Migration, Exile and Absence: Catholicism on the British Atlantic Frontier, 1634-1699

Kelsey Elizabeth Champagne
Yale University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, champagne.kelsey@gmail.com

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This dissertation examines the ways in which Catholics in the seventeenth-century British Atlantic balanced their competing identities as English, Scottish and Irish subjects and Catholics, despite persecution for their religion. It traces the stories of four groups of Catholics who, facing drastically different opportunities and restrictions, stubbornly refused to renounce their religion and conform. By 1660, Catholicism had been outlawed in the British Isles for a century, punishable by fines, forfeiture and even execution. Faced with persecution from their governments and neighbors and combatting a drastic dearth of resources in the form of priests, devotional items and sacraments, Catholic men and women adapted their religion to accommodate the unique needs and capabilities of themselves and their communities. While the institution of the Catholic Church has long enjoyed a reputation as a centralized, rigid and authoritative body with near-global command, the reality of lived Catholicism does not always cohere. The seventeenth-century British Isles and British Atlantic existed far on the fringes of Catholicism, where regulation was impossible, catechism infrequent and parishioners strikingly diverse. This dissertation examines the plurality of experiences of Catholicism among four groups of its followers: middle-class Scottish Catholic priests who self-exiled in Europe where they received a humanistic education and missionary training; poor, illiterate, Gaelic-speaking Catholic laymen and women in the Scottish Highlands and Islands who benefitted from a Catholic mission; Catholics in the colony of Maryland who enjoyed the ability to access and practice their religion openly, but faced violent political instability; and poor Irish Catholic indentured servants who labored alongside African slaves in the Caribbean.
This dissertation argues that Catholic priests and parishioners adapted the tenets of the Catholic Church to their unique needs and restrictions. At the same time, they each sacrificed much in the pursuit of their devotion. Scottish priests in Europe engaged deeply with theology and doctrinal debates, but left behind their homes, their families, their land and some of their traditions. When they returned to Scotland as priests, their mission sprawled the country from Edinburgh to Aberdeen to Inverness and across the blustery western seas to the Outer Hebrides. In those places, they found Catholics desperately lacking proper catechesis and deeply ignorant of the higher points of doctrine. Through their teachings and the circulation of sacral objects including holy oils, sacraments and devotional texts, these priests helped to enlighten Catholics and preserve that religion for another generation. Across the Atlantic, Catholics in Maryland won legal toleration and even built their own churches. However, constant political drama and the intense physical demands of a new colony consistently distracted from worship and required devotional flexibility. Finally, Irish Catholics in the West Indies struggled to transplant their religion abroad in an environment nearly destitute of Catholic influence. Separated from their families and their homes and thrust into servitude in the harshest climates of the Caribbean, they practiced their religion quietly, in small gatherings in private homes.

In all of these places, priests and laypeople alike practiced an imperfect form of Catholicism based on restriction, absence and disagreement. Nevertheless, they created a church that transcended the physical space of worship and adapted the central principles of the institution. Theirs was a faith imbibed and embodied. For those who remained Catholic, their religion was etched into their souls and carved into their very essence. For that reason, they could not easily reject it in the face of hardship and loss. Everywhere they shared in the pain of absence of loved ones, of homes, of resources and of freedom. Everywhere, too, they shared a
resistance to persecution and a dedication to the values, communities and identities that centered on their dual status as Catholics and as imperial subjects.
Migration, Exile and Absence:
Catholicism on the British Atlantic Frontier, 1634-1699

A Dissertation
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of
Yale University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Kelsey Elizabeth Champagne

Dissertation Directors: Carlos M.N. Eire and Kathryn Lofton

June 2021
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many believe that scholarly research and writing is a solitary enterprise. In some ways, it can be. We spend a great deal of time silently reading in archives, ruminating on our findings in our apartments and hotel rooms abroad. No work is written without many hours sacrificed to quiet libraries and cozy offices. But the image of a scholar sitting alone with her sources and her laptop overlooks the profound communities of support that play an invaluable and incalculable role in the production of a project like this. This dissertation would never have materialized without the overwhelming patience, generosity and kindness of so many wonderful people.

The research for this project would not have been possible without the financial support of the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, the MacMillan Center at Yale, the John F. Enders Fellowship, International Security Studies at Yale, the Stern Center at Johns Hopkins and Marsh’s Library in Dublin. I am deeply indebted to the archivists and curators at those institutions and many others, especially at Arundel Castle, the University of Aberdeen Special Collections and Historic St. Mary’s City.

I am so fortunate to have fostered the academic community that I have. Thank you, Elizabeth Patton, for first introducing me to the world of Elizabethan Catholicism as a wide-eyed first-year at Johns Hopkins. I am tremendously indebted to your personal leadership during my undergraduate years and your continued guidance since then. Without you, I never would have become a historian. Thank you to my permanent mentor, Earle Havens. I could never repay all that you have done from me, from encouraging me to pursue a Ph.D. to igniting my passion for curating. No one has influenced my work or my career more than you. I hope you know how much your mentorship means to me, though I could never adequately express my gratitude. To my wonderful committee at Yale, I am so thankful for the grace and kindness with which you
have treated my work. To Bruce Gordon and Stuart Schwartz, thank you for your insight, your critiques and your advice on various drafts of this work. To Steve Pincus, thank you for noticing the potential in me and teaching me what it means to be a historian. You pushed me to explore new territories, to ask questions that frightened me and transformed me from a timid first year to a confident historian. To Carlos Eire, thank you for your unwavering support from day one. You have taught me to take seriously the beliefs of people of the past and to engage with them on their own terms. More importantly, you have inspired me to always listen to my own voice and write the history that calls to me. Thanks to your gentle and kind support, I have been able to put myself into this dissertation. Lastly, to Katie Lofton, thank you for excelling as both an academic advisor and a friend. Your feedback on countless drafts has transformed this dissertation immensely, but our many conversations about doubts and anxieties as well as excitements and triumphs in and out of the academic world have been invaluable to me. You have always validated my work and helped me to grow from a student into a scholar. I cannot express how much your guidance has meant to me.

To my friends and colleagues at Yale who have learned with me, laughed with me and cried with me throughout this entire process, I am eternally thankful. I will always be grateful for my first friendship at Yale with Catherine Treesh. It is hard today to remember how young, intimidated and excited we felt at the beginning of our first year. Thank you, Catherine, for the many nights we spent navigating this new world of academia over a bottle of wine and hot chocolate. To Stéphanie Machabée, Mallory Hope and Emily Hurt, thank you for reading drafts and providing laughs. I have loved watching our friendship blossom across time zones and continents. Most special thanks are due to Russ Gasdia. I could never express how lucky I feel to have found not only a brilliant colleague with seemingly endless knowledge of Early Modern
European religious history, but also what I know will be a lifelong friendship. So many others have brightened my time at Yale with their scholarly insight, their kindness and, most importantly, their laughter in times of stress. For that, I am grateful.

Throughout the past six years, the greatest support of all has come from my family. To Angela, Seamus, Imelda, Kevin, Shannen, Craig, Becky, Gabrielle, Isabelle and Lewis, thank you for hosting me during my time in Ireland and trekking me all over the country. I had the most amazing time sharing stories and laughing and loving like only family can. To Josh and John, my chosen family, thank you for making me laugh when I wanted to cry, for traveling the world with me and for standing by my side for these many years. No friendship has ever meant more to me. To Christine, thank you for a lifetime of friendship and sisterhood. I am so grateful for the days we spent on Shore Dr. sharing wine and meals as I holed up to write this dissertation and the month that we lived together this summer. Thank you for helping me to work through my career questions with patience and insight. To Kristen and Will for always reconnecting me to what matters at your Friendsgiving and New Year’s celebrations of friends and family. Thank you for the effort you have given to understand my work and the laughter you always bring to our family. I am finally getting my degree in “reading.” Now it’s your turn to read! To Lauren, I am so grateful for the endless hours we spent discussing religion and race in the living room as I wrote my final chapter. I am so deeply happy that we found solace in each other during this pandemic and have grown our sisterhood into a deeper friendship during these last six months. To my grandparents, Ma and Da, Memere and Pepere, I could never say enough thanks. You have taught me so much over the last twenty-seven years and I am so blessed to have you in my life. You have inspired my love of travel, my need to experience new food and music and culture. You have taught me the importance of education and gifted to me the insatiable desire to
always learn, in the classrooms of the university and the world. To Fisnik, thank you for the light you have brought to my life these last four years. You have inspired me with your unwavering commitment to family, friends and happiness and your refusal to succumb to stress. Thank you for all the laughter and joy you have brought me, for dancing with me everywhere from Paris to Rome to our kitchen. Most especially, thank you for always supporting me, even when my work has taken me far from you. Finally, to my parents. I could never possibly express how amazing you both are. Everything that I am is because of you. I could never have done this without your encouragement, your support, your advice and your love. Extra thanks to my mom, Sharon, for the endless hours spent on the phone and in person dissecting every piece of my dissertation. If anyone has ever deserved an honorary Ph.D., it is you for everything you have learned about British Catholicism. Your voice has guided this work so much and your love and guidance has kept me grounded and given me the strength to write exactly the dissertation I wanted. Thank you.
ABBREVIATIONS

MHS: Maryland Historical Society

MPA: Maryland Province Archives, Georgetown University

MSA: Maryland State Archives

SCA: Scottish Catholic Archives, University of Aberdeen

TNA: The National Archives of the UK
To my mom. No words could ever express my gratitude.
**Foreword**

I sit down at my grandparents’ kitchen table, ready to finally record two lifetimes of stories that I have heard countless times, stories that have shaped three generations. Across from me sits my grandmother, Ma, lighting her first cigarette since my arrival before she begins to listen and to share. Between us sits my grandfather, Da, eager to repeat the well-worn tales that fall as easily from his lips as raindrops from a cloud. I am ready to eternalize the stories that have rung in my ears for twenty-seven years and to learn stories that perhaps even my grandparents have forgotten or buried. I am eager to memorialize their voices, their lilting, feathery accents punctuated by Da's boisterous, conspiratorial laugh and his verbal tick, "yeah, yeah, yeah" and by Ma's interjections of dún do bhéal, "shut your mouth." I press record and they begin.

* * * * *

My grandfather has always been a vivid storyteller. His favorite pastime is to regale anyone who will listen—neighbors, store clerks, friends of friends of friends—with memories from his life in the "Auld Country." He reminisces on his time in England where he worked as a meat-cutter in Epping, Essex and Torquay, Devonshire. He hums and sways along with the shadow of his younger self dancing at ballrooms in Cambridge and Chelsea. But our favorite stories are those from his childhood as one of thirteen sons and daughters of a farmer and his Gaelic teacher wife in Rathangan, Co. Kildare, Ireland. He loves to contrast my and my sisters' love of learning with his own disdain for school and chides his boy-self for refusing the opportunity to receive an education. When his farm duties did not pull him from the schoolhouse, the quiet call of the hazelnut groves and the romantic pull of the bog did. He loved the Bog of Allen. Loved to feel the land between his toes and run in the vast open space. Once, when we were young, he took us there. More recently, I visited the bog again with my cousin, Lewis. It is a sight to behold. A
vast brown flatness stretches for miles, its barrenness breathtaking. Lewis, so much like my
grandfather, his great uncle, waited patiently as the phantom of a younger Da emerged in my
imagination, footing turf and wrestling with his friends. It was a poignant moment for me, full of
emotion and appreciation for the man that has shaped my life and inspired my work in so many
ways.

* * * * *

Da has always been the talker of our family. Ma, by contrast, has few fond memories of her
early life in Ireland. She left that world behind, literally and emotionally, the day she flew from
Shannen Airport to Idlewild at the age of seventeen. Ireland birthed her, but it was a place from
which she always wished to escape. It has never been for her the idyllic Eden of Da’s memory.
Even so, whispers of her past have sometimes escaped, ghosts of memories she often ignores.
"When I first came to this country," she likes to say in her rolling Irish accent, "nobody had any
money. I had to take the train from Sligo into Shannen [Airport] by myself. Never been outside
the doors of Sligo. I got there [and] had no idea where I was…I looked like a refugee." She had
no money, only some Waterford crystal and a small bag of clothes to meet her aunt at Idlewild
airport, renamed John F. Kennedy Airport in 1963. With the help of a friendly stewardess, my
grandmother found her gate and flew, for the very first time, to America, to a future that would
bring her family, pride and happiness.

Together, Ma and Da have blessed my sisters and me with the gift of their memories. They
have painted a picture of a past that they no longer live, of a country that has been lost to
modernity. They have offered us a window into a different world through their stories and their
kitchen and their stereo, carrying us back to Ireland's past through their words and songs and
dances and food. I did not fully realize until I finished this dissertation, when someone asked me
what my personal investment was, that the answer had been in front of me my entire life. I did
not write this dissertation as a reclamation of a Catholic past. I did not come from a vantage
point of personal religious investment, although I did grow up in a culturally Catholic household,
an *Irish* Catholic household. It is the Irishness inside my soul that has inspired this work, rather
than the Catholicness. The ghosts of a Celtic-Catholic past—shared, in many ways, by Catholics
in Scotland and Maryland and the West Indies in the seventeenth century as well as by my
grandparents—have always called to me and they have led me here. For a lifetime of inspiration,
this dissertation was begun by grandparents and written for them.
Introduction

Every American is born of migration. In my family, that fact has shaped our values, our food, our music. It has determined the way we grieve and the way we love. The story of my maternal grandparents is, in many ways, a familiar one. They arrived with nothing, toiled until their hands were raw and their feet sore, met in Hartford, CT and together worked tirelessly to provide opportunities to their children and grandchildren that were inconceivable to an uneducated, poor Irish woman and her husband. Thanks to stereotypes and prejudices that had forged deep roots in America, my grandparents also faced discrimination as people made assumptions about them based on their voices, wrote them off as religiously, racially and intellectually stilted for their Irish blood and their Catholic faith.

The Catholicism that they embodied was less a pure religious position than a hybrid form, one that wove traditions from a more ancient past carved into the land of Ireland into their prayers to God, the Madonna and Catholic saints. Growing up in rural Ireland, my maternal grandparents lived a unique blend of Church-approved Catholicism and homegrown practice. Though from Sligo and Kildare—opposite sides of the country—they had strikingly similar religious blends. They both attended Mass every Sunday, monthly Holy Hour and Confession and annual Mission weeks. They and their parents and siblings knelt on the kitchen floor every night to pray the rosary and called on the intercession of a myriad of saints to help solve a wealth of problems. But their devotional practices, though earnestly pious, were not entirely orthodox. Ma and Da and everyone they knew left offerings at wells of Celtic priestesses and showed deference to the creatures of the Ráth, or fairy fort. While Catholicism dominated the religious landscape of Ireland for centuries, it never eradicated the stubborn resistance of a much older tradition than inspired their spirituality, their sense of social order and their humor. Once, when
my grandfather was a child, the forge man from a neighboring village called at their farmhouse for supper, followed by praying the rosary. Each time that they said "pray for us," the forge man, to the dismay of my great-grandfather, instead called out "make tea for us"—tea is pronounced "tay" in an Irish accent. Another time, my great-aunt held her rosary beads in one hand and smacked her son across the jaw with the other before seamlessly continuing her Hail Marys—hardly the act of a gentle Catholic woman. Being Catholic was just one part of who they were, but there were many other religious and cultural forces that shaped and inspired them.

Ma and Da's ideas of "Ireland" and what it meant to be Irish were no less conventional than their religious practice. While my grandfather idealizes the "Auld Country" today, my grandmother, like many other women who emigrated from there, waxes indifferent on her Irish heritage. "When I filled out my first job application," she told me once, "it asked for my nationality. I had to ask my aunt what that meant. I had no idea." When her aunt told her that she was Irish, my grandmother shrugged and wrote down the five letters that would grow to define her in the years to come, more by others than by herself. Ma had never envisioned herself as "Irish." She positioned herself in relation to her family and to her town, a town that she had never left until she left for good. When she did grow to think of herself as Irish, she did not imagine a coherent polity, united by religious or ethnic sameness standing in opposition to its Protestant and British neighbors to the north. Those divisions never impacted the poor, illiterate woman from Sligo Town, so close to the northern border, any more than they did the farmer's youngest son across the country in a small village in Co. Kildare who would become her husband many years later and many more miles away.

Yet in the public imagination and scholarship, the idea of "Irishness" has long denoted a particular racial and religious identity. A particularly inferior one at that, marked by barbarism,
incivility and popery. Since the Protestant Reformation reached the shores of the British Isles, religion has been central to hierarchies of power and human worth. Within those, Catholics—especially Irish Catholics—historically ranked at the very bottom. Politics and religion, empire and race have always commingled to create systems that safeguarded Anglo-Protestant superiority, Irish Catholic inferiority and Scottish in-betweenness.¹ These hierarchies reiterate a static, unidimensional idea of everyone involved, including Catholic subjects, who are often read as inferior, simple and blindly obedient to an idolatrous Church. Yet as my grandparents demonstrate, it is not so simple to flatten a person to a particular religious view. As I began to read histories of Catholicism in the British Empire, I was struck by the profound absence of narratives that took seriously the voices of Catholics and accounted for their communal and personal complexities. I sought to understand how a person could be proudly Catholic—or, like my grandfather, proudly Irish—but not simply Catholic or Irish. Often, the imperial framework of both the British Empire and the Catholic Church becomes totalizing, but within them people expressed and embodied complex identities that do not fit into neat categorizations.

This dissertation finds this complexity in four groups of Catholics who resided within British territories and bore English, Scottish and Irish heritage.² On these imperial borderlands, I observe the form Catholicism took on the fringes of the Catholic world. The story I tell follows middle-class missionary priests on their journeys from Continental seminaries and universities into the blustery terrain of the Scottish Highlands and Islands, where they ministered to their unlettered, widely dispersed, Gaelic-speaking parishioners. I observe wealthy English men

¹ These hierarchies were never neat or static. Catholics could inhabit higher spaces of influence, particularly if they made efforts to disguise their religion. Mixed in with Catholics and conformists were other Protestant dissenters, as well as non-Christians. The Welsh also occupied a fourth national and political category different from the Scots and the Irish. With their own language and culture, they were distinct from the English, Irish and Scottish, but were politically subsumed within the English polity.

² “British,” in this dissertation, delimits shared heritage, shared empire and shared Crown. It does not refer to a distinct political unity, which would not emerge until the Anglo-Scottish Union in 1707.
excited to embark on a new project of religious freedom in the aptly named colony of Maryland. I track poor Irish men and women forced on ships across the Atlantic Ocean to newly conquered and sparsely populated West Indian islands. Each group faced different modes of persecution and absence. What they shared in common was their engagement with the idea of Catholicism as a space of interpretation and self-understanding. They refused to allow their religion to become the instrument of their submission, but rather adopted it as their tool of resistance.

By 1660, Catholicism had been outlawed in the British Isles for a century. Fears of Catholicism had played a role in the Civil Wars of the 1640s, which resulted in the regicide of Charles I in 1649 and a subsequent period of republican rule. On May 29, 1660, monarchy was restored when Charles II returned to London as King. His rule was marked by great fluctuations in religious policy and religious sentiment. In 1678, hysteria swept the British Isles thanks to the so-called Popish Plot, a suspected conspiracy between English and French Catholics accused of colluding together to overthrow the Church of England and re-institute the Roman Catholic Church under Charles II’s younger brother, James II.³ While the Plot was exposed as a fabrication by radical Titus Oates, it nevertheless intensified anti-Catholic sentiment and dovetailed with the Exclusion Crisis, a political maneuver to excise Charles II’s younger Catholic brother, James, Duke of York, from the line of succession. Charles II thwarted these efforts, however, and upon his death in 1685, the Duke of York was crowned King James II in England, Ireland and the Empire and James VII in Scotland. James's brief reign heralded religious toleration of both Catholics and Protestant dissenters. Following his 1687 Declaration of Indulgence, which extended toleration to all Christians, many Catholics returned from places of

³ Because Scotland and England were joined under the same crown in 1603 under James II’s grandfather, James II was James VII in Scotland. Therefore, in the first two chapters dealing with Scottish Catholics, I will refer to him as James VII. In subsequent chapters that focus on colonial spaces, I use his English and imperial title, James II.
religious refuge in continental Europe back to England, Scotland and Ireland, where they enjoyed a brief period of toleration until 1688. That year, a group of discontented English Protestants invited Dutch prince, William of Orange, to invade England and overthrow the Catholic King in the Glorious Revolution. While anti-Catholic legislation and sentiment would lessen over the course of the eighteenth century, the immediate aftermath of the Glorious Revolution heightened anxieties across the religious spectrum and threatened the future of British Catholicism.

As religious policies and practices vacillated greatly between 1660 and the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution of 1688, remaining Catholic was no easy feat. Neither is accessing the voices and beliefs of those who refused to conform. British Protestants so successfully minimized, reduced and infantilized their Catholic compatriots that even the written record of British Catholicism remains sparse and its reputation as something other, as something inferior, endured into the twentieth century. Their final victory adds a deeper layer to this story: the occlusion of British Catholicism from the archives and, consequently, from Anglo historiography. Traditionally, scholarship on British religious and imperial history tends to either overlook Catholicism entirely or place that religion directly in opposition to English and British national and imperial identity. In his groundbreaking work, Imagined Communities, Benedict Anderson argued that the idea of the nation “came to maturity at a stage of human history when even the most devout adherents of any universal religion were inescapably confronted with the living pluralism of such religions.” Despite the fact that Anderson’s theoretical conception of

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6 Ibid, 7.
the nation as an imagined community is often cited by scholars of early English national identity, most accounts seem to overlook the importance of pluralism outside of Protestant traditions. Instead, notions of English identity by both contemporaries and historians often tie it to conformity with the national church or, at the very least, profession of Protestantism in one of its many forms. Beyond England, historians have peddled the idea of a Protestant British Empire that defined itself in opposition to Catholic Spain and, by the eighteenth century, Catholic France. This confrontational depiction of a pluralist Protestant empire against a controlling Catholic one has sparked discussions about religious coexistence of Protestants, while failing to reckon with the presence of Catholics in imperial spaces. Those Catholics have figured into narratives of the British Empire only as the ‘other’ against which all Protestants were opposed. Consequently, scholarship on Catholicism has always been sidelined in the story of modern Great Britain and its mainstream historiography.

Nevertheless, there is a substantial and growing subfield of British Catholic studies that is becoming more prominent in the larger field of British studies, though scholars still face skepticism from those who do not focus primarily on British Catholicism. There has long existed a stigma against British Catholic studies, borne out of a misconception that the field is

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7 The prevailing myth is that English/British national identity was circumscribed within a Protestant discourse. England/Britain specifically defined itself in opposition to the Catholic Church and this opposition was ingrained in England/Britain’s secular and political constitution ever since the Elizabeth Settlement which forever linked Church and State. This analysis allows no space for British Catholics in the ideological construction of the British State. Even into the twentieth century, scholars, led by William Haller, Anthony Fletcher, David Loades and Patrick Collinson, have rooted England’s national identity in its pluralistic, but distinctly Protestant, religious fabric. They either explicitly excluded Catholicism from their discussions or silently ignored its existence. In her brilliant book, Britons, Linda Colley conceived of “Britishness” as being “superimposed over an array of internal differences in response to contact with the Other, and above all in response to conflict with the Other” of Catholic France, but leaves no room for the inclusion of British Catholics within the emerging national and imperial identity of the eighteenth century. Patrick Collinson, The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Cambridge: Palgrave, 1988), 1; ix; William Haller, The Elect Nation: The Meaning and Relevance of Foxe’s Book of Martyrs (New York: Harper & Row, 1963); David Loades, “The Origins of English Protestant Nationalism” in Religion and National Identity, ed. Stuart Mews (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982); Anthony Fletcher, “The First Century of English Protestantism and the Growth of National Identity” in Mews, Religion; Linda Colley, Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).
characterized by a desire to recast Catholics of the English, Scottish and Irish past as martyrs and heroes. This is not entirely unfounded. Until the mid-twentieth century, pseudo-hagiographical accounts of a persecuted minority group, heroically clutching to life from their position on the margins of society for three hundred years dominated post-Reformation Catholic scholarship in England. Many of these scholars were themselves Catholics and priests who used their narratives to trace their own religious lineage back to Early Modern Anglo Catholic martyrs. Often, they endowed their works with such eulogistic titles as *Catholicism in England: Portrait of a Minority; The Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers; In the Brave Days of Old; The Martyrs Declared Venerable* and more.\(^8\) Others, especially the invaluable transcriptions of manuscript sources in the volumes published by the Catholic Record Society, provided extensive records of Catholics and especially Jesuits—including those still active at the time of publication—supplied with laudatory introductions and commentaries.\(^9\)

By the end of the twentieth century, scholars of Catholic history sought to shake the yoke of heroism and glorification that marked earlier texts. For some, the prefatory sections of their works indicated the residual bias against including Catholicism in a predominantly Protestant historiography in the mid- to late-twentieth century. Christopher Haigh and Alison Shell, for example, felt compelled to clarify their status as non-Catholics in the introductions to their respective books, claiming a purely intellectual interest, rather than personally confessional one in the field.\(^10\) Their assertions of professionalism bespoke a continued suspicion among many


\(^9\) Catholic Record Society (Great Britain), *Catholic Record Society Publications* (London: The Society, 1965-).

historians that an objective interest in reconceiving the role of Catholics in post-Reformation England and Britain was inconceivable. Questions from critics suggest finding substance in the Catholic past is itself an inherently biased exploration. This prejudice appears frequently at conferences, where panelists, including myself, often field questions about their personal religious investment or pre-empt such inquiries with a declaration of neutrality to limit their perceived biases. Even despite these and other efforts of many scholars from the late twentieth century forward, the stigma against Catholic history written by Catholics persists. In 2009, Gabriel Glickman still saw the need to push against nineteenth century historians of the so-called Second Spring school, many of whom were Catholics themselves, whose own confession tainted their analyses: “as they breathed the air of emancipation after 1829, Catholic scholars duly marveled at the endurance of their community, through unimagined vicissitudes.” However, this “black-and-white image of the past” has created a narrative of heroic Catholics who were nevertheless set in opposition and otherness just as much as in the very Whig narratives that relegated recusants to the margins of the page in the first place. The Catholic remains a suspect speaker in the historical profession.

Nevertheless, scholars continued to move the field forward, following the lead of John Bossy, whose seminal text, *The English Catholic Community*, adopted a wider scope that distinguishes it from the many regional studies of English Catholicism that have proliferated.

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12 Ibid, 3.
Building upon the foundations laid by that kind of research, Bossy constructed in 1975 a narrative, based on extensive primary research and compelling statistical data, that spanned three centuries and considered English Catholics all over England and on the Continent "a branch of the English nonconforming tradition" and consequently claimants to the broader English national and political community. Catholics were not the only ones who diverged from the established Church of England, but one group among many, an "alternative establishment" similar, politically and socially, to Presbyterianism, as Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó Hannracháin have argued. Building upon the foundation laid by John Bossy, Eamon Duffy, Alexandra Walsham, Gabriel Glickman, Alison Shell, Earle Havens, Elizabeth Patton and many others continue to work toward returning Catholics to a space of political and social belonging in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries not as “pariahs, but participants.”

Despite these steps, scholarship on British Catholicism has much room to grow. English Catholic histories still tend to be written by English and American historians, Scottish Catholic histories by Scottish historians and Irish histories by Irish historians. This nationalist myopia has resulted in the emergence of very separate fields of inquiry, despite the historically integrated nature of Catholicism among subjects of all three kingdoms. Gabriel Glickman stands as a

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16 Glickman, *Community*.
striking exception as he adopts a more holistic view of Catholicism in the three kingdoms and the Empire.\(^\text{18}\) However, Glickman’s work, like that of other imperial historians, focuses more on the political acumen of colonial Catholics than on their lived experiences and worship practices. Nevertheless, many others have masterfully illuminated the practices and devotions of Catholics, particularly in the English context. Eamon Duffy stands as a pioneer of lived religion in the field of Early Modern English Catholicism. His most influential book, *Stripping of the Altars*, has inspired a generation of scholars captivated by the experience of worshippers in England before, during and after the pivotal moment of the Reformation. He rejected the idea that the Reformation liberated English Christians and Christianity from a period of corruption and darkness, but rather severed their connection to generations of tradition. He painstakingly and beautifully illustrated the world of belief of English Christians before the break from Rome and his work has laid the foundations for future scholars to continue that method of exploration beyond the Reformation. Through literature, ephemera and objects, as well as historical archives, scholars on Anglo and British Catholicism have woven narratives that seek to supplant the primacy of politics and Protestantism and access more deeply, the realities of post-Reformation Catholic life. Alexandra Walsham has achieved this through her masterful study of the relationship between Catholics and religious dissenters and the physical spaces they engaged with. While some spaces of spiritual importance were desacralized during the Reformation, others achieved heightened religious significance as spaces of covert gatherings and sites of resistance to religious persecution. Earle Havens and Elizabeth Patton have focused on a network of Catholic women who worked distinctly outside the apparatuses of government and

politics while Alison Shell, Caroline Bowden and Peter Lake and Michael Questier have highlighted the ways in which religious conflict incited literary and theatrical productions and were reflected in them. Catholicism was not solely an area of political contention, but a lived and embodied religion.\(^\text{19}\)

In scholarship on colonial America, Catholicism falls deeper into obscurity, except in those studies that highlight the tolerant Catholic-predominant colony of Maryland. Historiography of religion in the early American context from the mid-twentieth century argued that the founders imagined a secular nation that encouraged the separation of Church and State and discouraged the imposition of religious proscription.\(^\text{20}\) But later twentieth-century scholars who focused on American religious pluralism have rejected this description of the founders' intentions and depicted the United States as emerging from a series of Protestant colonies that coerced their constituents to adhere to a particular religious agenda advocated by a particular religious institution. The proliferation of heterodoxies that defined colonial and early American life required the imposition of what David Sehat has called a "moral establishment" that used religion to regulate behavior.\(^\text{21}\) Many scholars have grappled with the idea of American religious pluralism, emphasizing the variants between pluralism as passive coexistence of different religions to active and conscious promotion of religious difference.\(^\text{22}\) Each form of pluralism,


\(^{20}\) Charles Taylor’s influence on secularization theory is undeniable. He conceptualized of the secular not as a complete turning away from God, but as the introduction of the possibility for unbelief. Thus, “secular” did not entail the removal of religion from society. Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).


however, indicates the existence of religious diversity in colonial America, including the presence of Catholics. For Catherine Albanese, this "manyness" of plural religions, including Catholicism, engendered the construction of boundaries, whereas the "oneness" of sharing the same myths of belonging inspired cultural unity that could transcend religious difference. This same duality can be applied to the seventeenth-century British Atlantic, where loyalty to the Crown demanded shared subjecthood. Julian Hoppit has argued that in the British Empire, "toleration, accommodation, and compromise, even if reluctantly given, was central to everyday life" and yet made no mention of the place of Catholicism in this pluralistic imperial society.

Over and over, historians have erased Catholics from the map of the British Atlantic. This erasure could not diminish the fact that while Catholic communities were small, the individuals among them were strong. Catholics can be discerned in sources from Barbados to Carolina, from Catholic Maryland to Puritan Boston. They lived, worked and died alongside their Protestant neighbors and contributed greatly to the formation of a society founded upon the interactions of individuals from a wide range of religious traditions. Their story begs to be told.

Much of this slippage owes to the idea that there is a great dearth of source material on British Catholics. Scholars of English Catholicism often lament the absence of documentation. As this dissertation demonstrates, the number of sources lessens dramatically the further away one moves from the epicenter of England, though Catholics worked at all edges of empire. Finding their voices in more remote spaces poses interpretative challenges. Consequently, this dissertation engages with a variety of methodologies inspired by the nature of evidence found in various archives relating to each colonial frontier locale and the particular group of Catholics that


23 Catherine L. Albanese, America: Religions and Religion, 3rd ed. (Santa Barbara: University of California, 1999).

sought to work and survive there. As a result, the narrative voice and focus shifts in each chapter in order to incorporate different documents and objects; this voice reflects an effort to reconstruct different Catholic realities and to overcome the silences of Protestant archives and narratives. Chapter 1 adopts a digital humanities approach, using geo-mapping technology to illustrate the international epistolary, institutional and personal networks that Scottish Catholics constructed throughout Scotland, England and Catholic Europe. Chapter 2 uses the framework of crossings to track the physical, emotional and spiritual journeys of secular priests as they returned to Scotland in service of the Catholic mission and to explore the nature of devotion among Scotland's poorest and most isolated Catholics. Chapter 3 uses material culture history to foreground a cache of archaeological artifacts found at the original Catholic settlement at St. Mary's City, Maryland. Chapter 4 examines the silences and biases of exclusively Protestant archives and pushes to the extreme the notion of absence and its profound effect on devotion in a world of deprivation in the West Indies.

Throughout this dissertation, the traditional historian's archive of letters and papers, broadsides and books is supplemented by music, literature and material culture. In addition to reading historical texts, I have read mythology, poetry and fiction informed by the historical pasts of England, Scotland and Ireland and by their individual experiences with persecution and exile. In addition to reading, I have listened—to music, to stories, to memories. In addition to listening, I have looked—at objects, at monuments, at spaces and at land that still bears the marks of their heritage. I have traveled to many of the sites studied here—to the Catholic Colleges in Paris and Rome, to the Scottish Highlands and Outer Hebrides, to Historic St. Mary's City, a living museum on the southern tip of Maryland. Although my endeavors to imbibe the culture, the memories and the legacies of these places and their histories do not often explicitly
frame my analysis, they have informed every step of my journey and influenced each argument and each word on the page. In unexpected places and in unexpected ways, the legacy of a people repeatedly overshadowed and overlooked can be found by working through the imperial frame of Protestantism to discern the Catholic work and struggle at the outer points of British control.

Through exploration of the parallel manifestations of Catholicism among English, Scottish and Irish Catholics in the Atlantic basin, it becomes apparent that while Catholic practice could survive and even sometimes thrive, Catholic power struggled to spread its roots through traditional paths and institutions. In Catholic Europe, Scottish Catholics created networks of exchange of people, funds, objects and ideas that relied on pre-existing institutions of Catholic education and devotion. These institutions served as the vessels through which individuals constructed an international community united by religion and by exile. They functioned as spaces of operation, but the true power of Scottish Catholicism in Europe lay in the strength of interpersonal relationships rather than in any inherent authority bestowed by the body of the Catholic Church.

As priests returned from Europe to Scotland in service of the mission, the primacy of people over institutions grew exponentially, magnifying the incapacity of the Church to nourish its followers in such a remote and dangerous region, both physically and politically. Neither an equal polity to England nor a wholly submitted colony like Ireland, seventeenth-century Scotland existed as a liminal imperial space within the European and British political orders. Devoid of official mission status by the Jesuits—existing rather as an extension of the English Province—and repeatedly denied ecclesiastical authority in the form of a bishop, Scotland failed also to achieve true belonging to the religious empire of the Catholic Church. Its Catholic priests, then,
had to convince both parishioners and the Church of the necessity of their office and assert their own authority rather than simply affirming that of the papacy.

Unlike Scotland, the Catholic Church viewed Maryland as central to its globalizing vision and immediately recognized the colony as a mission site. Home to dual Jesuit missions to indigenous tribes and English settlers and legally tolerant of Catholics, Maryland benefitted from Catholic churches, ministers, sacraments and artifacts. Even so, as the only British space that legally sanctioned Catholic worship, it stood always as an experiment in empire, in mission and in toleration. Even with the establishment of Catholic institutions and Catholic power there, it never truly resembled a Catholic polity. Moreover, the experiment faced continuous opposition before permanently failing in 1689 amid colonial aftershocks of the Glorious Revolution.

Thereafter, Catholic devotion continued relatively undeterred, though of a different kind, but the seeds sown by the Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy never flowered and its institutions crumbled.

While British Catholics in Europe, Scotland and Maryland all engaged with the formal institutions of the Catholic Church in different ways, Catholics in the British West Indies felt their absence acutely. There, where Catholicism persevered mainly through the devotions of Irish servants and their children, religion and race tangled together. In this crucial period of racial definition, domination of Europeans over other groups was not clearly a question of white versus non-white. Skin color represented one element of a complex social hierarchy. Crucially, Irish Catholics occupied a third category. Neither equal with other Europeans nor as “uncivilized” as black slaves, they vacillated between each demographic based on the needs of particular islands at particular times. Their religion and their ethnicity relegated them to their own racial space. As slave populations exploded, however, English Protestant settlers had little choice but to raise the Irish up in order to keep blacks down. Consequently, Irish Catholics were
central to the development of racial hierarchies, categories, rhetoric and discrimination in the British Atlantic.

The significance of these Catholics transcends institutions, structures, politics and theology. After all, while Catholicism was viewed by British Protestants as a complete, coherent, totalitarian body with central command, this was not the case on the ground for English, Irish and Scottish Catholics. However organized the institution of the Church may have been at its center, it disintegrated under the stresses of isolation and persecution. Because of that fact, the challenges that Catholics studied in this dissertation faced and the solutions they crafted were emotionally charged, they were spiritual and they were distinctly human. In each location, Catholics fought for belonging to a polity that did not want them and a religious community that struggled to include them. Reception of sacraments was necessary to salvation and could not be done remotely. Catholic worship was intensely physical and communal. The melodies, scents and rituals of church services were designed to ground the body in a specific place while freeing the soul. Meanwhile, the repetitive movements of the body, the memorized hymns and the rehearsed verbal volleying between priest and parish encouraged the entire community of diverse individuals to move, speak, sing and breathe as one being. What happened to that religion and its adherents when communal gathering proved nearly impossible, priestly access unavailable and objects of devotion unattainable? Was it enough to claim belonging, especially in the face of persecution? Could zeal overcome absence? Could spiritual replace bodily?

Unlike their predecessors in the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras, most Catholics in Scotland and England in the seventeenth century had given up the dream of replacing the English and Scottish Churches with the Roman Catholic one. Instead, most desired toleration, the ability to worship without risking their lives, reputations and estates. English, Scottish and Irish Catholics
belonged to two truly global enterprises that were inherently incompatible and yet they worked tirelessly to harmonize them: the British Empire and the Catholic Church. Within the physical spaces of the British Atlantic, they aimed to reconcile their loves for Church and country, encountering diverse obstacles and opportunities along the way. Scottish priests, monks and nuns who worked within the institutions of the Catholic Church chose to leave British soil and voluntarily exile themselves in Catholic Europe. While they had access to all the trappings of their religion, they left behind their land, their families, their home. When they returned as missionary priests, they encountered the opposite: a number of widely dispersed Catholics tilling the land and fishing the lochs of their ancestral home with only the most rudimentary understanding Catholic doctrine, virtually no devotional materials and no way to maintain parishes after itinerant priests moved on to the next place. Across the Atlantic, Catholics enjoyed political and religious belonging in the tolerant colony of Maryland, but their toleration incited decades of violence until its revocation. Finally, Irish Catholics in the West Indies encountered the most extreme form of isolation and absence. Largely illiterate indentured servants, they were forcibly removed from their familial and religious communities. Severed from all familiarity and relegated to the fringes of empire, they struggled to build a cohesive and enduring religious community and honor the doctrine and rituals of the Catholic Church. No family, no land, no priests, no books, no devotional objects, no churches, no sacraments. And yet, Catholics in all of these places found ways to gather and to worship as individuals and as communities. Sometimes they achieved this by working within the institution of the Church, other times they moved outside of it, but their successes and failures always owed to the efforts of individuals. They understood that their Church was not, at its core, about the space, the words or the doctrine, but about people and tradition. For them, Catholicism signaled a cultural identity that connected
them to their ancestors and their homes even when they migrated across oceans. With this understanding of Catholicism as individual and communal identity rather than institutional Church, they sought to maintain political loyalty to the British Crown. Although they refused to acquiesce to a top-down imposition of religion, that refusal was not intentionally politically divisive. Instead, Catholics across the British Atlantic found ways to express their religion as communities and as individuals while still working within the political norms of imperial spaces. In acquiescing to local authorities rather than attempting to subvert the political order, they demonstrated a profound political acumen rooted in obedience while seeking ways to discreetly practice their religion.

The title of this dissertation invokes three broad categories that shaped the experience of Catholicism in the seventeenth-century Anglo world: migration, exile and absence. The first two share a bond of movement across space. For Catholics leaving the British Isles—whether temporarily or permanently—religion catalyzed both forms of movement. However, while those English and Irish Catholics who voluntarily and permanently migrated to Maryland sought new opportunities to balance their religion with their political, economic and social ambitions, the Scottish priests who chose temporary exile in Europe and the Irish exiles forced forever to the West Indies retained a yearning to return to the land they had left behind. They found themselves in foreign lands not through their own desire, but out of necessity. Whether migrants or exiles, all of the Catholics who dispersed throughout the British Atlantic in this study constructed religious communities upon the condition of absence. At home, they suffered the absence of freedom to worship and the absence of the same rights and privileges enjoyed by their Protestant neighbors. In each territory within the Empire, they struggled to maintain their religion in the absence of the institutional structure of the Catholic Church. Those priests who
did function within that institution during their time in Europe did so in the absence of a parish. With this slippage between identity, ritual, creed and congregation came the absence of theological knowledge, the absence of priests, books, rosaries, the Eucharist, sermons, oils, sacraments. The absence of material forms of practice created an absence of community and an absence of belonging.

Yet Catholics throughout the British Atlantic world found ways to practice their commitments to this dissident religious identity while remaining faithful to the British monarch. On their travels, they encountered African slaves, Native American warriors, European diplomats and Caribbean pirates. They faced war, rebellion, bloodshed and discrimination. Some of them also found refuge, brotherhood and even peace. The journey for British Catholics was fraught with conflict and perpetual danger that resulted in the development of a complex and even heterodox form of religious belief and practice that adapted the tenets of the Catholic Church to a unique environment of persecution and isolation. Even in the absence of resources and the absence of freedom, many Catholics in the Anglophone world held to their beliefs and to a political and cultural value system defined by that belief. They all shared a resistance to persecution, an emotional attachment to their heritage, their land, their communities and their traditions.

This dissertation tells the story of that endurance. But their resistance, their devotions and their communities were not uniform. When I first began this dissertation, I was interested in whether a distinct British Catholic community crystallized in the Atlantic world as a result of shared persecution. Very quickly, each of those terms broke down to the point of collapse. I learned that few Catholics understood themselves in alignment with a British sensibility. Just as my grandmother did not connect "nationality" with "Irish," did not envision herself as part of a
project of national imagination, the subjects of this dissertation expressed no attachments to a "British" cultural identity. The British Isles, despite its small size, was home to so many diverse cultural, religious, ethnic and language groups that could never overcome their difference, both within and between polities. Even Catholics, who shared a persecuted religion, would never have envisioned themselves as belonging to a shared British entity, Catholic or otherwise. They retained close ties to their families, villages and local communities and sometimes even to their country—particularly Scottish Catholic exiles—but belonging to the British Empire did not erase the inter- and intracultural animosities that had brewed for centuries. Whatever the Empire sought to unite, longer histories of difference diffused.

"Community" is also a notoriously slippery term, difficult to define adequately thanks to the plurality of individual motivations for joining and envisioning a community. Some scholars, including John Bossy and Gabriel Glickman, have talked of an English Catholic community of recusants and Jesuit priests in England and in exile in Catholic Europe. While this framework may have merit in the English context, where scholars have focused on an engaged and engaging community of gentry Catholics who forged relationships through politics, marriage and patronage, it crumbles in a wider British or Atlantic context. The divisions within and among the composite states of the British Isles and overseas territories rendered imagined unity of any kind impossible; the idea of a "community" was untenable in the Atlantic context.

Most of all, "Catholic" has morphed into something unpinnable, nearly unrecognizable. Even in the heart of Catholic Europe, the Catholic Church struggled to disseminate its theology

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25 Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch have called “community” a “problematic” term, which encompasses “pluralistic arenas in which individuals could express themselves on a variety of levels,” including local, national, political, confessional and geographical means of self-identification. Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, eds., Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 2.
26 Both Bossy and Glickman use the title, The English Catholic Community, with Glickman pushing Bossy’s framework chronologically and analytically forward.
and doctrine to rural, pastoral communities.\textsuperscript{27} If regulation was an unachievable flight of fancy in France, it was a fool's errand in the Catholic frontier. The inability to enforce the regulations and dictates of the Catholic Church throughout the vast colony of Maryland and the rural and clandestine communities of Catholics in Scotland and the West Indies meant that Catholic imagination and practice took on many different forms. Scottish Catholic priests in Europe and missionaries training for a post in the New World may have worked directly within the institution of the Catholic Church and may have seen themselves as agents of its message. But the many breakdowns in communication and misunderstandings on the missions to Scotland and Maryland forced them to adapt their teachings and their devotions to accommodate the particular needs of worshippers on the fringes of the Catholic world. While some Catholics engaged in complex theological study, others had only a very rudimentary understanding of Catholicism's central doctrinal tenets, if at all. Those who lived in places that were more isolated, including the Scottish Highlands and Islands and the West Indies, contended with environmental factors that limited access to resources and constrained the ability to worship properly. Class, education, gender and heritage all contributed to the multiplicity of Catholicisms experienced and practiced by those in British territories who belonged to that religion.

Scottish Catholic priests in exile in Europe and Catholics in Maryland, both priest and lay, function somewhat as controls in this dissertation because they could adequately practice their religion and because they have left behind archival and archaeological records of their beliefs and devotions. Conversely, Catholics in the Scottish Highlands and Irish Catholics in the West Indies left behind no relics, archival or artifactual. Their experiences and their versions of Catholicism comes to us only through the voices of others, including missionary priests and

Protestant neighbors. Did they profess belonging to Catholicism because priests promised them and their loved ones eternal life? Did they acquiesce to whatever authority figure preached on any given day? Did they profess a traditionally Celtic worship style that connected them, through land and ritual, to their ancestors or did they pray the rosary every day and turn to Jesus and to Mary as their spiritual guides and human inspirations? What did their worship look like in the brief periods when they had access to priests and the devotional objects they brought with them? More importantly, what did it look like when those priests left? If Catholicism was such a sensory religion and one that required both physical and human instruments of devotion, what did it entail and signify without those instruments? The political, linguistic and cultural hierarchies that submitted fringe Catholics to other, superior, authorities have consistently muddied and obscured the voices of Catholics. Yet these questions are crucial to my analysis. In this dissertation, these people count as Catholics because they said so, because they claimed belonging to that community, however nebulously imagined, even if they did not meet the basic qualifications of the institutional Church.

The subjects of this dissertation lived in and migrated to very different spaces and professed a variety of attachments to their religion. They were by no means an exclusively victimized substrata of the British Empire. While many served as indentured laborers and experienced various forms of unfreedom as a result of their religion and their race, many others benefitted greatly from the colonial enterprise and themselves perpetuated systems of oppression and violence. Theirs was a complex world in which institutions of religion and politics, of the Catholic Church and the British Empire both promoted violent subjugation and fell victim to it. These institutions carry enormous weight historically and socially and it is not my intention to overlook the physical and cultural violence inherent to imperial formation and globalizing
Catholicism. Nevertheless, these institutions are not at the heart of this dissertation. Instead, I am interested in reclaiming a space for piety, for devotion and for religious understanding in narratives of empire and Church, of global expansion of imperial and religious power. I have sought to identify and illuminate the experience of people who worked within and outside of those institutions, people who were affected by systems of discrimination and hierarchies of power and sometimes people who were complicit in them. I do not wish in any way to glorify their actions nor to overlook the extreme cultural and personal damage wrought through agents of empire, relating to politics, culture, religion and race. This dissertation has been written with an acute awareness to these broad and important historical and social concerns and is indebted to the diligent work of others who continue to interrogate these various systems of oppression.  

Here I focus on the lived embodiment of a religion under fire at the level of individuals and their immediate social milieu, as simultaneously instruments of empire and followers of a persecuted religion.

In a very real way, this dissertation is not about Catholicism at all, nor is it about Englishness, Irishness, Scottishness or Britishness. Rather it is about the experiences, actions, passion, emotion and creativity of various people who faced persecution for the very essence of

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their personal and communal identity and exclusion from the communities into which they most desperately wished to be welcomed. It is about people who had to argue themselves into belonging to two disparate, warring entities of politics and religion. English, Irish and Scots Catholics are a complex and captivating case study, but the phenomena that they faced and the solutions that they crafted to balance their conflicting status as members of the Catholic Church and as subjects of the British Crown were not unique. Throughout all human history, people have faced exile and discrimination for one part of their identity that fails to cohere with a larger, societal identity. Countless men and women have been forced to choose between their religion and their king, their family and their country. Each time, when some stubbornly refuse to choose, when they advocate for the path that leads to incorporation, they change what it means to belong to both, either, all communities. That process of advocacy and adaptation, rather than the resulting institutions, has inspired this dissertation.
Chapter 1: Networks in Exile: The Experience of Scottish Catholicism Abroad

Before Robert Burns became Scotland's literary legend, before "Auld Lang Syne" could be heard at all Scottish celebrations, from New Year's Eve parties to the annual Military Tattoo in Edinburgh, Scots had been belting another song of farewell at weddings and at funerals, in homes and in taverns: "Goodnight and Joy be to You All," or, "The Parting Glass". Still popular thanks to covers by Ed Sheeran, Hozier and the High Kings, "The Parting Glass" is a story of endings, of leavings, of partings. Toasting goodbye, the singer laments "Of all the comrades that e'er I had / They're sorry for my going away / And all the sweethearts that e'er I had / They'd wish me one more day to stay." This song evokes the pain of separation, of being wrenched from family and friends too soon, whether for the evening or for life. But it is not a sad song, unlike another, contemporary song of leaving and losing whose singer laments, "Flow my tears, fall from your springs / Exil'd for ever let me down vain lights, shine you no more / No Nights are dark enough for mourn, Where nights black bird her infamy sings: / There let me live forlorn."¹

"The Parting Glass," by contrast, is not overdramatic in its lament. Instead, it is a song of acceptance, even of celebration for a life well-lived, a person well-loved. The singer is resigned to his fate, "since it has, so ought to be." He recognizes the ebbs and flows of life, filled with many partings and many reunions as he concludes his song, "By a time to rise and a time to fall / Come fill to me the parting glass / Goodnight and joy be with you all." For Scottish Catholics who fled from persecution to Catholic Europe, their parting glass was perhaps more bitter, harder to swallow. Many did not know if they would ever return, ever reunite with their loved ones. But they felt a pull to seek refuge abroad in a space where they could worship, learn and rebuild

¹ This was part of a collection of Scottish folk music, printed by John Forbes in Aberdeen in 1662. John Forbes, Songs and Fancies: to Thre, Foure, or Five Partes, both Apt for Voices and Viols (Aberdeen: 1662), song LV.
their communities. Recognizing their "time to rise," they filled their glasses and sang songs of farewell, but in their hearts they never truly parted from their kin or their country.

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On a summer day in 1681, authorities in Aberdeen in northeast Scotland received a tip that a package of "papist" texts had made their way into the town. Seizing the package, they raised the cry against its conveyors, denouncing them as priests on the streets of Aberdeen and declaring their intention to burn the books, despite their blindness to their content as none was written in English.² The books had finally come to the end of a long and tumultuous journey. They were, in fact, intended for Catholics, though the men who possessed them upon their seizure were merchants, not priests. The books belonged to Robert Barclay, Principal of the Scots College in Paris, a Catholic college and seminary dedicated to educating Scottish men for the Catholic priesthood and, ideally, the Scottish Catholic mission. They had flowed through a sophisticated network of exchange that connected Scottish priests with laymen and laywomen eager to aid the cause. Moving from Paris to Middelburg to Amsterdam and back to Middelburg, they passed through the hands of at least three widows—Grant, Bardyne and De Lesseps—who smuggled them in their homes and kept them safe while they awaited the arrival of a priest to retrieve them.³ That priest finally arrived in the summer of 1680, exhausted and impoverished from his circuitous and expensive journey from Paris. To his dismay, when David Burnet finally opened the six boxes of books, he found rules of religious orders, bibles and new testaments "whose covers were all wilted and torn," damaged by rain and at least one entirely rotted.⁴

² David Burnet to “Grisy,” August 15, 1681, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/66/5.
³ Scouler and Ernault to Robert Barclay, December 18, 1677, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/49/5; Robert Barclay, July 18, 1680, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/59/1; David Burnet to Robert Barclay, July 26, 1680, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/59/8-9; Ernault to John Lodge, July 25, 1680, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/59/10.
⁴ David Burnet to Robert Barclay, August 17, 1680, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/59/15.
Luckily, the damage on most was only superficial. Of the six boxes, only ten books needed new bindings and only the one rotted book proved beyond repair. Over the next eleven months, those books changed hands several more times, from bookbinders to stationers to merchants, carefully chosen for their loyalty to the Catholic Church and their discretion. After all, these were illicit books intended to be smuggled into Scotland and disseminated throughout. And they were, for the most part. While authorities in Aberdeen confiscated one box of books, the remaining five were secreted away in various parcels sent to Scotland on separate occasions between late 1680 and August 1681. For Burnet, this was a success. "We must count up this amongst the rest of our misfortunes," he wrote, "[that] they lost nothing save only that box."\footnote{David Burnet to “Grisy,” August 15, 1681, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/66/5.}

The life of these books followed a path constructed by Scottish Catholics living in permanent and temporary exile in Catholic Europe in the face of social and political hostility toward their religion at home. They traveled along existing postal routes and through existing institutions, but their circulation, their secrecy and their survival owed entirely to a handful of individuals who sacrificed their own safety for the greater cause that both the widows and the books served. This chapter will explore the networks that exiled Scottish Catholics created and expanded in Catholic Europe. Building upon an existing infrastructure of Catholic education and communication, they created spaces of refuge where they could receive a higher education, explore their personal devotion and begin a religious vocation if they chose, all while cementing new bonds of religion that existed outside those wrought by kin and politics. While the institutional network provided the medium of exchange—colleges, seminaries, monasteries and convents served as concentrated spaces of learning and worship— institutions alone could never have sustained the Scottish exile community or nourished the faithful back home. Flaws in the
funding structures and ecclesiastical hierarchy of those institutions run by the Catholic Church often hindered the Scottish Catholic enterprise rather than aiding it. Instead, a host of individuals worked within and around those institutions to form epistolary and personal networks that ensured the survival of Scottish Catholicism into the eighteenth century.

