U.S. Catholic Historian Publishes Issue on the Black Catholic Experience

In recognition of Black History Month and in honor of the centennial of the ordination of Augustine Tolton as the first Black Catholic priest, the U.S. Catholic Historian dedicates its current issue to "The Black Catholic Experience." The only illustrated Catholic historical journal, the U.S. Catholic Historian entered a new phase in its development in December 1984 when it published its first theme issue on "American Catholics: Patriotism and Dissent in War and Peace." This was followed by issues on intellectual life and the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. The issue on "The Black Catholic Experience" includes the following articles: "Black Catholics in Nineteenth Century America" by Cyprian Davis, O.S.B.; "John R. Slattery's Vision for the Evangelization of American Blacks" by William L. Portier; "The Ordeal of the Black Priest" by Stephen J. Ochs; "A Peculiar Institution: Catholic Parish Life and the Pastoral Mission to the Blacks in the Southeast, 1850-1980" by Michael McNally; "Thank God We Ain't What We Was: the State of the Liturgy in the Black Catholic Community" by Clarence Joseph Rivers; "Toward a Black Catholic Archives" by Peter E. Hogan, S.S.J.; "Adventures in Black Catholic History: Research and Writing" by Albert S. Foley, S.J.; and "Black Catholics and Afro-American Religious History: Autobiographic Reflections" by Albert J. Raboteau.

The U.S. Catholic Historian is published by the U.S. Catholic Historical Society. The Society, which was founded in New York City in 1884, is under the leadership of Dr. Brian Butler of Bronxville, New York, and has

the strong endorsement of Cardinal John O'Connor, honorary president of the Society. Membership is open to all at a $20.00 fee. An individual subscription to the journal is $16.00 and back issues are available at $4.00 a copy. For information, write to the editor, P.O. Box 16229, Baltimore, MD 21210, or call (301)242-4499.

History of San Francisco Catholicism Conference

The Chancery Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco will host a one-day conference entitled "The History of Bay Area Catholicism" on Saturday, June 7, 1986 at the Chancery Office conference room, 445 Church St., San Francisco. The conference is being organized by Dr. Jeffrey M. Burns, archivist of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, and papers will be presented on the immigrant and ethnic experience in San Francisco, pioneer Catholicism, women religious, education, and popular piety. For more information write Dr. Jeffrey M. Burns, Chancery Archives, P.O. Box 1799, Colma, CA 94014 or call (415)994-5211.

Mexican-American Cultural Center Summer Sessions

The Mexican-American Cultural Center (MACC), a national center for Hispanic ministry, San Antonio, Texas, offers specialized study weeks from June 1 to August 1, 1986 on a range of subjects: Creative Catechetics, Comunidades de Base, Los Evangelios en la Vida Cristiana, Pe y Liderazgo, La Familia Hispana, Preaching the Parables of Jesus, Evangelización por los Sacramentos, Catholic Evangelism, Pastoral Use of Computers, Reflexion Teologica de Nuestra Cultura Hispana, Pastoral de
Conjunto, La Parroquia Hispana, Conferencia de Diaconos Hispanos, Pastoral Juvenil Hispana, and more.

The center also offers three-week courses on Cultural Awareness for Catechists and Educators, An Introduction to Hispanic Ministry, and Intensive Spanish for Pastoral Ministry.

For further information on the 1986 summer programs at MACC, contact Janie Dean, MACC, P.O. Box 28185, San Antonio, TX 78228 or call (800) 531-6222 (toll free for Out-of-state residents) or (512) 732-2156 (Texas residents).

