prince George's Parish was formed out of Piscataway by the Assembly in 1726. [199]

There was no church building at the time of the Establishment. In 1699, 78 acres of Lisle Hall on Broad Creek were purchased, and a church was built, known thereafter as Broad Creek Church now known as St. John's Church.

The first vestrymen elected in 1692 and the number of indentures and enslaved persons at the time of their deaths, if known, were: [200]

John Addison, Esq (?-1706) boat Liverpool Merchant, traded with Native Peoples, 14 enslaved persons, 1 servant. [201]
William Hutchinson (?-1711) Scottish, Presbyterian, 29 enslaved persons, 2 servants. [202]
William Hatton (?-1712) consulted on native affairs, 5 enslaved persons, 1 servant. [203]
Willian Tanneyhill, unknown.
John Emmet (?-1698) [204]

An inventory of the estate of John Emmett made on 30 January 1698:
Human property:

An orphan boy having 5 years' service	£5
One man servant having 5 months service	£2.1 (133)

James Stoddart (?-1726) 2 Negroe Men	£70
1 Negroe Carpenter	£40
3 Negroe Women	£96

[198] WPA Guide pages118-119.
[199] Charles County Land Records, Liber R, page 460.; Skirven, P. *First Parishes*, page 135.
[200] AMD Volume 23, page 19. Upon Smallwood's death in 1696, James Stoddart was elected to fill the vacancy.
[201] MBD Volume I, page 100.
[202] MBD Volume 1, pages 473-474.
[203] MBD Volume I, page 423.
[204] Liber 17 (MSA S536-23) (location 1/11/2/29).

1 Small Child	£2
1 Woman and Child	£34
1 Girl	£18.15.0
1 Woman and Child	£34
1 boy	£18.15.0
4 Children (2 boys & 2 girls)	£35
2 Girls & 1 Boy	£30
2 old Negroe men	£20
2 old Negroe women	£20
1 Negroe man about 48	£20 [205]

The earliest records for the parish date from 1693 for vestry minutes and 1689 for the parish register, but are not consistent in their record, having gaps. In the earliest volume there appears no notation of race which begs the question; does that mean rites were not performed for Blacks or that incumbent priests felt that race need not be noted? [206]

The Rev. Mr. John Fraser reported to the Bishop of London in 1724, that, "Many Negroes baptized." Baptisms and catechisms were performed from Easter to Michaelmas. [207]

At a vestry meeting at Broad Creek, February 27, 1733 (1734 new style) a couple were charged with cohabiting without benefit of marriage, "And likewise Thomas Prentace & Susahannah Cooper a Negro woman who pretend, not [unintelligible] the Vestry, admonished but says they are married." [208]

In the mid-1760s, Mary Ann Welling is appointed as the sexton, proving that in some parishes women were engaged as sextons. The entry does not give her race. [209]

Antebellum Era, 1790-1860

Joseph Messenger (?-1810) native born Englishman, became rector in 1786, in 1790 was recorded as having ten enslaved persons. [210]

Parish records beginning again for vestry meetings in 1785, are housed in a volume that they turned upside down to use the back of the page for different records; in this case it seems as if vestry minutes are in the rear, parish register in the front. A tipped-in page reads, "Every free White male citizen above 21 years of age who shall contribute to the charges of the parish 2 [unintelligible] shall have a right to vote." Vestry minutes in this volume end in 1823, the parish

[205] Liber 11 (MSA S534-11) (on archives computer).
[206] MSA SC 2227-1-2 location 0/8/6/4, parish register (1689-1801) and vestry minutes (1693-1779, 1789).
[207] Manross, page 35. This volume vestry meetings seem to stop in September 1775 with the meeting on the 9th with the Rev. Mr. Henry Addison. The next page of entries jumps to 1779. Beginning page 237 to the end, is the register. Lists whole families at times with full names and birthdates, which is detailed for its time.
[208] MSA SC 2227-1-2 location 0/8/6/4, parish register (1689-1801) and vestry minutes (1693-1779, 1789) page 61.
[209] MSA SC 2227-1-2 location 0/8/6/4, parish register (1689-1801) and vestry minutes (1693-1779, 1789) page 184.
[210] Allen, CMD, page 13; EDOM Archives.

register in the volume seems to begin in circa 1798. In the register portion there is the occasional notation of race; the records are extensive and some of the writing beautiful but diminutive. [211]

June 12, 1791, "Negro Jack and Negro Peggy were married by consent of Mrs. Chapman." one of the few entries in this parish that notes the race of the participants. [212]

An undated entry, but pre-1823, "Order that Betty Black be appointed Sexton for Broad Creek church from 1 Monday last with a salary of twelve dollars per annum." [213]

"Parish records, approximately 1823-90 (presumably both Vestry minutes and Register), were destroyed in the great fire in Baltimore in 1904; having been sent by the parish to a bookbinder there for rebinding shortly before the fire; the number of parish record volumes destroyed is not now known. The Rev. Dr. William H. Heighman, rector of King George's Parish until recently, is quite certain this information is in general authentic." [214]

In 1837, Edwin M. Van Deusen (1816-1890) a native of New York, was called as rector. Van Deusen while performing rites has an occasional notation of race. For the Black population, he does not include more than the basic information, not even first names. On June 13 [1841] he records a baptism for "A colored child." Another example is for August 20 [1841] he records baptizing "Two colored children." This is consistent throughout his rectorate. Bishop Whittingham's Listing of Families for 1840 notes forty-six persons but he does not break them out by race. Van Deusen resigns the parish as of April 30, 1844. [215]

The Rev. Mr. John Martin, a native of New York by way of Virginia, is called as rector in late 1844. In July, he begins ministering to the residents of the "poor house" but by 1848 reports, "Attendance upon public worship improving, but not in proportion to the number of families professedly attached to the Church." He is not credited with any enslaved persons in the 1850 or 1860 United States Slave Census. [216]

Civil War Era, 1861-1866

Martin continued as rector during the Civil War and following but mentions little in his convention reports or in any correspondence with the bishop. In the Convention Journal 1864, Martin reports, "But few contributions can now be obtained in the Parish, owing to the diminished means of the people." And in 1865 he writes optimistically, "By the Divine blessing, the Parish is free from all dissensions, and it has been our happiness, during all these troublous times, to be at peace with one another." By 1866 he reports that the congregation has ninety-two

[211] MSA SC 2227-1-3 location 0/8/65, St. John's Broad Creek, vestry and register, 1785-
[212] Bevan, Helen, transcriber, *Marriages Recorded in St. John's Parish, Prince George County, Maryland*, page 44.
[213] MSA SC 2227-1-3 location 0/8/65, St. John's Broad Creek, vestry and register, 1785-, page 118.
[214] WPA Guide, page 121.
[215] MSA SC 2227-1-3 location 0/8/65, St. John's Broad Creek, vestry and register, 1785-, page 276. Van Deusen a native of New York and formerly a Dutch Reformed. He is buried in Forest Hill Cemetery, Utica, New York. Allen, CMD page 54.; Bishop Whittingham's Listing of Families 1840-1841, EDOM.
[216] Convention Journal 1845, 1848 page 84.; Allen, CMD, page 66.