As in England, Catholicism in Scotland was legally outlawed and socially disdained following the Protestant Reformation, with a brief respite during the reign of the Catholic King James VII of Scotland and I of England. Scotland, however, had adopted even stricter reform policies than England ever did, rendering a religious union impossible and alienating Scotland’s Catholic subjects even more than those in England. When Charles I attempted to introduce the 1637 Church of England Prayer Book into Scotland as a way to bridge the two national churches and increase monarchical power in the northern kingdom, he met intense opposition, which inspired the National Covenant, a document that sought to safeguard the independence of the Church of Scotland. To Scottish Presbyterians, the Anglican Church bore too many similarities to Catholicism, rooted in materiality and dependent on a clearly delineated ecclesiastical hierarchy that placed too much emphasis on institutions and leaders rather than focusing more acutely on the individual’s private relationship with the divine. Of course, Scotland was not unanimously Presbyterian. Many supported an Episcopalian structure, with bishops in charge rather than elders as in a Presbyterian church. Because of this difference in hierarchy and because Scottish Episcopalianism was closely aligned with the Stuart monarchy, the contentions

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6 Because these first two chapters treat Scotland and its subjects, I have used his title in Scotland, James VII, in order to avoid imposing a hierarchy that places England above Scotland in political importance. In Chapters 3 and 4, whose historical actors lived in spaces of empire, I have used James II to reflect his status as monarch of all British territories.

between Presbyterians and Episcopalians extended into the political sphere. As these two factions battled for supremacy, Catholicism existed in the power vacuum between them. While both Presbyterians and Episcopalians derided the Catholic Church, their animosity sometimes worked to the advantage of Catholics, who were not embroiled in the same religious and political battles. Nevertheless, Catholicism faced great hostility in Scotland—perhaps even greater than across the southern border in England—not just politically and doctrinally, but also culturally. To reformed Protestants and more Anglicized Scots in the Lowlands, Catholicism became synonymous with the Highland clans, who were seen as uncivilized, barbaric and wild. According to many Lowlanders, the clans needed to be subdued, submitted and controlled, not only through their politics and their religion—which was wrongfully assumed to be universally Catholic—but also through their culture. Highlanders had their own style of dress, their own attachment to names, heritage and the land, their own rituals and traditions, their own food and, of course, their own language, which was often intentionally disparaged as the “Irish tongue” in an attempt to even further subjugate the Scottish Highlanders to something lesser than Lowlanders. All of this converged to create a culture that positioned the Highlands as inferior to the rest of Lowland Scotland.

Against this backdrop, Scottish Catholic priests worked. Although many of them came from the northeast Lowlands region of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, the congregations in most dire need of catechesis resided deep in the Highlands and western Islands. In recognition of this, they expanded rather quickly to bring young Catholic men from the Highland clans to Europe to receive an education and ordination and return to Scotland on the mission. These men shared the culture and the language with the greatest population of Scotland’s Catholics, possessed insight

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into the locations with the greatest concentration of Catholics and knew the best routes to access those places. Thus, there emerged an allied coalition between Lowland priests who were well-educated and familiar with the delicate politics of Edinburgh and London and their Highlander protégés, often uneducated, poor, semi- or illiterate and entirely segregated from the rest of the country. This alliance helped to bridge the extreme divide that moves along the Highland Boundary Fault, a division between Highland and Lowland that is as much cultural as physical. Through the efforts of these Catholics came, for a few, the disintegration of extreme animosity and of divides between not only the Highlands and the Lowlands, but also among clans as individuals pushed against family rivalries in service of their religious commitments. Many of these priests recognized the need to take refuge in a region that would tolerate them and offer them time, space and liberty to build the international enterprise necessary to salvaging the last vestiges of their religious community and, ideally, rebuild it. To this end, several migrated to Catholic Europe where they structured communities of lay and religious men and women that revolved around institutions of Catholic training and devotion. This chapter will analyze those communities and the networks that made them possible. Chapter 2 will explore the mission that they operated back to Scotland in order to catechize and convert across the northeast Lowlands and the Highlands.

Studies of migrants and exiles often analyze the relationships between displaced communities and their local hosts. To what degree did exiles attempt to assimilate into their host society? Were personal rivalries from the homeland transported into a new place, or left behind? What did the newly forming exile communities look like? Immediately, the term 'community' becomes problematic. As Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch have argued, Scottish exiles

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constantly balanced different self-identifiers such as "local (Aberdonian), national (Scottish), political (British), confessional (Presbyterian) or geographical (European). Indeed, pluralistic arenas in which individuals could express themselves on a variety of levels were the norm for both the indigenous and the migrant Scottish communities." Consequently, migrant groups were not homogenous entities comprising like-minded individuals with the same backgrounds or priorities. Thus, the parameters around 'community' are incredibly difficult to define. Nevertheless, it often happened that a shared language and heritage was sufficient to create some degree of connection, as "the further the move from home, and the more alien the new surroundings become, the easier it is to forget local rivalries and concentrate on the similarities." This became even easier when heritage was not the only shared identity.

For Scots Catholics, the bond of religious persecution was as strong as regional and political unity. Many Catholics shared kin and their small number created ties among this subsection of Scottish migrants. Moreover, they often lived and learned in the same institutions and so spent much of their time together. Consequently, there emerged multiple pockets of Scottish Catholics whose communities often centered on a Scottish Catholic college, monastery or convent, but differed regionally. Liam Chambers and Thomas O'Connor have noted that

10 Grosjean and Murdoch, Communities, 2.
11 Ibid, 4.
12 Irish and English Catholics also constructed their own institutions across Catholic Europe. This resulted in both alliances and rivalries among the three national groups. J.G.A. Pocock has categorized the animosities between subjects of the three kingdoms as "a contestation over sovereignty among nations in formation," a notion that can be extended into the exilic context. More directly in the Catholic context, Jesuit historian Thomas McCoog has noted how "conflict and hostility had created, at least among English Jesuits, a culture of suspicion" against the seculars that they could not overcome until British Catholics gained full rights in 1829. Despite these national conflicts, Steve Murdoch has emphasized the necessity of collaboration among Scots, English and Irish Catholics and the need for trust, "built up through 'exchange', either of capital, commodity of information" to the success of any network. Similarly, Gabriel Glickman has argued that "national 'jealousies' [among the priesthood] could be subordinated before other rivalries: evident when secular clergymen from the three kingdoms collaborated to strengthen their operations against the regular orders." J.G.A. Pocock, “The New British History in Atlantic Perspective: An Antipodean Commentary,” American Historical Review 104, no.2 (1999): 494; Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., “'Libera nos Domine'?: The Vicars Apostolic and the Suppressed/Restored English Province of the Society of Jesus” in Kelly
"some colleges provided classes for students, but many operated essentially as hostels where students were offered accommodation, routine, and discipline while they attended classes elsewhere, often in the local university." This meant that "the balance varied from institution to institution [which] ensured that for all the similarities between them, the colleges reflected not only the variety of migrant experience but also multiple forms of interaction with local host societies."\(^{13}\) The communities created alongside individual institutions of Scottish Catholicism joined together to create a network of correspondence and movement of exiles that spanned all of Catholic Europe. Consequently, this chapter strives for a more holistic view that incorporates all sites rather than delving deeply into one particular place, though the Colleges at Paris and Rome assume a degree of prominence thanks to their disproportionate influence on the rest of the Scottish Catholic world.

By capitalizing on an existing infrastructure that already connected colleges, seminaries, monasteries and convents across France, Italy, the Low Countries and the Holy Roman Empire, leaders of Scottish Catholic exiles developed international epistolary and institutional networks dedicated to the preservation of Scottish Catholicism through education and mission. Those networks, however, flourished not because of sophisticated institutions, but because of the passion and dedication of the individuals who worked within them. For this reason, thinking about networks as abstract structures provides very little insight without the human element. The driving force behind the actions of the men and women examined in this chapter and the next came not from the institutions that guided them and not even from the Catholic Church, but rather from their deep-rooted, spiritual bonds to the traditions shared by their kin and

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\(^{13}\) Chambers and O’Connor, *Communities*, 6.
countrymen for generations. This entailed strong ties to land, to language, to heritage and to the monarchy. Religion was one very strong commitment among several and its strength drew from a communal Scottish imagination that wove together family, politics, religion and the land.

The lay Catholics in rural Scotland, colonial Maryland and the West Indies that form the subjects of subsequent chapters found themselves cut off, to varying degrees, from the theological milieu of Catholic Europe. They learned to worship creatively, adapting their practices to the restrictions of their physical, intellectual and spiritual environments and imbued only the most basic tenets of their religion. To worship in those places and to belong to a community of Catholics did not always require a strong grasp of key theological points, but rather a steadfast commitment to their collective and individual notions of Catholicism and an ability to create spaces and opportunities for worship and devotion in the face of absence. The Scottish priests examined in this chapter were entirely different. Moving within institutional and epistolary networks dedicated to advanced theological and priestly training, they placed a heavy emphasis on doctrine, theology and education. They relied on a variety of institutions, including Catholic colleges, religious houses, financial bodies and the papacy for their lodging, their learning and their spiritual growth. Thus, the environment of Catholic Europe cultivated a highly trained force of missionary priests committed to safeguarding and advancing Catholicism among their religious brethren at home in Scotland as well as in exile in Europe. At the same time, this theological mindset and institutional framework ignited battles over the locus of control over the present and future of Scottish Catholicism. Because the Jesuits subsumed Scotland within the Province of England, they created an ecclesiastical power vacuum that they and their secular
rivals fought to fill.\textsuperscript{14} Moreover, the network of these priests spanned all of Catholic Europe, inviting a wide variety of influences. Different ideas about missionary activity, patronage, jurisdiction and ecclesiastical hierarchy created conflict that nearly derailed the shared goal of Scottish Catholic preservation. As Chapter 2 will demonstrate, these highly educated, English-speaking, middle-class priests struggled to transport their refined theological principles back to their parishes in Scotland thanks to environmental factors; that difficulty was only compounded by the in-fighting among them. Nevertheless, they succeeded in creating a vast and sophisticated network, but the dissemination of theology, devotion and practice gathered within the walls of their institutions relied on the involvement of people—lay and religious, male and female—who transported letters, books, objects and people in service of the cause. Finally, while education and ordination were certainly benefits for those men who migrated, temporarily or permanently, to Catholic Europe, that did not negate the fact that they lived in exile. Their training, education, network-building and even conflicts all served the shared goals of preserving Scottish Catholicism and returning home to a place that would finally grant them toleration.

A Network of Letters

These first two chapters on Scottish Catholics in Europe and the Scottish mission include analyses based on data I have collected from the Blairs Letters and the Scots Mission collections in the Scottish Catholic Archives, currently held by the University of Aberdeen.\textsuperscript{15} This data has been collected from letters dating from 1660, when Charles II became King and monarchy


replaced the Commonwealth, and the end of the seventeenth century, when a new mission emerged out of the devastation the Glorious Revolution wrought on British Catholicism. The result is a dataset of over three thousand entries marking letters sent and/or received by men and a handful of women associated with the activity of Scottish secular missionary priests as well as individuals’ locations when conclusively known. These have been transformed into an interactive online website that encourages exploration of the international world of Scottish Catholicism. Person, Location and Date filters allow for a range of visualizations, from the trajectories of specific individuals, to the world of correspondence, to an overview of the Scottish Catholic landscape. Sometimes, the conclusions drawn are only possible by looking at the data as a whole. Other times, the visuals supplied confirm or complicate conclusions gleaned through archival research. Images from this website will serve both purposes in the following two chapters.

Although reliant upon institutions, this network primarily connected people. Consequently, the analysis provided in these two chapters, while grounded in an understanding of the institutions that shaped the lives of Early Modern Scottish Catholics, focuses on people rather than on structures. Following Steve Murdoch’s example, they explore a social network in practice rather than in theory. Murdoch’s networks of Scottish migrants to northern Europe “in no way claim to be either universally successful or fundamentally unique. Instead they… reveal the benefit of not confining research to the formal apparatus of governments, states and social hierarchies.” Rather, members of his migrant networks “certainly did not confine themselves

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16 It would be possible to guess fairly accurately several priests’ locations in between data points, especially when they do not seem to travel for extended periods. To avoid confusion and citation difficulties, these suspected locations are not yet reflected in the online site.
18 Murdoch, *Network*. 

within formal structures, even those they belonged to themselves.”19 Murdoch’s use of social network methodologies to access the lived experience of Scottish migrants of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries allowed him to interrogate certain characteristics of those migrants, including most importantly, their means of balancing elements of self-identification that were sometimes in conflict. In a similar vein, these two chapters deal concretely with a specific, very human network rather than a theory of networks, following Murdoch’s structure.

There are, of course, limitations to this methodology. While each data point reflects knowledge of a letter or an individual’s location, the surviving set of letters—like any archive—reflects only a small portion of the total correspondence that circulated among priests, laymen, laywomen and women religious who took an interest in the Scottish mission in some capacity. For this reason, those visuals that show the broad distribution of people are inherently impressionistic. The data should not be assumed to include every individual in every location at any given time, but it can contribute to a wider understanding of the geographical scope of Scottish Catholicism, the distribution of its most active leaders and the effects of environmental, political and religious developments on the face of Scottish Catholicism in exile and on the mission.

The creation of network theories based on correspondence is not a new concept; nor are the associated risks. Murdoch has cautioned against wholesale reliance on letters as perfect constituents of social networks based on the relatively low percentage of surviving letters as well as the plethora of different motivations for their creation. As with any work of historical scholarship, the conclusions drawn here from engagement with data analytics are always supported by concrete archival evidence. This data serves to enhance the analyses that historians

19 Ibid, 9.
can make in the new digital age, rather than to supplant the primacy of the archives. Also like Murdoch's work, which examines social network theory and stretches its boundaries to apply to the actual lived history of Scottish migrants in Northern Europe in the Early Modern period, these two chapters historicize social networks of Scottish Catholics in the later seventeenth century. This is not intended to act as a model or a new version of social network theory, but rather like Murdoch’s study, as an application of this methodology to a specific historical moment. In the process, theory may become distorted and at times even absent, but it is this model that frames at least the starting point for the following analysis. Finally, in the third section of *Network North*, Murdoch focuses on what he calls ‘counter-networks,’ which were “deployed to undermine a particular orthodoxy, be it political or ecclesiastical…the understood aim of the given structure was destructive rather than constructive, though sometimes both.”

In reality, the networks constructed by Scots Catholics, though perceived by adversaries as intentionally destructive, were constructive. They were constructive of a new religious order that aimed to reconcile old beliefs with new restrictions on worship. They were constructive of new institutions that brought men and women together from different social classes, different cultural backgrounds and different kingdoms. In the end, they were constructive of a new hybrid, and distinctly Scottish, form of Catholicism.

Despite the methodological limitations of data analysis, the following two chapters will argue that the Scottish mission sparked the creation of a pan-European network of Scottish Catholics who relied on structures of patronage, kin and education to create an international corporation dedicated to the preservation of Catholicism among Scots. Tom McInally has defined a network as "a nexus of people…who through mutual friends and acquaintances are

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20 Ibid, 5.
inclined or indeed bound to provide mutual support if required." These individuals are connected by "a small number of key members who are known to each other and who have their own groupings of acquaintances, who together constitute the full membership of the network. Introductions from the key members are the means by which any member can call on assistance from others in the network even if they are not personally acquainted." In the Scottish Catholic Archives, those key members are easily identifiable as the priests with the most power to dictate the course of the secular Scottish mission. These were: Robert Barclay (1611/12-1682) and Lewis Innes (1651-1738), Principals of the Scots College at Paris; Charles Whyteford, Innes's substitute in Paris when he was away; William Leslie (1621/2-1707), Procurator of the Scottish mission in Rome; Alexander Dunbar (1625-1708), Prefect in Scotland; David Burnet (d. 1695), Vice-Prefect of the mission; and Alexander Leslie and George Gordon, leading missionary priests who resided mainly in Scotland. As the key members in this network, it should follow that a map of their combined correspondence would look similar to that of the entire letter network.

The network of letters written by the men and women who facilitated the progression of Scottish Catholicism in some capacity extended throughout all of Catholic Europe, as far south as Thessaloniki in Greece, west as Cadiz in Spain, east to Warsaw and north to Stockholm. By today's demarcation of national borders, thirteen countries are represented by this data and it is possible that non-extant correspondence extended into other territories as well. Predictably, letters circulated throughout all corners of France and Italy, but also throughout much of the

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22 Jesuits, Benedictines and Franciscans also worked on the Scottish Mission. They were instrumental to the creation of a European network and to the survival of Scottish Catholicism. They form a large portion of both the database and the following analysis. However, because the Blairs Letters features correspondence of secular priests, others only appear through this correspondence and their own letters are not often included in this archive.
Figure 1.1. Map of all Letters from Database, 1660-1699

Figure 1.2. Letters sent by key members, 1660-1699

Figure 1.3. Letters received by key members, 1660-1699
religiously diverse Holy Roman Empire and the Protestant Dutch Republic. Although these
maps use today’s political borders (and do not show the many states within the Holy Roman
Empire, for example), most institutions and, of course, cities, have their own distinct coordinates.
The thickness of the lines widen based on the number of letters on the same route. White
represents the city of origin, while blue corresponds to destination.

All three of the above maps look quite similar; if the letters sent and received by key
members were overlaid, the similarities would be even stronger, thanks to a greater density of
letters. All three images show a cinching at Paris, a tulip shape of correspondence coming in and
out of Rome and spindles into Spain and Germany. While less dense, the letters sent to and from
the key members more or less mirror those sent by everyone. When the key members are
removed entirely, the shape of the map looks quite different.

Figure 1.4. Correspondence of everyone except the key members, 1660-1699

The tulip effect still blooms in Rome, but Paris features much less prominently. On this map,
Paris looks less like the fulcrum and more like any other city. In reality, Paris served as the
central hub of the operation of secular Scottish Catholicism, but the removal of the key figures

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reveals a robust epistolary network that transcended the institutions in that city. Of course, these eight men alone could have sustained neither the network of correspondence nor the Scottish mission. While they facilitated the movement of people, books, objects, letters and money, they also fostered new connections that grew into independent relationships. This is also reflected in the data. In the image above, there is a clearly flourishing network despite their absence. While there are notable differences between this and the image of the entire network, it is nevertheless clear that while the key members were most central, they succeeded in creating a self-sustaining network.

Inevitably, they relied immensely upon that network. The correspondence between only the key members reflects this well.

**Figure 1.5. Correspondence between key members, 1660-1699**

Here, the main centers of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Paris and Rome are still prominent as they correspond to the seats of the key members. However, the density of lines to other cities, particularly in France and the Italian Peninsula, and the tendril extending farther afield are notably absent. These men could oversee much of the activity of Scottish Catholics from these four main cities, but they could not sustain a sophisticated or complete missionary operation.
from those places exclusively. Thus, while much mission work flowed through these men, the sustainability of a Scottish mission required a much larger international network of diverse actors. While Chapter 2 will focus heavily on the mission to Scotland, this chapter will first outline the foundations and evolution of networks in Europe. The existence of Catholic institutions of education and worship and the infrastructure that supported and connected them allowed Scottish Catholics to settle relatively easily in Catholic cities as they sought opportunities of higher learning and religious development. However, political threats from home and internal conflicts within Scottish Catholic institutions constantly threatened the network of Scottish Catholics and forced priests to reconfigure and reinvent their project several times over the span of four decades.

A Network of Institutions

Catholic Europe was a familiar place. Those of the middle and upper classes of all religions had access to the cities of Europe, where they could travel for short periods of time and even pursue an education. In a polyglot world, language restrictions were not insurmountable and, thanks to the intertwined histories of Scotland and France, many well-educated Scots had a working familiarity with French.\(^2\)\(^3\) The close proximity promised the possibility of temporary residence in Europe and allowed for movement and communication back to Scotland. Most significantly, the ability to worship openly as Catholics not only created spaces of refuge, but also allowed Catholic priests to erect institutions of education, devotion and missionary training that would reinvigorate a dying cause at home. Catholic Europe, then, offered a safe, but not

isolated, space for worship, learning and religious development without necessitating permanent exile.

The Roman Catholic Church has always functioned as a composite of several institutions that together serve the educational and spiritual needs of Catholics across the globe. In constructing their communities in exile, Scottish Catholics utilized and founded a variety of institutions in the realms of education, print, politics and communication. Those dedicated to higher learning and worship, including colleges, seminaries, monasteries and convents, served a threefold purpose: first, to provide housing and refuge for Catholics who chose to leave Scotland in order to worship either publicly or as cloistered nuns and monks; second, to provide Catholics with higher education in the humanities; finally, to train priests in the art of missionary work so that they could return to Scotland and ‘tend the flock.’ Sanctioned by the Church of Rome, these places served as the stage on which debates over theology and doctrine were acted out. While these debates could grow contentious—for example, over the role of the papacy in civic affairs—priests in Catholic Europe nevertheless had access to all the educational, theological and devotional resources they needed to understand and to practice their religion. In these spaces, the Church of Rome’s influence was felt more acutely than in any of the other territories considered in this dissertation. Colleges and seminaries offered priests the opportunity to engage with the greatest theologians in the history of Christianity and even determined the structure of the Scottish mission through its grants of faculties and funds. Although missionary priests would have to adapt some rituals and simplify theology in their ministry to Scotland’s struggling Catholics, the haven of Catholic Europe required no such compromises. Moreover, because Scottish, English and Irish institutions of Catholicism frequently overlapped, these sites acted as
markets of encounter and exchange in their own right. Whether providing security or creating a missionary force, these institutions were instrumental in salvaging Scottish Catholicism.24

Not all institutions directly supplied men for the mission, but this did not make them any less critical to the preservation of Catholicism among Scots. For many Catholics who faced persecution at home, conventual and monastic life allowed women and men to find bodily peace and spiritual solace while surrounded by sisters and brothers who shared their country and their religion. With emphases on personal devotion, higher learning, community engagement and charitable works, these places promised spiritual nourishment and safety from the political turmoil of Scotland and even its mission training grounds in Europe. For Catholic women especially, convents provided spaces in which a woman could pursue a vocation and exert power in ways that she could not in secular society. As Protestant leaders sought to terminate monastic orders, thereby threatening these spaces of female autonomy, it was women who fought most vehemently. Of nuns in the Catholic regions of the Holy Roman Empire, Merry Wiesner-Hanks has argued that "long traditions of power, independence, and prestige combined to make reformed convents and canoness houses the most vocal and resolute opponents of the Protestant Reformation."25 Both convents and monasteries offered alternative ways of living for Catholic women and men and their members willingly contributed whatever they could to ensure the survival of their houses and, in turn, the survival of Catholicism. Frequently, those women who chose convent life (or, for some, entered it at the behest of their fathers) came from wealthy, noble families. Many arrived in Europe with money and even lands that were presented as gifts

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24 The same was true of England. English and Scottish Catholics shared many of the same institutions. Because Ireland did have bishoprics, more educational opportunities were available in Ireland, though they were still limited. Because of this, Irish Catholics also established colleges and seminaries in Europe, concentrated most heavily in the Iberian Peninsula. All over Europe, the experiences of English, Scottish and Irish Catholics were intricately interwoven and mutually influential.
to their convent or abbey. Over time, prominent Catholic families sent their daughters to the same handful of religious houses, patronizing them and ensuring that they remained open. By offering a place of safety, security and reputation for young Catholic women, European convents ensured the preservation of Catholicism within nuclear families generation after generation without sacrificing patrilineal inheritance.

Some of these houses were more central to the international networks of Scottish Catholics than others. James Devoyer, a missionary priest who traveled to the remote Outer Hebrides, took the time and the risk to write all the way from the Scottish Highlands—along a dangerous and unreliable postal route—to Carmelite sisters abroad about his journey through the western Islands. At least two convents benefitted from the leadership of some of the mission’s most prominent men. Following the Glorious Revolution and renewed Catholic exile, Lewis Innes, arguably the most important leader of the secular mission in the seventeenth century and Principal of the Scots College, Paris from 1682, served as Superior to the Augustinian convent in Paris and Thomas Nicolson, who became Scotland’s first Vicar Apostolic in 1694, was appointed

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26 Ibid, 14.
27 Patricia Crawford has explored the role of women and (Protestant and Catholic) religion during the Elizabethan and revolutionary periods and provided incredibly helpful biographical information of several Catholic women whose stories are often obscured by the archives. Most recently, Earle Havens and Elizabeth Patton have published an article about the circulation of illicit Catholic texts through what they call a “Catholic underground” in London, which was run largely by women. Although the lives of Early Modern English gentry women have received attention recently, much less is known about those women who joined convents. Between 2008-2013, an online database called Who were the Nuns was created through great collaboration, which comprises comprising biographies of 3900 nuns who entered English continental convents between 1600 and 1800 (https://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk). Caroline Bowden has taken great strides to illuminate the structures of convents and systems of patronage. Recently, I worked on an exhibit at the Peabody Library in Baltimore, MD called Women of the Book, which explored the literary and cultural production for and by women religious. This resulted in an edited volume in which scholars have elucidated much more about the lives of these women, both cloistered and not. Patricia Crawford, Women and Religion in England, 1500-1720 (London: Routledge, 1993); Havens and Patton, “Underground”; Bowden and Kelly, Convents; Caroline Bowden, “‘A Distribution of Tyme’: Reading and Writing Practices in the English Convents in Exile,” Tulsa Studies in Women’s Literature 31, no.1 (2012): 99-116; Earle Havens and Erin Rowe (eds.), Women of the Book: The Spiritual Lives and Material Culture of Early Modern Women (under proposal, Fall 2021).
28 James Lea and James Devoyer, 1680, SCA Blairs Letters, /1/104/11.
chaplain to the convent at Dunkirk. 29 Balancing missionary and conventual responsibilities was not always easy. By the time Innes was named Superior, he had moved from Paris to St. Germain with James VII’s exiled court, though his convent affairs forced him to split time (and resources) between the two cities. 30 Nevertheless, the life and security of women religious proved no less valuable than the lives of missionary priests, at least for Innes. Despite his long tenure as Principal of the College in Paris and chief communicator between all parties involved in the mission, Innes still assumed the role of Superior in the time of greatest crisis for Scottish and British Catholicism, recognizing the necessity of conventual Catholicism to his cause.

Colleges and seminaries functioned differently from convents and monasteries. Emphasizing a humanities education and training priests for ordination, they produced students who interfaced with the world around them in both religious and non-religious capacities. Although many institutions housed and educated Scottish Catholics abroad, the Scots Colleges at Paris and Rome served as the two centers of higher learning. The former, associated with the University of Paris, had been founded in the fourteenth century along with other national divisions of the University, but it did not transform into a refuge for Catholics until after the Reformation. Conversely, in direct response to growing persecution in Scotland, Catholics founded the Roman College in 1600 as a seminary dedicated to training and ordaining priests, many of whom served the Scottish mission. 31 These colleges were diverse and grew more so over the course of the seventeenth century as the Scottish mission demanded a demographic expansion to include priests more familiar with the terrain, language and culture of the Highlands. Some students came to the European colleges after obtaining degrees in the British

30 George Leslie to Robert Barclay, 1681, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/171/2.
31 Chambers and O’Connor, Communities.
Isles and pursued doctorates in philosophy or theology on the Continent while others finished only rudimentary grammar courses at home and so required more schooling.\textsuperscript{32} While many men became ordained priests at the end of their courses at all of the colleges, many others turned away from a religious life upon completion of their studies.

Each college had its own personality owing to its particular demographics. Each religious order within the Catholic Church has different priorities and rules for conduct, but the two factions most dedicated to missionary work to England and Scotland were Jesuits and seculars. Unlike monks, Jesuits do not lead an enclosed life, but rather engage with their surrounding communities, focusing heavily on education. Unlike friars, who cannot own earthly possessions and so must rely on the charity of others for sustenance, Jesuits belong to the Society of Jesus, an organization which oversees funding and dictates missionary assignments for its priests. Conversely, seculars are ordained priests without association with any particular house or order (like the Jesuits or Benedictines or Franciscans, for example). For this reason, secular priests traditionally receive financial support from their parishes rather than through a larger organization like those of regular orders. In Scotland, this was impossible. The illicit nature of Catholicism and the reality that Catholics lived far apart and in only small concentrations meant that Catholic parishes could not exist and they certainly could not afford to sustain a priest. Even if they could, the inherently itinerant nature of Scottish missionaries eliminated the possibility for structured parishes altogether. For this reason, the Holy See created the \textit{Congregatio de Propaganda Fide} in 1622 to serve as the official funding body for the secular clergy.\textsuperscript{33} Even with funding structures, Jesuits and seculars both suffered greatly from the absence of an

\textsuperscript{32} For example, Alexander Dunbar to Lewis Innes, April 11, 1687, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/100/12; John Paul Jameson to Lewis Innes, December 18, 1679, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/57/10.
\textsuperscript{33} MacDonald, \textit{Missions}, 140.
ecclesiastical hierarchy on the ground in Scotland. The Jesuit English Province encompassed Scotland but lacked organizational support for the northern kingdom.  

Similarly, secular priests lacked a bishop until 1694 and while they continuously petitioned agents in Rome to entreat the Pope to install a Scottish bishopric, they encountered constant opposition and disappointment, even during the reign of Catholic King James VII.

The absence of a bishop meant that all funding and orders that came from Propaganda Fide moved circuitously through the institutional network established in Europe. William Leslie, leading secular agent in Rome, often wrote to the leaders of the Scots College in Paris, the monastery in Regensburg and other institutions promising grants of funds to be doled out accordingly. In turn, those funds and instructions then had to somehow get to Scotland without interception. Dangers on the journey north and extreme time delays meant that priests in Europe always lacked current information from Scotland and priests in Scotland nearly always felt a dearth of capital and supplies necessary to execute their vocation. Inadequate institutions and insufficient manpower constantly threatened Scottish Catholicism from within.

The campaign for a Scottish bishop was a long one. England had received a vicar apostolic in 1623 and won a bishopric in 1685, but Scotland lacked a bishop figure until 1694. During the reign of James VII, talks about the bishop abounded, but never came to fruition. When no progress had been made by 1688, Placid Fleming, Abbot of the Benedictine Scots monastery in Regensburg, expressed his happiness for English Catholics, but could not mask his resentment that Scots Catholics still suffered from decentralized Catholic power a century and a half after the Reformation. He wrote sardonically, “I receaved a letter of late from [Lewis] Innes, who tells us, there are three more Bishops names for England…[all] Excellent men and good

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34 Tom McInally, “Scottish Catholics Abroad,” 272.
preachers…Now, when the English have gotten four Bishops, they might think it tyme for us, at least to have one.”35 The secular clergy agreed.

In 1653, William Ballantine had been named Scotland’s first Prefect Apostolic, succeeded by Alexander Dunbar in 1662.36 Prefects Apostolic oversaw missions that were too small to be recognized as full dioceses requiring a bishop. Consequently, they enjoyed far fewer freedoms and responsibilities than fully consecrated bishops. As early as 1667, just seven years after the Restoration of the monarchy in the three kingdoms, Charles Howard, then residing in London, desperately expressed the need of a bishop to monitor the behavior of English Catholics: “the pore papists could perhaps of late or now wish…that there were a bishop here to [end] the folly, disunion, & scandall of even many of the clergie themselves, for want of which authority…the catholickes suffer much.”37 Priests, including John Paul Jameson, voiced similar concerns about the behavior and piety of Catholics in Edinburgh. From his seat on the ground in the British Isles, a bishop could keep his priests and his parishioners in line far better than any could from Paris or Rome. But the bishop would do much more than police the behavior of the Catholics under his jurisdiction. He could hear complaints, oversee all activity related to the mission and function as the central site of communication rather than having to rely on the slow and unreliable routes to Paris and Rome. However, two further functions far surpassed all the rest in importance. The first was the bishop’s control over the distribution of faculties throughout Scotland, meaning that at least some financial decisions and disputes could be settled in Scotland rather than in Rome. The second was his authority over all priests on the mission, regardless of order.

35 Placid Fleming, April 6, 1688, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/111/11.
Unfortunately, Scottish priests struggled to agree on the functions of the bishop, while Pope and King hesitated to approve an appointment. In the summer of 1686, Lewis Innes traveled to England where he had several conferences with King James VII. Although Innes lauded the monarch for his “many zealous expressions for the conversion of our poor Country,” he nevertheless expressed his dismay at the lengthy and disheartening proceedings surrounding the possible bishop’s post. Innes revealed that the matter had been “canvassed at Court & turned on all sydes these last 3 or 4 months past…it is most true that some who should have bin in most forwards were most backwards, & had I not gon over & acted as vigorously as ever I did in any business, there had as yet bin no word of a Bishop for Scotland anywhere but in…letters.”

Not only was the King wary of ostracizing his Protestant subjects by accepting a Catholic bishop, but the Scots themselves could not agree on who should assume the post. Until this point, most of those in Innes’s circle had championed Abbot Fleming, but he withdrew his name from the race in the middle of these debates. Fleming defended his decision, citing his peaceful and quiet monastic life, “where a man can shut his doores, deny audience to every Body, and sweetly hug himselfe in his owne Laziness” as incompatible with the very public and very taxing role as the head of Catholics in Scotland. “To quit such a pleasant port and Elysian Calme,” he wrote, “and lance forth againe into the oceane, to be exposed to stormes and Tempests, to follow new modes and fashions, and begin in an old age to learne to steer a new course amongst a Thousand rocks and Sands, were a perfect Madness.”

Lewis Innes, by contrast, was long accustomed to the public priestly life and, as Principal of the College in Paris, skilled in the institutional bureaucracy of the Church and so a much better candidate for the bishopric. Fleming’s decision

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39 Ibid.
40 Placid Fleming to Lewis Innes, December 18, 1688, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/111/15.
to withdraw his name set the entire process back substantially, but Lewis Innes quickly replaced him as the frontrunner by 1688.\textsuperscript{41} Just as proceedings seemed to near an end, however, the Glorious Revolution struck, instantly halting all conversation. The flight of James VII ended talks and the renewed danger of living as a Catholic caused priests and lay people to disperse once again throughout Scotland and Europe. The beginning of William III's reign in Scotland was marked by a Presbyterian majority that ruled with a tight fist against Catholics, making it incredibly difficult for the mission to continue with any vigor.\textsuperscript{42} During these few years, the idea of a Scottish bishop was all but abandoned. It was not until 1693, once the fate of Catholicism on British soil seemed less perilous, that debates reignited.\textsuperscript{43} With them, conflicts between Jesuits and seculars resurfaced.

The office of the bishop was, crucially, a unifying and regulatory one. In order for Jesuits and seculars to work together for the salvation of Catholics in Scotland, they needed to envision themselves as belonging to the same missionary project, starting by appealing to the same power for funding, assignment and redress of grievances. Before England had been granted a bishop in 1623, the same frictions had plagued that mission, but the Scots did not learn from this English precedent.\textsuperscript{44} Ultimately, the Scottish bishop controversy resulted in the exacerbation of tensions

\textsuperscript{41} Placid Fleming to Charles Whyteford, January 1, 1687, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/101/1; Placid Fleming to Charles Whyteford, March 23, 1688, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/111/9.

\textsuperscript{42} Alasdair Raffe and Ryan K. Frace have both spilled much ink on the subject of Presbyterian religious and political thought and practice in the decades following the Glorious Revolution. See Ryan K. Frace, “Religious Toleration in the Wake of Revolution: Scotland on the Eve of Enlightenment (1688-1710s),” \textit{History} 93 no.3 (July 2008): 355-375; Raffe, “Presbyterians and Episcopalians: The Formation of Confessional Cultures in Scotland, 1660-1715,” \textit{The English Historical Review} 125, no.514 (June 2010): 570-598; Raffe, “Presbyterianism, Secularization.”

\textsuperscript{43} David Burnet and John Gordon to James Gordon, February 1681, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/166/12.

\textsuperscript{44} In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Jesuit Superior was the only high Catholic authority in England and he controlled finances for both Jesuit and secular priests. However, seculars begged Rome to establish a religious hierarchy in England so that a Jesuit would not be in charge of the seculars’ faculties. This culminated in the so-called Archpriest Controversy, in which an archpriest was appointed, but he remained, until 1602, subordinate to the Jesuit Superior. It was not until 1623 that Rome appointed a bishop to England who bore no obligations to any order and oversaw all priests on the Mission, regardless of their affiliation. The post of the bishop, however, was left vacant from 1631 until 1685, when a new Vicar Apostolic was nominated as head of the English Catholics. The half century of an empty bishopric, however, greatly tainted the harmony of the English mission and failed to
between seculars and Jesuits rather than their dissolution. Toward the end of the debates in 1694, William Leslie grew exasperated in frustration with the Jesuits. He claimed that the Jesuits had always enjoyed favor from the pope, but had taken advantage and now found themselves second to the seculars and consequently angry. Leslie compared the Jesuits to infants "nourished…with milk of great and singular privileges, employments, and other such lyke favours." However, once they grew to "ane age that they came to have teeth, strength and power, they began to byt their mother's breasts…so the church now particularly is resolved to…take away their milke…and reduce them under the authority and jurisdiction of Bishops." In order to combat this, Jesuits turned to "princes, and Rich, or potent men, ladyes, and such lyke by whose meins they nourish and breed divers, and great troubles to Rome…but the more they vex Rome in this manner [of the bishop]…the more Rome will promote it…[and] the more Rome will mortify them therefor." The Jesuits, thought Leslie, were falling from grace and their mission model along with them.

Because the secular clergy saw themselves as heralds of a new missionary model different from that of the Jesuits, they placed great value on the appointment of a bishop. Winning a secular bishop would reflect Rome's favor, introduce more robust regulatory policies on the ground in Scotland, promise a more unified Catholic body and dictate the future form the Scottish mission would take, following either the Jesuit or the secular model. This precipitated a sense of urgency surrounding the election of a Catholic bishop for Scotland. The bishop, in the hopes of the seculars, would bridge the gulf between them and the Jesuits by assuming authority

over all priests (including Benedictines and Franciscans on the mission), thereby creating a much more cohesive and unified missionary body.

In the end, a compromise was struck that did not satisfy either party at first. On September 7, 1694, Rome finally appointed Thomas Nicolson as Vicar Apostolic. Crucially, he was not a consecrated bishop and while the differences between these two positions seems nominal on the surface, the consequences of this distinction were significant. In places with an established and functioning Catholic hierarchy, bishops preside over their own diocese. Though subordinate to the pope, bishops act as the supreme authority in their jurisdiction and their authority “is not revocable at pleasure.” Conversely, vicars apostolic or, as Dom Basil Hemphill has called them, "emergency bishops," occupy a space between papal representatives and bishops. Whereas a bishop is the supreme authority in his region, a vicar apostolic “is not properly bishop of the flock to which he is sent, but Officer or Delegate of the person who sends him,” meaning, in this case, the pope. They work in places that have no ecclesiastical hierarchy, such as mission sites. Their office, unlike a bishopric, has no inherent authority, rendering them less secure. They can consecrate liturgical vessels and altars, award certain faculties and oversee missionary and financial activity, but their authority is lesser than that of a fully consecrated bishop and therefore much more vulnerable to opposition and removal. In the context of the Scottish mission, this meant that if enough missionaries lodged complaints against the Vicar Apostolic, he could lose his title and the existence of an overarching authority in Scotland would be eliminated.

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46 Westminster Diocesan Archives, XXXIV, 236, London, UK.
47 Ibid.
When Nicolson received his appointment as Vicar Apostolic, he felt strongly the liability of his post. Lewis Innes mimicked the sentiment of many secular priests when he heard news of the faculties Nicolson had received. According to Innes, they were the same, if not less, than what every priest on the mission received from Rome. If he had only enough money to support one man, then he certainly could not act as a financial resource for any of the priests in Scotland and surely not all of them. Moreover, the conditions of his appointment made “no mention…of obliging all the Missioners both secular & Regular to take their faculties from him. If they be not obliged to this [they will] have no dependence upon him at all.” Without financial power, “there [could] be no subordination” and without subordination, there could be no enforceable hierarchy and no unity. Even so, he tried.

Upon his arrival in 1697 after a brief imprisonment, Nicolson demanded the dissemination and enforcement throughout Scotland of several points of worship dictated by the Catholic Church. He ordered that all Catholics confess and repent their sins at least once a year, receive Communion at Easter and observe Lent. He further implored all of his priests to promote more earnestly a culture of penance and to “perswade [Catholics] that though the Church does not now exact the mortifications prescribed by the canons, yet she still hates sin, & teaches that penance is necessary for appeasing the wrath of God.” The punishment for failure to comply was severe: “if he fail in these obligations, let him be interdicted from the entry of the Church during his life, & if he die in this state let him be deprived of Christian burial.” The ability to exact such punishment must have rested on the assumption that all Catholics by 1697 would have access to a priest at least once a year, though presumably there were many Catholics who did not. Yet

50 A.G., Canon of the Council of Lataran which was held under P.P. Inoc which canon obliges all the faithfull to the yearly confession & to the Communion at Easter, SCA Blairs Letters /2/61/8.
Nicolson was aware of the threat of ignorance and so deemed “it is necessary that this saving decree be often published in the Churches that none may be ignorant of it, & make use of this ignorance for an excuse.”\textsuperscript{51} In order to post and enforce this decree in all locales housing Catholics, there existed a robust network and infrastructure across Scotland by the end of the century. This marked the beginning of the new face of the mission, centrally organized and headed by a vicar apostolic as a visible representative of the Catholic Church, that would carry into the eighteenth century. The adjustment to this new structure, however, was not seamless.

Even four years after his appointment and a year after his arrival in Scotland, Nicolson remained unsatisfied with his powers and found himself unable to wrest control over all missionary priests in Scotland. He wrote to Rome, via Paris, asking “that the original or a very authentick copy of the last Rescriptum of the Propaganda giving him the same powers they had given the English Bishops be sent home, because he fears he may want it in case the Regulars should call the matter in question.”\textsuperscript{52} Clearly, he had not yet succeeded in gaining the submission of the Jesuit priests. Neither had he sufficient funds, as he also requested “to have his faculties renewed & prolonged.”\textsuperscript{53} Despite this rocky start, Nicolson ultimately succeeded in establishing universal authority over all missionary priests and moving toward a more cohesive mission. In 1701, the Jesuits officially submitted to him and in 1704 he ordained a priest from his post in Scotland, which had not happened in nearly two centuries.\textsuperscript{54} The institutional presence of the Catholic Church in Scotland was cemented.

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{52} Lewis Innes to William Leslie, April 21, 1698, SCA Blairs Letters, 2/37/4.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid.
A Network of News

By the late 1670s, the question of the succession of the British throne burned on the mouths and presses of the three kingdoms. Charles II fathered no legitimate children and most Protestants would not willingly submit to his younger, Catholic brother, James, Duke of York. In order to prevent the Crown from finding its next home on the Duke of York's head, a group of MPs introduced three successive bills to Parliament for his Exclusion from the line of Succession, but were thwarted when the King dissolved Parliament. Ultimately, the Exclusion Bills failed and the Duke of York succeeded to his brother's throne in 1685, but the so-called Exclusion Crisis sparked a true crisis of politics, of religion and of the mission.55

As Parliamentarians debated the Exclusion Bills in Westminster, others worked to incite anti-Catholic opinion in the public sphere. In 1678, Titus Oates, a former Anglican clergyman who converted to Catholicism in 1677, wrote a manuscript with the help of Protestant clergyman, Israel Tonge, in which he accused dozens of Catholics (mostly Jesuits) of plotting to murder Charles II.56 The text's reception was sensational. Over the next three years, an impressive number of tracts proliferated, each purporting to contain evidence of the Plot or simply maligning Catholics in general and Jesuits in particular, as murderers and conspirators.57 These accusations led to trials, executions and anti-Catholic legislation. In the end, none of Oates's

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56 Titus Oates, A True narrative of the horrid plot and conspiracy of the popish party against the life of His Sacred Majestie, the government, and the Protestant religion, (Dublin, 1679).
57 Thomas Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, Popery : or, the principles and positions approved by the Church of Rome (London, 1679); William Bedloe, A Narrative and impartial discovery of the horrid Popish plot : carried on for the burning and destroying the cities of London and Westminster, with their Suburbs, &c. Setting forth the several Consults, Orders and Resolutions of the Jesuites, &c Concerning the Same (London, 1679); Richard Greene, The Popish massacre, as it was discovered to the Honorable House of Commons : sitting in grand committee for the suppression of popery in the month of June 1678 (London, 1679); Pierre du Moulin, A Short and true account of the several advances the Church of England hath made towards Rome : or, a model of the grounds upon which the papists for these hundred years have built their hopes and expectations, that England would ere long return to popery (London, 1680).
claims could be corroborated and the entire conspiracy was proven false. The enduring effects, however, devastated the reputation of the Jesuit order and proved fatal to those who lost their lives in the hysteria.

The first rumblings of the Popish Plot caused a frantic scene among those involved in the Catholic missions in both Scotland and England. Aside from Dutch gazettes, the main source of news about the British Isles came from direct correspondence with agents—whether priests, sympathetic nobles or paid merchants—who wrote or traveled from England, Scotland and Ireland. By October 1678, such a method proved too dangerous, and "none who has any witte dare venture to write of newes until this mischievous accident be past."58 Those who did "[write] beyond seayes" were cautious, knowing that "their letters will be opened."59 By the first months of 1679, word from England had become more regular, at least to the main centers of Paris and Rome. Students at the smaller college in Douai, however, withered much longer in the dark, so much so that James Innes wrote from there to his brother, Lewis, in Paris, begging him for any morsel of news from home, saying, "as for Scotland this 5 months I have not heard a word neither directly nor indirectly. If you know anything I pray you to" send word.60

When news finally did come—sometimes sporadically and sometimes all at once—it almost never boded well for Scottish Catholics throughout the years of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis. Very few updates survive about family members and friends from this period, updates which pepper the extant correspondence from every year before 1678 and after 1680. Instead, both the briefest and the longest letters focused on political tumult. Information about accused and imprisoned Catholic lords, references to an unnamed Jesuit priest accused of

58 Charles Whyteford to David Burnet, October, 1678, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/54/3.
59 Ibid.
60 James Innes to Lewis Innes, March 26, 1679, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/57/1.
plotting, rumors about key political players and even a full update about new anti-Catholic laws that passed through Parliament—all of this occupied the attention of Scottish and English Catholics and Catholic sympathizers at home and abroad.\(^{61}\) James Kennedy’s assessment in 1681 seemed to reflect the prevailing sentiment of the previous three years: "I am sorry I can give you little considerable [news] and far less that's good, especially from our Country."\(^{62}\) Even more distressing was Charles Whyteford's lost hope as he wrote from Edinburgh, "how all these troubles will end, God knows."\(^{63}\)

Eventually, of course, these troubles did end. Parliament succeeded in renewing anti-Catholic legislation in January 1679, which stipulated that all Catholic priests leave by March 1, all Catholics give up arms by February 20, all Catholics in Europe immediately return home and not leave again without permission from their bishop, all Catholics appear before their local Protestant bishop and finally all pay a yearly tax.\(^{64}\) However, the Exclusion Bills officially failed in 1681, Oates was exposed as a fraud and Catholics were vindicated. Nevertheless, this period marked a low point of the mission with the very future of British Catholicism at stake. A sense of desperation characterized the majority of correspondence as many Scottish Catholics in Europe felt uninformed, anxious and helpless. By reading these letters, the only assumption one can make is that news from Scotland and England dramatically slowed, coming nearly to a halt.

Actually, the opposite was true. 1678 and 1679 saw an explosion in letters sent from the British Isles to the Continent, despite the overwhelming impression of the opposite. The image


\(^{62}\) James Kennedy to William Leslie, September 26, 1681, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/70/6.

\(^{63}\) Charles Whyteford to Lewis Innes, 1679, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/58/5.

\(^{64}\) Charles Whyteford to Lewis Innes, 1679, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/58/6.
below demonstrates one way in which the use of digital technologies can help historians to refine analyses and, in this case, rework assumptions drawn from incomplete archives.

Figure 1.6. Correspondence, January 1, 1660-December 31, 1677

Figure 1.7. Correspondence, January 1, 1678-December 31, 1679

Figure 1.8. Correspondence from Scotland, January 1, 1678-December 31, 1679
The top image shows letters sent between January 1, 1660 and December 31, 1677. Out of two hundred fifty-five total, eighteen, or just seven percent, were sent from Scotland and England. At the height of the Popish Plot chaos, between January 1, 1678 and December 31, 1679, when the correspondents complained of a lack of news, far more letters were sent from Scotland and England, as shown in the middle and bottom images. This is obvious, as the lines extending out of Scotland are much thicker in these images than in the first. The third image shows letters sent from ten different places in Scotland, compared to just three in the previous seventeen years. In 1678 and 1679, a striking forty-five letters sent from Scotland and England have been recorded, representing thirty percent of the total number of letters sent. These two years also reflect a narrowed focus on the British Isles. Whereas the correspondence of the previous eighteen years is spread across continental Europe and the British Isles, that of 1678 and 1679 saw much less communication with the less central institutions in Europe. Rather, most correspondence seems to have been from Scotland and England to Paris and from Paris to Rome. Most of the latter letters relayed information gleaned from the former set. By numbers and by content, the Popish Plot obsessed Scottish Catholics everywhere.

News during the Glorious Revolution also seemed difficult to come by. This time, though, the anxiety that characterized correspondence reflected an actual decrease in letters sent from Scotland. This is not at all surprising. Whereas the Popish Plot played out in the public sphere, the Glorious Revolution instigated a complete political overhaul. With the help of discontented English and Scottish Protestants, the Dutch Prince William of Orange invaded England on November 5, 1688. James VII ultimately fled to France, effectively abdicating the throne for William to take. All at once, the Glorious Revolution sparked battles, changed the political
regime and introduced renewed legislation against Catholics. Priests were imprisoned and banished and communication dropped dramatically.

During the reign of James VII, just over a third of the total number of letters sent flowed from Scotland and England. Between November 5, 1688 and the end of 1689, that number plummeted to twelve percent.

Figure 1.9. Letters sent from Scotland during the reign of Catholic King James II, February 6, 1685-November 4, 1688

Figure 1.10. Letters sent from Scotland, November 5, 1688-December 31, 1689

Both the thickness of lines representing volume of letters and the number of lines corresponding to origin city reflects a dismal reality of Catholic correspondence during the immediate chaos of
the Glorious Revolution. It grew so difficult to post letters that Prefect Alexander Dunbar and others resorted to sending mail exclusively with trusted individuals who were traveling from Scotland to the Continent and could conceal a letter, as mail was constantly opened, re-routed, delivered to the wrong people and even destroyed.\textsuperscript{65} One priest found a particularly clever way to convey information out of Scotland. Lewis Innes’s brother, Walter—who had been educated and ordained at the Scots College in Rome—posed as a Protestant in a letter he sent from Edinburgh to Paris in May 1689. Veiling his true commitment to the Catholic Church and mission through language such as "praised be the Lord the gospel beginnes to shine clearer than ever in this land…for…the papist rogues are utterly destroyed and ruined here" and "we ought all to joyn in thanks to our blessed redeemer" William of Orange, Innes was able to provide an update on Lord Chancellor Perth and secular priests, Thomas Nicolson and David Lindsay, who were all imprisoned, as well as Duke of Gordon, who remained "still obstinat" while holding Edinburgh Castle from the hands of William's forces.\textsuperscript{66} Anyone who opened this letter would see it as the work of a loyal Protestant, convicted in his hatred for Catholics and glorified by the victory of the Prince of Orange.

For others, communication was both less cryptic and more challenging. By the end of August 1689, packet boats carrying letters ceased traveling between Dover and Calais.\textsuperscript{67} In response, one anonymous man found a creative way to receive information from England in the absence of sanctioned postal routes. From Calais, he wrote, "it is a very easy matter to have intelligence from England to this Place: there are a company of fellows that make it their trade to bring wool from England to this place by stealth in open boates with oares" once or twice a

\textsuperscript{65} Alexander Dunbar to Lewis Innes, January 23, 1689, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/121/3; E.G. to Lewis Innes, June 1, 1689, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/128/5.
\textsuperscript{66} Walter Innes to Brie, April 26, 1689, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/122/15.
\textsuperscript{67} Letter to Cussy, August 23, 1689, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/128/14.
week. If paid enough, they would "bring any thing over. They steale out in the night from
Creeks about a mile or two from Dover: and if they had incouragement wou'd venture over at
any time." Most priests, however, took no such risk and waited instead for news to arrive
through reopened postal routes or by word of mouth. The Glorious Revolution may have slowed
communication, but it did not completely extinguish exchange among Catholics, thanks to the
robust network they had built in the decades before. The infrastructure and institutions that
Scottish Catholics utilized facilitated the flow of goods, of people and of information throughout
both Catholic Europe and the British Isles. In times of crisis like the Glorious Revolution,
however, individuals had to adapt the ways in which they moved through and interacted with
those institutions in order to preserve their enterprise. At all times, it was people who made
institutions relevant and useful to their cause.

A Network of People

Despite their reliance on institutions to build their networks and execute their missions, it
was people who directed, protected and safeguarded Scottish Catholicism. The men who ran
seminaries, colleges and monasteries; the novitiates who matriculated into those places; the
priests who conducted missionary activity; the sisters who joined convents, often facilitating the
investment of private money and lands into the Church; the lay women who smuggled letters,
books and priests—all of these and more formed the beating heart of Scottish Catholicism in
exile. They brought life to institutions through their professional and personal relationships and
to their shared dream of carving out a space of Catholic toleration in Scotland.

68 Ibid.
No one connected the institutional framework of Scottish Catholicism with its exiles more emphatically than Placid Fleming, Abbot of the Scots Benedictine monastery at Regensburg.\textsuperscript{69} Located in Catholic Bavaria, Regensburg was considered a Catholic bishopric with three monasteries, including the Scots Benedictine one. As part of the Holy Roman Empire, Bavaria bordered several kingdoms and electorates whose state religions, after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, were either Catholicism or Lutheranism.\textsuperscript{70} While Regensburg itself was surrounded by Catholic towns, its relations with neighboring Lutheran locales affected its economics, politics and access routes. Consequently, the Scots monastery occupied a unique space both within its immediate surroundings and as an institution of the Scottish Catholic mission. Thomas Fleming, who adopted the Christian name Placid, was elected abbot of the declining Scots monastery in 1672. With only three monks and limited funds, Regensburg existed in relative isolation from the international world of Scottish Catholicism, but Fleming made it his mission to transform the monastery into a central fixture. He began by lobbying for the reinstatement of two former Scottish monasteries in Bavaria in order to establish a Catholic and Scottish trifecta within the region, leading to increased matriculation. For three decades, he corresponded endlessly with agents in Rome, Subiaco, Pesaro and Urbino in the Italian Peninsula as well as those in Paris to keep apprised of the mission and ensure the primacy of his monastery. He exchanged books with other individuals and institutions and even offered men from his monastery who were better suited to missionary work than a monastic life.\textsuperscript{71} In 1686, he became the leading nominee for the

\textsuperscript{69} While the correspondence refers to Ratisbon, thanks to a heavy French influence, it signifies the monastery at Regensburg.


position of Scotland's first bishop, though he declined the post in order to focus on the growth of the Regensburg monastery.\textsuperscript{72} Better than any other individual, Abbot Fleming epitomized the scope of Scottish Catholicism in Europe and embodied the passion that many of those committed to the preservation of Scottish Catholicism shared.