Archives Workshop

The Catholic Archives Newsletter announced that a Religious Archives Workshop will be held Sunday evening, June 8 to Thursday, June 12, 1986 at St. John's Provincial Seminary, Plymouth, Michigan. The workshop coordinators and leaders will be James M. O'Toole, archivist, Archdiocese of Boston, and Elizabeth Yakel, archivist, Archdiocese of Detroit. Topics will include all basic archival functions as well as special topics such as canon and civil law, writing grant proposals, microfilming, and collection development. There will be hands-on arrangement and description exercises as well as visits to selected archives in the area. The cost of the workshop will be approximately $350 including lodging and most meals. Enrollment will be limited to 50 people. For more information contact Elizabeth Yakel, Archives of the Archdiocese of Detroit, 1234 Washington Blvd., Detroit, Michigan 48226. Phone (313) 237-5846.

Graill Archives Open

The Graill Movement received funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities during 1984 and 1985 to arrange and organize its historical collections. The Graill Movement Archives is now open to researchers as of January 1, 1986. Interested researchers may address inquiries to Joyce Dietrick, Graillville, 932 O'Bannonville Rd., Loveland, OH 45150. Phone (513) 683-2340.

Georgetown University Library Project

The Special Collections Division, Georgetown University Library, has been awarded a grant of $94,000 by the U.S. Department of Education to fund the first year of a planned two-year project whose goal is the production of a cumulated and very detailed computer-generated index to the nearly 1,500 linear feet of Jesuit and Jesuit-related manuscripts and allied materials housed in the Division. These date from 1551 to the recent past and include the Archives of the Maryland Province of the Society; the Woodstock College Archives; the Georgetown University Archives (in part); and papers of nearly 200 other Jesuit houses and individuals. These latter include the Milton House Archives, an important English recusant collection; records of the magazine America and of America House, New York; and papers of John Courtney Murray, S.J., Gustave Weigel, S.J., John LaFarge, S.J., and Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., to name only a few.

The Education Department funds have permitted the hiring of three full-time staff for the project, which will involve extensive recataloging of the collections to correct previous inconsistencies and errors of various kinds; the University Library has provided the requisite computer equipment. The project will utilize a combination of IBM, Sperry, and Tallgrass hardware running primarily Ashton-Tate's dBase III. Specific programs for the project have been designed by Jon K. Reynolds, university archivist and project director. Those interested should contact him, (202) 625-4160, for further details.

CUSHWA CENTER ACTIVITIES

Hibernian Lecture

On October 31, 1985 at Notre Dame, Professor Lawrence McCaffrey of Loyola University of Chicago delivered the annual Hibernian Lecture on "Fictional Images of Irish-America." The lecture is sponsored by the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the Ladies Auxiliary of the Ancient Order of Hibernians.
Cushwa Graduate Fellowship

The Charles and Margaret Hall Cushwa Graduate Fellowship in American Catholic Studies for the 1985-86 academic year was awarded to Susan J. White, doctoral candidate in the Department of Theology, University of Notre Dame, who is studying the "Liturgical Arts Society (1928-1972): An Episode in the American Roman Catholic Liturgical Movement."

Hibernian Research Award

The Cushwa Center is pleased to announce that Dr. Thomas M. Truxes, Westbrook High School, Westbrook, Connecticut, is the 1986 recipient of the Hibernian Research Award of $2,000. The award enables Dr. Truxes to revise his doctoral dissertation submitted at Trinity College, Dublin, for publication. His study relates to the vital role of Irish-American trade in the economic development of Colonial America.

The deadline for the 1987 competition is December 31, 1986. Application forms are available from the Cushwa Center.

American Catholic Studies Seminar

The seminar met twice during the spring semester of 1986 at Notre Dame. In the first session, February 6, Professor Mary Schneider, Department of Religious Studies, Michigan State University, presented the paper, "The Transformation of American Sisters: The Sister Formation Conference as Catalyst for Change, 1954-1964." On March 13, Professor William Dinges, Department of Religion and Religious Education, Catholic University of America, presented, "In Defense of Truth and Tradition: Catholic Traditionalism in America, 1964-1974." The papers are available in the working papers series costing $3.00 per paper.