"White" congregants and two "colored." The year had three "colored" baptisms, but he does not report out any other rites by race. [217]

Statistics (Black parishioners only) 1828-1864
Baptisms 522
Confirmations 4
Marriages 48
Burials/funerals 37

[217] Convention Journal 1864, page 42; Convention Journal 1865, page 62.; Convention Journal 1866, page 58.

St. Paul's Parish, Mount Calvert (moved to Golden Race known in the present day as Baden 1735), 1692

Colonial Era, 1692-1780

On February 14, 1692, at Court in Benedict, the bounds of the parish were laid out, " . . . from the Upper Part of Mount Calvert Hundred to the main Branch of Swanstons [sic Swanson's] Creek be in one Parish the Church for the said Parish being already Built at Charles Town called by the name of St. Paul's Church." [218]

At the time of its creation, St. Paul's Parish, Mount Calvert was located within the boundaries of Calvert County that encompassed both sides of the Patuxent River. Early on (1693) a Chapel of Ease was established at Richard Brighwell's in the southern portion of the parish. After 1733, a new parish church was built at Golden Race (present day Baden) and in 1742 a new Chapel of Ease, Page's Chapel, was built near the Clagett estate of Croom. Queen Anne's Parish (1704), Trinity Church (an independent congregation formed by Bishop Claggett) (1812) Upper Marlboro, and St. Thomas' Parish (formerly Page's Chapel, Prince George's County) (1850) were all formed out of the original bounds of St. Paul's. In the postbellum era, a mission for African Americans was founded in the southern part of the parish at Aquasco named St. Phillips, which continues to this day as its own parish.

The first vestrymen elected in 1692 and the number of indentures and enslaved persons at the time of their deaths, if known, were:
William Barton (1668-1705) 19 enslaved persons. [219]
Thomas Brooke (ca. 1659-1731) 36 enslaved persons, 17 of which were mortgaged. [220]
Richard Charlett (?-1693) no evidence found of owning enslaved persons.
Thomas Greenfield (ca. 1649-1715) no evidence found of owning enslaved persons at time of death. [221]
Thomas Holliday (ca. 1661-1703) 18 enslaved persons, and 2 indentured. [222]
Samuel Magruder (1654-1711) 15 enslaved persons. [223]

January 2, 1715, the inventory of the estate of the Rev. Mr. Robert Owen (rector of St. Paul's Parish, 1700-1714) lists Owen having four enslaved persons at the time of his death, two women, and two children. The women were valued at £27 and the children at £5 each. [224]

The Rev. Mr. Giles Mee Ransford, rector of St. Paul's 1719-1728 answering Bishop Gibson's 1724 queries, reported in St. Paul's "There were no "infidels" but "Negroes & Mullatoe Enslaved" who had liberty from their masters to attend worship services and be instructed in the church." He noted, ". . . one of these enslaved is a constant communicant, . . .", and that he

[218] AMD Volume 8 pages 473-474.
[219] MBD, Volume I, page 117.
[220] MBD, Volume I, page 171.
[221] MBD, Volume I, page 374.
[222] MBD, Volume I, page 453.
[223] MBD, Volume II, page 370.
[224] Estates of Robert Owen, Prince George's County Estate Inventories, BB1, page 265, MSA.

baptized at least forty enslaved persons, both adult and child, every year. He held baptism and catechism classes, catechisms in summer, ". . . by reason of ye length of ye days wch gives children & Enslaved opportun. of coming from ye remotest parts of ye Parish to ye church . . .." Ransford himself held three enslaved persons: Primus, Dinah, and Frank. [225]

The Rev. Mr. John Eversfield, rector of St. Paul's 1728-1776, upon being inducted into the parish, purchased all of Ransford's property including the three enslaved persons, Primus, Dinah, and Frank. In the latter part of 1729, Eversfield received a letter from his friend and mentor Thomas Bray. Bray inquired especially on the status of Eversfield's ministrations to the enslaved persons. Absent Eversfield's reply we do not know his answer to Bray's query. [226]

In a March 1730 report to the Assembly, it was reported that St. Paul's was one of three parishes possessing a glebe but, like the other Prince George's County parish glebes, it was currently untenanted or stocked with either livestock or enslaved persons. Answering Jacob Henderson's queries in 1731 about baptism and catechism to the Black population Eversfield reported he, "baptizes them all in general Infants: that he has often Exhorted his Parishioners to bring them to church to be Catechized, but they refuse, but when it shall please God to move their hearts to a Complyance he shall be very ready to do his part." He hired an enslaved woman for the first six months of 1730 from Anne Wight, most likely to cook and clean. He even decreased his slave holdings by selling a pregnant woman, Hagar, to Anthony Collins in October of the same year. At his death in 1780, Eversfield held at least ten enslaved persons: Benjamin, Hannah, Wapping, Charles "Bent Double", Ignatius, Rachel, a girl Rose, and children Frank, London, and Lear. [227]

Antebellum Era, 1833-1860

As with most other parishes, the completeness of entries varies from rector to rector. Early rectors in their journal reports did not break out statistics by race. The Rev. Mr. Levin J. Gillis never did and neither did the Rev. Mr. John Grigg. Vestry records exist from 1733 forward, and parish registers are extant from the 1830s forward.

The Rev. Mr. Henry Bradford Goodwin (1802-1859) a native of Massachusetts, was rector of St. Paul's 1832-1833. He married Susan Parnham in December 1832 and moved to Parnham Retreat in Charles County. After leaving St. Paul's he was called as rector to Trinity Parish. He was a sympathizer with enslavement and the colonization effort. He sent nine of his enslaved persons to Maryland in Liberia in 1843. The remainder of the enslaved persons reportedly refused his offer to settle them in Liberia. [228]

[225] FP, Volume 3, microfilm Reel 1, pg. 61, LoC; Manross, *Fulham*, pg. 36.; PGLR book M, 1726-1730, pages 274-276, 282, MSA
[226] Robinson, *Faith & Tobacco*, pages 136-187.
[227] Robinson, *Faith & Tobacco*, pages 136-187.
[228] Goodwin was from Massachusetts and originally a Congregationalist. He died in Charles County and was buried at the Norton Center Cemetery, Norton, Massachusetts. CMD page 50.; Klein, Mary, *From the Archives: The American Colonization Society*, Archives and History, January 18, 2022.