People like Abbot Fleming forged connections through epistolary, material and intellectual transmission. The movement of books facilitated all three kinds of exchange. Principal Robert Barclay's books from the opening of this chapter demonstrate this well. In their years-long journey through Paris, Amsterdam, Middelburg, Aberdeen and throughout Scotland, they encountered many individuals. Their movement required the movement of people and so they demanded physical interactions between priests, laymen and laywomen, between people discursively linked by an institutional and epistolary network, but who would likely never have come into physical contact otherwise. This is to say nothing of the intellectual and spiritual connections and communities that these books may have wrought through their content and readership. Consequently, the movement of books sustained, reinforced and expanded the network of Scottish Catholics thanks to the physical exchange through different hands alongside an intellectual exchange. Ritualistically, books—particularly of a theological and devotional nature—also helped to circumvent the absence of priests by disseminating theological principles through doctrinal debate, by outlining appropriate rituals and by serving as prayer guides. While they could not replace the sacraments, they could help to sustain Catholic communities in periods of short or prolonged priestly absence.\textsuperscript{73}


\textsuperscript{73} Of course, this was only true in literate and semi-literate communities. This ritual-literary function of books dropped dramatically in completely illiterate societies. Thus, books were central to Scottish Catholic exiles, but their efficacy as spiritual guides and teaching tools in Scotland itself varied depending on the fabric of individual makeshift parishes.
Ignoring the thickness of the lines, this visual represents the geographic distribution of books that circulated throughout the Scottish Catholic network as captured in the Blairs Letters, including Scripture as well as works of theology, religious controversy and classic works in Latin and Greek. While not as expansive as the network of letters, this image does depict a widespread circulation of books throughout Catholic Europe and even into London and Aberdeen. This reflects only a small sampling because these lines represent transit routes of books mentioned in letters. Because books had to be physically transported, they were must often carried by people and not always noted in correspondence. Men and women primarily exchanged devotional books, such as Douai and Rheims Bibles and New Testaments, breviaries, commentaries on Scripture and religious controversy in various languages as well as classic texts that formed the foundation of humanist education. Through them, priests and educators could control the spread of information moving through their networks and perform and direct abridged forms of catechesis and worship remotely through the written word. Even when a priest was present with his parish, these books formed the foundation of his practice. Without them he could never perfect either education or worship.
Often, Scottish Catholics traded books geared toward communal use in order to foster a sense of community within and between institutions. In that capacity, they used books—and the institutional and structural networks through which they moved—to precipitate new connections and reinforce old ones. When Abbot Fleming received a Bible, a Rheims New Testament and various French sermons and controversial texts from Charles Whyteford at the Scots College in Paris for use in the Regensburg monastery, he in turn sent "some other Germane bookes, to your Bibliotheck…as a small monument of my gratitude." Presumably, these texts served multiple purposes. The Rheims New Testament and, later, full Bible, was an English Bible translated from Latin and published at Douai. Its existence in the Benedictine monastery in Regensburg would allow students and monks there to engage with Scripture in the vernacular and thereby develop a deeper understanding. The French preachings and controversies—a broad request made without any specific titles—likely functioned as tools to learn French. In return, the German books that Fleming sent were also unspecified tomes intended to help the students at Paris gain a working knowledge of German. While the latter language was less important, French became a central tool of the Scottish mission. In 1681, Dunbar wrote to Barclay, asking him to send back to Scotland “thos 3 youths hom, who now I hoppe have all of them a sufficient gripp of the French language, & other improvements, wch may serve them hereafter when occasione offers.” Even in Scotland, where vestiges of the Auld Alliance between Scotland and France remained both culturally and linguistically, a solid grip on the French language served as a great asset.

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74 Placid Fleming to Charles Whyteford, January 1, 1687, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/101/3.
76 Placid Fleming to Charles Whyteford, January 1, 1687, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/101/1.
Missionary priests especially circulated books as a way of maintaining connections to Scotland. In 1687, during the brief period of Catholic toleration in the British Isles, Lewis Innes sent four volumes from Scotland to be disseminated to exiles in and around Paris: the Bishop of Oxford's *Reasons for Abrogating the Test* (1688); *Union of Honour* by James Yorke (1640); *A Display of Heraldrie* by John Guillim (1610); and a book of Scottish genealogy.\(^{78}\) While these were all intended for individuals (rather than for general use by students of the Paris College), they reflect a surprising interest in non-religious affairs. Only the first dealt with religion, and even then, in political, rather than devotional terms. The other three addressed nobility and heraldry, including coats of arms, histories and names of the most prominent Scottish houses. Not everything, then, focused exclusively on devotion. Just as the content of some of the books that circulated among Scottish Catholics was not always religious, those who carried them had not always taken religious vows. These four texts in particular were distributed through a network that relied on merchants conducting business over land and sea routes. Innes sent the books on a ship called *The Friends Adventure*, under the master, John Marshall, which sailed from London to Rouen in the beginning of January 1688.\(^{79}\) The package containing the four volumes was addressed to Ernault, a merchant who regularly conveyed goods—including Barclay's books—between the men and women represented in the Blairs Letters correspondence network. The epistolary and institutional networks of Scottish Catholic exiles made movement of goods possible, especially illicit goods. However, without a corollary network of people, an alliance between priest and lay, these other networks would have had nothing to convey. Without the cooperation of merchants like Ernault, circulation of ideas and objects would have proved impossible and institutions purposeless.

\(^{78}\) Lewis Innes to Charles Whyteford, January 19, 1688, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/113/5.

\(^{79}\) Ibid.
Women played an equally important role. Historically, English gentry women have earned the strongest reputation as priest harborers, secretly hosting priests in their homes and inviting neighbors to hear Mass. Their role as book transporters through a London Catholic underground has also received recent attention. However, English gentry women were not the only laywomen who advanced the collective British Catholic causes. The three widows who accepted and held Barclay’s parcels of books and also hosted David Burnet when he came to collect them risked their own safety by smuggling goods and hiding them from prying eyes. More frequently, on their journeys around the Continent and in the British Isles, itinerant priests routinely spent several nights in women’s homes. When staying for an extended time, priests, like James Innes when he traveled to Nivelles near Brussels, would often say something to the effect of “advance our letters to Mademoiselle de Campis de la rue de Seminaire à Mons.” Sometimes this indicated where they were staying; others times letters were conveyed through women in order to limit suspicion. When this occurred in England and Scotland, these women accepted a great threat of danger and faced fines and penal punishment if caught.

The relationship between laywomen and male confessors was always reciprocal. While many women aided the Scottish Catholic cause directly, others sought aid themselves. Mary Howard and Widow Patrick both wrote to William Leslie in Rome, asking him to bestow favor upon their sons. In other cases, priests, including Alexander Dunbar and William Roberson arranged for safe travel and protection for both lay and religious women. Women also patronized the mission. Jean Sinclair donated to the mission and sent all of her sons to the Scots

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80 Havens and Patton, “Underground.”
81 James Innes to Lewis Innes, December 27, 1680, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/62/3.
College in Paris. On at least one occasion, patroness Lady Huntly even commissioned William Leslie to acquire and send to her paintings of "fontaines, palaces, gardens, and perspectives. Lett them not be too large nor too little, lett the colours be bright and cleer, they are for the decore a summer house she has built in her garden. She would if it be possible have the same things in a great paper book." Women could also act as conveyers of news, particularly political news in moments of crisis. When her husband, John Drummond, Lord Melfort, fled from London to Paris in support of his King during the Glorious Revolution, Euphemia Drummond (née Wallace) and her children fled with him. As James VII’s new Secretary of State in exile, Lord Melfort traveled often between 1689 and 1691, from France to Ireland and Rome. Lady Melfort followed her husband to Rome in 1691, where she maintained at least a sporadic correspondence with Lewis Innes, who was by then a fixture at the Jacobite exile Court in St. Germain. On April 11, 1691, she wrote to Innes, asking him to look after her children who had remained behind in France. Lady Melfort was more than a loyal wife and worried mother, however. She also proved herself a keen political observer. In that same letter to Innes, she wrote of the “Spanish faction” gaining ground in Rome. They brought with them rumors of James VII’s deteriorating advantage and continued defeats. She and the King's many supporters in Rome were desperate for news, hoping that Innes would debunk the Spaniards’ claims. He never did.

As hostesses, letter carriers, patronesses and commissioners of books and art, women were instrumental to the success of the Scottish Catholic network in Europe and helped to transform it into not only a religious network, but also a cultural one. Nevertheless, no relationships forged

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84 Alexander Dunbar to Robert Barclay, January 1678, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/50/14; Correspondence to Lewis Innes, 1681, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/72/10-12.
86 Lady Melfort to Lewis Innes, April 11, 1691, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/140/1.
87 Ibid.
stronger bonds than those between priests, who shared a new version of kin and brotherhood. They called each other brothers, dearest friends and confidants. They exchanged news of each other's families, shared in the joy of weddings and the sorrow of funerals. They rejoiced at the successes of their fellow priests and mourned the rifts that sometimes came between them. As brothers in faith, they constructed new communities and new families and railed against the divisions dictated by their clans. And yet, their love and friendships could never eclipse parallel bitter rivalries born in exile.

Not all relationships among priests were harmonious. Jealousies and rivalries invaded colleges like an insidious plague, some transplanted from Scotland and others born anew abroad. No single rivalry, though, was greater than that between Jesuits and seculars. Both organizations contended for control of the colleges and vied for favor from Rome, hoping to gain greater control over the mission itself. In the process, they frequently maligned and undermined each other publicly in their battle for power. In 1679, at the height of public paranoia against Catholics in the British Isles thanks to the Popish Plot, Jesuits had spread a rumor claiming that secular priests in England had persuaded all English Catholics to take the Oath of Supremacy.

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88 Patrick Conne to Bisset, December 15, 1669, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/38/1; James Nicoll to Aeneas MacDonald, April 24, 1680, 1/63/19; Lewis Innes to William Leslie, September 30, 1686, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/94/10; Robert Barclay, July 18, 1680, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/159/1.

89 This is most evident among priests associated with clans in Aberdeenshire. There, the bitter feud between the Forbes and Gordon clans swallowed the region. Clan Forbes, generally Protestant, allied with other local Protestant clans of Fraser, Keith and Crichton against the Gordons and their Catholic allies, Leslie, Irvine and Hay. The erosion of religious divisions certainly eased some of the tensions for priests of these families, but clan rivalries were deep-seated and difficult to overcome. Nevertheless, members of all of these clans corresponded with each other and worked closely together in both Europe and Scotland in service of the mission. Thomas Forbes to William Leslie, January 26, 1684, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/83/5; Thomas Forbes to William Leslie, 1685, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/90/5-6; Thomas Forbes to William Leslie, 1686, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/94/7.8; John Paul Jameson to William Leslie and Walter Leslie, 1686, SCA Blairs Letters 1/94/12,13,15; David Burnet and 10 priests to the Lord Chancellor, June 14, 1688, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/109/27; William Forbes to Walter Leslie, September 29, 1691, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/135/14; Alexander Crichton to Walter Leslie, 1693, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/158/2; George Gordon, Robert Davidson and Alexander Crichton to William Leslie, July 13-August 17, 1693, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/159/10-12; Alexander Crichton to William Leslie, April 5, 1694, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/171/5; Alexander Crichton to John Irvine, September 24, 1699, SCA Blairs Letters, 2/48/8; James Forbes, William Leslie and John Irvine to Lewis Innes, September 5, 1699, SCA Blairs Letters, 2/49/4.
recognizing the king as head of the kingdom in all matters both temporal and spiritual, thereby denying the supremacy of the pope. While some did support this position, the body of the secular clergy could never endorse such a flagrant denial of papal supremacy or abandon the goal of a renewed Catholic state. In response, the clergy decried this as slander, but the damage to their reputation was severe. On the other side of the battlefield, seculars displayed equal skill, though perhaps less finesse, in their opposition. In 1690, when the paranoia of the Glorious Revolution and fears of Catholic absolutism still abounded in Scotland, the Jesuits attempted to open a Catholic school in Edinburgh. Instead of facilitating Catholic education and conversion, however, it created even more animosity among Protestants and confirmed rampant opposition to Catholicism in the Scottish capital. The school “made a great clamour throughout the towne, and countrey, incensed the people, and made them think there was nothing but…poperie coming in amongst them…its certaine that the Jesuits school…incensed [Protestants] extremly.” The secular clergy wasted no time in reporting this misstep to Rome. None could have anticipated that the erection of a school would have backfired so completely, and no seculars spoke against the school in the beginning, but only capitalized on its failure. And yet four years later, Lewis Innes wrote from Scotland with his own proposition for a new school to be built in Scotland dedicated to a Catholic education, as if the Jesuit school fiasco had never occurred. Later, in 1694, an anonymous secular priest drafted over fifty pages of apocryphal stories painting the Jesuits as manipulative, greedy, ambitious men who used “absolute and despoticall” kings to gain power throughout history, all in the name of spreading Catholicism.

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91 SCA Scots Mission, 18/5.
92 James Bruce to William Leslie, 1690, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/129/1.
94 SCA Scots Mission, 14/5.
The single biggest conflict, however, stemmed from recruitment as both parties campaigned to convince novices to join them. John Paul Jameson, a fixture at the Scots College, Rome throughout the 1670s who would later become a fixture on the mission in Scotland, complained in 1679 of Jesuits poaching novitiates intended for the secular clergy before they took their oaths.95 Later, Lewis Innes’s brother, Walter, complained that Jesuit priests in Scotland sent scholars to Rome without the approbation of the College, which threatened the ability to fund other scholars who may not have been biased in favor of the Jesuits from the outset.96 At the same time, the more itinerant lifestyle of secular priests and their lack of affiliation with an official order meant that they communicated less frequently with Rome, making them more difficult to monitor and regulate.97 Most of these laments grew out of petty conflict between the two groups, but when it came to the mission itself, the consequences of this factionalism could be severe.

These consequences began with the ordination of new priests following completion of their education. For seculars, retention rates fluctuated substantially. Since the foundation of the Scottish continental college system as a haven for Catholics following the Reformation, young Catholics had petitioned Rome for funds to come to Europe, receive an education, be ordained as priests and return to Scotland in service of the mission. Some, however, simply took advantage of the opportunity to travel and receive a higher education. Many of these men defected to the Jesuits or other regular orders after their ordination so that they could enjoy more security and financial stability and perhaps even remain in the comfort of Europe permanently.

95 John Paul Jameson to Lewis Innes, December 18, 1679, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/57/10.
96 Walter Innes to Lewis Innes, January 25, 1684, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/85/1.
97 Walter Innes later filed a complaint against the seculars that they did not send progress reports to Rome as frequently as the Jesuits did. Walter Innes to Lewis Innes, July 28, 1693, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/161/2.
Defection to regular orders was a huge problem for seculars. In 1683, Jameson requested that all scholars coming from Scotland first receive basic training in Paris. The reasons for this went beyond the geographical necessity of a stop-over between Scotland and Rome; Jameson noted that many scholars who came to Rome directly from Scotland found themselves enticed by Jesuits and others to eschew the instability and perilousness of life as a secular missionary priest. Having little or no prior knowledge of the differences between priestly groups or the expectations placed on individual priests, the argument of financial stability and an established international community appealed to many of those young men who had just left behind their families, neighbors, homes and possessions. Those who first encountered the college system in Paris, by contrast, gained a familiarity with the realities of a missionary vocation in a college almost entirely occupied by seculars and so largely devoid of the pressures and rivalries between different groups. Noting this difference, Jameson requested all scholars come first to Paris in order to thwart his Jesuit rivals in Rome.

All of this came to a head in 1694 in what I am calling the 'Great Stumbling Block' controversy. After completing his courses at the Roman College, Robert Gordon refused ordination as a secular priest as he had originally intended. A great part of his decision he attributed to the difficult lifestyle: “neither am I fond of a secular life and the liberty people naturally desire of enjoying their own will & having’t in their hands.” Understandably, the obligation to renounce the temporal comforts of land, title, wealth and a family of one’s own in exchange for a life of hardship and loneliness rendered the decision to join the priesthood a difficult one. Nevertheless, Gordon had been prepared to so. However, for him, the permanence of such a commitment was compounded by the Mission Oath, which he called the “Great

Stumbling Block.” This oath, established by Propaganda Fide in 1625, required all secular priests to dedicate three years to the Scottish mission after completing their training before they could enter any regular order.\textsuperscript{100} In Gordon’s eyes, its restrictions prevented people like him who were otherwise disposed to life as a missionary priest, from joining the secular clergy. A lifetime of poverty and insecurity was a vow he was not prepared to make and he believed no man should have to.

The ‘Great Stumbling Block’ controversy played out in text and in person between 1693 and 1694. On one side stood Robert Gordon, advancing the argument that “if ther were any expedient to be found for the obviating of this difficulty [the Oath] I don’t question but your Mission would flourish more than it doeth.”\textsuperscript{101} In opposition, he faced the leading men of the secular clergy, including George Gordon, Alexander Dunbar, David Burnet, John Strachan, John Paul Jameson, Lewis Innes, Charles Whyteford and William Leslie, who sought to entirely dismantle Robert Gordon’s argument. His 1694 Treatise Concerning the Vocation of Scots Youths to be Religious or Clergy Priests and Missions, which circulated around the Scots Colleges in manuscript, opened by praising the priests on the mission and lauding their actions and sacrifices in the wake of the Glorious Revolution when some were imprisoned, some banished and some fled north to continue their work in secret.\textsuperscript{102} These very men had inspired Gordon to become a priest and only the Oath, which prevented him from ever becoming a Religious—a member of a religious order such as the Jesuits or the Benedictines—made him pause and renounce the life of a secular.

\textsuperscript{100} MacDonald, 140-141.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid, 141.
\textsuperscript{102} Robert Gordon, Treatise concerning the vocation of Scots Youths to be Religious or Clergy Priests and Missioners, 1694, SCA Scots Mission, 2/13.
Unfortunately for Gordon, his entire premise was wrong. The Oath did not actually require life-long observance. Neither did it prohibit a priest from ever becoming a Religious. Instead, it stipulated that any priest who took the Oath upon entering the Roman College must serve as a secular priest on the mission for three years, after which time he could join whatever order he pleased or remain a secular. This crucial misreading incited the above-named priests to hold a conference dedicated to denouncing the damaging falsities levied in Gordon’s treatise and correspondence. William Leslie responded with a set of forty-seven “Queries on the Jesuits and the State of the Mission, each directed at a specific Jesuit action or mindset, such as “whether an oath at the Scots College Rome can be called a stumbling block” or “whether Missioners ought to preach to the poore as Jesus did, and commanded to be done by his example, the apostles and all apostolical men has practised in all ages, or Rather to the Rich?” They were clearly intended to cast the seculars as the victors in the long-standing battle of wits, action and conviction, implying that Jesuits had a history of leaving Scotland “in tyme of persecution” and “[visiting] Catholiques but in faire dayes, and good seasons when meat, drink, and other conveniences are to be easily had and in abundance.” George Gordon, one of the oldest and most respected men on the mission, more directly challenged his kinsman's mistaken assumption, arguing that the clergy was neither so “presumptuous nor so indiscreet” to hold any man to such a permanent promise or obligation. He further shamed Robert Gordon by highlighting his youth, saying “this neglect tho of meer civility, yet gives occasion to consider your Resolutione as the oration of a young man without experience of the world.” But worse, George Gordon argued that others, namely Jesuits, had exploited this inexperience. By never correcting Robert Gordon’s false impression, Jesuits, according to George Gordon, allowed that misinformation to proliferate and reflect poorly on the seculars and favorably on the regulars, who “to strengthen their owne and
By that analysis, Robert Gordon acted simply as the vessel through which the Jesuits acted. The perpetuation of such a drastic misreading of the Mission Oath posed a great danger from within. If the numbers of secular priests dwindled as a result, the Scottish mission would have come under fire. Knowing this, Jesuits embraced the opportunity to regain their missionary primacy.

So the battle raged on. By the end of the century, the bitter feud between seculars and Jesuits showed no sign of slowing down and its consequences extended outside college walls. This ongoing conflict—which was not confined to Scottish colleges, but extended into Irish and English institutions as well—revealed a deep rift within the Church and within the British missionary enterprise. As will become evident in Chapter 2, their battles nearly crippled the British missions and threatened the very survival of Catholicism in the three kingdoms.

The Limitations of Networks

Although networks illuminate so much of the functions and fabric of Scottish Catholic exile communities, they alone cannot sufficiently elucidate the motivations of the people behind them. Paradoxically, Scottish Catholic exiles built networks in order to create and disseminate the tools that would eliminate their very need. Their networks were intended to bring Scots back to Scotland, not to keep them confined inside the walls of European institutions. Despite tensions and divisions, Scots Catholics shared a common love for their country and commitment to their religion and a determination to harmonize those seemingly dissonant priorities. As they awaited the opportunity to return to a Scotland that accepted them—a path determinedly forged by all in service of the mission and Catholic cause—they largely failed to assimilate into their

103 SCA Scots Mission, 2/14/1.
host societies. With a common goal of temporary exile and a universal effort to preserve Scottish culture, they looked different from other exiles, refugees and immigrants who sought more permanent residence and strove for greater assimilation. Ginny Gardner has examined a similar case, hers of Scottish Protestant dissenters who constructed an exile community in the Netherlands between the Restoration and the Glorious Revolution. While these exiles, like others, “took advantage of long-established Scottish relationships with the Dutch merchant community, churches and universities,” those relationships nevertheless assumed a different tenor. “Despite the strong bonds between exile and expatriate communities,” Gardner argued, “there were differences—for example, their flight from Scotland, their pursuit whilst abroad by the British governments—that allow the exiles to be seen as a distinct society within the Scottish-Dutch community as a whole.” They remained focused on returning to Scotland and even “sought to influence political and religious opinion at home” while in the Netherlands.¹⁰⁴

Because of the intentionally temporary nature of this community and its enduring fixation on Scotland, these religious exiles never fully assimilated into Dutch culture and remained distinct from other voluntary expatriates. Similarly, the Catholics in this study—exactly contemporaneous with Gardner's Protestants—dedicated far more effort to maintaining familial and financial ties with Scotland than to adopting new modes of behavior and expression in order to integrate into a new culture.

They accomplished this in ways large and small. One of the strongest indicators of Scottish Catholics' expectation of their return home was their language. Despite writing from mainly France, Italy and Bavaria, an overwhelming majority of these letters were written in English. Of the 2,636 letters written between 1660 and 1694 in the Blairs Letters, 88.43% were

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in English. One hundred fifty-four were written in French, one hundred five in Italian, forty-five in Latin and only one in Spanish.\(^\text{105}\) In reality, it is highly unlikely that nearly ninety percent of all letters written by Scots associated with the Catholic mission were in English. Several characteristics of this archive skew the data toward English language materials. Firstly, the Scottish Catholic Archives have always been housed in English-speaking institutions in the English-speaking country of Scotland and intended for researchers of Scottish history and culture, most of whom have themselves been Scottish. Secondly, the aim of the collection is to document Scottish Catholicism abroad and so letters written by the same actors about matters unrelated to Scotland, such as French politics, for example, may not have been included. Finally, the number of Latin letters would have been significantly higher in reality because secular priests would have written to *Propaganda Fide* mostly, if not exclusively, in Latin. These letters are not included in the Scottish Catholic Archives, but are, for the most part, housed by the *Archivio Propaganda Fide* in Rome. Nevertheless, such a stark linguistic breakdown suggests that English would remain the dominant language even after controlling for source biases. Certainly it was the language of choice for daily communication among Scots.

The content of the letters in the Blairs collection supports the hypothesis that most Scottish Catholics continued to communicate predominantly in English rather than in French, Italian or Latin. A handful of those written in other languages were translations of English letters or included passages in both English and another language. In most cases, French and Italian letters were written because either the sender or recipient did not speak English. Because of this, Gilbert Talbot, a true polyglot, corresponded in English, French, Italian and Latin with men and

\(^{105}\) This data is collected from the catalogue of Blairs Letters 1. The cataloguer noted the language of non-English letters when they appeared.
women throughout all of western Europe in the 1660s. Other times, the use of non-English vernaculars and of Latin marked respectful deference. When writing to French King Louis XIV’s minister and Protector of Irish Missionaries, Jean Talon, priests wrote exclusively in French. Similarly, when John Irvine wrote the Marquise de Bagni, a patroness of Scots Catholics, he wrote in the more formal and more deferential language of French. Thus, the decisions to write in a particular language were intentional, as different languages invited different associations. Latin was the language of official canonical business whereas French was the language of flattery. James Gordon referenced these differences explicitly when he crafted a letter to Cardinal Norfolk, the Protector of Scottish Catholics. Of the writing process, he said, "I have written to the Card Protector…I have chosen to do it in Latine as the most Ecclesiastick language, tho I inclin’d to writ English (had it not been Doct Gordon’s advice) because it is a kind of familiar missive, but to write in French would have seem’d in us an affectation." In an international and multi-lingual context, language determined the tenor of relationships and reflected an implicit social and ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Even more important than the languages of the letters was their subject material. Again, the documents in the Scottish Catholic Archives exist in that repository because they concern the Scottish mission. This means that letters written by the same players about continental political affairs, for example, are underrepresented. Even so, the massive number of documents that address politics and people in Scotland bespeaks a shared commitment to Scotland and Scottish affairs among every individual in this collection. Often, reports on missionary activity also

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106 Talbot wrote many letters from 1660-1670. They can be found in SCA Blairs Letters, 1/24-38.
107 Cornelius Coan to Jean Talon, May 13, 1687, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/100/2; Mansuet to Jean Talon, July 23, 1687, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/106/5; Lewis Innes to Jean Talon, 1691, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/137.
included news of births, marriages and deaths of the kin of priests in Europe—whether their kin were Catholic or not, such as Gilbert Talbot's brother, who "would make no account of any thing I would say to him concerning religion, but would turn all into jesting." Not infrequently, missionaries sent letters from Scotland that dealt exclusively with family matters. Given the expense and difficulty of transporting letters from Scotland to the Continent, such news must have held incredible value to the men who left behind their family, friends and possessions. If the kinship network was the strongest infrastructure of community and identity in Scotland, priests certainly made an effort to remain part of that network, even from hundreds of miles away.

The potency of kinship was incredibly strong. Sometimes, it meant that even those unsuited for the priesthood would take orders, thanks to their name. Jean Spottiswood, member of a staunch Catholic loyalist family, had married James Sinclair after her first husband's death and become one of the greatest benefactresses of the Scottish mission. Her son, Richard Hay was destined for the priesthood, though at first he seemed ill-suited. By January 1678, shortly after Hay joined the Paris College, Principal Robert Barclay grew exasperated with the problematic pupil. Alexander Dunbar, Prefect of the mission in Scotland, stressed the importance of keeping him there, writing, "it never entred in my mynd to think otherways but that you would willingly keepe R Hay how long his parents pleased...by reason of the great obligations wee owe Roslin [Jean Sinclair], without whos favor & advance to me I know not how wee could subsist." Even though Hay failed to "observe dissipline" or do his "dutie," he was ordained an Augustinian priest and even spent time at Holyrood House in Edinburgh from 1687-1689. The patronage of the mother outweighed the difficulty of the son. In the end, this

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110 James Anderson to Gilbert Talbot, SCA Blairs Letters, July 22, 1667, 1/35/1.
brought good fortune to the mission, as Richard Hay became a prominent priest in Scotland and France well into the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{112}

Although Alexander Dunbar prioritized the patronage of Lady Sinclair over the petulance of her son, he showed less patience with his own kin. In 1677, Dunbar's nephew, James, desired to enter the Scots College at Paris, though Dunbar himself thought his nephew unfit for the task. He reprimanded James for assuming his uncle's support despite his own frivolous behavior. Nevertheless, the ties of kin were strong enough that Dunbar did pay his nephew's education expenses, vowing that payment "shall be the last benefitt that ever he shall expect of me though I war in far greater capacitie."\textsuperscript{113} This donation came with the caveat that "he will taik a better way & look mor to his own salvation" and a promise for future help if his nephew reformed himself and pleased Burnet and Whyteford at Paris, though Dunbar sardonically admitted that any good his nephew could do would "be but litle."\textsuperscript{114} And little it was; James Dunbar hardly appeared in the Blairs Letters again. Nevertheless, the continued primacy of the kinship network even outside of Scotland speaks to the ultimate yearning of all involved to return home rather than to live out their days away from the mountains and lochs of Scotland.

All of this came into relief upon the deposition and flight of James VII, who had promised such great hope for his co-religionists. The usurpation of the first Catholic monarch in over a century left Catholics devastated. From the Benedictine monastery in Regensburg, Abbot Fleming lamented, "my sorrow and grief is extreame…for what loyal and dutifull heart, would not break, or dissolve itselfe, into a fountain of tears, to see the best of kings, not only abandoned, but even invaded by his nearest friends, and most shamefullie betrayed by his owne

\textsuperscript{113} Alexander Dunbar to David Burnet, October 14, 1677, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/47/7.
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid; Alexander Dunbar, November 2, 1677, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/47/8.
creatures, whom he has raised…from the Dust.”

Sorrow for the King, and plans for his victory, quickly became the paramount concerns of those involved in the mission in whatever capacity. As a Stuart, James VII ruled with Scottish blood in his veins, following a long line of Stuart kings before him. He represented Scotland (though he himself spent little time there) and the emotional anguish expressed in Fleming's letter mirrored the feelings of so many of those priests strewn throughout Scotland and Europe in 1688. They had finally achieved their goal; they could return to their loved ones and to their homes as openly worshipping Catholics and live peacefully. Now those hopes were dashed and Catholics were once again thrust into exile and rent from their homes and country.

The yearning for Scotland, Scotia, Alba or whatever they called their homeland was certainly not unique to Scottish exiles, regardless of religion. However, the Scottish—and particularly Highlanders—have long felt an intense and powerful connection to their land, their home and their heritage. Before charging into battle, Highland men would recite loudly their lineage as far back as they could, sometimes back a century or more. Is mise macIain, macSeumas, I am the son of John, son of James. This practice energized the clans before battle, but it also asserted their rights. I am the product of a long line of men who have toiled this land, fought for it and died on it. I belong here and nowhere else. This is my home. To leave that home was to leave the relationships upon which all communities are built. To some extent, though, exiles carried their heritage and Scottish pride with them. Catholics in Scotland sent books of heraldry and genealogy to the Scots College in Paris, perhaps as a way of navigating the growing diversity of the student body there, but very likely these books also proffered a connection to their home, reminded them of their mission and inspired their zeal.

115 Placid Fleming to Lewis Innes, January 25, 1689, SCA Blairs Letters, I/121/7.
116 Moffat, 9.
Moreover, some of the most beautiful Scottish music was born out of exile. Countless songs stirring anguish and determination together like drops of dye in water sung the tales of Jacobites, but one of the most evocative songs of exile, "The Parting Glass," circulated even before the Glorious Revolution. Scots were not unfamiliar with the pangs of parting from their home, but that only served to intensify that universal longing. Exile and absence were, and still remain, incompatible with the Scottish spirit. It took a powerfully burning flame to move so many to choose voluntary exile. And it was a choice, one between faith and family, between church and country, between the familiar and the foreign, between the heart and the soul. They shared a hope of return, not just for the handful of missionary priests, but for all. They dreamed of a return not to a place that moved to cast them out, but to a place that would welcome them home. Instead, they found hardship, hostility and death followed, after 1745, by a systematic cleansing of their religion and their culture. Exile followed them, even when they returned home. That goal never wavered, however, and for a time, many believed a Scottish Catholic mission would be the key to bring all Catholics home.

Conclusion

As with their southern English neighbors, Scottish Catholics struggled to maintain their religion on British soil. Restrictions on worship practices and the absence of educative and devotional resources limited the ability of Catholics to worship properly. For that reason, many upper- and middle-class Catholics turned instead to Catholic Europe, where they could pursue a

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117 The Battle of Culloden instigated a concerted political effort to eradicate Highland culture through laws against Gaelic language and even dress, outlawing wearing the plaid. John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold have written a wonderful article exploring the culture legacy of the Battle of Culloden, examining the physical space of the battlefield itself and the romantic cultural memory attached to Jacobitism and the erosion of Highland culture that followed the 1745 Jacobite rising. Michael Newton, A Handbook of the Scottish Gaelic World (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 65-68; John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, “The Graves of the Gallant Highlanders: Memory, Interpretation and Narratives of Culloden,” Bloomington 19, no.1 (2007): 5-38.
higher education, take monastic vows or simply find refuge from persecution. In the process, they created networks throughout Europe that openly welcomed Scots and allowed for the transport of letters, books, objects and people. Throughout the seventeenth century, Scottish Catholics built upon this infrastructure to create their own network of communication, education, training and devotion.

Although their migration was not directly coerced, they still viewed themselves as exiles who would return home if the burden of persecution lifted. Some, but certainly not all, became priests. They all sought refuge in a place not too far from home, with a culture not too unfamiliar, where they could openly worship as Catholics without fear. For at least the priests whose voices have been preserved in this archive, religion and nationality constantly clashed. Were they prepared to renounce their heritage and their subject-hood, they could have assimilated into the cultures of Catholic Europe. Instead, they remained ultra-focused on the homeland. All of their correspondence demonstrated a commitment to Scotland, whether through interest in the lives of their friends and family, dissemination of news about politics and family, circulation of literature or the desire to expand their project of salvation all the way to the most remote fringes of the country. While they sometimes wrote in French or Italian—and even less frequently, Latin—the primary language of communication remained English. Most often, other vernaculars were used only when writing to French or Italian men who supported the mission and mostly as a sign of respect. These were not men who yearned to live in France or Italy, but rather men who yearned to live in Scotland, free to worship as they chose, who needed to temporarily reside in Catholic Europe in order to create and run an international corporation that, they hoped, would allow them to achieve that ultimate goal. They were Catholics and they were Scots.
The exilic context allowed these priests to hold both of these identities simultaneously without actually being in Scotland. Catholic Europe was a place that had driven international affairs and forged nascent national imaginations for centuries. It was not unusual to travel to Europe voluntarily and temporarily. Once there, Catholic exiles were surrounded by co-religionists. In terms of religion, places like Paris and Rome were much safer, more comfortable and more familiar than home. It also encouraged interaction among Catholics of different backgrounds. While Scottish, English and Irish Catholics inevitably congregated in certain areas around Europe and such pockets bred competition, the constant movement of individuals as well as the reliance on Rome for mission funds and orders meant that national intermixing was far more common than not. But Catholic Europe was always supposed to be a temporary solution, a refuge from which to plan and execute the return of Catholicism and its followers to the British Isles. Most of the men and women who engaged in this network never severed ties with their kin in Scotland, but instead awaited the day when they could return. The colleges and seminaries erected in France, Italy and Bavaria were designed with that purpose in mind: to train priests who would return to Scotland to ‘tend to the flock’ of Catholics who were too poor, too powerful or too unwilling to enter into exile in Europe. The next chapter will explore the mechanisms of the Scottish mission and its evolution through the last four decades of the seventeenth century. Equipped with weapons of wit and formidable in their faith, Catholic exiled priests returned to Scotland, to their kin, to their new makeshift parishes. In the spirit of another Scottish folk song, no barrier of land or man could keep them away:

Over the mountains, and under the caves
Over the fountains, and under the waves
Under waters that are deepest, Which Neptune still obey
Over rocks that are the steepest, Love will find out his way
... There is no shining to cross his intent, 
There is no contriving his plots to prevent;
...
Though Demons come and meet hime,
He will go on his way.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ Forbes, *Songs and Fancies*, song XLV.
Chapter 2: Crossings, Salvation and the Scottish Catholic Mission

In the Minch, a strait that separates Lewis and Harris from the Inner Hebrides and the northwest mainland of Scotland, dwell the Blue Men. Cousins of the Green Ladies and Merry Dancers (also known as the Nimble Men or aurora borealis) of earth and air, the Blue Men reside in the water. On quiet days, they swim just below the surface of the Minch or sleep in underwater caves. But when the wind begins to raise, so, too, do the Blue Men. While they look like humans, though with grey skin and blue caps, they are dangerous. The Blue Men, you see, have power to raise tempests, to capsize boats that seek to sail the Minch. The only passage is through poetry. When a boat comes their way, the Blue Men will shout two lines of poetry to eager sailors. If the boatmen reply well, in the same manner of rhyme and tongue, they are granted safe passage. But if not, the Blue Men will try and try again to destroy their vessel. So many have fallen to their tricks and traps that most avoid the strait altogether, preferring a longer journey to a dangerous shortcut. So powerful are the Blue Men that the strait is often called the "Blue Men's Stream" or, far more ominously, "The Current of Destruction."¹

The tale of the Blue Men is unique to the Outer Hebrides and northwest coast of the Scottish Highlands, but their lessons of the dangers of nature are refashioned in many tales of the gods, goddesses and mystical creatures of Scotland. This chapter follows priests who experienced firsthand the fickleness of the seas, lochs, mountains and glens of the Scottish Highlands and Islands. They also faced a linguistic rupture that defied and nearly destroyed their mission. Just as the Blue Men use water and word to either grant passage or block visitors, priests faced obstruction and exclusion on their mission wrought by language and by land.

*   *   *   *   *

¹ Donald A. Mackenzie, Wonder Tales from Scottish Myth and Legend (New York: Dover, 1997), 76-90.
Only the most determined priests could conquer Scotland. Or, more accurately, only the most determined priests could survive Scotland. Mountains, bogs, lochs and glens rose and dipped to form a natural obstacle course that priests traversed, often with only wind, rain and sleet as companions. During their travels, they had much time to think. They thought of the dangers of their mission, of the treason they committed each day by guiding others away from the Church of England, of the incapacity to communicate properly with the secret parishes they encountered the deeper they roamed into the heart of Scotland. Mission formed the cornerstone of Scottish Catholicism, as it did in all places where that religion did not reign supreme, but the life of a missionary priest was by no means a comfortable vocation.

Scholarship on English Catholicism in the nineteenth century hailed English Jesuit missionary priests as martyrs whose commitment to their faith inspired “an awakening of fervour in all classes.” While scholars in the second half of the twentieth century sought to eliminate the hagiographic rhetoric that marked these earlier texts, the primacy of mission—and its bedfellow, martyrdom—remained the answer to Catholic survival. This scholarship, committed to limiting biases, was spearheaded by A.G. Dickens, who argued in 1941 that Catholicism survived because of the influx of Jesuit missionaries into England under Elizabeth I. These priests not only provided an abstract hope that England could be re-Catholicized, but also offered access to sacraments and the Mass. For Dickens, as for his nineteenth-century predecessors, Catholicism persisted because Catholics left medieval practices of “survivalism” behind in favor of “seminarism,” or, reliance on seminary work, which focused on training priests to become...

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2 Burton and Pollen, Martyrs, xxiii.
3 Christopher Haigh, Alison Shell and Mary Heimann have all felt compelled to clarify their status as non-Catholics in the introductions to their respective books, claiming a purely intellectual interest, rather than personally confessional one in the field. As recently as 2009, Gabriel Glickman still saw the need to push against these nineteenth century historians. Haigh, Reformations; Shell, Catholicism; Glickman, Community, 2.
missionaries. As a necessary corollary to this, Catholicism could not have survived without the support and patronage of England's Catholic gentry—especially gentry women—who funded Jesuit missions from the English seminaries on the Continent and hid priests in their homes. Thus, no gentry, no Catholicism.

In Scotland, the Catholic mission functioned differently, though it still relied heavily on seminary training abroad. Because most Scottish Catholics were poor Highlanders, the model of gentry Catholicism did not apply as centrally. While women may have played as prominent a role in Scottish Catholicism as in English, they have not left behind a trail of correspondence themselves and their voices remain in the shadows. As a result of this source limitation, this dissertation necessarily follows the male clergy who served as their confessors and spiritual guides. Among the priesthood, Jesuits did not reign supreme, but vied for control with secular priests to such an extent that Fiona MacDonald has dubbed the Scottish Highland mission a "melting-pot of regular and secular priests." There, the intersections of British Catholicisms are most evident as Scottish Catholics relied heavily on an influx of Irish priests to sustain their mission. Focusing on a "two-way Gaelic missionary activity" of Irish Catholic priests to Scotland and Scottish Presbyterians to Ulster, MacDonald argued that the Irish were instrumental to the success of the Scottish Catholic mission. Equally important were wealthy patrons in Scotland, despite the flaws of the English model of gentry Catholicism. In her examination of the Catholic clan MacDonnell of Glengarry, Lisa Curry demonstrated how the conversion of elite clan leaders also effected the conversion of other clansmen and women who might not have been

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4 Dickens, “Recusancy.”
5 Macdonald, Missions, 133.
exposed to Catholic priests and practices without the consent of their chief. She argued that by "targeting…the clan," missionaries spearheaded a broader conversion of Glengarry that began with clan MacDonnell.\(^7\) Jacobitism was also central to the political and culture survival of Catholicism, rooted in loyalty to the Stuart monarchy following the Glorious Revolution. King James VII’s supporters in exile in Europe and at home in the British Isles curried favor with political elites, raised funds to support the King’s political and military attempts to regain his throne and inspired Catholics to hope for renewed toleration.\(^8\) For decades before the brief period of toleration and its subsequent revocation, however, missionary priests traveled across Scotland’s Highlands and seas to encourage, educate, catechize and convert in their efforts to safeguard Scottish Catholicism.

While the priests and their target market varied over time and space, without the mission, Catholicism in Scotland could not have survived. The activities of missionary priests enabled new generations of Catholics to engage with their religion both spiritually and physically. By funneling students from Europe back into Scotland, the mission justified the continuation of institutions dedicated to educating and training Catholics abroad. But the survival of the mission, like the survival of the religion that it served, was never guaranteed. Political shifts from within the three kingdoms, combined with intra-religious rivalries between priests of different orders nearly collapsed conversion and confession efforts entirely. Despite these threats, the mission persevered. As John Paul Jameson wrote in 1680, using metaphor to safeguard the identities of his Catholic brothers in the clergy, “not only som of our tender young plants perishes but that som tale cedars lykewise decayes yea that som of our greatest trees


withers and our young plants is flourishing in our garden.” While some "tender young plants" perished and could not endure the lonely, painful and strenuous life of a missionary priest, still others were "flourishing in our garden" and even replacing "som tale cedars." Whatever challenges the Scottish mission faced, it always continued to grow, adapt and reinvent itself, but it was never easy.

Europe was a place of security and intellectual comfort. Despite the petty squabbles and the graver debates among priests of different orders, the colleges and seminaries nevertheless allowed priests, young and old, to live openly as Catholics. In places like France and Italy, they paid the price of exile and in return they basked in the benefits of living in a Catholic country. They lived among books of theology and canon law, interfaced directly with the highest institutions and leaders of the Church and could receive sacraments whenever necessary. They debated finer elements of doctrine openly and safely and they never feared bodily harm as a result of their religion while in exile. Surrounded by Catholic cathedrals, churches and universities and living in Catholic polities, they never lacked for devotional objects and spaces. They espoused a profound confidence in their faith and in their ability to carry that faith to the fringes of the Catholic world. But as they made preparations for their mission, embarked on the treacherous journeys across land and sea and finally encountered their flock of foreigners in parts of Scotland that they had never dreamed of, that confidence waned. For some, it was extinguished completely. But for others, the physical, mental and emotional hardships of the Scottish mission reinvigorated their zeal.

Upon their return to Scotland, missionary priests had to sacrifice not only their freedom to worship publicly, but also their ability to worship properly. Their status as Catholics rendered

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9 John Paul Jameson to Lewis Innes, September 13, 1680, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/62/16.
them inferior to Protestants and demanded discretion and secrecy while their status as Scots rendered them inferior to their southern English neighbors in the eyes of Crown and Church. Scotland was hardly on the radar of the Holy See until its missionary priests made it so. Consequently, they fought to assert their relevance and value to Protestant political leaders, to potential parishioners and to the Catholic Church itself. They followed a meandering path, one with many roadblocks. Conflicts in the European colleges laid a foundation of competition and rivalry that priests transported back with them to Scotland, where the absence of a clearly delineated hierarchy and an unforgiving climate and landscape made regulation and organization nearly impossible. Moreover, the many slippages between priest and parishioner—thanks to differences in language, vocation, wealth, education, custom, tradition and heritage that separated Lowland priests from Highland Catholics—forced missionary priests to adapt their strategies in real time and customize their approach on a regional and even individual level. They lived and worked on the frontier of two empires, that of the British Crown which sought to drive them out and that of the Catholic Church which sometimes doubted their investment value. For these priests, however, the benefits of bringing their religion to the handfuls of people who still professed it, the promise of salvation for those few and the potential to bring more men and women into the fold far outweighed the obstacles that stood in their way and so they fought. They fought with each other, but mostly they fought to assert their legitimacy. They fought for funding and they fought for leadership. They fought in person and in print. They fought against stereotypes and against language barriers and against the land. While they never effected a dramatic increase in the numbers of Catholics residing in Scotland, they offered spiritual solace and nourishment to those who shared their religion.
If mission formed the backbone of the Scottish Catholic body, popular piety breathed life into it. In Scotland, Catholic piety blossomed only in secret. Unlike in England, where Catholicism survived in the private homes of the landed gentry, Scottish Catholicism was of more humble stock. The vast majority of Scotland's Catholics lived in the Highlands and Outer Hebrides off the western coast. Most of them spoke Gaelic, did not read or write and lived their lives at the whims of sea and crop. In the absence of missionary priests, they had no Catholic schooling or catechism, no access to the holy sacraments. They rooted their devotions in tradition and practiced their own version of Catholicism, one that they did not often share with priests highly trained in Roman Catholic doctrine. Because they have left no written records of their own, the voices of Scottish rural Catholics continue to be silenced. Through the correspondence of missionary priests, however, we can still deduce some of their rituals and devotional practices. This correspondence depicts many of these Catholics as illiterate and ignorant of doctrine, starving for education. Priests wrote that they stumbled upon pockets of Catholics who worshipped improperly, but who drank in priestly guidance thirstily. Unfortunately, they revealed little else of the actual practices that they encountered. Did these Scots Catholics, so removed from the rest of their country and from Europe, incorporate pre-Christian ritual into their devotions? Did they venerate non-Christian figures? Did they profane their God? Did their practices evolve from pre-Christian traditions or were they imperfect simply because of their isolation from the Catholic center? I have not found answers to these questions in the correspondence of missionary priests. Moreover, though priest and parishioner shared similar goals of toleration, they were not the same. Hailing from places different enough to be separate countries and with vastly different motivations behind their refusal to conform to the national Church, they did not always speak the same language, linguistically or spiritually.
The voices of Scotland's rural Catholics are exclusively mediated through those of highly educated missionary priests, whose own motivations for writing included securing and maintaining funding from Rome. To that end, they needed to both establish a need for missionary activity and prove their utility by providing evidence of conversion and enlightenment. Ministering to poor Catholics ignorant to the complexities of their religion allowed them to achieve both ends simultaneously.

As a consequence of these sources, this chapter necessarily follows the stories and journeys of missionary priests. It begins, as Chapter 1, in Europe, where priests prepared for the mission. Newly ordained and equipped with all the tools necessary to embark on a journey of ministry, they felt great confidence in their own abilities, in the power of the institution of the Catholic Church and in the capacity of missionary work to effect change. The many crossings that they underwent—from all around Europe to France, from France to England, from England to Scotland, through Scotland and, for some, across the seas to the western Islands—each tested their resolve and underscored the many other barriers that arose in the process—linguistic, emotional, religious, spiritual. Each crossing north and west carried priests physically, spiritually and intellectually farther from the institutions of the Church and from the Catholic center. Some lost their confidence in the entire enterprise of the Scottish mission or Scottish Catholicism. Their journeys rocked their spiritual fortitude as they destroyed their bodies and their letters revealed disappointment and hopelessness when faced with the Catholics who did not look or act or speak or worship in the ways these priests expected. But their correspondence also contained optimism and excitement as priests recognized the opportunity for adaptation, interpretation and growth as they blossomed in their roles as spiritual advisors and followers of Christ. In their spoken and unspoken vacillations between despair and exultation with each barrier that they
conquered, they illustrated a religious community defined by diversity and an unexpected understanding that Catholicism was not about the institution of the Church which repeatedly failed its Scottish followers, but about traditions, relationships and salvation.

Crossing Political Divides

Before they could return to the British Isles, missionary priests had to assess the safety of their journey not only by the winds and tides, but also by the course of domestic politics. Each monarch and even each scandal had the power to advance the mission or to thwart it, to free Catholics or to tighten their shackles. During the reign of Charles II, the Scottish mission found its footing. Although Scotland had been a mission site since the mid-sixteenth century, neither European networks nor Scottish Catholic infrastructure could support a steady presence of secular clergy until the 1670s.\textsuperscript{10} Charles II's reign was characterized by undulating policies toward Catholics, with a low point during the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis, but still the mission breathed and grew until finally it blossomed under James VII. But if his reign was a spring teeming with new life, the first years of William III's that followed shepherded in a harsh winter. No matter how much they prepared and how much they learned and fought and sacrificed, missionaries had little choice but to swim with the current of Westminster politics until they could reach shore.

The quest for Catholic toleration required a degree of deference to the monarchy. Priests were loath to incite the vitriol of their monarch and often deferred to the pope in matters spiritual, but maintained political loyalty to the king in matters temporal, akin to a French Gallican model. While Ireland has earned the appellation “Iberia of the North” for the strong

\textsuperscript{10} For a detailed overview of the early years of the Scottish mission, see Anson, \textit{Underground}, 54-91.
impact of Spanish and Portuguese Catholicism, the French influence on the Scots was no less
salient.\textsuperscript{11} Suspicions of the prominent role that Jesuits held in King Louis XIV’s court
contributed to a greater commitment to Gallican ideals, which honored the King as the head of
the government and supreme arbiter of civil affairs, over and above the pope.\textsuperscript{12} Through priest
and print, Gallican ideas migrated north into the British Isles.\textsuperscript{13} Decried as “papists” in the most
literal sense—submitting to papal authority above and even against monarchical—Catholics in
all three kingdoms railed against hostility that assumed a political nature even above religion.

Following this Gallican model, many British Catholics believed that they should obey their
prince when king and pope clashed over political affairs. This meant that these Catholics
respected the laws of the realm and denounced violence against the king. They denied
accusations of treason and instead considered their disobedience private and internal as they
sought toleration to worship how they pleased in the silence of their souls and seclusion of their
homes or local churches. They no longer strove to convert the three kingdoms back to
Catholicism, but hoped for the freedom to minister to their followers and reconcile others who
wished to convert. In response to the Popish Plot, in order to distinguish themselves from those
Catholics who would dare to depose their king and to demonstrate their political loyalty, several
English Catholics drafted a petition in 1680 asserting that their religion did not make them


\textsuperscript{12} French pamphleteers portrayed Jesuits in caricature, as ruthless monsters and calculating manipulators, as power-
hungry and ambitious “vipers and crocodiles” who exploited the favor shown them by the King to advance their own
agenda. Even those authors who took a more moderate line—for fear of incurring Louis XIV’s wrath at attacks on
his favored ministers—still warned of their “detestable Morality” and their “Injustice, Avarice, Lust, and other
Vices.” See, for some examples, Roxelas Umeau, \textit{Le Jesuite Sécularisé} (Cologne [fictitious], 1683); Sebastien
Joseph du Cambout de Pontchateau, \textit{The Moral practice of the Jesuites: Demonstrated by many remarkable
histories of their actions in all parts of world. Collected, either from books of the greatest authority, or most certain
and unquestionable records and memorials by the doctors of the Sorbonne} (London, 1670); translated from Anon.,
\textit{La Morale pratique des Jesuites, représentée en plusieurs histoires arrivées dans toutes les parties du monde}
(Fictitious Cologne, 1669).

\textsuperscript{13} For one interpretation of the influence of French Gallicanism on English Catholicism, see Gabriel Glickman,
“Christian Reunion, the Anglo-French Alliance and the English Catholic Imagination, 1660-72,” \textit{The English
Historical Review} 128, no.531 (April 2013): 263-291.
traitors to the Crown. It circulated as a broadside, reaching a far wider audience than just Parliament. In it, they desperately declared,

That the pope has no power or authority, direct or indirect, formal, virtual, eminential, or by whatever words it is, or may be phrased, either of himself, or by any authority of the Church of See of Rome, or by any other means, with any other, under pretence of insufficiency or crime, even of Apostacy, Heresy Schisme, or any other pretext, for any matter or cause whatsoever, to depose his sacred Majesty.

This was not, for these Catholics, a game in semantics. They had no desire to equivocate by using convoluted or ambiguous language to appear loyal without being so. By throwing so many words on the page, they sought to convince both the King and his Protestant subjects that they would never condone papal political supremacy.