Travel Research Grants

The Cushwa Center is pleased to announce the winners of its Travel Research Grants for 1986: Professor Debra Campbell, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, who is studying the Catholic Evidence Guild focusing on Frank Sheed and Maisie Ward; Professor Charles Chatfield, Wittenberg University, Springfield, Ohio, who is studying the World Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic Joint Committee on Society, Development, and Peace (Sodepax), 1968-1981; and Professor William Portier, Mount Saint Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Maryland, who is preparing a biography of John R. Slatery, Catholic evangelist to American blacks and Catholic modernist.

Publications

The Admirers of the Blood of Christ in the Church and In the World, 1834-1984, by Sister Antonietta Maraone, ASC, is available from Sister Mary Catherine Clark, ASC, Provincial Secretary, Adorers of the Blood of Christ, Provincial House, Ruma, Route 1, Box 115, Red Bud, IL 62278. $10.00.

The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial times to the Present, by Jay P. Dolan, provides a comprehensive history of Catholicism within the American experience -- the first such volume to reflect the new communal and social awakening that emerged from Vatican Council II. Doubleday. 1985. 480 p. $19.95.


The Celebration of Liturgy in the Parishes, by Mark Searle and David C. Lege, focuses on methods of study, the progress of the Mass, the Liturgy of the Word, the Liturgy of the Eucharist, the quality of the celebration, music and song, and social dimensions of the liturgy. Report no. 5, August, 1985. 8 p. Notre Dame Study
of Catholic Parish Life, University of Notre Dame, 1201 Memorial Library, Notre Dame, IN 46556.


The Directory of Women Religious in the United States, 1985, edited by Magdalen O'Hara, OSU, provides a profile by name, local address, order, and diocese of women religious today. The Directory is divided into two primary sections: the diocesan listing of residences and names of sisters presently living therein; and the alphabetical index of sisters. Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1985. 987 p. ISBN 0-89453-528-5. $65.00

Focolare After Thirty Years, by Sergius C. Lorit and Nuzzo Maria Grimaldi, provides basic information about the Focolare movement. New City Press, 1976. 198 p. ISBN 0-91178-2273. $4.50. (New City Press, the publishing house of the Focolare Movement, offers a wide variety of books and pamphlets on both the Focolare Movement and its members, as cited in their 1985 catalogue of publications.)

Italian Americans: New Perspectives in Italian Immigration and Ethnicity, edited by Lydio F. Tomasi, represents the proceedings of the International Conference on the Italian Experience in the United States, Columbia University, 1983. In three parts, the volume includes the latest sociodemographic profile of Italian Americans; present and future migratory trends; the state of Italian American research in Italy, the U.S., and Canada, and various dimensions of the Italian American experience. Center for Migration Studies, 209 Flagg Place, Staten Island, NY 10304, 1985. 486 p. $17.50 +$2.50 postage and handling.

Life and Prayer (Series II), by Thomas Merton, consists of a set of twelve cassettes taped from lectures at Gethsemani during Merton's years of teaching, 1951-1965. Topics include: "Life and Afterlife"; "The Ways of God"; "Our Father"; and "Love and Hope." Harper, 1982. Electronic Paperbacks, P.O. Box 2, Chappaqua, NY 10514. $96.66/set.


New Religious Movements in the United States and Canada: A Critical Assessment and Annotated Bibliography, compiled by Diane Choquette, takes as its historical starting point the counter-culture of the 1960s in the United States, covering works published through 1983. Approximately 90 percent of the items described are in the New Religious Movements Research Collection Graduate Theological Union Library, Berkeley, California. In addition to reference works, scholarly materials are arranged by discipline: historical, sociological and anthropological, psychological and psychiatric, theological and religious, and

Of Piety and Planning: Liturgy, the Parishioners, and the Professionals, by Mark Searle and David C. Leege, discusses limits to generalizations; parishioners' evaluations of Sunday liturgies; planning and resources; how parishioners see the liturgy; and patterns of devotion. Report No. 6, December, 1985. Notre Dame Study of Catholic Parish Life, University of Notre Dame, 1201 Memorial Library, Notre Dame, IN 46556. 7 p. (Bi-monthly. Comprehensive survey of Roman Catholic parishes in the United States conducted by the Institute for Pastoral and Social Ministry and the Center for the Study of Contemporary Society of the University of Notre Dame.)