The Rev. Mr. Francis H. Laird, rector Trinity Parish, Charles County, supplying as priest to St. Paul's reported to Convention in 1833 of dispensing Holy Communion to "1 colored" in St. Paul's. [229]

The Rev. Mr. Samuel Chamberlaine Kerr (1812-1861) was called as rector, assuming the rectorate from Frederick Deane Goodwin (1804-1881) rector for 1834-1835 (a brother of former rector Henry Goodwin). At his visitation in 1840, Bishop Whittingham listed 157 communicants in the parish: he did not break out the congregation according to race, but in a rare instance, noted three parishioners of the Boswell family, Washington Boswell, John G. Boswell Sr., and Jr, attending at the parish church in Baden, who self-identified as "Piscataway Indians." Kerr resigned the rectorate in 1845. [230]

Joshua Sweet (1815-1874) was called as rector on November 1, 1845. It was during Sweet's rectorate that a chapel, St. Mary's, was built in the southern portion of the parish known as Woodville and later named Aquasco. The Rev. Mr. James A. McKenney succeeds Sweet in 1849 but only stays until 1850 when he is called to the rectorate of the newly formed St. Thomas' Parish in Croom. The Rev. Mr. John H. Chew was called to the rectorate after McKenney's departure. The United States Slave Census for 1850 credits Chew with nineteen enslaved persons, men, women, children, and infants. In 1851 he reported to the Convention, "In addition to the morning service on alternate Sundays at the two churches, we had one at Woodville, once in two weeks, an evening service for the colored people, on which occasions the church has been well filled with a remarkably attentive congregation." His efforts at outreach to the Black population seems to have borne fruit for he reported in 1852, "Services for the colored congregation have been continued with marked encouragement." [231]

The parish register is the most robust for the Black population during Chew's rectorate. He performed all of the rites of the church and noted "free" when the occasion called for it. He most often uses the terms, "colored" and "servant". Last names are also given when they existed. He notes performing a marriage between Thomas and Charlotte on Christmas Day 1855. [232]

By 1855 there had been established a Committee of Missions within the county with an eye to appointing a missionary specifically for the Black population. Chew wrote to Bishop Whittingham in June, "Our County Committee of Mission is to meet next week for the purpose of appointing a missionary for the colored people of the county. I understand that a sufficient amount has been subscribed in our several parishes to ensure the salary we have agreed upon for him - $600." Whether this missionary was to be Black or White is not noted. In July 1856 Chew wrote, "Isaack dec'd last February about 80 years of age, having been for more than 30 years a faithful communicant, and the most of that time Sexton of St. Paul's Church." Isaack, Chew noted, had been a servant of Mrs. Margaret Baden and was buried on the Baden property. Chew

[229] Convention Journal, 1833.
[230] Goodwin was a brother to Henry Bradford Goodwin. He was born in Massachusetts and was a Congregationalist. He went to Virginia in 1836 and is buried in the East End Cemetery, Wytheville, Virginia. One of his descendants was W.A.R. Goodwin of Williamsburg, Virginia. Allen, CMD page 51.; Bishop Whittingham's Listing of Families, 1840-1841, pages 70-76, EDOM Archives.
[231] Convention Journal 1846, Sweet was born in Kentucky, originally a Methodist. He came to St. Paul's in 1846 and in 1849 went to Wisconsin then to Minnesota. He is buried in the Glencoe City Cemetery, Glencoe, Minnesota. Allen, CMD page 67.; Convention Journal 1851.; Convention Journal 1852, page 97.
[232] Brown, *Indexes of Church Registers*, pages 83-95.

resigned the parish as of June 15, 1858, to take another call. Even though removed from the area he returned to St. Thomas' Parish, Croom four times between 1860-1863 to have his old friend the Rev. Mr. Samuel R. Gordon baptize four children born to four of his enslaved women. Gordon notes in his private register that the father in each case is "J.H. Chew." [233]

Alexander Magruder Marbury (1807-1873) was called as rector, beginning September 1, 1858. Marbury is not credited with any enslaved persons in the 1860 United States Slave Census but had been credited with one enslaved person in the 1850. He was described as, " . . . not only a most zealous, effective preacher of the Gospel-but, in all the relations of life, a most exemplary Christian gentleman . . .." [234]

Civil War Era, 1861-1866

St. Paul's like many of her sister parishes in Southern Maryland and beyond could point to numerous former male parishioners serving in the Confederate forces. There were those who joined the Union forces and many Black men, once allowed to fight, fled to Camp Stanton the training camp for the United States Colored Troops (USCT) established at Benedict in Charles County on the Patuxent in 1863. Throughout the war Marbury continued ministering to the Black population of the parish. For his 1866 convention report, Marbury notes that the Black population were still in attendance at St. Paul's. [235]

Statistics (Black parishioners only) 1833-1864
Baptisms 973
Confirmations 29
Marriages 107
Burials/Funerals 111

[233] Chew, John H. to Bishop Whittingham, letter, dated June 18, 1855. EDOM Archives, VF.; Robinson, *St. Thomas' Parish Register*, pages 23, 35, 51; Brown, *Indexes of Church Registers*, page 84.; Convention Journal 1858..
[234] Marbury was a Maryland native. He died while rector of St. Paul's and is buried in the graveyard at St. Mary's Church, St. Paul's Parish, Prince George's County, Maryland. Allen, CMD page 55.; Convention Journal 1859.; "A Memorial Tablet", *The Alexandria Gazette*, December 26, 1873.
[235] Convention Journal, 1866, pages 58-59.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

ARTICLES OF INQUIRY GIVEN BY THE RT. REV. BISHOP EDMUND GIBSON, BISHOP OF LONDON TO ALL COLONIAL CHURCHES, 1723

"To be answer'd by every MINISTER

1. How long is it, since you went over to the Plantations as a Missionary?

2. Have you had any other Church, before you came to that which you now possess; and if you had, what Church was it, and how long have you been remov'd?

3. Have you been duly Licens'd by the Bishop of London to officiate as a Missionary, in the Government where you now are?

4. How long have you been Inducted into your Living?

5. Are you ordinarily Resident in the Parish to which you have been Inducted?

6. Of what Extant is your Parish, and how many Families are there in it?

7. Are there any Infidels, bond or free, within your Parish; and what means are us'd for their Conversion?

8. How oft is divine Service perform'd in your Church? And what Proportion of the Parishioners attend it?

9. How oft is the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper administer'd? And what is the usual Number of Communicants?

10. At what times do you Catechise the Youth of your Parish?

11. Are all things duly dispos'd and provided in the Church, for the decent and orderly Performance of divine Service?

12. Of what Value is your Living in Sterling-Money, and how does it arise?

13. Have you a House and Glebe? Is your Glebe in Lease, or let by the Year? Or is it occupied by your self?

14. Is due Care taken to preserve your House in good Repair? And at whose Expence is it done?

15. Have you more Cures than one? If you have, what are they? And in what Manner serv'd?

16. Have you in your Parish any publick School for the Instruction of Youth? If you have, is it endow'd? And who is the Master?

17. Have you a Parochial Library? If you have, are the Books preserv'd, and kept in good Condition? Have you any particular Rules and Orders for the preserving of them? Are those Rules and Orders duly observ'd?"