This was not the first time that Catholics seeking to assert their peaceful submission to the Crown and love for the king voiced this sentiment. In 1662, several English Catholics had professed loyalty to King Charles II. At that time, the most pressing religio-political concern was not a rumored conspiracy against the King, but rather the Oath of Allegiance. These Catholics eliminated any doubt as to their loyalty (or, at least, they tried to). Declaring "that neither the Pope, nor any forai person, State or Potentate whatsoever" could have authority over the king or his subjects and, significantly, that "neither directly nor indirectly, the Pope hath power to depose the King…Or to absolve any his Subjects from their natural Allegiance to their Soveraign." By these words, they declared the monarch supreme in civil affairs and the pope subordinate. Further, in a closing "Quaere" on whether English Catholics could take the Oath of

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14 It is unclear how many Catholics actually held this view. Protestant Propaganda targeted them, but little evidence speaks to their actual existence.
16 The Case of Divers Roman-Catholicks: As it was Lately Stated to a Person Eminent in the Law; and Thought not Unfit to be made Publick [1662].
Allegiance to Charles II, they declared themselves ready to swear it "in full, plain and express words, without any Equivocation, or mental Reservation whatsoever," rendering "their dissent…not in any the least point that concerns the Civil government," but only concerning religion.  Similarly in 1661, shortly after the Restoration of the monarchy, the Irish secular clergy responded to the "calumnies" cast against them, particularly by English Protestants. In a formal petition, they declared their loyalty to Charles II: "we acknowledge ourselves, to be obliged under pain of Sin to obey your Majesty in all Civill and Temporall affairs, as much as any other of your Majesty's Subjects, and as the Laws and rules of Government in this Kingdome do require at our hands." They did not stop with protestations of loyalty, but continued to make explicit reference to papal power over British Catholics, declaring that regardless of "any power or pretention of the Pope or Sea of Rome…given or to be given by the Pope, His Predecessors, or Successors…against your Majesty or your Royall Authority, We will still acknowledge and perform to the uttermost of our abilities, our faithfull Loyalty and true Allegeance to your Majesty." They went even one step further to "openly disclaim and renounce all forraign Power, be it either Papall or Princely, Spirituall or Temporall…[that] shall any way give us leave, or license, to raise tumults, bear Arms, or offer any violence to your Majesty's Person, Royall Authority, or to the State or Government." Finally, they promised to disclose any information they might hear about future plots against the King or realm, for "all Princes and Supream Governours, of what Religion soever they be, are Gods Lieutenants on Earth" and so require full submission to their civil authority. Even in private, many Catholics professed loyalty to king before pope, as did Charles Whyteford when he promised to renounce any involved in a Catholic

17 Ibid.
18 The Humble Remonstrance, Acknowledgment, Protestation, and Petition of the Roman Catholick Clergy of Ireland, 1661, TNA PRO 30/24/50/7.
plot, whether he be friend or even father. Similarly, in 1667—far before the catastrophe of the Popish Plot may have forced declarations of loyalty—Henry Howard of one of the most prominent and dedicated Catholic families in England, wrote to William Leslie, "I sweare in secular matters and things not of Faith but of Secular power and Interest, should the pope himself come with an Army to Invade us, I dare sweare that nere an understanding Papist in England but would upon that scarce shoote a Bullet in his head."19 Such an assertion left no room for ambiguity as to the hierarchy of pope and prince.

When these debates began to affect funding, patronage and the future of the mission, Scottish Catholics working toward a more tolerant Scotland grappled once again with conflicting priorities. While some expressed their loyalty to the Crown, they could never alienate their greatest institutional benefactors, the papacy and Propaganda Fide. When the Jesuits accused the secular clergy in England of advising Catholics to take the Oath of Supremacy at the height of the Popish Plot hysteria, they vehemently denied these claims.20 As a corporation under the leadership of the pope, the secular clergy—and the Jesuits, for that matter—could not denounce the autonomy of their head and greatest patron. This did not mean, however, that the distinction between monarchical and papal authority was so clear for each individual. While priests could not sanction taking the Oath publicly, this did not translate into a rejection of the monarchy. When news broke of the Popish Plot, Charles Whyteford strongly wrote, “Catholicks are reputed plotters, but I pray god all be…innocent…For my part if I knew either father or my dearest friend had any hand in this plott…I profess befor God, I would discover him, for he is unworthy to be esteemed as a father, or held as friend, who dare lift his hand against his prince.”21 For

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19 Henry Howard to William Leslie, August 30, 1667, Arundel Castle, Autograph Letters #400.
Whyteford, as for many others, submission to the pope’s authority did not entail disloyalty to the Crown and certainly not treason. Had the Pope ordered a plot against the King, however, it is unclear where Whyteford’s loyalty, and others’, would have lain. Speculation aside, two things become clear in these writings over monarchical and papal power. First, the language and content of debates traversed national and linguistic boundaries and underscore the mutual influences on religion, politics and culture of societies across Europe. Second, the boundaries between these two forms of power were never self-evident and never universally agreed upon, by either institutions or individuals. Consequently, one unified, homogenous church body never existed and while its core principles would be stretched, contorted and remolded much more in spaces of greater absence as Scotland and the New World, even in Catholic Europe, the Church was both flexible and contested.

The timeline of these debates in both England and France suggests a mutual influence. Although the Gallican Church was not officially established until 1682, the ideas were not new to French theologians. Those Catholics who declared their allegiance publicly to Charles II had almost certainly adopted the idea of limited papal power from the French. On the other side of the Channel, French controversialists looked to English Catholics. Whereas Huguenots exploited the Popish Plot as evidence of Catholicism’s inherent incompatibility with monarchy, Catholics looked instead to the stubborn claims of political submission as evidence of their ability to balance different kinds of allegiance to different figures.\textsuperscript{22} Thus, the religious fabric of France as one of the largest host societies for Scottish Catholics certainly influenced the rhetoric they employed in their bid to gain toleration, but it is just as likely that that influence was multi-directional.

\textsuperscript{22} Antoine Arnauld, \textit{Apologie pour les Catholiques, contre les faussetez & les calomnies d'un livre intitulé La Politique du Clergé de France} (Liege, 1681).
During the brief reign of King James VII, from 1685-1688, the interests of king and pope aligned regarding the salvation and devotion of British Catholics. On September 30, 1686, Lewis Innes wrote excitedly from Paris to his long-time friend and close colleague in Rome, William Leslie. "The King…had one command," he wrote. This command, which should "weigh…more" than any other, demanded "that we should both intimate to all Priests his Majesties will was that instantly & without delay they should repair home to ye Mission." At last, after decades of exile and years of cultivating a network of Scottish Catholicism, Scots Catholics were finally welcomed home. James VII followed his call for priests to return home with an official Declaration of Indulgence extending legal toleration to Catholics on February 12, 1687. As a result, the mission boomed. The years 1687 and 1688, following the Declaration, represented two of the three years with the highest percentage of letters sent from Scotland, with seventy-five and eighty-four percent respectively. Between 1671 (when the first recorded letter was sent from Scotland) and 1685, just under two hundred letters were sent from Scotland to Europe. The following three years saw the production of almost the same number of letters as the previous fifteen combined, totaling one hundred sixty-four.

Figure 2.1. Letters sent from Scotland During the Reign of James VII, February 6, 1685-November 4, 1688

24 Anson, *Underground*, 80. The Declaration was not issued in England until April 4, 1687.
Movement also increased dramatically alongside correspondence as Catholics crept out of the shadows to sing the praises of their freedom. Between September 30, 1686, when James VII called all priests home to Scotland, and November 5, 1688, when the Prince of Orange landed in England, over thirty secular, Jesuit, Benedictine and Franciscan priests executed their vocation in Scotland. Catholicism had returned.

![Map of Catholic priests in Scotland, England and Europe, September 30, 1686-November 5, 1688](image)

**Figure 2.2. Catholic priests in Scotland, England and Europe, September 30, 1686-November 5, 1688**

Even this static image evokes the dynamic energy that James VII's actions injected into the Scottish Catholic cause; my interactive website demonstrates this much better. Each dot represents the known location of between one and twenty-two Catholics traced through the Scottish Catholic Archives. They were everywhere, from Edinburgh to Aberdeen to Inverness to Moidart, Trotternish, the Outer Hebrides and everywhere in between. Crucially, priests did not stay put, but traveled frantically to minister to as many emerging communities as possible, to channel the buzz around their newly gained toleration into mass conversion and to gather with each other and with political leaders to celebrate and to craft a new strategy. The lines connecting dots capture this movement. They represent the trajectory of individuals with the white of origin darkening to blue as they neared their destination. The entire map is ablaze with
blue and white. Rather than an influx of priests into Scotland, this map reveals a widespread, circular motion throughout Scotland and England as well as to and from Europe. In their excitement, priests traveled literally all over the map and they reached into the farthest corners of the Scottish Catholic world with three priests—James Devoyer, James Lea and Irishman Cornelius Coan—even traversing blustery mountains and tempestuous seas to reach the islands of Eriskay and Lewis and Harris in the Outer Hebrides where they found eager, but ignorant, Catholics.

This image—and, to a greater extent, the website from which it was taken—speaks to a fluid and flourishing mission marked by movement, expansion and excitement. When read alongside the Blairs Letters and the Scots Mission collections in the Scottish Catholic Archives, this map also reveals an attempt that priests made to impose order by creating a centralized space to gather information collectively in order to send a full and complete report back to Europe. In 1684, Lewis Innes had traveled to Scotland to hold two assemblies designed to convene all priests on the mission and gather information to report back to Propaganda Fide. In 1687, in light of recent toleration, David Burnet convened the third assembly at Gordon Castle in Aberdeen, the veritable hub of the mission in Scotland. Priests traveled from all over to attend this assembly. James Devoyer and James Lea halted their Easter progress to the Outer Hebrides to make the long and dangerous journey east, though they parted ways along the River Glass, where Lea stayed to minister to an area where “there had not been a priest for two years.”

In Inverness, Devoyer met with priests Robert Munro and Cornelius Coan, who claimed to have reconciled sixty to the Catholic Church on the Isle of Lewis. More came from the Highlands and

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25 James Devoyer, May 20, 1687, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/100/5. Translated from French.
Lowlands, eager to report their progress and celebrate their inconceivable victory with their fellow clergymen.26

Catholics soon realized, however, that their toleration would be short-lived and their celebrations premature. In the wake of the Glorious Revolution, panic and chaos quickly replaced the buzz of optimism and excitement of the mid-1680s. When he penned an account of the Glorious Revolution in 1690, Benedictine James Bruce captured the sense of loss and confusion. He began by enumerating all the priests of all orders who were in Scotland before the Prince of Orange arrived. The number of names, cities and communicants gave the impression that Scotland was still home to many Catholics who were finally receiving attention from priests. But after 1688, Bruce's letter spoke only of flight, banishment, imprisonment and disappearance. Of Alexander Crichton, he wrote, "Mr. Chrictheon otherwayes Crystye who has his residence in some place about Aberdene went into the hylands with the rest of the king’s men but was afterwards taken with two other gentlemen captaine and his brother, and put in prison in Aberdene."27 Crichton was not the only one who suffered such a fate. Lord Chancellor Perth, Thomas Nicolson, David Lindsay, John Paul Jameson and many others were also imprisoned. Even Walter Innes, the priest who smuggled news to Paris by pretending to be a loyal Protestant, could not keep up the facade and he, too, entered Blackness Prison by June 20, no more than six

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26 The assembly began with Burnet reading letters from King James VII and II, Lord Chancellor Perth and Alexander Dunbar, Prefect of the Mission. Next, each priest provided a detailed update of his own progress throughout Scotland, detailing numbers of Catholics and resources necessary. Unfortunately, these details are only alluded to in these letters, but not fully expounded. In any case, the main focus, at least according to Devoyer, became how to extend the mission further into the mountainous regions of the western Highlands. Although intended to be an annual assembly, it met only once more in 1688 before the Glorious Revolution halted all missionary activity. At the 1688 assembly, missioners expanded talks to include points of doctrine. They concluded that Catholic priests could baptize dying Protestant infants and drafted a proposal for the erection of new Catholic chapels in the Highlands. James Devoyer, May 20, 1687, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/100/5. Translated from French.; David Burnet, July 9, 1688, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/109/7; David Burnet and 7 other priests to William Leslie, April 1688, SCA Blairs Letters 1/109/28.
27 James Bruce to William Leslie, 1690, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/129/1.
weeks after he penned his false letter. Those who were not imprisoned suffered banishment—including James Lea, one of the priests who had worked diligently on Eriskay in the Outer Hebrides—or fled into the thickets of the Highlands, including David Burnet, Alexander Dunbar, George Gordon, John Irvine, Robert Francis Strachan, Alexander Leslie and many others.

Figure 2.3. Catholic priests and laypeople in Scotland and England, November 5, 1688-December 31, 1689

If the previous image invoked the dynamism of the mission in 1687 and 1688, this captures its loss. Alongside the frantic and panicked correspondence, written by rushed hands on all kinds of paper scraps hurriedly sent away, a nearly empty map reminds of how Catholicism was silenced, swiftly and ferociously. One lonely line reflects missionary Patrick Conne's flight back to Europe. The solitary dot in Edinburgh stands for all those who fled, hid, disappeared or were imprisoned in the wake of the Glorious Revolution. They found no opportunity for ministry, no peace. They lost books, vestments, chalices, oil boxes, altarpieces, linens, clothing and large

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28 Walter Innes to Brie, April 26, 1689, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/122/15; Walter Innes to Lewis Innes, March 25, 1690, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/130/11.
sums of money in addition to their freedom. They lived as fugitives until they could escape to Europe and rebuild.

And they did rebuild. William III's coronation as King of England, Scotland and Ireland did not extinguish Catholicism or its missions in the British Isles, but it did have a profound effect on their future. The Glorious Revolution and the bloody Jacobite movement that followed added a deeper political dimension to the Scottish Catholic cause and its mission. Catholic priests especially desired James VII to regain his throne, but supporting him entailed a diversion of precious resources away from the mission. Lewis Innes, who had served as one of the most influential agents of the Scottish mission from both Paris and Scotland, now split his time between the Augustinian convent in Paris and the Jacobite Court at St. Germain. He seldom visited the Scots College in Paris and he would not return to Scotland again before the end of the century. More dire was the question of a Catholic bishop. Before the Glorious Revolution, Scots Catholics had nearly secured a bishop for Scotland, but all discussions on that front were suspended immediately. In Rome, William Leslie worked tirelessly in support of the exiled Jacobite King, sending information and lobbying with other Catholic agents in Rome to support James VII. In return, he received praise and gratitude, but little else. When he asked Lord Melfort, a prominent Jacobite at the exiled Court in St. Germain and James VII's Secretary of State, to arrange funding to establish two Scottish bishops—one for the Lowlands and one for the Highlands—his proposal was politely, but definitively rejected. Leslie had made an aggressive case for such an appointment, arguing that “the want of such Pastors has been, is, and will bee the utter ruine of the Catholique faith in that kingdome nor will it bee possible either to conserve

the Catholiques that wee have, or to convert any more, unlesse wee have Bishopes." King James VII and his ministers were not prepared to sacrifice funding for military campaigns to support the Catholic mission. As always, political concerns dictated the religious fabric of Scotland.

Meanwhile, back in Scotland the Glorious Revolution paved the way for Presbyterian Church government to replace the previous Episcopalian regime after decades of contention between the two. Whereas Presbyterians eschewed an ecclesiastical hierarchy and instead relied on assemblies of elders, Episcopalians embraced a church hierarchy headed by bishops. Traditionally Presbyterians were seen as rigid and intolerant, professing a "militant theocracy based on strict religious uniformity," while Episcopalians were more moderate. Presbyterianism was officially determined the state religion of Scotland by an Act of Parliament in 1690 with the expectation that all Scots would belong to the same religious community. While the ascendant Presbyterians are often characterized as intolerant of any dissent, Ryan K. Frace has recently argued that the Presbyterian minority that gained control of the government in 1690 actually "support[ed] toleration during and after the 'Glorious' Revolution…[and] fought to uphold civil liberties for all Protestants, regardless of denomination, who would pledge their allegiance to the state." Either way, Catholics were explicitly excluded from any form of legal or political toleration. The freedom of worship had existed for Catholics in the three years of James VII's reign and the seeds of tacit acceptance that had grown during the reign of Charles II were all but destroyed in one stroke.

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32 Raffe, “Presbyterians.”
33 Frace, “Religious Toleration,” 359.
Inevitably, no policy could entirely obviate dissent. Secret meetings of Episcopalians and other dissenters continued to occur, as they had previously among Presbyterians. Frace has argued that "such accommodations frequently benefitted the minority Catholics, Quakers and Mystics, too."³⁴ Once the new political and religious regimes had stabilized after the chaos of the 1688-1690, dissent again flourished. In this context, the Catholic mission reignited. The period between 1688 and 1692 marked devastation for the mission and complete uncertainty about its future. The priests who had been working in Scotland when William III arrived found themselves banished, imprisoned or in hiding in the Highlands. Walter Innes was not released from prison until 1692, when he was permanently banished from Scotland. George Gordon, Robert Davidson and Alexander Crichton were also released and banished, but not until the summer of 1693, nearly five full years after the outbreak of war and four years after their initial incarceration.³⁵ Upon their arrival in Paris, these three priests found themselves completely out of touch with the state of the international British Catholic enterprise and unable to provide an account of affairs in Scotland, despite having been there for several years. However, they did discern one benefit to renewed anxieties against Catholics following the Glorious Revolution: the erosion of tensions between regular and secular priests. In October 1693, they, along with James Nicol, disclosed that all the Benedictine priests in service of the mission had been imprisoned in Scotland or fled at the start of the Revolution. As for the Jesuits, they were under as much persecution as all the rest, if not more, for their reputation as plotters of regicide. Because of this, "if they [had] any invidious designes against us they did not in the least appear. For the greatness of the persecution they & wee were under was sifficient to blunt the edge of any envie

³⁴ Ibid, 368.
³⁵ George Gordon, Robert Davidson and Alexander Crichton to William Leslie, August 17, 1693, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/159/12.
or Anger they might have hadd against us." This they said while admitting they were unsure whether patrons in Rome and elsewhere desired to hear "of disorders, irregularities, raptures & divisions" or of "order, concord, & unitie." 36 Clearly, then, the divisions between Jesuits and seculars had worked to the advantage of some, but in the face of such severe persecution as the Catholic Church faced in the British Isles after the deposition of James VII, such divisions were necessarily laid aside in favor of a unification for the salvation of Scottish and even British Catholicism.

**Crossing Borders**

When James VII recalled all Scottish Catholic priests from Europe in 1686, he fulfilled the universal aim of the exiled Catholic clergy to return home peacefully and without fear of continued persecution. His act validated the efforts of exiles to build an infrastructure of overlapping networks that preserved and expanded Scottish Catholicism and formed a bridge between communities of religious exiles in Europe, itinerant priests moving through the British Isles and pockets of Catholics dispersed throughout Scotland. For a brief period, the dreams of missionary priests came to fruition, but before 1686 and after 1689, Catholics relied on the mission as they awaited toleration and the mission relied on European networks of funding, education and exchange. The same mechanisms that connected exiles in Europe also extended into Scotland while the same conflicts that divided priests on the Continent seeped into their missions as well. Everywhere, passion for Catholic toleration in Scotland incited both zeal and strife.

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Joining the priesthood was not simply a job, but a way of life. For those who lived in anti-Catholic territories, that vocation demanded the sacrifice of exile for learning, for training and sometimes for life. The communities that they built and the relationships they forged in Europe kept their focus centered on ending exile, ending persecution and achieving toleration. Their passion was palpable and, when disagreements emerged, it could turn combustible. But behind each conflict lurked the question of control. Who would lead the priests and their followers? Whose vision of the ideal mission would prevail? Where would the locus of power reside, in Europe and in Scotland? Men battled over these questions because their answers had the power to dramatically alter the fabric of Scottish Catholicism and its mission, to invigorate it or to cripple it. Priests laid their foundations within the walls of institutions abroad, but the next step of determining how to transport their ideas back to Scotland and execute their vision was critical and it was deeply contested.

Without a doubt, Paris served as the central hub of the Scottish secular clergy. Communication between agents in Scotland and agents in Rome and other cities in Europe was frequently routed through Paris. Between 1660 and 1699, more than six times as many letters from Scotland were addressed to agents in Paris than in Rome. Several factors help to explain this disparity. Whether through postal routes or in the hands of a private carrier, letters moved much more safely and quickly to Paris than to Rome, thanks to its close proximity to the British Isles across the Channel or along shipping routes that directly connected Aberdeen and Le Havre. Moreover, priests in Scotland regularly sent their letters in the hands of a trusted ally who would carry that letter himself or herself directly to the Continent. Because of this, one might expect to see some letters travel from Scotland to Paris and then from Paris to Rome. In over two thousand letters, not a single one hints at this occurring. Other letters circulated via the Italian
city of Urbino or the port city of Havre de Grace, but not through Paris. Presumably, then, priests in Paris collected information from letters and from verbal conversations with men and women conveying letters that they then filtered and relayed to William Leslie in Rome and other agents elsewhere. In that case, the priests of the Scots College at Paris were not only uniquely attuned to the state of the Scottish secular mission, but would have had a veritable monopoly on information relating to it. The database supports this hypothesis. Whereas communication to and from Scotland moved disproportionally through France, the number of letters from Paris to Rome and vice versa is nearly equal.\(^\text{37}\) It follows, then, that the Parisian College served as the information center of the Scottish mission, with communication to and from Rome flowing through Paris.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{map.png}
\caption{Letters sent from Scotland, 1660-1699\(^\text{38}\)}
\end{figure}

\(^{37}\) These were 159 and 163, respectively.
\(^{38}\) Letters moved along traditional postal routes as well as through private carriers both to and from Scotland. All told, over three hundred letters catalogued in the Blairs Letters between 1660 and 1699 moved from Scotland to Paris, while just under fifty were addressed directly to men in Rome and far fewer to those in other cities. In the other direction, over thirty letters traveled from Paris to Scotland, but just three from Rome. In the twenty-five years from the start of this dataset until the accession of James VII, sixty-seven letters were sent from Scotland to Paris and just five to Rome. Between September 30, 1686 and November 5, 1688, which marks the period between when
Institutionally, the Scots College at Paris certainly did function as the organizational center for the Scottish secular clergy. Unlike the other Scottish Catholic institutions on the Continent, which were run by priests of the regular orders (Benedictine monks in Regensburg, or Jesuits in Rome and other auxiliary institutions), the Parisian College was founded and run by secular priests. Even its principals regularly traveled to Scotland as missionaries, while there is no evidence that William Leslie, long-time secular leader in Rome, ever returned home.

Consequently, even though Propaganda Fide convened in Rome, that body relied heavily on information filtered through the well-connected College in Paris. Propaganda Fide awarded faculties to ordained missionary priests, permitting them to carry out their priestly duties in Scotland and bestowed a viaticum on each priest, equipping him with enough money to cover initial travel expenses in order to get to Scotland. In order to appropriately dole out funds, Propaganda Fide required progress reports of individual missionaries and the mission as a whole. Missionary priests willingly complied—when time allowed and they could access communication routes—but they had neither the time nor the energy to construct formal reports. Instead, they provided rough updates to the acting Principal at Paris—whether Robert Barclay, David Burnet, Lewis Innes or Charles Whyteford—who then consolidated and condensed those reports to send to William Leslie in Rome who finally presented a complete report to Propaganda Fide. News of funding decisions, of course, followed the opposite trajectory, from

James VII called all Scottish priests home to the mission and when the Prince of Orange landed in England, one hundred four letters sent from Scotland to Paris appear in this data; only nine were sent from Scotland to Rome. Between 1689 and the end of 1691, during the fallout of the Glorious Revolution, only seven letters made their way from Scotland, all to Paris. In 1692, the letters sent from Scotland were more balanced, with two sent to Amsterdam, one to Rotterdam, three to Rome, and six to France (two to Paris, two to St. Germain and two to 'France').

Official correspondence between priests and Propaganda Fide, including grants of faculties and viaticia, is housed at archives of that body, rather than in the Blairs Letters and so the data here is skewed to favor the Paris College. Nevertheless, there remains a striking disparity between the extent and content of communication to the Scots Colleges at Paris and Rome.
Propaganda to Leslie to Paris to the priests or from Propaganda directly to the priests upon whom they bestowed faculties, if those priests were already in Rome.

Priests and priest-hopefuls, like letters and funds, also filtered through the Paris College. Many young Scottish men seeking an education in a European seminary first stopped in France before continuing on to other parts of Europe and many even traveled on salmon ships between Aberdeen and Le Havre.⁴⁰ Years later, in preparation for the mission, all newly ordained priests attended a final course in Paris specifically catered to missionary work before they returned to Scotland in service of the Catholic Church. Consequently, the priests at the Scots College in Paris often received new scholars from Scotland first and interacted with new priests before they embarked on their lives as missionaries last. For some, the French cities of Paris and Havre de Grace were the last they ever saw of Europe.

Traveling from Europe to the British Isles was a manageable, but hardly enjoyable crossing. Journeys faced constant delays thanks to stormy weather and high seas and many priests experienced bouts of seasickness en route to England. Crossing the English Channel, however, represented only the first in a long line of journeys. To reach Scotland, priests could move by land north through the English countryside or by sea, sailing along the coast up to Aberdeen. During a 1684 visitation to Scotland, Lewis Innes initially favored the sea route to take him up the North Sea along the eastern coast of England.⁴¹ Writing to his temporary replacement in Paris, Charles Whyteford, Innes acknowledged his preference for ship travel, “traveling being so extremely dire by land” and terrible for his health, “which is yet to be

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⁴⁰ Alexander Dunbar to Robert Barclay, September 12, 1678, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/50/21; Alexander Leslie to David Burnet, October 9, 1678, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/52/12.

⁴¹ In many cases, priests and hopeful priests would board merchant ships between these two places and especially salmon ships on the reverse route from Aberdeen to Havre de Grace.
preferred to my purse.”\textsuperscript{42} Despite the implied additional expense of sea travel, Innes believed in its benefits. The perils that he feared by taking the land route exceeded the shared concerns of all road travelers of thievery and inclement weather. As a priest illegally working through a land that had long outlawed his religion, however, Innes assumed great risk traveling through England at all, some of which was mitigated by ships which traveled more quickly and with fewer people to accidentally encounter.

Unfortunately for Innes, it did not take long for him to regret his decision. Writing again to Whyteford a week later from Harwich, eighty-five miles north of London, Innes vented his frustration about weather delays, annoyed that “after eight dayes off contrary winds bad weather & as great sea seickness as ever a man endured wee are att last obleaged to take in heir expecting a fair wind.” It was not only delays that rendered this journey nearly insufferable, however. Innes continued to express his regret for his decision to travel by water, writing, “I am now sensible of what you told me, & if ever I go by sea a second tyme when I may by land then my cryme shall be unpardonable, I wish I may recover this bout, for if you knew my condition you wold really pitty me.”\textsuperscript{43} In the end, Innes sacrificed both his purse and his health for a treacherous journey by sea. For all priests, neither land nor sea promised a safe or comfortable journey and each time a missionary embarked on the expedition between Europe and Scotland, he risked his health, liberty and even his life. At the time that Lewis Innes complained to Charles Whyteford, he had completed only half of his journey. Ahead of him still lay the remainder of the journey to Scotland and the more difficult task of traversing the Highlands terrain.

Alongside the dangers of traveling by land, however, also came potential benefits, especially for someone with as much influence over the Scottish secular mission as Lewis Innes.

\textsuperscript{42} Lewis Innes and Robert Davidson to Charles Whyteford, May 1, 1684, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/84/6.
\textsuperscript{43} Lewis Innes and Robert Davidson to Charles Whyteford, May 22, 1684, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/84/8.
Moving slowly through England's east coast required safe and secure lodging with men and women invested in the Catholic cause, both emotionally and financially. Because of this, these trips often doubled as opportunities to gain and maintain patronage. On the same 1684 visitation to Scotland, Innes traveled to Canterbury, Rochester, London, Hermitage, Gravesend, Eyemouth, Belford, Alnwick, Morpeth, Darlington, Boroughbridge, Redhall, Doncaster, Carleton, Stamford, Winchester and Dover, canvassing for sympathetic ears and loose purses and offering gratitude for the political and financial support of many English gentry Catholics. Even though the Scottish clergy worked in the northern kingdom, they relied on the activism—both covert and overt—of powerful and wealthy Catholics in England who could influence the tide of Westminster politics. Even Lewis Innes himself could not convince the Catholic King James VII to appoint a Catholic bishop in Scotland. Without the direct and indirect aid of English lay Catholics, all missions to the British Isles would have faced financial depletion and a lack of political representation.

Figure 2.5. Lewis Innes’s Journey through England and Scotland, May 3, 1684-October 21, 1684

As priests crossed the Borderlands from England to Scotland, more than just the landscape changed. Scots' accents, laws, traditions and politics differed from their southern neighbors.
Their surnames were uniquely Scottish and connected them to their heritage, their ancestors and their homes through a sophisticated kinship network rooted in the clan system. Even their religion differed, assuming a more reformed Protestantism in the battling forms of Presbyterianism and Episcopalianism and taking place not in a church but in the Scottish kirk.

Most importantly for this dissertation, Scotland's Catholic populations looked very different from those in England. While both kingdoms harbored Catholics of different socioeconomic backgrounds, those in the gentry class largely drove the practice and shape of that religion in England whereas the majority of Scotland's lay Catholics lacked title, wealth, education and political prominence. As a result, priests catering to England and Scotland relied upon significantly different approaches to their catechesis. Thanks to their deep knowledge of Catholic doctrine and practice and their dedication to spreading that knowledge through various forms of education, Jesuits had historically spearheaded Catholic missionary work. In England, they enjoyed nearly uncontested supremacy as they created a sophisticated network of patronage and personal relationships with the Catholic gentry. While they did send missionaries north into Scotland, they never found the same level of success. Because Scotland was technically part of the English Province, they lacked a formal hierarchy there. Because the majority of Scots Catholics hailed from remote, poor regions of the northwest Highlands and Islands, they failed to transpose their model of gentry Catholicism onto an entirely different population. As a consequence, Jesuits encountered a higher level of competition from seculars in Scotland than they did in England.

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44 This has been the standard and undisputed model of the English Catholic mission in its historiography since the nineteenth century. See “Introduction” for sources.
If the Jesuits’ greatest assets were the value they placed on education and their fundraising prowess, the seculars’ greatest strength lay in their flexibility. Regular priests like Jesuits and Benedictines could travel within their assigned region, but they received their postings, along with specific orders and restrictions, from their superiors in Rome. Conversely, seculars had a great deal of autonomy to assess the situation in real time and plan accordingly. They moved wherever and whenever their work required, often without communication with their superiors until they returned to Europe or attended formal meetings of missionaries in Scotland that were implemented in the 1680s. The secular lifestyle was inherently itinerant. This allowed them to serve several parishes, reconfigure their mission journeys based on information gathered through word of mouth and readjust their plan of action based on environmental challenges, numbers of Catholics, susceptibility of Catholics to receiving a priest, danger posed by non-Catholics and other factors unique to every location. In essence, they could customize their mission approach to the individuals and communities that they served. In 1678, William Leslie, secular agent in Rome and leading opponent of the Jesuits, encapsulated the key differences between the two factions when he likened missionary priests to doctors. In Leslie’s extended metaphor, a physician who is less skilled, but nearer to the patient, is better able to help that patient than the physician who is more skilled, but in a remote location. Similarly, while none could argue against the fact that the Jesuits were far more educated than other men in the Church, in humanities as well as in doctrine, a Jesuit in Rome could do little good for a Catholic woman in the Outer Hebrides. However, a less educated, but still knowledgeable, ordained priest who could travel to her island could administer the sacraments and offer rudimentary catechesis and maybe even convert some of her neighbors. Leslie knew that the Church had always been

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partial to the Jesuits, but must come to recognize that in order to have a successful mission in Scotland, secular itinerant priests were essential and integral to that project.

The secular model, however, was far from flawless. One of the greatest challenges stemmed from communication. Seculars' itinerant lifestyle meant that a priest's whereabouts could be unknown for months or even years at a time and that no one could ever have an accurate picture of the Scottish mission. Priests disappeared from record, vanishing into the blustery mountain terrain of the western Highlands, only to reemerge months or even years later. Under the cover of mountain, loch and bog, those priests who ventured ever west endured the physical demands of a region of their country that they had never encountered. In their isolation from the political centers of Edinburgh and Aberdeen, however, they also found protection. Most importantly, they found their flocks, eagerly awaiting a shepherd of Christ.

**Crossing the Highlands**

The crossings that brought priests to Scotland culminated, for many priests, in the final crossings into and throughout the Scottish Highlands and Islands. As much as human opponents, Scotland herself pushed back against their presence. Her lochs and mountains, heather and machair have always molded Scotland and Scots' cultural identity. They have inspired poetry, literature, music and art for many centuries, but they also serve as boundaries that protect, exclude and divide. Even for Lowland priests who formed an intimacy with the land of their birth during their youth, the Highlands were altogether new and they were ferocious. Priests quickly learned that the greatest obstacle separating them from their communicants was not other people, but the land.
Scotland is one of the most geographically and geologically diverse countries in the world, despite its small size. All throughout the Hebridean islands and the northwest mainland, Lewisian gneiss looms over lochs and glens. Recognizable for its layers of undulating striations, this three-billion-year-old metamorphic rock resembles ocean waves frozen in movement. Across the Highlands between the Highland Boundary Fault and the Great Glen stretches Dalradian rock, unique to the ancient Celtic kingdom of Dalriada which spanned the land south of the Great Glen and extended into northeast Ireland. Perhaps most distinctly Scottish, however, are the lochs that define the landscape and have directed all life on the island for millennia. Created through glacial movement and melting, the lochs create entire habitats of wildlife and vegetation and both facilitate and restrict human movement and settlement.\textsuperscript{47} Such extreme geological and biodiversity in such a compact area has heavily influenced the way of life of Scots across the country, inspiring vastly different means of interacting with the land and with each other.\textsuperscript{48}

Today, Scotland's Outer Hebrides, an island chain off the west coast, remain sparsely populated. In order to access them, one must travel by ferry from the Isle of Skye or Oban on the mainland or fly from Glasgow to either Barra in the south—where the airport is on the beach and the plane lands on the sand—or Lewis in the north. A series of ferries and bridges connects the chain from Barra to Eriskay, through South and North Uist and up into Lewis and Harris (or vice versa). Single track roads move through each island, punctuated only occasionally by auxiliary routes that stretch out to the sea or fade into the depths of the mountains. Few houses dot the skyline and even fewer restaurants, which all close for the middle hours of the day. Thanks to

\textsuperscript{47} Beginnings, National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK. 
\textsuperscript{48} For a more detailed overview of Scotland’s geological history, see “Land of Mountain and Flood” in Moffat, Frontier, 23-30.
the remoteness of the Outer Hebrides, ruins stand without obstruction. Except on Lewis and Harris, there are no entry fees, no museum labels, no plaques, but simply monuments to the past. History and nature blend together in perfect harmony with only the small intrusions of peeping tourists who can move through the more southern isles completely alone if they desire. Thanks to Scotland's "freedom to roam," granting free public access to private property and thereby encouraging hiking on every inch of the country, the most popular way to imbibe all that the islands have to offer is by foot. People simply leave their cars and bikes on the side of the road and walk for hours, stumbling upon fields of machair and ancient standing stones, older than Stonehenge and more emotive as they tower over the land without constraint of gate or guide. Anyone who experiences this region will marvel at its diversity. One hike can bring sleet, snow and rain, blustering winds strong enough to knock you over and beating sun warm enough to enjoy a mountain picnic. Untrodden paths lead through mountainous Lewisian gneiss and crystal blue ocean waves crashing on white shores that would feel less out of place in the Caribbean than in the northern Atlantic. They will also begin to learn the secrets of the land, where inviting patches of grass deceptively hide wet, marshy bog lands and where fields of purple heather sit atop thickets of dense, prickly bushes. Today we have hiking boots to protect our feet from thorns and bogs, coats to shield our bodies from rain and sleet, gloves to keep our hands warm and dry. We can blast the heat in our cars and homes, wash the cold and dirt away in the shower, fill our bellies and sleep comfortably at night in the warmth of a B&B. We need not confront the danger, the fear, the pain and the profound unknown of the priests who walked these paths four centuries ago, but thanks to the enduring remoteness of the Outer Hebrides, their relative isolation in a world where no place is free of human touch, we can share in a small piece of their journeys. We can walk beside the same lochs, marvel at the same ancient structures, breathe in
the same salty sea and brisk mountain air. And we can appreciate just how treacherous their expeditions would have been.

For Lowland priests in the seventeenth century, the terrain of the Scottish Highlands and Islands would have felt foreign and intimidating. The Highlands and Lowlands function both as two different cultural spaces and as two different geographical regions. Separated by the Highland Boundary Fault running from just north of Glasgow in the west to Stonehaven on the northeast coast, these two regions boast different landscapes, different terrains and even different languages. Geographically, the Highland Line is obvious. As the road nears the Lomond Mountains or Ben Ledi, the land begins to swell into rolling hills and misty mountains tufted in dense forest and purple heather. The land turns mischievous, rocky and steep, boggy and dense, misty and deep, as if testing the mental and physical fortitude of intruders unfamiliar with its tricks and curves. For the majority of missionary priests who hailed from the northeast Lowlands—Aberdeenshire, Moray, Banffshire—the Highland terrain stood in stark contrast to the dry and gentle hills and sandy beaches of their homes beneath the Grampian Mountains. For them, ministering to Highland Catholics demanded engagement with an entirely new Scotland. More than once, impassable snow squalls thwarted a priest’s path through the Highlands’ natural barriers of lochs and mountains connected by muddy wetlands. All too often, a priest abandoned his proposed itinerary for months or years at a time and sometimes never revisited it. Those who pressed ahead and crossed over to the shores of the western Islands found that the most taxing leg of a long and tiresome quest. Cornelius Coan, an Irish missionary priest, described his journey through the Hebridean Islands as a “miserable” affair: “I crossed sixty miles by sea and by land. God was my consolation, because in truth I am incapable of writing half of the misery
that I suffered in three days, and my three boys with nothing to drink or eat save a bit of flour they brought for themselves.\textsuperscript{49}

Unsurprisingly, the land’s perils placed great restrictions on the influx of priests and materials necessary for the proper practice of Catholicism in the Highlands and Islands. Priests found it equally difficult to leave these places, rendering communication to and from the most remote regions of the Scottish mission infrequent and incomplete; the extant archive even more so. Even if greater movement had been possible, the absence of any kind of formal postal system prevented the easy conveyance of letters and goods. Several missionaries remarked on the great annoyance of the north, “wher occasions of so far Postages wer unknownen.”\textsuperscript{50} Sometimes this meant simple inconvenience rectified by traveling to one of the major towns along postal routes. Alternatively, if a priest could not travel that far himself, he could send a note on another’s letter. For this reason and “for sparing the expens of postage,” many letters survive that bear notes and signatures of multiple priests, sometimes even writing to multiple recipients in Europe.\textsuperscript{51} Inevitably, this caused communication delays and sometimes miscommunications. In the best of times, inconvenience was the worst side effect of this unsophisticated network of letters. Other times, the lack of postal routes led to the mishandling or loss of funds.\textsuperscript{52} It also meant that the exact whereabouts of missionary priests who ventured to the northern Highlands and Islands could remain unknown for months or even years at a time.

As infrastructure developed toward the end of the century, priests could access more remote places with less difficulty. So could others, however. If many Catholics in the Highlands and

\textsuperscript{49} Cornelius Coan to Jean Talon, May 13, 1687, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/100/2. Translated from French.
\textsuperscript{50} John Irvine to William Leslie, April 25, 1695, SCA Blairs Letters 2/6/15.
\textsuperscript{51} Alexander Dunbar to Robert Barclay, September 12, 1678, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/50/21.
\textsuperscript{52} Alexander Dunbar to Lewis Innes, October 30, 1688, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/111/8; Cardinal Norfolk to Lewis Innes, March 11, 1692, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/154/6; William Leslie, August 29, 1678, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/52/14; Cardinal Norfolk to Athanasius Chalmers, January 15, 1687, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/106/10; William Leslie, 1684, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/86/3.
Islands maintained their traditional beliefs and traditions thanks to their isolation from the religious and political ideology of the Lowlands and the metropole, better infrastructure brought new ideas north and west from the political and Protestant centers. Ease of travel, then, came with consequences.

Once a priest finally arrived at his mission site, equipped with enough funds to at least begin his work, further challenges emerged. The highest concentrations of Catholics in Scotland corresponded to the most isolated regions of the Highlands and western Islands. Their remoteness isolated them from many reformist debates and so safeguarded their Catholic beliefs, but it also entailed a dearth of resources in the form of devotional texts and objects as well as priests to administer the sacraments. In order to preempt the absence of texts and objects and limit the number of items shipped from Scotland to priests in need, each missionary priest arrived equipped with all the materials that he would need to begin his work. This included Bibles and other devotional texts, but also liturgical objects necessary to fulfill his duty to provide the sacraments to his parishes. Because of their itinerancy, secular priests could not rely on the materials brought by their predecessors. Because of the clandestine nature of Catholicism in the British Isles, they could never assume that such objects would be readily available anywhere in Scotland. Consequently, they carried with them vestments, chalices, holy oils and pyxides, small vessels for carrying the Eucharist. They could easily conceal smaller objects like oils and pyxides, but others required more creativity. Some itinerant priests masqueraded as traveling merchants who could advertise their stock of colorful ribbons if stopped. In reality, they carried ribbon in every color of the liturgical year, ensuring they always had appropriate vestments for each season. Often, evidence of these objects reaches us only through tales of

54 Mary Ward Museum, Bar Convent, York, UK.
loss. As priests fled deep into the Highland hills or back to Europe or were captured and
imprisoned during the chaos of the Glorious Revolution, they lost countless objects with
incalculable salvific and sentimental value. Alexander Dunbar, David Burnet, George Gordon,
James Nicol, Alexander Crichton, Robert Davidson, Alexander Leslie and Walter Innes all lost
books, vestments, chalices, oils and pyxides.55 All told, they lost over one thousand shillings, or
fifty pounds, worth of devotional objects.56 Without the devastation of the Glorious Revolution,
these objects may have remained forever occluded by the written archive as they were bestowed
in person as a final preparation for the mission. And yet, without them, no priest could have
carried out his vocation and no Catholic could have achieved absolution or salvation.

Priests in the borderlands between the Highlands and Lowlands and in the Lowlands
themselves felt the impact of resource scarcity less acutely. While the secular clergy dispersed
throughout Scotland, the Highlands and Islands played host to a disproportionately high number
of Catholics and so the ratio of communicant to priest was much lower in the Lowlands.57
Moreover, most Lowland Catholics came from established families like Gordon and Leslie and
so had funds to acquire resources and even patronize the mission themselves. For that reason,
secular missionary priests needed an administrative seat in the Lowlands, with easier access to
resources and roads to convey goods and letters. In that capacity, Gordon Castle in Huntly,
Aberdeenshire acted as the center of the mission; all formal, administrative gatherings of
missionary priests took place there and the Duke of Gordon himself offered food, shelter and
money to itinerant priests. He also recognized the importance of disseminating Catholic values
and Catholic doctrine among practitioners in Scotland and so endorsed several education

56 This is roughly equivalent to six thousand GBP in today’s currency. When Gordon, Davidson, Crichton and
Nicolson returned to the mission later, they each required a new stock. SCA Scots Mission, 2/18/4.
57 David Burnet and 7 other priests to William Leslie, April 1688, SCA Blairs Letters 1/109/28.
measures. In 1683, he wrote to Charles Whyteford at the Scots College in Paris asking him to send devotional texts including books of Lenten sermons, commentaries on the New Testament and books of psalms.\textsuperscript{58} Five years later, shortly before the untimely end of James VII’s reign, Prefect Alexander Dunbar also proposed the erection of a school “for judging scholars” at Gordon Castle, as a means of vetting Highland hopefuls to ensure they were sound of mind and body before sending them to Paris or Rome for education and priestly training.\textsuperscript{59} This school never came to fruition, but even the imagining of such an institution bespeaks a commitment to education on the part of the missionary priests and patrons as the way to ensure the survival and even expansion of Catholicism on Scottish ground.

Even so, the hope for future foundations of Catholic institutions did not compensate for their absence in the present. Over the border into the Highlands and across the seas to the western Islands, Catholic learning and devotion grew in the absence of religious infrastructure. As late as December 1694, after a century of both ad hoc and formal missionary work, Highland Catholics so severely lacked sufficient educative resources that Lewis Innes cried in frustration that the people of the “poor desolate highlands…want nothing but instruction.”\textsuperscript{60} Up until the restoration of the Roman Catholicism ecclesiastical hierarchy in Scotland in 1878, Catholics made several attempts to erect and maintain catechetical institutions in the Highlands, but lack of funding and priests perpetually prohibited their success all the way into the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{61} The priests of the seventeenth century could never have amassed the resources to create an enduring educational institution that catered to an illicit religion, but still they tried.\textsuperscript{62}

\textsuperscript{58} George Gordon to Charles Whyteford, April 24, 1683, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/77/2.
\textsuperscript{59} Alexander Dunbar, 1688, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/111/6.
\textsuperscript{60} Lewis Innes to William Lewis, December 20, 1694, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/172/9.
\textsuperscript{61} Anson, \textit{Underground}, 331-339.
\textsuperscript{62} Lewis Innes to William Lewis, December 20, 1694, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/172/9.
Lack of manpower heavily impacted education initiatives, leaving “the most part of Catholick children in Scotland [with] no means of educatione, many of whom would otherwayes be very profitable to there Countrie, which stands in great [need], especially the Highlands.”

The mission relied on a supply of young men eager to become priests, but such low numbers in certain places left many young Catholics entirely unaware of the opportunity to serve their country and their Church. Consequently, a self-perpetuating cycle of low recruitment plagued the mission. The absence of an infrastructure of roads and priests to connect these places with the rest of the Catholic world prohibited the implementation of post-Tridentine reforms and regulations. More crucially, extreme isolation threatened each individual’s salvation. Many Highland Catholics did not observe Lent or perform proper penance or understand the salvific value of good works; most years, Highland Catholics had no way of receiving the Eucharist at least once as mandated by the Council of Trent and Vicar Apostolic Nicolson’s order; most Catholics in these parts died without confessing their sins or receiving the last rites; an ordained priest was not always available to perform the sacraments of baptism and marriage; nor could he preach or teach Scripture and doctrine with any regularity; and no formal Churches existed in most of the regions populated by Catholics. Instead, they had to improvise their worship spaces, gathering in their homes and among their communities. While they continued to identify with Catholicism as tradition, heritage and community, they struggled to sustain substantial forms of catechesis and devotion once their priest continued on to his next parish. But the absence of any stable ecclesiastical presence was crucial to the development of Hebridean

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64 Alexander Dunbar to William Leslie, November 22, 1687, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/100/15; James Lea and James Devoyer, 1687, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/104/11; John Paul Jameson to William Leslie, September 30, 1697, SCA Blairs Letters, 2/23/2; A.G., Canon of the Council of Lataran which was held under P.P. Inoc which canon obliges all the faithfull to the yearly confession & to the Communion at Easter, 1699, SCA Blairs Letters, 2/61/8.
Catholicism. Their interpretation of their religion concerned doctrine and theology far less than it did tradition. In the Highlands and Hebridean Islands, Catholicism linked parent to child and tied people to their ancestral homes. The devotional practices and rituals, colored by local flare, provided continuity from one generation to the next. As such, it was as much a cultural and communal identity as a religious one. For that reason, it transcended the institutions of the Roman Catholic Church and survived even in long periods of priestly absence. Spiritual nourishment in the remotest corners of Scotland came not only from missionaries, but also from local communities.

Nevertheless, even short visits from missionaries could reignite devotion and aid in proper worship practices. For many priests, this chance to enlighten, to convert and to guide outweighed the risks and sacrifices required to reach Catholics on the fringe of Scotland. Even so, the journey west was not an easy one. Many priests echoed the misery of Cornelius Coan’s sixty-mile journey to and through the Hebrides, including James Devoyer and Irish priest, James Lea, who worked alongside each other in the Outer Hebrides during the 1687 Easter season. While they visited only Eriskay and one other island, Devoyer wrote of nine islands home to Catholics, five of which lay so far west that no one could access them, except in summer, when the waters calmed enough to cross. While mainly Protestants inhabited these islands, Devoyer estimated that about fifty Catholics were dispersed throughout, but had only ever received one missionary decades earlier.65 Fifty may sound like a small number, but most of those Catholics were concentrated on Eriskay, a small island that would play host to Jacobite leader, Bonnie Prince Charlie, who landed on their shores—and later fled from them—in 1745. Today, Eriskay has a population of roughly two hundred people so even if population has not increased in the

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65 James Lea and James Devoyer, 1687, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/104/11.
last three and a half centuries, Catholics would have made up nearly a quarter of the island's population, making it one of the most fertile spaces for missionary work. Its fertility owed greatly to its inaccessibility. So far removed from the reach of Edinburgh and even farther from London, inhabitants of Eriskay and other Outer Hebrides islands marked the passage of time by the tides and pinned their hopes and troubles on their cattle and their fishing boats. They were not debating details of salvation or intricacies of doctrine. That same isolation barred many missionaries from embarking on that final leg of a long journey through the Scottish Highlands.

From the mainland or from the Isle of Skye, priests would have to cross dangerous waters in order to reach the Outer Hebrides. The physical dangers of the waters were compounded by Scots’ healthy deference to their sea creatures. While the Blue Men patrolled the Minch between the Inner Hebrides and the mainland, other beings swam in all the lochs and seas. Legends of loch and sea monsters and merpeople proliferated across the Highlands and Hebridean islands while shapeshifters, like kelpies, selkies and boobries peppered folk tales across the country. The waters of Scotland were full of mystery and full of danger.

Nevertheless, seemingly small acts of individuals like Devoyer and Lea counted as great victories for the Scottish missionary project. Any priestly presence, however sparse, fueled the preservation of Catholicism among its most committed followers; any conversion success meant the addition of another soul to be catechized, saved and reported to Rome as evidence of success.

In the major British cities of London and Edinburgh, priests found Catholics in general less open to religious instruction and more corrupted by a cosmopolitan lifestyle. In London, one priest noted his surprise and dismay at many Catholics’ ignorance of the role and use of the rosary. Other priests thought rich Catholics too driven by material gain to inspire others to amend their
behavior and embrace a more religious life.\textsuperscript{66} Consequently, some found it more advantageous for the reputation of the mission—and for the continued securing of funds from Rome—to focus resources on the poorest and most isolated of the fold, as their “soules cost equall pryce with those of Great ones.”\textsuperscript{67} According to a report from 1690, “our Missionaries should presse to gain to ther church poore, or mean men, rather then great men, because mean men does ordinarily change ther lifes, and by ther good behaviors so edify others. That many follow their example as is clearly seen in thes highland Catholiques.”\textsuperscript{68} Emphasizing the dual religious and behavioral conversion of the poor, whose lives were most amenable to change, proved more beneficial to the imagined and perceived success of the Scottish mission.

What became clear to all missionary priests, whether in the heavily Anglicized capital of Edinburgh or in the remote Gaelic lands of the north and west, whether catering to rich or to poor, was that some standards regarding the essence and practice of Catholicism were paramount. This was easier said than done, due to delays in conveying messages across borders as well as the reticence of some Catholics to receive impositions from above. In 1667, Henry Howard wrote from London to William Leslie in Rome, “the papists of Ingland scarce know or desire what [the pope] does…& many nay most besides doe not desire at this time any alterations of Innovations, or new Rules or Authorities to bee procured.”\textsuperscript{69} Nevertheless, priests and Catholics required some kind of rule and authority, through visitations, assemblies and, eventually, Vicar Apostolic Thomas Nicolson. Even so, mandates on worship only trickled down through priests and they never succeeded in establishing an infrastructure that would guide

\textsuperscript{67} Alexander Dunbar to William Leslie, November 22, 1687, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/100/15.
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{69} Henry Howard to William Leslie, August 30, 1667, Arundel Castle, Autograph Letters #400.
worship and support Catholic practice in their absence. Instead, they contented themselves with a new hybrid Catholicism, customized to the unique needs, capabilities and limitations of each individual Catholic and her community.

In these far-off places, with very little access to catechesis, sacraments or regulation, what did it mean to be Catholic? At the most basic level, claims of belonging to a centuries-old religion and a corresponding international community, coupled with the practice of whatever version of that religion took root in the Highlands and Islands, had to be sufficient. Lay Catholics had little choice but to be content with the limited access they had to that international religion, while priests had little choice but to embrace those who still adhered to a religion that was quickly disappearing from Scotland. Thus, men like Devoyer and Lea traveled when they could—in their case, a mere twenty days in the islands—hearing confessions, offering penance to as many inhabitants as possible, providing rudimentary catechism to children and reconciling a few to the Catholic Church. Too often in these most remote Scottish locales, this was the extent of the mission’s capabilities.

And yet, despite this extreme shortage of resources, Catholicism still found a stronghold in the Scottish Highlands and western Islands. Without parish churches and Catholic schools, Catholics confronted a lack of leadership and guidance. Their religion was hardly visible on the terrain of the Highlands and resided largely in private homes rather than in church buildings. They relied on the sporadic ministry of missionary priests and followed the example of local Catholic authority figures when possible, but the survival of their religion owed to a deeper, personal conviction rather than to the Roman Catholic Church. Paradoxically, the condition of absence allowed Catholicism to breathe and to flourish in isolation from much of the Scots and

70 James Devoyer, May 20, 1687, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/100/5; James Lea and James Devoyer, 1687, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/104/11.
Anglo Protestant world. While missionary priests justified their religious convictions with the help of reason through their education in theology and humanism, rural Scottish Catholics grounded their religion in tradition. Without a consistent form of catechesis, these Catholics practiced rituals and expressed beliefs that they inherited from their elders. While many priests lamented the superstitions of these Catholics and acknowledged their ignorance of refined Catholic doctrine, they nevertheless recognized the power of those parochial beliefs in forging bonds of religion that united Highland and Island Catholics to each other, to their land and to their ancestors.

**Crossed Cultures**

Along the journey over the Highland Line from the Lowlands, more than just the scenery changes. Small villages separated by miles and miles of undeveloped land replace cities and towns, highways and busy streets merge into single track roads, street signs shift from English to Gaelic, although the language is quickly fading from individual and collective memory. The Highland Boundary Fault subdivides Scotland not only geographically, but also culturally. Alistair Moffat has called it "Britain's last frontier," a stark and palpable border space between lands, cultures and people within one polity.71 But Scotland is not easily divided into only two regions. Most of those priests who founded and populated institutions of Scottish Catholic education and priestly training in Europe had been born, raised and educated first in northeast Scotland, in Aberdeenshire, Morayshire, Banffshire and Nairnshire along the coast of the Moray Firth. As Lowlanders, they did not share the same language, customs or landscape as their many Highland parishioners and future priest-brothers. But neither did they identify intimately with

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71 Moffat, *Frontier.*
Scots outside of their region. Even into the twentieth century, Edinburgh and Glasgow felt as distant as the Highlands for James Naughtie, born in Banffshire. For him, and for many generations before him, northeast Scotland “demanded to be treated as a distinct territory, different from anywhere else.” With as much cultural as geographical diversity, the aim of dispersing Catholic ideals and cultivating a unified Catholic community felt, at times, unattainable. Still, Scotland's priests were determined. By capitalizing on existing relationships and forging new paths into new lands, itinerant missionary priests kept Catholicism alive by bringing it to the doorstep of those who were most committed to it and by adapting its principles to the unique spirituality and lifestyle of the Scottish Highlands.