The Old Catholic Sourcebook, by Karl Pruter and J. Gordon Melton defines "Old Catholicism" as a number of independent liturgical church bodies who together share two characteristics: they are independent of the traditional Apostolic Sees of Rome, Constantinople and Canterbury, and they all possess what they claim is a valid apostolic succession in their hierarchical leadership. In three sections, this work describes the development of Old Catholicism, provides a bibliography of Old Catholic Churches, including a survey of all literature by and about the American phase of Old Catholicism, and lists alphabetically all the Old Catholic bishops who have had jurisdiction over members in the United States. A directory of jurisdictions is also included. 1983. Garland. 254 p. ISBN 0-8240-9111-6.


Religion in Indiana: A Guide to Historical Resources, by L. C. Rudolph and Judith E. Endelman, provides a wealth of source material for Indiana religious history. In three parts, the first consists of 2,873 printed works - histories, theses, biographies, diaries, articles, and pamphlets concerning religion in Indiana from pioneer days to the present. Part 2 provides detailed descriptions of archival sources deposited in 108 institutional collections, including libraries, historical societies, and denominational archives. Part 3 consists of a register of 1,654 histories of religious congregations in Indiana, arranged by county and place name. A subject index provides additional access to this valuable bibliography of Indiana's religious heritage. Indiana University Press, 1985. 224 p. ISBN 0-253-34960-5. $22.50.


Religious Values and Parish Participation: The Paradox of Individual Needs in a Communitarian Church, by David C. Leege and Thomas A. Trozzolo, discusses the parish in terms of order and religious diversity. Also includ-
ed is an analysis of expectations of the parish - "What is a parish supposed to be?" Models of the parish, parish purposes and activities, religious practices and parish priorities are also discussed in detail. Report No. 4, June, 1985. 8 p. Notre Dame Study of Catholic Parish Life, University of Notre Dame, 1201 Memorial Library, Notre Dame, Ind. 46556.


This Pilgrim House: The History of the Columbia Province of the Adorers of the Blood of Christ, one of several works published in conjunction with the sesquicentennial of the Adorers, published in 1984, is available from Sister Antonia Mary Longo, ASC, St. Joseph Convent, Columbia, PA 17512.


Personal Notices

Bernard Aspinwall, Office for International Programs, University of Glasgow, Glasgow G12 AQQ, Scotland, U.K., seeks information on Samuel Henry Browne, a former Episcopalian clergyman in Scotland, a contributor to and possibly editor of the New York Tablet, who reputedly married a daughter of Maria Monk. Information on the whereabouts of any letters, articles by or about him would be gratefully received.

James H. Bailey, Petersburg, Virginia, has been appointed curator for collections of the five museums of the city of Petersburg.
Rev. Harry M. Culkin, archivist, Diocese of Brooklyn, has been elected president of the Long Island Archives Conference. He had served as Secretary of the LIAC for the past four years. He also has been elected vice president (1985-87) and president-elect (1987-89) of the National Association of Catholic Diocesan Archivists. The Catholic Library Association has recently assigned him as its liaison to the Society of American Archivists.

James J. Divita, Marian College, Indianapolis, is writing an architectural history of Sts. Peter and Paul Cathedral, Indianapolis, on the occasion of its renovation and continues work on the Italian immigrants in Indiana.

Jay P. Dolan, director the Cushwa Center, is spending the spring semester of 1986 as Fulbright professor at the University College, Cork, Ireland.


Charles Fanning, Department of English, Bridgewater State College, Bridgewater, Massachusetts, is working on a study of the fictional self-image of the American Irish from the 18th century to the present. He would appreciate references to lesser known works from the early 20th century.