Fulham Palace Papers, Library of Congress

APPENDIX II: YEAR BY YEAR STATISTICS (BLACK PARISHIONERS ONLY) AND NOTES FROM CONVENTION JOURNALS

These statistics were taken from the yearly diocesan journal. Rectors did not always submit a parochial report, and the completeness of their reports vary from person to person. As has been noted numerous times, not all reported statistics were broken out by race. Notes were taken from diocesan journals or parish records.

ST. MARY'S COUNTY

All Faith's, Mechanicsville, 1692

Statistics (Black parishioners only) 1807-1864
Baptisms: 591
Confirmations: 43
Marriages: 53
Burials/Funerals: 172

Journal of 1807, George Ralph, rector, also principal of Charlotte Hall School
Baptisms 97 Black
Does not give statistics for other offices.

Journal of 1821, Neale Hammond Shaw, rector. [236]
Baptisms: Blacks 22

Journal of 1824, Neale H. Shaw, rector
Baptisms: 18 "of colour" 1 adult

Journal of 1833, Francis H. L. Laird rector of Trinity Parish 1830-1835, Charles Co.
Baptisms: 3
Buried: 2

Journal 1840, Samuel Chalmers Davis, rector [237]
Baptisms: 32
Funerals: 12

Journal 1841, Samuel C. Davis, rector
Baptisms 31
Confirmed by Bp. Whittingham, 2
Marriages 5

[236] Allen, Ethan, Reverend DD, *Clergy in Maryland of the Protestant Episcopal Church since the Independence of 1783 (CMD)*: James S. Waters, Baltimore, Maryland, 1860. Page 30.
[237] Davis born in Baltimore, MD, buried in New York. FindaGrave.com.; Allen, CMD, pages 58-59.

Journal 1842, Samuel C. Davis reporting
Baptisms 23
Marriages 1
Burials 2
Funerals 2

Journal 1844, Thomas James Wyatt (1818-1895), rector [238]
"report for last seven months" dated from last Sunday in October
Baptisms 13
Funerals 13

Journal 1845, James Abercrombie (1815-1889), rector of both Trinity Parish and All Faiths. [239]
Did not break out by race.

Journal 1846, Abercrombie has temporarily taken on St. Paul's Prince Georges and still holds All Faiths, does not report out by race.

Journal 1847, Samuel Chamberlain Kerr (1812-1861), rector. [240]
Baptisms 1 adult, infants 23
Communicants, 1 added 1, withdrawn 12, died 2
Confirmed 14
Funerals 10
Catechetical class, "colored persons of different ages" does not break out by race, 104 total White and Black.

Journal 1849, James Chipchase (1818-1894), rector, took charge in September 1848. [241]
Communicants 20
Baptisms 18
Marriages 3
Burials 10

Journal 1850, J. Chipchase, rector
Baptisms 18
Marriages 3
Funerals 12

Journal 1851-52, J. Chipchase, rector
Baptisms 29
Marriages 3
Funerals 12

[238] Wyatt born in Baltimore, Maryland, buried at All Saints, Reisterstown, Maryland.
[239] Abercrombie originally from Pennsylvania, died in and buried in California. FindaGrave.com.
[240] Kerr is buried in Belleview Cemetery, Oxford, Maryland. FindaGrave.com.
[241] Chipchase, British, buried at St. John's Episcopal Church, Baltimore, Maryland. CMD page 68; FindaGrave.com.

Journal 1853, J. Chipchase, rector
Baptisms 12
Marriages 3
Funerals 22

Journal 1854, J. Chipchase rector
Baptisms 28
Confirmed 5
Marriages 2
Funerals 11

Journal 1856, Benjamin Adams (1797-1873), registrar. [242]
No rector since December 1, 1854.

Journal 1857, James W. Hoskins, rector. [243]
Baptisms 5
Communicants, 2 withdrawn, suspended, died 21
Marriages 2
Funerals 10

Register 1857, notes:
October 18, 1857 "Eli, infant son of Sarah Ann Custiss (Free Woman) at Parsonage."
"Note: During the same period 39 others (colored) received Christian burial, whole bodies had already been put in the earth."
Burial, "Meshack Curtiss (Free man) age 50 at Dr. Shaw's." [244]

Journal 1858, James W. Hoskins, rector
Baptisms 35
Marriages 9
Funerals 19

Journal 1859, James W. Hoskins, rector
Baptisms 2 adults, 13 children
Confirmations 22
Communicants added 20, died 3 present number 50
Marriages 5
Funerals 11

Journal 1860, James W. Hoskins, rector
Baptisms 22
Communicants added 7, removed 1, died 1 whole number 56
Marriages 3
Funerals 7

[242] Adams buried at All Faiths, Charlotte Hall, Maryland.
[243] Hoskins was from North Carolina, buried at Christ Church, Dorchester County, Maryland. CMD, page 78.
[244] All Faiths register, page 55, pages 90-91, 98.

“for Africa, by colored congregation, $6.00”

No journal entries for 1861 as there was no Convention.

Journal 1862, James W. Hoskins, rector
Baptisms 1 adult, 35 children
Communicants 3 dismissed, 1 died, whole number 52
Marriages 5
Funerals 3

Journal 1863, James W. Hoskins, rector
Baptisms 19
Communicants admitted 2, died 2 , present number 53
Marriages 3
Burials 10

Journal 1864, James W. Hoskins, rector
Baptisms 38, adult 5, performed in private 16 of those
Communicants admitted 2, lost by removal 13, lost by death or otherwise 4, present number 36
Marriages 6
Burials 16

Journal 1865, James W. Hoskins, rector
Confirmed 1
Communicants added 1, lost by removal 11, present number 26
Marriages 1
Burials 12

Journal 1866, James W. Hoskins, rector
Baptisms 26
Communicants 29
Marriages 1
No Black burials noted

King and Queen Parish, Chaptico, 1692

Statistics (Black parishioners only) 1831-1864
Baptisms 494
Confirmations 86
Marriages 94
Burials/funerals 253

Year 1831
Enslaved communicants 22
(Does not breakout rites by race.)
Baptisms 18
Funerals 10
Confirmations 4

Journal 1833, Francis H. L. Laird, rector Trinity Parish, Charles County. [245]
Baptized 3
Dispensed Holy Communion to 1
Married 2
Buried 1

Journal 1835, Thomas Farmar Billopp (1805-1876) rector. [246]
Baptisms 23
Funerals 8
Marriages 1

Journal 1836, T Billopp, rector
Baptisms 21
Funerals 12
Added 4 communicants

Journal 1837, T. Billopp, rector
Baptisms 14
Communicants 17
Funerals 12
Marriages 2

[245] Laird from Pennsylvania left the priesthood in 1851. CMD page 47.
[246] Billopp from New York, buried at St. Barnabas Church, Queen Anne Parish.