Scotland’s linguistic fault line is less tangible than the Highland Line, but no less significant. This boundary separates the Gaidhealtachd, the "land of the Gaels," from the Galltachd, the "land of the foreigners." Immediately, this nomenclature bespeaks separation, difference, prejudice. English-speakers viewed Gaelic as a foreign language, while Scots Gaels regarded Lowlanders as strangers, as inhabitants of a foreign land. Similarly, the Outer Hebrides were also called Innse Gall, "islands of the strangers," adding yet another layer of difference and isolation. Geographically, linguistically and emotionally, Scotland existed as a patchwork quilt that stitched together individually unique societies, communities and regions. While today the Gaidhealtachd has been greatly reduced, in the seventeenth century it comprised much of the Highlands and even parts of the Lowlands. According to Fiona MacDonald, those living within the Gaidhealtachd shared not only a separate language, but also an established culture that distinguished them from their English-speaking compatriots. There, the kinship network and clan system formed the most prominent social force. However, during the early modern period,

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72 James Naughtie, “Introduction,” in Moffat, xvi.
73 Moffat, Frontier 2.
as clan chiefs grew more deeply embroiled in high politics, a greater reliance on political and commercial networks began to supplant the primacy of the kinship structure. This “assimilation” into larger Scottish society, however, led to “the inevitable emasculation of the Gaelic political system [which] resulted in the breakdown of those cultural and social systems which ratified and bolstered Gaelic society. The Gaelic élites were effectively recruited as instruments of their own demise.”

Thus, the very moment at which the Catholic Church strove to preserve its religion in Scotland, which in part relied on the preservation of the Gaelic culture that so embraced the ritualistic nature of Catholicism, was the same moment that witnessed the transformation and decline of that culture.

The seventeenth century still marked the early stages of a long process of cultural erosion, meaning that the vast majority of Catholics in the Gaidhealtachd still spoke only Scots Gaelic. Michael Mullett estimated that while nearly five times as many priests practiced in the Lowlands by the mid-seventeenth century, around eighty-five percent of Scotland’s Catholics actually lived in the Gaidhealtachd. The biggest internal threat to the mission, and a central strain on resources, quickly became the question of supplying a mission to a region where the people who would benefit the most—and, in turn, aid the mission the most—spoke not only a different dialect, but a different language altogether. In turn, that linguistic slippage has obfuscated the voices of the very people for which the Scottish Catholic mission was designed. Thanks to the lack of written records created and left by Gaelic-speaking Catholics, their beliefs, practices and rituals are exclusively mediated through the voices of their confessors. While not nearly as biased as Protestant sources specifically aimed at discrediting Catholics and Catholicism—which will pose a methodological challenge in the final chapter of this dissertation—the prejudices of

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72 MacDonald, Missions 3.
priests did color their correspondence. Secular priests needed to convince *Propaganda Fide* to continue to fund their mission, which meant that they needed to demonstrate both dire need as well as clear improvement. For that reason, several continuously advocated for missionary efforts to poor populations. They argued that poverty eliminated many of the temporal vanities that tempted wealthier Catholics to renounce their religion or, worse, profess themselves Catholics but live a depraved lifestyle. Additionally, they viewed the poor pockets of Catholics in the Highlands as ignorant of their misguided beliefs and practices and thereby more likely to convert when enlightened. Consequently, their correspondence depicted communities of professed Catholics who had neither the knowledge nor the means to properly worship. They did not, however, provide any details about the specific rituals and superstitions that they encountered and so all that remains of the Catholic culture of the Highlands is a sense of inadequacy, replaced, thanks to the missionaries, by something better, but still imperfect. This is reminiscent of many rural populations across Catholic Europe, where Catholic ritual commingled with local tradition in unorthodox ways. Even in Catholic countries of Spain and France, practice and belief varied widely from one village to another, thanks to the influence of local cults and the enduring remnants of a pagan past.\(^76\) In this sense, while the tenor of Scottish Catholicism may have been unique, the fusion of official Church-directed practice and regional influence was not. Nevertheless, it still poses a methodological problem for accessing those local beliefs and forms of devotion. This set of correspondence illuminates an entire population of Catholics whose very existence is otherwise occluded by the archives while simultaneously denying that population any real agency or character by failing to expound the exact nature of

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\(^{76}\) Delumeau, *Catholicism.*
local divergence from Catholic orthodoxy. As a result, their beliefs and practices can only be cobbled together by the very few and very ambiguous references made by their ministers.

Those ministers, on the whole, were heavily Anglicized compared to their communicants. At first, most of the priests who were trained in Europe came from the Scottish Lowlands. They spoke English and learned Latin, French and Italian, but most often not Gaelic. Even some who did learn Gaelic during their youth could no longer converse in it, such as Ephrem Reid, who declared himself unfit for the Highland mission, having “had something of the highland language but now I…forgott the tongue.”77 Once the mission gained momentum in the late-1670s, this problem became crucial. How could one ‘tend to the flock’ if shepherd and sheep could not communicate? The solution was to find young Catholic men born in the Highlands who were willing to receive an education in Europe and return home as priests ready to provide education and spiritual direction to their kin and neighbors. This, of course, would never be sufficient to supply the entire mission, but it may well have saved the missionary enterprise from impotence in the Highlands.

The mission had been supplied by men (and aided by lay women and nuns) from Scotland since its inception, but the focused recruitment of young men specifically from the Gaidhealtachd began in earnest in the late 1670s. The first ones to heavily advocate for the continental education of “Highland youths,” as they were so often called, perceived the desperate need for a Gaelic-speaking priests firsthand from their vantage point in the Scottish Highlands. Between November 1677 and July 1678, Prefect Alexander Dunbar wrote to Paris on behalf of no less than five young Highlander men who desired an education in the humanities and training for the priesthood in either Paris or Rome. Considering the Paris and Roman Colleges

77 Ephrem Reid to William Leslie, June 8, 1681, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/72/7.
maintained less than ten priests at a time, requesting places—and funding—for half that number was not insignificant.\textsuperscript{78} Enrollment in the continental colleges was strictly limited and Propaganda Fide was not exactly generous with funds for the Scottish mission. A letter of recommendation accompanied each request, which outlined the reasons why each man would benefit the mission. Sometimes, the recommendation highlighted character, such as “I asseur you that I never see a boie of a better natur nor mor likly to be a good” missionary.\textsuperscript{79} Other times, the main qualification was proficiency in Irish or Scots Gaelic.\textsuperscript{80}

Not all of the Highland youths who went to Europe for humanities and priestly education returned to Scotland in service of the mission. Because of this, linguistic skills and simple good character were not always sufficient grounds for admittance to the Scottish Colleges. In addition, the strongest arguments in support of the Roman or Paris Colleges assuming the financial and physical responsibility of a young man’s travel and education reflected his commitment to his religion above all else. Perhaps the best way to prove such a commitment was to demonstrate an unwavering faith in the face of adversity, especially when that adversity came from kin. In 1687, Dunbar wrote of a youth from the Hebridean Islands who, after finishing a rudimentary education there, desired to receive a proper Catholic education on the Continent, but “his father being a stiff Protestant, will never give him a farthing to go abroad, nor must he know of his designe of being Catholic.”\textsuperscript{81} Defiance of not only king, but father, proved an unwavering religious fidelity.

\textsuperscript{78} John Paul Jameson to Lewis Innes, December 18, 1679, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/57/10. Dunbar requested 50 crowns per annum for each youth. Today, this is equivalent to roughly $2,000.
\textsuperscript{79} Alexander Dunbar to Winter, November 2, 1677, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/47/8.
\textsuperscript{81} Alexander Dunbar to Lewis Innes, April 11, 1687, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/100/12.
Nine years before this, both Dunbar and Alexander Leslie—who together would spearhead the mission from Scotland for the next two decades—wrote multiple times to agents in both Paris and Rome, recommending another Highland youth, Angus MacDonald, for education and future missionary service. MacDonald was himself a Highlander, and member of one of the several auxiliary MacDonald clans that inhabited the western coast and Islands of Scotland. Unlike many other Highlanders, he spoke both Gaelic and English and demonstrated a good temperament and willingness to sacrifice for his religion. Although his parents were Catholic, they were no more supportive of his desire to pursue the life of a priest than the young man of Protestant heritage mentioned above. Nevertheless, his Catholic and Gaelic roots together meant that he could communicate fluently with Catholics native to one of the remotest areas of Scotland. His intimate knowledge of the terrain meant that he could traverse the land more quickly and safely than most other missionaries. Perhaps most important of all, he had already shown himself “devot, and truly inclined to embrace an ecclesiastical life for the glory of God and the good of his countrey,” or, at least, this is what Leslie claimed of him. Ultimately, Robert Barclay, then Principal of the Scots College in Paris, could not deny the “great need wee have of such men in this countrey” and admitted MacDonald to his College in July of 1678. MacDonald remained in Paris for five years, until finally returning as a missionary on July 3, 1683.

Angus MacDonald was not the last Highlander sent to Europe for a priestly education. Throughout the 1680s and 1690s, Highland youths traveled between Scotland and the continental Colleges in Paris and Rome—and even one to the Benedictine monastery in Regensburg. Most

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82 MacDonald, Missions 140.
often, they went to Europe with recommendation letters in hand from some of the most trusted and revered priests on the mission. How many of them returned to Scotland as priests is unclear, though evidence exists of Highlander men who both embraced life as a missionary priest and embraced life as a European intellectual after receiving a prestigious education. However, this tactic must have had some measure of success because by the 1680s and 1690s, the Principals of the Colleges consistently wrote to Scotland not to deter their priests from sending more Highlanders to Europe, but rather imploring them to do so. Language was all-important. Before internal conflicts within the mission or external political, social and financial threats could be addressed, language stood as a uniformly imposing barrier to entry into most of Catholic Scotland. Without means of communication, catechism was impossible and all other challenges irrelevant. With such a small number of Gaelic-speakers professing Catholicism at all, and a smaller number willing to dedicate their lives to its proliferation, the Gaidhealtachd alone could not provide enough resources for a self-sustaining mission. Instead, priests searched beyond its borders and even beyond the borders of Scotland herself for help.

Luckily for the Scots, Highlanders were not the only ones who possessed the adequate language skills to catechize northern Scotland. Irish and Scots Gaelic share enough similarities that Irish priests and Highland Catholics could communicate with little difficulty. However, while the number of Gaelic-speakers increased with an Irish presence, there was still not an abundance. In 1688, while Catholic King James VII still sat on the throne, William Leslie practically begged of future scholars to enter the Roman College, “I wish they [have] the Irish

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85 John Paul Jameson requested priests in Scotland to search for his university classmate, Hugh Dallas, who was born to Protestant parents but wanted to enter the Catholic priesthood. John Paul Jameson to Lewis Innes, April 3, 1680, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/62/1; Leyburn to Lewis Innes, March 29, 1683, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/80/1; Andrew MacGhie to Lewis Innes, November 27, 1683, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/80/4.
language." By 1694, the demand for Highlanders had become so great that Vicar Apostolic Nicolson lamented to Lewis Innes, “you desyred me to send you such young Scottish men as wer fit for studies & had ye Irish tongue. That I would most willinglie doe, if I could find anie such.” Gaelic-speaking priests, then, were difficult, but not impossible, to find. Further, the Irish had already proven themselves committed to the Scottish mission. In fact, it was an Irish priest, one Morgan, who, in 1694, insisted upon three changes that would better secure the Catholic Church in Scotland, even in the absence of a parish priest. First, he requested at least one, though ideally more, Catholic schools to be erected in the Highlands. Second, he desired a certain number of viatica be safeguarded for use only by native Highlanders to receive an education in Europe, which they could not otherwise afford. Finally, he echoed the complaint of others, that Highland priests needed more money to support their mission. These were requests not of one who traveled temporarily to Scotland as a favor to fellow British Catholics, but of one, though of Irish and not Scottish blood, genuinely invested in the success or failure of the Scottish mission as a mission affecting all Catholics from and in the British Isles.

Unfortunately, not all Irish priests enjoyed the same reputation as Morgan. In the very same letter in which Lewis Innes conveyed Morgan’s three requests, he also lambasted Irish priests, saying, “the condition of those people is most pittifull, they want almost every thing, they are strangers to us & still menacing. They will be gone & abandon that poor desolate

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88 Ibid.
highlands…wee can never be welle served in [educating Catholic Highlanders] nor in any thing till wee have of our own people.”\textsuperscript{91} Similarly, four years earlier, Benedictine priest, James Bruce, wrote, “some of the Irish Missioners [in the Highlands] have misbehaved extremally, and given great scandall which has alienat the mynds of the people mightily,” particularly after the Irish priest, Cornelius Coan, who had done great service to Catholics of the western Islands for at least three years, apostatized and married.\textsuperscript{92} Despite occasional overlaps between British missionary projects, the animosity that cut down ethnic divides within the three kingdoms ran deep and burned hot, ultimately preventing a far more powerful \textit{British} mission to function seamlessly within the British Isles.

Still, overlaps existed, even beyond language. Of course, none of the Catholic missions was autonomous and often the same individuals who organized aspects of one mission also had influence in another. Most often, these were men in Rome who worked with the Pope and Propaganda Fide to secure faculties for priests and institutions involved in missionary activity. Thus, it was possible for Cardinal Philip Howard, member of one of the most prominent Catholic families in England, to facilitate communication between Scottish priests in Scotland and in Europe and the Catholic bodies of Rome. The extent of his reach was all-encompassing and as an individual, Cardinal Howard embodied the collective international spirit of the British missionary enterprise. On the ground in the British Isles, however, the situation differed.

For several reasons, the British missions were not entirely isolated from each other. Thanks to a shared language and shared resources as well as the fact that Ireland was majority-Catholic, the link between Ireland and Scotland is clear. Significantly, their missionary

\textsuperscript{91} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{92} James Bruce, 1690, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/129/1; David Burnet to William Leslie, September 2, 1690, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/129/13.
relationship was not unidirectional. Fiona MacDonald’s work examines the mutually reinforcing missions between Scots Presbyterians to Gaelic-speaking Protestants in Ulster in Northern Ireland and Irish Franciscans to the “shepherdless Catholic flocks in the [Scottish] motherland.”93 Inevitably, Scots, Irish and English priests and would-be-priests were drawn to different places of exile in Europe, where the religious culture of the host country did impact the religious culture of each group. Because of this and in spite of their commingling, “the foundations planted on foreign soil institutionalised the national dividing lines [and] the relationship between English, Scottish and Irish exiled colleges was more often competitive than harmonious.”94 And yet, neither the Scottish nor the Irish nor the English missions could have survived without Irish, English and Scottish players working and advocating for each, both in the British Isles and throughout all of Catholic Europe.

The international components of the British missions transcended occasional exchange because of language skills and functioned on a deeper, institutional, level. In France, one of Louis XIV’s ministers, Jean Talon, served as Protector of Irish missionaries, despite being French and not Irish. Although Talon remained in Paris and communicated exclusively in French, he oversaw the education, movements and actions of Irish priests serving both England and Scotland. In a letter to him from a Frenchman in his employ in 1687, the interconnectedness of these three missions became clear: “I wish that we could have as many English priests as Irish. We need priests everywhere, and we can only supply but few and the antipathy that exists between these two nations prohibits us from employing those from Ireland, who are more numerous and better instructed in sacerdotal functions.”95 This one letter epitomizes the essence

93 MacDonald, Missions, 67.
94 Glickman, Community, 64-65.
95 Mansuet to Jean Talon, July 23, 1687, SCA Blairs Letters, 1/106/5. Translated from French.
of missionary work to the British Isles. The Irish, thanks to their Catholic culture, schools and houses in Ireland, possessed the greatest knowledge of ritual and doctrine, but conflicted constantly with the English, reflecting their political and imperial position of inferiority. That fiery animosity burned strongly enough to threaten the success of the mission to England, if Irish priests refused to work there or English Catholics refused to accept an Irish priest. That same mistrust, though perhaps less extreme, also characterized dealings between Scottish and English missionaries. In 1684, Lewis Innes recommended two “young, well conditioned, good Catholikes” to the College in Paris. Even better, their parents willingly paid for their expenses. The only problem was their English, not Scottish, heritage. While this posed a pressing concern, Innes recognized the need to subordinate national and ethnic prejudices to religious priorities in order to convince Rome of the efficacy of the British missions and their relevance to the Catholic Church and to persuade the Crown to implement toleration.

The profound and palpable slippage between priest and parishioner—in access, in education, in communication and in culture—threatened a complete breakdown of the entire missionary enterprise. Paradoxically, it also saved the mission by forcing priests to imagine new ways of preaching and constructing communities, both in person and virtually. Priests had to advocate for those Catholics in Scotland who could not advocate for themselves, had to argue them into belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. The Catholic priests who received an education on the Continent and fulfilled a vocation as missionaries were undoubtedly part of the fold of the international world of Roman Catholicism. But what about their parishioners on the ground in Scotland? Those men and women who did not have access to sacraments? Who could not ingest the Eucharist, receive last rites, be baptized or married in a Catholic ceremony, be anointed with holy oils by a priest? What about those men and women who were illiterate?
Who could not read doctrine or instructions from the Catholic clergy? Who could not understand Latin and who had no access to priests? What was the status of those Catholics whose sole claim to that religion was exactly that: a claim? Not a dictate of recognition by the Church, but their own claim of belonging, their own decision to follow the Catholic Church because of ritual, because of family, because of tradition. Where did these Catholics stand? It is because of them that the Church considered in this dissertation morphed into something greater than the institution. The Church here functions not as a set of doctrines, not as a body of ordained priests, bishops, cardinals and pope, but rather as a body of people whose collective imagination was rooted in their religion the way that they practiced it. This was a religion that benefitted from the guidance of missionary priests when available, but that also could withstand their absence and sustain itself in the more common circumstances of restraint and restriction. It was these people who redefined what it meant to be Catholic in a space of anti-Catholic persecution. It was these people who saved the Church from extinction in Scotland. Their brethren did the same in England and even across the Atlantic in Maryland and in the West Indies. Communities of British Catholics persevered not because of the Roman Catholic Church, but because of its followers.

Conclusion

Rising above the River Spey are two mountains home to two faeries. On one lives a white faery with a beautiful silver bow with golden arrows that he can shoot once and only once each day. He is the greatest Bowman in all the land, loved by those he aids and feared by those who oppose him. On the other mountain lives the black faery, dark as night save for a red dot on his breast. Now this faery does not have the same skill with a bow as the white faery, but he
possesses a different power. When he chooses, the black faery can turn invisible, allowing him to sneak up on his enemies and destroy them. Sometimes, soldiers see a floating red dot moving toward them and know that their end has come. These two faeries, both sons of Beira, the goddess of winter, are bound to their mountains, forever fated to live apart and opposed. Brothers. But mortal enemies.

It so happened that one day the bride of the white faery, Face-of-Light, wandered down the white faery's mountain to collect flowers by the river. When the black faery saw this, he rejoiced, for Face-of-Light wandered dangerously close to his mountain, until finally she came within his reach. And so the black faery captured Face-of-Light. Wracked with sadness and unable to avenge his love (for he had already flung an arrow that day), the white faery wailed and screeched and cried all night. His tears wet the mountain grass with heavy dew and his cries kept the local people awake all night, marveling at the howls of the wind. When the morning sun finally kissed the fields, the river and the mountains, the white faery once again strung his bow, ready to fire a golden arrow at his brother. But the black faery, laughing and taunting, turned invisible that very moment, leaving only a small red dot as a tiny, floating target. Even so, the white faery's aim was true and he struck the red dot, which happened to be the heart of the black faery and so he died, Face-of-Light fled home and the white faery rejoiced. Now that night, hearing of the murder of one of her sons, Beira flew to the mountain of the black faery where she found him dead. Beira had with her a salve that she rubbed into the wound on the black faery's heart, which began to beat and onto his lips, which began to breathe and onto his eyes, which opened once again. Newly resurrected, the black faery immediately plotted his revenge against his brother. And so their war waged on. It lasted longer than Time herself could say. It outlived many generations of humans who made their dwelling along the River Spey. It continued even
when the land changed and the mountains shifted and it endures even today. Such is the tale of the faeries of white and black. Two brothers of the same mother, fated to an eternity of bitter opposition poisoned by hatred and jealousy. Mortal enemies, destined to fight, kill, revive and fight again. Each clampering for supremacy, neither ever winning. And forever, the land and people around them pulled into their eternal battle with no end in sight. In Scottish folklore, these faeries are known as darkness and light, as night and day. But might they also be known by other names, of Catholic and Protestant?  

On September 30, 1687, John Paul Jameson waxed optimistic, convinced that the first decades of the mission "occasion'd our hundreds to become thousands, & thes times will occasion our thousands to become ten thousands." By 1699, priests in Paris and Rome once again recruited Highland youths with the Gaelic tongue to journey across Scotland, cross the English Channel and return again as missionaries. While the tumultuous years between the Exclusion Crisis and the crowning of William III caused "som of our tender young plants [to perish]" as priests turned away from missionary work in fear and despair, the last years of the century saw a restructuring and renewed commitment to the mission, increasingly led by a new crop of younger men to replace the old guard headed by William Leslie, Alexander Leslie and Alexander Dunbar. In Jameson's words, "som of our greatest trees wither [but] our young plants [are] flourishing in our garden." The mission had persevered through a fabricated plot that shook the three kingdoms, through the usurpation of a Catholic king who promised toleration and acceptance and through controversies that rocked the enterprises of Scottish, English and

96 Mackenzie, Wonder Tales, 50-56.
97 John Paul Jameson to William Leslie, September 30, 1697, BL/2/23/2.
98 Ibid.
Irish Catholicism from within. Under the supervision of a bishop, Scottish Catholicism, at least, would continue as one project—though not without conflict—with one shared goal: the salvation of souls and the endurance of Catholicism.

As a kingdom who shared the same king as England, but was located far from the periphery of London, Scotland offered a unique landscape. Whereas the eastern Lowlands were heavily Anglicized, the land, customs, language and rituals of the Highlands and the inhabitants of the Gaidhealtachd were foreign and unfamiliar to their English neighbors and fellow subjects. The demographics and practices of Catholics differed substantially between these two kingdoms, as did their place within the international political, religious and public spheres. The use of Scotland and Scottish Catholics as a case study has allowed for an analysis that integrates discussions of religion, politics, mission, migration and exile while examining the responses of a community in flux, facing rejection from all sides.

In the Anglo world, English Catholicism has inspired historical research for decades. While that scholarship sometimes stands on the fringes of mainstream British historiography, it is nevertheless being woven into Anglo history. Scottish Catholicism has also received scholarly attention, but is not often integrated into British historiography, which, when taking a three-kingdoms approach, tends most often to focus on politics or Protestant religious concerns. For this work, the more widely-known historiography of English Catholicism acts as a foil for Scottish Catholicism. Some methods and mechanisms to preserve a Catholic presence were shared; others were not. Sometimes individuals and the bodies they served exhibited behaviors that signaled a mindset ready to accept an integrated British Catholicism that transcended national and ethnic differences and prejudices; at other times, the missionary enterprise to the British Isles functioned as at least two separate activities without much cross-pollination. It is
both the intersections and the separations that warrant a distinctly Scottish lens on the first half of a work concerned with British Catholicism.

How did persecution impact patterns and places of exile? In their host country, how much did exiles attempt to assimilate? At home, what was the effect of persecution not on numbers—unsurprisingly large—but rather on identity- and community-formation? For those who remained Catholic, how important was their religion compared to other categories of self-identification, including clan, vocation and subject-hood? Scottish Catholics inhabited all of these positions. For those men and women who remained in Scotland, the realities of life, identity and community are difficult to pin down. Their presence in the archive is mostly reduced to numbers and occasional anecdotes. Printed debates between Catholics and Protestants, as well as the proclamations of loyalty to the monarchy, shed more light on Scottish and British Catholics as a whole, but in Scotland, at least, most Catholics remain shrouded in darkness. The patrons and the powerful are more accessible to the historian, but the majority of Scots Catholics, who spoke no English, who could not read or write—their voices are lost. What is certain is that religion remained of central importance, significant enough to defy the law and risk incurring the anger and alienation of fellow clansmen and women. It was these dedicated men and women, as much as the priests who served them, who preserved Catholicism on Scottish, and thus on British, soil.

Each crossing that missionary priests undertook presented new challenges that forced them to reckon with their bodily and spiritual limitations. Each crossing also brought them closer to their mission of salvation and conversion and therefore closer to God. As others embarked on a much greater crossing over the Atlantic Ocean, they, too, confronted their own spiritual fortitude and interrogated their own ideas about what it meant to be part of the Church of Rome. The
Atlantic world's proximity to other empires, including indigenous ones, created visible martial threats that were largely foreign to inhabitants of the isolated British Isles, barring, perhaps, those of the Borderlands between England and Scotland. Maryland benefitted from the presence of priests, mainly Jesuits, who served as confessors and spiritual directors and facilitated enduring links between the colony and Catholic Europe. Thus, they were never cut off from the heart of Roman Catholicism, though their physical remoteness and unique environmental challenges necessitated the adaptation of worship practices. In the West Indies, a near complete absence of Catholic devotional and liturgical guides, intermediaries, objects and sacraments placed that religion in peril and pushed its boundaries of accommodation to the extreme. In the frontier spaces between empires, these Catholics relied upon intermittent contact with French and Spanish priests—the greatest political enemies—for salvific solace. Often, these Catholics lived in spiritual destitution and yet still identified as members of the Catholic Church. The next two chapters will explore this new world and the religious and political identities that emerged within it.
Chapter 3: Faith on the Frontier: Toleration and Worship in Colonial Maryland

On September 24, 2002, archaeologists, architects and historians broke ground in a field in St. Mary's City, Maryland.¹ Building upon two decades of concentrated research and planning, they began the eight-year process of reconstructing a brick chapel that had served Maryland's Catholic population at this site from 1667 until 1704, when its doors were permanently closed for devotion. St. Mary's City had stood as the epicenter of Catholic worship and life not only in Maryland, but in the whole of the British Empire from 1634, when settlers first arrived, until the end of the century when that religion was officially outlawed. Today, Historic St. Mary's City is a living history museum that offers more than a glimpse of the past. Moving through the grounds of the original settlement, visitors first pass by a Yaocomaco hut that was converted into the first space of official Catholic worship in the British New World before stumbling upon the town center which boasts a tavern, a general store and several ghost homes, unfinished structures marking buildings of the past. At the far end of town, across from the State House, a large ship sits on the river, a model of the Ark. As they return to the visitor's center, people can enter a reconstruction of the first printing press in British American colonies, Nuthead Press. Throughout, actors in colonial garb provide education and amusement. They teach parents and children alike some of the most popular tavern games—outlawed on Sundays and other holy days—interpret ledgers of payments based on credit to be settled in the form of tobacco, share tales of the town's original inhabitants and highlight artifacts of the past, including items found at archaeological digs at the site that continue today. Along the journey through the settlement, the brick chapel stands as a pillar by which visitors orient themselves. Historic St. Mary's City is not

only a testament to the past, but a point of pride and distinction for inhabitants of Maryland’s first settlement and America’s first experiment in religious toleration.

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On March 25, 1634, two ships arrived on St. Clement’s Island off the shore of the Potomac River. After a long voyage of four months from Gravesend to the Isle of Wight and across the Atlantic, settlers on the Ark and Dove—named for Noah’s Ark and for the dove he sent to find land who returned with an olive branch in its beak—finally arrived in the New World and settled in the place they would name after their Queen, Henrietta Maria: Maryland.\(^2\) In one sense, their endeavor fit harmoniously within the expanding British Empire. They had undertaken a journey that spanned the whole of the British Atlantic, from England to the West Indian islands of Barbados and St. Christopher and up the North American coastline to Virginia before finally casting anchor on the banks of the Potomac. Later, they would fall under the command of Francis Nicholson, who had served in the militia of English Tangier, in Northern Africa, and as Governor of New England and Virginia before Maryland and Virginia, Nova Scotia and South Carolina after.\(^3\) Maryland, then, embodied both the imperial and transatlantic nature of the seventeenth-century Empire. And yet, in a more crucial way, Maryland diverged dramatically from the imperial fabric woven by the administrators, adventurers, colonists and politicians who carefully crafted an idea of English identity and imperial belonging both before and after the colony’s founding. Central to that vision was conformity, if not to the Church of England then at


the very least to some form of Protestantism. In this regard, Maryland occupied an entirely unique space without precedent or replication.

The very first action recorded by those first settlers of Maryland flew in the face of religious conformity. Upon arrival, Jesuit priest Andrew White led a group of settlers through a legally sanctioned Mass in order to consecrate their new home and bless their expedition.\(^4\) The Catholics had arrived in Maryland. At their helm stood a prominent English Catholic family who would lead the colonial enterprise for most of the century. Following their father's dream for a colony welcome to and tolerant of all Christians, Cecil Calvert, 2\(^{nd}\) Baron Baltimore, served as Maryland's Proprietor from London while his brother, Leonard, sailed to the colony as its first Governor.\(^5\) The Calverts had secured a charter from King Charles II that granted toleration to any Christians who upheld belief in the Holy Trinity. This meant that not only conformists to the Church of England, but also Quakers, Anabaptists, other Protestants dissenters and, crucially, Catholics all received religious protection in Maryland. In a time when leaders across Europe frequently strove to impose religious uniformity and curtail diversity, this grant of toleration was radical. As with all socially and politically radical experiments, it quickly came under fire. As the representative of a commitment to Catholic toleration in particular, Lord Baltimore faced severe opposition to his rule almost continuously from 1634 until 1689, when William III's new imperial policy brought an end to toleration in Maryland and permanently removed Baltimore from his post.


\(^5\) Their father, George Calvert, 1\(^{st}\) Baron Baltimore, had converted to Catholicism during his time at James I's court and dedicated lands and funds toward the Catholic cause, offering his estate in Ireland as a refuge for persecuted English Catholics. Beginning in the 1620s, he sought to extend his commitment to Catholic protection outside of the British Isles. Following failures in the colony of Avalon in Newfoundland and in Virginia, Calvert finally received a charter to sow the seeds for a tolerant colony just next door to Virginia in what would become Maryland. Upon his death, the charter passed to his oldest son, who brought his father's vision to fruition. (Farrelly, \textit{Papist Patriots}, 51-61).
Before then, Maryland's governing elite, comprised mostly of Catholics, faced resistance, some of which turned violent. They confronted three major attempts to overthrow Baltimore's regime, coinciding with the domestic political events of the English Civil War, the Restoration and, finally, the Glorious Revolution. Cecil Calvert had little choice but to support Charles I during the Civil War. After all, Charles I had granted Calvert Maryland’s charter and supported, at least tacitly, the experiment of Christian liberty that Calvert directed across the Atlantic. That support kindled animosity from Lord Baltimore’s disgruntled opponents, including William Claiborne, a Virginia councilor, planter and Puritan sympathizer who lost land to the Calverts when they first arrived on Kent’s Island; his resentment never quelled. As news of an increasingly contentious battle between King and Parliament flooded into the colonies, Claiborne allied himself with another Protestant who had been defeated by the Calverts, Richard Ingle. Ingle was a maritime trader who openly supported the Puritan cause during the Civil War and spared with Maryland's governing Catholics. In return, Baltimore had seized Ingle's ship, aptly named *Reformation*, sparking outrage. Joined by their mutual derision for the Calvert brothers, Claiborne and Ingle rallied many of Maryland's Protestant settlers and successfully invaded, forcing Governor Leonard Calvert to flee to Virginia along with a host of Catholic settlers. With Claiborne’s help, Ingle assumed control of the colony’s government, encouraged his men to loot the homes of Roman Catholics, and ruled with no degree of toleration. The coup lasted nearly two years, but ended in August 1646 when Leonard Calvert returned with a mercenary force of Catholics who had fled from Maryland with him and hired soldiers from Virginia. Restored to the government, Calvert executed Ingle and resumed his duties as Governor.\(^6\) In 1649, the

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\(^6\) For a detailed description of these events, see Timothy Riordan, *The Plundering Time: Maryland and the English Civil War, 1645-1646* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2004).
Assembly passed the Act Concerning Religion, or Maryland's Toleration Act, inscribing toleration for Trinitarian Christians into the legal fabric of the colony.\textsuperscript{7}

Baltimore continued to face opposition, largely in politics and print, throughout the 1650s while the political make-up of England herself was contested and uncertain.\textsuperscript{8} From 1655-1658, Maryland and Virginia came under Parliamentary control, though Baltimore quickly regained power until 1689. In that year, the aftershocks of the Glorious Revolution shook the Atlantic World.\textsuperscript{9} As in Scotland, the West Indies and all British colonies, Maryland experienced a dramatic rebellion led by a violent and power-hungry colonist.\textsuperscript{10} With his army of "Protestant Associates," John Coode succeeded in overthrowing Lord Baltimore and imposing a violent, aggressively anti-Catholic regime.\textsuperscript{11} While his violence went unrewarded, the new imperial state, under a centralizing Williamite bureaucracy, continued to impose restrictions on worship. In 1692, the Assembly passed a new Act of Religion that established the Church of England as the official church in Maryland and mandated conformity to it. Over the next decade, the Assembly continued to refine that Act, adding new clauses customized to the needs of the

\textsuperscript{7} A Law of Maryland Concerning Religion, 1649, MHS, MS 2018 vol.1.
\textsuperscript{8} See for example, Anon., \textit{The Lord Baltemore's Case} (London, 1653) in \textit{Narratives of Early Maryland}, 163-66; Leonard Strong, \textit{Babylon's Fall in Maryland} (London, 1655); Roger Heaman, \textit{An Additional Brief Narrative of a Late Bloody Design Against the Protestants in Ann Arundel County...} (London, 1655); John Langford, \textit{A Just and Clear Refutation of a False and Scandalous Pamphlet, entitled Babylons Fall in Maryland...} (London, 1655); John Hammond, \textit{Hammon versus Heaman...} (London, 1655).
\textsuperscript{9} News of the Prince of Orange’s invasion arrived in Maryland some time between January 7 (when the Assembly still celebrated the birth of James II’s son, the Prince of Wales) and February 20 (when William Penn and Lord Baltimore were ordered to proclaim William and Mary as monarchs in Maryland and Pennsylvania, respectively). Henry Fowles, March 24, 1688, TNA, CO 5/739/211-228; Journal of Lords of Trade and Plantations, February 20, 1689, TNA, CO 391/6/199-201; Journal of Lords of Trade and Plantations, February 20, 1689, TNA, CO 5/905/78.
\textsuperscript{10} Coode had been implicated in a previous plot against Lord Baltimore during the anxiety stemming from the Popish Plot spearheaded by rebel and former governor, Josias Fendall (Sutto, \textit{Loyal}, 153-157).
\textsuperscript{11} Protestants, including Paul Bertrand, wrote to London to complain of Coode’s unprecedented violence and violation of Maryland’s charter and Act of Toleration in 1689. The former governor of New York, Nicholas Bayard, wrote to the governor of the Dominion of New England, Edmund Andros, that Coode’s violence had gone too far when he imprisoned twenty Protestants and falsely accused them of being “papists and traitors.” Address of the Justices and Grand Jury of Kent County in the Province of Maryland to the King, November 8, 1689, TNA, CO 5/718/61; Nicholas Bayard to Sir Edmund Andros, December 10, 1689, TNA, CO 5/1081/77; \textit{The Address of the Representatives of their Majestyes Protestant Subjects, in the Province of Mary-Land Assembled}, August 26, 1689, MHS, Rare Broadside 4.
colony, including a fine of one thousand pounds of tobacco for every parish that failed to implement the laws and worship of the Church of England. Catholicism was outlawed in Maryland for the rest of its time as a British colony.

Most historians who write about colonial Maryland focus on the political radicalism of toleration as well as its ramifications. They contest the generally accepted narrative of a "Protestant Empire" by demonstrating how Maryland’s policy of toleration for all Christians thwarted the image of a religiously hegemonic empire driven by allegiance to the Church of England. That body of scholarship has placed Catholicism, traditionally relegated to the historical margins, at the center of discussions over politics, power, imperial structure and imperial identity. Some have used Catholicism to disentangle the complex web of Stuart

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12 The same Act mandated a yearly contribution of 40 pounds of tobacco per annum per capita (blacks and whites included) for the erection and maintenance of Churches, which greatly affected Quakers, who “could not for Conscience sake pay the said Imposition this Law hath been and is strictly Executed upon us by chargeable Levies to our Great Discouragrement that have been Ancient Planters, and are none of the least Traders in that Province.” TNA, CO 5/714/41. For a discussion of the consolidation of William III’s imperial policy, see Roper, *Advancing Empire*, chapter 9.

13 Carla Gardina Pestana, *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009). David Armitage has argued that “British Empire was above all and beyond all over such polities, Protestant, commercial, maritime and free.” The same myths have been applied to domestic politics and emergent national identity. Most famously, Linda Colley has deemed Catholic France as the “other” against which eighteenth-century English and British identity was constructed. Her work engages with a long tradition equating English national identity with the Church of England, in opposition to the Catholic Church. L.H. Roper has recently contested this image of a hegemonic, uniform empire. He has argued that before the Glorious Revolution, the English state did not have the resources necessary to regulating imperial endeavors or imposing a cohesive imperial vision onto its overseas territories. Instead, colonial expansion in the seventeenth century was largely led by aristocrats and merchants, resulting in a diverse empire with several loci of authority. David Armitage, *Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 8; Colley, *Britons*; L.H. Roper, *Advancing Empire: English Interests and Overseas Expansion, 1613-1688*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

14 The exception to this would be studies of Jesuit activity in the New World that have proliferated since the nineteenth century and which focus very much on the place of Catholicism within the British Empire. This project, however, has been almost exclusively directed by members of the Society of Jesus constructing histories of their own order. These not only prioritize the beliefs and actions of the Jesuits, even above their congregation, but often reduce colonial Maryland to one chapter or one section of a larger project aimed at delineating a continuum of global mission and belief from the founding of the Society of Jesus in 1540 to the present day. Still, these texts do provide a wealth of material relating to the Jesuits that aids in the project of Catholic recovery in the British Atlantic and come closest to accessing the lived experience of colonial Catholics in the Chesapeake. See Curran, *Spirituality*; William P. Treacy, *Old Catholic Maryland and its Early Jesuit Missionaries* (Swedesboro, 1889); Edwin Warfield Beitzell, *The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary’s County* (Maryland, 1959); Raymond A. Schroth, S.J., *The American Jesuits: A History* (New York: NYU Press, 2007); Gerald P. Fogarty, *Commonwealth Catholicism: A History of the Catholic Church in Virginia* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001).
political ideology and political theology at the birth of empire. Others have highlighted the example of Maryland to emphasize a growing English identity that extricated itself from confessional politics by allowing for the inclusion of Maryland’s Catholics in the Empire. Still others have pinpointed Maryland’s toleration as the genesis of religious freedom in the United States. With each of these approaches, the example of Maryland and its utterly unique and radical commitment to Catholic acceptance has supported arguments that center around political ideology and social consequence. The coups in the name of religion, the violence against Catholics, the flight of Catholics at various moments all serve as a reminder that legal toleration of Catholicism did not erase anti-Catholic sentiment so indelibly inscribed into the hearts and minds of most Englishmen, at home and abroad. They have successfully placed Maryland within an imperial context that considers how English politics, religion and culture were refracted by the human and environmental realities of the New World.

With such a strong foundation, it is now possible to build upon this corpus and ask new questions about the experience and expression of Catholicism in colonial Maryland amid heightened political and religious instability. To do so requires the introduction of new source material. Maryland’s Catholics have left behind a rich archive not only of letters, legislation and

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15 In her impressively cogent study of colonial Maryland, Antoinette Sutto used Maryland as a means of asking larger questions about the nature of the state, both domestic and imperial, in the seventeenth century. She placed Maryland “at the center of a far larger matrix of early modern conflicts over the nature of the state” that combined debates over “the meaning of confessional difference, the sources of political conflict, and the origins and nature of political power” that “tore England and Britain apart repeatedly in the seventeenth century.” For Sutto, “religion offers a way to integrate the disjointed [political] events of Maryland’s seventeenth-century history.” Her aim, then, was to construct a political history that engaged with religion, rather than the reverse. (Sutto, Loyal Protestants, 7.

16 Sutto has referred to Maryland as “a characteristic Stuart colonial project” similar to all others for its unique challenges and opportunities (Sutto, 1). John D. Krugler has set out to demonstrate that the Catholic Calvert family proves that Catholics were not inherently oppositional to “the interests of the English nation,” and that colonial Maryland, in spite of its allowance for Catholic worship, was not incompatible with the vision of empire or with the notion of Englishness as each began to take shape in the seventeenth century, but was conversely woven directly into the fabric of a burgeoning English identity. Sutto, Loyal Protestants, 1; John D. Krugler, English and Catholic: The Lords Baltimore in the Seventeenth Century (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 7.

17 Farrelly, Papist Patriots.
books, but also of artifacts. While anthropologists, archaeologists, art historians, curators and literary scholars have readily embraced the methodological advantages of material culture history, that subfield has taken longer to flourish among historians, thanks to their hyper focus on text.\textsuperscript{18} Scholarship on historians’ engagement with material culture is fascinated by the seeming reticence of the discipline of History to adopt material culture as equally enlightening as text-based historical inquiry. Historians have been depicted as “more comfortable with quantitative rather than qualitative approaches,” as empirical experts who “[embed] their professional focus upon text-based criticism.”\textsuperscript{19} In the words of Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, “the archive [is] the historian’s second home.”\textsuperscript{20}

These comments are not at all intended to criticize the work of professional historians, but rather to explain why material sources have become enmeshed in other disciplines since the 1960s and 1970s, but feature far less frequently in historical scholarship. And yet, the last decade has seen an abundance of interdisciplinary volumes addressing the use of material culture across fields flooding library bookshelves.\textsuperscript{21} In all of them, historians figure prominently. As a


field transfixed by its own future, material culture history remains in a state of experimentation, which awards it the incredibly valuable and fruitful opportunity to posit a wide variety of sources, approaches and theories. Under its umbrella falls a multiplicity of options for the historian. To borrow from Giorgio Riello’s framework, one can construct a history from things, which centers on the material form of objects, a history of things, which foregrounds relationships between objects, individuals and society or a history and things, which asks the historian to remove material objects from a position of inferiority or servitude to historical analysis and instead place each methodology on equal footing. Each avenue requires the historian to rethink her processes of source engagement, to ask new questions and thereby to generate new narratives. The emphasis on materiality introduces a new lens through which to understand colonial Catholicism. Suzanna Ivanič has recently argued that "religion was not just about the internal—beliefs, thoughts and ideas—but also consisted of 'external' practices, rituals and objects, and it is the connection between the two that is important." Through the incorporation of both textual and material sources, we can begin to better understand the realities of Catholicism in colonial Maryland.

The archival breadcrumbs of Maryland Catholicism can lead the historian through a labyrinth that weaves together politics, economics, trade, labor and cultural encounter and difference. Those Catholics who left written records that have survived were consumed by the political instability of the colony or preoccupied with success and failure on their plantations. Even the accounts of Jesuits offer only small glimpses of a functioning religious community,

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more often counted than colored in their annual reports. They speak of mission and confirm their catechetical efforts, but the depth of their accounts centers more on moments of conversion than on the functions of colonial Catholicism. Luckily, Catholics in Maryland did leave behind a physical record deposited into the soil of the original settlement at St. Mary's City.\(^{24}\) Through archaeological recovery conducted in the last four decades, a more material-based methodology can help to illuminate how Catholics engaged with their environment and viewed themselves as members of the Roman Catholic Church and members of the British Empire.

This rich cache of artifacts renders a material-based study not only possible, but invaluable. Because of its unique experiment with toleration of Catholics as well as Protestant dissenters, Maryland quickly developed into a contentious space in which toleration, Christian liberty and English ideals were examined, debated and contested. Challenges to Lord Baltimore’s rule and to his policy of toleration began almost immediately and did not end until the Calverts were overthrown in 1689 and their tolerationist commitments with them.\(^{25}\) Colonists waged polemical battles in print and staged physical rebellions on the ground against literary, political and martial opponents, all rooting their violence in a rhetoric of religious discontent. All the while, Catholics continued to worship individually and communally. While the outward nature of their devotion fluctuated in tandem with the many political upheavals that Maryland faced in the seventeenth century, they never abandoned Catholicism, right up until 1789 when America received its first Catholic bishop, a priest from the city named for the first proprietor, Baltimore. They did not always leave behind a written record of their existence and their Jesuit confessors did not always

\(^{24}\) For a catalogue of items (though incomplete) found at St. Mary’s City, including non-religious objects, visit their website. “St. Mary’s City Exhibit Collection,” Historic St. Mary’s City, accessed November 22, 2019, https://hsmcdigishistory.org/pdf/Exhibit-Collection.pdf

\(^{25}\) The Calverts were excluded from Maryland politics until 1715, was Charles Calvert, 5th Baron Baltimore, was reinstated as Lord Proprietor, but only after he and his father, Benedict Calvert, publicly converted to Protestantism.
provide detailed accounts of their parishioners. Consequently, while the textual archive of Maryland Catholicism is richer than in many other British spaces, the story it can tell remains incomplete. For that reason, this chapter combines an archival focus with a structure centered around the material objects found in Maryland by archaeologists or mentioned by colonists in their correspondence and wills.

This material-based focus embraces historical analysis of the artifacts that have traveled through time to reveal much about the position of Maryland in wider British, Atlantic and international Catholic contexts. These objects reveal a continuing commercial exchange between Marylanders and merchants in Spanish and French colonies as well as in Europe. They also demonstrate the presence of the institutional Church in Maryland. In addition to missionaries who received their post directly from Rome, Marylanders engaged with theological texts written on the European continent by men trained in Catholic institutions there. Moreover, they owned symbolic and devotional objects sanctioned by the Church of Rome and even made in Italy, including saints’ medals and liturgical vessels. In addition to importing priests and objects to the colony, many Catholics in Maryland sent their children to Europe to receive theological training and even bequeathed money and estates to various members and institutions of the Church in Maryland and in Europe. Consequently, the presence of the Catholic Church could be felt in Maryland far more acutely than in Scotland or the West Indies. Finally, the objects and spaces examined in this chapter reflect the complicated relationship between Catholic colonists and members of other religions and cultures, including Protestants, Native Americans and African slaves. Because Maryland explicitly tolerated Catholics, these artifacts are crucial to understand how English colonial Catholics understood and positioned themselves in their broader world when given power. The combination of archival and artifactual evidence in this chapter
demonstrates that these Catholics understood the importance of political security and obedience for success and survival in the colonial context and were willing to adapt their devotional practices to accommodate the shifting tides of the political order.

From Europe to the New World: Transatlantic Exchange of People, Books and Objects

On March 12, 1622, Pope Gregory XV canonized four men and one woman. Known collectively as the “Five Saints," Jesuit founder Ignatius of Loyola, his disciple, Francis Xavier, foundress of the Discalced Carmelites, Teresa of Avila, founder of the secular Congregation of the Oratory, Philip Neri and Isidore of Madrid, an 11th century farmer venerated by King Philip II of Spain, were all welcomed among the holy. In order to commemorate the event, medals were struck in their honor. Some celebrated one individual while others forged the likenesses of all five together. These medals, produced all over Europe, but mostly in Italy, circulated widely throughout Christendom. So widely, in fact, that they even made their way to St. Mary’s City, Maryland. This section will explore the many ways in which colonial families, individuals and leaders used material objects as touchstones connecting them to the broader international community of Catholics, particularly in Europe. Carla Gardina Pestana has conceptualized of the British Empire as a process of attempted transplantation—bringing new institutions and ideas to the New World—and actual circulation—entailing reciprocal transatlantic cultural influences.26 While colonists aimed to replicate European societies in their Atlantic colonies, colonial expansion simultaneously transformed European societies and institutions. That reality characterized Maryland's religious fabric. The circulation of people, objects, ideas and institutions even across waters forged continuing relationships that spanned an ocean, facilitated

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26 Pestana, Protestant Empire.
the dissemination of doctrinal dictates and debates overseas and influenced the devotional practices of even colonists far afield within the British Empire.

**Figure 3.1. Saints’ Medals Found at St. Mary’s City, Maryland**

Before they could plant, cultivate and nurture their religion in a new land, the future colonists of Maryland first contended with a long oceanic journey followed by a period of exploration and opposition from previous colonists, especially over the border in Virginia. Governor Leonard Calvert and roughly two hundred settlers embarked on their journey west in the final months of 1633. Those settlers included seventeen Catholic gentlemen and three Jesuit priests. Many of the Protestants, forming the majority, traveled as servants to those men, including twenty in the service of the Jesuits. Thus, Catholics comprised the minority population, but held majority power, an offense to most conforming Englishmen and certainly to those Protestants who pushed for harsher restrictions on worship, including Puritans and Calvinists who already populated the New World from Boston to Virginia. In order to prevent a serious conflict in the name of religion, Cecil Calvert sought to deemphasize the centrality of Catholicism to his colonial project and, from the very beginning, ensure and advertise the

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27 Courtesy Historic St. Mary’s City.
28 They left the Isle of Wight on November 22, 1633. White, *Narrative*, 48.
protection and spiritual comfort of all the colony’s Christians. He strove to institute a peaceful coexistence of a plurality of Christian traditions without one dominating over or causing affront to the others. In order to accomplish this, he supplied his brother and the first settlers with a detailed list of instructions for their conduct on the ship and for the first actions to take upon arrival. In these instructions, religion played a pivotal role. In his very first point, Baltimore demanded that the Governor and Commissioners “suffer no scandall nor offence to be given to any of the Protestants…[and] treate the Protestants with as much mildness and favor as Justice will permitt,” thereby aiming to protect that Protestant majority. Furthermore, he mandated “all Acts of Romane Catholique Religion to be done as privately as may be, and…all the Romane Catholiques to be silent upon all occasions of discourse concerning matters of Religion.”

Baltimore envisioned a colony in which Catholics could worship as they chose, but not one in which they enforced their beliefs onto their neighbors.

When the *Ark* and the *Dove* first landed in 1634, the fiercest potential opponent to Baltimore's rule and to Maryland's religious fabric came not from the new settlers who had just traversed the Atlantic Ocean together, but from those men and women who had already established communities in the New World and who viewed their new neighbors with suspicion. The settlement of Maryland encroached on Virginia's borders and threatened the supremacy of the Virginia tobacco economy and the nature of their trading partnership with Native Americans. The fact that Baltimore, a Catholic, enjoyed seemingly unlimited authority in Maryland compounded the fears of Virginia's councilors. Knowing this, Baltimore stipulated in his

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31 Crucially, Maryland was not a crown, but a proprietary colony, meaning authority was vested in the Lord Proprietor—in this case, the Lord Baltimore. Contestations to his rule throughout the century meant that Baltimore consistently had to assert his legitimacy, which was granted through the King's charter and the Durham Clause. This Clause extended the power of the Bishop of Durham to create courts, appoint judges and even raise an army without explicit permission from the King to the Proprietor of Maryland, thereby granting him a great deal of autonomy to mold the institutions of his province. That power allowed for Christian toleration, but it also inspired opposition by
Instructions that “one as is conformable to the Church of England” should carry dispatches to agents in Virginia with details of the new Maryland settlement.\textsuperscript{32} Presumably, this requirement was designed to curtail the perception of Maryland as a colony of dissenting Catholics who might cause friction with its neighbors. Instead, they could live harmoniously and employ conforming Protestants as diplomatic agents. Opposition did come from both Virginia’s Calvinists and from neighboring Native Americans, but Baltimore’s followers succeeded in establishing their first settlement on the banks of the Potomac River that they named after the Blessed Virgin. They called their new town St. Mary’s City, a place that functioned as the heart of the colony and its capital until 1694. From there, the most controversial religious project within the British Empire came to life.\textsuperscript{33}

Transatlantic migration was never unidirectional. From Maryland, Catholics sent bequests, funds and even their children to Catholic institutions in Europe, including Douai and other spaces dedicated to the education and worship of English Catholics from all over the Atlantic. Upon his death in 1697, a wealthy Catholic named Peter Sayer bequeathed two thirds of his estate in Queen Anne’s County to his wife, his nephew and his godson; the remaining third he divided among the English Benedictine nuns, the English Benedictine monks and the English friars at Paris.\textsuperscript{34} Moreover, he mandated the donation of five pounds sterling to every priest in Maryland. Sayer’s generosity was laudable, but not unique. Others left money to Catholics in Maryland and several bequeathed funds and partial estates to "the Catholic Church."\textsuperscript{35} In

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\textsuperscript{32} Calvert Papers, 133-4.

\textsuperscript{33} Today, Historic St. Mary’s City, originally named for the Virgin Mary, is a full reconstruction of the original seventeenth-century settlement, including churches and farmhouses as well as actors who teach visitors about the daily lives of Maryland’s earliest settlers.

\textsuperscript{34} Beatriz Betancourt, \textit{Census of Maryland Catholics, 1634-1776}, MSA, SC 5906-5-1048 and 1049.

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid.
addition to grants of money and estates to individual priests and the Church, Catholics throughout Maryland continued to value their access to an international network. While Sayer arranged for the bequest of funds to three different monastic communities of English Catholics in Paris, others maintained their ties to Catholic Europe more physically. At least a dozen families sent their sons abroad from Maryland to receive a formal education at the English Catholic College at St. Omer in France. Others sent their children to the English Colleges at Douai and Rome, the Scots College at Douai and St. Gregory’s, the Benedictine Abbey at Douai. One family even sent their daughter to Liège, where she became a Sepulchrine nun. Even more sent money to those institutions if they did not send children. And of course, the influx of Jesuit, Franciscan, Benedictine and secular priests who underwent training in Europe before embarking on their colonial missions reified the connections between Catholic Europe and Catholic Maryland.

The circulation of things, as much as of people, ensured enduring ties to these institutions. Alongside the migration of people across the Atlantic traveled books and objects and, with them, ideas and practices. Unfortunately, there is no way to know what objects those first Catholics may have transported with them from the British Isles. They left behind their homes, their families, potentially even their lives. Faced with their mortality, did they carry with them Bibles, crucifixes, rosaries and medals? Did religious objects, small and portable, find their way onto the Ark and Dove or were they supplanted by the supplies necessary for bodily survival not guaranteed by the harsh waters of the Atlantic Ocean or the abundance of unknown adversaries in the New World? These questions elicit only speculative answers. While we cannot know what the first Marylanders brought with them in 1633-1634, we can begin to illuminate more of

36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
the devotional color of colonial Catholics when the scope extends to cover the entire seventeenth century. Certainly by mid-century, Catholics had access to books and objects that aided and guided their worship and brought structure to their ecclesiastical community.