Edwin S. Gaustad, University of California, Riverside, is studying religion and the new nation during the constitutional period.

Rev. Jerry Hiland, archivist of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, is presently writing a history of the Catholic Student Mission Crusade, which was headquartered in Cincinnati from 1918 to 1970.

Christa R. Klein, research associate of Hartford Seminary, Lilly Endowment, and the Lutheran Theological Seminary, is writing a history of social policy in the Lutheran church in America and conducting a national study of the role of trustees in the governance of Protestant theological schools. The Lutheran historical conference has appointed her chair of a committee to assess the state of American Lutheran studies.


Rev. William P. Leahy, S.J., Department of History, Marquette University, has completed his dissertation in history at Stanford University entitled "Jesuits, Catholics, and higher education in Twentieth-Century America."


Dolores Liptak, R.S.M., Catholic Archival Services, Washington, D.C., is editor and author of the quarterly, INFO, of Marian Helpers Center, Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and has begun a historical essays series in the quarterly, Marian Helpers Bulletin.

Sr. Mary Denis Maher, C.S.A., 9805 Lake Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio 44102, is a doctoral candidate at Case Western Reserve University and is doing a dissertation on the role and image of the sisters who served during the Civil War and would appreciate any information from communities of religious she has not already contacted.

Annabelle M. Melville reports that her biography of Bishop William DuBourg of Louisiana will appear in the Spring of 1986 from Loyola University Press of Chicago and selected documents of Saint Elizabeth Seton is also due from Paulist Press in the Sources of American Spirituality series.
Jon Nilson, Loyola University of Chicago, is studying the theological bases of American Catholic thought.

Professor Clifford J. Reutter, University of Detroit, is preparing a study on "Saint Nicholas: Patron of Immigrants and the Poor."

James D. Shand, History Department, University of Portland, 5000 N. Williams Blvd., Portland, Oregon 97203, is completing research for an article on the historical origins and present controversy over Oregon's religious garb law, which forbids public school teachers to wear religious dress. He would be interested in hearing from anyone who has done, or is doing, historical or legal research into similar laws in some of the Midwestern or Eastern states.

Susan Margot Smith, doctoral candidate in American studies at the University of Minnesota, has just finished a dissertation entitled "The Catholic Charismatic Renewal: An American Evangelical Hybrid."

George Weigel, president of the James Madison Foundation, has prepared a study of American Catholic thought on ethics, war, and peace that will be available from Oxford University Press in late 1986.

Rev. William Wolkovich, Norwood, Massachusetts, is completing a study of the Knights of Lithuania, a national fraternal organization formed in 1912.

Sr. Mary Simplicia Wytrwal, C.S.S.F., announced that the Felician Sisters Central Archives of which she is director and archivist will be dedicated on Wednesday, September 24, 1986, in Enfield, Connecticut. It will house copies of documents generated in the ten provinces and two vice-provinces of the Congregation of the Sisters of St. Felix of Cantalice.

The Archives of the Archdiocese of Detroit: An Institutional Profile

The Diocese of Detroit was established in 1833. However, Catholic priests had been among the early French explorers of the Michilimackinac region since the seventeenth century. Detroit was founded when a party led by Antoine Cadillac arrived on July 24, 1701. The first mass was celebrated on July 26, the feast of Ste. Anne and the primitive chapel which was soon to be built would bear her name. Ste. Anne's parish, still in existence today, was destroyed by fire in 1704 and 1805 and has had five different locations. In spite of these disruptions, the parish has been able to maintain the second longest continuous series of sacramental registers in the United States, dating from 1704.