Journal 1838, Thomas Billopp, rector
Communicants 20
Baptisms 15
Marriages 10
Funerals 13
Confirmed 14

Journal 1839, Thomas Billopp, rector
Communicants 22
Baptisms 18
Funerals 10
Marriages 4

Journal 1840, Thomas Billopp, rector
Communicants 20
Marriages 6
Baptisms 20
Funerals 11

Bishop Whittingham visited the parish in 1840 and noted 130 White parishioners. [247]

1841???

Journal 1842, Thomas Billopp, rector reporting but had resigned in December 1841
Baptisms 12 enslaved persons
Confirmations 4
Marriages 4
Funerals 12, Philip Berry (?-1857) rector as of September. [248]

Journal 1843, Philip Berry rector since the prior September
Baptisms 12
Confirmed 4
Communicants does not break out by race
Marriages 3
Funerals 12

Journal 1844, Philip Berry, Rector
Baptisms enslaved persons 10
Marriages 1
Funerals 8

[247] Listing of Families by Bp. Whittingham, 1840, EDOM Archives.
[248] Berry was British, buried in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia. CMD page 63.

Journal 1845, John Hamilton Chew (1821-1885) rector. [249]
Baptisms 15
Marriages 4
Funerals 7
Chew commenced his rectorate on 27 October 1844.

Journal 1846, John H. Chew rector
Baptisms 18
Confirmed 6
Marriages 5
Funerals 2
"Special services are occasionally held for the colored people, many of whom attend also, with much apparent interest and advantage, upon the stated seasons of worship." Page 115

Journal 1847, John H. Chew, rector
Baptisms 16
Confirmed 9
Marriages 3
Funerals 13

Journal 1848, John H. Chew, Rector
Baptisms, enslaved persons 24
Marriages 3
Funerals 6

Journal 1849, John H. Chew, rector
Baptisms 15
Marriages 1
Funerals 8

Journal 1850, John H. Chew, rector
Baptisms 2 adults, infants 13
Communicants 34
Marriages 2
Funerals 6

Journal 1851
John H. Chew, rector but no report other than that he is going to St. Paul's in Prince George's.

Journal 1852, Henry Aisquith (1800-1855) rector. [250]
Took charge of the parish on December 25, 1851
Baptisms 5

[249] Chew was grandson-in-law (husband to Sophia Claggett, granddaughter to Bishop Claggett) to Bishop Claggett. He is buried in Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington DC. CMD page 64.
[250] Aisquith was from St. Mary's County, Maryland, he is buried at St. Stephens Church in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. CMD page 43.

Communicants 21
Marriages 1
Funerals 9

Journal 1853, Henry Aisquith, rector
Baptisms enslaved persons 13
Communicants: notes 2 enslaved persons had died, present number 19
Funerals 3 adults, 3 children
Marriages 5

Journal 1854, Henry Aisquith, rector
Baptisms infants 18
Marriages 7
Funerals adults 7, children 12
"There was great mortality and suffering in the Parish during the last summer such as I had never witnessed before." Aisquith died in 1855 while rector of the parish.

Journal 1857, Meyer Lewin (1815-1886), rector. [251]
Took the rectorship in July 1856
Enslaved persons 33
Added 3 enslaved persons, 1 moved from the parish, "restored after suspension of several years" 1, whole number 34
Marriages 3
Funerals 6
"Of the above offerings, 69 cents were from colored people for African Missions."

Journal 1858, Meyer Lewin, Rector, Charles Chapman Grafton (1830-1912) assistant minister. [252]
Baptisms 33
Confirmed 12
Communicants added 13, removed 1, died 1, suspended 1
Marriages 11
Funerals 11

Journal 1859, Meyer Lewin, rector
Baptisms 29
Confirmed 10
Communicants added 7, 1 removed present number 50
Marriages 5
Funerals 9
"Missions in Africa from the colored congregation, 3.32"

[251] Lewin was born in either Prussia or Poland and was originally of the Jewish faith. He is buried at Oak Hill Cemetery in Washington, DC. CMD page 66.
[252] Chapman was eventually elected as the second Bishop of the Diocese of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin. FindaGrave.com

Journal 1860, Meyer Lewin, rector
Baptisms 26
Communicants added 1, total number 51
Marriages 5
Funerals 7
Communicants added 1, 51 all together enslaved persons

Journal 1862, Meyer Lewin, rector
Baptisms enslaved persons 25
Communicants added 2, 50
Marriages 1
Funerals 3

Journal 1863, Meyer Lewin, rector
Baptisms 33
Communicants 45
Marriages 3
Burials 23

Journal 1864
Baptisms 28 enslaved persons
Communicants 33
Marriages 2
Burials 9
Meyer Lewin, rector

Journal 1865, Meyer Lewin, rector
Baptisms 22
Confirmed 2
Communicants 31
Marriages 3
Burials 10

Journal 1866, Meyer Lewin, rector
Baptisms 11
Communicants admitted 3
Added by removal 1
Lost by removal 1
Lost by death 34
Marriages 4
Burials 10

William and Mary, Valley Lee, 1692

Statistics (Black parishioners only) 1825-1864
Baptisms 168
Confirmations none reported.
Marriages 22
Burials/Funerals 21

Journal of 1825, ". . . that since the purchase last fall – and for the *first* time in the history of these most ancient parishes of the diocese – of stoves for the three churches, the *winter* congregations have considerably increased." Page 21 Ravaud Kearny (?-1844) rector. [253]

Journal 1829, Henry Norman Hotchkiss (1799-1829) rector. [254]
Baptisms Black 12

Journal 1835, Richard Henry Barnes Mitchell, rector. [255]
Baptisms 28
Marriages 3

Journal 1836, R. Mitchell, rector
Baptisms 18
Marriages 3

Journal 1837, R. H. B. Mitchell, rector
Baptisms 17
Marriages 2

Journal 1842, R. Mitchell, rector
Communicants 20
Baptized 28

Journal 1845 Samuel Grant Callahan, rector. [256]
Does not break out by race.

Journal 1847, Samuel Grant Callahan, late rector
Up to December, then took position as principal of Charlotte Hall School, does not break out figures by race.

[253] Kearny a native of New York. Allen CMD page 40.
[254] Hotchkiss probably a native of New York. Died while rector of the parish, buried at Trinity Church, St. Mary's City, Maryland. CMD page 41.
[255] Mitchell was a native of Charles County, Maryland. Allen, CMD page 39.
[256] A native or Pennsylvania, went to Wisconsin. Allen, CMD page 62.

Journal 1847, Harvey Stanley (1809-1885) rector. [257]
Rector since last December having resigned from Somerset Parish. Does not break out by race.

Journal 1848, Harvey Stanley, rector
Does not break out by race.

Journal 1849, Harvey Stanley, rector
Does not break out by race.

Journal 1850, Harvey Stanley, rector
Baptisms 21
Marriages 1
Funerals 8

Journal 1852, R.H.B. Mitchell, rector
Entered duties as rector on January 1, 1852
Does not break out by race, "He found it in a divided and wretched state." ". . . lukewarmness prevailing throughout." Page 102

Journal 1853, R.H.B. Mitchell, rector
Does not break out by race.