The provenance of almost all of the objects that emerge in the historical record or have been recovered at St. Mary's City and elsewhere reflects an enduring engagement with the international community of Catholics, particularly in continental Europe. Nearly all were created in Europe and must have traveled to Maryland via colonists or missionary priests. For the historian, the most familiar and comfortable objects with which to start are books. As demonstrated in the first two chapters of this dissertation, books were central to the preservation of British Catholicism for their ability to distill theological principles and connect people across space. In the historical record, the use and circulation of books appears mainly through private letters. As in the Scottish Blairs Letters, some correspondence from Maryland contains fleeting references to the circulation and transportation of Catholic books. In 1667, Philip Calvert, Lord Chancellor of Maryland and half-brother of Cecil and Leonard Calvert, wrote to Richard Nichols about the receipt of seven books explicitly intended for devotional purposes. Calvert promised, “I do hereby assure you they shall only be employed in the sacred use they were first considered for and I beseech you that this act of Adoration of the one now living God which we both adore, may merit from his bounty.” He further declared, “you may be as great a practicer of the

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38 It is also possible that some objects could have come via colonists of other imperial states, whether intentionally or through looting.
39 It is possible that this refers to Richard Nicolls, the first governor of the Province of New York. Nicolls led the expedition to take New Amsterdam from the Dutch. When he succeeded, he was appointed Royal Governor of the Province of New York by the Duke of York, future King James II and VII. He retained that post until the summer of 1668, when he returned to England to serve as the Groom of the Chamber to the Duke of York. Calvert’s correspondence is undoubtedly addressed to a Catholic, a “master of the house of Ancient Rome,” but I have found no other sources to corroborate that Nicolls was Catholic. It could be that Calvert wrote to another Richard Nichols, or someone using that alias. If the former governor, that would mean these texts came from Europe to Maryland via New York, thereby adding a link to the international and even colonial network of English and British Catholics. If not him, it is possible that the texts were imported to Maryland directly from the European continent. See Richard Ritchie, “Richard Nicolls,” Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (2004).
Religion as you are a master of the house of Ancient Rome, that would not permit anything once dedicated to God to be profaned.”

Clearly, these seven books were devotional in nature.

Calvert's library is no longer extant, but rather recorded in a list by Timothy Riordan, historian for Historic St. Mary's City. Because of this, the treatment here of Calvert's books will be more familiar to the historian, who deals in absence and in textual reference to objects and people long lost, ideas long forgotten if not for the written archive. Even without the books themselves, the historian can still glean much from Calvert's singular reference and Riordan's efforts at bibliographic reconstruction. According to Riordan, Calvert's library contained, among non-religious texts, one Bible, two Rheims New Testaments and four volumes of controversial literature dealing with religious toleration or the distinction between matters of state and matters of Church. The distinct political and theological orientation of each text will be examined later in this chapter, but the trajectories of these book-objects unveil Calvert's continued engagement with contemporary theological debates proffered by leading Catholics in Europe and particularly of English Catholic exiles. He included in his personal library four volumes that connected him to England and Europe through the book trade: Vincent Canes's *Fiat Lux* (Douai?, 1660); Thomas Harding's *Rejoynder to Jewel's Reply* (Louvain, 1567); William Rushworth's *Judgment of Common Sense* (Paris, 1640); and Henry Holden's *Analysis of Divine Faith* (Paris, 1658). Even the most basic bibliographical information reveals a crucial feature of

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40 Philip Calvert to Richard Nichols, January 28, 1667, MHS, MS 2258. This letter reveals that Nichols was a Catholic, though I have found no other sources to corroborate this.

41 MSA SC 5906-5-69.

42 In her essay, “Written Texts and the Performance of Materiality,” Catherine Richardson notes the unique position of the historian to access physically lost objects through written records. “Historians may not have things,” she writes, “but they are able to access evidence of attitudes towards them, feelings about them, and, therefore, their social and cultural meanings and functions” (43). With a growing incorporation of material culture into historical analysis, however, this is changing and historians are now beginning to complement their expertise in working with text-based archives with a more nuanced consideration of objects. Catherine Richardson, “Written Texts and the Performance of Materiality” in Gerritsen and Riello, *Material Culture*, 43-58.
this portion of Calvert's library as each volume was printed not in England, but in Catholic Europe. More significantly, they were all written by English priests with personal ties to the institutions of Catholic education in northern Europe.

The authors of these books underwent religious exile and education nearly identical to that of the Scottish priests studied in Chapters 1 and 2. Canes, Rushworth and Holden all pursued their degrees at the English College at Douai and Harding served as a professor there after facing exile under Elizabeth I.43 Douai served as the hub, alongside St. Omer, of English Catholicism, both through its education of missionary priests and its printing of illicit and controversial Catholic literature. The fact that Philip Calvert requested literature from the English Douai exile community to be sent to Maryland proves that the international network of Anglo Catholics sprawled even outside the confines of Europe. Missionary priests, to both Scotland and England, formed one spoke on the wheel of British Catholicism, but others reached much further. The Jesuits who worked in the Province of Maryland extended the influence of the Church from Europe outward across the Atlantic and into that colony, but so too did private actors, including Philip Calvert, through text. His engagement with contemporary debates circulating and formulating in Europe meant that Maryland was never cut off from Catholicism's center, even when access to priests dropped precipitously. Despite their remote location, even from Spanish America and despite their inclusion in the British Empire, Maryland's Catholics were never cut off from the spiritual milieu of Catholic Europe. Their belonging to that world entailed both intellectual and physical connections.

Calvert’s library offers a window into the intellectual and perhaps theological interests of one individual, but it does not invite a deep exploration into the ritual practices of a community or the lived experience of Catholicism on the ground. While Scottish priests sometimes circulated books and, more rarely, sacerdotal objects, they wrote letters far more often to express their dismay at the extreme absence of devotional objects. If those priests struggled to smuggle materials, including books, rosaries, holy oils and the Eucharist, into Scotland, the journey across the Atlantic Ocean greatly compounded that difficulty. And yet, these objects did come to Maryland, through one channel or another. In that same letter to Richard Nichols, Philip Calvert also addressed the receipt of a chalice along with his religious texts. As a Calvert brother and prominent political figure, he may have ordered the chalice for use in public services or on behalf of priests who required liturgical vessels for use on their plantations and in private homes. Alternatively, he may have intended this chalice for his own home, perhaps for private or semi-private services. As an influential and wealthy political leader, Philip Calvert was not representative of Maryland's Catholic population, but his access to devotional and liturgical objects was not unique. In Maryland, objects have survived beyond epistolary references. The museum at Historic St. Mary’s City contains a physical record of Maryland’s Catholics comprising liturgical and devotional objects imported from Europe. The extant objects, which can be seen at the museum at Historic St. Mary's City and on their website, includes saints' medals, an apostle spoon and a fragment of a clay statue of the Madonna. An exhibit at Georgetown University in 1976 builds upon this repository, including liturgical vessels used during the Mass in colonial Maryland. As with Philip Calvert's books, the devotional uses and

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44 Philip Calvert to Richard Nichols, January 28, 1667, MHS, MS 2258.
45 The American Mission: Maryland Jesuits from Andrew White to John Carroll, Georgetown Special Collections, Georgetown University, September 27- November 19, 1976.
values of these artifacts will be explored later, but they, too, represent the physical links between Maryland and Europe through the transatlantic, if not global, circulation of material objects.

Many Catholic rituals involved physical objects of a range of sizes and sacerdotal value. Those items were quickly transplanted into the colonial context, particularly in the empires of France and Spain. Archaeologists working in those areas have recovered many items used in Catholic rituals, including saints’ medals, which became popular in Europe in the late-sixteenth century, thanks, according to Timothy Riordan, to the triple cause of the Counter Reformation, developing technological skills and consumption patterns increasingly turning toward luxury, rather than utilitarian, items.46 Medals found in Spanish and French territories largely depicted saints, the Virgin Mary, specific churches, the life of Christ and other broad devotional images. Predictably, places that enjoyed a predominantly Franciscan clergy favored medals with Franciscan images whereas places with multiple religious orders tended to import medals with a broadly Christian or Catholic message not necessarily related to one particular order. Curiously, where Jesuits spearheaded missions in French Canada, their medals largely presented images of Jesus, Mary and Joseph rather than other saints. Riordan has attributed this difference to the nature of Jesuit catechism there, where priests led missions to Native Americans who required teaching in the most basic tenets of Christianity.47 In Maryland, however, medals looked slightly different.

By 2015, archaeologists had recovered ten saints’ medals in Maryland dating from 1640-1740. They found seven in St. Mary’s City, two at the Jesuit plantation at St. Inigoes and one in

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46 Timothy B. Riordan, “‘To Excite the Devotion of the Catholics’: The Use and Meaning of Catholic Religious Medals in the Colonial Period,” *Historical Archaeology* 49, no.4 (December 2015): 71-86. Riordan first outlines the archaeological recovery of medals in English, Dutch, French and Spanish colonial territories and then analyzes more concretely those found in Maryland.

47 Riordan, “Devotion,” 83.
Charles County, though that may have come later, as its possible date range extends from 1670 to 1740.\textsuperscript{48} Four of the medals found contained images relating to the sacrament of the Eucharist and only one reflected Marian devotion in the form of Maria del Pilar, an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary as she appeared in a vision to St. James the Greater in Spain. The rest depicted the Five Saints as a group or Jesuits Loyola and Xavier individually. This diverges from the images of the Holy Family that dominated other colonial domains with a noticeable Jesuit presence. Riordan has posited that this difference between English and French Jesuit medals may have resulted from the Jesuits’ engagement with the English community of Catholics in Maryland, as opposed to their native missions in French Canada. With a solid foundation of Christian theology and iconography, Marylanders did not require basic images. Moreover, the influence of religious controversy encouraged Jesuits to “bolster their prestige and authority” among their communicants through both their preaching and their dissemination of images and objects.\textsuperscript{49} Once again, the tumultuous religious climate of England and the Counter Reformation across Europe dictated the mode of worship and the color of devotion all the way across the Atlantic in Maryland.

The copper alloy saints' medals found at St. Mary's City and at the Jesuit plantation at St. Inigo five miles farther south were manufactured in Italy and Germany and must have come to Maryland either through Jesuit priests who traveled from Europe or through English Catholics who acquired them from the Continent before embarking on the voyage across the Atlantic Ocean.\textsuperscript{50} The fragment of the Madonna statue resembles clay statues produced contemporaneously in England and Holland, though those that made their way to colonial

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\textsuperscript{48} Ibid, 82.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid, 83.
\textsuperscript{50} “Saints Cast Brass,” Historic St. Mary’s City, accessed November 22, 2019, https://hsmcdighistory.org/research/collections/arts-n-facts-gallery/religious-medal/
\end{flushright}
Maryland in the first half of the seventeenth century likely did so through Dutch commercialism.\textsuperscript{51} Lauren K. MacMillan has traced the origin and circulation of goods through the Chesapeake and has noted a commercial imbalance weighted in favor of the Dutch. Particularly regarding clay statues, she has found that nearly all the clay pipes recorded in Maryland before 1665 came from the Netherlands.\textsuperscript{52} Given “that the Dutch monopolized commerce in the Chesapeake during the first half of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century,” it would not be a stretch to suppose that a similarly made clay statue would also have entered colonial Maryland through Dutch commerce.

Excepting two Maryland-made objects—an ostensorium and a chalice and paten—this cache of physical materials speaks to a wider commercial network with Europeans and perhaps European imperial agents that is shrouded by the limitations of the traditional written archive.\textsuperscript{53} While the shape that Catholicism assumed in Maryland necessarily formed through local influence, it stood upon a foundation of learning and practice that emanated out from the heart of Roman Catholicism in Europe. Even from so great a distance, the tendrils of the Roman Church still extended, through individuals, print and objects, as far as the British New World.

**Religion on the Frontier: The Dual Mission of Maryland’s Jesuits**

In 1634, Jesuit Superior of the Maryland mission, Andrew White, performed two acts in the name of Catholicism. With each, he transformed resources of the New World into objects and spaces of Christianity and so began the process of Christianizing the land and its people.

\textsuperscript{53} *American Mission* exhibit.
White had traveled to Maryland on the *Ark* along with two other Jesuits, John Altham and Thomas Gervase.\(^{54}\) Spearheading the Jesuit mission and embodying Maryland's unique relationship to Catholics and Catholicism, White was central to the Maryland colonial project and remains to this day synonymous with early Maryland's religion. Upon arrival on St. Clement's Island, White led the Catholics who had sailed with him across the Atlantic in their first celebration of Mass in the British colonies, something that "had never been done before in this part of the world."\(^{55}\) "After we had completed the sacrifice," White wrote in his 1634 *Relation of the Successfull Beginnings of the Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Maryland*, "we took upon our shoulders a great cross, which we had hewn out of a tree, and...erected a trophy to Christ the Savior, humbly reciting, on our bended knees, the Litanies of the Sacred Cross, with great emotion."\(^{56}\) The following year, in an edition of his *Relation* revised by another, the author wrote that White "first offered [Mass], erected a crosse, and with devotion took solemne possession of the Country."\(^{57}\) That act has stood as a pillar of toleration and religious freedom, repeated in print, images and Maryland Day celebrations.\(^{58}\) White and his Cross have symbolized, for four hundred years, not only the beginning of a new colony in the New World, but also the foundations for freedom of religious expression in America. And yet, the act was not one of universal acceptance. The consecration of the land entailed a rejection of the spiritual authority that had reigned there before, replaced by the Christian God. Even White's language of

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\(^{55}\) Curran, *Spirituality*, 54.

\(^{56}\) Ibid, 54.


taking possession bespeaks a conquering act similar to those that occurred across the Spanish Empire, un-blood and nonviolent as it was.

This first action by Father White established Christian dominance, but his second significant act of religious construction powerfully reflected European dominance through colonization. The very first chapel built in Maryland and in the British Atlantic hardly had to be built at all. In fact, it was more of a renovation than a construction. Mirroring the Jesuits' primary goal to convert Native Americans to Catholicism, Father White physically converted a hut previously used by the neighboring Yaocomaco tribe into a new space of institutionalized Catholic worship. More than any other physical site, the chapel embodied the essence of Maryland: the transplantation of European and Catholic institutions; the imposition of those institutions and the cultures associated with them onto indigenous lands, customs and spaces; and the dual nature of the Jesuit mission, to both Native Americans and Catholic colonists. This act of erasure, of supplanting, of repossession foreshadowed the future for Anglo-indigenous relations. Integration would fail and give way to segregation and eventually to the complete demise of the Jesuits' mission to the natives. The conversion of hut into chapel embodied the Jesuits' struggle to live among indigenous tribes, to teach them and convert them, to learn their language and customs while simultaneously seeking to replace their culture and their religion with European rituals and beliefs. When the mission failed, Jesuits turned their efforts exclusively to the colonial population instead. While today a hut still stands at Historic St. Mary's City to commemorate the initial period in which indigenous people and European settlers lived side by side, it feels more like a haunting reminder of a failed project of integration and a culture sacrificed to imperial domination.

59 Sutto, Loyal Protestants, 36.
That is not to say that eradication of native tribes and cultures was the goal of Jesuit priests or of Maryland's settlers. On the contrary, Jesuits traveled to Maryland with the professed hope to dive into the wilderness and spread Christianity to a "heathen" world full of souls who yearned for salvation. Rather than aiming to implement a complete exchange of native habits for European, Jesuit missionaries in all of their mission sites attempted to assimilate to at least some elements of indigenous culture. In Maryland, they worked hard to learn the language of surrounding tribes and respect their political and communal norms. While they ultimately failed in their endeavors to learn local customs and to inspire widespread conversion of Native Americans, Jesuit priests never intended Catholicism in Maryland to pertain exclusively to a group of white Englishmen, but to explicitly include indigenous peoples and, later, black slaves. However, the profound disconnect between these cultures who shared neither language nor custom nor belief nor a cosmic understanding of the world derailed the success of non-white and

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60 J.G. Heinsch, Andrew White, the “Apostle to Maryland,” Baptizing the Indian Chief Chitomachon in Mathias Tanner, Societas Jesu Apostolorum Imitatrix (Prague: Typis Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandeae, 1694).
non-European Christianity in colonial Maryland. What began as a tripartite mission—to convert natives, to convert Anglo Protestants and to serve as confessors for colonial Catholics—quickly became unsustainable and while the Jesuits never fully abandoned their conversion ambitions, eventually their role as parish priests superseded their status as missionaries.

Life as a missionary priest offered few temporal comforts. Many of the challenges of missionary work present in Scotland—treacherous terrain, language barriers, violent hostility from non-Catholics—existed also in the New World, though often heightened to extremes. In Europe, nearly everyone shared a Judeo-Christian cosmology and understood, on a base level at least, the language of salvation and the idea of the Abrahamic God. Missionaries outside of Europe found themselves at a disadvantage by working with populations who professed an entirely separate belief system in which divinity functioned differently.\(^6^1\) The severe restrictions on communication thanks to a complete language barrier and the absence of familiar symbology compounded the near impossibility of conveying any theological tenets into not only a foreign language, but also an alien culture. Moreover, the insecurity of life in early Maryland and the general mistrust between Europeans and Native Americans minimized sustained contact with native tribes and strained relations between Jesuit priests and English colonists. And yet, this multiplicity of severe obstacles rather encouraged than deterred the excitement of young, hopeful missionaries.

Since the Spanish began settling the West Indies and South America, the New World held great appeal for would-be missionary priests. By the mid-seventeenth century, the opportunity to serve in British lands promised double the reward for religious redemption. In 1640 and 1641, at

least seventeen Jesuit priests in Europe wrote to Rome, asking for an assignment in the new Province of Maryland.⁶² They shared similar themes of excitement at the prospect of a new mission and disregard for their bodily comfort and safety. In his application to serve Maryland, Welsh Jesuit, Christopher Morris, wrote, “the ardent zeal and earnest desire of concurring to the conversion of those poore Indians of Maryland…stirred up in me a confidence that no employment whatsoever, is like to prove an obstacle.”⁶³ Jesuit Francis Parker recognized the dangers and toils of a life in Maryland, but nevertheless professed, “betwixt sweete Jesus and my self, I have soe clearly solved… all…objections, of a hard journey, want of all humane comfort, paynes to be necessarily undergone in the gayninge of soules, continuall hazard of lyfe.”⁶⁴ All who applied shared a zeal for “reducing…soules so deare to Christ our Lord.”⁶⁵ Maryland promised a wilderness of souls waiting to see Christ’s light and dedicate themselves to the Kingdom of God. It seemed, at first, that all this zeal and sacrifice would succeed in Christianizing the New World.

In 1639, the Piscataway Tayac, or head chief, Kittamaquund, and his brother and predecessor, Uwanno, each experienced dreams that encouraged them to welcome Jesuit priests and their Christian God. Uwanno dreamed of Andrew White and Thomas Gervase so vividly that he recognized them upon their first encounter while Kittamaquund dreamed of the divine, accompanied by both an English heretic—meaning a Protestant—and Father White. These dreams won White an audience with the Tayac and permission to live among the tribe beginning in June, 1639.⁶⁶ When he cured Kittamaquund of an illness shortly thereafter, he effecte

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⁶² Curran,Spirituality, 55-60.
⁶¹ Ibid, 57.
⁶⁴ Ibid, 56.
⁶⁵ MHS, MS 2018 vol.1.
⁶⁶ Curran,Spirituality, 64.
chief's conversion and baptized him, his wife and his daughters. Alongside the Tayac's spiritual conversion came also a change in his lifestyle. According to the 1639 Annual Report of the Jesuits, Kittamaquund "exchanged the skins, with which he was heretofore clothed, for a garment made in our fashion…put away his concubines…abstains from meat on the days, in which it is forbidden by the Christian laws…[and] greatly delights in spiritual conversation."67

With the Piscataway Tayac leading the charge toward Christianity, White and his fellow Jesuits allowed themselves to feel hope for the universal success of their mission. That success continued to increase with the conversions of a Nacotchtank King and Patuxent princess in the early 1640s.68

From the beginning, however, Jesuits struggled to stabilize their mission. Of the first twelve Jesuits who arrived in Maryland, eight died quickly by violence or disease and only Andrew White and Thomas Copley, who would become Superior, survived more than two years in the harsh colony. This was dire given that they averaged only three or four priests in the early years, who then divided themselves between the Piscataway, Patuxent and Nacotchtank tribes as well as the English settlers.69 While White did acquire a semi-permanent residence among the Piscataway, he grappled with his first bout of illness as early as 1641.70 The following year, a violent raid on English plantations by men from the Susquehannock tribe heavily damaged native missions.71 This came three years after men from the same tribe had murdered "a man from this colony, who had gone among them for the sake of trade."72

Although the Susquehannock were enemies of the three tribes to which the Jesuits catered, their violence,

67 Ibid, 64.
68 Ibid, 66-69.
69 MPA box 5, folder 10. The Nacotchtank are the Anglicized Anacostia. They are thought to have shared a language with the Piscataway.
70 Curran, Spirituality, 68.
71 Ibid, 69.
72 Ibid, 62.
along with colonial expansion, created tensions between the English and all native tribes, causing Anglo-indigenous relations to deteriorate.\textsuperscript{73} The violence of the Susquehannock also endangered the lives of the Jesuits who moved among the Piscataway, Patuxent and Nacotchtank tribes as well as St. Mary's City. For their safety, priests began to conduct their native missions through physically grueling excursions that both adversely affected their health and decreased the amount of time spent with new and future converts, an invaluable resource in such a physically and intellectually challenging mission.\textsuperscript{74}

The description of these excursions in the 1642 Annual Letter presents a harrowing reminder of the extreme physical conditions that priests endured for the sake of their mission. On each excursion, two priests and an interpreter sailed in a small boat until nightfall, by which time they hoped to reach either an English house or a Native American village. If not, one priest would moor the boat and collect wood for a fire while the other two hunted for provisions after a full day of sailing. If they failed in the hunt, they could dip into their meager provisions and if it rained, they erected a makeshift "hut" covered by a large mat. All of this corporeal distress they endured until they reached their mission site, where they encountered disease, suspicion and what ultimately proved to be an insurmountable language barrier, despite efforts to learn the local tongue.\textsuperscript{75} Nevertheless, priest Ferdinand Pulton, like many of his brothers, found power in suffering as proof of extraordinary "divine majesty." He viewed these challenges as an opportunity for the mission to expand, admonishing others to "let no such thoughts sap the

\textsuperscript{73} The colonists’ relations with the Susquehannock in particular only worsened. They reached their height in the late-1660s and 1670s, when violence from the tribe reached its peak. Col. Nicolls to the General Court at Boston, July 30, 1668, TNA, CO 1/23/30; Governor William Berkeley to Thomas Ludwell, April 1, 1676, TNA, CO 1/36/37; Governor Thomas Notley, January 22, 1677, TNA, CO 1/39/10; Governor Notley’s Commission to Colonel Henry Coursey, April 30, 1677, TNA, CO 1/40/56; Sir Edmund Andros to William Blathwayt, September 16, 1678, TNA, CO 1/42/124.

\textsuperscript{74} Curran, \textit{Spirituality}, 69.

\textsuperscript{75} Ibid, 69.
courage of any one, but rather increase and strengthen it, since God has now taken us under his protection to provide for us himself."76 In such peril, survival surely reflected divine intervention.

Unfortunately, providential approval on its own could not guarantee missionary success in the face of so many battling opponents. Pragmatically, Jesuits struggled to conduct a successful native mission from their seat in St. Mary’s City. Between 1634 and 1689, the number of priests, who split their time between their English and indigenous parishes dispersed across large swaths of land, never exceeded nine and usually hovered around four or five.77 While this may have sufficed had they earned financial support from the colonists, they instead had to provide for themselves. Whereas Jesuits submitted to ecclesiastical authority and so viewed themselves as outside the jurisdiction of local governments, Lord Baltimore viewed Maryland’s Jesuits as no different from the other gentlemen who settled there.78 As landowners of plantations at St. Inigoes and Newtown in St. Mary’s County, they shared the same responsibilities as their lay neighbors, including sitting on colonial assembly, an inconvenience that distracted them from their religious vocation.79 Engaging with indigenous tribes required a substantial time commitment: they were widely dispersed and priests had to gain a rudimentary familiarity with their language and customs before they could begin to convert and baptize. Thus, the requirement to attend assembly meetings and to support themselves financially through plantation labor—though conducted by indentured servants and, by the end of the century,
slaves—greatly diminished the resources that they could dedicate toward the native mission and required at least one priest or lay brother to maintain permanent residence at their plantations.

By 1650, a full-fledged mission to Maryland’s indigenous tribes proved untenable.\textsuperscript{80} Disease, lack of manpower and conflicts between those tribes desirous of Jesuit ministry and both the Susquehannock and the English rendered prolonged missionary work nearly impossible. Coupled with the Ingle-Claiborne rebellion in 1645, which derailed Catholic efforts in colonial Maryland completely for three years, the Jesuits’ indigenous mission collapsed, leaving only an apostolate of colonial English Catholics. This was a huge blow to the Jesuits. In their capacity as agents of conversion, most of the young Jesuits eager to receive an assignment in Maryland saw only the potential to convert natives. Upon hearing of Rome’s esteem for the Maryland mission in 1640, Jesuit John Cooper wrote that the news “caused such comfort and joy in my heart, that I was inforced to use no small indeavour to keep it from breaking forth to others; for I conceived…that there was now hope of compassing my desires in helping to reduce such barbarous people to the knowledge of one God, and the true faith of Christ.”\textsuperscript{81} However, his apprehension about catechizing Maryland’s English settlers matched his excitement to convert natives, as he declared, “my meane parts and small sufficiency will not, as I imagen, prove so beneficiall to Europeans as to the Barbarians, these of Europe requiring more learning than I for my part professe to have.”\textsuperscript{82} Ministering to existing Catholics—most of whom had received substantial education in England already as they often came from wealthy Catholic houses—proved a more daunting and less exciting task than converting natives shrouded in ignorance to the tenets of Christianity.

\textsuperscript{80} Curran, \textit{Spirituality}, 10.
\textsuperscript{81} Correspondence of John Cooper, 1640, MHS, MS 2018 vol.1.
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid.
Nevertheless, given the limited number of Catholic confessors in the New World, Jesuits also worked as parish priests, serving their communicants from their plantations at St. Inigoes and Newtown. In spite of his intense fascination with Native Americans, Andrew White also recognized the need for spiritual directors among Maryland’s English population and declared that the most important goal of the Jesuits in their new province was "not to think so much of planting fruits and trees in a land so fruitful, as of sowing the seeds of Religion and piety." He viewed this as "a design worthy of Christians, worthy of angels, worthy of Englishmen." Like the Scottish priests who returned to their homes to catechize their neighbors, these Jesuits also bore responsibility for the salvation of Maryland’s Catholics. The author of the 1638 Annual Letter reported, "as for the Catholics, the attendance on the sacraments here is so large, that it is not greater among the faithful in Europe in proportion to their respective numbers." He continued to say that priests successfully taught catechism to the illiterate, held "catechetical lectures" every Sunday, gave sermons each feast day, led some men through the Spiritual Exercises, and, crucially, converted many of Maryland's Protestants. However exaggerated, it is clear that the Jesuits worked with Maryland's English Catholics from the beginning. In 1640, Jesuit Superior, Thomas Copley, desired a station among the Piscataway, but was forced to live and work among the settlers at St. Mary's, where, "thanks to his industry," many were "brought back into the bosom of the church from heretical depravity" at the same time as "many Indians [were] being baptized." In the early years of settlement, the Jesuits had no choice but to run two missions. Often, they focused the most interesting tales in their Annual Reports on Native

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83 Curran has called their plantations “liturgical centers for…Catholics” in colonial Maryland. Jesuits also traveled monthly by horseback and boat to visit those who lived too far from the plantation at St. Inigoes Curran, Spirituality, 11.
84 White, Narrative.
85 Curran, Spirituality, 62-63.
86 Ibid, 66.
Americans in order to document their progress and encourage more priests to go to Maryland. However, they also shared stories of Protestant conversion. The year 1640 saw two significant events in the progress of Catholicism in Maryland, "one manifesting the divine mercy, and the other the divine justice." Both concerned Protestant men who explored the possibility of converting to Catholicism. One saw his house burning down from a distance and called to his neighbors to help him, but all but two refused, presumably because of his religious uncertainty. Despite the lack of manpower to extinguish the fire and despite the fact that his house was built entirely of wooden logs, the fire did very little damage. Rather than deterring him from conversion, the man interpreted the preservation of his home as a sign of God's endorsement and so immediately converted.

Nothing about this story is unusual, but rather follows a pattern of potential tragedy thwarted by divine intervention that reveals God's pleasure. The parallel story of "divine justice" functioned as the complete inverse of this trope, in which God inflicted hardship as punishment for some slight against the divine. After a long period of consideration, the second man decided not to convert to Catholicism, but instead "reverted back to his old ways." He had taken the prospect of conversion seriously, however, as he had acquired a rosary for himself. After rejecting Catholicism, he ground the beads of his rosary into a powder, "which he mixed with tobacco for his pipe, and often joked that in a way he had swallowed his Ave Maris (for so he called his rosary)." Just under a year later, this "ribald and sacrilegious" man was bathing in the river when a giant fish "suddenly seized the wretched man" and ate a massive chunk of his thigh; that wound ultimately killed him in a spectacular flourish of divine vengeance. These

87 Ibid.
88 Ibid.
89 Ibid.
deceptively simple stories revealed a great deal about the unique context of a mission to a Catholic-tolerant province within a Protestant empire. Both anecdotes foregrounded English, rather than "heathen" protagonists. The second man who deserved divine retribution, mixed his rosary powder with tobacco, a New World commodity, and was killed by a mysterious giant fish native to that same world. These small literary tropes distinguished the Maryland mission from others, perhaps in a bid to entice more missionary priests with a curiosity about the mysteries of this new physical and spiritual wilderness. They also demonstrated the existence of God in the New World. It was not the priests, but the divine, who decided salvation and punishment, affirming his interest in a place so far from Europe. The mere existence of these reports also speaks to the enduring links between Maryland and Europe, not only with England but also with the Continent. Maryland's Jesuits sent these reports to Rome as updates on their progress and as propagandistic tools to recruit young missionary priests, all of whom received an education in Catholic Europe. They also funneled young men and women from Maryland back to Catholic institutions in Europe where they could pursue more formal and more permanent religious vocations. Finally, they facilitated the exchange and importation of objects necessary to Catholic devotion.

On this last point, the story of divine retribution carries profound significance. The tale of the man ingesting smoke from his rosary first establishes the presence of such objects in Maryland. It must have been relatively easy to acquire a rosary, as this man possessed one before even converting to Catholicism. But the curiosity of this story lies not in the rosary’s presence, but in its destruction. Andrew Spicer has noted that "it was this sanctity [of Catholic devotional objects] that iconoclasts and other Catholic opponents sought to counteract through
desecrating them, or profaning them through secular use." While this man acted within a larger tradition aimed at the dismantling of Catholic sanctity through the destruction of religious objects, his bizarre act says something greater about the intersection between spirituality and materiality. By crushing the beads and treating them in such a pointed display of sacrilege, the failed convert not only rejected his flirtation with Catholicism, but condemned its inherent ritualistic identity. At the same time, his act highlights the extreme materiality of Catholic devotion. Rather than expressing his decision not to enter the Church of Rome through speech or print, rather than dismantling the theological premises of that religion, he instead chose to manifest his opposition through a physical act of material destruction. Surely, part of this was driven by a penchant for spectacle and iconoclasm, but it also reflected the necessarily physical nature of Catholicism. Without object and ritual, Catholicism loses its essence. Even in the New World, tangibility, ritual and space were instrumental in the expression of Catholic devotion and in its rejection. The man did not stop at simply destroying the rosary, but proceeded to smoke it in his pipe. One must wonder, then, whether his ingestion of the powdered rosary, intended as a denial of Catholicism, did not fill him with the divine grace sought by the very act of praying the beads.

**Chapels and Chalices: Spaces and Rituals of Devotion**

If Catholicism requires priests and objects, it also functions within a particular space that drives devotion. As elsewhere, Maryland’s priests constructed their catechetical project around the functions and locations of devotional spaces. Father White’s Native American hut-turned-chapel stood at St. Mary’s City town center, but was quickly replaced by a wooden chapel built

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at the southeastern edge of town. Burned down in 1645, the Jesuits rebuilt a more permanent brick chapel in 1667 that functioned as the center of Maryland Catholicism until 1704, when its doors permanently closed in compliance with orders of the new, anti-Catholic colonial regime.91

At the other end of the road, on the other side of the town near the river stood the state house. Equidistant between the two lay the bustling town center, the heart of the colony's social and commercial life.92 Thus, through city planning, Lord Baltimore and his men enshrined the separation of the spheres of religion and government, both intellectually and physically. They both carried equal weight, they both maintained an equal role in the life and functions of the colony and both physically and imaginatively stood as abutments, providing complementary forms of guidance, protection and security at opposite ends of town. Through their separation, they manifested Lord Baltimore’s resistance to the imposition of a state-driven program of confessional conformity. While the Lord Proprietor may have been eager in his Instructions not to offend the sentiments of Virginia’s Protestants by sending a Catholic envoy, he was less concerned with maintaining devotional discretion inside the boundaries of his colony. In addition to the imposing brick chapel, colonists built as many as eight Catholic chapels before 1689.93 In addition to chapels, Jesuits primarily used their plantations at St. Inigoes and Newtown as "liturgical centers" from which they conducted the Spiritual Exercises for committed laymen, administered sacraments and provided spiritual comfort.94 Parishioners and priests built their religion into the very foundations of Maryland’s structures.

91 A team of architects, archaeologists, historians, art historians and contractors have reconstructed the brick chapel, drawing from archival sources, archaeological deposits and contemporary Jesuit churches in Europe. “Reconstructing the Brick Chapel of 1667,” Historic St. Mary’s City, accessed November 22, 2019, https://www.hsmcdigshistory.org/pdf/Chapel-Reconstruction.pdf
92 The original state house and a reconstructed chapel stand at Historic St. Mary’s City today, where the visual impact of this city planning tool is self-evident. Their website also contains a helpful map of the settlement.
94 Curran, Spirituality, 11.
The evolution of the conceptualization of public, private and sacred spaces mirrored the political trajectory of England, Maryland and the British Empire and dictated the locus of spiritual growth in colonial Maryland. Each major political event in England—the Civil War, the Restoration, the Popish Plot and the Glorious Revolution—found its corollary in each colony. In Maryland, the colonial response to political unrest at home always manifested in religious terms. As a result, continued toleration was neither guaranteed nor secure. Even so, the relative of abundance of Catholic objects—given Maryland's physical remoteness from Europe and location within the British Empire—ensured the preservation of ritual and worship even amidst debates over worship and devotional spaces.

The inclusion of archaeological evidence adds color to the experience, both communal and individual, of colonial Catholics. The vast majority of objects found at St. Mary's City were small, easy to fit in a pocket or wear around the neck. Saints’ medals, crucifixes and rosary beads were all portable items designed to move with the individual wherever she went. As talismans and prayer guides, they provided an immediate and tangible connection to the Holy, whether a saint, the Virgin Mary or Jesus Christ. Their very materiality helped worshippers to transcend the physical realm without the intervention of a priest, without the requirement of a sacrament and outside spaces of institutionalized worship. Catholics easily incorporated medals into their daily devotion, thanks to their natural evolution from amulets and pilgrim badges in the medieval Christian world and commemorative medals in the civic realm.95 Like sacred images, medals were intended for display, though they were also meant to be worn from the neck, and functioned as prototypes of the saints they depicted, who could offer intercession between the

95 Ibid, 72.
devotee and the divine and protection from the demonic. They were and are more than talismans, but elements of spiritual well-being and aids to salvation. Similarly, colonists carried small crucifixes in their pockets or around their necks, which also served as daily reminders of their faith and offered a connection to the divine. Both of these objects offered comfort and protection for a passive believer. Conversely, the rosary required action. The rosary is a string of beads, each of which represents a prayer. A traditional rosary requires five rounds of ten Hail Marys (called decades), separated by the Lord’s Prayer. The beads help to guide the worshipper, who can immerse himself in his devotion without needing to count his prayers. Archaeologists in Maryland have recovered individual rosary beads as well as a palm rosary, a smaller version requiring fewer prayers and specifically designed to accommodate worshippers who lack the time, for whatever reason, to pray the full rosary. All of these items could have been owned and incorporated into daily devotional practices by any lay practitioner even in non-religious spaces.

Figure 3.3. Palm Rosary and Possible Rosary Bead Found at St. Mary’s City, Maryland

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97 Courtesy Historic St. Mary’s City.
So, too, could other commemorative objects that were less central to Catholic ritual, but significant nonetheless. These included the head of a white clay statue of the Virgin Mary and an apostle spoon of St. Andrew. A complete set of apostle spoons contained thirteen spoons whose handles depicted Jesus Christ (the Master spoon) and his twelve Apostles. They were a traditional baptism gift and could be gifted as a complete set or individually, depending on an

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98 Ibid.
99 Ibid.
100 Apostle spoons were made in sets of thirteen to represent the twelve apostles as well as either Christ or the Virgin Mary. “Apostle Spoon,” Historic St. Mary’s City, accessed November 22, 2019, https://hsmcdigshistory.org/research/collections/arts-n-facts-gallery/figures-cast-in-clay/; https://hsmcdigshistory.org/research/collections/arts-n-facts-gallery/apostle-spoon/
Whether this spoon of St. Andrew in St. Mary’s City arrived in Maryland as part of the inventory of a colonist traveling from England or was gifted at a colonial baptism, it reflects the continued observance of a long-standing tradition in the colonial context. Finally, the statue of the Virgin Mary reflects the transatlantic influence of the cult of Mary and implies the continuance of Marian devotions throughout the Catholic world. Unlike saints’ medals, crucifixes and the rosary, the clay statue and the apostle spoon were less likely to impart divine grace, though the statue at least could provide a bridge between the individual and the Holy Mother through proper veneration. These objects, though, emphasized symbolism and beauty over practicality and represent the higher level of luxury devotional goods that penetrated even a colonial market.

All of these objects suggest that worship in Maryland extended beyond interior spirituality and relied heavily on the inclusion of both salvific and symbolic objects. The catechistic and sacramental duties of the clergy were not enough to sustain the community of Catholics in Maryland, but were necessarily bolstered by the physical materials that connected them to the saints, to Mary and to God. Of course, this has always been true of all Catholics, but it is significant that these items were important enough to transport across the Atlantic and into English territory. Despite the economic challenges of life in Maryland and despite its isolation from the rest of the Catholic world, physical objects, ranging in value, remained integral to devotion and staples in Catholic colonial households.

Absent from this robust collection of artifacts signaling daily devotions are liturgical objects dedicated to sacramental use. Luckily, Historic St. Mary’s City is not the only institution that has preserved artifacts from seventeenth-century Maryland. A 1976 exhibit at Georgetown

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University featured items that illustrate the history of Maryland Catholicism, from the settlement at St. Mary's City into the nineteenth century. Several of those objects dating from the seventeenth century were integral to Catholic services, led largely by the Jesuit clergy. Mostly, they centered around the holy sacrament of the Eucharist, so crucial to Catholic doctrine, theology, salvation and devotion. They included a range of vessels, from a silver gilt ostensorium, used to house objects for display and veneration, including relics and, more likely in this context, the Eucharist, to a ciborium from 1710, which held the remaining consecrated Eucharist after the Mass in the tabernacle. Archaeologists also found five sets of chalice and paten, one made of pewter and four of silver. These served as the preeminent liturgical vessels in Catholic Mass. The chalice housed the wine, the blood of Christ, while the paten, a round dish, carried the Eucharistic bread before, during and after consecration. As such, they held the most sacred elements of the Mass, forged the strongest connection to God and Christ and facilitated the mystery of Transubstantiation, a cornerstone separating Catholic theology from Protestant. The pewter chalice and paten stands out for its inferior material as well as its production not in Europe, but in Maryland. Chalices and patens were to be made of gold or silver or, in circumstances of financial necessity, a tin mineral such as pewter that would resist rusting. This particular set was likely created in Maryland for priests who lacked adequate liturgical vessels to serve their large parish. In addition to services held at the chapels strewn throughout St. Mary's City, Jesuits, at least, also administered sacraments out of their plantations and traveled to distant parishioners in need. Whatever vessels were imported from Europe clearly failed to serve the entire Catholic population of colonial Maryland, necessitating the

102 The American Mission exhibit.
104 Spicer, Material Culture, 87.
creation of this cheaper vessel. Maryland Catholics, then, comprised a sprawling community that both retained ties to Catholic Europe and facilitated their own worship practices through their own, local, industry.

![Figure 3.6. Liturgical Vessels Found in Maryland](image)

The existence of all of these remnants of Catholic worship that cannot be found in textual archives are crucial to understanding the fabric of Maryland's Catholic community, woven by clergy and laity on both sides of the Atlantic. They did not practice a primitive version of Catholicism as Scottish Highlanders and West Indians did. Rather, they had access to a wide variety of devotional objects that aided rituals and performed sacerdotal functions. With the Jesuits as their leaders, they enjoyed catechism and received the sacraments. While the opportunity to attend services may not have been regular, due to the consistently low number of Jesuits and their interest in native conversion in the early years, it nevertheless existed in some capacity, as proven by the survival of these liturgical objects. Consequently, the Catholicism that Marylanders professed enjoyed a refinement not shared by any other lay community analyzed in this dissertation.

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105 *The American Mission* exhibit.
The Jesuits, however, did not hold a monopoly on Marylanders' expressions of faith, engagement with the international Roman Catholic Church or understanding of Catholic doctrine. Priests of other orders, including Franciscans and Benedictines, as well as seculars all called Maryland home and each espoused differently nuanced personal and political theologies. So, too, did those books in Philip Calvert's library, written by Vincent Canes, William Rushworth, Thomas Harding and Henry Holden. For the most part, this corpus of works preached moderation, rather than extremism and did not parrot Jesuit ideology over all others. In fact, none of the authors belonged to the Society of Jesus, but instead brought a diverse set of theological principles to their works. The only member of a religious order was Canes, a Franciscan friar associated with the monastery of St. Bonaventure in Douai. Canes espoused an accommodationist mindset, declaring himself a "friend to men of all Religions" on the title page of *Fiat Lux*. Rather than advocating a militant effort to reestablish Catholicism as the official religion in England, Canes instead pushed for a peaceful settlement resembling liberty of conscience that extended to Catholics as well as Protestants. In other words, his opposition to state regulation of private devotion aligned well with Cecil Calvert's. Rushworth, a mathematician and theologian, also favored a more moderate and rational approach to English Catholicism. He petitioned Rome to allow English Catholics to read devotional texts in the vernacular and campaigned for an English Bible that would allow for more transparent engagement with Scripture in his work aptly named, *Judgement of Common Sense*. Harding certainly struggled to vehemently champion Catholic theology and disparage Protestant ideals as

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106 Brückman, “Canes.”
107 Vincent Canes, *Fiat Lux, or A General Conduct to a Right Understanding and Charity in the Great Combustions and Broils about Religion here in England…* (1662).
he himself flirted with Protestantism, was viewed as a Protestant by his contemporaries during Edward VI's reign and even admitted to sympathizing with Melanchthon and Calvin, though he denied ever being a committed Protestant.\textsuperscript{109} His most famous literary controversy, included in Calvert's library, attacked his former classmate, John Jewel, with whom he argued over sacramental theology and private Mass, another concern central to English devotion and Maryland worship.\textsuperscript{110} Harding did not overlook the past abuses of the Church and took a more Erasmian approach, inspired by humanism and committed to reform from within the institution of the Church. Finally, Holden expressed the most extremist ideology, though his views cohered well with the project of toleration effected in Maryland. Influenced heavily by Gallican theology thanks to his time in Paris, Holden opposed the Jesuits, rejected the temporal authority of the papacy and encouraged English Catholics to take the Oath of Allegiance to their monarch.\textsuperscript{111} For Holden, devotion and politics occupied separate spheres. All of this serves to illustrate a way of envisioning an alternative view of Catholicism than that proffered by the Jesuits. In Maryland, Catholicism flourished not because the state body officially established the Catholic Church, but because it removed itself from the private devotion of its inhabitants, so long as they professed the Holy Trinity. It is not surprising, then, that advocates of peace and accommodation like Canes or proponents of political loyalty like Harding would appeal to Philip Calvert enough to appear on the shelves of his private library.

These texts serve as a window into the theological world of colonial Maryland. They espoused particular ideologies regarding the authority of the Church, its agents and its institutions and they represented one community of English Catholics across a century. Still, this

\textsuperscript{110} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{111} Bergin, “Holden.”
one window offers only a glimpse. When viewed alongside the objects that circulated in the colony and the conscientious allocation of space and place of worship, however, they add color to the emerging picture of colonial Catholicism. All of that, though, came under fire in 1689. Before then, the construction of the first three Catholic buildings in the British New World—White's hut-chapel, the original wood chapel and its brick replacement—proudly displayed Maryland and the Calverts' project of Christian freedom, enshrined by controversial spaces of Catholic worship. Following the Glorious Revolution, however, those pillars of toleration threatened the hegemony of the new Protestant regime that could not endorse obvious shows of Catholic devotion. Consequently, these public spaces gave way to private ones. Catholicism by no means disappeared from Maryland. Robert Emmett Curran argued that anti-Catholic legislation was hardly ever enforced with much vigor, though "there was still a psychological cost" of the revocation of toleration after 1689.¹¹² In reality, the severity of anti-Catholic legislation and sentiment in Maryland colony varied with each changing colonial government. It is true, though, that Catholics could no longer worship as openly and as freely as they had under the Calvert family and so they followed the lead of their English fathers and welcomed Catholicism into their homes. They erected private chapels and provided financial support to an increasingly itinerant and clandestine clergy. As the seventeenth century bled into the eighteenth, colonists found inspiration paradoxically in England of the previous two hundred years. Despite the restrictions of the post-1689 Penal Era, the legacy of toleration had a lasting, indelible mark on not only the colony of Maryland, but also the future United States.

Beyond 1689: From the Revocation of Toleration to America’s First Catholic Bishop

Outside of Georgetown University’s historic Healy Hall stands an imposing bronze statue, looming fourteen feet high over the students bustling through campus. It depicts a man dressed in a Jesuit cassock seated on a chair perched upon a pile of books. In his right hand, he clutches a book, closed except for where his finger marks a page. His head tilts slightly to the right and his pose mimics a man in thought, perhaps pondering by what he has just read. His pose, as well as his stack of books, takes inspiration from a similar statue found at Harvard of that University’s founder, Reformed minister, John Harvard. The statue at Georgetown, too, depicts its founder, John Carroll, and so the two stand as pillars of intellectual growth and spiritual development. Carroll’s legacy does not end at Georgetown, however. In addition to founding the prestigious university, he also served as the very first Catholic bishop and archbishop of the United States.

Despite the permanent end of toleration for colonial Catholics beginning in 1689, Catholics neither disappeared nor rejected their religion nor lost economic and political influence in Maryland. Instead, they changed their devotional practices, shifted their devotional spaces and continued to nourish their community, eventually producing America's first Catholic bishop, John Carroll. Part of this shift necessitated retirement from public spaces of worship and a greater reliance on private homes and personal patronage, following, with modification, the model of Catholic survival established in England and Scotland. In 1693, an arrest warrant was issued for Peter Sayer of Morgan’s Neck in Queen Anne’s county, lying north of St. Mary’s and across the Patuxent River. Sayer—the same man who would later bequeath one third of his estate to English Catholic institutions in Paris—was accused of harboring a Catholic priest.

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named Thomas Smith; a similar warrant circulated calling for Smith’s arrest.\textsuperscript{114} Sayer had served as a sheriff in Talbot county in 1687 and remained loyal to Baltimore during Coode’s Rebellion, corresponding with the Lord Proprietor to keep him apprised of events in 1689.\textsuperscript{115} Under the new regime, however, his Catholic allegiance became a threat to both his career and his freedom. The renewed language of priest harboring so familiar to the history of English Catholicism suggests that that religion assumed a similarly clandestine nature in Maryland in the wake of the Protestant Revolution. Priests hiding with laymen and women, relying on the benefaction of their communicants while running from the persistent ire of state officials—this is a familiar image to those who have studied Catholic missions to England and Scotland. And yet, that is not quite what Catholicism looked like in Maryland, even after 1689. Whereas pockets of Catholics in the British Isles centered around individual gentry homes in England and small gatherings of rural Scottish Catholics whose devotional practices were necessarily secretive and highly at risk, Maryland’s Catholics continued to enjoy a true community into the eighteenth century. The continuing legislative debates over the status of priests and priest harborers hints at an enduring priestly presence, which continued to include Jesuits, seculars, Franciscans and Benedictines. While Maryland’s Protestants may have opposed the explicit activities of these priests, they did not attempt to eradicate Catholicism with much vigor. Whether because of disinterest or difficulty, Protestant Marylanders failed to adequately regulate the activities of Catholics.

Catholics’ reliance on their clergy and the devotional books and objects that flooded into the colony in the middle decades of the seventeenth century depended upon their ability to worship openly and legally until 1689. Even after, though, they continued to worship as

\textsuperscript{114} Betancourt, \textit{Census}, MSA, SC 5906-5-1049.
\textsuperscript{115} Minutes of Council of Maryland, May 12, 1687, TNA, CO 5/739/98; Peter Sayer to Lord Baltimore, September, 1689, TNA, CO 5/718/46-47.
Catholics, just with more discretion. Following Coode's Rebellion, there existed in Maryland a profound slippage between the pronounced policies proclaimed from the political center and the lived reality that extended outward. Even at the center, discrepancies arose over religion. Laws passed that established, de-established and re-established the Church of England amid protests not only from Catholics, but more emphatically from Quakers. On the ground, a contingent of Protestant clergy was sent to Maryland, only to dwindle by the end of the century. At the same time, numbers of Catholics priests increased in the vacuum of religious authority in the mid-1690s. The Protestant Revolution in Maryland may have problematized the political standing of Catholics, but it did not expunge their faith.

In fact, while Catholics did not regain legal toleration until the American Revolution, they continued to represent about ten percent of Maryland’s population. When the Ark and Dove first arrived on St. Clement’s Island, they carried only about two hundred settlers; by 1700, at least thirty thousand colonists inhabited Maryland and by 1722 that number had grown to upward of forty-five thousand. At the same time, numbers of professed Catholics also increased, though slowly. According to a report from 1700 which counted the number of Catholics by county, 2,974 Catholics lived in Maryland, so about ten percent of the total population. A census compiled by Beatriz Betancourt in 1989 based on archival data contains far more entries of

116 Thomas Bray Club, ed., A Memorial Representing the Present Case of the Church in Mary-Land with Relation to its Establishment by Law, c.1700, Beinecke Library, 2010 +367.
117 Ibid.
118 MPA, box 5, folder 10. In 1693, 1696 and 1697, at least nine Jesuit priests were working in Maryland. No numbers were recorded in 1688, 1689, 1691 or 1692.
119 “Reverend Father Joseph,” a Jesuit priest writing in the nineteenth century, estimated that Cecil Calvert landed in Maryland with five Jesuits, including Andrew White, and two hundred settlers. Due to incomplete and unreliable census data, this number is difficult to calculate. However, in the first decades of the eighteenth century, population seems to have grown from around 30,000 to over 45,000. MPA, box 3, folder 7. For a discussion of census reports of Maryland from 1700-1712 and the challenges in using them, see Russell R. Menard, “Five Maryland Censuses, 1700 to 1712: A Note on the Quality of the Quantities,” The William and Mary Quarterly 37, no.4 (October, 1980): 616-626.
120 A List of the Number of Papists Inhabiting within the Severall Countys of this Province as Taken by the Respective Sheriffs, 1700, MHS, MS 737 vo.1, No.9.
Catholics in Maryland in the eighteenth century than in the seventeenth, so their numbers continued to grow in proportion to that of the rest of the population. For the most part, they failed to migrate north so that by the end of the seventeenth century, Catholics were dramatically unevenly concentrated in Maryland’s southernmost counties. Of nearly four hundred known Catholic individuals, both lay and clerical, between 1634 and 1699, over half lived in St. Mary’s County. This is no surprise. That county encompassed the first settlement of St. Mary’s City as well as the Jesuit communities at St. Mary’s City, Newtown and St. Inigoes. Moving farther north, fifty Catholics were recorded in Charles County, bordering to the northwest of St. Mary’s, and twenty-three to the next northern colony of Prince George’s. Betancourt’s census recorded nine Catholics each in Calvert and Anne Arundel counties. On the eastern bank of the Patuxent, the census noted nine Catholics in Talbot County (five of whom belonged to one family), four in Queen Anne’s (including Peter Sayer and his wife), three in Kent in 1697 only, two in Cecil County and one in Dorchester. Compared with over two hundred in St. Mary’s, there can be no doubt that the heart of the Catholic enterprise beat there. Certainly, this was true of the Jesuit mission to Maryland. Jesuit priest lists from the 1690s reveal a continuing mission: eight priests served in Maryland in 1690 and nine in 1693, 1696 and 1697. At least three of those, William Burley, John Hall and Anthony Lambreck, enjoyed sporadic residence at St. Inigoes Manor as late as 1726. Nevertheless, Maryland Catholicism was not confined exclusively to the southernmost county.

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121 Betancourt, Census, MSA, SC 5906-5-1049.
122 In addition to more than thirty Jesuits who worked in Maryland at some point between 1634 and 1699, there were also at least four secular priests, four Franciscans, one Benedictine and one Carthusian. At least two Franciscans worked as coadjutors to the Jesuits, meaning they likely worked in St. Mary’s County as well, though it is possible that those of other orders traveled more widely. Betancourt, Census, MSA, SC 5906-5-1049.
123 MPA, box 5, folder 10.
124 Betancourt, Census, MSA, SC 5906-5-1049.
The disproportionate dispersal of Catholics did not mean that only those in St. Mary’s City had access to the resources of their Church. Of the fifty priests recorded in Betancourt’s census and in the Maryland Province Archives for the seventeenth century, thirty definitely spent the majority of their time in St. Mary’s, while at least one worked in Charles County. The location of the remaining twenty or so remains unknown. While it is likely that some based themselves at one of the Jesuit manors in St. Mary’s County, other priests must have ventured farther afield. In Charles County, six people bequeathed money, tobacco or estates to Catholic priests, as did three in Queen Anne’s. In addition to betraying the locations of priests, Catholics’ wills also grant insight into their continued worship and devotional practices beyond the Glorious Revolution and the political and religious restructuring of Maryland colony.

That very same Peter Sayer who was suspected of priest harboring did, in fact, lead a Catholic life and may very well have aided Thomas Smith or other priests in life and certainly in death, bequeathing five pounds sterling to every priest in Maryland upon his death. Sayer was hardly unique in his patronage of European institutions. While no Catholics left Maryland to seek an education at Douai or St. Omer in the first three decades following Coode’s Rebellion, that changed in 1723, after which time young Catholic men and women flowed steadily from colonial Maryland to the colleges, monasteries and convents of Europe and vice versa.