These early sacramental records from Ste. Anne's parish are the earliest manuscript holdings in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Detroit (AAD). In general, the AAD keeps only the sacramental records of closed parishes. Each of the 333 parishes in the Archdiocese maintains its own sacramental registers. All of these registers (approximately 3500 in number) have been microfilmed under the direction of the AAD. The security copies of microfilm are stored in a recently renovated temperature and humidity-controlled vault along with a large portion of the manuscript collection. They are available for historical research with certain stipulations on the more recent records (from 1900 to the present). The AAD houses at the present time an estimated 1500 linear feet of manuscript materials and a 300-book library pertaining to the history of Detroit, Catholicism in the United States as well as many standard Catholic-Reference works. The following is an outline of the different collections in the AAD, beginning with those that are a result of the normal institutional and administrative functions of the Archdiocese of Detroit.

Bishops' Administrative Papers

The holdings of the AAD begin with the establishment of the diocese in 1833. These manuscripts consist mainly of the individual bishop's administrative papers. Prior to 1833 (other than the Ste. Anne's sacramental registers), the archives houses about a linear foot of materials concerning missionary priests, particularly Father Gabriel Richard, ministry to the Indians,
and various legal documents. An itemized calendar is available for these pre-diocesan materials. Later Bishops' Administrative collections have folder-level descriptions. Records regarding Indian missionary activity from 1704-1882 contained in the AAD are inventoried and described in the recent publication Guide to Catholic Indian Mission and School Records in Midwest Repositories by Philip Bantin.

The first bishop, Frederick Rese (1833-1842) administered the Detroit diocese which extended into present-day Wisconsin. He left Detroit under curious circumstances after only nine years and left few official records. His successor was Bishop Peter Paul LeFevre. It is during Bishop LeFevre's episcopacy that the diocesan records really begin documenting the pastoral, missionary, legal, and financial activities. Materials are divided into three series: First, manuscript items, largely singular documents as deeds and incoming mail; secondly, bound 'Letterbooks' of the Bishops', Vicar-Generals', or Chancellors' outgoing official letters, and finally, bound volumes of financial records. During the final years of Bishop LeFevre's administration, parish, school, and cemetery annual and financial reports and estimates become more common and consistent. These early parish records that demonstrate the evolving relationship between the 'Chancery' and the parishes form another record group, PARISH FILES, which are discussed below.

The records of the next two bishops, Caspar Henry Borgess (1870-1887) and John Samuel Foley (1888-1918) share the same series and organization as their predecessors. The Bishops' Administrative Papers have been arranged chronologically with files for certain noteworthy subjects. One prominent change during the episcopacies of these later bishops is that the Letterbook series ends in 1914, as a result of broader acceptance of the typewriter. The collection of records from the fifth episcopal administration in Detroit, that of Bishop Michael James Gallagher (1918-1937) also suffers from this transition to the typewriter. Letters no longer compiled in a sturdy book, existed as singular sheets of fragile paper and were easily lost before they could be properly dealt with and organized. During the Gallagher episcopacy, the 'Chancery' grew tremendously and another series, described below, begins - the CHANCERY COLLECTION.

The Edward Cardinal Mooney Administrative Collection (1937-1958) represents the first voluminous episcopal collection in Detroit. Only a preliminary inventory of these materials has been completed as opposed to complete in-house finding aids for the collections of all the previous administrations. The initial appraisal and several scholars' comments reveal a surprising gap in the materials regarding the events and tone of Cardinal Mooney's actual episcopacy in Detroit. He was reputed to have transacted an overwhelming amount of his business over the telephone. This collection is rich, however, in tracing Cardinal Mooney's activities in the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Few records of Detroit's most recent former Archbishop, John Cardinal Dearden (1958-1981) are yet in the AAD.

Parish Files

I. Open Parishes. The parish files date back to the nineteenth century and contain assorted items generated or accumulated by the Chancery to form the administrative viewpoint of the parish. The Parish Files are divided into five series: A. Canonical Documents, B. Official Reports, C. Correspondence, D. School Materials and E. Historical Materials. The earliest records are primarily reports with an occasional inventory, letter, or petition. The series of reports in the files extends to 1920, after which these are available on microfilm. The bulk of the correspondence in these files dates from 1920. Still, these files possess a wealth of information on every aspect of parish life.