Journal 1855, R.H.B. Mitchell, rector
Does not break out by race.

Journal 1856, R. Mitchell, rector
Baptisms 15
Marriages 7
Deaths 4

Journal 1857, rector R. H. B. Mitchell
Baptisms infants 22
Marriages 3
Funerals 5

Journal 1858, rector R.H.B. Mitchell
Baptisms 6
Marriages 3
Funerals 4

Journal 1859, R. Mitchell, rector
Baptisms 9

[257] Stanley was a native of North Carolina. He is buried at Holy Trinity Church, Collington, Maryland. Allen, CMD page 65, FindaGrave.com.

Journal 1860, R.H.B. Mitchell, rector
Baptism 10
Communicants added 1, whole number 2

Journal 1863, James G. Leason, rector. [258]
Does not break out by stats, except
Communicants 1
Became rector on October 1, 1862, came from St. Luke's in Queen Anne's County.

Journal 1864, J.G. Leason, rector
Communicants 1

Journal 1865, J.G. Leason, rector
Baptisms private 3
Communicants 1

Journal of 1866, George K. Warner, rector
Does not break out statistics by race.

[258] Leason was Irish and previously a Roman Catholic priest. He converted in 1851. Allen, CMD page 74.

CHARLES COUNTY

Nanjemoy Parish, (Old Durham) Nanjemoy also known as Ironside, 1692

Statistics (Black parishioners only) 1826-1864
Baptisms 978
Confirmations none reported.
Marriages 19
Burials/Funerals 66

Journal 1826, Robert Prout (1798-1880) rector. [259]
Baptisms Black 119
Funerals Black 11
Communicants Black 8

Journal 1828, Robert Prout, rector
Baptisms Black 76
Funerals Blacks 3
Communicants Black 6
Marriages Black 3

Journal 1829, Robert Prout, rector
Communicants 8
Funerals Blacks 7
Marriages Blacks 2
Baptisms Blacks 62

Journal 1830, Robert Prout, rector
Communicants, included 6
Funerals Blacks 7
Marriages 2
Baptisms 43

Journal 1831, Robert Prout, rector
Baptisms Black 35
Funerals Black 7

Journal 1832, Robert Prout, rector
Baptisms Black 38
Burials/funerals Black 5
No marriages or confirmations reported.

[259] Prout was a native of Washington DC, he served Durham Parish until his death, and he is buried in the parish graveyard. Allen, CMD page 42.

Journal 1833, Robert Prout, rector
Baptisms Black 49
Funerals Black 3

Journal 1834, Robert Prout, rector
Baptisms 28

Journal 1836, Robert Prout, rector
Baptisms 17

Journal 1837, Robert Prout, rector
Baptisms 35

Journal 1838, Robert Prout, rector
Baptisms 16

Journal 1839, Robert Prout, rector
Baptisms 9

Journal 1840, Robert Prout, rector
Baptisms 16

Journal 1844, Savington Warren Crampton (1810-1898) rector. [260]
Communicants 1
Baptisms 41
Marriages 1
Deaths 7

Journal 1847, Robert Prout, rector, accepted the rectorship last December
Baptisms 10

Journal 1848, Robert Prout, rector
Baptisms 17
Marriages 3
Funerals 4

Journal 1849, Robert Prout, rector
Baptism 12

Journal 1850, Robert Prout, rector
Baptisms 37

[260] A native of Washington County. He is buried at St. George's in Harford County, Maryland.

Journal 1851-52, Robert Prout, rector
Communicants 2
Baptisms 43
Funerals 10

Journal 1853, Robert Prout, rector
Communicants 2
Baptisms 31
African Mission $10.00

Journal 1854, Robert Prout, rector
Communicants 3
Baptisms 31

Journal 1855, Robert Prout, rector
Communicants 3
Baptisms 30

Journal 1856, Robert Prout, rector
Communicants 3
Baptisms 20

Journal 1857, Robert Prout, rector
Baptisms 16
Died 3
Marriages 4
Funerals 1

Journal 1858, Robert Prout, rector
Baptism 27

1859 (included in 1860 as was too late to be printed) Robert Prout
Baptisms 20

Journal 1860, Robert Prout, rector
Baptisms 27
Communicants 2
Marriages 3
Funerals 2

Journal 1862, Robert Prout, rector
Baptism 18
Communicants total number 2
Marriages 1
Funerals 2

Journal 1863, Robert Prout, rector
Baptisms 25
Communicants 1

Journal 1864, Robert Prout, rector
Baptisms 30
Communicants 1

Journal 1865, Robert Prout, rector
Not broken out by race.

Journal 1866, Robert Prout, rector
Baptisms 14
Communicants 1

Port Tobacco Parish, Port Tobacco (later La Plata) 1692

1829 Journal, Lemuel Wilmer
"It gives the rector no small degree of pleasure to say, that he knows of no church where they more generally respond, and more generally kneel, than in those churches of which he has the charge. . .. He can with truth say, that he is attached to the soil and to the people; but if circumstances shall so change, as to make it advisable for him to leave his present residence, he hopes that he will be enabled to overcome all local feelings, and go where duty calls." Page 34

1835 Parochial Report
"The rector of this parish would mention, that in his three churches, not less than three hundred colored persons regularly attend. Forty of them are regular communicants. He should not forget to add, that he knows of no place where they are treated with more humanity than by the people of this parish." Convention Journal, 1835, page 41 Lemuel Wilmer

Journal 1843 "Services on Holy Days-Colored people catechized" Lemuel Wilmer

Journal 1844 Lemuel Wilmer
Reported but did not break out by race, nor gave any narrative.

Journal 1845, Lemuel Wilmer
Does not break out by race.

Journal 1847, Lemuel Wilmer, rector
Does not break out by race.

Journal 1848, Lemuel Wilmer, rector
Does not break out by race.

Journal 1849, Lemuel Wilmer, Rector
Does not breakout by race. "Congregations still large and attentive. Communicants gradually increasing but deaths, withdrawals and changes, especially with the colored communicants, leave about the same to be reported." Page 61

Journal 1850, Lemuel Wilmer, rector
Does not break out by race.

Journal 1851-52, Lemuel Wilmer, rector
Does not break out by race.

Journal 1854, Lemuel Wilmer, rector
A narrative but no stats

Journal 1855, Lemuel Wilmer, rector
Narrative but no stats.

Journal 1856, Lemuel Wilmer, rector
34th year of his rectorship, narrative only.

Journal 1857, Lemuel Wilmer, rector
Marriages 17
"Communicants as reported last year, some added, always fluctuating, from the fact that a portion of the communicants are colored persons;" page 51

Journal 1858, Lemuel Wilmer, rector
Narrative only, no stats.