In this regard, the community of Catholics in Maryland closely resembled that in England, with their ties to European communities of Catholic exiles and their patronage of the Catholic clergy. After 1689, that patronage became increasingly important to the survival of the largest Jesuit mission and hence, of Catholicism itself in Maryland. Whereas before Coode’s Rebellion

125 Ibid; MPA, boxes 3, 5.
126 Betancourt, Census, MSA, SC 5906-5-1049.
127 Ibid.
128 Curran, Spirituality, 13.
Jesuit priests were treated as other gentlemen and supported themselves through their own plantation labor rather than through almsgiving from their parishioners, they relied increasingly on the laity for support after 1689. While their manors at Newtown and St. Inigoes did not close, periods of increased suspicion of “papists” necessitated more discreet practices. That emerged in one form, through activities such as Sayer’s harboring of Thomas Smith, but also in the crystallization of a shared sense of community linked to religion. In other words, the persecution of the 1690s banded Catholics together. When one priest dared to “tamper” with one of Governor Seymour’s servants, Seymour chastised the Catholic community with little success. “When they are chequ’d for these abuses,” he lamented, “the whole party is in a flame, and ready to raise a considerable contribution for their Defence and protection.”

Seymour’s assertion described a conscious community that centered around the protection and patronage of their clergy.

That community also retained a devotional practice rooted in tangibility. An inventory taken after Sayer’s death in 1697 recorded a “chappell roome” on his estate filled with liturgical objects, including a chalice, tabernacle, crucifix and two small bells. These were not merely aids to personal daily devotion, but liturgical instruments of the Catholic Mass, supporting the supposition that Sayer harbored a priest. They also reflect a shift toward gatherings of groups of Catholics into private homes to hear Mass, as was the practice in England. Despite the implication of privacy, however, the Sayers were not entirely secretive in their worship. Peter’s wife, Frances Morgan Sayer, ordered the erection of a chapel over her husband’s grave, an indiscreet show of Catholicism. When she died a year later in 1698, she donated ten pounds sterling each to five different priests in Maryland, and bequeathed a third chapel on her

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129 Governor Seymour to Lord Sunderland, March 10, 1709, MHS, MS 737 vol.1.
Doncaster Town lands in Talbot County to Charles Blake and Richard Bennett.\textsuperscript{131} When Jacob Seth, another Catholic, bought the Sayers’ previous estate at Mount Mill in 1685, that, too, housed a separate chapel.\textsuperscript{132} The Sayers, then, were committed patrons of the Catholic Church through their financial support of individuals and institutions in Maryland and abroad and their facilitation of worship in chapels on their own private estates.

Peter and Frances Sayer were not alone in their enduring commitment to Catholicism. When Jacob Seth died, he requested a Catholic burial led by a priest and left three thousand pounds of tobacco “to [his] beloved Fathers, ye five priests.”\textsuperscript{133} Even as late as 1713, one Richard Marsham had “old church ornaments in this room” at his death.\textsuperscript{134} Moreover, Catholics continued not only to own, but to import devotional literature. In 1716, Peter Attwood, on behalf of “widow Jones at Elk Ridge” requested James Carroll to acquire several Catholic manuals, including a \textit{Manual Mass in Latin and English} and Francis de Sales’s \textit{Introduction to a Devout Life}.\textsuperscript{135} At that time, Carroll himself owned a \textit{Missale Romanum}, which contained prayers and hymns for the entire liturgical year, and a \textit{Manual of Prayers}.\textsuperscript{136} While access to tools of devotion may have grown more difficult following the Glorious Revolution, Maryland’s Catholics maintained a strong enough connection to the international network of British Catholics to sustain their religion despite heightened persecution.

While threats of penal legislation similar to that in England of the previous century proliferated, the reality was less severe. Well into the eighteenth century, Catholics continued to find political and economic opportunities and maintained great influence in colonial affairs and

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{131} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{132} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{133} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{134} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{135} MSA, SC 5906-6.
\textsuperscript{136} MSA SC 5906-5-69.
\end{flushleft}
commercial enterprises.\textsuperscript{137} The attempts to establish the Church of England and eradicate both Catholicism and Quakerism fluctuated greatly between the Glorious Revolution and the early eighteenth century, allowing time for Catholics to adjust their devotional structure and continue to worship alongside the stream of priests that continued to enter the colony. Outside of their worship, Catholics maintained plantations and gained status and influence as much as any others. Daniel Dulany, for example, arrived in Maryland as an Irish indentured servant. After completing his term of indenture, he purchased his own lands, cultivated a robust plantation, and grew to prominence as one of the colony's most respected attorneys. His son, also named Daniel, became a prominent politician and one of the staunchest opponents of the 1763 Stamp Act.\textsuperscript{138} The Carroll family also found their fortune after leaving Ireland for Maryland, beginning with Charles Carroll, the Settler. After receiving a Jesuit education at Lille and Douai, the Settler migrated to Maryland in 1688, just before the tide turned against Catholics. By the second decade of the eighteenth century, Carroll enjoyed a close correspondence with the Lords Baltimore, Benedict and Charles Calvert, and had earned respect from his neighbors and fellow gentlemen. His son, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, also pursued a Catholic education in Europe before returning to Maryland to grow his estates into a massively flourishing plantation, which eventually passed to Charles Carroll, the Barrister, who became a revolutionary figure alongside his relative, John Carroll, future Archbishop of Baltimore.\textsuperscript{139} The Settler's grandson, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, was the wealthiest and only Catholic signer of the American Declaration of Independence, and may have partially inspired the United States Constitution's First Amendment.

\textsuperscript{137} Curran, \textit{Spirituality}, 12.
\textsuperscript{138} Edward C. Papenfuse, “Dulany, Daniel (1685-1753),” \textit{Oxford Dictionary of National Biography} (September 23, 2004). Both Dulany and his son were prominent political figures. Their correspondence with the Lords Baltimore can be seen in \textit{Calvert Papers}, 101-116, 227.
\textsuperscript{139} For biographies of the Carrolls and a family tree, see Thomas O’Brien Hanley, ed., \textit{The John Carroll Papers} (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press), 1976.
As one of the most respected families in Maryland, the Carrolls intermarried with other Catholic families including the Darnalls and the Digges, both of whom also enjoyed prestige and fortune despite their religious persuasion.\textsuperscript{140} Thus, while at first glance, post-tolerant Maryland Catholicism loosely resembled the English model, the foundation of toleration upon which Maryland was built and the unique economic potential of the colonial plantation model ensured that Catholics continued to achieve power and prosperity.

Even so, the rigor with which Catholics practiced ebbed and flowed. By 1722, a new generation of Catholics came into adulthood that had never experienced total toleration. The restrictions placed upon Catholic devotion—more regular and more uniform in the third decade after the Glorious Revolution—accompanied a less rigorous religious commitment. Now, the harvest of food and tobacco—emblems of the vanities of a temporal world increasingly driven by commerce—superseded religious devotion. For some, that meant that conforming to the Church of England held greater appeal than remaining Catholic. In 1713, Benedict Leonard Calvert, 4th Baron Baltimore and grandson of Cecil Calvert, famously converted from Catholicism to Protestantism in a bid to restore Calvert control in Maryland. His move paid off and although he died shortly thereafter, his son, Charles, was restored as Proprietary Governor.\textsuperscript{141} Maryland was back under Calvert control for the first time since 1689, but this new regime was necessarily a Protestant one.

Even without conversion, however, the second quarter of the eighteenth century saw a dip in Maryland Catholics’ piety. In 1722, Maryland’s remaining Jesuits noted the increasing laxity with which the colony’s Catholics approached their devotion. Many chose to work on Sundays and holy days, despite the proscription against labor. In response to such “liberty,” considered

\begin{footnotes}
\item[140] Betancourt, \textit{Census}, MSA, SC 5906-5-1049.
\item[141] Sutto, \textit{Loyal Protestants}, 177.
\end{footnotes}
“very disedifying” and scandalous “to the more timorous, whose Consciences will not allow them the same liberty,” Maryland’s Jesuit missionaries drafted a series of regulations that outlined the restrictions on labor.\textsuperscript{142} They determined that no Catholic, including servants, should work on holy days except those “employed in the Crop” during harvest season, roughly May to September. Even during that season, no Catholic could work on Ascension Day, Whit Monday, Corpus Christi or Assumption Day except in case of a “very urgent necessity.” Moreover, even in cases where Catholics had no choice but to work to harvest crops, they were still required to hear Mass on all holy days.\textsuperscript{143} The Jesuits’ final point revealed most clearly the fabric of Catholicism in post-Catholic Maryland. In that event that a free Catholic could not attend Church on a Sunday or holy day, they were “advised to have publick prayers, Catechism, or some spiritual reading in their families, and procure all their servants & slaves to be present.”\textsuperscript{144} This allowance granted greater spiritual autonomy to individuals by vesting in them the authority to lead Catholic catechesis at times when they could not procure a priest. Priests still functioned as the center of Maryland Catholicism, but some of their functions could be replaced by devotional books to be read and prayers to be rehearsed. Growing populations, expansion into more northern counties, restrictions on Catholic worship and labor responsibilities of all landowners greatly altered the dynamic between priest and parishioner.\textsuperscript{145} Maryland’s Catholic community in 1722 resembled pastoral communities of rural Europe, for their submission of religious rituals to the very real demands of an agricultural lifestyle.\textsuperscript{146} They also

\textsuperscript{142} Regulations Concerning the Observance of Holydays in Maryland, MPA, box 3, folder 8. An approval of these regulations was signed on December 21, 1722, so these regulations were likely drafted shortly before that date.
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{144} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{145} By the 1720s, Catholics were moving farther north and settling outside of St. Mary’s County. Betancourt, Census, MSA, SC 5906-5-1049.
\textsuperscript{146} For more information about European pastoral religion and the implementation of post-Tridentine doctrine, see Delumeau, Catholicism; Peter Burke, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (Harper & Row, 1978); Carlo Ginzburg, The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller (Johns Hopkins University Press,
mirrored England’s Catholics much more than they had in the mid-seventeenth century, thanks to their increasing reliance on individuals who could hold meetings that resembled services in the domestic, rather than ecclesiastical, domain.

Of course, this did not entail the erasure of missionary work or the removal of confessors from Maryland's confessional identity. On September 8, 1758, Joseph Mosley, a Jesuit priest, wrote from Newtown, Maryland to his sister in England of his delight at serving the Maryland mission. He deemed Maryland "the happiest place in the world…for one of our calling" and declared than "no Prince in his Court can have more satisfaction and enjoy himself more, than I do in instructing those that are under my charge. I am daily on horseback, visiting the sick, comforting the infirm, strengthening the pusillanimous." Mosley did not stop at referencing Christ's sacrifice, but also looked to his Jesuit predecessors for example and inspiration. He wrote of his admiration for Francis Xavier, "the glory of our S[ociety], [who] trod in [Christ's] footsteps, in an immense field, where he was much yet needed, [and] died after ten years labor and fatigue" and for Edmund Campion, an early English Jesuit martyr, who "was cut off in the very first year of his great undertakings." These were men whose sacrifice of martyrdom inspired Mosley. "To be numbered amongst this glorious Company," he professed, "is beyond all my pretension…if I

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147 Curran, Spirituality, 102.
148 Ibid, 104.
149 Ibid, 104.
could follow them…[it] would be the very summit of all my zeal and ambition.”

Much like his brethren on the earliest Maryland missions who did not fear, but welcomed the physical hardships of colonial life, Mosley did not oppose, but embraced both labor and the threat of death for the benefit of his congregation.

Thanks to the commitment of priests like Mosley and laymen and laywomen like the Sayers, Catholicism sustained itself in Maryland far beyond the colonial era. In 1773, following the suppression of the Society of Jesus, a Jesuit priest named John Carroll returned from Europe to his native Maryland for the first time in twenty-six years. Disheartened by his experience at Rome during the fall of the Jesuits’ influence, but encouraged by the promise of salvation in Maryland, Carroll quickly became a leading confessor to Catholics in Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania. His renown earned him a place of religious prominence following the formation of the independent United States, which won him the first bishopric in the country, followed by the first archbishopric. In the face of resistance from the moment they landed on the shores of the Potomac River, Maryland Catholics never renounced their religion, but rather adapted it to suit their needs. The project of toleration that began as a radical divergence from the political norms of Europe later inspired prominent figures, including Carroll’s close colleague, Benjamin Franklin, and laid the foundation for the liberties that would come to define American identity.

**Conclusion**

In 2004, a mysterious package arrived at St. Cecilia’s Catholic Church in St. Mary’s City. Inside was a rectangular marble stone decorated with five Greek crosses and a small cut-out.

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150 Ibid, 104.
151 For information about Carroll’s life and a comprehensive collection of his correspondence, see Hanley, ed., *The John Carroll Papers.*
containing a holy relic. The stone was flat and small enough to transport, measuring 7.5 inches by 10 inches and dating to the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{152} Researchers, archaeologists and parishioners rejoiced at the finding. The altar stone from America's first Catholic chapel had returned home. Or, at least, that is what they hoped. Unfortunately, there is no way to prove whether this was the actual altar stone used at St. Inigo Manor or in the 1667 brick chapel at St. Mary's City, but it nevertheless retains its aura of historical, sacrosanct significance. Over one hundred miles north, another object has been linked to the founding Calvert family and colonial Catholicism. Inside the walls of the Sisters of Mercy house in northeast Baltimore, an institution of Catholic women dedicated to education and health care, lies a wooden tabernacle, donated to the Sisters by Maryland's second-most famous Catholic family, the Carrolls. Beautifully carved of juniper and mahogany and painted, at one time, in red and gold leaf, this is a beautiful tribute to the sacrament that it held, the Eucharist. This, too, is believed to have stood in the original brick chapel at St. Mary's City, having arrived in Maryland in the hands of the Calverts.\textsuperscript{153} Even if this altar stone and this tabernacle never resided in St. Mary's City's chapel, very similar objects did. By 2020, their actual, currently unknowable history falls second to the legends that accompany them, legends that imbue these objects with a particular legacy from the past that conveys the power of the Calverts and the endurance of their goal of Christian freedom, even as these objects traveled after their dislocation from a dismantled Catholic space. For many, they continue to embody the foundations of religious freedom upon which both Maryland and the United States were built. While imposing American ideals onto a distinctly English

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{152} Information can be found on all of the objects found at St. Mary’s City in various publications on the Historic St. Mary’s City website, found here: www.hsmcdighistory.org. For more information on the tabernacle and altar stone specifically, see “Reconstructing the Brick Chapel of 1667,” Historic St. Mary’s City, accessed November 22, 2019, https://www.hsmcdighistory.org/pdf/Chapel-Reconstruction.pdf  

\textsuperscript{153} Ibid.}
colony would be tenuous at best, these two objects embody the enduring linkage between Maryland's first settlement and American religion.

Figure 3.7. Tabernacle, Possibly from the Original Chapel at St. Mary's City, Maryland

![Tabernacle](image)

Figure 3.8. Altar Stone, Possibly from the Original Chapel at St. Mary's City, Maryland

![Altar Stone](image)

154 Courtesy Historic St. Mary’s City.
155 Ibid.
Joseph Mosley's avowals of spiritual fortitude in the face of death followed on an ancient tradition of the persecuted and one that he shared with the priests on the Scottish and earlier Maryland missions. By 1758, however, Mosley's mission looked far more similar to the former than the latter. Like in Scotland, Catholicism in Maryland was under penal legislation and Mosley's very existence as a priest automatically compromised his safety. Conversely, his predecessors in Maryland occupied an entirely unique space within the Anglophone world. For the six decades of Christian freedom in the seventeenth century, they led hundreds of Catholics through their individual and collective spiritual journeys and fostered a religious community that withstood even the revocation of their liberty. Through strong ties, both physical and textual, to the international network of European, English, Scottish and Irish Catholics and with the help of devotional tools, including books, medals, liturgical vessels and other objects, Maryland's colonial Catholics balanced competing influences from their various confessors and spiritual guides and embraced a method of worship rooted in theology, but adapted to the demands of colonial life, through the existence of accessible spaces of devotion and tools designed for portability and convenience. More than any other group of Catholics living on British soil, they benefitted from Catholic education and access to sacraments and sermons on a basis whose regularity mirrored that of most European Catholics. While North America presented its own unique challenges, they never thwarted the preservation of Catholic belief and practice in Maryland. After the Glorious Revolution and the end of legal toleration for non-Protestants, Catholicism in Maryland assumed a new form that married elements of European and English Catholicism thanks to the unique fusion of opportunity and limitation. Even in Maryland, where an earnest commitment to post-Tridentine doctrine had once determined the essence of
Catholicism, priests and laypeople made adaptations to accommodate their religious practices to the unique needs of the community, rather than the reverse. In near direct opposition were their southern neighbors in the West Indies, who faced environmental extremes unseen in any other part of the British Atlantic as well as an almost complete lack of theological education or sacramental access. The next chapter will follow their story.
Chapter 4: Absence and Survival in the British West Indies

In current and former British Caribbean islands, the linguistic residue of English, Scottish and Irish heritage clings to towns, cities and villages. Kinsale, Bog Town, Ulster Spring, Codrington, Barclays Park, Bannanyne, Sligoville and so many more pepper maps alongside names of geographical distinction, such as Bridgetown, Seaview Farm and Above Rocks. Seeped into the soil and etched into street signs hide clues of a messy heritage at once obscured and glaring, both embraced and shunned. All over the Caribbean, dual European and African heritage birthed a distinct culture characterized by fusion of language, custom and religion most dramatically displayed at the Carnivals celebrated across the region. While each island injects its own flare into its celebrations, the most unexpected festival occurs on the tiny island of Montserrat.

Today, Montserrat is a sparsely inhabited island with fewer tourists than any other Caribbean island, as a consequence of the destruction wrought by the devastating eruption of the Soufrière Hills volcano in 1995. It has always had a unique heritage. By the end of the seventeenth century, the tiny island, part of the conglomerate of the Leeward Islands, was entirely overrun by Irish Catholics. They had first populated the island as indentured servants and as freed servants who left the island of St. Kitts, searching for wealth and land. By 1678, as much as half of the island's population was Irish and over a quarter enslaved Africans.1 Today, Montserratians celebrate their unique heritage during one of their several annual festivals. In mid-March, they host a ten-day festival to commemorate a failed uprising staged on St. Patrick's Day in 1768, when enslaved people knew their masters would be distracted by celebrations and dulled by drink. The uprising, however, was foiled and its leader, Cudjoe, was executed along

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1 Governor Stapleton to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, June 29, 1678, TNA, CO 1/42/98; Journal of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, August 27, 1678, TNA, CO 153/2/314-320.
with eight other slaves. Today, the St. Patrick's Day festival remembers that uprising and the island's conflicted past. It begins with a torch lighting ceremony at Cudjoe Head—a village named after the 1768 rebellion's leader—before continuing south to Salem for the official commencement of the festival, followed by a pub night. For the next ten days, the festival brings revelers on a cultural, musical and gastronomical journey up and down the west coast of the island, from Garibaldi Hill north to Moose's Point (only a seven mile stretch). Locals wear West African masks and shamrock sunglasses as they don "Kiss Me I'm Irish" tee shirts or the National Dress, which itself embodies the colonial heritage of the island: Indian madras in green, gold and black, the colors of West Africa and Ireland. They dance to reggae and to steel drums and to soca as they sip on Guinness and Heineken and rum punch. They call the festival a celebration of their patron saint, Patrick, but every event commemorates the failed uprising and indelible memory of slavery that so shaped the island's biography. It reflects a cultural fusion, of African and of Irish, but it also does more. By focusing the celebration most heavily on a moment of resistance to white power, but commemorating that on the day of a Christian saint, Montserratians refuse to acquiesce to a white, Christian primacy and reclaim this day and their space as an opportunity to both remember and honor their storied past.

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In the Spring of 1701, Colonel Edward Fox traveled around the Leeward Islands to judge the political and social temperament of the inhabitants in the West Indian island chain. In his assessment to the Council of Trade and Plantations, he noted his surprise at the number of Irish Catholics on the small island of Montserrat and concern for their political loyalty. The Irish, he reported, outnumbered Protestants twenty to one and “daily grow thicker.” He feared that “as soon as they’ll find an opportunity (I mean the Papists there, who would soon overpower the
others) to deliver the Island into the hands of the French, or any of their Popish confederates” that they would overthrow and surrender the island in order to rebel against England’s Crown and Empire. How, exactly, had Irish Catholics managed not only to form a community in the distant West Indian island, but to wield so much power? In a region subject to environmental disaster and home to four rival imperial powers, how did those Catholics understand, practice and preserve their religion? Across the British Empire in the seventeenth century, what did it mean to be Catholic?

The correspondence of priests serving the Scottish and Maryland missions and the physical artifacts that they and their communicants left behind have illuminated some aspects of their lives, particularly regarding their interactions with Catholicism in times of both liberty and persecution. This written and artifactual historical record has preserved their voices for posterity, even if sometimes faint or muddled. The preceding three chapters have sought to return those voices to scholarly conversations about empire, migration and religion. The evidence brought together in this final chapter, however, poses the greatest difficulty for historians. In the West Indies, where most Catholics grappled with illiteracy and animosity from their neighbors to a greater extent even than in the British Isles, their voices have largely been silenced by the archive, both written and physical. More than any other group, these Catholics must be accessed through the fears and anxieties of the Protestants they encountered. Often, the "papists” of the West Indian islands appear as one homogenous, undifferentiated mass of individuals whose names, histories and even genuine religious commitments have been obscured by time and by sources. They existed rhetorically only as an oppositional force, feared for their potential to collude with French and Spanish Catholics and with enslaved people. They emerge in the

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2 Colonel Jory to the Council of Trade and Plantations, October 13, 1701, TNA, CO 152/4/54.
archives through conversations about war and violence, through fears of population scarcity amid environmental and human threats, through the development of racial hierarchies and through political, polemical and physical battles with Catholics of other empires. Rhetorically, the categories of Irish, Catholic and servant collapsed into each other, rendering distinctions between them almost impossible. One often stood in for the other to create a linguistic system in which race, religion and vocation all aligned to create a separate and inferior space in which Irish and Catholics resided. While most of the Irish who found themselves in servitude in the Caribbean likely were Catholic, this nevertheless leaves their devotional practices, beliefs and engagement with each other largely to the imagination of the historian. And yet, behind the prejudices and underneath the fears of the Protestants who mediated the sources available on West Indian British Catholics, small grains of truth emerge that, when cobbled together, illuminate some realities of these individuals’ lives. In the absence of sources in the voices of Catholics themselves, we must read through the biases of a Protestant archive.

Few historians have grappled with the space of Irish Catholics in the seventeenth-century English Caribbean. Jenny Shaw's work, however, stands as the glowing exception. While focusing primarily on the emergence of a racial discourse in which the Irish occupied a notably ambiguous space, Shaw placed this discussion within a broader framework of encounter and opposition. “Difference,” she argued, “encompasses the myriad cultural and ethnic markers that individuals used to understand what made themselves similar to, or distinct from, one another. Such distinctions…were employed to indicate social status and to create and enforce hierarchies of power.”

3 Shaw, Everyday Life, 2. In response to a growing field of Atlantic history dominated by Eurocentrism, John Thornton has led the charge to give equal emphasis in historical analysis to the cultures, beliefs and actions of Africans both in Africa and the New World when considering the Atlantic region in the Early Modern period. Rejecting the idea of passivity among Africans or inferiority of their structures and institutions, he places Africans
assured. While Shaw and I have engaged with many of the same sources and asked similar questions of the inherent biases of Protestants engaging in a process of ethnic and religious othering, we have found significance in meaningfully different areas of interest. Both of us are deeply invested in the ways in which both the powerful and the marginalized understood and interrogated their positions of difference. My motivations lie in accessing the spiritual realities and priorities of Catholics and the ability for Catholic beliefs to simmer in a place of extreme absence. Shaw, by contrast, masterfully illuminates the profound ways in which all actors in the Early Modern English Caribbean—English planters, Irish Catholics and enslaved and freed Africans—engaged in processes of othering. For Shaw, these sources speak to difference, both constructed and rejected. For me, they speak to absence, adaptation and resilience. For both of us, they stand as walls standing between us, the historians, and them, the marginalized. But we have both worked hard to find cracks in these walls by looking beyond and within the silences of the archives. I see my work as harmonious with Shaw's and am greatly indebted to her frameworks for bolstering and reinforcing my own thinking through and around Protestant sources in order to access the lived experiences of the Caribbean's British Catholics.

The Irish have been part of white racial discourses since the nineteenth century. In his seminal work, *How the Irish Became White*, Noel Ignatiev explored the evolution of the Irish from a position of inferiority, oppressed by their racially superior British rulers, to one of dominance, as they emigrated to the United States where they found acceptance, power and a racial structure based on skin color above all else.\(^4\) Ignatiev began his study in the eighteenth century, when the Irish suffered under the Penal Laws that ignited forced conversions and

migration into the British Atlantic. Long before the Penal Era, however, the Irish had already faced widespread discrimination and oppression. What it meant to be white and the liminal space that the Irish occupied within that racial design began well before Ignatiev’s book. In the West Indies a century before the Penal Laws were implemented, the Irish—nearly always assumed by their contemporaries to be papists—confronted a social hierarchy increasingly founded upon a racial order that placed white Englishmen at the top and black slaves at the bottom.⁵ No clear or stable tier existed, however, for the Irish. While they were included among calculations of white populations in formal and informal census reports in the 1670s, 1680s and 1690s, they did not enjoy the same rights, freedoms or acceptance as English Protestants. Instead, Anglo Protestants often subjugated the Irish literally through systems of labor and rhetorically through their expressions of fear.⁶ The Protestant planter elite everywhere in the British West Indies feared uprisings staged by a coalition of opponents to their power. All those who failed to conform—specifically enslaved blacks and Irish Catholics—were deemed a universal threat to the Crown and Church of England and, consequently, the enemy.

In the West Indies, race, religion and labor were intimately intertwined. Many Irish men and women migrated to the West Indies because of the destitution they faced at home. Whether voluntary or forced, Irish migration to the Caribbean introduced an illiterate, uneducated, poor contingent of indentured laborers who overwhelmingly identified as Catholic. Unlike the Catholics who settled in Maryland, these men and women did not bring with them Bibles, books

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⁵ Jenny Shaw has done extensive work on this, analyzing difference and otherness, particularly relating to race and slavery, among English, Irish and African inhabitants of the West Indies. Shaw, Everyday Life.

or priests. They understood little of the high theological tenets of their religion and had few opportunities to cultivate their faith, formally or informally, once they arrived in the islands. Their worship was marked by absence: absence of knowledge, absence of devotional and liturgical objects, absence of priests, community and, most importantly, sacraments. At the edge of the known world, pushed to the extreme, what did a sacramental religion look like without sacraments? Sacraments function as a holy sign of God's grace and require specific materials, incantations and rituals that cannot be removed or replaced.\(^7\) They, like the Church that dispenses them, require a specific, visible, communal devotional space, in opposition to the possibility for a "hidden Church" in Protestant traditions.\(^8\) When any of these aspects are changed or absent, the validity of the sign and the sanctity of sacraments are jeopardized.\(^9\) For Catholics, the sacraments have always been necessary to salvation because "through them, the faithful are incorporated into Christ's saving mission."\(^10\) In order to belong to the international Roman Catholic Church, Catholics, even in the British West Indies, had to find ways to access sacraments discreetly, whenever possible, and uphold their religion in the face of spiritual privation.

The first sections of this chapter will set out the profound sacramental, theological and devotional absence in the West Indies, due to lack of community because of forced migration, lack of opportunity due to extreme labor conditions, lack of knowledge due to their educational backgrounds and lack of access due to population dearth, which restricted access to priests. These sections will explore the ways in which Catholics were central to the functioning and

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\(^8\) Ibid, 87.


\(^10\) Ibid, 94.
survival of the West Indies, while being relegated to spaces of not only religious, but also racial
inferiority that complicated the already dire situation for the islands’ Catholics. However, they
did not meet complete failure or complete absence. The final section will explore the emergence
from the shadows into the daylight, in the short time following James II’s Declaration of
Indulgence, of two communities of Catholics in Jamaica and Barbados. Both comprised largely
illiterate, uneducated, poor Irish servants and freemen who transplanted their religious beliefs
and rituals to the New World on their journey across the Atlantic Ocean. Only through access to
foreign priests and then through King James II’s grant of toleration could they fully access the
Catholic world through their interactions with each other and with French and Spanish clergy.
The imperial fluidity that marked the Caribbean exclusively allowed for the survival of
Catholicism in English islands, thanks to the ease of movement of all individuals, including
priests. Only in this context did Catholicism survive clandestinely. Moreover, the short, but
important, two years of toleration in 1687 and 1688 allowed for the expansion of that religion
and its inheritance by the next generation of Caribbean Catholics.

**Demography, Diversity and Division in the West Indies**

More than anywhere else in the Atlantic world, the West Indies were a place of treachery
and danger where the possibility for economic success through the cultivation of sugar crops and
technologies demanded sacrifice. Small islands that closely neighbored other imperial territories
caused persistent problems of defense while the waters that both separated and connected them
became increasingly difficult to regulate and traverse. Exacerbating the ever-present threat of
enemy ships, agents and pirates was Mother Nature. Any agricultural enterprise risks damage
and destruction from crop failure and disease, but those factors were heightened by an extreme
climate that brought hurricanes and mosquitos. In the face of these many obstacles, colonial
governments prioritized security and growth above all else. While settlers in Massachusetts Bay
Colony and Maryland foregrounded a certain kind of society rooted in religious ideology, those
who ran the West Indies, at least in the early decades, begged for men and then families to
populate their plantations, kick-start population and agricultural growth and defend their islands.
As a result, the Caribbean, by the 1680s, was characterized by socio-economically, racially and
religiously diverse societies. Difficulties imposing any form of extreme social regulation
allowed Catholics to exist relatively unbothered in most islands. However, harsh realities of
island life also severely restricted their access to objects, books, priests and spaces of devotion.

*Planting the West Indies*

Situated at the confluence of the Dutch, Spanish and French Empires and subject to
environmental volatility, British West Indians struggled to establish strong and stable societies
along the Caribbean frontier. The first few decades of colonial growth in the islands, from the
1630s to the 1670s, saw the development of small settlements struggling to survive rather than
much significant growth or expansion. Settlers contended with other imperial forces, dangerous
waters, natural disasters, disease and a harsh climate.¹¹ By the mid-century, they had only just
begun to master the storms—figurative and literal—that the Caribbean bore down upon them.
Unsurprisingly, the extremes of the Caribbean earned the West Indies a less than desirable
reputation and wealthy planters and the governing elite often retired to Carolina or other colonies

and sent their children for education abroad. In order to combat resistance to life in the Caribbean, the assemblies of several islands employed two tactics. First, they made promises to future planters who would come from England, Scotland, Ireland and other English territories, including, by 1656, Eleuthera, a small island colony that had experimented with religious toleration, but could not withstand the intemperate climate of the Caribbean. These promises variably included grants of land determined per capita; privileged trading rights, particularly in Jamaica; opportunities of denization for subjects of other Crowns; and liberty of conscience, delimited by each colonial government, though exclusively restricted to Protestants. Second, colonial governors and assemblies solicited the aid of officials back in England to help with their population problem. They wrote to the Lords of Trade and Plantation, begging them to send men, women and families from the British Isles to work the land and aid in defense. Often, this translated into the shipment of the most undesirable inhabitants of England, Scotland and Ireland to the West Indies to serve as indentured laborers. Invariably, this included convicts and Catholics. Colonial governments hoped that an influx of both free settlers and indentured laborers would provide armed (and sometimes unarmed) men to defend against the Spanish and French and hands to till the soil and kick-start agricultural production and, consequently, demographic growth. The result was the creation of societies with English institutions and English laws, but more diverse populations.

Not everyone supported the proposal to people the islands with untrustworthy convicts and religious dissenters. Jamaica planter, John Style, bristled at the risk of cultivating a population

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13 Orders of the Council of State, December 16, 1656, TNA, SP 25/77/578; The Council of State to the Commander-in-Chief of the English Fleet in America, December 23, 1656, TNA, SP 25/77/949.
14 Propositions for His Majesty’s Service, 1664, TNA, CO 1/18/3; Sir Thomas Modyford to Lord Arlington, May 10, 1664, TNA, CO 1/18/65; Kendall, 1664, TNA, CO 1/18/135.
that might be prove difficult to regulate in the future. On July 24, 1665, he wrote to Secretary Lord Arlington of the scarcity of money and men in Jamaica that threatened the viability of that colonial project, just a decade after the English took the island from the Spanish.\textsuperscript{15} Urging the Secretary to push for a shift in the strategies promoted in Whitehall for populating Jamaica, he discouraged the continued shipment of “your convict gaol birds or riotous persons, rotten before they are sent forth and at best idle and only fit for the mines” and pushed against the reliance on indentured servitude, arguing that servants became instantly “hateful to a free Englishman.”\textsuperscript{16} Instead, he suggested encouraging “one family from each parish” in England to settle in Jamaica and work for “meat, drink, and wages, as in England, until they could make provisions for themselves.”\textsuperscript{17} Style’s solution was to transplant nuclear families who conformed to the Anglican Church, would provide honest labor and would reproduce to perpetually increase the island’s population. In essence, he desired to replicate England in the West Indies.

Ultimately, the need for settlers and laborers to defend the islands and harvest crops to feed their inhabitants outweighed considerations of the consequences that such an endeavor might have in the long term and Style’s plan never came to fruition. The following year, the Council of Jamaica ordered all ship commanders to allow any captured buccaneers who professed Protestantism and were willing to take the Oath to Charles II to settle in the island, regardless of their nationality or past misdeeds.\textsuperscript{18} By 1682, Jamaica still had not solved the population problem, compelling Governor Thomas Lynch to implore the Lords of Trade and Plantation to send “those idle people [who] do mischief in London, and would do good here.”\textsuperscript{19} Nearly three

\textsuperscript{15} John Style to Lord Arlington, July 24, 1665, TNA, CO 1/19/81.  
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{18} Minutes of the Council of Jamaica, December 19, 1666, TNA, CO 140/1/151-155.  
\textsuperscript{19} Sir Thomas Lynch to Lords of Trade and Plantations, August 29, 1682, TNA, CO 1/49/35.
decades after conquering the island, the English still failed to ensure its growth or survival. A similar process occurred in Barbados. Of all the Caribbean colonies, that island was the most tolerant of Protestant dissenters, especially Quakers and Anabaptists. By 1664, John Perrott, “a noted Quaker of good temper, skill, and knowledge in merchant affairs” conducted extensive trans-colonial trade between Barbados and Jamaica and had sent to England for his family and “many of that persuasion” to come settle in Barbados. By 1676, Barbados was home to conformists, Quakers, Anabaptists and at least thirty Jewish families. So long as they continued to “submit to the Government,” and remain peaceful, religious dissent could be excused. Of course, this did not always translate into willing toleration on the ground, as these dissenters were often portrayed as duplicitous, troublesome and anti-authority. Nevertheless, Barbados specifically and the West Indies more broadly had mechanisms in place that allowed for the presence of dissenting groups and tolerated their worship. Despite the inevitable friction that accompanied this nascent stage of toleration, a broad-stroke policy of accommodation was able to take root.

Outside of Barbados, religious diversity represented a more daunting danger for the uncontested authority of the conformist Protestant majorities. Over time, as demographic, agricultural, economic and commercial stabilization increased in the West Indies, Style’s fears of the consequences of coercing convicts, dissenters and Catholics to settle the West Indies materialized. The creation of these diverse societies had solved, with varying degrees of success, the initial obstacle of demographic stunting, but it had also catalyzed more challenges to the

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20 Sir Thomas Modyford to Lord Arlington, May 10, 1664, TNA, CO 1/18/65.
21 Quakerism grew so pervasive on the island that it consumed reports of the middle decades of the century. Presentments of the Grand Jury in Barbados, July 8, 1673, TNA, CO 1/30/50; Governor Sir Jonathan Atkins to Lords of Trade and Plantations, July 14, 1676, TNA, CO 1/37/22; Governor Sir Jonathan Atkins to Lords of Trade and Plantations, TNA, CO 1/46/26; Sir Richard Dutton, June 11, 1681, TNA, CO 1/47/7.
22 Governor Sir Jonathan Atkins to Lords of Trade and Plantations, July 14, 1676, TNA, CO 1/37/22.
23 Presentments of the Grand Jury in Barbados, July 8, 1673, TNA, CO 1/30/50.
fabric of island society, particularly relating to security and identity. Ideologically, the presence of different groups and especially religious dissenters, threatened the homogeneity that the English imperial state increasingly strove to implement. Particularly under Charles II, after the initial years of colonial birth and uncertainty, colonists and colonial governments increasingly sought to plant English society abroad. “Englishness” entailed many things, including religious conformity or at least Protestant supremacy. Catholics found themselves explicitly alienated from English ideals and values everywhere. In the Caribbean, the high percentage of Irish blood created a second layer of racial exclusion from this ideological framework. In a space of heightened inter-imperial contact and political volatility, that exclusion marked the Irish—an easy stand-in for "Catholic"—as oppositional and thereby dangerous.

**Blurred Boundaries and Imperial Fluidity**

The greatest threat that Irish Catholics posed was largely divorced from theology and even from devotion. Rather, Protestants feared a global alliance among Catholic powers that would include English, Scottish and especially Irish Catholics. This had formed the root of political opposition to popery in the British Isles since the Spanish Armada in 1588, but in the West Indies the logistics of such an alliance were markedly less complicated than anywhere else, thanks to the close proximity of the French and Spanish who sometimes even occupied the same islands as the British.

The Spanish were the first to lay claim to the Caribbean, arriving in the late fifteenth century. A century later, their French, Dutch and British rivals finally arrived on their shores. By the late 1620s, the Caribbean land grab had begun. Because the Spanish focused much of their attention on mainland South America and the western West Indies, the eastern islands had evaded
any real Spanish control and most remained sparsely populated by the native Carib peoples, if inhabited at all. With the Spanish to the west and the Dutch centering most of their resources on expansion into Asia—with the exception of their island of Curacao, just north of Venezuela—the battle for sovereignty over the smaller islands that peppered the eastern front of the West Indies was waged primarily between the English, the French and even the Irish, who contended for control of some of the smaller Leeward Islands. This burst of island conquests had largely settled by 1640 and the eastern islands generally alternated between French and English/Irish control. At the north lay St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua and Montserrat who together formed the Leeward Islands, mostly in the hands of the British. Just to the south lay Guadeloupe and Martinique, both French. Southeast of Martinique stood the southernmost English island of Barbados and southwest of that was Grenada, another French holding. Traversing the waters between these islands were official ships of both Crowns as well as privateers and pirates. Navigating the eastern islands, physically and politically, quickly became akin to a game of chess.

Religion, of course, muddied these already murky waters. Of all the islands, both within the Leeward conglomerate and in the rest of the English Atlantic, St. Christopher, or St. Kitts, occupied a unique space, quite literally on the border between the French and English Empires. In times of relative peace and stability, the colony was subdivided into four parts between the two Crowns, with the French occupying the coasts and the English settled in the middle of the island. During the second half of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries, that power balance shifted frequently so that sometimes the entire island came under French control, sometimes under English control. This created a precarious situation for those who remained in the colony and were legally and economically affected by each regime change. While each
Crown mandated the fair treatment of subjects of the other when in power, the actual implementation of policies regarding displaced subjects hinged on religious allegiance. When the French controlled the island, English and Irish Catholics received greater indulgences than their Protestant counterparts; similarly, when the island fell under English jurisdiction, the English government embraced French Protestants. The French colonial government did not tax Irish Catholics living in their lands; in response, the English stopped taxing French Protestants.24 When French Protestants lost their land because of their religion, they petitioned the English government rather than their own; English and Irish Catholics did the same. And when the English were in charge they specifically advocated, on multiple occasions, for French Protestants to swear allegiance to the English King and become naturalized English subjects.25 Thus, the division between Catholics and Protestants was absolutely central, from the beginning, to the governance, political actions and legal code of the island and it could be utilized to the advantage of either polity. In 1671 when the English regained control of the middle portions of the island after exclusive French rule since 1666, Governor Charles Wheeler allowed French Protestants living in the English portion of the island to have their own French minister so long as “the liturgy of the Church of England be used.”26 Because “they are wholly unacquainted with any of their nation who know the English Liturgy,” Wheeler himself appointed a minister.27 This may have been an extreme example, but it reflected the need to balance a desire for streamlined religious practice with a reality of pronounced religious and political diversity. Any semblance of peace and of political stability necessitated the acceptance of such diversity. Thus, accommodation seemed the only choice.

24 Governor Codrington to Lords of Trade and Plantations, November 26, 1690, TNA, CO 152/37/138.
25 Ibid.
26 Governor Sir Charles Wheeler to Dr. Durel, July 20, 1671, TNA, CO 1/27/10.
27 Ibid.
That accommodation manifested in other ways as well. During the seventeenth century, processes of naturalization and denization became fixtures of Caribbean life, where islands resided at the confluence of every European empire and could escape neither the conflict nor the harmony inherent to such a physical space and such a moment in time. Sometimes cases and decisions were based on the economic contributions of the petitioner, or on his or her betrothal to a subject of a competing Crown, but professed political loyalty was a universal requirement and in the Early Modern world, such loyalty could not be corroborated without supplementary religious allegiance. Because of the unique structure of St. Kitts, it threw into relief both the mechanisms and implications of the trend of naturalizing French, Spanish and Dutch subjects who pledged their loyalty to the English monarch and his Church. In 1676, Leeward Islands governor, Sir William Stapleton, wrote to the Lords of Trade and Plantations of an unnamed “Frenchman, and of the Protestant religion, who is married to an English gentlewoman who has a considerable plantation in the King’s part of St. Christopher’s, to become his Majesty’s subject by denization.”28 Fourteen years later, two French Protestants planters, Bonnemere and Renoult, took the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance to William III in exchange for the return of one hundred sixty acres of the plantations they had held under the French colonial government.29 During this same transition of power, Madame Salinave, “another French Protestant,” petitioned the English Governor Codrington for aid after “she and her deceased husband suffered much from their own countrymen for their kindness to our nation.”30 In response to the plights of Bonnemere, Renoult and Salinave, Codrington wrote to the Lords of Trade and Plantations to “procure them naturalisation or denization.”31 The first unnamed Frenchman in 1676 was

28 Governor Stapleton to Lords of Trade and Plantations, August 10, 1676, TNA, CO 1/37/44.
29 Governor Codrington to Lords of Trade and Plantations, November 26, 1690, TNA, CO 152/37/138.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
recommended for naturalization not only because of his religion (though Protestantism was certainly a prerequisite), but also because his wife had a “considerable plantation” and so contributed to the economic prosperity of St. Kitts, which was arguably even more important on that island when funds were absolutely necessary to acquiring enough men and arms to defend the English portions from the French. The other three families from 1690, also Protestants, pledged loyalty to the English Crown rather than the French and so contributed to the hope of augmenting the English population on the island and diminishing the French. Thus, the colonial government embraced French Protestants as English subjects because of their economic and social value to the small island, but only with the requisite religious affiliation.

Even with these concessions, religious diversity endured in all four quarters of the island. The presence of both Empires and both religions—and it should be noted that Protestant dissenters rarely figured into laws or diplomatic correspondence about St. Kitts—was not exclusively divisive. Not all, indeed likely few, individuals chose to renounce their loyalty to their own monarch in favor of religious concessions. This meant that the English colonial government of the Leeward Islands which oversaw the island always ruled over Catholics, whether Irish, English or French. The threat of instigating war and the economic contributions of even Irish Catholics rendered forced removal from St. Kitts—or any other island—impossible. Even if it were feasible, any given administration, whether French or English, was so fragile and often fleeting, that there were neither the resources nor the desire to too harshly disrupt daily practices. Once again, the unique landscape of the West Indies demanded accommodation and diversity, taken to the extreme on the small island of St. Kitts.

With its anomalous religious and political structure, St. Kitts may have survived the Glorious Revolution’s effects on the Atlantic relatively unscathed; after all, St. Kitts and its
people were used to the shifting tides of power. However, as part of a composite island group that comprised Montserrat—overrun by Irish Catholics—as well as Antigua and Nevis who had relatively few Catholics, but also relatively fewer people total, anxiety over a potential Catholic threat grew all-consuming by 1689. Montserrat, despite its small size and minuscule population, loomed large in the fears of English Protestants, and for good reason. The island had been settled by Irish Catholics cast out of St. Kitts and their heritage continued to dominate in the colony. A census from 1678 recorded that the Irish represented about one quarter of the white populations in St. Kitts (excluding the French inhabitants), Nevis and Antigua. In Montserrat, however, that number jumped to seventy percent. Moreover, while enslaved Africans substantially outnumbered Irish inhabitants on the former three islands, Montserrat housed nearly twice as many Irish as blacks. The Irish were not only a problem because of the long-standing political and racial hierarchy that placed them below their English neighbors and rulers. More crucially, “Irish” stood in as a proxy for “Catholic,” especially in the West Indies where Irish Catholics represented such a large portion of the indentured labor force. As potential allies of the French and as the controlling majority on the southernmost Leeward Island—just north of the French islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique—these Irish Catholics not only ideologically challenged the hegemony of the British (read: English) colonial enterprise, but also politically and thereby physically compromised the success of English colonialism. The anti-Irish and anti-Catholic prejudices of English Protestants only reified the possibility of Catholic political dissent as they rhetorically undermined their Irish counterparts and even denied them certain rights, including the crucial right to bear arms, even in times of martial conflict. Even in the West

32 Governor Stapleton to Lords of Trade and Plantations, June 29, 1678, TNA, CO 1/42/98.
33 Lieutenant Governor Stede to Earl of Shrewsbury, September 2, 1689, CO 28/37/21; Christopher Codrington to Lords of Trade and Plantations, July 31, 1689, TNA, CO 152/37/22.
Indies, where English planters had negotiated the influx of Irish Catholic laborers from the beginning, Catholics and Irish were never linguistically incorporated into the British community. Instead, they were presented not only as external to the status of Englishmen (and therefore not entitled to the same rights and liberties), but as threatening and as potential allies of the enemy French. The toleration granted by King James II and the subsequent religious contraction that followed with the Glorious Revolution only emphasized and strengthened that opposition.

Catholic Presence, Catholic Threat

Although Catholics did not fit neatly into the social imagination of the islands, they nevertheless occupied them. In moments of deepest desperation, colonial leaders had collectively determined that Catholics were necessary to the successful preservation of an English and British presence in the Caribbean. Without their contracted and unpaid labor, the plantation model may never have found firm footing. While in some places, like much of the Leeward Islands, Catholics were ingrained into colonial society from the beginning and even formed the majority of the population, in others, they either hid their religion or it did not affront their neighbors. Following James II’s Declaration of Indulgence in 1687, however, Catholics everywhere grew more confident and their devotional practices grew more visible. Toleration promised a future flourishing of Catholicism across the Empire, including in the West Indies. Coming at a time when sugar production was booming and the dangers that had plagued the early settlements were less immediate, this brief period of open Catholic worship proved too much for some Protestants to bear. By the 1680s, the ruling elite of the West Indies had enough inhabitants, enough funds and enough influence to turn a discerning eye to their populations. The Glorious Revolution offered them an opportunity to cleanse the islands of those they
considered inconsequential and undesirable. As elsewhere, the main target was Catholics and the main weapon of choice was accusations of popery.

Once again, the Leeward Islands played host to the political and religious battles waged against opponents to the strictest sense of Englishness and Britishness. As a conglomerate of islands linked by common law and governance, but with different local threats and motivators, the Leewards had always reflected the political and religious difficulties of an Empire in microcosm and its multivalent reaction to the Glorious Revolution was no different. On July 16, 1689 the Barbadian governor Edwin Stede wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury of chaos on St. Kitts:

The bloody Papists and Irish assembled suddenly, and declaring themselves for King James, kill, burn, and destroy all that belongs to the Protestant interest. The Governor and the loyal people have been forced to retire to their fort for safety and leave their houses and works to the bloody popish Irish rebels. The French are not exactly at the head of the rebellion, but there are several French mulattos, mustees, and negroes with the Irish, and all of them receive help from the French. For those rebels will not stand a fight with the Protestants, but retire into French ground where the English do not like to follow them, for fear of beginning a war with France. When the English ask the French to deliver them up, the French answer that they only allow them to remain for protection in point of religion, as the English have heretofore received the French Protestants. There is, however, no parallel, for the French Protestants had never rebelled against their King nor done any harm to their fellow subjects, but these arguments have no weight with the French.34

Ethnic prejudice, imperial rivalry, the right to rebel, religious conflict: all of these themes played out in the tiny island divided between the French and English Crowns. No distinction was even attempted between Catholics who banded with the French and Catholics who accepted the new appellation of William of Orange as King of England and her domains. Neither was any differentiation made between those Catholics who supported James II for religious reasons and those who would be called Jacobites who remained loyal to him out of professed political and moral duty. Rather, the complex web of motives and actions conflated into one simple

34 Lieutenant Governor Stede to the Earl of Shrewsbury, July 16, 1689, TNA, CO 28/37/16.
statement: “the bloody Papists and Irish…kill, burn, and destroy all that belongs to the Protestant interest.” Already, then, what it meant to be a Catholic was being reduced, molded, refashioned and vomited forth as synonymous with violence and danger. This association was certainly nothing new, but the swift transition away from a mindset of accommodation that manifested in a sophisticated legal and social infrastructure and the reduction of such a complex web of interactions and entanglements to a neat division between Catholics, Irish and French on the one side and English and Protestants on the other is striking. Not only does it reveal the fragility of the delicate balance continuously forged and re-forged on St. Kitts in particular, but it also speaks to the persisting ambivalence to shake the yoke of anti-Catholic prejudice across the Empire.

In the Leewards as everywhere else, the return to the familiar and comforting trope of the bloody papist was not confined to rhetorical flourish. In the summer of 1689, Irish Catholics on both Montserrat and Antigua were stripped of their arms and confined to their plantations or arrested. The severity of that decision was further emphasized by the fact that on Montserrat the Irish made up the majority of the population and so “it was indeed debated whether the disarming of them was prudent, as the English are so few, in case of attack by the French, but after the experience of St. Christopher’s we preferred to trust the defence of the Island to the few English and their slaves than rely on their doubtful fidelity.”35 Whereas once imperial security had required diversity, now diversity was curtailed at all costs, even at the cost of defense.

The plague of religious and political fears rooted in anti-Catholicism could not be contained and eventually infected the government of the islands. As early as June 22, 1689, just over two months after the coronation of William and Mary in England, the governor of the Leewards came under fire. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who had served as governor for the majority

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35 Christopher Codrington to Lords of Trade and Plantations, July 31, 1689, TNA, CO 152/37/22.
of James II’s reign, was accused of colluding with the French, appointing Catholic officers and harboring a papist son-in-law.\footnote{John Burrowe, June 22, 1689, TNA, CO 152/37/12.} By the following week, the accusations had inflated, thanks to incriminating letters crafted by the French Count de Blenac, to damning Johnson himself as a Catholic. Johnson, who had extended legal toleration to Catholics the previous year, nevertheless denied being of that group himself, but demanded, “if I be a Roman Catholic why did I not publicly profess it when it might have been to my interest and advantage? Under King Charles II there might be good reason for such dissimulation in Papists in my office, but I know not what was to be gained under King James.”\footnote{Ibid.} He accompanied this statement with a thorough response to every point of indictment against him in which he employed logic as well as evidence exposing the logistical impossibility of his collusion with the French and the occasional act of rhetorical brilliance such as this: “unless I be presumed a person of no honour, religion or integrity, a person who loves mischief for its own sake, and would do the greatest villainy for the desirable rewards of infamy and disgrace, a person, too, of so little sense as to attempt the impossible by means just contradictory to the supposed end, I cannot be thought capable of this design.”\footnote{Governor Sir Nathaniel Johnson to Lords of Trade and Plantations, July 15, 1689, TNA, CO 152/37/19. Johnson wrote to the Council of Trade and Plantations that he had granted legal toleration to Catholics in a letter from March 3, 1688. Governor Sir Nathaniel Johnson to Lords of Trade and Plantations, March 3, 1688, TNA, CO 1/64/28.} Unwilling to wait for a response from the Lords of Trade and Plantations, Johnson concluded his letter with his resignation, announcing his intention to set sail with his family to Carolina, where he would serve as governor under Queen Anne fourteen years later.

Whether Johnson was or was not actually a Catholic is only a secondary concern, and indeed not the first time that such an accusation was used in this way. In fact, the circumstances surrounding the abrupt end of Johnson’s tenure did have their precedent in the Leewards. In
1674, just three years after the consolidation of the several small islands into one colony, then
governor Sir William Stapleton was accused of being a Catholic by his predecessor, Sir Charles
Wheeler, a planter who believed that the Governor was involved in the sale of his lands and so
wished to harm his reputation and his post by calling him papist.\textsuperscript{39} In that previous case,
however, the Crown had landed firmly on Stapleton's side and he kept his post until the accession
of James II. In the case of Nathaniel Johnson, then, it was not simply a more concerted
repetition of an earlier attempt at a peaceful coup on a small group of islands. Neither was the
practice of hurling calumnies an isolated one to either that time or that place. Indeed, were the
aspersions cast against Johnson singular to the Leewards we might write the incident off as an
example of a Catholic being employed under a Catholic king and replaced under a Protestant
one. Instead, this example speaks to a trend that spanned England’s Atlantic world in which new
political regimes overthrew previous ones on the (often uncorroborated) grounds of popery. This
occurred everywhere, from the Leewards to Jamaica to Maryland, New York and the infant
Dominion of New England. Johnson’s demise was symptomatic of a widespread reversion to
Catholic exclusion that occurred throughout the Anglophone Atlantic.

\textbf{Whiteness, Blackness and Popery: The Development of a Racial Hierarchy}

The anxieties surrounding Irish inhabitants of the West Indies during the Glorious
Revolution epitomized the racial and cultural tensions at play within the British Empire. The
Irish, for their general association with Catholicism, posed as grave a danger as French Catholics
and even more than Spanish and Dutch naturalized subjects and French Protestants. Despite
their protestations of loyalty, despite their shared language, monarch and empire, the Irish were
never incorporated equally into the Anglophone world politically, socially or rhetorically. The

\textsuperscript{39} Governor Stapleton to the Council for Trade and Plantations, July 23, 1674, TNA, CO 1/31/52.
imperial pluralism that marked Caribbean life served to reify the boundaries of belonging in the Anglophone world in which acceptance necessitated both English blood and Protestant beliefs. Irish and Catholics, especially in light of the ambiguous boundaries between the two, were outsiders.