The AAD encourages each parish to keep its own archives as required by Canon Law. The AAD could not possibly begin to house all of the parish archives nor would it be proper to do so even
Parish History Programs that strive to assist parishioners in the Archdiocese in writing their parish histories by providing them with basic research techniques and to make them aware of all the possible sources of information in the vicinity.

Institutional endorsement for the AAD is solid and enthusiastic. Essential to its growth and continued success is the support of Archbishop Edmund Szoka and the Chancellor and former archivist, Rev. Leonard P. Blair. Internal use has quadrupled in recent years. The AAD has responded well to the increased activity and has become an integral part of the Archdioces of Detroit.

Elizabeth Yakel, Archivist
Archdiocese of Detroit

Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise: Toleration and Community in Colonial Maryland, 1634-1725

My dissertation examines religion and culture in colonial Maryland for the first century of its history. For a variety of reasons, the dissertation is well-timed, I think. For example, the inter-denominational bitterness that colored much of the early work on Maryland's religious history (often rendering that work hopelessly parochial) is a thing of the past. Our understanding of religion itself differs from what it was a generation or so ago as well; today, for example, we are curious about questions of religion and social identity, not just about church structure or theology. Further, the work of the contemporary social historians has tremendously expanded our understanding of the social context in which religion operated in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Maryland, and so a study of the place of religion in early colonial Maryland is important for no other reason than to set religion into the society of its time with precision. Finally, the religious history of early Maryland can complement the emerging social portrait of the colony. Indeed, an understanding of colonial Maryland's development is incomplete, perhaps even impossible, without an understanding of the role of religion in the origin, growth, and eventual transformation of early colonial Maryland.

My thesis blends social and intellectual history to argue that while Lord Baltimore's provision for religious toleration through his refusal to establish any state church was intended to remove the state from "matters of conscience" and equalize all religious groups by forcing them to depend only upon their membership for support, toleration favored in practice religious dissenters who had adapted to survive in the hostile ecclesiastical world of England. Baltimore's policy forced the various denominations to compete for membership, and the early advantage in Maryland (before the reversal of toleration with the establishment of the Church of England in 1692) went to denominations which had already adopted missionary or evangelical strategies that they could bring to Maryland. Because the disabilities of the English establishment did not extend to Maryland, dissenters there were able to form tightly-knit communities based in religion which helped confer economic, political, and social prominence upon their members, and also helped them to withstand in part the stresses of early Chesapeake life. These clear advantages combined with the virtual monopoly the dissenters held on public worship in early Maryland to greatly aid in attracting members. Initially, Catholics were especially favored, however unintentionally, owing to their history of survival under the active persecutions of the Elizabethan era and the presence in Maryland of the Jesuits, a highly trained missionary clergy. The appearance of Quaker missionaries after 1655 solved for dissenting Protestants the chronic problem of a lack of ministers, a condition from which all Maryland's Protestants suffered. The missionaries were the midwives of Maryland's Quaker community, the dissenting Protestant counterpart to Maryland's Catholic community. Thus, Maryland became the home of a vigorous Quaker population an entire generation before the founding of Pennsylvania.
The cohesion of the dissenters communities and the degree to which they became entrenched within Maryland society generally had two long-term consequences. The contrast between the vital dissenter churches and the anemic condition of the Church of England in seventeenth-century Maryland fed mainstream Protestant discontent and formed one of the bases for Maryland's own "Glorious Revolution" of 1689. However, the strength of the dissenter communities also was an important part of the context in which the Church of England was established in Maryland following the repeal of Baltimore's policy of toleration there after that revolution.