Journal 1859, Lemuel Wilmer, rector
"Communicants gradually increasing, but varying, owning to a portion being of the colored race;" page 57

Journal 1860, Lemuel Wilmer, rector
No stats
Page 58

Journal 1862, Lemuel Wilmer, rector
Narrative only, and baptisms (75) only not broken out, Page 42

Journal 1863, Lemuel Wilmer, rector
Does not break out stats by race.
Page 94

Journal 1864, Lemuel Wilmer, rector
"To give form to any parochial repot in the midst of continually disturbing element, appears to be impactable." Page 32

Journal 1865, Lemuel Wilmer, rector
Communicants 12
"The transition state has diminished the number of colored communicants, and greatly diminished the number of Baptisms." Page 48

Journal 1866, Lemuel Wilmer, rector
Baptisms 30
Communicants 20

William and Mary, (also known as Pickawaxon/Piccawaxon), Wayside, 1692

Statistics (Black parishioners only) 1820-1864
Baptisms 384
Confirmations 51
Marriages 96
Burials/funerals 109

Journal 1820, Charles Mann (1792-1880) rector. [261]
Black Catechumens 41 was the only parish of the eight to report statistics on the Black population for this year.

Journal 1828, Charles Mann, rector
"In the report of the last year, the number of Communicants was returned as 55. The difference between that number and the one now reported (42) proceeds from the circumstance of a large number of blacks always communing in the Church, some of whom have been entered as members, who really belonged to other denominations, the list has been revised, and only those retained who undoubtedly belong to the Church." [262]

Journal 1830, Charles Mann, rector
Marriages 4

Journal 1837, James Asbury McKenney, rector
"A Sunday afternoon service in the church, designed exclusively for the colored population, was commenced last autumn. It was suspended during the winter but has been resumed this spring." [263]

Journal 1839, John W. Hoffman, rector
Baptisms 9
Marriages 2

Journal 1840, John W. Hoffman, rector
Baptisms 14
Marriages 5
Funerals 3

Bishop Whittingham visited the parish in 1840 noted 46 White communicants and two Black: Polly Stewart and Grace Craig. [264]

[261] Mann a native of Annapolis, Maryland went to Virginia in 1831 died as rector of the Ware Episcopal Church in Gloucester, Virginia where he is buried. Allen, CMD page 34.
[262] Convention Journal 1828, Page 26.
[263] Convention Journal 1837, Page 43.
[264] Bishop Whittingham, Listing of Families, 1840-1841, EDOM.

Journal 1841, John W. Hoffman, rector
Baptisms 28
Marriages 5
Funerals/Burials 5

Journal 1842, John W. Hoffman resigned as of December 31, 1841
Baptisms 17

Journal 1842, Samuel Chalmers Davis, rector (began in Jan. 1842)
Baptisms 7
Marriages 3
Funerals 4

Journal 1843
Baptisms 13
Burials 3
Marriages 3
Confirmed 4
"Since the last Convention, a monthly service has been held, for the special benefit of the colored people, which is usually well attended, and promises to be greatly serviceable to that class of the parishioners." Rev. Samuel C. Davis, May 29th, 1843

Journal 1844, Rev. Samuel C. Davis, late rector
Baptisms 12
Marriages 2
Funerals 2

Journal 1844, Jno. M. Todd, new rector (took over mid-year)
Baptisms 9
Communicants 4
Funerals 2

Journal 1845, John Mallory Todd (1815-1903) rector, writes from "Milton Hill" [265]
Baptisms 14
Marriages 5
Funerals 5

Journal 1846, John M. Todd rector
Baptisms 16
Marriages 5
Funerals 16

[265] Todd was from Virginia became rector of William and Mary, Charles County, in 1844. He is buried at Christ Church, Newberg. CMD pages 64-65.

Journal 1847, John M. Todd rector
Baptisms 8
Marriages 3
Funerals 3

Journal 1848, John M. Todd, rector
Baptisms 17
Marriages 2
During his rectorate takes up offerings for missions to Jews.

Journal 1849, Jno. M. Todd rector
Baptisms 20
Marriages 4
Funerals 11

Journal 1850, Jno. M. Todd, rector
Baptisms 15
Marriages 5
Funerals 3

Journal 1851-52, Jno. M. Todd, rector
Baptism 20
Funerals 4

Journal 1853, Jno. M. Todd, rector
Baptisms 15
Funerals 4

Journal 1854, John. M. Todd rector
Baptisms 15

Journal 1855, John M. Todd, rector
Baptisms 20
Marriages 5
Funerals 10
Confirmed 6

Journal 1856, John M. Todd rector
Marriages 5
Funerals 5

Journal 1857, John M. Todd, rector
Baptisms 20
Communicants 10
Marriages 7
Funerals 6

Journal 1858, John M. Todd, rector
Baptisms 18
Communicants 10
Marriages 9
Funerals 6

Journal 1860, Jno. M. Todd, rector
Baptisms 20
Communicants added 1, died 2, whole number 18
Marriages 10
Funerals 2

Journal 1863, Jno. M. Todd, rector
Marriages 12
Burials 6

Journal 1864, Jno. M. Todd, rector
Baptisms 25
Communicants present number 10

1865?

Journal 1866, John M. Todd, rector
Baptisms 10
Communicants, “present number, wh. 60, col. not known.”

PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY

Piscataway Parish (1692) or St. John's Church, then King George Parish (1902) (Broad Creek), Oxon Hill, 1692

Statistics (Black parishioners only) 1828-1864
Baptisms 522
Confirmations 4
Marriages 48
Burials/funerals 37

Journal 1828, George Lindenberger Mackenheimer, rector [266]
Baptisms 70
Marriages 2
Funerals 20

Journal 1829, George L. Mackenheimer, rector
Baptisms 84
Marriages 1

Journal 1830, George L. Mackenheimer, rector
Baptisms 35
Marriages 1
Funerals 4

Journal 1838, Edwin M. Van Deusen (1816-1890) rector [267]
Baptisms 3

Journal 1839, Simon Wilmer (1779-1840) rector. [268]
Baptisms 64

Journal 1840?
Bishop Whittingham's Listing of Families for 1840 notes 46 persons but he does not break them out by race. [269]

[266] Mackenheimer a native of Baltimore, Maryland reportedly went to Virginia. CMD page 44.
[267] Van Deusen a native of New York and formerly a Dutch Reformed. He is buried in Forest Hill Cemetery, Utica, New York. CMD page 54.
[268] Wilmer a native of Kent County married a Tubman and is buried in the Tubman family cemetery, Bryans Road, Charles County, Maryland. CMD page 25.
[269] Bishop Whittingham's Listing of Families 1840-1841, EDOM.