Simultaneously, another kind of diversity emerged in the Caribbean during this period to complicate this relatively straightforward narrative of belonging. Islands were populated not only by Europeans, but also by enslaved Africans, freed blacks and people of mixed race. Consequently, alongside the fears of an Irish Catholic uprising or a Franco-Hibernian alliance, English Protestant settlers in the Caribbean also suspected their Irish and Catholic neighbors of colluding with the islands’ non-white inhabitants to revolt against the Protestant majority. At the same time, the growing number of African Christians as a result of missionary conversion efforts instigated new ways of thinking about and defining race in the West Indies. Scholars have long acknowledged the relationship between empire-building and the creation of race, particularly in Christian empires. Rebecca Anne Goetz focused on the ways in which Christianity was used to make and unmake race in seventeenth-century Virginia. As white colonists stopped converting enslaved populations, they deemed Native Americans and Africans ‘hereditary heathens,’ meaning that they could not be converted and saved because of their nature. This contributed to the creation of race as a physical difference and as a set of ideas directly linked to and a product of Christianity, which shifted over the course of the century from emphasizing universality to emphasizing exclusivity.40 The same processes occurred throughout the entire Atlantic and farther afield, as European empires extended their tendrils west, east and south. In the context of Barbados, Katherine Gerbner has argued that by the end of the seventeenth century, "Protestant

slave owners gradually replaced the term 'Christian' with the word 'white' in their law books and in their vernacular speech" and concluded that "the development of 'whiteness' on Barbados was a direct response to the small but growing population of free black Christians." Most poignantly, in his study of black religion, Sylvester Johnson has emphasized the necessity of colonization for race formation. He defined colonialism as “the political order that dominating polities administer over subjugated peoples” and argued that “the colonial form of power is essential to racial formation. This means race is politics or, more precisely, biopolitics.” Within this social and racial order, the position of Irish Catholics was neither static nor assured. Enmeshed into the political and cultural hierarchies that contributed to the particular process of racialization in the British Atlantic were parallel political and cultural animosities transplanted from home, particularly between the English and the Irish. Problematically for Anglo Protestants, Irish Catholics were both Christian and white. And yet, in the eyes of the conforming planter elite, their religion and race were both of an inferior sort. Their Catholic-ness was stigmatized as unenlightened and conservative while their physical whiteness failed to ensure freedom and rights conferred upon other white Europeans. In the minds of colonial Protestants, the Irish remained outsiders from the social, legal, political and, increasingly, racial world of the Anglo Protestant planter elite. Thus, a second consequence of the demographic diversity created by the settlement projects of the mid-century was the creation of the category of whiteness as a term of belonging both legally and ideologically to the British world.

As European empires expanded into the Atlantic basin, they implemented various systems to ensure their supremacy over the people they sought to subjugate to their rule. Those in the English Atlantic already had a precedent for the establishment and preservation of cultural

hierarchies in their own histories. The British Isles, a small region with many different cultural and racial groups, provided an example of how to establish dominance through a rhetoric of civilization and barbarism that justified English colonization of Ireland and the attempted eradication of Highland Gaelic culture.\textsuperscript{43} That same language migrated to the New World on the ships of Anglo Protestants. They depicted indigenous inhabitants of the Americas and enslaved Africans as “most savage,” “bloody perfidious,” “heathen cannibals” who would only emerge from cultural and spiritual darkness through conversion to Christianity.\textsuperscript{44} However, a schema of religion meant that widespread conversion could have created fluidity between spheres of power, something that the Protestant planter elite strove to avoid. Labor structures served as a further means of oppression and repression.\textsuperscript{45} Whereas the primacy of Christianity encompassed Irish Catholics, the experience of indentured labor for so many of those first Irish men who arrived in the Caribbean ensured their submission to their Protestant masters. Both Irish Catholics and enslaved Africans existed in a realm of unfreedom. However, as African slavery grew to eclipse indentured servitude and numbers of laborers surpassed those of free settlers, English Protestants began to fear a coalition of the unfree, a rebellion staged by an Afro-Irish alliance. In an effort to prevent this, they aimed to divide the ranks of the oppressed and elevate the Irish to a higher status. Increasingly, race replaced religion as the metric by which those in power evaluated human worth. Consequently, the racial hierarchy that developed over the course of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was neither pre-determined nor inevitable. Instead, it arose out of experiments in subjugation and domination rooted alternately in conquest, in religion and


\textsuperscript{44} John Style, January 4, 1670, TNA, CO 1/25/1; Governor Stapleton to the Council for Plantations, February 8, 1675, TNA, CO 1/34/6; Petition [of Inhabitants of St. Christopher’s] to the King, November 13, 1667, TNA, CO 1/21/145.

\textsuperscript{45} Roper, \textit{Empire}, ch.2.
in labor. Of course, the case of Irish Catholics in British islands was not the sole catalyst for racial creation across the Atlantic basin, but the perpetual thorn of Irish Catholicism in the side of the British Empire was instrumental in the development of systems of oppression and discrimination in the British West Indies and contributed to the imagination of race. Long before the seventeenth century, Irish was considered its own race, and an inferior one. Matthew Frye Jacobson has been instrumental in my own conceptualization of the creation of race in the seventeenth-century Atlantic and the role that Irish Catholics played in that process in British territories. While today, we envision "whiteness" as a sweeping category that includes many different "ethnicities"—Irish, French, Albanian—that shift came only as a result of waves of immigration from Europe in the nineteenth century. "To miss the fluidity of race itself in this process of becoming Caucasian," Jacobson argued, "is to reify a monolithic whiteness, and, further, to cordon that whiteness off from other racial groupings along lines that are silently presumed to be more genuine." In the seventeenth century, racial fluidity was even greater than in the late eighteenth, when Jacobson began his analysis. As demonstrated in the previous section, European heritage did not create any degree of racial unity among Caribbean colonists, but instead bred competition because of political and religious difference. In reality, those differences were also inscribed along racial lines. "Whiteness" as a racial and social category was in its infancy in this period and the racial categories of black and white that cloud our imagination today had not yet been solidified. Integral to that process were the Irish, who existed as a race separate from and inferior to the English and even the Scots despite their European heritage and Christian beliefs.

46 Jacobson, Whiteness, 6-7.
Irish Catholics first populated the Caribbean islands as indentured laborers. They were shipped across the Atlantic along with convicts, poor men and Protestant dissenters to serve a term of indenture. Wrenched from their homes, families and communities in Ireland and lacking the resources to return home after fulfilling their contracts, most freed servants remained in the Atlantic after their period of servitude, though their legal and social treatment varied significantly by colony. Unlike in Maryland, where Catholics and former servants could find economic success, even after 1689, the conditions in the West Indies were far poorer. Although freed servants were given small plantations, these were often parcels of land unsuitable to large-scale sugar cultivation. With politics dominated by the planters of larger, more established plantations, former servants were not guaranteed the opportunity to advance politically, economically or socially. In Barbados, the conditions for freed Irish laborers were particularly poor. In 1680, Governor Jonathan Atkins complained that “since people have found out the convenience and cheapness of slave-labour they no longer keep white men, who used to do all the work on the plantations.” The increasing primacy of slavery reduced the impetus driven by the islands to facilitate transport of white servants. At the same time, the supply of indentured laborers dwindled as harsh treatment of current and former servants gained notoriety, resulting in a pan-Caribbean racial crisis that reached its pinnacle in the 1680s and 1690s. Barbados experienced this most acutely, thanks to its inability to maintain a freed white population. In the same letter, Atkins vented his frustration that freed servants “left from here to Carolina, Jamaica, and the Leeward Islands, in the hope of getting land which they cannot get here” as soon as they

47 Servant traders especially targeted Ireland to provide a steady supply of indentured laborers. Beckles, “Irish Servants,” 505.
48 Ibid, 506.
49 Governor Sir Jonathan Atkins to Lords of Trade and Plantations, October 26, 1680, TNA, CO 1/46/26.
fulfilled their labor contracts. Shifting labor patterns and racial structures, alongside the harsh
treatment of freed servants and the poor conditions that they faced following completion of their
indenture, led to the broader dispersal of Irish Catholics throughout the British Atlantic, not only
to other islands, but also to mainland North America.51 Thus, the relatively short period of
reliance on white indentured labor, supplied in large part by Irish Catholics, triggered the longer-
term movement of Irish and Catholics across the Atlantic and throughout the Empire.

Despite the consequences of this migration pattern for the white population on Barbados,
the treatment of servants and freed laborers did not improve and so migration out of the island
did not decline. As late as 1695, Governor Russell of Barbados parroted the sentiments of so
many of his predecessors who had lamented the “great want of white servants.”52 He bemoaned
the lack of support, either financial or emotional, that freed servants received in Barbados, given
only forty shillings and “never a bit of fresh meat…nor a dram of rum.” He continued to protest
their treatment “like dogs” and recognized that such treatment had induced so many to seek
homes elsewhere, leaving the remaining white population vulnerable “to be murdered by negroes
or vanquished by an enemy” without a reliable, loyal or substantial defense force to protect
them.53 Without a law directly from the King providing rewards for former indentured servants,
Russell feared that nothing would change and the white population on Barbados would soon be
wiped out through migration and violence.

The incapacity of the people and government of Barbados to provide for indentured
servants after the termination of their indenture meant that the white population was dangerously
low. Other colonists felt this racial crisis as intensely as those in Barbados. When Jamaica’s

51 Governor Russell to Lords of Trade and Plantations, TNA, CO 28/2/81.
52 Ibid.
53 Ibid.
governor, Sir Thomas Lynch, wrote to London in 1682 to send “idle people” to Jamaica, he wanted more white men and women to serve as indentured servants in order to combat the growing racial cleavage on the island following the explosion of black labor.\textsuperscript{54} Sixteen years later, Governor William Beeston repeated the same request and again implored the Council of Trade and Plantations to send more white servants in order to rectify a society in which the black population continued to increase while numbers of white colonists remained stagnant.\textsuperscript{55} Beeston did not rely wholly on officials in London for aid, but also proposed his own solution through a Proclamation that mandated that plantation owners purchase indenture contracts, despite the higher price of indentured versus slave labor, as a means of increasing the white population.\textsuperscript{56} All of this proved inadequate in creating a self-sustaining white population in the face of growing slave plantations and expanding communities of Maroons, which comprised freed blacks and runaway slaves.\textsuperscript{57} By 1701, the racial imbalance on the island still had not been restored, compelling Brigadier Selwyn to propose a law that would require planters to have one white servant for every ten black slaves.\textsuperscript{58} In such a climate of racial hostility, insurrection was always a dominant fear in Jamaica.

Echoes of these laments testify to anxieties driven by growing racial prejudices exacerbated by the universal reliance on slave labor in the monoculture sugar plantations of the West Indies. Everywhere in the Atlantic world, colonists engaged with the slave trade and blended systems of slave and indentured labor. In the West Indies, however, African slavery quickly became the preferred form of servitude for several reasons. The extremities of the

\textsuperscript{54} Sir Thomas Lynch to Lords of Trade and Plantations, August 29, 1682, TNA, CO 1/49/35.
\textsuperscript{55} Governor Sir William Beeston to Council of Trade and Plantations, June 6, 1698, TNA, CO 137/4/91.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{58} Brigadier Selwyn to the Council of Trade and Plantations, July 23, 1701, TNA, CO 137/5/41.
climate and the harshness of sugar cultivation demanded harsher conditions for workers. Whereas indentured laborers were protected, to some extent, through their contracts and through legislation that aimed to limit the degree of maltreatment they faced at the hands of their masters, slaves had no such legal protection. Moreover, terms of indenture generally ranged from four to seven years, while enslavement was permanent and hereditary, meaning that an enslaved labor force could perpetuate itself independently. 59 Most importantly, Irish Catholics were not exclusively victims. Second-generation Irish Catholics and even former indentured servants benefitted from and contributed to the violence, oppression and race-making of empire just as frequently as English Protestants. Unlike enslaved Africans, Irish Catholics received parcels of land after fulfilling their labor contracts and enjoyed far more mobility than enslaved Africans who lived and died under the yoke of unfreedom; they were servants, not slaves, and many became slave masters themselves. On the island of Montserrat, where the Irish represented seventy percent of the population, they experimented with newfound political power. But that island’s political economy resembled very closely that of its neighbors in the rest of the Leeward chain. Given the opportunity to determine the social, political and labor order of the island, the Irish Catholic majority chose to follow the patterns established by other imperial leaders, including maintaining a reliance on slave labor. 60 Elsewhere, too, Irish Catholics owned plantations supplied by a labor force that comprised not only enslaved Africans, but also white indentured servants. 61 While the English may have feared a united rebellion of all those whom they oppressed, such an ideological link never bridged the gaping chasm between Irish and African. Socially, politically, economically and racially, Irish Catholic islanders lived in a

60 Donald Harman Akenson, If the Irish Ran the World: Montserrat, 1630-1730 (Toronto, 1997).
liminal space between master and slave, between civilized and barbarian. The Irish were both free and unfree, both servants and servant-owners. They were colonized and colonizers, conquered and conquerors, oppressed and oppressors. They belonged to both categories and so they belonged to neither, condemned by the English as "a bloody and perfidious people," and simultaneously "derided by the negroes as white slaves."  

Throughout the seventeenth century, fears of rebellion heightened when English colonists considered the potential for an alliance between the Irish and "negroes." As early as 1655, planters in Barbados dreaded their reliance on a defense team of just one thousand armed men to protect the island against a possible force of “20,000 Negroes, 3,000 Irish and 4,000 Scots…ready to rebel.” While such an insurrection never came to pass in Barbados, English colonists across the West Indies shared the same fear. This universal anxiety came to fruition when the Catholics on St. Kitts did rise up against the English in 1689, during which time they joined not only with the French, but also with “mulattos, mustees, and negroes.”  

Although Irish Catholics and non-whites all existed outside the conformist social order of the West Indies, they were far from equal both legally and socially. In 1678, a census taken in St. Kitts recorded all inhabitants and organized them by nationality. It listed English, Irish, Scottish, French and Dutch separately, but also combined them into the general category of “whites,” as opposed to the final category of “negroes,” which lacked the same kind of differentiation. "Negroes" must have encompassed enslaved Africans, freed blacks and people of mixed race from a variety of African cultures, as well as those born in the Leewards. However, they were never afforded the

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62 Francis Sampson to John Sampson, June 6, 1666, TNA, CO 1/20/7; Observations on Barbados, 1667, TNA, CO 1/21/170.
64 Lieutenant Governor Stede to the Earl of Shrewsbury, July 16, 1689, TNA, CO 28/37/16.
65 Governor Stapleton to Lords of Trade and Plantations, June 29, 1678, TNA, CO 1/42/98.
same kind of cultural, linguistic or racial distinction, but were robbed of any identity beyond "negro."\textsuperscript{66} The Irish, for all the discrimination they faced, were at least afforded their heritage. Despite English inhabitants’ distrust of their Irish neighbors, they deemed it important to still include them as members of the same racial category in order to augment their division from non-whites, whose numbers began to eclipse white populations by the end of the century. However, by 1699 that had changed. Whether because the Glorious Revolution irrevocably damaged relations between the English and Irish in the Leewards or because of imperial-wide resistance to Irish Jacobitism, the Irish were no longer “reckoned in number of those appointed…for the encouragement of the settlement of the Island with white people.”\textsuperscript{67} While still considered white, the Irish did not contribute to the ideal free, conforming Protestant white population that colonial assemblies wished to uphold in the face of growing non-white populations. Two years later, the Assembly in Nevis—the seat of government of those Leeward Islands—passed a series of Acts addressing the racial imbalance on the island, the majority Irish population and the demographics of servitude. One implemented a new penal system designed to root out Catholics, including those who worked as indentured servants. It mandated the banishment on pain of death of all servants who refused to take the Oath and the imprisonment of any planters who employed "a reputed Papist."\textsuperscript{68} As colonel Jory phrased it, the Act stipulated that "if any Irish servants should be brought [to Nevis] for sale, [planters] should not be inforced to buy them."\textsuperscript{69} Once again, the distinction between Irish and Catholic completely collapsed, with both occupying a space of threatening alienation through their association with popery. At

\textsuperscript{66} Jenny Shaw and John Thornton have both worked diligently to restore the voices and actions of enslaved and freed Africans in the Atlantic world, particularly through analysis of their religious rituals and spiritual practices. Shaw, \textit{Everyday Life}; Thornton, \textit{Africa and Africans}.

\textsuperscript{67} Governor Stapleton to Lords of Trade and Plantations, June 29, 1678, TNA, CO 1/42/98.

\textsuperscript{68} Attorney General to the Council of Trade and Plantations, October 3, 1701, TNA, CO 152/4/53.

\textsuperscript{69} Colonel Jory to the Council of Trade and Plantations, October 13, 1701, TNA, CO 152/4/54.
the same time, a second Act on the island required each planter to have one white servant for every twenty black slaves, thereby encouraging the continued importation of white servants for the express purpose of counterbalancing growing numbers of enslaved blacks. Consequently, "whiteness" was an unstable category that encompassed social, legal and political variation and remained contested and complex even into the eighteenth century.

All of this serves to illuminate the ways in which colonists in the West Indies encountered difference and experimented with different social, religious and racial frameworks to establish a hierarchy and impose a social order that ultimately benefitted the politically dominant English conformists above all others. Consequently, the significance of these cases of undulating racial definitions lies in their contradictions. Irish and Catholics posed such an ideological problem to the formation of a nascent imperial identity that the two categories coalesced into one that did not fit neatly into the social hierarchy of the islands. Their movement between racial ranks—difficult for a twenty-first century westerner to comprehend given the centuries of race-based discrimination that still persists today—offers the most extreme manifestation of their deep otherness. Because none of these racial or social categories were stable, either in the eyes of the English Protestants or in the eyes of the marginalized, all forms of otherness—blackness, indigeneity, Catholicism—equally threatened the hegemony of the white conforming Englishman and the power of the State. As a result, differentiation between opposition groups was not always self-evident. In the end, while Catholicism was politicized and weaponized, its practitioners were ultimately deemed white. "Negroes"—enslaved and free, black and mixed race—were rendered inferior and more threatening as a result of the creation of a racial hierarchy. Despite this initial incorporation into the broad white race, Irish and Catholics were
far from equal to Anglo Protestants and it would take another two centuries for them to truly "become white."\(^{70}\)

**The Catholic Voice: A Case Study**

Much of this chapter has accessed the actions of Catholics through their categorizations and depictions in the private correspondence, printed literature and political legislation of Protestants rather than through their own records. This methodology is inherently flawed, for its frequent dependence on the imperfect proxy of “Irish” for “Catholic” and, more problematic, its reliance on a heavily biased source base mediated by Protestant voices. As a result, perhaps it should come as no surprise that little scholarly work has been done on Catholics in the British Atlantic outside of Maryland. Pushing against a Protestant normative narrative, historians of British Catholicism strive to access their subjects through their own literature, correspondence, travel accounts and biographies. That subfield is marked by a conscious effort to reinvest a group that has been alternatively (and simultaneously) overlooked, reduced to a dangerous, conservative minority and presented as a political threat, with a voice and a place in the historical record that is less partial and more nuanced. These historians have become expert at combing through countless sources and stringing together the few that deal with Catholics in order to reconstruct a narrative that foregrounds those who have been relegated to the historical periphery for centuries. This has proved a difficult task, given the dearth of sources regarding Catholics in the Anglophone world, even in England.

If finding sources for the historian of British and Irish Catholics in the British Isles and the European continent is difficult, it is far more challenging for the historian of Catholics further

\(^{70}\) Ignatiev, *Irish.*
afield in England’s overseas territories. The experience of Catholicism in the West Indies was marked by absence of devotional resources. The resulting archive is marked by absence of sources. English Protestants aimed at Irish cultural erasure through the process of racialization. Their constant othering of Irish and of Catholic created a third racial and religious in-between space that fluctuated widely. That othering has also left the archives of Irish Catholic colonists barren. The vast majority of sources that deal with Catholics in any way are written by Protestants and mediated through economic, political and social disputes and conflicts between Protestants and Catholics or between Protestants and Protestants. The Catholic archive itself is largely mute. Thus, much of what scholars can possibly reconstruct of colonial Catholic life leans heavily on the words of Protestants writing of the world they constructed, the world they lived in and the world they hoped to create. In other words, many of the sources available for Caribbean Catholicism are exactly what historians of British Catholicism seek to correct; the methodology one that scholarly tradition works tirelessly to resist. And yet, a history of Catholicism in England’s empire begs to be written, as Catholics neither stayed in the British Isles nor moved only across the Channel, but also much farther afield. That history necessitates engagement with Protestant sources that contextualize the historical and political climate in which English, Irish and Scottish Catholics lived, moved and worshipped. They help to demonstrate how “Catholicism” become inscribed with so many meanings, and yet so little continuity. For all of these reasons, this chapter thus far has foregrounded those very mediated sources. They do not, however, comprise the entire source base—and certainly not the entire story—of Caribbean Catholicism.

Luckily, a small number of sources do survive that serve as a window into the lives of Catholics in the West Indies. Though they highlight the practices of West Indian Catholics
during the very short period of toleration under James II, they speak to larger patterns and traditions that must have preceded and followed the 1680s. Though sparse, mentions of Catholics in the Leeward Islands, controversy surrounding two priests in Jamaica and records of court trials in Barbados help to sketch the physical, social, ideological and devotional borders that both constituted and confined Catholic worship. For a short time under James II, Catholics spanned the entire British West Indies where they erected chapels, communed with priests and received sacraments. In Montserrat and St. Kitts, they received exemption from taxes given to Protestant ministers so that they could bear the "very heavy" expense of building and decorating chapels. This offhand mention, serving more to illustrate the new tax structure rather than the devotional practices of the islands' Catholics, still says something of Catholic values and practices. Even in the small and unstable islands of the West Indies, Catholicism grounded itself in the tangible, in the physical. It required space for worship and it relied upon decoration and imagery to guide the individual through her worship and aid her in understanding her religion, especially in regions where access to a priest to fulfill the role of intermediary, confessor, teacher and minister was far from guaranteed. Often, when priests did arrive, conflict and contestation accompanied them.

As demonstrated, the Caribbean was a diverse and hotly contested imperial space and one in which religious uniformity was desired, but elusive. It was a place of heightened political rivalry and environmental instability. In that context, a shared interest in the cultivation of the Church of Rome in the New World failed to outweigh political and imperial rivalries, even among members of the Catholic clergy. Following King James II's 1687 Declaration of Indulgence, conflict erupted on Jamaica not between Protestant and Catholic, but between

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71 Governor Sir Nathaniel Johnson to Lords of Trade and Plantations, March 3, 1688, TNA, CO 1/64/28.
Catholic and Catholic. That legislation made its way to Jamaica by August of 1687, with instructions to the Governor, Christopher Monck, Duke of Albermarle, to implement it swiftly. In response, twelve Catholics, including at least two priests, wrote to the governor to express, rather profusely, "on the behalf of ourselves as the rest of the Catholicks of this Island," their gratitude to the Governor for his "moderation & temperance, loyalty & constancy" and to profess their enduring fidelity to both him and the King. Beyond the demand to extend liberty of conscience to Catholics, the King's instructions to Albermarle secured Catholic interest and established an ecclesiastical hierarchy through the appointment of Thomas Churchill as the Chief Pastor for Catholics in Jamaica. With this appointment, he placed Churchill—a doctor of divinity and a priest—rather than any political agent in charge of the island's Catholics and demanded that the Governor "give Credit & assistance as there shall be occasion" to the new Chief Pastor. Moreover, he dedicated a house in Port Royal to serve as a makeshift church from which Churchill could say Mass until a more formal chapel could be built. The appointment quickly proved a success. Churchill led the petitioners in their praise of the King and easily transitioned into his formalized leadership role as the head shepherd of Jamaica's small and sleeping flock, slowly awakening to a new world of toleration. Moreover, the growing demand for Catholic services inspired a Dominican friar, Father Thomas Offlin, to rent another room on the island to use as a meeting space for Catholics where he could administer sacraments. The expansion of the new ecclesiastical hierarchy and the demand for at least two spaces of worship bespeaks a substantial Catholic community that must have existed in Jamaica.

72 Instructions to the Duke of Albermarle, August 15, 1687, TNA, CO 1/63/16.
74 Instructions to the Duke of Albermarle, August 15, 1687, TNA, CO 1/63/16.
75 A Short Account of the Late States Affairs of Jamaica, July, 1689, TNA, CO 137/44/12.
76 A Collection of Documents, May, 1690, TNA, CO 137/2/70I-XL.
prior to King James II's decision to legalize their (and his) religion. Churchill’s appointment, however, met opposition from an unlikely source: the Spanish.

As the leaders in New World expansion and colonial development and as champions of the Catholic Church overseas, the Spanish were not blind to the religious developments of other islands, and especially of Jamaica, an island that they had once settled and where some few Spaniards still remained by 1687. Instead of rejoicing at the proliferation of Catholicism on an English island, however, colonial Spanish clergy, serving under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Cuba, strongly challenged Thomas Churchill and his new position. Their opposition did not stem only from jealousy and rivalry, though that certainly played a part. More importantly, they declared Churchill's appointment entirely invalid because of its royal, rather than ecclesiastical, source. They claimed that only the Bishop of Cuba could make such appointments in the West Indies, as he was the only ecclesiastical figure who had received his authority directly from the Pope.77 King James II, regardless of his intentions, had no such power.

St. Jago del Castillo, or James Castille, was a naturalized Spanish priest living in Jamaica when Thomas Churchill arrived. When Churchill called a meeting of all ecclesiastical authorities on the island to determine rules and reforms for the Catholic Church of Jamaica, following his promotion to Chief Pastor, Castille immediately raised the flag of opposition. By May, 1688, he put pen to paper and commissioned the surreptitious publication of his statement discrediting the King's ecclesiastical prerogative and supporting the sole authority of the Bishop of Cuba.78 For their part, Churchill and his supporters took extreme offense to Castille's paper. In one stroke, he undermined the authority of Churchill, invalidated the supremacy of the King and, perhaps most gravely, introduced a foreign power into the ecclesiastical—and, thereby,

77 Minutes of Council of Jamaica, May 7, 1688, TNA, CO 140/4/226A-227A.
78 Governor the Duke of Albermarle to Lords of Trade and Plantations, May 11, 1688, TNA, CO 138/6, 118-122.
political—aﬀairs of Jamaica.79 This slight could not be tolerated and the Council quickly issued a warrant for his arrest in July. Castille, however, found supporters among the English and the Provost Marshall, Smith Kelly, warned Castille in enough time for him to ﬂee the island, leaving Churchill to resume his duties unopposed until the outbreak of war in 1689.80

The case of Churchill and Castille proves the existence of a Catholic community in Jamaica, but also highlights the riﬁts within that community. The presence of at least three priests on the island, the erection of physical spaces dedicated to their worship and the necessity of toleration all speak to the existence of Catholics who craved spiritual direction from confessors who, until 1687, were either absent or covert. The battle over jurisdiction, however, formed one part of a larger battle not only over the nature of English and British Catholics, but more speciﬁcally over the future of island Catholicism. Like their counterparts in Scotland and in Catholic Europe, most Catholics on Jamaica sided with Churchill and professed a Gallican-esque model of Catholic authority that conferred temporal power, even in ecclesiastical matters, on the king rather than the pope. Not everyone agreed, however. Smith Kelly risked his own security and lost his post as Provost Marshall in order to aid Castille. Others agreed with his argument, rooted in canon law, that civic authorities did not possess ecclesiastical powers. Nevertheless, Churchill and his associates had the ear of the King, though for only a short while. The chaos that accompanied news of the Glorious Revolution in Jamaica left the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction on the island permanently unanswered.

Catholics in Barbados had a similar, though more dramatic, experience in 1687-1689. There, too, devotional practices were shaped in part by a foreign priest whose presence caused not only a religious, but a political scandal. While still heavily mediated by the Protestants who

79 Ibid.
80 The Case of St. Jago del Castillo, May, 1688, TNA, CO 1/64/65.
constructed them, court records illuminate a community of Catholics that coalesced around the
figure of a single priest in the immediate lead-up to the Glorious Revolution, when anti-popish
paranoia reached its climax. Feeding off of such fears and prejudices, political malcontents
across the Empire repackaged their personal or political quarrels with their opponents as
confessional conflicts. As elsewhere, the accusations in the island of Barbados were rooted in
truth and served, at least in part, as a reaction against the growing Catholic population that had
emerged from hiding during the reign of James II. Through these trials, something can be
gleaned about the nature of worship and community among Catholics on that island.

Barbados's governor, Edwin Stede, never enjoyed a harmonious relationship with Attorney
General Thomas Montgomery. Their problems began in the summer of 1688 when they clashed
over the case of Benjamin Skutt, a member of the Council of Barbados, and his nephew and
servant, William Pendleton. Pendleton accused Skutt of speaking treasonous words against King
James II during their voyage from England to Barbados in the winter of 1686-1687. Skutt had
allegedly disagreed with the King's decision to execute Henry Cornish, a supporter of Exclusion
and alleged conspirator against both King Charles II and King James II, and uttered words that
"though they might not amount to high treason, were, in Sir Thomas's judgment, highly
criminal." Upon arrival in Barbados, Skutt allegedly repeated these words in front of several
witnesses. This affair and trial drove the first wedge between Montgomery and Stede.

81 Sir Thomas Montgomery to Lords of Trade and Plantations, August 3, 1688, TNA, CO 1/65/35; Lieutenant
Governor Stede to Lords of Trade and Plantations, August 30, 1688, TNA, CO 1/65/50; Lieutenant Governor Stede
to the Earl of Sunderland, September 1, 1688, TNA, CO 1/65/54; Lieutenant Governor Stede to William Blathwayt
September 3, 1688, TNA, CO 1/65/56; Lieutenant Governor Stede to Lords of Trade and Plantations, October 5,
1688, TNA, CO 1/65/65; Council of Barbados to the Prince of Orange, March 11, 1689, TNA, CO 28/37/1;
Lieutenant Governor Stede to the Earl of Sunderland, July 12, 1688, TNA, CO 29/3, 471-479; Minutes of the
Council of Barbados, October 2, 1688, TNA, CO 31/4, 91; Minutes of the Council of Barbados, October 30, 1688,
TNA, CO 31/4, 100-101.
82 Lieutenant Governor Stede to the Earl of Sunderland, July 12, 1688, TNA, CO 29/3, 477.
Pendleton was a problematic witness at best. Some time before registering an official complaint against his uncle, Pendleton had attempted to murder him in the middle of the night in his home, but was thwarted by another man who lived in the house with both of them. Pendleton's conflict with his uncle was clearly personal and violent. Moreover, the witnesses that Montgomery called for the prosecution in August, 1688 provided unconvincing testimony and little evidence. In Stede's eyes, the case had little substance. And yet, Montgomery would not let go. Whether eager to establish his reputation as a powerful and effective Attorney General, compelled by some personal connection to Pendleton or motivated by another force altogether, Montgomery tethered himself to Pendleton's case. In his various reports sent to the Lords of Trade and Plantations summarizing the court proceedings, Stede continuously emphasized testimonies that "said nothing in support of Pendleton's statement, but rather the contrary" and highlighted Montgomery's "aggravating," "unseasonable" and "mischievous" words and behavior, toward both Skutt and Stede. In the end, Pendleton's tenuous case failed to tarnish Skutt's reputation as an honest gentleman and a valuable member of the Council and the case settled decidedly in favor of the defendant.

During the trial, however, the relationship between Montgomery and Stede began to devolve from amicable to apprehensive, before turning acerbic. While the trial was ongoing, Stede and Montgomery also clashed over the treatment of white indentured servants on the island. By the end of August, Montgomery had passed a law prohibiting masters from drawing blood from their servants in an effort to limit extreme punishment. While Stede professed his concern for servants and highlighted past instances when he had granted recompense to misused

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83 Ibid.
84 Lieutenant Governor Stede to Lords of Trade and Plantations, August 30, 1688, TNA, CO 1/65/50.
85 Lieutenant Governor Stede to Lords of Trade and Plantations, October 5, 1688, TNA, CO 1/65/65.
86 Governor Edwin Stede, August 30, 1688, TNA, CO 29/4, ff.8-10.
servants through financial restitution or even grants of freedom, he challenged Montgomery on this law. "It will be impossible," he feared, "to keep the servants in that duty and obedience to their masters as they ought to be" without an adequate system "both to restrain and punish their disobedience and insolencies." Given that many of the servants on the island had been sent from the jails in England, Ireland and Scotland, Stede concluded that most were lying, violent thieves unaccustomed to manual labor, prone to "Imbezling, and wilfull wasting, spoiling & destroying and making away their Masters Goods, and many times most villainously and maliciously killing and destroying their Horses" and likely to escape in the absence of physical consequences.

Politically, then, Stede and Montgomery struggled to harmonize. Their differences could have been set aside, relegated to the professional, but not personal, if not for one crucial difference that divided the two men irrevocably: religion. Thomas Montgomery was a suspected Catholic and Stede's disdain for him quickly entangled with his equally, if not more, vehement hatred for the French and, symbiotically, Catholics. Under James II, however, the Governor had little power to persecute any Christians on religious grounds and so he temporarily quelled his anti-popish resolve and endorsed the practice of Catholicism in Barbados. As a result, a community of crypto-Catholics emerged thanks to the efforts of a single, solitary priest. This was not just any Catholic priest, however. He was not an English Jesuit sent overseas on a difficult mission. Neither was he an Irish Franciscan friar intrigued by the wilderness of the New World. Instead, this priest had the worst characteristic possible in the English West Indies: he was not only Catholic, but also a Frenchman.

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87 Ibid.
88 Ibid.
Father Michael was a French Jesuit who hailed from Martinique, a French island lying between Barbados and the English Leewards to the northwest.\(^89\) He had been sent to Barbados by the Jesuit Superior on Martinique in order to minister to the British Catholics on the island in 1688, following James II's Declaration of Indulgence. His presence, however, did not sit right with all of the islands' inhabitants, or at least not with Governor Stede. Stede made sure to express his and others’ suspicion of Father Michael not for his religion, but for his political loyalties and the circumstances under which he found himself in Barbados. The Governor wrote to the Earl of Sunderland on July 12, 1688, "all is quiet and harmonious here. The King's indulgence to his tender consoled and dissenting subjects did not alter their dutiful and contented manner of living until the arrival of a Jesuit, sent from Martinique."\(^90\) By this account, Catholics formed no greater threat than Protestant dissenters and they caused no problems until Father Michael arrived. Stede continued to couch the island's suspicions of the priest not in terms of "his profession, office, or religion," but of his nationality. Stede expressed the concerns of his constituents that the priest was a Frenchman and could not be loyal to the English Crown. Moreover, he traveled to Barbados without invitation or approbation from the King or any of his councilors or clerics. They feared him a spy disguised as a confessor.\(^91\) In the summer of 1688, however, Stede could not risk gaining a reputation as intolerant. Once again at the close of his letter, he assured Sunderland "I have not thought fit to order him away or to forbid him from giving spiritual help to those that desire it."\(^92\) This, he was careful to clarify, was a matter of security, not of theology. For Stede, though, the problem that Father Michael posed had one extra layer: the priest's host on the island was none other than Attorney General Montgomery.

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\(^89\) Others called him Father Michaels. I do not know whether this was his first name or surname.
\(^90\) Lieutenant Governor Stede to the Earl of Sunderland, July 12, 1688, TNA, CO 29/3, 471-479.
\(^91\) Governor Edwin Stede to Lord President, September 1, 1688, TNA, CO 29/4, f.24.
\(^92\) Lieutenant Governor Stede to the Earl of Sunderland, July 12, 1688, TNA, CO 29/3, 471-479.
By the time news of William of Orange's successful invasion of England and the flight of James II reached Barbados on February 21, 1689, Edwin Stede was ready to turn his ire against the religion that affronted his sense of English pride as well as the man whom he had opposed politically and personally for the preceding several months. Unfortunately for Stede, removing Montgomery from office was not so simple. The new monarchs, William and Mary, issued a Proclamation allowing all Protestant officials to retain their posts in the islands. In order to oust Montgomery, then, Stede decided to prove not only Montgomery's incompetence as a lawyer, but also his loyalty to the Catholic Church and, as the final nail in the coffin, to the French. To achieve this, a trial was staged with over sixty deponents who testified either specifically against Thomas Montgomery and his associate, Willoughby Chamberlain, or to the growing encroachment of French and Catholic influence on the island right before 1689. The prosecution's case first established not only Montgomery and Chamberlain's devotion to Roman Catholicism, but also their attempts to disseminate their beliefs throughout Barbados through private Masses held in their homes.

From the outset, heightened emotions charged through Stede's prosecution of Montgomery and Chamberlain. In a letter to Lord Shrewsbury from May 30, 1689, Stede condemned the two men as "most vicious, lewd debauched men…[with] darke popish and wicked designes against me and this island…[who] were so bold to threaten us with Fire and Faggott, and that in a little time we must all turne, run or burn." He even framed the conflict as personal, arguing that Montgomery and Chamberlain turned their "ambitious, cruell and malicious designes against me and this Island" and deemed Montgomery in particular "a hard-hearted, cruell, persecuting Heretick" following his attempts to root out Catholicism, in line with William III's religious

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94 Ibid.
policies.\textsuperscript{95} These words served as something of a closing statement to the trial against Montgomery and Chamberlain that had spanned the month of March. With the testimonies of over sixty individuals to support his claims, Stede was finally able to unleash his venom for the two men.

The trial of Montgomery and Chamberlain revolved primarily around proving their adherence to the Roman Catholic Church. Robert Webb, Christopher Webb, Edward Bishop, Michael Poore, Thomas Hogan and William Legall all testified that they heard Chamberlain declare himself a Catholic, while Hogan went a step further to say that Chamberlain told him he converted to Catholicism while at school in London.\textsuperscript{96} John Griffin and William Murran further testified that Chamberlain had invited them to Mass in his home and Robert Weekes, Abraham Watson and Thomas White claimed he tried to convert them.\textsuperscript{97} Others who admitted to attending one or more of the Masses hosted in the homes of Montgomery and Chamberlain and presided over by Father Michael provided much more substantial and significant depositions. Hogan and Legall both testified that they attended services where Chamberlain or Montgomery "officiated," presumably meaning they served as acolytes, or altar servers, during the Masses at their respective homes.\textsuperscript{98} The most damning testimony of all came from Montgomery's servant, Thomas Brown. Brown detailed how Montgomery had invited Father Michael to take up regular residence at his home, where he "took up his generall abode and read and said mass publiquely, in…Sir Thomas's house," in which Montgomery would sometimes participate as an acolyte.\textsuperscript{99}

According to Brown, Montgomery also wrote to agents in Martinique and in England "to send

\textsuperscript{95} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{96} Collection of Papers Relating to Sir Thomas Montgomery and Willoughby Chamberlayne, May 30, 1689, TNA, CO 28/37/71-LXV; Depositions Touching Sir Thomas Montgomery and Willoughby Chamberlayne, June, 1690, TNA, CO 28/1/44.
\textsuperscript{97} Depositions Touching Sir Thomas Montgomery and Willoughby Chamberlayne, June, 1690, TNA, CO 28/1/44.
\textsuperscript{98} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{99} Minutes of Council of Barbados, March 7, 1689, TNA, CO 31/4, 120-123.
hither, sound Roman Catholic Priests, and Jesuits” to catechize the growing population of Catholics on the island as well as a Catholic governor to replace Stede and herald in a true era of toleration. Brown’s eye witness account left little room for doubt as to Montgomery’s religion, but it also introduced the question of his political loyalties, an opportunity on which Stede pounced greedily.

Recognizing that establishing Montgomery’s acts of Catholicism while under a Catholic king who mandated toleration would not be enough to condemn him and destroy his social and political reputation, Stede worked painstakingly to expose Montgomery as a dangerous political threat, an agent of the French. Brown admitted that Montgomery wrote other letters, possibly to the Jesuit Superior in Martinique, though he could not read them as they were written in Latin and French. Nevertheless, Stede treated these suspicions as fact in his correspondence to the Earl of Shrewsbury, writing that Montgomery and Chamberlain “settled such a correspondence with the Governor, Jesuits, Priests and all sorts of that tribe in the French neighboring Islands…[that] if that superstitious and idolatrous Religion had continued a little longer in fashion…this Island would have been an absolute popish, if not a French Island.” Most of that assertion was built off of rumored correspondence that had sunk in a ship that had been carrying Father Michael to London. Nevertheless, some evidence did exist linking Montgomery to the government and clergy of Martinique. Two letters spoke of a sloop arranged to take Jesuit Father la Forest from Martinique to Barbados, while another from the Lady Superior of the Ursuline nuns in Martinique thanked Montgomery for his "pious endeavours [to] make the Catholic religion flourish.” Moreover, Christopher Webb, Philip Price, Samuel Price and Charles

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100 Ibid.
101 Governor Stede to the Earl of Shrewsbury, May 30, 1689, TNA, CO 28/37/5.
102 Collection of Papers Relating to Sir Thomas Montgomery and Willoughby Chamberlayne, May 30, 1689, TNA, CO 28/37/71-LXV.
Collins all confessed that Montgomery told them of a French plan to attack Bridgetown and overtake Barbados's weaker forces. They would free the slaves and servants, who, thanks to Montgomery's favorable legislation months earlier, would either ally themselves with him or, at the very least, refuse to fight for their former masters. Even with the loss of supposedly incriminating letters into the ocean, Stede's case against Montgomery and Chamberlain proved effective.

Throughout the entire trial, Montgomery sat in jail and drafted petitions in which he continuously repeated his loyalty to both the Church and monarchs of England and argued that he only entertained Father Michael because Catholic officials were in favor at Court at the time and he did not want to cause offense. For the first few months of his imprisonment, he relied on avowals of loyalty to the Church of England and requested clemency from Stede and others. When these tactics failed, he became craftier and drafted a dramatic, almost reckless plan. At first, Montgomery requested private meetings in an effort to avoid putting his plan to paper and risking its secrecy. However, when his requests came to no avail, he finally sent his grand scheme in a letter to Stede on October 19, 1689. He proposed that the Governor send him to Martinique, where his reputation as a committed Catholic and French ally—thanks to the public trial—would win him a meeting with the island's General, with the help of Jesuit interpreters. Montgomery vowed to tell the General that an English fleet was sailing for Martinique, "whose arrival cannot be sayd in dayes but howers." In response, the General

103 Depositions Touching Sir Thomas Montgomery and Willoughby Chamberlayne, June, 1690, TNA, CO 28/1/44.
104 Collection of Papers Relating to Sir Thomas Montgomery and Willoughby Chamberlayne, May 30, 1689, TNA, CO 28/37/7 Enclosure 20; Sir Thomas Montgomery to Lieutenant Governor Stede, October 19, 1689, TNA, CO 28/1/17.
105 Sir Thomas Montgomery to Lieutenant Governor Stede, September 16, 1689, TNA, CO 28/1/12; Sir Thomas Montgomery to Lieutenant Governor Stede, October 14, 1689, TNA, CO 28/1/16.
106 Sir Thomas Montgomery to Lieutenant Governor Stede, October 14, 1689, TNA, CO 28/1/14-15; Sir Thomas Montgomery to Lieutenant Governor Stede, October 19, 1689, TNA, CO 28/1/17.
107 Sir Thomas Montgomery to Lieutenant Governor Stede, October 19, 1689, TNA, CO 28/1/17.
would have no time but to recall as many French ships as possible to Martinique's aid, thereby leaving the Caribbean waters open for English martial and commercial vessels. The plan was a risky one, not least because it relied on Montgomery's tattered reputation. In the end, Montgomery was never sent to Martinique. In fact, the Council deemed him too dangerous even to remain in Barbados and ordered him shipped home to England on June 24, 1690.\textsuperscript{108}

The truth of Montgomery's actions died with him and with his closest confidants. While evidence of his political collusion failed to move beyond hearsay, the proof of his religious wavering seems stronger. However, this chapter is not concerned with the personal religious professions of one individual man, but rather of the possibility of a community of Catholics to exist in the most extreme setting of restriction and absence of the West Indies. The depositions taken in 1689 offer a glimpse into this world. If genuine, they speak to the devotional fabric of an island community of Catholics. If coerced or corrupted, they nevertheless reflect the assumptions that Protestants made about that same community. On the one hand, most of the testimonies were offered by Irish servants, who could have been forced by their masters to provide a specific account to please the Governor. On the other hand, such testimony could have reflected poorly on lackadaisical masters too incompetent to control their servants or monitor their movements and actions. Even if they were corrupted or coaxed, these accounts at the very least speak to a shared notion of what communal Catholic worship looked like and that account is neither dramatic nor negative. These depositions contained little exaggerated language and made few judgments on the character of those present at the Mass or even of Montgomery and Chamberlain themselves. Their distinct lack of polemical language renders them unlikely to

\textsuperscript{108} Order of the Governor of Barbados, June 10, 1690, TNA, CO 28/1/36.
have been fabricated for the propagandistic use of Governor Stede or the renewed imperial policies against Catholic tyranny.

Genuine or fabricated, these depositions and the correspondence of Edwin Stede to London that draw upon the testimonies of dozens of witnesses depict a congregation of poor, Irish indentured servants and freemen who once served a term of indenture. The only men of any repute on the island who were drawn into the scandal were the ringleaders, Montgomery and Chamberlain.¹⁰⁹ Most were men, though a few women testified against Montgomery, Chamberlain and other Irish servants implicated in the scandal.¹¹⁰ Many of these deponents testified that they overheard Willoughby Chamberlain professing himself a Catholic, but their personal interactions with either Chamberlain or Montgomery seem to be limited to just that: a bit of eavesdropping. A much smaller number testified to hearing Mass at the homes of these two men, but their testimonies drove at the heart of island Catholicism and provided the most evidence of Catholic worship and community-formation of the entire seventeenth-century West Indies. In Barbados, Catholic preservation relied on the buy-in of these Irish servants who transported their religion with them on their journey across the Atlantic, lacked enough education to completely comprehend Catholic theology and lacked also the economic, social and political stakes that would encourage them to renounce their faith. Most important, while these individuals formed the community that sprung up in the late 1680s, they could never have existed without the central figure of a priest.

Elsewhere, fears of Catholic conspiracy and popish practice intensified whenever rumors of a priestly presence circulated. In Jamaica, where the English conquerors allowed Spanish

¹⁰⁹ Depositions Touching Sir Thomas Montgomery and Willoughby Chamberlayne, June, 1690, TNA, CO 28/1/44.
¹¹⁰ Collection of Papers Relating to Sir Thomas Montgomery and Willoughby Chamberlayne, May 30, 1689, TNA, CO 28/37/7I-LXV.
Catholics to remain after the takeover in 1655, fears of the expanding influence of Catholicism perpetuated not because of fears of an alliance between Spanish and English, Scottish or Irish Catholic settlers, but only when a priest lurked among Anglo settlements on the island. On St. Kitts, the fears of a Franco-Hibernian alliance were more salient and omnipresent thanks to the looming political threat of France to the entire English Empire, but they too were heightened with priests. And in Barbados, Father Michael existed as the fulcrum of island Catholicism and disturbed the precious religio-political balance that had previously existed and could exist thanks to the prior absence of Catholic clergy. In the British West Indies, then, Catholicism relied on the influence of external figures for its survival. Outsiders themselves, the Irish and other Catholics turned to the French and Spanish for their spiritual guidance and salvation. In so doing, they both exploited and exacerbated the inter-imperial connections and tensions that defined Caribbean life.

Conclusion

In 1951, French librarian, Suzanna Briet, nicknamed "Madame Documentation," interrogated the properties that constitute a document. She famously asserted that while a wild antelope is simply a wild antelope, an antelope in a zoo would qualify as a document, caged, framed and primed to be viewed and read in a particular way thanks to its constructed environment. Though a highly abstract, almost absurd concept, it was designed to highlight the mechanisms and prejudices that guide our analytical processes. Briet's antelope-document acknowledges both the biases inherent to particular framings, as well as their necessity. Without

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111 The Case of St. Jago del Castillo, May, 1688, TNA, CO 1/64/65.
the confines of the zoo, would we ever glimpse the antelope, much less be able to learn anything about its behaviors?

For the historian, the constructed environment of the past, left to us through the ephemeral scraps that have somehow survived by chance or by choice, are invaluable. This chapter has demonstrated that without the sources created by Protestants, the Catholic voice of the West Indies may have remained permanently elusive. Just as we require a constructed reality in order to view the antelope, we also must find value in biased, often oppositional, sources in order to access the Catholics of the past. In response to the religious absences that they faced daily, they left to us another kind of absence, through their archival silence. And yet, the anxieties so prevalent in the correspondence, legislation and judicial proceedings of their Protestant neighbors, friends and foes sheds light on the form and functions of Catholic communities in the British West Indies. They depict a marginalized group, not only for their religion, but also for their social status, their lack of education, their financial destitution and their imposed racial inferiority. This reveals a community defined by suffering and discrimination that continued to persevere, physically and spiritually. Protestant sources minimize Irish Catholics to robotic agents of the manipulative French. This reveals a community that included politically-minded men and women who capitalized on an opportunity to advance their station and even, in the case of Montserrat, run their own colony. Most importantly, Protestant sources reveal a covert coterie of Catholics who met in secret, despite grave dangers from their judicial system and, for most, from their masters. This reveals a community that refused to deny their religious convictions or neglect their spiritual well-being, no matter the temporal cost. Absence of resources and of liberty did not entail the extinction of a religious community and neither should it necessitate the erasure of that community from the historical record.
Conclusion

While revising my dissertation, a deadly virus swept across the globe. Affecting everyone in its path. Birthday celebrations, graduations and weddings have been postponed. Friends and family are separated indefinitely as we quarantine in our own homes and people are facing the physical and emotional challenges of “self-isolation.” Among the canceled events include religious ceremonies and gatherings: funerals, church services, baptisms and Easter Mass. COVID-19 has forced everyone across the world to reconfigure our daily lives, to rethink how we interact with each other, to analyze what it means to be global citizens. It has also forced so many to reckon with their faith, some becoming stronger in the solace that they take from religion, and others turning away from it altogether, as is always the case in times of greatest hardship. As the world struggles to adapt to this new virus, questions of what it means to be part of a global faith community are proliferating, particularly in the Catholic Church, so grounded in its physical spaces, in its communities, in its rituals. The experience of Catholicism has always demanded the engagement of all five senses. Bells toll the canonical hours and signal the moment of transubstantiation. Organ and choir lead the congregation through familiar hymns. The pungent smell of incense fills churches on holy days. Stained glass windows and lavishly decorated altars celebrate the glory of the Church while depictions of Christ’s Passion adorn the walls to commemorate the suffering that made redemption possible. These sounds, smells and sights are shared by Roman Catholics around the world, offering a form of unity. Moreover, this deluge of the senses, coupled with the repetitive bodily movements that Catholics perform without thinking creates a transcendent experience, removing the spiritual from the physical. It is an experience designed to live outside the body and one that is at once deeply personal and yet entirely communal. But now, Catholics lack all of this. No incense, no music, no parish singing,
praying and moving as one body. The incapacity to receive sacraments creates a soteriological dilemma—one which Pope Francis has combatted through mass grants of plenary indulgences—but the inability for Catholics to gather, to worship as a community and to find that transcendent experience cuts just as deeply, especially in this time of universal suffering. And yet, Catholics are finding new ways of fostering their faith and preserving their parishes.

In his March 27 Urbi et Orbi address—literally meaning “to the city and to the world” and traditionally delivered at Christmas and Easter—Pope Francis delivered a homily of hope to a world darkened by fear and by loss. Drawing on the Gospel of Mark, he spoke of the disciples and Jesus together on a boat during a violent storm. While his disciples felt terror, Jesus sat calmly at the bow, trusting in God to deliver them from the tempest. “We have realized that we are on the same boat,” Pope Francis told the world, “all of us fragile and disoriented, but at the same time important and needed, all of us called to row together, each of us in need of comforting the other. On this boat… are all of us.” He emphasized the need for unity among the world’s Catholics, both physically and spiritually. He promised salvation not through the institution or the state, but through the acts of individuals and through a commitment to community.

In the twenty-first century, such a global religious community is more attainable than ever before. More than anything, the crisis of COVID-19 has inspired new ways of conceptualizing the Church. As pews sit empty, countless priests have chosen to live stream services, offering a way for the faithful to nourish their spiritual health within their own homes. Laymen and women have conducted prayer groups and other forms of spiritual connection and direction from home through Zoom and other video conferencing platforms. The result is a virtual Church, not a physical one. Laptops and cell phones replace, at least temporarily, the physical spaces of
worship. These are the beginnings of a personal and portable Church that demand Catholics around the world to ask not only what is lost through this new medium, but equally what might be gained.

2020 is not the first time in the history of Roman Catholicism that Catholics, both religious and lay, have had to confront extreme restriction of religious resources. The absence of priests, the absence of buildings, the absence of books, rosaries, medals, the Eucharist, holy oils, sacraments, the Bible. Thanks to the deeply rooted sensory reality of Catholicism, these absences deal critical, even fatal blows to the institutions of the Church and its ability to thrive or even survive in inhospitable climates. And yet, the Catholic Church and, more importantly, its communities, have persevered even when faced with the most unfavorable odds. The survival of Catholic practice in non-Catholic regions has relied not on the Church as institution, but on the Church as people. Catholicism in Scotland survived thanks to the diligence of highly educated missionary priests who walked to the far reaches of the country to bring their ministry to the most isolated and poorest of Scotland’s inhabitants. Across the Atlantic, Catholics persevered in the experimentally tolerant colony of Maryland thanks to support from the colony’s governing elite and the influx of priests who catechized both settlers and indigenous peoples. Finally, in the West Indies, the fate of Catholicism was far more tenuous. As in Maryland and Scotland, Catholic communities flourished under the guidance of priests who could not only preach, but also administer sacraments. Even in the absence of such figures, however, Catholics continued to gather in secret and to worship with whatever few sacral tools they had at their disposal. Even in places where the institution of the Catholic Church withered, Catholics took their devotion into their own hands and adapted their religion to bring them spiritual comfort and nourishment in times of deepest absence, isolation and persecution.
Once again urging solidarity over separation, Pope Francis emphasized that “our lives are woven together and sustained by ordinary people—often forgotten people.” This dissertation aimed to revive some of those forgotten people who, in another time of crisis, worked tirelessly to preserve their religion in spaces where it was unwelcome and unlawful. At the height of anti-Catholic persecution in the British Isles, English, Scottish and Irish Catholics throughout the Atlantic basin in the seventeenth century fought for belonging to Church and Crown, amid exclusion from both. But they fought their battles for more than the survival of a religion. They fought for the perseverance of identity, of tradition and of community.
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**MUSEUM EXHIBITIONS**


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