The story of religion in early Maryland, then, is the story of two things: the intellectual history of toleration as the Baltimores conceived of it and the social histories of the religious communities their idea made possible. While some sense of the nature of religious community in early Maryland has been suggested above, this history's relationship to toleration can be further clarified by presenting, as it were, two snapshots of toleration, one from the middle of the seventeenth century, the other taken seventy-five years later. Religious toleration was initially an idea conceived by the Calverts, of course, but it was even more a practical policy that took shape under the pressure of events. Religious toleration began as the hope of the proprietor to open for all dissenters, and most especially for his fellow Roman Catholic countrymen, civil freedoms not available to them in England. This hope was based firmly upon the Calverts' own experiences of religious discrimination, and their solution was straightforward: to prevent the establishment of any church in Maryland by denying all ecclesiastical claims to public support through taxation.

But it was only after the founding of Maryland and in the evolution of the colony's history that religious toleration became more than the Calverts' pious hope. Cecilius Calvert was quick to realize that religious toleration could be an effective weapon in the uncertain world of seventeenth-century English politics. At various times, Calvert welcomed religious dissenters to Maryland to gain leverage against some Virginia promoters who hoped to undo his charter, to attract the colonial workforce he vitally needed to make his colony prosperous, to diffuse radical Protestant attacks against him in England, and to strengthen his claims to disputed territory in Maryland. In welcoming different religious groups into his colony, Calvert backed into a broader conception of religious toleration than he could have imagined. The religious diversity he cultivated for highly practical reasons created the first distinctly modern, heterogeneous society in the American colonies, paved the way for such formal enunciations of the policy of toleration as the celebrated Act Concerning Religion of 1649 (itself a highly pragmatic document), and posed numerous political problems. The hopes of the Calverts thus united with the exigencies of seventeenth-century events in Maryland and England to shape colonial America's first real experiment in religious freedom.

The establishment of the Church of England in 1692 turned Maryland's ecclesiastical life on its head. Catholics and Quakers now faced a government whose goal it was to contain them. The government and the established Church largely succeeded in this goal, bringing to bear a variety of pressures to discourage the two groups, the Catholics especially. Yet, both Catholics and Quakers retained a proud sense of their own distinctive identities and were finally able to find a kind of triumph in their spirited debates with the provincial government over their rights and liberties as Englishmen.

Under the influence of the establishment, Quakers and Catholics reflected upon the history of Maryland, and especially on the place of toleration within that history, and advanced arguments for religious toleration firmly rooted in English political theory and practice. While the theory they fashioned after 1692 originated chiefly in attempts to seek redress from specific grievances, it represented a shift in the development of toleration from a pragmatic policy to a principle of right.
Each group worked independently of the other, the Quakers advancing "The Case of the People Called Quakers" to Governor Francis Nicholson in 1697 to seek relief from ecclesiastical taxation, the Catholics circulating a pamphlet privately about 1718 defending their rights to "Liberty and Property." (Although the pamphlet was anonymous, it was probably the work of Jesuit priest Peter Attwood.) The argument of both works is remarkably similar: English freedoms had been perfected in Maryland by extending them through the privatization of religion. Even dissenters had become qualified for public freedoms, and the province had flourished. In removing the linchpin of toleration from Baltimore's original vision for the colony, the new royal government had restored religion to the realm of public concern and thereby destroyed the basic rights of many Marylanders, rights to which they were entitled as Englishmen. The dissenter counter-strategy, whether Catholic or Quaker, was to appeal to their Anglican countrymen as fellow Englishmen, possessing Englishmen's rights. In so doing, they based religious liberty upon the firm common ground of traditional English political and property rights. Provincial authorities ignored their arguments, unfortunately, and the redress of Catholic and Quaker grievances in Maryland waited until the revolutionary era.

By 1720, however, religious toleration in Maryland had come full circle. Begun as a principled but pragmatic policy that evolved in fits and starts, it gained its first theoretical statement only after the establishment of the Church of England and the end of the freedoms it had made possible. And while the Catholic Calverts would undoubtedly have been disappointed in the way their experiment turned out, it is appropriate that Catholics and Quakers, those who benefitted most from Cecilius Calvert's gamble, were able to pay back their profound debt to him by refashioning into a fundamental right the religious freedom that he had only haltingly conceived.

Michael Graham, S.J.
Weston School of Theology