Journal 1841, Edwin M. Van Deusen, rector
Baptisms 48
Confirmed by Bishop Doane Feburary 1842, 2
Marriages 2

Journal 1843, Edwin M. Van Deusen
Baptisms 13
Confirmed 1
Marriages 4
Funerals 1

Journal 1844, Edwin M Van Deusen, late rector April 30, 1844
Baptisms 21
Communicants not broken out by race
Marriages 5

Journal 1845, John Martin, rector
Baptisms 13
Marriages 2

Journal 1846, J. Martin rector
Baptisms 20
Marriages 4

Journal 1847, J. Martin rector
Baptisms 19
Marriages 3

Journal 1848, John Martin rector
Baptisms 21
Marriages 4
Page 84

Journal 1849, John Martin, rector
Baptisms 18

Journal 1851, John Martin, rector
Baptisms 12
Marriages 3
Funerals 1

Journal 1854, John Martin
Baptisms 11
Marriages 1
Funerals 2

Journal 1855, John Martin, rector
Baptisms 7
Confirmed 1

Journal 1856, John Martin, rector
Baptisms 12
Marriages 4
Funerals 2

Journal 1857, John Martin, rector
Baptisms infant 10
Communicants 2
Marriages 5

Journal 1859, John Martin, rector
Baptisms 16
Funerals 6

Journal 1860, John Martin, rector
Baptisms 11
Communicants 3
Marriages 7
Funerals 1

Journal 1863, John Martin, rector
Baptisms 9
Communicants 2

Journal 1864, John Martin, rector
Baptisms 5
Communicants 3
"But few contributions can now be obtained in the Parish, owing to the diminished means of the people." Page 42

Journal 1865, John Martin, rector
Confirmed 3
Communicants 7
"By the Divine blessing, the Parish is free from all dissensions, and it has been our happiness, during all these troublous times, to be at peace with one another." Page 62

Journal 1866, John Martin, rector
Baptisms 3
Communicants 2
Does not report out other rites by race. [270]

[270] Convention Journal 1866, page 58. Notes that there are ninety-two White communicants.

St. Paul's Parish, Mount Calvert, 1692

Statistics (Black parishioners only) 1833-1864
Baptisms 973
Confirmations 29
Marriages 107
Burials/Funerals 111

Journal 1833, Henry Bradford Goodwin (1802-1859) rector [271]
Baptisms 12
Burials 3
Baptisms 39
Marriages couples 2
Buried 21

1833 journal Francis H. Laird, rector Trinity Parish, Charles Co., reported dispensing Holy Communion to 1 in St. Paul's.

Journal 1834, Frederick Deane Goodwin (1804-1881) rector [272]
Baptisms 50
Marriages 4

Journal 1835, Frederick D. Goodwin, rector
Baptisms 41
Marriages 5
Funerals 2

Journal 1836, Frederick D. Goodwin, rector
Baptisms 63
Confirmed 7
Marriages 3
Burials 3

Journal 1838, Samuel C. Kerr, rector
Baptisms 16

Journal 1839, Samuel C. Kerr, rector
Baptisms 50
Marriages 9
Funerals 6

[271] Goodwin was from Massachusetts and originally a Congregationalist. He died in Charles County and was buried at the Norton Center Cemetery, Norton, Massachusetts. CMD page 50.
[272] Goodwin was a brother to Henry Bradford Goodwin. He was born in Massachusetts and was a Congregationalist. He went to Virginia in 1836 and is buried in the East End Cemetery, Wytheville, Virginia. One of his descendants was W.A.R. Goodwin of Williamsburg, Virginia. Allen, CMD page 51.

Journal 1840, Samuel C. Kerr, rector
Baptisms 39
Communicants 14
Marriages 5
Funerals 3

Bishop Whittingham listed 157 communicants in the parish during his visit in 1840 including three members of the Piscataway Tribe: Washington Boswell, John G. Boswell Sr., and Jr. He did not note any others by race. [273]

Journal 1841, Samuel C. Kerr, rector
Baptisms 33
Communicants 14, added 1
Funerals 1

Journal 1842, Samuel C. Kerr, rector
Baptisms 33
Communicants 15, added 1, removed 1
Marriages 5
Funerals 3

Journal 1843, Samuel C. Kerr rector
Baptisms 18
Confirmed 2
Communicants withdrawn 1
Marriages 1
Funerals 4

Journal 1844, Samuel C. Kerr rector
Baptism 21
Communicants not broken out by race
Marriages 2

Journal 1845, Samuel C. Kerr
Baptisms 22
Burials 4
Marriages 2

[273] Bishop Whittingham's Listing of Families, 1840-1841, EDOM Archives.

Journal 1846, Joshua Sweet (1815-1874) rector [274]
Baptisms 12
Marriages 1
Funerals 1
Report from 1 November 1845 when he took the rectorate.

Journal 1847, Joshua Sweet, rector
Baptisms 46
Confirmed 4
Marriages 6

Journal 1851, John H. Chew, rector
"In addition to the morning service on alternate Sundays at the two churches, we had one at Woodville, once in two weeks, an evening service for the colored people, on which occasions the church has been well filled with a remarkably attentive congregation."

Baptisms 56
Communicants 11
Marriages 5
Funerals 3

Journal 1852, John H. Chew
Baptisms 40
Confirmed 5
Marriages 7
Funerals 6

Journal 1854, John H. Chew rector
Baptisms 42
Confirmed 2
Marriages 3
Funeral 2

Journal 1855, John H. Chew, rector
Baptisms 31
Marriages 2
Funerals 4

Journal 1856, John H. Chew, rector
Baptisms 35
Marriages 6
Funerals 10

[274] Sweet was born in Kentucky, originally a Methodist. He came to St. Paul's in 1846 and in 1849 went to Wisconsin then to Minnesota. He is buried in the Glencoe City Cemetery, Glencoe, Minnesota. Allen, CMD page 67.

Journal 1857, John H. Chew, rector
Baptisms infants 37
Confirmed 3
Communicants 3 added, total 11
Marriages 4
Funerals 7

Journal 1858, John H. Chew, rector
Resigned as of June 15, 1858, to take another call.
Baptism 32
Confirmed 1
Communicants 11
Marriages 12
Funerals 4

Journal 1859, Alexander Magruder Marbury (1807-1873) rector [275]
Began as rector second Sunday, September 1, 1858
Baptisms 32
Communicants 11
Marriages 2
Funerals 7

Journal 1860, Alex. M. Marbury, rector
Baptisms 43
Confirmed 5
Communicants added 8, whole number 17
Marriages 7
Funerals 7

Journal 1862, Alex. M. Marbury, rector
Baptisms 51
Marriages 6
Funerals 6
Communicants 17

Journal 1863, Alex. M. Marbury, rector
Baptisms 29
Communicants 17
Marriages 3
Funerals 5

[275] Marbury was a Maryland native. He died while rector of St. Paul's and is buried in the graveyard at St. Mary's Church, St. Paul's Parish, Prince George's County, Maryland. Allen, CMD page 55.

Journal 1864, Alex. M. Marbury, rector
Baptisms 50
Communicants 14
Marriages 5
Funerals 10

Journal 1865, Alex. M. Marbury, rector
Baptisms 30
Confirmed 1
Communicants 13
Marriages 9
Burials 7

Journal 1866, Alexander M. Marbury, rector
Baptisms 6
Communicants 13
Marriages 2
Burials/Funerals 8

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